WOMEN, SKILLS AND GLOBAL MOBILITY: A STUDY OF CHANGING PATTERNS OF GENDERED SKILLED MIGRATION INTO NEW ZEALAND


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Abstract

According to the 2003 ILO report, female migrants constitute nearly 51 percent of all migrants in developed countries and about 46 percent of all migrants in developing countries. The global presence of women in migration is also reflected in the increase of women using what have been male dominated migration streams (UN World Survey 2004). Skilled migration flows in New Zealand is important to the Department of Labour's goal of building New Zealand's workforce and attracting (and retaining) top talent in New Zealand to contribute to New Zealand's economic transformation. This paper looks at trends in the proportion of female and male principal applicants who have migrated to New Zealand through the General Skills and Skilled Migrant Category from 1997/98 to 2005/06. It also examines changes in source countries of these female migrants and examines gender differences in outcomes for skilled migrants. From 1997/98 to 2001/02 the number of female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled categories increased exponentially. Although the proportion of female to male migrants for the skilled categories is low (1:2) throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period, the number of women to men from certain source countries (for example, China, Philippines and Japan) increased or remained high during this period. Results from the Department of Labour's Settlement Experiences Feedback Survey (survey sent to Skilled / Business stream migrants) shows that while the majority of both female and male principal applicants were employed (94%), there are substantial differences in occupation, industry and incomes between female and male skilled migrants. This paper shows that there is huge diversity of flows by gender and nationality. However, the data show that overall women are critical players in the migration process and are a significant component of skilled migrants in New Zealand. Gender differences need to be considered when developing policies or programmes to attract skilled migrants as well as with their successful settlement.

Introduction

New Zealand has a long history of gendered migration and this has affected the overall gender balance in the population. Apart from brief periods in World War 1, the 1918 influenza pandemic and World War 2, from the time of European colonisation through to 1968 there have been more men than women in the total New Zealand population. However, since 1968 there have, at each census, been more women recorded than men living in New Zealand.

In the early period of European migration to New Zealand, 'Pakeha' men vastly outnumbered 'Pakeha' women (Arnold 1982). This was a pattern also seen in major migration flows from Europe to the main settler countries of Canada, the United States, Australia and South Africa. As a specific example of early New

Zealand migration, Dalmatians came during the latter years of the nineteenth century to escape from the depressed economic conditions of their homeland. The New Zealand Dalmatians were few in number, and men vastly outnumbered women. Of the original 5,468 settlers between 1897 and 1919, only 177 were women (Stoffel 1982). A number of factors, most not unique to New Zealand, drove this strongly male migration. A critical one was the nature of the economy. The main jobs were to be found in the primary sector, with gold mining, timber extraction and farming key employers. Later the manufacturing sector emerged, but again primarily attracted skilled males. In the early periods the women who migrated to New Zealand came either as wife's of migrants, as potential wives, or as a source of domestic labour (Hastings, 2006). Thus marriage markets and labour markets have long been a driver of female migration.

While there has always been some female component to migration flows, over the last 20 years the gender balance of international migration flows has changed considerably and developed in response to a number of factors. These include gender selective demand for foreign labour, economic development and subsequent changes in gender relations in countries of origin and countries of destination.

On the supply side women are increasingly participating in tertiary education at high levels (and higher than men in many countries now) – delaying marriage and childbearing, which consequentially is making women increasingly mobile. Further, some well-educated women may want to escape restrictive cultures. Castles and Miller (2003) have described the consequences of all these trends as an "increasing feminisation of migration at a global level".

According to the 2003 ILO report, female migrants constitute nearly 51 percent of all migrants in developed countries and about 46 percent of all migrants in developing countries. This has in part been due to the dominance of women in family and refugee migration. These migration streams have grown in importance in terms of the overall international migration flows.

Women today increasingly migrate independently and/or for work purposes (Carling 2005). In confirming this trend, United Nations studies have noted that the global presence of women in migration. Even when women migrate to join family and spouses, they are equally as likely to work or want to work in the destination country.

However, alongside women's increasing participation in more conventional forms of labour migration, there has been a growth in more specifically female forms of migration. In most high-income countries, due to both the increasing employment of well-educated women and the ageing of the population, there is increasing demand for service workers, including low skill care workers. It is mainly women who fill these jobs and internationally sources of such workers include countries such as the Philippines and Thailand. However, there is also trafficking of women in the sex industry, and the organised migration of women for marriage (often labelled 'mail-order' brides). While the 'mail order' bride is often portrayed in countries such as the US or New Zealand as primarily Asian women (or Russian women) marrying European males, it is more complex than this. For example, Hugo (2005) shows that marriage across borders is an increasingly important part of migration within many areas of the world. In part, this is a result of increased travel allowing the mixing of people from different countries.

Labour Market Outcomes for Migrant Women

While women are increasingly migrating for employment, an area of concern for many OECD countries relates to the differential labour market outcomes for migrant women. While certain groups of immigrants face specific difficulties in integrating into the labour market in certain OECD countries, those for migrant women may be compounded. In most OECD countries, foreign-born women have lower employment rates than their native-born counterparts. These differences increase, the higher the level of education and women who have migrated from non-OECD countries appear particularly disadvantaged in this regard. This is particularly the case for highly qualified migrant women from non-OECD countries. In Germany, the employment rate of this group is 43 percent (compared to 60 percent for all highly qualified immigrant women and 81 percent for native-born women with the same level of education). Similar results are found in most receiving countries in the OECD. This gap in outcomes is partly attributable to the problems of the recognition of foreign qualifications, and more generally of their training, but also to factors such as the impact of attitudes and behaviours 'imported' from the country of origin or to language problems (SOPEMI 2006).

Even when employed, immigrant women are more likely to be 'over-qualified' for the job they do, i.e. the proportion of women who, according to their education level, should be exercising a more skilled profession. This 'over-qualification' is particularly pronounced for immigrant women from non-OECD countries (SOPEMI 2006).

While such obstacles are not necessarily restricted to immigrant women, the impact on immigrant women may be greater given the fields of work they tend to be concentrated in. Highly qualified immigrant women are over-represented relative to immigrant men, in the fields of education, medical professions, arts and humanities. As Iredale 2004 notes, skilled migration is heterogeneous in its gender divisions, occupations and conditions of work. Men predominate amongst those moving within transnational corporations and in the Information Technology and Scientific sectors (HRST), (OECD 2002). There are also gender implications involved in the accreditation and recognition of skills. Furthermore, it can be a gendered demand structure that explains the dominance of a certain sex in specific migration streams. For example, 88% of the Green card permits in Germany

in 2000 were taken up by men (SOPEMI 2001), with the vast majority of scientists from Eastern Europe where there are almost as many women in the same profession (thus the gender imbalance does not necessarily already exist in the sending countries). According to a study carried out by the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Trust in New Zealand, skilled female migrants have been reported to be subject to ethnic/racial discrimination when seeking employment (Basnayake 1999).

Skilled women have tended to go into welfare and social professions, (e.g. education, health, social work) – traditionally female jobs Nursing is the most female dominated sector, with 90% or more of the nursing workforce being comprised of women (Buchan and Calman 2004). An analysis of UK work permit data for 2000 showed that sectors with high proportions of female staff constituted some of the fastest growing sectors of migrant employment. All professional health occupations and education are currently posted on the Work Permits UK website as priority areas, unlike IT which has been demoted. Recourse to foreign nurses in response to the crisis in nursing has constituted a truly global labour market, especially in the UK and Ireland, as well as in Canada and the US. Above all, it is the Philippines which supply the overwhelming number. Ireland too has become heavily dependent on overseas nurses with Filipinas supplying the largest contingent (UNRISD 2005).

Gendered Skilled Migration in New Zealand

Increased global mobility has meant that there is a large and increasing global pool of potential migrants and the pool of low skilled migrants far outstrips New Zealand demand for low skills. The international pool of potential skilled migrants, including skilled New Zealanders who may consider leaving New Zealand, is also large but subject to significant competition from other potential host countries. A range of factors are likely to determine the attractiveness of New Zealand as a destination point for skilled migrants. These include New Zealand's economic prosperity, global stability and security and settlement outcomes and experiences for migrants. It is also possible that the attractiveness and, if people do migrate, the outcomes and experiences may be viewed differently by women and men. These factors are particular significant given that potential skilled migrants from Australia, UK, Ireland and Europe are likely to remain stable but potential skilled migrants from China, India and other non-OECD countries are likely to increase as will the competition for these migrants.

Despite the growing significance of the global feminisation of migration and the feminisation of skilled migration, this area has received little research or policy attention in the New Zealand context.

Skilled migration flows into New Zealand is important to the Department of Labour's goal of building New Zealand's workforce and attracting (and retaining) top talent in New Zealand and contributing to New Zealand's economic transformation.[1]

Given this context, gaining a better understanding of changes in gendered migration flows amongst skilled migrants is also significant for New Zealand policy development in a number of other respects including:

- understanding women's economic contribution both in source and host countries;
- foreign credential recognition and ensuring that women are able to work and contribute to a level commensurate with their training, skills and experience;
- ensuring migrant women's access to social and health services and programmes;
- ensuring the protection of migrant women's human, social and labour rights, in particular the rights of temporary workers;
- understanding the implications of caring for dependents (both in source and host country by migrant women, and the influence of this for migration decision making by migrant women.

Asian Migration and Gender

Patterns of gendered migration from Asian economies have received even less attention in the New Zealand context, despite the growth in migration from Asian economies. However, a Department of Labour project on changing sex ratios and gendered migration indicated that Asian migration may be an important factor when considering overall gender flows (Callister, Bedford and Didham, 2006). For example, this study showed that when the 2001 and 1996 censuses were considered (see Table 1 and Table 2) there was not only strong growth in the number of Asians but the sex imbalance within this group also became more extreme.[2]

Table 3, also based on census data, suggests that based on birthplace data there seems to have been some historic imbalance in migration from Asia to both New Zealand and Australia.

Table 1: Ratio of women to men in each age and ethnic group, total ethnic counts, 2001.

	European		Maori		Pacific		Asian	
	n	F:M	n	F:M	n	F:M	n	F:M
20-24	167,379	1.03	42,096	1.09	19,782	1.08	24,018	1.05
25-29	180,117	1.10	40,161	1.16	17,979	1.09	17,979	1.25
30-34	206,805	1.11	39,252	1.16	17,778	1.14	19,950	1.37
35-39	222,825	1.09	38,322	1.13	16,011	1.10	22,725	1.23
40-44	220,077	1.05	32,856	1.12	12,753	1.08	19,803	1.26
45-49	198,456	1.03	25,092	1.07	10,131	1.00	15,693	1.21

Source: Census, Statistics New Zealand

Table 2: Ratio of women to men in each age and ethnic group, total ethnic counts, 1991.

	European		Maori		Pacific		Asian	
	n	F:M	n	F:M	n	F:M	n	F:M
20-24	211,998	0.98	42,855	1.06	16,692	1.14	9,336	1.09
25-29	212,346	1.04	39,561	1.11	15,627	1.17	11,847	1.05
30-34	218,754	1.03	33,999	1.12	13,080	1.09	11,589	1.06
35-39	203,832	1.03	26,010	1.07	10,788	1.01	9,420	1.04
40-44	202,941	1.01	20,745	1.05	8,547	0.99	7,131	1.04
45-49	162,069	1.00	15,441	1.04	5,997	1.00	4,311	0.93

Source: Census, Statistics New Zealand

Table 3: Sex ratios of major birthplace groups Australia and New Zealand, 2001.

Major birthplace groups	Australia	New Zealand
Oceania (including Australia and New Zealand)	1.03	1.05
North West Europe	0.96	1.00
Southern and Eastern Europe	0.96	1.00
North Africa and Middle East	0.90	0.81
South-East Asia	1.23	1.32
North-East Asia	1.16	1.17
Southern and Central Asia	0.84	0.92
Americas	1.07	1.09
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.00	1.04

Source: Census, Statistics New Zealand and Australian Bureau of Statistics

Table 4 further outlines the significance of the gender imbalance pertaining to some categories of Asian migrants, relative to other groups, amongst those born overseas. The table examines sex ratio differential for those ethnic groups which have more women than men amongst the overseas born. While the numbers appear small for some Asian groups, the extreme ratios or numbers amongst Asians is significant.

An initial investigation of Asian migration flows does not explain how the imbalances came about. Based on permanent and long term migration (PLT) data there were more Asian citizen men than women in the arrival and departure flows in the 1980s and early 1990s but there have been more women than men in the flows since the mid 1990s (Table 5). Overall, there was a PLT net gain of just over 2,700 more Asian women than men during the 25-year period. Yet, it is known that category jumping does occur from short-term flows so further investigation of this data source is needed.

The flow of foreign students (who may be captured in the census while students and may also apply for permanent residency when they have completed their studies) also appears not to explain the sex imbalances. Asian students, and particularly Chinese students, have dominated flows in recent years. But these flows are marginally in favour of men not women.[3]

This paper examines comparative patterns of gendered migration into New Zealand from source countries contributing the largest number of migrants through the Skilled/Business streams with a particular focus on differential gender patterns of migration from Asian economies. The strong imbalance in sex ratios in the census data provides a first rational for focussing on Asian migration. However, the other reason for focussing on Asian migration is that Asia is an important source of skilled migration for New Zealand.

Table 4: Numbers and sex ratios of overseas born New Zealand residents aged 20-49, top sixteen ratios, Level 3 ethnic groups, 2001.

	Male	Female	F:M
Thai/Tai/Siamese	564	1,506	2.67
Filipino	1,275	3,252	2.55
Japanese	1,245	2,775	2.23
Asian nfd	375	699	1.86
Canadian	618	1,011	1.64
European nfd	2,895	4,473	1.55
German*	1,062	1,563	1.47
American (US)*	1,062	1,563	1.47
Korean	2,607	3,579	1.37
Russian	435	591	1.36
Chinese nfd	11,163	14,835	1.33
Australian	2,838	3,753	1.32
British nfd	2,736	3,573	1.31
South African	2,595	3,147	1.21
Cook Island Maori nfd	2,877	3,309	1.15
Samoan	9,255	10,545	1.14

Source: Census, Statistics New Zealand
* It is a coincidence that these numbers are exactly the same

Table 5: Asia citizen movements, 1980-2004: 20-49 years.

Period	Arrival F:M	Arrival F:M	Dep. F:M	Dep. F:M
1980-84	-864	0.78	-691	0.68
1985-89	-1703	0.78	-758	0.67
1990-94	-644	0.96	-965	0.82
1995-99	3986	1.13	1038	1.15
2000-04	2041	1.05	1289	1.14
1980-04	2816	1.06	-87	0.99

Source: Callister, Bedford and Didham (2006)

The observed differences in patterns of migration will be hypothesised as reflecting the varying social, economic, industrial, occupational and cultural differentiation and circumstances within the source countries. This variation is also postulated as being a consequence of the positioning of the different economies in the context of

globalisation, as well as determined by the local and cultural gender power and equity positions within the respective nation states.

Methods

The Department of Labour's immigration administrative database was analysed to calculate trends and ratios in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the Skilled/Business stream from 1997/98 to 2005/06. Given the start date of this analysis we cannot fully analyse what might have contributed to the change in sex ratios between the 1996 and 2001 censuses. However, when the 2006 census results are available we will be able to revisit the connection between changes in the census and changes in migration flows.

Overall migration trends from 1997/98 to 2004/05 through the three residence streams; Business/Skilled, Family sponsored and International/Humanitarian. The research examined the number of female and male migrants entering New Zealand from source countries that had the biggest number of migrants from the Skilled / Business streams as at 2004/05. These countries are Great Britain, South Africa, China, India, South Korea and United States of America (USA). Based on sex ratios of overseas born New Zealand residents (table 3, where the female to male ratio is markedly high), trends in female and male migrants from three more Asian nations; Thailand, The Philippines and Japan are examined. The study also looked at differences in gender ratios (female: male) by age groups; 20-29 years, 30-39 years, 40-49 years for the countries mentioned above.

Occupation and industry data were also analysed at a broad level. This paper also examines what proportion of female and male migrants (principal applicants) that came into New Zealand as solo migrants and with dependants. In order to get a further indication of differences and similarities by gender in occupation and income, data collected from the Settlement Experience Feedback Survey (SEFS) were analysed for principal applicants.[4] This analysis is at a broad level because of the small sample size.

Results

Overall patterns of migration in New Zealand are characterised by strongly increasing Skilled/Business migration, with smaller growth in Family Sponsored and International/Humanitarian migration.

As shown in Figure 1, the number of migrants entering New Zealand through the Skilled/Business streams increased from 5,000 in 1997/98 to 14,000 in 2001/02. Migrant flow decreased to around 8,000 in 2003/04, and increased to 14,000 in 2005/06. The number of migrants entering New Zealand through the Family sponsored stream increased gradually from about 9,000 in 1997/98 to about 11,000 in 2005/06, while the number of migrants entering New Zealand through the International/Humanitarian stream remained stable between 1997/98 to 2001/02 and increased gradually to 2003/04, and dropped slightly between 2004/05 to 2005/06.

Figure 1: Trends in migrants entering New Zealand through the three streams.

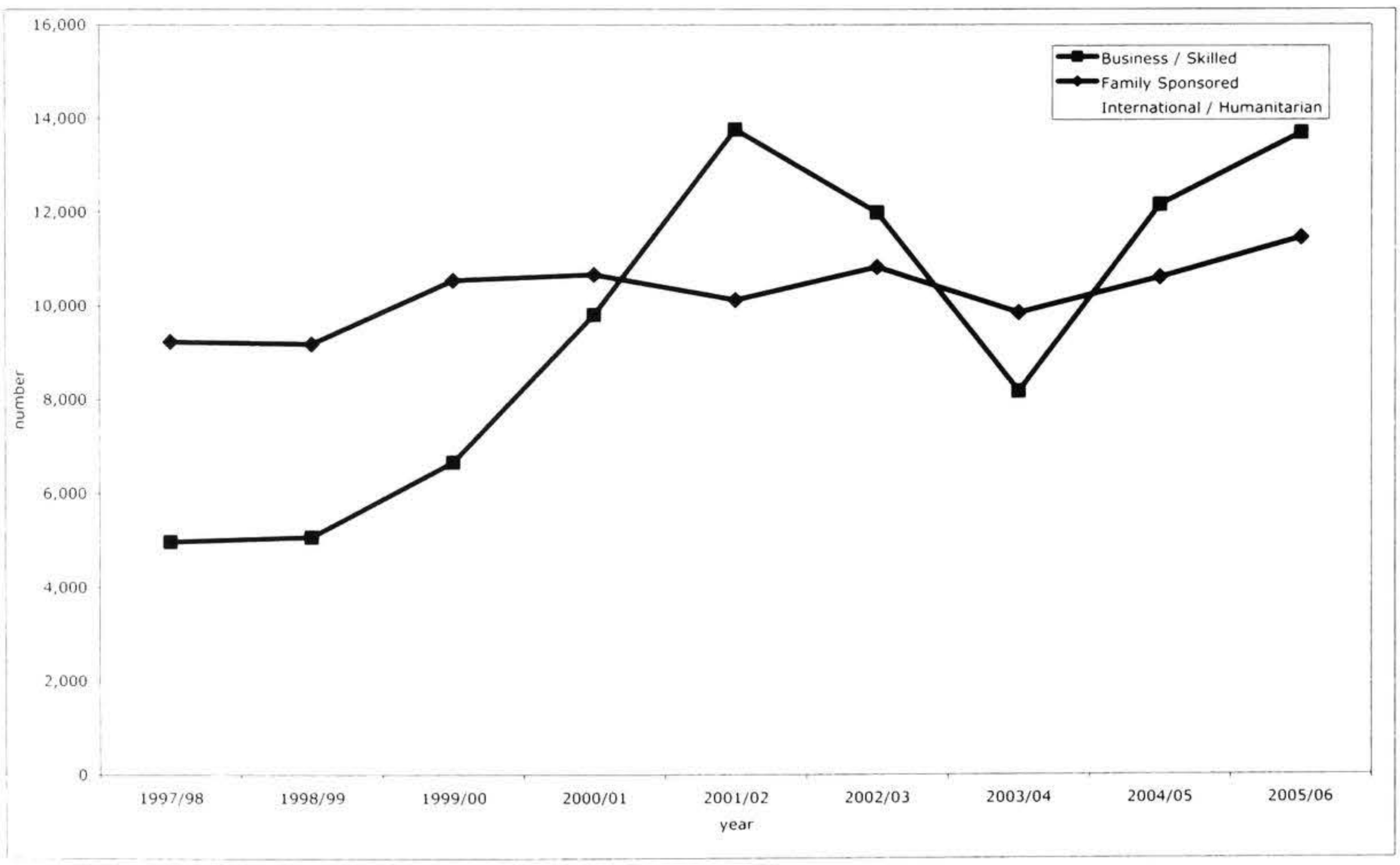
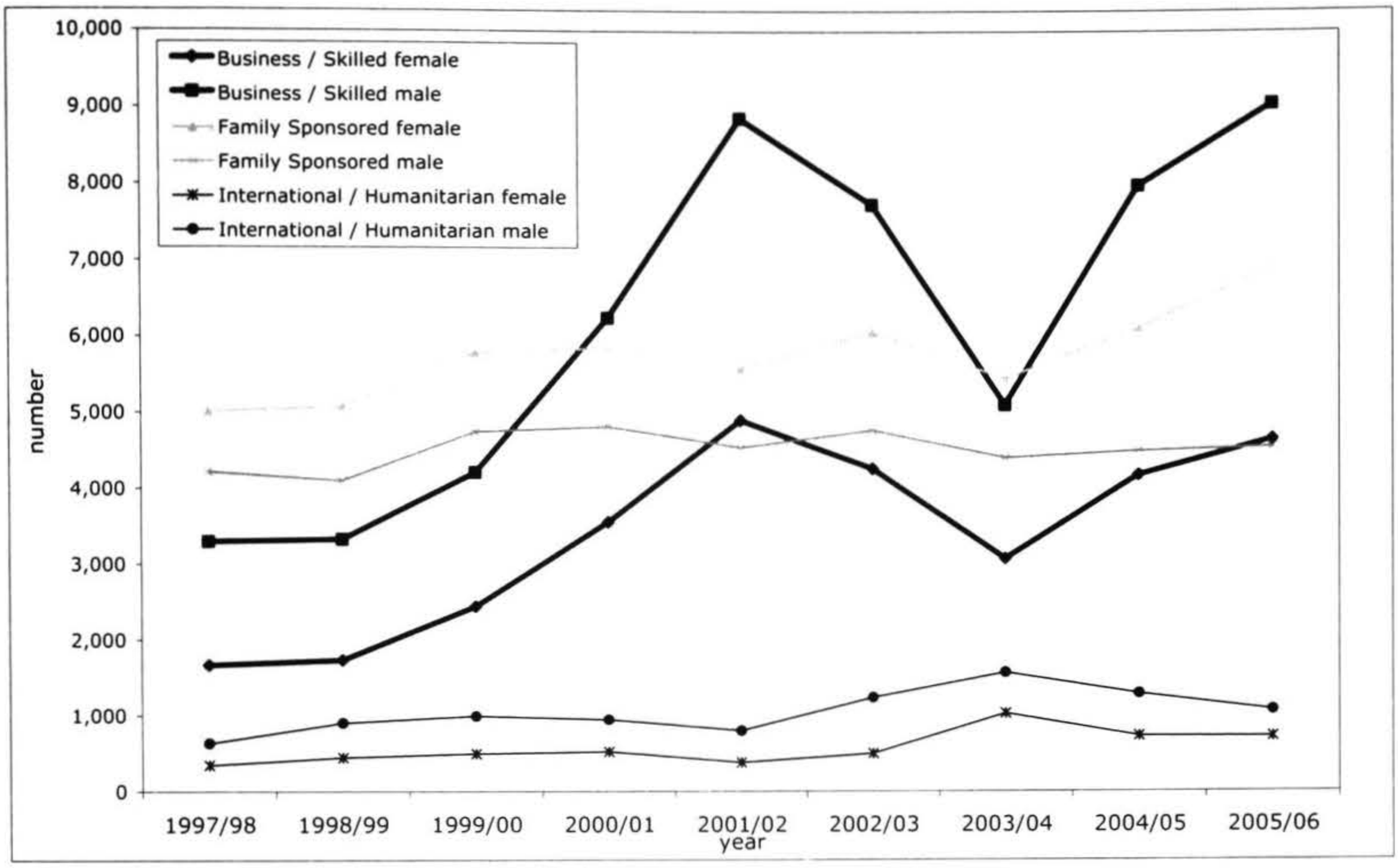


Figure 2: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the three streams.



Overall Gender Ratios

The overall gender ratios differ by residence stream. For the Business/Skilled steam, it is not surprising that men outnumber women as shown in Figure 2 such that the female to male ratio is 1:2 throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period. This female to male ratio is consistent based on the responses received from the Settlement Experiences Feedback Survey (SEFS), where 37 percent of the principal applicants were women and 67 percent were men.

Conversely the female to male ratio for the Family Sponsored stream remains high (1.2:1 in 1997/98 to 1.5:1 in 2005/06). In contrast, in the International / Humanitarian stream, the proportion of female migrants is just over half of their male counterparts (0.6:1 in 1997/98 to 0.7:1 in 2002/03).

Although the proportion of female to male migrants for the Business /Skilled stream is low (1:2) throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period, it is important to see how this trend varies by migrant source country.

Main Source Countries

In the following section we look trends in women and men from the six biggest migrant source countries (as at 2004/05) entering New Zealand through the Skilled/Business streams.[5]

While there can be strong year to year fluctuations, overall there has been a strong increased between 1997/98 and 2005/06 in Business/Skilled migration from Great Britain, South Korea and the United States. There has been little overall change in migration from South Africa. Apart from a large increase of migrants from India in the middle period (2000/01 to 2002/03), overall there was relatively little change from the start to end period. In all these countries, there have been more men than women entering New Zealand through the Business/Skilled stream (see Appendix A).

China has a different balance of men and women as shown in Figure 3. The number men and women from China increased exponentially from 1997/98 to 2001/02. The number of men gradually decreased in 2002/03 and plummeted further in 2003/04, but continued to increase from 2004/05 to 2005/06. Their female counterparts increased slightly in 2002/03 and decreased further in 2003/04 and 2004/05 and increased further in 2005/06. This pattern of Chinese migration flows is similar to that of the total Business/Stream migrant population (see Figures 1 and 2). Although there were slightly more Chinese men than women, their overall female to male ratio is close to 1, suggesting a relatively equal number of Chinese women and men entering New Zealand during the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period.

With the exception China that had relatively equal numbers of women and men, all the other source countries were dominated by men. Therefore two additional Asian source countries (with higher female to male ratios) are examined.[6] A third country, Japan, has a similar pattern to China. Trends for men and women from Japan can be found in Appendix A.

The Philippines

Among skilled migrants from the Philippines, females outnumber males such that the average female to male ratio for the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period is 1.6:1. From 1997/98 to 2001/02 there was considerable increase in female and male migrants from the Philippines. This declined between 2002/03 to 2003/04 and increased during 2004/05 to 2005/06 (Figure 4).

Thailand

Similarly, women from Thailand outnumbered men, and the average female to male ratio for the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period was 1.3:1. The number of female and male migrants from Thailand increased from 1997/98 to 2001/02. This dropped between 2002/03 to 2004/05. It is important to note small numbers in the Thai group. Throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period there were more female than male migrants (Figure 5).

Based on the analysis of Asian nationalities, these groups were divided into three groups; female dominated (The Philippines and Thailand), equal females to males (China and Japan), and male dominated (India and South Korea).

While we find that flows from the Philippines and Thailand are female dominated, the overall numbers are small and when the Asian countries where the flows are male dominated are taken into account we cannot find evidence of where the overall apparent census based rise in the gender imbalance in Asians living in New Zealand comes from. This also supports the PLT data which does not explain how the strong census based imbalances for Asians have arisen. However, when we consider age the picture becomes a little more complicated.

Figure 3: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from China.

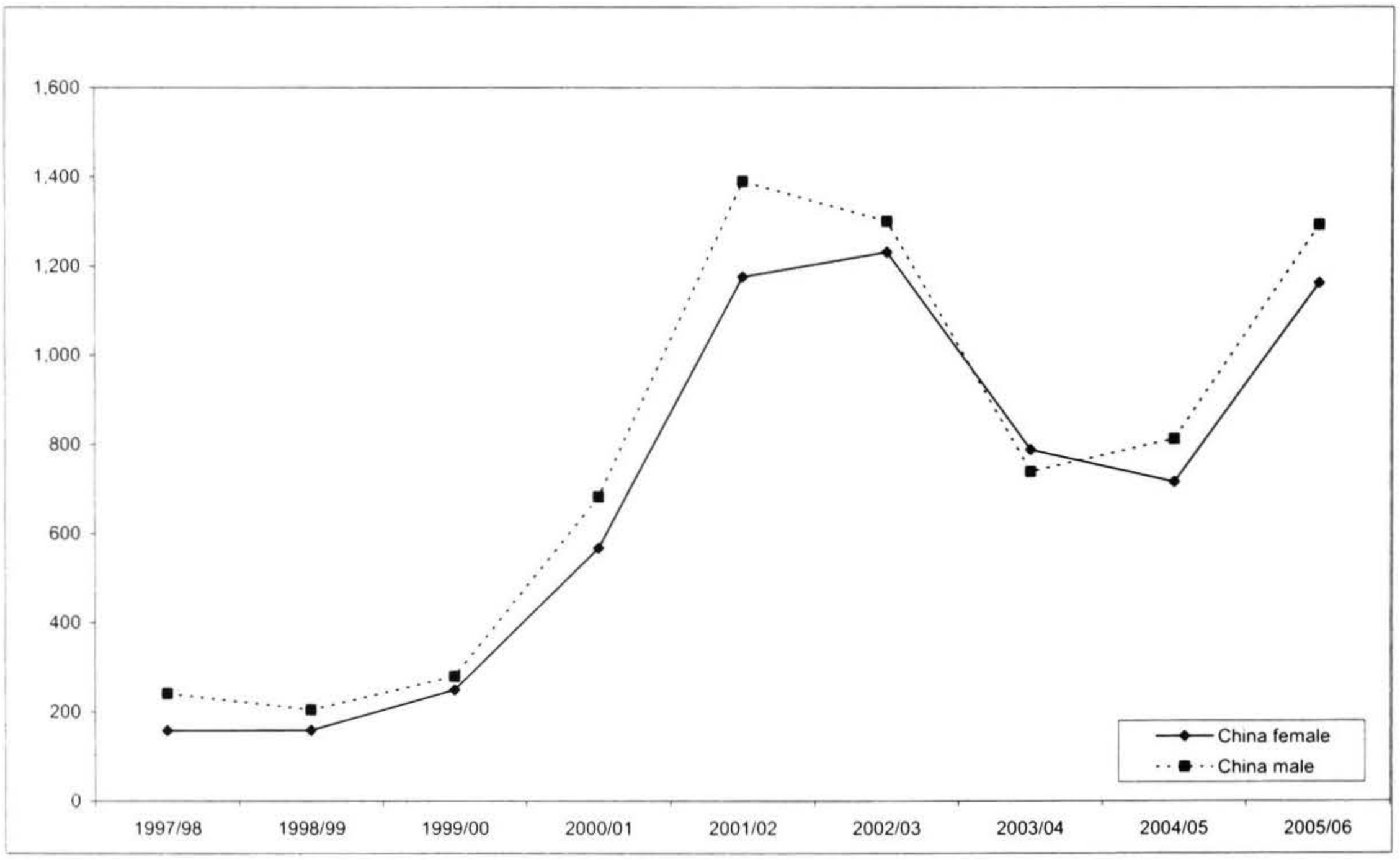


Figure 4: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from Philippines.

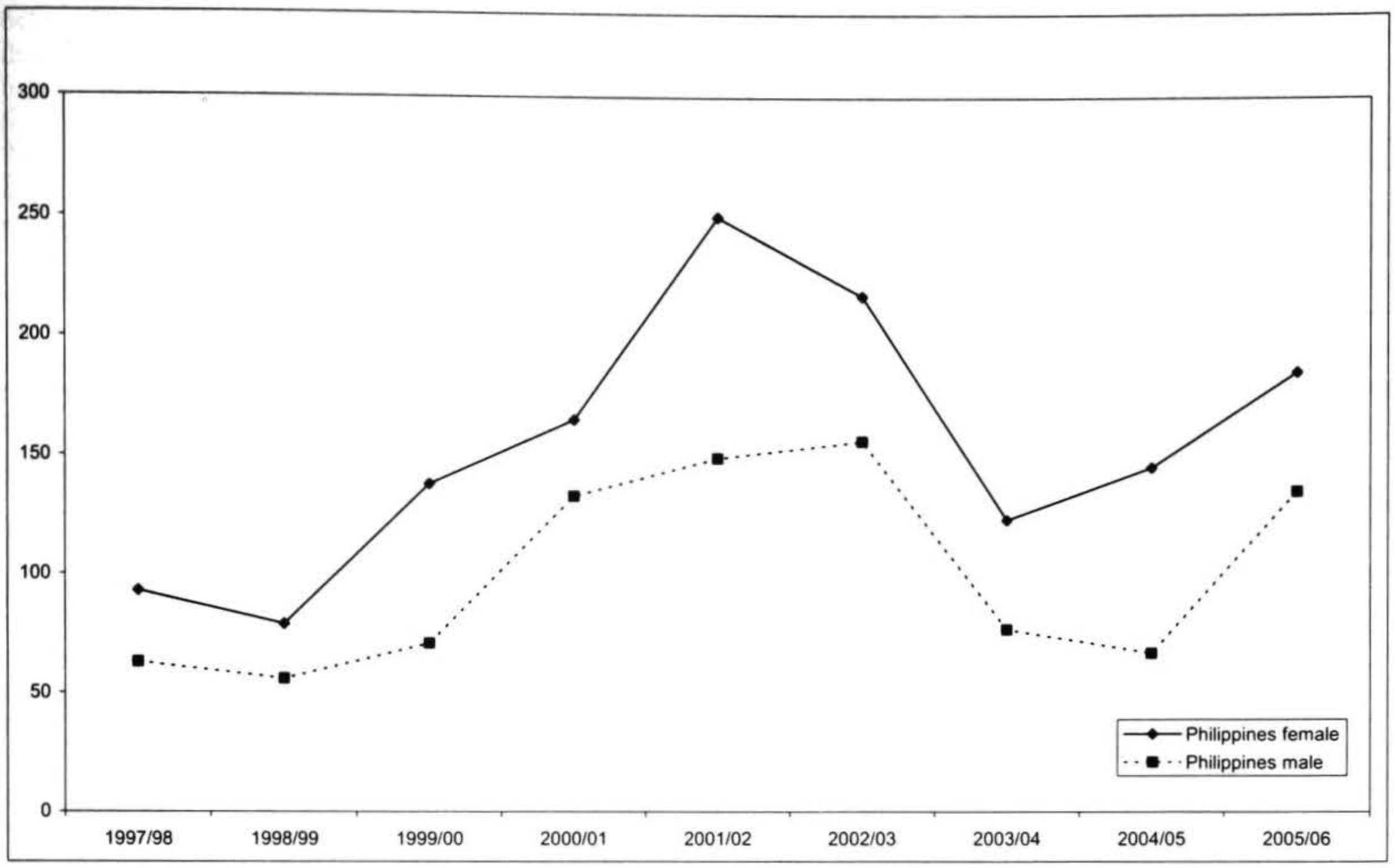


Figure 5: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from Thailand.

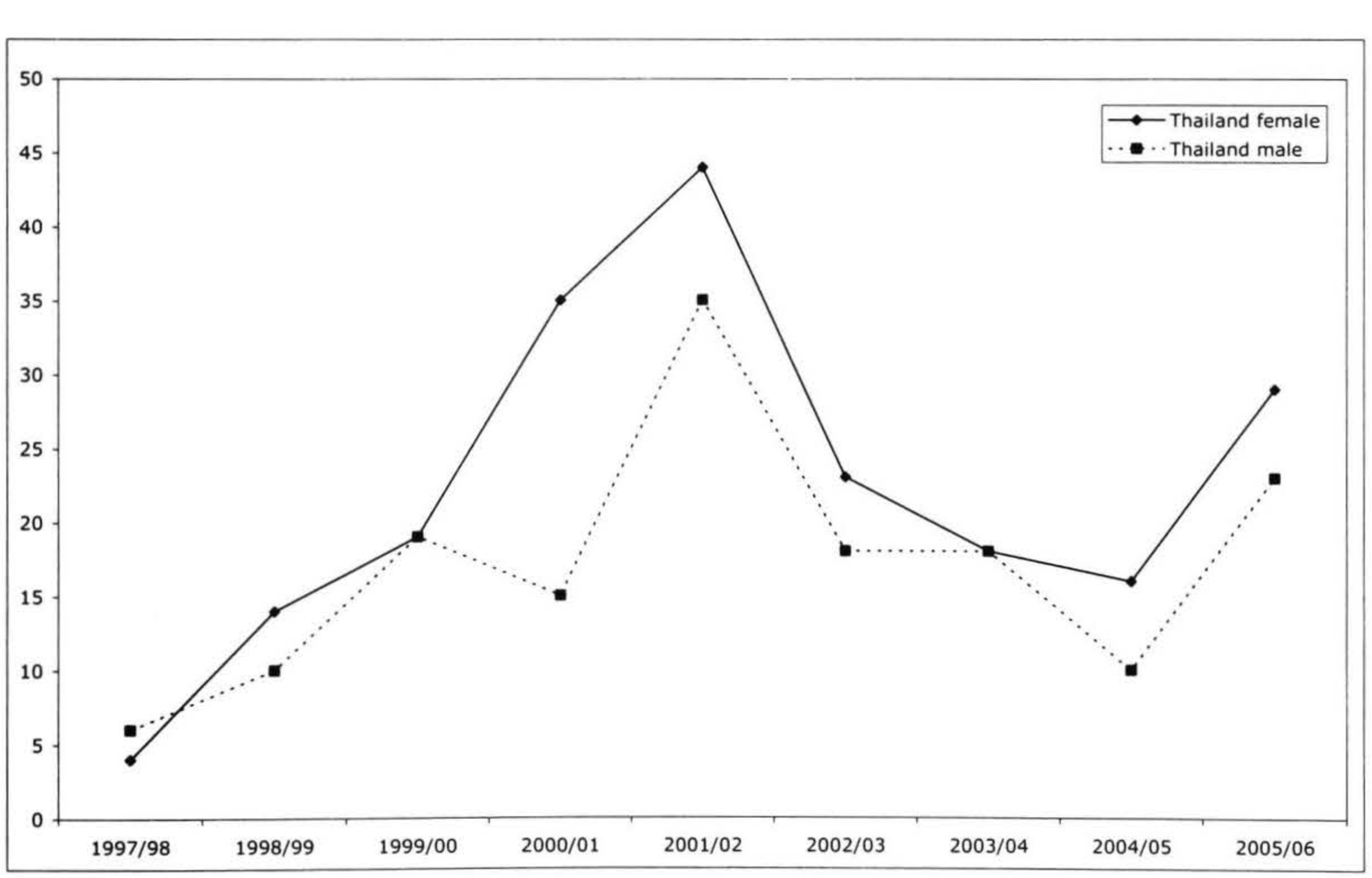


Table 6: Female dominated countries – The Philippines and Thailand.

	Philippines				Thailand			
	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	All ages	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	All ages
	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M
1997/98	1.93	1.21	1.50	1.48	0.50	0.50	1.00	0.67
1998/99	2.21	1.34	0.69	1.41	2.00	1.00	2.50	1.40
1999/00	2.55	1.57	2.08	1.94	1.80	1.20	0.50	1.00
2000/01	1.62	1.20	1.08	1.24	1.50	-	2.67	2.33
2001/02	1.81	1.68	1.53	1.68	1.64	1.20	0.73	1.26
2002/03	1.46	1.53	1.25	1.39	2.20	0.75	1.67	1.28
2003/04	1.88	1.58	1.43	1.60	1.14	1.00	0.71	1.00
2004/05	2.56	2.90	1.13	2.16	1.00	2.50	2.50	1.60
2005/06	1.59	1.83	0.70	1.39	0.92	1.17	1.60	1.13

Table 7: Equal females and males – China and Japan.

	Japan				China			
	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	All ages	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	All ages
	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M
1997/98	1.29	0.67	0.09	0.58	1.00	0.59	0.56	0.66
1998/99	1.20	0.40	0.63	0.60	1.00	0.80	0.22	0.78
1999/00	1.31	0.82	0.36	0.80	1.27	0.88	0.46	0.89
2000/01	0.93	1.00	1.11	0.97	1.16	0.85	0.50	0.83
2001/02	1.44	0.75	0.33	0.88	1.06	0.91	0.53	0.85
2002/03	1.86	0.80	0.11	0.79	1.28	0.98	0.57	0.95
2003/04	1.92	0.91	0.27	0.92	1.42	1.10	0.45	1.07
2004/05	1.24	1.29	0.55	1.13	0.98	0.90	0.54	0.88
2005/06	1.31	1.05	0.33	1.02	0.99	0.83	0.46	0.92

Table 8: Male dominated countries – India and South Korea.

	India				South Korea			
	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	All ages	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	All ages
	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M	F:M
1997/98	0.35	0.35	0.29	0.33	0.88	0.90	0.35	0.60
1998/99	0.59	0.45	0.43	0.45	2.67	0.49	0.11	0.46
1999/00	0.41	0.46	0.49	0.46	0.76	0.27	0.14	0.26
2000/01	0.52	0.51	0.46	0.49	1.17	0.44	0.17	0.34
2001/02	0.38	0.41	0.35	0.38	1.86	0.45	0.18	0.38
2002/03	0.23	0.36	0.42	0.32	1.43	0.50	0.21	0.38
2003/04	0.31	0.44	0.65	0.43	1.25	0.54	0.32	0.39
2004/05	0.28	0.46	0.66	0.40	0.97	0.78	0.51	0.58
2005/06	0.21	0.27	0.26	0.24	0.89	0.71	0.54	0.62

Age Groups

For the Asian countries with female dominated flows the imbalances can be found in all the ten yearly age groups between 20 and 49 (Table 6). But for the countries where the gender flows are nearly equal (Japan and China) the balance is more in favour of men in the older age bands, but in favour of women in the younger age groups (Table 7). It is possible that people migrating in the younger and older age groups are coming for different reasons and may also have different attachment to family units.

For the Asian countries which have had male dominated flows (India and South Korea) again there is some complexity. For example, while numbers are small there have been periods where more young Korean women have migrated to New Zealand than young Korean men (Table 8).

Migration With and Without Dependants

For Asian countries with female dominated flows (The Philippines and Thailand), discrepancies can be seen in the proportion that migrate without dependants. For example (as shown in Table B1, Appendix B) in 1999/00 there were 138 women (principal applicants) from The Philippines. Of these, 57.2 percent were solo applicants, and 42.8 percent had dependants. Men from the Philippines were more likely to have dependants. While not direct outcome of this stream of migration but possibly earlier gendered migration, 2001 census data show that in New Zealand, when partnered, a male from the Philippines is highly likely to have an Asian partner, whereas a partnered woman from the Philippines is far more likely to have a non-Asian partner (Callister, Didham and Potter, 2006). In contrast, the proportion of men and women from China with and without dependants were similar throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period (Appendix B).[7]

Occupations by Gender

Gendered migration may be more connected to the type of occupation the migrant is coming to New Zealand to work in rather than primarily the source country. For example if skilled trade workers are being sought this migration flow is likely to be male no matter what country they come from. Equally for nurses, given that this is such a gendered occupation in all countries, then most nurses migrating to New Zealand are likely to be female. However, there may be some differences within specific occupations by source country. For example, it may be that in some source countries there are a similar number of men and women qualifying as doctors, whereas in other countries medical training may still be male dominated.

Occupations are classified according to the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (NZSCO). Throughout the 2003/04 to 2005/06 women dominated the Clerks and Technicians and Associate Professionals categories. Although men outnumbered women in the Professional category, the number of women in the Professional category increased by 64 percent between 2003/04 to 2005/06 (Table C1, Appendix C). Interestingly, results from the SEFS show that (Table 9) that women skilled migrants were more likely than men to be classified as Professionals (40% and 28% respectively).[8] It is also important to note that within the Professional category, the number of women the NZSCO sub major group of Life Science and Health Professional category significantly outnumbered men (Table C2, Appendix C). When investigated further, women outnumbered men in the NZSCO minor group with the majority of women in the Nursing and Midwifery professions (Table 10).

Table 9: Occupation in main job, female and male principal applicants.

	Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%
Elementary Occupations	36	9	84	13
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	6	2	10	2
Trades Workers	11	3	100	15
Agriculture and Fishery Worker	14	4	18	3
Service and Sales Workers	26	7	40	6
Clerks	67	17	28	4
Associate Professionals and Technicians	33	9	63	10
Professionals	154	40	182	28
Legislators, Administrators and Managers	36	9	126	19
Total	383	100	651	100

In terms of Health Professionals (NZSCO minor group) there are some differences in the gender balance by country of origin. In terms of the largest suppliers of Health Professionals (except nurses), in the period 2003/04 to 2005/06, the highest ratios of females to male health professional migrants was from Great Britain (48% female), while lower ratios within country specific streams were seen from South Africa (34% female), United States (32% female) and India (19% female).

Table 10: Occupations (NZSCO minor group).

NZSCO minor group	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06
Female health professionals	86	183	121
Male health professionals	145	235	198
% female	37	44	38
Female nursing and midwifery professionals	511	805	682
Male nursing and midwifery professionals	73	111	101
% female	88	88	87

Table 11: Income by occupation by gender (principal applicants only).

	Professionals			
	Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%
Less than $30,000	13	9	18	10
30,001 to $40,000	20	13	22	12
$40,001 to $50,000	42	28	19	11
$50,001 to $70,000	51	34	53	30
$70,001 to $100,000	17	11	44	24
$100,000 or more	8	5	22	12
Total	151	100	179	100

The SEFS database was further analysed to gain an understanding of income differentials between women and men in the Professional occupation category. Although women outnumbered men in this occupational category (as show in table 9), 50 percent of women had an annual income of over $50, 001, compared with 66 percent of men (Table 11). However this disparity in income could be a result of the type of occupation pursed by women in New Zealand within the professional category.

Conclusion

The increasing diversity of flows by gender and nationality show that women are critical players in the migration process and are a significant component of skilled migrants to New Zealand. The gendered nature of recent migration from Asia is a small but important contributing factor to the sex ratio differentials within the population. As indicated, the flows from the Philippines, Thailand and to a lesser degree China and Japan are uniquely different to other migrant groups. These differentials in the short and long run will continue to be dynamic and will influence the size and composition of New Zealand's population as well as contribute to notions of social cohesion and New Zealand's national identity.

This exploratory data also indicated that not only is it important to analyse the flows of individuals by various migrant streams but it is also useful to consider the attachment of these individuals to family units. These attachments, and thus total flows of migrants, appear to vary not only by country but also by age and gender within the countries.

These trends and differentials add weight to the need to consider gender differentials when developing policies and programmes to attract and retain skilled migrants in New Zealand.

Future Research

In a Department of Labour sponsored project, it was found that the apparent increase in the number of women relative to men in the broad 20-49 age group across a number of recent censuses was due to a mix of migration (both in and out of New Zealand), differences in mortality and differences in undercount for men and women (Callister, Bedford and Didham, 2006). This exploratory project could not fully explain the change in sex ratios and Statistics New Zealand is undertaking further research in order to understand the relative contribution of these three influences.

As a component of this previous project, the census data showed that between 1996 and 2001 there had been a strong increase in the number of Asians in the 20-49 age group and the number of women increased at a faster rate than for men. When 2006 data are available we will be able to assess how the numbers and the gender balance have shifted for the Asian group between 2001 and 2006. We will be then able to consider these shifts in relation to the migration data set out in this paper.

Census data could also be used to explore the reasons why gender is an important aspect of migration flows. These data can help us understand if traditionally female jobs have been growing faster than traditionally male jobs and what jobs have male and female migrants, from a range of countries and skill levels, been moving into. For instance, are Asian women from countries such as the Philippines filling high skill occupations or has there been a growth in domestic type work as overall female employment rates have increased.

The Department of Labour plans to undertake further gender analysis around other migration residence categories and temporary categories in order to understand changes in compositions within these categories. The Department of Labour is also interested in carrying further work on understanding gender differentials in migrant employment outcomes.

Notes

1 Low skilled migration, including migration by domestic workers who will mainly be female, is also important. For example, the flow of domestic workers into New Zealand, who have entered New Zealand on temporary work visas, has increased in recent years (from a low base). However, while important this is not considered in this paper.

2 There is the possibility that some of the change in sex ratios was due to undercount issues that affect Asian men more than Asian women. This is currently being investigated further.

3 For example, in 2004 there were 19,365 male Asian students from overseas enrolled in tertiary education against 17,589 Asian females (Ministry of Education 'Education Counts" website).

4 The SEFS is sent to skilled migrants 12 months after residence approval/arrival. The purpose of SEFS is to examine settlement outcomes and experiences in New Zealand.

5 The six biggest source countries as at 2004/05 were Great Britain, South Africa, China, India, South Korea and USA.

6 Census 2001 data (Table 3).

7 In some other male dominated migration streams, such as from South Africa, a significant proportion of those migrating have dependents. This means that the overall gender balance of those migrating from this country is more even than in some countries where it is mainly single people migrating.

8 94 percent of both women and men were employed (working for pay or profit) at the time of the survey.

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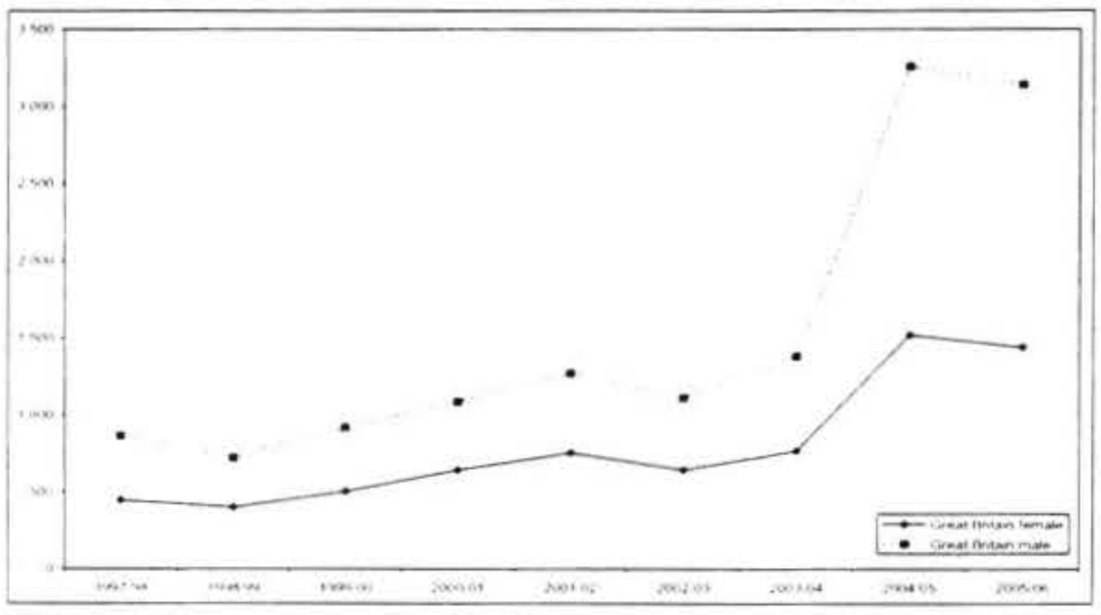
Appendix A

Great Britain

The number of male and female migrants from Great Britain increased gradually from 1997/98 to 2003/04. In 2004/05 there was a steep increase for both male and female migrants from Great Britain, and this decreased slightly in 2005/06. There are approximately twice as male migrants from Great Britain than their female counterparts throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period, and pattern for both genders is similar.

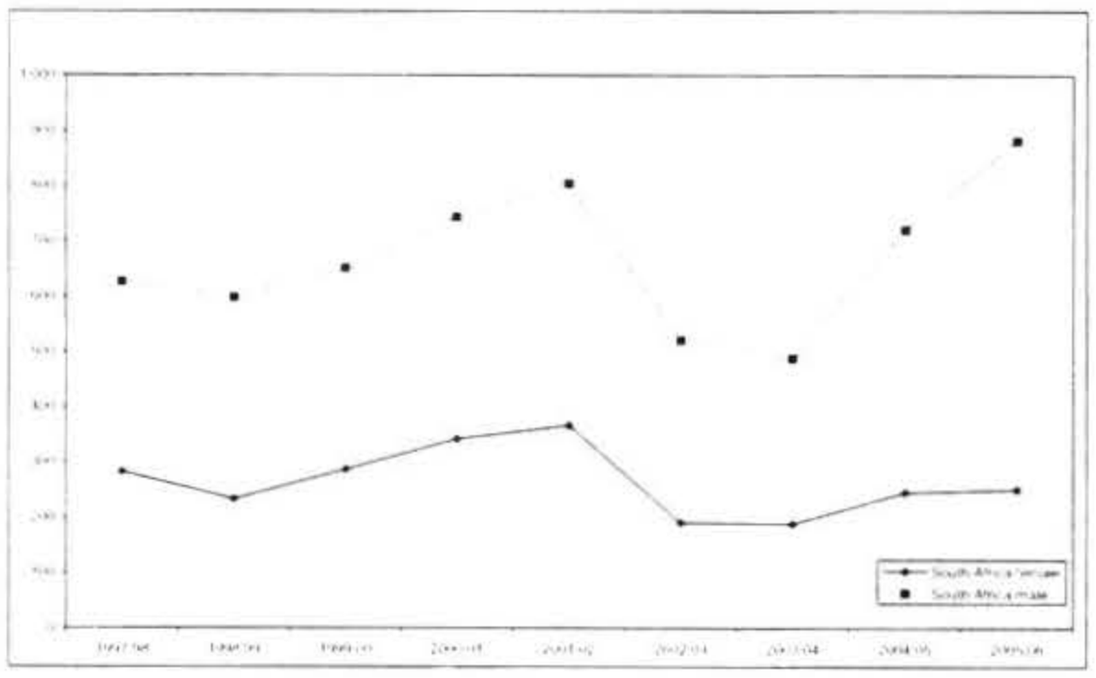
Figure A1: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from Great Britain.



South Africa

The number of female and male migrants increased gradually from 1997/98 to 2001/02. This declined (for both female and male migrants) between 2002/03 to 2003/04. The number of male migrants increased rapidly from 2004/05 to 2005/06, compared to the number of female migrants that remained stable during that period.

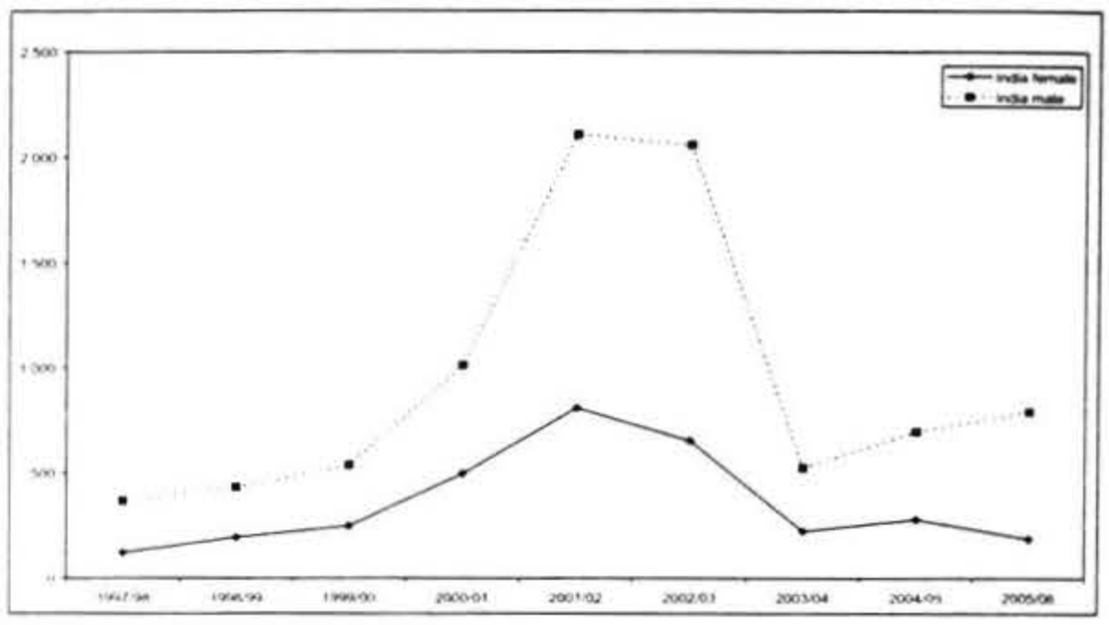
Figure A2: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the Skilled / Business stream from South Africa.



India

The number of male and female migrants from India increased steadily from 1997/98 to 2001/02. This decreased from 2002/03 to 2003/04 and started to rise again during 2004/05 to 2005/06. Throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period, the numbers of female skilled migrants from India were considerably lower than their male counterparts. However, both sexes followed a similar pattern.

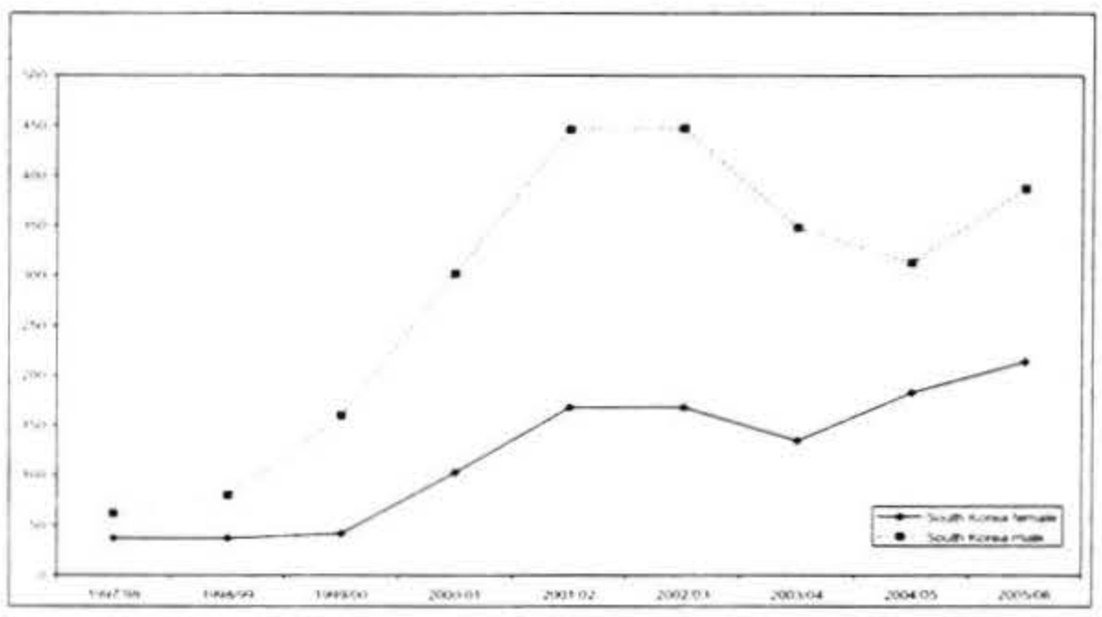
Figure A3: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from India.



South Korea

The number of female and male migrants from South Korea increased exponentially from 1997/98 to 2001/02. This decreased from 2003/04 to 2004/05 and started to rise during 2004/05 to 2005/06. Throughout the 1997/98 to 2005/06 period, male migrants from South Korea outnumbered female migrants.

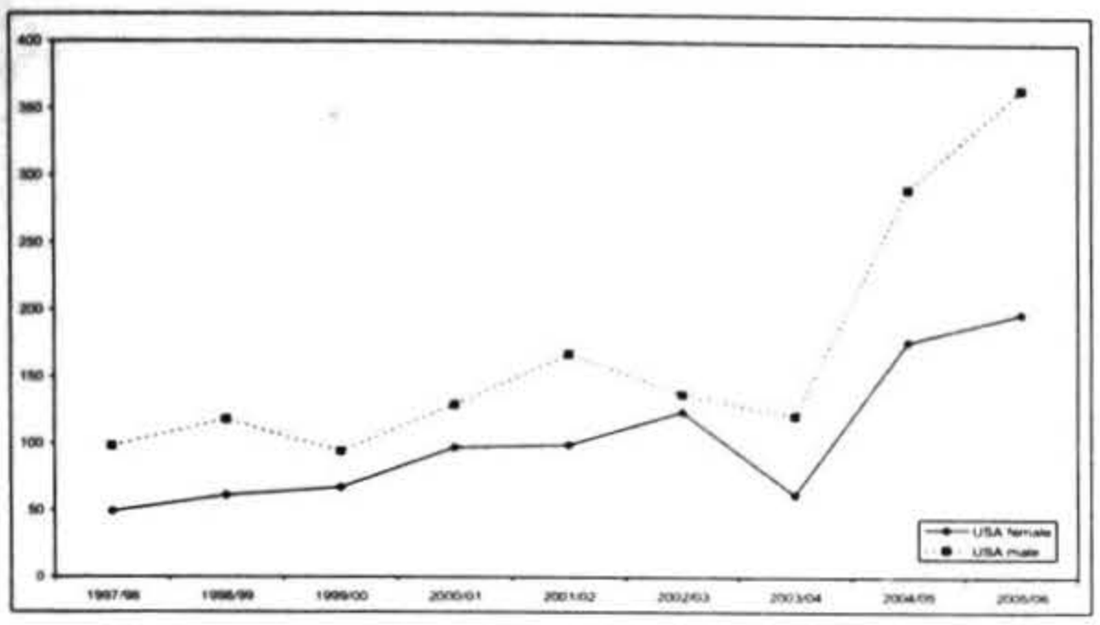
Figure A4: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from South Korea.



United States of America

From 1997/98 to 2001/02 there was steady increase of female and migrants from the USA. Despite the slight decline in 2003/04, there was a sharp increase in the number of female and male migrants from 2004/05 to 2005/06.

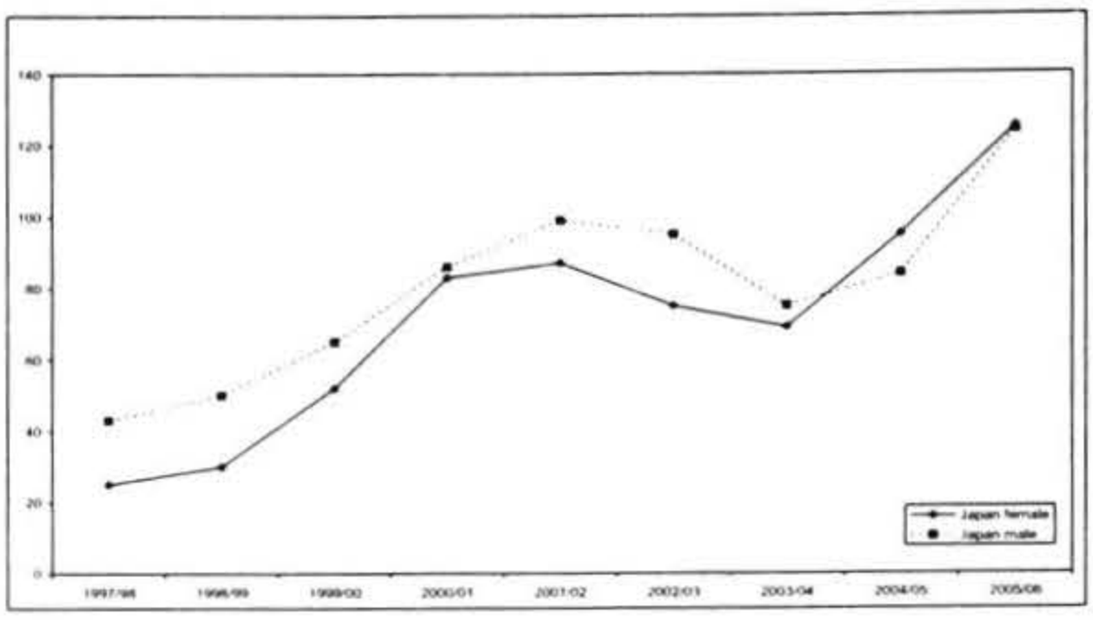
Figure A5: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from USA.



Japan

The number of female and male migrants from Japan increased gradually from 1997/98 to 2001/02. This dropped slightly from 2002/03 to 2003/04, and increased from 2004/05 to 2005/06. The female to male ratio increased from 1997/98 to 2001/02, and stabilised from 2002/03 to 2005/06.

Figure A6: Trends in female and male migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled / business stream from Japan.



Appendix B

Table B1: Proportion of female and male principal applicants with and without dependants (female dominated nationalities).

	Philippines			Thailand		
Female	**single**	**dependants**	**total**	**single**	**dependants**	**total**
1997/98	43.0	57.0	93	25.0	75.0	4
1998/99	60.8	39.2	79	35.7	64.3	14
1999/00	57.2	42.8	138	63.2	36.8	19
2000/01	46.1	53.9	165	65.7	34.3	35
2001/02	40.7	59.3	248	81.4	18.6	43
2002/03	40.7	59.3	216	69.6	30.4	23
2003/04	43.9	56.1	123	66.7	33.3	18
2004/05	33.3	66.7	144	62.5	37.5	16
2005/06	40.2	59.8	184	62.1	37.9	29

	Philippines			Thailand		
Male	**single**	**dependants**	**total**	**single**	**dependants**	**total**
1997/98	33.9	66.1	62	83.3	16.7	6
1998/99	35.7	64.3	56	30.0	70.0	10
1999/00	50.7	49.3	71	47.4	52.6	19
2000/01	30.1	69.9	133	86.7	13.3	15
2001/02	30.1	69.9	146	55.9	44.1	34
2002/03	31.6	68.4	155	52.9	47.1	17
2003/04	35.1	64.9	77	50.0	50.0	18
2004/05	26.9	73.1	67	60.0	40.0	10
2005/06	24.4	75.6	135	47.8	52.2	23

Table B2: Proportion of female and male principal applicants with and without dependants (equal proportion of females and males).

Female	Japan single	dependants	total	China single	dependants	total
1997/98	84.0	16.0	25	26.7	73.3	146
1998/99	83.3	16.7	30	30.8	69.2	159
1999/00	82.7	17.3	52	26.8	73.2	250
2000/01	79.5	20.5	83	25.4	74.6	568
2001/02	79.3	20.7	87	29.8	70.2	1115
2002/03	84.0	16.0	75	34.3	65.7	1112
2003/04	76.8	23.2	69	51.2	48.8	744
2004/05	77.7	22.3	94	57.1	42.9	680
2005/06	84.0	16.0	125	56.4	43.6	1164
Male	Japan single	dependants	total	China single	dependants	total
1997/98	42.9	57.1	42	26.2	73.8	229
1998/99	44.0	56.0	50	28.8	71.2	205
1999/00	49.2	50.8	65	29.3	70.7	280
2000/01	58.1	41.9	86	18.6	81.4	683
2001/02	58.6	41.4	99	20.8	79.2	1303
2002/03	54.3	45.7	92	26.3	73.7	1115
2003/04	48.6	51.4	74	42.8	57.2	645
2004/05	48.2	51.8	83	47.9	52.1	756
2005/06	54.8	45.2	124	50.3	49.7	1291

Table B3: Proportion of female and male principal applicants with and without dependants (male dominated nationalities).

Female	India single	dependants	total	South Korea single	dependants	total
1997/98	13.9	86.1	122	45.9	54.1	37
1998/99	10.7	89.3	196	45.9	54.1	37
1999/00	9.2	90.8	249	45.2	54.8	42
2000/01	16.3	83.7	498	35.9	64.1	103
2001/02	16.5	83.5	804	33.5	66.5	164
2002/03	20.8	79.2	634	25.3	74.7	158
2003/04	23.8	76.2	223	26.5	73.5	132
2004/05	30.0	70.0	277	26.4	73.6	182
2005/06	38.8	61.2	188	23.9	76.1	213
Male	India single	dependants	total	South Korea single	dependants	total
1997/98	25.1	74.9	366	22.6	77.4	62
1998/99	19.2	80.8	433	13.8	86.3	80
1999/00	23.0	77.0	538	18.8	81.3	160
2000/01	26.5	73.5	1013	11.9	88.1	302
2001/02	35.5	64.5	2061	9.0	91.0	433
2002/03	44.4	55.6	2031	9.9	90.1	423
2003/04	47.8	52.2	510	9.2	90.8	325
2004/05	59.5	40.5	693	13.2	86.8	310
2005/06	66.4	33.6	798	14.2	85.8	387

Table B4: Proportion of female and male principal applicants with and without dependants (other large source countries – male dominated).

Female	Great Britain single	Great Britain dependants	Great Britain total	South Africa single	South Africa dependants	South Africa total	USA single	USA dependants	USA total
1997/98	55.3	44.7	443	20.0	80.0	280	51.0	49.0	49
1998/99	56.6	43.4	401	17.2	82.8	233	42.6	57.4	61
1999/00	59.0	41.0	505	19.9	80.1	287	50.7	49.3	67
2000/01	56.6	43.4	643	24.0	76.0	342	52.6	47.4	97
2001/02	51.5	48.5	756	22.4	77.6	362	53.2	46.8	94
2002/03	43.2	56.8	634	25.7	74.3	191	41.2	58.8	119
2003/04	44.2	55.8	761	20.1	79.9	184	42.9	57.1	56
2004/05	36.8	63.2	1509	27.2	72.8	246	49.7	50.3	173
2005/06	38.1	61.9	1434	22.2	77.8	252	45.2	54.8	199

Male	Great Britain single	Great Britain dependants	Great Britain total	South Africa single	South Africa dependants	South Africa total	USA single	USA dependants	USA total
1997/98	32.0	68.0	855	11.4	88.6	621	29.2	70.8	96
1998/99	37.0	63.0	722	7.7	92.3	598	29.7	70.3	118
1999/00	34.8	65.2	919	12.1	87.9	652	38.3	61.7	94
2000/01	36.9	63.1	1087	13.0	87.0	744	45.0	55.0	129
2001/02	31.1	68.9	1254	14.0	86.0	793	42.7	57.3	164
2002/03	29.5	70.5	1094	13.5	86.5	519	29.6	70.4	135
2003/04	22.0	78.0	1352	11.0	89.0	484	31.4	68.6	118
2004/05	22.4	77.6	3225	13.3	86.7	715	29.4	70.6	286
2005/06	24.2	75.8	3141	16.1	83.9	877	36.1	63.9	366

Appendix C

Table C1: Occupations (NZSCO major group) 2003/04 to 2005/06, by gender (Principal applicant).

NZSCO major group	Gender	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06
Agriculture and Fishery Workers	F	22	17	33
	M	100	142	190
Clerks	**F**	**285**	**119**	**123**
	M	148	103	92
Elementary Occupations (incl Residuals)	F	75	65	225
	M	140	119	382
Legislators, Administrators and Managers	F	420	604	715
	M	732	1,235	1,419
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	F	12	13	3
	M	78	128	154
Professionals	**F**	**1,281**	**2,161**	**2,098**
	M	1,405	2,575	2,601
Service and Sales Workers	F	159	114	249
	M	230	232	625
Technicians and Associate Professionals	**F**	**485**	**656**	**816**
	M	683	1,105	1,286
Trades Workers	F	13	38	27
	M	753	1,459	1,382

Note: Occupations that are female dominated, or have an increasing number of females from 2003/04 to 2005/06 are highlighted

Table C2: Occupations level 1 and 2 for all skilled/business stream migrants.

NZSCO major group	NZSCO sub major group	Gender	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06
Agriculture and Fishery Workers	Market Oriented Agricultural and Fishery Workers	F	22	17	33
		M	100	142	190
Clerks	**Customer Services Clerks**	**F**	**51**	**22**	**31**
		M	**26**	**21**	**24**
	Office Clerks	**F**	**234**	**97**	**92**
		M	**122**	**82**	**68**
Elementary Occupations (incl Residuals)	Labourers and Related Elementary Service Workers	F	5	1	1
		M	14	3	3
	Response Outside Scope/Not Stated	F	70	64	224
		M	126	116	379
Legislators, Administrators and Managers	Corporate Managers	F	405	589	692
		M	705	1,183	1,370
	Legislators and Administrators	F	15	15	23
		M	27	52	49
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	Building and Related Workers	M	16	29	44
	Drivers and Mobile Machinery Operators	F	2	1	
		M	9	18	16
	Industrial Plant Operators	F	1	2	1
		M	18	29	31
	Stationary Machine Operators and Assemblers	F	9	10	2
		M	35	52	63
Professionals	**Life Science and Health Professionals**	**F**	**621**	**1,044**	**850**
		M	**248**	**430**	**372**
	Other Professionals	F	237	393	473
		M	283	412	425
	Physical, Mathematical and Engineering Science Professionals	F	141	192	261
		M	641	1,337	1,410
	Teaching Professionals	**F**	**282**	**532**	**514**
		M	**233**	**396**	**394**
Service and Sales Workers	Personal and Protective Services Workers	F	119	95	227
		M	173	213	607
	Salespersons, Demonstrators and Models	F	40	19	22
		M	57	19	18
Technicians and Associate Professionals	**Life Science and Health Associate Professionals**	**F**	**111**	**176**	**145**
		M	**56**	**83**	**58**
	Other Associate Professionals	**F**	**279**	**353**	**500**
		M	**260**	**377**	**442**
	Physical Science and Engineering Associate Professionals	F	95	127	171
		M	367	645	786
Trades Workers	Building Trades Workers	F	2	7	4
		M	321	614	593
	Metal and Machinery Trades Workers	F	1	6	2
		M	368	691	631
	Other Craft and Related Trades Workers	F	4	18	19
		M	30	86	94
	Precision Trades Workers	F	6	7	2
		M	34	68	64