CHAPTER 6

Gender and Migration

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1. INTRODUCTION

A retrospective of the migration literature in various disciplines obscures women's participation in migration. In spite of all of the "women on the move" throughout the twentieth century, with few exceptions, research strategies in the same period have focused largely on men. Initial attempts to focus on women migrants in the 1970s were met at best with indifference, and at worst, with vitriolic hostility. In a 1976 article commenting on one of the first conferences on women and migration, the British urban anthropologist Anthony Leeds opined that "the category of 'women' seems to me a rhetorical one, not one which has (or can be proved to have) generic scientific utility" and he decried this focus as "individualistic, reductionist, and motivational." Leeds argued that focusing on women would deflect attention away from structural processes of capitalist exploitation. That in itself is telling, as it encodes the assumption that women do not act in economic or structural contexts, that women are somehow cloistered and sheltered from capitalist institutions. Androcentric biases, assumptions that women are "too traditional" and culture bound, or that they only migrate as family followers or "associational migrants" for family reunification, weigh heavily in the literature.

Women migrants began to receive more scholarly attention in the 1980s. The inter-

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national women's movement, and the subsequent growth of Women's Studies programs and feminist scholarship, as well as policy makers' and academics' renewed interest in migration, account for this turnabout. As one commentator observed of the burgeoning scholarship, the topic of immigration and women "has mushroomed" (Pedraza, 1991, p. 304). After decades of neglect and absence, women were "in" in the migration literature. By the early 1990s, there was enough research on the topic of women and migration to yield two substantive, review essays in prominent sociology publications in the United States (Pedraza, 1991; Tienda & Booth, 1991), as well as several edited volumes (e.g., Brettel & Simon, 1986; Buijs, 1993; Chant, 1992; Gabaccia, 1992; Phizacklea, 1983; Schenk-Sandbergen, 1995) and numerous monographs and case studies.

In spite of the focus on women and migration, gender and migration does not receive commensurate attention. Feminist scholarship shows that gender—that is, the social and cultural ideals, displays, and practices of masculinity and femininity—organizes and shapes our opportunities and life chances. The concept of gender as an organizing principle of social life, however, has encountered resistance and indifference in immigration scholarship. This is true of research efforts in various disciplines, such as economics, sociology, and even in that discipline often thought to be more hospitable to feminism, anthropology (Stacey & Thorne, 1985).

Much of the migration and immigration scholarship remains mired in an "add and stir" approach. Women are "added" as a variable to be inserted and measured, so that women's migration is examined, for example, with respect to fertility, and compared with men's employment patterns. Gender as a set of social relations that organize immigration patterns is generally ignored, and is taken into consideration only when women are the focus.

Some recent scholarship on gender and immigration has gone beyond just adding women and focuses on gender as social relations that affect and are influenced by migration (Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Repak, 1995). Still, many feminist migration scholars call for a focus on women. This is understandable given that the vast majority of contemporary research on immigration and migration typically omits women, focuses exclusively on men, and operates as though men were without gender (Wright, 1995). We argue that feminist immigration scholarship would best be served by shifting the focus from women to gender. The preoccupation with writing women into migration theory stifles our theorizing of how gender relations influence migration. This tendency is most evident in the continuing use of sex role theory to explain the patterns and determinants of female migration.

In this chapter we use key insights from the burgeoning body of research on women and migration to conceptualize gender as historically situated and socially constructed, contextual power relations between women and men and we seek to show how these relations intersect with other social institutions to influence migration. We contrast different approaches to the topic, juxtaposing sex role theory with a conceptualization of gendered labor recruitment. We then review some gendered trends in women and men's migration within Africa, Latin America, and Asia and from these continents to more industrialized nations. Although, in general, men and women have different patterns of movement, we caution against formulating a universal theory of difference. Finally, we show that gender relations not only influence migration but also change with migration as they intersect with other social institutions. We end by suggesting what remains to be done in migration theory and research to adequately conceptualize gender as a set of powerful, but contested and changing, social relations.

2. FROM SEX ROLES TO GENDER RELATIONS

2.1. The Legacy of Sex Role Theory

Much of the migration literature that addresses women's migration and immigration patterns remains mired in sex role theory. Sex role theory views gender as a relatively static attribute, not as a fluid practice (Connell, 1987; Stacey & Thorne, 1985). Men's and women's activities are seen as complementary and functional, as serving the greater purpose of social cohesion. Consequently, sex role theory underemphasizes, and often ignores altogether, issues of power relations and social change. Finally, sex role theory underlines differences, rather than similarities, between women and men.

Applying this sex role framework to women and migration leads to theories emphasizing how domestic roles anchor women, while underlining how men's ties to the public sphere facilitate their movement. The general tendency for men to cross international borders more than women is also explained within this framework. Furthermore, this theoretical focus on difference, manifested in a conceptualization of stable sex roles, views important changes in women's migration patterns as an exception to a general trend. In fact, our review of some recent publications suggests that in many scholarly efforts, theorizing the determinants of female migration has not moved far beyond the formulation proposed by Thandani and Todaro's 1984 article in which they hypothesized that the extent of female migration depends upon the extent of "sex-role constraint." A recent collection, *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries* (Chant, 1992), shows that many migration scholars still look to prescribed sex roles to explain the migration of women. According to Chant (1992, p. 199), "The most prominent variations in male and female mobility in the text appear to relate most closely to men's and women's roles in generating income within household units." The editor of the volume goes on to argue that in all nations examined in the collection, including Peru, Costa Rica, Ghana, Kenya, Bangladesh, Thailand, and Indonesia, men are more likely to migrate independently than women owing to "gender-selective mobility." This type of perspective places the focus on migration *difference* between women and men, and it implies that this difference is due to seemingly inevitable, unchanging, cross-cultural sex roles.

By contrast, there is a good deal of gender and migration scholarship that defies the concept of stable sex roles. This scholarship examines gender as relations imbued with power, but also sees gender relations as a fluid and mutable system that intersects with other social institutions. In these studies, gender forms part of the social, economic, and cultural constellations that constitute migration. Using this approach, we can begin to view gender as a set of social relations that structures migration. Through this lens, we can then see familiar practices and institutions, such as labor recruitment and social networks, as components of immigration that are fundamentally gendered.

2.2. Circular Migrant Labor and Gendered Labor Recruitment

International migration opportunities are circumscribed by transnational social networks. Although the immigration literature underscores the importance of these social networks, insofar as they provide important resources and connections, most of the literature either ignores the gender-based origins and character of these networks or assumes that male-dominated immigrant networks are natural, neutral, and do not require further inquiry

(e.g., Massey, Alarcon, Durand, & Gonzalez, 1987). Ironically, explanations of migration patterns based on sex role theory make similar assumptions by not asking under what circumstances gender roles are so persistent. Gendered patterns of migration derive principally from gendered labor demand and recruitment, not from immutable "sex roles." Gendered labor recruitment, in turn, influences the formation of gender-specific networks. In this way, a gendered state, economy, and social sphere intersect with women and men's traditional "roles," often leading to changes in women's and men's activities, relative power, and identities.

In various historical eras, gendered patterns of labor recruitment have been used to secure a cheap and exploitable labor force while ensuring that the development of settlement communities would not arise. This type of labor recruitment is generally circular and temporary but recurring.

Gendered recruitment patterns are also racialized. The group recruited for work is perceived as racially different and inferior, and the work is legislated along disenfranchised and sometimes coercive conditions. A classic example of a formal recruitment pattern is the United States' Bracero Program, a contract labor project designed to meet World War II labor shortages in western agriculture. The program remained in effect far beyond the end of World War II, beginning in 1942 and ending in 1964, after nearly 5 million temporary labor contracts were issued to Mexican citizens. Virtually all of the bracero contracts went to men. The history of much Asian migration to the United States occurred along these lines as well.

What has often gone without notice is the gendered aspect of circular migrant labor recruitment. Circular labor migration is characterized by the physical separation of the costs of maintaining and renewing labor (Burawoy, 1976; Glenn, 1986). Immigrant workers receive the resources necessary for daily subsistence or maintenance in the country of destination, but the workers are reproduced, or renewed, in their countries of origin. In these cases women's labor is twofold. They actively support their own family's daily reproduction and maintenance, but they also indirectly subsidize a system of labor migration that benefits primarily urban elites, many of whom are white, with access only to extremely low wages. As Bonnie Thornton Dill (1988), Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1986), and others have pointed out, contract labor systems were organized to maximize economic productivity, and offered few supports to sustain family life.

Labor recruitment has recently been seen as gendered because women are now actively recruited to work in low-wage jobs that have grown in industrialized nations since the late 1960s. One of the clearest examples is the recruitment of women from Asia and Latin America to work as nannies and housekeepers in the United States, Britain, Canada, Europe, and increasingly in the Middle East (Constable, 1997; Repak, 1995). Repak (1994) coined the term "gendered labor recruitment" to describe the initial migration of Central American women to Washington, D.C. in the 1960s and 1970s. Diplomats, who spent a term of duty in Central America, resettled in Washington, D.C. and informally recruited Central American women to work as nannies and housekeepers in D.C. Gender-specific labor recruitment can also be formally implemented, as in the cases of South Asian and Filipina migration to the Middle East (Eelens, Schampers, & Speckmann, 1992; Tyner, 1996). Gender-specific migration and recruitment does not follow from immutable sex roles. Rather, gendered patterns of migration emerge from the intersection of traditional gender relations and social, economic, and political changes. It is to these historicized patterns of migration that we now turn.

3. GENDERED PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

In this section we describe gendered patterns of migration within Africa, Asia, and Latin America as well as migration from these nations to more industrialized nations. We focus on how the social relations of gender intersect with other institutions to produce gendered recruitment and gendered networks, showing that gender is a set of fluid social relations rather than stable sex roles.

3.1. Africa

It is only fairly recently, in the late twentieth century, that women have been participating in labor migration in Africa. Men had traditionally predominated in rural–urban migration because men were vigorously recruited for work in plantations, railroads, mines, and even as domestic servants (Moodie, 1994). Under racial apartheid in South Africa, the men lived in the city of destination only while employed, and when not employed they returned to their rural or village place of origin. This system was not uncommon elsewhere in the continent.

Although African women themselves were not on the move, they played a key role in maintaining this system. The male migrant workers received the resources necessary for daily subsistence or maintenance in the city of destination, but these same workers were "renewed" in their place of origin, with the women taking on the responsibility for intensive, small-scale, subsistence farming. The women "left behind" also traded, engaged in petty commodity production, and became effective heads-of-households.

African women stayed behind not only because of their traditional "roles" in the household and in agriculture, but also because in many nations employers and government authorities deliberately kept women and children in rural hinterland areas so as to avoid the creation of permanent, black communities in white areas (Stichter, 1985; Tienda & Booth, 1991). In short, women's traditional responsibility to care for children and the home intersected with systems of racial oppression and explicit policies to ensure racial segregation.

The coercive migrant system in South Africa is a stark example of the mutability of traditional gender "roles" under certain conditions. It is rare that men are conceptualized as gendered beings, yet Moodie's (1994) historical study of the South African mines, beginning in the late nineteenth century, showed that men in the mines took on traditionally female activities such as sewing, crocheting, and making beer. Not all men did this "women's work," but the men created an alternative system of hierarchy that drew on the social relations of gender. Younger men often became the "wives" of older men who would give them gifts and money in return for domestic chores and sexual pleasure. The age hierarchy in many African cultures was central to gendered relations between the men. Older men could not be wives, although they might have served as wives in their youth. The young men eventually transitioned out of these oppressive relationships. In this manner, they did not threaten the relationship between the older man and his family back in the country. In addition, this system of relationships between men was seen as safer than relations with the few city women, who at that time were overwhelmingly prostitutes, because it prevented pregnancy.

Since the 1960s, women have increased and men have decreased their participation in rural–urban migration flows in Africa (Gugler, 1989; Stichter, 1985; Tienda & Booth,

1991). Most of these new female migrants are married women who are joining husbands in cities, but increasingly more unmarried women are also migrating (Stichter, 1985; Wilkinson, 1987). In the second half of the twentieth century, a growing number of women have migrated to West African towns and cities (Wilkinson, 1987), and one can now find settled communities around the South African mines as women's traditional farming activities are displaced by capitalist penetration into the rural hinterlands (Moodie, 1994). South African women did not merely follow their husbands to the cities, however. Their move was also structured by changes in the local political economy. For example, Pondo women now commonly migrate to escape unhappy marriages and husbands who do not support their children (Buijs, 1993; Oboo, 1980).

Although African women are now more likely to migrate to cities than before, men still predominate in international migration from African nations. Accordingly, there is not much literature on African women and international migration. Nonetheless, West African women are now recruited for paid domestic work in Italy. In Italy, however, African men, who work in construction and other public occupations, are the targets of growing anti-immigrant sentiment. Many Italians believe African immigrant men are taking their jobs, yet in contrast, African women are not in the public mind because they are "invisibly" employed in households and because they allow Italian middle-class families to run smoothly as both husband and wife are in the paid labor force. However, there is some evidence that Italians prefer lighter skinned Filipinas over West African women as paid domestic workers (Andall, 1992). In addition, upper-class Somali women, fleeing the civil war, now migrate to Britain with their families. In Britain, Somali immigrant women work as housekeepers and nannies and in the factories, while most Somali men are unemployed because it is seen as unmanly for an upper-class Somali man to do such work (Summerfield, 1993). Somali women's employment and men's unemployment in Britain are examples of how gender and class intersect to create a preference for immigrant women in the growing low-wage service and factory jobs in industrialized nations.

In this section we used the literature to show that male-dominated migration streams within Africa were gendered by the political and economic policies of nations, such as the racial apartheid system that prevailed in South Africa. Historicizing and conceptualizing male-dominated migration streams allows us to recognize the recent migration of African women as paid domestic workers to European nations, for example, as a new form of gendered migration, one that has come about with globalization.

We wish to underline that gendered migration patterns in the African continent differ from those in other developing nations. Unlike the African continent, in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, most migrants to the city are women. This difference between the migration patterns of African, Latin American, and Asian women should warn against a universal theory of sex role constraint.

3.2. Asia and the Middle East

Asia's position in the global economy as a site for multinational corporations' manufacturing and assembly activities, and as a major location of U.S. military bases, has spurred migration within Asian nations (Ong, 1987; Sturdevant & Stoltzfus, 1992; Wolf, 1990). These developments are largely responsible for attracting primarily Asian women, not men, to the cities, because assembly work is low paid and because the tedious nature of assembly work is seen as more fit for women than for men.

Research conducted by Diane Wolf (1990) in Java and by Aihwa Ong (1987) in Malaysia examined the experiences of young, single women who migrated from rural areas to work in the new export processing zones. In Malaysia, the combination of declining peasant farming and the introduction of Japanese manufacturing assembly plants has induced the rural–urban migration and proletarianization of young, single women. The emergence of export-oriented textile and electronics industries in Thailand has also spurred the migration of young women to the cities (Singhanetra-Renard & Prabhudhanitisarn, 1992). In the Philippines, women from the rural provinces migrate to cities, and many of them are employed as domestic workers and prostitutes in areas around U.S. military bases. Although prostitution is illegal in the Philippines, women sell sexual labor as "hospitality women" in bars, massage parlors and night clubs. The migrant women who engage in this activity, are routinely abused economically, sexually, and physically.

Although in general, Asian women predominate in rural–urban migration, we see different patterns in the South Asian nations of India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. In South Asia men outnumber women in the cities, owing to patterns of land tenure and agriculture (Pedraza, 1991, p. 310). The South Asian case, however, should not be seen as an exception to a general rule of female predominance in rural–urban migration in Asia. Instead, the case of South Asia indicates how the local political economy (i.e., land tenure and agriculture) intersects with gender relations to produce gender-specific migration streams, much as it did in South Africa to spur the migration of women to the cities.

International migration from South Asian nations such as India and Pakistan has been structured by past colonial relations with Britain. During the colonial period, Britain encouraged the migration of Indians and Pakistanis to become the merchants in British colonies in East Africa. Indian and Pakistani women migrated with their families to Kenya and Uganda. The first waves of Indian migration to Britain began with individual male migrant laborers, but over time women came and permanent settlement communities were formed (Clarke, Peach, & Vertovec, 1990). In addition many Indian and Pakistani women and men left East Africa for Britain, leading Bhachu (1995) to call them "twice migrants."

Today large numbers of Indians and Pakistanis have settled in Britain. Pakistani women and girls under purdah—the Islamic custom of female separation from unrelated males—work in their home sewing for local garment manufacturers. Yet these women are not isolated in their homes. Their informal networks with other Pakistani women give them some semblance of power as they discuss the going piece rate and make friendships that help buttress the hostility of white British society (Werbner, 1988). Westwood's (1988) study of Gujarati women in Britain showed that women benefited from female networks on the shop floor as well. These women garment workers were often kin, as women helped sisters and daughters get jobs. The women used their close ties to slow production to stabilize the piece rate, to challenge the white male dominated union, and to create a more hospitable environment at work with celebrations surrounding birthdays, weddings, and motherhood.

Asian women have a long history of migrating to the United States, and although Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipina women have predominated in recent decades, only Chinese and Japanese women predominated in the past. Chinese and Japanese women began coming to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, respectively, but their migration was hindered by deliberate U.S. policies of racial exclusion.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chinatowns were largely "bachelor" communities, and immigrant daughters from poor, peasant families in China supplied sexual labor in cities such as San Francisco, where there were few women (Cheng, 1979). These young women were usually sold by poor families, and daughters accepted their sale and subsequent migration out of filial loyalty. Chinese patriarchal ideology forbade the migration of "decent" women, and U.S. policies also prevented the migration of all Chinese after 1882. According to Cheng, the experiences of these young migrant women were not homogeneous, as prostitution was organized in different ways. Some of the women gained autonomy and control over their lives, while others were virtual slaves.

The migration of Japanese women was distinct for each generation. In *Issei, Nisei, War Bride* (1986), Evelyn Nakano Glenn examined the migration and domestic work experiences of three generations of Japanese women in the San Francisco Bay Area. The first generation of Japanese women began arriving in the early twentieth century, rapidly transforming the ratio of Japanese men to women from 25:1 at the turn of the century, to 2:1 by 1924. Many of these women were "picture brides," and once in the United States, they worked triple shifts doing their own housework, working in family farms and businesses, and also as paid domestic workers. The 1924 Immigration Act excluded all immigration from Asian countries, effectively curtailing the growth of Asian–American communities in the United States. Although the 1952 McCarran–Walter Act established token immigration quotas, it was only the 1965 amendment to the immigration act that allowed more Asians to immigrate to the United States.

More recently Korean, Vietnamese, Filipina, and South Asian and Middle Eastern women have migrated to the United States. In recent years many educated Filipinas were recruited to the United States to fill nursing shortages in hospitals and nursing homes (Ong & Azores, 1994; Pido, 1992). Yet they were generally placed in the lowest paid nursing jobs, often in inner city county hospitals where the case loads are the highest (Ong & Azores, 1994). Iranian women came to the United States as exiles in the early 1980s, fleeing the fundamentalist revolution against the Shah, while Vietnamese women came with their families as refugees after the Vietnam War (Nacify, 1993; Ong, Bonacich, & Cheng, 1994). Korean immigration was facilitated by the presence of U.S. military bases in South Korea and women generally migrated with their families, settling primarily in Los Angeles and New York (Ong, Bonacich, & Cheng, 1994).

Recent migration streams of Filipina, Sri Lankan, and Indian women to the Middle East, where they are recruited as contracted domestic workers, offer stark examples of the mutability of traditional gender roles in changing political and economic contexts. The migration of Muslim Sri Lankan women to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states is in sharp contrast to explanations of migration patterns based on a theory of sex roles. Until very recently, Sri Lankan women took care of the family and household chores and Sri Lankan men were the sole breadwinners. This has changed with the increasing poverty among Sri Lankan households, and rapid economic growth of Middle Eastern nations. Although there is very high unemployment among Sri Lankan men, it is the women who migrate to the Middle East owing to the gender-specific demand for domestic workers, which is activated by gendered recruitment. The demand for male migrant construction workers has slowed, with the completion of the basic physical infrastructure of these economies, but the demand for live-in housekeepers and nannies has not subsided. A tightly controlled, government-run recruitment program ensures this system of gendered migration and immigrant labor. For example, in Saudi Arabia it is more expensive for Sri Lankan

men to obtain work permits than it is for Sri Lankan women (Eelens & Speckmann, 1992).

Gendered labor recruitment also funnels the migration of Filipina domestic workers to the Middle Eastern nations of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and to other Asian nations such as Singapore and Hong Kong (Tyner, 1996). Although most studies focus on the deployment of workers, Tyner's research focuses on the first two stages of the recruitment process, contract procurement and labor recruitment. The contract procurement stage consists of negotiations with the labor-importing nation that is seeking a low-paid labor force. The labor-importing nations have the upper hand in this current environment of labor surplus. Meanwhile, the Philippines competes with other nations, such as Indonesia and Pakistan, to represent its workers as the most docile and hardworking migrants. At this stage, gendered assumptions that women are homemakers, mistresses, or mothers are used to portray women in a range of occupations—from domestic workers to nurses to entertainment workers—that provide physical comfort. In contrast, men are portrayed in professional or construction occupations (Tyner, 1996, p. 411). The recruitment phase takes place in the Philippines as private and government recruiters try to match workers to specific contracts. In this phase, recruitment of women performing artists is often the focus because the explicitly sexualized demand is great and the payoff is larger. The selection of geographical areas from which to recruit women is also gendered and fueled by sexualized stereotypes and images that rural women are more adept at domestic skills, are more docile, and that women who frequent nightclubs are more difficult to control (Tyner, 1996, p. 413). In sum, Tyner argues that migrant women are essentially bought and sold as government and private recruiters employ these gendered representations in the labor recruitment process.

In contrast to the government-sponsored recruitment patterns that characterize the international migration of Asian women, most Latin American women's migration is facilitated by well-established networks. In Latin America and the Caribbean, as in Asia, women predominate in rural to urban migration, which increasingly corresponds to patterns of investment by multinational corporations.

3.3. Latin America and the Caribbean

Since the colonial period, young women have migrated from Latin American rural communities to cities for jobs as domestic workers in private households. In the second half of the twentieth century, Latin America urbanization accelerated and young, single women have predominated in rural–urban migration. Many of these young, single women came from poor, peasant families and they were drawn to work as domestic servants in Latin American cities. Their migration served as a "demographic safety valve" for rural communities that could not absorb the labor of these women (Tienda & Booth, 1992, p. 63). In the late twentieth century, as live-out working arrangements became more common, domestic work relations became more contractual and less personal. Alternatively, new urban jobs in retail and services also drew migrant women into the competitive sector. For poor, relatively unschooled women from the countryside, domestic work still provides one of the few means of economic survival and urban exposure, but it does not necessarily provide a stepladder to better jobs. Migrant women who are able to leave domestic service do so because they marry and become homemakers, or because they

make a lateral socioeconomic move to informal sector vending (Chaney & Garcia Castro, 1989).

The general tendency for Latin American women to migrate to the cities while men migrate abroad is the result of specific historical conditions. Lourdes Arizpe (1981) made precisely this point with respect to Mexican internal migration. The pioneer stage of rural–urban migration in Mexico in the 1940s and 1950s was made up of young people with some secondary or prepatory level education who migrated to the cities to find professional jobs and a modern life (Arizpe, 1981, p. 636). Twenty years later, peasants began to migrate for survival as the proliferation of manufactured products into the rural areas encouraged greater dependency on wages. Both young men and young women migrated to the cities during this period, but women's traditional income-generating activities—weaving, sewing, pottery-making, and petty trade—declined drastically, making it nearly impossible for single women to survive in rural areas. This fueled their migration to cities.

Male migration to the United States has also accelerated women's migration and employment within Mexico. Meager remittances and the prolonged absences of migrant husbands often propelled women to migrate to cities and villages for jobs in agricultural occupations previously defined as male, in service sectors jobs, and in newly created occupations where labor is exclusively or primarily female, such as jobs in packinghouses; maquiladoras; in shoe, clothing, and textile manufacturing; and in homework assembly (Beneria & Roldan, 1987).

Since the mid-1960s, women in Mexico and the Caribbean have also been drawn to cities to work in export assembly production (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Nash, 1983; Tiano, 1994). As in Asian nations, particular patterns of industrialization along the United States–Mexico border and in the Caribbean have stimulated women's rural–urban migration. In 1965, in an effort to stave off rising unemployment the Mexican government instituted the Border Industrialization Program (BIP), a program designed to generate the infrastructure and legal conditions necessary to attract successfully foreign manufacturing investment along the northern border with the United States. Although the BIP was originally intended to employ male migrant workers, the plants employed predominantly young, single women because of employer preferences and the growing population of single women without the financial support of husbands or fathers. During the 1970s, women accounted for 75% to 90% of the border plant assembly workers, and many of them were young, single, childless women drawn from the interior of Mexico (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983).

Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s it was primarily single women who migrated and sought wage work in Mexico, with the economic crisis of the 1980s, financial need propelled married women with small children into the labor force. Many of these women were former migrants to the city (Escobar & Gonzalez de la Rocha, 1988; de Oliveiria, 1990). Many types of unregulated, informal sector work, for example, vending or doing assembly in the home, allow married women to still assume child-rearing and domestic responsibilities in the home. Insights into these processes led Escobar, Gonzalez de la Rocha, and Roberts (1987) to argue that women with children were more likely to migrate to Guadalajara than to the United States because they could perform outwork for pay and still care for their children. In short, the specific demand for women in the maquiladoras and the proliferation of informal sector work generated by larger political and economic changes have intersected with household gender relations to structure women's migration to the cities.

Latin American women of various nationalities, but especially Mexican, Cuban, Dominican, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan, have also migrated to the United States and many of them find work as paid domestic workers, as factory workers, and in retail. Puerto Rican women's migration to the U.S. mainland, particularly to the East Coast, is intimately tied to U.S. patterns of investment in Puerto Rico (Toro-Morn, 1995). Yet in the mainstream immigration literature the migration of women is only briefly mentioned and rarely taken as the starting point of analysis.

The tendency to minimize the size and importance of women international migrants is clear in the case of Mexican migration to the United States. Although historical studies, like Vicki Ruiz's (1987) on the California canneries, show that Mexican women and children migrated in the early decades of this century, much of the literature characterizes Mexican migration as circular, temporary, male-dominated migration. These generalizations come from a particular historical period of migration, however, namely that characterized by the Bracero Program from 1942 to 1965 and to a lesser extent by the earlier contract labor program during World War I. This gender-discriminate labor policy mandated an elastic supply of labor, one that could be synchronized with seasonal agricultural fluctuations and that would externalize labor reproduction costs to Mexico.

The Bracero Program provided the legislative foundation for the strength of men's social migrant networks. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) found that these male networks were not automatically extended to wives or other female kin. Instead, wives had to struggle with their husbands, and daughters with their fathers, before they could migrate. Eventually, women's migrant networks developed that allowed women to migrate to California without the approval of male kin, but with the help of an aunt or a sister already in the United States. Recent research suggests that migration networks among Puerto Ricans have also been gendered. Ellis, Conway, and Bailey (1996) found that migration decisions were made in contexts where women and men have different access to resources, such as networks and money, to pay for recruitment agencies and for the move itself.

The development of female networks facilitated the formation of permanent settlement communities (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Thus, while Mexican women with children might be more likely to migrate to Mexican cities than to the United States (Escobar et al., 1987), it is well known that Mexican women have also migrated with their children to California, Texas, and other U.S. states.

A less well-known pattern of migration involves the solo migration of women who are mothers of young children. Increasingly, many Mexican and Central American women are migrating to work in the United States while leaving their children in their countries of origin, in the care of grandmothers, other female kin, the children's fathers, or sometimes with paid caregivers. In a recent article, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) refer to this pattern as "Latina transnational motherhood." In some cases, the separations of time and distance are substantial; ten years may elapse before women are reunited with their children. While transnational mothering has numerous historical precursors, most of them involve the migration of men away from their children, although the separation of mothers and children during slavery, and the legacy of Caribbean and African-American women from the South leaving their children "back home" to seek work in the U.S. North are important precursors. When men come North and leave their families in Mexico, as they did during the Bracero Program and as many continue to do today, they are fulfilling familial obligations defined as breadwinning for the family. When Mexican and Central American women do so, they are embarking not only on an immigration journey, but on a more radical, gender-transformative odyssey. As they initiate separations of space

and time from their communities of origin, they must cope with stigma, guilt, and criticism from others. The jobs that many of these women perform in paid domestic work are not often compatible with the daily care for one's own family. In this way, contemporary transnational motherhood continues a long legacy of people of color being incorporated into the United States through coercive systems of labor that do not recognize family rights. The job characteristics of paid domestic work, especially live-in work, virtually impose transnational motherhood for many Mexican and Central American women who have children of their own (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997).

A study of Central American migration to Washington, D.C. provides another example of gendered labor recruitment and gender-based social networks, in this case principally constituted by women. In this study, Terry Repak (1995) found that Central American housekeepers were initially informally recruited to Washington, D.C. during the 1960s and 1970s by diplomatic and professional families returning home after a tour of duty in Central America. In this instance, the regional structural conditions in Washington, D.C., particularly the labor demand for nannies and housekeepers, proved to be more conducive to women's than to men's migration. Occupational sex segregation in U.S. labor markets played a large part in shaping gendered patterns of labor migration. At the point of origin, the relatively low marriage rates also facilitated women's ability to migrate. While a vanguard of Central American women immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s laid the foundations of social networks, over time these networks diversified and facilitated men's migration and the emergence of permanent Central American communities in Washington, D.C.

Yet another study of Central American migrants to the United States sheds light on the gendered nature of social networks and the gendered outcomes of legalization offered by the Immigration Reform and Control Act. In a study of the Maya who have settled in Houston, Texas, sociologist Jacqueline Hagan (1994) found that the Mayan men were better able than the women to develop social networks. This is not due to traditional sex roles nor any cultural predilection on the part of the Maya. This pattern emerges, Hagan argues, due to occupational segregation by sex in the United States and specifically in Houston. In Houston, virtually all of the Mayan men worked as maintenance or stock workers for a big supermarket chain and the women as live-in domestic workers. Hagan argues that because of the men's well-developed job-finding networks, newly arrived Maya men were able to locate jobs faster than the newcomer women, who each waited to find a new, separate employer. The isolation the women encountered in their live-in jobs seemed to work against the fortification and multiplication of their own social networks.

The Houston study also shows the gendered repercussions of these networks. Hagan explains that the women, because of their less developed information networks, were less successful than the men in obtaining legalization through the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The women were also hindered, Hagan notes, by their reliance on domestic employers, who were often reluctant to sign affidavits for fear that they would be harangued by the IRS for not paying employment taxes.

Migration of political refugees is another example that defies the facile generalization that Latin American men migrate abroad while women migrate to the cities. Political refugees generally come as families and plan to settle permanently. In Chile, the 1973 military coup and overthrow of the democratically elected, socialist president, and the repressive aftermath forced many trade unionists, activists, and leftists to leave for Europe, Mexico, Canada, and the United States. Cuban women who came to Miami with their families fleeing Fidel Castro's regime derived primarily from the middle and upper

classes. Familiar explanations for the Cubans' success in Miami emphasized the class privileges and human capital that they brought with them, and the politically motivated actions of the U.S. government in offering substantial resettlement assistance to those fleeing communism. Cuban women also played an important part in building Cuban economic success in the United States (Fernandez-Kelly & Garcia, 1990).

In this section we have given an overview of the general patterns of migration within Africa, Asia, and Latin America and migration from these nations to the United States and other more industrialized nations. For internal migration we have shown that, rather than immutable gender roles, local economic and political conditions interact with a traditional gender division of labor in the home to produce women's and men's migration patterns. For international migration streams we have shown the ways in which gendered recruitment patterns and the formation of gender-specific networks have led to the predominance of men in international migration during particular historical moments. Yet as changes in the economies of industrialized nations lead to demand for domestic servants, garment workers, and other gendered occupations, we see increasing female-specific recruitment and networks (Sassen-Koob, 1984). Thus, labor migration is gendered at the macro level of labor demand as well as the micro level of gendered networks. As Ellis et al., (1996) show in the case of Puerto Rican migration, restructuring incorporates women and men into industrialized economies differently, drawing on patriarchy as much as capitalism. In the next section we continue to challenge a view of gender as stable roles by showing that gender relations are not only determinants of migration but are also influenced by migration.

4. CHANGING GENDER RELATIONS WITH MIGRATION

In 1970, in her pioneering work *Women's Role in Economic Development*, Esther Boserup argued that women's status declines with industrialization and migration. Since then, scholars of migration and gender have moved beyond debating whether women benefit or lose with migration and toward understanding the contradictions in women's status that come with migration. In this section we show that with migration, women often gain status in some realms while losing it in others. Even if women's power increases and men's decreases, as is often the case with international migration where racial oppression is a factor, men generally still benefit from their status as men.

4.1. Women Who Stay Behind: Beyond a Static Portrayal

Explanations of migration patterns rarely take as a starting point the experience of the women who stay behind. Are we to assume that because they stayed behind they are inevitably tied to the singular role of housekeeping and childcare? What kinds of new activities do they take on with the departure of their husbands, fathers, and brothers? In this section we use case studies from Mexico and the Dominican Republic to conceptualize how migration influences gender relations in the sending communities.

In regions of Mexico marked by United States-bound male migration, patriarchal gender relations that structure women's work experience have shown receptiveness to change. Gail Mummert's (1988) research examined the rural villages surrounding Zamora, Michoacan, where young, single women's recent employment in commercial agriculture,

in conjunction with male wage labor in the United States, has brought about rapid and significant changes in gender relations. Initially, local and regional employers' recruitment efforts obtained parental permission by assuring parents that their daughters would be properly chaperoned. Today this is no longer the case. Female employment has shifted from being a stigmatized rarity to a virtual rite of passage, an expectation for all young, single women, and an alternative to household drudgery and isolation. Today, young women are no longer cloistered in the home, but walk about with their friends, with whom they take buses outside the village to the fields and packinghouses. While the first generation of female workers turned over their entire earnings to their parents, young women now either keep all of it or contribute only part of their paychecks to their families and spend the rest as they please, usually on clothes and cosmetics. Even when working daughters compliantly turn over their salary to parents, young women have acquired more decision-making power in the domestic arena. Courting patterns are more open, and in less than two decades there has been a shift away from patrilocality to matrilocality or neolocality, as mothers and daughters pool their earnings to purchase the new couple land, and thus avoid the subordination a newly married daughter suffers when living with parents-in-law.

It would be misleading to overstate these transformations in domestic patriarchy. Although women may "take the reins" during men's long-term absences by making decisions, securing employment, and venturing beyond the domestic sphere, their behavior often remains subject to strong double standards. Sexual infidelity, for example, may be tolerated in a man, who is allowed to maintain a *casa chica* with a second woman and children, but a women left alone by her sojourning husband is often under the watchful eyes of other villagers, and any contact with an unrelated man may be cause for suspicion. Yet young women's acceptance of these double standards may be eroding. Georgina Rosado's research suggests that in the context of men's migration northward, women's beliefs about traditional double standards of sexuality are weakening. One of the young, single working women that Rosado interviewed in a rural, migratory village of Michoacan, discussed the issue of spousal sexual infidelity with her friends and her mother, and then concluded, "I don't believe as my mother does that you must put up with your husband forever if he cheats and turns outs bad" (Rosado, 1990, p. 67).

The migration of men and the remittances they send can also influence the status of women back home. Mascarenhas-Keyes' (1993) study on India showed the complex changes that can occur with men's migration. Lower caste Catholic women once provided domestic and farm labor for upper caste Catholics. With the remittances from their husbands, however, lower caste Catholic women now hire migrant Hindu women as domestics. Lower caste Catholic women have redefined themselves as no longer fit to do housework or farmwork, while Hindu migrant women have redefined themselves as marketable employees and have so gained both new independence and subordination. This is a stark example of the intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity, manifested in the severely unequal relations between two groups of women, Catholic employers and Hindu domestic workers.

Increased autonomy and power in men's absence often gives women the power to negotiate their own migration with their husbands and other male kin. This is a clear example of how gender is not made up of stable roles but of contested power relations. Recent research has looked at Mexican women who eventually migrate to the United States to join their husbands (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Although there were structural

inducements to this pattern of migration, it was men's authority within families and men's access to migrant network resources that favored the husbands' initial departure. Yet their departure rearranged gender relations in the family; as women assumed new tasks and responsibilities, they learned to act more assertively and autonomously. This new sense of social power, and later, for another cohort of migrant wives, additional access to women's network resources, enabled the wives to migrate to the United States.

In many ways this study echoes the findings of Sherrie Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar (1991), who found similar dynamics among Dominican women who initially stayed behind when their husbands migrated to New York. Like the case of Mexican women, Dominican women actively negotiated their migration with their husbands. One Dominican woman convinced her husband to let her migrate by arguing that she could not survive economically back home. Yet she really wanted to migrate because a friend told her that her husband would not be able to push her around in New York. Thus a focus on gender relations also shows that migrants are not always motivated by economic gains, as is still assumed in much of the mainstream immigration literature.

These case studies show that migration of male kin can induce change in gender relations, often leading to the eventual migration of the women. More research should be done on women who stay behind, as well as on the struggles between women and men that lead to the eventual migration of women. In the next section we examine the more common question of what happens to gender relations when women move.

4.2. Women Who Migrate to the Cities

Although staying "back home" and assuming a myriad of economic and family responsibilities has been a struggle for women, it has traditionally afforded them some semblance of autonomy and independence. What happens when they migrate to cities? In a study of migrant women in Lesotho, Wilkinson (1987) found that migration did not enhance, but rather diminished women's position vis-à-vis men. As young women have acquired education, many have aspired to clerical, industrial, or technical jobs, but more often than not they do not find the jobs they seek. In the city, women work commonly as vendors, as commodity producers, and as prostitutes. In this context, migrating to the city increased women's dependence on men and intensified their subordination (Wilkinson, 1987). In the city of Maseru, Wilkinson found that women's only job opportunities were in the informal sector, while migrant men took jobs in the formal sector or the public sector. Even when migrant women have better employment opportunities and increased incomes, their relative economic position does not necessarily improve dramatically, as they often remain dependent on men to purchase their goods.

In a review of various case studies of women and migration in several African nations, Tienda and Booth (1991, p. 60) noted that the impact of migration often depends on whether a woman is married or single at the time of migration:

> For women who moved with or to join husbands, migration transferred male control over women's labour and earnings from rural to urban areas, adapting hierarchical relations to an urban setting. . . (so that) wives in poor families were unable to challenge the patriarchal relations of redistribution. . . By contrast, single women were able to improve their social position by increasing their autonomy via economic exchanges. For them the city provides the only alternative to assured subordination in the village. Because single and married women shared the economic constraints imposed by their relegation to informal activity, neither realised substantial improvements in material well-being.

Women who were married at the time of migration experienced more limited autonomy than single women in the city. Married women often lost much of the independence and control that they maintained over their own households "back home."

Ong's (1987) study of young, single, "neophyte factory women" who migrate to work in the Malaysian export processing zones showed that they did gain some autonomy because they married later than their nonmigrant peers. Moreover, although they earned low wages, they typically contributed about half of their earnings to their family of origin, thus gaining greater power in the family. These transformations, however, were not without their contradictions, as the women suffered hallucinations and "spirit attacks" on the shop floor, which Ong interpreted as a challenge to capitalist discipline and the male authority imposed on them in the factories.

In contrast, Wolf's (1990) study of Javanese migrant women suggests that it is not just earning power that brings autonomy and independence. Wolf found that the earnings of young, migrant women working in assembly factories are so low that the women workers are subsidized by their own families in rural Java. She concluded that the peasant economy is in fact subsidizing the factories. The young women contributed very little money to their families because they had to spend much of their earnings for transportation and lunch expenses. While their earnings were very modest, the young women derived satisfaction and status from their employment, and they used the modest remainders of their income to purchase cosmetics and other small consumer goods and to save for a dowry. Wolf (1990) reported that many of these women:

> exhibited an air of assertiveness compared with their peers who had never worked in a factory. Their makeup, nail polish, and in a few cases long pants were statements of modernity. .. Many stated defiantly that they, not their parents, would choose their future mate. (p. 42).

Like Indonesia and Malaysia, Mexico has opened export processing zones that prefer the labor of migrant women. Research conducted by Fernandez-Kelly (1983) and Susan Tiano (1994) in the maquiladora assembly plants revealed that the employment of migrant daughters, wives, and mothers neither eroded domestic patriarchy nor enhanced women's positions in families. Husbands and fathers, when present, still maintained family authority, and employed women still took primary responsibility for domestic household chores (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983). As in the United States, women in Mexico earned significantly less than did men, and they were subject to occupational segregation, sex discrimination and harassment. Also as in the United States, the inferior earnings of Mexican women were often justified by patriarchal assumptions that men deserve wages large enough to support their families, and that women are necessarily secondary or supplementary earners and thus deserve less pay (Tiano, 1994). One arena of control that did appear to be affected by women's employment in the maquiladoras is women's enhanced spatial mobility and concentration in new public spaces. Fernandez-Kelly reported that during their leisure hours, the young women congregated in discotheques and the all-female *cervezerias* (beer bars).

4.3. Women Who Cross International Borders

When women and men cross international borders they meet other systems of oppression based on race, nationality, and citizenship, that intersect with gender relations. According to Glenn (1986), the primary struggle for Japanese immigrant women and their daugh-

ters—and perhaps for all subordinate racial–ethnic immigrants—has not been with fighting gender subordination within the family, but rather with struggling against a racist society and an exploitative, stratified labor system. Although gender and generational conflicts within the family existed, they were overshadowed by societal oppression. In this regard, Japanese–American women used the family as a source of protection. Confronted with both racism and sexism, migrant women have been instrumental in forging a community and sustaining their culture in the new society. Black migrant women were central to the "southernization" of the Northeast and the Midwest United States (Hine, 1991). Indian immigrant women in Britain reconstructed marriage rituals and the dowry system as they moved into the paid labor force (Bhachu,1995). Similarly, Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) work showed that Mexican immigrant women actively consolidated settlement by participating in and forging a community. It is they who negotiated with new institutions, such as schools, hospitals, and workplaces, in the new country to carry out their continued responsibilities in the home and the family.

In industrialized economies characterized by a labor market segmented by race and citizenship, immigrant men are rarely able to be the sole breadwinner and women's income earning activities become essential to the survival of the family. This is evident by Hondagneu-Stoelo's (1994) finding that Mexican women gained power and autonomy and men lost some of their authority and privilege with migration. During spousal separations, some men learned to cook and wash dishes. In other instances, men began to concede to their wives' challenges to their authority. These behaviors were not readily discarded when the spouses reunited. This relative change in power was seen in the emergence of a more egalitarian household division of labor and by shared decision making power (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). These gains and losses were reflected in the women's near unanimous preference for permanent settlement in the United States and in men's desire for return migration—a finding that echoes Patricia Pessar's (1986) data on Dominicans in New York City.

In some cases immigrant women have struck a more blatant "patriarchal bargain" (Kandiyotti, 1989) with their husbands. Nazli Kibria's (1993) research on Vietnamese immigrant families in Philadelphia explored how immigrant women used traditional gender ideology to force men to support their families. Although many of these women were working, and their income was essential to the survival of the family, they could not support the family alone. These women informally forced the men to be accountable to their wives by gossip. Furthermore, to some extent women benefited from traditional patriarchal household relations because they gave women control over their children.

Fernandez-Kelly and Garcia (1990), in an article titled "Power Surrendered, Power Restored," found a similar dynamic among Cuban immigrant women and men. Cuban women's work in building family businesses contributed much to the success of the Cuban economic enclave in Miami. For instance, when the family opened a garment factory, the women would sew until it could afford to hire other workers. While the women momentarily gained in autonomy and resources, they "surrendered" these benefits to preserve traditional, patriarchal notions of manhood and womanhood. Family economic power ultimately strengthened their allegiance to family patriarchy.

In other cases, immigrant women fare better in the new societies than men because they are better able than men to mesh their traditional responsibilities, for the home and the children, with work for pay. Yet men's gender identity is often based on being the sole breadwinner. Whether or not this was completely the case back home, it is difficult to

sustain this ideology in the United States owing to men's precarious labor market position. In contrast, when immigrant women work for wages they often reason that their wage work allows them to be a better mother by providing for their children, as Eastmond (1993) found among Chilean women in central California. In contrast, the Chilean men lost much of the public status and life meaning that they had previously derived from political and trade union activities. Hitchcox (1993) also argued that Vietnamese women in Hong Kong refugee camps were better able to accommodate to the camp's ideology that refugees were dependent and docile due to their dependence on men back home, while men were severely affected by this change from their former autonomy and control.

More research must be done on how men react to the decline in power resulting from migration. Recent studies suggest that some men reassert control over women in new ways. In a study of Vietnamese in Hong Kong refugee camps, Hitchcox (1993) showed how Vietnamese men reasserted control over Vietnamese women by restricting their movement and raping them in response to their feelings of powerlessness. Palestinian men in Germany also found new ways to control Palestinian women with migration. German policies ensured that Palestinians cannot work, leading to men's presence in the home all day. Men's presence in the home did not cause them to do more household tasks but allowed them to restrict the mobility and the social life of the women and girls (Abdulrahim, 1993). Finally, Peña (1991) argued that Mexican male migrant workers in California's agricultural fields strove to make up for their class and racial oppression by objectifying women in their *charritas colorados*, or jokes focusing on sadism toward women and sodomy toward males.

The reassertion of control and masculinity with migration should not be seen as inevitable but instead due to the intersection of gender relations with new systems of racial and class oppression. Indeed, a study of a Cambodian community in California found that the men felt less depressed by their inability to be the "rice-winner" owing to the high unemployment among Cambodian men within the enclave (Ui, 1991, p. 166). These Cambodian men took on more housework and asked their wives' permission before they spent money. Furthermore, women reassert their own gender identities in the face of rapid social and economic change. Jacobs and Papma (1992) found that upon return from the Middle East, Sri Lankan women focused on spiritual purity, such as praying, rather than religious rules restricting women's mobility. In doing so, they redefined themselves as spiritually pure because they had been to the Holy Land, in an attempt to buttress the negative view of women who migrate. These two studies suggest that future research should pay close attention to reassertions of masculinities and femininities within particular contexts.

In this section we focused on how gender relations change with migration. Even if the women stay behind, they often gain autonomy in the absence of their husbands, fathers, and brothers. In some cases, this newfound power allows them to negotiate their own migration. Women who migrate from the rural areas to work in export processing zones or U.S. military bases in the cities generally gain some control over their lives, but are also met with occupational segregation, sexual harassment at work, and meager wages. Women who cross international borders meet similar constraints in labor markets now segmented by race and citizenship as well as gender. Yet immigrant women are defying the facile public–private split by incorporating wage work into their definition of a good mother. More research must be done on the contradictions immigrant men face as their status as the sole breadwinner is abruptly eroded in the new society.

5. FINAL THOUGHTS

In this chapter we used the growing literature on women and migration to argue for the use of gender, rather than women or sex roles, as an analytical focal point in our theories and empirical work on migration. Still, we wish to emphasize that the vast majority of migration and immigration research continues to exhibit androcentric biases. This is equally true for mainstream scholarship that seeks to evaluate, for instance, labor market competition between recent immigrants and native-born minorities, and for the latest, theoretical approach in migration studies, transnationalionism. Emerging from postcolonial, postmodern-inspired anthropology, and explicitly challenging the linear, bipolar model of "old country" and "new world," of "sojourner" and "settler," transnationalist proponents argue that the international circulation of people, goods, and ideas creates new transnational cultures, identities, and community spheres (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc-Szanton, 1994; Kearney, 1995; Rouse, 1991). That the transnationalist perspective should be so androcentric is striking, especially since its proponents assume radical posturing and early pioneers of the perspective include three women (Basch et al., 1994). With the exception of Mahler's work (n.d.), and a short piece calling for gendered analysis (Sutton, 1991), transnationalism, like the assimilationist models that it counters, ignores gender altogether. The androcentric bias in most immigration theory and empirical work alerts us once again to the difficulties of theorizing gender when women are not the explicit focus.

As immigration research moves into the new century and millennium, we need research strategies that do more than simply "add" women to the picture. A truly gendered understanding of migration requires that we use gender as an analytical tool equally relevant to the study of men's migration as it is to women's. In this chapter we used existing literature to begin to explore male-dominated migration streams as gendered. We argued that the Mexican contract labor program, the Bracero Program, that recruited only males but relied on the reproduction work of women back home, was gendered. We also showed that male migrants within South Africa drew on gendered power dynamics in their relations with one another (Moodie, 1994).

We do not need more theorizing and empirical research that examines sex differences in migration, but rather approaches that probe the gendered nature of immigration. Nevertheless, faced with the androcentric bias in the literature, giving space to women's migrant experiences is still a necessary first step toward a gendered analysis. There are several ways that women's experiences can be made visible even while the central unit of analysis is gender, rather than women. These include focusing on how social relations between women and men circumscribe gender-specific migration streams in some cases, and under what circumstances these gendered patterns exhibit change. Do migration patterns change with alterations in development policy in the sending nation, with transformations in labor demand, with new relations between nations resulting from globalization, or some combination of these alternatives? A gendered analysis would show how social relations between women and men intersect with other institutions, such as the state and the economy, to produce gendered migration patterns. We also call for a focus on how women's and men's statuses are rearranged with migration and to what extent unequal gender relations are reconstructed with migration. Future immigration research questions might include the following: What is the relationship between gender and the politics of immigration, xenophobia, and citizenship? How does gender help to construct

new racial and ethnic identities? As immigrants pose a challenge to nationalist constructs of nation, how does gender emerge to advance or retard these new constructions of nation? The answers to these questions, and others, await the next generation of "gender and migration" research.

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