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Understanding Women and Migration: A Literature Review

Anjali Fleury

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Understanding Women and Migration: A Literature Review

Anjali Fleury†

Abstract

Understanding the intricacies of gender and migration can result in programs and policies that enhance the benefits and decrease the economic and social costs for female migrants, who make up half of the global migrant population. The report provides a comprehensive assessment of gender and migration literature, finding that migration can improve the autonomy, human capital, and self-esteem of women, as well as women’s authority and worth in their families and communities. Migration can advance more equitable social norms and improve women’s rights and access to resources. Although migration is largely beneficial, there are many constraints that limit its gains, such as restrictive social norms or laws, gender and racial discrimination, and gender-specific vulnerabilities. The report concludes by recommending that migrant women’s human rights be protected, and that migrants be provided access to services and resources such as health, legal, and financial services. The report also recommends that governments ratify international treaties and conventions promoting rights and protections for migrant women, as well as promote nondiscrimination and women’s access to labor markets.

Keywords: international migration; gender; women; remittances; migration policy

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† Anjali Fleury is a consultant for the World Bank specializing in migration, gender, and human rights. The author may be contacted at afleury@worldbank.org

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Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women
FYR	former Yugoslav Republic
HIV/AIDS	human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMWU	Indonesian Migrant Workers Union
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KTKLN	Kartu Tenaga Kerja Luar Negeri (Card of Overseas Worker)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
P.D.R.	People's Democratic Republic
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
WHO	World Health Organization

Executive summary

Migration plays a significant role in today's world. Understanding the intricacies of gender and migration can result in programs and policies that enhance the benefits and decrease the costs for female migrants. For such an understanding to be developed, analysts and experts need reliable and accurate data and in-depth gender analysis in migration studies. A growing body of research focuses on migration and gender, and this report summarizes the existing literature.

Women are increasingly migrating on their own, often to enhance economic opportunities by seeking jobs or education. Data indicate that the rate of female migration is growing faster than male migrants in many countries that receive high levels of migrants. This trend is commonly referred to as the "feminization of migration." The International Labour Organization estimates that women are half of the global migrant population but in some countries account for 70–80 percent of migrants.

Migration can improve autonomy, human capital, and self-esteem, as well as women's authority and worth in their families and communities. Migration can change traditional norms as women gain access to education and economic opportunities. The introduction to more equitable social norms can also improve women's rights and access to resources. When migrant women return home, they often maintain their newfound autonomy and bring new norms, skills, and expertise. With these new skills, returning migrant women often start their own businesses.

Even when women are not the migrants themselves, migration can have positive effects for them. Migration can influence and change gender norms at home, creating more gender equality and agency. When women remain behind as their husbands migrate, they often gain greater control and authority in their households, acting as the decision maker for the family's choices and finances.

Migration often results in remittances being sent home to families. Women are more likely to receive remittances regardless of the sex of the remitter. Remittances have led to an increase in women both running and owning businesses. When women receive remittances, family welfare improves, and the health and education of the family's children often improve. In contrast, when men receive remittances the family's assets are more likely to increase.

Migrant women also send home remittances. In general, women remit a higher proportion of their incomes than do male migrants, though total remittances may be lower because they receive lower wages. Women also show more stability and frequency in sending home remittances, and are more likely to remit when unexpected shocks occur, serving as a form of insurance. Migrant women's remittances also improve the family's well-being, with women again directing remittances to be used for health care and education for their families. Some studies note that remittances increase education, especially for girls.

However, some effects of migration may not be positive. Sometimes returning migrants must revert to traditional norms and gender roles, which may be at odds with their social, political, and economic preferences. Migration can also be a strain on families, with potentially detrimental effects on children.

Furthermore, when high-skilled migrants leave the results can be negative for the communities of origin. For instance, high-skilled women often work in health care, and their migration can subsequently have an effect on the level of health care services in their home countries.

Although migration is largely beneficial, many constraints—such as restrictive social norms or laws, gender or racial discrimination, or gender-specific vulnerabilities—limit the opportunities and benefits. Migrants may struggle to have their professional credentials and expertise recognized abroad, and encounter language, race, or cultural barriers and discrimination. Legal restrictions impede migration for women more than men. In some countries, women’s employment and mobility from their homes, communities, or countries is legally restricted.

Many international conventions, declarations, and laws have been established to protect women and migrants. Countries have taken their own measures to improve the benefits of migration and decrease the risks and vulnerabilities for migrants. Although these efforts are laudable, migrant women continue to face risks, and the full benefits and opportunities of migration to advance gender equality are yet to be realized.

The benefits of migration can be enhanced and the risks decreased in many ways. In addition to ratification and accession to treaties and conventions promoting the rights and protections of migrant women, governments can participate in bilateral, multilateral, and regional dialogues and agreements on migration. Partnerships, consultation, and involvement of all stakeholders should be strengthened, and gender-sensitive, rights-based, and nondiscriminatory laws increasing safe migration for women should be promoted. Furthermore, promotion of nondiscrimination in and access to labor markets will increase women’s economic opportunities. Jobs associated with women, such as domestic work, should be regulated. To best advance migrant women’s rights, women’s political participation should be supported.

Migrant women’s human rights must be protected, and migrants must have access to services and resources, such as health, legal, and financial services. Resource centers can be made available through embassies and consulates. Immigration officials and recruitment agencies must be regulated, monitored, and trained on gender sensitivities and human rights. Similarly, the public can be better informed and educated about the benefits and contributions of migration, thereby decreasing xenophobia and discrimination.

Conducting more research and collecting sex-disaggregated data will be essential to addressing knowledge gaps and providing a more complete analysis of gender and migration. Ultimately, better research and understanding will support improved programs and policies, help the benefits of migration to be realized, and enhance the agency of migrants while reducing the risks and vulnerabilities they face.

Migration is a profoundly gendered process, and the conventional explanations of men's migration in many cases do not apply to women.

Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni¹

Migration can be both a cause and a consequence of female empowerment.

Graeme Hugo²

1. Introduction

For the past few decades, women have accounted for approximately half of the world's migrants (Zlotnick 2003).³ Despite the substantial flows of migrant women, there is a lack of sex-disaggregated data in migration analysis. Only since the 1980s has research begun to focus on women and migration. However, a presentation by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) shows that from 1990 to 2010 the number of countries with sex-disaggregated migrant data has actually decreased (Hovy 2013).

Understanding the role of women in migration involves not just disaggregating data by sex, but also understanding how gender relations play into each aspect of the migration cycle (Petrozziello 2013). Migration research is often based on economic or financial cost-benefit analyses. When analyzing female migration and gender, it is critical that the analysis include a social interpretation rooted in gender norms and culture.

Gender is the social construct of "male" and "female," and gender norms shape roles, expectations, and behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity. Gender norms can both empower and constrain rights and opportunities. A gendered analysis offers a perspective on gender relations; how gender affects access to resources; and differences in power and equality in economic, social, and legal structures.

Migration can be empowering for women, allowing women to access employment and education, improve gender equality and norms, and strengthen agency—the ability to make independent decisions to achieve desired outcomes. Conversely, migration may also exacerbate vulnerabilities, including abuse and trafficking, particularly when migrants are low skilled or irregular. Understanding the intricacies of gender and migration can result in better programs and policies that enhance the benefits and decrease the costs for female migrants. For this understanding to come about, reliable and accurate data are urgently needed, along with in-depth gender analysis in migration studies.

A growing body of research focuses on women and migration, and this report attempts to pull together the existing literature. The paper begins with an overview of women and migration, including common types of migration for females, where women migrate, the characteristics of female migrants, the drivers of migration, and the types of work available to female labor migrants. The paper then discusses the

1. Kanaiaupuni 2000, as cited by Pfeiffer et al. 2008.

2. Hugo 2000, as cited by Morrison and Schiff 2008.

3. In 2015, there were 250 million international migrants and 750 million domestic migrants (World Bank 2015).

opportunities and costs created by migration, highlighting how gender plays a role in remittances, the welfare of migrants' families and communities, and the benefits and costs for women as migrants or at home. The paper continues with an analysis of the constraints to migration, including restrictive gender norms, discrimination, and legal restrictions. Finally, the paper concludes with policy implications, recommendations, and encouragement for further research.

2. Scope and Limitations

Although a focus on gender differences as a whole is important, the purpose of this paper is to cover literature specifically on women and migration. This direction is based on the lack of attention to and inadequate emphasis on women-specific data and issues in the migration field. Future papers by the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD) will analyze gender as it pertains to both migrant men and women.

Without exhausting all topics or relevant studies, the review covers a wide range of current and recent literature, focusing on publications from prominent scholars and reports. Because of the nature of the reports used in this review, some evidence may be originally based on older literature, which may or may not be accessible for fact-checking. In addition, some claims may be based on conventional wisdom without providing the original study or studies upon which the claims are based. The implications are likely minor given that most scholarly literature is vetted for substance and content and often peer reviewed. This paper merely pulls together the most relevant themes and facts based on current literature.

3. Characteristics of Female Migrants

Migration can take many forms. Migration may be temporary, permanent, or circular, and includes migrants returning to their homes. International migration refers to an individual's movement across country borders, often with the intention of maintaining residence in the destination, though this definition does not specify a minimum amount of time abroad or a specific form or purpose of migration. The UN defines a long-term migrant as an individual living in a foreign country for more than a year, and a short-term migrant as living abroad between three months and a year (UN DESA 1998). The UN distinguishes migration from travel or tourism; however, the exact purposes of migration may be difficult to define or may change over time. In other definitions, international migration may occur for shorter periods, such as with seasonal or circular migration.

Even more challenging to define is internal migration, whereby migrants stay within country borders but move across provinces, states, or municipalities, or to or from rural and urban settings. The parameters become unclear as cities grow and consume satellite towns, or as satellite towns develop to support and provide residence along the outskirts of cities. The boundaries established to determine internal migration may depend on classification by government entities, as well as the independence and fiscal structure of the various settings. Furthermore, definitions of internal migration differ based on the purpose of migration, whether temporary, circular, or permanent, or for marriage, education, or economic purposes

versus commuting into cities. Migration may be voluntary, such as with labor migration, or involuntary, like in human trafficking. For the purposes of this review, only voluntary migration will be discussed, though forced migration embodies important gender distinctions.

3.1. Migration for Marriage and Family Reunification Purposes

Historically, women were thought to migrate primarily for marriage or family reunification, both internationally and internally. Indeed, although married men may move to join family members, women are more likely to move for their spouses (UN DESA 1993, as cited in Martin 2004). Twice as many women immigrate to the United States for spouses than men, and family reunification is the main cause of women immigrating to Australia, Canada, Europe, New Zealand, and the United States, (Ghosh 2009). According to a survey in India, marriage was the cause of 89 percent of rural female migration and 59 percent of urban female migration (National Sample Survey Organisation 2005, as cited in Ghosh 2009). The same survey conducted in 2007–08 shows an increase in rates, with marriage migration accounting for 91 percent of rural female migration and 61 percent of urban female migration (National Sample Survey Office 2010). Similarly, in 2001 in Nepal, census data showed that 42 percent of internal migrants moved across districts for marriage. Of foreign-born women, 66 percent migrated to Nepal for marriage (CBS 2002, as cited in KC 2004).

International marriage migration can include “mail order brides,” whereby men from more affluent countries marry women from developing nations. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United States Department of Justice reported that from 1995 to 2005, an estimated 80,000 Russian women migrated to the United States for this form of marriage, and even more migrated to Western Europe (Ryklina 2004, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Male rural farmers in Japan and Taiwan, China, seek brides from the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam (Bakewell et al. 2009). In Taiwan, China, women migrating for marriage account for more than half of the migrant population, with many of them coming from Vietnam (Wang and Chang 2002, as cited by Ghosh 2009). In 2000, almost 10 percent of Taiwanese marriages were of Taiwanese men to foreign female migrant women (Wang and Chang 2002). In the Republic of Korea in 2005, 14 percent of marriages were international marriages, with even higher rates in rural areas (Bakewell et al. 2009).

Marriage migration is particularly sought when the ratio of women to men is low, such as in rural northern India, where women from eastern India and Nepal are sought for marriage (Ghosh 2009). According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), China’s one-child policy resulted in a dramatic gender imbalance, leading to foreign wives being sought from Vietnam (IOM 2005d, as cited by Bakewell et al. 2009), as well as Lao P.D.R. and Myanmar (Bakewell et al. 2009).

3.2. Migration for Economic and Labor Purposes

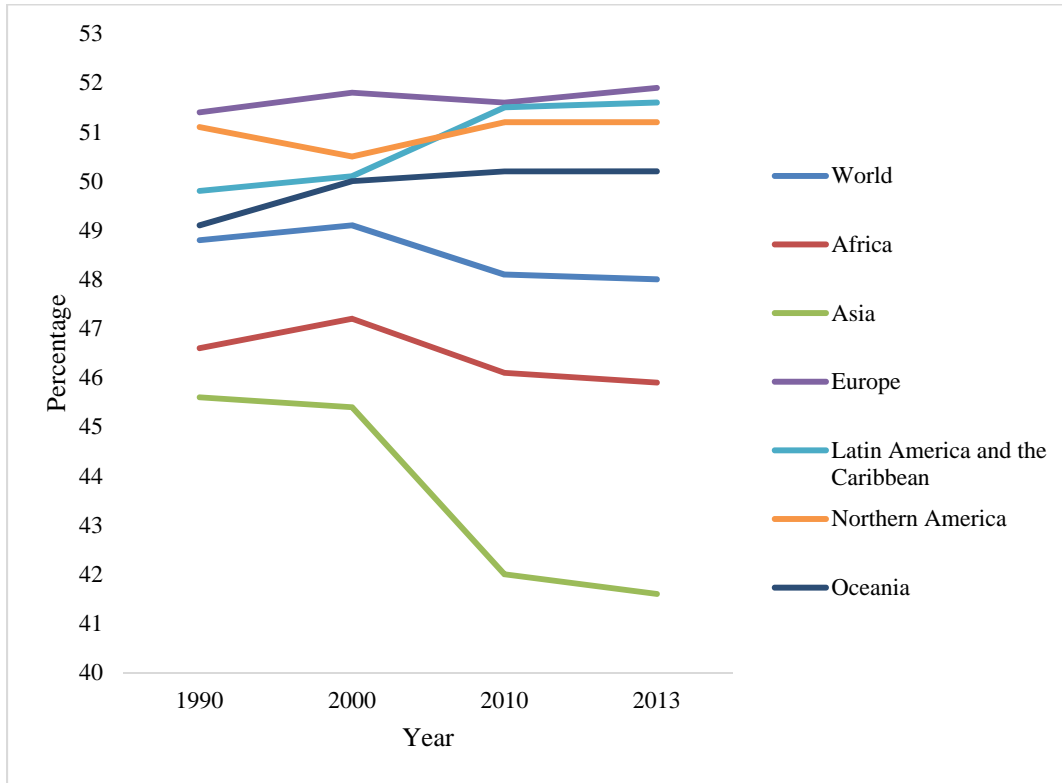
Women are increasingly migrating on their own, often to enhance economic opportunities by seeking jobs or education. This trend is commonly referred to as the “feminization of migration.” The IOM reports that more than half of global migrants are women migrating independently or as heads of households (IOM 2008, as cited by Ghosh 2009). Data indicate that the rate of female migration is growing faster than male migration in many high-receiving countries. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that women are half of the global migrant population but account for 70–80 percent of migrants in some countries (ILO, nd, as cited by UNFPA and IMP 2004). UN DESA’s global and regional trends and data are shown in table 1 and figure 1.

Table 1: Percentage of Female Migrants among the Total Number of International Migrants, by Region, 1990–2013

Region	1990	2000	2010	2013
World	48.8	49.1	48.1	48.0
More developed regions	51.2	51.2	51.5	51.6
Less developed regions	46.2	46.1	43.3	43.0
Africa	46.6	47.2	46.1	45.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	47.0	47.6	46.6	46.3
Eastern Africa	48.5	49.0	48.6	47.8
Middle Africa	49.0	48.8	47.1	46.7
Northern Africa	46.7	44.6	42.5	41.5
Southern Africa	38.7	40.9	42.0	42.3
Western Africa	46.3	47.4	46.7	46.7
Asia	45.6	45.4	42.0	41.6
Central Asia	55.2	55.3	52.6	51.9
Eastern Asia	49.3	52.7	54.2	53.9
South-Eastern Asia	47.8	49.3	48.4	48.3
Southern Asia	44.8	44.9	43.5	43.4
Western Asia	41.2	40.0	34.8	34.3
Europe	51.4	51.8	51.6	51.9
Eastern Europe	53.6	52.6	52.2	52.1
Northern Europe	52.4	53.1	51.5	51.8
Southern Europe	52.6	52.0	51.1	52.0
Western Europe	47.8	50.4	51.6	51.7
Latin America and the Caribbean	49.8	50.1	51.5	51.6
Caribbean	48.0	48.8	48.8	49.0
Central America	50.5	49.8	50.0	50.0
South America	50.0	50.6	52.8	52.8
Northern America	51.1	50.5	51.2	51.2
Oceania	49.1	50.0	50.2	50.2
Australia and New Zealand	49.4	50.3	50.5	50.5
Melanesia	44.4	44.0	44.1	44.1
Micronesia	44.0	47.9	44.7	44.0
Polynesia	44.1	45.0	46.7	46.8

Source: UN DESA Population Division 2013

Figure 1: Percentage of Female Migrants among the Total Number of International Migrants, by Region, 1990–2013



Source: UN DESA Population Division 2013.

Using UN-classified regions and subregions, the data from UN DESA indicate the highest increase of migrant women in the subregion of Eastern Asia (table 1), with a 4.6 percent increase from 1990 to 2013, followed by Western Europe, Southern Africa, South America, and Polynesia. The data also indicate that rates of female migration are decreasing in several subregions of Africa and Asia. The percentage of female migration decreased in Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Africa, Central Asia, Southern Asia, and most starkly in Middle Africa, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. In Northern Africa, specifically Algeria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia, the share of female migration dropped from 46.7 percent in 1990 to 41.5 percent in 2013. In Western Asia, comprising Bahrain, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, and the United Arab Emirates, the share of female migrants dropped from 41.2 percent in 1990 to 34.3 percent in 2013 (UN DESA Population Division 2013). The percentage of female migration to these countries may have decreased because of conflict and increased vulnerability. This is an area for further research.

3.3. The Drivers of Migration

Migration may be driven by individual factors, such as marital or reproductive status, education, and skills, or by family or social factors, such as status or class.

Research indicates that poor women migrate. Donato, Cerrutti and Massey, and Kanaiaupuni find that owning land, a home, or a business is associated with less female migration, though those factors increase the probability of male migration (Donato 1993, Cerrutti and Massey 2001, Kanaiaupuni 2000, as cited by Richter and Taylor 2008). A study by Lauby and Stark finds poorer rural households in the Philippines to be more likely than rich household to send young women to migrate to cities for work (Lauby and Stark 1988, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001). Afsar finds that poorer women are also more likely than men to move in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. In Bangladesh, 80 percent of female domestic workers came from landless homes, compared with only 54 percent of male and female garment workers, implying higher levels of poverty for migrant domestic workers (Afsar 2006, as cited by Afsar 2011). In Bangladesh, the majority of female domestic workers had no formal schooling, and those that had any generally only studied through primary or junior secondary school (Afsar 2009).

Shaw's study finds that rural Sri Lankan migrant men tend to be from the upper and middle classes, whereas female migrant women are often near or under the poverty line. In general, Sri Lankan women have less asset ownership and education than men, which further explains the poverty distinction (Shaw 2007). Almost all domestic workers from Sri Lanka migrated because of financial need (Afsar 2011). Shaw (2005a) finds evidence in Sri Lanka that migration for domestic work is largely understood and reported in the media as risky, with the potential for abuse or exploitation by employers. Thus, women that are not poor may be wary of migrating.

Shaw's 2005a case study indicates that Sri Lankan migrant women tend to be from poor households, but not the poorest. The poorest households are more likely to be socially isolated or illiterate, or to lack the institutional knowledge to navigate government procedures and health and education requirements, or the means to obtain a passport, birth certificate, or migration-related expenses.

Other research indicates that education level and current employment are *positively* associated with migration. A study of 14,000 individuals in 43 Mexican villages finds that higher employment rates and education increased migration among women (Kanaiaupuni 2000). Richter and Taylor's (2008) study in rural Mexico also determines that education is associated with international migration for women in nonagricultural work. A study on Morocco finds that women with the highest intentions of emigrating are women who are working but are not satisfied with their positions, indicating that they are more modern than conservative Moroccan women (Heering, van der Erf, and van Wissen 2004).

Expectations and gender norms strongly influence the decision to migrate. In some countries, single women are more likely to migrate. For instance, in some settings, older daughters will migrate to allow younger siblings to attend school (Lean Lim 1993, Radcliffe 1990, Ware 1981, as cited by Kanaiaupuni

2000). In others, the preference is for married women with children to migrate. In a sample survey conducted in one district of Sri Lanka, findings show that the society fears that single women migrating to the Middle East will become morally corrupt or face difficulties in marrying. Thus, married women are the preferred migrants (Shaw 2005a). Older ethnographic evidence from Ghana and Nigeria finds similar results, where fear of immoral behavior or prostitution keeps single women from migrating (Pittin 1984, as cited by Kanaiaupuni 2000).

Chant and Radcliffe (1992) find that women are more likely to make migration decisions based on their family, rather than individually. The decision to move is often based on helping the family, as is seen in the Philippines (Chant and Radcliffe 1992, as cited by Barbieri and Carr 2005). In the Philippines, concepts like the “martyr mother” or “dutiful daughter” encourage women to migrate (Lam, Yeoh, and Law 2002, as cited by Yeoh, Graham, and Boyle 2002). Although Thai girls previously cared for children, growing financial need and the expectation for Thai daughters to remit has resulted in migration (Curran 1996, 1995, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001). In general, Thai daughters are expected to send remittances and thus may be sent away to work, though data show the difference in remittances between daughters and sons is small (Knodel et al. 2000, as cited by De Jong 2000).

Some migration may be due to individual reasons instead of motivated by family. The IOM’s studies in Moldova and Guatemala find that single mothers, widows, or divorcees that experience discrimination may use migration to escape social stigma (IOM 2004, 2005a, as cited by UNFPA 2006). In countries such as the Philippines and Sri Lanka, migration may be considered more acceptable than divorce (Afsar 2011). Women experiencing gender-based violence, domestic abuse, unhappy marriage, or a lack of appropriate employment opportunities may also be more inclined to migrate (Petrozziello 2013; Afsar 2009).

Tacoli (1999) notes that migration allows for both a migrant’s self-interest and self-sacrifice for the migrant’s family. According to Asis (2002) and Espiritu (2002), some Filipina women consider migration to be a way to gain freedom from familial control and to make more independent choices, including on issues such as marriage (Espiritu 2002, Asis 2002, as cited by Yeoh, Graham, and Boyle 2002). Women that see others experiencing more autonomy, different norms, and material gain are also inclined to migrate. Women that are more domestic-based may desire to migrate and experience urban life and more freeing social norms (O’Connor 1995, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001).

Women may migrate because of gender-based structural inequalities and discrimination at home. For instance, Lam and Hoang (2010) show that some Southeast Asian women migrate specifically to escape forced marriage (Lam and Hoang 2010, as cited by Ferrant et al. 2014). Erulkar et al. find that 23 percent of Ethiopian adolescent migrant girls migrated to avoid early marriage (Erulkar et al. 2006, as cited by Ferrant et al. 2014). Ferrant et al. explain that other forms of gender-based discrimination prompting migration can include early marriage, female genital mutilation, gendered social stigmas, or the potential for gender-based violence (Ferrant et al. 2014; Jolly and Reeves 2005, as cited by Ferrant and Tuccio 2015a).

Ferrant et al. (2014) use the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) to measure discriminatory social institutions, and find that when discriminatory social institutions exist women are driven to migrate toward countries with lower discriminatory social institutions, but only to an extent. At a certain threshold, the discrimination in the originating country is so high that it hinders female migration. Migration can only occur if the woman has agency, and can both make the decision to migrate and is capable of leaving. The IOM notes that women from Moldova have less capability than men to migrate because of fewer resources available to women than men (IOM 2005a, as cited by Ferrant and Tuccio 2015b).

The SIGI analysis shows that countries with low levels of discrimination have greater pull for migrant women (Ferrant et al. 2014). This greater pull may also be due to increased job market access for women. Baudassé and Bazillier (2014) find that gender equality in the workplace is a pull factor for women (Baudassé and Bazillier 2014, as cited by Ferrant and Tuccio 2015a). When lower levels of discriminatory social institutions exist in origin countries, women are less likely to migrate to countries with higher levels of discrimination. However, women migrating from countries with the highest levels of discrimination often migrate to other countries with high levels of discrimination. In these cases, the destination country may be chosen because of similarity or may not be chosen by the woman herself (Ferrant et al. 2014).

The Ferrant et al. study (2014) makes a clear case that discriminatory social institutions play a role in the push-pull factors of migration, but only for women. SIGI does not show the same results for male migration, suggesting that perhaps men do not face the same obstacles as women and that women have different reasons for migration. However, it may also be that SIGI does not effectively capture discriminatory social institutions for men.

The existence of social networks at home and abroad can stimulate further migration. In El Salvador, Mahler finds that the existence of older, female migrants, *viajeras*, allowed younger women to see migration as a realistic option (Mahler 1999, as cited by Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003). In Morocco, Crivello finds that migrant women may slowly decrease any stigma associated with female migration (Crivello 2003, as cited by De Haas 2009). Other studies show that the long-term effects of migration may increase education or highlight migrant women as role models for young girls (Crivello 2003, Taylor, Moran-Taylor, and Ruiz 2006, as cited by De Haas 2009).

Migration can be risky for women. Donato and Patterson's study of migrants determines that women are more risk averse to irregular migration, and are less likely to migrate internationally without documentation (Donato and Patterson 2004, as cited by Richter and Taylor). In general, rural women are more likely to migrate internationally if social networks are in place or if recruitment agencies can facilitate the process (IOM 2009, as cited by IOM 2012). Furthermore, Curran and Saguy (2001) indicate that Thai parents are more inclined to have a daughter migrate when a friend or relative accompanies her, whereas sons are freer to migrate independently, likely because of the additional risks women may face. However, as a stronger social network forms, the gender-based risks lessen. Social networks also offer assistance in finding homes and jobs, and improve the facilitation of remittances (Curran and Saguy 2001). Using a longitudinal data set from the Thailand National Migration Survey, de Jong (2000) finds

that more so than migrant men, Thai women are likely to have a plan ready before leaving. For women, prior migration is a highly significant determinant of future migration because of a strong reliance on migrant networks.

Cerruti and Massey determine that a mother's migration from Mexico increases the likelihood of emigration for both sons and daughters, but more so for their daughters. However, a father's migration influences only sons (Cerruti and Massey 2001, as cited by Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003). In a study on Morocco, migration culture does not show any effect on the intention to migrate, but family networks do (Heering, van der Erf, and van Wissen 2004). Lindstrom examines rural Mexican communities and finds that men used social networks that include friends and distant relatives, but migrant women used networks of only close family members. This difference was in part due to gendered associations with vulnerability and honor (Lindstrom 1997, as cited by Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003).

Curran and Rivero-Fuentes's (2003) household survey in 52 communities in Mexico reveals that female migrants are 3.8 times more likely to migrate using female migrant networks, compared with 2.5 times for male migrants with male networks. Hondagneu-Sotelo finds that if Mexican women migrate independently, they may face resistance from male family members, resulting in a reliance on supportive female migrant networks (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, as cited by Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003). Curran and Rivero-Fuentes's survey finds that female migrant networks are more useful than male migrant networks for both genders. Female internal migrant networks were helpful to both men and women, but male internal migrant networks were not found helpful to either. However, female *international* migrant networks may not be helpful to men because they may have lesser access to job opportunities or only gender-segregated and "feminine" jobs (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003). Richter and Taylor (2008), using panel data, similarly determine that female networks affect migration rates for both men and women. Moreover, female migrant networks may be more comprehensive than male networks (Menjivar 2000, Curran et al. 2003, as cited by Pfeiffer et al.), including networks aware of local social services. The findings may be due to women's increased desire to settle permanently compared with men (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, Pedraza 1991, Massey and Espinosa 1997, Goldring 1996, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, Malkin 1998, as cited by Pfeiffer et al. 2008).

Some employers use migrant networks, particularly kinship networks, for recruitment, finding that established migrants will assist newer migrants with job training and resources. Though social networks are helpful as migrants move, they can also make assimilation and acculturation more difficult and increase isolation (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001).

3.4. Gender Segregation in Labor Migration

Gender segregation is common in the labor force, and when women migrate for work they often work in "feminine" positions. Gendered positions are based on the gender construct of feminine skills and roles. Some employers reportedly prefer female migrants, considering them to be more "docile" and "cheaper" employees (Hugo 1993, as cited by Martin 2004). Using Participatory Poverty Assessments,

Azcona (2009) finds that in Jordan women are recruited for positions, such as in the manufacturing sector, because of the belief that they pay more attention to detail and have more patience.

Male migrants tend to work in production or construction, while female migrants often work in the services sector or domestic positions. Even in the 19th century, rural girls would migrate to urban centers in the United States and Europe to work as domestic helpers, or in the garment industry, retail, or service sectors (Martin 2004). Migrant women continue to work in similar positions today, generally working as domestic workers or caretakers.

Women make up the majority of domestic workers worldwide. According to the ILO, in 2011, there were approximately 43.6 million female domestic workers around the world (Simonovsky and Luebker 2011, as cited by Tomei and Belser 2011). From 1996 to 2001, women comprised 75–91 percent of Sri Lankan migrants and more than half were domestic workers (CENWOR 2003, as cited by Siddique 2004, as cited by Ghosh 2009). Of the 1.5 million Filipinos migrating throughout Asia, a significant proportion are women and domestic workers (UNFPA 2006). Similarly, of the total 640,000 Indonesian migrants in 2006, most were women migrating to Malaysia and Saudi Arabia to work as domestic helpers. At least half were irregular migrants (Martin 2009).

In 2003, 155,000 migrants were working as domestic helpers in Malaysia and 200,000 in Hong Kong SAR (ILO 2003, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Approximately 250,000 households in Hong Kong SAR have an international migrant woman employed as a domestic worker for their children and elders (Martin 2009). According to Amnesty International (2013), in 2013 there were 319,325 migrant workers in Hong Kong SAR, the majority of whom were women and half of whom were Indonesian.

The reliance on female domestic workers is not limited to Asia and the Middle East. Some 60 percent of Latin American migrants, both internal and international, are domestic workers, many traveling to Europe and North America (Moreno-Fontes Chammartin 2005, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Most of the domestic workers in the United States are Latin American migrant women. Approximately half of Spain's annual immigrant quotas are allocated for domestic workers (Pessar 2005) and of all female migrant workers in France, 50 percent are domestic workers. An estimated 1.2 million workers in Italy are in the domestic services, the majority of whom are from outside of Europe (WIEGO, nd, as cited by Petrozziello 2013).

Countries with aging populations or high women's labor force participation have a higher demand for domestic work and care for children and the elderly. Although more women are participating in the labor force, social gender norms still dictate that women care for the household, both in domestic work and caregiving. This presumption leads to a higher demand for migrant women (Ghosh 2009; Martin 2004). This phenomenon is known as the "global care chain." A chain reaction occurs with increased women's labor force participation, whereby employed women hire other women as domestic helpers and caretakers, who then rely on other women, such as their mothers, female relatives, or eldest children, to care for their families, potentially keeping them out of economic or education opportunities (Petrozziello 2013). The provision of care is not highly valued socially or economically, resulting in lower pay and fewer rights, regulations, and contracts protecting care workers, and at the lowest link of the chain, care is often

not compensated (Yeates 2005, as cited by Petrozziello 2013). Domestic work and caregiving are stratified by gender, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity. Although the transfer of caregiving to lower-status women provides economic opportunities to women, the global care chain continues to rely on the gendered role of caregiving and does not address governments' or employers' roles in responding to the need for familial care (Petrozziello 2013).

Gender-segregated work may also include sex work. A significant amount of literature focuses on the issues of human trafficking resulting in sex work. However, migrant women may voluntarily choose sex work because of accessibility and financial gain. A study by the Population Council in India shows that poor and illiterate women are increasingly involved in sex work. It finds that in Andhra Pradesh only 1–5 percent of women sex workers were trafficked into sex work; others voluntarily chose the profession because of poverty and debt, usually due to familial or spousal death, divorce, separation, or a spouse's chronic illness (Population Council 2008, as cited by Deshingkar and Akter 2009).

In 2004, the second largest category of work permits in the United Kingdom was for 5,908 migrant women applying for entertainment and leisure work. Some 4,627 women applied for hospitality, catering, and "other" occupations. In Japan, almost 65,000 women, most being from the Philippines, worked on entertainment visas in 2004 (Kofman, Raghuram, and Merefield 2005, as cited by UNFPA 2006; Orozco 2005, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Entertainment work may include sex work, which in itself can be unsafe or lead to sex trafficking.

Gender segregation occurs in high-skilled professions as well. In Canada, Japan, and the United States, migrant women are specifically hired for high-skilled nursing positions (UNRISD 2005, as cited by Piper 2005). In 2000, in U.S. cities, more than 25 percent of nurses and aides in long-term care were migrants (Redfoot and Houser 2005, as cited by UNFPA 2006). In addition, in the United Kingdom, more foreign doctors are increasingly women, and foreign women often hold nursing and teaching positions. Data from the United Kingdom indicate that in 2000, work permits for female-oriented positions were the fastest growing category (UNRISD 2005, as cited by Piper 2005). In 2002, 23 percent of nurses in New Zealand were foreigners, as were 30 percent of nurses in Singapore in 2003 (Aiken et al. 2004, Buchan, Parkin, and Sochalski 2003, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Ireland relies heavily on international nurses, the majority of whom are from the Philippines (UNRISD 2005, as cited by Piper 2005).

Countries specifically recruit women for gendered labor, seeking women for work in the health, entertainment, domestic, or care sectors (Petrozziello 2013). In some countries, recruitment more often occurs for male-dominated sectors, such as construction and agriculture (UNFPA and IMP 2004). Both Norway and the Netherlands have bilateral agreements for temporary migrant nurses from the Philippines. The agreements ensure cooperation, protections, and in some cases, the ability for migrants to improve their skills for their eventual return home (UNFPA and IMP 2004).

4. Opportunities and Costs Created by Mobility

4.1. Remittances

An important aspect of migration is remittances, that is, migrants sending earnings home to support family members. According to UN Women, women are more likely to receive remittances regardless of the sex of the remitter (Petrozziello 2013). Deere et al. note this is the case throughout Latin America, with women in Ecuador and Brazil constituting two-thirds of the recipients (IDB-MIF 2003, IDB-MIF 2004a, UN-INSTRAW and IOM 2007, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). In a 2004 survey in the Dominican Republic, 57 percent of remittances receivers were women, and 58 percent of the remittances senders were women (IDB-MIF 2004b, as cited by Vargas-Lundius et al. 2008). African nations are more varied. Women are the majority of remittances recipients in Lesotho, but not in Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, or Uganda (Deere et al. 2015).

Remittances can increase women's autonomy. Women in the Philippines receiving remittances from female relatives have moved from subsistence agriculture to running small businesses (IFAD and UN-INSTRAW 2007, as cited by IOM 2012). Acosta's study on El Salvador determines that 16.5 percent of households receiving remittances owned businesses, compared with only 13.6 percent of non-remittances-receiving households. Moreover, receiving remittances was significantly associated with the probability of female ownership (Acosta 2007, as cited by Deere et al. 2015).

Migrant women also send home significant amounts through remittances. Migrant women are more likely to be temporary, unskilled, or semi-skilled compared with men migrants, and Ramamurthy (2003) finds that temporary migration results in higher remittances flows, and unskilled and semi-skilled migrants remit more than high-skilled migrants (Piper 2005). According to the IOM, of the US\$1 billion remitted to Sri Lanka in 1999, 62 percent was contributed by migrant women (IOM 2003, as cited by Afsar 2011). More et al. find that 57 percent of documented Bolivian migrants in Spain were women, and they provided 73 percent of the remittances sent home (More et al. 2008, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). In South Africa, Collinson et al. show that employed migrant men are 25 percent less likely to remit than migrant women (Collinson et al. 2003, as cited by Martin 2004). In addition, Deere et al.'s (2015) analysis of Ecuador determines that female migrants remit slightly more than men in both cash and in-kind gifts.

Some studies show men are more likely to remit than women. For instance, Semyonov and Gorodzeisky conclude that male migrants from the Philippines remit more than female migrants (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2005, as cited by Pfeiffer and Taylor 2008). In a study on Mexican migrants in the United States, Massey et al. find that men dominated both the migration and remittances flows (Massey et al. 1987, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001). Migrant women from both Mexico and the Dominican Republic are found to have less desire than men to return home, which is ultimately reflected in the intended purpose and use of remittances (De La Cruz 1995, as cited by Guzman et al. 2008; Grasmuck and Pessar 1991). Grasmuck and Pessar's (1991) seminal study on Dominican migrants in the United States finds that men were more likely to save money to return home, whereas women were more likely to use their income to purchase items to improve their local environment. Dominican men considered the migration

temporary and invested in their home communities with the hopes of returning. Conversely, migrant women spent money on items for their homes in the United States as a way to anchor the family, likely because women hoped to stay in the United States where there is less patriarchy and more female autonomy in local social norms. In the Dominican Republic, women are often confined to the home, with little control over farming decisions even when husbands have migrated. Although this study is widely cited, its conclusions contrast with the previously mentioned research by the Inter-American Development Bank–Multilateral Investment Fund (IDB-MIF) indicating that Dominican migrant women send more remittances home to relatives than do men (IDB-MIF 2004b, as cited by Vargas-Lundius et al. 2008 and Deere et al. 2015; Donato 2010).

Remittances levels vary based on familial roles and country of origin. Migrant women are only 44 percent of Latin American remitters in Orozco’s study (Orozco 2007, as cited by Deere et al. 2015), perhaps because until recently more men migrated from some Latin American countries, like Guatemala, where only 28 percent of migrants are women (UN-INSTRAW and IOM 2007, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). The Dominican Republic is an exception, where data indicate women are 58 percent of regular remitters (Donato 2010, IDB-MIF 2004b, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). Hughes et al. survey migrants from five African countries in Southern Africa and find that migrants from Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, and Swaziland were 83 percent male (Hughes, Kajee, and Peberdy 2007, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). Studies on Ghana and Nigeria indicate that the majority of migrants are men (Deere et al. 2015). Thus, in countries such as these, migrant women may not contribute as much in remittances as migrant men.

Sibling order and gender may also play a role in the decision to migrate and remit wages. Curran’s research indicates that in Thailand both sons and daughters will migrate, but middle daughters are more likely to remit wages because they, more than other siblings, need to earn parental support and inheritance. Sons have less to gain in the matrilineal society and therefore may remit less (Curran 1996, 1995, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001). However, Hoddinott finds that in Kenya only sons remit based on inheritance, not daughters (Hoddinott 1994, as cited by Guzman et al. 2008). The expectations may change over time. In Thailand, Curran indicates that inheritance norms are changing to focus more on grandchildren who show interest in household assets, which may subsequently change the gendered expectations for women regarding migration and remittances (Curran 1995, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001).

Gender norms and expectations play a role in remittances. Some families prefer their daughters to migrate, believing they are more likely than sons to remit more of their income and support the family (Petrozziello 2013; Curran and Saguy 2001). Unmarried women in Asia are shown to migrate with the sole intention of earning and supporting their parents through remittances (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and UNFPA 2002, as cited by Martin 2004). Muliaina’s (2005) study on New Zealand migrants from Samoa indicates that households prefer female family members to migrate because women are considered more reliable for sending remittances. Evidence shows that 60 percent of the migrant women surveyed were single upon arrival and remitted significant parts of their income. However, once married, the women remitted less and focused more on their spouse and children (Muliaina 2005).

Male migrants often send remittances to a more concentrated group of family members compared with female migrants who support a more extended network of family members (Petrozziello 2013). Migrant women may face different familial obligations than migrant men, including the responsibility to support the nuclear family, the extended family, or a spouse's extended family. One study indicates that married male migrants remitting to more than one person may remit to their wives last (and give them less than 20 percent of total remittances), whereas married female migrants remit first to their husbands regardless of whether additional persons are given remittances (Piper 2005).

Curran and Saguy (2001) explain that in Thailand women remit more than men because of stronger ties to the family and expectations and pressures from kin. However, Vanwey's study on Thailand determines female migrants to simply be more altruistic with remittances than male migrants (Vanwey 2004, as cited by Guzman et al. 2008). In contrast to other studies, Wolf finds that in Indonesia women are not held to the same expectations for remittances and travel back and forth from their parents' homes, sometimes borrowing money and only sometimes returning with money (Wolf 1994, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001).

In general, women remit a higher proportion of their income than male migrants, though total amounts of remittances may be lower because of lower wages (UNFPA 2006; UNDP 2009). More et al. determine that migrant women in Spain remit 38.5 percent of their incomes compared with men, who remit only 14.5 percent (More et al. 2008, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). In South Asia, Afsar finds that, overall, migrant women remit a higher proportion of their income than do men. Bangladeshi women working in the Gulf region remit 58 percent of their income, which is 13 percent higher than their male counterparts (Afsar 2006, as cited by Afsar 2011). In a study by the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) and IOM, Bangladeshi women employed in the Middle East remitted approximately 72 percent of their incomes. Of that, 56 percent of the remittances sent from women were used for health, education, and daily household needs (IOM 2005c, as cited by UNFPA 2006).

The percentage of income remitted may vary between married and single women, again relating to gender norms and gender relations between the migrant and her family (Afsar 2011). Generally, single women remit larger amounts than married women, which is the opposite of male migrants. However, De Haan notes that single female migrants in northern China remit the least of their incomes, compared with married female or married or single male migrants (De Haan 2000, as cited by Martin 2004).

Women show more stability and frequency in sending home remittances, as determined in a study by Perez Orozco, Paiewonsky, and Garcia Dominguez (2008, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). More et al. concur in a study on Bolivian migrants in Spain, finding that female migrants were likely to send home remittances 9.5 times each year compared with 8.8 times for migrant men (More et al. 2008, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). Curran and Saguy's (2001) study on Thailand determines that women working in low-wage positions, such as the services sector or manufacturing in export processing zones, tend to have more stable positions than men, who typically work in seasonal, agricultural, or construction work. Thus, women are able to provide steadier remittances, though they remit less because of lower wages. Women

are also more likely to remit when unexpected shocks occur, which provides a form of insurance (Petrozziello 2013), as de la Briere et al. find with female migrants from the Dominican Republic (de la Briere et al. 2002, as cited by Guzman et al. 2008).

Because female migrants often remit smaller amounts with greater frequency, More et al. find that women pay more fees in transferring remittances than men. Their research on migrants in Spain indicates women spend 0.56 percent more per transaction to remit to Brazil, 0.39 percent more to Argentina, and 0.19 percent more to Ecuador (More et al. 2008, as cited by Deere et al. 2015).

When women receive remittances, family welfare improves. Taylor and Martin find that when women have higher incomes, for instance, from remittances, they are likely to spend more on their children's education and health care (Taylor and Martin 2001, as cited by Schapiro 2009). Similarly, according to the IOM and UN-INSTRAW, women are likely to invest remittances in human capital, such as health and education (UN-INSTRAW and IOM 2007, as cited by Vargas-Lundius 2008; Hanson and Woodruff 2003). Ratha also finds that when women receive remittances there are gains in the health and education of the family's children. In contrast, men receiving remittances are more likely to purchase assets (Ratha 2005, Afsar 2006, as cited by Afsar 2011). De and Ratha's study in Sri Lanka reveals that remittances in female-headed households were correlated with health and education of children, but not in male-headed households, which instead saw asset accumulation (De and Ratha 2005, as cited by Guzman et al. 2008). This outcome was also seen in Guzman et al.'s (2008) research in Ghana.

Migrant women's remittances also improve family well-being. In a study of 310 families from Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh, in India, 86 percent of migrant women engaging in industrial work reported that schooling had improved for their children, 84 percent reported an increase in food intake, and 51 percent reported improved access to health care (UNDP-TAHA 2007, as cited by Deshingkar and Akter 2009). Asian migrant women reportedly used their increased decision-making power to direct their remittances to health care and education for their families (Afsar 2011). The IOM's research in Moldova asserts that migrant women intend remittances to be used on households' durable needs and education and health, versus male migrants' intentions to use remittances on consumer durables, such as houses and cars (IOM 2005a, as cited by Morrison, Schiff, and Sjoblom 2008).

When husbands do not use remittances for the preferred purposes, female migrants have reacted by changing the remittances recipient to female relatives, as was seen in studies on the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Guatemala (Garcia and Paiewonsky 2006, Petrozziello 2011, Moran-Taylor 2008, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). In Ecuador, Deere et al. (2015) find that when women remit they are more likely to provide instructions for remittances usage, and both male and female remitters are more likely to provide instructions when the recipient is a man. Deere et al. (2015) indicate that in these cases women are able to exercise more autonomy and agency, both as the migrant and the recipient.

Some studies note that remittances increase education, especially for girls. Many studies show either improved or decreased educational attainment as a result of migration. A study by Gonzalez-Konig and Wodon on the Republic of Congo shows that remittances played a role in education for rural girls

(Gonzalez-Konig and Wodon 2007, as cited by Joseph and Plaza 2010). Calero et al.'s study finds that remittances increase school enrollment in Ecuador on average by 2.6 percent. The impact is even greater among girls, rural areas, and the poor (Calero et al. 2009, as cited by Deere et al. 2015). Hanson and Woodruff (2003) find that among migrant girls whose mothers have had less than three years of schooling, migration to the United States is associated with an increase in schooling of 0.9 years for 10–12-year-old girls and 0.7 years for 13–14-year-old girls.

Mansuri (2006a, 2006b) finds that temporary parental migration from rural Pakistan results in a 54 percent increase in education for girls compared with an only 7 percent increase for boys. The study also finds that dropout rates fall 44 percent for boys and 55 percent for girls. The findings show that with migration the gender gap in school enrollment narrows and girls' number of completed grades improves. Girls from migrant households complete an average of two more grades or 1.5 more years of schooling compared with girls from nonmigrant households. Mansuri also finds that although boys complete an additional grade compared with girls in nonmigrant households, girls from migrant households not only close the gap but surpass boys by two years of schooling. However, Mansuri notes, this outcome is not due to female heads of household, because female headship may actually protect boys at the expense of the girls, which may be a result of girls' participation in household roles. Both girls and boys work equally in income-generating activities, but girls shoulder more of the domestic work burden.

Although several studies show that remittances improve schooling for children, and in particular for girls, a study by McKenzie and Rapoport indicates that the comparative improvement may reflect a worsening of boys' education. That result may be due to migration of boys and the burden of housework on girls (McKenzie and Rapoport 2006a, 2006b, as cited by Schapiro 2009).

4.2. Opportunities and Costs for Migrant Women and Their Families and Communities

Migration can be empowering for women. Hugo finds that empowerment is contingent upon the context, type of migration, and the characteristics of the migrant. He finds that empowerment is more likely in cases of legal migration, urbanization, and when the migrant is separated from family, working in the formal sector, and residing in the destination area for a long period (Hugo 2000, as cited by Piper 2005).

Migration may improve autonomy, human capital, and self-esteem, as well as women's authority in their families and communities. Many families want and rely on their daughters to migrate, resulting in improved worth and importance of girls to their families (Temin et al. 2013). Female migrants gain income and are able both to assist their families and provide for their own basic needs and futures by increasing savings (Temin et al. 2013). Migration can also increase human capital for female migrants. Adolescent girls that migrate to cities show increased education levels compared with nonmigrant, rural girls, largely because of proximity to schools (Temin et al. 2013).

The introduction to more equitable societal norms can improve women's rights, autonomy, and access to resources (Martin 2004). Higher numbers of migrants moving to countries with low levels of discriminatory social institutions is shown to increase gender equality in the origin countries, whereas

migration to countries with high levels of social discrimination has the opposite effect. This finding is seen with both male and female migrants, though more so with female migrants (Ferrant and Tuccio 2015a).

Migration can result in a change from traditional norms as women gain access to education or economic opportunities (Martin 2004). Migrants may adopt new norms, for instance, regarding girls' levels of schooling or age of marriage (UNFPA 2006). Peleah finds that Moldovan migrant women are less accepting of partner violence after observing norms in destination countries (Peleah 2007, as cited by Ferrant and Tuccio 2015a).

Evidence indicates fertility rates often come to resemble the rates in the destination setting (UNFPA 2006; Kulu 2005, Chattopadhyay et al. 2006, as cited by Ratha et al. 2011). Stiff and White find that Ghanaian migrants are more amenable to various types of fertility control (Stiff and White 2000, as cited by Beauchemin and Bocquier 2003). The fertility of international migrant women is shown to decrease in many countries, either due to self-selection of migrants, delayed marriage, separation from spouses, a focus on employment, or different norms and autonomy (Kulu 2005, Chattopadhyay, White, and Debpuur 2006, as cited by Ratha, Mohapatra, and Scheja 2011). Of course, this outcome varies by destination country and by origin and ethnicity. For instance, using longitudinal data, Andersson finds that in Sweden migrants from 38 countries had developed comparable fertility rates to Swedes after five years (Andersson 2001, as cited by UNFPA 2006), but the U. S. Census Bureau states that in the United States migrant women were found to have higher fertility rates than local women as well as women in their origin countries (Camarota 2005, as cited by UNFPA 2006).

When migrant women return home, they often maintain their newfound autonomy, as well as bring home new norms, skills, and expertise. Migration can expose women to new skills and lead women to start their own businesses (Petrozziello 2013). A UN-INSTRAW case study on the Dominican Republic finds that 100 percent of migrant women returning from Spain started their own businesses (UN 2006, as cited by UNFPA 2006). In addition, a survey conducted in Sri Lanka finds that returning migrant women are more likely to run microenterprises than other women. The study finds 48 percent of returnee households had microenterprises run by women, compared with only 37 percent in nonmigrant households (Shaw 2005a).

Despite Grasmuck and Pessar's (1991) findings that migrant women from the Dominican Republic may not want to return home to former and traditional gender roles, their findings show that women did return though largely because of social and familial concerns. Guarnizo (1996) finds that women's return was more family based and men's more individual. About 23 percent of women reported family as the main factor for their return, whereas only about 12 percent of men reported this. Some 43 percent of men reported personal preference as the main reason for return, but only 26 percent of women reported personal preference. Furthermore, women were more likely than men to have returned as the result of someone else's decision, such as their spouse's. About 90 percent of males returned on their own initiative, while fewer than 50 percent of women did so. About 36 percent of women reported that their spouse took the initiative, whereas only 4 percent of men stated that their spouse made the initial decision. Men were also more likely to have made the final decision than women (Guarnizo 1996). This

indicates that returning migrant women may not be able to exercise much autonomy or more gender-equal norms.

Some returning migrants must revert to traditional norms and gender roles, which may be difficult and at odds with their social, political, and economic preferences (Ghosh 2009). Others may find returning extremely challenging for other reasons. For instance, women that were trafficked or employed in sex work may face stigma and discrimination in their home communities, and some countries require HIV and AIDS testing and rehabilitation programs for returning migrant women that were trafficked. Furthermore, women that migrated alone may suffer from the stigma of having left their children behind (Ghosh 2009).

Compared with men, migrant women from the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti, Jamaica, and Mexico are more likely to try to stay in the United States and bring their families to them rather than return home (Pessar 2005; Grasmuck and Pessar 1991). Goldring's study of migrant women from Mexico finds that women prefer to stay abroad because Mexico cannot offer the same employment opportunities, technology, or involvement in community organizations (Goldring 1996, as cited by Pessar 2005).

Family health and children's education may improve as a result of migration. As noted, remittances are often directed toward health and education by both migrant women and women receiving remittances. In addition, a World Bank study reports that in Guatemala, Mexico, and Morocco, children had better health and lower mortality rates after women migrated because of new and improved knowledge of health care. This occurred more often when women migrated than men (Hildebrandt and McKenzie, as cited by UNFPA 2006). A household survey of six Nicaraguan municipalities finds that a mother's migration had a positive effect on early childhood development (Macours and Vakis 2008, as cited by Schapiro 2009). Furthermore, the IOM reports that infant mortality rates in Ghana were lower for urban migrants compared with rural non-migrants (IOM 2005b, as cited by Harttgen and Klasen 2009). Mansuri (2006a) finds that remittances from Pakistani migrants in the Gulf States resulted in a significant increase in height-for-age in girls.

Although health in migrant families may increase because of improved care or additional health knowledge, some evidence shows that migrating can have negative impacts on health. Household survey data by Brockerhoff finds that rural-to-urban migrant children have higher mortality risks than native urban residents (Brockerhoff 1995, as cited by Harttgen and Klasen 2009).

According to Azcona's (2009) Participatory Poverty Assessment analysis of Jordan, when women migrate and leave their families behind, the eldest daughter may take on more responsibility in the household, thereby decreasing her education opportunities. The eldest daughter's education levels will drop though her younger siblings may benefit from educational opportunities through remittances. Ping and Pieke find that in China girls will leave school to help finance their brothers' education, even migrating to work in the entertainment sector (Ping and Pieke 2003, as cited by Schapiro 2009).

Migration and transnational parenting can put a strain on families. Migration can have positive effects on the family and household, but the change in parenting and separation can be difficult, even with increased access to telecommunications and the Internet. Research is mixed on the effects of migration on children (Petrozziello 2013).

Mitrani, Santisteban, and Muir (2004), and King and Vullnetari (2006), among others, find that a mother's migration requires a shift in household child-care responsibilities and can be disruptive to child development (Mitrani, Santisteban, and Muir 2004, King and Vullnetari 2006, as cited by Schapiro 2009). The age of the child when migration occurs is also important and can affect the way a child deals with the mother's absence (Smith, Lalaonde, and Johnson 2004, as cited by Schapiro 2009). Children left behind are found to do better when their mothers' work and sacrifices are highlighted positively, and when they have stable caregivers and frequent contact with their mothers (Aymer 1997, as cited by Pessar 2005).

A 2006 survey of migrant households in Moldova finds that the migrant parent's absence can have detrimental effects, such as higher drug abuse, sexual activity, or dropping out of school. The study finds this occurs especially with the absence of mothers because mothers are more attentive to children with activities such as helping them with their homework (UNICEF-Moldova 2006, as cited by Ivakhnyuk 2009). Furthermore, Case et al. find that when children are not raised by their mothers they are less likely to receive schooling (Hanson and Woodruff 2003, as cited by Schapiro 2009). Evidence suggests that in migrant households from which the mother is absent, the workload of daughters increases (McKenzie and Rapoport 2006a, 2006b), adolescents are more likely to be involved in risky behavior, and children are more violent (Ratha, Mohapatra, and Scheja 2011). In Jamaica, 80 percent of children with unlawful conduct had absent mothers, compared with 30 percent of other children (D'Emilio et al. 2007, as cited by Ratha, Mohapatra, and Scheja 2011).

Conversely, other research by the Scalabrini Migration Center, Battistella and Conoaco, and Choe et al. indicate no difference in psychological or familial problems for children with migrant parents. The research, on the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand, finds children with migrant parents are no different with regard to social anxiety, loneliness, relationships, psychological issues, premarital sex, or smoking and alcohol use (Scalabrini Migration Center 2004, Battistella and Conoaco 1998, Choe et al. 2004 [original citation in Bryant 2005], as cited by Morrison and Schiff 2008). However, Choe et al.'s research in Thailand does find that children with two nonmigrant parents are less likely to engage in premarital sex or smoking and alcohol use (Choe et al. 2004, as cited by Morrison and Schiff 2008).

When high-skilled migrants leave, the results can be negative for the communities of origin, referred to as "brain drain." Docquier, Lowell, and Marfouk find that emigration rates of high-skilled women are higher than for high-skilled men. Specifically, women with tertiary education from Afghanistan, Croatia, Ghana, Guatemala, Malawi, Papua New Guinea, Togo, Uganda, and Zambia are 40 percent more likely to emigrate to countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) than are men with tertiary degrees (Docquier, Lowell, and Marfouk 2007, as cited by Clemens 2009). This effect may be in part due to underemployment or barriers to appropriate education in the home country.

High-skilled women often work in health professions, and their migration can subsequently have an effect on the level of health care services in their home countries. When developed countries, such as OECD nations, experience shortages in nurses or medical professionals, they actively recruit migrants to fill the demand. However, the consequence may be a shortage of much needed health care service providers in the countries of origin. For instance, Buchan and Calman find that Sub-Saharan African countries experienced a shortage of 600,000 nurses deemed necessary to meet the Millennium Development Goals for health (Buchan and Calman 2004, as cited by Piper 2005).

The issue of migrating health professionals is relevant in countries such as Afghanistan, Bhutan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal, and Papua New Guinea, but is most prominent in Sub-Saharan Africa (Eastwood et al. 2005). Northern Ghana has very few doctors (Eastwood et al. 2005). Malawi in particular struggles with a lack of health professionals (Muula, Panulo, and Maseko 2006). From 1999 to 2001, 60 percent of registered nurses left tertiary hospitals in Malawi, likely to migrate (Martineau et al. 2001, as cited by Martineau, Decker, and Bundred 2004). In 2005, 11.3 percent of Malawian nurses were working in OECD countries (WHO 2006, as cited by Muula, Panulo, and Maseko 2006). The majority of nurses and midwives from Malawi go to the United Kingdom (Record and Mohiddin 2006).

When skilled professionals migrate, the rural areas and the poorest suffer the most (Martineau, Decker, and Bundred 2004). Health workers are likely to move to cities or abroad and are less likely to stay in rural areas. Countries that invest in the education of migrating health professionals lose as well. According to Muula, Panulo, and Maseko (2006), the investment cost of losing a trained and degreed nurse-midwife in Malawi ranges between US\$241,508.38 and US\$25.6 million, with bank interest rates of 7– 25 percent per year for 30 years. Ghana has reportedly lost US\$60 million in training its health professionals (Martineau, Decker, and Bundred 2004). Since 1951, India has lost approximately US\$5 billion in the training of doctors (Nayak 1996, as cited by Martineau, Decker, and Bundred 2004). The statistics provided are not sex disaggregated, but considering the high levels of female migrant nurses it can be assumed that migrant women are well represented in the data.

Health professionals that remain face not only lower pay than their colleagues but also increased workloads (Martineau, Decker, and Bundred 2004). The need for health professionals is even more urgent in countries with high rates of HIV/AIDS, as in many of the African nations experiencing brain drain. Positions remain unfilled, or less skilled or less prepared employees are hired for positions. For instance, according to the Ministry of Health in Malawi, 64 percent of nurse positions remain unfilled, with many medical centers operating with no nurses or with employees who have as little as 10 weeks of medical training (Ministry of Health – Republic of Malawi 2004, as cited by Record and Mohiddin 2006). The government of Malawi has made efforts to increase the resources and wages for health professionals, which has helped. Of course, the country cannot compete with the salaries offered in other countries (Record and Mohiddin 2006).

Diasporas can stimulate growth and improvement in their home countries or encourage political reforms (Martin 2004). Diasporas can spur more education in the home community when others desire to follow their example into high-skilled occupations at home and abroad. It is common for migrant associations

for home countries to be led by men, with women designated to fill more “feminine” roles, such as administrative work (Petrozziello 2013). Migrant women play a larger role in fundraising, but decision making and project implementation are often perceived to be the men’s domain, in both the origin and destination countries (Goldring 2001, as cited by Pessar 2005 and UNFPA 2006).

4.3. Opportunities and Costs for Women Who Remain at Home

Migration can influence and change gender norms at home, creating more gender equality and agency, even when women themselves do not migrate. When women remain behind as their husbands migrate, they may gain greater control and authority in their households, acting as the decision maker for the family’s choices and finances. Several studies state that when wives remain at home they are more likely to have autonomy and decision-making power in the household on issues related to land, children’s education, and household expenditures (Afsar 2011; Martin 2004; Gammage 2004, Fadlollah, Berrada, and Khachani 2000, as cited by De Haas 2009). Taylor, Moran-Taylor, and Ruiz’s study of four Guatemalan communities confirms that migration may change gender roles, but notes that social change is gradual and there may be resistance to change (Taylor, Moran-Taylor, and Ruiz 2006, as cited by De Haas 2009).

According to Chant, in Costa Rica, Indonesia, and Kenya, women remaining at home experienced more autonomy regardless of the type of migration by household males (Chant 1992, as cited by Ghosh 2009). Similarly, a World Bank study in Niger finds that women whose husbands migrated experienced greater autonomy and were more likely to control finances, take part in community events and organizations, and become aware of constraining gender norms. Women also took over agricultural or employment opportunities usually reserved for men (World Bank 2014). In Kerala, India, women whose husbands were away in the Gulf States gained more autonomy, with 70 percent opening bank accounts, 40 percent gaining an income, and more than 50 percent owning land or their homes (Zachariah, Prakash, and Irudaya Rajan 2002, as cited by Afsar 2011). In Peru, Deere finds that women were not willing to relinquish their newfound authority when their husbands returned after migrating. Consequently, the area saw a high rate of divorce and separation (Deere 1978, as cited by Curran and Saguy 2001).

Gender roles change for men, too. In a World Bank study, when Nigerian men migrated they became more used to conducting household tasks. Subsequently, the stigma of housework lessened and men helped their wives with household tasks when they returned home (World Bank 2014). Rahman finds that migrant men returning from Singapore to Bangladesh treated their wives more equally, and Pedesaan notes that migrants returning to Indonesia were found to be more respectful and caring for their children (Rahman 2004, Pedesaan 1996, as cited by UNFPA 2006). However, in other contexts, as discussed below, migration may result in more strict observance of traditional norms and values rather than more lax views.

5. Constraints that Limit Opportunities and Benefits

The benefits of migration can be substantial for women. However, many constraints limit the opportunities and benefits of migration, including restrictive social norms or laws, gender or racial discrimination, or gender-specific vulnerabilities.

5.1. Restrictive Gender Norms

Social and gender norms can restrict women’s mobility and agency, especially in more patriarchal societies. A World Bank study in Niger finds that social norms dictate that a “good wife” does not leave the home and that “women do not migrate” (World Bank 2014, 55). A multivariate analysis by Massey, Fischer, and Capoferro (2006) of Central American countries shows that patriarchal societies, such as those in Mexico and Costa Rica, had very low rates of female migration compared with male migration, particularly for married women. However, more matrifocal societies, such as those in Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, had higher rates of female migration, with female migration rates surpassing those of men irrespective of marital status. Puerto Rico lies in the middle of the spectrum, showing a mix of both female migration and restrictions. Oishi (2002) reports that countries with higher levels of female autonomy in the household have higher rates of female migration.

Restrictive social norms may be resistant to change or may be further reinforced for migrant women.

In a study by Parrado and Flippen (2005) on Mexican migrant communities in North Carolina in the United States, migrant families assimilated to some local norms, adapted to others, or strengthened some of their traditional norms. Hondagneu-Sotelo finds that men who migrated to the United States were more likely to learn and assist with household tasks when their spouses joined them later. If their wives migrated with them at the same time, however, they were more likely to maintain traditional family norms, with the wife caring for the household regardless of whether she worked outside the home (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, as cited by Pessar 2005).

In some cases, migration may result in even stricter gender roles to preserve social norms when they “appear to be under attack” (Martin 2004, 28). For men, the change in their roles or inability to adjust or properly provide for their families in the new environment may further their desire to maintain traditional patriarchal roles, which may even lead to violence against their wives and families (Martin 2004; Yeoh, Graham, and Boyle 2002). According to Hugo, when migrant children adapt to new social norms and systems, some women may also revert to more traditional and patriarchal roles (Hugo 1994, as cited by Martin 2004). In addition, women that migrate for family reunification purposes may be reinforcing gender norms, even if they are employed.

Female-headed families that remain at home may experience less access to resources when the husbands migrate (Ghosh 2009). In more patriarchal societies, women may not have the power to determine the use of remittances. For example, De Laat’s large-scale survey in Nairobi’s slums indicates that Kenyan migrant men heavily monitor their wives’ use of remittances through frequent visits, budgets, or oversight by family members (De Laat 2008, as cited in Yang 2009). Even in circumstances in which

women have access to remittances, they may change their use of remittances based on whether they are being monitored by a spouse, as indicated in Ashraf's findings from the Philippines (Ashraf 2009, as cited in Yang 2009). Similar studies have been conducted in El Salvador and Colombia, finding that men send remittances to their mothers or others who then can use the remittances to control the wife's behavior and use of remittances (Santillan and Ulfe 2006, Perez Orozco, Paiewonsky, and Garcia Dominguez 2008, as cited by Deere et al. 2015).

Francis (2002) notes that in some households women are also restricted from working outside the home, thereby making the household fully reliant on remittances. This reliance can cause great financial difficulty, especially if the remittances cease. In Punjab, India, the increase in income due to remittances has led to inflated dowries, less gainful work, and higher rates of isolation of daughters and women in households (Jolly, Bell, and Narayanaswamy 2003, as cited by Afsar 2011). Similarly, in Bangladesh, households with male migrants had fewer gainfully working women (Afsar, Yunus, and Islam 2002, as cited by Afsar 2011). Afsar (2011) points out that additional research is needed because this phenomenon may be due to more education or less need for income.

When women remaining behind do work, they may struggle with managing both the economic and domestic needs of the household. In Brazil, migration resulted in no difference in women's social status, despite women's increased household authority. Rather, their daily burdens increased and women struggled with the separation (Martin 2004). Wives remaining behind in Bihar, India, were shown to have higher stress, loneliness, and isolation due to their husbands' absence (Roy and Nangia 2005, as cited by Afsar 2011).

5.2. Unemployment, Underemployment, and Discrimination against Female Migrants

Migrant women have higher rates of unemployment than migrant men or local women, even though women are increasingly migrating for employment. Migrant women from non-OECD countries have higher rates of unemployment in OECD countries than native women, with fewer than 60 percent of migrant women ages 15 to 64 having a job in 2004 (Ghosh 2009).⁴ In the EU15⁵ in 2003, migrant women from Turkey and North Africa had the lowest employment rates, with employment levels of only 31 percent and 25 percent, respectively. The rates were significantly lower than local women's or migrant men's employment rates, according to the European Commission in 2004 (European Commission 2004a, 2004b, as cited by Munz et al. 2006). Dayton-Johnson et al. (2007) find that when controlling for education and age, migrant women's employment decreased compared with local women in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. However, in France and Sweden the opposite occurred, with migrant women's employment rates rising more rapidly than local employment rates.

4. The exceptions were Norway, Portugal, and Switzerland.

5. The EU15 (European Union 15) comprises Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

Long's study finds that migrant women in the United States initially earn more than local women, but gradually earn less as their husbands build human capital and other skills. Long labels the dynamic as the "family investment strategy," explaining that once the husbands are able to gain better work, the wives will work less. Other studies, like that of Baker and Benjamin, have found similar results (Long 1980, Baker and Benjamin 1994, 1997, as cited by Ozden and Neagu 2008). Unemployment may be due to the form of migration undertaken, such as family reunification, or to cultural norms regarding female employment. Women that migrate but are not employed, either because of family preference or difficulties entering the labor market, may face an even harder time learning the local language or finding a social network that will help them integrate into the local community (Munz et al. 2006).

Generally, labor force participation rates are lowest for women that migrate for family purposes (Liebig 2007, as cited by Ghosh 2009). According to Ghosh (2009), in Australia, high-skilled female migrants have the highest employment rate, whereas family migrants have the lowest. However, Ghosh states that in Australia second-generation females of family migrants have much higher rates of employment, attributed to legal and sociocultural reasons. When women migrate for marriage or family reunification, they may struggle to find opportunities commensurate with their skills and expertise (Ghosh 2009). In an older study by Bird and Bird of married college administrators that migrated, the move benefited approximately half of the husbands at the expense of the wife's career, while only a third experienced the opposite impact. Women will often set aside their own careers to move for their spouses (Bird and Bird 1985, as cited by Jacobsen and Levin 2000).

High-skilled migrant women are often underemployed and work in positions below their qualifications (Ghosh 2009). In New Zealand, female migrants from China and India are more likely to have higher degrees and certifications than the national average, yet they are more likely to be unemployed or paid lower wages (Ministry of Health 2006, as cited by Badkar 2007, as cited by Ghosh 2009). Many of the women working in domestic service positions have high levels of education. About 70 percent of Peruvian domestic workers in Chile were found to have completed high school or university (Ortega 2001, as cited by Pessar 2005). Filipina migrant domestic workers tend to be older, more educated, and more skilled than domestic workers remaining in the Philippines (Heyzer and Wee 1994, as cited by Sayres 2007).

There are many reasons why migrant women face unemployment and underemployment. Migrants may struggle with gaining recognition of their professional credentials and expertise abroad, or encounter language, race, or cultural barriers and discrimination. Difficulties in accessing employment or integration into destination communities may be a result of gender discrimination or xenophobia (Piper 2005). Migrant women may suffer from double discrimination as both women and migrants, which may lead to the lowest-paying jobs or additional issues, such as isolation, abuse, or sexual violence (Petrozziello 2013). Reliance on gender roles or stereotypes on the part of employers in destination countries may lead to misuse of skills, gender-specific employment only, or discrimination. Migrant women may face gender-based discrimination, and generally tend to earn less than men and native women. In addition, migrant women are more likely to experience delayed payment, partial payment of wages, or inability to access their payments (Ghosh 2009).

Allan and Aggergaard Larsen's 2003 study on internationally recruited nurses in the United Kingdom finds that not only were women prevented from using their nursing qualifications from their home countries, but they also often experienced discrimination and exclusion based on their race and ethnicity. The Equal Employment Opportunity Trust in New Zealand reports that skilled migrant women report facing ethnic and racial discrimination by employers (Basnayake 1999, as cited by Piper 2005). Xenophobia (racism or discrimination toward foreigners) may also be higher for Muslim women who wear headscarves. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights reports that cultural attire such as Muslim headscarves makes their wearers targets for racism or xenophobia (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2008, as cited by Crush and Ramachandran 2009).

5.3. Legal Restrictions to Mobility and Economic Opportunities

Legal restrictions impede migration for women more than for men (UNFPA and IMP 2004). In some countries, mobility for women, particularly married women, is legally restricted. The World Bank's Women, Business and the Law data reveal that in 30 countries married woman cannot choose where to live (table 2) (World Bank Group 2015). The same study finds that 19 countries require women by law to obey their husbands (World Bank Group 2015). In Mali, the National Assembly adopted a new Family Code in 2009 stating that wives are not mandated to obey their husbands. However, the law was quickly withdrawn and the Family Code reverted to the 1962 standards, indicating it is up to the husband to decide where the family will live and that his wife is legally obligated to live with him (OECD 2011).

The Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan require married women to obtain permission to travel internationally, as does Syria, where husbands can prevent their wives from traveling internationally by listing their names with the Ministry of the Interior (World Bank Group 2015; Amin, Bin-Humam, and Iqbal 2013). Saudi Arabia and Sudan restrict even unmarried women from traveling internationally. In Saudi Arabia, unmarried women are required to have a male guardian's permission to apply for a passport (World Bank Group 2015; Amin, Bin-Humam, and Iqbal 2013). Similarly, in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Jordan unmarried women cannot apply for a passport in the same way as an unmarried man (World Bank Group 2015).

Unequal citizenship laws are also a restriction on mobility. In January 2013, the Lebanese Ministerial Committee rejected a proposal allowing Lebanese women married to foreigners to pass citizenship rights to their spouses and children. However, Lebanese men married to non-nationals are granted this right (de Silva de Alwis 2014). Currently, 18 countries continue to legally restrict women from taking a job without their husband's permission (figure 2) (World Bank Group 2015). These laws can be traced back to colonial codes, such as the Napoleonic Code, or fall under countries' guardianship laws. In 1998, Bolivia passed Article 99 of the Family Code, a law allowing husbands to determine whether wives are permitted to work. In 2003, the Bolivian Constitutional Court declared the law unconstitutional. However, the Bolivian Parliament has still not amended the law.⁶ Even though countries may not have statutory laws restricting mobility or women's rights to work without spousal permission, many countries have customary or

6. 2003 Constitutional Ruling Bolivia No. 0058/2003 (Hallward-Driemeier, Hasan, and Rusu 2013).

religious laws that do uphold these restrictions. Furthermore, even after laws change to grant more mobility to women, cultural adherence may linger.

Table 2: Countries with Restrictions on Women’s Mobility

Action	Countries where married women are unable to act in the same way as married men
Apply for a passport (32 countries)	Afghanistan; Algeria; Bahrain; Barbados; Belize; Benin; Botswana; Cameroon; Rep. of Congo; Dominica; Arab Rep. of Egypt; Fiji; Gabon; Grenada; Haiti; Isl. Rep. of Iran; Iraq; Jordan; Malawi; Mali; Myanmar; Oman; Pakistan; Philippines; Saudi Arabia; Seychelles; St. Vincent and the Grenadines; Sudan; Trinidad and Tobago; Uganda; United Arab Emirates; Rep. of Yemen
Be head of household (30 countries)	Bahrain; Benin; Burundi; Cameroon; Chad; Chile; Dem. Rep. of Congo; Rep. of Congo; Djibouti; Gabon; Guinea; Honduras; Indonesia; Isl. Rep. of Iran; Iraq; Jordan; Madagascar; Mali; Mauritania; Morocco; Niger; Oman; Philippines; Rwanda; Saudi Arabia; Senegal; Sudan; Tunisia; United Arab Emirates; Rep. of Yemen
Choose where to live (30 countries)	Afghanistan; Bahrain; Benin; Brunei; Burkina Faso; Cameroon; Chad; Dem. Rep. of Congo; Rep. of Congo; Equatorial Guinea; Gabon; Guinea; Haiti; Isl. Rep. of Iran; Iraq; Jordan; Kuwait; Malaysia; Mali; Niger; Oman; Qatar; Rwanda; Saudi Arabia; Senegal; Sudan; Syrian Arab Rep.; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza; Rep. of Yemen
Confer citizenship to children (22 countries)	Bahamas; Bahrain; Barbados; Brunei; Guinea; Isl. Rep. of Iran; Iraq; Jordan; Kuwait; Lebanon; Madagascar; Malaysia; Mauritania; Nepal; Oman; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Swaziland; Syrian Arab Rep.; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza
Get a job without permission (18 countries)	Bahrain; Bolivia; Cameroon; Chad; Dem. Rep. of Congo; Gabon; Guinea; Isl. Rep. of Iran; Jordan; Kuwait; Mauritania; Niger; Qatar; Sudan; Syrian Arab Rep.; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza; Rep. of Yemen
Travel outside the home (17 countries)	Afghanistan; Bahrain; Brunei; Arab Rep. of Egypt; Iran; Iraq; Jordan; Kuwait; Malaysia; Oman; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Syrian Arab Rep.; United Arab Emirates; West Bank and Gaza; Rep. of Yemen
Obtain a national identity card (10 countries)	Afghanistan; Algeria; Benin; Cameroon; Arab Rep. of Egypt; Mauritius; Oman; Pakistan; Saudi Arabia; Senegal
Travel outside the country (6 countries)	Isl. Rep. of Iran; Iraq; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Syrian Arab Rep.
Register a business (4 countries)	Bhutan; Dem. Rep. of Congo; Pakistan; Suriname
Open a bank account (2 countries)	Dem. Rep. of Congo; Niger
Sign a contract (2 countries)	Dem. Rep. of Congo; Equatorial Guinea

Source: World Bank Group 2015, 9.

Even if women are able to migrate legally, restrictive laws may limit the benefits of migration. Countries that restrict visas to certain occupations, like health workers or domestic workers, or types of migration, such as family reunification or temporary or permanent migration, may affect the gender ratio of incoming migrants (Pfeiffer et al. 2008). In addition, immigration laws may constrict women’s ability to gain legal status without their spouse’s support, thereby reinforcing traditional gender roles (Martin 2004). Some laws hinder migrant women from working, such as when women migrate to join spouses or family members. According to Ghosh (2009), until 2005, Germany prohibited migrant spouses from working for one year and then required proof that their employment would not result in unemployment for European Union citizens. Ozden and Neagu note that visas for migrant spouses in the United States restrict employment and education (Ozden and Neagu 2008). These types of restrictions can adversely affect female migrants.

Countries may also impose restrictions on women’s ability to do the same jobs as men. According to the Women, Business and the Law data, 100 countries restrict women from particular occupations, limiting women to certain sectors and jobs and often restricting women from higher-paying jobs, such as mining and manufacturing (table 3) (World Bank Group 2015).

Table 3: Countries Restricting Women from the Same Jobs as Men

<p>Afghanistan; Albania; Algeria; Angola; Argentina; Azerbaijan; Bahrain; Bangladesh; Barbados; Belarus; Belize; Benin; Bhutan; Bolivia; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Brazil; Bulgaria; Burkina Faso; Cameroon; Chad; Chile; China; Colombia; Dem. Rep. of Congo; Rep. of Congo; Costa Rica; Côte D'Ivoire; Croatia; Czech Republic; Djibouti; Dominica; Ecuador; Arab Rep. of Egypt; Equatorial Guinea; Ethiopia; Fiji; France; Gabon; Guatemala; Guinea; Guyana; Honduras; India; Isl. Rep. of Iran; Iraq; Israel; Jamaica; Japan; Jordan; Kazakhstan; Kenya; Rep. of Korea; Kuwait; Kyrgyz Republic; Lebanon; Lesotho; Macedonia, FYR; Madagascar; Malaysia; Mali; Mauritania; Moldova; Mongolia; Montenegro; Morocco; Mozambique; Myanmar; Nicaragua; Niger; Nigeria; Oman; Pakistan; Panama; Papua New Guinea; Poland; Qatar; Russian Federation; São Tomé and Príncipe; Saudi Arabia; Senegal; Sierra Leone; Slovenia; South Sudan; Sri Lanka; St. Vincent and the Grenadines; Sudan; Swaziland; Syrian Arab Rep.; Tajikistan; Thailand; Togo; Tunisia; Turkey; Ukraine; United Arab Emirates; Uzbekistan; Vietnam; West Bank and Gaza; Rep. of Yemen; Zimbabwe</p>
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Source: World Bank Group 2015.

5.4. Additional Vulnerabilities

Many irregular migrant women rely on recruitment agencies to assist in their migration because they have inadequate access to resources and information. In the Philippines, approximately 1,200 licensed recruitment agencies are aimed at assisting migrants. The recruitment industry can be quite lucrative; Filipino licensed agencies earn more than \$400 million in revenue each year (Martin, Abella, and Midgley 2004). These agencies often charge exorbitant rates. With migrant women earning less than men, their accrued debt may be more difficult to pay off, which reduces their financial gain (Ghosh 2009). Migrant

women are also at risk of abuse and gender-based violence from agents and escorts. These vulnerabilities can also lead to trafficking (Ghosh 2009).

Amnesty International (2013) reports that Indonesian domestic workers are required to register through recruitment agencies and provide personal documents such as identity cards, marriage certificates, or birth certificates. If the migrant decides not to proceed, the recruitment agencies may withhold the personal documents unless the migrant pays a fee of 14,780,400 Indonesian rupiah (US\$1,730). In the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union (IMWU) survey, 64 percent of respondents reported having their documents held by recruitment agencies before migrating to Hong Kong SAR. Consequently, 32 percent of Indonesian migrant women accepted positions with different terms and conditions than originally discussed (ITUC, IMWU, and HKCTU 2013, as cited by Amnesty International 2013). In the same study, 92 percent of respondents reported being confined in the agency center during training, with women also reporting forced contraception injections, forced haircuts, verbal abuse, and threats regarding their applications. More than a third also reported not being fed adequately. Only 37 percent were given overseas workers cards (KTKLN cards), and only 7 percent were provided signed contracts. Similarly, the IMWU's research finds 57 percent had not received KTKLN cards, and 77 percent had not received mandatory insurance cards. Once in Hong Kong SAR, the majority of respondents reported their documents were taken by the employer or agency, and 74 percent had their documents confiscated. Approximately a third reported that they were confined to the employer's home (ITUC, IMWU, and HKCTU 2013, as cited by Amnesty International 2013).

A 2004 study of 465 women domestic workers indicates that despite the income increase, the recruitment agencies took half the migrants' salaries, and the workers faced low wages, long hours, no social security, and lived in small rooms without adequate fixtures or amenities (Neetha 2004, as cited by Deshingkar and Akter 2009).

Domestic work is generally not covered by employment laws. Migrant domestic workers are hidden from the public, more susceptible to abuse, and less able to associate with others. This isolation makes it more difficult to become aware of their rights, or create or join unions. The situation may also contribute to lower wages for female migrants. When migrant women face abuse or discrimination within their workplaces, they are often unaware of their rights, particularly if they are isolated from the public. They may not access existing resources and assistance because of restricted mobility, fear of deportation, and concern about losing their employment (Min-Harris 2008).

Some of the abuses suffered by domestic workers from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka in Arab countries have been extensively documented, including issues with wages (nonpayment, irregular payment, or reduced payment), abuse and maltreatment, forced labor, restrictions on mobility, lack of rest hours, and insufficient food, as well as a lack of labor standards to protect migrants (Afsar 2011). In 2000 alone, about 19,000 domestic workers escaped from their employers in Saudi Arabia. In some cases, migrant abuse has resulted in death. Between 1999 and 2005, 147 domestic workers in Singapore died (Moreno-Fontes Chammartin 2005, as cited by UNFPA 2006).

Female migrants may be forced into prostitution or to sell sexual favors to survive or provide for their families, especially in cases of forced migration or displacement (Ghosh 2009). Migrant women are vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Crush and Ramachandran 2009). An ILO report finds that one of six irregular female migrants is coerced into sex, usually when in the entertainment or domestic sectors (ILO 2004, as cited by Ivakhnyuk 2009). Many migrants fear police and other authority figures, as seen in South Africa, which can lead to even fewer resources and less support during crises (FIDH 2008, as cited by Crush and Ramachandran 2009). Forced or income-based sex work, as well as separation from spouses because of migration, may increase the risk of HIV and AIDS. The United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) reports that migrants have a higher risk of HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2002, as cited by UNFPA and IMP 2004). It reports that in France, 69 percent of HIV diagnoses in 2003 were in migrants and 65 percent of those were women (Lot et al. 2004, as cited by UNFPA 2006). In some circumstances, migrant men returning home infect their wives with HIV, as was seen in Senegal (Thiam, Perry, and Piche 2003, as cited by UNFPA 2006).

Migrant women may not have reliable access to health care or reproductive health care, as shown in Raj and Silverman's study on violence against migrant women in the United States. This deficit is due to lack of information or health-related education, isolation, inability to access services based on legal status, or fear of deportation or repercussions if their immigration status is irregular (Ghosh 2009; Raj and Silverman 2002, as cited by Sabates-Wheeler 2009). In Singapore, women are obligated to undergo medical exams, and migrant women can be deported if found pregnant, which may decrease use of medical facilities in times of need (Piper 2005). Lack of health care may also be due to sociocultural factors, such as language barriers or cultural barriers, like discomfort with male medical staff (UNFPA 2006). In Saudi Arabia, only women accompanied by their fathers or spouses may access medical services, which may further restrict migrant women's access to services (Human Rights Watch 2004, as cited by UNFPA 2006).

Migrant women in the European Union were found to have little or no antenatal care, which resulted in high rates of stillbirth and infant mortality (Bollini 2000, as cited by UNFPA 2006). In the United Kingdom, migrant women from Asia had lower birth weights, and migrants from the Caribbean and Pakistan had higher perinatal and postnatal mortality rates. Similar findings occurred in Germany with Turkish immigrants, based on Carballo, Divino, and Zeric's findings. According to Zeitlin et al. (1998) and Carballo and Nerukar (2001), higher rates of pregnancy complications were reported in France and Spain among migrant women from Africa and Central and South America (Carballo and Nerukar 2001, Zeitlin et al. 1998, Carballo, Divino, and Zeric 2004, as cited by UNFPA 2006).

Migrant women, especially irregular migrants, may be more vulnerable to violence. Violence against migrant women can occur in the origin country, in transit, in the destination country, or even when returning home, and can include emotional, psychological, physical, and sexual violence and economic abuse (UN General Assembly 2013).

In the country of origin, violence and abuse occurring within the family, such as domestic violence from an intimate partner or relatives, or within the community, such as female-genital mutilation, may drive the decision to migrate. In transit, migrant women may be vulnerable to gender-based violence from

recruiters and from police and others, such as border patrol or detention center authorities (IOM 2013). For instance, Samuels et al. (2012) report cases in Bangladesh in which recruitment brokers arranged for migrant women to perform sexual activities for border authorities as part of the migration process without informing the women beforehand. A study on Mexico shows that 46 percent of migrant women had experienced violence, 23 percent from customs officials, 10 percent from federal police, 10 percent from judiciary and municipal police, and 6 percent from armed forces (Sin Fronteras 2005, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Migrant women relying on irregular channels of migration may also be vulnerable to traffickers (IOM 2013).

Migrant women are at a heightened risk of violence and abuse because domestic workers, caregivers, and workers in the sex and entertainment industries are often not covered by labor protections and are hidden from the public. In 2001, more than 1,600 international migrant women from Sri Lanka reported harassment in their workplaces (Weeramunda 2004, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Having irregular status only furthers risk of exploitation and abuse. If violence occurs, lack of access to protection from violence or legal resources, as well as isolation due to lack of language skills, information, and distance from family and community networks, hinders migrant women from using legal remedies or resources (IOM 2013).

Stress and strains once in the destination country have also been shown to increase intimate partner violence (IOM 2013). In one study, 31 percent of Latin American migrant women in the United States reported increased intimate partner violence since migrating (Hass, Ammar, and Orloff 2006, as cited by UNFPA 2006). Migrant women experiencing violence in destination countries may be hesitant to report it if their status is irregular or dependent on the abuser.

6. Implications for Policies and Programs

Countries recognize the benefits and risks of female migration, and have increasingly discussed gender and migration in international forums, such as in the UN Population Conference in Cairo in 1994, and the UN Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995, as well as the 10- and 20-year reviews of each. Ensuring the rights and protection of migrant workers enhances the benefits of migration for origin and destination countries, contributes to poverty alleviation, and, of course, improves the lives of migrants and their families (ILO 2009).

Many international conventions, declarations, and laws have been established to protect women and migrants. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families focuses on basic protections and equality of treatment for migrant workers, regardless of status. It also indicates additional rights required for migrants of legal and regular status. The convention promotes the shared responsibilities of states to protect basic rights such as freedom of movement; freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; freedom from slavery, servitude, or forced compulsory labor; and the right to life. Furthermore, it promotes rights regarding due process; cultural, economic, and employment rights; and rights for migrants' families and children (ICRMW 1990). However, only 46 states are party to the convention (UN General Assembly 2013).

In contrast, 189 states are party to the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which promotes the human rights and equal treatment of women and girls. General recommendation No. 26 of CEDAW focuses specifically on the rights of women migrant workers, highlighting migrant women's basic rights as well as the gender-based differences, vulnerabilities, and forms of discrimination faced by migrant women. It culminates with recommendations to states parties (CEDAW 1979).

In addition to these conventions, in 1994, the UN General Assembly adopted the Resolution on Violence against Migrant Women, which was later adopted by the UN Commission on the Status of Women and the UN Commission on Human Rights (Oishi 2002). As of June 2013, 176 states had either ratified or acceded to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. Supplementing this convention are two protocols, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air. To date, 156 states have ratified and 137 states have acceded to the protocols. Other relevant international conventions and committees include the Domestic Workers Convention; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination; and the Convention on Migrant Workers, which includes provisions on migrant women in articles 10, 11, 16, and 70 (Satterthwaite 2005, as cited by Opeskin 2009).

Countries have already taken their own measures to improve the benefits of migration and decrease the risks and vulnerabilities of migrants. In 2006, Indonesia and Malaysia signed a memorandum of understanding that requires contracts for domestic helpers; designates the rights and obligations of both migrants and employers; and requires that employers not withhold wages until the end of the contract, as had been done in many instances previously (Martin 2009). In 2008, Hong Kong SAR required employers of domestic workers to provide room and board and a minimum wage of at least \$3,580 Hong Kong dollars (US\$460) a month (Martin 2009).

Some countries have also established measures to protect migrant workers with regard to employment and workers' rights, sexual and gender-based violence, and trafficking. In addition, some countries offer protections or assistance to victims of trafficking, asylum seekers, refugees, and undocumented migrants (UN General Assembly 2013). Although these efforts are laudable, the risks and issues faced by migrant women continue, and the full benefits and opportunities of migration to advance gender equality remain to be realized. According to a UN General Assembly declaration in June 2013, more efforts are needed to strengthen preventive measures; improve training and capacity building; enhance protection and assistance; and build greater bilateral, regional, and international cooperation. Much could also be achieved through greater advocacy, awareness raising, and legislative and policy initiatives (UN General Assembly 2013).

The most prominent and relevant recommendations by experts and organizations include the following (Ghosh 2009; UNDP 2009; IOM 2012; UNFPA and IOM 2006; UN General Assembly 2013; CEDAW 1979; Petrozziello 2013; UNFPA 2006):

- 1. Ensure migrant women are granted full human rights and can access services and resources for basic rights.** Migrants should receive the same protections, standards, and access to services as non-migrants. Countries should ensure that rights are safeguarded even for those most isolated. Migrants should be protected regardless of status. Families left behind should have access to resources in their own countries, particularly when spouses migrate, and in transit and destination countries.

Migrant women must have access to health services, regardless of legal status. Health workers should be trained to ensure that health systems are gender sensitive and culturally sensitive.

The rights of migrant women should be legally protected and they should have access to legal services and remedies, for instance, in reporting violence and workplace complaints. Legal services should be gender sensitive and linguistically and culturally accessible and appropriate.
- 2. Provide access to financial institutions and better channels for sending and receiving remittances.** Migrant women need increased access to formal financial institutions as well as services geared to the needs of women. Financial services, such as financial literacy training and support for enterprise creation, should be available for women. In addition, providing formal, easy, and safe channels for remittances would allow families to receive more remittances, which would raise household incomes and improve local economies.
- 3. Promote nondiscrimination in access to labor markets and job sectors, thereby increasing access and opportunities for women.** Invest in skills development and education of women and female migrants. In addition, countries are encouraged to recognize the academic degrees and qualifications of migrants to help ensure that migrants are not underemployed and their skills and contributions are fully recognized.
- 4. Provide support for migrants before, during, and after migration.** Countries are encouraged to provide support to migrants, including pre-departure programs, as well as additional support for vulnerable groups, such as women at risk of HIV/AIDs and trafficking and abuse before, during, and after migrating. Services for returnees should also be provided, including psychosocial rehabilitation; socioeconomic, psychological, and legal services; and active efforts to destigmatize migrants, particularly migrant survivors of trafficking and abuse. Migrants should also be provided access to microenterprise training and financial institutions. Furthermore, diasporas should be supported and strengthened, particularly women's participation in diasporas.
- 5. Offer and encourage community education, awareness raising, and training.** Make available pre-departure programs with information on safe methods for migration; approved and accredited recruitment agencies; rights entitlements; and where to find assistance and services in origin, transit, and destination countries. Create partnerships with media institutions to raise awareness.

6. **Regulate and monitor recruitment agencies and immigration officials.** Recruitment agencies should be carefully monitored and regulated, and accredited by governments. Recruitment agencies should be mandated to include contracts for migrant workers and to provide contacts with consulates and embassies in destination countries.
7. **Provide resource centers through embassies and consular services.** In addition to their role in providing resources and training, diplomatic and consular protection should be provided, and potentially an officer on staff should be specifically responsible for migrant women and girls.
8. **Require training on gender sensitivities and human rights.** Training programs should be required for recruitment and employment agencies, as well as for border officials, immigration authorities, police, judicial and health personnel, and other relevant workers.
9. **Increase public awareness and recognition of the benefits of migration and migrant contributions in origin and destination countries.** In destination countries, efforts should encompass social inclusion of migrant women. Improving perceptions of migrants will help lessen xenophobia and other risks migrants face.
10. **Strengthen women's political participation.** Increased political representation will result in better advocacy for women's needs and the promotion of women's rights. For instance, the responsibility for the provision of care should be shared among governments, employers, and families.
11. **Regulate domestic work,** thereby ensuring the rights of domestic workers with regard to salary, working hours, health, and other protections. Include methods to monitor workplace conditions.
12. **Strengthen partnerships, consultation, and involvement of all stakeholders,** including migrant women and the civil society organizations that represent their interests, as well as embassies, consular services, and governments.
13. **Create bilateral, multilateral, and regional dialogue and agreements that include provisions for sharing information and best practices to ensure migrant rights, support, and protection.** Perpetrators of violence or violations of rights should be properly persecuted and punished with cooperation between states.
14. **Revise laws to ease barriers to safe migration for migrant women. Laws should be gender sensitive and rights based, and laws that discriminate against female migrants should be revised.** This effort must include regularizing women's migration and revising discriminatory bans, thereby allowing women methods for legal migration that will lower the risks of smuggling and trafficking or irregular and unsafe unemployment. Laws that restrict employment or access to legal or human rights, as well as laws that discriminate against women migrating for family reunification, ought to be revised. Immigration laws should offer options for independent immigration status from spouses, in case of situations of domestic violence, and work permits that are not dependent on a specific employer, in case of abuse or exploitation. Laws should be gender sensitive and provide special provisions for victims of trafficking. Laws should promote independent movement and access to travel documents.
15. **Ratify or accede to treaties related to migrant women and their human rights, specifically ICRMW and CEDAW General Recommendation 26.** Revise national laws to comply.

7. Gaps in the Literature and Areas for Future Research

This paper uses current literature to provide a better understanding of the drivers of migration and characteristics of female migrants, including how gender norms affect push-pull factors and the types of work available to female labor migrants. The paper also offers insight into how gender plays a role in remittances, the welfare of migrants' families and communities, and the opportunities and costs for women as migrants or at home. In addition, the paper provides information on the constraints impeding migration and its benefits, specifically as they pertain to women and their agency. Finally, the paper compiles important policy recommendations for countries to improve migration and reduce associated vulnerabilities and risks. Although the literature available on gender and migration provides a broad overview of these topics, many areas still require further research.

Conducting more research and collecting sex-disaggregated data will be essential to addressing knowledge gaps and providing a more complete analysis of gender and migration. Ultimately, better research and understanding will improve programs and policies, which will increase the benefits of migration and enhance the agency of migrants while reducing the risks and vulnerabilities they face.

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