THE MIGRATION OF WOMEN

Methodological Issues in the Measurement and analysis of Internal and International Migration

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UNITED NATIONS
INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN
(INSTRAW)
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
1994 - second edition 1996

PREFACE

Why has the migration of women been neglected? The reasons are many but a basic dilemma stems from the form in which data are collected and analysed. Biases exist in the way data present the levels, patterns or characteristics of female migration which distort the conclusions reached in substantive studies. An important focus of this study is an analysis of these biases and their implications.

The document gives an analysis of the existing concepts and statistical methods relevant to the definition and understanding of the determinants and consequences of female migration. It covers the following areas:

1. review of existing data and what they show regarding the levels of internal and international migration of women;
2. reasons to expect biases in the measurement of women's migration;
3. data needs for assessing the determinants and consequences of internal and international migration of women; and
4. recommendations to improve the data on women's migration.

In addressing these issues, the study took note of the recommendation stipulated in the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women which stated that: "The Decade has witnessed the increasing involvement of women in all forms of migration, including rural-rural, rural-urban, and international movements of a temporary, seasonal or permanent nature. In addition to their lack of adequate education, skills, and resources, migrant women may also face severe adjustment problems due to differences in religion, language, nationality, and socialization as well as separation from their original families. The situation of migrant women, who are subject to double discrimination as women and as migrants, should be given special attention by the Governments of host countries, particularly with respect to protection and maintenance of family unity, employment opportunities, and equal pay, equal conditions of work, health care, benefits to be provided in accordance with the existing social security rights in the host country, and racial and other forms of discrimination" (paras. 300 and 301).

It is hoped that the analysis contained in this publication will provide researchers and academic institutions with a new perspective on migration theories and migration of women. Similarly, this should provide an incentive to statistical offices to review available statistics on migration and make them available on both women and men. Consequently, it is hoped that the analysis will help policy makers devise policy instruments that will improve the status of women migrants and their families.

It is also hoped that the views set forth in this document will make a contribution to the discussion of issues on women and migration which is likely to be addressed at the 1995 World Summit for Social Development and at the Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in September 1995.

This study was conducted in close collaboration with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the Population Division of the United Nations Secretariat. Dr. Richard Bilsborrow of the Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina, had the primary responsibility for the preparation of the document.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INSTRAW would like to thank a number of individuals who provided inputs in the preparation of the present publication. Among them, Dr. Hania Zlotnik of the United Nations Population Division, Dr. Graeme Hugo of the University of Adelaide (South Australia), Mr. Reinhard Lohrman of the International Organization for Migration, Ms Rae Lesser Blumberg of the University of California, and Mr. Kottai Gnanasekaran of the UN Statistical Division.

Work on this publication was undertaken under the direction of an INSTRAW team. Specifically acknowledged are the contributions of the former Director, Ms Margaret Shields, the former Chief of the Research and Training Unit, Ms Parirokh Soltan-Mohammadi, and Ms Marie Paul Aristy. Coordination of work was carried out under the supervision of Ms Corazon Narvaez with the assistance of Ms Nyunt Nyunt Win and Ms Jeannette Canals.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. The Neglect of Research on Women's Migration

Although men and women account for about equal proportions of internal migration in the developing world, as well as international migration in general, much more is known about the factors affecting men's migration. This relative dearth of knowledge about women's migration has occurred in circumstances where its determinants are recognized as being complex, ranging from situations where they are the main or only decision makers, to situations where they are equal partners, to those where they have no role in the decision-making process.

The neglect of research on women's migration is attributed to a number of circumstances, including the emphasis placed on the human capital model in migration theory, in which migration is seen as motivated by economic opportunity; an underestimation of women's economic activity and labour force participation; a general neglect of women in scholarly social science research; the fact that most research on migration has been carried out by men; and, in particular to inadequacies in existing data on women's migration.

While all of these matters are discussed in this monograph, the focus is on the last issue —inadequate data— primarily on matters confronting the internal and international migration of women in the Third World from a methodological perspective.

B. Women and Internal Migration

Concerning internal migration, it is shown that the acknowledged difficulties in assessing levels and determinants are compounded in the case of women. For example, marriage migration has received very little attention from scholars even though it represents an important component of internal migration in many developing countries.

The number of surveys with detailed data on internal migration is very small to begin with, and moreover the few that exist fail to adequately report women's migration. Bias in the measurement of their migration is attributed to the types of moves women make compared with men, the types of activities that they engage in, and the established social and cultural norms regarding appropriate roles and behaviour for women. There has been a tendency to neglect women migrants because of the undervaluation of their economic activity, and the common view that they are passive followers of men in the migration process. This tendency has been compounded by respondent bias, especially in the use of male proxy respondents which has led to understatement of female migration, and also to the introduction of serious bias in the characteristics of female migrants.

There is an urgent need to expand the range of factors examined in studies that address the determinants of internal migration to include not only individual-level characteristics such as age and education but also household and community-level factors. Furthermore, assessment of the consequences of internal migration is far more complex methodologically than is generally recognized. In addressing the conditions under which women's migration occurs, it is important to know at what stage in the life cycle they migrated, whether they moved on their own or as part of a family group, as well as the 'type' of places of destination and origin. For example, the effects of the attitude of her husband towards her working in the place of destination, and the greater social freedom that this engenders need further research. The demographic dimensions of her migration can be also profound, affecting her pace of child-bearing, marital stability and health/morbidity.

Studies of both the determinants and consequences of internal migration have generally failed to recognize the need to include appropriate *comparison* groups in the analysis (e.g., non-migrant women in places of origin), and hence have often led to misleading results.

Recommendations for research and improved data on the internal migration of women have been based on a careful appraisal of needs and deficiencies. These include investigations which compare the determinants and consequences of migration for men and women, an approach rarely adopted by researchers. The practice of asking a male respondent about the activities and aspirations of all household members (including former members who live elsewhere) should be abandoned. In the past, it has often led to the under-reporting of women's migration and their economic activities as well as failure to appropriate the perspective of the woman and her family concerning the consequences of such migration.

C. Women and International Migration

Demographers concur that the main difference between internal and international migration is that the former involves movement within a country whereas the latter requires movement across an international boundary and is therefore influenced also by the receiving state's laws and regulations relating to migration.

Despite the fact that the volume of international migration is nearly equal for males and females, there has been an administrative tendency to automatically classify women as dependants rather than principal migrants, and that as spouses or daughters they are assumed to have primarily non-economic roles.

Regarding data sources, the most widely available source of data on international migration is the population census with its data on the foreign born. Unfortunately, most censuses, as well as the other main sources of data from population registers and border statistics, fail to publish data on international migrants by sex. In addition, few countries that receive labour migrants in large number publish data on numbers of workers classified by sex. Finally, statistics on refugees, at best rough approximations, are seldom available by age and sex despite frequent calls for improvement by UNHCR and others.

Household surveys provide the best data for investigating the determinants and consequences of international (and internal) migration. But inadequate data has caused

knowledge of the determinants of international migration to be "still in its infancy", especially regarding women where there is need for carefully designed micro studies based on a wide range of information from household surveys in countries of both origin and destination. If such surveys cover migrants of both sexes, the extent to which their determinants differ can be examined.

A longitudinal data collection technique (i.e., interviewing migrants at different stages of the migration process and resettlement) is favoured. For women, such surveys would show how their process of adaptation differ over time, whether these processes are different for different types of women, and the degree to which the consequences differ (e.g., are less favourable) for migrant women than migrant men.

The increasing concern raised in international fora about international migration from and between developing countries should ensure that the importance of female migration is stressed when improvements in or modifications to, existing systems are considered.

Better documentation of the involvement of women in international migration would serve to combat erroneous stereotypes about gender composition of the different types of migrants. Indeed, it is strongly recommended that every tabulation in official publications relating to international migration should be cross-classified by sex. Analyses of the determinants and consequences of international migration of women —and how it differs from that of men— is also needed to increase our understanding of the processes involved, which is important for formulating more appropriate policies in both countries of origin and destination.

I. GENERAL ISSUES RELATED TO THE MIGRATION OF WOMEN

A. Introduction

Improving the status of women is increasingly recognized as fundamental to improving the basic human rights of over half the population of the world and also contributing to socio-economic progress. Throughout human history migration has been a major means used by people to improve their status, or simply to survive. Women's migration, both internally within developing countries and internationally across borders to neighbouring countries or to developed countries, is inextricably linked to the situation and status of women in society. But what do we know about women's migration? How significant *is* women's migration (internal and international) in quantitative terms? Do existing sources of data provide adequate information? What do we know about the determinants of women's migration and its consequences? For example, does migration lead to improvements in the status of women, breaking down patriarchal structures and enhancing women's autonomy or does it lead to perpetuate dependency? How reliable is our knowledge of the answers to these questions? To what degree is our knowledge of determinants and consequences compromised by shortfalls in analytical approaches and limitations in the data? What should be done to address these issues —viz., to improve the quality of data and the analytical approaches used? These issues will be dealt with in this manuscript, primarily from a *methodological* perspective. The focus is on women from the developing countries, covering both their internal and international migration.

These issues are important as the world prepares for the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing. That conference will follow a number of previous UN activities and conferences, including the International Decade on Women, the decennial International Population Conferences (including the Cairo meeting to take place in September, 1994), and many other international and regional meetings in recent years. The present manuscript also builds upon two earlier UN documents, *Compiling Social Indicators on the Situation of Women* (UN, 1984, reprinted by INSTRAW in 1988) and *Improving Concepts and Methods for Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women* (UN, 1984, also reprinted by INSTRAW in 1988).

B. Importance of Women's Migration

Demographers define migration, whether internal or international, as a change in the place of residence involving movement across a political or administrative border. The only difference between internal and international migration is that the former involves movement

across a border *within* a country while the latter requires movement across an international boundary. Nevertheless, serious questions arise with respect to the precise meaning and implications of "change of residence" and "movement across a political border". These questions will be discussed below, both in general terms and with respect to the measurement of women's migration in particular. Additional, relevant issues will also be considered, including how long one must be in a place before it qualifies as a "change of residence", and whether subjective information regarding *intended* length of stay (e.g., to someone who has just arrived, or is being interviewed) is relevant for measurement purposes.

Women are playing increasingly important roles in labour markets and therefore in the socio-economic development of developing countries. Given that both internal and international migration are intimately intertwined with socio-economic change[1], and that much migration is associated with seeking better employment opportunities, one would expect there to have been an increase in the migration of women world-wide in recent decades, given the pace of economic change in most of the developing world. We would also expect this to be the case given the vast increase in the level of education of females throughout the world; the continuing process of urbanization that is profoundly changing population distribution; the rise in women's aspirations to become more active in public life, including in the labour force and in government decision-making; and improvements in communications systems which contribute to greater awareness of differences across societies and therefore to secular forces leading to migration as well as greater concerns about issues of equality of opportunities and equity throughout the world.

Despite such changes, existing evidence does not indicate a *generally* increasing role of females in internal or international migration. Trends continue to be mixed, with women accounting for roughly half of all *internal* migration in the developing world —albeit varying considerably across regions and countries within each region (e.g., women comprise over half of the rural-urban migrants in Latin America and under half in Africa)— and slightly less than half of all *international* migration. With the total volume of internal migration in the developing world at least ten times that of international migration (crude estimates suggest there are currently about one billion lifetime internal migrants and 100 million lifetime international migrants in the world as a whole), the total numbers of women and men moving each year are probably about the same. And yet, for reasons examined below, we know far more about the factors affecting men's migration, and its consequences, than we do about the determinants or consequences of women's migration.

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[1] They are also related to each other in some cases. This occurs in two ways. First, the self-evident one: for people who aspire to a better life, or flee from unpleasant circumstances, internal and international migration are two mutually exclusive alternatives in the short run. One substitutes the other. That is, someone may migrate internally as a *substitute* for an international move, and vice versa. But internal and international migration are related in another way which is probably quantitatively more important. Second, much migration is by stages: first, from the rural farm to a village or small town (which is still essentially rural), then from the village to a small city, then to a large city, and then, finally, to another country. At each step the migrant has to confront many new challenges and alter her/his lifestyle, but the changes are fairly modest and manageable for most, which is usually not the case for a move directly from a farm to a large city or abroad. Of course, the changes listed may occur over more than one generation.

While deficiencies in data contribute to this ignorance, more fundamental forces are also at work. Before reviewing these forces, we should recognize that the determinants of women's migration are probably more complex than the determinants of men's migration, because of the more multidimensional roles played by women, including having primary responsibility for child care, feeding the family, keeping the marriage together (see Oppong, 1980, on the seven roles of women) and playing a major role in economic production[2]. Thus women's migration varies from migration in which women are the main or only decision makers, and migrate mainly for economic reasons, to migration in which women are equal partners or to migration in which women have no role in the decision process. While the terms "autonomous migrant" and "tied migrant" have often been used to distinguish the first and last types in *both* internal and international migration, they do suggest an artificial dichotomy. Thus they do not recognize that women are sometimes equal partners in the process, which in fact might be considered a long run goal of society as the roles of the sexes become more equalized. Other parallel, though not identical, terms for different groups of migrants have also been used in the literature, including economic vs. non-economic migration, active vs. passive migrants, voluntary vs. involuntary (or forced) migration, and mobility vs. survival migration. New terms have also come into vogue such as "internally displaced persons" (or "internal refugees"), which further underlines the lack of uniformity in basic terminology in the field of migration. Furthermore, one very common type of migration involving women has been almost totally ignored, even in those few studies which have investigated women's migration: "marriage migration", comprising both migration of women to get married and migration to follow a spouse soon after marriage. This will be further discussed below.

C. Why Has the Migration of Women Been Neglected?

The reasons are many, but some stand out:

a) *Migration theory.* Because of the important role played by the human capital model in migration theory, the migration literature has focused heavily on autonomous or so-called "economic" migration, or migration motivated ostensibly for reasons of employment or economic opportunity (or to escape economic deprivation). Men have been generally more likely than women to report their moves as motivated primarily for economic reasons.

b) *Underestimation of women's economic activity and labour force participation.* The relevance of this point is directly related to point (a) above. Since much of the economic activity of women is not classified as such in standard labour force and other surveys, it is implicitly viewed as irrelevant for migration analysis.

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[2] Even if not always reflected in the so-called "market production" focussed upon by economists and the internationally-used UN system of national accounts--see Goldschmidt-Clermont (1982), Waring (1988), etc.

c) *The neglect of women in scholarly social science research in general (as well as in literature, art, politics, etc.).* This is due to their generally lower status and presumably passive, dependent roles in society, which, however, are beginning to change in much of the developing countries. Indeed, dramatic changes in the structure and functioning of the family itself are occurring in some countries, perhaps most noticeably in Southeast and East Asia.

d) *Most research on migration has been carried out by men.* This is a fact, though it need not by itself have led to the neglect of female migrants since men as well as women are certainly *capable* of studying women's migration.

e) *Inadequacies in existing data on women's migration*, at both the macro and micro levels, for reasons not unrelated to the above.

An in-depth understanding of the selectivity, determinants and/or consequences of internal migration requires accurate data on the extent and characteristics of female migration. Biases may exist in the levels, patterns or characteristics of female migration which distort both the basic data and therefore the conclusions reached in substantive studies. These biases may be inherent in existing data sources or they may stem from the form in which the data are collected. Whether such biases exist, where, and their implications is an important focus of this present study. This issue is discussed further in sections II.B.3 and III.B.

II. THE INTERNAL MIGRATION OF WOMEN

A. Who Is a Migrant? General Issues in the Definition of Internal Migration

Migration is a demographic event which is much more complex to conceptualize and define than commonly recognized, and certainly far more complex to define than the other two demographic phenomena, fertility and mortality. There are several reasons for this:

a) defining *when* a migration movement occurs is much more difficult than defining when a birth or death occurs because it requires simultaneously taking into consideration dimensions of both space and time;

b) migration may involve individuals moving alone, several individuals or a whole family moving together, or even larger groups such as a whole clan or village moving together, whether the members of the group are related or not by consanguinity;

c) a person/family/etc., may migrate more than once, and may return to the place of origin, "disappearing" from migration statistics in many measurement systems;

d) migration always involves two places, an origin and a destination, and thus requires that the potential migrant (and the analyst) take into account the characteristics of both the place of origin and at least one possible destination;

e) migration may be voluntary or involuntary/forced, or involve elements of both;

f) the socio-economic and institutional factors generally influence migration much more than fertility or mortality.

These points are further elaborated below.

First regarding (a), the spatial dimension involves two further criteria, both of which must be simultaneously satisfied, and both to some degree subjective and arbitrary: (i) movement *across a political or administrative boundary* (so that spatially trivial moves, such as to the house on the next street, can be ignored), and (ii) movement which involves a *change of "usual residence"*. But political boundaries are just that —politically instituted and as easily changed. They can therefore vary over time —indeed, both country borders and internal, sub-national political jurisdictions within countries do change— confounding comparisons of

measurements of migration between political units over time even within countries. Thus, as populations of developing countries have increased over time and redistributed themselves, new states and districts have often been administratively created out of previous ones, leading to an automatic increase in reported internal migration rates over time compared to what would have measured based upon the larger previous boundaries.

But the problems are even more serious and omnipresent when comparing measures of internal migration *across* countries. The reason is that countries have established their own internal political boundaries, which has created administrative units of vastly different geographic and population sizes. For example, provinces (or states) in some large countries are much larger in geographic area than many *countries* in the world, so that movement over a given distance in the former may not be classified as internal migration while in many small countries they will perforce involve internal migration or even *international* migration. The same differences exist across countries with respect to population size: Several provinces in China (e.g., Szechuan) and India (e.g., Uttar Pradesh) have populations of more than 100 million —or more than all but a half dozen *countries* of the world. Corresponding differences also exist across countries at the second level of "major civil division", known variously as districts, counties or municipios. In most countries changes of residence are defined as internal migration only if they involve movement across a *major* civil division boundary, that is, down to this second level. However, some countries (such as Ecuador) process, if not publish, internal migration statistics for a third level, known as a "minor civil division" (such as a subdistrict). The use of a third level in definitions of internal migration in a country creates smaller geographic areas which evidently results in higher reported levels of internal migration than if only two levels of civil division were used.

Migration across *major* rather than minor civil divisions is what is routinely tabulated and reported in most countries, so that longer distance moves tend to be much more completely reported than shorter distance moves. Thus the existing wide differences in the geographic size of political units across countries makes comparisons of internal migration flows and rates across countries almost useless. In addition, to the extent that women tend to migrate over different distances than men, the particular geographic units used in a country will directly affect the relative migration rates estimated for men and women (see II.B.3 below).

It might be thought that at least rural-urban migration rates should be more comparable across countries. But the first requirement for identifying rural-urban migrants is that the previous place of residence (or the place of birth, as the case may be) be classified in the data source (e.g., a census of population) as urban or rural, which is often not done. Even if the respondent *is* asked whether his/her previous residence was urban or rural, the response is subjective and of low validity. The United Nations has suggested that countries use a common demographic criterion to distinguish urban from rural areas. Thus, areas with clusters of dwellings such that the total population is 2000 or more should be classified as urban, while smaller communities and isolated dwellings are to be classified as rural. But, alas, as is patent in the footnotes of any UN *Demographic Yearbook,* definitions of "urban" are almost as numerous as the number of countries itself. Thus, various other criteria are commonly used to define "urban", alone or in various combinations or in combination with some demographic criterion. Such non-demographic criteria include having urban characteristics (streets,

electricity, a school, a building over two stories tall, a police or security post, etc.), being the capital of a major or minor civil division, having a legal status as urban (such as "incorporated places" in the United States), having a certain proportion of the labour force engaged in non-agricultural activities, having a population density above some threshold, etc. With such wide variations across countries, even comparisons of rural-urban migration rates are evidently fraught with severe difficulties.

Migrants are also conventionally classified or defined according to the actual or expected length of stay in a given location. Thus migrants are persons whose existing duration of residence, or whose anticipated or planned duration of residence, which is completely subjective, surpasses some lower limit (usually six months or one year). This definition is commonly true of international as well as internal migration. Alternatively, those who move are classified into (1) so-called "permanent" or long-term migrants, and (2) short-term, temporary or seasonal migrants, though other types can and have been conceptualized as relevant for particular situations or analytical purposes (nomadic movements, circulation, transilients, etc. (see Standing, 1984, for an imaginative treatment). Existing data sources and data collection practices (see II.B below) tend to identify migration only in terms of *long-term* changes of residence. Thus, to the extent that women's participation in migration tends to differ from that of men with respect to short- vs. long-term migration, it will be misrepresented compared to that of men. Whether the failure to adequately collect information on short-term migration leads to any *general* tendency to undercount female migrants will be examined in section II.B.3.

"Usual residence" is also sometimes not clear, such as for street dwellers, transients, circulators, pastoralists and nomads, and others who spend part of a year at one location and part at another. Determining the usual place of residence of these populations requires, at minimum, specialized questions. This is also true for a large group of women and girls, usually migrants, for whom the "usual" place of residence is often unclear —live-in domestic workers. Since the head of household is the usual respondent in censuses and household surveys, what will the head report as the place of residence of the live-in domestic employee? Or will the domestic worker even be counted as part of the household? On the other hand, if the domestic worker is herself asked about her usual place of residence, would she report her *de facto* place at the employer's house or her place of origin, which may well be rural and some distance (across a political boundary) away? Her answer may depend upon how long she has been away from her family of origin and the extent to which she considers herself to have left *permanently*. If the census or survey uses a *de facto* criterion for place of residence, the domestic employee *should* be reported as a resident of the household (The UN Statistical Office recommends a *de facto* criterion for censuses.) Given the wide gap in socio-economic status between the household head and the domestic worker (as well as differences in race and ethnicity often), domestic employees may be significantly underreported in places of destination in many censuses. To the extent that this occurs, it would imply a substantial undercount of female migration (and most likely also of rural-urban migration, since most domestic employees come from rural areas). Similarly, there may be ambiguity in identifying the usual residence of a young woman moving from one dependent relative (e.g., parents) to another (family of new spouse) associated with marriage migration. This could well also lead to

underestimates of migration of women, particularly where such marriage migration is common, as in South Asia.

Data on *reasons* people give for their migration are sometimes used by researchers to identify subjects "worthy" of investigation. While economic reasons are the ones most commonly given for long-term migration, other reasons are often important, such as to obtain further education, change of climate or environment, get married, and other personal reasons. Information concerning reasons becomes important in the present context if the research focuses upon only a certain *type* of migration, such as labour migration, or only upon migration for "economic" reasons. Indeed, most research on migration by economists has this limitation. This seems ironic since it is an economist, Gary Becker, who developed the economic theory of marriage. But has any economist studied *marriage* migration as important as it is not only in South Asia, where its frequency is well known, but also in many other places, including Nigeria (Watts, 1983), China (Ji et al., 1986), and Cameroon (Simmons et al., 1977:28)? Indeed, marriage migration has received very little attention from any migration scholars, economists or non-economists. Thus, to the extent that women are less likely to state economic reasons for migration than men, studies that focus on "economic" migration may well neglect women. It is also possible that proxy respondents to census or survey questions may neglect to report persons who have left for non-economic, personal or idiosyncratic reasons, and that these are more likely to be female (see II.B.2 below).

Although migrants may move as individuals or as family units (and sometimes as larger units, such as clans and whole villages), a general issue that arises in considering the migration of individual women is whether they migrate *autonomously* or are passive followers, as wives or daughters of men who are assumed to be the household heads and, *ipso facto*, the decision makers with respect to migration. Similar issues arise in considering family migration, which probably accounts for more migration numerically in both developed and developing countries than individual migration (though there are no data to confirm this). In the case of family migration, it is generally automatically *assumed* that married women are passive participants, so only the male "head of household" is asked why the family, and thereby each of its members, migrated. In some societies, the father may even be asked why his daughter moved even if she is single and available to answer for herself, under the presumption that he made the decision for her. These practices, which can seriously bias the responses obtained, are further discussed in subsection II.B.3.

B. Measurement

1. Sources of data on internal migration of women

a) Introduction

The standard sources of demographic data are population censuses, vital registration systems, sample surveys and population registers. The second and fourth can be dispensed with

in the present context for the vast majority of developing countries, the second because vital statistics systems invariably collect data relating only to "vital" events (births and deaths), and the fourth because it is used mainly in developed countries (Japan and much of Europe). Nevertheless, continuous population registers do exist in a number of developing countries, and indeed the first such register (albeit incomplete) can be traced back over two thousand years to China. Unfortunately, in all countries, migration is the demographic event least completely registered via population registers. Nevertheless, the quality of migration data in developed countries which have population registers is generally quite high, and therefore very useful for the measurement of internal migration movements (van den Brekel, 1977). This is not the case in developing countries except those few with strong centralized planning systems.

Because of the tendency of all existing sources of demographic data to miss some demographic events (births, deaths, and migration movements), particularly in developing countries, demographers have experimented with methods of combining data from more than one source. That is, to the degree that different approaches or systems tend to miss *different* events, two systems may correctly identify more events together than either system can achieve by itself. This is the rationale for "dual record systems". Moreover, it may be possible to plausibly estimate the number of events missed by *both* systems, which should be related to the number of events identified by each of the two systems missed by the other. A formula suggested by Chandrasekar and Deming (1949) has been used to estimate this number of events missed by both systems. From this, the total number of events can be estimated. While such dual record systems have been implemented in a number of developing countries since the 1960s, most collect data only on births and deaths. One exception was the Sample Vital Registration Project of the Central Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia in 1977-79. The CBS dual record system consisted of (i) a sample vital statistics registration subsystem continuously covering a population of 230,000 in 112 urban and rural villages in 10 provinces, and (ii) a retrospective sample survey of the same population every 12 months. Data were collected not only on births and deaths but also on migration movements into and out of the sample areas. But while the dual record system appeared to yield significantly better estimates of birth and death rates than either of the component sub-systems alone, the data on migration were considered too defective for the method to even be applied.

The two types of demographic data collection systems considered in the remainder of this section are therefore censuses of population and sample surveys. In each case the general advantages and disadvantages will be noted before indicating their relevance to the measurement of the relative incidence and characteristics of female migration.

b) The population census

Virtually all countries of the world now undertake a *population* census, more-or-less every ten years. Population censuses attempt to enumerate the entire population of the country, covering all areas, on the "census day". Households are asked if any/all members have changed their place of residence since some previous date (or since birth), allowing the identification of long-term (or lifetime) individual migrants, family migrants and non-migrants. Other data collected in the census schedule allow distinguishing these types in terms of the

various demographic and socio-economic characteristics included in the census questionnaire. Censuses are the only source that can provide this information for *all* political/administrative subdivisions of the country, including *major* "civil divisions" (such as provinces and states) and even *minor* civil divisions (districts, municipios, etc.). Special tabulations are also sometimes available (or can be prepared from publicly available census tapes) for much smaller areas, including individual villages, communities, or even census tracts and city blocks. Comparisons can therefore be made of migration flows, rates, and characteristics (including by sex) across all such geographic areas. Censuses also often provide data on migrants as distinguished by types of place of origin and place of destination, viz., rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural, though limitations arising from the country's particular definition of urban (and therefore the residual category, rural) —discussed above— must always be borne in mind.

But there are important limitations to data on migration obtained from population censuses. First, the standard census questions ask *place of birth* and place of current residence, thus identifying only *lifetime* migrants. This information is often fairly accurate for large geographic areas, but becomes less reliable the greater the disaggregation. Data are often suspect also regarding the urban-rural character of the place of birth, which, moreover, may well have changed since the time of birth, particularly for older persons. This is directly related to the most serious limitation of this type of data: it cannot indicate *when* the lifetime migration occurred (or identify any intermediate moves), which is particularly problematic in the case of older persons. Also, persons who have migrated but later return back to their place of origin, after any number of moves, are identified as lifetime *non*-migrants, as if they had never moved. It is therefore much more useful to ask a question on *place of previous residence at some fixed date* in the past, such as at exactly five years prior to the census date. Whenever this place of residence differs from the current place of residence, this indicates that (net) migration has occurred over that recent time period. This recent migration is of much more interest for government planning and for most research purposes than lifetime migration. While intermediate moves and return migration within the period are again lost, and while identifying the exact place of origin and its urban/rural character can still pose problems, both of these are far less serious than when place of birth is used. In addition, there exists a more flexible variant —asking place of previous residence and the date of the most recent change of residence involving crossing an internal border. This can also provide a better indication of short-term moves when the respondent considers residence to be established after only a few months or even weeks. However, accurate measurement of short-term migration requires a special set of questions (see, e.g., Oberai, 1984), which cannot be accommodated in a census schedule covering the whole population, which, by its nature, must be concise.

Censuses are also of very limited use in the study of *determinants or consequences* of internal migration because of the inherent restrictions on the breadth and depth of data that can be collected (see Goldstein and Goldstein, 1979; Bilsborrow et al, 1984, Ch. 1 and passim). Since a census obtains information on the characteristics of migrants only at the time of the census and not at the time of migration, its value even for investigating the *selectivity* of

migration (comparing the characteristics of migrants and non-migrants) is problematic for those characteristics that may change between the two dates.

Another limitation is the custom of publishing tabulations on migrants only on the basis of the first level of major civil division, viz., according to numbers crossing provincial/state borders. Data on persons crossing borders at the second major civil division level are rarely published by countries, though often tabulated. Data at the next or third (minor) civil division level, such as for sub-districts, municipios or villages, are virtually never published, and often are not even coded when the census data are processed. This is ostensibly because of the difficulty of the task, given the typically large number of such units in the country and the increasing prevalence of missing data or errors in data associated with greater disaggregation. As a result, much migration is *not reported* in standard census publications. That migration rates vary inversely with distance is well-known. For example, according to the 1970 census of Thailand, the percentage of persons migrating across provincial borders in the preceding five years was 9.5, while that moving across district lines was 13.0, and that moving from one locality to another (such as from one village to another) was 34.3. Similarly, the five year migration rates for Malaysia for 1971-1976, estimated by Radloff (1982:180) from the 1976-1977 Malaysian Family Life Survey, were, respectively, 7.1, 11.4, and 34.5 for the same three levels. Radloff concluded that defining migration with reference to states instead of districts in Malaysia led to missing at least 60 per cent of the migrants. Unfortunately, data are not available from either of the above two sources by sex.

In principle, there should be equal coverage of men and women in censuses of population, but as we shall see, biases may arise not because of the questions posed but because of the procedures used in collecting, processing and analysing the information.

c) Household sample surveys

Household sample surveys are very flexible and can therefore be designed to cover specific populations/areas and include detailed, probing questions. Unlike censuses, they can be specifically designed to investigate internal migration. A single-round retrospective survey on migration can ask a migrant questions about his/her situation in the previous place of residence, including activities and status there, as well as about current activities. Reasons for leaving the place of previous residence, which should be distinguished from reasons for coming to the current place of destination, can also be explored. Information can also be obtained from non-migrants in both places of origin and destination.[3]

While detailed questions are needed to investigate either the determinants or consequences of migration for the migrant and his/her household, the information typically obtained, even in most specialized migration surveys, refers only to the current residence and the previous residence. A broader picture of migration movements, of changes during the life cycle and

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[3] Virtually no geographic location is only a "place of origin" or "place of destination". Most locations have both in-migrants and out-migrants. The usage here simply refers to the places from which particular migrants come and go to, at the micro level.

over time, of stage migration, return migration, etc., can be obtained from a *migration history*, which records all changes of residence over a person's lifetime (or since some initial age, say 12 or 15, when participation in decision-making may be considered to commence). A migration history can be expanded into a *life history* by obtaining information about other key events in a person's life, such as changes in employment, changes in marital status and dates of children's births. Obtaining information via a life history questionnaire that *links* the timing of one event to another can also help the respondent recall not only the dates and relative timing of events but also the characteristics of each event, and therefore improve the quality of the data (Freedman et al, 1988).[4] More detailed information on the events or life transitions noted above, for example, on wage levels, occupation, and intensity (hours) of work for each employment change, would make it possible to also carry out longitudinal analysis of the determinants and especially the consequences of migration for the migrant over time. Life-history data can be especially valuable for certain analyses of particular relevance for women, such as investigating the interrelations between female migration and employment, child-bearing and marital disruption (including the effects of the relative *timing* of events, which is usually obscured in single-round surveys: CF. Peters, 1987; Gurak and Gilbertson, 1991). Although life-history data can therefore be quite useful, their collection requires much longer interviews and higher survey costs, and may make it more difficult to obtain detailed information pertaining to the *most recent* move, which is usually the one of greatest policy interest (Bilsborrow, 1984).

Nevertheless, despite such considerable advantages of household surveys for the study of migration, they do have some inherent limitations (in addition to those commonly resulting from inadequate applications or analysis). Thus surveys usually cannot be used to *measure* levels or rates of migration because they do not provide denominators. Specialized migration surveys may well also not be representative of the whole country. Survey data are also always subject to sampling error, so their statistical reliability depends upon the quality of the sample. Finally, most existing surveys have been conducted only in areas of destination (see Bilsborrow, 1984), which is useful for examining some aspects of the *consequences* of migration, but *not* its determinants. Similarly, surveys conducted in origin areas provide information only about *individual* out-migrants and not about migration when the whole *household* moves (precisely because there is no one left in the origin area to provide reliable information about the out-migrants). They can therefore be used only in studies of the *determinants* of migration, and indeed only of the determinants of out-migration of *individuals* (for an example, see, e.g., Bilsborrow et al, 1987).

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[4] It is particularly distressing that very few of the more than one hundred detailed fertility-mortality-health surveys carried out over the past two decades through the World Fertility Survey, Contraceptive Prevalence Survey, and now the on-going Demographic and Health Survey programmes, have collected any migration information. The inclusion of two or three simple questions would have created a wealth of information on internal migration, and made possible quantum progress in knowledge and in the field of migration generally.

2. What do existing data show regarding the levels of internal migration of women?

The existing data reviewed here are primarily from population censuses in developing countries carried out in the 1970 and 1980 rounds of censuses. Not many countries have as yet published and made available to international agencies data from the 1990-round of censuses. Since there have undoubtedly been changes in migration patterns in some countries, it is important that data from the 1990 censuses be examined as soon as available. Although some of the data reviewed below are from migration surveys, the results of such surveys are so scattered around the literature, and often unpublished, that it is beyond the scope of this review to undertake a comprehensive assessment. Moreover, since there has been so little international funding available for migration surveys, the number of large-scale surveys with significant data on internal migration is very small indeed (Bilsborrow, 1984). Tables 2.1 to 2.3 and 2.9 are from UN Secretariat (1993), Table 2.4 is from Singelmann (1993), and Tables 2.5 through 2.8 are from Hugo (1993). Further details on these and other tables therein (e.g., those containing data by age) are found in those papers. Data showing general levels of migration by geographic region, and trends over time, are also not presented here. Standard references provide this information (cf. various issues of the UN *Demographic Yearbook)* though not by sex. It should be noted that existing data indicate that the overall proportion of women in internal migration movements in the developing countries is very close to one half, but it varies considerably by region (e.g., being more than half in Latin America, less than half in Africa) and by country within each region, and that this share has *not* changed appreciably in the past three decades (UN Secretariat, 1993). The present monograph is concerned with methodological aspects and possible biases in existing sources, and does not dwell upon the substantive data themselves, or whether these data provide reliable data on trends over time.

In assessing the types of tables published by developing countries from the 1970 and 1980 rounds of censuses, it is noted that in Sub-Saharan Africa only 10 countries published data on internal migration between 1969 and 1982: Senegal, Mauritania, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Botswana. Eight of these provided data only on lifetime migrants, but only two on migration by rural-urban location (Sierra Leone and Botswana), three on in- and out-migrants (rather than only *net* migrants, which is not as useful since the in- and out-migrants usually have different characteristics), four by age group, and three by district of residence (rather than only by province or region). Only seven provided any information on the sex of the migrants, in each case only for lifetime migrants and without any cross-classification by age or urban-rural residence. These seven countries are Mauritania, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Uganda, and Kenya. The situation is not much better in Asia, where only six developing countries provided data on internal migration in 1980-84: Turkey, Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia. Half of these provided data disaggregated by district and half used place of previous residence. All provided some data on duration in current residence, and all but Indonesia published some tables on migrants by sex, only India, Bangladesh and Thailand cross-classified migrants by sex by rural-urban flow or duration of residence, and only Thailand published data on male and female migrants cross-

classified by duration of residence, rural-urban residence, and age group simultaneously. Clearly there is wide scope for more detailed publications of data on migration from censuses in general, as well as by sex.[5]

The discussion of existing data below deals with levels of female compared to male internal migration from several aspects: a spatial perspective, that is, of the distance of the move; a temporal view, based on duration of residence; the type of migration flow (rural-urban, others); rural-urban migration by region; and reasons for migration.

First, regarding the distance of the move, a common proposition dating from the early days of study in the field of migration, (the so-called "laws of migration" postulated by Ravenstein over a century ago (1885, 1889) is that women tend to migrate shorter distances than men. Table 2.1 presents data for four countries where migration has been measured according to at least two distinct spatial criteria, the crossing of interstate borders and the crossing of interdistrict boundaries. Since states comprise districts, which are therefore generally of much smaller size, migration between districts can be taken as an indicator of migration over shorter distances than interstate migration, although this is not always the case (the distance between non-contiguous districts within the same state may be greater than that between districts belonging to contiguous states). Thus if interstate migration is the only type considered, will it misrepresent the extent of *women's* participation in migration flows? Data in Table 2.1 provide some weak evidence in the affirmative, though the answer varies by country. In three of the four countries with relevant census data (Libya, India and Thailand), women were more numerous than men in intrastate than in interstate migration. However, in Brazil women were more numerous than men among interstate migrants than among intrastate migrants, though the difference was small (51 compared with 49 per cent).

Survey data can supplement census data on this issue. In Malaysia the share of women in intrastate migration was about 50 per cent, compared to 47 per cent for interstate migration (Radloff, 1982). However, detailed data from a survey of internal migration in Ecuador in 1977-78 found that women's share of long-distance migration was greater than their share of short-distance migration (Bilsborrow et al, 1987).

It is thus possible, and a hypothesis worth examination, that the greater social freedom of women and greater participation in the urban labour force in Latin America compared with most of Asia and Africa, is associated with relatively longer distance moves by women in the region. In any case, the bottom line is that women's share of migration *may* be underrepresented when migration estimates are presented for only the first level of major civil division (states or provinces), and it is therefore highly desirable for governments to tabulate and publish migration data by at least *two* levels of geographic disaggregation, viz., also for districts or the equivalent. Indeed, data for a *third* level should also be processed and tabulated, and made available upon request to researchers, other government agencies, and

[5] The situation in Latin America, which is somewhat better, is not discussed here, but some data are provided in the discussion below on the IMILA project.

smaller political entities for local planning purposes.[6] If microcomputers have come into use at sub-national units for planning purposes, copies of diskettes with data for the particular province or district could be distributed to them by the national census authorities, thus enabling each local government to prepare whatever tabulations it desires, including on women.

A second issue is whether women tend to participate less than men in short-term migration compared with long-term migration, as commonly hypothesized (e.g., Standing, 1984; Hugo, 1993). With regard to short-term movements of a less transitory nature than circulation or commuting, as noted above, one cannot expect much light to be shed by census data. Nevertheless, some census data do provide some indication of the overall prevalence and its composition by sex. Table 2.2 presents data on migrants by duration of stay at their usual place of residence as reported at the time of the census. In most censuses available, migrants were identified only as persons whose place of birth was different from their place of residence at the time of enumeration, but their duration of stay at the latter was also recorded. Because most censuses were carried out on a *de jure* basis, movements of a transitory nature are not reflected in the data. Moreover, since many "recent" migrants (those whose duration of stay was less than a year at the time of enumeration) would likely become long-term migrants over time, they cannot be considered representative of short-term migrants. Despite these deficiencies, the proportion of women among *recent migrants* is indeed lower than it is among longer-term migrants in most country-area-years reported for eight of the eleven countries. In the four Latin American countries considered (Brazil, Panama, Trinidad, and Venezuela), however, the difference between the highest proportion of women reported in the other duration categories and that among recent migrants is small. This is also true for Cameroon, the Congo (1984) and Libya, implying that the selectivity of recent migration with respect to sex is generally weak. Only in Bangladesh, Egypt, Nepal, and especially India, is sex selectivity significant, particularly in rural areas of India, and probably associated with marriage migration.

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[6] Given the complications of preparing detailed tabulations on migrants for many small areas, rather than doing this for each area of origin and destination, some sort of geographic grouping is likely to be preferable. Thus, for each district data might be published on non-migrants, migrants from/to each *contiguous* district by name, migrants from/to all *other* districts in the same province combined, total migrants from/to each adjoining province, migrants from/to all other provinces combined, and migrants from/to abroad (international migrants).

TABLE 2.1

INTRASTATE AND INTERSTATE MIGRANTS BY SEX, SELECTED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(Number of migrants in thousands)

Country, census year and data type	*Type of migrant*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
		(percentage)		
	A. *Africa*			
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 1973				
Place of birth	Intrastate	60.2	57.5	49.2
	Interstate	39.8	42.5	46.5
	Total number of migrants . . .	326	352	48.1
	B. *Asia*			
India, 1971				
Place of birth				
Rural	Intradistrict	56.1	72.1	77.7
	Intrastate	27.4	21.2	67.6
	Interstate	16.4	6.7	52.5
	Total number of migrants . . .	43 742	118 544	73.0
Urban	Intradistrict	28.5	35.5	63.7
	Intrastate	41.5	41.5	58.4
	Interstate	30.0	22.9	51.8
	Total number of migrants . .	13 947	19 598	58.4
Total	Intradistrict	49.4	66.9	76.4
	Intrastate	30.8	24.0	65.1
	Interstate	19.7	9.0	52.2
	Total number of migrants . .	57 876	138 427	70.5
India, 1981				
Previous residence				
Rural	Intradistrict	59.9	73.6	77.2
	Intrastate	25.3	20.1	68.7
	Interstate	14.9	6.3	53.8
	Total number of migrants . .	43 911	120 977	73.4
Urban	Intradistrict	30.3	36.8	61.1
	Intrastate	41.1	41.0	56.4
	Interstate	28.6	22.1	50.1
	Total number of migrants . .	15 759	20 424	56.4
Total	Intradistrict	51.9	68.2	75.7
	Intrastate	29.4	23.2	65.1
	Interstate	18.6	8.6	52.3
	Total number of migrants . .	59 921	141 785	70.3
Thailand, 1980				
Residence in 1975	Intrastate	31.5	30.9	52.2
	Interstate	68.5	69.1	51.5
	Total number of migrants . .	1 128	1 053	51.7
	C. *Latin America*			
Brazil, 1970				
Place of birth	Intrastate	51.1	53.6	48.7
	Interstate	48.9	46.4	51.2
	Total number of migrants . . .	15 110	15 160	49.9

Source: United Nations Secretariat (1993), pp. 96-97.

TABLE 2.2

MIGRANTS BY SEX AND DURATION OF STAY AT PLACE OF CURRENT RESIDENCE RECORDED BY CENSUSES OF SELECTED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(Number of migrants in thousands)

Country, census year and current residence	*Duration of residence (years)*	*Male*	*Percentage Female*	*Both Sexes*	*Percentage female*
	A. *Africa*				
Cameroon, 1976					
All country	Less than 1	13.4	12.6	13.0	45.7
	1-4	36.6	36.2	36.4	47.0
	5-9	19.7	20.2	19.9	47.8
	10 or more	30.2	31.0	30.6	47.9
	Number of migrants	1 010	906	1 916	47.3
	Migrants as percentage of total	28.9	24.9	26.9	-
Congo, 1974					
All country	Less than 1	25.0	26.4	25.7	50.1
	1-4	8.1	8.8	8.4	50.9
	5-9	18.8	19.1	19.0	49.1
	10 or more	38.9	34.9	36.9	46.0
	Number of migrants	133	126	259	48.7
	Migrants as percentage of total	21.0	18.4	19.7	-
Congo, 1984					
All country	Less than 1	11.9	11.6	11.8	49.1
	1-4	33.3	32.6	33.0	49.3
	5-9	17.1	17.6	17.3	50.6
	10 or more	32.4	32.7	32.5	50.2
	Number of migrants	331	329	660	49.9
	Migrants as percentage of total	37.7	35.5	36.5	-
Egypt, 1976					
All country	Less than 1	5.5	4.7	5.1	46.1
	1-4	28.1	28.0	28.0	49.6
	5-9	16.7	17.6	17.2	51.1
	10 or more	49.7	49.7	49.7	49.8
	Number of migrants	2 571	2 548	5 119	49.8
	Migrants as percentage of total	13.8	14.2	14.0	-
Egypt, 1976					
Urban	Less than 1	5.6	5.0	5.3	44.9
	1-4	27.8	28.7	28.2	48.5
	5-9	15.9	17.3	16.5	49.7
	10 or more	50.7	49.0	49.9	46.7
	Number of migrants	2 178	1 980	4 158	47.6
	Migrants as percentage of total	26.7	25.5	26.1	-
Egypt, 1976					
Rural	Less than 1	4.9	3.8	4.3	52.5
	1-4	29.9	25.2	27.1	54.9
	5-9	21.3	18.8	19.8	56.1
	10 or more	43.8	52.2	48.8	63.2
	Number of migrants	393	568	962	59.1
	Migrants as percentage of total	3.8	5.6	4.7	-

TABLE 2.2 *(continued)*

Country, census year and current residence	*Duration of residence (years)*	*Male*	*Percentage Female*	*Both Sexes*	*Percentage female*
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 1973					
All country	Less than 1	6.7	6.7	6.7	47.8
	1-4	30.9	32.0	31.4	48.9
	5-9	24.4	24.9	24.6	48.6
	10 or more	38.0	36.4	37.2	47.0
	Number of migrants	387	358	745	48.0
	Migrants as percentage of total	36.6	36.0	36.3	-
	B. *Asia*				
Bangladesh, 1974					
All country	Less than 1	13.5	12.0	12.8	42.9
	1-4	28.2	24.5	26.5	42.4
	5-9	17.5	17.3	17.4	45.5
	10 or more	40.9	46.2	43.3	48.8
	Number of migrants	2 828	2 389	5 218	45.8
	Migrants as percentage of total	7.6	6.9	7.3	-
Urban	Less than 1	11.9	11.0	11.5	38.3
	1-4	34.0	32.6	33.4	39.2
	5-9	17.9	18.7	18.2	41.3
	10 or more	36.2	37.7	36.8	41.2
	Number of migrants	1 794	1 207	3 001	40.2
	Migrants as percentage of total	50.7	44.1	47.8	-
Rural	Less than 1	16.2	13.0	14.5	47.9
	1-4	18.1	16.3	17.1	50.7
	5-9	16.8	15.9	16.3	51.9
	10 or more	48.9	54.8	52.0	56.2
	Number of migrants	1 034	1 182	2 217	53.3
	Migrants as percentage of total	3.1	3.7	3.4	-
India, 1981					
All country	Less than 1	8.5	3.7	5.1	50.7
	1-4	26.0	17.0	19.7	60.8
	5-9	16.7	14.8	15.4	67.8
	10 or more	42.0	61.1	55.4	77.5
	Number of migrants	59 671	141 401	201 072	70.3
	Migrants as percentage of total	17.3	44.0	30.2	-
Urban	Less than 1	6.1	4.8	5.4	45.8
	1-4	26.9	23.9	25.4	48.8
	5-9	17.8	18.0	17.9	52.0
	10 or more	44.5	13.9	20.3	54.2
	Number of migrants	27 722	29 738	57 459	51.8
	Migrants as percentage of total	33.1	40.3	36.4	-

TABLE 2.2 *(continued)*

Country, census year and current residence	*Duration of residence (years)*	*Male*	*Percentage Female*	*Both Sexes*	*Percentage female*
Rural	Less than 1	10.6	3.4	5.0	52.8
	1-4	25.1	15.2	17.4	67.8
	5-9	15.7	14.0	14.4	75.7
	10 or more	46.7	69.3	64.6	84.9
	Number of migrants	31 949	111 664	143 613	77.8
	Migrants as percentage of total	12.3	45.1	28.3	-
Nepal, 1981					
All country	Less than 1	2.5	2.1	2.3	46.9
	1-5	33.1	30.1	31.5	49.6
	6-11	22.8	21.6	22.2	50.7
	10 or more	41.5	46.2	44.0	54.7
	Number of migrants	611	662	1 272	52.0
	Migrants as percentage of total	8.0	9.2	8.6	-
	C. *Latin America and the Caribbean*				
Brazil, 1970					
Interdistrict					
All country	Less than 1	11.9	11.5	11.7	49.2
	1-4	23.9	23.6	23.8	49.7
	5-10	23.3	23.3	23.3	50.1
	11 or more	40.8	41.6	41.2	50.6
	Number of migrants	15 110	15 160	30 270	50.1
	Migrants as percentage of total	32.6	32.4	32.5	-
Urban	Less than 1	11.1	10.9	11.0	51.3
	1-4	22.6	22.3	22.5	51.4
	5-10	22.7	22.6	22.6	51.6
	11 or more	43.6	44.2	43.9	52.1
	Number of migrants	9 976	10 697	20 673	51.7
	Migrants as percentage of total	39.5	39.8	39.7	-
Rural	Less than 1	13.4	12.9	13.2	45.4
	1-4	26.5	26.6	26.5	46.6
	5-10	24.6	25.0	24.8	47.0
	11 or more	35.5	35.5	35.5	46.5
	Number of migrants	5 135	4 463	9 598	46.5
	Migrants as percentage of total	24.3	22.4	23.4	-
Interstate					
All country	Less than 1	7.8	7.7	7.7	48.2
	1-4	17.7	17.9	17.8	49.0
	5-10	21.9	22.3	22.1	49.2
	11 or more	52.5	52.1	52.3	48.6
	Number of migrants	7 395	7 039	14 434	48.8
	Migrants as percentage of total	16.0	15.0	15.5	-

TABLE 2.2 *(continued)*

Country, census year and current residence	*Duration of residence (years)*	*Male*	*Percentage Female*	*Both Sexes*	*Percentage female*
Urban	Less than 1	8.0	7.9	8.0	50.2
	1-4	17.5	17.7	17.6	50.7
	5-10	20.6	21.1	20.8	51.0
	11 or more	53.8	53.3	53.5	50.2
	Number of migrants	4 853	4 946	9 799	50.5
	Migrants as percentage of total	19.2	18.4	18.8	-
Rural	Less than 1	7.4	7.0	7.2	43.6
	1-4	18.2	18.5	18.3	45.6
	5-10	24.4	25.2	24.8	46.0
	11 or more	50.0	49.2	49.7	44.8
	Number of migrants	2 543	2 093	4 635	45.1
	Migrants as percentage of total	12.0	10.5	11.3	-
Panama, 1980					
All country	Less than 1	9.6	9.7	9.7	52.0
	1-4	13.9	13.5	13.7	51.0
	5-9	11.7	11.3	11.5	50.8
	10 or more	16.9	15.5	16.2	49.6
	Number of migrants	158	170	328	51.7
	Migrants as percentage of total	19.7	21.5	20.6	-
Trinidad and Tobago, 1980					
All country	Less than 1	—	—	—	—
	0-4	38.9	38.5	38.7	53.5
	5-9	23.3	22.1	22.6	52.3
	10 or more	36.3	38.0	37.2	54.9
	Number of migrants	123	143	266	53.7
	Migrants as percentage of total	24.9	28.8	26.8	-
Venezuela, 1981					
All country	Less than 1	10.4	10.6	10.5	51.0
	1-4	25.4	24.8	25.1	49.9
	5-9	18.7	19.1	18.9	50.9
	10 or more	31.6	32.8	32.2	51.4
	Number of migrants	3 887	3 957	7 844	50.4
	Migrants as percentage of total	53.5	54.5	54.0	-

Source: United Nations Secretariat, (1993), pp. 103-106.

The next dimension of migration to consider is area of place of residence before and after migration. Since almost the entire field of migration analysis has focused on rural-urban flows (e.g., Fawcett, Khoo and Smith, 1984; c.f. discussion in Bilsborrow, 1984), it is not surprising that this is also true of the few studies on women migrants. Because the move from a rural to an urban environment is often conceived as the passage from a traditional to a modern society, interest in ascertaining the consequences of this experience for women is understandably high. Yet it is worth considering whether this attention to only one type of flow has not biased the assessment of the importance of female migration and its consequences for women.

The distribution of migrants by sex and type of migration stream in selected developing countries is covered in Table 2.3. In most cases, the data have been derived from census questions which identify when the place of birth or place of previous residence differed from the place of residence at the time of enumeration. For Brazil and India, a further distinction was also possible between intrastate and interstate flows. Data show that the relative participation of women in different types of migration flows between rural and urban areas varies considerably between countries. In India, for instance, women constituted an overwhelming majority of rural-rural migrants (nearly 80 per cent), and that this flow was the dominant one in India in terms of the number of migrants involved: 46 per cent of all male migrants in 1981, and 74 per cent of female migrants. In contrast, urban-urban migration was dominant in Brazil, involving 49 per cent of interdistrict male migrants and 52 per cent of that of females. Similar proportions were registered with respect to interstate migrants.

Yet rural-urban migration was usually *not* the dominant type for either men or women. In Brazil, only 18 per cent of interdistrict lifetime migrants were rural-urban in 1970, while in Egypt the share was 28 per cent for males and 24 per cent for females. In Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand, where migrant status was ascertained on the basis of a change of residence during the five years preceding the census, rural-urban migrants constituted even lower proportions (under 20 per cent). In India, rural-urban migration was considerably more common for men than for women (involving 28 per cent of all male migrants and only 12 per cent of all female migrants in 1981), but women still outnumbered men slightly in absolute numbers in the rural-urban flow. Of nine countries, only in the Philippines and the Republic of Korea was rural-urban migration the dominant type for both sexes, and in both instances women outnumbered men among rural-urban migrants. Urban-urban migration was the largest flow in the more urbanized countries (Egypt, Brazil, and Pakistan). Rural-rural flows were dominant not only in India but also in Malaysia and Thailand, and constituted the second largest flows in Brazil, Honduras, Pakistan and the Philippines. The bottom line is that only in three of the nine countries with the necessary data did rural-urban migration account for the highest percentage of all internal migrants, and in none of those three did it involve as many as half of all internal migrants.

In terms of the relative weight of *women* in the different types of flows, the situation is quite varied. In Brazil, Honduras, the Philippines and Thailand, women tend to be more numerous than men in flows to urban areas and less numerous in those to rural areas. In Egypt and India, women outnumbered men by considerable margins in rural-rural flows, but only in India did those flows constitute a high proportion of all migrants.

TABLE 2.3

MIGRANTS BY SEX AND TYPE OF FLOW, ACCORDING TO URBAN OR RURAL ORIGIN AND DESTINATION

(Number of migrants in thousands)

Country, census year and data type	*Type of migrant*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
		(percentage)		
	A. *Africa*			
Egypt, 1976				
Previous residence				
Interstate	Rural-urban	27.8	24.1	46.3
	Urban-urban	56.9	53.5	48.3
	Rural-rural	8.9	15.1	62.9
	Urban-rural	6.4	7.2	52.7
	Total number of migrants	2 544	2 527	49.8
	B. *Asia*			
India, 1971				
Place of birth				
Intrastate	Rural-urban	21.6	9.3	52.1
	Urban-urban	13.1	5.6	52.3
	Rural-rural	57.8	80.2	77.8
	Urban-rural	7.5	4.9	62.5
	Total number of migrants	39 682	100 587	71.7
Interstate	Rural-urban	35.2	21.4	36.8
	Urban-urban	32.7	28.6	45.7
	Rural-rural	24.0	42.2	62.8
	Urban-rural	8.1	7.9	48.2
	Total number of migrants	9 384	9 009	49.0
Total	Rural-urban	24.2	10.3	48.6
	Urban-urban	16.8	7.5	50.0
	Rural-rural	51.4	77.1	77.0
	Urban-rural	7.6	5.2	60.2
	Total number of migrants	49 066	109 596	69.1
India, 1981				
Place of birth				
Intrastate	Rural-urban	24.9	10.9	53.7
	Urban-urban	15.6	7.1	54.7
	Rural-rural	52.0	76.8	79.7
	Urban-rural	7.5	5.2	64.8
	Total number of migrants	48 627	129 260	72.7
Interstate	Rural-urban	39.2	24.5	40.7
	Urban-urban	33.4	29.2	48.9
	Rural-rural	20.0	38.2	67.8
	Urban-rural	7.4	8.1	54.7
	Total number of migrants	11 044	12 141	52.4
Total	Rural-urban	27.6	12.1	50.9
	Urban-urban	18.9	9.0	53.0
	Rural-rural	46.0	73.5	79.1
	Urban-rural	7.5	5.5	63.3
	Total number of migrants	59 671	141 401	70.3

TABLE 2.3 (*continued*)

Country, census year and data type	*Type of migrant*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
		(percentage)		
Malaysia, 1970				
Residence in 1965	Rural-urban	8.9	8.7	46
	Urban-urban	20.6	19.3	45
	Rural-rural	38.5	39.2	47
	Urban-rural	32.1	32.7	47
	Total number of migrants . .	484	421	46.5
Pakistan, 1973				
Residence in 1965	Rural-urban	18.0	16.3	42.3
	Urban-urban	39.0	38.4	44.2
	Rural-rural	30.2	35.5	48.7
	Urban-rural	12.7	9.7	38.1
	Total number of migrants . .	1 137	917	44.6
Philippines, 1973				
Residence in 1965	Rural-urban	35.0	42.6	60.6
	Urban-urban	25.5	25.1	55.5
	Rural-rural	22.4	17.5	49.8
	Urban-rural	17.0	14.8	52.5
	Total number of migrants . .	1 321	1 676	55.9
Birth to 1965	Rural-urban	42.5	44.4	52.2
	Urban-urban	11.4	14.0	56.2
	Rural-rural	35.0	30.3	47.5
	Urban-rural	11.1	11.3	51.6
	Total number of migrants . .	2 376	2 487	51.1
Republic of Korea, 1966				
Residence in 1961	Rural-urban	36.7	36.6	52.6
	Urban-urban	32.0	31.9	52.6
	Rural-rural	20.8	21.6	53.6
	Urban-rural	10.4	10.0	51.6
	Total number of migrants . .	1 179	1 314	52.7
Republic of Korea, 1970				
Residence in 1965	Rural-urban	47.8	49.4	51.5
	Urban-urban	24.5	23.2	49.3
	Rural-rural	17.0	17.5	51.3
	Urban-rural	10.7	9.9	48.7
	Total number of migrants . .	1 856	1 905	50.6

TABLE 2.3 (*continued*)

Country, census year and data type	*Type of migrant*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
		(percentage)		
Republic of Korea, 1975				
Residence in 1970	Rural-urban	42.7	44.2	54.1
	Urban-urban	29.2	28.3	52.4
	Rural-rural	14.1	13.9	52.8
	Urban-rural	14.0	13.7	52.7
	Total number of migrants . .	1 886	2 147	53.2
Thailand, 1980				
Residence in 1975	Rural-urban	13.6	17.3	53.7
	Urban-urban	17.1	20.0	51.6
	Rural-rural	58.6	53.1	45.3
	Urban-rural	10.6	9.7	45.5
	Total number of migrants . .	1 430	1 308	47.8
	C. *Latin America*			
Brazil, 1970				
Place of birth				
Intrastate	Rural-urban	17.5	18.4	51.4
	Urban-urban	48.6	52.2	51.9
	Rural-rural	27.4	23.9	46.7
	Urban-rural	6.6	5.5	45.8
	Total number of migrants . .	15 105	15 155	50.1
Interstate	Rural-urban	17.1	17.8	49.9
	Urban-urban	48.6	52.4	50.7
	Rural-rural	28.2	24.6	45.4
	Urban-rural	6.2	5.1	43.9
	Total number of migrants . .	7,392	7,035	48.8
Honduras, 1983				
Residence in 1978	Rural-urban	20.9	29.8	65.3
	Urban-urban	29.3	34	60.5
	Rural-rural	33.5	24.1	48.7
	Urban-rural	16.3	12.1	49.5
	Total number of migrants . .	1	2	56.9

Source: United Nations Secretariat (1993), pp. 98-100.

The implication is that since rural-urban migration accounts for a only a small proportion of migration in most countries, and since its distribution by sex may not be representative of migration flows in general, it is *not* appropriate to assume that findings pertaining to rural-urban migration are applicable to all migration flows. Given the relative importance of rural-rural or urban-urban migration in many countries, and the high participation of women in those flows, more research is needed to obtain a more balanced assessment of the role of women in the various internal migration flows in developing countries.

Despite the above, it is primarily only for rural-urban migration that data by sex are published by census officials in developing countries and therefore on a cross-country basis by the UN. Singelmann (1993) indicates that for the 34 developing countries with the necessary data available for the 1970s, the distribution of the proportion of women in net rural-urban flows had a median value of 50.5 per cent, with half the countries in the range of 47-53 per cent. Although women tended to outnumber men among net rural-urban migrants in Latin America, they were generally outnumbered by men in the few African countries with the available data. In Asia women accounted for over half of all net rural-urban migrants in East and Southeast Asia and for less than half in South and West Asia.

Table 2.4 presents estimates of net rural-urban migration rates for the 1960s and 1970s for a number of countries. For the majority of countries with data available, intercensal net rural-urban migration rates of women, as well as for men, declined slightly from the 1960s to the 1970s. Of the 25 countries with data for the two intercensal periods, 15 experienced declines in the rural-urban migration rates of women and 9 experienced increases. On a population-weighted basis, however, the data imply an increase in women's net rural-urban migration rates, because significant increases appear in the three largest Asian countries — India, Indonesia and Bangladesh. Thus, the limited data available indicate that there is considerable variation in the experiences of different developing countries, making generalization of trends over time difficult.

Tables 2.5 to 2.8 provide further data on the sex composition of rural-urban migration. Table 2.5 presents the type of ratio commonly used by demographers as an indirect indicator, with the presumption that where the sex ratio is below 100 (males per 100 females) the area has a preponderance of net women migrants. It shows the sex ratios of populations in 26 metropolitan areas of developing countries during the period 1960-1970, which indicate a slight preponderance of male migration in Africa (though data are available for only three countries) and Asia, and a strong predominance of females in Latin America. Tables 2.6 to 2.8 show the numbers of male and female in-migrants (but not net migrants) to urban areas of a number of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, respectively, and indicate larger numbers of male than female in-migrants in Africa (except Tunisia), a mixed picture for Asia, and a predominance of females in every country of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Whether these results would change if a common definition of urban areas were used in all countries is unknown.

TABLE 2.4

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND SEX-SPECIFIC RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION RATES, SELECTED COUNTRIES IN MAJOR AREA BY REGIONS, 1960S AND 1970S

Region and country	Percentage female of rural-urban migration		Rural-urban migration rate					
			Total		Male		Female	
	1960s	1970s	1960s	1970s	1960s	1970s	1960s	1970s
			A. *Africa*					
Eastern Africa								
Kenya	..	43.7	..	4.5	..	4.6	..	4.5
United Republic of Tanzania	..	47.9	..	7.8	..	7.8	..	7.8
Zimbabwe	..	47.9	..	3.3	..	3.1	..	3.5
Northern Africa								
Egypt	46.4	..	0.9	..	1.0	..	0.9	..
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	46.4	..	7.9	..	8.0	..	7.9	..
Morocco	55.5	45.5	2.9	1.5	3.1	1.4	2.8	1.7
Tunisia	53.3	48.0	2.4	0.9	2.2	0.9	2.7	0.9
Southern Africa								
Botswana	49.3	44.0	12.2	5.2	12.4	5.6	12.0	4.6
Western Africa								
Ghana	50.0	..	1.9	..	1.9	..	2.0	..
Togo	46.6	..	2.4	..	2.6	..	2.1	..
			B. *Asia*					
Eastern and South-eastern Asia								
Republic of Korea	49.9	51.4	3.8	2.8	3.8	2.8	3.8	2.9
Indonesia	51.0	50.9	1.1	2.6	1.1	2.6	1.2	2.7
Malaysia	..	50.7	..	2.5	..	2.5	..	2.5
Philippines	..	55.3	..	1.7	..	1.6	..	1.9
Thailand	..	53.1	..	3.0	..	2.8	..	3.1
Southern Asia								
Bangladesh	43.0	42.7	3.9	7.0	3.9	7.2	3.9	6.8
India	45.8	46.8	1.0	1.7	1.0	1.7	1.0	1.7
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	..	43.7	..	2.1	..	2.2	..	1.9
Nepal	36.0	47.5	1.1	4.3	1.3	4.3	0.8	4.5
Pakistan	..	43.4	..	0.7	..	0.8	..	0.7
Sri Lanka	47.5	[a]	2.1	-0.2	2.0	-0.2	2.1	-0.2
Western Asia								
Iraq	50.7	46.4	2.9	1.7	2.8	1.8	3.1	1.6
Israel	..	51.2	..	0.5	..	0.5	..	0.5
Syrian Arab Republic	46.0	47.8	1.5	0.7	1.6	0.7	1.4	0.7
Turkey	46.1	50.0	3.4	2.5	3.4	2.3	3.4	2.6
			C. *Latin America and the Caribbean*					
Caribbean and Central America								
Costa Rica	54.0	..	2.1	..	2.1	..	2.2	..
El Salvador	59.7	..	0.8	..	0.7	..	0.9	..
Guatemala	57.5	[*]	1.1	-1.0	1.0	-1.1	1.2	-0.9
Honduras	55.2	..	2.5	..	2.3	..	2.6	..
Mexico	51.7	..	1.6	..	1.5	..	1.6	..
Nicaragua	56.5	..	1.5	..	1.4	..	1.6	..
Panama	55.1	57.8	1.8	0.8	1.7	0.7	1.9	0.9
Cuba	52.2	51.6	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.4
Dominican Republic	53.8	55.0	2.8	2.4	2.7	2.3	2.8	2.5
Haiti	65.4	..	2.2	..	1.7	..	2.5	..

TABLE 2.4 (*continued*)

Region and country	Percentage female of rural-urban migration		Rural-urban migration rate					
			Total		Male		Female	
	1960s	1970s	1960s	1970s	1960s	1970s	1960s	1970s
South America								
Argentina	49.8	52.7	1.4	0.7	1.4	0.7	1.4	0.7
Brazil	52.0	51.2	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.0
Chile	52.4	54.1	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.8
Colombia	67.3	51.7	0.8	1.7	0.6	1.7	1.0	1.7
Ecuador	55.5	50.3	1.5	2.3	1.3	2.3	1.5	2.2
Guyana	51.3	..	6.3	..	6.5	..	6.2	..
Paraguay	59.5	52.4	1.1	1.8	0.9	1.8	1.2	1.8
Peru	50.6	51.2	2.1	1.1	2.0	1.1	2.1	1.2
Uruguay	126.2	56.8	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.5
Venezuela	57.6	50.9	0.9	1.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0
			All countries					
Africa	49.6	46.2	4.4	3.9	4.5	3.9	4.3	3.8
Asia	46.2	48.6	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.3
Latin America	59.2	53.0	1.7	1.2	1.6	1.1	1.8	1.2
TOTAL	54.1	49.4	2.4	2.0	2.3	2.0	2.4	2.0
Countries with three censuses								
Africa	52.7	45.8	5.8	2.5	5.9	2.6	5.8	2.4
Asia	46.2	47.9	2.3	2.6	2.3	2.6	2.3	2.6
Latin America	60.7	53.0	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.2
TOTAL	54.5	49.7	2.2	1.8	2.2	1.8	2.2	1.9

Source: Singelmann (1993), pp. 82-83.

[a] In the cases of Guatemala and Sri Lanka, net rural-urban migration for the 1970s was negative for both men and women; and the proportion of women amounted to 45.7 and 39.9 per cent, respectively, meaning that in net terms fewer women than men left urban areas in both cases.

TABLE 2.5

SEX RATIOS OF METROPOLITAN POPULATIONS AND NET MIGRATION, SELECTED METROPOLITAN CENTRES, 1960-1970

Major area and city or area	*Metropolitan population*		*Net migration and reclassification*
	About 1960	*About 1970*	
Africa			
Accra	114	106	115
Algiers	99	101	112
Cape Town	99	100	201
East Rand	148	122	[a]
Johannesburg	108	106	[b]
Asia			
Bangkok	104	98	70
Damascus	106	106	118
Hong Kong	105	103	116
Jakarta	104	102	101
Manila	94	93	84
Seoul	100	100	98
Singapore	113	103	[a]
Teheran	110	111	127
Latin America			
Belo Horizonte	93	93	89
Bogotá	87	87	79
Buenos Aires	94	94	88
Caracas	101	95	78
Guadalajara	93	94	92
Lima	100	100	99
Mexico City	92	95	92
Monterrey	99	99	94
Porto Alegre	95	94	81
Recife	88	89	66
Rio de Janeiro	96	95	78
Santiago	84	88	94
São Paulo	99	99	97

Source: Hugo (1993), p. 50.

NOTE: Figures indicate the number of males per 100 females.

[a] East Rand and Singapore had male net out-migration and female net in-migration.
[b] Johannesburg had female net out-migration and male net in-migration.

TABLE 2.6

SELECTED COUNTRIES OF AFRICA: ESTIMATED NET RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN RECENT INTERCENSAL PERIODS

(Thousands)

Region and country	*Intercensal period*	*Migrants (on 10-year basis)*		
		Male (1)	*Female (2)*	*Sex ratio (3)=(1) x 100 (2)*
Eastern Africa				
Kenya	1969-1979	443	344	129
United Republic of Tanzania	1967-1978	629	578	109
Zimbabwe	1969-1982	237	218	109
Northern Africa				
Egypt	1960-1976	708	613	116
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	1964-1973	358	309	116
Morocco	1952-1960	381	355	107
	1960-1971	303	387	78
	1971-1982	769	640	120
Tunisia	1966-1975	258	294	88
	1975-1984	146	135	108
Southern Africa				
Botswana	1964-1971	21	21	103
	1971-1981	30	24	128
South Africa	1960-1970	517	261	198
Western Africa				
Ghana	1960-1970	195	195	100
Togo	1959-1970	25	22	115

Source: Hugo (1993), p. 51.

TABLE 2.7

SELECTED COUNTRIES OF ASIA: ESTIMATED NET RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN RECENT INTERCENSAL PERIODS

(Thousands)

Region and country or area	*Intercensal period*	*Migrants (on 10-year basis)*		
		Male (1)	*Female (2)*	*Sex ratio (3)=(1) x 100 (2)*
Eastern Asia				
Hong Kong	1961-1971	59	55	109
	1971-1981	91	89	103
Japan	1955-1965	5 424	5 358	101
	1960-1970	3 824	3 870	99
	1965-1975	3 492	3 700	94
	1970-1980	1 768	2 054	86
	1975-1985	190	347	55
Macau	1960-1970	2	2	114
Republic of Korea	1960-1970	1 874	1 867	100
	1970-1980	2 373	2 507	95
	1975-1985	2 758	2 857	97
South-eastern Asia				
Brunei Darussalam	1960-1971	11	10	106
Indonesia	1961-1971	965	1 006	96
	1971-1980	3 379	3 508	96
Malaysia				
Peninsular Malaysia	1970-1980	428	433	99
Sabah	1960-1970	8	6	130
	1970-1980	39	39	100
Sarawak	1960-1970	3	4	78
	1970-1980	47	49	96
Whole country	1970-1980	444	457	97
Philippines	1970-1980	1 145	1 416	81
Thailand	1970-1980	852	967	88
Southern Asia				
Bangladesh	1961-1974	1 050	793	132
	1974-1981	3 560	2 655	134
India	1951-1961	3 785	2 161	175
	1961-1971	5 125	4 324	119
	1971-1981	11 789	10 388	114
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	1966-1976	1 505	1 167	129
Maldives	1967-1977	7	4	164
Nepal	1961-1971	27	15	178
	1971-1981	162	146	111
Pakistan	1972-1981	817	627	131
Sri Lanka	1953-1963	199	192	104
	1963-1971	258	233	111
	1971-1981	-39	-26	151
Western Asia				
Iraq	1957-1965	462	475	97
	1965-1977	561	486	116
Israel	1972-1983	77	79	97
Syrian Arab Republic	1960-1970	181	154	118
	1970-1982	140	128	109
Turkey	1950-1960	921	524	176
	1960-1970	1 846	1 581	117
	1970-1980	2 032	2 032	100

Source: Hugo (1993), p. 52.

TABLE 2.8

SELECTED COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: ESTIMATED NET RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN RECENT INTERCENSAL PERIODS

(Thousands)

Region and country	*Intercensal period*	*Migrants (on 10-year basis)*		
		Male (1)	*Female (2)*	*Sex ratio (3)=(1) x 100 (2)*
Caribbean				
Cuba	1953-1970	114	124	92
	1970-1981	386	412	94
Dominican Republic	1950-1960	79	106	75
	1960-1970	159	185	86
	1970-1981	251	307	82
Haiti	1950-1971	55	104	53
Jamaica	1953-1960	101	103	98
Puerto Rico	1960-1970	168	179	94
	1970-1980	118	135	87
Central America				
Costa Rica	1950-1963	10	21	48
	1963-1973	59	70	85
El Salvador	1950-1961	24	39	61
	1961-1971	39	57	67
Guatemala	1950-1964	120	143	84
	1964-1973	77	105	74
	1973-1981	-104	-88	119
Honduras	1961-1974	74	91	81
Mexico	1960-1970	1 720	1 844	93
Nicaragua	1950-1971	49	64	77
Panama	1950-1960	21	29	72
	1960-1970	45	56	81
	1970-1980	26	36	73
South America				
Argentina	1947-1960	902	896	101
	1960-1980	672	748	90
Brazil	1950-1960	3 289	3 721	88
	1960-1970	4 301	4 668	92
	1970-1980	6 532	6 853	95
Chile	1952-1960	282	339	83
	1960-1970	286	315	91
	1970-1982	278	327	85
Colombia	1951-1964	662	798	83
	1964-1973	284	584	49
	1973-1985	1 321	1 412	94
Ecuador	1950-1962	103	130	79
	1962-1974	143	178	80
	1974-1982	365	369	99
Guyana	1960-1970	46	48	95
Paraguay	1962-1972	33	48	68
	1972-1982	94	103	91
Peru	1961-1972	662	678	98
	1972-1981	522	547	95
Uruguay	1963-1975	-3	18	-21
	1975-1981	45	60	76
Venezuela	1950-1961	430	452	95
	1961-1971	237	322	74
	1971-1981	461	479	89

Source: Hugo (1993), p. 53.

3. Reasons to expect biases in the measurement of women's migration

This section, which draws upon Bilsborrow (1993), considers several possible sources of bias affecting the measurement of female migration in developing countries.

Sources of bias may be those:

1. resulting from the *types of moves* women make, compared with those of men;
2. inherent in the *activities* that women are reported to engage in, including women migrants, in comparison with those of men;
3. inherent in established social and cultural norms, in particular, regarding the appropriate roles and behaviour for women, that is, the *societal images of women*; and
4. inherent in the *respondent* providing information concerning migrant women.

Some of these affect data on women migrants primarily not *sui generis* but in combination with others, viz., (2) and (3), and (3) and (4). Some lead to biases because of procedures used by standard sources of data in data collection, data processing or data dissemination, and others result in biases because of the ways data are analysed vis a vis the migration of women.

We first consider possible sources of bias arising out of how the data are collected, processed and disseminated in the most common data source, the population census. Thus, following Ravenstein and many others, it is believed that women migrants in low-income countries, perhaps for reasons associated with (2) and (3) above, tend to migrate over *shorter* distances than male migrants. Migration over long distances is likely to be associated with migration between major civil division boundaries (such as states or provinces), while migration over shorter distances often involves movement only across lower level civil divisions (such as sub-districts or municipios) often contained *within* the major civil divisions. As noted in II.B.1 above, the latter does not show up as internal migration in the official statistics of most countries. Consequently, to the extent that females migrate over shorter distances than males, existing tabulations based upon census data tend to differentially *understate* female migration.

While existing evidence from censuses and surveys provides only weak support for this (viz., data for three of the four countries in Table 2.1, discussed above), further support is available from some empirical studies, mostly based on household survey data. In a study based on census data, Radloff (1982:82ff) reports that, according to the 1970 census of Malaysia, male migration was slightly higher than female migration for interstate moves while the opposite was true for intra-state moves. Similarly, Bilsborrow and Fuller (1988:276) reported that the 1977-1978 migration survey in Ecuador found out-migrants from rural areas moving relatively short distances (to contiguous provinces) to be 49 per cent female whereas the percentage female for moves to more distant (non-contiguous) provinces was only 39. Data for Argentina and Mali, reported in UN (ed.1993), are also consistent with the general view that women tend to migrate over shorter distances than men. While there are undoubtedly exceptions to Ravenstein's hypothesis, such as the migration of women/girls in domestic service over long distances to Lima, Peru (Smith, 1978), the general conclusion from the survey literature appears to be that women do tend to migrate over shorter distances than men.

To the extent this is true, the custom of governments to process and/or publish data only on migration between states/provinces will tend to differentially *undercount* female migrants.

This has implications for not only the relative level of female migration but also for analyses of both the determinants and consequences of migration. According to Radloff (1982:323), "migration measures which identify only long-distance movers systematically select more successful and higher status migrants." This is true for both males and females, and may lead to seriously biased conclusions regarding the nature and consequences of migration —viz., towards finding migration associated with more positive outcomes than is actually the case. In addition, to the extent that rural-rural migration is more likely to occur within provinces than rural-urban migration in countries such as India, characterized by high levels of marriage migration (involving mainly village-to-village moves within a province and even within a district), existing census procedures will tend to minimize the quantitative significance of women's migration.

The second-listed source of bias in the measurement of women's migration relates to the types of *activities* women engage in. First, women who are typically responsible for child care may be unable to respond to a census or survey when they or their children are ill. Women engaged in illegal or socially-disapproved activities, such as prostitution, may also eschew responding to census or survey enumerators. More significant is the large number of women working as live-in domestic servants who are often not interviewed directly and, as "non-family members", may not be reported on census forms or to household survey interviewers. As most domestic workers in urban areas are women in-migrating from rural areas, their existence may thus be significantly underreported. Clearly, little can be said about these migrants —their selectivity, determinants or consequences— when their very existence is not adequately reflected in available data sources.

However, a far more pervasive and insidious bias exists as a result of the tendency for the *work* of women (and therefore their status as being in the labour force) to be underreported, *combined with* the custom of migration scholars (especially economists) to concentrate their analysis of migration on those migrating for so-called work or "economic" reasons, viz., to seek/improve their employment or wage prospects. This has contributed significantly to the neglect of women in *analyses* of migration. Thus women migrants are seen as worth studying only to the degree they are declared to be economically active, and otherwise are presumed to be *only* passive followers in the migration process.

It is thus important to pause here to consider the adequacy of measurement of women's economic activities in developing countries. Existing cross-country data derived from population censuses indicate, somewhat surprisingly (given trends in developed countries), that women's labour force participation rates in developing countries appeared to *decline* slightly from 46 to 42 to 37 between 1960 to 1990 (UN, 1990). Although there is ample evidence (see below) that women's labour force participation is significantly understated, the fact that it has always been understated suggests that correcting for this understatement may not alter the *trend* implied by these statistics. One possible cause of such a trend is the displacement of women working in agriculture by the commercialization and mechanization of agriculture.

Box No. 1

Economic Activity

Improving the Measurement of Women's Participation: Results of a Methodological Study in Egypt

The study is based on a specially designed methodological survey carried out in rural Egypt in 1983 by the Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics (CAPMAS, the government statistical office) in collaboration with the ILO. The study was concerned with the measurement of female labour force activities in Egypt; with the tendency for women's participation in the labour force to be underreported in labour force surveys and population censuses and thus in official government statistics; and with identifying the reasons for this underreporting.

In this survey, information on activity rates was gathered from a sample of 501 women using an activity schedule which included a list of 19 activities. Interviewers read this list to respondents, who were asked to indicate each activity the women (on whom information was being collected) had engaged in at any time during the past one year. For each activity noted, additional questions were asked on the amount of time the activity usually took in a typical day when it was done, the number of days in the past week the activity was done, and the number of weeks in the past three months.

Based on this information, it was possible to estimate the amount of time spent on each activity performed during three separate reference periods --the past week, the past three months, and the past year.

ACTIVITY RATES FOR 19 ACTIVITIES
BASED ON RESPONSES TO ACTIVITY SCHEDULE (N = 501)

Activity	*Percentage Performed at all during the past*		
	Year	*Season*	*Week*
1. Farming for family	16.6	16.6	15.2
2. Farming for others	10.8	10.4	9.4
3. Animal husbandry	30.9	30.9	30.1
4. Poultry caring	59.7	59.7	59.5
5. Sewing, knitting	8.2	8.2	6.0
6. Making carpets, baskets, etc.	0.0	0.0	0.0
7. House construction	4.0	3.6	1.4
8. Vegetable or fruit trade	1.4	1.4	1.4
9. Petty or grocery trade	0.8	0.8	0.6
10. Non-agricultural wage or salary	0.8	0.8	0.8
11. Government service	1.8	1.8	1.8
12. Professional	0.0	0.0	0.0
13. Other cash earning	1.6	1.6	1.4
14. Gathering fuel	45.5	43.7	21.4
15. Making cow dung cakes	23.8	23.6	21.6
16. Processing food for preservation	44.3	42.9	22.4
17. Fetching water	50.9	50.7	49.5
18. Grinding or processing grain	62.1	61.5	25.8
19. Other activity	5.8	15.6	8.4

***Source*: ILO/CAPMAS Method Test Survey**

Several activities were carried out by a sizeable proportion of the women in the sample. Thus,during the previous year, approximately 60 per cent of the sample women engaged in poultry raising and 40 to 50 per cent fetched water, gathered fuel, and processed food for preservation. Other major activities included animal husbandry (31 per cent), farming (17 per cent on the family farm and 11 per cent for wages), and making cow dung cakes (24 per cent).

Survey results also indicated that Egyptian women are much more economically active than official government statistics indicate. Reported activity rates ranged from only 15 per cent using the usual (census) definition of the paid labour force, to approximately 40 per cent for the "market labour force", to 80 to 90 per cent for the ILO "extended labour force", in terms of women ever performing a relevant economic activity during the past year reference period.

Source: Anker and Anker, 1988.

Population censuses have generally led to estimates of women's work which are too low and inaccurate (Standing, 1983; Dixon-Mueller and Anker, 1988; Waring, 1988). Reasons for this include a too-short (one week) reference period (which misses many women who work at other times of the year), inquiring only about the person's "primary" activity, the tendency to interview only male adults in the household under the assumption that they are the household heads or the only ones working, and especially the strong tendency of both interviewers and respondents to neglect reporting part-time work, work done around the home or farm, and unpaid work. Anker and colleagues have experimented with attempts to develop questionnaires and interviewing procedures to improve the measurement of the economic activities of women (Anker, 1983; Anker, Khan and Gupta, 1988; and Anker and Anker, 1988) based upon time-use data and activity lists. Estimates of female labour force participation rates in rural Egypt, for example, doubled (from 29 per cent to 58 per cent), and increased in Bangladesh, from 8 per cent to over 60 per cent in a 1990 survey[7] when activity lists were used rather than the usual census questions on "what was this person's main activity last week". Such efforts to improve the measurement of women's economic activities are to be applauded not only for their own value but also because they can make possible a much improved understanding of the level and characteristics of female migration and its relationship to economic activity. For an example applied to census data (of Argentina), see Wainerman (1991).

Related to the sources of bias listed in (2) and (3) above regarding women's activities and images of women's "proper" roles in society is *investigator bias*. While the predominance of male investigators may be considered a likely *a priori* factor in the neglect of women's migration in the scholarly literature, this is hardly inevitable. A broader cause is the nature of migration theory itself, combined with the underreporting of women's work and the view that women who move as part of families are not only "tied movers" but play little part in the family migration process. Many examples of investigator bias exist, one being the well-known and otherwise excellent study of rural-urban migration in the Indian Punjab in which the investigators limited themselves to analysing a priori, first, only *male* heads of households, and second, only those respondents stating that they migrated for *economic* reasons (Oberai and Singh, 1983). Such restrictions —common in migration survey data collection procedures and analyses— are doubly discriminatory vis a vis the role of women migrants. As another example, in a recent study on the impact of out-migration on two villages in West Java, Indonesia, Saefullah (1992) investigated only "economic" and "working" migrants.

There is, therefore, a tendency to neglect women migrants because of the undervaluation of their economic activity and the preoccupation of migration theory (in particular, the human capital theory of Sjaastad, 1962) with "economic" migration. The standard view of a migrant is a man moving in search of a job. Women are commonly viewed as passive followers of men in the migration process. The generally larger numbers of women than men that report their migration as being for non-economic reasons (II.C below) are thereby marginilized, excluded a priori from migration research, especially from studies of the determinants or consequences of migration.

The fourth, and rarely recognized, source of bias in data on the migration of women is *respondent bias*. This results from the widespread practice of obtaining information on

[7] Personal communication with Richard Anker, 7/24/91

migrants only from one household member, usually the household head, who is presumed a priori to be a male adult living in the household. The issue is therefore whether male heads of household tend to underreport the migration of women or to distort its characteristics. One possible cause of such bias, a priori, may be that in most societies people *know* more about the activities of other members of the same sex than about those of the opposite sex; that is, mothers are more likely than fathers to know about their daughters' activities. Consequently, women are usually better proxy respondents for other women.

A more common source of survey measurement error associated with respondent bias is that deriving from the respondent's judgement concerning appropriate or socially acceptable answers. Respondents often tend to provide answers that paint a good picture of themselves and their family members, a picture consistent with their views of societal norms. The interview situation involves a social interaction between the interviewer and the respondent in which the latter, in addition to providing factual information, wishes to make a good impression. The respondent thus evaluates the psychological meaning of the response in relation to personal goals extraneous to the survey and may alter the response when the correct response is deemed embarrassing or uncomfortable. This is referred to as the "social desirability bias" (Cannell, Miller and Oksenberg, 1981:395). Responses are thereby altered and biased to provide a more socially desirable response. Respondents may thus exaggerate or overreport characteristics and activities that they consider socially desirable and underreport or omit those thought to be undesirable or sensitive (Cannell, Miller and Oksenberg, 1981; Groves, 1989). What is considered "desirable" or "sensitive" is of course culture-specific. In many developing countries, especially in rural areas, views concerning the appropriate roles and activities of women are highly restrictive. It is often seen as inappropriate for women to work outside the home, even if they are still living at home, and therefore even more inappropriate for them to migrate from the natal home to seek work to live away from home, unless they go as married women accompanied by their husband.

While little research has been done on the extent of respondent bias in general —and virtually none with respect to migration surveys—, experiments by Anker and others which compared estimates of female labour force participation and economic activities as reported by the women themselves with those reported by the head of household (usually a man) in two field experiments in Egypt and India are indicative. Thus, in a study of Egypt by Anker and Anker (1988) based on 1,000 rural households in 1984, 19 per cent of the women who were asked directly reported having worked for pay during the year preceding the interview, along with 15 per cent during the *week* preceding the interview. This contrasts with proxy respondent reports of only 11 and 8 per cent in the two reference periods, respectively. Differences in reports on women working for pay away from home were even larger, while estimates of time spent by women in various home-based activities did not differ significantly. Anker and Anker (1988) conclude: "These results provide support for the widely held belief that men from the developing countries are reluctant to mention to a stranger (interviewer) that a female household member worked as a wage earner... [though] these effects are culture- and country-specific."

Of course, such evidence on proxy respondent bias in reports concerning women's economic activities is only *indirectly* suggestive of a bias with regard to the measurement of women's *migration*. There is in fact little direct evidence on the latter bias, in part because of the small number of specialized surveys on internal migration in developing countries, and in

part because of the general lack of attention paid to methodological issues in migration surveys (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1979; Bilsborrow, Oberai and Standing, 1984). There is, however, some evidence that considerations about social desirability are likely to lead to an underreporting of women's migration and to distortions of its characteristics. First, normative prescriptions against women's migration are known to exist in many societies (Fawcett, Khoo and Smith, 1984; Guest, 1993; Lim, 1993; Rodenburg, 1993). Societal norms can also lead respondents to distort the *reasons* for out-migration: in the Senegal River Valley of Mali, male heads of household rarely mentioned economic reasons for women's out-migration in order to "save face" (Findley and Diallo, 1993); women respondents tailored their responses in a socially desirable direction, rarely mentioning economic reasons for their out-migration even though it was clearly engaged in for the family's survival.

This discussion indicates that the use of male proxy respondents can lead to an understatement of female migration and introduce serious biases in the characteristics of female migrants in a direction that reduces its perceived importance. Since Ecuador is not an extreme developing country in terms of having women's overall roles and status particularly high or low relative to other developing countries, the evidence from Ecuador cited in Box No. 2 is probably relevant for other countries as well. Male respondent bias may thus be a *common* source of error with regard to information on women obtained through surveys or censuses in developing countries. Consequently, many existing analyses of the selectivity or characteristics of female migrants, of the determinants of women's migration, and of its consequences are likely to have been affected by proxy respondent bias, which may significantly distort the results presented. Unfortunately, correction of such biases is not straightforward; but as the example of Ecuador suggests, gathering information on migration at *both* ends of the migration process—-at origin and destination-—provides some checks on data quality and may even suggest ways of minimizing errors. More generally, it is highly desirable in data processing to always *identify the respondent* (and therefore his/her sex and relationship to the migrant concerned) so that future tests of respondent bias can be carried out in order to better ascertain its importance.

C. Data Needs for Assessing the Determinants of Internal Migration of Women

The purpose of this section is to identify appropriate data for investigating the determinants of women's migration. While the focus here is on internal migration, most of the discussion is equally applicable to the determinants of women's *international* migration, though there has been far less work on the latter. As a result, section III.C, on the determinants of international migration does not duplicate section II.C.1; on the contrary, it draws directly upon it.

The discussion here, as elsewhere in this manuscript, is oriented towards *methodological* rather than substantive issues. No attempt will be made, therefore, to review or assess the quantity or quality of the substantive literature. Nevertheless, the methodological discussion here will, by implication, indicate how little we have learned from existing studies, and provides some directions for charting future research.

Box No. 2

Evidence of Respondent Bias from a Survey in Ecuador

Evidence about respondent bias can be adduced from the Survey of Internal Migration in the Ecuadorian Sierra carried out in 1977-1978. Representative probability samples of households were selected in rural and urban areas of the Sierra region, which contained about half the population of Ecuador. In the rural sample, households with at least one out-migrant to urban areas in the Sierra were oversampled compared with households without such an out-migrant, while the same was done for households in the urban sample with at least one in-migrant from rural areas of the Sierra. The final sample encompassed 3,429 rural households and 1,701 urban households, about a third comprising out/in-migrants. The interviewer's instructions stipulated that the interviewer should "interview only the head of the family or his [*sic*] representative". While the sex of the actual respondent was unfortunately not recorded, 81 per cent of the heads of household in rural areas and over 90 per cent in urban areas were men. Since the purpose of the survey was to investigate rural-urban migration, the rural survey was essentially a survey in areas of origin. Information on out-migrants had to rely upon proxy respondents because the migrants themselves were not present. Respondents were asked to provide information about all household members aged 12 or over who had migrated elsewhere during the five years preceding the interview. The results showed a surprisingly low proportion of women among rural-urban out-migrants, compared with (a) either the proportion of women among the *in-migrants* from rural areas reported in the urban part of the survey (61 per cent), or (b) the proportion female among rural-urban migrants recorded by the population census. Thus, only 42 per cent of the out-migrants were reported to be women in the rural survey, far below the 48 and 49 per cent female among migrants to urban areas according to the 1974 and 1982 population censuses, respectively. Given that the vast majority of out-migrants reported in rural areas were children of the head of the household, this evidence suggests that fathers were less inclined to report the out-migration of their daughters to the city than that of their sons, presumably because they considered their daughter's migration to be less socially appropriate (Bilsborrow and Fuller, 1988).

Moreover, in the same survey, even when proxy respondents in rural areas reported the existence of female out-migrants, they appeared to often provide erroneous information about the reasons for migration and about the woman's activities prior to and subsequent to migration (i.e., work status, occupation and income). This was determined from comparisons of responses reported by the proxy respondents in the rural survey with those given by the female and male in-migrants interviewed themselves in urban areas. Among female out-migrants, for instance, only 29 per cent were reported by the proxy respondent to have been working prior to the move, whereas 39 per cent of the in-migrant women reported themselves as having worked during the year prior to migration. Similarly, proxy respondents in rural areas reported that only 53 per cent of female out-migrants were working at the time of the survey in the urban place of destination, compared with 73 per cent reported by the female migrants themselves in urban areas (Yang and Bilsborrow, 1992).

Interestingly, proxy respondents in rural areas provided responses for male out-migrants that were biased in the opposite direction, perhaps also for reasons of perceived social desirability. Thus, the percentage of male out-migrants reported as working prior to migration by respondents in rural areas was 75 per cent, whereas only 59 per cent of the male in-migrants in urban areas reported themselves as having worked in the year prior to their migration.

Source: **Bilsborrow and Fuller, 1988**

This section is organized as follows: first, a brief theoretical discussion introduces the reader to the theoretical frameworks most commonly used for investigating the determinants of migration, and describes how they need to be significantly modified to take into account a broader range of factors. The subsection concludes by noting the extent to which an expanded theoretical model is applicable to analysing the determinants of women's migration. The second subsection presents and appraises the utility of information on stated reasons for migration. And the third subsection deals with the key issues of data collection needs and the use of appropriate comparison groups for analysing the determinants of migration in general and for women in particular.

1. Theoretical issues

The discussion here is brief since there are a number of good surveys of the migration theory literature (e.g., Shaw, 1975; deJong and Gardner, eds., 1981; Bilsborrow el al, 1984, especially Chapter 2). Although migration theory can be traced to the so-called laws or propositions of Ravenstein (1885, 1889), the most commonly used theoretical approach arose out of two papers published several decades ago. The first is Sjaastad's human capital theory of migration (1962), which has dominated the thinking of economists about the process. This theory sees migration as the consequence of a rational and economically-based decision of the individual to maximize returns to his/her human capital (which depends on education) over space. If expected earnings (strictly speaking, the expected discounted future earnings stream) are greater in some other location than in one's current residence (net of the costs of migration), then the individual is expected to migrate. It is an individualistic theory, based upon economic motives. An important extension of this human capital theory of migration was made by Todaro (1969), who showed that the computation of expected future earnings should take into account the (expected) probability of actually being employed at those expected future earnings levels in the destinations considered by the potential migrant.

Although economic factors are undoubtedly important, if not dominant, in most migration decisions, the above approach is deemed by sociologists, geographers and others as too narrow. First, it does not take into account the fact that migration is not always a voluntary phenomenon but rather may be impelled or forced upon people by conditions in their place of origin. This consideration led to the important article of Everett Lee (1966) exemplifying the second dominant theoretical approach, the "push-pull" theory of migration. In this approach migration is seen as induced by *both* factors of attraction in (possible) areas of destination as well as by negative factors in the place of origin or current residence. Moreover, these factors need not be limited to expected income and employment differences. This is also the view of geographers, using the concept of "place utility" (e.g., Brown, 1970) to indicate that a larger set of economic, social, personal, environmental, etc., factors is involved. Thus, people are seen as tending to migrate if the perceived place utility in some other place or potential destination is higher than in the current place of residence. The crucial role played by people's *perceptions* in these theoretical approaches should be highlighted, and indicates the important effects of improvements in communications and transportation networks in stimulating both internal and international migration during the past several centuries, and especially in recent decades in developing countries. Thus the deterring effects of distance on affecting the destination choice of migrants (numerous empirical studies have found migrants tend to move to closer rather than more distant destinations) has become *less* significant over time. And if

restrictions on international migration were eased, there would surely be a substantial increase in international migration compared to internal migration throughout the world. But restrictions are an important reality in the contemporary world (see section III below).

The fact that a number of factors besides employment and wage conditions may also influence migration movements has also contributed to the evolution of a theoretical approach often seen as an alternative to the neo-classical human capital theory of migration. This "historical-structuralist" approach has been developed primarily by sociologists, keenly aware that broader social and historical forces have led over time to the existing current conditions, including widespread inequalities in access to resources, political power and prestige within and across communities, which both stimulate and constrain human migration. But most of the research based upon this approach is descriptive and has not involved the quantitative tests of hypotheses necessary to sort out the relative strengths of the many factors hypothesized to influence migration. The historical-structuralist scheme is also conceptualized at a macro level, in contrast to the avowedly micro level inherent in the human capital model. But in a compelling essay, Wood (1982) pointed out that the two approaches can usefully be combined into a macro-micro framework which builds upon both, that they can be seen as complementary rather than contradictory. That is, migration decisions are made by people within a broader *context*, which itself affects whether and how the individualistic factors seen as important in the human capital framework (viz., age, education) actually operate in a given situation. We return to this broader macro-micro framework later.

Besides creating an awareness of the need to take into account a number of factors besides earnings and employment prospects in the study of migration, another direction in which migration theory has evolved is towards recognizing that in many (if not most) situations the migration decision is a family decision, involving aspirations and roles in decision-making of other persons as well as of the migrant himself/herself. This is usually the case when individuals migrate as well as in the more obvious situation when the whole family moves. One of the first authors to promote a "family" theory of migration was Mincer (1978). This involves little more than taking into account the collective aspirations of the members of the prospective migrant family (viz., the expected earnings, or evaluations of place utility, of the husband and wife together in possible destinations, compared with those anticipated in the present residence). Questions concerning the relative importance of each person's wishes and his/her relative power in decision-making evidently arise, and complicate the process (Riley and Gardner, 1993), but the substantive, theoretical aspects do not change. Some empirical studies of the determinants of family migration have attempted to incorporate factors associated with both the husband and wife, but most look only at the characteristics (and earnings prospects) of the "head of household", who is almost always assumed to be a male of working age. In any case, research on the determinants of migration has come to recognize the importance of considering not only the individual characteristics of the migrant —age, sex, marital status, level of education, number of children, employment experience, current or most recent job, earnings, whether unemployed, etc.— but also those of the *household*, including the spouse's or parents' status in terms of occupation, education, and earnings or assets; household size and composition; ownership of land and other fixed assets; other household income (from remittances, rental income, etc.); and so on. To such a usual compendium of individual and household factors must be added several more in the case of women migrants, particularly in developing countries. Thus, attitudes of other household members towards women's migration and being away from home, towards women's employment, and towards

women's roles in general may play crucial roles in inhibiting or facilitating (and sometimes forcing) migration. In some societies fathers and husbands do not want their daughters and wives to live and work away from the home, and away from their watchful eye; on the other hand, if family circums-tances are difficult, a father may essentially force his daughter (or son) to migrate elsewhere and send back remittances to help support the family. But broader issues of gender theory are also relevant here for conceptualizing the roles of women in households and the broader economy, which also help us better understand issues of gender and migration (see Box 3).

In addition to expanding the range of factors to be examined in empirical studies of the determinants of migration, current approaches to migration analysis are also increasingly recognizing that it is not only the characteristics and prospects of the individual or the family that influence migration decisions but also aspects of the *place or community* of origin and of possible destinations. Such a view may be seen to have its origin in either the historical-structuralist approach or the place-utility approach of geographers, although the latter focusses upon the *perceived* utility of alternative places of residence. But the latter is very difficult to determine in surveys, is subjective and not very reliable, and is in fact rarely never obtained in existing approaches to data collection in the field (even in specialized migration surveys). A more feasible alternative is to use information on the measured or *objective* characteristics of places to investigate the effects of characteristics of the community of origin and of communities of destination on migration decisions. Serious complications arise in dealing with "all possible destination" communities.[8] Studies of out-migration decisions can cut the Gordian Knot by examining only the characteristics of the origin community, which are *implicitly* being measured against those of all possible destinations. Thus origin community factors which are found empirically to affect out-migration decisions positively or negatively are implicitly worse or better than the conditions, respectively, in alternative destinations being considered (for an example of such an approach, see Bilsborrow et al, 1987, on Ecuador).

The fundamental importance of structural factors in the communities of origin and destination is now generally acknowledged. Such factors are particularly important in determining the migration propensities of women because they include not only economic factors but also the norms, values and cultural mores determining gender relations and gender roles (Lim, 1993; Chant, ed., 1992). In principle, it is desirable to take explicit account of factors at the individual or household level, the community level, and even at a larger geographical level, such as that of the province or country as a whole. Although the need to use a multilevel approach for examining the forces leading to migration has been suggested by a number of authors (e.g., Bilsborrow, 1981; Findley, 1981; Wood, 1982; Massey, 1990; Guest, 1993), it has rarely been used in the examination of the determinants of women's migration.

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[8] For non-migrants in areas of origin, characteristics of prospective destinations can be considered to be those of the main community of destination of those actually leaving the particular origin area, or by taking the country mean as the reference area. For those who have migrated, of course, characteristics of the actual area of destination are relevant. It would also be very useful to ask prospective migrants to identify the community they are *thinking* of migrating to (and then, in a prospective study, ascertaining the extent to which they actually migrated to those destinations). But the latter requires a longitudinal data set, which is expensive to collect and rarely exists for migration data.

Box No. 3

Gender Theory, Development and Migration

The United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85) has played a crucial part in highlighting and publicising the important, but often previously invisible, role of women in the economic and social development of their countries and communities, and the plight of low-income women in Third World economies.

A distinction is usually made between productive or economic activities and reproductive or human resource maintenance activities. Productive activities include all tasks that contribute economically to the household and community, e.g., crop and livestock production, handicraft production, marketing and wage employment. Reproductive and human resource maintenance activities are those carried out to reproduce and care for the household, including fuel and water collection, food preparation, childbearing and childcare, education, health care and home maintenance. These latter activities, often viewed as non-economic, generally carry no monetary compensation and are, therefore, usually excluded from national income accounts.

Gender issues are rarely integrated into discussions of development strategies, though passing reference is sometimes made to impacts of development plans on women. This lack of gender awareness limits both the selection of criteria by which to evaluate development strategies and the analysis of how they work or fail to work.

In her recent book, *Gender, Family and Economy - The Triple Overlap*, Rae Lesser Blumberg (1991), brings together the work of social scientists who touch various aspects of the intersection of gender stratification and economic variables with and within the family and household.

Among the studies reported in this book, Sarah Fenstermaker, Candice West and Don Zimmermann state that gender is not an invariant idealisation of womanly and manly nature uniformly distributed in society. What is constant is the notion that women and men have different situations based on their sex, which are subject to local and historical variation.

Janet Saltzman Chafetz states that gender stratification, or levels of patriarchy or male dominance, "refers to the extent to which societal members are unequal in their access to the scarce values of their society" on the basis of gender. These values include such things as power, material goods, the services of others, prestige-conferring roles, discretionary time, food and medical care, personal autonomy, educational and training opportunities, and safety from physical coercion or assault. The degree of gender stratification in a society refers to the extent to which females are systematically disadvantaged in their access to these values relative to males.

Common themes emerging from these and other articles include:

- Intrahousehold stratification which refers to the differential power of men and women at the micro level.
- The main factor affecting intrahousehold stratification is relative male vs. female control of income.
- With greater relative incomes, women are seen to have greater voice and leverage in family decisions, somewhat greater say in the overall relationship and only a little more help from their husband in housework.
- Housework is the aspect of family life most resistant to change as women's economic/income and labour force positions increase. Women remain responsible for domestic and childcare activities regardless of whatever else they do in the division of labour. This is what gives men their edge in economic power and gender stratification.
- To the extent that women are economically dependent on their husbands, men accrue superior power at the micro level. This dependence is a function of both the gender division of labour and men's greater control of income and other econo-mic resources. At the micro level, men can use their power to avoid labour they do not wish to perform, namely most domestic and many forms of child raising work. Where women are also active in non-domestic work roles, they face a double work-day not faced by married men. In turn, the double day reduces women's ability to compete with men for better paid jobs, thereby reinforcing men's resource and power advantages. Given the burdens of a double workday, some women may choose to abandon their jobs, which also serves to reinforce male power. As Blumberg argues in an earlier article (1984), male macro power functions to discount the value of economic resources for women as a basis for micro power.
- Superior male power at the macro level exists by definition in a gender-stratified society. Such power allows men as employers, union officials, lawmakers, and other societal gatekeepers to segregate women into low-paid jobs, restrict their opportunities to acquire skills and credentials needed for better jobs, or even bar them altogether from paid employment. Since they are usually absent from the paid labour force or segregated into low-paying jobs, women as a group tend to lack the resources necessary to challenge male macro-level power.

In summary, the studies in this volume contribute to a still-implicit "megatheory" that encompasses both micro and macro dimensions, and considers historical as well as class and ethnic variation in the triple overlap of gender stratification, economy and the family.

Box No. 3 (cont.)

What does this have to do with women's migration patterns? Thus far, there is no general theory accounting for the circumstances under which women (vs. men) decide to migrate.

The theoretical points raised in Blumberg's book alert us to consider two critical variables: (i) men's relative *economic resources and opportunities* and (ii) the degree of *gender equality* in the areas of origin vs. possible destinations. Working hypotheses formulated by Blumberg include:

- Individual women migrants are more likely to migrate toward both greater economic opportunity and greater gender equality and autonomy.

What happens if a destination offers more of one and less of the other? For example, how much of an economic opportunity will it take to lure a woman from rural Northeast Thailand to a maid's job in Saudi Arabia? In oil-rich Saudi Arabia, women are severely disadvantaged, not allowed even to drive, let alone work alongside men or vote. They must completely cover up in constraining garments.

In contrast, while Northeast Thailand is poor and often drought-stricken, kinship and economic systems give women control over major economic resources and provide roughly equal status at the level of the household. Descent is matrilineal, the newly married couple live near, or with, the woman's maternal kin, and inheritance of rice land has only recently begun to change from mother to daughter to equal inheritance for both daughters and sons. Moreover, women have significant sources of income from raising off-season cash crops, off-season migration to Bangkok, and weaving silk or cotton. There also is a tradition that the wife manages the household income, regardless of who earns it, and gives her husband an allowance. Single women control their own income (Blumberg, in press).

It is thus unlikely that a Northeast Thai woman would go to Saudi Arabia —if fully cognizant of the constraints she will face because of her gender— *unless* she expects to increase her earnings several times. However, she might go to Hong Kong, where maid's jobs also abound, albeit at somewhat lower pay than in Saudi Arabia, but where the level of gender inequality is less (although greater than in Northeast Thailand).

Migration literature also indicates a female majority in rural-urban migration in Latin America. In general, there is both more economic opportunity and more gender equality/autonomy in urban than rural Latin America. Urban women's formal sector employment is increasing as are the more precarious but often more numerous opportunities in the informal sector. Jobs in domestic service and even prostitution remain also readily available. For the *mestiza* majority, there is also less *machismo* in the urban areas, especially in the Andes, where rural indigenous women tend to enjoy greater gender equality.

Conversely, the rural-urban migration stream in Africa shows a male majority. Women have much less access to formal-sector jobs than men, and may lose their already shaky use rights to land if they migrate to the city. If they come from a patrilineal-patrilocal group, they will have more autonomy from kin in the city than in the rural area. But they may lose economically from rural-urban migration rather than gain, so few attempt it. Finally, women are sometimes so restricted in their area of origin (e.g., in South Asia and West Asia) that few are able to migrate individualy.

- Concerning migration for marriage, it is most prevalent under two specific kinship situations: (a) patrilocal residence, whereby the bridal couple live nearby or with the husband's paternal kin, and (b) village exogamy, wherein the bride must marry outside the local community.

In most cases, the distance of migration is small so it may not even be picked up in migration statistics (see II.B.3 above). Two areas where such migration is common are South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

- Also, concerning migration for marriage, the greater the degree of gender inequality, the less choice the woman may have about either the marriage partner or the migration. She is likely to have greater economic autonomy in Africa than in Asia, since men and women tend to maintain "separate purses", with individual income streams and expenditure obligations. Where local markets are well developed, as in West Africa, a woman controls the returns from certain economic activities and is thus less subjugated than her counterpart in South Asia, who tends to have few income-earning opportunities. The African woman also is usually an economic producer in her own right: female low-input farmers raise as much as 80 per cent of locally grown food crops. These differences are reflected in the fact that in Africa the groom and his family pay a brideprice for acquiring an important producer, whereas in South Asia the bride's family pays a dowry to unload her.

The next step is to further refine and test these hypotheses. Although much of the information will have to come from micro -or household- level studies, it should be possible to also use existing macro-quantitative data, comparing origin and destination areas by level of economic opportunity and equality/autonomy for women and men of differing marital and fertility status.

It is strongly argued, however, that the study of women and migration is often best accomplished by *comparing* women with men, i.e., using *gender-disaggregated data* to the maximum extent possible. Policymakers are more likely to find these data useful and therefore less likely to dismiss results for women only as a "special case". Sex disaggregation should become standard practice in reporting migration statistics and in research and analysis.

Figure 1 illustrates how factors at different levels influence the migration decisions of individuals, particularly of women. At the far left, under the label "overall society and community", are factors operating at levels above that of the local community, that is, at regional, national or even international levels, including government development policies which influence in turn, directly or indirectly, the socio-economic situation and value systems at the level of the local community. The local context therefore acts as a filter through which factors from beyond the community must pass in order to influence the decisions of households and individuals in the local population. Households similarly serve to pass on and filter community influences to the individual. Consequently, a person's decision to migrate is influenced both by her own characteristics and attitudes and by how these have been conditioned by household and community factors, including specifically labour-market opportunities and norms with regard to the appropriate roles and behaviour of women.

The breadth of factors at the community or higher level that may affect the migration decisions of individuals is considerable, but it is an empirical issue as to which factors are likely to be most influential in stimulating or constraining migration decisions of individuals and households living in the community, including women. This is likely to vary considerably between countries, regions within countries, and even communities within regions. Community-level factors may affect various groups of persons differently, e.g., people of different age or education groups, and women vs. men. For example, the existence of family members and friends (in the current area of residence and alternative destinations considered) may be more significant in stimulating or restricting women's migration, and in directing migration for women migrants. Factors such as relative environmental conditions may also be important, perhaps equally for both sexes, such as the effects of degraded rural environments (e.g., from soil erosion, deforestation, drought) on reducing rural household incomes and thereby stimulating out-migration; and of air, water and noise pollution on pushing urban dwellers to migrate away from congested urban areas, such as from Mexico City, even when this out-migration involves economic sacrifice in terms of lower wages in the destination locations.

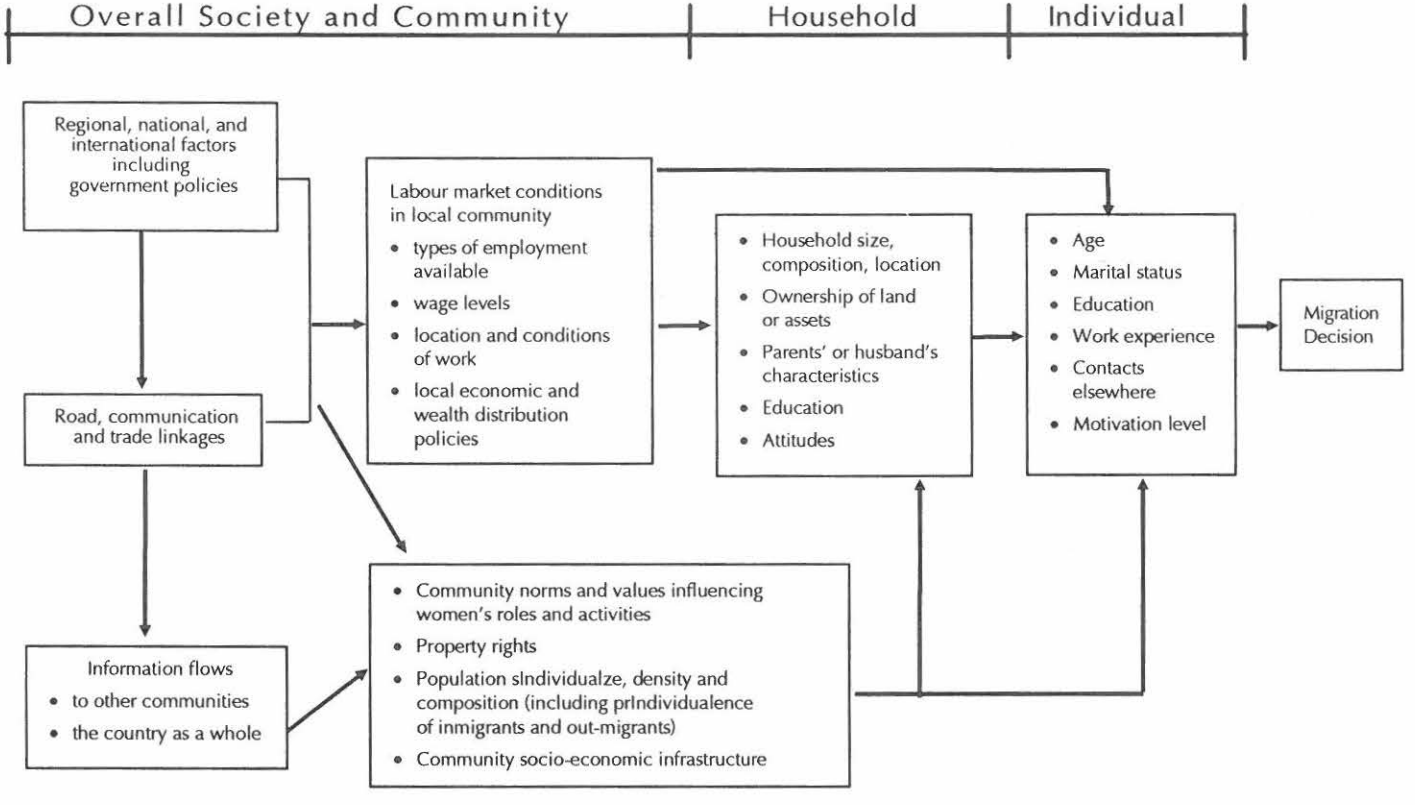
2. Reasons for women's migration

Information on reasons for migration is often taken as a preliminary indicator of the factors influencing migration decisions. And, while it is indeed useful on that level, the information is subjective, subject to change and ex-post rationalization over time, and therefore has low response validity. It may also suffer from memory recall problems —five years after a move, a migrant's recall of the reason(s) for the move may be different from the actual reasons at the time of the move. Finally, if data on reasons for the move are obtained from proxy respondents, because of the absence of the migrant at the time of data collection/ interview or because of the tendency to interview only the household head, they are likely to suffer from respondent bias as well (II.B.3 above). If proxy respondents have difficulty in providing basic factual information about persons not present or no longer living in the dwelling, they are likely to have even more difficulty providing correct information about what the out-migrant was thinking at the time of the move.

Since the majority of women who migrate do so as part of families, with their husband or parent(s), the standard view has been that women migrate mainly for personal, family, and

Figure 1

Multilevel Approach to the Study of the Determinants of Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries



marriage-related reasons, because they are not primary breadwinners in their households, in contrast to men who are seen to migrate for economic reasons. If this were true, to understand migration processes one would only need to investigate male migration, which is what has essentially happened. But available data indicate that this is a serious over-generalization, in that the migration of many men (e.g., sons) is also influenced strongly by their families and by personal factors, and that the extent of essentially autonomous migration by women is rising significantly in many parts of the developing countries.

Table 2.9, for example, provides information on reasons for migration for men and women from census data around 1980 for five countries (reasons for migration are rarely solicited in censuses). There is no information on who the respondent is, but the usual respondent in population censuses is the household head, who is usually assumed to be male, which almost surely biases the responses. It is evident that women are reported as migrating primarily for marriage and family reasons in these countries, but family reasons are also important among males. (While these may be primarily dependent children, the same is true of many of the females.) More significant is that although the percentage of women reported as moving for employment reasons is under 5 in India and Egypt, it is quite significant in the other three Asian countries, being 13, 24 and 32 in Malaysia, Thailand and Nepal, respectively.

Clearly it is important for such data to be cross-classified by age, or to omit dependent children below some age, such as 12. It is also important to have it tabulated by marital status, which will usually identify the large proportion of single women migrating for economic (or education) reasons, and married women migrating for ostensibly marriage reasons. Because of the subjective nature of the data and likelihood of some respondent bias, however, whenever possible it is also strongly desirable that information on reasons be obtained directly from the migrant. Although it is often not possible to determine when this has been done, since many published studies fail to provide this (or other key) methodological information due to author and editorial laxity, the probability of information on reasons coming directly from the person is higher in household surveys. Table 2.10 provides additional data on reasons for migration in 13 developing countries, almost all having been drawn from household surveys. The size and representativity of the data varies enormously across countries, again rendering any generalization risky. Nevertheless, in all countries, with the possible exception of Costa Rica, the proportion citing work as the reason for migration was higher among males than females, with the converse true for those citing family reasons. But the proportion of women citing economic reasons as the primary factor in their move is hardly insignificant in most countries —except for Islam North Africa and one or two countries in West Africa. In the other nine countries the percentage of women migrants moving for work reasons varied from 17 to 56, with a median of 47, compared with a median of 37 per cent moving for family reasons. This suggests that the usual view of women as moving for non-economic, personal and even "irrational" reasons is far off the mark, and more likely reflects the stereotyped views of biased "irrational" investigators and/or respondent bias from asking the household head rather than the migrant directly.

TABLE 2.9

MIGRANTS BY SEX AND REASON FOR MIGRATION, SELECTED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(*Number of migrants in thousands*)

Country, census year and data type	*Type of migrant*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
		(percentage)		
	A. *Africa*			
Egypt, 1976				
Aged 10 or over	Employment	49.8	4.5	8.2
	Education	5.9	2.1	26.4
	Family moved	32.1	63.6	66.3
	Marriage-related	2.3	23.9	91.3
	Other	9.8	5.8	37.1
	Total number of migrants	2 359	2 345	49.9
	B. *Asia*			
India, 1981				
Rural-rural	Employment	19.5	1.1	18.0
	Education	4.2	0.4	28.0
	Family moved	33.7	8.6	49.2
	Marriage	5.5	81.7	98.3
	Other	37.1	8.1	45.1
	Total number of migrants	27 468	103 936	79.1
Urban-rural	Employment	27.0	3.3	17.6
	Education	3.2	1.0	35.2
	Family moved	31.9	21.2	53.4
	Marriage	2.2	59.3	97.9
	Other	35.7	15.1	42.2
	Total number of migrants	4 481	7 728	63.3
Urban-urban	Employment	41.1	4.5	10.9
	Education	5.2	2.2	32.4
	Family moved	31.5	35.9	56.2
	Marriage	1.0	43.6	98.0
	Other	21.2	13.9	42.5
	Total number of migrants	11 278	12 696	53.0
Rural-urban	Employment	47.5	4.2	8.4
	Education	8.1	2.6	24.9
	Family moved	23.5	29.3	56.3
	Marriage	1.2	51.5	97.9
	Other	19.7	12.4	39.5
	Total number of migrants	16 443	17 042	50.9
Total	Employment	31.9	1.9	12.5
	Education	5.4	0.9	28.0
	Family moved	30.3	14.3	52.7
	Marriage	3.2	73.4	98.2
	Other	29.3	9.6	43.6
	Total number of migrants	59 921	141 785	70.3
Malaysia, 1980	Employment	42.2	13.3	24.2
	Education	5.0	3.8	43.5
	Family moved	32.6	46.5	59.1
	Marriage	4.9	23.4	82.7
	Other	15.3	13.0	46.2
	Total number of migrants	21	21	50.3

TABLE 2.9 (*continued*)

Country, census year and data type	*Type of migrant*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
		(percentage)		
Nepal, 1981	Employment	59.1	31.5	36.7
	Education	4.0	1.6	30.4
	Marriage-related	1.0	30.3	97.0
	Other	36.0	36.6	52.4
	Total number of migrants	611	662	52.0
Thailand, 1980				
Aged 5 or over	Employment	40.1	23.8	35.1
	Education	5.1	5.8	50.9
	Family moved	26.9	50.7	63.3
	Marriage-related	11.5	8.8	41.2
	Return home	2.9	2.5	44.8
	Other	13.5	8.4	36.1
	Total number of migrants	1 540	1 408	47.7

Source: United Nations Secretariat (1993), pp. 110-111.

From these data, as well as data from a number of other, often more recent studies (e.g., Bilsborrow and Fuller, 1988, on Ecuador; Hugo, 1992, on Indonesia), it is clear that (a) significant proportions of women migrate for *economic* reasons (including migration for education, which is usually to seek better employment later), even though (b) worldwide, *more* women migrate for family than economic reasons, including to accompany other family members and to get married or join a spouse. This leads to two directly corresponding conclusions. On the one hand, migration research has badly neglected *women economic migrants*, but, on the other, it should not focus (almost) exclusively on *economic* migrants but also examine the large numbers of persons (adults, or persons over, say, age 12) who move primarily for *other* reasons. In particular, marriage migration is a phenomenon very common in much of the developing world, begging for attention (see also Hugo, 1992:189; UN, ed. 1993). Moreover, it often involves important elements of aspirations to improve the woman's economic situation, and sometimes not only by "marrying well" but also by enhancing access to employment opportunities, as usually results from rural-urban migration for women in most parts of the world, including South Asia. The term "marriage mobility" was coined by Thadani and Todaro (1984) precisely for such situations.

While information on the stated reasons for migration is useful for categorizing migrants into different categories, for which different methods of research and different hypotheses may be appropriate, it is subjective and only suggestive of the factors actually determining migration. To sort out those factors, to determine which are most significant in particular contexts, and to ascertain which are most important for women vs. men, it is necessary to undertake multivariate analysis of actual migration decisions, where the data come from survey data —the topic of the next subsection.

TABLE 2.10

MAJOR REASON FOR MIGRATION, CITED BY INTERNAL MIGRANTS, BY SEX, IN SELECTED COUNTRIES 1966-1982.

Region, Country	*Population*	*% of Male Migrants Citing Reason*				*% of Female Migrants Citing Reason*			
		Work	*Education*	*Family*	*Other*	*Work*	*Education*	*Family*	*Other*
				A. *Africa*					
Ghana									
	328 male and 126 female migrants from Asutsuare area	52	11	28	9	30	4	63	3
Nigeria									
	545 male and 358 female short-term migrants, mainly to urban areas	54	18	27	-	-	-	100[e/]	-
Sierra Leone									
	3,806 male and 3,347 female migrants to Greater Freetown	48	17	30	5	4	6	86	5
				B. *Asia*					
Bangladesh									
	Migrants into Teknaf thana	72	-	15	12	50	-	36	14
Indonesia									
	Rural-to-urban migrants in Java . . .	69	20	6	5	47	16	32	5
Korea, Rep. of									
	214 male and 394 female migrants to Seoul	67	15	9	9	17	11	64	9
Thailand									
	31,675 male and 36,030 female migrants to Bangkok metropolis . .	63	17	19	1	50	13	37	1

TABLE 2.10 (Continued)

Region, Country	*Population*	*% of Male Migrants Citing Reason*				*% of Female Migrants Citing Reason*			
		Work	*Education*	*Family*	*Other*	*Work*	*Education*	*Family*	*Other*
		C. *Latin America*							
Chile									
	484 male and 596 female migrants to Greater Santiago between 1942 and 1962	62	10	8	21	56	10	15	19
Costa Rica									
	91 male and 99 female migrants to San José metropolitan area	47	4	12	36	54	8	12	25
Mexico									
	8 male and 40 female migrants from a Yucatan village, maily to urban areas	58	20	23	-	45	5	50	-
Venezuela									
	Migrants to Caracas between 1958 and 1967	55	11	19	15[a]	26	10	53	11[b]
		D. *Middle East & North America*							
Algeria									
	108,889 male and 150,147 female migrants from rural areas between 1966 and 1969	74	23	2	17	5	1	87	8
Egypt									
	12,020 male and 4,938 female migrants to urban areas	58	23	2	17	5	1	87	8

[a]Includes 5 per cent with combined motive of work and family
[b]Includes 3 per cent with combined motive of work and family
[c]Given the active economic role of women in Nigeria (as in Ghana), this number is surely incorrect, and would appear to reflect strong investigator bias.

Source: Kols & Lewison, 1983.Table 2.10

3. Assessing the determinants of migration by quantitative analysis, and the issue of appropriate comparison groups

The two main issues considered here are (a) *what* data should be used (and therefore sought) for multivariate analysis of the determinants of (internal) migration, and (b) *for what population groups*?

The response to the first issue is actually implicitly embodied in the previous section, in Figure 1 above, and in the accompanying text preceding and following this figure. Thus, a wide range of factors —individual, household and community or areal level— influence internal migration decisions. Both objective measures and sometimes perceptions as well (even when they are distortions of reality, such as expectations that wage rates will be better in a destination area than in the origin when they actually are not) are relevant. Most empirical research to date has focussed on the effects of individual characteristics on individual migration, but since the 1980s, household factors, both economic and non-economic, have also been recognized as important. The latter have not been adequately investigated because of the domination of the economic model of migration on migration research, the parsimonious number of relevant economic factors, and their greater ease of quantitative measurement. Since, as we have seen above, women are more likely than men to migrate for non-economic reasons, these existing approaches have tended to neglect women's migration. Although the variety of types of personal reasons involved in women's (and men's!) migration complicates the analysis, categorizing them into several broad categories (such as marriage migration, migration to accompany other family members, other personal reasons, and migration for education) does help prepare the ground for undertaking separate multivariate analyses of the factors influencing each category. This would allow not only the investigation of different sets of factors for different groups of women migrants, but also for the slopes (regression coefficients) of common factors to be different. All categories should, of course, also be combined to facilitate an overall statistical analysis, but the richness of information resulting from the separate analyses is lost when this is the only statistical approach implemented, as has been invariably the case in migration analyses.[9]

A special value of obtaining information at the community or "structural" level is that it is at this level that policy levers can be identified and measured, and therefore policy implications inferred from the results. It is in fact problematic to infer policy implications from the usual migration analyses based solely on coefficients of relationships relating to individual/household data, as experts in the field have noted elsewhere (see references cited in subsection above). If appropriate data are collected to measure community characteristics and norms, they, as well as individual and household factors, should be included to statistically controlled in multi-level analysis in order to isolate the effects of those community-level factors more subject to policy manipulation. The latter include the local availability of employment opportunities (both in general, and in sectors which most tend to employ women), wage levels, availability of schools, health clinics, road and communication linkages to the nearest town/provincial and national capital, availability and distribution of land, availability of

[9] Of course, in many instances, small sample sizes preclude much disaggregation of migrants by type or reason.

electricity, availability of rainfall (or surface/ground water and irrigation), soil/environmental conditions, etc. In principle, the more the potentially relevant factors are controlled for, the more robust the conclusions and the less valid the criticism that the model is misspecified. On the other hand, this implies not only relatively detailed (and more expensive) data collection, but also the need for a somewhat larger sample. However, much of the area-level information may already be available in existing census or administrative statistics and therefore not require a special data collection effort. Where it is possible to implement a specialized community-level survey, on the other hand, it could be tailored to collect the data desired for precisely the geographic *communities* of interest, viz., those in the household survey, since household and community surveys should be linked (see Bilsborrow et al, 1984, Ch. 11; Bilsborrow and Guilkey, 1987).

The second important issue in analyses of the determinants of migration is to consider what is the *appropriate comparison group*. This has been rarely recognized in migration analysis (Bilsborrow, 1984), which moves forward, after a fashion, willy nilly, blind to the issue. Let us start with the simplest possible type of analysis, one of the determinants of *out-migration of individuals* from a rural area. The discussion below is couched in terms of women, though most of it is equally applicable to men. Thus, to study why some women migrate and others do not, one must also determine who are the others who do not migrate to compare the migrants with: These are the "equivalent" individuals in places of origin who could have migrated but did not. For example, one could study daughters of household heads, perhaps in a particular age range: the comparison group being daughters in the same community who did *not* out-migrate. Then the effects of age, education, marital status, household assets, father's education or attitudes, and community-level factors can all be examined together for this subset of young women. This is what we did, in a limited way, in our analysis of the determinants of migration based upon the 1977-78 migration survey in the Sierra region of Ecuador (Bilsborrow et al, 1987). But note that the out-migrant young women were, by definition, *not present* in the origin area households interviewed, which made it necessary to collect information about them from proxy respondents, this probably led to certain biases (see II.B.2 above). An alternative would have been to follow (trace) them to their destination area, which we deemed too expensive, or to visit their origin-area households when they would be present, which would have required a second, also expensive, chancy visit to the origin households (even if the date of such a future visit "home" by the out-migrant could have been reliably predicted, which is rarely possible). In contrast, Saefullah (1992) *was* able to do the latter in his Indonesian village survey, visiting the villages of origin (of the out-migrants) at the time of the celebration of the end of fasting by the Moslem population. At such a time, virtually all family members including out-migrants tend to return to their village of origin.

But this example opens another Pandora's box. A survey conducted only in areas of origin of *family* migrants cannot encounter the migrants. They have left. However, a survey conducted in places of *destination* can encounter the family migrants; but if a statistical analysis of the determinants of *their* (family) migration is to be made, who are the comparable non-migrants that must be included in the data files for the analysis? The answer is the other *households remaining in the origin areas*. The other households residing in the destination areas at the time of interview are totally irrelevant for an analysis of the *determinants* of out-migration. Thus, to study the determinants of *family or household* migration, data *must* be

obtained from *both* areas of destination, where the family migrants are to be found after migration, *and* areas of origin, where the non-migrant families continue to reside. A second minor wrinkle should also be noted here, that data on the factors affecting the migration decision should refer to circumstances in the origin area and household conditions (composition, income, etc.) *at the time of the migration* decision. To minimize recall error, this provides a strong argument for collecting data only for quite *recent* migrants. In Ecuador the definition of migrant used was someone who had migrated within the previous 5 years. Then the average time of migration was 2.5 years ago. Thus, non-migrant households in the communities of origin should, in principle, be asked not about their current circumstances but their situation at the mean time of migration of the comparison migrant households, or at about 2.5 years ago (either two or three years ago would usually be adequate). This refinement is less necessary if conditions in the origin community have changed little during the five year time period, but even then the situation of the non-migrant individuals/households should be recalled/reconstructed (e.g., for changes in household composition) so as to have it correspond to that mean time of migration.

In the case of studies of the determinants of migration of individual migrants, if a survey is undertaken in *both* areas of origin and destination of the migrants, the individual out-migrants can sometimes be directly interviewed *themselves* in their areas of destination, obviating the customary need to obtain information about them from proxy respondents remaining in origin areas (c.f. the Ecuador case in Box 2 above). But a survey in origin areas is still necessary in order to procure data on *non-migrant* individuals subject to the risk of migration who did not migrate.

In the course of collecting information from migrants in areas of destination, it would be useful to also do something —which seemingly has never been done in migration surveys— which might be called "tracing in reverse". That is, if the locations of the (remaining) families of origin of the migrants can be determined accurately enough, information provided by the (in-)migrants in areas of destination on the circumstances leading to their out-migration could be checked and complemented (improved) by collecting additional information directly from their household members remaining in the origin area.

The issue of appropriate comparison groups and its implications for survey design is a general one in migration surveys, though it is almost never faced by migration analysts working with migration survey data, who usually work with whatever data they can get a hold of, oblivious to its limitations. The issue indicates the special complications that must be confronted in migration analysis (and in the initial survey and sample design, in the preparation of data files for analysis, and in the analysis itself), in contrast to other studies of demographic and related behaviour, such as fertility, labour force activity, health/nutrition status, etc.

A particularly common and neglected type of migration of women is marriage migration. Thus women migrating from, say, one village to another in India should have as an appropriate comparison group other young women (or girls, as the case may be, given the very young age at marriage) in the same origin villages who were single and of the same age at the (mean) time of out-migration of the marriage migrants. The research question is then what are the individual (at the level of the woman herself), origin household, and origin community factors that led some women to migrate for marriage while others did not? In order to collect data for the appropriate comparison group, surveys must be undertaken in both areas of origin and destination of migrants, specifically of individual out-migrants in their villages of destination

(of their new husbands), of equivalent non-migrant women and girls in the villages of origin of the out-migrants, and of the households of the same two groups in the villages of origin. A similar survey approach would be appropriate for the analysis of the determinants of migration of another large class of women/girl migrants —domestic household employees— who are commonly rural-urban migrants.

To study the factors influencing why in-migrants choose one destination instead of another, data are needed at the areal or *community level* on conditions in each of the alternative destinations, in addition to information at the individual/household level on those individuals/households that actually migrate to the alternative destinations. When all this is put together into a pooled data set, it becomes possible to undertake a statistical analysis that determines the relative roles of individual, household and areal-level factors on destination choice decisions, as well as on the (out-) migration decision in the first place.

Finally, in studies of the determinants of migration there is an additional complication referred to as "selectivity bias". Some people are selected for migration, or, rather *select* themselves, by factors which cannot be usually measured, such as having relatively high levels of motivation or risk-taking. In recent years, statistical procedures have been developed to control for this selectivity. Because of selectivity, migrants and non-migrants are likely to have different earnings expectations in the origin area, even after taking into account the usual factors affecting earnings differentials (age, sex, education, work experience). Then separate hypothetical or predicted earnings functions could be estimated empirically for both migrants and non-migrants in both areas, as the first step of a two-stage estimation procedure for correcting for selectivity bias (see Heckman, 1979). Further discussion is beyond the scope of this paper, but the argument applies equally to women migrants, whether economically or marriage motivated.

D. Data Needs for Appraising the Consequences of Migration for Women

1. Consequences for whom?

When undertaking analyses of the consequences of migration the first need is to know for *whom* the consequences are to be assessed. Most analyses look only at direct consequences for the women themselves; though in the case of married women migrants, a few studies have looked at the consequences for the families which accompanied the women. But these existing studies are only of a very limited, partial nature. Thus, many other people may be (indirectly) affected by the migration, including non-migrants in both places of origin and places of destination. In sum, consequences can be studied for the women migrants themselves; for the families accompanying the migrants or (in the case of unmarried migrants) their household of destination (to the extent they contribute to it, which is rare); or for their household of origin (viz., through the effects of remittances on its living standards —see below). But this is only the beginning. The consequences can also be examined for the *communities* of origin of the migrants, for the communities of destination, and for larger areas, such as the region or the country as a whole. The analysis becomes more complicated as the scope moves from the

individual migrant outward, because of the need to collect information on more persons and for larger geographic areas.

An example may help illustrate this. Significant flows of out-migrants from particular origin communities, or significant flows to particular destination communities (significant in proportion to the populations of those communities) may depress wage rates by increasing the supply of labour. This topic has been investigated in many studies by economists, mainly in the context of international migration. Because in-migrants often bring new skills and a work ethic, overall production often rises sufficiently for the migrants to be absorbed in places of destination without depressing overall wage levels, though the latter may occur in particular occupational categories. Thus, the overall effects on communities have usually been observed to be positive in places of destination. But, for reasons associated with the purportedly lower labour force activity of women including women migrants (see II.B.3 and below), virtually all existing work has addressed only male in-migrants. Finally, there has been almost no study on the effects of migration on places (or countries) of *origin,* despite frequent hand-wringing about the "brain drain" (but without adopting policies to address the issue).

The effects of *internal* migration flows are also likely to be positive on places of destination, given the positive selectivity of migrants (they are usually younger and better educated than non-migrants from places of origin, as well as more motivated to improve their situation). This is true for both men and women migrants. But very little work has been done on this topic. At the micro level, based upon survey data, the data demands are considerable (see II.C.3 below). Several macroeconomic-demographic simulation studies have been carried out which attempt to get at the relative changes in wages and living standards in origin and destination areas (e.g., for urban and rural areas in the Philippines, in Rodgers et al, 1978), but they also have very high demands for behavioral parameters, and invariably require making some heroic assumptions.

A recent assessment of the consequences of migration for women concluded: "Because of the diverse factors that condition and mediate the effects of migration on women's position, and because these circumstances vary across societies, there is no consensus about whether migration improves or erodes women's position *vis-à-vis* men" (Tienda and Booth, 1991). But this is only one way of appraising the consequences of migration. If internal migration improves the situation of women migrants themselves, that is an argument for it, but migration may still not improve the situation of women migrants as much as it does for male migrants. Tienda and Booth further state that the status of migrant women tends to improve when migration involves a change from a more to a less oppressive socio-economic environment or when it provides access to wage remuneration that gives women some (or more than they had before) control over resources. This is indeed the key (see hypothesis about women's migration in Box 3 above), and much migration by young women from rural to urban areas in Latin America and Southeast Asia appears to have had this positive consequence for the women themselves, though there are also many instances of exploitation in sweatshop factories, domestic employment, and the sex-industry (UN, ed. 1993).

In contrast, when migration leads to fewer job opportunities for women, reduces their control over income (see Box 3 above), or results in the disruption of family relations through separation or divorce, it has negative effects on their status. For example, a recapitulation of a review of a number of case-studies in Africa is illuminating (Tienda and Booth, 1991). In Lesotho, married women were found to experience a deterioration in their status after they

migrated to the city of Maseru because they became dependent upon their husbands' wages, whereas they had been active managers of their own farms in areas of origin. In contrast, single Yoruba women who migrated to the small city of Ilorin were reported to benefit economically by marrying urban men. But in Kampala, Uganda, although married migrant women in a low-income neighbourhood had better access to economic opportunities than in their areas of origin, their husbands restricted their market activities. A study in squatter communities of Lusaka, Zambia, concluded that single migrant women, though poor and uneducated, were nevertheless likely to improve their status after migration, whereas married women often lost control over resources after migration. This selective review illustrates the difficulty of drawing general inferences without specifying the cultural and socio-economic context in which decisions were made, including the family and employment situation of women prior to migration. It suggests that migration tends to maintain gender asymmetries, although certain aspects of gender relations may be modified. Finally, in the absence of information about the *timing* of migration with respect to other key events, such as marriage, the birth of children or entry into/exit from the labour force, it is difficult to distinguish the effects of migration from those of other events (see also UN, ed. 1993).

Assessment of the consequences of migration is far more complex methodologically than is usually recognized. First, the consequences must be assessed by taking into account the conditions under which migration took place. In the case of women, it is important to know at what stage of the life cycle they migrated (as children, as young single adults, as married women, as widows etc.), whether they moved on their own or as part of a family group, whether they participated in the migration decision, and the geography of the move (by type of origin or destination area, distance moved, etc). Also, as Cackley (1993) shows in the case of Brazil, migration may sometimes have positive effects on the income of married *couples* or families without improving the earnings of wives. A study based upon an excellent longitudinal data set in the United States (the University of Michigan Panel Study of Income Dynamics) found that married women who migrate with their families experience relative earnings losses from migration (LeClere and McLaughlin, 1992). In such situations, the economic consequences of migration may well be positive for the family but not for the woman herself. Under these circumstances her relative status within her family would fall, as per the hypothesis in Box 3.

The *nature of the areas of origin and destination*—including whether they are urban or rural—is important in determining whether a migrant's characteristics match those that contribute to success in the area of destination. In societies experiencing sustained economic growth, where urbanization and industrialization are increasing, rural-urban migration is more likely to lead to positive outcomes for female migrants (see case studies in UN, ed. 1993, on Southeast Asia). Rural-rural migration, on the other hand, usually has less potential to increase either the employment or social opportunities of women migrants, especially those who are married.

Using a more comprehensive approach, the consequences of migration for the individual woman (and/or her family) may be investigated through a multi-level approach, as outlined concerning the determinants of migration in section II.C above. And, again, existing analyses have rarely gone beyond individual and household factors in assessing variables that influence the consequences of migration, whether for women or for men.

Most of the factors that affect the determinants of migration in a multi-level model (see in Figure 1 above) also influence the *consequences* of migration to women. Marital status is again likely to be a powerful factor, married women being in general less likely to reap individual benefits from migration than single women, *except* where they played a major role in the migration decision, the latter may well turn upon their relative contribution to household income *prior to* migration (see Box 3 on gender theory above). Among individual-level factors, age, education (more education opens up better employment opportunities), work experience prior to migration, the woman's ownership of assets, urban-rural origins (previous urban experience should help those who migrate to a city, and similarly for previous farm experience for migration to a rural area), and contacts in potential destination communities, are likely to be important determinants of her success.

Regarding household-level variables, in the case of a married woman, besides her relative power in decision-making, the attitudes of her husband towards her working and the extent of social freedom she experiences in the place of destination are likely to be important. It also seems plausible that individuals and households who migrate with assets are likely to fare better, including women. Large families may fare poorer to the degree it takes more income to sustain them, but they also have more potential income-earners, so age, sex and education of the household members are likely to be important. But more than in the case of men, *community norms and cultural values* in the place of destination can be powerful determinants of the success of the woman migrant. To the extent these norms are more open and encouraging in the place of destination than the place of origin, she is likely to benefit from migration, and conversely. Such norms include attitudes towards the appropriate roles of women in society, politics, and the marketplace. A variety of structural factors, including socio-economic infrastructure such as schools, health and family planning clinics, and community and women's organizations may also be important for the woman migrant. Labour market conditions —employment opportunities for women and conditions of work (wage levels, fringe benefits, etc.)— are evidently crucial determinants of her earnings prospects, but the normative factors noted also play fundamental roles in determining whether she will be able to actually avail herself of the opportunities. Thus, multi-level models for investigating the factors that affect the *consequences* of migration for women are also attractive, especially if potentially relevant policy variables can be measured at the local community level (or higher level) for inclusion in the analytical model. Such models could provide insights valuable for policy formulation, including which policy levers should be manipulated to improve outcomes for migrant women. So far, no attempts have been made to statistically implement such a model to analyse the consequences of migration.

Although the consequences of migration may be appraised at the level of the individual woman, her family, her community of origin or that of destination, little has been done so far to assess them at a level beyond that of the migrant herself or her family. One problem in assessing the consequences of migration at the *community* level is that data are required on non-migrant households in areas of origin and destination not only at the time of interview but also *over time*. Because non-migrants are affected indirectly by the migration of others, information on their situation before and after migration is necessary to assess the impact of migration on them. An appraisal of the consequences of migration requires taking into account the consequences on all populations affected.

2. Dimensions for appraising the consequences of migration for women

Most of the discussion above reflects bias in the literature towards assessing the *economic* consequences for women migrants. Other dimensions for appraising the consequences include demographic, social, environmental, and something that could be dubbed personal-psychological consequences. While it is beyond the scope of this monograph to go into these in any detail, several comments are appropriate. Demographic consequences include the effects on fertility (strictly, on the *pace* of child-bearing by migrant women; see next subsection below); on marital stability, or, in the case of single women, on their becoming married and the "quality" of the marriage; and on health/morbidity and mortality of the woman and her family members (such as from exposure to a new environment with different disease vectors, threats of violence, etc.). Environmental consequences include increases or decreases in housing quality, including access to drinking water and sanitation; changes in exposure to indoor and outdoor air and water pollution, chemical pesticides, toxic substances, noise pollution, and crime and violence; or changes in exposure to and contacts with the natural environment, and possible fears of nature, such as may result from rural-rural migration to rain-forest areas. Social and psychological consequences include contacts with family and friends, with "society" or particular social or ethnic groups, feelings of anomie or comfort, of satisfaction or lack, thereof with one's place of residence, work, friends, and physical environment. Some of these micro-level consequences have macro-level counterparts; for example, migration may affect the age-sex composition of areas of origin and destination, crowdedness and competition for land or urban space, or urban pollution in its various forms. However, migrants tend to be commonly unfairly blamed for urban problems which have their origins primarily in institutional (or government policy) failures: c.f., World Bank, 1992; Satterthwaite, 1993. Some of the deleterious environmental consequences on health faced by migrants in urban areas affect women more than men (Satterthwaite, 1993:21ff), though much more research is needed on this topic.

A key issue is the extent to which the consequences of migration to migrants change over time, that is, whether adaptation to the area of destination leads to the consequences becoming more positive for the woman migrant the longer she lives there. A number of studies on the consequences of migration, a few on women as well as men, have found that most migrants interviewed in places of destination seem to adapt and achieve upward mobility over time, at least if their status at the time of interview is compared with their situation in the place of origin prior to migration. But few studies have examined the process of occupational change over time *after* arrival in the city (or other place of destination). To do this, requires a data set with at least a partial migration history. For example, given the very large number of young women migrating to cities to work as domestic household employees in many developing countries, a key question is what happens to these women *over time*, that is, do they achieve upward occupational mobility and improve their incomes over time, become "successfully" married, and/or contribute to the betterment of their households of origin? This is a crucial topic begging for systematic research. It is also desirable to undertake longitudinal studies of other key occupational groups of women migrants, such as those in the export processing and *maquila* industries and those in the sex trade.

Another area of special interest for appraising the consequences of migration for women is the effect on women of the (temporary) out-migration of their husbands. Do the women suffer income/economic loss, work harder, and eventually have to face the reality that their husbands will not return? Or do they gain new autonomy, self-esteem, and community respect from their increased role in decision-making and managing the family business/farm? The answer varies with the duration (and frequency) of absence of the husband; the frequency of his visits and receipt of remittances; the socio-cultural environment of the woman's community —the degree to which it is considered appropriate for women left alone to make economic decisions (such as regarding farm management) on their own; the extent to which other kin and neighbours provide assistance; and legal aspects of women's property rights in the community. Much of the research on the effects of male out-migration on women has been based only on workers migrating to work in the mines of South Africa, and has found both positive and negative effects on the women remaining behind. But this is a situation which is hardly typical (involving temporary migration which is international, often for many months at a time, and to a country practicing Apartheid). There has been far less attention to the issue in the much more common situation worldwide involving truly temporary and *internal* out-migration of husbands for work in seasonal jobs in agriculture or urban construction (for a review of the consequences on rural women, see Palmer, 1985). In a recent empirical study on the Jequitinhonha Valley near Sao Paolo, Brazil, Goza et. al. (1993) used an intensive time activity chart of the Anker type discussed above to investigate whether the work activities of women whose husbands spent several months away harvesting sugar cane each year differed from those whose husbands stayed put. Perhaps surprisingly, the differences were found to be insignificant, though it did appear that the children suffered by sacrificing their school attendance, presumably to assist their mother. The authors attributed the lack of significant effects on women's work to the rigid division of labour by gender in the origin area society.

3. Appropriate comparison groups

In the case of women migrants, the consequences can be assessed by (a) comparing their own situations *before and after* migration; (b) comparing their situation after migration with that of *non-migrant* women remaining in the area of origin, or (c) with that of non-migrant women in the place of destination, or (d) with that of *migrant men* in the place of destination. As noted in II.C.3 above, such comparisons can be carried out in terms of a variety of different dimensions which may reflect status changes, including in her marital situation, pace of child-bearing, educational attainment, employment, individual earnings, household income, ownership of land or assets, etc. Improvements may be experienced in some dimensions and not in others.

In general, if a woman's status (e.g., income and/or autonomy/equality) improves after migration with respect to her previous status [(a) above], it is assumed that migration is beneficial to her. This interpretation, however, fails to take account of the possibility that women who did not migrate may have experienced similar or even better improvements in a dynamic environment. Thus the situation of migrant women should be compared with that of *non-migrant women* in the place of origin [(b) above], controlling for key characteristics, such as age and education. A less adequate comparison, but one more often carried out in practice because it requires data only for the area of destination, is that between migrant and non-

migrant women in the place of destination (c). However, such a comparison does *not* show what the consequences of migration have been for female migrants but rather how quickly they are adapting to the area of destination by becoming similar to non-migrant women. Finally, the situation of female migrants can also be compared with that of male migrants [(d) above] in order to determine whether women benefit from migration as much as men. There is some evidence to indicate that they do *not*. This is a very important topic for research, which requires, first, documentation of the extent to which it exists and where, and investigation of the reasons.

A starting point in any study of the consequences of migration for women is to obtain basic descriptive information on women and men migrants. One country that has been the subject of considerable research is Thailand. Tables 2.11-2.13 below (from Phongpaichit, 1993) indicate the kinds of data that can be obtained. Table 2.11 shows dramatically increasing trends over time in both the total volume of migrants to Bangkok and the proportion of females in the migration stream. Table 2.12 demonstrates the higher labour force participation rates of migrants compared to non-migrants of both sexes but especially of women, and also shows the very high participation rates of women in general in Bangkok. Table 2.13 contains considerable descriptive information on the characteristics of women and men migrants in Bangkok in the late 1980s, showing, inter alia, that women are likely to be younger and less educated. But understanding the real consequences for women migrants requires going well beyond such data to measuring differences in individual earnings and household income, occupational mobility over time, housing conditions, housing quality, control over assets, marital status, fertility, social contacts and satisfaction, etc.

E. Recommendations

Recommendations are summarized here regarding data collection procedures ((1)-(4) below) and analyses of the determinants and consequences of women's migration ((5)-(9) below). These recommendations draw directly from sections II.A-II.D above. Most recommendations are delineated in more detail and justified therein. It is important to note that most of the existing cross-country data on levels and characteristics of female internal migrants (and international migrants as well) are based on outdated information —viz., from the 1970- and 1980-rounds of population censuses around the world.

As the 1990-round data sets become available, a coordinated analysis should be undertaken to determine the levels, patterns and characteristics (selectivity, comparisons with men) of women's migration, and how these may have changed in the 1980's compared to earlier decades. To improve the utilization of these aggregate and widely available data sets by government officials and scholars in developing countries, specialized documents and regional training courses are desirable. A number of useful documents are available to assist in this effort, including those of ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) based upon the 1970-round data in that region, UN Manuals, and, for migration survey design, Bilsborrow et al (1984) and several small volumes prepared by ESCAP around 1980. The two volumes prepared by the UN Population Division (UN, ed. 1993; UN, forthcoming) are state-of-the-art compendia dealing specifically with internal and international migration of women, respectively.

TABLE 2.11
NUMBER OF MIGRANTS TO BANGKOK METROPOLIS: PERCENTAGE FEMALE, BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL AND PLACE OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Period of Arrival	*Total*	*Region of previous residence*			
		Central	*North*	*North-east*	*South*
		A. *Number of Migrants*			
Nov. 1973-Oct 1975.....	67 213	28 210	7 372	24 891	6 740
Sept. 1986-Aug. 1988....	100 482	24 320	19 686	48 669	7 807
		B. *Percentage Female*			
Nov. 1973-Oct 1975.....	53	54	52	52	49
Sept. 1986-Aug. 1988....	62	59	61	65	68

TABLE 2.12
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY MIGRATION STATUS, AGE GROUP, AND SEX BANGKOK METROPOLIS
(Percentage)

Age group	*Male*	*Female*
A. *Recent migrants as of 1988*		
11-19.....	74.3	78.7
20-29.....	91.2	78.0
30-39.....	98.5	74.3
40-49.....	100.0	75.8
40-59.....	82.4	54.1
60 or over.....	26.2	13.8
Total:	85.6	76.7
B. *Total population as of 1987*		
11-19.....	85.6	25.1
20-29.....	83.4	70.5
30-39.....	97.9	75.2
49-49.....	97.4	70.8
50-59.....	87.8	50.0
60 or over.....	34.7	17.4
Total:	70.0	55.8

Source: Phongpaichit, 1993.
Note: The Figures for the first 3 age groups under total population are based upon arithmetic averages of the age groups 11-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, and 35-39.

TABLE 2.13
CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS TO BANGKOK METROPOLIS, 1986-1988
(*Percentage*)

Characteristics	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Reason for migration			
Education	9	11	10
Work	72	65	68
Other reasons	19	24	22
Number of respondents	41 380	68 324	109 704
Previous place of residence			
Urban area	37	33	35
Rural area	63	67	65
Number of respondents	41 390	68 335	109 725
Place of birth			
North	18	17	17
Central	34	29	30
North-east	42	47	45
South	6	8	7
Foreign countries and unkown	0.4	0.3	0.3
Number of respondents	41 394	68 334	109 728
Age group of employed migrants			
10-19	30	52	43
20-29	48	38	43
30 or over	22	10	14
Number of respondents	29 782	44 462	74 244
Education of employed migrants			
No education	1	2	2
Elementary or less	70	80	76
Secondary	22	14	18
Higher than secondary	7	4	5
Number of respondents	30 918	47 183	78 101

Source: Phongpaichit, 1993.

1. Initial data collection procedures need to be improved and expanded. Existing census procedures of many developing countries of publishing data on internal migration movements only at the *first* level of major civil division (by state or province) should be changed. Migration data, for each sex separately, should be published to at least the *second* level of political disaggregation, that is for districts, municipios or counties (or the equivalent). These tabulations should be made available to local and national government agencies and planners. Selected summary tabulations, or census tapes, should also be prepared and made accessible to local planners and scholars at the third level as well. This would provide data users with much more complete information about migration and also, to the extent that women tend to migrate over shorter distances than men, improve the completeness of reporting of women's migration.

2. Even more important is the need to undertake *specialized surveys* of internal migration to obtain data that go beyond our typically limited descriptive, census-based knowledge limited to overall patterns of migration and selectivity of female and male migrants. Data sets are needed which permit careful investigations of the determinants and consequences of migration, preferably comparing women with men. Very few such migration surveys have been undertaken, even at a strictly limited geographic level, in contrast to well over 100 detailed national fertility surveys in developing countries during the past two decades. Only when more numerous and detailed migration surveys are implemented and subsequently analysed will we be able to generate reliable knowledge about the migration process and its contribution to improving (or not) human welfare and enhancing development. Indeed, such data are necessary for the formulation of viable population distribution and development policies in general, not only for their value for increasing our knowledge about women migrants. As a start, adding only a few questions on internal migration to the ongoing world-wide Demographic and Health Surveys programme of USAID would provide useful data for examining the relationships between migration and fertility, marital status and even some consequences of migration for women migrants and their families. However, a proper study of the determinants or consequences of migration requires information on migrants *prior* to their migration, which in turn requires retrospective information on the situation of migrants in their previous place of residence —information which is not collected in the DHS or other fertility surveys, and which would not normally be of high priority in a fertility survey. (See also discussion of value of migration history and life history data below in Section III.D. Such data are equally valuable in the analysis of internal migration movements.)

3. Governments should be encouraged to collect and publish more data on temporary, short-term migration, disaggregated by sex. But given the space restrictions on census schedules, and the difficulty of obtaining reliable data on this topic from complete enumerations in population censuses, questions designed to identify temporary migrants (see Oberai, 1984) should be added to other data collection mechanisms, such as census samples or ongoing labour force surveys.

4. The custom of presuming that the head of household is automatically a male adult in the household (often even when he is away working and living elsewhere), and that it is he who

should be asked information about the activities, aspirations, etc., of all household members, including former members now living elsewhere, should be abandoned. In particular, the knowledge of the male respondent about the activities of female members of the household (and especially of out-migrant daughters) is likely to be incomplete. Male bias arising out of social norms and perceived appropriate images for women appears to lead to underreporting of women's migration and economic activities in many societies. Either an adult woman, or whenever possible the woman migrant herself, should be the respondent. This applies also to domestic household employees, a large and important class of women migrants who sometimes fall between the cracks in existing data collection procedures of censuses and household surveys.

5. With respect to improved *analytical approaches*, there is a need to take a broad subject matter approach in terms of the factors that should be examined in investigating the *determinants* of internal migration. Sex disaggregated information is therefore needed on demographic, social, environmental, etc., conditions of migrants and non-migrants, as well as on the usual economic variables such as employment, earnings, and land and other assets. It is also desirable to collect and combine data at the individual, household and community levels in order to analyse the determinants of migration via multi-level models, which best capture the effects of structural factors amenable to policy manipulation. This is particularly important in the analysis of women's migration since it is more strongly influenced by social mores regarding the appropriate roles of women in society and the economy.

6. The issue of *appropriate comparison groups* should be addressed at the outset in all studies of the determinants of internal (as well as international) migration to ensure that data are collected from the appropriate classes of persons in the appropriate venues, which will usually mean in *both* areas of origin and areas of destination. This has rarely been done. In general, the determinants of migration of *women* have also been neglected, despite the growing proportion of autonomous women migrants and the increasingly important role of women in development.

7. The determinants of *marriage migration* is of special importance in analyzing the migration of women, and one which has been almost totally ignored in published research.

8. With respect to the *consequences* of women's migration, it is necessary to obtain appropriate data for *women*, and analyse it, from the perspective of the woman herself as well as from the perspective of her family (the latter also should be done vis à vis the migration of men). It is essential to recognize the implications of selecting the comparison group on the inferences possible, and to accordingly take into account the type(s) of analyses of consequences desired at the outset in order to design appropriate data-collection procedures and venues. We need studies which explicitly recognize their limitations in this sense, but even more we need surveys to collect sufficiently rich data sets to permit a comparative assessment of the consequences along *several* lines. These include investigating the consequences over time for the women migrants themselves, the consequences based upon comparing women migrants with non-migrants in places of origin, and the consequences based upon comparing

women and men migrants. Investigations of factors which influence the consequences of migration for women (and in general) would also benefit substantially from a multi-level model approach.

9. Knowledge about the *consequences* of migration is necessary in order to determine whether policy interventions are *desirable* (to improve or ameliorate the consequences). Knowledge of *determinants* is necessary to assess whether any policy changes could have effects on the migration process. Thus, *both* are needed for governments to formulate improved policies regarding women's migration, and migration in general.

III. THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF WOMEN

In assessing data needs for the analysis of the international migration of women, it is important to bear in mind that, in contrast to internal migration, international migration is a process that involves at least two different nation states and is therefore highly influenced by the characteristics of those states, especially their *laws and regulations relating to migration*. Improvements in the measurement of international migration usually require changes in the regulatory mechanisms used to control migration. To understand the kinds of changes required, it is necessary to distinguish different types of migration flows and to assess the extent of women's participation in each type of flow. This is also essential in analysing either the determinants or the consequences of the international migration of women. Indeed, given that most international migrants are admitted by receiving countries only on a conditional basis, the extent to which the conditions restrict their activities in the host society often shape the *consequences* of migration for the women migrants and their families. The laws and regulations of both countries of origin and destination also contribute to determine who can leave, who can be admitted (and under what circumstances), and therefore affect the *determinants* of the international migration of women. In the case of female migrants, concerns about protection from abuse has led some countries of origin to impose additional restrictions on their out-migration, thus influencing both the volume and selectivity of female international migration.

It has been estimated that about 48 per cent of the existing stock of international migrants worldwide are women (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). Moreover, it appears that this stock has been increasing gradually in recent decades, probably for most major categories of migrants, including labour migrants, although existing data make it impossible to prove such an assertion. The estimate of 48 per cent and the other propositions derive primarily from data on the numbers of *foreign-born* persons enumerated by censuses between 1970 and 1986. However, of 208 countries or areas in the world in 1989, relevant information was available for only 157. Furthermore, the data available refer to different years and consequently are not representative of the situation at any particular date. Even so, census information permits an approximate assessment of international migration of women on a worldwide basis. Thus, women account for at least 44 per cent of the foreign-born population in three quarters of the countries, including the majority of countries with large numbers of foreign-born populations (i.e., with a million or more). The data also reveal important regional differences in the participation of women in international migration. In most countries in Africa, Asia and Oceania, men outnumber women among the foreign-born, but in half of the countries in the Americas women constituted at least half the foreign-born population and in Europe women outnumbered men among the foreign-born in 60 per cent of the countries for which the necessary data are available. It therefore appears that, in general, developed countries attract more female than male international migrants, while developing countries generally attract more male than female international migrants.

Although the data available are only suggestive of the magnitude of international migration, they imply that there are probably about *50 million female international migrants in the world*, which is at least ten times smaller than the number of internal female migrants, although reliable estimates of total stocks do not exist in either case. Such a difference in magnitude underscores the fact that, although international migration is attracting increasing attention, internal migration still has the potential for affecting the lives of much larger numbers of women.

A. Types of International Migration: The Female Dimension

Because international migration is inextricably linked to legal considerations, any discussion of the topic requires acknowledgement (explicit or implicit) of its legal dimensions. Thus, the practice of distinguishing different types of international migrants is closely tied to the *legal* aspects of international migration. Although a number of migrant typologies have been suggested in the literature, for purposes of this paper only those having major policy relevance will be considered. The intention is not to propose a general typology but rather to highlight the types of migration that have the greatest relevance for both policy considerations and measurement issues.

At least four major types of migrants are distinguished here: permanent settlers or immigrants, migrant workers, undocumented migrants, and refugees. Although these types do not exhaust the range of categories of international migrants (which also include return migration and emigration of citizens and asylum seekers), they nevertheless provide a useful framework. The importance of these four types is that each can be defined in terms of the conditions of entry and stay imposed by the *receiving* State. Permanent settlers (or "immigrants") are foreign persons granted the right to stay indefinitely in the country of destination. Usually, they are simultaneously granted social and economic rights equal to those of citizens. Migrant workers, in contrast, are foreign persons who are granted only limited permission to stay in the country of destination, permission that is conditional on their exercising some specified economic activity, and often requiring their return to the country of origin once the activity is completed or once the labour contract has expired. Sometimes family members are allowed to accompany migrant workers, but not permitted to work while in the country. Undocumented migrants (including so-called illegal aliens) are foreign persons who have not fulfilled all the requirements established by the receiving State with respect to entry, remaining, or working while there. Refugees are foreign persons granted permission to stay in a country other than their own because of fear of persecution in their own country on the basis of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion or activity[10].

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[10] This definition of refugee is consistent with United Nations instruments on refugees, namely, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. As of early 1994, about two thirds of the countries in the world had ratified either the 1951 Convention or its

It is instructive to compare definitions of the types of migrants above with the usual *demographic* definition of an international migrant. According to the latter, an international migrant is any person who moves from country A to country B at time t_0 and stays in country B until at least time t_1, where the difference between t_1 and t_0 is some minimum time, generally one year. This general definition *makes no reference to the citizenship* of the person in question; from the demographic perspective, the difference between citizens and foreigners is immaterial. But this is clearly not the case from the *policy* perspective. Furthermore, from the demographic perspective, the actual length of stay in the country of destination is the factor determining whether someone is classified as a migrant, whereas the definitions of the four international migrant types presented above deal with not *actual* length of stay but rather a legally sanctioned (or not sanctioned) length of stay. Zlotnik (1987) has used the term "legal time" to refer to the latter, noting that it is closely associated with anticipated legal residence. Thus, legal time represents "the time constraints (or lack of them) set by laws or regulations on the right to legal residence granted by the receiving state. It differs from the simple time criterion in that actual presence in the receiving state may be different from that determined by legal time" (Zlotnik, 1987, p. 937).

There are many instances in which *legal* time differs from the *actual* time that a migrant has spent in a country, which has important implications for the measurement of migration. Thus, a number of countries grant permanent residence rights to migrants only after they have spent several years in the country under temporary permits of various kinds. If, as is often the case, statistics on immigration reflect only those migrants who have been granted *permanent* residence rights in a given year, these statistics will misrepresent the true level of flows of migrants —that is, when people actually arrived in the country. In the case of migrant workers, discrepancies between legal time and actual time in the host country are particularly common, especially when their stay is regulated through the issuance of renewable work or residence permits.

The case of refugees further illustrates the complex interrelations between actual time, legal time, and the emergence of new categories of international migrants. Until the mid-1980s, most refugees arriving in developed countries had obtained refugee status while still abroad by virtue of being resettled from their first countries of asylum or because they originated in Communist countries. However, since then the numbers of persons filing asylum applications while *already* present in developed countries has increased considerably (Hovy, 1992; United Nations, 1994). Persons who have filed an asylum claim are usually allowed to stay in the country where the claim is filed until a decision on their status is reached, and are therefore in a transitional stage. This stage can last one, two or even more years, depending on the complexity of the asylum adjudication procedures and backlogs in the processing system in the ultimate receiving country. Once a decision on an asylum claim is reached, the asylum-seeker can become a refugee, be granted permission to stay temporarily on humanitarian grounds, or be denied asylum. In the latter case, he or she must leave the country or remain as an undocumented or illegal international migrant. Thus, the asylum-seeker category is intrinsically *transitory*, though the length of the transition period can easily be long enough to

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1967 Protocol. Consequently, the definition of refugee as established in those instruments is accepted widely.

make the asylum-seeker an international migrant in *demographic* terms. However, neither the asylum-seeker, nor the authorities of the country receiving the application for asylum have any way of knowing in advance what the length of the transition period will be.

This discussion indicates some of the problems intrinsic to the measurement of international migration. A further complication arises with respect to women because of the administrative tendency to automatically classify them as "dependants" rather than "principal migrants". Indeed, throughout the world, the formulation of migration laws and regulations is influenced by prevailing conceptions of the family and of the roles that different family members ought to play. Women, as spouses or daughters, are traditionally assumed to have primarily non-economic roles under the assumption that their husbands or fathers are responsible for satisfying the family's economic needs. These perceptions are translated into immigration regulations that, in some circumstances, can actually *favour* female migration by facilitating the admission of dependants. On the other hand, in countries that either restrict or discourage family reunification, or which admit mainly migrant workers, the migration of women will tend to be smaller than that of men.

Countries that admit significant numbers of *permanent* settlers generally favour family reunification and are therefore more likely to receive approximately equal proportions of female and male immigrants. In the United States, for instance, women actually slightly outnumbered men among immigrants every year during the entire 1930-1980 period (Houstoun, Kramer and Barrett, 1984). During the early 1980s, however, men out-numbered women by small margins among permanent immigrants to the United States, but later in the decade women again slightly outnumbered men (Zlotnik, 1993). In the other traditional countries of immigration, namely, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, the proportions of women among immigrants have generally been lower than in the United States but were in any case around half during the 1980s (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). Unfortunately, these traditional countries of permanent immigration do not regularly publish data on immigrants classified by category of admission and sex. Where these data are available, they indicate that women predominate in the two categories of immigrants admitted as relatives of citizens and other immigrants. In the United States, for example during 1972-1979, women accounted for over 55 per cent of all persons admitted as relatives of US citizens, US resident aliens or other immigrants (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). Alien wives of US citizens alone accounted for nearly 10 per cent of all immigrants admitted during this period. In Canada, women constituted 58 per cent of all immigrants admitted during 1981-1986 in the "family class" category (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). Data on the accumulated stock of immigrant data obtained from censuses further confirm the relatively high proportions of women admitted as immigrants by the traditional countries of immigration. Thus, in the United States women constituted 53 per cent of the 14.1 million foreign-born persons enumerated in 1980 and outnumbered male migrants by nearly 1 million. In Canada, women accounted for 51 per cent of the 4 million foreign-born persons enumerated in 1981, and in Australia and New Zealand the share of women among the 3.2 and 0.5 million foreign-born persons enumerated, respectively, in the 1981 censuses was 49 per cent (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). Again, this proportion has tended to rise over time between succeeding censuses in most of these countries, indicating a *rising* share of women in international migration flows in recent years.

In contrast, countries that have resorted to temporary migration to satisfy their labour needs and that have simultaneously discouraged or restricted the reunification of families generally display lower proportions of women among their international migrant populations. In Europe, for instance, countries that favoured the admission of migrant workers during the 1960s and early 1970s tended to have relatively low proportions of women among their foreign populations even during the 1980s, after almost a decade of facilitating family reunification once the migration of foreign workers had been stopped. Thus, as Table 3.1 indicates, the share of women in the foreign populations of the main migrant-receiving countries of Europe generally ranged from only 43 to 45 per cent in the 1980s. Only in Sweden, a country with a relatively small foreign population, did women account for over 49 per cent of foreign citizens. Although data available for 1990 indicate that the proportions of women among the foreign populations increased in a number of European countries during the 1980s, in 1990 the proportion was still slightly less than half in most.

TABLE 3.1
FOREIGN POPULATION BY SEX IN SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

					1990		
Country	*Year*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
Belgium	1981	479	399	45.4	475	406	46.1
France	1982	2 120	1 595	42.9	1 988	1 619	44.9
Germany, Fed. Rep. .	1986	2 577	1 936	42.9	2 946	2 296	43.8
Netherlands	1986	313	240	43.4	381	311	44.9
Norway	1983	50	45	47.4	77	67	46.4
Sweden	1985	197	194	49.6	246	238	49.1
Switzerland	1985	532	429	44.7	617	484	44.0

Source: Zlotnik (1993).

Much sharper sex imbalances have been recorded in the labour-importing countries of Western Asia. In Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, for instance, women constituted only one fifth to one third of the foreign populations as enumerated by censuses in the 1970s (Zlotnik, 1991). In Kuwait, where more recent census information is available, the proportion of women among the non-Kuwaiti population was higher and also increased slightly over time, from 37 per cent in 1980 to 38 per cent in 1985 (Zlotnik, 1991). In general, the labour importing countries of Western Asia have restricted the family reunification of workers, particularly of those originating in South and Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, it is unfortunate that recent data on foreign populations residing in other countries of the Middle East are not available since there are clear indications of a substantial increase in the international labour migration of women to the region from South and Southeast

Asia (e.g., from Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the Philippines), particularly of domestic workers and others in traditionally "female" occupations such as nurses and teachers.

This brief review of the relative importance of women among international migrants in most of the principal countries of destination indicates that the migration policies of receiving countries are crucial determinants of the nature of women's participation in migration flows. The effects of migration policies on shaping trends in the various migrant types, and therefore the underlying migration flows, will be seen below.

1. The Participation of Women in Permanent Settler Migration

Very few countries, which are able to attract significant numbers of permanent migrants have provisions to grant foreigners, upon admission, permission to stay indefinitely in their territory. The four traditional countries of immigration, namely, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States, are among these few countries. The United States, as the major country of immigration in the world, granted permanent residence rights to 4.7 million immigrants during 1982-1989, 49.9 per cent of whom were women[11] (Zlotnik, 1993). Data on the distribution of immigrants by region of birth indicate that women have predominated among immigrants born in developed countries, South America, and East and Southeast Asia. Women tend to be moderately under-represented among immigrants born in sub-Saharan Africa, Western Asia and Northern Africa, and are least represented among migrants born in South Asia (Table 3.2). These variations suggest not only that regulations of the receiving country influence the sex-selectivity of migration, but that factors related to the roles and status of women in the areas of origin have powerful effects on this selectivity. Thus, regions in which the roles of women are circumscribed, in which their independence is curtailed by prevailing social norms and values, tend to produce considerably fewer female than male international migrants. Autonomous or individual female emigrants are therefore likely to be virtually non-existent in countries which restrict the participation of women in the broader aspects of social and economic life in the society.

Figure 2 compares the proportions of women among immigrants admitted since 1960 by the four main traditional countries of immigration. It is curious that New Zealand recorded an excess of men over women among long-term settlers, even during the early 1980s. In Australia, the proportion of women among international settlers was low until the early 1970s, then fluctuated around 50 per cent to 1985-86, and since has been consistently above that, reaching 53 per cent in 1992-93 (Australia, 1994). In Canada, women outnumbered men among landed immigrants in almost all years of the period, and in the United States, as already

[11] Data on immigrant admissions by sex for the United States are available only for 1982-1989 because a data-processing error in earlier years led to the loss of information on sex of the immigrant. Even for the years 1983-1984, sex of about 4 per cent of the immigrants was coded as "unknown". Such coding problems may be responsible, at least in part, for the fact that during 1982-1984, the only time in over fifty years, women were reported to be less numerous than men among immigrants to the US (Zlotnik, 1993).

noted, women also outnumbered men, sometimes by very significant margins, except for 1982-1987.

In addition to the traditional countries of immigration, some countries grant permanent resident rights or even citizenship to certain migrants by virtue of their ancestry. Jews, for example, have the right to Israeli citizenship whenever they choose to immigrate to that country. The data for Israel, presented in Table 3.3, indicate that women have outnumbered men among immigrants since 1961. The results of the 1983 census corroborate this, showing that 52 per cent of the 1.4 million foreign-born persons in Israel were women.

FIGURE 2

PROPORTION FEMALE IN IMMIGRANT INTAKE
Traditional countries of immigration

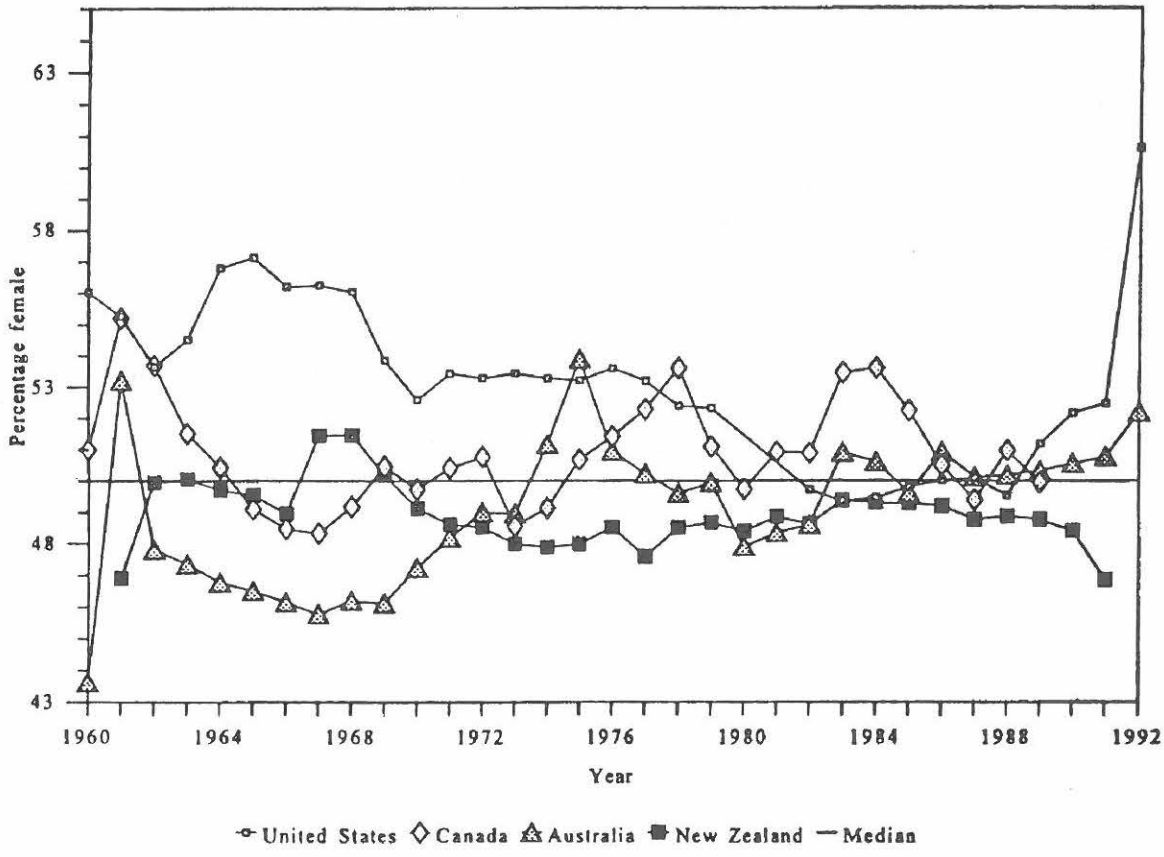

TABLE 3.2
IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED BY THE UNITED STATES, BY REGION OF BIRTH AND SEX, 1982-1992

Region of birth	*1982-1984*	*1985-1989*	*1990-1992*
	A. *Male*		
Immigrants (thousands)	835	1 511	1 024
Percentage born in:			
Developed countries	13.1	13.0	20.5
Developing countries	86.9	87.0	79.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.5	2.7	2.6
West Asia and North Africa	4.4	4.4	5.0
Southern Asia	8.5	9.4	9.4
Other Asia	37.4	29.4	29.4
Latin America	33.7	40.7	32.9
Caribbean	12.1	16.2	11.9
Central America	15.6	17.9	14.7
South America	6.0	6.6	6.3
	B. *Female*		
Immigrants (thousands)	819	1 518	1 146
Percentage born in:			
Developed countries	15.2	14.3	19.9
Developing countries	84.8	85.7	80.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.4	1.7	2.0
West Asia and North Africa	3.0	3.0	3.4
Southern Asia	7.1	8.3	8.4
Other Asia	39.7	33.7	32.4
Latin America	33.3	38.6	33.7
Caribbean	13.2	15.5	11.4
Central America	13.3	15.7	15.4
South America	6.7	7.4	6.9
	C. *Proportion female*		
Total	48.2	50.1	52.8
Developed countries	51.1	52.4	52.1
Developing countries	47.7	49.8	53.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	34.1	38.6	45.7
West Asia and North Africa	38.6	40.5	43.3
Southern Asia	43.3	47.1	49.9
Other Asia	50.1	53.6	55.2
Latin America	47.9	48.8	53.4
. Caribbean	50.4	48.9	51.9
. Central America	44.4	46.9	53.9
. South America	50.7	53.0	55.1

Source: Zlotnik (1993).

TABLE 3.3
IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL BY SEX, 1948-1990

Period	*Male*	*Female*	*Percentage female*
1948-1960	492 063	484 786	49.6
1961-1964	111 766	116 280	51.0
1965-1971	94 061	103 760	52.5
1972-1979	126 690	140 890	52.7
1980-1984	39 694	43 943	52.5
1985-1989	33 139	37 057	52.8
1990	94 030	105 486	52.9

Source: Israel (1991).

Other countries with provisions to admit and grant citizenship on the basis of ancestry have also received sizable inflows of migrants. The Federal Republic of Germany grants citizenship rights to ethnic Germans, most of whom live in Eastern Europe. Following political changes and liberalization in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, the inflow of ethnic Germans to Western Germany increased substantially. Of the 1.5 million ethnic Germans admitted between 1980 and 1989, about half a million were from the former German Democratic Republic. Of the 111,000 admitted during 1985-1988, 51.4 per cent were women. (Distribution by sex is not available for other years). Greece also has provisions for the admission of persons of Greek origin, including Pontic Greeks living in the former Soviet Union. During 1965-1990, an estimated 70,000 Pontic Greeks returned to Greece, but there are no estimates of the proportion of women (Emke-Poulopoulos, 1990). Italy also grants citizenship rights to the descendants of Italians who emigrated in years past, but again there are no data on the magnitude and characteristics of such migrants. Japan has recently amended its immigration law to allow the immigration of persons of Japanese descent. By 1991, 119,000 Brazilians and 26,000 Peruvians were legally resident in Japan, but information on the proportion female is not available.

2. The participation of women in labour migration

In contrast to permanent settler migration, labour migration, or the temporary admission of foreigners to fill specific jobs, is permitted by most countries. However, only a few countries admit sizable numbers of migrant workers, especially those in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories. During the second half of this century, the main cynosures for labour migration were certain countries of Western and Northern Europe, South Africa, followed by the oil-rich countries of Western Asia and Northern Africa in the 1970s-1980s, and most recently by the NICs (Newly Industrializing Countries) of Asia. In each case, admission has

been highly regulated to ensure its temporary nature. However, despite the efforts of receiving countries, many temporary workers have managed to remain for long periods in the country of destination. In Europe in particular, the goal of *temporary* labour migration failed, with the result that most of the labour-receiving countries felt compelled to allow migrant workers to remain even after they decided to stop the recruitment of foreign labour, around 1974. In order to normalize the life of those migrant workers who remained, regulations permitting family reunion were relaxed in the mid-1970s, giving rise to a second wave of migration fuelled by the entry of the workers' immediate family members. Although such developments led to the de facto settlement of sizable foreign populations, legal systems have been slow to recognize this situation. Thus most European countries still regulate the residence and economic activity of migrant workers and their families through complex systems of work and residence permits. Female migrants are particularly affected by such systems since their admission as dependants usually entails major restrictions on their labour force participation and access to certain services (see Boyd, 1990). Furthermore, since their residence rights are generally linked to those of a male relative (husband or father), they may well lose these rights if the relationship ends —another restriction on their autonomy.

Given the poor quality of data available, documenting the extent of women's participation in either the initial labour migration flows or those resulting from subsequent family reunion is far from straightforward. Indeed, few labour-receiving countries in the world publish data on the number of migrant workers classified by sex. In addition, because flows of migrant workers have generally involved high proportions of men, women have traditionally been ignored. Yet where appropriate information is available, it shows that the level of women's participation even in *worker* migration has been substantial. In 1907, for instance, 27 per cent of all foreign workers in the German Empire were women (Potts, 1990). During 1967-1974, women constituted 23 per cent of the Portuguese workers admitted by France (Tribalat, 1989), while from 1976 to 1987 women accounted for nearly 30 per cent of all workers admitted by France (Boyd, 1990).

Information on the proportion of women in the foreign population of the labour-importing countries of Europe provides indirect evidence of their participation in migration flows (Table 3.1). In the Federal Republic of Germany, women accounted for only 37 per cent of the foreign population in 1973, when the admission of foreign workers was stopped. But by late 1989, the proportion had increased to 45 per cent (Zlotnik, 1993). Flow data confirm that the proportion of women among migrants to the Federal Republic of Germany increased after 1974, reaching its highest level (46 per cent) only in 1985-1989. During the period in between, when family reunification was thought to be at its peak, the proportion of women in migrant inflows never exceeded 43 per cent, only eight points higher than the proportion of women recorded in migrant inflows at the height of *worker* migration (35 per cent in 1965-1974). Data on emigration flows from the Federal Republic of Germany help clarify the dynamics of the migration process. During 1965-1974, when worker migration still predominated, the proportion of women in the net migration gain recorded by the Federal Republic was 43 per cent. Between 1975-1984, in contrast, the net migration of women was positive while that of men was negative (Zlotnik, 1993). That is, the period immediately following the halting of worker migration led to *both* the departure of significant numbers of male migrants and the

entry of significant numbers of women as family members of the migrants who remained. The two flows roughly balanced each other, so that the Germany experienced relatively low net migration in 1975-1984, consistent with the goals of its migration policies. Thus its foreign population grew only slightly while the sex distribution became more balanced.

Evidence for Belgium confirms that it experienced reductions in the net inflow of both male and female migrants after the cessation of labour migration, and that the net migration gain of women was slightly higher than that of men in 1975-1979, with women accounting for 51 per cent of net migration. During 1980-1984 net migration to Belgium was negative for both men and women, but women recorded lower losses than men (Zlotnik, 1993).

Although these cases corroborate that women became more prominent in the migration flows directed towards European countries after worker migration ceased, they also illustrate the complexity of migration phenomena. Thus, the simplistic view that family reunification *always* increased female migration is not supported by available data. The process can be better understood as one of substitution: considerable numbers of foreign workers and their families left at the same time as the families of other workers arrived. In the exchange, women gained ground, especially women from developing countries.

International labour migration to developing countries has been usually dominated by men. This is especially the case in South Africa, where migrant workers have been concentrated in mining. Although data on migrant workers published by the Chamber of Mines of the Republic of South Africa are not explicit, it is assumed that all foreign workers are men (South Africa, 1985). In Western Asia, where foreign workers have been employed in a wider range of sectors, women workers have always been present, especially in the service sector, as teachers, nurses or, more recently, in domestic service. Unfortunately, aside from the stock data cited earlier, there is virtually no information by sex on migrant workers in the oil-rich countries of Western Asia. Indeed, evidence on the migration of women workers to the region can be obtained only from data provided by countries of *origin* on work permits granted to persons wishing to work abroad. In the early 1980s, Korale (1983) reported that, according to official statistics, among workers leaving Sri Lanka for Western Asia, women outnumbered men by wide margins. Since then women have become prominent among workers entering countries in the Middle East from other Asian countries as well, including Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. Indonesia's official statistics indicate that in 1988 alone 50,000 women left to work abroad. The equivalent numbers for Thailand and Sri Lanka were 15,000 and 9,000, respectively (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). The Philippines has a long tradition of emigration and Filipino women are taking advantage of work opportunities not only in Western Asia but also in Southeastern Asia, Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia and Singapore. Unfortunately, data on the international labour migration of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration are generally not classified by sex. In 1987, however, it was reported that 108,000 Filipinos, presumably women, were employed as nurses or domestic helpers around the world. Most nurses (23,000 out of a total of 26,000) were working in Western Asia. Most of the remaining 82,000 were domestic helpers, the largest numbers in Hong Kong (30,000), Singapore (17,000), Saudi Arabia (9,000) and the United Arab Emirates (9,000). About 4,000 were also reported to be working in Europe (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). Filipino and Thai women are also known to work in entertaining and related activities in Japan. Numbers admitted have been increasing but Japanese data on international in-migrants are not classified by sex (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming).

Box No. 4

Women as Temporary Migrant Workers in Asia

One of the major source countries of female migrant workers in Southeast Asia is the Philippines. With relatively high levels of educational attainment and command of English, Filipino women have long been in demand as nurses in overseas countries. In fact, the countries of destination of Filipino female migrants are not exclusively in Western Asia. Reports of Filipino women working as domestic workers in Hong Kong, Singapore or even Italy abound. Filipino women are also prominent among temporary workers admitted to Japan as entertainers.

Data compiled by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration indicate that worker migration from the Philippines tripled between 1980 and 1987, from 137,000 to some 450,000 to 500,000 workers per year. Unfortunately, no distribution by sex is provided. However, data for 1987 indicate that 81,000 women were deployed as domestic workers abroad, 32,000 as entertainers and 26,000 as nurses. Distribution by country of destination shows that most nurses (23,000 out of a total of 26,000) were working in Western Asia, Saudi Arabia alone accounting for nearly 18,000.

Among the 81,000 domestic workers reported, 51,000 were working in Asian countries other than the oil-rich countries of Western Asia, primarily Hong Kong (30,000) and Singapore (17,000). Countries in Western Asia employed an additional 24,000, mainly Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (with about 9,000 and 8,000 respectively). Only about 4,000 were reported to be working in Europe, mainly in Greece (1,600) and Italy (1,500).

Among the 31,579 Filipino women migrating as entertainers, virtually all (31,292) went to Japan. Japanese statistics show that the net balance of entries and departures of citizens from the Philippines has been increasing steadily. In 1980, this balance amounted to only 1,500 persons, but by 1987 it had reached 18,000 (Japan, 1988). Unfortunately, data on entries to and departures from Japan are not classified by sex, nor jointly by place of origin and purpose of stay. It is therefore not possible to know how many Filipino women enter the country and for what purpose. There is evidence, however, that the number of Filipino women working illegally in Japan has been increasing over time.

Source: United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming.

3. Women as undocumented migrants

Given the increasing reluctance of governments all over the world to admit foreign workers, many workers become undocumented once their work permits expire. In many developed and developing countries "overstaying" is as common a mechanism for changing residence as illegal entry in the first place. But because of its nature, undocumented migration is almost impossible to accurately quantify, as is, ipso facto, the relative participation of women among undocumented migrant populations. Nevertheless, some evidence on the extent of women's involvement may be obtained from the results of amnesties and regularisation drives. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of the United States led to approximately 1.8 million persons applying for regularisation or amnesty under the regular legalization programme and a further 1.3 million under the special agricultural-workers

programme (SAW). The shares of women applicants in the two programmes were 43 and 18 per cent, respectively. Given that the majority of farmworkers are men, the low proportion of women applicants under the SAW programme is hardly surprising. Women constituted over 40 per cent of applicants under the regular programme.

Other countries, including some developing countries, have also initiated programmes to regularize undocumented migrants. For example, Argentina has done this a number of times this century, involving several hundreds of thousands of persons, the majority from Bolivia. Of the 147,000 persons "regularized" in 1974, for example, 47 per cent were women. A regularization campaign carried out in 1980 in Venezuela involved processing 267,000 applications, 46 per cent were women. In France, in contrast, a regularization drive carried out in 1981-1982 yielded 132,000 legalizations, only 17 per cent to women. Similarly, in Italy, only 28 per cent of the 105,000 migrants regularized in 1987-1988 were women (United Nations Secretariat, forthcoming). Finally, the participation of women in illegal migration in *developing* countries may be rising, e.g., of Indonesians to Malaysia.[12]

4. Women as refugees

In early 1993 there were an estimated 19 million refugees in the world. Women and children were thought to constitute up to 80 per cent in a number of countries (UNHCR, 1993). However, statistics on refugees are at best rough approximations in many countries, and in most cases no classification is available by age or sex. Consequently, the claim that women and children together constitute large proportions of refugee populations, particularly in the developing countries of Africa, Asia or Central America, is simply a recognition of the fact that refugees are generally representative of the population as a whole of high fertility countries, where the proportion of children (persons under 18) and women together varies from 74 to 78 per cent (United Nations, 1993a).

Although the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been calling for improvements in information on women refugees, changes have been slow in coming. Indeed, the 1991-1992 UNHCR report on programme planning to the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme provided a breakdown of the refugee population by sex and age for only 16 countries of asylum (UNHCR, 1992). Typically, reports included only the percentage of women among "adults" and the percentage of "children" in the total, with children variously defined as persons under 15, 16, 17 or 18 (see Table 3.4). In several cases the percentages reported were noted only as "estimates" while in others they referred only to a subset of the total refugee population in the country. The proportion of women and children (together) varied from a low of 54 per cent among Vietnamese refugees in Indonesia to a high of 82 per cent among Liberians and Angolans in Cote d'Ivoire and Zaire, respectively. Among adults, refugee women outnumbered refugee men in only three of the twelve countries with the necessary data available, while they were almost as numerous in another three, and were less numerous than refugee men in the remaining six, often by wide

[12] Private communication of Graeme Hugo.

margins. Among the six countries for which the *overall* proportion of refugee women was reported, they outnumbered refugee men in three and were outnumbered by men in the other three. Thus, the data available, though partial and of highly uncertain quality, do *not* corroborate the widespread belief that women constitute especially high proportions of most refugee populations in the world.

TABLE 3.4
PROPORTION OF WOMEN AMONG REFUGEES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES OF FIRST ASYLUM

Country of asylum	*Origin*	*Number of refugees*	*Percentage of*			
			Women	*Adult women*	*Women and children*	*Upper age of children*
Africa						
Central African Republic	Sudanese	12 000	49	47	66	18
Côte d'Ivoire	Liberian	230 000	--	59	82	18
Senegal[a]	Various	72 000	58	--	--	--
Swaziland	Mozambicans[b]	15 500	52	--	--	--
	Total	50 000	--	--	--	--
Zaire	Angola	279 000	52	41	82	18
	Total	483 000	--	--	--	--
Latin America						
Costa Rica	Various	25 000	--	39	65	--
Guatemala	Various	5 100	40	--	76	18
Mexico	Various	51 000	--	50	82	--
Asia						
Bangladesh	Assisted	265 000	--	50	75	15
India	Non-Sri Lankan	10 600	--	50	72	18
	Total	140 600	--	--	--	--
Indonesia	Vietnamese	17 000	--	--	54	--
	Cambodian	1 700	--	--	55	--
Iran	Afghanistan	3 187 000	--	33	--	--
Malaysia	Vietnamese	12 500	--	53	66	17
Nepal	Bhutan	50 000	49	48	65	16
Pakistan[a]	Afghanistan	2 768 000	--	53	76	--
Thailand	Indo-chinese	86 000	--	44	65	--

Source: UNHCR (1992).

[a] Estimated.
[b] Assisted refugees only.

Indeed, as at the end of 1993, there were some 90 females for every 100 male refugees assisted by UNHCR. Africa was the only region where the number of females was almost equal to that of males (UNHCR, 1994).

Another indication of the extent of women's involvement in refugee migration is provided by statistics gathered by third countries of asylum which admit refugees for resettlement. In the United States, for instance, among the 888,000 refugees and asylees granted lawful

permanent status during 1983-1991, 45 per cent were female. In Canada, the share of women admitted among the 276,000 refugees and persons in the designated classes[13] during 1981-1991 was only 40 per cent. Although data for other countries are lacking, women are likely to constitute less than half of the refugees reaching developed countries, partly because the criteria used to select refugees for resettlement often work to the detriment of women. Among asylum-seekers as well, women are likely to be underrepresented, although data on asylum applications by sex of applicant are rare. Those available for France, for example, indicate that women accounted for 33 per cent of asylum claims filed in 1991-1992.

The involvement of women in refugee migration varies considerably by country of asylum. In developed countries, there is a strong tendency for women to be underrepresented, especially among refugees admitted for resettlement and among asylum-seekers. On the other hand, in developing countries, women often outnumber men in refugee populations since men are more likely to be involved in civil strife (or already dead). Casual observation and reports from NGOs suggest that women are more numerous than men in refugee camps in East and West Africa. In investigating refugees in camps in Africa, for example, Adepoju observed primarily women and children. And yet the extreme dearth of data makes any estimates of international migration stocks (not to mention annual flows) so unreliable as to be almost meaningless. A complete reassessment of the data collection and reporting procedures is therefore necessary to improve the quality of data on refugees.

B. Data Sources

The measurement of international migration and the assessment of its impact usually requires the use of a variety of data sources. As in the case of internal migration, most standard sources of demographic data are also potential sources of information on international migration. However, because international migration is generally subject to various types of administrative controls, there are a number of additional data sources whose specificity makes them relevant only for the study of international migration. The *standard* demographic sources include censuses, household sample surveys, and population registers. Additional sources —mostly of an administrative nature— include statistics arising from border controls, the issuance of specific migration and work permits, the granting of permissions to emigrate, and the issuance of passports and granting of visas.

1. Demographic Data Sources

a) Population censuses

Population censuses are a major source of information on the stock of international migrants in a country at a given time. Since international migrants constitute very small

[13] The designated classes encompass persons who are displaced, persecuted or oppressed and are in need of protection even though they do not necessarily meet the strict definition of a Convention refugee.

proportions of the populations of most countries, the universal coverage of censuses makes them an ideal tool to assess numbers. However, censuses have a number of limitations since:

- they take place only at relatively long intervals;
- they can accommodate only a small number of questions, and consequently cannot gather detailed information on migrants;
- they are likely to undercount the population as a whole somewhat, with the level of undercount higher than average among international migrants, especially persons in the country only temporarily or illegally;
- international migrants may have a vested interest in not being counted or in misreporting their migrant status; and
- they do not provide reliable information on annual flows of in-migrants, only on the stock existing at a certain (census date) time;
- they provide no information on out-migration, nor hence on net international migration flows;
- census takers receive minimal training and are therefore unlikely to detect response errors.

Despite these limitations, censuses generally constitute the most comprehensive sources of data on international migration. Being essentially demographic tools, censuses have the advantage of incorporating demographic definitions of migration that facilitate comparing data across countries. Thus, most countries identify the stock of international migrants on the basis of information on place of birth and equate migrants with the foreign-born. Among the 157 countries or areas having information on international migration from a census during the 1970 or 1980 rounds of censuses, 120 had data on the foreign-born. The rest had information only on country of citizenship, with the result that international migrants had to be assumed to be the same as foreigners.

Perhaps the most important advantage of censuses is that they permit identification of migrants in terms of key demographic and socio-economic characteristics, including sex, age, place of residence, educational attainment, and marital status. Data are also sometimes obtained on participation in the labour force, occupation, housing conditions,
fertility and household structure. However, all too often the potential value of this information fails to be realized because data on the foreign-born are seldom tabulated in sufficient detail. Even the most basic tabulations of the foreign-born by sex, age group and country of birth are often not available in printed form (United Nations, 1993c and 1993d). It is therefore crucial to devise mechanisms to promote a more thorough exploitation of census information on international migrants.

No other developing region has taken an initiative similar to that taken by IMILA for Latin America. As a result, census publications for countries in Africa and Asia are less likely to contain information on international migrants, less likely to provide detailed tabulations on that sub-population when they do publish information, and more likely to use citizenship rather than the much more preferable country of birth as the criterion to identify international migrants. Thus, of 37 countries using only citizenship, 17 were in Africa, 8 in Asia and none

in Latin America. Many more countries in Africa and Asia than in Latin America and the Caribbean lack census information on international migration.

With respect to information on female international migrants, although the censuses of most countries publish data on the total foreign-born or the foreign population by sex and age group, tabulations relating to the foreign-born are often not available by sex. This is true of both developed and developing countries. For example, the regular "Immigration Update" publication of the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research in Australia has only one table with a breakdown by gender.[14]

Box No. 5

Improving the Dissemination of Census Data on International Migration

An example of a successful initiative in this regard is the IMILA project carried out by the Latin American Demographic Center (CELADE) of ECLAC since the 1970s (Arretx, 1987). As part of the project, CELADE has obtained census tapes covering either the total foreign-born population or a representative sample of it. From these tapes, CELADE prepared 14 comparable tabulations for 13 countries (CELADE, 1986 and 1989). Eight of the 14 tables cited by Arretx provide data on the foreign-born population by *sex*, including age group; marital status and age group; place of residence five years prior to census and age group; place of birth; activity status and age group; economically active population over age 10 by economic activity and age group; non-economically active population by age group; and population aged 10 and over by schooling and age. These data were obtained from one or two censuses per country during the period 1960-82. Consequently, the IMILA project was successful in facilitating access to comparable information on international migrants living in the majority of the Latin American countries. Unfortunately, at this moment, the IMILA project is in danger of disappearing because of reductions in the data processing capabilities of CELADE.

Source: Arretx, 1987

This neglect is even more likely in tabulations of the economically active population. As with internal migration, female international migrants are often considered a priori to not be economically active and *ipso facto* to not be quantitatively important enough to be separately identified. Even the IMILA tabulations, which in most instances provide a breakdown by sex, fail to do so in tabulations of the economically active migrants by occupation and country of birth (CELADE, 1986 and 1989). In addition, information on the status of the person in the household (viz., relationship to "head", or to the person on line 1 of the household roster) and on the fertility of foreign-born women, is also rare.

In a number of countries, censuses gather information that allows the identification of migrants using criteria other than place of birth or citizenship. Thus, censuses may permit the identification of persons living outside the country of enumeration at a certain date before the census (e.g., one or five years before), or they may allow the identification of persons whose previous place of residence was another country. Censuses may also record the date of first entry into the country of enumeration, so that duration of stay can be known; or they may inquire about *both* place of birth and citizenship so that different groups of international migrants can be considered, namely, foreign-born citizens (by birth or by naturalization), foreign-born foreigners, native-born citizens, and (a category which does exist in many countries, such as Germany) native-born foreigners. However, the additional information gathered is seldom used to its potential

[14] We are indebted to Graeme Hugo for this observation.

because of the limited number of published tabulations on international migrants. Thus, although gross numbers by sex are often available, more detailed tabulations by sex *combined* with other variables —crucial in assessing the characteristics and selectivity of international migrants, as well as its determinants and consequences— have, in general, not been published.

In developing countries, some censuses (e.g., the latest censuses of Pakistan, Lesotho and Peru) have tried to assess the extent of emigration by obtaining information on persons present in the country at a certain time in the past but who were outside the country at the time of enumeration. Generally, the informant —the person providing information about the household and its members— is requested to list all persons considered to be members of the household who are residing abroad at the time of the census. This approach, however, is likely to yield underestimates of emigration because persons who have been absent for a long time and those who do not intend to return are unlikely to be considered household members at the time of the census. This is particularly so for women, especially if they migrated to start a family abroad. Furthermore, when entire families migrate together, there is no one left behind to report on their international out-migration. Several countries that have included questions on household members residing abroad at the time of the census have been the source of sizable numbers of migrant workers. Although not stated explicitly, these countries are mostly interested in assessing the magnitudes of outflows of *male* workers. Consequently, there may be inherent biases in data collection procedures which are likely to result in undercounts of women emigrants. This needs to be carefully investigated.

b) Household Surveys

As noted above with respect to internal migration, surveys have the advantage of being much more flexible than censuses regarding the types and number of questions that can be accommodated without impairing data quality. However, most sample surveys cover only a small proportion of the total population and are therefore unlikely to provide a proper representation of small subgroups such as international migrants, unless specific additional measures are taken. These include increasing the sample size, implementing procedures to oversample the migrant population (to the extent that it is concentrated in certain areas/cities of the country of destination, and these areas can be identified: see Bilsborrow, 1984), or carrying out a survey exclusively of the international migrant population (Oberai, 1993). In any case, such surveys should most definitely be based upon probability samples, where the probability of selection of each household is known a priori, rather than non-scientific quota or judgement samples. Only in the case of the former can generalizations to the larger (country) population be made, and tests of hypotheses of relationships carried out (e.g., on the determinants or consequences of international migration).

While the typical demographic or socio-economic surveys are generally too small to produce reliable indicators on international migrants (with small sample takes, standard errors are unacceptably large), there are some important exceptions. Labour-force surveys carried out in the member States of the European Community, for instance, provide acceptable overall estimates of the size of the international migrant labour-force and its major characteristics. But even these generally do *not* yield reliable indicators for specific migrant groups, including economically active migrant women in those European countries where the labour force participation of migrant women is low or restricted by regulation.

In the United States, the Current Population Survey (CPS) is sufficiently large (a minimum of 60,000 households per month) to provide acceptable information about the overall foreign-born population. Indeed, the June 1988 round of the CPS was used to estimate the extent to which regularization of undocumented migrants under IRCA would reduce the size of the population of undocumented migrants (Woodrow and Passel, 1990). It was concluded that IRCA would have a much greater impact on reducing the undocumented status of male than of female international migrants.

In general, surveys producing the most relevant information regarding international migration are those designed to cover exclusively international migrants. However, given the fluidity of international migration, it is not always possible to devise an adequate sampling frame for these surveys; consequently, many lack the representativity required to make reliable inferences. In any case, the wide variety of survey designs available precludes a comprehensive discussion of the topic here. Consequently, only a few surveys are discussed below to highlight strengths and limitations regarding the analysis of women's international migration.

In 1982, a survey on family formation was conducted in France in conjunction with the census. It targeted foreign-born women, and because its sample was a subsample of the census population, it was a representative sample of female international migrants in France. The sample covered 23,000 foreign-born women, 52 per cent of whom were still classified as foreigners at the time of interview and 48 per cent of whom were by then French citizens, most by naturalization (Tribalat et al, 1991). Although the questionnaire used did not gather all the information necessary to assess the process of family formation of migrants (for example, place of birth of children was available only for those who still lived at home), it did represent a unique data source for analysis of the adaptation process by allowing comparisons between migrant mothers and their daughters. Had the survey included retrospective questions on economic activity status, however, much more could have been learned concerning the process of adaptation of women migrants over time.

An important shortcoming of the majority of surveys, which are carried out only in the country of destination, is that information about place of origin, or about the migrant's situation before migration, can be obtained only through retrospective questions, which results in memory recall problems and possibilities of misreporting (see also II.B.3 above). One possible strategy to avoid such problems is to carry out a longitudinal survey, interviewing international migrants *before* migration (in the country of origin), soon after it takes place, and at some later point (the latter two in the country of destination). Unfortunately, such surveys are more expensive and require more planning and budgetary support over a longer time period. This was the strategy in a longitudinal survey of Filipino and Korean immigrants to the United States in which a sample of persons who had already received immigrant visas were initially interviewed in their country of origin before they left. Although sample attrition was high (40-50 per cent), the results suggested that those reinterviewed were still representative of the original group. The data have been used to analyse the labour force adaptation of female immigrants (see Box No. 6).

The above example shows that because the usual destination-country sample surveys have limitations in dealing with the binational character of international migration, a better understanding of the migration process is achieved if information is collected in both communities of origin and destination (see Box No. 7).

Box No. 6

Female Immigration from the Philippines and the Republic of Korea to the United States

A longitudinal survey of Filipino and Korean immigrants to the United States was carried out by the East-West Population Institute (Hawaii) in collaboration with the University of the Philippines and Hanyang University (The Republic of Korea). The first two phases of the survey took place in 1986 and 1988. In 1986, the Immigrant Pre-Department Assessment Surveys (IPDA) were carried out in the Philippines and the Republic of Korea among persons intending to migrate to the United States. In 1988, the Immigrant Update Survey (IUS) was carried out in the United States among the immigrants interviewed in the earlier pre-departure surveys with the aim of documenting their experience during their first two years in the United States.

Married women aged 18 to 64 years comprised 28 per cent of the Filipino sample (579 women) and 40 per cent of the Korean sample (734 women) in the 1986 IPDA. In 1988, the IUS was able to interview 333 Filipino women and 356 Korean women. The 1986 IPDA data indicate that married immigrant women from both countries have, on average, 10 to 11 years of education, the majority originate in urban areas, and most report themselves as having a middle-class background.

Persons interviewed during the IPDA were asked about their expectations regarding their future life in the United States, including work and employment. Data indicate a very high proportion of married immigrant women expected to work in the United States, 76 and 83 per cent among Filipino and Korean women respectively.

Among both Filipino and Korean married women, the proportion expecting to obtain a job in the service sector was considerably higher. Only about half the Filipino women working as professionals before departure expected to obtain similar jobs in the United States. The largest differentials in work expectations were associated with their *husband's* origin.

About 93 per cent of Filipino immigrant women married to Filipino men expected to work, compared with 29 per cent of those married to American men. Similarly, 98 per cent of Korean immigrant women married to Korean men expected to work, compared with only 74 per cent of those married to American men. Data gathered in the second phase of the longitudinal migration survey (IUS) indicate that, in terms of averages, the employment expectations of the majority of female immigrants were largely realized during their first two years in the United States. Among Filipino women, 67 per cent reported that they had worked during the two years since their arrival, although only 58 per cent were working at the time of interview. The equivalent figures were 72 and 58 per cent for Korean women. Among Filipino women, 79 per cent of those who had work experience earlier in the Philippines were still working at the time of the IUS interview. In contrast, only 47 per cent of the Filipino women *without* experience in the country of origin were working at the end of their second year in the United States. The differences among Korean women were less, being 64 and 54 per cent respectively.

Among Filipino women, the best match between occupational expectations and actual occupation was found among clerical workers, though those expecting to work in professional occupations were also fairly successful in realizing their expectations. Still, only 29 per cent of Korean women obtained jobs as clerical workers. On the whole, Korean immigrant women appeared to be less successful in securing the jobs that they expected, probably because of less ability to use English.

In conclusion, the use of longitudinal data to document the employment transitions of immigrant women permitted an analysis of the relations between work experience and expectations *prior* to migration with actual employment outcomes after migration.

Source: Asis, 1990.

Box No. 7

An Origin-country Destination-country Survey of Migration from Mexico to the United States

Another example is the Mexico-US study based upon a survey carried out in four migrant-sending communities of western Mexico, complemented by interviews among emigrants from those communities residing in the United States (Massey et al, 1990). Conducted in 1982, the survey was described as an "ethnosurvey" because it combined methods used in intensive ethnographic studies with representative samples of households in the four origin communities.

Questionnaires were applied in two phases. During the first phase, the head of the household was identified and basic social and demographic data were collected for all household members, usually from the head. If sons or daughters had already migrated elsewhere, this was also noted. Household members with "prior migrant experience in either the United States or Mexico", defined to refer to anyone who had ever been to the U.S. for any reason or who "had migrated for work within Mexico" (p. 14, italics in original) were asked a series of questions about their first and last trips (dates, duration, destination, occupation, wages, type of documentation used to enter the U.S. if international migration, etc.) as well as the total number of such trips in their lifetime. During the second phase of the interviewing (nowhere is it indicated how long the survey took, or whether each phase involved several separate interviews), a complete life history was obtained for household heads who had migrated at least once to the United States. If the household head had never migrated to the United States, but an older son had, an abbreviated life history (work history) was recorded for the son. Note that the latter was *not* done for sons who had migrated to the U.S., if their father had *also* migrated to the U.S., resulting potentially incomplete *household*-level information for all households where the head had migrated to the U.S.

The total number of migrants for whom information was ultimately obtained in the U.S. sample was 440 (see Ch.9). Details were obtained on the origins of the migrants, duration of U.S. residence, the process of integration and prior contacts they had before emigrating, and the degree of success of their integration in terms of current legal status, occupation, English language ability, extent of enrollment of children in U.S. schools, welfare received, possession of saving and checking accounts, memberships in social and athletic clubs, and extent of remittances back to Mexico. It is interesting that the migrants from the two rural areas of Mexico are far more likely to settle and remain in the U.S. than migrants from the two urban communities. But there can be no basis for generalizing this result for Mexican migrants to the U.S. from only four communities purposively selected in one corner of Mexico, something many interpreters of the Aztlan book have failed to recognize.

This type of survey is useful in understanding the dynamics of the migration process, especially concerning migration between Mexico and the United States, where migrants commonly enter the receiving country without proper documentation. However, by stressing the migration experience of household heads or "older sons", the survey design explicitly disregards the experience of women. Although out-migration of female household members may be recorded during the *first* phase of the questionnaire, this was done only for those women reported to have left "primarily" for work in the US, thus excluding internal migration of economically active women within Mexico, as well as international migrant women said to be migrating for other reasons. The latter is likely to have led to a significant undercount of migrant women heading to the United States. Indeed, the proportion of women among persons migrating to the US from the four communities considered ranged from only 18 to 30 per cent during 1965-1982. These percentages are doubtless too low, considering that the proportion of women among undocumented migrants regularizing their status under IRCA (most being Mexican) was 44 per cent. Although such a comparison does not *necessarily* invalidate data from the survey (there is little likelihood that any sample of four communities could be in any way representative of origin communities providing undocumented migrants to the United States), it nevertheless indicates that women's involvement in undocumented migration was considered marginal *a priori* and therefore failed to attract the attention it deserves.

Source: Massey et al, 1990

These examples indicate how surveys can facilitate understanding of many important facets of international migration. They indicate not only that the use of representative samples is possible, but also that to advance understanding of female international migration, survey designs must take explicit measures to avoid biases against the coverage of female migrants. It is indicative of biases in research on the subject that a survey on "family formation" (the survey in France, described above) interviewed only women, while one on "economic and social aspects of undocumented migration" (that of Massey et al on Mexico) focused on men. Much remains to be done, therefore, to combat the prevalent view that women are primarily reproducers rather than producers.

c) Population registers

Population registers record how a population changes through time by inscribing all births and all newly arrived immigrants, while deleting deaths and departing emigrants from a complete roster of the population.

Population registers can thus provide both stock and annual flow data on international (and internal) migrants. Countries maintaining population registers do so mostly for administrative purposes. Usually, local authorities are in charge of maintaining the register since they are most knowledgeable about their local population. Because population registers that were once maintained largely by hand have been computerized and centralized, either at the regional or the national level, it is now much easier to derive a host of statistics from them.

Population registers, common among European and some Asian countries, now exist in more than 60 countries (van den Brekel, 1977). Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden are among the countries in Europe that have population registers which provide data on international migration. Identification of an international migrant depends on the rules in place in each country to determine who should be inscribed and who should be deleted from the register. Table 3.5 shows the definitions used by those member states of the European Community that have population registers. It is evident that even among this small set of closely linked countries, definitions differ widely. Furthermore, in most cases there is complete lack of consistency between the definitions of immigrant and emigrant. Thus an "emigrant" from one country may not be an "immigrant" in another.

Since 1971, the Conference of European Statisticians, which reports to the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), has been trying to improve the comparability of international migration statistics for European countries (Kelly, 1987). Although some positive changes have occurred, flow statistics on migration to and from European countries still lack consistency.

As a result of the process leading to the creation of a single market within the EEC, Eurostat has fostered the harmonization of international migration statistics between member states (Poulain, DeBuisson, and Eggerickx, 1991), but it is too early to judge the success of these efforts.

Meanwhile, despite the lack of comparability, flow statistics emanating from population registers are still, in general, the best data available on international migration. Due to the fact that population registers usually cover the movement of both foreigners and citizens, and record both inflows and outflows, they have the potential for producing ideal statistics on processes leading to changes in populations over time, including international migration. In practice,

TABLE 3.5

DEFINITIONS OF IMMIGRANT AND EMIGRANT UNDERLYING THE DATA OBTAINED FROM POPULATION REGISTERS IN THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Country		*Definition*
Belgium	Immigrant	A foreigner arriving from abroad who has the intention of residing in Belgium for more than three months and has the necessary residence permit, or a Belgian citizen returning after a period of residence abroad.
	Emigrant	A person departing with the intention of residing abroad.
Denmark	Immigrant	A foreigner arriving from abroad who has the intention of residing in Denmark for more than three months and has the necessary residence permit (not required for citizens of other Nordic countries), or a Danish citizen returning after emigrating abroad with the intention of residing for at least three months in Denmark.
	Emigrant	A person departing with the intention of residing abroad. If the period of absence is expected to be less than six months and a residence is retained in Denmark, the person is not counted as an emigrant.
Germany	Immigrant	A foreigner or a German citizen who had emigrated and who, upon arrival, intends to reside in Germany in an owner-occupied home, as a tenant or as a sub-tenant. Registration must take place within a week of arrival. Intended length of stay is immaterial.
	Emigrant	Any person departing from Germany and giving up the residence he or she occupied in Germany.
Italy	Immigrant	A foreigner arriving from abroad who has the intention of residing in Italy for more than three months and has the necessary residence permit, or an Italian citizen returning after a period of residence abroad.
	Emigrant	A person departing with the intention of residing abroad.
Luxembourg	Immigrant	A foreigner arriving from abroad who has the intention of residing in Luxembourg for more than three months and has the necessary residence permit, or a citizen of Luxembourg returning after a period of residence abroad.
	Emigrant	A person departing with the intention of residing abroad.
Netherlands	Immigrant	A foreigner arriving from abroad who intends to remain in the Netherlands for more than six months (a residence permit is not necessary), or a Dutch citizen returning to the Netherlands with the intention of remaining for at least one month.
	Emigrant	A person departing with the intention of residing abroad permanently or for at least 12 months.
Spain	Immigrant	A foreigner arriving from abroad who has the intention of residing in Spain for more than three months and who has the necessary residence permit, or a Spanish citizen returning after a period of residence abroad.
	Emigrant	A person departing with the intention of residing abroad.

Source: Poulain and others (1991).

however, the use of migrant definitions that vary between foreigners and citizens, and the tendency of people to be more likely to report their arrival than their departure (due directly to differences in government regulations), imply that annual net migration figures, even from population registers, usually need adjustments to reflect actual population gains or losses. Furthermore, in some countries, population registers cover only the native population (i.e., foreigners are excluded), and so their statistics reflect only part of the migration picture. In several Eastern and Central European countries, population registers were mainly instruments of internal control during the time when restrictions on travel and emigration virtually closed those countries to international migration. With the changes that have taken place recently, however, some Eastern and Central European countries are changing their statistical systems to record inflows and outflows of both foreigners and their own citizens.

Although most Western countries with population registers publish international migration statistics in some detail, they do not adequately exploit the richness of the registers. Since population registers maintain up-to-date demographic and socio-economic information on every person, possibilities for tabulating and analysing the characteristics of international migrants are considerable. Yet, in practice, even the most basic and important two-way tables are not always accessible. For example, the distribution of migrants by country of origin and sex is not known because data are not normally included by sex in the statistical yearbooks of countries. In principle, data classified by sex are available for all countries of the EEC and all Nordic countries. Information on age, citizenship, marital status, occupation, and country of previous or intended residence is potentially available (Poulain et al, 1991). Because data classified by either citizenship or country of origin (or destination in the case of emigrants) list only a few countries, an in-depth assessment of trends from sending countries cannot be made.

In conclusion, data from population registers remain underutilized in general and in particular with respect to providing information by gender. The inclusion of additional tabulations in the widely accessible country-level publications, and the practice of including sex systematically in every tabulation, would help enormously to improve the value of population registers as sources of statistics on the international migration of women.

2. Administrative Statistics

a) Border statistics

Ideally, statistics emanating from border control operations should be the main source of data on international migration. And yet, although many countries gather some kind of border control statistics, few of those that receive sizeable numbers of international migrants rely on this source for their international migration statistics. The main problem with border statistics is that the number of persons crossing international borders is many times larger than the number of international migrants. For example, an estimated 457 million persons entered the United States during 1990, yet only 17.6 million were reported as non-immigrants (including tourists), and only 1.5 million persons were granted legal immigrant status in that year (United States, 1991). In fact, the United States does *not* obtain information on every person entering or departing from its territory. The movements of US citizens in both directions go unrecorded, and non-immigrants are recorded regularly only at airports. The many persons who cross the two borders by land, especially daily commuters, are not recorded individually.

The use of border statistics to measure international migration was possible when immigrants arrived by boat at only a few ports of entry. Today, island countries are in the best position to implement this mode of control. Thus, countries such as Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom still rely on border statistics as important sources of data on migration flows. Their definitions of immigrant and emigrant also match closely the definitions recommended by the United Nations (1980). However, being countries of immigration, Australia and New Zealand have provisions to grant permanent residence rights to certain persons upon arrival. Consequently, they distinguish permanent immigrants from long-term immigrants, the latter being persons who plan to stay in the country for at least a year but who do not have permission to stay indefinitely. The United Kingdom, no longer a country of significant net immigration, distinguishes immigrants from other travellers only on the basis of their intended length of stay as declared at the time of admission, and thus adheres most closely to UN recommendations. Yet despite the large number of travellers arriving in and departing from the United Kingdom, only a representative sample is actually interviewed to ascertain migration status. The procedure is carried out under the title of the International Passenger Survey (IPS), a continuing sample survey that covers the principal air and sea routes between the United Kingdom and overseas, except those between the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic (United Kingdom, 1978).

The United Nations has made recommendations aimed at improving the comparability of border statistics data (United Nations, 1980), but progress has been slow. Even in terms of basic coverage, few countries gather the recommended statistics. Thus, among the 79 developing countries or areas whose arrival statistics were published in the *1989 Demographic Yearbook* of the United Nations (1991), only 33 listed "long-term immigrants" as a separate category. With respect to departures, among the 65 developing countries providing some information, only 27 listed the category "long-term emigrants" separately. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the figures adhere to definitions suggested by the United Nations: detailed information on data collection procedures is generally not available to assess their adequacy. Mexico is just one example of possible inconsistencies. It recorded 2,453 long-term emigrants in 1985, the year in which the United States alone granted permanent residence rights to 61,077 Mexicans, 53,359 of whom were new arrivals (United States, 1986). Although the data for Mexico indicate that persons leaving the country by land are not recorded, the difference between US and Mexican sources is sufficiently large to raise doubts concerning Mexican data in general, especially because during the earlier years of 1979-1982, Mexico recorded at least 50,000 long-term emigrants annually (United Nations, 1991).

The *1989 Demographic Yearbook* (United Nations, 1991) also contains information on the distribution by age and sex of long-term immigrants and emigrants as reported by receiving countries. Twenty-two developing countries were listed as having this distribution for long-term immigrants but, upon examination, the data of seven turned out to include short-term migrants, or referred to *all* types of arrivals. Among those reporting data that referred specifically to long-term immigrants, only a handful were important migrant-receiving countries (e.g., Brunei, Israel, and South Africa).

It appears, therefore, that although border statistics have the potential for yielding useful flow statistics on migration, this potential has not been realized in most countries that collect this information. At least two issues must be addressed in trying to improve border statistics. First, the criteria used to identify migrants must be documented and assessed. Generally, those

criteria reflect regulations regarding the admission of foreigners and citizens rather than the demographic considerations underlying the definitions proposed by the United Nations. Unless the basis and relevance of the UN recommendations are made clear to each country, efforts to improve border statistics are unlikely to succeed. Second, it is necessary to devise suitable methods of data collection that obviate the need for screening large numbers of travellers in order to identify small numbers of actual international *migrants*. In doing so, it is important to guard against biases that may arise because of preconceived ideas about who is a migrant, especially biases likely to lead to the selective omission of female migrants.

b) Residence permits

In most migrant-receiving countries, a migrant is granted an official permit allowing him or her to reside in the country for some time. In this context, immigrants are foreigners granted permission to stay for an *unlimited* period. Countries granting such permits often generate international migration statistics. In Canada and the United States, for example, immigration statistics reflect the numbers of persons granted "landed immigrant status" or "permanent resident status", respectively, each year. Because procedures are in place to allow persons entering the country under a temporary residence permit to later change their status to immigrant, the number of permanent resident permits granted in a year is *not* equal to the number of new immigrants actually entering the country during that year. Thus, among the 1.5 million persons who were granted permanent resident status in the United States in 1990, 1.1 million had already been residing in the country for some time (United States, 1991).

In some European countries, permits issued to foreign migrants also constitute the basis for international migration statistics. In France, for instance, the Ministry of the Interior produces statistics on the total existing stock of international migrants (foreigners) based on the number of residence permits issued. Flow data are produced by the Office des Migrations Internationals (OMI) by registering foreigners applying for a residence permit at the time they undergo a medical examination. Since certain categories of migrants are exempt from medical examinations (notably citizens of countries of the European Community), they are not included in flow statistics. Furthermore, French statistics are generally not classified by sex. Rather, a distinction is made between principal applicant and dependants, distinguishing spouses from children under the presumption that spouses are mostly women.

Switzerland operates a complex system of residence permits that allows a foreign person to pass from the seasonal category to an annual permit and then to one allowing establishment or permanent residence. Computerization and centralization of information on residence permits allows Swiss authorities to derive both stock and flow data in a timely fashion. However, few tabulations on international migrants are published in the Statistical Yearbook of Switzerland, and only one or two of these provide information by sex. The same is true of data for Germany, a country that operates a register of foreigners which, like Switzerland, keeps track of the different residence permits issued and of the transitions that migrants make from one type of permit to another.

Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom also have statistics on the number of residence permits issued, but only Spain appears to be able to generate stock data from the information gathered. The other two countries report only the number of residence permits issued yearly, and for none of the three is classification of the data by sex available. Furthermore, since that

it is possible for foreigners already present in the receiving country to obtain a residence permit later, the number of permits issued each year cannot be equated with the number of migrants actually entering the country during that year.

Although administrative statistics based on residence permits have the potential for facilitating the maintenance of a comprehensive roster of the foreign population, few countries realize this potential. The most common situation is for permit statistics to reflect the idiosyncrasies of the system which is designed primarily to control the arrival of international migrants. Thus, the coverage of permit statistics is often less than ideal because major groups of migrants are exempt from the need to secure residence permits (e.g., citizens of the receiving country or citizens of certain countries, such as in the EEC). In addition, permit statistics do not reflect achieved annual migration but rather the result of various administrative procedures that involve migrants. Such procedures may result in the classification of migrants into categories that have little to do with the migrant's intentions or capabilities. Migrant women in particular are likely to be classified mainly as dependants by the authorities of countries that allow family reunification. Hence, although residence permit statistics are useful in identifying the different types of migrants of policy interest, they also often help to perpetuate misconceptions about international female migrants.

c) Work permit statistics

These types of statistics are akin to those derived from residence permits. Countries admitting foreign migrant workers on a temporary basis usually produce statistics based upon work permits. In Europe the relevant Ministry of Labour is usually in charge of controlling the labour force participation of migrants by issuing work permits and is therefore responsible for the statistics produced. Underrepresentation of women is especially likely, particularly because, being admitted as dependants, foreign women are usually subject to restrictions regarding their labour force participation. Consequently, migrant women often have to wait years before obtaining a work permit; meanwhile, any economic activity they undertake is usually unrecorded.

d) Asylum applications

Asylum applications filed by persons seeking asylum in the Western bloc countries of Europe and in the overseas countries of immigration constitute a relatively new source of information on persons moving internationally. Although persons filing asylum claims are not strictly speaking migrants (their length of stay in the country where the claim is filed can be short), they nevertheless represent a foreign presence with important policy implications for the receiving country. In general, government agencies charged with examining asylum claims have a weak statistical tradition. Information on asylum applications is therefore sparse, consisting mostly of total numbers of applications filed classified by citizenship, with no distribution by sex. Information on the number of claims adjudicated, including those accepted and those rejected, can be obtained in some cases, but little detail is provided regarding the time at which applications were filed or the demographic characteristics of those filing the claims. The increasing need to share information on asylum claims has prompted some governments to computerize and share information.

e) Emigration permits

Although international agreements establish the right to emigration, throughout this century, many countries have restricted this right to varying extents. There are, of course, different degrees of restriction, with the former Eastern bloc countries imposing very stringent restrictions that extended even to tourist travel abroad. Their citizens could obtain passports only when a specific permission to travel had been approved, and then had to hand the passport to the proper authorities upon return. Only under special circumstances were citizens granted permission to emigrate (leave permanently)and the few who achieved it were issued "one way" passports that disallowed return. Such procedures, however, ensured that accurate statistics existed on the emigration of citizens, including both those who left with permission to emigrate and those who overstayed their allowed period of travel abroad. However, those statistics seldom reached the public domain. In fact, data on emigration from Eastern bloc countries were based mostly upon the immigration records of the West. Only recently has some information from Eastern bloc countries begun to become available, but it consists mainly of total emigrants classified by whether they emigrated legally or illegally, without classification by demographic characteristics including sex.

In developing countries, particularly those that export workers to other developing countries, restrictions have been imposed with the aim of protecting the workers involved and ensuring that they have proper work contracts. Because women are considered more vulnerable to exploitation, they have often been subject to more stringent restrictions than men (Abella, 1990). To ensure that regulations regarding worker migration are met, most labour-exporting countries in Southern and Southeastern Asia control the emigration of workers and, in the process, gather statistics on the number of persons leaving the country to work abroad. The overseas labour administration agencies of countries such as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka and Thailand are responsible for carrying out the necessary approval and clearance procedures, thus gathering information on "age, place of residence, marital status, qualification, country of employment and occupation, contract period, and salary offered" (Athukorala, 1993: 21). Presumably, information on the sex of the applicant is also recorded.

However, in general, the dissemination of data on emigration permits in developing countries has been limited, with sending countries publishing very little data. Through the efforts of ILO, the data available have been compiled in a single volume (ILO, 1989). It contains tabulations on numbers of workers processed in a given year, usually classified by country of employment, mode of recruitment and occupation. However, the data are generally *not* classified by sex (with the exception of selected tables for Indonesia and the Philippines). Furthermore, because the data represent *applications* approved and not persons, over time there has been a considerable overcount of persons involved in annual flows due to delays in the approval process. The evidence also indicates that the number of applications approved by some countries is higher than the number of workers actually departing to work abroad. It is also likely that some persons leave without securing the necessary government permits, since they are costly to obtain and often involve delays. Women may have particular incentives to migrate outside official channels, especially when regulations prohibit or restrict their emigration to work abroad in the first place.

f) Regularization drives and deportation statistics

By its very nature, irregular or undocumented migration is difficult to measure. Direct statistics on its magnitude are usually obtained from two types of sources: (a) data from regularization or legalization campaigns that allow undocumented migrants to obtain legal permits to stay and work in the country of destination (such as of Mexicans in the US following the 1986 law, and of Bolivians in Argentina), and (b) statistics on the number of undocumented aliens captured or deported. The most common information published from these sources is total number of persons regularized or deported classified by country of citizenship. Classification is often not even provided by sex.

g) Refugee statistics

Refugee statistics often result as a by-product of administrative procedures involved in resettling refugees or providing them with assistance. Since most refugees are resettled in developed countries, statistics on them are gathered in ways similar to those used to record other immigrants, though refugees are usually reported in a separate category.

In developing countries, statistics on refugees are generally only rough estimates, although when refugee populations remain for lengthy periods in camps or in other types of stable settlements, population counts may be undertaken based on the issuance of ration cards or other forms of identification associated with refugee entitlements. If controls are lax, some refugees may manage to obtain duplicate cards and thus inflate refugee statistics. Governments may also have an interest in inflating refugee estimates, especially when the situation is fluid and there are no means of obtaining accurate counts, and perhaps to make claims for more international aid. The dearth of information on the number of female refugees and their characteristics is particularly troublesome since it contributes to delays in the provision of essential services to women.

C. Data Needed to Assess the Determinants of the International Migration of Women

The study of the determinants of international migration is still in its infancy in general, and even more so with respect to that of women, partly because of the difficulty of obtaining the information needed to assess the conditions under which migration takes place and the factors that stimulate potential migrants to actually migrate. Research on the causes of international migration has generally focussed on the macro-level affirming that changing economic circumstances have had major implications for international migration, including that of women. Given the lack of wage-earning opportunities for women in many developing countries, which in the 1980s became worse in countries undergoing structural adjustment because of debt crises, women have been increasingly willing to work abroad, even in occupations commanding little prestige, in order to support themselves and their families. But such developments are also, and probably even more so, driven by the changing labour needs of receiving countries. Thus, the oil-rich countries of Western Asia have completed many of

the major infrastructure projects started during the 1970s and early 1980s, and no longer need so many male migrant workers. The decline in oil prices has also contributed to a slackening in demand for migrant men. However, affluent households there still need domestic service workers who cannot be found locally. Nurses and teachers are also in demand. These "female" jobs attract women willing to migrate internationally, especially single women.

In Europe, the cessation of labour recruitment gave way recently to family reunification and, as noted above, provided greater opportunities for the migration of women. Although studies have described the phenomenon and the processes involved at a macro level, there has been almost no analysis of why some women migrated to join their husbands abroad while others did not. Such analysis require information at the micro level, or the level of the individual woman and her household.

Nevertheless, there have been very few studies indeed at this level, and almost none relating to developing countries. One exception is a recent laudable analysis on Egypt which claimed to be unique in that "it focuses exclusively upon external...migration" (Adams, 1993:147). It examines the determinants of international migration from rural Egypt using the Harris-Todaro model (see II.C.1 above). One thousand households in three villages in a rural province about 250 km. south of Cairo were interviewed concerning household members working abroad. One third of the households reported having a male member who had left to work abroad at some time during the previous 10 years. A model was estimated of the likelihood of a male household member working abroad on the basis of his age, education, marital status, land owned by the household, number of adult males in the household, predicted *household* (not predicted individual earnings, which is preferable) income if the person had not out-migrated, the extent of small landholdings in the village (as a reflection of village poverty), and the villages distance from Cairo. While presented as a "multi-level model", only the last two variables extend beyond the household, and appropriate statistical techniques for multi-level models were not used. Distance would have been better measured as distance to the *country* of destination rather than to Cairo, and no destination variables were included in the study to reflect pull factors. The latter is not in itself a limitation, but it means that the study estimates only the determinants of international out-migration, not the choice of destination country which is also of interest. The author also notes that not a single (Moslem) household was willing to admit in its interview having any woman working abroad, though such cases definitely existed. As a result, the analysis could be performed only for males. This harks back to the issue of respondent bias, mentioned in relation to internal migration surveys in section II.B.3 above. Analyses of the *determinants* of women's international migration cannot be undertaken if their existence is not recognized in the first place.

Following the discussion of internal migration in section II.B above, an analysis of the determinants of *international* migration of women at the micro level should also be based upon a wide range of information about the woman herself (viz., her age, sex, marital status, education, work activity and history, etc.), her household of origin (characteristics of her husband if married, household income, ownership of land and other assets, housing conditions, location, attitudes of her husband/father/other key relatives towards her possible international migration and her working outside the home, etc.), conditions in the local community of residence and the country of origin in general (social and economic roles of women, employment prospects, economic trends, political circumstances, etc.), and similar conditions in the country of destination.

The anticipated economic situation of the husbands of married women will also usually significantly influence migration decisions of the family and hence of the women involved. More generally, migration decisions are based upon *expected* circumstances and economic prospects in the country of destination compared to those expected to exist in the future in the country of origin. Existing studies have usually resorted to data on *observed* magnitudes, that is, on observed economic conditions, wage levels, etc. The ideal data set would contain information collected in the country of origin from potential migrants on their expected future income, etc., streams in *both* the current country and the (perceived best) country of destination, as well as data from equivalent non-migrants on their future income streams, etc. How the a priori expectations of the two groups differ and what this has to do with migration has not been examined. Economists, whose research dominates existing quantitative research literature on the determinants of international as well as internal migration, typically estimate the *predicted* incomes of persons in both places of origin and destination —based upon their age, education and work experience— and then estimate whether a person is likely to migrate or not based upon those predicted wage levels in both areas of origin and destination (statistically controlling for other non-economic factors in places of origin and destination by including measures of them in the estimated migration function).[15]

This example illustrates some of the difficulties in assessing the causes of international migration of women. First, the determinants of migration of women are likely to vary according to country of origin, social class, type of migration, age and marital status. Second, since it is unusual to have comparable information on migrants and non-migrants in the country of origin *preceding* migration, inferences regarding factors affecting migration are usually made on the basis of comparisons between migrants and non-migrants *after* migration has occurred. This requires that data be collected in both the country of destination (on migrant women) and origin (on comparable non-migrant women). Third, some information (e.g., previous work activity) must be obtained retrospectively, with all the attendant risks of recall error and ex-post rationalization. Fourth, although censuses may provide sufficient information to assess the *selectivity* of international migrants (a useful starting point in the analysis of the determinants of migration), more specific information about the mechanisms leading to migration can be obtained only through appropriate binational or even multinational surveys (see Boxes 6 and 7 above).

Given that a specifically designed survey is likely to be the instrument for an in-depth assessment of the processes leading to international migration of women, it is crucial that those designing such surveys avoid making facile assumptions about women's economic roles, about their motivations to migrate and about the extent of their involvement in the migration

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[15] A migration function is the statistical (e.g., multiple regression) equation which estimates the probability of someone migrating (the dependent or "left-side" variable) as a function of various possibly important independent or explanatory variables ("right-side" variables). For example, potentially, the international migration decision may be modelled by an equation such as

$$IM = f(A, E, M, HS, LM0, LMD),$$

where the variables are defined as follows: IM = 0 if does not migrate, = 1 if migrates; A = age; E = level of education of person; M = marital status; HS = household size; LM0 = labour market conditions in country of origin (e.g., average unemployment rate, wage level); and LMD = labour conditions in potential country of destination.

decision-making process. As far as possible, survey designs should be "gender blind", in the sense that the same questions should be posed to men and women. Unfortunately, as noted above in the context of internal migration, it has generally been assumed that women migrate for "family reasons" while men migrate for economic or political reasons, and are therefore the main decision makers. In receiving countries, the common practice of automatically classifying international migrant women as "dependants" seems to corroborate this assumption. Indeed, governments have reacted negatively to the fact that, when migration for economic reasons is restricted, men find ways of qualifying for admission as "dependants". In Europe such a peculiar shift has been interpreted as an abuse of family reunification provisions. Clearly, such an interpretation owes much to a certain view about the roles of individuals within families, a view that remains anchored in traditional values even in Europe despite the changes in sex roles that have taken place in recent decades.

In a single round survey, international migrants are evidently interviewed in the country of destination. As noted above with respect to internal migration, studies of the determinants of international migration of women must be made at the level of the woman, the actual mover. Data should be collected on not only the actual migrant women themselves but on the appropriate reference group of *non-migrant* women remaining in the country of origin. This allows asking why these women migrated while the other women did not. Note that this requires that two spatially separate surveys *must* be carried out in *two different countries*. This logistic complication undoubtedly explains why micro-level analyses of the determinants of international migration (even of men) are so rare indeed.

Once this logistic barrier is overcome and household surveys are undertaken in both countries, it is then desirable, even if the major interest is in analysing the determinants of *women's* migration decisions, that both surveys cover *migrants of both sexes*, that is, in the country of destination as well as the appropriate reference groups in the country of origin —viz., non-migrants of both sexes. Data should thus also be sought, wherever possible, on male migrants and non-migrants, for two reasons: (a) to assess the extent to which the determinants of migration of women and men differ, which may have important policy implications; and (b) once a household sample has been drawn and the interviewer has arrived at the household to interview women, the additional cost of collecting data on men as well is relatively small. But one can also go a step further in developing an appropriate survey design. Since a survey is being administered in the country of destination, information could be collected on non-migrants there at the same time. This would provide the data necessary to assess the *consequences* of international migration for women (and comparatively for men). The additional cost would be quite small. While substantial effort would be required to implement any such two-country survey, the value of such an undertaking, followed by appropriate analyses of the data collected, could be considerable for enhancing our understanding of international migration processes. This could in turn lead to much more valid policy inferences.

Regarding the collection of appropriate information on the determinants of the international migration of women, the same basic questions should be asked of all four groups, migrant women and non-migrant women (and migrant and non-migrant men as well), so that comparable data are obtained for the statistical analysis. Topics covered should ideally include current demographic and socio-economic characteristics, such as age, education, and marital status; labour force participation, occupation, earnings and other income; status or relationship

within the household (relationship to "head"); family ties with persons abroad and in the home country; knowledge of the language of the country of destination; quality of housing; ownership of land and other assets; access to and use of social services; number of children born alive, surviving, and current place of residence; migration intentions; reasons for migrating (or not migrating, for non-migrants); access to information on and knowledge of regulations regarding migration to the (actual or potential) country of destination; and participation in the decision-making process leading to migration. It is also *necessary* to have retrospective information from migrants on their situation in the country of origin prior to the move (e.g., during the month or year before migration). This would include most of the items specified above, as well as their position in the household, family ties in the area, ownership of assets, housing conditions, economic activity around the home/farm and away from it, earnings, social and political activities, community conditions and normative attitudes towards women's roles, etc. It should also be noted that some basic individual-level characteristics may have changed subsequent to international migration, such as age (thus, get the date of migration), education, and marital status. Corresponding retrospective data on non-international migrants in the country of origin should refer to their situation at the approximate time of migration of the international migrants being analysed.

To examine the *determinants* of international migration of women, *all* that is needed is information from migrant women concerning their situation in their home country *prior to migration* —that is, at the time the migration decision was being made— and comparable information from non-migrants on *their* situation at approximately the same time. Nevertheless, almost all surveys of internal and international migration fail to recognize this, and thereby carry out the analyses on inappropriate comparison groups and inappropriate data sets.

It should also be noted that the more recent the migration being analysed, the fewer the problems of memory recall, which could otherwise seriously prejudice the quality of the retrospective data. Thus the collection of the two minimal data sets recommended above need not be so difficult. But this comes with a price, in terms of significantly complicating the sample selection process, which is already complicated as a result of the relatively small proportion of the population, international migrants, being sought in the country of destination. If only *recent* migrants are to be investigated (e.g., those arriving during the past 5 or 10 years), the number is even more reduced, thus making it even more desirable to design the sample to, first, concentrate on areas which have relatively high proportions of international migrants (international migrants are always concentrated in particular cities, provinces, rural areas, etc.), and second, conduct a two-phase survey in these areas, the first phase being a rapid house visit to ascertain whether the dwelling contains an international migrant or not. Another sampling technique that may be useful in surveys of international migrants is the multiplicity or snowball sample, in which international migrants initially contacted are asked to provide names of other international migrants they know, who can then also be interviewed (see the discussion of internal migration above and Bilsborrow et al, 1984, Ch. 5).

Data on economic activities should be obtained equally for men and women, probing for the latter along the lines recommended above (see II.B.3 and Box 1 above) to ensure that women's economic activities are not underreported. Similarly, questions about family issues should be presented in equal detail to men and women.

Although the survey approach is likely to yield important insights concerning factors that lead to migration at the individual or family level, the broader context in which migration

occurs also needs to be taken into account. This includes the policies of both receiving and sending countries. A full understanding of the international migration process must therefore examine the roles of these policies, including constraining or facilitating roles which can be particularly important for women. The use of a multi-level approach in analysing the determinants of female migration should therefore be considered (Guest, 1993). While its operationalization in the case of international migration presents another poten
tial level of complications (are the "communities" only countries, or also communities or areas within countries as well?), efforts should be made to implement multi-level models of the determinants of women's international migration.

D. Data Needed to Assess the Consequences of the International Migration of Women

Although more studies have been made of the consequences than the determinants of migration, these have generally focussed only at the macro level. Again, studies have been undertaken mainly by economists, who have generally found that receiving countries have benefitted because migrants are typically highly motivated to work and succeed and many also bring with them important skills. But little research has been done on developing countries as countries of destination, and even less has been carried out at the micro level, or the level of the individual person and household. Such work has also rarely addressed gender differences and therefore provides few insights regarding the consequences of the international migration of women.

It is important to establish at the outset *which* consequences are to be investigated to identify data needs. While the effects of international migration on the host society have generally been assessed at the macro level, as far as female migration is concerned, the consequences of greatest interest are those for the women themselves, in terms of changing their roles, both within the family and in the host society, and those that otherwise affect their immediate families. The consequences of female international migration at the community or country level are best studied in conjunction with those of international migration in general, taking into account the specific roles that female migrants play.

As in the study of the *determinants* of international migration, the ideal research instrument for obtaining information to analyse the *consequences* of female migration for the women themselves and their families is a longitudinal household survey technique, i.e., following women and their families from before migration until their full adaptation to the host society or their return to the country of origin. Information gathered in the few relevant longitudinal studies undertaken include such baseline socio-economic characteristics as age, sex, educational attainment, marital status, numbers of children and other dependants, occupation and work experience prior to migration (see III.B.1 above). These were sometimes updated during subsequent interviews and complemented by information on housing, language proficiency, labour force participation in the host country, occupation, wages, acquisition of assets, use of social services, family formation, etc. Because such surveys typically cover only migrants, consequences can be measured only for the migrants themselves, comparing their situation prior to migration with that following migration. But comparing the changes experienced by women (including women from different ethnic/race groups, with different

levels of education, urban/rural places of origin, previous work experience, etc.) with those experienced by migrant men is also fundamental to assess the relative consequences of international migration for men and women. Do women benefit less from international migration than men? Does it depend on whether they migrate autonomously or as part of family units? What was their role in the migration decision? Data are required also not only on the women's individual characteristics, such as age, education, previous work experience, and socio-economic status of her family, but also on certain conditions in the country of destination, such as the roles of women, socio-economic opportunities, and societal attitudes towards women. How does the process of adaptation occur over time, and does it differ for different types of women? How does it vary with conditions and attitudes in the country of destination? Do women tend to experience upward mobility over time? Many women migrate from developing countries to developed countries or other developing countries as domestic household workers. Do they tend to be stuck in this low-income, low-status occupation? The consequences of migration can also be assessed for different generations of migrant women, including mothers and their daughters (see example of France in III.B.1.b). Another specialized topic which should be addressed much more is the consequences for women left behind by men who migrate internationally.

When longitudinal data are not available on the women and their families, which is the usual situation, cross-sectional analysis is routinely performed. But, as with internal migration, one must carefully consider what are the appropriate comparison groups to assess how international migration has affected the lives of women and their families. The most commonly used, and readily available, group is *non-migrant women in the country of destination.* However, it has often been noted that the differences in the situations of migrant (from another country) and non-migrant women in the place of destination may stem from a host of demographic and socio-economic differences in the women rather than only from the effects of migration *per se*. It is therefore important to collect a wide range of information on both groups of women so as to statistically control for those differences as much as possible. A more appropriate reference group for determining the extent to which women benefit from international migration is women remaining in the country of *origin.* Thus the extent to which the situation of international migrant women has changed following migration should be compared with the extent to which non-migrant women remaining in the country of origin experienced changes during the same time period. To obtain data from both groups of women, surveys need to be carried out not only on migrant women in the country of destination but also on comparable groups of non-migrant women in the country of origin. Such data would allow comparison of improvements in education, labour force activity, earnings of individual women, household income, housing conditions, etc., between the two groups.

In lieu of longitudinal data sets, retrospective information must be obtained for all the purposes or analyses proposed in the paragraphs above. This could extend so far as to include life-history data, covering family formation, migration and employment over time (cf., e.g., Freedman et al, 1988). It is usually desirable to gather information regarding the status of migrants, both male and female, for at least three time periods —just prior to their international migration, just after, and at the time of interview. Issues to be explored concerning those three stages of a migrant's life include: educational attainment; proficiency in the language of the country of destination; marital status; position within the household; number of children born and surviving and where currently living; dates and places of birth

of children (to study the pace of child-bearing in the country of origin vs. the country of destination); housing conditions; ownership of land and other assets; economic activity; earnings and income; family ties abroad and in the country of origin; access to and use of social services; participation in migrant associations or other community activities; expectations regarding eventual return to the country of origin; attitudes toward the host society; problems encountered including psychological adjustment and constraints faced. In gathering this information, efforts should be made to avoid biased procedures that compromise the quality of data relating to women migrants, especially in regard to economic activity and roles within and outside the household.

E. Recommendations to Improve the Data on International Female Migrants

The discussion above has already alluded to a number of instances in which action could be taken to improve our understanding of factors influencing the international migration of women and its consequences. A fundamental need in both instances is a significant improvement in the underlying data available on the international migration of women. Although numerous gaps exist in the assessment of the true extent of the migration of women across international borders, some major improvements could result simply from raising awareness of the issue and promoting better dissemination and more thorough use of data already being generated by the various existing sources identified above, especially better exploitation of census information on the foreign-born or foreign population. Activities such as those undertaken for Latin America by CELADE under the IMILA project could be instrumental in promoting in-depth use of census data and the exchange of information among countries, beginning with countries in the region. In this context, it is highly desirable that similar projects be undertaken in other areas of the developing world, such as South and Southeast Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa. But such projects —including IMILA itself much more than it has so far— should specifically *emphasize the importance* of female international migration, not only by ensuring that all published tabulations incorporate breakdowns by sex but also by promoting the *use* of the data to document the extent of international female migration and its characteristics. In addition, distribution of information in computer-readable form should be explored; even simple tabulations on foreign populations from census data can be unwieldy in printed form because of the large number of countries of origin involved. The increasing use of microcomputers should make possible the production of tabulations distributed in diskette form. The resources necessary to bring such a project to fruition are very small compared with the cost already involved in carrying out censuses. Regional institutions would be in the best position to undertake such activities.

As a result of the increasing concerns being raised about international migration in many developed countries, more intergovernmental fora are now addressing the subject. It is therefore important to ensure that the importance of female migration is stressed in all these fora, especially when improvements in or modifications to existing deficient systems of data collection are being considered. The Eurostat group working towards the harmonization of international migration statistics of member states of the European Community is one such

forum, together with that operating under the Conference of European Statisticians of the European Economic Community. Both need to give greater attention to issues related to the *measurement* of international female migration. In addition, activities such as the Continuous Reporting System on Migration (SOPEMI) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) could be instrumental in promoting a wider dissemination of information on international female migration through annual reports.

A major effort needs to be made to ensure that government statistical offices worldwide make a commitment to publish international migration statistics of all types *by sex*. As has been amply documented in this report, data classified by sex are usually collected and therefore potentially available, but published tabulations are generally not available. Better documentation of the involvement of women in international migration would also serve to combat erroneous stereotypes concerning the gender composition of different types of international migrants. But it is not enough to know that women constitute a certain percentage of international migrants; it is also important to document their contribution to *each* type of flow. Institutionalizing the use of a classification system by sex in virtually every tabulation referring to international migrants is thus essential.

As noted in the text above, data collection procedures used by governments have implications for the coverage of female international migration. Better documentation is therefore required regarding sources of data published, definitions underlying the data, and procedures used to gather, compile and prepare the data for publication. Statistical offices in the different countries are probably in the best position to undertake such tasks, even where the data on international migration are generated by other government agencies. The possibility of charging (and funding) regional institutions to coordinate the compilation and exchange of such information both within and between countries should also be explored.

Several initiatives aimed at compiling and disseminating information on international migration on a regional basis have recently been undertaken. In Europe, the SOPEMI project of OECD has been operating for about twenty years and in the ESCAP region the ILO has promoted the exchange of statistics on labour migration, though the practice has not become institutionalized. The recent harmonization of policies on the granting of asylum in Europe is likely to lead to an improved exchange of information about asylum-seekers. It is important in all these cases, however, to use existing activities to highlight the relevance of women's migration and to explore the possibility of developing or strengthening nascent activities. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Geneva has expressed interest in supporting SOPEMI-type exchanges in other world regions, and its involvement in raising awareness about the important roles played by international female migrants around the world should be sought.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics (Indonesia)
CELADE	Latin American Demographic Centre
CPS	Current Population Survey (US)
DNS	Demographic and Health Surveys (USAID programme)
ECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
EEC	European Economic Community
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMILA	Research on International Migration in Latin America
INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPDA	Immigrant Pre-Department Assessment Surveys
IPS	International Passenger Survey (UK)
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act (US)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OMI	Office des migrations internationals (France)
SAW	Special Agricultural Workers (US)
SOPEMI	Continuous Reporting System on Migration
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WID	Women in Development