Migration and gender

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April 2, 2018
Migration (SOCI 647)

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Outline

- **Reframing migration question**
  - Kanaiaupuni 2000

- **Gender and migration determinants**
  - Cerrutti, Massey 2001

- **Investigating gender domains**
  - Parrado, Flippen 2005

- **Review of research on gender and migration**
  - Curran et al. 2006

- **Gendered social capital and migration (discussion)**
  - Côté et al. 2015

Reframing migration question

- Migration is a process influenced by gender relations that are established and perpetuated within families and society

- Gender relations differentiate migration patterns and determines who migrates and why

- Examine determinants of migration that reflect gender relations, based on revised migration theories
    - Human capital investments
    - Socioeconomic status
    - Familial considerations
    - Social networks
    - Local opportunities in places of origin relative to opportunities abroad

Source: Kanaiaupuni 2000.

Objectives

- Analyze theoretically how societal gender relations and sexual division of labor in household affect migration

- Combine qualitative and quantitative data to understand these relationships

- Portray how migration decision making is embedded in historical, cultural, and social conditions that influence human action

Hypotheses

- Economic attainment may decrease male migration, while it elevates female migration

- Children reduce women's migration, but increase men's migration

- Networks encourage migration for both men and women, but the effect is stronger for men

- Proportion of migrant women in villages, relative to men, is expected to encourage women's migration

- Men should be strongly affected by labor-market shifts, since they dominate the workforce and sustain households economically

TABLE 1: Hypothesized Effects of Migration Determinants

	Women	Men
Human capital, age, socioeconomic status		
Education	+	-
Age	-	-
Home ownership	-	-
Business ownership	-	—
Agricultural land ownership	-	+
Family considerations		
Never married/conjugal	—	+
Married/conjugal	+	+
Previously married/conjugal	+	-
Young children at home	-	+
U.S. migrant networks/social capital		
Family networks	+	++
Village networks	+	++
Proportion of migrant women in village networks (sex composition)	++	+
Local opportunities/structure		
Male employment	-	—
Female employment	+	++
Population size	-	-
Time period		
1965–86 (compared to < 1965)	+	+
1987–present (compared to < 1965)	+	+

Note. Doubled sign denotes stronger relationship in indicated direction

Data

- Data from the Mexican Migration Project collected in 43 villages in Mexico

- Sampling unit is household interviewed during the winter months of 1987–1997

- Mexican census, as well as local and municipal archives are used to get contextual information

Sample selection

- Survey design collected
  - Full migration information for heads (male and female)
  - Only first and last trip information for other household members (e.g., wives)

- Two sample selections
  - Household heads and spouses
  - Analysis of the first trip only

- Sample provides approximately 14,000 individuals for the analysis

Variables and models

- Dependent variable
  - A dichotomous dependent variable measures whether an individual migrated within the person-year in question
  - Excludes trips shorter than one month or for school

- Independent variables
  - Migration is regressed on a series of independent variables at the beginning of each year interval in a pooled model

- Modeling strategies
  - Separate models are estimated for men and women
  - All covariates are measured in year t, which predict migration in year t+1
  - Upon making a U.S. trip, individuals are eliminated from data
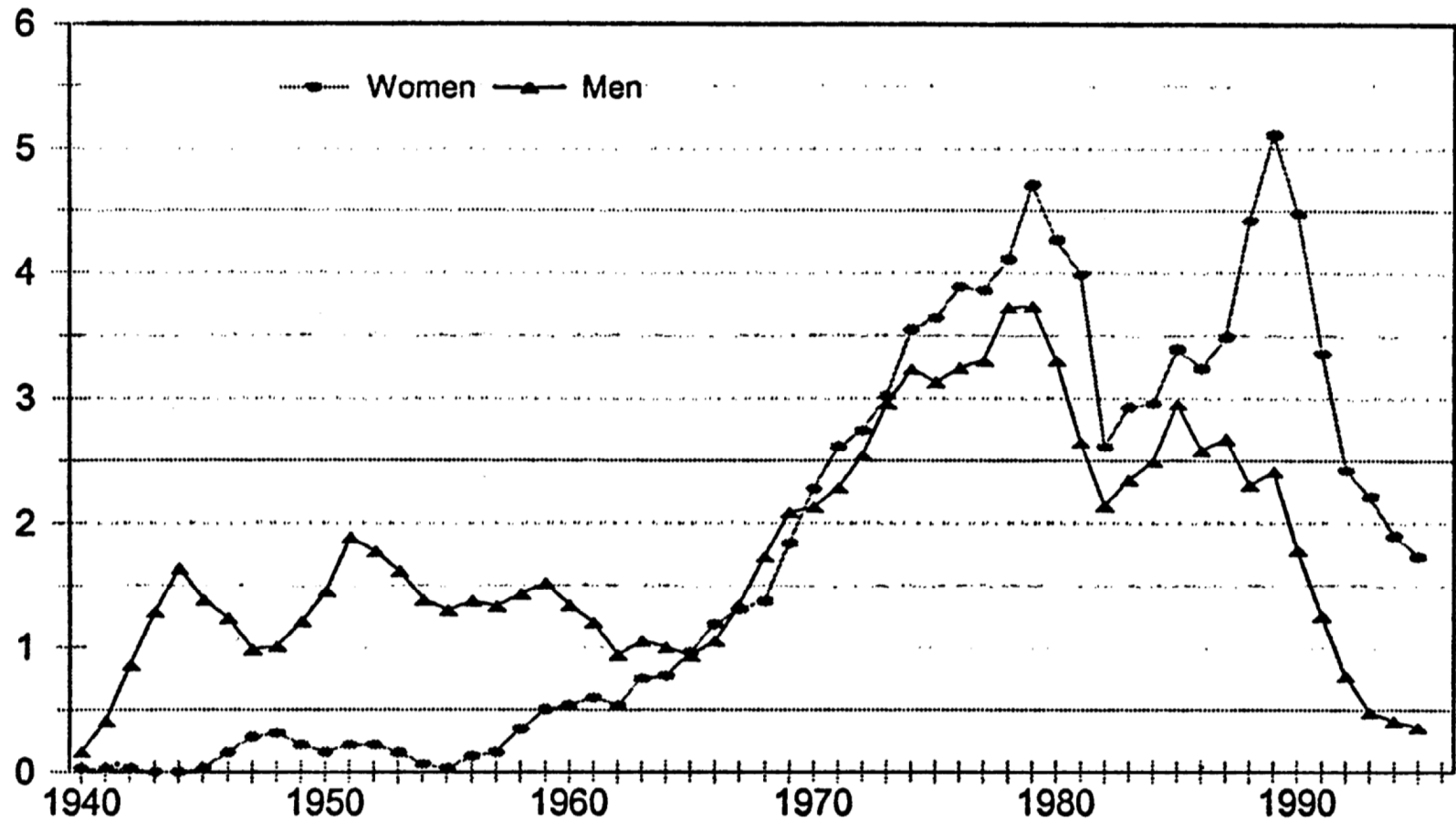
FIGURE 1: Ratio of Persons Ever Migrated to the Population Alive in 43 Mexican Villages by Sex and Year
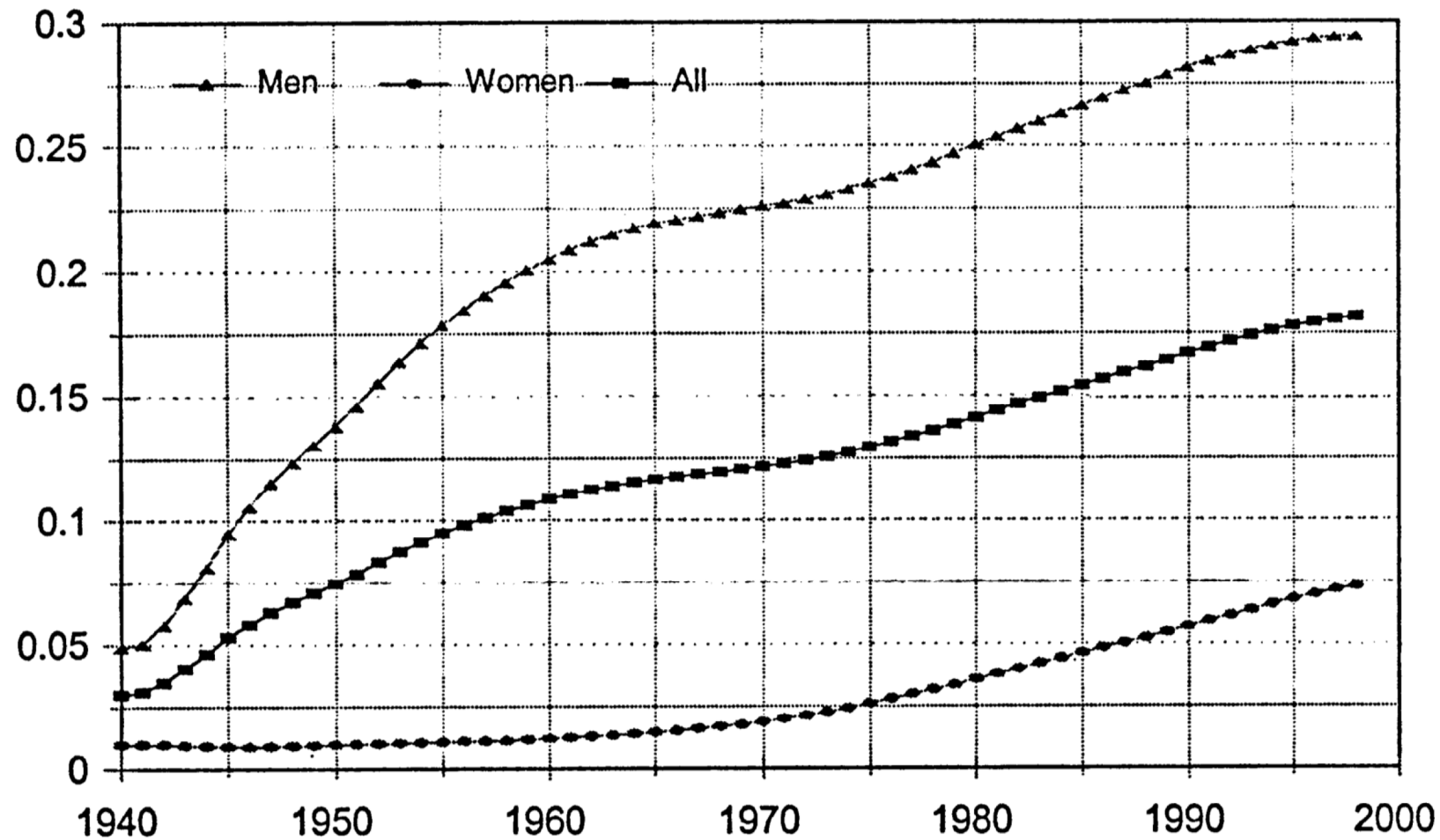
FIGURE 2: Percentage Distribution of First-Time Migrants to the U.S. from 43 Mexican Villages by Sex and Year

TABLE 2: Migration, Timing, and Documentation Status among Married and Cohabiting Women in 43 Mexican Villages

Timing	Total	Percent	Documentation Status Legal	Documentation Status Undocumented	Documentation Status Tourist
Women with migrant partners	3,089				
Before partners	79	2.6	34.6	46.2	19.2
In same year	99	3.2	8.1	64.3	27.6
1-5 years later	235	7.6	16.3	70.9	12.8
6-10 years later	157	5.1	16.7	67.3	16.0
11-15 years later	78	2.5	28.9	52.6	20.5
16-20 years later	51	1.7	37.3	43.1	19.6
21-30 years later	65	2.1	33.9	50.8	15.4
31-50 years later	47	1.5	12.8	40.4	46.8
Never migrated	2,278	74.0	NA	NA	NA
Migrant women, nonmigrant (ever) partners	93		11.9	58.7	29.4
Nonmigrant (ever) couples	3,464				

Source: Mexican Migration Project, 1999

Bivariate results

TABLE 3: Key Relationships Predicting First Migration among Men and Women in 43 Mexican Villages

Explanatory Variables	Women			Men		
	Odds	B	S.E.	Odds	B	S.E.
Family status (reference: single)						
Married	.747	-.291†	.157	.674	-.395*	.093
Consensual union	.514	-.666	.635	.533	-.630*	.217
Previously conjugal	1.949	.667*	.165	.629	-.463†	.274
Missing marriage information	.143	-1.947†	.980	.426	-.853*	.557
Number of children						
(< 10 years)	1.071	.068	.082	1.124	.117*	.041
Intercept		-6.067*	.212		-4.226*	.223
Education (reference: no formal education)						
1-5 years education	2.095	.740*	.229	1.522	.420*	.137
Primary school education	1.584	.460*	.193	.983	-.017	.121
7-12 years education	2.819	1.036*	.217	.873	-.136	.211
13-plus years education	2.348	.854†	.457	.407	-.898*	.228
Intercept		-6.630*	.225		-4.338*	.161
U.S. migrant networks/ social capital						
Migrant children networks	1.501	.406*	.053	1.096	.092	.216
Other relatives networks	1.153	.142*	.048	1.193	.176*	.022
Village migrant networks	41.455	3.724*	.839	382.834	5.948*	.731
Sex composition of networks	2.259	.815†	.450	.186	-1.683*	.713
Intercept		-6.951*	.165		-4.871*	.124
Number of observations (person-years)	215,064			145,969		

Note. Based on weighted logistic regression with robust standard errors.
Source: Mexican Migration Project, 1999

† $p < .10$ * $p < .05$

TABLE 4: Descriptive Statistics for Sample Characteristics Used to Predict First Migration for Men and Women in 43 Mexican Villages

Population characteristics	Survey Year (All Persons) Women	Men	Person-Years (All Years at Risk) Women	Men
Dependent variable				
Proportion ever migrated	.08	.41	.00	.02
Human capital and age				
No formal education	.24	.24	.31	.31
1-5 years education	.33	.31	.35	.29
6 years education	.21	.20	.19	.18
7-12 years education	.17	.17	.11	.14
13-plus years education	.05	.09	.04	.08
Age 15-19	.01	.00	.23	.28
Age 20-29	.19	.15	.29	.30
Age 30-39	.25	.25	.21	.19
Age 40-49	.22	.22	.14	.12
Age 50-plus	.32	.38	.13	.11
Socioeconomic characteristics				
Proportion homeowners	.65	.66	.36	.28
Proportion business owners	.20	.21	.10	.08
Proportion agricultural land owners (5+ hectares)	.11	.12	.09	.07
Family considerations				
Proportion single	.03	.03	.37	.43
Proportion married	.81	.88	.56	.53
Proportion consensual union	.06	.06	.03	.02
Proportion previously conjugal	.10	.03	.06	.01
Proportion missing marital info.	.00	.00	.00	.01
No. of minor children at home	1.11	1.19	1.32	1.07
U.S. migrant networks/social capital				
Migrant children networks (no.)	.89	.83	.23	.09
Other relatives networks (no.)	1.47	1.58	.66	.41
Village networks (proportion migrants)	.18	.18	.13	.11
Composition of village networks	.21	.21	.13	.13
Local opportunities/community structure				
Male employment rate	.67	.67	.73	.74
Female employment rate	.16	.16	.14	.14
Population size	92,010	96,529	48,737	53,969
Period variables				
Period prior to 1965	0	0	.28	.33
Period 1965 to 1986	0	0	.55	.53
Period 1987 to 1993	1	1	.17	.14
Number of observations	7,290	6,372	215,064	146,104

Note. Unweighted.
Source: Mexican Migration Project 1999

Multivariate results

TABLE 5: Maximum Likelihood Coefficients Predicting First Migration for Mexican Women and Men in 43 Mexican Villages

| | Model I — Individual/Household Variables | | | | Model II — Plus Marital Interactions | | | | Model III — Plus Community Variables | | | | Sig. Diff. |
| | Women | | Men | | Women | | Men | | Women | | Men | | |
Population Characteristics	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	
Human capital													
1-5 years education (reference: 0 years)	.834*	.297	.254	.156	.834*	.297	.254	.156	.659*	.298	.233	.141	
6 years education	.700*	.174	-.176	.114	.697*	.177	-.177	.113	.653*	.269	.200	.189	†
7-12 years education	1.166*	.311	-.379†	.169	1.168*	.313	-.378†	.169	.998*	.371	-.038	.195	*
13-plus years education	1.048	.614	-1.188*	.188	1.048	.613	-1.188*	.188	.863	.693	-.895*	.214	*
Age 15-19 (reference: 20-29)	-.399†	.163	-.614*	.095	-.397†	.158	-.613*	.095	-.270	.193	-.638*	.095	*
Age 30-39	-.401†	.166	-.797*	.089	-.403†	.166	-.798*	.089	-.457*	.163	-.768*	.090	*
Age 40-49	-.650*	.204	-.925†	.357	-.649*	.203	-.926†	.359	-.835*	.185	-.842*	.391	
Age 50-plus	-1.751*	.277	-3.341*	.652	-1.765*	.298	-3.351*	.648	-2.204*	.388	-3.321*	.682	*
Socioeconomic characteristics													
Homeowners	.001	.186	-.300*	.100	-.002	.189	-.300*	.100	-.187	.187	-.338*	.132	
Business owners	-.120	.268	-.520*	.149	-.123	.262	-.519*	.148	-.133	.263	-.536*	.120	
Agricultural land owners (5+ hectares)	-.402	.248	.038	.377	-.391	.250	.040	.377	-.436†	.246	.004	.288	
Family considerations (reference: single)													
Married	-.541*	.194	-.164	.086	-.570	.177	-.167	.087	-.648*	.164	-.104	.081	*
Consensual union	-.570	.506	-.414†	.178	-.213	.607	-.328	.210	-.327	.649	.041	.181	
Previously conjugal	.611*	.202	-.024	.373	.692†	.309	.160	.481	.679*	.303	.209	.464	
Missing marital status information	-1.813	.970	-.818	.559	-3.248	1.988	-1.335*	.504	-2.787	2.418	-1.142*	.500	

TABLE 5: Maximum Likelihood Coef's Predicting First Migration for Mexican Women and Men in 43 Mexican Villages

	Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		
Number of minor children at home (< 10 years)	.108	.115	.097†	.047	.287	.189	-1.239*	.364	.291	.201	-1.147*	.374	*
Married * minors					-.163	.189	1.338*	.379	-.136	.196	1.223*	.383	*
Consensual * minors					-.421	.220	1.279*	.418	-.415†	.224	1.113*	.402	*
Previously conjugal * minors					-.317	.353	1.143†	.473	-.341	.365	.980*	.447	*
Missing * minors					.329	.580	1.620*	.442	.260	.706	1.420*	.433	
U.S. migrant networks/social capital													
Migrant children networks	.656*	.093	.695*	.250	.654*	.092	.694*	.250	.640*	.093	.650*	.283	
Other relatives networks	.177*	.049	.228*	.028	.178*	.049	.228*	.028	.103†	.060	.182*	.022	
Village networks									5.321*	1.166	5.003*	.581	
Composition of village networks									.095	.881	.676*	.328	
Local opportunities/community structure													
Male employment rate									.555	1.460	.487	.677	
Low female employment (reference: mid)									-.157	.280	-.163†	.084	
High female employment									.149	.204	-.308*	.154	
Community population (logged)									.002	.049	-.167*	.040	*
Period controls (reference: 1965 to 1986)													
Period prior to 1965									-.725†	.407	.003	.163	*
(based on weighted logistic regression with robust standard errors)													
Period 1987 to 1993									.280	.346	-.383	.341	
Intercept	-6.637*	.387	-3.721*	.231	-6.642*	.386	-3.721*	.232	-7.421*	1.522	-3.086*	.672	
-2 Log likelihood	-3251		-9472		-3249		-9470		-3211		-9260		
Wald chi²	1951		1640		3724		2019		14145		5013		
Number of observations (person-years)	214,936		145,959		214,936		145,959		212,181		143,205		

Source: Mexican Migration Project 1999
† p < .10   * p < .05

FIGURE 3: Relative Odds of First Migration among Men and Women by Educational Attainment
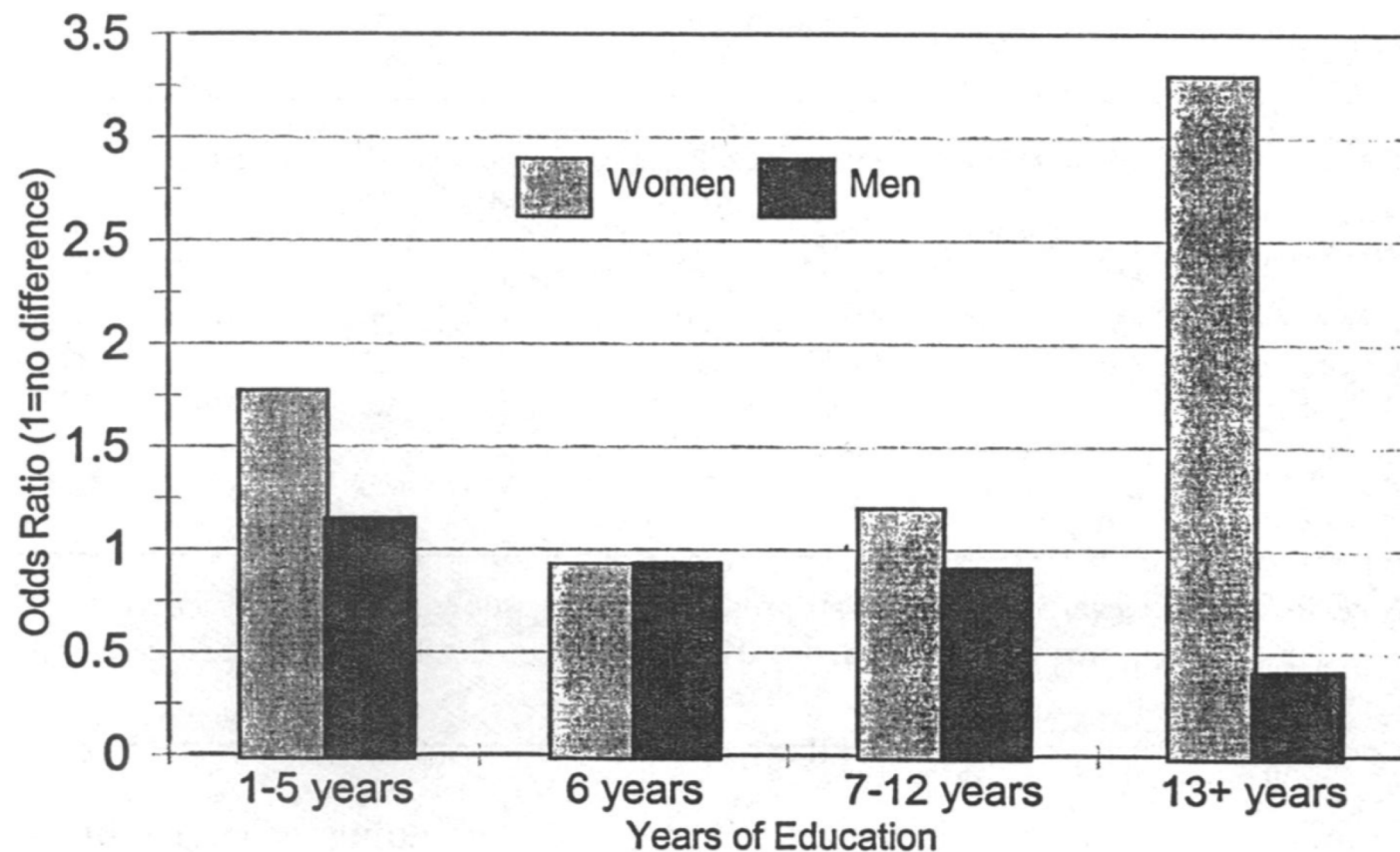
Note: Reference category, no education
Produced from coefficients reported in Table 5, full model (see table for significance levels)

TABLE 6: Probability of First Migration among Men and Women by Marital Status and Number of Young Children

Number of Children less than 10 years old	Women				Men			
	Single	Married	Consens.	Prev. Conjugal	Single	Married	Consens.	Prev. Conjugal
None	.17	.03	.04	.11	.76	.17	.14	.07
One	.09	.06	.05	.06	n/a	.27	.17	.39
Two	.15	.05	.05	.07	n/a	.28	.13	.27
Three	.23	.09	.02	.08	n/a	.37	.13	.41
Four or more	.06	.12	.05	.01	n/a	.51	.20	.99
N	1459	4374	325	711	1563	4277	240	132

Note. Reference category: single. Odds are produced from logistic regression coefficients reported in Table 5 and normalized to 0, such that 0 = no difference. See Table 5 for statistical significance levels.

Education and family

- Male migration drops with education, but female migration increases with education

- Migration risk among women are driven primarily by marital status, irrespective of children

- Women in unions migrate much less often than single and previously conjugal women

- Effects of young children are most related to married men, who are substantially more mobile with each new birth

- Education and family are primary mechanisms which interplay between gender and migration

Socioeconomic & networks

- Home/business ownership deters male migration

- Agricultural land ownership deters female migration

- U.S. networks composed of prior migrants increase migration among men and women

Female employment

- Migration risk among men fall if female employment is high or low

- In places with low level of female employment
  - More jobs may be available to men
  - They don't compete with women for jobs
  - Migration risk among men decreases

- In places with high level of female employment
  - More household members can work
  - This liberates men from having to migrate
  - Migration risk among men decreases

Source: Kanaiaupuni 2000.
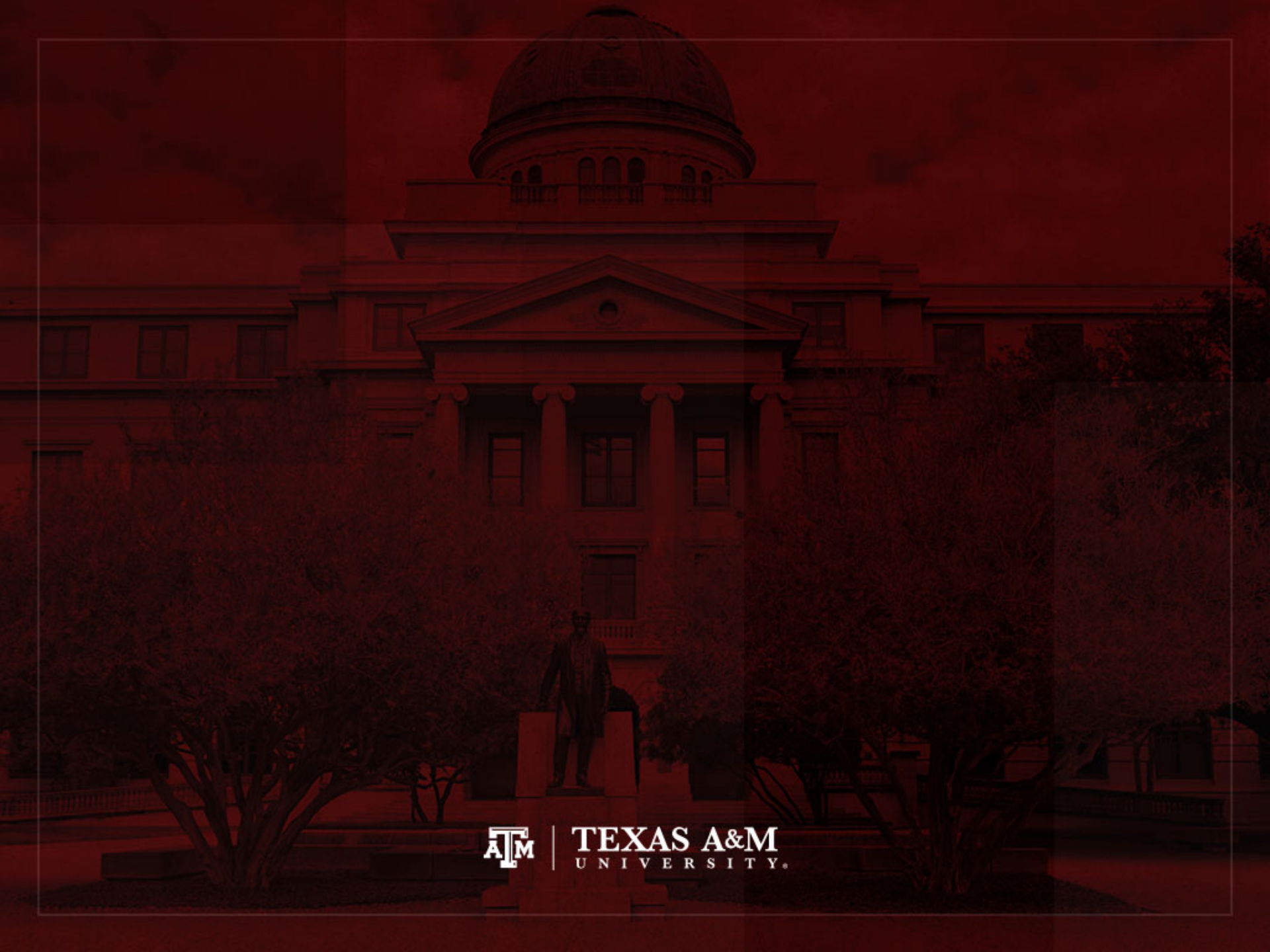
Gender and migration determinants

- The goal is to analyze determinants of female migration from Mexico to the United States

- Results indicate that Mexicans are selected into U.S. migration by a highly gendered process

- Reasons for men to become migrants
  - Introduced by a parent, usually the father
  - Migrate independently (employment reasons)

- Reasons for women to become migrants
  - Introduced by a parent, usually the mother
  - Following their spouses (family reasons)

Mexican Migration Project: MMP

- 1982–1983 simple random samples during winter months
  - Successive years from 1987 to 1996
- 50 Mexican sending communities
  - Most in western states, which are traditional sending areas to the U.S.: Colima, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Nayarit, San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas
  - In recent years, sample incorporated communities in newer sending states: Guerrero, Oaxaca, Puebla
  - In most communities, sample size was 200 households
- Data was supplemented with nonrandom samples of out-migrants in the U.S. during following summer
  - Mexican samples indicated where migrants went in the U.S.
  - Interviewers went to those areas to survey people who had settled abroad (snowball sampling methods)
  - In most communities, sample size was 20 households

TABLE 1. CLASSIFICATION OF U.S. MIGRANTS BY GENDER, MARITAL STATUS, AND TIMING OF MIGRATION WITHIN HOUSEHOLD: BINATIONAL SAMPLES OF 50 MEXICAN SENDING COMMUNITIES (PERCENTAGES)

Marital Status and Timing of Migration Within Household	Basic Sample,[a] All Ages		Expanded Sample,[b] Age 15+	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Never Married				
Parents never in U.S.	6.5	3.0	11.0	6.3
Migrated before parents	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.6
Migrated after parents	24.5	38.7	28.6	42.3
Married With Spouse				
Spouse never in U.S.	47.8	4.3	41.6	3.9
Migrated before spouse	12.0	8.2	10.4	7.4
Migrated after spouse	5.0	36.9	4.3	33.2
Married, No Spouse	3.8	8.6	3.2	7.8
Total	100[c]	100[c]	100[c]	100[c]
Number of Migrants	5,414	2,035	6,213	2,257

[a]Basic sample: Fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters in sample households.

[b]Expanded sample: Basic sample plus unmarried sons and daughters outside household.

[c]Columns do not sum to 100.0 because of rounding.

Source: Cerrutti, Massey 2001.

TABLE 2. TIMING OF MARRIAGE AND MIGRATION AMONG HUSBANDS AND WIVES: BINATIONAL SAMPLES OF 50 MEXICAN SENDING COMMUNITIES

Timing of Migration Among Husbands and Wives	Timing of Migration With Respect to Spouse				
	Migrated Before Spouse	Migrated After Spouse	Spouse Not Migrant	Total	*N*
Husbands (Percentages)					
Migrated before marriage	12.6	3.8	33.7		
Migrated after marriage	5.9	3.8	40.3		
Total	18.5	7.6	74.0	100[a]	3,367
Wives (Percentages)					
Migrated before marriage	15.2	13.7	5.2		
Migrated after marriage	1.4	61.2	3.3		
Total	16.6	74.9	8.5	100	986

[a]Row does not sum to 100.0 because of rounding.

Timing of migration

- Majority of Mexican women generally begin migrating for family reasons

- Women almost always followed other family members, either the husband or a parent

- Few female migrants began migrating independently

- Nearly 50% of all male migrants left for the U.S. before or without either a wife or a parent

Source: Cerrutti, Massey 2001.

TABLE 3. BIVARIATE PROBIT MODEL ESTIMATES PREDICTING THE LIKELIHOOD THAT HUSBANDS AND WIVES MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES (FOR AT LEAST THREE MONTHS) DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS: BINATIONAL SAMPLES OF 50 MEXICAN SENDING COMMUNITIES

Independent Variable	Husbands		Wives	
	b	SE	b	SE
General Human Capital				
Age				
< 25	—	—	—	—
25–34	−0.504*	0.086	−0.665*	0.114
35–44	−0.727*	0.091	−0.887*	0.134
45+	−1.480*[a]	0.098[a]	−0.963*[a]	0.154[a]
Education				
None	—	—	—	—
< 6 years	0.030	0.068	−0.066	0.132
6 years	0.100	0.077	−0.073	0.139
7–12 years	−0.198*	0.087	−0.058	0.156
13+ years	−0.571*[a]	0.127[a]	−0.086[a]	0.219[a]
Workers per household member	0.125	0.131	0.195	0.245
Migration-Specific Human Capital				
Number of prior trips	0.073*	0.004	0.092*	0.016
Duration of first trip	−0.005[a]	0.006[a]	−0.055*[a]	0.013[a]
Documented	0.561*[a]	0.053[a]	1.392*[a]	0.098[a]
Physical Capital				
Homeownership	0.008	0.048	−0.094	0.091
Landownership	−0.049	0.064	−0.179	0.114
Business ownership	−0.215*	0.053	−0.224*	0.099
Social Capital				
No. sons/daughters in U.S.	0.235*[a]	0.038[a]	0.490*[a]	0.043[a]
No. siblings in U.S.	0.114*	0.016	0.113*	0.026
No. parents/uncles in U.S.	0.023	0.012	0.010	0.017
No. nieces/nephews in U.S.	−0.015*[a]	0.004[a]	0.001[a]	0.006[a]
No. other relatives in U.S.	0.014*	0.007	0.018*	0.002
Prevalence of mig. in comm.	0.253	0.397	−1.058	0.711
Community Size				
Rural village	—	—	—	—
Small town	0.308*[a]	0.077[a]	0.092[a]	0.131[a]
Large city	0.366*[a]	0.077[a]	0.055[a]	0.134[a]
Metro area	0.330*[a]	0.087[a]	0.074[a]	0.156[a]
Intercept	−0.932*[a]	0.122[a]	−1.565*[a]	0.200[a]
Rho	0.547*	0.038		
Log-Likelihood	−2,783.500*			
N	7,290			

[a] Significant differences between husbands and wives.

*$p < .05$

TABLE 4. BIVARIATE PROBIT MODEL ESTIMATES PREDICTING THE LIKELIHOOD THAT ELDEST SONS AND DAUGHTERS MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES (FOR AT LEAST THREE MONTHS) DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS: BINATIONAL SAMPLES OF 50 MEXICAN SENDING COMMUNITIES

Independent Variable	Eldest Sons		Eldest Daughters	
	b	SE	b	SE
General Human Capital				
Age				
< 14	—	—	—	—
14–17	1.025**ᵃ	0.177ᵃ	0.438**ᵃ	0.223ᵃ
18–24	1.643**ᵃ	0.171ᵃ	1.071**ᵃ	0.215ᵃ
25+	1.117*	0.180	0.850*	0.220
Education				
None	—	—	—	—
< 6 years	−0.106	0.182	−0.440*	0.234
6 years	0.026	0.186	−0.219	0.228
7–12 years	−0.294	0.181	−0.302	0.235
13+ years	−0.910*	0.221	−0.723*	0.315
Workers per household member	0.748*	0.189	0.552	0.321
Migration-Specific Human Capital				
Number of prior trips	0.087*	0.012	0.113*	0.051
Duration of first trip	−0.092**ᵃ	0.020ᵃ	−0.165**ᵃ	0.036ᵃ
Documented	1.363**ᵃ	0.106ᵃ	1.961**ᵃ	0.149ᵃ
Physical Capital				
Homeownership	−0.081**ᵃ	0.076ᵃ	−0.329**ᵃ	0.121ᵃ
Landownership	0.224*	0.078	0.191	0.123
Business ownership	−0.164*	0.077	−0.270*	0.129
Social Capital				
Mother in U.S.	0.774**ᵃ	0.130ᵃ	1.173**ᵃ	0.171ᵃ
Father in U.S.	0.288**ᵃ	0.089ᵃ	0.022ᵃ	0.157ᵃ
No. aunts/uncles in U.S.	−0.030	0.028	0.039	0.042
No. grandparents/uncles in U.S.	0.001	0.024	0.004	0.033
No. cousins in U.S.	0.005	0.007	−0.010	0.010
No. other relatives in U.S.	0.002	0.006	0.000	0.008
Prevalence of mig. in comm.	1.504*	0.612	0.396	0.972
Community Size				
Rural village	—	—	—	—
Small town	0.070	0.115	0.298	0.211
Large city	0.336*	0.113	0.367	0.215
Metro area	0.223	0.123	0.194	0.227
Intercept	−2.993*	0.182	−2.850*	0.282
Rho	0.384*	0.060		
Log-Likelihood	−1,453.400*			
N	4,907			

ᵃSignificant differences between sons and daughters.

*$p < .05$

Likelihood of migrating

- Economic or household strategy models are not necessarily the appropriate explanations for women's behaviors

- **Probit models** suggest that women's decisions might be closely constrained by patriarchal norms

- Fathers' and sons' migration was predicted strongly by indicators of human and social capital

- Mothers' and daughters' migration was related more strongly to family indicators (having sons, daughters, and siblings' children in the U.S.) and by documentation

Dependent variable reference category:

No migration during the three years preceding the survey

TABLE 5. MULTINOMIAL LOGIT MODEL ESTIMATES PREDICTING THE MIGRATION OF WIVES TO WORK AND NOT TO WORK IN THE UNITED STATES: BINATIONAL SAMPLES OF 50 MEXICAN SENDING COMMUNITIES

Independent Variable	Wife Migrated to U.S. Without Working		Wife Migrated to U.S. and Worked	
	b	SE	b	SE
General Human Capital				
Age				
< 25	—	—	—	—
25–34	−1.929**	0.294ᵃ	−1.246**	0.292ᵃ
35–44	−2.412**	0.342ᵃ	−1.564**	0.328ᵃ
45+	−2.192*	0.348	−2.491*	0.390
Education				
None	—	—	—	—
< 6 years	−0.218	0.345	−0.462	0.364
6 years	−0.085	0.365	−0.384	0.384
7–12 years	−0.355	0.398	−0.196	0.399
13+ years	−0.509	0.592	−0.196	0.540
Workers per household member	−0.110	0.651	1.049	0.679
Migration-Specific Human Capital				
Number of prior trips	0.110**	0.041ᵃ	0.202**	0.038ᵃ
Duration of first trip	−0.124*	0.030	−0.140*	0.032
Documented	2.920*	0.271	3.016*	0.274
Physical Capital				
Homeownership	−0.332	0.222	−0.156	0.225
Landownership	−0.215	0.286	−0.477	0.303
Business ownership	−0.232	0.243	−0.776*	0.273
Social Capital				
No. sons/daughters in U.S.	1.081*	0.108	0.913*	0.110
No. siblings in U.S.	0.253**	0.061ᵃ	0.123**	0.065ᵃ
No. parents/uncles in U.S.	0.002	0.042	0.019	0.039
No. nieces/nephews in U.S.	0.003	0.014	0.014	0.014
No. other relatives in U.S.	0.030*	0.008	0.038*	0.007
Prevalence of mig. in comm.	−1.211	1.855	−4.115*	1.199
Community Size				
Rural village	—	—	—	—
Small town	0.310	0.357	0.212	0.345
Large city	0.285	0.368	0.102	0.361
Metro area	0.017	0.425	0.268	0.401
Intercept	−3.191*	0.523	−3.156*	0.536
Log-Likelihood	−1,756.980*			
N	7,302			

ᵃSignificant differences between equations.
*p < .05

Dependent variable reference category:

No migration during the three years preceding the survey

TABLE 6. MULTINOMIAL LOGIT MODEL ESTIMATES PREDICTING THE MIGRATION OF DAUGHTERS TO WORK AND NOT TO WORK IN THE UNITED STATES: BINATIONAL SAMPLES OF 50 MEXICAN SENDING COMMUNITIES

Independent Variable	Daughter Migrated to U.S. Without Working		Daughter Migrated to U.S. and Worked	
	b	SE	b	SE
General Human Capital				
Age				
< 14	—	—	—	—
14–17	−0.138[a]	0.395[a]	3.600*[a]	0.636[a]
18–24	0.813*[a]	0.341[a]	4.807*[a]	0.619[a]
25+	0.516[a]	0.365[a]	4.205*[a]	0.625[a]
Education				
None	—	—	—	—
< 6 years	−1.188*	0.289	−0.673	0.463
6 years	−0.941*	0.363	−0.548	0.444
7–12 years	−0.644	0.341	−0.796	0.444
13+ years	−0.981	0.515	−1.566*	0.578
Workers per household member	1.664*	0.575	1.573*	0.562
Migration-Specific Human Capital				
Number of prior trips	−0.137[a]	0.101[a]	0.124*[a]	0.066[a]
Duration of first trip	−0.509*[a]	0.071[a]	−0.257*[a]	0.055[a]
Documented	4.952*	0.235	3.666*	0.291
Physical Capital				
Homeownership	−0.755*	0.204	−0.380	0.227
Landownership	0.335	0.247	0.161	0.242
Business ownership	−0.784*[a]	0.240[a]	−0.263[a]	0.237[a]
Social Capital				
Mother in U.S.	2.508*[a]	0.273[a]	1.956*[a]	0.335[a]
Father in U.S.	0.027	0.245	0.030	0.301
No. aunts/uncles in U.S.	0.066	0.069	0.111	0.088
No. grandparents/uncles in U.S.	−0.078	0.042	0.078	0.063
No. cousins in U.S.	−0.028*[a]	0.014[a]	0.008[a]	0.017[a]
No. other relatives in U.S.	0.020*[a]	0.007[a]	−0.022[a]	0.017[a]
Prevalence of mig. in comm.	−0.672	1.857	0.298	1.828
Community Size				
Rural village	—	—	—	—
Small town	0.938*	0.366	0.467	0.411
Large city	0.712	0.381	0.871	0.413
Metro area	−0.022	0.449	0.714	0.448
Intercept	−5.568*[a]	0.409[a]	−9.004*[a]	0.714[a]
Log-Likelihood	−1,923.150*			
N	12,876			

[a] Significant differences between equations.

*$p < .05$

Motivation for moving

- Even though initial motivation for female migration may relate to family rather than labor force considerations, a job may become relevant after the fact
- **Multinomial models** provided little evidence that migrant wives were motivated by labor force considerations
  – **Among married women**, migration with work and migration without work were equally unconnected to human capital and were connected more strongly to family considerations
  – **Unmarried daughters**' migration was more clearly identifiable as a labor force process
    - Determinants of migration with work closely **resembled the pattern observed among sons**, and differed significantly from that of wives and daughters migrating without work
    - When a daughter's migration involved work, it was connected closely to indicators of human and social capital, and was related less closely to family considerations

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

Investigating gender domains

- Theory of gender and power distinguishes between three gender domains
  - Labor
  - Power
  - Cathexis: attachment of emotional feelings and significance to an idea, object, or person

- These domains describe gender regime of a particular institution (e.g., family)

- Goal of this study
  - Model these three gender structures
  - Compare attitude and behaviors among migrant Mexican women in stable relationships in Durham, North Carolina, and their counterparts in four sending communities in Mexico

Data

- **Quantitative data**
  - 219 surveys conducted with migrant Hispanic women ages 18 to 49 years in Durham, North Carolina (161 of whom were Mexican)
  - 400 surveys (100 women in each) in four sending communities in Mexico: 2 in Michoacán, 1 in Guerrero, 1 in Veracruz
  - Statistically examine the impact of social and demographic factors on migrant adaptation and gender roles

- **Qualitative data**
  - Ongoing community-based participatory research (CBPR)
  - Group of 14 Hispanic men and women from Durham community were involved for more than 4 years in every stage of the research
    - Questionnaire formulation, identification of survey locales, strategies to collect meaningful information, conduction of interviews
  - Provide in-depth understanding about context of changes

Potential endogeneity

- To test for the potential endogeneity of migration to gender, statistical models treated U.S. residence as endogenous to gender structures

- Authors estimated recursive bivariate probit and Poisson models that included controls for unobserved factors

- Estimation of two equations
  - One predicting dependent variables with U.S. residence as an endogenous covariate
  - Another predicting the likelihood of residence in the U.S. using several independent variables (e.g., women's age, education, age at union formation, age and education differences to partner)
  - Unobserved characteristics do not appear to be driving results

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for the Independent Variables across Mexico and the United States

Characteristics	Mexico		U.S.	
Migration				
In the U.S. (%)	.0	—	1.0	—
Years of U.S. experience (mean)	.1	(.4)	6.1	(4.3)**
Human Capital				
Age (mean)	32.5	(6.5)	29.1	(7.3)**
Years of education (mean)	8.0	(3.4)	7.6	(3.4)
Currently working (%)	25.0	(2.9)	50.7	(4.3)**
Drives (%)	19.4	(2.7)	43.2	(4.3)**
Household				
Spousal age difference (husband-wife) (mean)	2.1	(4.2)	1.8	(4.8)
Years in relationship (mean)	10.9	(6.7)	7.4	(6.7)**
Husband's years of education (mean)	8.1	(3.6)	7.6	(3.1)
Number of children (mean)	2.5	(1.6)	1.9	(1.5)**
Household size (mean)	4.8	(1.9)	4.7	(1.5)
Social Support				
With parents in community (%)	69.9	(3.1)	11.1	(2.7)**
Visits friend 1x/week (%)	34.3	(3.2)	33.5	(4.1)
Visits family 1x/week (%)	61.6	(3.3)	41.0	(4.2)**
Perceived lack of social support (mean)	.3	(.8)	1.0	(1.2)**
N	216		134	

Note: Data are shown as mean or percent, as indicated, with standard error in parentheses.
† $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 2. Structure of Labor: Probit Models Predicting Female Labor Force Participation among Mexican Women

	FLFP			
	Model 1		Model 2	
Intercept	−4.217**	(.745)	−4.611	(.782)
Migration Characteristics				
In the U.S.	.941**	(.305)	1.728**	(.512)
Years of U.S. experience	.007	(.030)	.002	(.030)
Human Capital Characteristics				
Age	.094**	(.020)	.093**	(.020)
Years of education	.082**	(.028)	.130**	(.038)
Currently working	—	—	—	—
Drives	.634**	(.174)	.654**	(.175)
Household Characteristics				
Spousal age difference	.016	(.019)	.021	(.019)
Years in relationship	.012	(.016)	.016	(.016)
Husband's education	−.042*	(.026)	−.050*	(.027)
Number of children	−.247**	(.087)	−.254**	(.087)
Household size	.059	(.062)	.070	(.064)
Social Support				
Parents in community	−.065	(.203)	−.091	(.206)
Visits friend 1x/week	−.123	(.177)	−.119	(.177)
Visits family 1x/week	.242	(.172)	.228	(.174)
Perceived lack of social support	−.007	(.085)	−.014	(.085)
Interaction Terms				
In the U.S. × Years of education	—	—	−.094**	(.049)
In the U.S. × Working	—	—	—	—
In the U.S. × Visits friends	—	—	—	—
In the U.S. × Visits family	—	—	—	—
χ^2	97.9**	—	101.6**	—
N	350	—	350	—

Note: Data are shown as mean with standard error in parentheses. FLFP = female labor force participation.
† $p \le .10$; * $p \le .05$; ** $p \le .01$; *** $p \le .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 3. Structure of Labor: Probit Models Predicting Partner Sharing of Housework among Mexican Women

	Partner Sharing of Housework			
	Model 3		Model 4	
Intercept	.453	(.628)	.332	(.632)
Migration Characteristics				
In the U.S.	−.246	(.288)	.335	(.346)
Years of U.S. experience	−.018	(.032)	−.008	(.031)
Human Capital Characteristics				
Age	−.047**	(.019)	−.048**	(.019)
Years of education	.013	(.027)	.005	(.027)
Currently working	.536**	(.176)	.810**	(.233)
Drives	.212	(.172)	.216	(.173)
Household Characteristics				
Spousal age difference	.031*	(.017)	.031*	(.017)
Years in relationship	.006	(.019)	.004	(.019)
Husband's education	.012	(.025)	.010	(.025)
Number of children	−.101	(.083)	−.090	(.083)
Household size	.040	(.053)	.026	(.054)
Social Support				
Parents in community	.026	(.186)	.001	(.190)
Visits friend 1x/week	.303**	(.157)	.406**	(.162)
Visits family 1x/week	.180	(.159)	.486**	(.205)
Perceived lack of social support	.026	(.081)	.007	(.082)
Interaction Terms				
In the U.S. × Years of education	—	—	—	—
In the U.S. × Working	—	—	−.573*	(.323)
In the U.S. × Visits friends	—	—	—	—
In the U.S. × Visits family	—	—	−.806**	(.321)
χ^2	51.1**	—	60.4**	—
N	350	—	350	—

Note: Data are shown as mean with standard error in parentheses.
† $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 4. Structure of Labor: Probit Models Predicting Wife Assisting with Finances among Mexican Women

	Wife Assisting with Finances			
	Model 5		Model 6	
Intercept	−1.959**	(.652)	−1.856	(.667)
Migration Characteristics				
In the U.S.	−.508	(.299)	−.205	(.375)
Years of U.S. experience	.047	(.032)	.045	(.032)
Human Capital Characteristics				
Age	.018	(.018)	.015	(.018)
Years of education	.056**	(.028)	.051*	(.028)
Currently working	1.321**	(.183)	1.665**	(.252)
Drives	.117	(.179)	.142	(.182)
Household Characteristics				
Spousal age difference	.006	(.017)	.006	(.017)
Years in relationship	−.031*	(.018)	−.035*	(.018)
Husband's education	.011	(.026)	.011	(.026)
Number of children	−.028	(.081)	.001	(.084)
Household size	.066	(.056)	.039	(.059)
Social Support				
Parents in community	−.190	(.195)	−.158	(.200)
Visits friend 1x/week	.629**	(.168)	.455*	(.215)
Visits family 1x/week	.148	(.167)	.275	(.214)
Perceived lack of social support	.066	(.085)	.057	(.086)
Interaction Terms				
In the U.S. × Years of education	—	—	—	—
In the U.S. × Working	—	—	−.714**	(.346)
In the U.S. × Visits friends	—	—	.705**	(.372)
In the U.S. × Visits family	—	—	−.575*	(.355)
χ^2	107.7**	—	118.2**	—
N	350	—	350	—

Note: Data are shown as mean with standard error in parentheses.
† $p \le .10$; * $p \le .05$; ** $p \le .01$; *** $p \le .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 5. Structure of Power: Comparison of Relationship Control and Sexual Negotation in Mexico and United States

	Mexico	U.S.	Diff.
Relationship Control, Percent Agree			
1. When my partner and I disagree, he gets his way most of the time	20.1	29.1	−9.0*
2. My partner tells me who I can spend time with	9.3	19.4	−10.1**
3. Most of the time, we do what my partner wants	29.2	35.8	−6.6
4. My partner does what he wants, even if I do not want him to	16.2	21.6	−5.4
Mean Aggregate Score (Sum of Agreements)	.8	1.1	−.3**
(SD)	(1.0)	(1.2)	
Percent Agreeing with Given Number of Items			
1	43.1	54.5	−11.4**
2	21.8	29.1	−7.3
3	9.7	16.4	−6.7
4	.9	6.0	−5.0
Sexual Negotiation, Percent Agree			
1. If I asked my partner to use a condom, he would get violent	9.7	18.7	−8.9**
2. If I asked my partner to use a condom, he would get angry	13.9	21.6	−7.8*
3. If I asked my partner to use a condom, he would think I'm having sex w/other people	18.5	23.8	−5.3
Mean Aggregate Score (sum of agreements)	.4	.6	−.2*
(SD)	(.9)	(1.1)	
Percent Agreeing with Given Number of Items			
1	22.7	29.1	−6.4
2	11.6	20.1	−8.6
3	7.9	14.9	−7.1
N	216	134	

Note: Diff. = difference.

† $p \le .10$; * $p \le .05$; ** $p \le .01$; *** $p \le .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 6. Structure of Power: Negative Binomial Regression Models Predicting Relationship Control

	Relationship Control			
	Model 1		Model 2	
Intercept	1.243**	(.584)	.824**	(.289)
Migration				
In the U.S.	.177	(.272)	−.171	(.292)
Years of U.S. experience	.025	(.027)	.017	(.026)
Human Capital				
Age	−.028*	(.016)	−.024*	(.016)
Years of education	−.042*	(.025)	−.040*	(.024)
Currently working	−.002	(.170)	−.031	(.168)
Drives	−.438**	(.178)	−.413**	(.176)
Household				
Spouse age difference	−.003	(.016)	−.006	(.016)
Years in relationship	−.003	(.014)	−.007	(.014)
Husband's education	−.024	(.024)	−.022	(.023)
Number of children	.023	(.066)	.005	(.066)
Household size	.023	(.044)	.036	(.044)
Social Support				
Parents in community	.093	(.184)	.100	(.179)
Visits friend 1x/week	−.324**	(.163)	−.406**	(.164)
Visits family 1x/week	−.264*	(.153)	−.598**	(.191)
Perceived lack of social support	.020	(.071)	.046	(.070)
Interaction Terms				
In the U.S. × Visits family	—	—	1.288**	(.576)
In the U.S. × Lack of social support	—	—	—	—
α	.463**	(.151)	.405	(.144)
χ^2	37.5**		45.5**	
N	350		350	

Note: Data are shown as mean with standard error in parentheses.

† $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 7. Structure of Power: Negative Binomial Regression Models Predicting Sexual Negotation

	Sexual Negotiation			
	Model 3		Model 4	
Intercept	−2.367**	(.998)	−1.738*	(.971)
Migration				
In the U.S.	.401	(.449)	−.582	(.502)
Years of U.S. experience	.000	(.045)	−.002	(.045)
Human Capital				
Age	.057**	(.026)	.058**	(.025)
Years of education	−.029	(.043)	−.024	(.041)
Currently working	−.272	(.269)	−.292	(.260)
Drives	−.296	(.297)	−.395	(.290)
Household				
Spouse age difference	.024	(.027)	.028	(.025)
Years in relationship	−.003	(.022)	−.009	(.021)
Husband's education	−.037	(.038)	−.060	(.037)
Number of children	.045	(.121)	.042	(.115)
Household size	.041	(.089)	.025	(.086)
Social Support				
Parents in community	−.062	(.288)	−.083	(.278)
Visits friend 1x/week	−.402	(.275)	−.382	(.266)
Visits family 1x/week	−.204	(.249)	−.649**	(.301)
Perceived lack of social support	.255**	(.122)	−.273	(.208)
Interaction Terms				
In the U.S. × Visits family	—	—	1.146**	(.466)
In the U.S. × Lack of social support	—	—	.787**	(.252)
α	1.894**	(.468)	1.484**	(.415)
χ²	41.1**		55.0**	
N	350		350	

Note: Data are shown as mean with standard error in parentheses.
† $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 8. Structure of Cathexis: Comparison of Emotional and Symbolic Relations in Mexico and U.S.

	Mexico	U.S.	Difference
Emotional Dissonance (percent agree)			
1. I feel trapped or stuck in our relationship	14.3	11.1	3.2
2. My partner gets more out of our relationship than I do	16.2	20.1	−3.9
3. I am more committed to our relationship than my partner is	31.5	22.4	9.1*
4. My partner has more to say than I do about important decisions that affect us	85.2	81.3	3.9
5. When my partner and I are together, I'm pretty quiet	33.7	32.0	1.7
Mean aggregate score (sum of less egalitarian responses)	1.8	1.7	.1
(SD)	(1.1)	(1.2)	
Percent agreeing with given number of items			
1	97.7	93.3	4.4
2	47.2	43.3	3.9
3	25.0	17.2	7.8
4	9.3	9.0	.3
5	1.9	4.5	−2.6
Symbolic Differentiation (percent agree)			
1. Married women have the right to continue their careers[a]	90.3	88.1	2.2
2. Women should take an active role in solving community problems[a]	77.3	81.3	−4.0
3. Men should share with women household chores (e.g., doing dishes and cleaning)[a]	88.9	82.1	6.8*
4. A woman should do whatever her husband wants	8.8	11.2	−2.4
Mean aggregate score (sum of less egalitarian responses)	.5	.6	−.1
(SD)	(.9)	(.9)	
Percent agreeing with given number of items			
1	31.9	36.6	−4.6
2	12.0	15.7	−3.6
3	5.6	6.7	−1.2
4	2.8	.7	2.0
N	216	134	

[a] Inverse score

$\dagger p \le .10$; $* p \le .05$; $** p \le .01$; $*** p \le .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 9. Structure of Cathexis: Negative Binomial Regression Models Predicting Emotional Dissonance and Symbolic Differentiation

	Emotional Dissonance		Symbolic Differentiation		Symbolic Differentiation	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Intercept	1.441**	(.350)	−.554	(.800)	−.446	(.795)
Migration						
In the U.S.	−.183	(.162)	.826**	(.373)	.546	(.397)
Years of U.S. experience	.003	(.017)	−.066*	(.041)	−.070*	(.041)
Human Capital						
Age	−.020**	(.010)	.020	(.022)	.022	(.022)
Years of education	−.026*	(.015)	−.026	(.033)	−.024	(.033)
Currently working	−.035	(.100)	−.667**	(.233)	−.678**	(.232)
Drives	.011	(.099)	.060	(.227)	.071	(.226)
Household						
Spousal age difference	−.002	(.010)	−.026	(.024)	−.029	(.024)
Years in relationship	−.002	(.009)	−.009	(.019)	−.013	(.019)
Husband's education	.003	(.014)	.005	(.032)	.003	(.032)
Number of children	.073*	(.041)	.083	(.098)	.074	(.098)
Household size	−.011	(.029)	−.063	(.078)	−.055	(.077)
Social Support						
Parents in community	−.021	(.104)	.201	(.233)	.193	(.231)
Visits friend 1x/week	−.117	(.093)	−.321*	(.213)	−.405*	(.219)
Visits family 1x/week	−.139*	(.089)	−.504**	(.198)	−.753**	(.242)
Perceived lack of social support	.008	(.042)	−.062	(.097)	−.054	(.096)
Interaction Terms						
In the U.S. × Visits family	—	—	—	—	.692*	(.388)
α	—	—	.840**	(.263)	.798**	(.258)
χ^2	23.9**		341.0**		34.2**	
N	350		350		350	

Note: Data are shown as mean with standard error in parentheses.
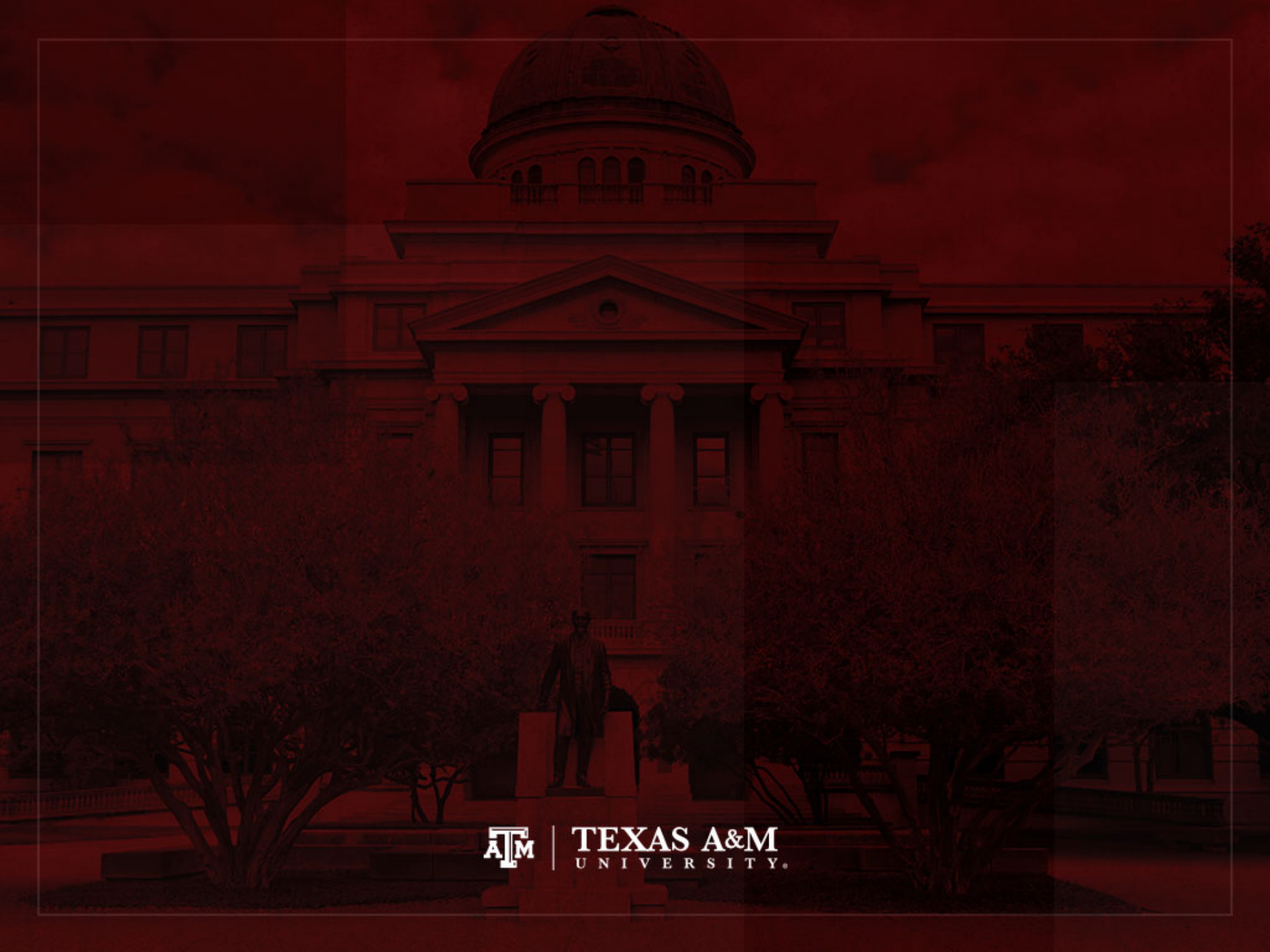† $p \le .10$; * $p \le .05$; ** $p \le .01$; *** $p \le .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Main results

- Relationship between migration and gender structures is variable and complex

- Mexican women benefit from migration in some dimensions of gender inequality

- In other cases, male-dominated lines of authority are reinforced in the U.S.

Research on gender & migration

- Review of research on gender and migration
  - American Journal of Sociology (AJS)
  - American Sociological Review (ASR)
  - Demography
  - Social Forces

- Although a significant sociological research has emerged on gender and migration in the last three decades, studies are not evenly distributed across the discipline

- Much of the recent scholarship has been by qualitative sociologists, who have been more successful than their quantitative counterparts incorporating gender in migration studies

Studies on women in migration

- Beginning in the late 1970s, studies examined
  - Characteristics of immigrant women
  - Timing and volume of their migration from sending communities
  - Their adaptation process in receiving nations
  - Women were both independent economic actors and dependent family members in the migration process

- By the late 1980s, household economy became a critical site for revealing the relationship between migration and women
  - Some implied that migration would tend to reinforce gender asymmetries via the tensions between reproductive labor and productive labor markets
  - Others suggested that migration created opportunities for reworking gender with possible improvements in women's status

Source: Curran et al. 2006.

Limitations

- Two limitations in quantitative migration scholarship

1. Practice of interviewing only (or largely) men
  - By asking most questions of household heads (for the most part these are identified as men)
  - These projects have limited data about women

2. Most migration data collection efforts fail to observe pre- and post-migration experiences and contexts
  - By only focusing on migrants, researchers lose sight of non-migrants (frequently women)

- Without these data, quantitative studies on gender and migration are biased toward the experiences of men
  - Especially for migration flows where men migrate first and then women follow, as in the Mexico-U.S. case

Qualitative studies

- By the mid-1990s sociologists had effectively turned to qualitative methods to understand the dynamics of gender and migration

- Theses studies shifted their lens away from women to gender in the migration process

- They showed how migration processes are reciprocally related to the social construction of gender

- Investment decisions, remittance patterns, and social ties to origin communities can only be understood with a gender lens

- Household dynamics as explanation for migration outcomes could no longer be understood without accounting for both men and women's behavior

- Gender is central to understand migration causes and consequences and how migration is a critical site for uncovering the mutability of gender relations

Beyond household relations

- Many studies often relegated gender analyses to the level of the family or household
  - Ignore gender in other domains of the migration process

- Scholarship on gender and migration extending beyond household boundaries includes
  - Employment studies: disadvantages encountered by women
  - Gender differences in migrant social networks
  - Conflict between work, identity, parenting, and family
  - Migrant relationships with state institutions
  - Community and civil society associations: religion, political...

- Ethnographic literature extends gender as a constitutive concept within migration theories beyond the realm of family and household to the market, civil society, and state institutions

TABLE 1

TOTAL NUMBER OF ARTICLES AND NUMBER OF GENDER[a] AND MIGRATION TAGGED ARTICLES IN *AJS, ASR, DEMOGRAPHY, SOCIAL FORCES* AND *IMR* (% OF ARTICLES WITH GENDER OR MIGRATION MENTIONED)

Year	AJS			ASR			Demography			Social Forces			IMR[b]	
	Total	Gender	Migration	Total	Gender	Migration	Total	Gender	Migration	Total	Gender	Migration	Total	Gender
1993	32	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	49	4 (8.2)	0 (0.0)	43	4 (9.3)	2 (4.7)	44	1 (2.3)	2 (4.6)	28	1 (3.6)
1994	38	2 (5.3)	1 (2.6)	39	26 (66.7)	1 (2.6)	33	2 (6.1)	5 (15.2)	55	33 (60.0)	2 (3.6)	32	5 (15.6)
1995	32	2 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	46[c]	28 (60.9)	1 (2.2)	36	5 (13.9)	4 (11.11)	61	29 (47.5)	2 (3.3)	37	1 (2.7)
1996	38	4 (10.5)	0 (0.0)	54	30 (55.6)	2 (3.7)	36	16 (44.4)	6 (16.7)	52	31 (59.6)	3 (5.8)	29	2 (6.9)
1997	38	3 (7.9)	1 (2.6)	47	41 (87.2)	2 (4.3)	38	18 (47.4)	6 (15.8)	51	38 (74.5)	3 (5.9)	38	1 (2.6)
1998	35	7 (20.0)	1 (2.9)	56	35 (62.5)	4 (7.1)	31	25 (80.7)	3 (9.7)	50	38 (70.4)	3 (6.0)	34	3 (8.8)
1999	35	14 (40.0)	2 (5.9)	42	27 (64.3)	4 (9.5)	42	17 (40.5)	7 (16.7)	54	29 (53.7)	3 (5.6)	35	3 (8.6)
2000	33	16 (48.5)	0 (0.0)	42[d]	28 (66.7)	2 (4.8)	41	17 (41.5)	4 (9.8)	49	21 (51.2)	5 (10.2)	35	0 (0)
2001	37	24 (64.9)	1 (2.7)	39	31 (79.5)	2 (5.1)	42	26 (61.9)	11 (26.2)	50	19 (38.0)	3 (6.0)	39	2 (5.1)
2002	26	16 (61.5)	1 (3.9)	39	23 (59.0)	4 (10.3)	40	22 (55.0)	3 (7.5)	42	28 (66.7)	4 (9.5)	36	2 (5.6)
2003	27	17 (63.0)	1 (3.7)	32	23 (71.9)	0 (0.0)	28	25 (89.3)	5 (17.9)	51	41 (80.4)	4 (7.8)	35	2 (5.7)
Total	371	105 (28.3)	8 (2.2)	485	296 (61.0)	22 (4.5)	410	177 (43.2)	56 (13.7)	559	308 (55.1)	34 (6.1)	378	22 (5.8)
Avg.	33.7	9.6	0.72	44.1	26.9	2	37.3	16.1	5.1	50.8	28	3.1	34.4	2

Notes: [a]We used the Proquest database to search each journal for the term "gender" in the title or abstract of the article and did not include any book reviews.

[b]We used JSTOR to search *IMR*, not including documentation, documentation notes, book reviews, review essays, commentaries, rejoinders, or conference reports or introduction/conclusions to special issues, as well as reflections on migration after 9/11 (2002, vol. 1).

[c]Several issues during this year had exchanges or debates. Exchanges were counted as one when there was a substantial analysis.

[d]We did not count the special, millennium issue.

TABLE 2

TOTAL NUMBER OF ARTICLES, 1993–2003 (PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF MIGRATION ARTICLES)

	# Migration Articles	Articles Controlling for Sex OR With Gender Content	Articles with Gender Content	
			Less Stringent Standard	More Stringent Standard
American Journal of Sociology	8	4 (50)	4 (50)	1 (13)
American Sociological Review	22	16 (77)	10 (46)	8 (36)
Demography	56	46 (82)	19 (34)	11 (20)
Social Forces	34	26 (77)	12 (35)	7 (21)
Total	120	93 (78)	45 (38)	27 (23)

- **2nd column:** around 20% of migration articles in three of the four journals (AJS is exception) contained no reference to sex composition
- **3rd column:** article indicated that migration process is inherently different for men and women and/or process is influenced by gendered interactions/practices within institutions and organizations
- **4th column:** gender as a central element: (1) introduction and background include discussions of gender relations; (2) analysis conceptualized key measures as gendered; (3) conclusions discussed gender as a central element of key results

Conclusions

- Only 23% of migration articles contained gender content between 1993 and 2003
  - Gender content was over 50%
  - Studies of immigrant assimilation represent the vast majority of studies of migration

- Significant articles demonstrate the centrality of gender for understanding migration cause and consequence
  - Much of this work is primarily qualitative and ethnographic
  - Gender influences how migration is experienced and observed
  - Migration survey data may not be capable of translating gender frames and concepts into measures and models

Source: Curran et al. 2006.
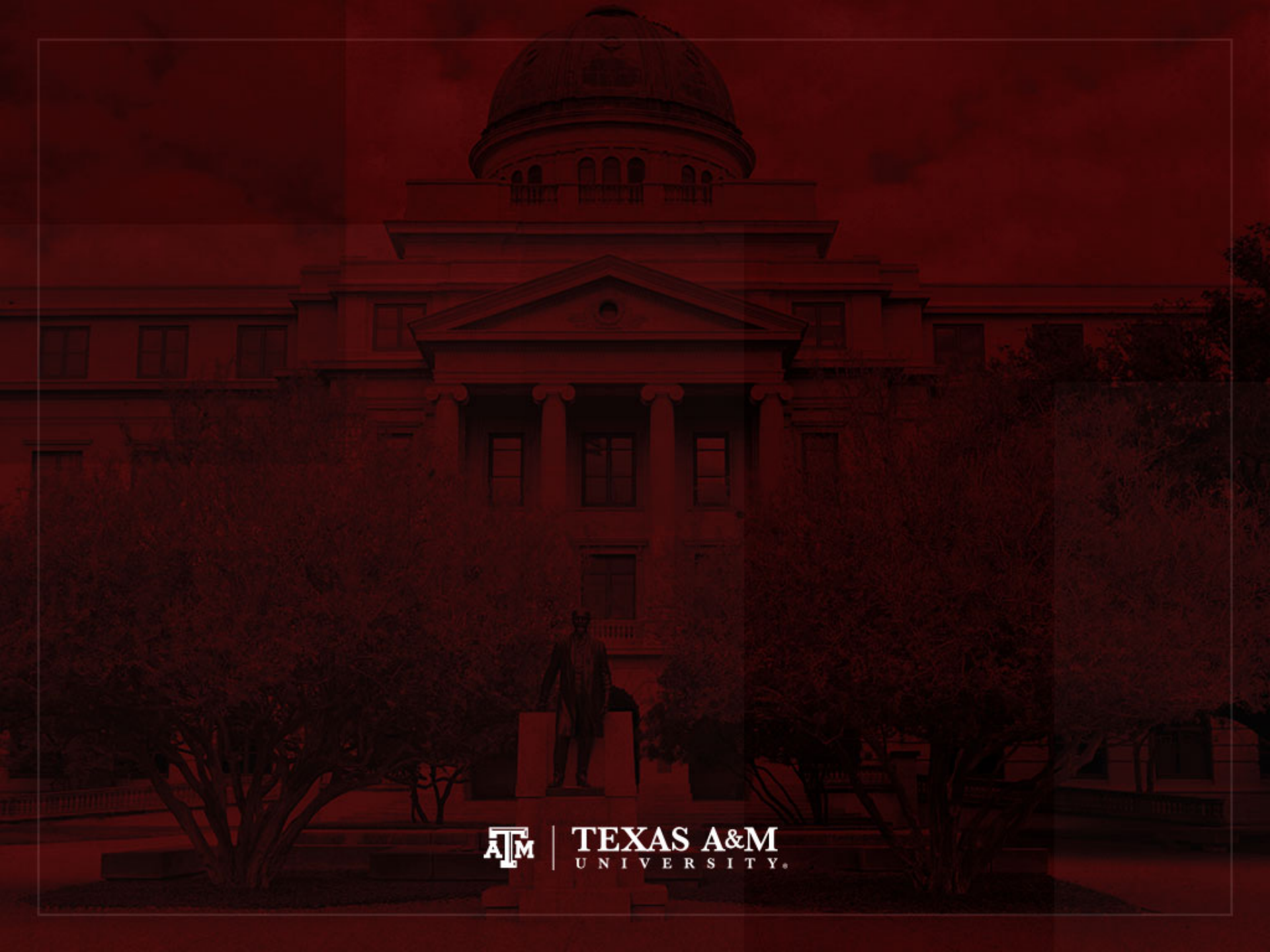
Possibilities for future studies

- Quantitative gender and migration scholars may extend knowledge about how gender relations influence migration with new data sources
  - Latin American Migration Project allows for comparative studies to uncover how gender operates in different migration systems
  - Other data sources about migration are available from North Africa, Turkey, former Soviet Union
  - Internal migration data for Asia: China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Africa, Thailand

- Future research questions demand new data collection
  - Connection between quantitative and qualitative methodologies
  - Longitudinal perspective
  - Civic and political participation in origin and destination

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