

Gendered Migration, Mobility, Assimilation and Poverty



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Today: “ When women come first...”

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- ❖ Gendered Migration
- ❖ Single Mothers, Poverty and Mobility
- ❖ The Changing Family Wages and Status of Males in a Service Economy
- ❖ Gender, Race and Boundary Crossing



Background to the Problem

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- ❖ Since 2000, Dominicans share lowest female salaries, even lower than Mexicans (Fuentes 2007; NYC Dept. of Planning 2013).
- ❖ They import higher human capital than Mexicans, yet,
- ❖ they are the most spatially isolated of Latino groups (Logan 2002; Fuentes-Mayorga 2005; Census 2010).
- ❖ And since 2010, the highest incidence of female SHH's, higher than native-born, poor Blacks.



Research questions:

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- ❖ Why do some nations send mostly women while others send men?
- ❖ What explains the different life chances of Dominican and Mexican women groups in NYC?
- ❖ What explains the paradoxes of economic mobility but also of poverty and racialization among both groups?

Methods

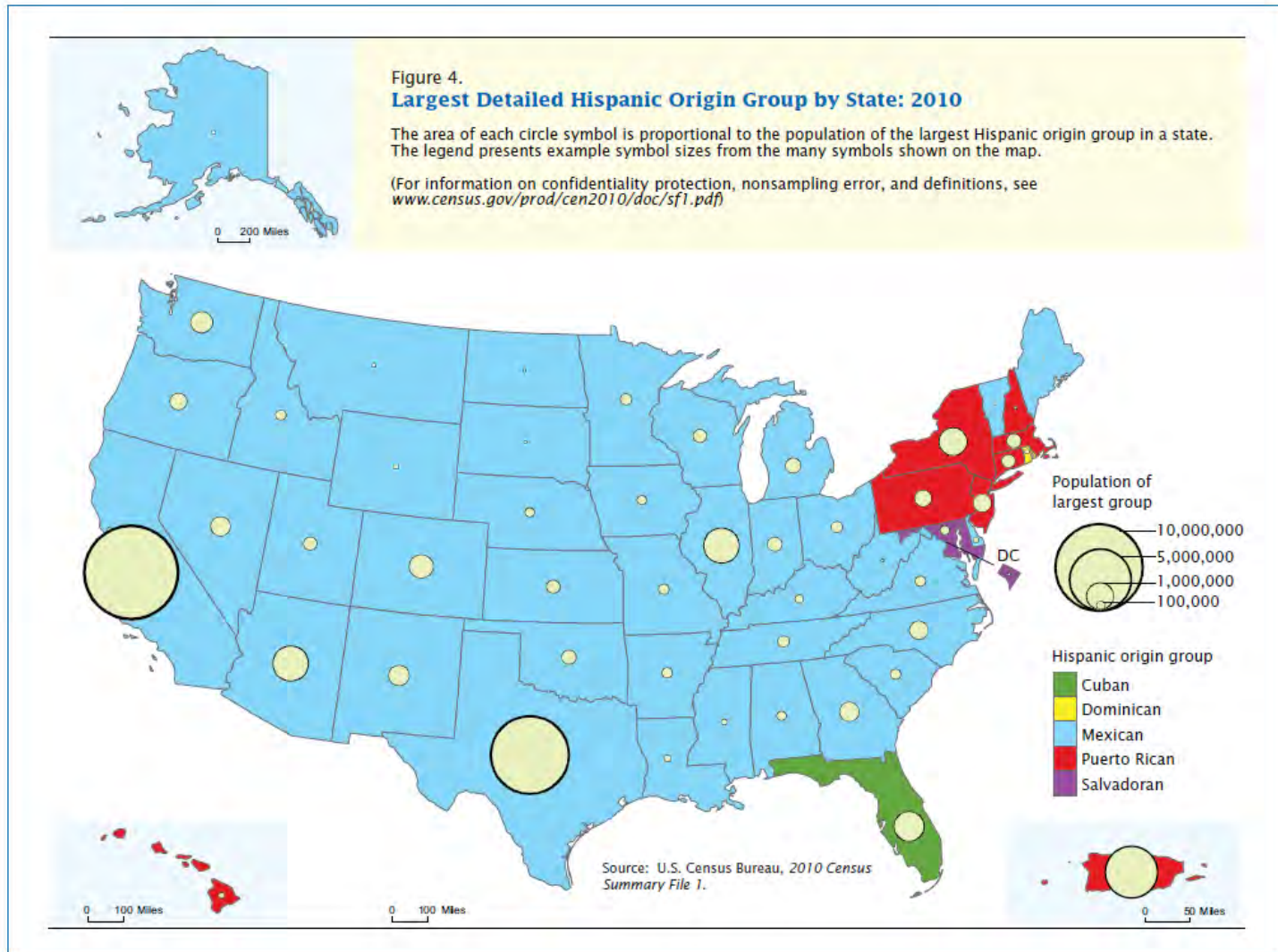
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- Survey study of 86 women, 44 Mexicans and 42 Dominicans (2003 and follow up updates completed in 2009-2010).
- US Decennial Censuses for 2000, 2010 and reports from the NYC Department of Planning for 2013
- Reports from secondary sources, including UNHCR Reports (2015, 2018), Inter-American System Reports and those prepared by officials in sending nations, such as Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador & Nicaragua.
- Findings and feedback gathered at an international Immigration Conference on Forced and Return Migration held at UCA_Nicaragua, July 13-14, 2016.

Mexicans have dispersed, but Dominicans still concentrate in NYC

Tienda and Fuentes (August-2014)

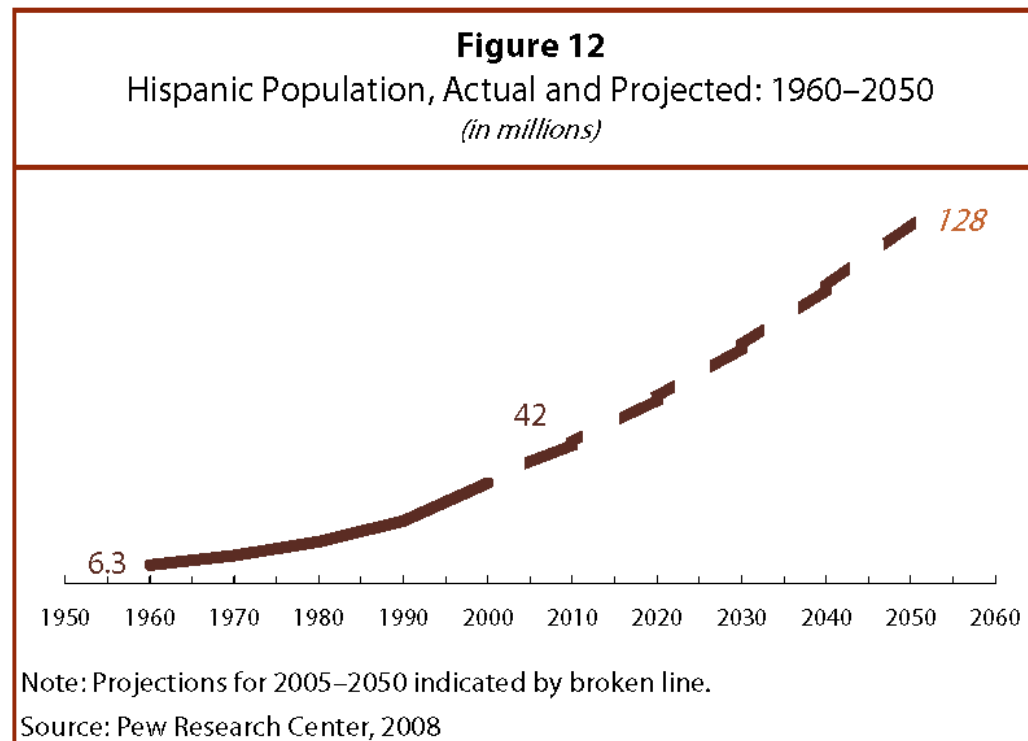
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The Latino Population in the United States

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- En 1970 the Hispanic population represented less than 5% of the US Population (Bean & Tienda 1987);
- But, by 2010 Hispanics represented close to 50 million (Ennis, et al. 2011; Frey 2012).
- Nearly 2/3 of Latin Americans in the US has Mexican-American ancestry.
- Today concern abounds over the boom of US Hispanic population, its spatial distribution, exclusion but also the contributions they make to US (Ennis et al 2011; Tienda and Fuentes 2014).
-



Migrant Women's Contributions to a changing, global economy

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© Reuters

Representing: Women own 29 per cent of immigrant-owned businesses compared to the 26 per cent owned by U.S. born women, a study has found

Globalization and Women-led Immigration

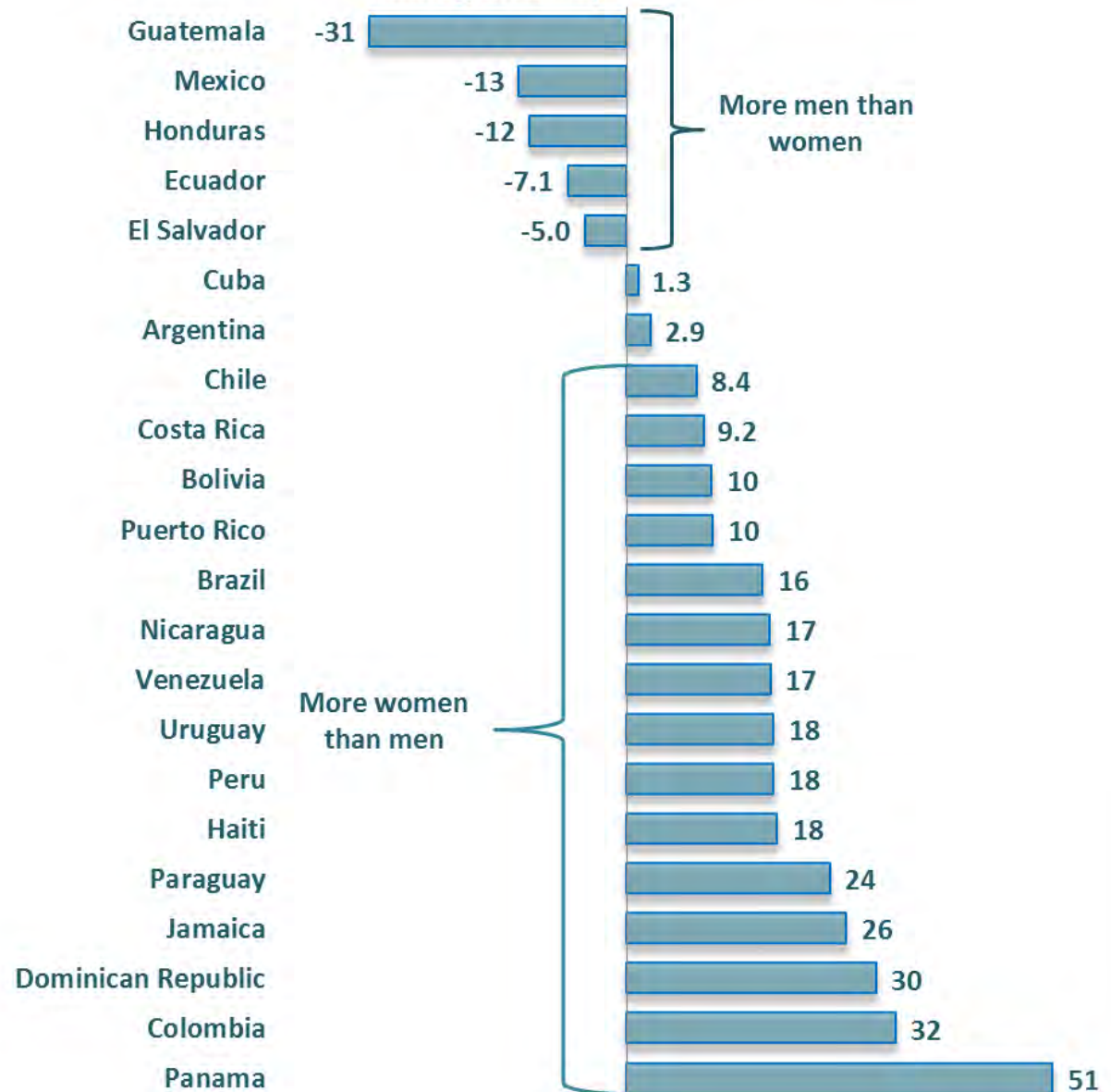
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- ❖ Why women migrate? A response to globalization and feminization of service economy (Sassen 1991; Fernandez-Kelly 1983; 2008; Benaria, Deere & Kabeer 2012).
- ❖ Growing role as main senders and recipients of remittances (Sana and Massey 2005; Garcia and Paienoswky 2006).
- ❖ until the late 1990s, women from the DR and Mex came from low SES origins. A small share of middle class women whose status was dependent on spouses' occupation came in late 60s/early 70s and now increasingly since early 2000 (Fuentes, forthcoming).
- ❖ Today, LA Women increasingly assume roles as main providers in local and transnational homes.
- ❖ Feminized Remittances reduces poverty in the community of origin (Petrozelli 2011); increases the education of children left behind (Cuecuecha and Pederzini 2012; especially daughters (Fuentes, on-going) but also transforms family structures (Zontini cf in King, 2001; 2010).

Latin America

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Figure 1.2: Gender Balance by Latin American immigrant group, residing in U.S. 2010 (ratio of female to male immigrants - 1)



Sources: Ruggles et al. 2010, 2009-2011 Combined ACS

Figure 6A: Female Share of FB Immigrants NY Labor Market, 2009 to 2015 5% ACS

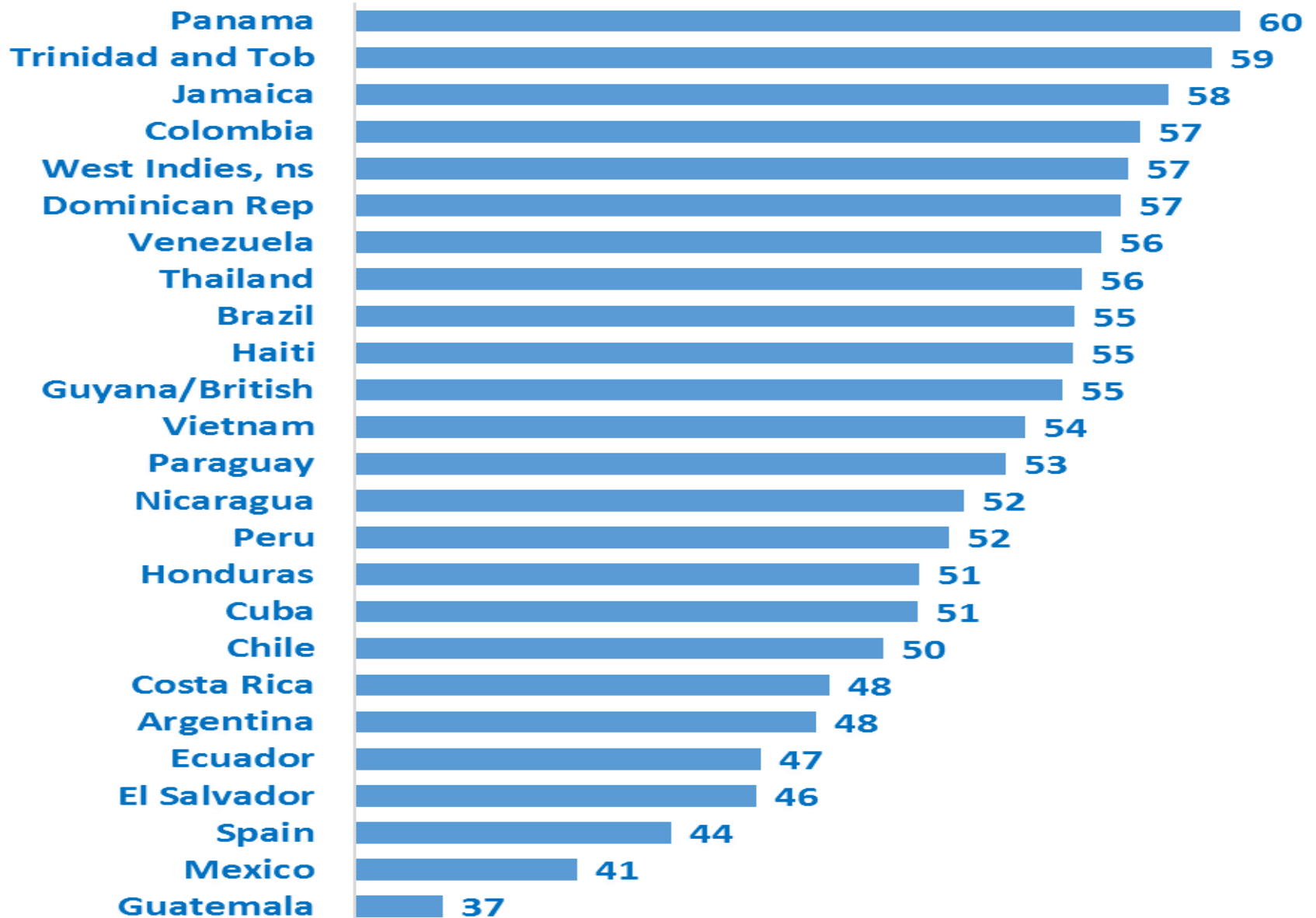
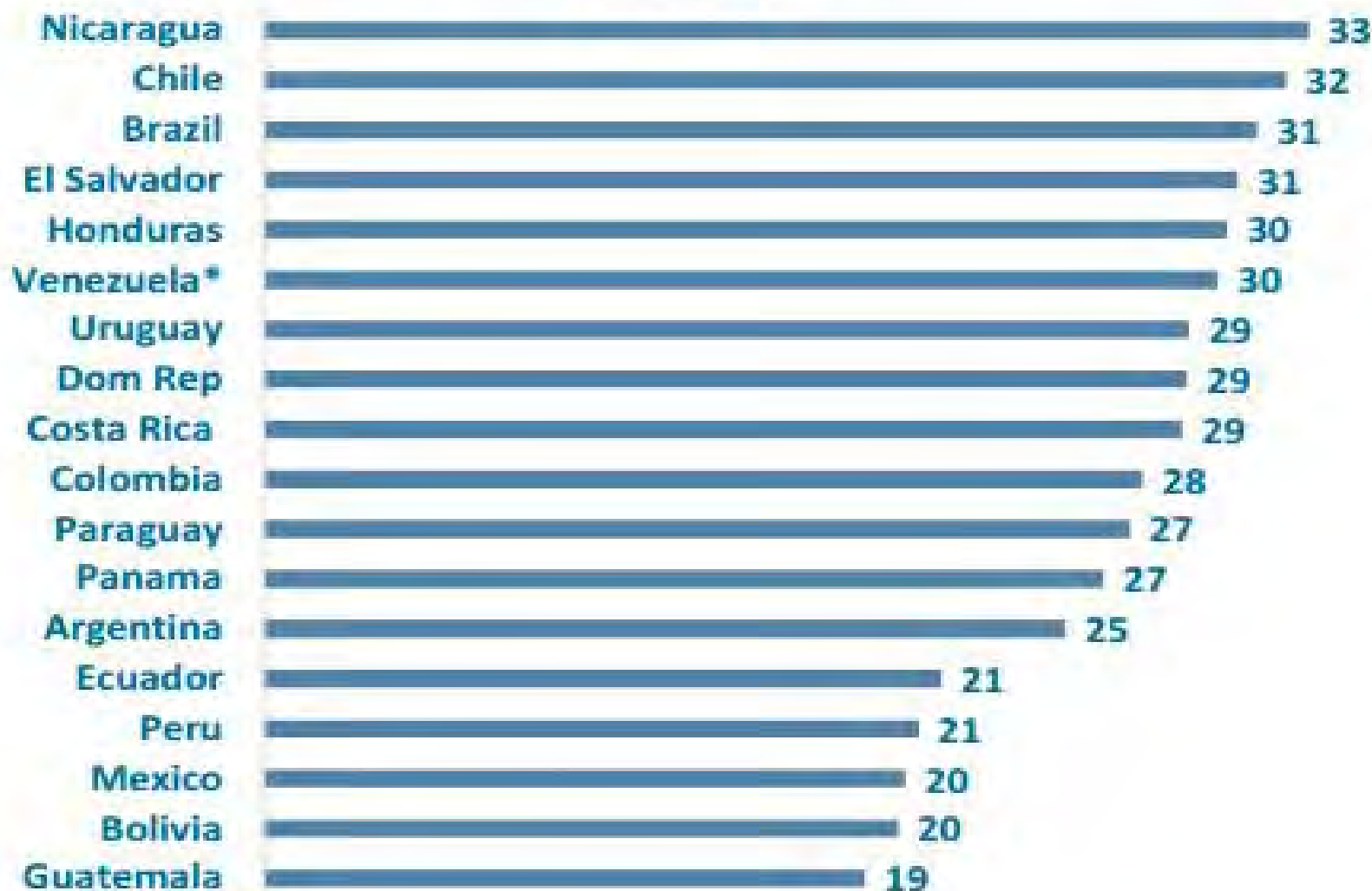


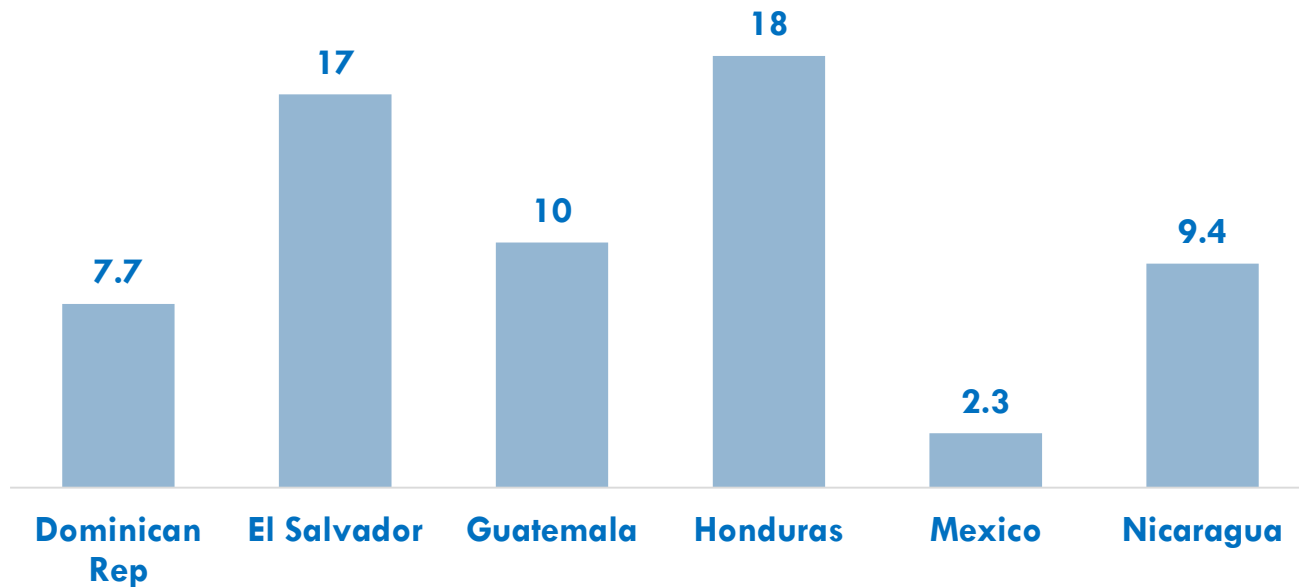
Figure F-5 Share of Female Headed Household Single Parent circa 2011 Source: SEDLAC/CEDLAS World Bank *Venezuela ends in 2006



Remittances and the Contributions of Migrants (World Bank, 2016)

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Figure 4: Remittances as a share of GDP, 2015



Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators, July 2016



The Case of Dominican and Mexican Families in NYC: Migration, Integration & Deportation



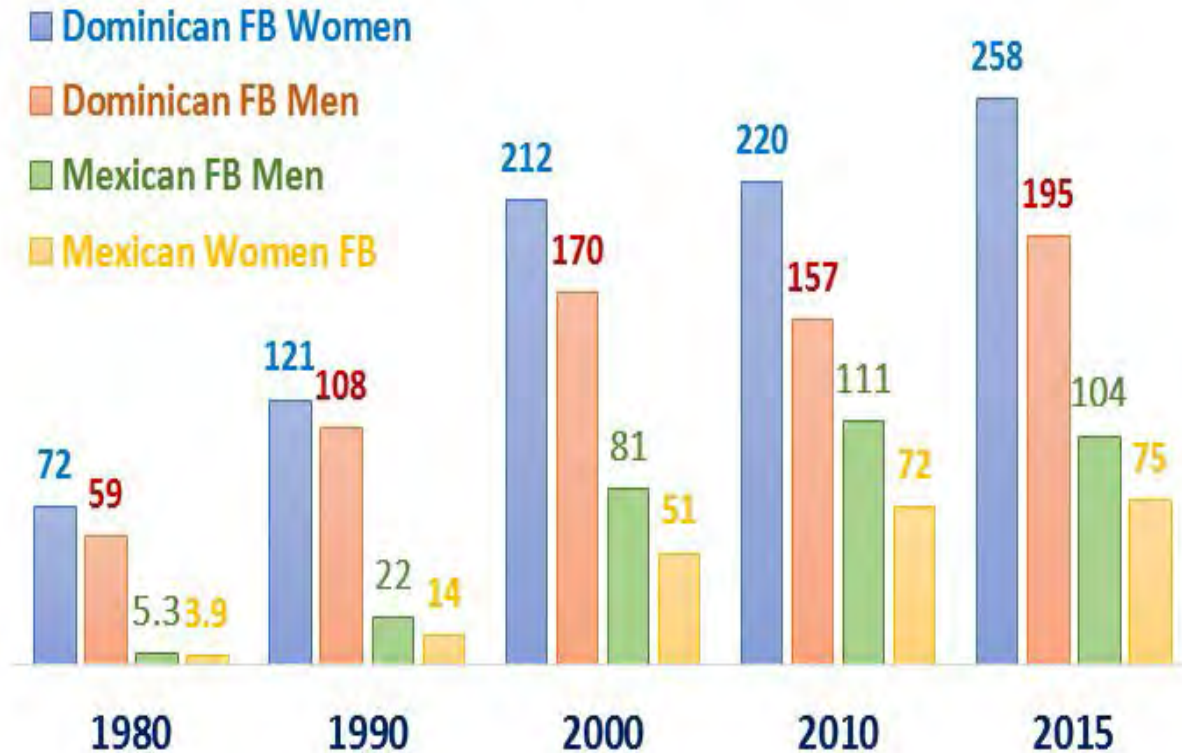
The Migration of Dominican and Mexican Women into New York

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- ❖ Why these two LA groups?
- ❖ Both are the largest and fastest-growing, LA Immigrant groups in New York City.
- ❖ New York City, a new destination for Mexicans but a traditional one for Dominicans (Fuentes 2007; Tienda and Fuentes 2014; Hernandez & Rivera-Batis 1999; Smith 2002; 2005; 2006).
- ❖ The immigration of women accelerates since the mid1990s.
- ❖ Despite similarities in culture, family structures before migration, the life chances of Dominicans and Mexicans reverses in NYC, with more Dominicans overrepresented among SHHs than Mexicans.

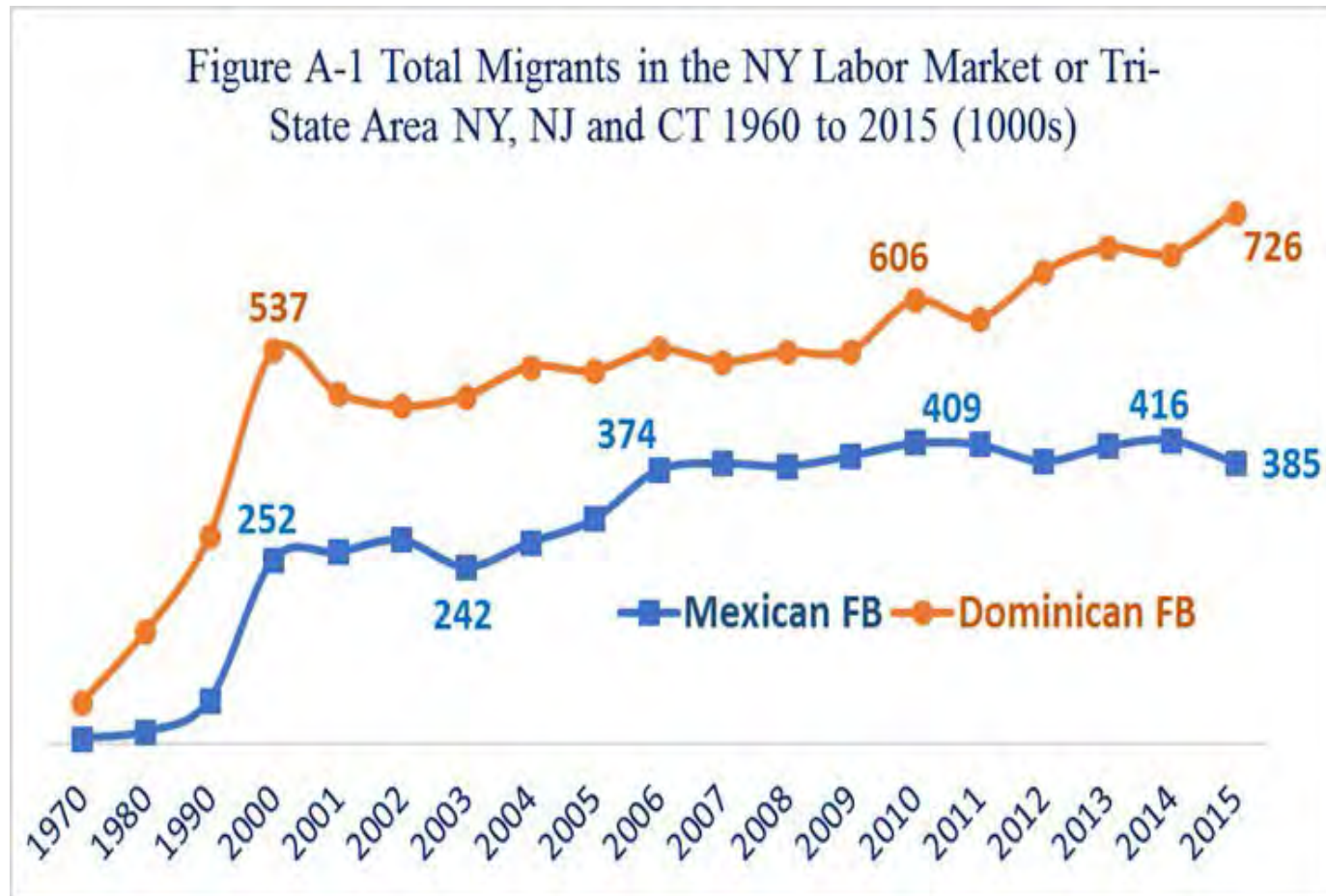
Dom and Mex Total Foreign-born B Population 1980-2015


Figure 1-1 Dominican and Mexican FB New York City residents total all ages



Dom and Mex Labor Market Participation in Tri-State Area (NYC, NJ, & CT)

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NYC Household Income and Poverty Status (2017 Census Bureau, ACS, 1 year estimate)

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	Dominicans	Mexicans
❖ Median Hshld Income	\$36,380	\$48,469
❖ Average worker per Hshld	1.4	2.1
❖ Percent poor persons	27.4%	26.6%
❖ Percent in Public Assist	7.6%	3.6%
❖ Total number of Voting (per 1000s)	117,147	71,506



In a Service Economy, Single Mothers & the Undocumented Preferred by low-wage Employers

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1. Fuentes (2007, 2011) finds Low-wage, service jobs favor the most vulnerable of immigrants, race and immigrant status main factor.
2. These workers receive lowest pay, occupy functions in 'backstage,' hidden, cut from networks and invisibility in the larger society.
3. **A caveat: single migrant mothers work longer hours**, have more freedom and wider network reach; are more preferred by employers than married women or those who accompany or live with partners/spouses.
4. ****Yet they suffer greater work and sexual exploits; tend to be more isolated at work than married women.**

Do Husbands Make a Difference?

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Table 2-1 Poverty Rates for FB Latina women, 18-59

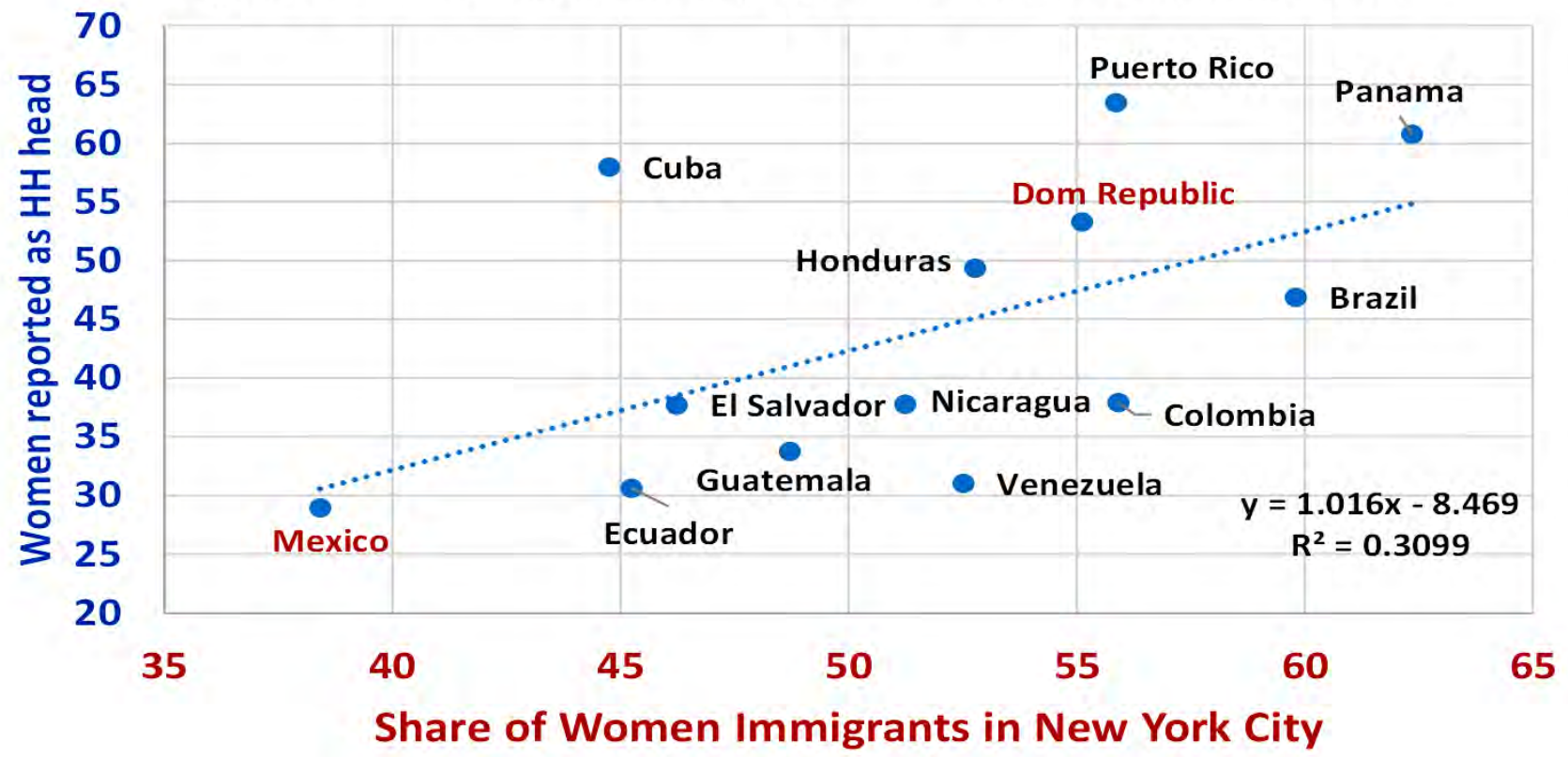
Single household heads	2000	2010	Change
Dominican Republic	44	39	-4.5
Mexico	43	45	2.4
Puerto Rico	50	44	-5.5
Colombia	27	21	-6.3
Honduras	43	36	-6.2
Ecuador	30	28	-2.3
NYC Latinas ^{1/}	42	37	-5.3
Married w/spouse present	2000	2010	Change
Dominican Republic	17	14	-3.2
Mexico	30	29	-0.3
Puerto Rico	14	7.3	-6.2
Honduras	17	15	-1.9
Ecuador	17	17	-0.6
NYC Latinas ^{1/}	17	16	-0.9

1/ Includes NYC residents born in PR, Mexico, DR, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Cuba, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador & Venezuela Source: Ruggles 2010, 2000 5% and ACS 2009-11 3% sample IPUMS-USA



In the US, 43% of homes are headed by single mothers or women who are main breadwinners, of these over 60% Latinas and AAs (Pew 2014)

Table HH 7: Share of immigrant women predict female share of reported as Household Heads, age 18-59 2009-11 combined ACS



Dominican women in general, more isolated by class and race at work than Mexicans (Fuentes 2005, 2007)

Table 6-7 - Race and Ethnicity of the Workplace

	Dominicans n=45	Mexicans n=41	Sample N = 86
Current Employer	%	%	%
White	40	41	40
Asian	7	27	16
Latino	51	27	40
Other	2.3	5.9	3.9
Husband/Partner Employer			
White	25	53	41
Asian	5	31	20
Latino	60	17	35
Other	10	0	4.1

Source. N. Fuentes' Survey, New York 2000-2003

Work and Employment in White Black and Mixed Race Neighborhoods (Fuentes 2011)

Table 1: Residential and Employment Distribution of Dominican and Mexican Immigrants in White, Black and Mixed Race Neighborhoods

	Majority White N=20	Majority Black N=11	Racially Mixed N=21	Total N=52
Share of NYC immigrant group by neighborhood type:				
Born in Mexico	10	17	73	28
Born in DR	24	10	66	27
Immigrant group employment rate ^{1/}				
Born in Mexico	71	66	68	69
Born in DR	54	69	57	57

Source: 2005-2007 American Community Survey, author's tabulation for New York PUMAS (community districts) from Ruggles et al. 2010. IPUMS USA, usa.ipums.org/usa/.

1/ Share of population over 15 with a job working or not.



The Migration of Women

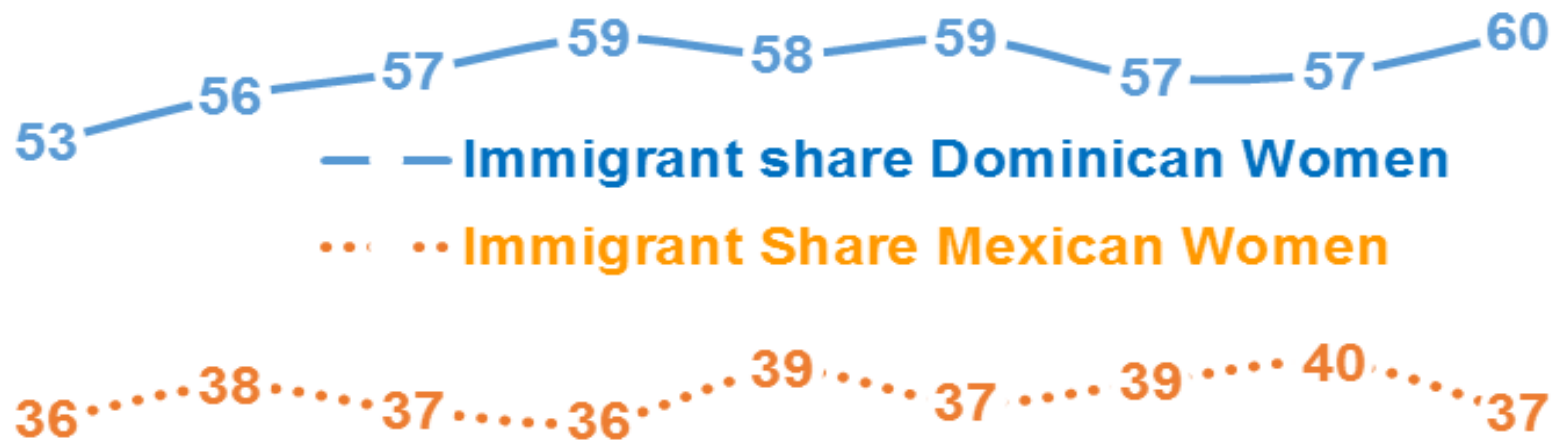
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- ❖ Gender and migration scholars (Grassmuck and Pessar 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 1997; Menjivar, 2000); by now concede the immigration of women is largely affected by macro-structural factors, such as the globalization of the local and international economy, de-industrialization and an expanding, low-wage, service sector which covets immigrant women for a ‘care industry.’
- ❖ My work extends this literature within a gender and racial lens to diagnose what drives Dominican women to immigrate first and how the process compares to that experienced by other Latina migrants, in this case, Mexican women.
- ❖ Next, it explores how the women- versus a men-led immigration affects the work integration and racial and ethnic stratification of the two groups in a service economy.

Share of Immigrant Women

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Figure P-5 Gender shares of Mexican and Dominican immigrants age 18-59 residing in NYC, 1990 to 2011

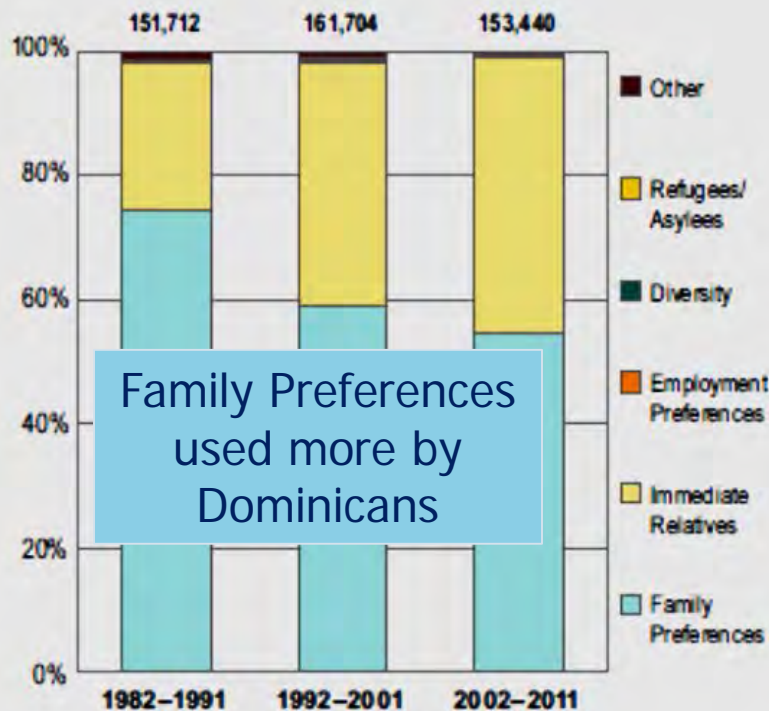


1990 2000 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011

1/ Ages 18-59. Source: Census 5% sample 1980-2000, ACS 2005-11, IPUMS USA, Ruggles et al. 2010, download March 2014

Immigrant's Class of Admission

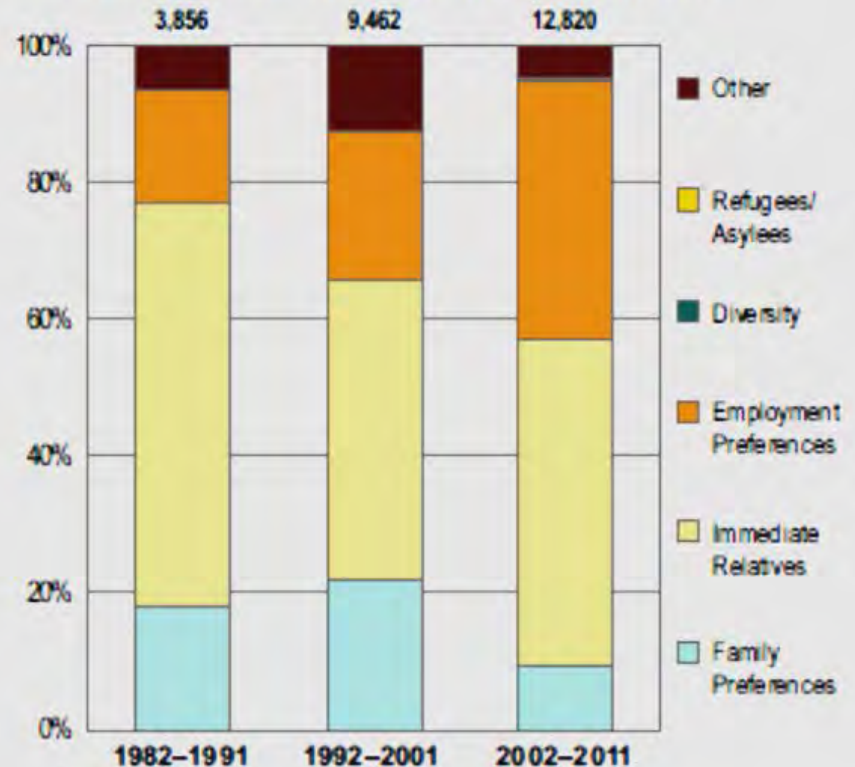
Figure 6-16
Immigrants Admitted from
The Dominican Republic by Class of Admission
New York City, 1982–1991, 1992–2001, and 2002–2011



Family Preferences
used more by
Dominicans

Sources:
U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics,
1982–2001 Annual Year Immigrant Tape Files,
2002–2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, and
Special Tabulations for New York City, Fiscal Years 2002–2011
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Figure 6-9
Immigrants Admitted from Mexico by Class of Admission
New York City, 1982–1991, 1992–2001, and 2002–2011



Sources:

U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics,
1982–2001 Annual Year Immigrant Tape Files,
2002–2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, and
Special Tabulations for New York City, Fiscal Years 2002–2011
Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning

Migrations Dominicans use family ties more, but spouse admissions fell

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- ❖ In 80s and 90s Dominican spouse admissions rose 61% only to fall 4% during the 90s and 00s
- ❖ Women coming alone, half of them without or separated from a spouse
- ❖ Compared to Mexicans, Dominican admissions much higher: over 315,000 compared to about 21,000 Mexican between 90s and 2000s.



Who made the decision to migrate?

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	Dominicans n=45	Mexicans N=41	Sample N = 85
Spouse	29	46	37
Respondent	50	44	47
Family	20	10	15
Total Respondents	44	41	100

Source. N. Fuentes' Qualitative Data and Survey, 2000-2003



2. Single Migrant Mothers, Work, Poverty and Mobility

Single Heads of Household Women Work longer hours than married ones (Dominicans on the rise)

**Table HH-2 Dominican & Mexican born women, age 18-59
Living in New York City, Work and HH Status**

Work by HH structure	Born in DR		Born in Mex	
	2000	2010	2000	2010
Share women Household Heads	44	53	20	29
Share with spouse/partner	24	15	37	27
Share Head HH working	61	75	50	54
Share Married women working	56	60	34	34
HH heads working 50+ weeks (A)	33	60	27	41
Married works 50+ weeks (B)	30	46	17	25
difference A - B	2.8	14	10	16
Women immigrants (1000s)	160	163	17.7	65.2

Source: Census 5% sample in 2000, combined ACS 3% 2009-11 IPUMS-US.

The Declining Family Wages and Status of Latino Males

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- ❖My husband became neurotic and was jealous of me. He used to work nights and sleep during the day. He did not make enough even with two jobs! He was always worried if we had enough and about what did and the kids.
- ❖One day, I realized I could not live in these conditions, since he was not the man he used to be. Before, I used to call him “my hero.” He could not even maintain our household anymore but insisted that I did not work because of the care of our children. One day, I asked him to leave and called the police on him. My girlfriend helped.
(Dominican, ex-middle class, housewife)

Weekly Wages

Table 3.5. Weekly Wages for the Women and Spouses/Partners

	<i>Dominicans</i> N=45 %	<i>Mexicans</i> N=41 %	<i>Total Sample</i> N=86 %
Women's Wages			
\$100–\$200	62.2	67.6	64.6
\$200–\$300	24.4	20.6	22.8
\$300–\$400	8.9	5.9	7.6
\$400–\$500	2.2	5.9	3.8
\$500+	2.2	0.0	1.3
Husbands/Partner Wages			
\$100–\$200	0	9.8	4.7
\$200–\$300	22.2	17.1	19.8
\$300–\$400	8.9	17.1	12.8
\$400–\$500	6.7	14.6	10.5
\$500+	6.7	12.2	9.3

Source: N. Fuentes's dissertation data, New York survey, 1999–2002.



Middle Class Immigrant Women

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- ❖ In 2000, I decided to come back to New York [as a single mother] and live in the house of the babysitter and housekeeper who had worked for me in Santo Domingo. She offered me her place and also helped in getting me a job. I worked in a factory in Brooklyn.
- ❖ ...I used to get up at 5am to be there by 7:30am. This was terrible, since I had to drop my child at 5:30am in the house of a neighbor. I later worked taking care of an elderly, sick person. I lasted a week. I used to make \$160 a week to clean houses for six days of work through an agency...
- ❖ ...I later worked for a Jewish bakery in lower Manhattan and got another job cleaning homes, on weekends. I used to feel really bad in these kinds of jobs and it was killing me...
- ❖ ...To get to the factory I had to ride in a contracted agency van, with all sorts of crazy people at 5am! I am taking medication just to make it day to day.... (Central Harlem, NYC: 39 year old, Dominican woman, ex-middle class housewife).



The views of Men

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- ❖ I think that emigration hurts us. We are not accustomed to having our wives work. In Mexico my wife did not work. We, the men from provinces (meaning, traditional), don't want our wives to work. They have problems handling money and making decisions for the family and this creates lots of headaches in the household. (54 years old, Mexican Entrepreneur, Manhattan, NYC)

The Views of Women

- ❖ When you have a husband, it is a whole different story. You can work if you need to, but the family relies mostly on his money. You have his money and you have more than anything his support....
- ❖ ...But, my husband insisted I didn't work. He could not take me working while I had never worked before. Besides, in a job as a house cleaner, how much pride can I derive? We got divorced four years ago. I work now in the East Side, cleaning two apartments. I feel much better about this arrangement (39 years old, Dominican ex-middle class wife).

The views of employers

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- ❖ Q: Have you ever hired a Dominican worker?
- ❖ “The last Dominican I hired did not want to come [to work] on Saturdays. They are all lazy. Mexicans don’t like to argue with you. If I tell him to do something, they do it. In my other shop, I had another Mexican...they like to work and they do good work.... Dominicans come to ask me for work, Hondurans too, and blacks too. But I can’t just hire everybody.
- ❖ I have to know where they come from and who recommends them. I also have to watch them closely to see if they can do the job (Latino employer, repair shop, Bronx).

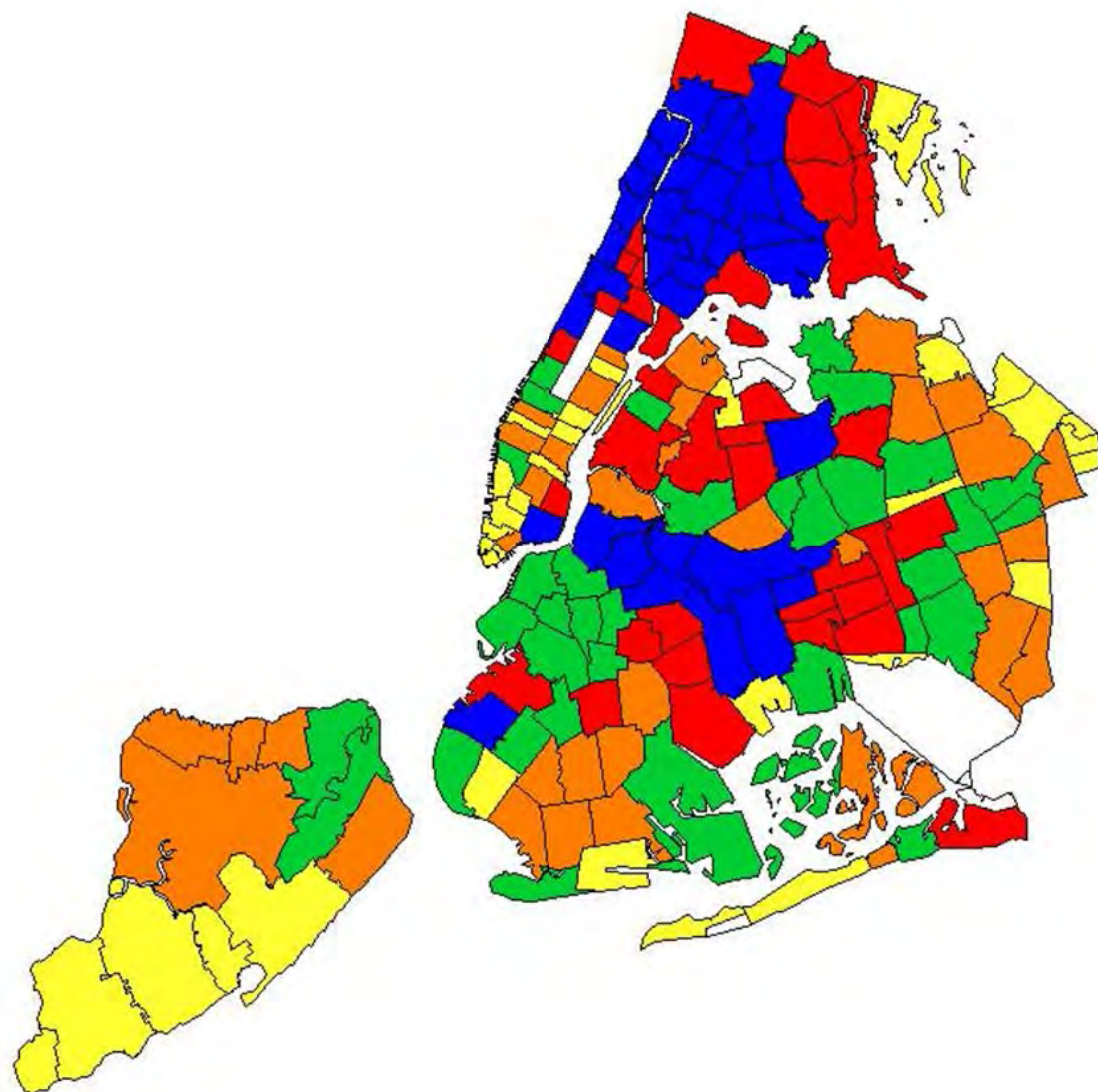


The views of employers, cont'd

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- ❖ Q. How do you recruit your workers?
- ❖ A. Oh, well, we are lucky. My father used to hire mostly Chinese, cousins, and relatives; but, my business is different; I don't want to deal with family. I have now mostly a Latino labor force (thanks to Cynthia [his wife]; and, there is this couple that has worked for us for almost ten years, they are Mexicans; they are fabulous. They have helped us hire everyone else.....No, none of them come from this neighborhood. (Second Generation, Chinese factory owner, NYC).

Dominicans Concentrated 2010



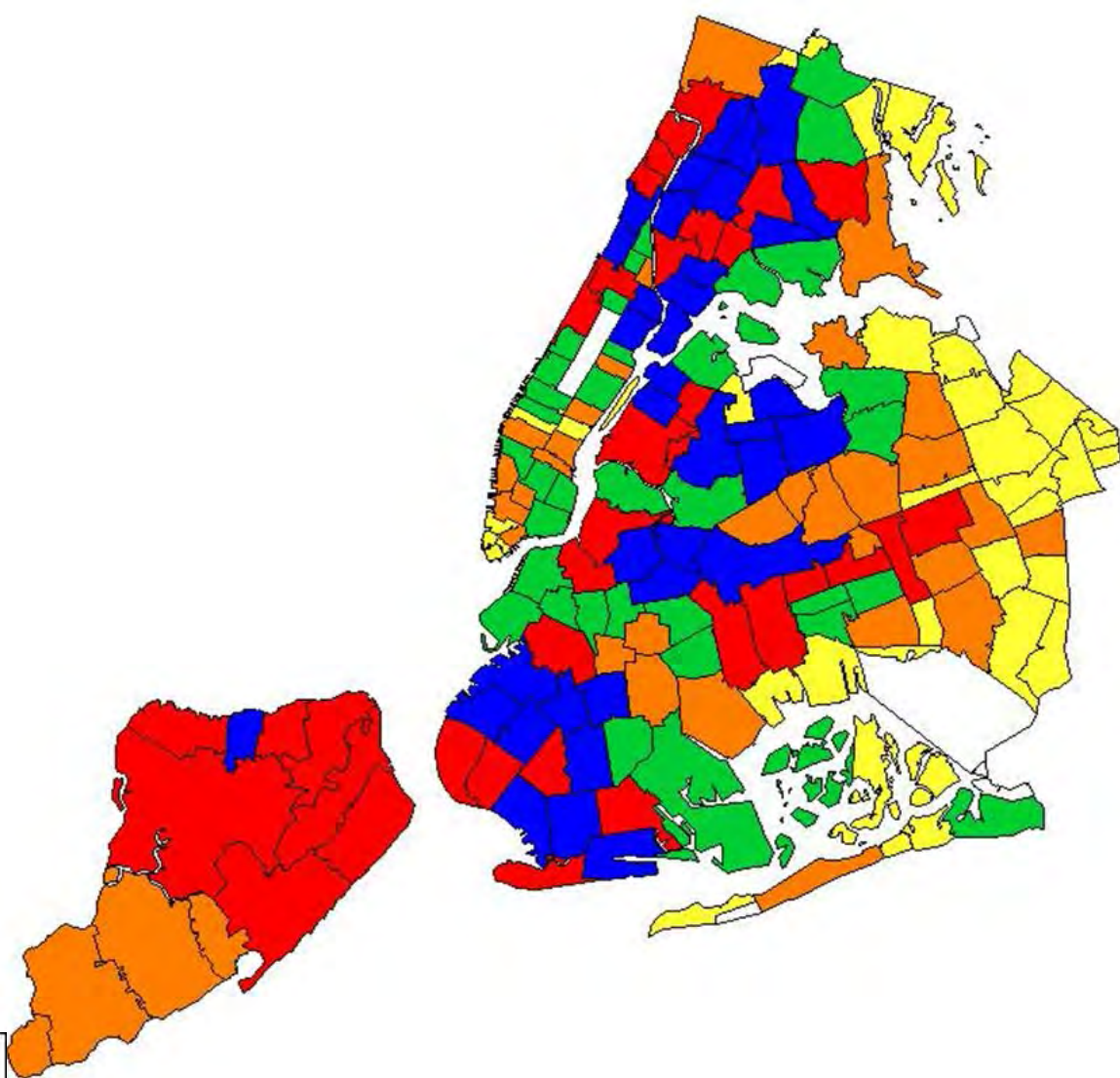
Dominican [Hispanic Population by National Origin]

Zip Codes in New York City



2010 Census from Bureau of the Census, US Department of Commerce

Mexicans Disperse 2010



Mexican [Hispanic Population by National Origin]

Zip Codes in New York City



2010 Census from Bureau of the Census, US Department of Commerce



Dominicans most segregated and spatially isolated by class and race

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- ❖ The qualitative data shows Dominicans the most segregated of all FB Latino groups.
- ❖ Census data and updates (ACS 2006-2008) show pattern persists and Dominican most isolated of all FB Latino groups, indexes of segregation and isolation paralleling those of AAs.
- ❖ They also experience the highest social isolation from mainstream groups, whites and blacks but also from more established co-ethnics and Latinos, increasing racialization.
- ❖ Mexicans integration at work and in housing resembles more trajectories of FB ethnic whites becoming an 'ethnic' group vs. a racialized group in the Southwest.



Conclusions

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- ❖ Increases in SHHs lead to poverty concentration but also mobility of women into different service sectors where male counterparts have no entry.
- ❖ This increases gender segregation, racialization and exclusion of males from ethnic and mainstream work structures, reproducing a culture of exclusion and underclass.
- ❖ Gender, immigrant status and race key components in this micro-labor, racialization process.
- ❖ The greater visibility of Mexicans and preference by employers increases the '*ethnicization*' of the group or integration as an 'allied,' hard working ethnic minority.
- ❖ Black and brown women and the undocumented occupy 'back-staged' jobs with less visibility from clients.



Repatriation and the Case of “Runaway” Women and Unaccompanied Minors

Add picture here from UNHCR (2018)

Deportation in NYC by Ethnic Group

Table 2A: New York City Excess deportations by Ethnic Group
ICE Apprehensions New York City 2006 to 2010^{2/}

	Number of Apprehensions ^{1/}	Col A Share Apprehended	Col B 2006-2010 Male FB share	Excess Apprehended Col A-B	2012 FB share ^{3/}
Mexico	6795	20	5.8	14	5.7
El Salvador	3375	9.8	0.9	8.9	1.2
Dominican Rep	3038	8.8	12	-3.1	13
Ecuador	2590	7.5	4.5	3.0	4.0
Guatemala	2229	6.5	0.7	5.8	0.9
Honduras	2219	6.5	1.1	5.4	1.0
Jamaica	1900	5.5	5.6	-0.1	5.6
Colombia	1028	3.0	2.4	0.6	2.5
China	940	2.7	8.9	-6.2	9.4
Guyana	715	2.0	4.5	-2.5	4.4
Cuba	707	2.0	0.6	1.4	0.5
Trinidad & Tobago	697	2.0	3.0	-1.0	2.9
Haiti	490	1.4	3.1	-1.7	3.1
Peru	429	1.2	1.1	0.1	0.9
Pakistan	389	1.1	1.2	-0.1	1.3

1/ By borough: Queens 34%; Brooklyn 29%; the Bronx 19%, Manhattan 14%.

2/ Reported apprehensions from October 2005 to December 2010.

3/ Source: Occhiogrosso-Schwartz Joshua (2012) page 7.

<http://immigrantdefenseproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/NYC-FOIA-Report-2012-FINAL.pdf>

The 2008 economic crisis led to return migration in Mexico & other LA regions

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- Return migration can be forced migration deportation, including “self-deportation” if conditions worsen
- From 1995-2000 net migration from US to Mexico 2.3 million, reversing to 20,000 net migration to Mexico 2005-2010 (post crisis)
- Conditions worsened in the U.S .but improved in Mexico, in 2015 33% of adults report live in the U.S. about the same as in Mexico (up from 23% in 2007)
- source: <http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/reports/350/>

Deportation and single headed families

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- ❑ Vast Majority 90+% of those deported are prime age males
- ❑ In 2012, of 410,000 deported 94% were males, majority prime working age, 20-49.
- ❑ Due to more women and children crossing from El Salvador GTM and Honduras to the US via Mexico, the number of women deported rose slightly to about 25,000 raising the share of female deportees from 6% to 7%.
- ❑ **source:**
<http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/reports/350/>

The International Community

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- UNHCR works closely with Governments and others to ensure the *1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* and its *1967 Protocol* are honored.
- the “*Refugee Protection and Mixed Migration 10-Point Plan*” is a tool developed by UNHCR to assist Governments and other stakeholders to incorporate refugee protection considerations into migration policies,”.....The *10-Point Plan* stresses that.....
- It contains an entire section on “child protection systems,” one on identifying women and girls at risk, and another on protecting victims of trafficking.
- In accordance with these priorities, the UNHCR Regional Office for the United States and the Caribbean in Washington, D.C. (UNHCR Washington), has likewise
- identified the vulnerability of children as a primary concern, especially unaccompanied children, and has devoted many
- resources to investigating protecting issues relating to children arriving to and within
- the United States.
- In 2012, with the full cooperation and support of the U.S. Government, UNHCR Washington began monitoring the protection screening of unaccompanied and separated children from Mexico at the southern
- U.S. border of which a report was published in 2015.

According to the UNHCR's 2013 Report

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- the number of requests for asylum has increased in countries *other than the U.S.*
- Combined, Mexico, Panama, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Belize documented a 435% increase in the number of asylum applications filed by individuals from El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala.
- In the US, the number of adults claiming fear of return to their countries of origin to government officials upon arriving at a port of entry or apprehension at the southern border increased from 5,369 in fiscal year (FY 2009) to 36,174 in FY 2013.
- Individuals from El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico account for 70% of this increase.

Discrimination is a Constant *en route* to and Returning from the US or Mexico back home

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- Migrant children and adolescents continue to experience the same racism and discrimination that they experience in community of origin by Mexicans or US people.
- Upon repatriation, they find it difficult to adjust to traditional aspects of indigenous culture (language, dress, food, behavior patterns, etc)
- Some girls don't want to wear indigenous dresses or speak their native language or eat tortillas, paradoxically, migration seems to confer a status but also instill a sense that indigenous groups are inferior!

Suggested Readings

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