Mapping Feminized Migration Globally: 1960-2000[1]

Abstract

We explore gendered patterns in migration, using an unusually comprehensive dataset that allows us to explore the global nature of gendered migration from 1960 through 2000. While migration was relatively gender balanced for much of the 20th century, in recent decades there has been an increase in reproductive labor migrants, usually women, who provide domestic work, childcare, elder care, entertainment work, and other forms of care for wealthier families. Our data come from the 2011 World Bank *Global Bilateral Migrant Stock Database*, which provides a standardized global picture of the international migrant stock population over the period 1960-2000. We produced gender-disaggregated country-by-country migration flow socio-matrices that visually represent women's flows globally for four selected time periods. We further examine gendered migration patterns over time for five major receiving countries, and five major sending countries, to further identify changing global patterns in women's migration.

Key Words:

Global migration, gender, Global South, International sociology, History of migration.

Joya Misra, University of Massachusetts – Amherst, misra@soc.umass.edu

Ragini Saira Malhotra, University of Massachusetts – Amherst, rmalhotra@soc.umass.edu

Diego F. Leal, University of Massachusetts – Amherst, dleal@soc.umass.edu

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Migration reflects and reinforces gender inequalities, but also opens up opportunities for gender transformations. We explore gendered patterns in migration, using an unusually comprehensive dataset that allows us to explore the global nature of gendered migration from 1960 through 2000. While both men and women have long migrated, there have been interesting variations in where women have migrated, and how women's migration maps onto men's migration (Donato and Gabaccia 2015). We examine these variations in migration for the latter part of the 20th century, across the globe.

Have changes in the global economic system over the last fifty years led to changes in women's migration? In many cases, women migrate as members of families, so that as men's migration expands or recedes so does women's migration. Yet while migration was relatively gender balanced for much of the 20th century, in recent decades there has been an increase in reproductive labor migrants, usually women, who provide domestic work, childcare, elder care, entertainment work, and other forms of care for wealthier families (Oishi 2005; Parrenas 2012). Women also migrate as marriage migrants, migrating directly for marriage or migrating first as workers and later marrying foreign husbands (Cheng and Choo 2015; Constable 2009; Kim 2010; Kofman and Raghuram 2015).

It is critical to recognize how meeting the care and social reproduction needs of receiving countries is reshaping migration (Bakker and Gill 2003). As Hondagneu-Sotelo (2011, p. 223) suggests, "Women from countries as varied as Peru, the Philippines, Moldavia, Eritrea and Indonesia are leaving their families, communities and countries to migrate thousands of miles away to work in the new worldwide growth industry of paid domestic work and elder care." Women also migrate for marriage, assuming caring roles for their new husbands (Cheng and Choo 2015; Constable 1997, 2003, 2013, 2014; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Kim 2010;

Kofman and Raghuram 2015; Lan 2006; Lutz 2012; Oishi 2005; Piper 2006; Piper and Roces 2003).

Existing qualitative research documents women's reproductive labor migration in specific locations. We examine global patterns to help understand this phenomenon. We use a new quantitative data set that tracks migration for men and women globally since 1960 (Abel and Sander 2014; Abel 2013a; Özden et al. 2011). While these data do not directly identify reproductive labor migrants, we use it to analyze how women's migration patterns are changing, and draw on existing studies to consider what these patterns mean. We consider in particular what women's migration and streams of migration dominated by women (feminized migration) might tell us about care/reproductive labor migration flows. Where women predominate in migration may suggest where care migration is occurring (Donato and Gabaccia 2015; Kofman and Raghuram 2015; Lutz 2012).

Gender & Migration

We build on scholarly literature on gender and migration, that recognizes complex gender realignments within migration streams (Constable 1997; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Curran and Saguy 2001; Curran, Shafer, and Donato 2006; Donato 2012; Gamburd 2000, 2004; Ghosh 2009; Gordon 2005; Herrera 2013; Hoang and Yeoh 2011; Hoang, Yeoh, and Wattie 2012; Hofmann and Buckley 2013; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, 2000, 2003, 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Lutz 2010; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Menjivar 1999; Menjívar 2000; Morokvasic, Erel, and Shinozaki 2003; Oishi 2005; Oso and Ribas-Mateos 2013; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Silvey 2006; Sinke 2006). Many

studies to explore the characteristics of women migrants and how migration may shift or reconstitute gendered practices and expectations.

Despite the growth of gender and migration research, however, quantitative migration research has not adequately considered the gender composition of migration streams, particularly with a focus on the Global South (Donato et al. 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2011; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Pessar and Mahler 2003). Yet, gender deeply impacts all aspects of migration. For example, women's migration decisions and experiences differ in important ways from men's (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Curran and Saguy 2001; Donato 2012; Hofmann and Buckley 2013; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Massey, Fischer, and Capoferro 2006). This reflects different gendered expectations within the family and the realm of paid labor, and differences by gender in embeddedness in migrant social networks.

Gender and migration research has increasingly incorporated substantial attention on migrant women workers, as well as the interconnections of work and family (Constable 1997; Espiritu 2003; Ghosh 2009; Herrera 2013; Hofmann and Buckley 2013; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2011; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Lutz 2010; Menjivar 1999; Oishi 2005; Oso and Ribas-Mateos 2013; Roberts 2002; Vershuur 2013). Family and kinship organization plays a large role in determining when and whether women migrate, as well as their remittance practices (Mahler and Pessar 2006; Massey et al. 2006; Oishi 2005; Ratha and Shaw 2007; Roberts 2002; Safri and Graham 2010). An important literature explores the transnational family, where women migrants continue to care for family members in other locations, including through remittances (Abbots 2012; Curran et al. 2006; Eckenwiler 2014; Herrera 2013; Hoang and Yeoh 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2011; Lutz 2010; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005; Parreñas 2001a, 2005a, 2005b, 2012; Pessar and

Mahler 2003; Rodriguez 2008; Safri and Graham 2010; Yeates 2012). However, work is also key to understanding women's migration. Families often make decisions about who will migrate – whether those migrants are men or women – reflecting their understandings of gendered economic opportunities, migration policies, and cultural expectations (Mahler and Pessar 2006; Momsen 2003; Morokvasic et al. 2003). Globally and historically, women migrants work in production as well as service sector jobs, including carework, domestic work, and entertainment work (Choo 2013; Ghosh 2009; Lan 2006; Loebach and Korinek 2012; Oishi 2005; Parreñas 2001a). Lutz (2010, p. 1649) suggests that women's migration historically has reflected women's involvement in service work, noting "the majority of women participating in mass migration movements at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century were not occupied in factories but were rather recruited for domestic work in the cities and the countryside."

Migration is also gendered at the state level, where policies carry gendered assumptions about migrants' relationships and engagement in work (Manalansan 2006; Martín-Pérez and Moreno-Fuentes 2012; Misra, Woodring, and Merz 2006; Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Stokes-DuPass 2015). Bilateral immigration policies often carry particular notions about race, religion, nationality and gender, shaping perceptions about who is a more or less welcome immigrant (Momsen 2003). Indeed, more broadly, migrants' rights often reflect deeply gendered assumptions and strategies (Choo 2013; Parreñas 2001a, 2001b). Importantly, emigration policies are also gendered in consequential ways; some sending countries encourage certain women to migrate, while others restrict women's migration (Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005).

Migration reconstitutes new forms of gendered relations, rather than "degendering" society (Mahler and Pessar 2006; Oishi 2005; Parreñas 2005a; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Richter 2004). Mahler and Pessar (2006, p. 43) argue for a "gendered geographies of power" approach,

which recognizes "gender operates, usually simultaneously, at multiple *spatial, social, and cultural* scales" (emphasis theirs). Gender and migration research has also increasingly taken an intersectional perspective, underscoring important variations among women migrants, by education, class, race, sexuality, and nationality (Espiritu 2003; Herrera 2013; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2011; Lutz, Vivar, and Supik 2011; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Manalansan 2006; Menjivar 1999; Menjívar 2000; Parreñas 2005b; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Smith 2005). These models offer new opportunities to theorize the complex inequalities reflected in gendered migration – including of the role of reproductive labor - in shaping women's migration.

Reproductive Labor & Migration

Reproductive labor encompasses domestic work, cleaning and ensuring the functioning of homes, as well as the provision of childcare, eldercare, and care for the disabled or other household members in need of care. It also includes marriage migration and entertainment work (Malhotra et al. 2016; Kim 2010; Cheng and Choo 2015; Choo 2013; Constable 2003, 2013, 2014; Ghosh 2009; Lan 2006). A wide variety of scholarship documents the growth of reproductive labor migration, which is gendered in unique ways (Andall 2000; Benería, Diana Deere, and Kabeer 2012; Chang 2000; Constable 1997; Eckenwiler 2014; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007; Kittay 2009; Lan 2006; Lutz 2002, 2010, 2012; Momsen 2003; Nare 2011; Oishi 2005; Parreñas 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2012; Setien and Acosta 2013; Vershuur 2013). Around the globe, women remain primarily responsible for care in what Parrenas (2000) has called the "international division of reproductive labor."[2]

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[2] Of course, migrant careworkers are not only women; men have also engaged in care migration both historically and currently (Bartolomei 2010; Chopra 2006; Espiritu 2003; Kilkey 2010; Manalansan 2006; Nare 2011; Parreñas 2012; Qayum and Ray 2010; Ray and Qayum 2009; Richter 2004; Sarti 2010; Scrinzi 2010). Yet, we focus on

One of the key drivers of migration is economic need and perceived economic opportunity (Borjas 1999; Chang 2000; Hofmann and Buckley 2013; Hooghe et al. 2008; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Oishi 2005). Women's reproductive labor migration is typically a response to the demand for their labor, though some women may also migrate to break away from normative gender expectations or other challenges (Espiritu 2003). Poverty and inequality have enabled the conditions for emigration through which many women aim to support their families through work or marriage migration (Bakker and Gill 2003; Benería et al. 2012; Calavita 2006; Chang 2000; Eckenwiler 2014; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Hofmann and Buckley 2013; Misra et al. 2006; Oishi 2005; Parreñas 2001b, 2001a; Sassen 2000). Women are also "pulled" to countries where the demand for care is high and where earning capacities are perceived to be higher than at home. Migrant caregivers are particularly needed in countries where most women are engaged in paid work, as well as in societies with large aging populations (Ghosh 2009; Hofmann and Buckley 2013; Nare 2011; Setien and Acosta 2013). They are also in demand in newly wealthy countries, where having domestic workers is a middle class status symbol (Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005). Yet, migrant reproductive labor does not only occur in the wealthiest countries. Within Asia, middle-income countries like Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong, host migrant domestic workers from Indonesia, the Philippines and to a lesser degree, South Asia (Constable 1997; Malhotra et al. 2016; Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005). These processes have created new inequalities among women; rather than men becoming more involved in care,

women because overall, and on a global scale, as Huang, Thang, and Toyota (2012, p. 132) argue, "the gendered (read feminized) nature of care labour [has] not altered even as care labour becomes increasingly commodified, professionalized, institutionalized and transnationalized."

migrant women "pick up" care responsibilities previously met by native-born women (Hutter 2013).[3]

Where wealthy countries place responsibilities for care on families (rather than, for example, providing care through the welfare state), there is also a particularly high demand for immigrant caregivers (Calavita 2006; Eckenwiler 2014; Lutz 2012; Misra et al. 2006; Nare 2011; Scrinzi 2011; Setien and Acosta 2013). Lutz (2012) notes that it is not just the absence of state services, but the *nature* of state support for care that shapes the particular demand for reproductive labor in different contexts. However, migration is also costly; financial resources restrict who can migrate and where they go (Borjas 1999; Ghosh 2009; Kanaiaupuni 2000). Women migrants from many countries tend to be *more* educated than those who do not migrate, while men migrants may be *less* educated (Kanaiaupuni 2000; Oishi 2005; Vershuur 2013).[4] Care migrants may become "downskilled" through emigration; for example, many women trained as qualified nurses, are employed as "less skilled" home care attendants (Eckenwiler 2014; Lutz 2010; Misra et al. 2006; Momsen 2003; Vershuur 2013).

Historical global relationships and inequality also play a key role in shaping migration flows (Espiritu 2003; Hooghe et al. 2008; Momsen 2003). Migration policies and laws impose different costs and opportunities on migration (Borjas 1999; Calavita 2006; Eckenwiler 2014; Ghosh 2009; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Lutz 2002, 2010; Misra et al. 2006; Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005; Piper 2006; Raghuram 2012; Ratha and Shaw 2007; Rodriguez 2008; Sassen 2000). Filipina nurses have long worked in the U.S., just as Indian nurses have worked in the U.K., as a result of migration policies that have encouraged their labor (Eckenwiler 2014; Momsen 2003). Particular

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[3] Lutz (2010) argues middle class families prefer to outsource domestic and care work rather than distributing this work within the household in a gender equitable way.

[4] Analyzing the Philippines, Loebach and Korinek (2012) find that selectivity declines with higher migration prevalence.

groups of women therefore become concentrated in reproductive labor through social networks; where there are established migrant communities, and information about migration, more migration will likely occur due to reduced migration costs (Kanaiaupuni 2000; Massey et al. 1999). Cultural attitudes around women's migration and employment also matter, of course (Ghosh 2009; Hofmann and Buckley 2013; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Massey et al. 2006; Oishi 2005). In some cases, laws may even prevent women from migrating alone (Ghosh 2009; Massey et al. 2006).

As Helma Lutz (2010) argues, we must analyze three intersecting regimes – gender regimes (gendered cultural scripts), care regimes (policies distributing care across families, states, and markets), and migration regimes (policies that promote or discourage migration). To understand reproductive labor migration, we need a better understanding of how these three regimes intersect. Existing research shows how these processes operate in specific locations, but global models are not yet available.

Mapping Gender & Migration Globally

Much gender and migration research, due in part to limits in quantitative data collection, uses qualitative methods to understand women's migration (Constable 1997; Curran et al. 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, 2000, 2011; Momsen 2003). Summarizing existing research, Hutter (2013, p. 741) notes, "four major emigration flows can be identified: from developed Southeast Asia to the Middle East, from Africa to Europe, from East to West in Europe and from Central and South America to North America." Herrera (2013) argues that although women's care migration was first used to analyze Asian women's migration to Europe, the Middle East, and the U.S., it has been increasingly useful for understanding Andean and Eastern European

migration to Europe (Herrera 2013). Yet, as Curran et al. (2006) argue, it is important that quantitative scholars build on insights about gendered processes emerging from qualitative research on migration.

Some researchers have answered this call (Donato et al. 2011; Donato and Gabaccia 2015; Ghosh 2009) through attempts to map changes in the gender composition of migration. Using data from IPUMS for about thirty countries, Katherine Donato and collaborators show that since 1960, "women's presence had increased among international migrants from most regions, with the exception only of those from Africa and North America" (Donato et al. 2011, p. 516). Yet a more global quantitative mapping of this phenomenon is also needed. Mapping these dynamics contribute to analyses of the globalization of reproductive labor. As Loebach and Korinek (2012) argue, changes in the gender composition of temporary migrants reflect "globalization's demand for service labour in certain regions of the world – labour viewed as particularly appropriate for women." Oishi (2005) further makes a compelling, grounded argument about the role of emigration policies, women's autonomy, and social legitimacy in Asia. Our aim is to expand the map even further, to consider these migration trends at a global level. Following Sassen (2000, p. 511), we believe that migrant women are playing a crucial role in globalization, and we aim to document these "alternative global circuits, or counter-geographies of globalization." We attend to how the changing gender composition in migration may signal both shifts in demands for care and the availability of women migrants.

Methods

As noted by Donato, Gabbacia, and colleagues (Donato et al. 2011; Donato and Gabaccia 2015), scholars of migration have not attended as carefully to gender imbalances in migration as

they have to other gender differences. This in part reflects a mistaken assumption that men always predominated in international migration. Yet, systematic research suggests that there has been greater variation in gendered migration than previously thought, and that these patterns differ by both sending and receiving country (Donato et al. 2011; Donato and Gabaccia 2015). As Donato et al. (2011, p. 497) note "there is little scholarship that offers consistent empirical measures"; these scholars capture gender ratios in migration for the U.S. and a number of other countries, providing a foundation for our analyses (though their sample is smaller).

Our data come from the 2011 World Bank *Global Bilateral Migrant Stock Database*, which provides standardized gender-disaggregated migrant stock data. This is a relational database that reports how many people from a given country of origin are residing at a specific point in time in corresponding destination countries, excluding refugees.[5] However, some of the flows we observe appear to include refugees, who may be difficult to distinguish from other migrants. This database is unique in providing a standardized global picture of the international migrant stock population over the period 1960-2000 (Özden et al. 2011).

Migrant flow data captures the numbers of international migrants *moving* in and out of a given country over a specific time period, while stock data captures the numbers of international migrants *living* in a given country at a specific point in time (Abel 2013a; Donato and Gabaccia 2015). Yet unstandardized comparative analyses of flow data are problematic, as data on flows tend to be collected distinctly from country to country, reflecting differences in resources and motivations for data collection as well as specific measures used (Abel and Sander 2014; Abel 2013a; Sander, Abel, and Bauer 2010). On the other hand, stock data may fail to identify temporary labor migrants (Donato and Gabaccia 2015; Loebach and Korinek 2012). Yet, since

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[5] Since the World Bank treats those who are stateless, refugees, and born at sea as a separate category, we did not include them in the analysis.

comparative flow data tends to include only wealthy countries,[6] and we believe it is crucial to develop a more global map of women's migration flows, we use these stock data as the basis for estimating standardized migrant flows using the flows-from-stock methodology reflected in the *migest* R Package (Abel and Sander 2014; Abel 2013a, 2013b). In doing so, we present analyses that are more global in nature than existing studies. We believe that the key limitation of using these data is that they will likely lead to a conservative bias in our estimates since we primarily capture international migrants reflected in stock data. This undercounts temporary migrants, as well as migrants in places where, having been naturalized, they are no longer identified as such.

Following the approach of Abel and colleagues (Abel and Sander 2014; Abel 2012, 2013a; Sander et al. 2010), we further differentiate migration flows by gender to understand the gendering of migration flows over time. The flows-from-stock methodology allows us to estimate dyadic migration flows using any two subsequent 10-year stock tables produced by the World Bank (e.g. 1960-70), after properly combining stock data with data on births, deaths, and total population for each country under analysis. We rely on publicly available demographic data sheets published in 2015 by the United Nations (UN). These are available for 191 countries represented in the stock data made available by the World Bank. We also included data for Taiwan, thus making the final sample size equal to 192 and the number of unique dyads – excluding self-ties – equal to ([192*(192-1)] / 2) 18,336.[7]

We also account for the costs of migration, typically modeled by the geographic distance between countries or by relevant economic and social factors associated with migration dynamics, like migrant networks ((Massey and España 1987; Palloni et al. 2011). Consistent

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[6] See, for example, the *International Migration Flows to and from Selected Countries* database produced by the UN. The 2015 revision of this database contains annual flow data from 45 countries.

[7] We used UN 2015 demographic data available at http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/index.htm. Taiwan data were obtained at http://www.ris.gov.tw/en/web/ris3-english/home.

with Abel (2013a), we used geographic distance between countries as a proxy for migration costs. We draw our data on geographic distance from the *Centre d'Etudes Prospective et d'Informations Internationales* (Mayer and Zignago 2011), which publishes a country-by-country sociomatrix comprising distance data between capital cities around the world.[8]

After merging stock data with the relevant demographic and geographic distance data, we estimated the minimum number of migrant transitions (i.e. flows) required to meet the changes observed in any two subsequent 10-year stock tables using the *fss* routine in the *migest* R package (Abel 2012). Before producing our gender-disaggregated flows, we replicated Abel's (2013a) regional estimations for each decade, finding only a few minor discrepancies which reflect our slightly updated demographic data.[9]

We produced four gender-disaggregated country-by-country migration flow socio-matrices for 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-90, and 1990-2000. These weighted and undirected matrices reflect the volume of migration flows between each unique sending-receiving dyad. Our primary analytical tool is circular plots – circos – that visually represent women's flows globally for four selected time periods (Zhang, Meltzer, and Davis 2013).[10] We define a relevant and restricted analytic sample due to the massive amount of dyadic flows that could possibly be plotted using the circular plots mentioned above. We focus, in this context, on sending and receiving countries with high levels of women's migration during two or more consecutive decades. We operationalized this by identifying the top 15 sending or receiving countries for women migrants that fulfill the aforementioned criteria. We therefore produce circular plots that

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[8] Data available at http://www.cepii.fr/PDF_PUB/wp/2011/wp2011-25.pdf. Following Abel (2013a), the distance was calculated as the inverse of the geographic distance between countries, which is originally measured in kilometers.

[9] There are minor variations in the samples under analysis. Abel (2013a) used the 2010 version of the UN population data, we use 2015 version. Moreover, we include two countries excluded by Abel (Kiribati and Antigua and Barbuda) and exclude Netherlands Antilles which Abel included in his analysis.

[10] The circos were drawn using a web application http://mkweb.bcgsc.ca/tableviewer//

reflect migration among these countries, allowing us to identify where and how the bulk of women's migration appears to be changing on a global scale. In the second part of our analysis, we identify key sending and receiving countries around the globe, and examine their top five receiving and sending countries. This allows us to concentrate on the country level, to further consider how migration patterns have changed over time, and incorporates more countries into the analysis.

Analytically, we are interested in documenting where women's migration has increased over time, and where women predominate as migrants. While recent research demonstrates that women have been more engaged in migration historically than previous research suggests (Donato et al. 2011; Donato and Gabaccia 2015), we aim to further illuminate the global reach of women's migration (Özden et al. 2011).

Findings

Women's Global Migration Over Time

Research suggests that feminized migration patterns reflect an increased demand for women's labor (Donato and Gabaccia 2015). Our analyses of gendered migration flows during 1960-2000 show that, while this is broadly true, migration patterns vary significantly over time among countries with the largest numbers of women migrants. We begin by presenting a series of circular migration plots, which allow us to visualize migration flows over time (Abel and Sander 2014; Sander et al. 2010). These plots illustrate the tremendous complexity reflected in global migration dynamics over time. Following the approach taken by Abel and colleagues (Abel and Sander 2014; Sander et al. 2010), we focus on women migrants. Our Circos plots map women's migration flows in absolute numbers, over time. Yet, if we included every country in

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the Circos, it would become a tangle of flows difficult to decipher. So, we focus on countries that fall within the top-fifteen sending or receiving countries for at least two consecutive decades for women migrants between 1960-2000. Focusing on these countries allows us to represent gendered migration dynamics globally between regions, visually representing how migration trends have changed over these decades.[11]

This necessarily biases us toward countries with larger populations, but also allows us to uncover dynamics of population flows among key sending or receiving countries. These include the United States (USA), Canada (CAN), Australia (AUS), Pakistan (PAK), India (IND), Bangladesh (BGD), the Philippines (PHL), Indonesia (IDN), Japan (JPN), Hong Kong (HKG), China (CHN), Saudi Arabia (SAU), Israel (ISR), Uzbekistan (UZB), Turkey (TUR), Kazakhstan (KAZ), Ukraine (UKR), Russia (RUS), Poland (POL), Italy (ITA), Great Britain (GBR), France (FRA), Spain (ESP), Germany (DEU), and Mexico (MEX). The width of the flows indicates the volume of movement between the first year (e.g., 1960) and the last year (e.g., 1970) over a decade. The band of color beside a given country label identifies the direction of respective migration flows. So, for example, in Figure One, because the band beside Turkey is green, the green line from Turkey to Germany indicates that migrants were flowing from Turkey to Germany. Where there is a white band by the country title, the flow indicates immigrants are entering the country; where there is no white band, the flow indicates emigrants are leaving the country. So, for example, in Figure One, Germany receives relatively large flows of immigrants from Turkey, Spain, France, and the United States, and, as indicated by the orange outflow in the region where the white band does not extend, sends its largest flow of emigrants to France.

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[11] We use these data to explore migration within specific regions of the world (Blinded 2016a; Blinded 2016b), but here develop a more global perspective on women's migration.

Figure One describes women's migrant flows from 1960 to 1970 in our sample of countries. As should be clear from this figure, the largest flows of women appear to be between Russia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. Other major flows of women migrants during this period are also between nearby countries, and may also reflect family migration – Mexico and the United States, Italy and France, France and Spain, and, Hong Kong and China, India and Bangladesh, and Pakistan and India. During this period, women's migration appears fairly confined to particular flows of neighboring countries. The key migration flows *between* regions include Turkish women migrating to Germany, British women migrating to Australia, Indian women migrating to Great Britain, and Filipino women migrating to the United States. Canada is another interesting case – while it does not receive very large flows from any one country, it looks like a "rainbow," accepting women migrants from around the world.

[Figure One About Here]

Figure Two plots migration flows from 1970 to 1980. Again, much of the migration is within regions, with particularly large flows between Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India (during the unsettling period when Bangladesh split from Pakistan). Large flows also remain between China and Hong Kong, Mexico and the United States, and Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Russia. The flow of Turkish women to Germany becomes much larger, as does the flow of Filipina women to the United States. The United States also becomes more of a "rainbow" of migrants, with more women migrating from Japan, China, and European countries. The flow of women migrants to Saudi Arabia increases from both the Philippines and Indonesia, suggesting an increasing demand for the labor of women migrants.

[Figure Two About Here]

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Figure Three plots women's migration flows from 1980 to 1990. Here, flows become more global, with larger flows of women *between* regions, and well as within regions of the world. Asian women's emigration grows enormously during this period, with both Saudi Arabia and the United States serving as key destinations for these migrants. Saudi Arabia becomes a very large destination country for women migrants. Russian, Ukrainian, and Kazakhstani flows remain high. Turkish women's migration to Germany decreases, while Russian women's migration to the country increases dramatically, with the end of the Cold War. Mexican-American migration remains high, but migration flows within South Asia become much smaller.

[Figure Three About Here]

Finally, Figure Four plots women's migration flows between 1990 and 2000, a period when global, not just regional, migration of women remains high. Intra-regional migration flows continue to be important. Examples include Mexican women's migration to the U.S., migration within Eastern Europe, migration within Western Europe, and migration within Asia. Yet, inter-regional migrant flows also remain high as Turkey becomes arguably "closer" to Western Europe, regaining high levels of women's migration to Germany. Both Canada and the United States appear to accept women migrants from many parts of the world. Saudi Arabia, after its boom of women's migration between 1980 and 1990, brings in a smaller flow between 1990 and 2000. This may reflect its drawing in of women from new countries, such as Sri Lanka.

[Figure Four About Here]

Circos plots allow us to understand how women's global migration has changed over time. Among countries that either send or receive increasingly large numbers of women, migration becomes more global and less regional from 1960 to 2000. While there are very large flows between many neighboring countries, particularly during periods of political instability,

there appears to be a growth in women's global, and not just regional, migration.[12] This dataset allows us to more effectively visualize how women's migration has changed over time.

One of the key limitations of our data is that we know very little else about these migrants, such as *why* they migrate, or *with whom* they migrate. Research on countries that collect comprehensive migration data suggests women migrants increasingly migrate not only as members of families, but also as laborers. The data we use allows us to envision women's migration more globally, but does not allow us to identify the reasons for their migration. However, in the following section, we focus on a subset of key receiving countries over these time periods, to understand the range of countries *from which* women migrate, and consider how women's migration compares to men, to explore whether their migration is feminized, which may indicate migration for reproductive labor.

Migration to Key Receiving Countries Over Time

In the Circos plots, we focused on a subset of major sending and receiving countries. In the next section, we zoom in on a few receiving countries, but consider key sending countries to that receiving country to better take advantage the global nature of the dataset. We are also interested in understanding how women's migration patterns to these countries differ from men's migration patterns. Men may predominate in migration (for example, where they migrate for construction work), women may predominate (for example, where they migrate for reproductive labor work), and women's and men's migration may be equally balanced (for example, where families migrate together, or where both men migrate for construction work and women migrate for reproductive labor). While the gender composition of migration does not tell us *why* migrants

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[12] Formally, our dataset excludes refugees, but there are very large flows of migrants between countries during periods of political instability.

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migrate, feminized migration may provide some clues. Donato and Gabbacia's (2015:9) argue that gendered balanced settings are those in which 47-53% of migrants are women. They identify men predominant streams as those where 25-47% of migrants are women, and heavily men predominant streams as those where 0-25% of migrants are women. At the same time, women predominant streams are those where 53-75% of migrants are women, and heavily women predominant streams as those were 75-100% of migrants are women. We use these categories to discuss migration patterns for key receiving countries.

In Figure Five, we focus on gendered migration to China. There are very high numbers of both men and women migrating between 1960 and 1970 from Hong Kong, Indonesia, Philippines, Macao, and relatively high numbers from North Korea. Yet, migration appears gender balanced; both men and women enter China, perhaps as families. Migration to China becomes *much* smaller between 1970 and 1990, except for North Korean migrants. From 1970-80, streams are somewhat men predominant, but the Philippines sends many more women than men migrants. Filipina women may be entering as labor migrants, though these numbers are quite small. Between 1990-2000 migration becomes more extensive from Indonesia, the Philippines, and North Korea. At the same time, women predominate in migration flows, except among the relatively few migrants from Hong Kong. Based on the flows from 1990 to 2000, it does appear that China may be drawing in women migrants; some of these women may be ethnically Chinese marriage migrants (Cheng 2014).

The literature on gendered reproductive labor migration primarily identifies China as a source rather than destination country. Throughout the twentieth century, Chinese women have migrated to Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia – for care and domestic work and also marriage (Cheng and Choo 2015; Constable 2003, 2013; Kim 2010; Kofman and Raghuram

2015; Malhotra et al. 2016; Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005). Feminized migration to China, however, remains relatively under-studied (Constable 1997). It is possible that family migration to China increased following liberalization policies in the 1980s (Haugen 2015). Also worth noting is that the Philippines –now 'sending' migrants to China– has historically attracted both migrant men and women from China (while Filipina women migrated to Hong Kong) (Asis 2006; Constable 1997). Although our dataset formally excludes refugees, the relatively high numbers of migrants from North Korea match what we know about the movement of North Korean refugees and marriage migrants into China (Robinson 2013; Tanaka 2008).

[Figure Five About Here]

Figure Six shows gendered migration to Russia over time, and tells a very different tale. Over the entire period, migration is occurring in fairly large, gender balanced, and stable numbers, except for women-predominant streams from Ukraine, and for the most recent period, Belarus. Rather than women migrating separately, they appear to migrate either as part of families, or in equal numbers to men as labor migrants. Ukraine is the second largest sending country in Europe, and Belarus is another significant source country within the region (Commander, Nikolaychuk, and Vikhrov 2013; Pilkington 1998). The movement of Ukrainian women for entertainment and sex work is well documented, as is women's migration from Belarus (Hughes 2000; Migration Policy Centre 2013). Our data appears consistent with these reports. Given that our data reflects documented migrants, our findings suggest the migration of documented women may fit the undocumented migration flows.

[Figure Six About Here]

Figure Seven focuses on gendered migration to Saudi Arabia over time. Migration from key sending countries is quite high over the entire period, although there are relatively small

numbers of Indonesian women migrants to Saudi from 1960-70. Conversely, very few Indonesian men migrate to Saudi from 1990-2000. The trends suggest that Egyptian and Indian migration streams have been men predominant, although they move from heavily men predominant to men predominant over time. Indonesian migration shifts from being men predominant from 1960-70, to heavily women predominant from 1970-2000. Filipino migration is consistently heavy women predominant, though it also dips to merely women predominant from 1980-90. Sri Lankan migration begins heavily women predominant, becomes gender balanced between 1970-80, and becomes heavily women predominant again by 2000.

[Figure Seven About Here]

The Saudi case suggests a very different migration pattern, where it appears both men and women are engaged in labor migration, and there is less family migration. We know that Saudi has been a major destination country for reproductive labor workers. Our findings about Filipina and Indonesian women predominant migration is consistent with the literature (Castles and Miller 2009; Oishi 2005). For instance, streams from the Philippines that are women predominant likely reflect the effects of the 1974 Philippines Overseas Employment Program. Despite the ban on Filipino migration to Saudi Arabia from 1982 to 1987, women's migration flows did not decrease until the 1990s, and remains highly feminized. Like the Philippines, the Indonesian government also promotes overseas employment, though requiring women migrants to be at least 22 years old (Hoang et al. 2012; Lan 2006; Momsen 2003; Oishi 2005). The heavily women predominant flows prior to the government's labor export strategy (1989–93) suggest that the strategy was an effort to regularize and further encourage existing reproductive labor migration flows.

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Figure Eight shows gendered migration to the United States over time, with a similar trend to Russia's. Again, migration to the U.S. is fairly large and stable over time for these sending countries. Much of the migration is relatively gender balanced, although some flows are women predominant, and others are men predominant (Gordon 2005). Migration from Puerto Rico (a U.S. territory) is almost entirely gender balanced, except in the latest period when it becomes women predominant. Mexican migration from 1960-70 is women predominant, but subsequently becomes gender balanced or even slightly men predominant. This trend does not reflect the dominant narrative about Mexican transnational migration (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Pessar 2005), but may be explained by family reunification or marriage migration. Mexico served as the largest source of foreign wives for U.S. citizens in the 1970s, and this was a period when Mexican men's migration contracted, due to the end of the Bracero program in 1964 (Figueroa-Hernández and Pérez-Soto 2011; Houstoun, Kramer, and Barrett 1984; Massey et al. 1990). Family reunification might, thus, account for early women predominant streams during this period. Less surprisingly, Filipino migration is women predominant over the period, which reflects the long history of Filipina migrant nurses. The Philippines has been the largest supplier of nurses to the U.S. since the 1970s (Espiritu 2003, 2005) South Korean migration is also women predominant throughout this period. While South Korea has been a destination country for marriage migrants within Asia, South Korean women have also migrated to the U.S., particularly as military brides (Yuh 2002).

[Figure Eight About Here]

Figure Nine focuses on gendered migration to Spain over time. We find that key sending countries span several regions, including Europe and Central/Latin America. Flows from Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador are women predominant in the 1960s and throughout the rest of

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the period are gender balanced, but become women predominant again for Columbians in the 1990s. In the case of France, we find that throughout the period under review flows are men predominant. These findings are broadly consistent with the literature. For example, existing literature identifies women's migration to Spain from Colombia and Ecuador as prominent and motivated by a demand for care workers from these countries, particularly in the 1990s (Escrivá 1997; Gratton 2007; Oso and Catarino 2013; Pujadas and Massal 2002; Sole et al. 1998; Sole and Parella 2005). Our findings also reflect existing literature on Moroccan migration to Spain – we find that migration flows are significant and gender balanced or men predominant (Bradatan and Sandu 2012; Escrivá 1997; de Haas and Plug 2006; Mendoza 2000; Sole et al. 1998). Also consistent with the literature, France has been particularly notable as a source of migration to Spain (Arango and Martin 2005; Escrivá 1997). However, these flows are not women predominant nor do they appear to emerge in response to a demand for reproductive labor.

[Figure Nine About Here]

This data helps us recognize that gendered migration patterns differ over time by receiving country. While in some countries, much of the migration is gender balanced, in others, such as Saudi Arabia, migration is either heavily men predominant or heavily women predominant. Countries like China, Russia, and the U.S, include some gender balanced flows, while others are women predominant. While the data are merely suggestive, feminized streams do reflect existing research on migration for reproductive labor. Gendered migration is dynamic, and may reflect demand for certain types of workers.

Migration from Key Sending Countries Over Time

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Next, we focus on key sending countries, to better understand how gendered migration has changed over time from the standpoint of the countries sending women migrants. Once again, we present a series of graphs that consider the gender composition of migrants, this time focusing on streams between the sending country and the top five countries that receiving its migrants.

Figure Ten summarizes gendered emigration from the Philippines, a country that has been the source of a very large number of women migrants, globally. At the beginning of the period, emigrant flows to Japan are men predominant, while Malaysia and Canada show gender balanced migration. By the end of the period, emigration from the Philippines is women predominant for Canada and Malaysia, and women highly predominant for Japan. Migration to the United States is generally women predominant, but not highly women predominant. Yet migration to Saudi Arabia is highly women predominant almost the entire period, with a slight dip in 1980-90, as also shown in Figure Nine. While Filipino migration has taken on a different gendered meaning to Japan over time, in the case of the U.S. and Saudi, it has been more steady and women predominant (Espiritu 2003; Parreñas 2001a, 2012).

[Figure Ten About Here]

Figure Eleven examines gendered migration from Indonesia, also a country that sends many women migrants abroad (Lim and Oishi 1996; Oishi 2005; Silvey 2006). As in our earlier discussion of China, flows from Indonesia to China are very small between 1970 and 1990, and should not be overly emphasized. Flows to Hong Kong between 1960 and 1970 are also quite small. Yet Indonesian migration, like Filipino migration reflects highly women predominant flows to Saudi Arabia since 1970, although Indonesian migration to Saudi was highly men predominant from 1960 to 1970 (as discussed previously). Migration from Indonesia to China

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has gone from being gender balanced to women predominant, and to Hong Kong becomes

women predominant, which may reflect the migration of ethnic Chinese women (Haugen 2015).

Migration to the United States has gone from being highly men predominant, to women

predominant, to a more gender balanced migration flow stream, while migration to Malaysia

alternates between being gender balanced and men predominant. Clearly, streams of Filipina

migrants to Saudi are feminized, while streams to Hong Kong and China are becoming

feminized.

[Figure Eleven About Here]

Figure Twelve examines gendered migration from Mexico. As in Figure Nine, migrants

to the U.S. appear to be women predominant from 1960-1970, but in all of the later periods

migrants are men predominant. This early period may reflect the cessation in men's migration, at

the end of the Bracero program, and family reunification as well as marriage migration

(Figueroa-Hernández and Pérez-Soto 2011; Houstoun, Kramer, and Barrett 1984; Massey et al.

1990). This later pattern reflects men's migration for labor without their families (Boehm 2008;

Donato et al. 2011; Kanaiaupuni 2000). On the other hand, migration to Spain, Bolivia, and

Canada is more gender balanced, and may reflect greater opportunities for families to migrate

together. The spike of highly women predominant migration to Guatemala between 1970 and

1980 should be discounted because in absolute numbers relatively few migrated during that

decade, and flows were gender balanced in the other periods. This graph suggests that Mexican

migration over this time period has generally been gender balanced.

[Figure Twelve About Here]

Figure Thirteen explores gendered migration patterns from Pakistan. All of these flows

are reasonably high, though migration to India dips from 1980-2000, as shown in Figures One

and Two. This figure shows a similar pattern across destinations, of lower percentages of women migrating from 1960-70 and 1990-2000, and a peak in 1970-80. From 1960-70, migration is men predominant for the United States, and heavily men predominant for the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE. Migration becomes women predominant or even heavily women predominant for India, the UK, and the US from 1970-1990, after which it drops; migration flows do however, remain women predominant for India between 1990 and 2000. It appears that migration to Saudi may become women predominant after this point as well. This is consistent with the literature; within these migration streams women from Pakistan have typically migrated with family members and not for care or domestic work (Oishi 2005). Yet interestingly women's flows from Pakistan between 1980 and 2000 increase slightly, becoming women predominant. This perhaps reflects, at least in part, the lifting of the ban on women's independent migration in the early 1990s (Lim and Oishi 1996).

[Figure Thirteen About Here]

Figure Fourteen reflects gendered migration patterns from Ukraine (Hughes 2000; Pilkington 1998). Most emigration from Ukraine occurs to other former Soviet republics; some of these migrants may be ethnic groups, for example Russians or Kazakhs, repatriating. There is virtually no migration from Ukraine to Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Moldova from 1990 to 2000. This data point is therefore entirely missing from the graph. Other flows are based on larger numbers. These migration patterns are remarkably stable, even after the fall of the Soviet Union. Emigration is women predominant throughout the period, very stable, at around 60 percent. Existing research suggests Ukraininan women are engaged in migration for reproductive labor, including marriage and sex work (Commander, Nikolaychuk, and Vikhrov 2013; Keryk 2010; Tolstokorova 2010).

[Figure Fourteen About Here]

SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

Our analysis of gendered migration streams, based on global stock data, deepens and complicates our understanding of changes in migration patterns over the second part of the twentieth century. We have considered how women's migration has changed over time, and how mapping these changes gives us new insights into why women migrate, focusing specifically on reproductive labor migration. We consider in particular where flows are women predominant (or feminized) and draw upon existing literature that shows that demand for care and reproductive labor – in the form of domestic work, childcare, elder care as well as marriage and entertainment work –leads to feminized migration flows.

Indeed, our global data suggest that feminized flows are common. While feminized flows are visible to Saudi Arabia, and from the Philippines and Indonesia, as previous research has shown, our global perspective allows us to identify other feminized flows – some short-term, and some with longer trajectories. We find variations in women's migrations flows across countries and regions, and over time, that point to a growing demand for women's care and reproductive labor.

Our findings suggest that demand for reproductive labor occurs in many parts of the globe, including a variety of countries, such as the United States, China, Spain, and Saudi Arabia. Regional proximity plays a key role in shaping migration streams the 1960s and 1970s, though these streams become more global in the 1980s and 1990s. Over time, women's migration has shifted from primarily being regional, to become a more global phenomenon. At

the same time, the women predominant streams suggest that women are migrating not only as family members, but also as workers, including workers doing reproductive labor.

Our findings confirm existing literature on the feminization of migration; and helps suggest the potential for more quantitative scholarly studies on reproductive labor migration. Streams of migrant women emerged in response to the demand for care in Spain and the perceived opportunity for employment. Feminized migration flows from Ukraine and Belarus to Russia also appears consistent with existing literature pointing to entertainment work and marriage migration. Within Asia, our findings corroborate the dominant narrative identifying Southeast Asian women as providing reproductive labor in East and West Asia (i.e. the Gulf). Reproductive labor migration streams are evident in very different locations – Colombia to Spain, Ukraine to Russia, the Philippines to the U.S., Indonesia to Saudi Arabia, suggesting that this is a global phenomenon, worthy of greater study. While many qualitative studies emphasize how the need for care is driving a great deal of migration, a global overview of this phenomenon has previously been obscured due to lack of quantitative global migration data.

Historical relationships (such as colonial ties between the Philippines and the U.S.) and bilateral agreements between countries shape both the demand and supply for women's reproductive labor (Heyzer, Nijeholt, and Weerakoon 1994; Malhotra et al. 2016; Misra et al. 2006; Oishi 2005; Williams 2010). Bilateral migration agreements help mold the demand for a reproductive labor workforce intended to meet growing care deficits. With an emphasis on high productivity, and a lack of time and support for care in wealthy and middle-income countries, migrant women workers fill in the gaps. In other countries, migrant care workers serve as a status symbol. Yet, reproductive labor migration can also be disruptive to the families of migrants (Hoang et al. 2012; Parreñas 2005a, 2005b; Tolstokorova 2010). Thus, care regimes, intersect

with migration regimes and gender regimes, to create the global system of reproductive labor

migration (Lutz 2010), or the "international division of reproductive labor" (Parreñas 2000).

Our findings highlight that across regions, feminized migration tends to be most

prominent from countries within the Global South to countries in the Global North, as well as

from poorer countries within the South to wealthier ones in the same region. We find this to be

true for instance in the case of Latin America to Spain, Mexico to the U.S., and poorer parts of

South and South East Asia to wealthier East and West Asian countries. By focusing on gendered

South-North migration flows, some of which have been understudied, we highlight the

complexity and variety of feminized migration across regions of the world.

These migration streams of women reconstitute new forms of gendered relations, with

women from poorer countries continuing to meet care expectations, even where women from

wealthier countries have moved into employment that was once dominated by men (Mahler and

Pessar 2006; Pessar and Mahler 2003). Women are divided – by class, nationality, citizenship

status – even as gender continues to operate spatially, socially, and culturally (Mahler and Pessar

2006). The need for care exists worldwide. Yet women from poorer parts of the world

disproportionately meet these needs for families in other parts of the world, with migration and

care policies shaping these migrant streams.

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Figure One: Circos Plot of Women's Migration Flows, 1960-1970, among Top Countries Sending and Receiving Women Migrants
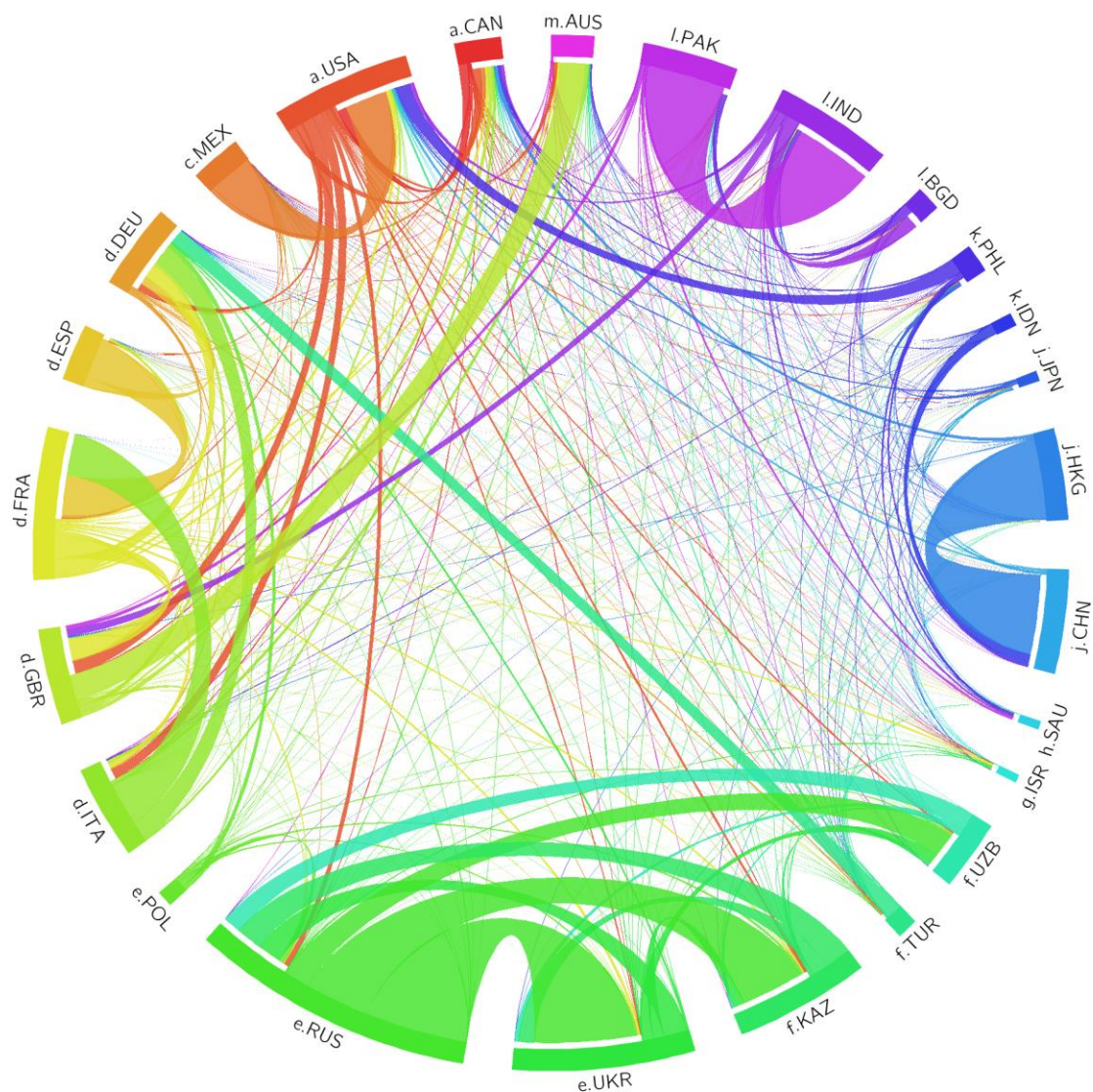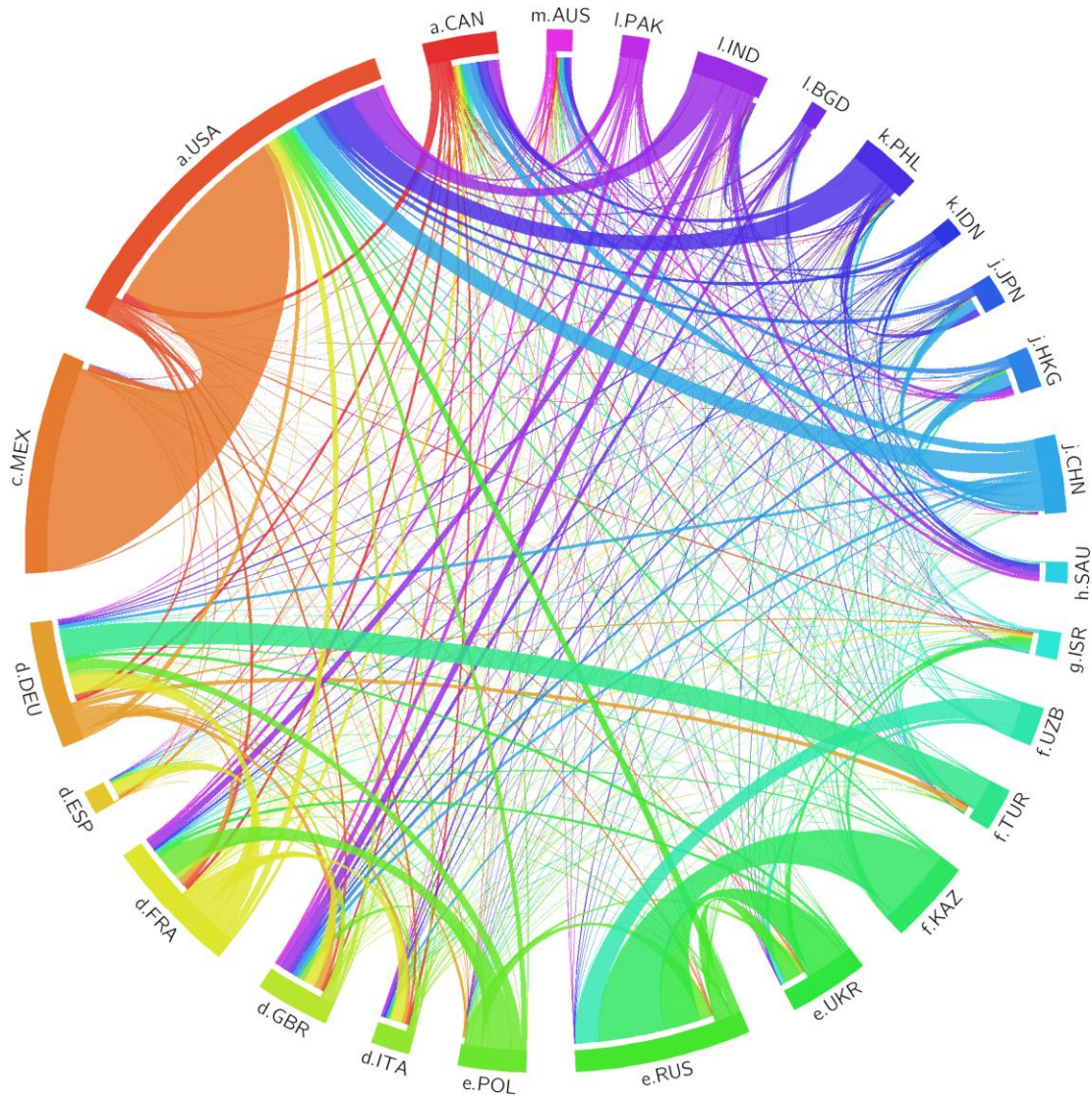
Note: Countries can be identified as follows: United States (USA), Canada (CAN), Australia (AUS), Pakistan (PAK), India (IND), Bangladesh (BGD), the Philippines (PHL), Indonesia (IDN), Japan (JPN), Hong Kong (HKG), China (CHN), Saudi Arabia (SAU), Israel (ISR), Uzbekistan (UZB), Turkey (TUR), Kazakhstan (KAZ), Ukraine (UKR), Russia (RUS), Poland (POL), Italy (ITA), Great Britain (GBR), France (FRA), Spain (ESP), Germany (DEU), and Mexico (MEX).

Figure Two: Circos Plot of Women's Migration Flows, 1970-1980, among Top Countries Sending and Receiving Women Migrants
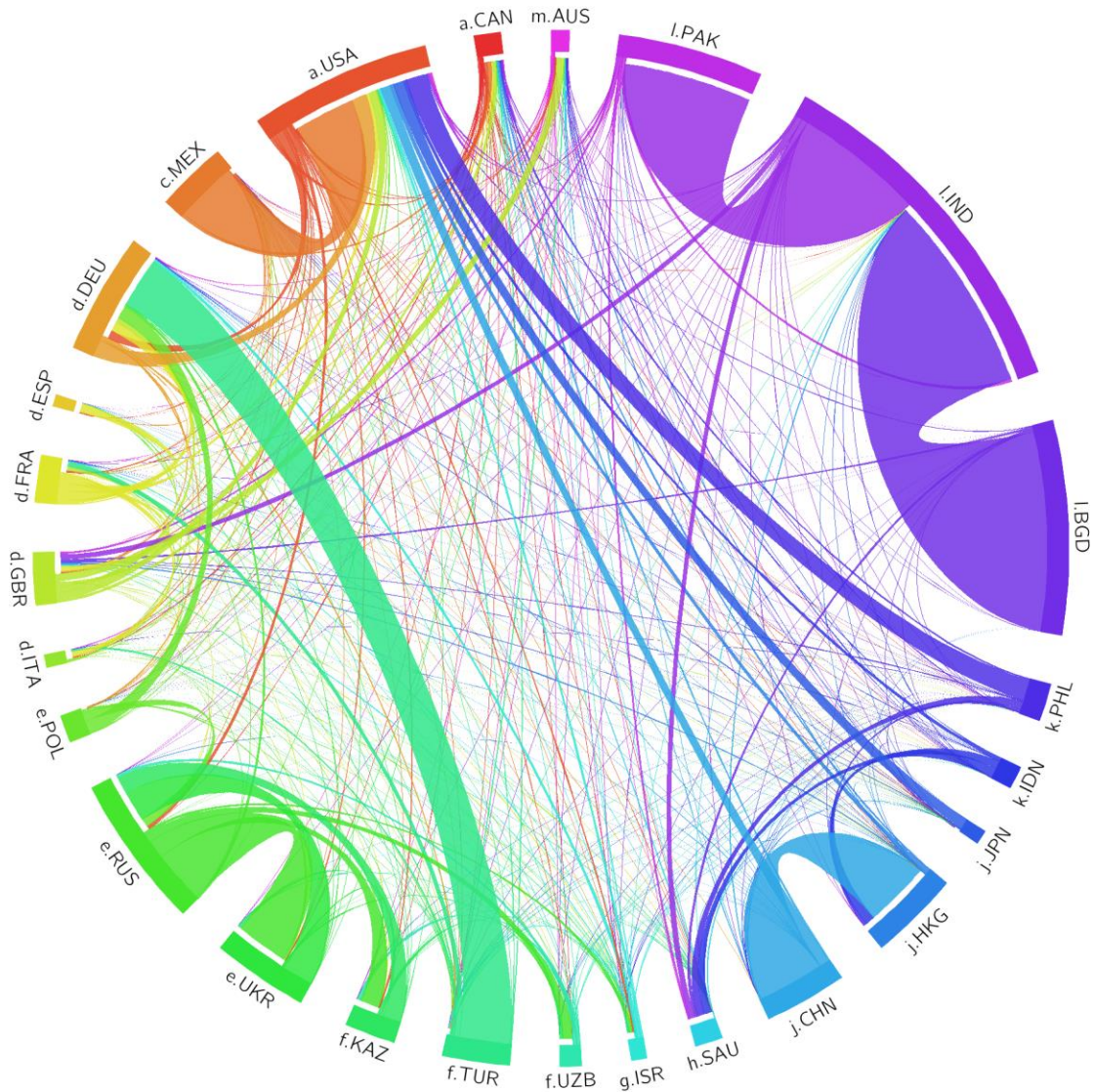
Note: Countries can be identified as follows: United States (USA), Canada (CAN), Australia (AUS), Pakistan (PAK), India (IND), Bangladesh (BGD), the Philippines (PHL), Indonesia (IDN), Japan (JPN), Hong Kong (HKG), China (CHN), Saudi Arabia (SAU), Israel (ISR), Uzbekistan (UZB), Turkey (TUR), Kazakhstan (KAZ), Ukraine (UKR), Russia (RUS), Poland (POL), Italy (ITA), Great Britain (GBR), France (FRA), Spain (ESP), Germany (DEU), and Mexico (MEX).

Figure Three: Circos Plot of Women's Migration Flows, 1980-1990, among Top Countries Sending and Receiving Women Migrants
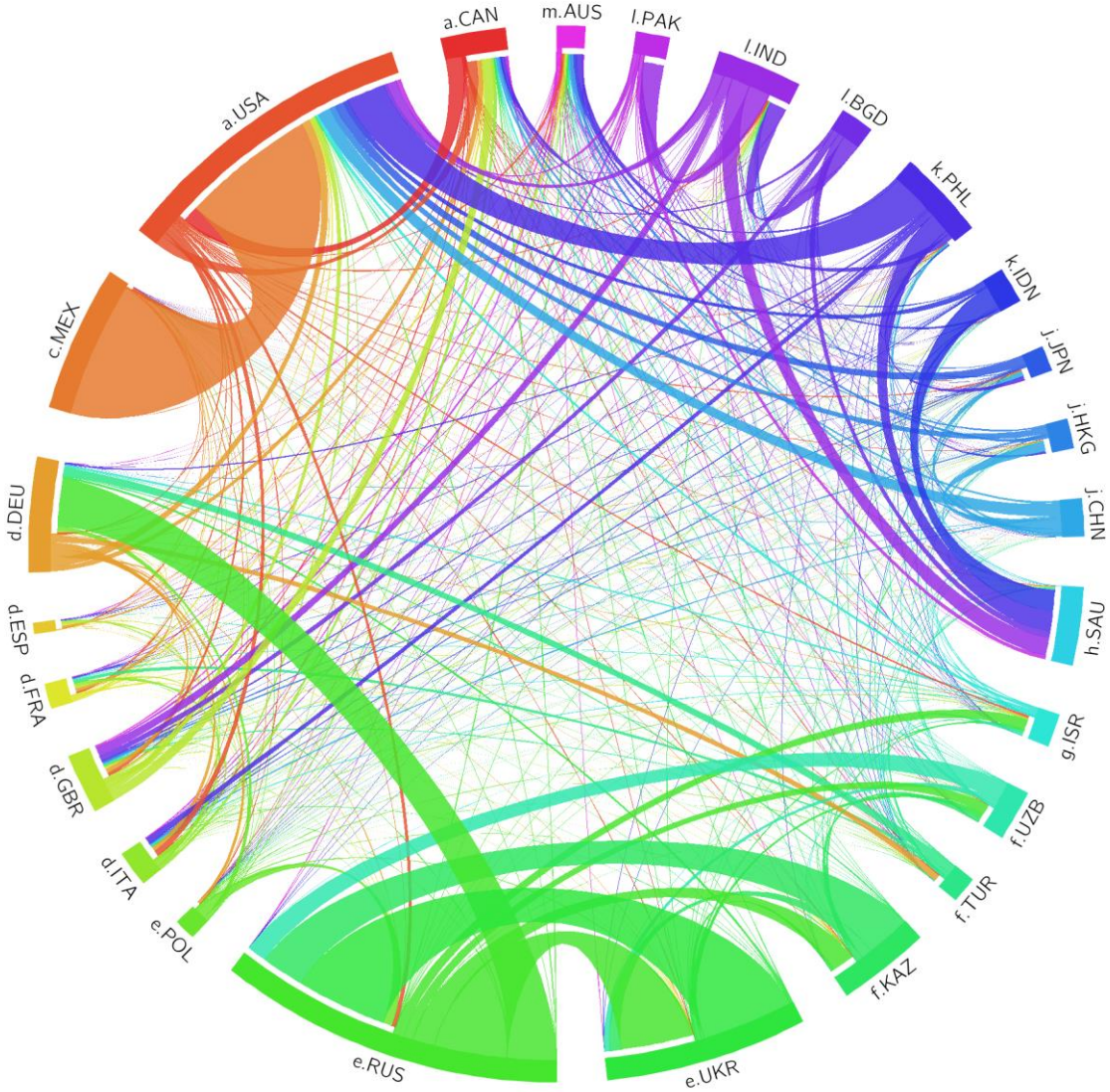
Note: Countries can be identified as follows: United States (USA), Canada (CAN), Australia (AUS), Pakistan (PAK), India (IND), Bangladesh (BGD), the Philippines (PHL), Indonesia (IDN), Japan (JPN), Hong Kong (HKG), China (CHN), Saudi Arabia (SAU), Israel (ISR), Uzbekistan (UZB), Turkey (TUR), Kazakhstan (KAZ), Ukraine (UKR), Russia (RUS), Poland (POL), Italy (ITA), Great Britain (GBR), France (FRA), Spain (ESP), Germany (DEU), and Mexico (MEX).

Figure Four: Circos Plot of Women's Migration Flows, 1990-2000, among Top Countries Sending and Receiving Women Migrants

Note: Countries can be identified as follows: United States (USA), Canada (CAN), Australia (AUS), Pakistan (PAK), India (IND), Bangladesh (BGD), the Philippines (PHL), Indonesia (IDN), Japan (JPN), Hong Kong (HKG), China (CHN), Saudi Arabia (SAU), Israel (ISR), Uzbekistan (UZB), Turkey (TUR), Kazakhstan (KAZ), Ukraine (UKR), Russia (RUS), Poland (POL), Italy (ITA), Great Britain (GBR), France (FRA), Spain (ESP), Germany (DEU), and Mexico (MEX).

Figure Five: Women as a Percent of all Immigrants to China
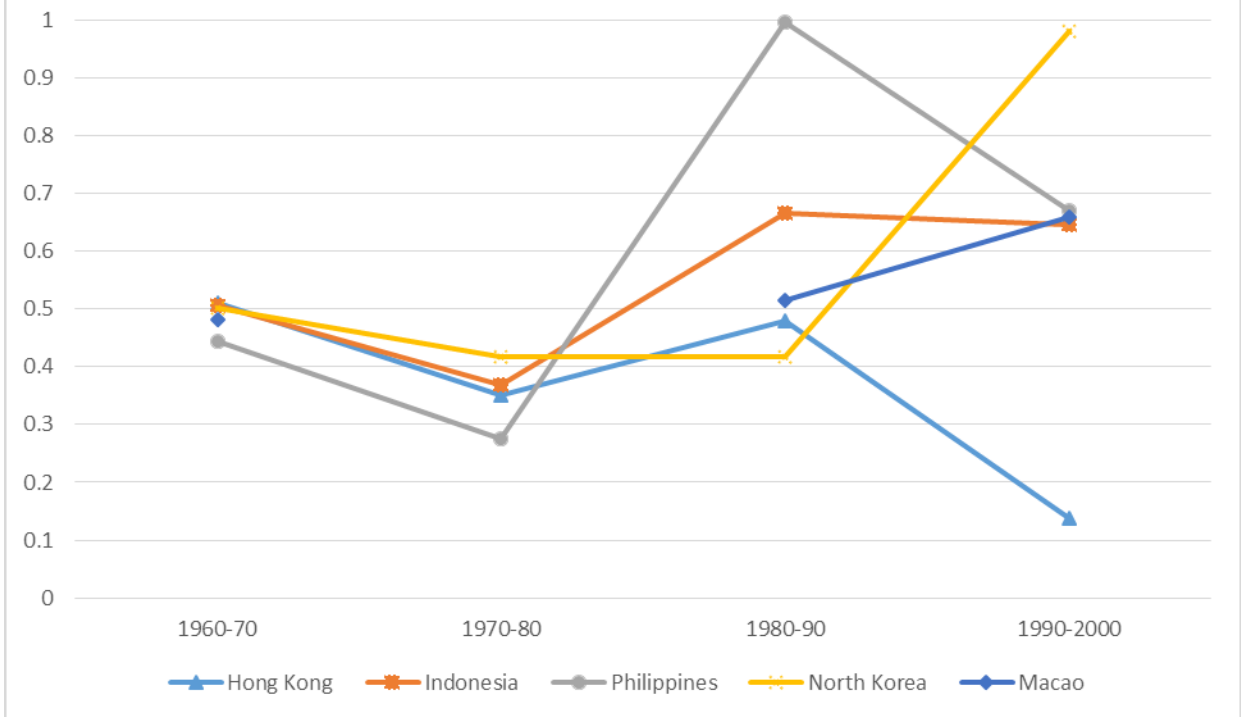
Figure Six: Women as a Percent of all Immigrants to Russia
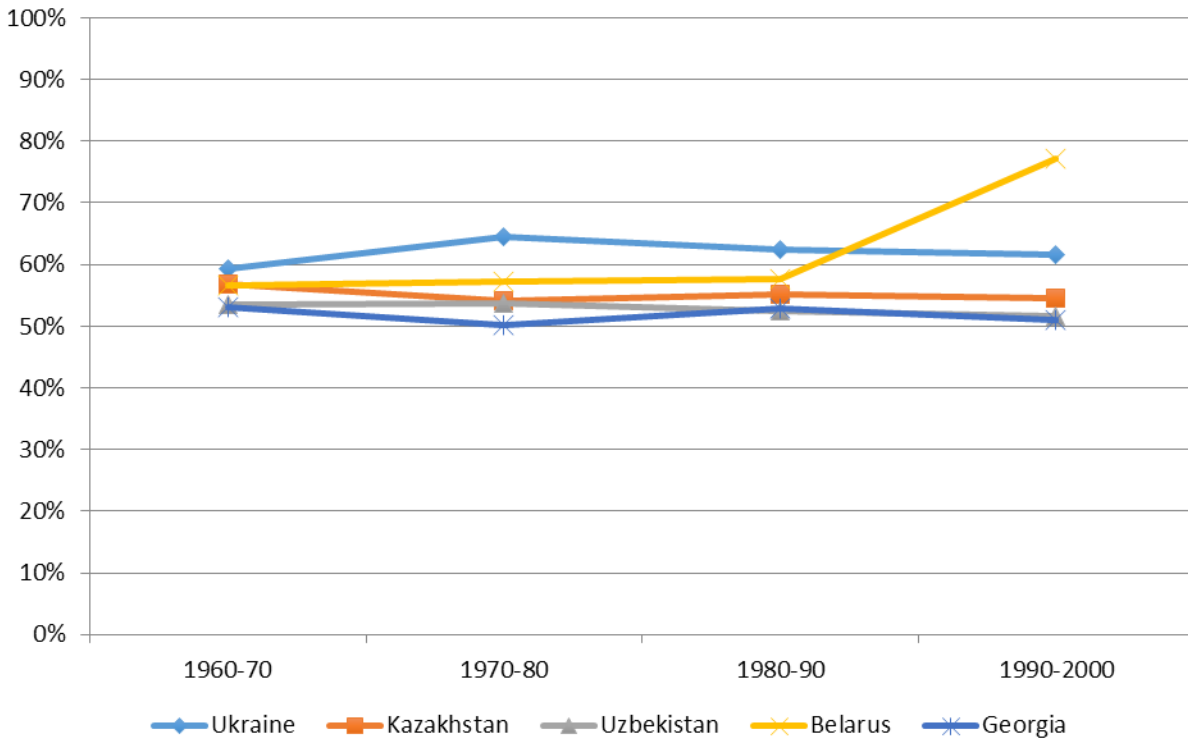
Figure Seven: Women as a Percent of all Immigrants to Saudi Arabia
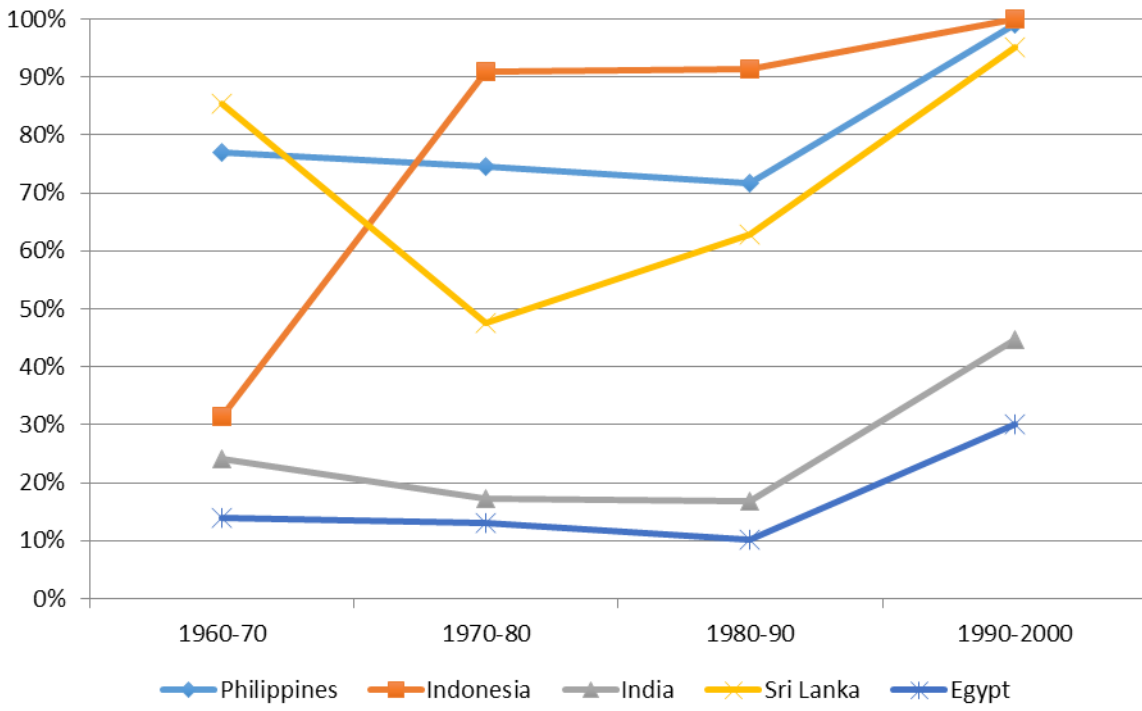
Figure Eight: Women as a Percent of all Immigrants to the United States
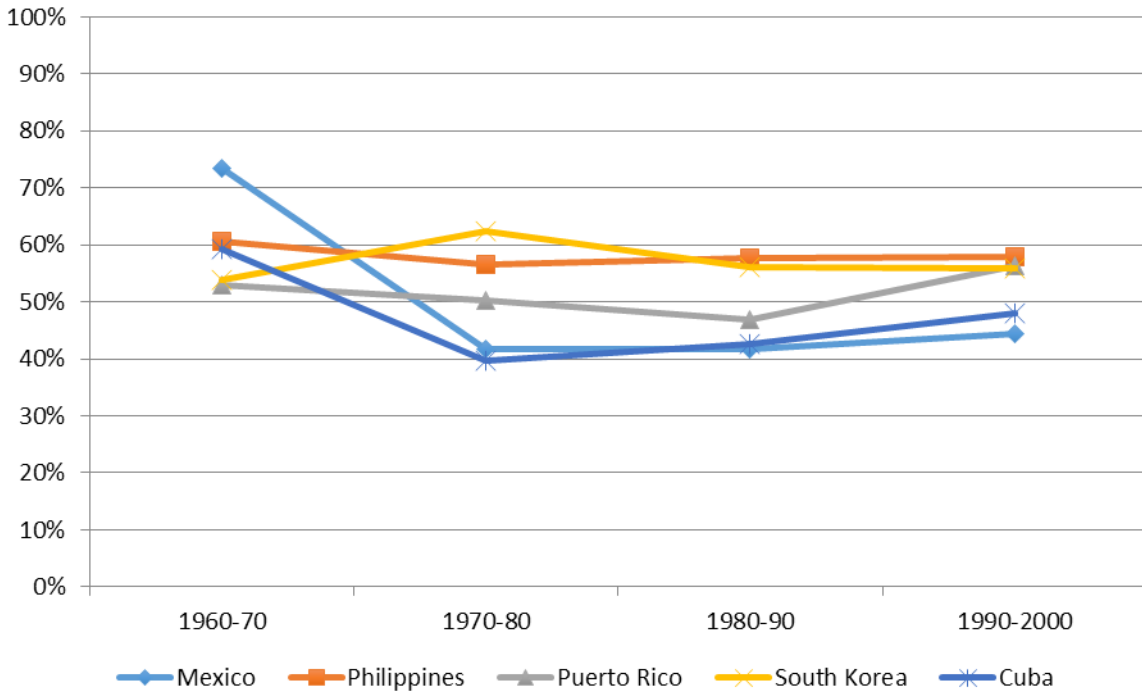
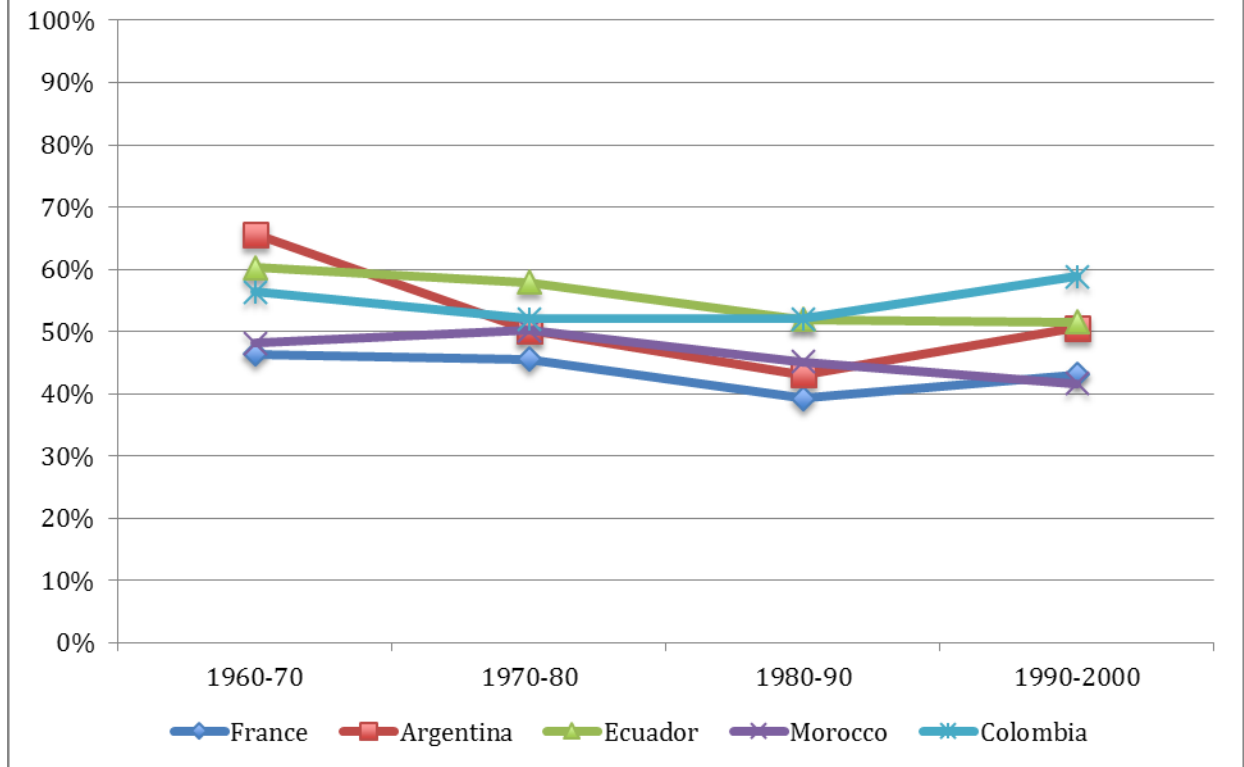Figure Nine: Women as a Percent of all Immigrants to Spain

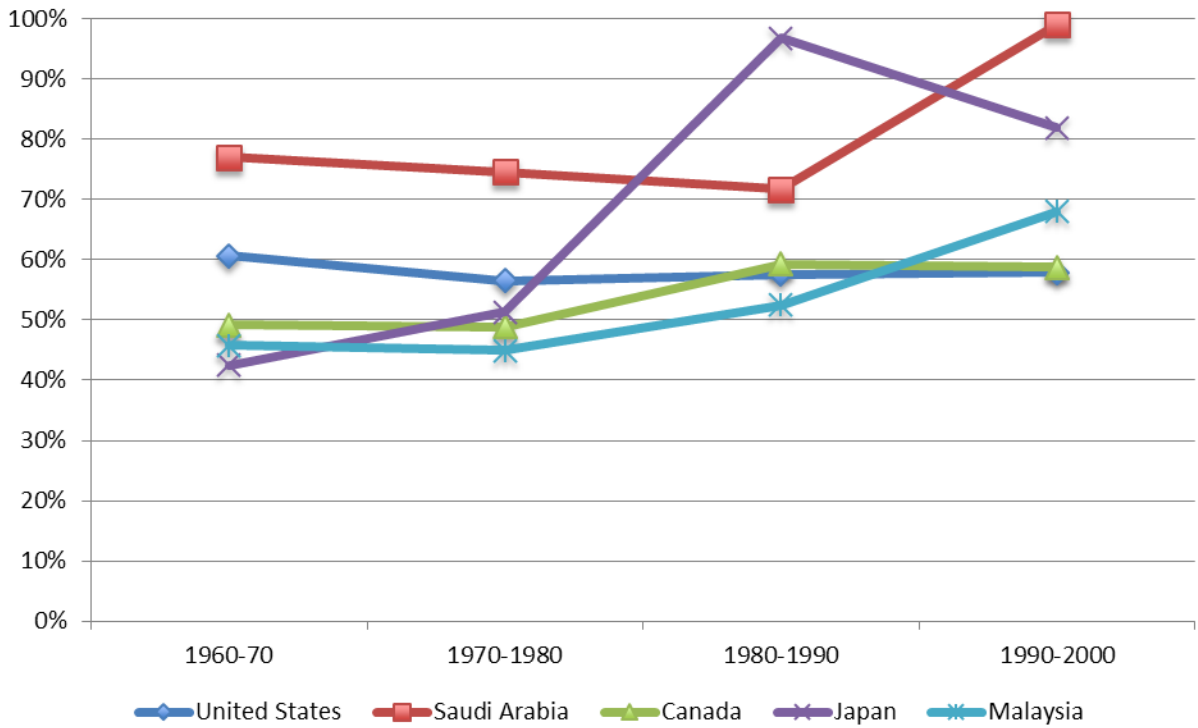Figure Ten: Women as a Percent of all Emigrants from the Philippines

Legend: United States, Saudi Arabia, Canada, Japan, Malaysia

Figure Eleven: Women as a Percent of all Emigrants from Indonesia
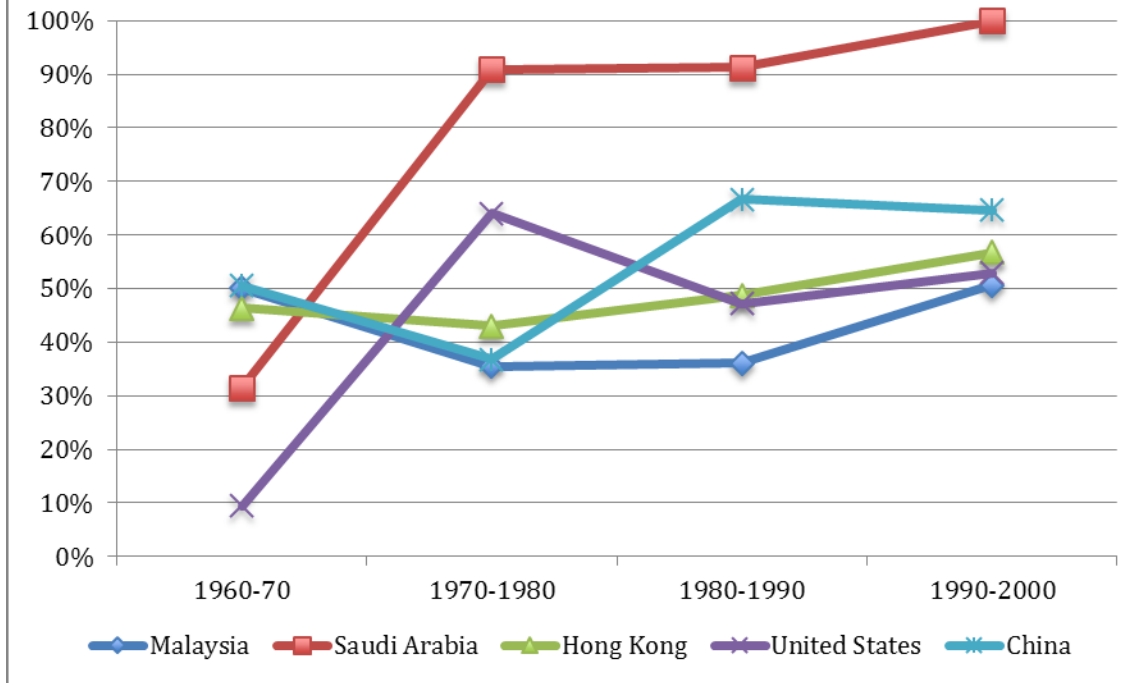
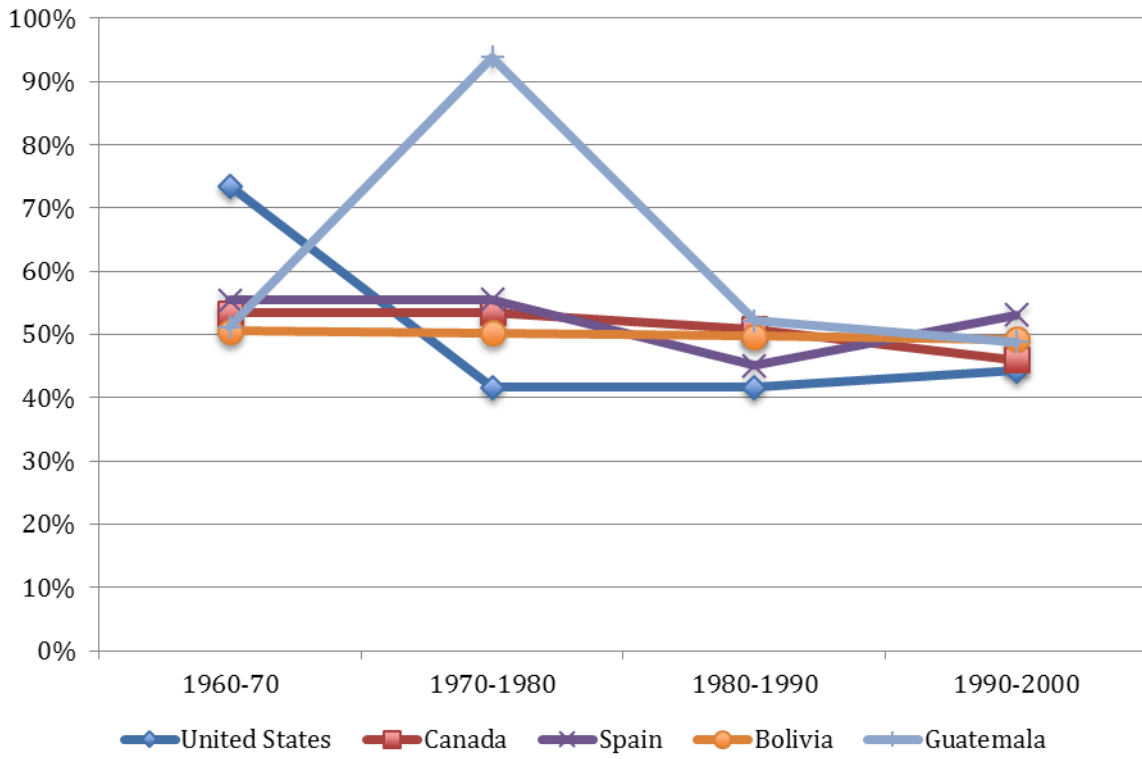Figure Twelve: Women as a Percent of all Emigrants from Mexico

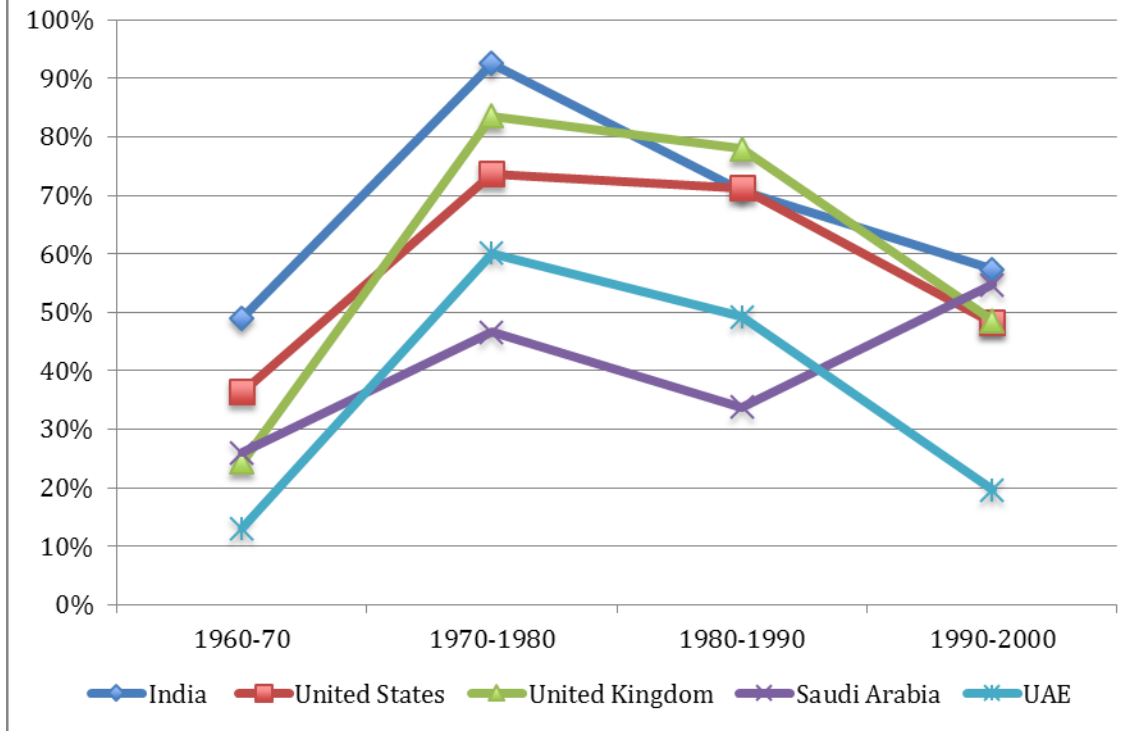Figure Thirteen: Women as a Percent of all Emigrants from Pakistan

Figure Fourteen: Women as a Percent of all Emigrants from Ukraine