*********DRAFT – PLEASE DO NOT CITE WITHOUT PERMISSION*********
Do Men Come First? Evidence of Gendered Patterns of Migration in the Russian Federation

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Abstract
This paper asks whether immigration in Russia has followed a pattern in which initial migration flows are dominated by male labor migrants, with later flows characterized by family reunification migrants and dominated by women. This pattern has been documented in the Mexico-U.S. migration system as well as migration flows to Europe. However, Russia might not experience this pattern, due to the high levels of human and social capital among women in Russia's main sending countries. Using official migration statistics and findings from a recent survey of migrants in three Russian cities, I argue that migration into Russia during the 1990s was dominated by highly educated migrants with strong social ties to Russia, many of whom were women. Migration since 2000 follows more typical patterns of labor migration and is dominated by men, but these recent male-dominated flows are built upon earlier social networks that were often established by women. This is a preliminary paper and will be expanded to make use of longitudinal data.

Introduction

For many years, scholars of international labor migration have claimed that initial migration flows are usually dominated by male workers, who send for their wives and children only after they become settled in their destination country (Castles and Miller 2009). This view has been widely challenged in recent years (Kofman 1999; Pedraza 1991; Zlotnik 1995), and it appears that the view of labor migration as a male-led phenomenon is accurate for a number of migration streams (such as migration from Mexico to the United States and from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe), but inaccurate for others (such as migration from the Philippines and Sri Lanka to the Middle East). This paper uses preliminary data from a survey of labor migrants in three Russian cities in order to identify whether migration flows in post-Soviet Eurasia have followed a "men come first" pattern, or a pattern of independent male and female labor migration.

International migration flows within Eurasia were tightly regulated and numerically small during the Soviet period. Since the 1990s, however, Russia has become a magnet for people

looking to alleviate economic hardship, primarily in other former Soviet states, but also in countries such as Afghanistan, China, Pakistan, and Vietnam. Data on migration to Russia has been lacking, greatly limiting our understanding of the similarities and differences between Eurasian migration flows and other, better documented, migration flows. In this paper, I argue that gendered patterns of migration to Russia possess some unique characteristics, due to the very strong social networks across countries that arose during the Soviet period.

Theoretical Framework

In a 1984 article, Houston and colleagues informed the demographic community that women had comprised at least half of all legal migrants to the United States since 1930. They explained this development as a product of family reunification; men migrated alone in earlier periods in order to take advantage of labor market opportunities, and later sponsored the migration of wives and children (Houstoun, Kramer, and Barrett 1984). Subsequent research in Mexico, the primary source country for immigrants to the United States, supported this contention. An increase in the proportion of women among Mexican migrants during the 1990s consisted mostly of women migrating to join family members, particularly husbands or other male relatives who had gained legal status under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Donato 1993).

Migration to Western European countries (such as Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands) in the period after World War II was dominated by migrants arriving through formal guestworker programs, who were predominantly, although not exclusively, male (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor 1998). The United Kingdom and France, in addition, received large numbers of migrants from former colonies (Castles and Miller 2009), and these migrant flows were also led by men (Foner 2009). Although all guestworker

programs strongly discouraged workers from bringing their families, many workers did bring their wives and children, and these flows continued after the guestworker programs were largely abandoned in the 1970s (Ardittis 1990).

In these migration streams, men's migration is associated with labor migration, temporary residence, and the sending of remittances to the home country (Sana and Massey 2005). Women's migration, on the other hand, is associated with permanent settlement and integration into the host society (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999; Pedraza 1991). Women's migration may also be more strongly shaped than men's by social ties, particularly ties to close relatives, because women are more likely to be following a family member (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Curran, Garip, Chung, and Tangchonlatip 2005; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003).

Even in male-led migration streams, such as Mexico, there are women who engage in independent labor migration, particularly women who are single, widowed, or divorced (Kanaiaupuni 2000). In some migrant streams, however, women migrating independently are the norm. Women in Sri Lanka, India, the Philippines, and Vietnam work in domestic service in places like the Middle East, Hong Kong, and Singapore, and many leave behind husbands and children whom they support with remittances (Asis, Huang, and Yeoh 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Gamburd 2000; Yeoh, Huang, and Lam 2005). In some cases, such as India and the Philippines, both men and women engage in independent labor migration (Gallo 2006; Parrenas 2005), but in other cases, such as Sri Lanka, the great majority of labor migrants are women (Gamburd 2000).

There are a number of reasons to suspect that labor migration to Russia will follow the pattern of men migrating first and women migrating primarily to rejoin or follow their husbands.

First, Russia may offer more appealing labor market opportunities for male migrants. Labor migrants tend to find employment in areas that are segregated both by nativity and by gender (Bastia 2007; Beneria, Deere, and Kabeer 2012; Moya 2007). A country with opportunities for migrants available in traditionally male jobs, such as construction, may therefore be more attractive to men, while a country with opportunities in female-dominated jobs such as domestic service may be more attractive to women. The main industries employing migrants in Russia are construction, retail trade, and industry, with a small but growing percentage of migrants in the service sector (Tiuriukanova 2009). Evidence from Georgia indicates that potential migrants in Eurasia see Russia as offering better employment opportunities for male migrants than exist in Europe (Hofmann and Buckley 2012).

Second, the main source countries for migration to Russia may be more likely to send men due to strong local patriarchal norms. Several studies have identified strong patriarchal norms in sending countries as a cause of male-led out-migration, while countries where women have a higher social status send more independent female migrants (Massey, Fischer, and Capoferro 2006; Oishi 2005; Sana and Massey 2005). Russia's main source countries, particularly the states of Central Asia and the Caucasus, are strongly patriarchal societies where women are seen as having primary responsibility for home and children (Heyat 2006; Kandiyoti 2007; Naskidashvili 2011). Women may therefore be less likely to engage in independent labor migration from these states.

On the other hand, there are two unique aspects of the Eurasian migration system that may facilitate women's labor migration. First, the high level of political, social, and economic integration in the Soviet system created strong social networks that still link the 15 Soviet successor states. Many potential migrants in Eurasia speak Russian, are familiar with Russian

culture, have travelled in Russia, or have friends or relatives living there. These social and cultural ties facilitate men's and women's migration, but may facilitate women's migration especially. As mentioned above, women's migration is facilitated by strong, close social ties, in part because migration is viewed as a riskier endeavor for women than for men (Cohen, Rodriguez, and Fox 2008; Curran, Garip, Chung, and Tangchonlatip 2005; Donato, Wagner, and Patterson 2008).

Second, high levels of human capital among women in the former Soviet Union may facilitate women's migration. In the Soviet era, state policies encouraged women's education and labor-force participation (Kourany 1990). By the late Soviet period, women's labor force participation rates ranged from around 70 percent in Central Asia, to over 90 percent in the western republics (Kostakov 1982; Lapidus 1978). Human capital is positively associated with women's likelihood of migrating in a variety of contexts (Altman and Pannell 2012; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Williams 2009), and by the same token, Soviet gender policies may serve to promote women's labor migration in the post-Soviet period.

Hypotheses

The male-led model of labor migration assumes that working-age men will dominate in the early stages of a migration stream, with the proportion of women (as well as children) will increase as the stream matures. The model also assumes that men and women will migrate for different reasons and experience migration in different ways. With that in mind, the remainder of this paper tests three hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. If the male-led model is relevant to Eurasian migration, national-level immigration statistics should show a higher proportion of men among migrants to Russia in the early post-Soviet period, with the proportion of women among migrants gradually increasing over time. In

addition, men and women should report significantly different motivations for, and experiences of, migration, including:

- Men will be more likely than women to report employment as their primary motivation for migration, and less likely to describe their migration intentions as permanent

- Men will be more likely than women to be in Russia without a spouse.

- Men will be more likely to migrate with the assistance of formal labor recruiters or the assistance of friends, while women will be more likely to rely on family networks.

Hypothesis 2. If social networks and human capital facilitate women's labor migration, the sex ratio of immigrants to Russia should be fairly stable over time. In addition, female migrants in Russia should report:

- High levels of human capital

- Strong social ties to Russia

Hypothesis 3. I expect to see variation in gendered migration patterns across sending countries, with more men migrating from countries outside of the FSU and more women migrating from FSU states because of their strong social ties and high levels of human capital. I also expect to see a higher proportion of men migrating from more culturally conservative countries.

Data and Methods

To identify the sex ratio of migrants entering Russia, I use official migration statistics from Russia's Federal Bureau of State Statistics (Rosstat). These data are problematic because they do not include undocumented migration, which is widely believed to be common in Russia and which may be characterized by very different gender patterns than documented migration (Ivakhniouk 2004). Unfortunately, there are no reliable estimates of undocumented migration to Russia by sex.

To analyze differences between men's and women's motivations for, and experiences of, migration, I will use data from a survey of 600 migrants conducted in three regions of Russia in 2011. The survey, conducted by the OPINO Sociological Research Center (Moscow), the Social Science Research Council (New York), the Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington, DC) and the University of Arizona, selected male and female migrants in the cities of Ekaterinburg, Nizhnii Novgorod, and Krasnodar using respondent-driven sampling. Respondents were questioned about their migration history, where they received information and financial support for their migration, and about their experiences and sources of social support in Russia.

The sampling strategy was designed to recruit 200 respondents in each of the three cities. The two hundred respondents in each city were supposed to be split approximately evenly between migrants from Azerbaijan, Georgia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Vietnam. Because of the difficulty of locating migrants from Georgia in Ekaterinburg, migrants from Kyrgyzstan were substituted. Although there was significant variation across ethnic groups, the goal was to have each ethnic group split approximately 70 percent men and 30 percent women. Table 1 provides a description of the sex and ethnic breakdown of the sample, by city. In total, there are 461 men and 140 women in the sample.

Table 1. Survey sample by city, sex, and nationality

|	Ekaterinburg		Nizhnii Novgorod		Krasnodar		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Azerbaijan	41	6	59	15	40	0	161
Georgia	0	0	26	4	23	27	80
Kyrgyzstan	22	12	0	0	0	0	34
Tajikistan	55	17	35	6	47	3	163
Ukraine	20	5	25	7	10	20	87
Vietnam	17	5	19	5	22	8	76
Total	155	45	164	37	142	58	601

In order to identify gender differences in migration strategies and experiences, I analyze three groups of variables. The first group relates to migration history (year of first migration, total number of trips, whether the respondent used a labor recruiter to arrange their first migration, whether the respondent intends to migrate permanently, whether the respondent reported employment as their primary reason for migrating, and whether the respondent is living with a spouse in Russia. The second group is human capital, which includes education level and is broken down into four categories (less than high school, completed high school, specialized secondary education, and completed higher education). The final group relates to the respondent's ties to Russia. It includes whether the Respondent can speak Russian, whether his or her education was completed in Russia, and whether any member of the respondent's household is a Russian citizen. In addition to these three groups, I look at respondents' nationality and age at the time of the interview.

Results

Looking at the data on the sex composition of legal migrant flows to Russia (Figure 1), we see that men constitute just above 50 percent of all legal migrants from CIS states in 1995. The proportion of men from the CIS gradually declines to a low between 45 and 46 percent in 2004-2006. In 2007, the proportion of men rises above 50 percent again, and continues to increase for the next three years. Data on the sex composition of migrant flows from countries outside the CIS (known in Russia as the far abroad) is only available from 2001, but appears to follow a similar pattern to migration from the CIS. However, in all years, the proportion of men among migrants from outside the CIS is notably higher than the proportion of men among CIS migrants.

This rather unexpected result fails to support either Hypothesis 1 or Hypothesis 2. However, it does provide support for Hypothesis 3, by showing that female migration is less common from countries that are less closely integrated with Russia. However, trends in this data may reflect Russian migration legislation more than real change in the sex ratio of migrant streams. In 2007, Russia made work permits for labor migrants from most CIS states much more easily accessible. The shift toward increased male migration that occurred in that year could be a reflection of male migrants shifting from undocumented to documented, rather than an increase in male migration.

Figure 1. Proportion men among immigrants from the CIS and the Far Abroad to Russia, 1995-2010
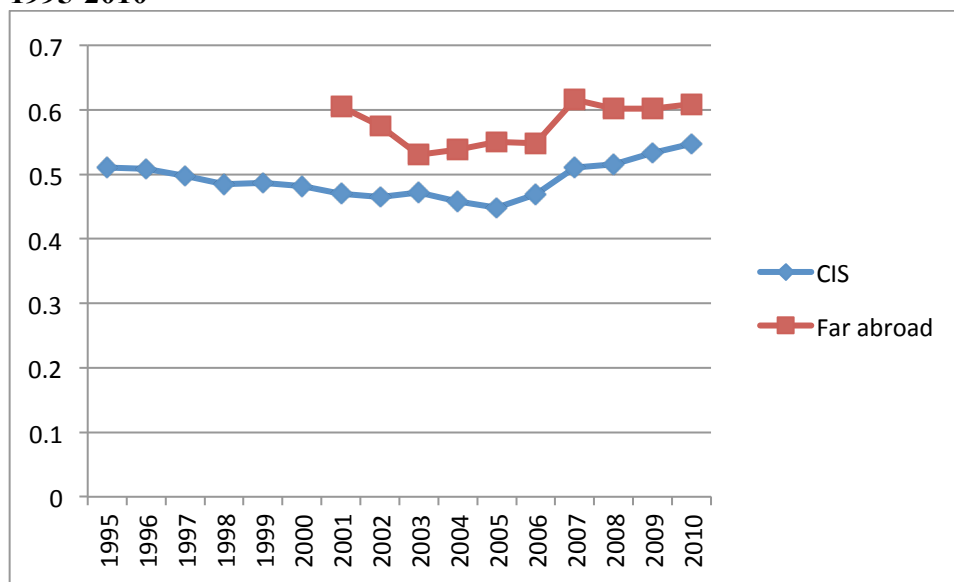
Source: Rosstat

Survey data does not allow us to draw any conclusions about the sex composition of migrant flows to Russia. Although there are clear differences by both city and nationality in the proportion of women among respondents, because the survey is not a representative sample of migrants in those three cities, the gender differences may be a reflection of the sampling strategy rather than a reflection of the larger population. However, the survey data can demonstrate

gender differences in respondents' motivations for migration, the timing of their migration, and

their ties to Russia.

Table 2. Selected Characteristics of Male and Female Migrants

	Men	**Women**
N	461	140
Mean age	34.40	35.59
Nationality		
% Azerbaijani	30.37*	15.00*
% Georgian	10.63*	22.14*
% Kyrgyzstani	4.77*	8.57*
% Tajikistani	29.72*	18.57*
% Ukrainian	11.93*	22.86*
% Vietnamese	12.58*	12.86*
Migration history		
Median year of first migration	2005	2005
Mean number of trips	3.05	3.16
% living with spouse in Russia	53.42*	41.61*
% permanent migrants	20.61	21.43
% work migrants	70.72*	46.43*
% using labor recruiters	15.80	10.71
Human capital		
Education level		
% less than high school	5.68*	2.14*
% completed high school	54.80*	33.57*
% specialized secondary	16.16*	18.57*
% higher	23.36*	45.71*
Ties to Russia		
% speaking Russian	96.10	95.00
% educated in Russian	11.93*	22.14*
% living in household including Russian citizens	9.29	10.46

* $p < .05$

Table 2 shows the characteristics of male and female migrants in the survey sample. Male

and female migrants are similar in age, but the distribution of men and women across national

groups is significantly different. The most common nationalities among men are Azerbaijani

(30.37%) and Tajikistani (29.72%). The most common nationalities among women are Ukrainian

(22.86%) and Georgian (22.14%). Among the migration history variables, men and women are

significantly different on only two; men are much more likely to describe themselves as labor

migrants (70.72% versus 46.43%), and men are more likely to be living in Russia with their

spouse (53.42% versus 41.61%). Men and women are about equally likely to have a spouse left

behind in the home country, but women are more likely to be unmarried or divorced (not shown).

Men and women report substantially different levels of education. Nearly half of the women in

our sample had higher education, compared to less than a quarter of men. Women were also

more likely to have been educated in Russia (22 percent versus 12 percent), but there were no

gender differences in other measures of ties to Russia.

      Bivariate analyses demonstrate that women are more likely than men to report family

reasons for migrating, which is consistent with Hypothesis 1. However, women have higher

levels of education than men, and are more likely to have completed that education in Russia,

which is consistent with Hypothesis 2. The national breakdown of male and female respondents,

with men greatly outnumbering women among migrants from two Muslim countries (Azerbaijan

and Tajikistan), provides some support for Hypothesis 3, but these results may be greatly biased

by sampling error. However, it is possible that the national variation of this sample explains the

differences between men and women in terms of human capital, ties to Russia, and reasons for

migration.

      To test this, I use multivariate logistic regression models, using three different outcome

variables: whether the respondent has a college degree, whether the respondent was educated in

Russia, and whether the respondent is a labor migrant. The models control for sex, age,

nationality, marital status, and year of first migration. The results of the models are presented in

Table 3. Even when nationality and other factors are controlled for, men have 67 percent lower

odds than women of having a college degree, and more than five times higher odds of being a

labor migrant. Being Vietnamese, Georgian, or Azerbaijani are positively associated with having

a college degree, and negatively associated with the odds of being a labor migrant. Earlier

migration is positively associated with being a labor migrant and negatively associated with

having a college degree. This is indicative of an unusual pattern in Russia – the earliest post-

Soviet migrant flows were not primarily labor migrants, and labor migration streams only

developed later.

Table 3. Odds Ratios and Standard Errors Reflecting Having a College Degree and Being a Labor Migrant

	Respondent has college degree	**Respondent is labor migrant**
Male	.33*	5.33*
	(.08)	(1.58)
Age	1.01	1.08*
	(.01)	(.02)
Nationality		
Ukrainian (ref)	1.00	1.00
Georgian	10.48*	.05*
	(4.66)	(.03)
Azerbaijani	2.91*	.10*
	(1.23)	(.05)
Tajikistani	2.06	.42
	(.90)	(.21)
Kyrgyzstani	1.78	1.53
	(1.09)	(1.32)
Vietnamese	12.17*	.02*
	(5.38)	(.02)
Married	.85	1.48
	(.23)	(.42)
Year of first migration	.94*	1.12*
	(.10)	(.02)
N	572	572
Pseudo R-squared	.222	.342

* $p<.05$

Conclusions

All three hypotheses received partial support from the available data. In support of the

idea that men lead the process of labor migration and women come primarily as tied migrants

(Hypothesis 1) is the fact that many fewer women than men report employment as their primary

motivation for migration. However, there are no gender differences in the use of labor recruiters or in permanent migration intentions. Nor is there any indication that men made up the majority of migrants in the early post-Soviet period. In support of Hypothesis 2, women do have higher levels of human capital, and stronger ties to Russia than do men. In support of Hypothesis 3, there is a higher proportion of men in flows of migrants from outside of the CIS, and within the CIS, men may dominate migrant flows from the more culturally conservative sending countries.

Although the available data are far from conclusive, they indicate that Russia may have received two distinct types of migration inflows in the post-Soviet period. During the 1990s, migrants with high levels of human capital came to Russia, drawn by their strong social ties, looking to settle permanently with their families, and not considering themselves labor migrants. In the later post-Soviet period, individuals with lower levels of human capital began coming to Russia looking for temporary employment opportunities and leaving their families back home. The first group of migrants includes more women, and the second more men, although there are men and women in both groups.

The over-representation of men in later, labor migration, flows is not surprising, given the nature of Russia's labor market and the strong patriarchal norms in the societies where most of Russia's migrants originate. However, these more recent flows of labor migrants are likely relying on social networks that were established by the female-dominated flows of the early 1990s.

Future versions of this paper will take advantage of migration history data available in the survey in order to provide stronger evidence of two distinct periods in post-Soviet immigration.

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