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## **Women in Migration and Development: Review and Analysis**

**Prepared by**

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# **WOMEN IN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: REVIEW AND ANALYSIS\***

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Since the end of the Second World War there has been a focus on development and migration in economics. This focus has tended to be biased towards considering the issues of these genres in a male-centric paradigm and has neglected the different relationship that females have had with these issues. Only since the mid-seventies has there been a genuine shift towards a more gender-balanced approach. The first major steps taken by the United Nations to raise awareness of the different challenges that women face in relation to these and other issues, were the dedication of 1975 as the 'International Year for Women', and the subsequent declaration of 1976 to 1985 as the 'Decade for Women'. Since then, the subject of gender and development has received increasing attention from researchers, policy makers and multilateral organisations. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is considered by many as one of the important steps in an effort to eliminate global gender inequality. In this convention a number of important recommendations and decisions on the state of gender inequality and how it could be improved were made.

Similarly, the literature on migration has only recently given appropriate recognition to the gender perspective of migration, even though the proportion of migrants, relative to the total population of the world, has steadily increased from 2.1 percent in 1975 to 2.9 percent in 2000 (IOM, 2003, p5) and the proportion of women in world migration has increased from 46.6 percent in 1960 to 48.8 percent in 2000 (Zlotnik, 2003).

The specific aims of this paper are to critically examine the relationships between gender and economic development, and gender and migration. With these objectives in mind the paper focuses on:

- emerging issues in economic development since the Second World War;
- the relationship between gender and development;
- the relationship between migration and development;
- current issues concerning gender, migration and development;
- current data collection and collation methods; and
- possible policy avenues for the empowerment of migrant women.

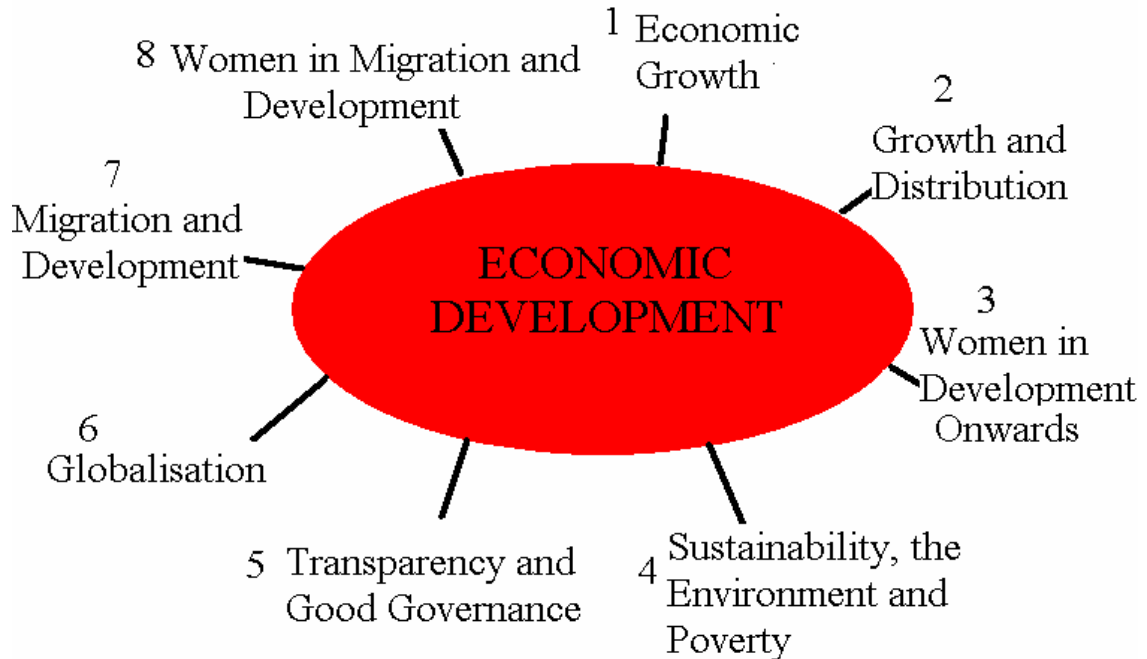
## 2. MOTIVATION OF THIS PAPER

The United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women is hosting a consultative meeting on the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 2003, at Malmo, Sweden in preparation for the fifth edition of the World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, to be published in 2004. The focus of this meeting will be on migration and mobility and how this movement affects women. The organizers invited a number of experts in this area to participate in this meeting and to present papers on various aspects of gender, migration and economic development. To this end, the author of this paper (who has a passion for research in the field of gender, development and migration) was invited to attend this meeting and provide a paper.

## 3. EMERGING ISSUES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Since the end of the Second World War the concept of economic development has undergone significant changes. Its scope has gradually been extended in accordance with global changes, which have taken place over the last 50 years (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: EMERGING ISSUES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



Economic development was a fundamental part of classical economics. Originating in Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations', the most efficient method of economic development was believed to be through a capitalist system. However, development economics first emerged as an independent branch of economics after the end of the Second World War, when many countries in Asia and Africa that had been colonized by European nations became independent countries. They sought to enact a rapid

transformation of their economic position, including an increase in standard of living of their peoples. Also around this time the economists Harrod and Domar initiated new interest in macroeconomic analysis, growth and employment. These factors led to a distinction being drawn between economic growth and economic development which led to the creation of a separate discipline focused on development, namely development economics (Siddique, 1997a, p7).

Distribution of income did not receive much acknowledgement in the literature prior to the formation of development economics. Previously it was assumed that distributional facets of economic growth would be resolved through the 'trickle down' effect of economic growth: wealth accumulated through development by societies more economically powerful elements would eventually be transferred to the less economically powerful. However by the 1970s it had become apparent that economic growth did not necessarily lead to more equal income distribution. In the short run it seemed that an increase in GDP actually exacerbated the income gap, although, in the long run structural changes would occur, for example, urbanization and improved education. The important question is how long is this long run, and to what extent will income be distributed at the conclusion of this long run period? (Siddique, 1997a, p8).

Gender factors received negligible attention in the literature of development studies until the 1970s when Ester Boserup's *Women's Role in Economic Development* acted as a catalyst to this area of research. Since this publication, there has been much deliberation on theories and issues concerning the gender-development relationship. Further discussion on advancements made in relation to this issue will be considered in section 3.

Focus on policy application concerning women in development began to receive serious attention in the 1970s when the United States Agency for International Aid (USAID) and the United Nations initiated a number of actions to integrate women into the process of economic development. The more notable of these was the declaration of 1975 as the 'International Year for Women' and, following this, declaring 1976-1985 the 'Decade for Women'. This period also saw a number of conferences dealing with pertinent issues that affected women's position in society, including gender inequalities. These efforts made policymakers in developing countries more aware of integrating women into the process of economic development.

The other main focus of development economics has been sustainability, or the concern that the needs of the present generation must not be met at the expense of future generations. This focus was cemented into the discipline in 1987 with the publication of the World Commission on Environment and Development report, *Our Common Future*.<sup>1</sup> This then led development economists to broaden their studies and focus on other issues related to their sphere of interest, such as the environment and poverty (Siddique, 1997a, p9).

Recently the field of development economics has been debating whether liberalization is the best method of applying development economics. Concerns have been

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<sup>1</sup> Often referred to as the Brundtland report after Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway, who chaired the Commission



expressed pertaining to whether globalization and liberalization are the solution to problems of underdevelopment. Indeed, it has been proposed that development economists should focus on the role that good governance plays in economic development. This has drawn attention to the role of corruption in economic development, and the effects of its influences, both positive and negative, on developing states.

Globalization and subsequently migration have also featured prominently in development economics literature. The roles that removal of trade barriers and the increased mobility of labour have in economic development are considered to be a progressively more significant and relevant issue in this strain of economics.

#### **4. GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**

##### **4.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Boserup pioneered research into the relationship between gender and economic development. Her work initiated a number of theoretical approaches towards assessing the role of sex differences in development economics. Three of these approaches are, the Women In Development (WID) approach, the Women And Development approach (WAD) and the Gender And Development approach (GAD). The WID approach is closely related to Boserup's work, concentrating on integrating women into development, as opposed to allowing a continued marginalisation of women from the course of development. The WID approach emanates from the assertion that the alienation of women from the new causes of economic growth is the reason behind the inequality that exists between genders. Applications of this theory are therefore aimed at projecting women into economic growth processes, allowing them to become productive employees sharing the benefits of economic development through this integration. Increasing opportunities in education and training would allow them increased access to the labour market and increased participation in the modern sector. This would afford more income than provided in the subsistence sectors where women were traditionally involved.

The WID approach has received support from international organizations, governments and non-governmental organisations and has facilitated the integration of women into the economic growth process (Beneria, 2001, p1). However, this approach has been criticized on a number of grounds, most importantly for its failure to identify the real causes for the disadvantageous position women have in society (Moser, 1989, p1800), and that it assumes that the integration of women into the process of economic development will be sufficient to improve the status of women. It also supports the view that the problems that women face lay, in part at least, in women themselves, rather than the disadvantages that face them (Elson, 1991, p1). This has led to the formation of the feminist approach to the position of women in development, with the aim of analysing the extent to which problems that women face are perceived to be caused by the biological differences between the sexes, as opposed to other factors.

The WAD approach focuses not only on social reasons but asserts that the reasons for the marginalisation of women are ingrained in the capitalist development model. This

approach therefore aims at instigating change in the development model itself so that it can transform the position of women, integrate them into the economy and afford them greater benefits. Drawn from socialist critiques, this approach is in contrast to the WID approach (Beneria, 2001, p1).

The GAD approach to women's position in development was initiated in the 1980s. This occurred due to the incorporation of ideas that saw both sexes playing an integral part in development studies. Information about men and their roles, positions and social conditions were deemed an important part of investigating the effects of development on women (Beneria, 2001, p1).

There are also two alternative approaches to the aforementioned. First, the Feminist Approach (FA), which focuses on the way men and women are biologically different and how this affects the literature relating to women's issues, an approach that is also used as a criticism of the WID approach. Second, the Empowerment of Women Approach (EWA) that has been well received among donor agencies, policymakers and planners. This method caters for women's empowerment socially, politically and economically and is dependent on the degree to which women are involved in the development process and the development strategy that a country decides upon.

The hub of study of the relationship between gender and development has been evolving over time, with efforts being made to overcome the perception that the field has tended towards theorising and discourse. These previous approaches were seen to be more applicable to the social sciences rather than to policy solutions to the problems faced by women in relation to development economics. The results of these critiques has led researchers concerned with GAD to broaden their research and analyse labour markets, the allocation of resources, technological flows, migration, trade, macroeconomics and microeconomics (Beneria, 2001, p2).

Many women involved in the modern sector economies of developing nations are concentrated into export-orientated industries. Often their employment in these industries has provided opportunities through migrating from their rural place of origin to cities or export processing zones. The relationship between gender, export led development and export led growth has traditionally been discussed, for the most part, within the ideological framework of Neo-Classical, traditional Marxist and Feminist theories, chief among these being the Female Marginalization Thesis. The Neo-Classical and traditional Marxist approaches are congruent to the extent that they both assert that capitalist economic development empowers women by providing them with, or expanding their prospect to gain, employment opportunities that provide them with remuneration (Siddique, 2003, pp6-7).

Marxists assert that increased female employment opportunities and subsequent increased employment undermines the patriarchal control over women and their labour in the household or family operated businesses (Seguino, 1997, p1). This theory can be applied to the Indonesian experience where the incorporation of women into paid labour has given them an alternative to performing unpaid labour in the agricultural sector. This allows them to be economically independent, no longer reliant on the male's incomes but receive a share of the wage they had contributed to through their labour. Neo-Classical and Marxist theorists focus on the positive impact on women's employment from profit oriented producers. This type of producer's

labour market is considered as gender blind and employers strategies are aimed at employing the lowest cost labour with the right skills for the job so as to obtain the largest possible profit. Gender discrimination by one firm would necessarily mean higher costs of labour and therefore lower competitiveness compared to an identical gender-neutral firm, and as such, gender discriminating firms would be pushed out of the market.

Feminist explanations of the relationship between gender and export led growth generally use the Female Marginalization Thesis. This theory is characterized by a more methodological approach that relies on the inclusion of social, legal, cultural and political factors interacting with economic factors to explain the relationship between gender and growth (Siddique, 2003 pp8-9). Generally, all aspects that have a large influence on male-female bargaining power are included because they will, as such, affect differentials in access to resources through gender channels (Seguino, 1997, p2). In focusing on these aspects the Female Marginalization Thesis contrasts strongly with the Integration Thesis used by Neo-Classicists and some Marxists.

Gender has become an increasingly important factor at the macroeconomic level, with the feedback between micro level gender relations and its influence on macro level results being studied in many frameworks (Seguino, 1997, p2). Conversely, the effect of macro level policies on gender relations and female welfare is also studied. Integration thesis states that capitalist expansion results in increased gender equality as, due to demand for labour, women gain more access to paid employment and as such have more autonomy over resources. Export oriented strategies, by utilizing labour intensive industries, are viewed, in terms of this thesis, as a good way of improving women's relative economic status because of the reliance upon low wages that inexperienced women workers are willing to take. However, with the development of skills and the female labour supply, the wage gap should begin to reduce. This relies on the assumption that labour markets are gender blind and micro level gender relations do not have any significant influence on macroeconomic activity (Siddique, 2003, p9).

The Female Marginalization Thesis asserts that women's marginalization is a product of the capitalist organization of production and use of labour (Scott, 1986, p651). The fundamental parts of this marginalization are the separation between production and reproduction, the hierarchical structures of capitalist enterprises, the rise of labour surplus and the industrial reserve army and the mutual accommodation between capitalism and the patriarchy. The result of these components is that women are confined to the home, to inferior jobs and to the reserve army of labour. Although it realizes that industrial market-based development will induct females into the economic process, they will inevitably be relegated to inferior positions relative to men in similar jobs. This effect flows on to limit their material status and bargaining power in the labour market, the household and the state. These inequalities are attributed to the patriarchal gender system and are considered to enhance capitalist growth and therefore are unlikely to cease without state intervention in the market. For example, in an economy that has an export orientated growth strategy and its major exports are industries that are labour intensive, low wages are needed to gain and hold market share.

## 4.2 MEASUREMENT OF GENDER INEQUALITY

Analysis of the changing trends of development effects on women requires construction of a method through which to pool the effects of the many variables that influence the conditions of women. Two of the available measures for gender inequality are the Gender Development Index (GDI), and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The GDI is a function of life expectancy, educational attainment and real per capita income in purchasing power parity (PPP) dollars, focusing on both women and men. A measure can therefore be taken of these factors to illustrate the extent of gender inequality in a country. This measurement can also be contrasted with the general Human Development Index (HDI) (which uses similar variables) of a country to calculate the relative progress of gender equality. The GEM uses a different approach, being a function of women's participation in political decision making, access to professional opportunities and their share of jobs that are classified as professional occupations, as well as their per capita income in PPP dollars.

## 4.3 GENDER INEQUALITY: EVIDENCE FROM THE REAL WORLD

The Tables below give an indication of the current state of gender equality, with a number of definite trends observable. Table 1 demonstrates that women working in the rural areas of developing nations have comparatively longer work hour burdens than women in these nations who work in urban areas. This is congruent with the developed nations having a higher portion of their populations in urban areas as compared with most developing nations, where populations are concentrated in rural areas.

Data on gender inequality for a number of countries for the years of 1995 and 2001 are presented Table 2. The GDI shows that the regions rated higher in terms of gender equality are the industrially developed countries, whereas the developing countries are consistently ranked lower. The same trend is observable with the GEM, with industrially developed countries usually ranking higher in this measurement than the industrially developing countries. Amongst the developing nations, generally countries in the Latin American and Caribbean zones perform better than those in Asia, Africa and the Arab states. A number of countries have not had enough data collected to produce GEM or GDI values and as such they have been omitted from the table, a large portion of these countries are Western Asians and African nations, also although the rankings are useful since more countries were added into the 2001 rankings for a more accurate picture the values should be analysed.

TABLE 1: BURDEN OF WORK IN SELECTED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (PERCENTAGE)

	Males	Females
Average for Urban Areas	49	51
Average for Rural Areas	45	55
Total Average for Sample Countries	47	53

Source: United Nations, (1995), p93.

TABLE 2: COMPARISONS OF HDI, GEMAND GDI IN 1995 AND 2001

Country	2001					1995				
	HDI	GEM Value	GEM Rank	GDI Value	GDI Rank	HDI	GEM Value	GEM Rank	GDI Value	GDI Rank
Norway	1	0.837	2	0.941	1	6	0.752	2	0.911	3
Sweden	3	0.831	3	0.940	3	9	0.757	1	0.919	1
Australia	4	0.754	11	0.938	4	10	0.568	11	0.901	6
Netherlands	5	0.794	6	0.934	7	4	0.625	7	0.851	20
Belgium	6	0.695	15	0.931	8	11	0.479	21	0.852	18
United States	7	0.760	10	0.935	5	2	0.623	8	0.901	5
Canada	8	0.771	9	0.934	6	1	0.655	5	0.891	9
Japan	9	0.515	44	0.926	13	3	0.442	27	0.896	8
Switzerland	10	0.720	13	0.927	12	12	0.513	17	0.852	19
Denmark	11	0.825	4	0.928	9	14	0.683	4	0.904	4
Ireland	12	0.683	16	0.923	16	17	0.469	24	0.813	30
UK	13	0.675	17	0.928	11	16	0.483	19	0.862	13
Finland	14	0.801	5	0.928	10	5	0.722	3	0.918	2
Austria	16	0.782	7	0.924	14	13	0.610	9	0.882	10
Spain	19	0.709	14	0.912	20	8	0.452	26	0.795	34
NZ	20	0.750	12	0.914	19	15	0.637	6	0.868	12
Italy	21	0.561	32	0.910	21	18	0.585	10	0.861	14
Portugal	23	0.647	21	0.892	23	30	0.435	30	0.832	25
Greece	24	0.519	40	0.886	24	19	0.343	67	0.825	27
Barbados	27	0.659	20	0.885	27	21	0.545	12	0.878	11
Singapore	28	0.594	26	0.880	28	29	0.424	35	0.822	28
Korea, Rep. of	30	0.363	63	0.873	30	26	0.380	50	0.780	37
Czech Rep.	32	0.579	28	0.857	32	31	0.255	90	0.858	15
Poland	35	0.594	25	0.839	35	43	0.432	32	0.838	22
Hungary	38	0.518	41	0.834	36	42	0.506	18	0.836	23
Uruguay	40	0.516	43	0.830	39	27	0.361	57	0.802	32
Costa Rica	42	0.670	19	0.824	41	24	0.474	22	0.763	42
Chile	43	0.467	52	0.821	43	28	0.402	40	0.759	43
UAE	48	0.315	65	0.802	49	37	0.239	94	0.674	57
Bahamas	49	0.671	18	0.811	46	22	0.533	14	0.828	26
Mexico	55	0.516	42	0.790	52	45	0.399	42	0.741	46
Malaysia	58	0.503	45	0.784	53	49	0.384	49	0.768	38
Panama	59	0.471	50	0.781	54	41	0.430	33	0.765	41
Colombia	64	0.501	46	0.774	55	47	0.435	29	0.720	50
Venezuela	69	0.441	56	0.767	60	39	0.391	45	0.765	40
Thailand	74	0.457	55	0.766	61	48	0.373	54	0.798	33
Peru	82	0.521	39	0.734	72	67	0.400	41	0.631	62
Paraguay	84	0.412	59	0.739	69	65	0.343	66	0.628	63
Philippines	85	0.539	35	0.748	66	70	0.435	28	0.625	64
Dominican Rep.	94	0.529	37	0.727	77	68	0.412	37	0.590	69
Turkey	96	0.290	66	0.726	81	53	0.234	98	0.744	45
Ecuador	97	0.489	49	0.716	80	54	0.375	53	0.641	60
Sri Lanka	99	0.272	67	0.726	84	69	0.288	79	0.660	58
El Salvador	105	0.459	54	0.707	85	81	0.397	44	0.533	76
Bolivia	114	0.522	38	0.663	94	80	0.344	65	0.519	80
Honduras	115	0.408	60	0.656	96	82	0.406	39	0.524	77
Egypt	120	0.253	68	0.634	99	76	0.237	96	0.453	92
Botswana	125	0.564	31	0.611	101	59	0.407	38	0.696	55
Bangladesh	139	0.218	69	0.495	112	107	0.287	80	0.334	108
Pakistan	144	0.414	58	0.469	120	91	0.153	114	0.360	103

Source: UN, (1995) and UN, (2001).

Although Table 2 shows a fall in the GEM value for Sri Lanka when the components of this are looked at individually the fall can be attributed to a loss of total share in managerial and parliamentary positions, (4.9 to 4.4% and 6.9 to 4% respectively over

the period of 1995 to 2002. However the female-male wage differentials improved significantly which is supported by data in Table 9 demonstrating an increase in skilled female migrants, and this alludes to the importance migrant women play in increasing gender equality through economic empowerment.

Table 3 exhibits women’s share of administrative and managerial jobs in major regions of the world during 1995. The industrially developed countries and Latin America are the most progressive, whereas South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa rank the worst. It is interesting to note here that all the United Nations’ divisions that employ over 50 people had a higher share of women (28.2%) in administrative and managerial jobs than the world average of 14%. More recent figures show further improvements in these levels with 35.6% of the staff in a broader interpretation of the professional category being female in 2002, and constituting 41.8% when a narrower interpretation is used (UN, 2002a). At the senior level the Proportion of women employed has increased from 11.3% in 1995 to 25.6% in 2002. This demonstrates a substantial achievement in the United Nations in setting an example for efforts in gender equality.

TABLE 3: WOMEN’S SHARE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL JOBS (PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL)

Region	%
East Asia	11.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	18.8
South Asia	3.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	9.6
Industrial Countries	27.7
United Nations	28.2
World	14.0

Source: United Nations, (1995), pp37-38.

## 5. MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THEORIES AND EMERGING ISSUES

### 5.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES \*

Migration research has undergone significant changes over recent years. Theoretical development has occurred through two main streams. First, debate has led to the revision of the traditional way of perceiving migration as a method whereby people make rational choices to optimize the economic returns they receive. Second, migration theory acknowledges that female migrants are a significant portion of total migration and therefore are undoubtedly an essential part of understanding the relationship between migration and development.

**The Human Capital Theory** of migration originated in neo-classical economics and states that people migrate for the purpose of increasing their earning capacity to an optimal point (Sjaastad, 1962). This theory has been challenged by the postulation that people undertake migration according to a number of different non-economic

\* This section is mainly based on IOM (2003).

reasons (Jobes, Stinner and Wardwell, 1992, p1 cited in Djamba, 2003, p93). The original Human Capital theory of migration was expanded by Todaro in 1969 and then jointly with Harris in 1970. They also believed that the impetus to improve economic position was the main driving force behind people migrating.

There are a number of important emerging issues in the field of migration today that are recognised as impacting on the current migration environment. These include the need to work against criminal and terrorism linked migration, which over the past few years has come to the forefront of many countries migration policies. Second, the rights of all migrants should be respected and that protection should be afforded to refugees. Third, the sovereignty of states should be respected and the reasons for migration and destination choice need to be considered in a broad social, economic and political framework, and the costs and benefits of migration properly recognised. Finally, the collection of accurate migration data is necessary to combat many peripheral problems associated with migration, through allowing researchers to better understand migration, in order that informed recommendations are made (IOM, 2003, p287).

The World Migration Report (2003, pp 12-14) also outlines a number of contemporary theories on migration; the theory of Development in a Dual Economy, Neo-Classical theory, the Dependency theory, the World System theory, the New Economy of Professional Migration theory and the Migration Networks theory.

**The Theory of Development in a Dual Economy** was initialized in 1954 and although not specifically a migration theory, it was a forerunner to modern migration theories. It dealt with the role that labour migration played in economic development, with the capital sector needing labour from the agricultural sector in developing countries in order for them to grow. This labour migration is facilitated by higher wages in the capital sector, which attracts migrants. This theory also implies that women would also benefit from this process by being freed from domestic service through the capital sector taking over their workloads through increased mechanisation. They would become part of the labour force, obtain wages and enjoy the benefits of economic development (Elson, 1999 p97).

**The Neo-Classical Migration Theory** has its roots in capitalist ideology and focuses on a combination of the structural reasons for migration and the individualistic behavioral reasons for migration. Structural reasons center on the differences of distribution of labour and capital worldwide, which can be seen through measures of wages and standards of living. These differentials will cause migration, with migrants seeking the best possible economic outcome. With decreasing disparity between wages and standards of living in different countries there will be a decrease and eventual stagnation of migration when it reaches an equilibrium steady state. Choices at the level of each specific individual concerning migration may be somewhat different due to factors such as personal tastes. The individual will seek to migrate to the country that provides the greatest overall benefits.

**The Dependency Theory** arose as a Marxist challenge to the Neo-Classical interpretation of migration. Developed countries receive migrants from developing countries, generally the more skilled persons, thus reducing migration to a tool of the developed countries to maintain their hegemonic position.

**The Dual Labour Market Theory** concentrates on immigration and its relationships with structural factors and migrant motives. Immigration demand is created because labour markets in developed nations split into two different markets: capital intensive labour markets and labour intensive labour markets. Due to this distinction there is a lack of incentive for native workers to work in the secondary sector and as such immigration is used to supply the labour for this sector because the alternative of raising wages would lead to inflation. Immigration is most likely to come from low wage countries and this labour source has now become more necessary because native women in developed countries have moved to the capital intensive labour sector, and due to falling fertility levels there are not enough young people from the developed country to fill the positions.

**The World System Theory** asserts that migration is a result of the effects of globalization on the economies of countries. Globalization and widespread capitalism has meant that labour mobility is much higher and people can migrate to find better economic opportunities for themselves. It is facilitated through mechanisms such as foreign direct investment and multinational corporations and is also a cause of large levels of rural to urban migration in developing nations. Migration then also occurs in developing nations that need large supplies of inexpensive labour to stay competitive, thus migration is the way through which labour market surpluses and shortages are resolved.

**The New Economy of Professional Migration Theory** is a more recent theory. It postulates that migration is influenced by factors affecting the migrant in their country of origin and family factors. Families do not necessarily look to maximize their income at any cost. Instead of relying on wage differentials between countries to facilitate migration, it looks at a number of social and cultural factors which help explain why community members that would be prime candidates for migration, and in particular those who would gain most from the increased wage, tend not to migrate. If the potential migrant therefore does not have sufficient money then, instead of risking their income by traveling they are more likely to choose to stay, whereas people with larger financial reserves are more willing to migrate. This theory can be interpreted to provide evidence why the incidence of migration of women in a number of developing countries is not as high as in other developing countries and developed nations. It can also explain why the proportion of female migrants has been increasing recently: women traditionally have less economic power than males, and therefore (through this theory) have a reduced probability of migration because the financial risks are too great. However, in areas such as Latin America, where women have more economic independence and power than in developing regions such as Southern Asia and Africa, there has been greater gender equality and higher levels of female migration. Also as gender equality has increased, statistics on world migration flows show that women are holding an increasing percentage of the total migration population (see Tables 4 and 5).

In more recent times **the Migration Networks Theory** seeks to explain migration in terms of the networks between migrants and people in their country of origin. These linkages make the costs of migration and the risks for the potential migrants smaller through finding them a job, or accommodation, or providing them with financial assistance. In effect, assisted migrants have their own networks. This method of



migration can also apply to corporate migration programs and criminal migration programs such as migrant trafficking. Migrants who are trafficked usually have to pay back a large sum to the trafficker and are often pressured into degrading labour or sexual exploitation. Network theory can be used to examine the methods through which migrant women are trafficked and how it places them at increased risk of exploitation.

### **5.1.1 EVALUATION OF CURRENT MIGRATION THEORIES**

Lack of funds to migrate is a point that most previous migration theories have downplayed. By itself, the lack of money by poorer people prevents migration. Unless the developed countries assist labour to migrate, then large migration will not occur from poorer developing nations to rich developing nations. Instead, there will be increased but limited legal movement between semi-poor nations and developed nations, leaving developing nations without a labour outflow. Migrants in poor developing nations are therefore unable to set up the linkages needed by the network theory, short of criminal methods and therefore are more likely left open to abuse. If it is the case that women migrants on average are poorer than male migrants, then this will lead to them having a greater chance of being abused. Also, being poor is likely to be a disadvantage through not having enough information and education to avoid being exploited.

The established theories of migration in general focus on the work aspect of migration and in doing so perhaps neglect other important reasons for migration and choice of destination country. Also the theories focus more on the benefits and reasons for the developed nations rather than the effect that the emigration has on the developing nations, excluding of course the Marxist theory. The movement of poorer individuals with low skills is explained but the reasons for migration of more professional people is left out of the explanation and this is a problem, considering that the movement of these professionals would have an important impact on the country of origin. This 'brain drain' does not seem to feature in the theories when they advocate the benefits of migration. Also, a number of these theories fail to explain migration between two developed nations or two equally developing nations. Large gaps in the theories need to be examined if migration is to be correctly understood. Also, there is no thorough explanation for the volume of migrants. None of the theories looks at the effects of immigration policy of the countries of destination and how these policies influence the number of migrants applying to migrate to that country, and the types of migrants that apply. For example, whether or not the theory of adverse selection applies to migration. This is when countries that receive large numbers of migrants and with little control are more likely to get lower quality migrants in terms of skills. Also language barriers and religious barriers are likely to have an influence on the decision by potential migrants whether or not to migrate.

### **5.2 CATEGORIES OF MIGRATION**

There are a number of forms of migration as indicated in the International Organization for Migration's (IOM's) World Migration Report of 2003: Return migration, where migrants return to their country of origin, either voluntarily or non

voluntarily, after spending a period of at least one year in another country; forced migration, where the movement of the migrant is non voluntary and usually the result of events such as natural disasters and armed conflicts, and; irregular migration where migrants seek to gain a new country of residence through illegal means. Orderly migration is legal migration from one country to another; smuggling of migrants is the assisting in illegal migration to another country with the goal of receiving material benefit for the services provided; trafficking of persons is the forced migration of people through the use of coercion or fraud, and re emigration is the process of having returned to their home country for over a year and migrating again to another destination, which may or may not be the country of first migration (IOM, 2003, p9).

There are also a number of identifiable categories of migrant: asylum seekers, who migrate across international borders without having yet obtained refugee status; refugees, who from fear of persecution, choose to migrate. Frontier workers are migrant workers who return to their nation of origin from the country in which they work in, at least once a week; migrant workers who migrate to another country and gain payment for their employment, and seasonal workers depend on seasonal activity, for example, workers. Irregular migrants move without a legal method of gaining entry into the host country; displaced persons are migrants who are forced to leave their country of origin due to armed conflict, and; economic migrants are those leaving their country of origin in order to obtain a better quality of life (IOM, 2003, p10).

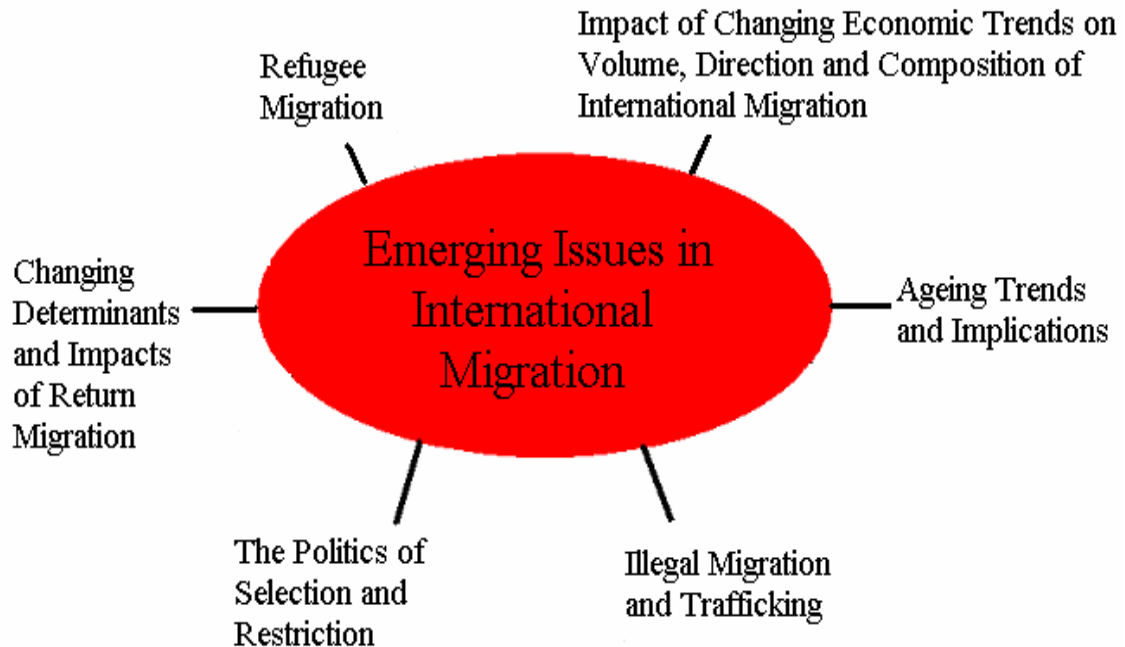
### **5.3 EMERGING ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION\***

Since the end of the Second World War, the dynamics of international migration have significantly changed. At the beginning of the Second World War international migration mainly centered around the rehabilitation of the displaced persons due to the war under humanitarian and refugees programmes. However, the nature of the demand for, and the supply of immigrants has significantly changed over the last 50 years as a result of the emergence of globalization, ageing population in a number of highly developed countries, shortages of skilled labour in both developed and developing countries and major changes in political and economic systems in some of the East European and Asian countries. The main issues in international migration emerging over the last 50 years are exhibited in Figure 2 which is followed by a brief discussion on each of the issues.

FIGURE 2: EMERGING ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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\* This section heavily draws on Siddique and Appleyard (2001).



### **5.3.1 IMPACT OF CHANGING ECONOMIC TRENDS ON VOLUME, DIRECTION AND COMPOSITION OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION**

As argued by Siddique and Appleyard (2001), existing migration theories have low predictive power because of the inherent complexities of the things they seek to explain. A definite change that can be seen in the above models is a shift from narrowly focused models to more qualitative ones that aim to understand migration concepts in terms of global linkages and socio-cultural conditions. This demonstrates that simplistic models are too inadequate to properly handle migration. Therefore not only do researchers have to be aware of these complexities but they must also search for new ways of expressing, conceptualizing and understanding migration, both nationally and internationally.

There are many reasons for changes in migration flows, such as reactions to policy manipulation recently in the US/Caribbean region; in response to political instability and conflict, as can be seen in Sub-Saharan Africa, and; through the incorporation of immigrants into society that affects social networks to increase migration, as is demonstrated in many western nations.

It should be realized that many previous migration policies have failed to achieve their initially postulated objectives. For example, the guest worker system in Europe not only turned into permanent settlement for the guest workers but also for their families through family reunification. However, there have been significant theoretical developments achieved that allow these failures to be explained and therefore, can assist policy to be more successful in the future. More attention in migration literature needs to be paid to the way that states attempt to control and regulate migration and the values that states place upon migration, in particular female migration. The commonly held view that migrants take away jobs from the native population is a false one, with the actual trends indicating that migrants, and especially women

migrants, fill jobs that often the native population feels are below them. Therefore it is necessary to evaluate the effect that this has not only on the labour market but also on the society as a whole, and most importantly on the women migrants who take these jobs, and the question has to be asked whether they are being treated in a proper manner.

It is also important to consider the effects of globalization on migration trends at present and for the future. Also to examine the effects of economic and demographic pressures so that phenomena such as high levels in migration in some developing countries, but low levels in others can be fully understood. Finally the perceptions of migration and migrants from the host countries must be understood. Questions such as why migration is considered a threat to national identity and why migrants are seen as inferior are in need of more in-depth and fruitful research.

### **5.3.2 AGEING TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS**

With the advancement in socio-economic development, fertility and mortality rates have significantly fallen in most Western and several non-Western countries. For example, in 1870, 42 per cent of Australia's was aged less than 15 years and 2 per cent was aged less than 65 years and over. In 1998, 21 per cent was aged less than 15 years and 12 per cent was aged 65 years and over McDonald and Kippen, 2001, p. 153). Population projections in Australia "indicate that this percentage is likely to at least double in the next 40 years" (McDonald and Kippen, 2001, p. 153.) It has been suggested Australia should reduce the extent or speed of ageing through increased immigration of younger persons. But McDonald and Kippen (2001, p. 174) assert that "the effects upon ageing of a younger migrant intake or higher migrant fertility are very small." During the next 20 to 30 years, the debate centering around the shortages of labour supply caused by the aging process and subsequent policy response would dominate throughout the industrialized countries (Siddique and Appleyard, 2001, p3).

### **5.3.3 ILLEGAL MIGRATION AND TRAFFICKING**

Illegal migration and trafficking of persons is widely recognised as an important international problem, especially concerning female migrants, with it generating an estimated income of between five and eleven billion dollars (Salt in Siddique and Appleyard, 2001, p5). One estimate puts the level of interaction of total migrants to Europe with traffickers at some period during their journey at 15-30%. Chiswick (2001), argues that the supply of illegal immigrants can be stated as a function of the rising wage differentials between the labour markets of nations; that one of the main characteristics of illegal workers is that they are usually less skilled than natives in the labour market as well as immigrants that have arrived in the host country through legal means. However, it is also argued that illegal migrants do not have a choice for the most part in their destination, because an assumption of autonomy of destination of the migrant would ignore factors such as the traffickers of the persons and the employers of the persons, and it would also distance the issue from the practical application of policy.

Also, due to the lack of severe penalties against employers of illegal labour research is needed into the social and political reasons for this. The tendency for strong welfare states to take a less tolerant stance to illegal immigrants is thought to be attributed to access to states welfare that would be afforded these immigrants if they inhabited their country. However a complication of this phenomenon of trafficking is when it allows migrants with serious asylum claims to reach a destination of asylum, which they would not have been otherwise able to do. It is suggested that some kinds of trafficking are not completely negative. Increased pressure of governments on tightening illegal immigration flows has the probable effect of increasing the number of migrants that resort to using traffickers and therefore the increased risk to these migrants, especially to those that are women and children, of exploitation and abuse.

It is also necessary to research such pertinent questions as to how far organized crime is involved in the trafficking of persons, what markets are developing in this area, how these markets work, how the methods of linking potential migrants and traffickers unfold, how trafficking is impacted on by ethnic and cultural linkages and in what direction is trafficking proceeding. Also, questions that need to be investigated are how the cycle of trafficking ends, what are the contributing factors to this and whether or not trafficked persons occupy a long-term marginal place in society.

#### **5.3.4 THE POLITICS OF SELECTION AND RESTRICTION**

Due to the lack of detailed information to the public, it is hard for persons to accurately judge what information on migration is credible and what is not. The extent of control of immigration by countries, the extent that this control is likely to continue, and the extent to which countries that have historically had minimal levels of control will increase their control, are other important issues to be investigated. Once migration's connectivity with human rights is fully realized by countries it becomes difficult for them to increase, and even continue, programs of assimilation and rigid control. Although this linkage has been realized in many countries there is still a shift towards tighter immigration policies. The adaptation of immigration policies to include multiple categories for more specialised restriction is another phenomenon that impacts on the way migration flows will trend in the future.

#### **5.3.5 CHANGING DETERMINANTS AND IMPACTS OF RETURN MIGRATION**

Return migration in early migration literature was often perceived as failure of a migrant. To this end countries would take the rate of return of migrants as determining the level of success of its migration policy. However, more recently return migration has been seen to have different aspects, with countries increasingly keeping links with their citizens for a number of reasons, including the incorporation of their foreign skills back into the domestic economy. As such, return migration is no longer being viewed as a failure, but as another aspect of migration. Return migration has been impacted upon heavily by the recent increases in technology in areas like transport and communications, facilitating greater mobility for migrants.

#### **5.3.6 REFUGEE MIGRATION**

Refugee migration differs from the other forms of migration because it involves an international body, namely UNHCR (the United Nations High Commission for Refugees). It is also different due to the large role played by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the resolution and nature of their migration process. To properly understand the refugee migration, which at times has been a neglected area of international migration, the causes of conflicts and other factors that initiate refugee flows must be examined thoroughly and the threat to the stability that refugee problems poses, that causes states to act collectively on this problem, should also be considered.

## **6. GENDER, MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

Previously the literature on gender, migration and development has been mostly formulated on the assumption that it is for the most part only men that undertake migration for economic incentives. Women (in regards to the prior migration paradigms) were considered to migrate for the reasons of family reunion or marriage. Rather than being motivated by economic reasons, they were chiefly thought to be migrating as followers of males. This male-centric view is no longer the prevalent migration theory. Data demonstrates that women have an increasing share of migration flows (Table 4). In a number of regions, (North America, Oceania, Latin America and East Asia) female migratory flows outnumber those of males.

TABLE 4: SHARE OF FEMALE MIGRANTS BY REGION

Year	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Female Share of World Migrants	46.6	47.2	47.4	47.9	48.8
More Developed Regions	47.9	48.2	49.4	50.8	50.9
Less Developed Regions	45.7	46.3	45.5	44.7	45.7
Europe	48.5	48.0	48.5	51.7	52.4
Northern America	49.8	51.1	52.6	51.0	51.0
Oceania	44.4	46.5	47.9	49.1	50.5
Northern Africa	49.5	47.7	45.8	44.9	42.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	40.6	42.1	43.8	46.0	47.2
Southern Asia	46.3	46.9	45.9	44.4	44.4
Eastern and South Eastern Asia	46.1	47.6	47.0	48.5	50.1
Western Asia	45.2	46.6	47.2	47.9	48.3
Caribbean	45.3	46.1	46.5	47.7	48.9
Latin America	44.7	46.9	48.4	50.2	50.5

Source: United Nations, (2002), cited in Zlotnik, H (2003).

### **6.1 FEMINIZATION OF MIGRATION**

#### **6.1.1 CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**

Today close to a half of all the 175 million migrants worldwide are women, and their proportion of total migrants has been rising steadily over the last few decades (see Table 5). However, there are few governments with elements in their migration policies that cater for the particular gender of the migrant (IOM, 2003, p277). Scholars that advocate the New Economy of Professional Migration theory suggest that one reason for the increased level of female migration is the increased autonomy from their families that this affords them. In many developing nations much of the decision-making processes are undertaken by the family and women have little say in the process. However, migration could be a way of gaining independence. In some cultures it also adds prestige to the family if a member of their household has migrated and is participating in the modernized world.

TABLE 5: WORLD MIGRATION FLOWS (1965-2050)

Year	Pop (million)	Non-Migrant (million)	Migrant (million)
1965	3333	3258	75(2.3%)
1975	4066	3982	84(2.1%)
1985	4825	4720	105(2.2%)
2000	6057	5882	175(2.9%)
2050*	9000	8770	230(2.6%)

Note: \*expected

Source: IOM, (2003), p5.

Also there are postulations that men and women migrate for different reasons according to the different social and cultural values of each gender. For example Djamba (2003), alludes to results from Thailand suggesting that women place more value on marriage than men, and this could be a reason why more women report marriage as their reason for migration. It is also theorized that women tend to migrate for longer periods than men. Data for this also indicate some degree of explanatory power to this hypothesis with eight of eleven countries examined showing that this was the case (INSTRAW, 1994, p14).

One of the reasons for a lack of information and work on female migration has been associated with the Human Capital theory of migration, which focuses heavily on the economic reasons for migration by men, with women's contributions to the labour market being mostly underestimated. Also, a number of the other theories surrounding migration are also based on economic motives and as such if they are not thorough and account for, or acknowledge this bias in statistical reporting, then they will also be susceptible to underestimating the position of women.

Blumberg (1991) suggests that women migrate for two reasons, for either greater gender empowerment or to increase economic opportunities. These two objectives may come into conflict, however, in situations such as migrant maids working in Saudi Arabia who may get higher pay but who find they are subject to obligations to wear a full length garment and not being allowed to drive. Concerns about protecting emigrating women from abuse in their country of destination have led some sending countries to place extra restrictions on their emigration. Similarly in countries where women experience less independence the levels of female emigration are lower. Migration of both women and men seems to be correlated with higher labour market participation (INSTRAW, 1994, p60). It is argued that migration decisions for both

men and women are often made upon expected employment conditions in the country of destination rather than the expected employment conditions in the country of origin.

Countries that accept family migration as a majority of their migration intake usually receives similar numbers of male and female immigrants, as would be expected. Countries that focus on skilled migrants to boost their labour supply record lower levels of women. In the oil rich nations in the western part of Asia, demand for female labour has increased and the demand for male labour has decreased. This is because restructuring that required foreign male laborers has for the most part been completed. However, the growing number of well off households is fueling an increased need for domestic female workers because of limited local supply.

One of the difficulties covered in female migration relates to different reasons for migration, which are correlated with different scenarios, for example, due to country of origin, marital status, class, age and the type of migration being engaged in. Also, the lack of data on migrants and non-migrants in a country prior to the migrant's movement means that induction will have to occur on the part of the researcher relating to the causes of migration (INSTRAW, 1994, p96).

Female migrants face a number of challenges at different stages of the migration process. In the initial phase they face problems concerning trafficking and smuggling choices, which may often seem more lucrative and more successful at securing residence in another country than legal avenues. Having to pay too much for documents or to agencies that assist with migration or to training programs which supposedly will give the better skills for the post migration period pose additional problems. They may also encounter problems through being cheated by recruiters and abused, or not being transferred abroad, when they have paid for the services. Finally they can be subjected to being given false documents by migration assisting agencies, not given details of their promised field of employment, or promised a job which does not actually exist (ILO, 2003, p22). In the next phase of the migration process they face hazardous travel situations, especially if they are being trafficked or smuggled, where they may suffer from persecution while on their journey and may be charged exorbitant fares over which they have no bargaining power (ILO, 2003, p22).

When a migrant comes to the end of his/her employment tenure in their host country he/she may face sudden and or illegal ending of their employment contract, which could have many implications. These include the migrant having no place of residence between the period of time they leave the country because a number of migrant women reside at their place of employment. Also since they are migratory workers and may be illegal workers their access to methods of seeking compensation for unjust or illegal termination of their employment contract are likely to be very limited (ILO, 2003, p22).

Finally, if and when they return to their home country they may have problems readjusting to their society and their families, especially if they are subjected to victimisation and abuse while in the migration process. They may have money problems due to travel, and other expenses while they are migrant workers. This could mean they return home without any money, which could lead to an increased danger



of being trafficked, or trafficked again, this being seen as their only option to make a living (ILO, 2003, p22).

One of the reasons why migration places women in a vulnerable position in employment is due to a lack of, or inadequate legislation. Again, the field of work they enter may be irregular and therefore not regulated. Gender stereotypes often mean that there will be a limited selection of jobs available to them, with most employment prospects in industries that are usually considered to have “female jobs”. Lack of networks in their host country further exposes them to exploitation and limits their ability to gain information on important matters concerning them and their rights and situation. Also this isolation can lead to an increased dependence on their employers, coupled with their employers often not respecting adequate working conditions. The isolation also means a lack of bargaining power and representation; this problem is compounded if they are unable to speak the host country language.

Another issue that impacts upon female migrant’s autonomy in their host country is that often migrant women cannot change jobs in their host country without the fear of not being permitted to take on more employment, which further reduces their bargaining power. Due to the workplaces of female migrants often not being in the public eye they do not come under scrutiny from regulatory authorities, meaning that they are likely to get little assistance in improving their workplace conditions (ILO, 2003, pp30-31). Adjustment of women to their host country’s culture is often harder than it is for men especially if they originate from countries where women are subject to conservative forces.

### **6.1.2 REAL WORLD ASPECTS**

Data from African and Asian countries suggests that women participate in more intrastate migration than men, but men participate in more interstate migration than women, meaning that it could potentially be the case that women move shorter distances than men. However, the opposite trend is seen in Latin American statistics, which could be due to the higher levels of social and economic freedom in these areas for women compared to Africa and Asia (INSTRAW, 1994, p14). A result of this is that women’s migration may be understated in a lot of developing nations because of the differences in defined boundaries to capture migration on records. If women migrate over shorter distances and a country has either very large states or does not record migration in its subsections then the amount of women migrating will be underrepresented. This misrepresentation could also affect the postulated causes and effects of internal migration.

The cultural nature of a country can also be a reason for a higher or lower rate of female migration compared with their male counterparts. The countries in Table 6 are predominantly non-Muslim countries and also score higher on the GDI and GEM than the mainly Muslim countries listed in Table 7. Table 7 indicates the Muslim countries of Western Asia have far lower levels of female emigration than the other non-Muslim countries with high levels.

TABLE 6: TOP 10 EMIGRATION COUNTRIES WITH HIGH RATIOS OF FEMALE TO MALE MIGRANTS (1990)

Country	Females per 100 Male International Migrants
Nepal	251
Mozambique	133
Yugoslavia*	132
Comoros	131
Haiti	131
Romania	131
Albania	131
Italy	130
Aruba	126
Iceland	125

Note: \* Refers to the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia now Serbia-Montenegro  
Source: United Nations, (2000), cited in IOM, (2003), p 306.

TABLE 7: TOP 10 EMIGRATION COUNTRIES WITH LOW RATIOS OF FEMALE TO MALE MIGRANTS (1990)

Country	Females per 100 Male International Migrants
Yemen	15
Sierra Leone	32
Qatar	35
Bahrain	39
Lebanon	39
Cuba	40
Libya	44
United Arab Emirates	50
Saudi Arabia	50
Oman	50

Source: United Nations, (2000), cited in IOM, (2003), p 307.

Much migration literature focuses on migratory flows between rural and urban areas, and migration literature on women is no different. Thus, although this area of study is of interest especially when viewing the effects of moving to an urban setting on women from traditional rural economies, it perhaps is done at the expense of other forms of female migration, which may have been marginalized or neglected (INSTRAW, 1994 p21). In fact, data from the 1970s and 1980s suggest that rural to urban migration was not the largest type of migration in most countries. For example in the 1970s the share of internal migrants that moved from a rural area to an urban one, was only 18% of migrants in Brazil, in Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand the figure was each under 20%. Therefore, if most of the literature focuses on this aspect it may be misrepresenting the picture of women's migration and perhaps more attention should be paid to urban-urban migration and rural-rural migration.

## 6.2 EMERGING ISSUES RELATING TO THE MIGRATION OF WOMEN

There has been a huge worldwide expansion of women's participation in the labour force since the end of the Second World War. For many women it has been migration that has moved them from unpaid workers, especially in the subsistence area, into

paid workers. Lim (1983) identifies that, for many women in developing nations, working in a manufacturing industry affords them a level of personal freedom that they would not be able to obtain any other way, with this work being preferable to domestic service, prostitution, agricultural employment or early marriage. A number of pertinent issues relating to migration of women are discussed below.

There are small migration hypotheses that contribute to the wider understanding of migration trends. One of the reasons previously offered for migration by the church is that church trained nurses from the Philippines, Korea, Indonesia and India are very well trained and thus have a hard time integrating into rural areas. This encourages them to migrate to more developed countries in search of work (Churches Committee on Migrant Workers, 1974, p20). Also a lot of countries advocate migration because it leads to increased remittances back to the country of origin, which helps increase their foreign exchange reserves.

In Europe, women's entrance as dependants usually means that they have employment restrictions placed upon them and their access to a number of services is limited. Also if the relationship with the family member that allowed them to migrate in the first place ends, then their rights to stay in the country may also terminate (INSTRAW, 1994, p75). Women that join a host country under migrant reunification if they are not able to find work legally may work illegally, a choice that is associated with a high degree of exploitation. However, if they do not work illegally they will have no economic independence. Migrating women from developing nations to developed nations may not only face problems because of their gender but also because of racial reasons. Migrant women are also disadvantaged compared to native women, making them increasingly vulnerable to abuse, because of their relative power to all other groups in society. Another issue of much importance to migrant women is health care. Since their jobs are often in the informal and manufacturing sectors, they are at higher risk of work related injuries than in other areas of employment. Also, since in a lot of countries health care benefits are directly related to legal status this may leave migrant women with a lack of access to adequate health care.

### **6.2.1 RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION**

Rural-urban migration occurs inside a country's border, and is often connected with economic motives. It is argued that this is because the capital sectors, which are usually located in the urban areas of a country, pay higher wages than the agricultural sectors based in rural areas. Therefore, the incentive to migrate exists so as to benefit from these higher wages. This, however, is not the only reason given for rural to urban migration. Rural areas of countries are often a lot more traditional culturally, and in a significant number of countries, especially developing ones, women's levels of empowerment are lower in these rural areas than in the urban areas. Therefore a movement between the two areas by women can be explained as based on a desire to increase their independence and power that they would not be able to achieve in the rural areas. Linked to this is the remuneration for work which in the agricultural areas at times does not flow to females involved in agricultural labour, but instead goes to the male head of the household. This lack of economic independence can be

circumvented through females migrating to urban areas and receiving a wage for working in the manufacturing sector.

### **6.2.2 PROSTITUTION AND TRAFFICKING**

The bulk of women migrants going abroad are those engaged in temporary migration (ILO, 2003, p10). There has been a significant rise in the number of private organizations associated with facilitating migration and especially female migration. Perhaps a trend in need of more research is that criminal organizations are increasingly involved in migration, especially focusing on female migration because of the opportunities to exploit them. Women who are trafficked and end up working as prostitutes, which is often the case, are usually tricked into doing so, or forced into doing so through violence, or because they need to earn enough to survive. Numbers on the extent of migrant women trafficked in this way and information on their experiences of exploitation, is hard to obtain. Many women believe that as prostitutes they will face prejudice from authorities, as well as that they are migrant women and in many cases illegal migrants. An increasing proportion of women trafficked to Europe are of Central and Eastern European origin (IOM, 1995, p12). This is because of rising unemployment in the region due to a switch to capitalist development in their countries of origin. Also, travel distances are not as far as other developing nations and it is relatively easy for women to get permits to work as artists, or to get travel permits. There is a distinct relationship between trafficking of women for prostitution and unemployment.

Trafficking is less risky than other forms of criminal activity because of the recent tightening of drug laws. As such, it is becoming an increasingly attractive opportunity compared with other criminal activities. Penalties against people smuggling have been relatively light in many countries therefore reducing the disincentive to engage in trafficking by criminal groups. Laws against forcing women into prostitution are heavier but not many of the women victims are willing to testify in court because of fear of retribution (IOM, 1995, p12). Another problem faced by trafficked migrant women is that when they come to the attention of the authorities they are often immediately deported, which means that their employers do not become subjected to any scrutiny and in some cases this actually may suit the employers because they do not have to pay for transport costs to move the women to another country after their visa expires.

Migrant women engaging in prostitution may not wish to fill out a census form for a number of reasons and this may obviously lead to not only a misrepresentation of women's migration, but also a misrepresentation of the proportion of migrant women that take up prostitution or are forced into it. Similarly, female migrant domestic servants who live in the abode of the people they work for may be missed out of a census because they are not interviewed and are not recorded as part of the family. This again would lead to an understatement of the level of female migrants.

### **6.2.3 DOMESTIC WORKERS**

In 1987 the Asia and Pacific Development Centre (APDC) recognised that the international migration of female domestic workers was of increasing importance to

their region, however little was known about the subject (Heyzer, N et al, 1992). There is an increasing trend for women in developing countries to migrate to become domestic workers in other regions, with a large portion of this form of migration happening from the Southern and South Eastern areas of Asia such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. This migration is being fuelled, in part, by the strong demand for female domestic labour by countries in Western Asia and the Middle East (see Table 8) Per capita income disparities between the countries of origin of the domestic workers and the countries of destination are very substantial. In 1991, the average gross national income per capita, adjusted for differences in population size for the recipient nations of Bahrain, Oman, Jordan, Lebanon, Hong Kong, Singapore and Saudi Arabia was \$US7750 whereas for the labour sending countries of Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka it was about 14 times less at \$US562. In 2001, the gross national income level for the recipient was \$US10971 and the per capita level for the countries of origin was \$US658, a difference of approximately 16 times. Therefore over this period, the income disparity between the sending nations and recipient nations, on aggregate, has increased (World Bank, 2003).

TABLE 8: SRI LANKAN MAJOR DESTINATIONS FOR HOUSEMAIDS (RANK)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
1	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabia	UAE
2	Kuwait	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	Kuwait	Bahrain
3	UAE	UAE	Lebanon	UAE	Jordan
4	Lebanon	Lebanon	UAE	Jordan	Oman
5	Jordan	Jordan	Bahrain	Lebanon	Maldives
6	Oman	Oman	Jordan	Bahrain	Lebanon
7	Bahrain	Bahrain	Oman	Oman	Kuwait
8	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Saudi Arabia

Note: UAE is an abbreviation for the United Arab Emirates.

Source: CENWOR, (2003).

Between 1999 and 2001, of the 691,285 of Indonesian women that migrated internationally, the majority of these being destined for domestic service employment and this figure made up 72% of Indonesia's migration (ILO, 2003, p11). These figures, as well as the Tables 9 and 10 below, demonstrate the extent to which this kind of migration has grown within the South and South East Asian countries, and the areas to which the majority of this migration flows. These are almost entirely countries in Western Asia and Africa for most years and entirely from these two regions for the latest year of observation, 2000.

Table 9 also demonstrates the importance of domestic service emigration to Sri Lanka with housemaids making up from 75% to 91% of all female migrants from in the period of 1996-2001 and although the levels of domestic service employees was decreasing from 1996-1999 it has begun increasing again in 2000. The share of migrant workers by gender is has become more heavily biased towards females in Sri Lanka from 1986-2000 with after 1988 females migrating in larger numbers than

males. Table 10 also shows therefore demonstrating in 200 that over half of all migrant workers that left Sri Lanka were female domestic workers.

TABLE 9: DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONS OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS OF SRI LANKA

Category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Professional	0.03	0.03	0.030	0.06	0.03
Middle level	0.30	0.20	0.40	0.40	0.35
Clerical	0.40	0.50	0.80	0.80	0.82
Skilled	4.10	7.80	9.10	11.20	10.00
Unskilled	2.70	3.30	9.10	11.70	7.72
Housemaids	92.50	88.20	80.60	75.80	81.08

Source: CENWOR, (2003).

TABLE 10: SRI LANKAN DEPARTURES FOR FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT BY SEX 1986-1999

Year	Female (%)	Male (%)
1986	33	67
1987	34	66
1988	55	45
1989	65	35
1990	64	36
1991	67	33
1992	65	35
1993	65	35
1994	73	27
1995	73	27
1996	74	27
1997	75	25
1998	66	34
1999	65	35
2000	67	33

Source: CENWOR, (2003).

#### 6.2.4 MULTINATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Multinational organisations and companies also play a significant role in migration. With the increasing degree of globalisation more of these organisations and companies are being created that have a need for staff to be highly mobile. To this end, these institutions help facilitate international migration. They are also important for setting an example for countries and smaller institutions by demonstrating an awareness of gender equality. Another channel through which multinational companies have encouraged migration is through setting up industries in countries, especially developing countries, and attracting labour from rural to urban areas. A key example of this influence is in the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) set up in a number of developing countries such as Indonesia, where multinational corporations are encouraged to invest and set up factories. These factories attract a large amount of

labour through rural to urban migration and in a number of countries a substantial percentage of this labour is female migrants.

### **6.3 FEMALE MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

There are a number of channels through which female migrants contribute to promote economic development. These are discussed below.

#### **6.3.1 INTERNAL FEMALE MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

##### **6.3.1.1 LABOUR CONTRIBUTION**

Internal female migration contributes to the labour supply to the industrial sector in a most of the developing nations. This generally occurs through rural-urban migration where surplus female workers move to urban areas to attain gainful employment. This effects the economy by increasing the urban labour supply and therefore decreasing the cost of labour making goods cheaper to produce and more competitive.

##### **6.3.1.2 CAPITAL CONTRIBUTION**

They also contribute to the capital stocks of the country through wage differentials transferring more profit to the employers who can then use this as increased capital for investment. Also due to the larger supplies of cheap labour in the urban sectors that this migration results in, investing more capital into these areas becomes more attractive to companies, which is again a positive result for the country. An example of the extent of gendered wage differentials is in the Indonesian province of Java where Females manufacturing wages were only 48% of males wages in 1982 and were higher but a large differential still existed with female wages being just under 70% of the male manufacturing average wage in 1993 (Siddique, 2003).

##### **6.3.1.3 EXPORT-ORIENTATED DEVELOPMENT**

Female migrant labours play a dominant role in most of the export-oriented industries especially, in developing countries that require unskilled or semi-skilled labourers. The classic case is the garment industry in Bangladesh which is highly dominated by internal female migrant workers. The Asian Development Bank (2001) estimates that the ratio of women to men employed in the garments industry is approximately 2 female laborers per male laborers but receives a wage of around 22% to 30% of the average male manufacturing wage. Table 11 shows the preponderance of females in EPZs in other countries in the South Americas and the Caribbean

TABLE 11: FEMALE SHARE OF EXPORT ORIENTED INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES (1995)

Country	Percentage of Women Workers
Guatemala	80
Honduras	78
El Salvador	78

Nicaragua	80
Costa Rica	65
Panama	95
Dominican Republic	60

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Source: ILO, 1999.

#### **6.3.1.4 MARKET CONTRIBUTION**

Internal female migrants also benefit their nation through interaction with the manufacturing industry, by contributing to the market with the goods and services that are produced. Increased domestic production of manufactures facilitated by rural to urban migration can lead to decreased import dependency increased consumer choice and increased competitiveness resulting in decreased prices. Therefore the integration of previously agriculturally employed female labour can have a number of potential benefits for the domestic consumer market.

#### **6.3.1.5 FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTRIBUTION**

The dominant portion of the labour in export processing zones in the developing countries is migrant female labour. Export orientated companies are a major source of foreign exchange in the developing world as their produce is directed entirely at foreign markets. The high levels of female employment in the export oriented industries means that they contribute a large amount to the foreign exchange earnings of the countries concerned. In 1998-1999, the garment industry was over 75% of the total export earnings of the country (World Bank, 2000). This, combined with the large amount of remittances sent home by female Bangladeshi domestic laborers, makes the female labour element a critical factor in the Bangladeshi economy.

Another area through which female labour contributes to the foreign exchange is via prostitution, when foreigners use the services of brothels and prostitutes it equates to them needing to purchase domestic currency with their foreign currency. Since the gender composition of prostitution workers is highly homogenous (mostly female) then the foreign exchange proceeds from this sector is again dependent on females. The ILO estimated that in 1998 the regional economies of South East Asia, prostitution contributes from 2% to 14% of the Gross Domestic Product, and engages from 0.25% to 1.5% of the female population in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. In Thailand it was estimated that \$US300 million of prostitution earnings were transferred from the urban areas to their rural families and the total worth of the industry in Thailand was over \$US20 billion (ILO, 1998).

#### **6.3.1.6 MULTIPLIER EFFECT**

A large portion of the rural labour undertaken by female labour in developing countries is unpaid labour, for example in Bangladesh the ADB (2001) estimate that 83% of female rural labor is unpaid. Therefore through migration to urban areas and obtaining a wage, female laborers also gain consumption power. This increased



domestic consumption by the female internal migrants is then subject to the multiplier effect to have a larger positive impact on the domestic economy. Thus rural to urban migration of female labor is likely to have a beneficial effect on consumption and therefore stimulate the domestic economy

### **6.3.2 INTERNATIONAL FEMALE MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

International female labour migration also effects economic development in several ways which are discussed below.

#### **6.3.2.1 LABOUR CONTRIBUTION**

International female labour migration is mainly caused by a shortage of female labour in one country in some specific occupations. These shortages are met through importation of female labours from the labour surplus-countries. For example, Canada imports foreign domestic workers which are not locally available. However, in many of the rich oil producing nations in the Middle East, demand for female labour is not locally met due to poor participation of females in the labour force resulting from social and institutional barriers. These countries use female immigrants to perform specific tasks. For example, Table 8 shows the countries which imports Sri Lankan housemaids as native female employment in this profession is highly discouraged in these countries for cultural reasons.

#### **6.3.2.2 CAPITAL CONTRIBUTION**

The capital contribution of female international workers can happen through the host country paying lower wages to female migrant labour. This wage differential will result in more capital surplus being transferred to the host country employer, which can in turn have a positive effect on host country capital stocks. Dustmann and Schmidt in their 2000 study on native and immigrant women in Germany found that indeed there was a wage differential between native and immigrant women, however, most of this was accounted for by educational differences. This still demonstrates that if labour is flowing from developing nations to developed nations, and assuming that the developing nations have lower levels of education and training, then developed nations capital stocks will benefit from the wage differentials.

#### **6.3.2.3 FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTRIBUTION**

Foreign exchange remittances from the host country to the country of origin of female migrants have become an increasingly important aspect of a number of countries female emigration policies. The remittances are an especially important source of foreign exchange for developing nations, which in 2002 received approximately 60% of the \$US100 billion remitted annually (Gammeltoft, 2002). In Sri Lanka 20% of foreign exchange earnings come from remittances from migrant workers. Of this migrant population female migrants make up 66% and therefore are likely to be the main contributing element to private foreign exchange remittances to Sri Lanka. The migrant workers in Sri Lanka have also had a positive effect on national savings and the balance of payments, which is contrary to the assertion that remittances lead to higher consumption levels (CENWOR, 2003 and Vertovec, 2000). The remittances

are very valuable to the receiving country, benefiting it through either increased capital due to higher levels of savings or employment creation through the multiplier effect.

Table 12 demonstrates the large contribution that remittances from the Middle East makes to the total remittances received by Sri Lanka. A very high portion of all migrant labor that are employed in the Middle East from Sri Lanka are female domestic workers, and as such it is easy to identify the large effect this form of female migration has upon remittances to Sri Lanka and therefore the Sri Lankan foreign exchange earnings and economy.

TABLE 12: MIDDLE EAST REMITTANCES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL REMITTANCES IN SRI LANKA

Year	Percentage of Total Remittances
1996	58.1
1997	61.0
1998	61.2
1999	61.7
2000	63.0

Source: CENWOR, (2003).

Similarly in Bangladesh over 25% of the total foreign exchange earnings of the country is made through migrant workers remittances (ILO, 2003a, and pp.5-11). On average, the Bangladeshi migrant workers are expected to remit 55.65% of their income and this remittance contributes to over half (51.12%) of the families income. Also studies have shown that only around half of all remittances (in Bangladesh it was 52%) were executed through official channels, and as such the true effect and size of global remittances by migrant workers is likely to be heavily understated. The destination of Bangladeshi migrant workers is again similar to the composition of Sri Lanka. During 1976-1999, over 82% of Bangladeshi emigrants emigrated to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Bahrain, Libya and Iraq. Over 50% of these emigrants immigrated to Saudi Arabia (ILO, 2003a, pp11-17).

#### **6.3.2.4 MULTIPLIER EFFECT**

By working in a host nation female migrants also contribute to the country's development through the multiplier effect through the income they earn and spend in the host country. They generate extra employment in the host country as well.

### **7. WOMEN IN MIGRATION: DATA SOURCES**

The definition of migrant is a person involved in a physical move from one place to another. However, there are extra definitive characteristics for not all travelers are migrants. It is of some debate whether the length of time a person has moved for, or the purpose of their move, makes them a migrant for all intents and purposes. The

'United Nations Recommendations on Migration Statistics' defined a migrant as a person who had moved from a country of origin where they had lived for more than a year, to a host country that they will live in for more than a year. This is a very basic definition and does not incorporate such as legality or nationality. So if this definition was adopted by all countries it would provide only an efficient estimation of simple, aggregate migrant flows (IOM, 2003, p295).

However, this method of definition is not trouble free because it relies on, in some instances, people knowing whether they are going to be in a country for over a year in the future. This intention is subject to change due to the circumstances that go with being identified as a migrant. It also fails to capture the effects of annual return visits to the country of origin. On the basis of these deficiencies, recommendations were made on them in 1997. Migrants needed only to be away from their country of usual residence for more than a year to be defined as an international migrant. Countries, however, may find it hard to accept such a broad definition because of the limitations it places on their policy options. As such, a common element used to distinguish migrants by states is their citizenship. Indeed, in a 1977 report of the definitions of migrants compiled by the UN, 45 of the 90 countries analysed that differentiated between international migrants and international travellers used citizenship as the categorizing factor (Zlotnik, 1987, cited in IOM, 2003, p297). This method is advantageous because of the requirement of legal travellers to demonstrate legitimate citizenship before entering or leaving a country. The purpose of stay and the time intended to stay are also important factors in determining migration definitions.

Bilsborrow (1993), suggests four of the main biases in women's migration data are; biases coming from the category of move in which women are preponderant, compared with the categories of migration that males are mainly involved in; the work women and migrant women do as opposed to the work males and migrant males do; social and cultural reasons, and; the accuracy of the person providing the information on women's migration. These biases affect the census' accuracy. Because women often know more about themselves and other women, and are thus more likely to provide a more accurate report of themselves and children of their gender in the survey. Respondents may also consider what is socially correct and thus adjust for those norms on the survey. A particularly important aspect of this is in cultures where migration of women is viewed negatively (INSTRAW, 1994 p21). Understatement of the employment of women is also a big problem because it affects the migration figures as well as the consequences and causes of migration for women. Also, when researchers are interested in the economic effects of migration this lack of data will tend to bias males over females in their research findings.

As stated, one of the most important problems in migration research is lack of reliable data, especially in relation to developing countries. Migration data is necessary, so that trends can be analysed, future planning made upon this analysis and migration managed efficiently and controlled. Collection of international statistics takes place at the national level, thus any inefficiencies in national migration reporting will have an adverse effect on international migration statistics. One problem likely to be encountered regarding data collated at the national level is lack of standardization between definitions. Without a standardized definition of, for example, a professional or business migrant, it is difficult to know whether the figures are accurate and have been recorded in the right place at the international level, in relation to how they were

reported at the national level. Although attempts to standardize the migrant cataloguing process internationally were begun early on, there are still issues with the uniformity of standards. These are still being revised. Part of the problem is not having a direct linkage between the international statistical body, the United Nations Statistical Division, and statistical offices at the national level. This has often meant that any recommendations or standardization attempts made by the United Nations have not been passed on to the corresponding body at the national level and therefore cannot impact upon the migratory data collection process (IOM, 2003, p294). Table 13 demonstrates the lack of consistent data from countries on emigration and immigration over the last 30 years and highlights some of the adversities faced when finding reliable data for study on the issue of migration. Of the 229 countries only approximately 20% to 25% report statistics of long-term emigrants and immigrants, and this is not a stable figure, with the amount of countries reporting migration statistics growing and shrinking at times. Europe not only has the largest ratio of reporting countries, around 50%, but it demonstrates a steadily increasing number of countries reporting. Asia, Oceania and Africa, however, are both less consistent, and report at a much lower level.

TABLE 13: NUMBER OF COUNTRIES PROVIDING STATISTICS ON LONG-TERM EMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRANTS, 1971-2000

	1971-1980		1981-1990		1991-2000	
	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants
Africa (55)	7	7	3	4	6	4
Americas (51)	8	14	4	7	9	12
Asia (50)	3	5	3	3	8	9
Europe (47)	20	21	23	23	27	28
Oceania (26)	3	5	3	4	2	3
Total (229)*	41	52	36	41	52	56

Note: Figures are for the total number of countries/territories in 2002.

Source: United Nations, (2002b), cited in IOM, (2003).

Another issue related to this is lack of unity in goals between demographic experts in the United Nations who formulate the recommendations on how to record international migration, and their national counterparts, whose views are often more centered on managing international migration with respect to their country and according to their country's specific needs. Collation and dissemination of migration statistics may therefore be of secondary priority to managing migration flows, and the issues related to specific country's migration may tend to act as a disincentive for that country to release all relevant statistics. There are also bound to be problems with statistics where illegal migration is concerned, and even in legal migration, because surveyed migrants may have an incentive to distort their position in order to improve their chances of acceptance by their desired host country. Salt (2001), argues that there is a significant lack of data for illegal immigration and trafficking and although approximately one half of the literature on trafficking is concerned with the trafficking of women and children, there is not a large amount of hard evidence to support the assertions put forward. Also, much evidence considered 'hard' is thought of in that way only because it is 'soft' data that has been quoted so many times.

The 1997 United Nations Recommendations on the Statistics of International Migration identified four sources of data collection: administrative registers; other administrative sources; border collection; and field inquiries. Recently there has been a shift in focus towards emphasis being placed on the administrative registers and other administrative sources as the prevailing areas of data collation, although the need to incorporate all methods to obtain a complete data system is still apparent (IOM, 2003, p299). Administrative registers are items like population registers, which target specific areas of the population to give a continuous, up-to-date supply of statistics. However, care must be taken in using statistics to fully understand the criteria of rules a register has in place in order to avoid miscalculating statistics. Other administrative sources entail data such as deportations and asylum applications, which provide information on a country's migration profile. However, due to the lack of linkages between the collation points of this administrative data and statistical offices there are problems with standardizing data to make the observations from different countries comparable.

Although border collection provides a good source of information on mode of transport and port of entry, there are difficulties with obtaining correct information on arrivals and departures, which makes using these statistics for total flows unreliable. This method is a favored method of statistics collection by countries, but there are still large differences in the comparability of some countries data. Field inquiries such as censuses generally provide unreliable information on migration flows, being far better for migrant stock analysis due to the time it takes to conduct them.

As a result of the 1997 United Nations Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration a framework was implemented to manage the international migration statistics based on the common methods and definitions used by states. To this end, the framework included the major categories of migrants and the time that they spent away from their country of origin. The framework only really came into operation recently and although it faces some of the problems outlined above, it represents progress on international migration data sources.

It has also been suggested that one of the problems behind the data reporting is that there has been a bias in the choice of respondents in migration studies. This is asserted to be contributing to the under-reporting of female migration (INSTRAW, 1994, pxvii). It has also been postulated that there is not enough contrast and comparison drawn between migrant women and non-migrant women from the same country of origin so as to allow more informed theorizing about the characteristics of migrant women.

There are problems also with the definition of migration, and as such collection, due to spatial reasons. Within countries and between country's subdivisions, borders are moved, divided or resized. This can cause a reported increase in internal or international migration when there has not actually been any. Second, some countries and subsections of those countries (states) are much larger than other countries and therefore data analysts are hampered by both large geographical size and population size differences. This inevitably complicates matters when distinctions across nations are trying to be drawn (INSTRAW, 1994).

## **8. RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **8.1 INCREASED SUPPORT NETWORKS AND INFORMATION TO MIGRANT WOMEN**

The status of migrant women is in need of improvement if there are to be significant positive changes for their welfare and opportunities. Appropriate bodies at various levels (local, national and international) need to be formed to provide support networks to migrant women that are accessible and known. A main problem that migrant women face is lack of knowledge about their rights and the practices at their workplace, another is isolation. These problems can lead to exploitation, alienation and discrimination. By providing them with a thorough support network, which helps them adapt to their host country and allows them to obtain information on important issues relevant to them, there is likely to be marked improvement in their status and welfare.

### **8.2 INCREASED PENALTIES AND MORE SEVERE LAWS ON TRAFFICKING, COMBINED WITH INCREASED ASSISTANCE FOR THE TRAFFICKED WOMEN**

Harsher laws on trafficking of women need to be implemented in order to increase the risk and decrease the incentive for traffickers to operate. Initiatives to combat trafficking must be generated in both the host country and the country of origin, and these initiatives need to be coordinated to maximize an efficient effort to stop trafficking. In combination with this, more support needs to be provided by the host countries of the trafficked migrants. Instead of implementing immediate deportation for the trafficked persons, opportunities for the migrant to recover from their experience are required. This will allow authorities to be informed as to the details of the trafficker, or in the case of women that are forced to work in the sex industry, their employers. Thus action can be taken against these persons or groups to reduce the risk of exploitation of migrants in the future. Also, disallowing the migrant from living at their place of employment will mean increased independence for those women that are trafficked. Increased distance from their exploiting employer, it has been shown increases their likelihood of seeking assistance.

### **8.3 INCREASED AWARENESS AND RECOGNITION OF MIGRANT WOMEN BY THE BROADER PUBLIC**

Women migrants who come from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds often become the victims of xenophobia in their every day life. Wider education of the public would dispel myths about migrants, such as, that they take jobs away from natives of the country. This would reduce discrimination and xenophobia towards migrants, which in turn would allow migrants more social interaction, and would reduce discrimination and exploitation directed at them. There also needs to be more education on the benefits that migrants provide, such as skills transfer and cultural enrichment. Refugee migration policy has to be reassessed by governments so that true refugees are not forced to use methods such as traffickers or smugglers to get to a country of asylum so as to combat exploitation.

### **8.4 STANDARDISATION OF DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND REPORTING**

Fortunately, scholars in the field of migration and development studies have in recent years focused much more on gender issues. Although this is to be commended, there are still a number of problems that need to be addressed. The most pressing is the need to obtain standardized data on both national figures and international figures so that trends can be examined with a much higher degree of accuracy, in order that correct theories and policy applications can be generated. A special focus needs to be placed on areas where collecting thorough data on migration is perhaps the hardest, the illegal migration of women and the exploitation of women. These are becoming increasingly important problems and the need to fully understand them is urgent so that the issues can be properly assessed and acted upon.

## 9. CONCLUSION

This paper is an attempt to link migration and development from a gender perspective. It surveys the emerging issues in economic development and international migration since the Second World War and examines the theoretical aspects of the relationship between gender and economic development. It is argued that in spite of some successes that have been achieved to reduce gender inequality over the last three decades, inequality between males and females still exists in the areas of social, economic and political development. The paper also assesses the role of female migrants to promote economic development, in their countries of origin as well as in their host countries. While no attempt has been made to quantify their contribution by applying statistical methods, it is obvious that female migrants' contribution to promote economic development is quite significant. They contribute to the supply of labour, accumulation of capital, national income, and the foreign exchange earnings when they migrate internally. In addition, when they migrate internationally, they fill the gap between demand for and supply of labour in labour shortage countries, as well as in other countries where the availability of female labour is scarce because of the low participation of females in the labour market due to social and cultural barriers. In the process, the female migrants generate additional income through gainful employment and thus contribute to promote economic development in their host countries. They also contribute to promote economic development in their countries of origin by remitting invaluable foreign exchanges.

Unfortunately, female migrants face various problems in different stages of their migration journey – at the time of leaving their home countries for emigration, in transit, in their country of destination and after returning to their home country. While the contribution of female migrants in the process of development is gradually being recognised, very little progress has been made to improve the system of female migration, especially in the most vulnerable areas such as where the migrants are illegal or become illegal. This is mainly in the industries of tourism and prostitution. Female immigrants working in these industries enjoy very little rights and if they are detected, then they are the ones that pay the price for being illegal. In most cases, the governments of the host countries deport them. Nothing happens to their employers or traffickers. Another important problem is that a number of domestic workers working abroad are abused by their employers and have no protection whatsoever.

It is undeniable that in the coming years the number of female migrants will continue to increase as more and more demand and opportunities for female migrants will be created due to the expanding process of globalization. The time is ripe to seriously look at the problems of migrant women and implement appropriate policy measures to combat these problems. It is expected that the *United Nations 2004 Survey on the Role of Women* will carefully look at the critical issues relating to the welfare of female migrants.

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