



Bibliography

No. 13

Gender and Migration in Asia: Overview and Annotated Bibliography

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1. Background

The Department for International Development, UK (DFID) commissioned this bibliography as part of the Asia Regional Policy Department and Sustainable Livelihoods Support Office programme on migration in Asia. Labour markets have been transformed by the process of globalisation and migration in recent decades, and this transformation has had important but varied gendered dimensions and impacts.

This bibliography will highlight some of the key gender issues and concerns in relation to voluntary economic migration in Asia, both internal and cross-border. It provides:

- ◆ A summary of theoretical frameworks used to understand migration.
- ◆ An overview of key issues regarding internal and cross border voluntary economic migration and gender in Asia.
- ◆ Annotations of seven key texts addressing a range of migration and gender themes.
- ◆ Annotations of a variety of texts on migration and gender in Bangladesh, China, India, Pakistan and Vietnam.

Issues were identified, and information and texts found, through:

- ◆ Contacts with activists, researchers, NGOs and international agencies, including DFID field offices in Asia*.
- ◆ Organisations and networks including the International Labour Organisation, International Organisation of Migration, Scalabrini Centre, Women and Gender in Chinese Studies Network, UK Gender and Development GREAT network*.
- ◆ Library searches in British Library of Development Studies, IDS, and University of Sussex library.
- ◆ Internet searches, including through the information portals Web of Science and www.siyanda.org.

* Thank you to all those who provided suggestions and information.

2. A definition of gender

In this report, gender is understood to include:

- ◆ Differences, commonalities, equalities, inequalities and power dynamics between women and men
- ◆ The factors in our environment which encourage people to develop into and conform to the different and unequal categories of 'women' and 'men'
- ◆ How people gain and lose when they conform to these categories
- ◆ How people gain and lose when they do not conform

3. Theoretical frameworks used to understand migration

Neo-classical economic explanations assume a homogenous individual, who is undifferentiated by gender, class or other factors, to be making rational decisions to maximise economic interests. Migration decisions are thus based on wage differentials in sending and receiving areas. This approach has been critiqued for ignoring social and cultural aspects, such as the differences in customary constraints on mobility for women and men.

Structuralist approaches look at how structural factors such as changes in patterns of production give rise to migration. These have been critiqued for underplaying individual motivations, and for emphasising production at the expense of reproduction. Reproduction is very relevant as migration is often a household as well as individual livelihood strategy, and migration is made possible by the reproductive labour of family members.

In response to critiques of neo-classical and structuralist treatment of migration, *structuration* and *household strategy* models were developed (Chant 1992).

Structuration theories consider the individual to have some power to decide how to respond to structural factors such as labour market trends. Migrants are no longer seen as simply passively responding to economic pressures, but instead as having some leeway in choosing how to react. Migration includes possibilities for empowerment as well as exploitation (Wright 1995).

Household Strategy models focus on household power and decision making structures, including between women and men and young and old within the household, combining structuralism with household analysis (Chant 1992).

Transnationalist theories have emerged more recently, in the 1990s. These critique American ideas of a 'melting pot' society in which immigrants are assimilated. Instead, migrants are seen to be continually negotiating their identities between the contexts of sending and receiving societies. This framework allows space for consideration of how migrants negotiate their gender identities between the gender norms of sending and receiving areas (Salazar Perrenas 2001).

The 'Overview of key issues' and bibliography draw predominantly on a combination of structuration, household strategy and transnationalist approaches.

4. Overview of key issues

Female and male migration flows globally

Migration is sometimes perceived as a predominantly male movement, with women left behind. However, with both international and internal migration, female migration has been almost as great as male migration overall:

For more than 40 years, female migrants have been almost as numerous as male migrants. In 1960 there were 35 million female migrants and 40 million male migrants; by 2000, although the total number of migrants had more than doubled, the gap between females and males remained about the same, 85 million female migrants versus 90 million male migrants. (Zlotnik 2003)

International migration

- ◆ International migrants – about 52 per cent are men; 47.5 per cent are women
- ◆ The largest numbers of female migrants come from the countries with the largest overall migration
- ◆ Overall, women account for 46 per cent of migration from developing countries (IOM 2000:7)

Migration in Asia

- ◆ Asia has the largest number of international migrants as compared to the other continental regions (Europe, North America, Africa, Latin America and Oceania)
- ◆ With the exception of Chinese migrants, between 1975 and 1994, well under 10 percent of international migrants left Asia
- ◆ International migrants, account for less than 1 percent of the population in East Asia; by contrast, international migrants represent over 10 per cent of the total population in several western Asian countries
- ◆ India, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia host large immigrant populations, and combined with the U.S., France, Germany, Canada, Australia, the U.K. and the Islamic Republic of Iran, accounted for 55 per cent of all international migrants by 1990
- ◆ In 1987, annual outflow of workers from four major emigration countries (Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) totalled just over 250,000; by 1997, almost 1 million left during the course of a single year (IOM 2000: 6-7)

Female migration in Asia

Proportion of female migrants as a percentage of total international migrants by region

Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
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

(summary adapted from Zlotnik 2003, online)

International movements throughout Asia are still in the majority male, as indicated in the table above. However, increasing numbers of Asian women are migrating, and increasingly in their own right, rather than as dependants of male migrants.

More liberal attitudes in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka allow greater mobility for women, including young unmarried women, than in other South Asian and Arab countries. For example, more than 60 per cent of international migrants from Sri Lanka are women, employed primarily in domestic service (IOM 2000:8).

For internal migration, rural to urban flows in Japan, Philippines and Thailand are majority female, while flows in the Republic of Korea and Indonesia are slightly majority female. Rural to urban flows in South Asian countries are still majority male, although female participation is increasing (UNESCAP 2003).

Gender-disaggregated data and gendered research on migration remains inadequate (Lingam 1998). Equal attention is still not given to women and men in migration. Women are still not perceived as equal actors in migration and as equally important in being surveyed and counted (Morokvasic-Muller et al 2003: 9).

Migration destinations

Destinations of migrants are predominantly urban areas within country, or other countries. However, less well documented moves are also made to rural areas (Chant 1992).

Other countries: Migrants generally move from poor to rich countries and to nearby countries. One shift has been from South and South East Asia to Middle Eastern countries. Women make up a smaller proportion of international migrants than do men, and stay in a more limited range of economic activities, due to constraints in both sending and receiving communities.

Urban areas: In East Asia women commonly migrate without their families to urban areas within country. In South Asia, women's mobility has been more constrained generally. However, this is changing, with re-location of multinational light industries to areas where labour is cheaper, leading to increased opportunities in sectors of the labour market deemed to be female. Throughout Asia, women often work in multinationals, domestic service, informal commerce and the sex trade. However, there are many exceptions such as migrant women working in the construction industry in India (Reddy 1992).

Rural locations: Moves to rural locations may be made for seasonal labour, including for seasonal day labour. Other key reasons are state resettlement programmes, and for marriage. In South Asia and China brides usually move to the husband's family upon marriage.

Duration of migration

Migration may be seasonal, according to demands for agricultural labour in sending or receiving areas. People may migrate repeatedly for short periods, typically in societies in transition, but also due to customs such as young women leaving home for marriage, and returning to parental home for childbirth and early childcare (Chant 1992). Migration may be for longer periods, for example people remaining in the receiving community until retirement, and upon retirement returning to the sending community. In cross border migration, migrants may be banned from remaining in or re-entering the receiving country after completion of one contract. Some then stay or re-enter illegally, or return to country of origin, before departing for a different destination (Chantavanich 2001). Other migration may be more permanent.

Forms of migration

People may migrate alone or with other family or community members. Where family members migrate sequentially, men usually migrate first. If people move as accompanying spouses, it is more often women who move, because men are more likely to be able to take their families with them (Morokvasic-Muller et al 2003:12). Where individuals migrate alone, they are rarely totally 'independent' but usually maintain links with the sending community, and send remittances to family members left behind.

In some countries, regular channels of migration are open more to men, with a range of legal restrictions in Bangladesh and Pakistan on migration of women overseas. Irregular migrants comprise 30-40 per cent of the estimated 6 million migrants in Asia. Irregular and women migrants are particularly vulnerable to abuse of their rights (Wickramasekera 2002).

Motivations, causes and constraints: Why do women and men migrate or stay put?

Poverty is a key motivator for migration. Earning money (Li Yinhe et al 2000) and improving livelihoods for children (Morokvasic-Muller et al 2003), are reasons given by migrants for their move. However, some may be unable to migrate, particularly internationally, because they are too poor to finance the move. Given women's lower income than men, and lesser control over income, this constraint is likely to be more inhibiting to women than to men. At the same time, greater poverty among women may motivate them to migrate.

Decisions to migrate are taken within the context of opportunities and constraints faced. Structural factors affecting decisions to migrate include the demand for female labour, which is determined by internal and international gender segregation of labour markets, and trends in industry and agriculture, such as relocation of light industries to labour surplus economies in South Asia.

Cultural and social restrictions on mobility, including around gender, such as *purdah*¹, also limit women's mobility. However, these also motivate migration, as people may move to escape such constraints. Those who do not fit gender norms in home communities eg. deserted women, widows (Kannabiran 1998), younger women seeking greater independence from family (Salazar Perrenas 2001), women and men with same sex sexualities and transgender people² (ILGA 2002; Janssen 2003) may migrate to escape discrimination and pressures to conform.

Policy also has a big impact on women's and men's ability to migrate, often exaggerating the costs of migration. Many laws restrict international migration in receiving countries, but also in sending countries. Restrictions on migration often focus on younger women workers. In the early 1990s, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia and the Philippines all imposed minimum age limits for women workers going abroad for employment. After receiving reports of sexual abuse of women in some Middle East countries, Pakistan imposed a ban on recruitment of young females for overseas employment. In 1997 the government of Bangladesh imposed a complete ban on international migration of women with the exception of high level professionals. The ban was withdrawn in 1998 for professional and skilled women but restrictions remain in place for semi-skilled and unskilled women (Siddiqui 2001). China and Vietnam also control emigration. Policy

¹ '*Purdah*, literally meaning a curtain, refers to the practice of veiling as well as to gender segregation and the seclusion of women and girls. With respect to the physical veil, this varies from a thin cloth draped on the shoulder to a *burqa* and a huge variety of outer garments that cover the woman from head to at least the knee' (Definition cited from Balchin 1996:178).

² Those born intersex or who do not feel themselves to be either women or men, such as hijras in South Asia, of which there are estimated to be between half to one million in India alone (Bondyopadhyay 2002).

may also restrict migration internally, for example in China, and still to some extent Vietnam, where bureaucratic hurdles can deny rural people the possibility of regular migration to urban areas, or full rights once they get there (Anh et al 1996).

Such restrictions undermine poor people's ability to migrate safely and legally, and allow businesses to arise which profit from organising illegal migration. They also result in a cheap and flexible labour force defined as illegal, with little recourse to official help in protection of their rights.

Who decides?

Women may have little influence on migration decisions in the household. Even where women migrate alone this is likely to be with reference to, or even determined by, the household livelihood strategy and expectations of contributions through remittances. Several studies of internal Filipino migrants show families are more likely to send daughters to migrate because they perceive them to be more reliable in sending remittances. In one study of Filipino migrants in Rome, women tended to send larger remittances to families than did male counterparts (Tacoli 1999 cited in Chantavich 2001:51).

Impacts of migration

Those left behind

When men migrate are the women left behind empowered? Men migrating may bring about changes in the gender division of labour, including feminisation of agriculture and an increase in women's workload (Croll and Huang 1997). Men migrating may also mean women left behind have a greater role in household decision-making, or greater interdependence with the extended family. Women may gain autonomy through absence of men, however they may also be left with greater stresses and vulnerability, and an increased workload. If remittances are sent to women family members, this may increase their status and control. However, this may not occur if bank accounts are handled by a male relative. Migration of men may affect cultural norms in the household, to women's benefit or detriment. Where men have migrated from Muslim communities in South Asia to the Middle East they and their households have at times adopted more orthodox Muslim customs to show their increased status and association with the richer Middle East, which has resulted in an increase in seclusion of women in their families (see sections on Bangladesh and Pakistan).

In Asia men are more likely to migrate than women, and women migrants are younger and less likely to be married than men migrants, thus men are more rarely 'left behind'. However, in some locations mostly women have out-migrated, for example in the Philippines where women migrate

internally and externally for domestic labour, or in some parts of Southern China, where women have migrated internationally for sex work, leaving 'bachelor villages' with predominantly male populations.

Female out-migration may mean men left behind take on greater childcare responsibilities, but this may not be maintained upon the woman's return (Chantavich 2001). Filipino women working abroad often continue bearing the responsibility for childcare by organising and funding a domestic worker back home to raise their children, with little expectation that men will increase their caring role (Parrenas 2001). In Bangladesh, when men migrated, women readily assumed many of the traditional household functions performed by men. However, in the absence of their wives, men were found to be inflexible in accepting new roles in household management. Instead, the extended family came into operation when women were away. This is indicative of how male roles within the family are rigidly defined and how difficult it is to change them (Siddiqui 2001).

Women may do more of the networking work, which enables migration and sustains links with the source areas (Chant 1992; Chantavich 2001; Willis and Yeoh 2000). Generally mothers put more effort into maintaining relations with children left behind than do fathers, communicating with children through letters and phone calls and sending gifts. Due to illiteracy and lack of education, the majority of Bangladeshi women who migrate cannot write to their family and children. Instead they innovate new methods of communication such as taping messages, showing their creativity as well as agency (Siddiqui 2001).

For Thai workers in Taiwan and Israel, employers usually deducted money from the workers' salaries and remitted it for them through banks to Thailand. Most women domestic workers in Hong Kong were found to remit through Thai restaurants as banks were closed on weekend, and send money to parents rather than husbands, whom they feared would spend money on liquor and new girlfriends (Chantavich 2001:191).

Those migrating

Women are generally disadvantaged throughout the migration process.

Before and during migration: Before internal or cross border migration, women have limited access to information and resources needed to migrate and protect themselves during the process. In international migration, on transit and upon entry, they are more likely to face demands for higher payments, physical and sexual abuse and intimidation from smugglers or fellow male travellers (Moreno-Fontes 2002).

In receiving communities: Migration may be an important and effective livelihood strategy and increase income and well being in both sending and receiving communities (Lim and Oishi 1996). It can also lead to higher self-esteem and increased economic independence among women (Moreno-Fontes 2002). Migration may provide women opportunity to take decisions on their own and develop their own coping strategies in the absence of male guardians (Siddiqui 2001). Migration may open new social and cultural possibilities as migrants encounter gender norms different from those in the sending communities (Li Yinhe et al 2000). Migration may allow new expressions of identity, including gender identity (Parrenas 2001; Mai 2003). The positive potential of migration, however, is hampered by discrimination and lack of access to resources. Irregular migrants and women in the informal sector in particular, often lack access to basic resources such as land, water, food, fuel, schooling, and health care.

Sex-segregated labour markets channel women into traditional domestic and service roles, and particular sectors such as nursing and textiles, often poorly paid. A minority of women go into self-employment to avoid labour market discrimination (Moreno-Fontes 2002). Men often work in groups as construction or plantation workers which allows more potential for networks than the isolated conditions of domestic workers (Key points 2002). There are, however, many exceptions; for example, women often work as agricultural labourers throughout Asia, and in India women may work as construction workers as described in the study of female construction workers migrated to Hyderabad (Reddy 1992).

The textile industry employs a large proportion of migrant women workers in Asia and worldwide. The phasing out of the Multi-Fibre Arrangement which governs this industry will have particular impacts on these workers.

Female Textile and Garment Workers: the Impact of Phasing Out the Multi-Fibre Arrangement

The Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA) has governed the trade in clothing since 1974, exempting fine textiles and garments from trade rules, thereby allowing Northern countries time to prepare their domestic garment industries for increased competition from Southern exporters. During the Uruguay Round negotiations, it was agreed that the MFA would be phased out through the implementation of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC). Although an agreement has been reached to make the transition by 2005, the process of dismantling appears to be very slow and it is thought that textiles and clothing will remain one of the most heavily protected sectors for some time to come. Whilst some observers note that exporters stand to gain considerably from the removal of restrictions on textiles, many still argue that changes in trade rules have the potential to lead to job losses, placing downward pressure on wages and labour standards. This shift in the textile market is likely to have a disproportionate affect on migrant women, given that women constitute a large proportion of garment workers worldwide, and that female migrant workers are often absorbed by the clothing industry (Choudry 2002; Friends of the Earth, 2001).

Women migrants suffer gender discrimination as well as other forms of marginalisation. For example, in China internal women migrants are required to have a pregnancy test every six months to ensure that they do not violate family planning policy by escaping jurisdiction of their local family planning bureau. In Singapore and Malaysia women migrant workers are likewise required to have pregnancy tests every six months, and are deported if pregnant (Tahmina 2003).

In spite of gender discrimination, the racism and prejudice faced by both women and men migrants may mean identification with ethnic or racial grouping is stronger than gender identification (Sweetman 1998).

Migrants have been identified as a risk or vulnerable group in regard to HIV/AIDS due to their mobility and changing sexual practices; for example male construction workers and long distance truck drivers are stereotypically expected to be more likely to pay for sex. Women left behind may be vulnerable to transmission from returnees. Whilst this may indeed be the case, perception of migrants as particularly vulnerable to HIV risk may also be due to concentrated testing of this group. For example, in Bangladesh and China, HIV testing is mandatory for immigrant workers. Thus those who become most known as HIV positive are immigrants and foreigners, which leads to further stigma around HIV and migrants, and a misperception of HIV/AIDS as a foreign disease against which local people are protected (Tahmina 2003; He 2001).

Upon return: Upon return women may lose status because they are no longer contributing economically at the same level to the family, and may not have access to bank accounts to which money has been transferred. Studies on Thai, Filipino, Chinese and Bangladeshi women returnees report increased self-confidence and bargaining power after migration (Chantavich 2001; Siddiqui 2001).

Existing Protective Mechanisms

Many countries have engaged actively in the protection of migrant workers through a variety of regulatory and administrative mechanisms designed to maximise the benefits of migration, but more importantly, to protect migrant workers in the receiving communities.

In the Philippines, for example, the protection of Filipino migrant workers is enshrined in law³. The government system offers services that include “licensing recruiters, providing information to workers, extending protection, and offering services for reintegration” (IOM 2000: 97). Whilst the mechanisms in place are often perceived by many to be a model of effective overseas migrant worker protection (IOM 2000: 97), NGOs such as Philippine Migrants Rights Watch (PMRW) contend that Filipino migrant workers continue to be subject to abuse, maltreatment, and discrimination in receiving communities, likely to be heightened by a move to deregulate the industry (PMRW 2003).

Sri Lanka also has in place government mechanisms to protect migrant workers, who are predominantly women⁴. Despite the existence of legislative mechanisms to protect workers, as well as recognised attempts to address the gendered nature of migration and its impacts on families, critics argue that the abuse of workers, particularly women, is still widespread (Fernando 2001).

³ *The Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act* (also known as Republic Act 8042): *An act to institute the policies of overseas employment and establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families and overseas Filipinos in distress and for other purposes* (cited by Philippine Migrant Rights Watch, 2003).

⁴ *The Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment Act* No 21 of 1985 established the Sri Lankan Bureau for Foreign Employment (SLBFE), which regulates foreign employment, including the licensing and monitoring of recruiting agencies (Fernando 2001).

5. Key messages for policy makers

Positive potential of migration

Migration can have a positive impact on livelihoods in both sending and receiving areas, providing remittances to sending communities and cheap labour for receiving communities. For many countries remittances represent a significant proportion of Gross Domestic Product, for example in Bangladesh remittances make labour exports second only to garment exports (Stalker 2003). This reliance on remittances from workers, which is often viewed both as a life-improvement mechanism for the migrant worker and family, as well as providing a positive economic benefit for the sending community, is reflected in the pro-emigration policies of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Each has its own regulatory mechanisms to protect and promote worker welfare (IOM 2000: 120). Although often scapegoated, migrants in fact contribute to the economies of both sending and receiving areas (Wickramasekera 2002). Women as much as men contribute, through their labour and remittances when they migrate, or through their reproductive and productive input when they are left behind. Women can also benefit by opportunities for autonomy and empowerment presented by migration. The benefits of migration, however, are currently hampered by restrictions on migration in both sending and receiving areas and by the range of discriminations endured by migrants, particularly women. Neither sending nor receiving areas currently take sufficient responsibility for ensuring the rights of all migrants.

Adopt a human rights approach

Development work has to some degree taken on a human rights approach, but approaches to migration are more resistant. The right to a safe livelihood, which includes the option but not the imperative, to migrate needs to be ensured. Gender sensitive generation of local employment opportunities, rural development programmes, and poverty alleviation programmes are needed to ensure people can choose whether to stay put or migrate, and that those left behind have livelihood possibilities (DAWN 2001).

The rights of migrants, particularly of those most vulnerable such as women, must be protected. Firstly, like any other human being, they are entitled to their human rights. Secondly, migration can accelerate economic growth in both sending and receiving areas (Griffin 1998) and the contributions of both women and men migrants to this process should be encouraged. This requires a general strategy for combating gender inequality. In sending and receiving communities, women and those who diverge from gender norms face particular vulnerabilities. This is due, however, to dynamics of gender rather than to any inherent dynamics of migration,

implying that gender inequality must be broadly tackled (Chant 1992). Specific human rights strategies targeting migration are also needed, including:

International action

- ◆ Implementation of the 1990 Migrant Rights Convention which sets human rights standards to be respected for both documented and undocumented workers and their families (DAWN 2001).
- ◆ Forging of bilateral agreements between sending/receiving countries on the protection of migrants' rights (DAWN 2001).
- ◆ Relaxing restrictions on internal and international migration in both sending and receiving areas (Dang Nguyen Anh 2000).
- ◆ Establishment of transnational trans-ethnic advocacy networks, including women and gender networks, to work on common issues across boundaries of nationality (Key points 2002).
- ◆ Commitment to full and fair implementation of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) which phases out the Multi-Fibre Agreement, with appropriate provision for the poorest producers, education and training for workers on what the ATC means for them, and recognition of resulting job losses, with provision of compensation or alternative employment (TGWU 2003).
- ◆ Taking on the importance of race and ethnicity as well as gender to people's self-identification. Abandoning the idea that migrants should assimilate into the host culture. There is no unitary host culture to assimilate into, cultures already vary between different groups, and dominant host cultures are not necessarily better than migrant cultures (Sweetman 1998).

Information and research

- ◆ Better data collection and research including, gender-disaggregated data collection on migrants, including monitoring development of returnees. Research including on mental health of returnees and other social costs of migration, factors which contribute to reintegration (Chantavich 2001: 266).
- ◆ Public awareness campaigns in both sending and receiving areas, to promote understanding among general public of contribution of migrants, economic pressures which force women to migrate, and to promote awareness of potential migrants of risks involved (Chantavich 2001).
- ◆ Information provision on realities of migrants' lives and risks of irregular migration to discourage irregular migration (Chantavich 2001; Key Points 2002).

Empowerment and protection of migrants throughout the migration process

Before departure

- ◆ Increased information in sending communities, particularly to women, about regular migration channels and receiving areas (Chantavich 2001).
- ◆ Sending and receiving states should have specific policies on recruitment agencies, agents and other related business to reduce abuse of potential migrant workers for example, unreasonable fees and harassment during transit (Labour Watch 2002).

While away

- ◆ Enact national policies on protection of migrant workers' human rights (INSTRAW and IOM 2000).
- ◆ Organisations working with migrants need to look at how they can adapt to migrant needs rather than expecting migrants to adapt to their ways of working (Sweetman 1998). Facilities need to be provided in mother-tongue languages (Wheeler 1998).
- ◆ Legal and *de facto* protection of the rights of migrants in host societies including easy access hotlines and shelter homes for female workers who have difficulties with employers, the provision of legal advisors to assist migrant women with work contracts and legal status problems (Chantavich 2001).
- ◆ Provision of reproductive health and mental health services to migrant women in host areas, including contraceptive services and HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections (STI) intervention programmes (Truong Si Anh et al 1996).
- ◆ Confidential and sensitive HIV/AIDS and STI programmes for migrant men, including clients of sex workers, and male sex workers in host communities (Mai 2003).
- ◆ Establishing safe efficient channels for transfer of remittances (Lim and Oishi 1996).
- ◆ Electronic communication provision to enable better links between migrants and their families and family reunion schemes to subsidise annual travel costs of female migrants to visit their family in sending community (Chantavich 2001).
- ◆ Programmes for families left behind for example in remittance management and care-giving (Chantavich 2001).

Upon return

- ◆ Gender sensitive reintegration programmes for women returnees including skill development training programmes.
- ◆ Micro finance for female returnees wanting to start businesses.
- ◆ Family rehabilitation to assist with readaptation within the family; social workers and counsellors to assist returnees who have social or psychological troubles.
- ◆ Public recruitment services for those who want to re-migrate.

(above points taken from Chantavich 2001: 265)

6. Annotated bibliography

6.1 Key texts

Chant, Sylvia (ed), 1992, *Gender and migration in developing countries*, London: Belhaven Press

This was one of the first systematic attempts to explore the causes, nature and consequences of gender-selective population movement in a range of developing countries. Particular attention is paid to women's experiences as migrants and /or as members of households from which men migrate. Case studies from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia illustrate the diversity of gender-selective migration, and also the similarities, in particular the constraints on movement of low-income women. The book concludes that there are common as well as divergent gender patterns in migration from and within developing countries.

Lessons for policy: Men migrating and women being left behind may be a functional livelihood strategy for some households, but may also exacerbate inequalities and leave women with increased vulnerability, stress and impoverishment. The problem, however, is not gender selective migration in itself, but the inequality that underlies it. This needs to be addressed through: national strategies to raise women's status; gender aware agrarian reform programmes to enhance women's role in agriculture; reproductive support for rural women; access to work for women in rural and urban areas through job creation, enforcement of equal opportunities, and positive discrimination. Better data and research on gender and migration is also needed (summary adapted from Sweetman, 1995, p63).

Chantavich, Supang, (ed), 2001, *Female Labour Migration in South-East Asia: Change and Continuity*, Bangkok: Asian Research Centre for Migration

387 women returnees were interviewed for this study, in Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Yunnan province in China. They had returned from international labour migration, mostly as domestic helpers, caregivers, entertainers and sex workers, and a smaller proportion as workers in manufacturing or agriculture. Those from Yunnan were all irregular migrants, and others included both irregular and regular migrants. Many were married with children, and in most cases husbands would help with housework during their absence. All the female workers earned some income while away, and many sent remittances to parents or other family members. Some women experienced violence and/or sexual harassment while away. Upon return, the women faced varying situations. Some reintegrated into agricultural or service work or started their own businesses. Others found re-integration difficult into the economy, family or culture, and wanted to re-migrate. The Thai, Filipino and Chinese women generally reported increased self-

confidence and independence after return. Based on the study, policy recommendations are made including: better protection of vulnerable female migrants; a gender sensitive reintegration programme; an information and communication campaign to facilitate links between female migrants and their families, increasing information to women about regular migration channels, and discouraging irregular migration by increasing awareness of the risks involved.

Key points from Gender, Migration and Governance in Asia, 12 December 2002, a two day conference on Gender, Migration and Governance in Asia, held at the Australian National University on 5-6 December (<http://media.uow.edu.au/media/2002/feminine.html>, accessed 07.01.03)

Labour migration in Asia has become increasingly feminised during the 1990s. Labour market segregation continues, with men concentrated in construction and manufacturing, and women working largely as domestic workers, entertainers, sex workers, farm labourers and factory employees. The following policy recommendations are made: transnational trans-ethnic advocacy networks should be established, to work on common issues across boundaries of nationality; government needs to be involved at local, state/province, national and international levels; regional cooperation should take place to facilitate international migration as Europe is doing; accurate information should be spread through media and other channels about realities of migrant experiences and their contributions to the local economy.

Lim, Lean Lim and Oishi, Nana, 1996, 'International Labour Migration of Asian Women: Distinctive Characteristics and Policy Concerns' in *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1

Migration offers potential for both economic opportunities and for exploitation. Women migrants are doubly marginalised not only by race/anti-migrant prejudice but also by gender discrimination. In line with stereotyped expectations of Asian women, Asian female migrants are highly concentrated in women-dominated occupations, including domestic work and entertainment/sex work, hotels, assembly lines. This can leave them vulnerable, especially where working in isolated situations (eg. domestic work), or in areas not covered by host country's labour laws and social security. Other problems include: women are often de-skilled and lose status through migration; safe efficient channels to remit earnings are lacking; reintegration upon return is difficult, resulting in remigration.

Asian countries, both sending and receiving, have been experimenting with a number of gender selective and gender sensitive migration policies and programmes. Recent actions on the part of Asian women migrants themselves, and NGOs in both sending and receiving countries, provide positive complements and supplements to government programmes and policies. Some

governments promote out-migration, for example through bureaux to facilitate labour outflow, such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Korea, Bangladesh, and Thailand. Women remain more dependent than men on the commercial immigration industry, both legal and illegal, and vulnerable to exploitation from it.

More effective protection of migrant women is needed. The pre-departure stage is critical, with information needed before the decision to migrate is made. Embassies in host countries should designate and train an officer responsible for migrant women. NGOs need to be involved in pre-departure trainings, networking, information dissemination, and supporting women migrants to form their own networks. International cooperation is needed to better enforce existing regulations on the rights of migrants (summary adapted from www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/mdtmanila/training/unit2/asiamign.htm, accessed 8.01.03)

Parrenas, Rhacel Salazar, 2001, *Servants of Globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*, Stanford: Stanford University Press

Interviews with female Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles are analysed at the following three levels.

Globalisation and the macro-level: Migration is part of the circulation of labour and capital in global capitalism. Economies are 'denationalised' as demand for cheap labour leads to relocation of industries to developing countries, and migration of cheaper labour to developed countries. At the same time, politics are 'renationalised', in part due to scapegoating of immigrants for unemployment and other problems in developed countries. As a result, immigrants have 'partial citizenship', being accepted in the economy as low wage workers, but rejected politically. Globalisation involves redistribution of reproductive labour, between nation, race and class, but not between the sexes. Privileged women in developed countries employ women from less privileged countries to do their reproductive labour. These women relegate their reproductive tasks to poorer women in the sending countries.

Gender and transnationalism at the intermediate level: Different communities and institutions respond differently to macro-processes. This can be illuminated by gender and transnational perspectives. Transnationalism explains migrants' daily lives as conducted with reference to multiple connections between sending and receiving contexts. Because they are obstructed from integrating into the host society, migrants turn to transnational institutions such as transnational families and hometown associations. Divergences and power of gender, class and generation in migration also influence the dynamics of migration. Gender is a determinant of migration as sex-segregated labour markets create different demands for women's and men's labour, and the

institution of gender both constrains women's mobility and motivates migration for women escaping male abuse, the double work day, single motherhood. Migration does not, however, succeed in remedying these gender inequalities.

Individual subject level: Experiences and relationships are seen to be determined by one's position in the multiple structures of power e.g. gender, race, class, nation. These create 'dislocations' in migrant workers daily lives, for example partial citizenship, transnational families (maintained across more than one country), downward class mobility (many domestic workers interviewed had college degrees) and social exclusion by both dominant society and migrant communities (eg. middle class Filipinos looking down on domestic workers). Migrants resist the effects of power structures on themselves, sometimes in ways which reinforce the hierarchies, for instance, domestic workers emphasise their own higher status compared with poorer women back home. This shows the limited power of these migrants. They may resist, in ways which are effective in making themselves feel better, but at the same time intensify the power structures that determine their position in the first place.

Sweetman, Caroline, (ed), 1998, Gender and migration, *Gender and Development Journal*, Oxfam, UK

Migration is determined by household or family resources and decision-making structures, the culture of the community and the gender segregated labour markets available. Issues of both reproduction and production need to be considered, to understand migration as part of a livelihood strategy of not just the individual, but also the family. This means looking at impact on those left behind. An absent man may result in increased decision-making power for women, and/or increased stress, confusion and friction in decision making. Considering those left behind opens new perspectives on the household as multilocational, and as including those who may not be living together, but do maintain economic and emotional links across different locations. Migration has varying impacts on women's and men's power, status and roles. Migration may open possibilities for gender change, as people realise that gender dynamics vary across cultures, rather than being a biological given.

Willis, Katie, and Yeoh, Brenda, (ed), 2000, *Gender and Migration*, The International Library of Studies on Migration Series, Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar Publishing

This volume draws together published articles on gender and migration in North America, Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. It highlights new gender insights on migration in relation to employment, gender relations, household organisation, accompanying spouses and those left behind, identity, citizenship, transnationalism and migration policy. The introduction provides an overview on gender and migration. Migration flows are at a record high due to increased demand

for women's labour at the same time as decreased rural opportunities. Increased demand for sex and service work has been a part of this trend. In general, women migrants are worse off than men migrants.

The household is identified as an important site, in that household power structures influence decisions to migrate. Households may motivate or constrain migration, with people migrating to join other household members, or being unable to migrate due to domestic responsibilities. Access to reproductive care, for example from grandmothers, may motivate migration.

How far does migration liberate women? Migration itself is described as gendered work, with women doing the work of networking to enable migration and sustain ties to the home community, and with women sometimes being expected to be responsible for continuing to uphold the home culture in the new context. In some cases migration empowers women, in other instances women uphold male power in return for support from men in an unfamiliar environment. Migrating to accompany a spouse has a negative impact on their likelihood to work.

6.2 Bangladesh

Islam, T., 2003, 'Bangladesh: government mulls lifting ban on domestic workers', *The Inter Press Service (IPS) News Agency*, www.ipsnews.net/migration/stories/ban.html (accessed 19.02.03)

This short news article provides information about the ban on certain categories of female migrants. The Government of Bangladesh is considering lifting a four-year old ban on sending women abroad to work as domestic workers. The ban was imposed in the wake of widespread reports of physical and sexual abuse of domestic workers in Middle East countries, where most of the 3.2 million Bangladeshi migrant workers are found. The government states they first want to be sure that conditions for domestic workers in labour recipient countries have improved. This is an aim that women's rights activists share. In reality, the ban has actually encouraged the illegal migration of women who then have no protection from abuse and exploitation by traffickers and employees. One suggested solution is multi-lateral protection under the United Nations that would compel labour-receiving countries to protect the rights of migrant workers.

Gardner, K., 1995, *Global Migrants, Local Lives: travel and transformation in rural Bangladesh*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Based on fifteen months fieldwork in a village in north-east Bangladesh this book tells of the transformation of local society and the individuals within it, much of which has been brought about through overseas migration to Britain, the Middle East, North America, and the Far East. Men monopolise and control important resources, and migration is no exception. In general either

whole families or just men migrate, resulting in a gender imbalance in the community. Overseas migration has transformed the economic and social fabric of the society, sometimes with contradictory effects. Marriage patterns have been affected, for example 'outside' influences have increased the popularity of romantic love and led to a rise in age at marriage. At the same time, the stress on *purdah* related behaviour, respectability, and formal Islam has increased which has in turn undermined domains in which women traditionally had power. Despite these constraints, some women have increased their power and status. Wealthier women, for example, are better placed than poor women to negotiate and redefine *purdah* to their own advantage. In the absence of men some migrants' wives have been able to enter male domains, albeit covertly.

Kabeer, N., 2000, *The Power to Choose. Bangladeshi Women and Labour Market Decisions in London and Dhaka*, London and New York: Verso Press

In this study Naila Kabeer examines the lives of Bangladeshi garment workers to highlight the question of what constitutes 'fair' competition in international trade. While Bangladesh is generally considered a poor, conservative Muslim country, with a long tradition of female seclusion, women here have entered factories to take their place as a prominent first generation labour force. At the same time, in Britain's modern and secular society with its long tradition of female industrial employment, Bangladeshi women are largely concentrated in home-based piecework for the garment industry. This book draws on testimonies from women of both groups concerning their experiences at work and the impact these have on their lives generally. Kabeer argues that any attempt to devise acceptable labour standards at the international level, which takes no account of the forces of inclusion and exclusion within local labour markets, is likely to represent the interests of multinational companies rather than women workers (summary adapted from IDS website: <http://www.ids.ac.uk/>).

Siddiqui, T., 2001, *Transcending Boundaries: labour migration of women from Bangladesh*, Dhaka: The University Press Limited

Transcending Boundaries focuses on women as their own instrument of empowerment in the context of labour migration and thereby raises questions as to the primacy of institutional mechanisms and legal frameworks in securing and ensuring the rights and interests of women. Examining the determinants and objectives of female labour migration from Bangladesh, the book identifies a host of structural and individual situational factors combined with an important role played by catalytic organizations and social networks. More significantly it reveals gender specific factors uniquely affecting women's emigration. Factors such as women's need to escape from oppressive social institutions and practices, unhappy family and social situations, harassment, violence and lazy husbands make women a socially disadvantaged group who may see emigration primarily as a quest for independence and a means of realizing their self worth.

However, there exists a stark dichotomy in patriarchal society in transition where economic necessity permits the whole family unit to decide upon the need for a woman to migrate and to earn livelihood for family but insists nevertheless that the gender division of labour within the household must not change. Migration affects women and their family both positively and negatively, yet ultimately women see migration as empowering both socially and economically. The state and civil society at large need to move beyond patronising attitudes, give respect to women's decisions to migrate and play a facilitating role.

United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and International Organization for Migration (IOM) 2000, *Temporary Labour Migration of Women: case studies of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, Santa Domingo: INSTRAW*

Official figures on female labour migration from Bangladesh grossly underestimate its actual magnitude. The government's lack of willingness to acknowledge the reality of female migration has contributed to its inability to protect the rights of Bangladeshi women migrants. National and international laws on labour migration have not been properly enforced. The findings of a field study of 200 households show that social factors, such as the need to earn a dowry, or escape unhappy family situations were as much a cause of female migration as economic factors. The migrant women interviewed for this study stayed abroad on average for about three years. Most were subject to harsh working conditions and in some cases to physical and sexual abuse. Domestic aides were particularly at risk to such mistreatment. Economic benefits of migration appear to be mixed, as were social benefits. Sons and daughters were generally married off earlier, girls to ensure they were 'protected' while the mother was away and boys to bring in a woman to keep house. There is also little change in gender roles in the family caused by the migration of female members. However, most of the women migrants found that their experiences with migration had an empowering effect on them. Recommendations include the urgent need to enact a national policy on migrant workers to defend their human rights while abroad. This book also looks at Sri Lanka.

6.3 China

Fan CC., Li L., 2002, 'Marriage and Migration in transitional China: a field study of Gaozhou, western Guangdong', *Environmental Planning* 34 (4): 619-638 April

Marriage and marriage migration are often downplayed in the migration literature. The role of location in decision making underlying marriage migration, and the relations between marriage and labour migration, are little understood. Research that focuses on international marriages and on Western or capitalist economies has highlighted marriage as a strategy, but little attention has been given to domestic marriage migration in socialist and transitional economies. On the basis

of a field study of two villages in western Guangdong, China, and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data from that study, two arguments are made. Firstly, changing inequalities between areas have reinforced the importance of location in the processes that lead to marriage migration. Secondly, increased opportunities for labour migration - a product of economic transition - have enlarged peasants' marriage market and at the same time intensified the gender division of labour within marriage. The findings underscore household and individual strategies in response to macro level constraints and opportunities, the centrality of marriage for understanding migration, and the relations between marriage and labour migration (summary adapted from Web of Science).

Huang, Y., 2001, 'Gender, hukou, and the occupational attainment of female migrants in China (1985-1990)', *Environment and Planning*, 33 (2): 257-279, February

The occupational attainment of female migrants in China has to be understood in its unique socio-cultural and institutional context. In addition to the constraints of human capital, the patriarchal culture and the Household Registration (*hukou*) System greatly constrain the occupational attainment of female migrants. The household registration system requires that people live in their place of birth, where they are registered, or meet particular bureaucratic requirements in order to legally change their residence. Many migrants, particularly female migrants, are not able to register in their new residence. An empirical study based on a 1 per cent sample of China's 1990 Census shows that female migrants are at a disadvantage in the labour market not only because of gender discrimination, but also because of their rural identities and outsider status, as defined by the *hukou* system. They can only get jobs with lower prestige than their male counterparts, such as agricultural work and a few gender-stereotyped, family-related urban jobs (summary adapted from Web of Science).

Li Yinhe, Tan Shen, Tang Can, Feng Xiaoshuang, Guo Zhenglin, Qu Ningdeng (China Academy of Social Sciences Rural Women Economic Migration theme group), 2000, *Peasant Mobility and Gender*, Central Plains Peasant Publishing House (in Chinese)

An analysis of the 1990 population survey shows of those who moved for marriage, 91.4 per cent were women, and 8.6 per cent were men. Of those who had moved for work, 70 per cent were men and 30 per cent women, but recent data shows the proportion of women is rising. Men are slightly more likely to migrate further to another province. Men tend to migrate to big cities and the richer coastal areas. Women are more concentrated in particular provinces such as Guangdong. Most migrants are under 35. Women migrants are younger and less likely to be married than men migrants. Migrants are more educated than those left behind, however, women migrants are less educated than men migrants.

The labour market is similarly sex-segregated for migrants and non-migrants, with men concentrated in construction, women in service industries, and women earning less than men. This sex segregation was substantively reduced after the revolution in 1949, but has returned during the 1990s with the economic reforms, due to deep-rooted social and cultural inequalities.

Interviews with young women and men migrants in Guangdong showed that many had migrated to earn money and 'see the world'. They hoped for love and marriage and had not ruled out meeting a partner while away from home. However, most still wanted to return home to marry, and women hoped to marry a returnee. Rural areas are still more traditional than urban areas, so when unmarried women return to the countryside to get married, they find it particularly hard to adjust to traditional marriage. Marriage means an end to personal development for many women. Married couples usually give priority to the man to migrate, or migrate first, as migration is seen as a good opportunity.

Willis, K., and Yeoh, B., 2002, 'Gendering transnational communities: a comparison of Singaporean and British migrants in China', *Geoforum* 33, vol. 4: 553-565, November

Studies of transnational communities and transnational labour migration have focused almost exclusively on the movement of low-skilled and unskilled workers across international boundaries. While these groups may be numerically dominant, it must be recognised that there are increasing numbers of managers and professionals engaged in work-related migration in association with the intensification of economic globalisation processes. Work which has been conducted on highly skilled migrants has largely been limited to examinations of intra-firm mobility and the workplace. This approach fails to consider the ways in which the migrants' experiences are embedded in the social, economic and political practices of the host country, but also in a specific household context. This study addresses that gap. Findings include that single migrants, particularly Singaporean women, often view migration as a form of 'liberation' from the constraints 'at home'. UK women felt more freedom to move around, with threats to personal safety felt to be less than in the UK. British working women also generally felt that China's gender equality policies had made the working environment less sexist than in the UK. Men enjoyed unprecedented attention from local and other women due to their perceived attractiveness and marriageability being enhanced by their expatriate status, while the perceived marriageability of expatriate women decreased (summary adapted from Web of Science).

Yang, XS., and Guo, F., 1999, 'Gender differences in determinants of temporary labour migration in China: A multilevel analysis', *International Migration Review*, 33, vol. 4: 929-953

Data from a 1988 migration survey in Hubei province are used to examine gender differences in the determinants of temporary labour migration from a multi-level perspective. Community level factors are found to play a key role in temporary labour migration. Models omitting community level variables are poor in predicting temporary labour migration. Significant gender differences exist in determinants of temporary labour migration. For men, temporary labour migration is mainly a response to community level factors; individual or household characteristics have little predictive power. For women, by contrast, temporary labour migration is predominantly determined by individual characteristics; community level factors are not as important (summary adapted from Web of Science).

Zhang, HXQ, 1999, 'Female migration and urban labour markets in Tianjin', *Development and Change* 30, vol. 10: 21-41, January

The spontaneous, large-scale population movement from the countryside to the cities witnessed in China since the early 1980s has drawn increasing attention in academic circles. However, research has tended to focus on quantitative macro-level data collection and interpretation rather than on the experiences of those involved in the migratory process. Using qualitative research methods, experiences of Chinese rural female migrants are presented as narrated by themselves. The major forces behind rural women's out-migration are identified as reduction in bureaucratic obstacles to migration and the continuing rural-urban divide. These factors have contributed to shaping women's lives and experiences in the migratory process. Women are seen to be actors and agents in this unprecedented economic and social transformation. Through their active engagement in the urban labour market, female migrants have challenged both the traditionally defined gender roles and the spatial and socio-economic boundaries that have been imposed upon them. Their actions may catalyse a radical rearrangement of social, political and sexual orders (summary adapted from Web of Science in consultation with author).

6.4 India

Iversen, V, 2000, *Autonomy in child labour migrants*, Discussion Paper No. 248, School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, November

The idea that children may be active decision-makers has received little serious attention from social scientists. New research on data from rural Karnataka, India, suggests that very young males leave for the city in considerable numbers often in direct conflict with parental preferences. Despite high local incomes and public policies favourable to educational attendance, about one in eight 10-14 year old boys are or have been labour migrants, primarily working in South-Indian

food joints in Bangalore city. Girl migrants are fewer in numbers and mainly work as domestic servants. Gender differences in autonomous behaviour are strongly pronounced. While girls are cooperative or obey parental will, boys are more likely to leave home on their own terms, often by running away. Key findings include: 23 percent of the migrant boys left home against parental wishes but usually retain family links and remit wages; the probability of autonomous migration increases rapidly with age in the case of boys; boys from lower caste backgrounds are less likely to make autonomous decisions; high incidence of autonomous behaviour in the peer-group increases the probability of autonomy; domestic discord, much of it alcohol-fuelled, has a strong effect on autonomous behaviour (summary adapted from ID21 research highlights, <http://www.id21.org/society/s6avi1g2.html>).

Kannabiran, K., 1998, Mapping migration, gender, culture and politics in the Indian diaspora - Commemorating Indian arrival in Trinidad, *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 6, November

Many Indian women went to Trinidad as already independent women who made a conscious decision to move out of the difficult social situations which confronted them in India. These included deserted women, practising prostitutes and Brahmin widows. Paradoxically, upon arrival they were confronted with Trinidadian ideas of Indianness which equated Indian culture with subordination of women. To some degree, migrant women have conformed to these images. At the same time, some have joined Hindu movements in Trinidad in challenging their political exclusion, and the stereotyping of Indian women as passive and oppressed (summary adapted from Web of Science).

Lingam, Lakshmi, (ed), 1998, *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Volume 59, Issue 3, Special Issue, 'Women and Migration', Mumbai: The Institute of Social Work, July

The gender dimension and women's experiences are identified as a gap in migration studies. This special Issue addresses that gap with an overview of material, selected articles, and an annotated bibliography on women and migration, primarily but not exclusively focussing on India. Themes covered in the overview and bibliography include: internal and international migration, women left behind, women's rural-rural and rural-urban migration, including women's migration for domestic labour and for construction work. Women in rural-rural seasonal migration face extremely exploitative conditions. In urban areas, women migrants are constrained from finding work by their domestic roles and lack of skills. The bibliography includes 39 summaries of materials on migration.

Pothukuchi, K, 2001, Effectiveness and empowerment in women's shelter: a study of working women's hostels in Bangalore, India, *International Journal Of Urban And Regional Research*, 25 (2): 362-79, June

Policy debates on shelter for women have focused on family structure, gender roles and the importance of shelter in women's economic development. They emphasise the need for shelter that is generally effective and empowering for women. Although valuable, these general policy proposals are often unable to account for the particular situations in specific cultural contexts in which family structure, roles and economic development are reshaped by women's migration. Through a study of 12 working women's hostels in Bangalore, India, which includes a survey of 126 residents and 4 focus groups, this article analyses the functions that hostels serve for women and explores the aspects of hostels that are effective and empowering. While only partially effective and empowering, hostels offer a significant policy opportunity to help migrant women both expand their personal, social, economic and political universe without losing contact with the familiar and nurturing networks of family, and gain autonomy over their shelter and lives. The article discusses how hostels can provide a stepping stone for policy and programmatic interventions toward decent, secure and empowering shelter for women migrants (summary adapted from Web of Science).

Srinivasan, S., 1997, Breaking rural bonds through migration: the failure of development for women in India, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, spring, Vol. 28, No. 1: 89-102

Despite many five year plans which have specifically focused on development in rural areas, the major focus and most rapid development has been in the urban centres. Since growth has been biased toward the capital intensive urban centres, the poor from the rural areas have no other options but to seek a livelihood in the urban centres resulting in an unparalleled migration and an unprecedented growth of slums. This study focuses on women's lives and opportunities and asks whether their opportunities are affected more by rural development programmes or by migration. Two methods of data collection were used in the study: interviews with the oldest member of every household in a developed village, a less developed village and an urban slum; and interviews with randomly selected women from these areas. The women's narratives revealed that the bonds of caste and gender are stronger in rural areas than in urban areas. Development programs have perpetuated traditional gender and caste roles and thus worsened the conditions for women in rural India. Migration to urban areas is inevitable unless rural planners and policy makers make it their first priority to develop policies that break the stranglehold of caste and landholding on the one hand and unequal gender relations on the other. If development is to reach the rural areas and benefit women, planners and policy makers need to promote the autonomy of women in the rural areas and take into account the patriarchal nature of gender

relations. The social organisation of women could provide a catalyst for change in rural India (summary adapted from Web of Science).

6.5 Pakistan

Balchin, Cassandra, (ed) 1996, 'Women in society: Mobility and Rights' in *Women, Law and Society: an action manual for NGOS, Women Living Under Muslim Laws, Women and Law Pakistan Country Project, Lahore: Shirkat Gah*

This manual provides practical information aiming to advance women's understanding of their entitlements under the sometimes conflicting statutory and customary legal frameworks in Pakistan. The section on 'Mobility and Rights' outlines what statutory and customary laws say on mobility and segregation, the right to work, property and economic rights, and political and religious participation. The constitution guarantees freedom of movement to 'every citizen'. In practice, however, women's mobility, and requirements to observe purdah, depend on the woman's class, age, marital status, specific purpose of travel, and the general customs of the province and ethnic group. For example, in rural areas in Punjab, unmarried women are generally not allowed to travel outside the village, and even within the village can move about only for work, however lower class women are not restricted. Where husbands are migrant labourers, greater mobility for women is generally accepted by in-laws and the community. However, where husbands migrated to the Gulf states in the 1970s and 1980s, observance of purdah has increased, probably as the marker of increased social status. Forms of purdah never before seen in Pakistan, including the Saudi and Iranian style veils, are now visible in the urban areas.

Donnan, Hastings, and Werbner, Pnina, (ed), 1991, *Economy and culture in Pakistan: migrants and cities in a Muslim society*, London: Macmillans Academic and Professional Ltd

Migration within Pakistan, and overseas to the UK or Middle East, has brought about social changes in many parts of Punjab. Long-term male absences have sometimes allowed wives greater decision-making power regarding land, children's education and household finances. Evidence suggests these powers do not revert back to the male upon his return. Ironically, for many daughters of such families, the increased purchasing power has led to inflated dowries, withdrawal from agriculture and increasing seclusion. Men returning from migration faced problems not only of economic integration, but also social and cultural readjustment. This dislocation has popularly been termed the 'Dubai syndrome', referring to a range of sexual, guilt and depressive symptoms which can afflict migrants and their families throughout the migration process.

Lefebvre, Alain, 1990, 'International labour migration from two Pakistani villages with different forms of agriculture', *The Pakistani Development Review*, 29:1, Spring: 59-90

A socio-economic analysis is made of two Pakistani villages in an attempt to explain the effect of the migration process on village society. The efforts are described of male out migrants to maintain seclusion of, and avoid handing over control to female household members, for example by transferring responsibility for cultivation to a male relative before departure, and sending remittances to the head of the extended family, rather than to the wife herself. Seclusion is generally increased by male international out-migration which provides greater economic possibilities for maintaining purdah (summary adapted from article abstract).

Wheeler, Erica L., 1998, 'Mental Illness and social stigma: experiences in a Pakistani community in the UK', in *Gender and Development*, Vol. 6, No. 1, March

Qualitative interviews and focus group discussions with migrant women from Pakistan and first generation Britons previously discharged from in-patient psychiatric care illustrate the unintended and adverse consequences of this care. There are no direct translations of psychiatric terms such as 'depression' into Urdu/Punjabi or Mirpuri, and the distinction between illnesses of the body and the mind is made less sharply in traditional Asian healing than in western medicine. Interviewees described the label 'mentally ill' being translated as '*pagal*' (literally 'mad'), and their being met with misunderstanding and stigma from their families and the Pakistani community. They identify family problems, traumas and conflicts, lack of support, as well as stresses of separation brought about by migration, as having caused their health problems. Hospitalisation further complicates family situations, losing them respect from their children, involvement in family decision-making, and support and recognition from the extended family. Facilities need to be provided in mother tongue languages, which are not labelled 'mental' health services, and which provide both counselling support and teaching of practical skills in order to make them acceptable to Pakistani users. Home-based care, which avoids the stigmatisation of hospital, is also recommended.

6.6 Vietnam

Dang Nguyen Anh, 2000, 'Women's migration and urban integration in the context of Doi Moi' *Vietnam's Socio-Economic Development, A quarterly review* – No. 23, Autumn

The Doi Moi economic reforms introduced in 1986 allowed for a relaxation of restrictions on the household registration system which obstructed rural-urban migration. The registration system no longer limits acquisition of essential goods in cities, however it still restricts migrants' participation in the housing, credit, business and land market. Social services such as health care and schooling are also limited for migrants without permanent registration. This creates a major division between temporary migrants and those with permanent registration. During the Doi Moi periods, large numbers of young women moved to urban areas for economic reasons as

temporary migrants. Permanent women migrants were more likely to have moved for marriage or family reasons. Finding work and escaping urban poverty was easiest for women who were single, migrated at an older age, had moved to towns rather than cities, and who were well connected with migrant networks. Middle level education was an advantage in finding work, but a university or college degree increased the chances of unemployment among migrants. To increase the success of Doi Moi, policy efforts are recommended which accommodate migration, and treat population redistribution as a positive factor for development. These conclusions are drawn from interviews with over 2,500 individuals in migrant and non-migrant households in six provinces and cities throughout Vietnam.

Truong Si Anh, Patrick Gubry, Vu Thi Hong, and Jerrold Huguet, 1996, Migration and Employment in Ho Chi Minh City, *Asia Pacific Population Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 2, June

The Doi Moi reforms, meaning literally 'renovation' allowed for relaxation of registration, employment opportunities in the private sector, and the possibility of self-employment. Similar to reforms in China, these have resulted in an upsurge of 'spontaneous' migration in contrast to previous population moves which were either government organised or sponsored. Evidence from household and individual questionnaires carried out in 1994 are used to explore these migration dynamics. However, the sampling method tended to omit temporary migrants, or those without residence permits, so the findings reflect the situation of registered more than unregistered migrants. Migration flows to Ho Chi Minh City after 1989 are more concentrated in the ages 15-29 and are composed of a greater proportion of females than previously, with more migrating for economic reasons than previously. Most recent migrants are single, and more have moved for schooling. However, the proportion of females moving for economic reasons is increasing, with greater opportunities as household servants, in light manufacturing, sales and services. Males are more likely than females to move for economic reasons and to work in the private sector. Migrants work longer hours than non-migrants with greater discrepancy between migrant and non-migrant women. Women migrants work longer hours than men migrants. Men migrants earn more than women migrants, but the difference is decreasing. The prevalence of young women among migrants suggests local government should ensure access to health care, particularly reproductive health, for the migrant population.

Kibria, Nazli, 'Power, Patriarchy, and Gender Conflict in the Vietnamese Immigrant Community' in Willis, Katie, and Yeoh, Brenda, *Gender and Migration*, 2000, UK and USA: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited

An ethnographic study of women's social groups and networks in a community of Vietnamese immigrants recently settled in the USA provides the basis for an exploration of migration's effects on gender roles and power. The women's groups and networks play an important role in the exchange of social and economic resources among households, and in the mediation of disputes

between men and women in the family. These community forms are an important source of informal power for women, enabling them to cope effectively with male authority in the family. Yet despite their increased power and economic resources, these women supported a patriarchal social structure because it preserved their parental authority and promised greater economic security in the future (summary adapted from article abstract).

Summerfield, G, 1997, 'The Economic transition in China and Vietnam: Crossing the poverty line is just the first step for women and their families', *Review of Social Economy*, Vol. 55, No. 2: 201-214

The changing strategies are compared of women and their families during the economic transition in China and Vietnam. Employment strategies to improve the family's well-being have resulted in increased rural-urban migration by men and young women, while middle-aged, married women remain in the countryside taking care of farms and children. Although women have been able to take advantage of new opportunities for employment in non-state firms and their own entrepreneurial endeavours, their employment strategies are limited by increasing discrimination in hiring and layoffs. This mix of factors affects bargaining power between family members, including over decisions about education and health care (summary adapted from article abstract).

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