

# The State of Female Migration Flow in International Labour Market: How is Bangladesh Doing?

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## Abstract

*Women constitute 47.5 percent of total international migration flow in today's world. However, representation of Bangladeshi female migrants in the labour market is the thinnest among all the countries in Asia. The paper tries to identify factors hindering female migration and instigate a debate on the role of religion as hindrance to female migration in Bangladesh and Indonesia. Data were collected from 13 families having sent at least one migrant abroad. The available data substantiates that religion hinders female migration process in Bangladesh to a considerable extent; however, it is not true in case of Indonesia. Under the norm of female seclusion, women have to veil themselves from the head to toe when they go out of the home. This "protects" the women's modesty and husband's family's respectability. Among the twelve factors worked out 'religion' received the highest WMI (0.846) followed by 'language' inefficiency (0.818). 'Illiteracy' received third highest WMI (0.750) followed by 'marital factor' (0.692). However, 'governance' received the least WMI (0.375) followed by less exposure to modern world (0.400). Inappropriate state policies, legislation and administrative restrictions have driven women's labour migration dissident. Last of all, it is the government who should take pains to promote international female migration because this is a matter of bilateral governmental concerns.*

## Introduction

The present world witnesses the fact of Rousseau's words- 'man is born free'. We wonder, did Rousseau unavoidably preclude the women? While female share in international migration has been on increase, lives of majority of women in many countries are confined within the house to uphold religious rites and women's dignity (Siddiqui, 2001). Debate on representation of women traveled all the way from Mexico in 1975 to Copenhagen in 1980, to Nairobi in 1985 and then to Beijing in 1995 to demand equality and to eliminate prejudice, however, equality remains as rhetoric in most of the Asian countries including Bangladesh.

As we enter the new millennium, the rights and status of women in society have gained paramount worldwide concern among policy makers and civil society alike. Whilst the gradual incorporation of women into the mainstream development process during the last century has pushed the role of women from the private sphere of life to the public. The question remains whether the process has effectively reduced repression against women or merely opened up new avenues for exploitation. While domestic violence against women has been a feature of both rich and poor nations, women's increased participation in outside the family activities has endangered her external security (Tambiah, 2002: 1). In order to incorporate gender issues in the total governance process it is crucial to look at participation and decision making of women and men in the different sectors, the gender gap and

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inequalities in each. Private-public divide allied with women and men is one of the important factors that have affected non-participation of women in the decision-making and governance. From the early days when Western political theory uncovered, society has separated into two domains: a 'public' domain, the domain of political authority and contestation, and a 'private' realm, associated with family and home (Nusbaun, 2003:5). Although the private domain is associated with women, it is a domain where the family/household is the most complex site where it is believed that there is a male altruistic head responsible for the welfare and safety of all members. Women's bargaining power at the household is restricted typically due to lack of access and control over resources, no autonomy in decision making, low self esteem, low skills and education, restricted physical mobility and eventually less power as compared to men. Such in-egalitarian gender relations at the household level get manifested in other institutions such as the community, market and the state (Smita Mishra-Panda, retrieved from: [www.irma.ac.in/silver/themepaper/SMITHA.pdf](http://www.irma.ac.in/silver/themepaper/SMITHA.pdf)).

Above assumptions have always hindered women to negotiate in the public domain and often they find themselves tricky to enter into the field of labour migration. It is imperative to know how women move differently from men, and how their modes of entry tend to be different which impacts upon their place within the labour market and access to social services. In both North America and Western Europe where 'family reunification' is an important mode of entry, migrant women often enter as wives and dependents of men who sponsor their admission, and they are usually less likely than men to enter on economic and humanitarian grounds. However, the effects of gender stratification do not end there. In addition, many migrant women (regardless of their mode of entry) do engage in paid work, but like their native-born counterparts, immigrant women face a gender-stratified labour market where they frequently find themselves in the bottom strata (Piper, 2005:2).

The issue of female migration has not gained prominence in migration literature and it has been a prerogative of the male folk so far. This has been questioned since the mid-1980s by the focus on women migrants who are undertaking migration independently (Anthias, 2000:24, 53); they are no longer the dependants of their father or husbands. They today constitute 47.5 percent of all international migrants and there are many evidences either that females migrated as principal wage earners (IOM, 2004). Migration theories also have not adequately addressed the gender issues of migration because of the 'myth' that it is solely a male issue (Oishi, 2002; Green, 1995:33), although trafficking in women has notoriously been on increase (Gazi *et al*, 2001:3). Trafficking which is very much related to prostitution can take various forms and it involves moral, public order, labour, migration and human rights issues, and concerns over the proliferation of organized criminal activities as well (Demleitner, 2001:257-259). Migration streams draw from all social groups i.e. women and men, married and single, investors, middle class with degrees, and laborers move within the third world and from the third world to the first (Salaff, 1997; Ong, Chan and Cheu, 1998).

The representation of Bangladeshi female migrants (BFM, henceforth) in the international labour market is the thinnest among all the countries in Asia although the share of women in the total economically active population is 39 percent. The human development gap is aggravated by substantial gender disparities with a difference between HDI rank and GDI rank is -5 (Neft and Levine, 1997:24, Ofreneo, 2000). Women have been punch by financial, economic, and social crises in varying degrees; and religion, in addition, continues to affect women's interests in many countries. Poverty is blamed for both internal and international migration flow as Skeldon (2002:67) claimed that migration could both cause and be caused by poverty. Ullah and Routray (2003) observed that women in Bangladesh suffer from the brunt of grim poverty however; still migration propensity among the poverty-prone women is the lowest in quantitative judgment. What is interesting to question is poverty driven migration theory annulled in Bangladesh?

One of the fields of primary augmentation areas is gender study (Atkinson,1990:1), although women have been the historically deprived section of any society. Badawi (1980) describes the niche of the women in ancient civilization that according to Hindu scriptures that a good wife is "a woman, whose mind, speech and body are kept in subjection, acquires high fame in this world, and, in the next, the same abode with her husband". Athenian women were obliged to offer her to the wishes of parents, and accept from them her husband and her lord, even though he was stranger to her". In Roman Law, a woman was completely dependent: 'If married she and her property conceded to the power of her husband . . . the wife was the purchased property of her husband, and like a slave acquired only for his benefit'. Women usually had primary responsibility for the organization of the domestic sphere (Robinson, 1983). Since early stage of their life, girls were trained to take up housework to assist mothers and take care of the siblings. Although the situation in status of the women started to improve by the late nineteenth century, in the labour market context, typical manifestations of gender inequalities are evident which includes: lower participation of women labour force than men, concentration of female workers in low-productivity occupations in the agricultural and informal sectors; and lower level of wage earnings by female workers than male in similar occupations.

Out-migration is one of the problems that affect women emigrant to a large extent. As the result of decrease of farm land, poverty in rural area and development of manufacturing industries in urban area, younger generation turn to seek better opportunities in city area. Elderly women usually were left behind in rural areas and 'women's workload was greatly intensified by the growth of out-migration and it appears to have been one of the forces leading to the demise of the rise of economy' (Stiven, 1994:384).

The main concern of this paper is to identify major factors that hinder female migration and to explore why did the widespread poverty fail to push out the women into the world labour market from Bangladesh? It also intends to instigate a debate whether the issue of religion acts as an impediment to the female migration process or not?

**Methodology**

The paper is mainly based on secondary data. However, some primary data has been used, though limitedly, to supplement the secondary data. In Creswell's term (1994:177) this can be termed as dominant – less dominant design. The dominant design here is the secondary data. Primary data were gathered through case studies from 13 families having sent at least one migrant abroad. The question of representative sample is not imperative in this study because this study was not conducted on particular population in an area; moreover it is not going to infer anything at policy levels.

The sample was selected on snow-ball basis. Since there was no sample frame due to lack of appropriate data base on female migrants in Bangladesh, snow ball technique for selecting the respondents was the most appropriate. When population (N) is not known, a statistical tool could not be applied to determine a representative sample (n). For data analysis, both qualitative and quantitative modes have been used. However, for quantitative analysis, both descriptive and analytical techniques have been applied. The focus of the case studies was on various dimensions; however this paper uses only the perceived factors affecting female migration from Bangladesh. Degree of perceived factors affecting female migration was measured by using Weighted Mean Index (WMI). The following equation was applied to work out the WMI. Data was collected during February – March 2005.

$$WMI = \frac{(w_1f_1 + w_2f_2 + w_3f_3 + \dots + w_nf_n)}{(f_1 + f_2 + f_3 + \dots + f_n)} = \frac{\sum w_i f_i}{\sum f_i}$$

Where,

$w_i$  is the assigned weight for a particular class under priority scale and  $f_i$  is the corresponding frequency of that class. In order to obtain information regarding factors affecting female migration, five-point scale was used in this paper. These scales are very high, high, neutral, low and very low and the corresponding weights are 1.0; 0.80; 0.60; 0.40; and 0.20

### Male-female migration gap

Obviously, male migration in the Asian region is a response to the demand in the construction, manufacturing and plantation work (mostly in Malaysia), and female migration is a response to the shortage of domestic and childcare workers in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, and Taiwan. Migration from Indonesia and Sri Lanka is dominated by women who take up domestic work in the countries of Middle East, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan as other secondary destinations (Asis, 2003). Although Bangladeshi female migrants are spread over 21 countries worldwide but their representation is negligible compared with other selected countries. Only 17,784 women migrated officially between 1991 and 2003 representing less than one per cent of the total labour migration during that period. However, “45,000 Bangladeshi women have left to work illegally in Persian Gulf countries since 1998” (Islam, 2002). It is worth mentioning here that there are wide variations across the sources of information. Jahan (2004) mentioned that between 1990 and 2001, despite having slight fall female migration continues to grow, although the velocity was not so high.

**Table -1**  
**Yearly Migration of Female Workers from Bangladesh by Destination.**

Country/Year	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004*	Total
KSA	132	143	-	-	335	827	808	1098	3343
Bahrain	159	98	-	22	22	30	37	61	429
Iran	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Oman	4	3	14		27	14	-	-	62
Kuwait	942	257	-	4	15	18	333	627	2196
Singapore	4	2	1	-	2	1	2	2	14
Malaysia	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
UAE	463	410	351	381	162	217	108	51	2143
Switzerland	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	7
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Jordan	-	-	-	-	95	104	1053	909	2161
Italy	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8
Pakistan	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	5
Qatar	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Brunei	5	1	-	-	-	1	2	2	11
Sipan	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
Mauritius	19	17	-	47	-	-	-	-	83
Labanon	17	7	-	-	-	-	1	-	25
Slovakia	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hong Kong	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	6
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>1762</b>	<b>939</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>659</b>	<b>1217</b>	<b>2353</b>	<b>2773</b>	<b>10523</b>

Source: Jahan, 2004.

\*Until June

-No data

## ***Bangladesh***

Over the last decade women issues in relation to international migration in Bangladesh has been largely trivial. The figure 1 clearly substantiates that a very negligible number of women migrated overseas in quest of work. Less than one percent of the women comprise total international migration in all the years except for the 2003 only (Appendix A1). Rural-urban migration flow is a result of the employment created by manufacture of readymade factories where 1.5 million workers were employed in the mid 1990s. Ninety percent are migrants from rural areas and nearly 70 percent are women (Afsar, 2000). The domestic contribution and engagement of female migrants in Bangladesh does not match with their counterparts in international arena. The following figure (1) clearly shows the difference in migration flow between male and female over the last ten years.

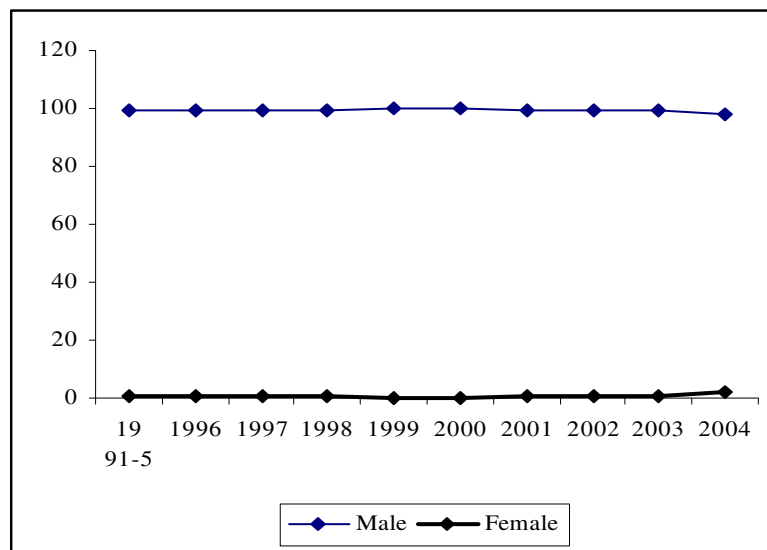


Figure 1. Percentage of people officially migrated yearly from Bangladesh by sex (1991-2003). Source: Siddiqui, 2004.

## ***Sri Lanka***

Sri Lanka is the only country in Asia where the number of female labour migrants far exceeds male migrant workers. Female labour migration is mostly to meet the need of the domestic workers overseas called foreign domestic helper (FDH, henceforth) (Cenwor, 2005). Of the estimated 800,000 Sri Lankans employed overseas in 2005, 500,000 are women who work as housemaids supporting a population of 2.5 million, approximately 15 percent of the total population of Sri Lanka (Sri Lankan Bureau of Foreign Employment, 2003). Remittances constitute around 20 percent of the country's annual foreign exchange earnings. Labour migration has also subtle underemployment and unemployment problems in the country (Cenwor, 2005). During the mid 80s male migrants outnumbered the female counterpart however from the next one year, the number of female migrants continued to go on high until 2002 (according to the data available) and the number of female migrants continued to be higher than the males (Figure 2 and Appendix A2).

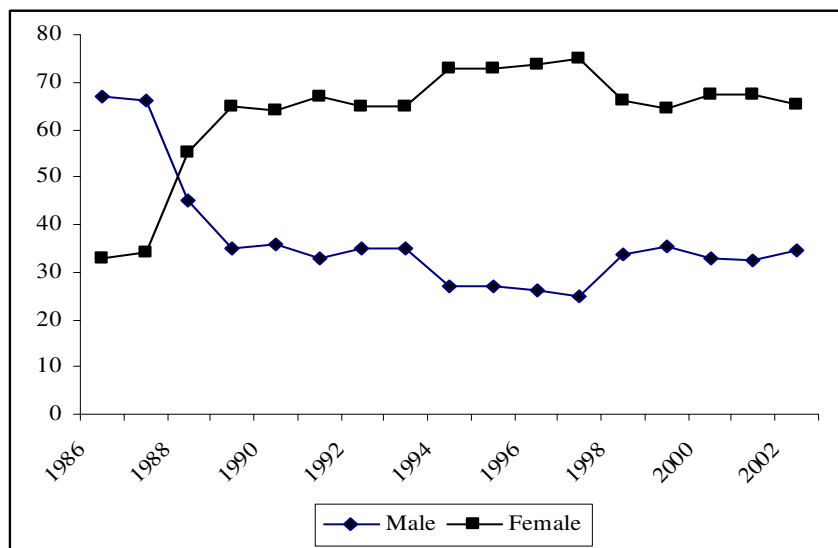


Figure 2. Percentage of people officially migrated yearly from Sri Lanka by sex (1986 – 2002). Source: Jahan, 2004.

### Share of Female Migrants:

The share of females in international migrants is doubtlessly far below from that of males. However, this section sheds light on the cruelty in the difference of the share among the selected Asian countries. The following table (table 2) offers the share of female migrants from selected Asian countries. The table 2 nullifies the notion that religion hinders female migration process given the fact that Indonesia despite being the largest Muslim majority country in the world holds the second highest position after Sri Lanka among the six selected countries in Asia supplying female migrants. It might be the fact that the variable religious explanations allow more Indonesians to step out from the country in quest of work, not the poverty. The considerations underlying the migration by female go well beyond economic calculus of individualistic ‘rational choice’ nor is the process driven primarily by poverty, since the migrants tend to come from families having some means (Siddiqui, 2001).

**Table 2:**

**The share of female migrant from selected Asian countries**

Country	Women's share in labor force (%)	Women's share in migration outflows (%)	Total annual migration outflows	Total stock of migrants abroad (millions)
Philippines	37	58	250,000	6.5
Sri Lanka	36	79	163,000	1.2
Indonesia	40	68	121,000	1.9
Bangladesh	42	0.5	210,000	2.0
India	31	10	415,000	1.4
Pakistan	26	1	130,000	3.1

Source: Asian Migrant Centre, 1999.

**FDH in Hong Kong:** Foreign domestic helpers constitute the major portion of the total ethnic composition in Hong Kong. The representation of Bangladeshis in this group as illustrated in the following figure (3) is the lowest among all the selected countries. Appendix A3 provides a clearer picture that the Philippines tops the list followed by Indonesia.

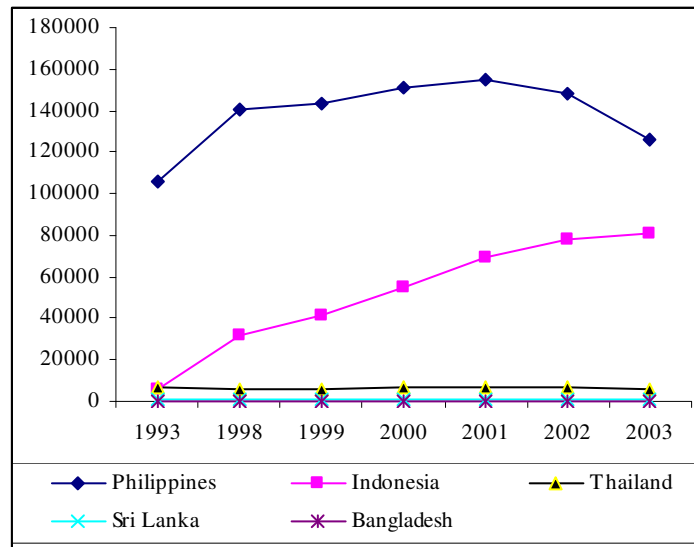


Figure 3. Foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong  
Source: Census and Statistics Department. Hong Kong, 2004

### Variants affecting female migration

Siddiqui (2001) found that inappropriate state policies, legislation and administrative restrictions have led women's labour migration to dissident who have been rationalized by patriarchal values, ostensibly concerned to protect the women and maintain their dignity. The under-representation of women in official statistics has a number of reasons; firstly, the successive Bangladeshi governments have restricted labour migration of professional and skilled women a number of times, and banned the migration of unskilled women. Secondly, the bureaucratic red tap might be of a greater hindrance for women than for men. Both factors have provoked women to apply informal channels to facilitate migration (INSTRAW and IOM, 2000).

The respondents identified twelve factors that impede female migration to a large extent in Bangladesh. One essential fact deserves mention here is that they (the respondents) understand that structural problems hinder female migration and they intend to get rid of it. Among these twelve factors 'religion' received the highest WMI (0.846) followed by 'language' inefficiency (0.818). The key issue is that while religion is not a barrier for Indonesian female migration why it is so in the case of Bangladesh? Why is religion thought to be a number one barrier in the case of female migration in Bangladesh? Respondents perceived that the religious explanations in Bangladesh might be too much conservative and misleading. Illiteracy received third highest WMI (0.750) followed by marital factor (0.692) i.e. sex and reproductive plans etc. However governance received the least WMI (0.375) followed by less exposure to modern world (0.400) (Table 3).

Religion: What is puzzling is that while religion has been ranked 1<sup>st</sup> in the WMI calculations as the primary constraints to female migration from Bangladesh by the respondents, religion in Indonesia have never been a hindrance for female migration? Is Islam in Bangladesh different from that of Indonesia in terms of notion and ideology that affect adversely women's movement into international labour market? Indonesia is the largest Muslim country, which has not restricted migration flow of women from Indonesia. Contrarily, in terms of the percentages of women labour emigrant, Indonesia has overtaken and left some of non-Muslim countries behind. Respondents said that in a society, which is basically male dominated, women, have always been kept at bay by religious fanaticism, superstition, oppression and various discriminations. Hence they can't think of moving for

overseas work. According to numerous illustrators in Islam, man is the earner and woman is the server of man. Being the server of man, it has been indicated that woman should be kept into the house. *Purdah*, or female seclusion, is an Islamic tradition routinely practiced in Bangladesh among the Muslim majority. Under this norm, woman has to veil herself from the head to toe when they go out of the home. This "protects" the women's modesty and husband's family's respectability. The norms of maintaining *purdah* provide the argument for strict control of women's sexuality and the need for early marriage. Islam is constantly invoked to justify this practice (KIT, 2001). Besides, there is a myth in the Bangladeshi culture that 'a woman's paradise is at the feet of her husband'. Many women believe that myth and bear any violence hoping to attain their paradise. As a result, maintaining sexual purity of a woman puts a strict control and restricts their mobility outside the home.

**Information on brutalization:** During the mid 70s, potential migrants preferred Middle East countries to migrate. However, this trend has declined over the years following disillusionments caused by the misbehaviour of the employers towards the labourers, declining salary base and many incidents of brutalization. Foreign workers in Saudi Arabia have systematically been abused and exploited, and that some of them living in conditions akin to slavery. Discrimination against women in the conservative oil-rich kingdom compounds the plight of female workers, some of whom have been victims of sexual abuse and forced confinement (The Daily Star, 16 July 2004). Between 200 to 300 deaths of Bangladeshi workers in Saudi Arabia are reported annually due to industrial accidents, murder, suicide, drowning, and execution and stampede, for example (Khan, 2003).

**Trafficking-migration confusion:** Women are susceptible to becoming poor because they face social barriers in accessing economic activities and assets hence it is much harder for them to overcome poverty. The poor are more vulnerable to trafficking. However, concept of trafficking and migration is often confusing which play a part to thwart decision of many potential female migrants to move. Bangladesh ranks as one of the countries with the highest number of trafficking in women and children most of who end up as prostitutes in Pakistan, India and Middle East.

**Marriage, sex, and reproduction:** Practices around sexuality and marriage provide the context for reproduction; define the choices that women and men can make and the rights that they can claim (KIT, 2001). Maintaining sexual chastity of women emerged as one of strongest discursive elements and getting girls married off as early as possible was one way of ensuring that the parents could hand over a sexually pure and unsullied daughter to another family's safekeeping (*ibid*). Under this circumstance, work overseas leaving the place of origin is simply impossible until the structural changes take place.

**Illiteracy:** Education is perhaps the single strongest influence on women's control on their own future. To make them knowledgeable, skilled and self-confident for their full participation in the ongoing development process of the country, one of the most important means is education (Villaluz: 2000). It creates awareness among women. However, it is unfortunate to state that most Bangladeshi women are illiterate. Women constitute 48.6 percent of total population in Bangladesh. About 92 percent of the households are male-headed and the remaining 8 percent female-headed (Ullah and Routray, 2003). In urban areas there is a predominance of the male population, due to the higher male out-migration from the rural areas seeking employment opportunities. The literacy rate is far lower for women (24.2 percent) than for men (45.5 percent). Female illiteracy is higher in rural than in urban areas. In urban areas 52.5 percent of women are literate compared to 20.2 percent in rural areas (BBS, 2004). As a result, their exposure toward the changing world remains primitive, access to information remain limited and their beliefs remain unchanged. These constraints stand by the way to move for overseas works.



**Table 3.**  
**Factors hindering female migration**

Multiple response			
Factors	$\sum f$	$\frac{\sum wf}{\sum f} = \text{WMI}$	Rank
Illiteracy	12	0.750	3
Limited access to information	13	0.538	9
Superstitions	9	0.556	8
Family bondage	7	0.571	7
Language	11	0.818	2
Less exposure to modern world	5	0.400	11
Fear of demoralization	13	0.614	5
Reproduction	7	0.571	7
Religion	13	0.846	1
Government and politic	12	0.583	6
Governance	8	0.375	12
Marital factor	13	0.692	4
Brutalization	9	0.444	10

*Source: Computed from survey data 2005.*

### **Female migrants' work: general perception**

The general belief is that female migration for overseas work relates to sex and entertainment services. Prostitution is hidden by some of these activities and has become very lucrative, sometimes for co-ethnic employers pimps (Anthias, 2000:27; Ullah and Rahman, 1999). Overseas domestic workers are almost always unjustly considered “potential prostitutes” by local lay people (Jones 1996:25); and unmarried women leaving to work abroad are imagined as “social misfits” because they could not get husbands or manage a work locally that prompted them to leave. The proverbial oldest profession commoditized the female body long before capitalism came along, but globalization has tended to enormously increase prostitution (Lewellen, 2002:141). Women's merit and their work are generally recognized as domestic lore that often subsume their interests to their families, hereby making their migration work largely unpaid and under-valued. Women, whose careers are often contingent on family outcomes, must generally be the more flexible spouse (Partridge, 1996; Bonney and Love, 1991). Also that married women are less likely than unmarried women of their same ages to work; and some are unpaid working partners in their husband's businesses (Lee 1996:283; Chiu 1998).

Sri-Lanka, Indonesia and the Philippines are favoured countries for the use of foreign domestic servants (Anthias, 2000:26). The Philippine state's marketing of the Philippines as a tourist destination and source of cheap, labor is integral to the gendering of labor migration. State- and agency-circulated representations of Filipinas are iterated through discourses of Filipinas as sexualized bodies (Mitchell, 1997). Circumscribed by geographies of neocolonialism, national borders, and domesticity, women working under the Live-in Caregiver program in different countries in the world –many of whom are educated are assumed by labor recruitment agencies to be less qualified than European women for the job of nanny (Pratt, 1999: 232). Women also do connecting work to build social support networks of a wide variety. Reciprocity is expected in women's family support work (Antonucci and Akiyama, 1987; Beutel and Marini, 1995; Lye, 1996). They keep the flows of goods, advice, support and other inter-generation exchanges going that are essential migration structures (Massey, 1990; Basch, Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc, 1994).

## Conclusion

Suffering hunger at home is better than suffering hardship abroad- is the common perception of the respondents about the female migration. Numerous incidences of misfortunes against women in varying degrees in their quest for economic enlistment. The abuse begins at home country, at the hands of agents and brokers and continues in the employer's home in the form of non-payment of wages, long working hours, subjection to cultural taboos, or physical and sexual abuse. Female labour migration is a demand-driven phenomenon. To respond to demand patterns in the host countries, labour-exporting countries require taking strategies and measure aim at promoting females. With a view to promoting female labour migration overseas, potential women need to be trained to excel their skill and gain working knowledge on language and culture of the receiving countries. It is the home government of the female migrants which should make every effort to promote international female migration and work with matters of bilateral governmental concerns in this regard.

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## Appendix

**Table A1. Total number of people officially migrated yearly by sex (1991-2003) from Bangladesh**

Year	Male	percent	Female	percent	Total
1991-1995	944,324	99.02	9,308	0.98	953,632
1996	210,147	99.26	1,567	0.74	211,714
1997	229,315	99.24	1,762	0.76	231,077
1998	266,728	99.65	939	0.35	267,667
1999	267,816	99.86	366	0.14	268,182
2000	222,232	99.80	454	0.20	222,686
2001	188,306	99.65	659	0.35	188,965
2002	224,039	99.46	1,217	0.54	225,256
2003	251,837	99.07	2,353	0.93	254,190
2004 (Jan-Jun)	157,605	98.27	2,773	1.73	160,378
Total	28,87,588	99.41	17,114	0.59	29,04,702

Source: Siddiqui, 2004; Jahan, 2004.

**Table A2. Total number of people officially migrated yearly by sex (1986 – 2002) from Sri Lanka**

Year	Male		Female		Total
	No:	percent	No:	percent	
1986	11,023	67.0	5,433	33.0	16,456
1987	10,647	66.0	5,480	34.0	16,127
1988	8,309	45.0	10,119	55.0	18,428
1989	8,680	35.0	16,044	65.0	24,724
1990	15,377	36.0	27,248	64.0	42,625
1991	21,423	33.0	43,560	67.0	64,983
1992	15,493	35.0	29,159	65.0	44,652
1993	17,153	35.0	31,600	65.0	48,753
1994	16,377	27.0	43,791	73.0	60,168
1995	46,021	27.0	126,468	73.0	172,489
1996	43,112	26.0	119,464	73.5	162,576
1997	37,552	25.0	112,731	75.0	150,283
1998	53,867	33.7	105,949	66.3	159,816
1999	63,720	35.4	116,015	64.5	179,735
2000	59,793	32.8	122,395	67.2	182,188
2001	59,807	32.5	124,200	67.5	184,007
2002*	70,726	34.7	132,984	65.28	203,710

\*Provisional.

Source: Jahan, 2004

**Table A3. Number of foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong from selected countries\***

Countries	1993	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Philippines	105410	140357	143206	151485	155445	148389	126557
Indonesia	6148	31762	41347	55174	68880	78165	81030
Thailand	6999	5335	5755	6451	6996	6669	5495
India	1027	1192	1244	1364	1406	1372	1269
Sri Lanka	632	1172	1132	1317	1407	1269	1025
Nepal	104	557	640	746	883	1015	1289
Pakistan	78	58	54	61	62	58	50

Malaysia	58	44	41	44	47	43	35
Bangladesh	16	26	28	27	31	43	46

Source: Census and Statistics Department, 2004. P.32.

\*Only those had valid limit of stay