

## **Gender Ratios in Global Migrations, 1850-2000**

J. Trent Alexander  
Minnesota Population Center  
University of Minnesota

Katharine M. Donato  
Department of Sociology  
Vanderbilt University

Donna R. Gabaccia  
Department of History and  
Immigration History Research Center  
University of Minnesota

Johanna Leinonen  
Department of History  
University of Minnesota

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## Introduction

Scholars in many disciplines have observed that men historically far outnumbered women among international movers. Two of geographer E.G. Ravenstein's late-nineteenth century "laws of migration" asserted that (1) short-distance migrants generally outnumbered longer distance ones, and that (2) within-country moves were usually dominated by women and between-country moves were dominated by men. Although many geographers have critiqued and extended Ravenstein's work, these two often-repeated laws have rarely been challenged since they were written in the late 1800s. Many textbooks in demography and world history presented these theories as conventional wisdom for much of the twentieth century (e.g., Peterson 1969: 264; United Nations 1979: 4; Manning 2005: 11).

In the early 1980s, however, researchers at the U.S. Department of Labor and elsewhere pointed toward a "remarkable shift" in migrant gender ratios, from women constituting less than one-third of all U.S.-bound migrants in 1900 to almost one-half in the 1970s (Houston et al. 1984: quote on 913, Simon and Brettell 1986). Similarly, the United Nations' 2006 *State of World Population Report* advised policy-makers to take note of the fact that "today, women constitute almost half of all international migrants worldwide" (United Nations 2006). The U.N. report outlines a broad range of policy issues—such as social services, labor market policies, and migration regulations in sending and receiving countries—that are affected ed by this apparent shift in the gender composition of migration streams. Beyond the general suggestion that there has been a significant and meaningful change, however, very little is known about the supposed long-term shift from male-dominated migrations to gender-balanced migrations. The

editors of a recent special issue of *International Migration Review* identified our collective lack of understanding of this shift as one of the three most significant intellectual gaps in migration studies (Gabaccia et al. 2006).

Ravenstein's laws were based on his analysis of two-late nineteenth century censuses taken in the United Kingdom in 1871 and 1881. Although occasional studies of gender ratios among international migrants to individual countries continue, scholarly trends since the 1990s have emphasized the importance of tackling research questions on a global scale. In this paper we map the long-term, worldwide shift in gender ratios among migrant populations. Using international individual-level data drawn from population censuses around the world, we examine the sex composition of international and internal migrants in a wide variety of nations from 1850 to the present. These data offer insights about whether and how distance, propinquity and international borders affect the balance of men and women in migration streams at different points in time.

Our analysis is organized around three sets of questions. First, we ask to what extent has a global transition from male-dominant to gender-balanced international migrations occurred, and whether most migration streams become increasingly female with the passage of time. Second, we ask whether the gender balance of internal migration streams has followed a similar historical trajectory to that of international migrations. It seems likely that international boundaries may operate as uniquely gendered, intervening obstacles that lead men and women to make different migratory choices. Finally, we investigate whether migrant gender balances are sensitive to spatial scales. Specifically, we investigate whether the numbers of women relative to men diminish as the distance of moves increases.

Answers to these questions necessitate data that are comparable across a variety of time periods and national origins, a topic we address in detail below. We begin first, however, with a review of the literature. Together these sections suggest that theorization about women's representation among migrants, across a wide variety of spatial and temporal scales, may emerge from comparisons of national-level data rather than from analysis only of long-distance international migrations on a global scale.

#### Migrant Gender Ratios: A Literature Review

For many years, studies focusing on particular places and countries at a given point in time have shown that male majorities characterize most movements across international boundaries in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Willcox and Ferenczi 1929). Ravenstein was one of the first to try to sort out the complex relationship among distance traveled, gender, and national boundaries (Ravenstein, 1876, 1885, 1889). Based on the British Census of 1871 and 1881, he argued that women's short-distance moves were the single most common type of human migration.

By mid-century in the United States, researchers began to emphasize the importance of women's moves, documenting that they also increasingly dominated the long-distance international moves that were largely male in the past (Houston et al. 1984: 913; Simon and Brettell 1986). At the time, noting this shift in the United States was important because it had long been the recipient of many international migrants. Later on, historical studies would suggest that women's representation was even higher in the mid-nineteenth century than it was at the turn of the century (Gabaccia 1996). The twentieth-century rise in women's representation among migrants began in the 1920s and

1930s, when restrictive immigration policy took hold, and continued after World War II with the entry of brides and the abolition of national origin quotas in 1965.

As the shift toward more women occurred among U.S. immigrants, prior studies also recognized that gender ratios varied considerably from one nation to another. Gabaccia (1996) suggests how women's representation among immigrants from particular countries reflected shifts in the demand for gendered labor. In an examination of why some countries send women as immigrants but others send men, Donato (1992) shows how male majorities among U.S. military personnel abroad spurred women's representation as men found spouses in the countries where they served. Therefore, policies that facilitate the migration of military wives or war brides have had a significant impact on U.S. immigrant gender ratios at specific times in twentieth-century history.

Immigration policies in other nations have also played an important role influencing gender ratios of immigrants. For example, many Turkish women in West Germany migrated first and received contracts as urban industrial laborers before their husbands because of employers' preferences to keep labor costs down (Abadan-Unat 1977; Davis and Heyl 1984). Women also dominated migration flows from Jamaica to the United States (Foner 1984) and from Portugal to England (Caspari and Giles 1984) as a result of immigration policies designed to attract domestic service workers.

Feminist scholars have argued that society's attribution of strong cultural and scholarly value to male activities has encouraged disproportionate focus on male-dominated, long-distance and international migrations rather than on the more numerically important, but shorter-distance, internal moves of women (Gabaccia unpublished). In fact, earlier calls for increased attention to women as migrants were

dismissed as reductionist (Leeds 1976). If shorter-distance migrations had received equal attention to longer-distance ones, then, echoing Ravenstein's suggestions, the apparent transition in women's mobility and changing gender ratios among the mobile might even disappear.

Although the gendered concerns of nation states—particularly that men pay taxes, fulfill military service, and head households—have sometimes rendered women movers invisible or less interesting to count (Moch, forthcoming), recent scholarship in history, sociology, and anthropology has pointed to considerable sources of variation in gender ratios among the mobile (Tyree and Donato 1984; Donato 1992; Gabaccia 1996; Oishi 2005; Massey et al 2006). For example, the work of Nana Oishi (2005) on migrations within Asia describes the gender-specific policies of sending and receiving nations and how they have produced pronounced variations among gender ratios since the mid-twentieth century. Much like the plantation managers of the tropical world in the nineteenth century, today oil-producing nations of the middle-east consciously recruit male workers for blue-collar jobs and women workers for domestic jobs. Concerned about women's value as moral symbols of the nations, some countries such as Bangladesh have prohibited the recruitment of women as domestic workers while others, such as the Philippines, have actively engaged in recruiting and training women for household jobs abroad (Oishi 2005).

Despite growth in the scholarship about gender and migration in most disciplines (see Gabaccia et al. 2006), many important questions remain. For example, although some feminist scholars now link rising rates of female international migration to the commercialization of reproductive work and the rise in female wage-earning in wealthy

nations worldwide (Parrenas 2001), no systematic analysis has examined the impact of changing global labor markets on gender ratios among immigrants. Moreover, Ravenstein's laws about the impact of distance and borders on gender ratios have not been examined despite the many studies that document female majorities, past and present, among internal migrants to cities (e.g. Moch 2004). Indeed, we know little about the historical trends in distances traveled by migrants, male or female, within, or across national boundaries.

Therefore, by the early twenty-first century, even though scholars across the social sciences have revealed the ways in which migration is not (and has never been) dominated by men (Morokvasic 1984; Gabaccia 1988; Simon and Brettell 1984; Pessar 2003), this scholarship remains a "cup half full" (Donato et al. 2006). Although it has certainly progressed from a focus on women-only to gender, existing scholarship still largely employs gender analysis to theorize about immigrant women and men in families and households. This analysis attempts to extend prior studies by examining gender ratios of U.S. immigrants by national origin and of immigrants worldwide over time. Our objective is to map historical trends in who migrates, where, and over what distances, which in turn would permit us to theorize about the determinants of variations in gender ratios over the long term, taking into account population movements into and out of most of the regions of the world.

### Data and Methods

We examine our key questions by analyzing individual-level census data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA and IPUMS-International) and the North Atlantic Population Project (NAPP). With more than 500 million detailed

individual-level person records from censuses conducted in 40 countries between 1850 and 2000, these sources combined comprise the largest population database in the world. The IPUMS and NAPP data sets are all integrated, meaning that variable names and codes are harmonized over time and space; this greatly facilitates long-term and cross-national studies. Most of the data we use have been made available only within the past few years. Therefore, the lack of comparable long-term data in the past, we argue, goes far in explaining why we lack concrete cross-national evidence about gendered transitions in worldwide migrations.

Despite their vast geographic and chronological coverage, the IPUMS and NAPP data have some significant gaps. For example, the United States is the only country for which we have data for the entire period from 1850-2000. Although it was the single largest receiver of international migrants over our period of study, analyzed alone it does not permit a world-historical view of migration questions about gender composition. Prior to 1960, we also have data from Canada, England, Norway, and the United States, and for 1960-2000, we have data from dozens of other countries around the world. Therefore, because of the mismatch between countries we are able to study prior to 1960 and those we can study after 1960, we present only one figure that includes all data from all countries (see Figure 3). Furthermore, the bulk of our analysis focuses on the United States over the long-term or the 20 countries for which we have comparable data between 1960 and 2000.

As is true in almost any study of migration, our ability to identify migrants and specify migration distances relies on administrative boundaries. We can only identify someone as a "migrant" if they cross an identifiable border. We identify migrants as



those crossing national borders or--for those moving within countries--first-level sub-national administrative borders such as states, municipalities, or provinces. The size of these units varies considerably between, and even within, countries, but in general they are stable over time in every country under consideration.

Table 1 lists the datasets and geographic units we use. In most cases, these are the most detailed geographic identifiers available in the data. Data about the nineteenth century is available only for a small group of North Atlantic countries, and for the years between 1901 and 1960, only data about the United States is currently available. Even after 1960, geographic coverage in the IPUMS samples is uneven, with far more extensive data on Latin American than African countries. Moreover, although we have access to data sets for smaller Asian countries in the late twentieth century, the very large and mobile populations of China and India are not part of our analysis.

Table 1 about here

In this analysis, the key variables of interest are gender, migration status, and distance moved. Gender is available in all samples. We create a consistent variable for migration status by using variables on place-of-residence and place-of-birth. These variables allow us to classify all persons as internal migrants, international migrants, or non-migrants, and to assign migration distances between these areas. To take one example, the lowest available geographic unit in Ecuador is the province. A non-migrant is someone who resides in the province in which they were born. An internal migrant is someone who resides in a different province than their province of birth. An international migrant is someone who was foreign born and living in Ecuador.

Our measure of migration status is certainly not without its limitations. At the most basic level, our definition of migrants excludes large numbers of short-distance movers. Many people moved *within* the first-level administrative unit of their birth (e.g., within a state), and our data do not permit us to study them as migrants. Another limitation of birthplace-based measures of migration is that they are very inclusive and thus relatively insensitive to change. For instance, at any given time in the United States, approximately a third of the native-born population is living in a state other than the one in which they were born. The aged are significantly more likely to show up as birthplace-based movers, in large part because they have had so many more years "at risk" for inter-state or international movement. Because the movements of the elderly are over-represented in our data, our findings are likely to contain a "lag" time between an actual shift in migration patterns and the appearance of the shift in our analysis.

Ideally we could use a more sensitive measure of migration--for instance, those who moved within the past 5 years--but no such data are consistently available for a large number of countries over the long term. Several studies of migrant gender balance have relied on a significantly more sensitive measure: entry and exit data collected by national immigration agencies. Using "flow" data of this sort, it is possible to pinpoint changes in the composition of a migration stream, at least for international migrants over the short time periods when the data are available. Unfortunately, however, such data do not exist over the long-term. Generally collected at national borders or ports of entry, this method also cannot be used for studying internal migration or for understanding specific aspects of migrants' destinations in the country of immigration, such as the distance between destination and origin.

To calculate estimates of migration distance, we matched geographic identifiers from our datasets to information from publicly available geographic boundary files. Using digital GIS files that identify all levels of geography specified in Table 1, we assigned geographic coordinates to all places of residence and places of birth. We then used these coordinates to calculate migration distances between the geographic midpoints of our lowest level geographic units. For internal migrants, we measure the distance between the first-level administrative unit of birth and the first-level administrative unit of residence. For international migrants, we measure the distance between the midpoint of the country of birth and the first-level administrative unit of residence.

This measure of migration distance is obviously imperfect. Our measures are aerial and are thus insensitive to travel routes that could increase or reduce perceived "intervening obstacles" between any two points. Assuming that migrants moved from and to the geographic midpoints of countries and states also introduces error. Because states and provinces may vary in size and shape, even within a given country, this inconsistency means that the error in this measure may vary significantly across different pairs of locations. Our methods may also over-estimate the migration distance of persons moving short distances across state borders. For instance, we would greatly overestimate the migration distance of someone moving from northern Texas to southern Oklahoma because we would assume that they moved from the middle of one state to the middle of another. The potential for this type of error is greater when larger geographic units are involved. Despite these limitations, we believe that the benefits of these measures of migration and distance moved far outweigh the costs because no other data permit us to

study gender ratios across a broad range of countries over the long term. Therefore, in the analysis that follows, we attempt to remain mindful of the limitations of these measures, both in terms of the evidence that we present and of the conclusions that we draw.

### Part 1: Statistical Portrait of Historical Trends

We begin the analysis by asking whether and how women's representation among migrants has changed over time, for the United States and for all of our nations combined. Figure 1 describes shifts in the percentage female among U.S. immigrants since 1850. Like Houston et al. (1984), it examines changes in women's representation among immigrants during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, unlike that study, Figure 1 also tracks shifts in women's representation across a longer time frame (approximately 150 years) than prior studies. Overall, the findings suggest a down-and-up pattern since 1880. Before then, women comprised approximately 44-45 percent of U.S. immigrants. After 1880, women's representation fell to 40 percent by 1900 but then began to rise again after 1910. Women's presence among immigrants continued to grow in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to a high of approximately 55 percent when Houston et al. (1984) published their study. Since then the sex composition has declined and become more balanced by 2000, although it grew again by 2005.

Figure 1 makes clear why a study focused only on the twentieth century would emphasize women's increasing representation among migrants: the story of the twentieth century is indeed one of a steady and dramatic feminization of international migrants. Across the entire post-1850 period, however, we find gender dynamics that were more complex than described by Houston et al (1984). There were also substantial shifts in the

late-nineteenth and mid-twentieth century, and some sign of an upward shift early in the twenty-first century. Therefore, as we seek to explain changes in migrant gender ratios, we need to focus not only on the increases of the twentieth-century but also on these pre- and post-twentieth century developments. For example, even without the long-term data presented here, Gabaccia (1996) has argued that the more complicated gender dynamic for immigrants at end of nineteenth century was associated with the transition of migrations of settlement from northern and western Europe to circulatory and temporary labor migrations originating in southern and eastern Europe.

Figure 1 about here

Figure 2 shows the variation in U.S. immigrant women's representation by national origin. The key finding here is that there is no one pattern. Women's presence among migrants varies substantially across different origins. Some regions, such as Northwest and Southeast Europe, show a drop-off in women's representation at end of 19<sup>th</sup> century but then a rise during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, peaking in mid 1980s and then dropping by 2000. Latin America also shows a decline at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with a peak in the mid-1980s, and decline thereafter, but by 2005 women's representation had grown again. The trend for Africa is more choppy, yet for Asia it is straightforward with women's share growing at each decade. However, because these last two nations are based on relatively few observations, we caution against making firm conclusions about these trends in gender ratios.

Figure 2 about here

Figure 3 presents shifts in women's presence among immigrants in a total of 20 nations, including the United States. For the most part, the trend in decade averages

roughly confirms the general pattern exhibited by U.S. data: decline in late nineteenth century; higher proportions of women by the second half of the twentieth century, with increases pronounced after 1960. The only difference between this trend line and the U.S. trend refers to what happens later in the second half of the twentieth century: there is no drop off after 1980. In fact, women's presence among migrants in many countries continues to grow through 2000. In Argentina, for example, women's representation among the foreign born rises from approximately 47 percent in 1970, to 53 percent in 1980, to 54 percent in 1990.

Figure 3 about here

Keep in mind that underlying these trends is a data artifact: we have much more complete and extensive data for the second half of the twentieth century than we do for the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The worst gap is 1910-1960, when we only have data for the United States because data for other countries is not yet available in machine-readable form. As qualitative studies suggest, this is a period of significant change and flux, an era of spreading and intensifying restrictions on immigration in many countries affected by a global depression and periods of intense international strife during two world wars and a cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Figure 3 also illustrates considerable variation in countries of destination. Some countries have much higher proportions female than others at any point in time. For example, although the percentage female among immigrants in the Philippines in late-twentieth century is low, women's representation in Romania reaches a record high of approximately 57 percent in 1990. Moreover, the decline seen for the United States after the 1980s does not exist for other destination countries. If anything, women's presence

rises in many countries, such as Chile and Mexico. Therefore, changes in the representation of women appear to be more dynamic for United States than for other countries.

We present further illustration of important national-level variations in Figure 4 and 5. The first describes women's representation among immigrants who moved to Argentina and Brazil between 1995 and 2000, by country of origin. Its key finding is that Argentina consistently attracted much higher proportions of women among migrants than did Brazil. For example, among Italian immigrants in Argentina, approximately 52 percent are women compared to 43 percent in Brazil. This difference is greatest for Peruvian immigrants in the two nations: approximately 63 percent of those in Argentina were women compared to 39 percent in Brazil. The only exception to this pattern was for U.S. migrants to Argentina vs. Brazil. Women represented approximately 43 percent of immigrants in Argentina and 45 percent of immigrants in Brazil.

Figure 4 about here

Figure 5 describes women's presence among persons moving from the United States or Peru to one of six destination nations: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, and Colombia. Here we see that migrants from the United States are more predominantly male, irrespective of destination. In contrast, those from Peru are considerably more female in Argentina, Mexico and Chile than U.S. immigrants in these three nations. Among Peruvian migrants in Argentina, approximately 64 percent were female, and among those in Chile, 61 percent were female.

Figure 5 about here

To sum, women's representation among immigrants varies substantially over time. In the United States, for example, women's presence was as low as 40 percent in 1900 and as high as 54 percent in 1970. Across other nations, however, women's presence varies differently over time. Therefore, the percent female may decrease as well as increase and do so at different times in different nations. In addition, there is considerable variation in the sex composition of both those leaving countries of origin as well as those entering countries of destination. Preliminary evidence suggests that some countries are particularly likely to send women, irrespective of destination. Likewise, there are other countries that especially likely to receive women, irrespective of their point of origin. Understanding changes in migrant gender balances will require us to further investigate these dynamics.

#### Part 2: Women's Representation among Internal vs. International Migrants

Figure 6 presents the first piece of evidence that helps us to assess whether Ravenstein's law about women's predominance in internal migration is valid for the United States. It compares women's representation among international and international migrants living in the United States over time. Overall, women are better represented among internal migrants except in the late 1960s and 1970s, when women's share among international U.S. immigrants exceeded that of internal migrants. Across both types of migration, however, the main trends in female representation are roughly similar. Moreover, by the end of the twentieth century, women's representation among international and internal movers began to converge.

These findings illustrate that women, for most of the 150-year period, were better represented among internal migrants. Whether this is because distances traveled



internally were shorter on average is a Ravenstein hypothesis that deserves further testing. Another question that remains is whether the observed convergence between international and internal movers reflects the kind of time/space compression that makes movement more available and easier for potential migrants in all places around the world, including women. The last few decades do seem distinctive in ways that need further inquiry. Even in countries where the foreign born is a small proportion of the population, women's representations among internal migrants are higher than among those engaged in international moves.

Figure 7 illustrates this idea with the Mexican case, where women's representation among internal migrants well exceeds that of international migrants. In 1960, approximately 53 percent of internal migrants were women compared to 47 percent of international migrants. The gap between internal and international grows by 2000, when women represented approximately 52 percent of internal migrants but only 36 percent of international migrants.

Figure 7 about here

Figure 8 describes women's representation among internal migrants within each of fourteen countries. Generally speaking, unlike the trend for international migration, women's representation is almost always 50 percent or higher and it varies little between 1960 and 2000. Still, however, there is some variation between individual countries. For example, the upward trend for women among Brazil's internal movers compares to a downward trend for women among Venezuela's internal migrants.

Figure 8 about here

### Part 3: Gendering of Distance

Not all internal moves are short, nor are all international moves long. Ravenstein's law was that short-distance movers outnumbered those who made long-distance moves, with the result that women appear more mobile than men. But this is the case only because they move short distances. In the analysis that follows below, we assign distances traveled to both internal and international movers to test Ravenstein's ideas.

Figures 9 and 10 present the distance women moved as a proportion of the distance men moved in 14 countries, for internal and international movers respectively.<sup>1</sup> Across both, women move only slightly smaller distances than do men (approximately 95 percent of men). Moreover, the overall trends in gendered movement are not dramatic and appear to converge slightly over time. Nonetheless, in any given year, there is considerable variation between countries in the distances traveled by men and women internally and internationally. For example, with respect to internal migration, although there is considerably less variation (and much of the variation is a product of the differing sizes of the countries themselves), substantial variation exists in 1990 between Uganda and Philippines, and in 2000, between Uganda and South Africa. Figure 10 shows that the gender difference in distances moved internationally into Costa Rica and into Argentina is also dramatic.

Figures 9 and 10 about here

Therefore, although the gendering of distances traveled internally and internationally were not as dramatic as Ravenstein's laws led us to expect, we were

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<sup>1</sup>Figure 9 and 10 include only countries for which we had distance-moved measures for both internal and international migrants. The figures contain the same 14 countries.

surprised by one finding that emerged as part of our gender analysis. Focusing only on the U.S. data, in Figure 11, we see changes in the distances traveled by male and female internal and international migrants over time. Although we had expected to find increases in distances traveled over time for both men and women, this was true only for internal and not for international migration.

Figure 11 about here

### Discussion

Our analysis of individual-level census data provides an interesting mapping of women's representations among a variety of migrant streams over time and space. It suggests that the representation of women among international migrants has risen over the course of the twentieth century. Based on pre-twentieth century data for a small group of North Atlantic countries, it also suggests that women's representation actually declined across the nineteenth century. Variations in gender ratios were also quite evident at any given moment in time. Over time, some countries had consistently sent or received far higher proportions of women than others. Furthermore, national boundaries present intervening obstacles that function differently for men or women seeking to cross them, and governmental policies and national economies are likely to matter a great deal in shaping these variations.

Our consideration of internal migrants and migration distance confirms Ravenstein's finding that women predominate, if sometimes only slightly, among movers within countries. Whether internally, or internationally, women fairly consistently move distances slightly shorter on average than do men. This suggests that it is not the intervening obstacle of distance that discourages women's international moves, and that

long-distance movement is not an especially male phenomenon. Perhaps the biggest surprise emerging from our analysis of migration distances was not the gendering of distance traveled but the fact that both men and women international migrants today move, on average, shorter distances than they did in the past, at least among those moving to the United States. Future research may want consider this finding in light of assertions that twentieth-century transportation and communication technologies have reduced the impact of distance as an intervening obstacle.

Given the limitations of our data, we understand that our analysis ultimately raises more questions than it answers. Still, we argue that our approach is uniquely valuable in its efforts to map women's representation in migrations throughout the world over the long term. The power of this approach is to reveal worldwide trends and to uncover meaningful variation at the national level. Indeed, our data revealed many significant differences from country to country and with a multitude of data points, outliers become much more obvious. This suggests that comparisons of gender ratios among those departing, entering, or moving about within individual countries may hold the strongest promise of identifying critical variables that influence migrant gender ratios.

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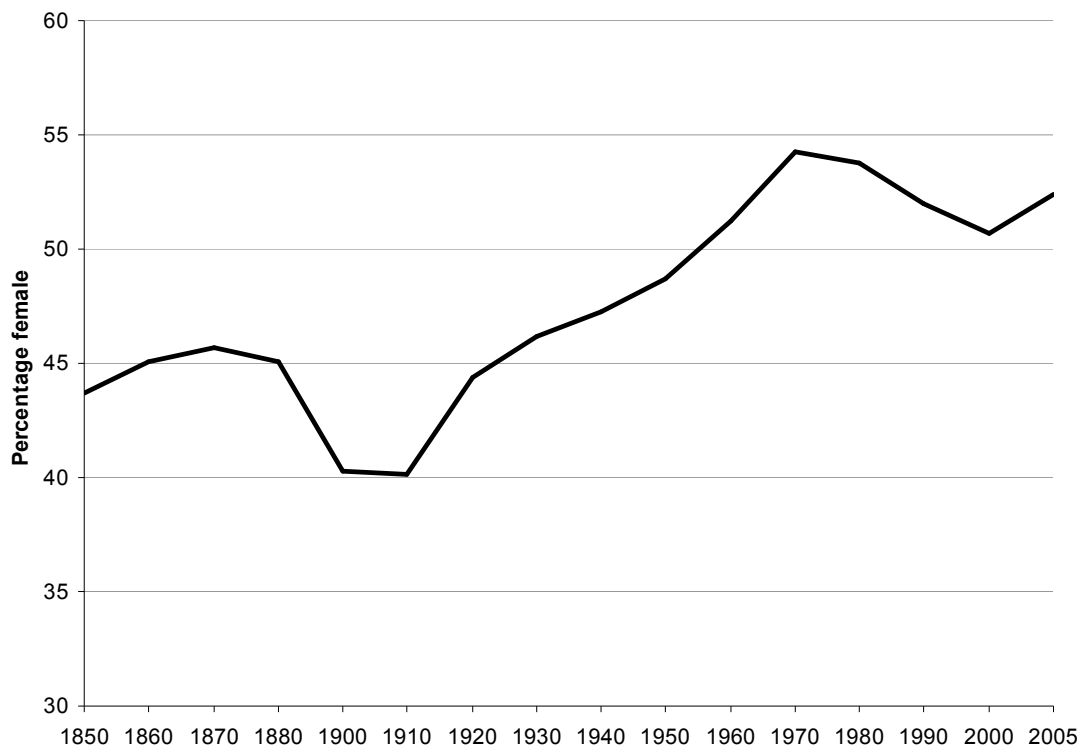
**Table 1**  
**Datasets and geographic units used**

Country	Number of censuses	Percent of population in sample	Years covered	Geographic unit of residence and migration
<b>Historical data</b>				
Canada	3	5-100%	1871-1901	Province
Great Britain	1	100%	1881	County
Norway	2	100%	1851-1901	Municipality
United States	15	1-100%	1850-2000	State
<b>Modern data</b>				
Argentina	5	5%	1960-2000	Province
Belarus	1	10%	1999	Region
Brazil	5	5%	1960-2000	State
Cambodia	1	10%	1998	Province
Chile	5	1-10%	1960-2002	Region
Colombia	4	2-10%	1964-1993	Department
Costa Rica	4	5-10%	1963-2000	Province
Ecuador	4	3-10%	1974-2001	Province
France	5	5%	1962-1990	Region
Kenya	2	5%	1991-2001	Province
Greece	4	10%	1971-2001	Region
Mexico	4	1-10%	1960-2000	State
Philippines	3	10%	1990-2000	Region
Romania	2	10%	1992-2002	County
Rwanda	2	10%	1991-2002	Province
South Africa	2	10%	1996-2001	Province
Spain	3	5%	1981-2001	Community
Uganda	2	10%	1991-2002	District
Venezuela	3	10%	1971-1990	State
Vietnam	2	3-5%	1989-1999	Province

Sources: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA and IPUMS-International) and the North Atlantic Population Project (NAPP).

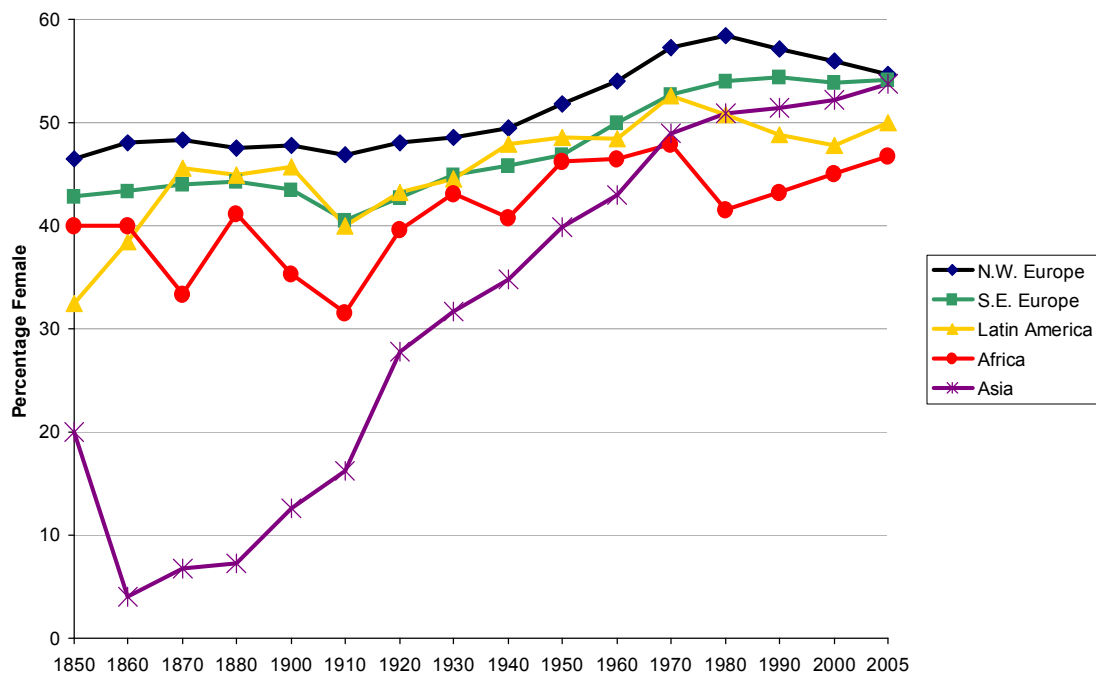


**Figure 1**  
**Women's representation among the foreign-born in the United States**



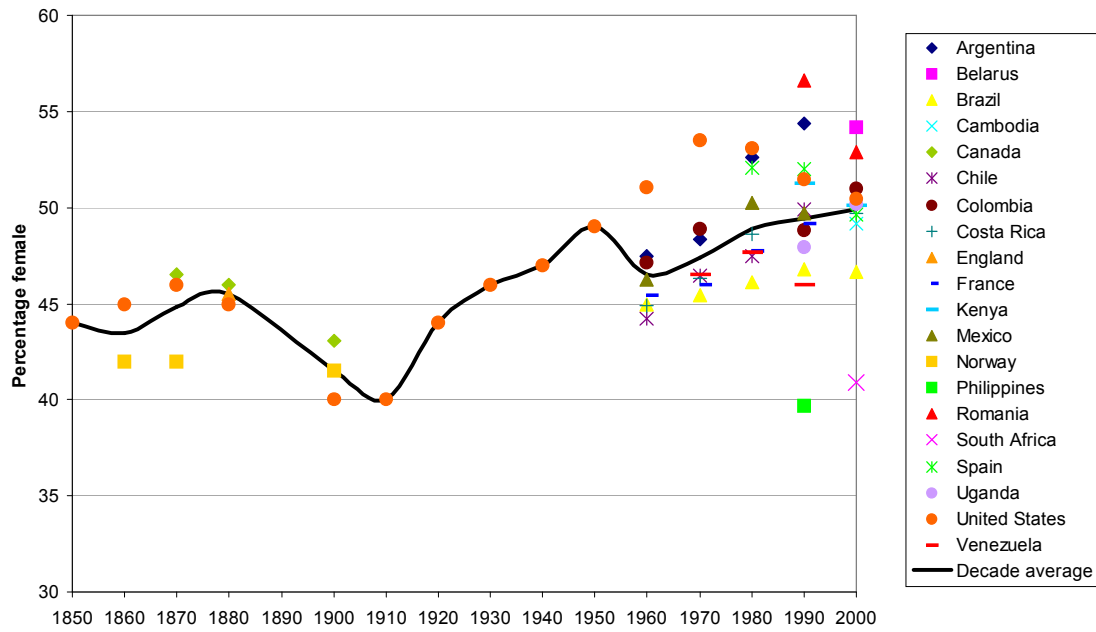
Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA).

**Figure 2**  
**Women's representation among the foreign-born in the United States,**  
**by area of birth**



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA).

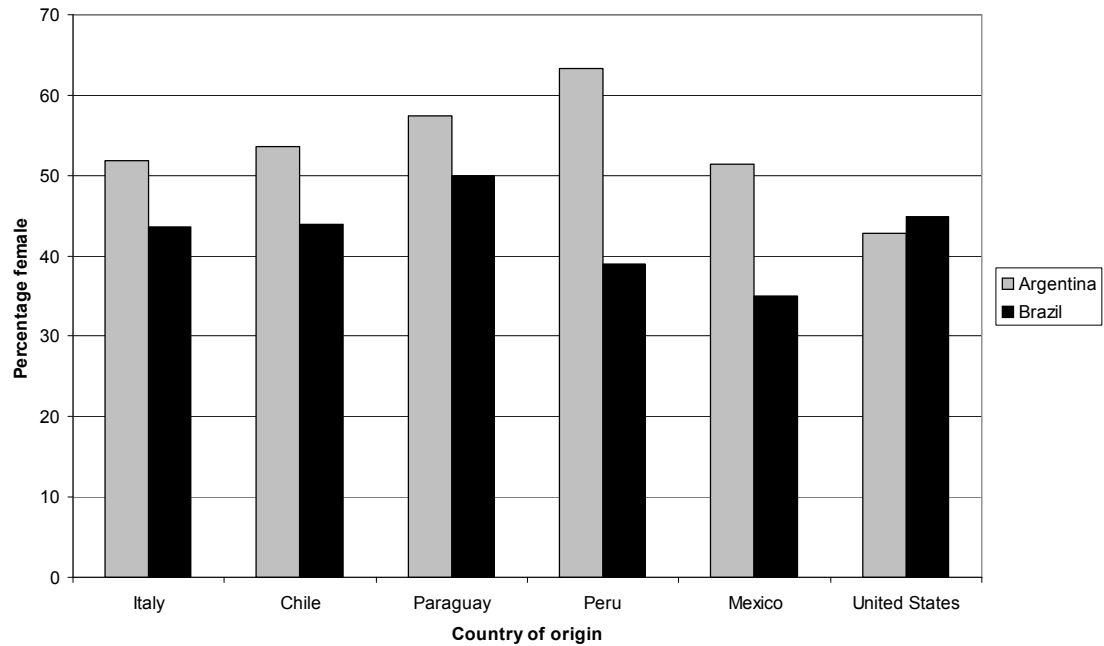
**Figure 3**  
**Women's representation among the foreign-born in 20 countries**



Sources: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series files (IPUMS-USA and IPUMS-International), North Atlantic Population Project (NAPP).

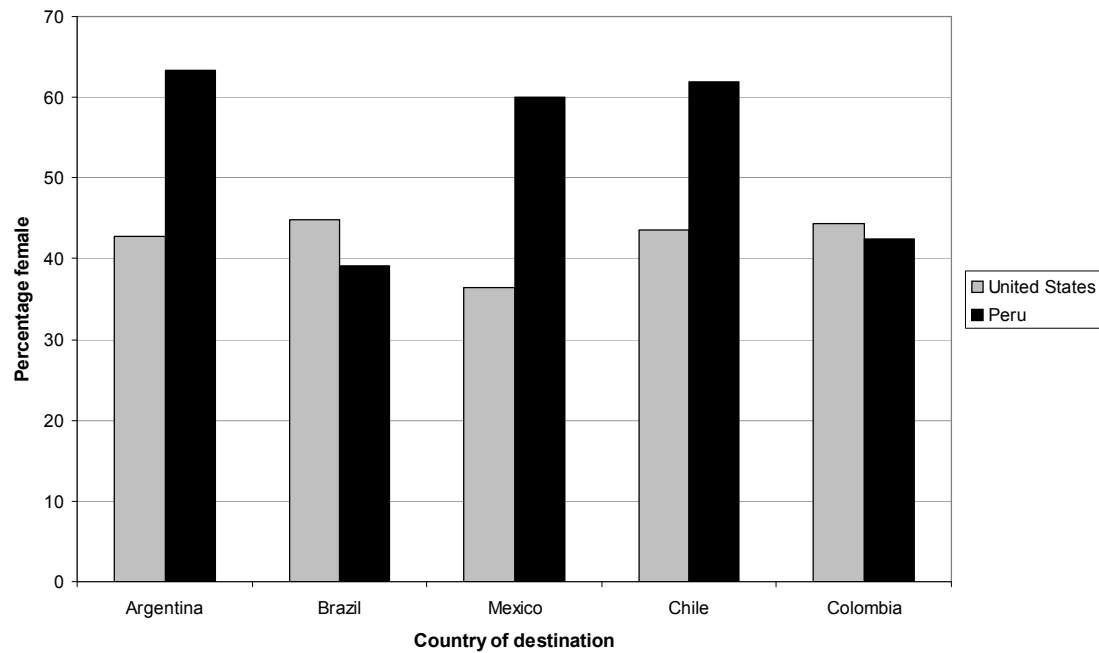
Note: trend line shows average value of all available data points in each decade.

**Figure 4**  
**Women's representation among persons moving to Argentina and Brazil,**  
**between 1995-2000, by country of origin (x-axis)**



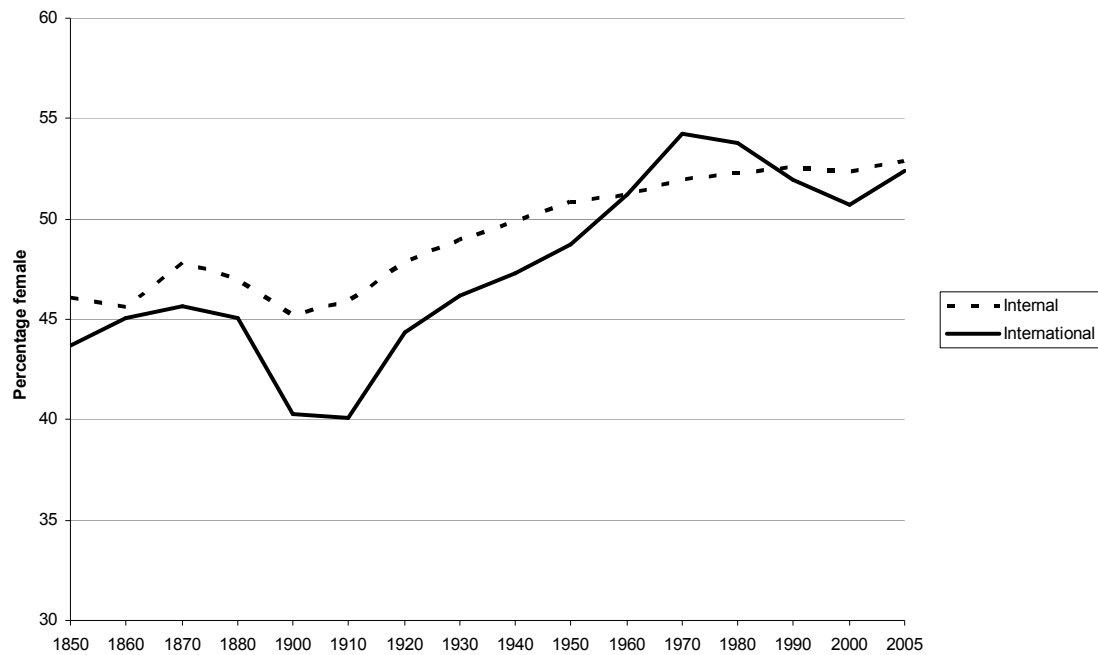
Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International).

**Figure 5**  
**Women's representation among persons moving from the U.S. or Peru**  
**between 1995-2000, by country of destination (x-axis)**



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International).

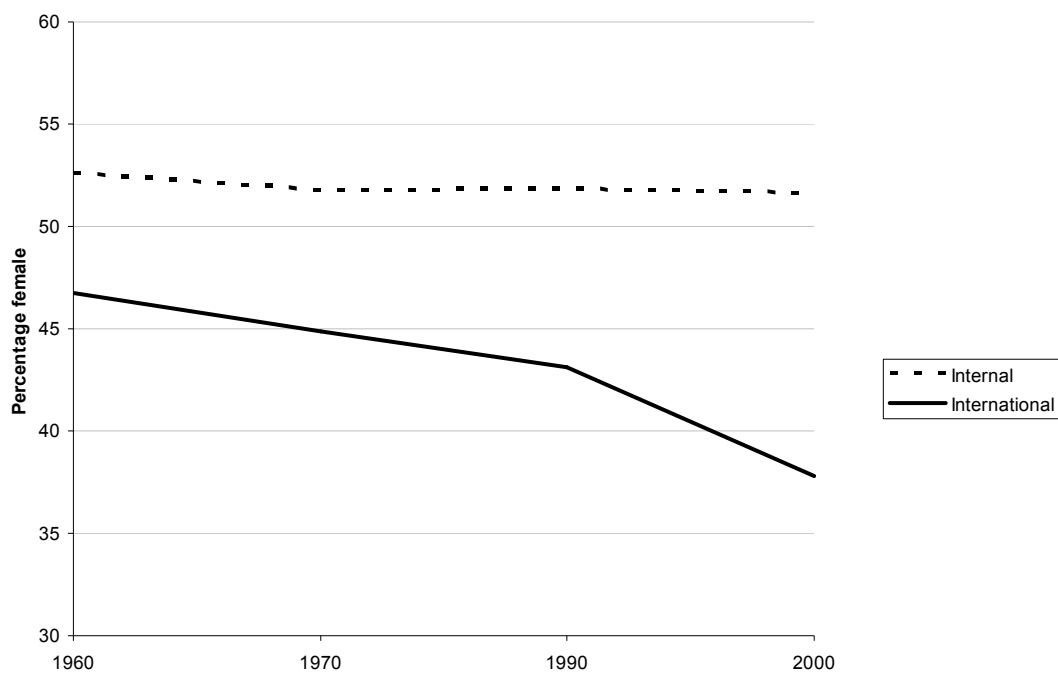
**Figure 6**  
**Women's representation among internal and international migrants in the United States**



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA).

Note: "Internal migrants" are U.S.-born persons living outside of their U.S. state of birth.  
"International migrants" are foreign-born persons.

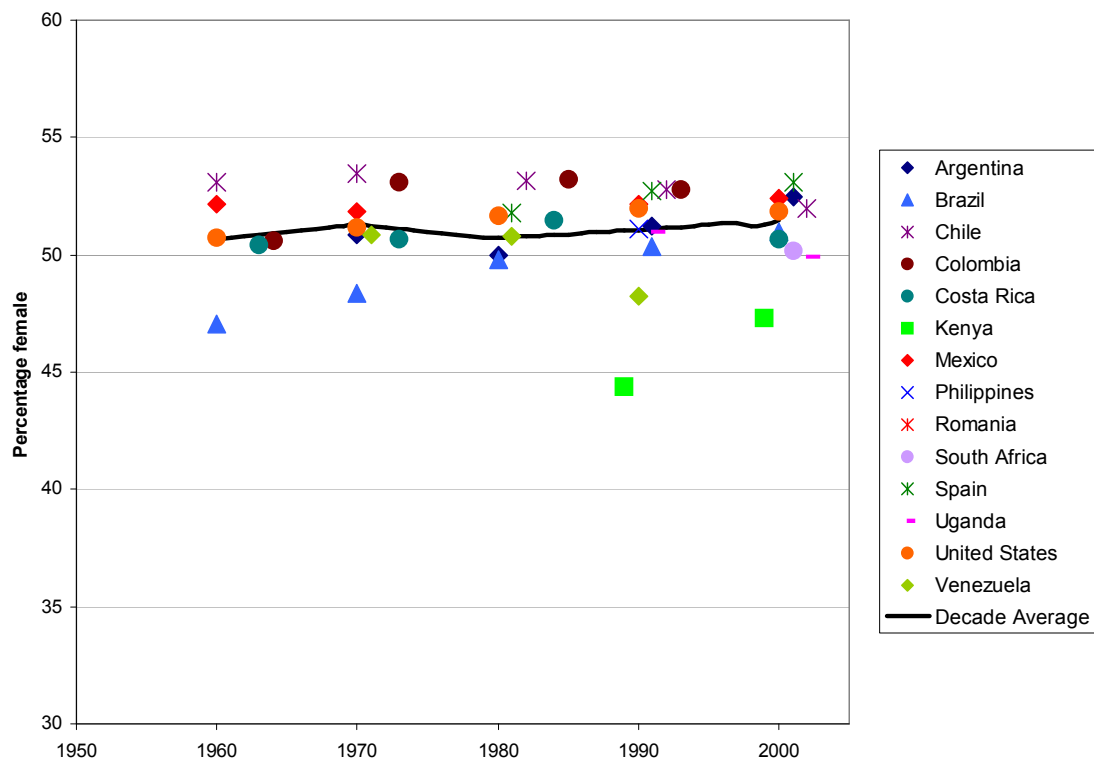
**Figure 7**  
**Women's representation among internal and international migrants in Mexico**



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International).

Note: "Internal migrants" are Mexico-born persons living outside of their Mexican state of birth. "International migrants" are foreign-born persons.

**Figure 8**  
**Women's representation among internal migrants in 14 countries**



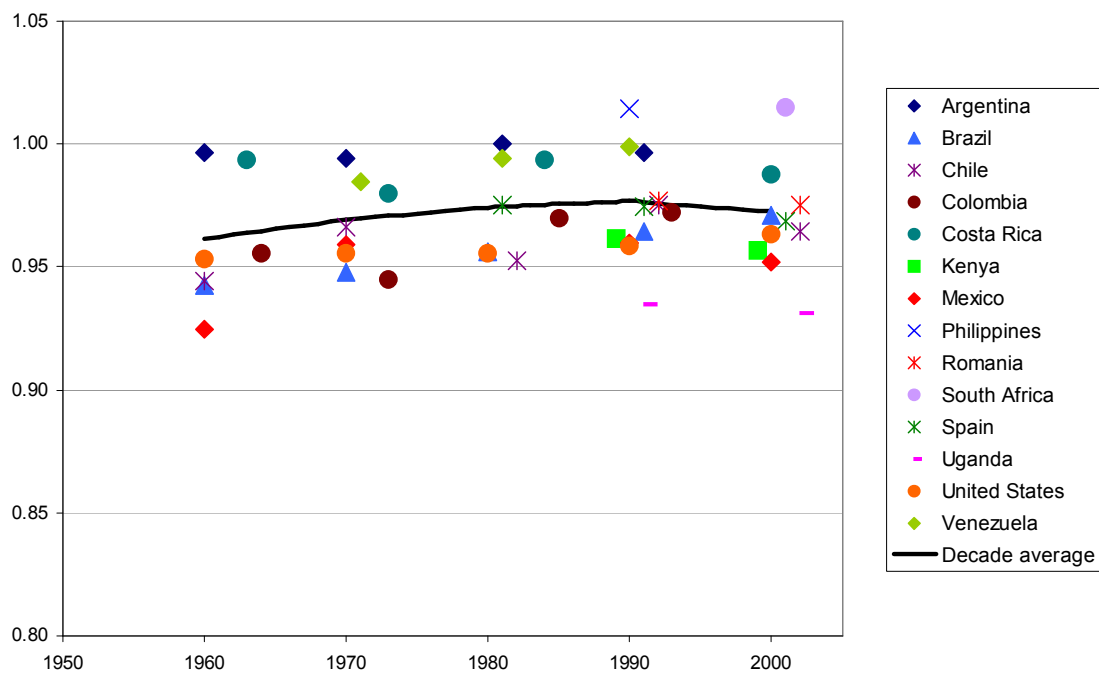
Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International).

Note: "Internal migrants" are domestically-born persons living outside of their state of birth (or province, region, department, or community). See Table 1 for the unit of geography used in each country.

Note: trend line shows average value of all available data points in each decade.



**Figure 9**  
**Distance women moved as a proportion of distance men moved in 14 countries, internal migrants**

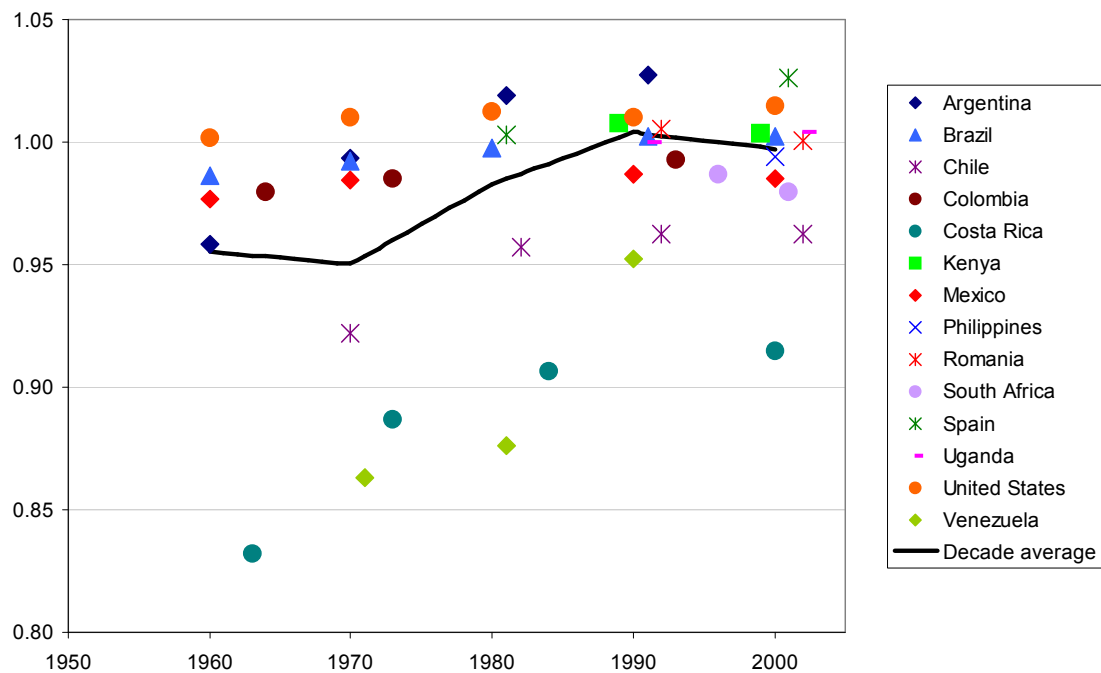


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International).

Note: "Internal migrants" are domestically-born persons living outside of their state of birth (or province, region, department, or community). See Table 1 for the unit of geography used in each country.

Note: trend line shows average value of all available data points in each decade.

**Figure 10**  
**Distance women moved as a proportion of distance men moved in 14 countries, international migrants**

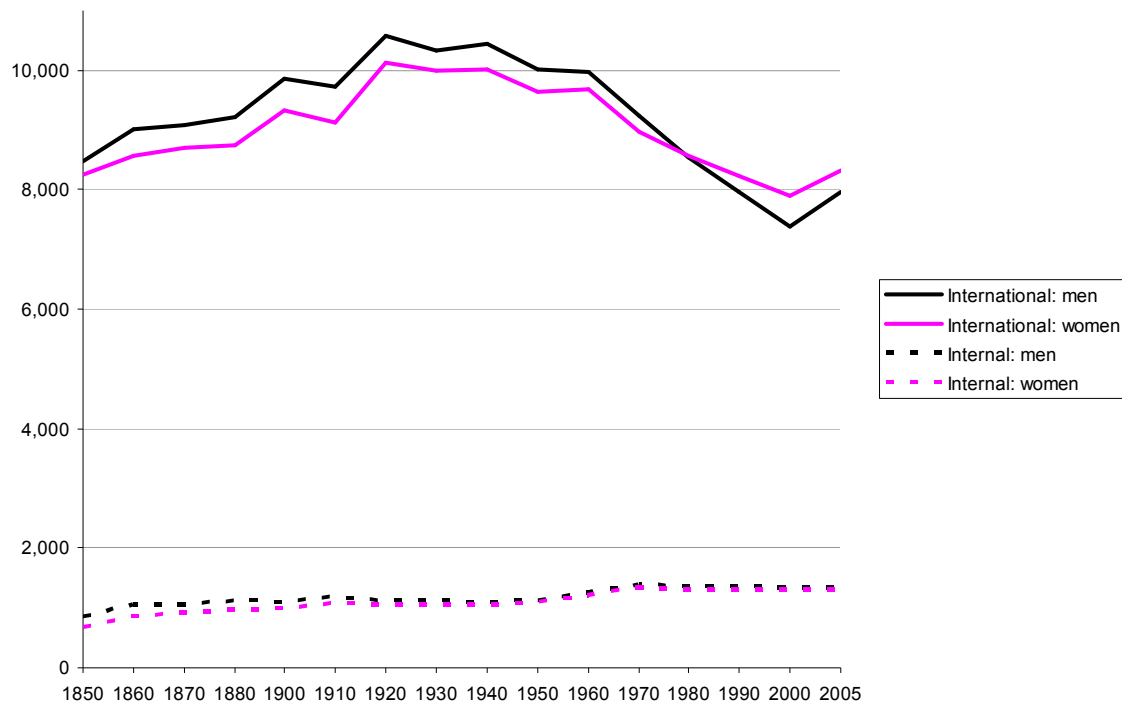


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International).

Note: "International migrants" are foreign-born persons.

Note: Trend line shows average value of all available data points in each decade.

**Figure 11**  
**Distance moved (in km) for internal and international migrants**  
**in the United States**



Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA).

Note: "Internal migrants" are domestically-born persons living outside of their state of birth.  
 "International migrants" are foreign-born persons.