Changing the Face of Labor Migration? Feminization of Labor Migration
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Abstract
In the context of developing economies where societies and states are becoming dependent on the work of women in the labor force, the purpose of this study is to understand the discrepancy between traditional and patriarchal societies and the feminization of labor migration. Feminization of immigration is defined as the growing phenomenon of emigration of women from all over the world looking for economic independence, mainly through working in the domestic and care sector, but often assuming an invisible social role in destination societies (Montefusco, 2008). This paper addresses the complexity of the concept of the feminization process and discusses how this concept is used in gender and migration studies. Furthermore, this paper is part of the bigger research project on feminization process which seeks a more comprehensive definition of the process and urges to provide an in-depth study of feminization of labor migration, its various patterns, the social mechanisms behind it, as well as links from the macro and micro perspective that explain this social phenomenon. Discussion of the available literature on the feminization of labor migration shows that the issue of whether an increased feminization process creates new social tensions, especially within families, among children and in gender relations, is clouded by the fact that feminization contributes to changing socially constructed and traditional status of women (Khusenova, 2007; Lindio-McGovern, 2003; Gündüz, 2013). This research uses a case study of migration from Tajikistan to Russia. Tajikistan belongs to a small group of countries in which there is an extreme contrast between a very traditional society and increased female mobility. Since it is argued that in Tajik society the women’s point of view on present matrimonial situation (Cleuziou, 2016) and migration is overlooked, this study illustrates the experiences of female migrants who, as claimed by Phizacklea (1998), are imprisoned in institutionalized forms of dependency. The traditional and culturally patriarchal factor within society is overlooked in many studies of the feminization of labor migration, which could be an original input to illustrate and compare with studied cases in other parts of the world.

Introduction
This paper starts with a discussion of key arguments within the gender and migration nexus and where we can observe the pitfalls of contemporary women’s migration studies with a focus on feminization process. In gender and migration studies there has been an inconclusive debate about whether discourses are reproduced and copied between categories of migrants and between countries (Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Phizacklea, 1998). Much of the current debate revolves around the similarities over time and between countries when it comes to migration and its categorization. Schrover and Moloney (2013) propound the view that considering the vast
amount of literature on gender and migration it is still hard to say that there is one unified theory. It is argued that a lot of attention is paid to the feminization of migration, which is presented as a new phenomenon, however, at the same time it is claimed that not much proof has been offered and not much of a clarification is provided as to what feminization means (Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Khusenova, 2007; Lindio-McGovern, 2003). This paper focuses on gender as the primary analytical category to study feminization process.

The research in general focuses on high mobility of women from developing countries with traditional and patriarchal societies where the gender roles and norms are reinforced through socialization processes. The traditional model of labor migration process, which is generally male-dominated, is changing as women begin actively participating in labor market and labor migration. However, unlike men, women who are enforced by economic situation do not have a choice other than to migrate and seek employment outside their home countries. The discrepancy between growing female mobility in male-dominated societies in developing countries is claimed to be under researched. However, the research problem is not solely about how the status of women in traditional and patriarchal society changes through high levels of mobility; rather, it also opens up a black box of contradiction between the classical sociological trend of women's empowerment and the constraint of traditional society. The puzzle questions the constraints female migrants encounter and the strategies that women develop to be accepted in the society of origin through adjustment into traditional norms. Therefore, this research proposes that women migrants might not see immigration processes as a means toward emancipation and empowerment. On the contrary, women might perceive labor migration as a source of demotion when they have to regain their status by coping with traditional norms and values in an origin society. The research makes an attempt to investigate closer the patterns of female labor migration from Tajikistan in terms of decision making and experiences which have been changing in the post-Soviet period.

**Feminization of labor migration: what is not addressed and overlooked**

When we think of the number of men and women migrants we need to keep in mind that there are two categories: documented migrants who registered, and also non-registered migrants. In many studies feminization is used to indicate that women outnumber men in migration (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Additionally, many studies indicate the phenomena that the number of women now equals the number of men while that was not the case in the past (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Numerous scholars argue that there are no data available that allow a comparison of the current percentage of migrant women with that of the past. This paper

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1 See Khusenova (2007), the Feminization of Tajik labour migration to Russia
urges to reconsider the concept of feminization of labor migration since it is more than just an increasing number of women who seek employment abroad and leave their families behind in the country of origin. The concept of gender lies at the heart of the discussion on feminization of labor migration process. Gender as a concept implies the constitutive element of social relationships, and particularly relationships of power, based on perceived differences between sexes (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p. 13). Gender by definition refers to the construction, organization and maintenance of masculinity and femininity (Schrover & Moloney, 2016).

There is overwhelming evidence corroborating the notion that ideas on masculinity and femininity differ per country, and by context, and they often change over time (Schrover & Moloney, 2016; Lindio-McGovern, 2003). It is argued that early studies on migration mostly focused on men and models based on male experiences and similar mechanisms were assumed to influence the migration decisions of both men and women (Schrover & Moloney, 2016, p. 13). Schrover and Moloney (2016) put forward the view that women were added to the model later but without applying gender as an analytical category and thus without systematically explaining the differences between migrant men and women. This paper is written as a first step within bigger research focusing on social impacts of massive labor migration and feminization of labor migration from developing countries. The focus does not include studies which victimize the women migrants who are in most cases are employed in domestic work and care taking. Actually most of the studies of women labor migrants focus on domestic work sector while other sectors are poorly addressed.

Most of the research on women labor migration focuses on integration and assimilation processes of migrants in host countries but not so much has been said about how women migrants become re-integrated in the home society. It is actually a big issue to be discussed as experiences of many developing countries which are highly dependent on labor migration show. Since most of the women migrants have families with children back at home and hence de facto vulnerabilities are attached to them, this study finds it is crucial to understand how women migrants and society in general deal with changes in the family and society caused by women's migration. Also, when it comes to status loss among migrants, the discussion about the children left behind mostly navigates around women rather man (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p. 19).

This study establishes a need for in-depth research on the feminization of labor migration. While feminization of migration is linked to socioeconomic change in migrant origin countries, changes in destination-country labor markets and changing social attitudes, the questions of how feminization of migration processes and how it becomes socially institutionalized remain unanswered (Hofmann & Buckley, 2013). This study not only relates to the larger ongoing debate which revolves around globalization and female migration, but it also pertinently
demarcates the gaps within literature on feminization of migration and expands upon what other studies have established so far. Gender and migration scholarship is quite a complex field of study because it intrinsically incorporates many factors into analysis to understand gender differences in the migration process and consequently the outcomes of the decision made by women and men. Many studies reveal models to examine migration processes which overlook the role and agency of female actors. This paper delineates a framework for studying female migration which also demonstrates the awareness of the gap which persists in social sciences. There are three main historical periods in social sciences which have been proposed to frame the development of theories on female migration.

The first period is argued to last until the mid-1970s when there was a complete absence of studies on female migration (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013). This model argues that scientific production has largely overlooked migrant women because of the predominance of the patriarchal family model (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013). This historical gender and migration nexus analysis is concerned with the issues of how the migration model sees women as dependent on men, who are considered to be the principal breadwinner and head of the household (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013; Morokvasic, 1984; Sassen, 2001). Dependency theory is prominent in the literature on gender and migration, especially in case of Latin America (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013). Dependency theory focuses on public production as the key to development, based on the subordination of the periphery to the centre in the global capitalist economy, where men are perceived as the agents of development and revolutionaries, and women are confined to the private sphere of the home (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013, p.12).

The next historical period of the emergence of the figure of the visible female migrant begins with the closure of European border (1974-1975) and remains limited to a stereotypical image of the reunited woman from a family reunification perspective (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013). The theoretical premise within this period until the 1980s is that women migrants were perceived as an economically inactive actor who accompanies and is dependent on the male migrant (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013; Sassen, 2001). According to Oso and Ribas-Mateos (2013) from 1980s and onwards, the active role played by female migrants begins to emerge due to analytical approaches and theories that highlight problems involved in domestic work and family economy (p.13). The underestimation of the numbers of migrant women lies at the heart of the discussion on the importance of incorporation of women migrants’ perspective into understanding the migration process (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013; Phizacklea, 1998; Lindia-McGovern, 2003). Since economic contributions of women migrants became more visible, studies of female migration began to emerge in parallel with the status of working women (Oso
During this period it is argued that the inclusion of women migrants into migration studies lead to the development of theories about determining factors on macro and micro levels while describing migratory processes (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013). Similarly, Schrover and Moloney (2013) argue that gender and migration studies mainly reflect political ideas about the household as private and the labor market as a political domain, then migration of women is mostly described from a family perspective and men's migration is described from a labor perspective (p. 19).

The issue under scrutiny in the present study is the link between micro and macro. Along similar lines, Phizacklea (1998) argues that migratory ‘choices’ are circumscribed by factors not subject to manipulation by individual migrants. The role of networks becomes another factor for analysis of migration which extends as well to the role of women within population flows (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013, p.13). Oso and Ribas-Mateos (2013) also point out another important factor that favors the visibility of female immigration is that the migratory phenomenon is considered to be a result not only of individual decision making, but part of a household or community strategy (p.13). Consequently, these stages of development in migration studies have lead to growing awareness that migration does not impact men and women in the same way, and that by focusing solely on male migrants we fail to understand the complexities involved in migration (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013; Phizacklea, 1998; Morokvasic, 1984). Moreover, often there is a tendency of Western feminism to universalize the experience of Western, affluent women, given that more research with recognition of difference and diversity is welcomed (Phizacklea, 1998).

**Globalization of labor and the role of state**

It is argued that the globalization of labor has, on one hand, contributed to the creation of borderless economies, more evidently for the sending country (Lindio-McGovern, 2003; Gündüz, 2013; Sassen, 2001). On the other hand, we see receiving nation-states preserving their borders through immigration and citizenship policies and their reluctance to see labor issues of migrant workers as a transnational issues, but purely an internal matter in which sending government should not intervene (Lindio-McGovern, 2003; Gündüz, 2013; Sassen, 2001). As Sassen (2001) argues, economies that are frequently grouped under the label "developing," are in some cases actually struggling or stagnant and even shrinking (p.103). There has been an inconclusive debate about whether enormous costs of government debt in struggling economies have impacts on the poor, especially women (Sassen, 2001). However, exporting workers and importing
remittances² are considered a means for governments to cope with unemployment and foreign
debt (Sassen, 2001, p.106).

Traditionally, men migrate and women stay at home or follow their husband migrants
(Gündüz, 2013; Sassen, 2001; Hofmann & Buckley, 2013). However, this scheme has been
challenged by economic crises and hardships that migrants and their families in countries of
origin are confronted with. The number of women migrants who become the sole source of
income for their families is growing dynamically fast, and unemployment, both of women and
more generally of men, has added to the pressure on women to find ways to ensure household
survival (Sassen, 2001; Gündüz, 2013). There is overwhelming evidence corroborating the
notion that women mostly migrate to improve the livelihood of their families and cope with
poverty and consequently leave their children behind (Sassen, 2001; Gündüz, 2013). Within the
discourse of women in the economy, Sassen (2001) observes the phenomenon of “feminization
of survival”, where societies and states become dependent on the work of women in the labor
force. Sassen (2001) attempts to show how often events experienced and represented as micro-
events or local specificities can enter the macro-level of economic dynamics (p. 102).

In the case of the Philippines, many studies have indicated how the state and society have
gone through a long process of structural and institutional adjustments (Sassen, 2001; Lindio-
McGovern, 2003). The available evidence seems to suggest that labor export has not mitigated
unemployment in the Philippines since foreign exchange earnings through remittances is not
invested in employment-generating projects (Lindio-McGovern, 2011, p.49). What we are
observing today is the rapid growth and the rapid internationalization of female labor migration
(Sassen, 2001). There is growing support for the claim that female migrants and their families
carry most of the social costs of labor export, the state policies and involved profit making
institutions basically ignore these social costs (Gündüz, 2013). Current research appears to refine
the approach to study feminization of labor migration from developing countries by including the
context of traditional and patriarchal society into research and analysis.

Taking a middle-ground position, Schrover and Moloney (2013) claim that it is hard to
provide a historical overview of trends in international migration since many countries either
lack a system of continuous registration of international migration, or if they have such a system,
they do not process and publish the data (p. 16). Moreover, as a critique of feminization of
migration studies it is argued that data that are presented are frequently highly selective
(Schrover & Moloney, 2013).The aim of this section of the paper is to look beyond the data and

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² Remittances represent a major source of foreign exchange reserves for the government in developing
countries (Lindio-McGovern, 2011).
address the gaps within studies of feminization process. In migration studies, labor migration process of both men and women generally falls under the same push and pull factors which are observed and discussed across countries and regions of the world. Neo-classical models or push and pull models cannot explain the whole complexity of migration process since men and women do not have the same (access to) resources, the labor market, power, agency, interests, knowledge and networks (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p. 17). The case studies of many countries have found out that women are more sensitive to make a decision to migration and to migration experience in general. When it comes to the decision to migrate the differences in men's and women's migration patterns have often been explained using the concept of perceived profitability; i.e., people move if a cost-benefit analysis points to gains (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p.19). It is argued that when women migrate in equal numbers to men, or in greater numbers this is explained as a family strategy (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). From a remittance perspective, women may earn less than men but they might send more money home, meaning that it could be more profitable for families left behind if they migrate instead of men (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Although women are more likely to be exposed to the vulnerabilities during migration process than men, there are other insecurities and social issues which women migrants face before and after migration. This paper suggests that the extent and variety of social issues faced by women migrants differ across various cultures and countries. Correspondingly, when it comes to women migration from developing country with a traditional society, this paper urges to reconsider the applicability of already discussed theories on gender and migration as well as to be open the new observations across diverse work and cultural contexts.

The state directly influences the migration process of both men and women. Schrover and Moloney (2013) provide a very interesting definition of governmentality as practices (mentalities, rationalities and techniques) through which subjects are governed, and the techniques and strategies by which a society is rendered governable (p.9). It is argued that the discursive mechanisms (i.e. women migrants, abandoned families) act as technologies of governance by which groups are constituted as a problem in need of a policy response (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p.9). It is argued that states have the authority to decide who is who and to differentiate rights accordingly these practices create gender differences (Schrover & Moloney, 2016).

While categorization is a central instrument to legitimize differences within policies and between groups of people it is hard to foresee the social impacts of feminization process. Although categorizations are constantly renewed with the intention to mostly exclude or deny rights (Schrover & Moloney, 2016, p. 9). While many scholars argue that categorization results in debates and a constant redrawing of boundaries (Schrover & Moloney, 2016), however it is
worth of exposing those boundaries first to see how they are constructed and affect migrants as individuals. It is argued that people tend to think in categories because simplification makes the social world understandable and manageable (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p. 9). Schrover and Moloney’s (2013) findings lend support to the claim that migrants are differentiated explicitly according to categories of migrants (e.g. colonial, refugee, labor and family) and implicitly according to categories of analysis gender, class, religion, and ethnicity (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Along similar lines, it is argued that while studying the intersection of the boundaries it is possible to redraw boundaries of categories (Schrover & Moloney, 2013).

Left on the margins of host and home societies

Among various substantive and methodological approaches which have recently been developed, the prominent one seems to be a feminist research approach which focuses on researching the experiences of women in order to give them voice (Lindio-McGovern, 2003). Lindio-McGovern (2003) puts forward the view that migration experience of women include their reasons for emigrating, the problems they encounter as migrants in certain labor market sectors and as women, and how policies in the country of origin and destination impact on their lives (p.515). Feminist research employs varied methods shaped by the field setting and non-hierarchical approach in order to see the different contexts of women's experiences (Lindio-McGovern, 2003, p.515). The underlying argument in favor of studying the feminization of labor migration is that it examines the sacrifices that women migrants bear and the hidden contradictions of labor export under globalization (Lindio-McGovern, 2003). Consequently, this study is an attempt to address the issues of discrepancy in attached notions of ‘empowerment’ to female labor migrant and a constraint of traditional society.

There is ample support for the claim that feminist research approach allows theory to emerge from women's experiences (Phizacklea, 1998; Lindio-McGovern, 2003). Along similar lines, it is argued that allowing women's experiences to inform theories on globalization will not only make visible how gender, race and class intersect in its dynamics (Oso & Ribas-Mateos, 2013, p.15), but also give concrete human experiences to abstractions that tend to present globalization as disembodied ‘forces’, ‘flows’ and ‘institutions’ (Lindio-McGovern, 2003, p.516). The current literature on feminization of labor migration abounds with examples of how the feminization of labor export puts more burdens on the women who have to earn money in a foreign destination country (Lindio-McGovern, 2003; Sassen, 2001; Khusenova, 2007). In most cases, income which is earned by women migrants in domestic sector mostly is sent or spent on family needs in the home country, which leaves women migrant without savings and personal economic security (Lindio-McGovern, 2003, p.526).
There is overwhelming evidence corroborating the notion that migrants use strategies, networks and ties in different ways (Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Lindio-McGovern, 2003). Alongside the economic challenges which female migrants encounter, there are also emotional costs. One of the most emphasized emotional costs which women migrants bear is ‘long-distance mothering’\(^3\) (Lindio-McGovern, 2003, p.526). The long-term consequences of this may not be compensated by whatever economic gains migrant mothers attain (Lindio-McGovern, 2003). Evidence from a study of Filipino women migrants seem to validate the view that women migrants keep working in deprived works because of the debts that they have within various contexts which keep them in (Lindio-McGovern, 2003), apart from socio-economic push factors which persist in the country of origin. This implies that women migrants who perform most of the domestic work remain on the margins of city economy (Lindio-McGovern, 2003).

**The case of Tajikistan**

This paper considers the growing process labor migration of women from traditional society in Tajikistan to Russian Federation and to what extent it fits or not to the feminization of migration debates. Tajikistan is one of the top migrant sending and remittances dependent countries in the Eurasian region (Marat, 2009; Khusenova, 2007). Russia is one of the top receiving countries of migrants from Central Asia\(^4\) and particularly from Tajikistan. Within the frame of the economic crisis that hit Eurasian region in 2008, Marat (2009:52) argues that labor migrants continued to be an important economic force in Central Asia. On the community level, labor migration is considered to be almost the only solution for economic problems and the majority of households, especially in rural areas, must send their family members to Russia. As a result, many families are solely dependent on remittances\(^5\) that migrants send and are missing the male part of their households. A high dependency on remittances increases the vulnerability of countries to shocks from remittance-sending countries\(^6\). Official data suggests that by March 2016, some 863,426 Tajik citizens, predominantly men (82\%), have immigrated, whereas unofficial numbers suggest that over one million Tajik migrants work and reside in Russia\(^7\).

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\(^3\) Long-distance mothering involves children being deprived of direct mothering from the migrant mother (Lindio-McGovern, 2003).

\(^4\) The empirical data on migration composition in Russia suggests that the highest number of labor migrants from Central Asian region belong to three poorest countries among five which are Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan (Marat, 2009; Khusenova, 2007).

\(^5\) Remittances as a share of GDP are larger in small economies, particularly, in Central Asian countries like Tajikistan where it is about 49 percent of GDP (World Bank, 2015).

\(^6\) See World Bank (2015) report on Migration and Remittances

\(^7\) Source: National Statistical Committee of Tajikistan , www.stat.tj
Annually, around 700,000-800,000 Tajik citizens migrate to Russia for work. Women constitute around 18% of migrants and the number of female migrants is steadily increasing since 2002. Unlike the cases of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, male migrants from Tajikistan tend to leave their families at home and available evidence shows that more 80% of the migrants are married and have at least one or two children (Olimova, 2010).

The study of female migrants from Tajikistan provides a case study to examine on micro-macro levels - the impact of globalization on migrant women and, what feminism approach urges for, the intersection of gender, class, race and nationality in this process (Lindio-McGovern, 2003). Apart from extending the theoretical approach to study the feminization process, this study intends to address an empirical gap via mixed methods inquiry to examine social, economic and political impacts of feminization of labor migration on migrant sending countries. The specificity of this study is that it incorporates into analysis female chain migration and the trend of abandonment of families by migrants which have been observed in Tajikistan. The study also plans to examine key policy-oriented issues which have occurred due to massive labor migration flow and its impact on the migrant sending society. Overall, this research not only intends to add value to existing research on migration in the Eurasian region, but also to address the role of women in international economic processes.

Since it is argued that in Tajik society the women’s point of view on present matrimonial situation and migration is overlooked, this study illustrates the experiences of female migrants who claimed by Phizacklea (1998) to be imprisoned in institutionalized forms of dependency. Some local scholars like Khusenova (2007) propose that just as in European societies, where war was a prerequisite to the promotion of the role of women to that with men, the civil war in Tajikistan and economic crisis enabled women to take on more of a leading role as economic actors. As it was mentioned earlier this working paper is part of the bigger research project and data collection and analysis part considers several groups of female migrants. The first group includes women left behind or abandoned by a man who has already migrated and the second group includes single women who have decided to migrate. In fact, there is drastically growing tendency of left-behind by migrant families headed by women. Left-behind families eventually become abandoned by migrants, who are the main bread winners of the households, and become ‘de facto widows’ within Tajik society. Unofficially it is estimated that there are more than

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8 Source: Federal Migration Service of Russia, https://www.fms.gov.ru/
9 See Cleuziou (2016), ‘A second wife is not really a wife’: polygyny, gender relations and economic realities in Tajikistan.
10 See Ranjbar (2008-2009) for detailed report on “De Facto” Widows of Tajikistan.
250,000 households that have been economically abandoned by the male breadwinner, who has migrated. There is no sufficient data and analysis that displays how the state is prepared for such consequences as growing number of abandoned people left without sources of income and children growing without fathers and mothers. One of the far going consequences might be the option for the disappearance of the younger generation and growing number of abandoned children. Meanwhile, governments with their agreements and policies are criticized for being short term oriented and tending to lack in vision and strategy for periods longer than a year; they fail to provide for extraordinary situations such as the changing structure of labor market or economic downturns (Marat, 2009). It is interesting to research whether there is a relationship between growing number of abandoned families by migrants headed by women and feminization of labor migration from Tajikistan.

**Conclusion**

The analysis of the certain variables such as access to opportunity structures, the decision-making process, differences in costs and benefits for men and women, and differences in experiences are expected to provide evidences to argue that increasing female migration, which is enforced by economic situation, impacts women in rather complex way. In Tajikistan on one hand, the female migrant faces the urgent need for economic survival, while on the other hand she faces “traditional” expectations that question her migratory behavior. It is considered that migration undermines the traditional status of female migrants. By migrating, women do something that not only goes against their personal traditional values and but also against traditional societal values. Considering the context of patriarchal and traditional society, cognitive dissonance is expected to be observed among women who have to migrate because they do not have much choice and they would have preferred not to migrate. The basic premise of the feminization of migration theory considers the emancipation of women in public and private spheres through engaging in paid work (Montefusco, 2008). The analysis of the experiences of female migrants from Tajikistan provides a basis to deconstruct this premise and show how women are coming up with strategies to perform the traditional gender-attached roles and status of women in the public sphere within society, while privately, they are actually the head of the household i.e. they are the decision-makers and breadwinners.

Although it is difficult to observe the changes and impacts which are happening in the migrant-sending country, this study still intends to make large contributions to the development of studies of the impacts on migrant-sending societies. The social consequences are expected to be in terms of changing traditional patriarchal gender roles, social attitudes towards women.

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11 See the report by OSCE (2012), Social and economic inclusion of women in migrant households in Tajikistan.
migration and social costs of exporting female workers. In regards to economic impacts, it is expected that the amount of remittances sent by migrants does not compensate the costs which are faced by abandoned families. When it comes to social issues related to women's migration, however, the government pretends to be invisible in assisting the migrants. The policy analysis oriented research claims that, if we look at who profits from a certain discourse and in what ways, then we can understand how, why and by whom differences between migrant men and women were created, maintained and entrenched in laws and regulation (Schrover and Moloney (2013), or why such laws and regulation do not exist. On these grounds, it is argued that perceptions of costs, gains and threats differ according to gender and that men are more often portrayed as useful to the labor market, but also as (political) threats to society (Schrover and Moloney, 2013).
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**Reports**


