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Women Migration and the Work Market: the Case of Moroccan Women in France and Italy

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Abstract

Lo scopo della mia tesi è di verificare se, e in quale modo, il lavoro può avere un ruolo nel processo di emancipazione delle donne migranti provenienti dal Marocco. In questa prospettiva, ho analizzato la loro situazione nel mercato del lavoro italiano e francese, esaminando nello specifico due casi, ovvero due settori: il lavoro domestico e il commercio.

Le ipotesi iniziali da cui ho sviluppato e strutturato la mia ricerca considerano il lavoro come uno strumento che può portare alla parità di genere. Secondo tale prospettiva due fattori, adeguatamente sviluppati dall'attività lavorativa, possono portare a questo risultato: indipendenza economica e una rete sociale più estesa.

La sequenza logica con la quale ho strutturato la mia tesi intende decostruire queste supposizioni iniziali, per verificare se lo scenario ipotizzato potesse effettivamente applicarsi alla situazione delle donne migranti marocchine, e come questa si differenzia in Italia e in Francia.

Dapprima ho analizzato il ruolo che le donne hanno avuto nella migrazione negli ultimi decenni, scoprendo che la loro presenza è stata decisamente ignorata a livello accademico e teorico poiché da un punto di vista prettamente economico non erano riconosciute come attrici sociali attive. Infatti, le ragioni che spingono le donne a migrare non sono esclusivamente di natura economica, anche se spesso ciò è considerato come una delle principali motivazioni di questo fenomeno sociale. Altri sono i fattori all'origine della decisione di lasciare i propri Paesi e sono appena collegabili a fattori economici. Infatti, le donne sono spesso spinte a migrare motivate da un desiderio di equilibrare i rapporti di genere, i loro diritti sociali e civili, o per

migliorare il proprio status o quello familiare. Poiché questi fattori sono difficilmente collocabili in una prospettiva che non consideri la migrazione meramente come un bilancio tra costi e profitti, essi sono stati ignorati per decenni.

Per capire cosa esattamente significa e contempla il termine 'emancipazione' per le donne marocchine, ho svolto una ricerca sui diritti sociali e civili che le donne hanno nel Paese nordafricano. Nell'ultimo decennio la situazione è cambiata notevolmente, poiché nel 2004 il Codice marocchino dello statuto personale (*Mudawana*) è stato modificato così da assicurare maggiori diritti alle donne per quanto concerne il matrimonio, il divorzio, l'eredità e la custodia dei figli.

D'altra parte, cercando di individuare il ruolo delle donne nel mercato del lavoro marocchino, i dati fanno emergere una situazione piuttosto negativa poiché la loro partecipazione è bassa. I motivi sono molteplici, ma vanno soprattutto individuati nelle strutture culturali e patriarcali della società locale: ostacoli culturali impediscono ad esempio un'applicazione totale nella vita quotidiana della riforma della *Mudawana*. Inoltre, il ruolo riproduttivo assegnato alle donne è considerato da preservare, così che il loro accesso al mercato del lavoro, e quindi il loro eventuale ruolo produttivo, viene riconosciuto come secondario.

Successivamente, ho analizzato la situazione che le donne migranti marocchine devono affrontare in Italia e in Francia.

Per quanto riguarda quest'ultima, ho sottolineato la lunga storia di immigrazione marocchina nel Paese: infatti, i legami derivanti dal passato coloniale hanno costituito un ponte che ha alimentato il movimento migratorio dal Paese nordafricano per decenni. La presenza delle donne migranti nel mercato del lavoro francese rispecchia la rappresentazione che le associa ad alcuni lavori culturalmente ritenuti femminili: *hôtellerie*, cucina, industria tessile o servizi di cura e domestici. Inoltre, i dati rivelano che la quota di donne marocchine che lavorano è sensibilmente bassa (38.6%), sottolineando da un lato la loro dipendenza verso l'attività lavorativa maschile e dall'altro la loro presenza nel settore informale.

Nella penisola italiana la presenza marocchina ha cominciato ad apparire significativa durante i primi anni '80 e con il passare del tempo questo è stato il gruppo d'immigrazione che più è stato caratterizzato dal processo di femminilizzazione, nonostante sia maggiormente composto da uomini. Per quanto riguarda la presenza delle donne immigrate marocchine nel mercato del lavoro italiano, la situazione riflette quella francese, anche se in Italia la struttura e le caratteristiche della storia d'immigrazione sono diverse. La disoccupazione femminile all'interno del gruppo di provenienza marocchina nella penisola raggiunge cifre notevoli, e i settori in cui più facilmente e frequentemente trovano lavoro sono purtroppo collegati al loro essere donne e migranti. Infatti è soprattutto nella cura e nel settore domestico, nella ristorazione o nell'industria tessile che riscontriamo la loro presenza attiva.

Dopo aver delineato un quadro generale della situazione delle donne migranti marocchine nel mercato del lavoro italiano e francese, ho deciso di focalizzare la mia indagine su due settori di mercato, analizzandovi estensivamente le ipotesi iniziali che riguardavano il valore del lavoro in migrazione, dalle quali sono partita. In quest'ottica, l'attenzione è stata portata su due settori lavorativi specifici in cui le donne migranti sono considerevolmente presenti: l'assistenza domiciliare e il commercio.

Il settore domestico e di cura è quello che più facilmente vede le donne migranti accedervi. Le cause di tale situazione sono molteplici, ad esempio il fatto che sia in Italia che in Francia lo stato sociale subisce importanti tagli, mentre la popolazione sta invecchiando. Di conseguenza, il settore domestico e di cura è caratterizzato da una rilevante offerta di lavoro e negli ultimi decenni si è esponenzialmente ampliato. Le donne migranti vi si inseriscono per molti motivi: ad esempio, offrono lavoro a basso costo e senza protezione sociale, mentre per loro esso rappresenta un facile primo approccio al mercato.

Spinta dal tentativo di valutare questo tipo di lavoro nella prospettiva di un'eventuale emancipazione femminile, ho individuato molteplici meccanismi che interferiscono con questo obiettivo. Infatti, dalla percezione generale del lavoro domestico e di cura, spesso negativa, alle relazioni che si sviluppano tra datore di

lavoro e dipendente, questo settore rappresenta e solidifica un'accezione negativa dell'attività lavorativa delle donne migranti.

Poiché le donne europee sono entrate nel mercato del lavoro e hanno in parte lasciato il loro ruolo tradizionale e i doveri casalinghi culturalmente 'femminili', questo tipo di attività viene spesso non considerata un vero e proprio lavoro, ma più un'estensione del ruolo femminile. Inoltre, i datori di lavoro spesso si confrontano con le dipendenti attraverso un approccio maternalistico o personale, percependosi come dei guardiani e aiutanti delle lavoratrici, mitigando il ruolo dell'attività lavorativa come mezzo per raggiungere l'emancipazione. Inoltre, la carriera verticale non è contemplata, mentre la carriera orizzontale può a malapena portare ad un passaggio da un contratto *live-in* ad un contratto *part-time*.

In conclusione, l'assistenza domiciliare può difficilmente rappresentare un mezzo per l'emancipazione delle donne migranti. Infatti, è associato ad uno scarso valore sociale e apre poche possibilità di carriera alle donne che vi lavorano. Rispetto alle ipotesi iniziali quindi, questo settore sembra aiutare inadeguatamente lo sviluppo e l'estensione di reti sociali delle lavoratrici, mentre il guadagno monetario non permette una piena indipendenza nei confronti dei loro omologhi maschili.

Il secondo settore che ho preso in considerazione è stato il commercio, di cui ho analizzato le caratteristiche e la presenza delle donne marocchine sia in Italia che in Francia. La differenza principale tra i due Paesi è soprattutto collegata alle diverse storie di immigrazione che questi hanno, e ai diversi gradi di transnazionalismo che li caratterizzano.

Per quanto riguarda il caso francese, le donne migranti marocchine hanno sempre più acquisito autonomia nel commercio franco-marocchino, creando un legame commerciale tra i due Paesi, esportando e importando beni. Questo tipo di commercio vede le donne impegnate sia su base occasionale, per cui le vacanze estive trascorse nei loro Paesi d'origine diventano opportunità e occasioni per vendere prodotti francesi e per comprare prodotti marocchini da esportare in Europa, sia su base regolare, creando un commercio duraturo che coinvolge somme più ingenti. Tale

Tale attività ricalca quindi in parte un carattere transnazionale, e dimostra la lunga storia comune tra i due Paesi: i legami tra di essi sono mantenuti nonostante la lunga permanenza in Francia da parte degli immigrati marocchini.

Il caso italiano non ricalca una simile struttura transnazionale. I motivi possono essere tracciati nelle politiche migratorie restrittive, che interferiscono con la libera circolazione indispensabile per stabilire un *business* economico circolare, negli stipendi troppo bassi degli immigrati, che non rendono possibili frequenti e regolari periodi in Marocco, e nel fatto che essendo perlopiù dipendenti, frequenti periodi di assenza dal lavoro non sono facilmente ottenibili.

Nonostante questo quadro generale, negli ultimi anni le donne immigrate sono entrate nel settore imprenditoriale nazionale in numero significativo. Molteplici sono i motivi che spiegano questa crescita, ma sembra che il commercio rappresenti un modo per reagire alla segmentazione e razzializzazione del mercato del lavoro nazionale, poiché significa crearsi opportunità di lavoro che evitano i meccanismi negativi descritti. Inoltre il settore permette alle donne migranti di conciliare sia il loro ruolo produttivo che quello riproduttivo, sfruttando le loro competenze e capacità, così spesso negate durante la migrazione. In tale prospettiva, le donne migranti marocchine sono soprattutto presenti nel commercio, precedute dalle migranti cinesi e seguite da quelle nigeriane.

Poiché il commercio femminile in spazi pubblici è negativamente percepito a livello culturale nella regione del Maghreb, il fatto che durante la migrazione le donne siano capaci di intraprendere questa attività dimostra come il lavoro può acquisire un nuovo valore. Avere un'attività di successo, creata indipendentemente dal controllo del marito e della stessa comunità marocchina, significa aver acquisito promozione sociale.

In conclusione, a mio parere, c'è una connessione importante tra il lavoro e l'emancipazione femminile. L'attività lavorativa può portare ad un certo grado di indipendenza economica, aiuta nella costruzione di una rete sociale nel Paese d'accoglienza, e apre a nuovi contatti e rapporti che possono decisamente aiutare nel

processo di integrazione. Queste conseguenze positive sono nella maggior parte dei casi completamente negate però dalle condizioni in cui le donne migranti si trovano a operare nel mercato del lavoro, qualsiasi sia il settore in cui sono impegnate. Fintanto che il lavoro offerto alle donne migranti sarà caratterizzato da mancanza di diritti, segmentazione razziale e varie forme di sfruttamento e discriminazione, non sarà possibile associarlo ad una effettiva funzione emancipatrice. Solo grazie ad un lavoro rispettabile, che includa una nozione di dignità, l'emancipazione sarà una conseguenza naturale dell'attività lavorativa, non solo per quanto concerne le donne migranti ma per i lavoratori in generale.

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Introduction

This study explores the peculiar condition that Moroccan migrant women have to face in entering in the Italian and French labour market. In particular, I have chosen to focus on the relation between women's emancipation and the role that work may acquire in this sense. As to give an answer to this issue, I have analysed the mechanisms that migrant women have to deal with within two work sectors: the domestic and trade sectors. The aim was to define whether Moroccan migrant women's emancipation could be acquired through the work activity, despite the partial access to the European labour market, the Moroccan patriarchal cultural structure or the racist and discriminatory conditions they have to bear during migration.

In part one, I will analyse the state of the research on the relation between gender and migration, highlighting the increasing presence of women within the migration movements toward Europe over the last decades, and how the academic research has explored the topic. Then, I will define migrant women's profiles according to the type of migration they adhere to: labour migration, family reunification or asylum seekers and refugees. The aim is to delineate their peculiar role within migration, and the issues implied in a gender analysis. As a gender analysis implies the study of the relation between the two sexes, I have dedicated the last point to a brief analysis on the role men have from such a perspective and how it overlaps with women's migration, this issue being often underestimated.

Part two is focused on the peculiarities of Moroccan society and economy, as to highlight the reasons that are at the core of the decision to emigrate. In fact, part of this choice necessarily stems from the situation of the Northern African country, so that the second chapter is committed to an analysis of it, as to define the conditions of Moroccans in general, and Moroccan women in particular.

Then, I will trace out how migration has acquired a specific cultural meaning over the years, being the expression of a general uneasiness among the population. The role that the Moroccan government has in migration will be also taken into consideration, being an essential feature that characterizes this migratory movement. As to better delineate women's situation in the country of origin and to outline what emancipation might represent to them, this part closes with a brief research on the situation of Moroccan women, namely on the reform of the Personal Code in 2004 that considerably improved women's rights, and the process of feminization of the Moroccan migration.

In part three, I will switch the focus on a comparison between Moroccan women immigration in France and Italy. In the first chapter, I will stress the French situation highlighting Moroccan immigration movement history, women's presence in the French labour market and how immigration laws have influenced their staying. I will then study the Italian case, as to give an overview on the immigration policies and on the recent process of migration feminization that occurred in the country. At the end, I will outline the situation of Moroccan migrant women within the Italian labour market, delineating their presence within it.

Part four is the core of the dissertation, being the analysis of Moroccan migrant women in the French and Italian labour market in respect to the cases studied: the domestic and trade sectors.

In the first chapter I will trace a general overview of the changes that occurred over the last decades at the labour market, and how migrant women happened to overlap with those modifications. In particular, I will examine the impact that economic crisis has been having on the relation between migration and work, and the racist and discriminatory situation they have to deal with when entering in the European labour markets.

In the second chapter, I will analyse two specific work sectors where migrant women usually find a job: domestic sector and the trade sector. The aim is to verify

whether Moroccan migrant women access to them and if so, the modalities through which they are able to positively use work as a means toward emancipation.

As to what concerns the first case, the domestic sector, I will point out the reasons that stem at the growing importance of such a sector, and the differences between the Italian and the French situation. Because of the peculiarities of this sector, I will analyse the relationships that tend to form between employee and the employer, and how they constitute an obstacle to migrants' emancipation. I will then compare the Italian and French situation and the role that immigration policies may acquire in the sector and their eventual outcomes. In the last case, the trade sector, I will outline the presence of Moroccan migrant women within it, highlighting the different paths they tend to adhere to, according to the peculiarities of the two countries.

PART 1- GENDER AND MIGRATION

1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF GENDER MIGRATION STUDIES

1.1.WOMEN IN EUROPEAN MIGRATION

Before the Second World War, migration was mostly composed of male movements, with the only exception of asylum seekers families fleeing from conflicts. Between the two World Wars, labour migration movement intensified from the Southern European countries to the Northern ones. In addition, during the same period war refugees (Russian, Polish, German and Jewish) also migrated toward safer places such as Western Europe or the Americas. For some years after the Second World War the refugee movement, increased because of the war period, did not stop. Furthermore during the 1940's and the 1950's, migration from Southern Europe kept its trajectory to the North, whereas people from the USSR moved to France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Sweden.

After those lean wartime years, Europe experienced for twenty years a prosperous period and an economic boom that caused an increase of labour migration demand, as manufacturing and construction industries were in need of male labour force.

In the flourishing period from the 1950's up to the 1970's, the migratory model of Northern European countries was based on bilateral agreements signed with Italy, Spain, Morocco and Turkey as the former countries were in fact in need of labour force to be employed in industry and in the building trade¹. Immigrants from colonies had different status once arrived in a European country according to their origin, but the common thread of those agreements was that they did not include a long term perspective and were based on temporary stay.

It is in this period that female migration started to move abreast of the male migration movement. Migrant women were not only migrating within the family reunification purpose, but they were also demanded by specific job market sectors such as teaching, nursing or domestic and assistance care². The presence of migrant women into the labour market varied according to their country of origin: as instance, Yugoslavian and Portuguese women were as active as their men, whereas women from Maghreb usually did not enter in the job market. As the migratory model that at the time regulated the movement was mainly focused on a temporary stay plan, with as only purpose to work and earn, women's migrant status was not recognized as they were legally considered only as partners of the male migrants and not included into the labour market. Therefore, this condition emphasized their invisibility and perpetuated the migrant women stereotypes³.

The economic boom ended in 1974, when because of the oil shock and the following crisis, European countries decreased the demand of temporary guest-workers. So that, and because of the restrictive immigration laws they outlined, one of the most accessible way to enter Europe was to apply for the family reunification or the asylum status. In fact, after the 1974 oil shock, European countries adopted a utilitarian approach in outlining migration policies. Restrictive and selective policies

¹ In 1947 the Italian and the Belgian governments signed an agreement by which 50.000 Italian mineworkers were transferred to the Northern European country. (http://legislature.camera.it/altre_sezioni/assemblea_costituente/composizione/costituenti/attivita_costituente.asp?pref=Gove&deputato=GOd200365_58_99_3 accessed 9th September 2012)

² As instance, in Italy domestic work was demanded already back in the 1970's. (Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., (2000) *Gender and international migration in Europe: employment, welfare and politics*, London: Routledge)

³ Campani, G., *Genere, etnia e classe : migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identità*, (2000), Pisa : Edizioni ETS

were applied, opening or not the door to migrants. Those policies were divided into a twofold approach as in fact, on the one hand they closed the doors towards new migrants, whereas on the other hand they were keen to integrate migrants already in the country. A consequence of this political line was that the female movement incremented as also thanks to family reunification laws, migrants could join their spouses and settle in the arrival country. As Campani outlines⁴, in the 1960's migrant women reached 30%, whereas at the beginning of the 1990's they were 45% of the total immigrants within all the European Union. What happened in this period is that thanks to their increasing presence in the civil and social fields, women got out from the invisible status that had characterized them for the previous decades⁵.

1.2. FIRST STEPS IN GENDER MIGRATION STUDIES

Migrant women had been characterized by invisibility for decades. Being considered as passive actors in the migratory project, who merely accompanied their husbands, their role has been underestimated since the 1970's. In that period in fact, there have been several reasons that led to the highlighting of women's part in the migration studies. In fact, the increasing female presence, their emerging position within the job market and the feminist debate led to a mounting awareness about their presence in migration movements⁶.

So that, why women's role in migration had not been extensively considered for decades? There are several causes that explain why women were excluded from the field: primarily, both the economical and migration models did not take into account

⁴ Campani (2000) specifies that those data are quite rough, as women had different juridical status. In fact, they could be refugee, have a foreign citizenship, or they could be part of minority groups but with a nationality of the immigration country (such as it happened for women from ex-colonies living in the UK). So that, collecting data from this situation could lead to a slightly unreliable database.

⁵ Campani, G., *Genere, etnia e classe : migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identità*, (2000), Pisa : Edizioni ETS, capitolo 2

⁶ Campanini, G. "Amiche e sorelle" in Vicarelli, G. *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, (1994) Roma: Ediesse, pp. 180- 195

the role that women played within the migratory movements, the society or the labour market.

Kofman⁷ analyses the motivations that excluded the female presence within the economic models. In fact, the models used to analyze the migratory movements were based upon classical, push-pull or neo-Marxist traditional schemes. The point is that the gender factor is hardly considered as a key element within this kind of analysis, as in their views women are dependant social actors closely associated to men⁸.

In fact, even when taken into account, gender is sometimes deemed as an ordinary variable and it is not properly contemplated in all the aspects that it involves. This approach has been ironically named the “add women, mix, and stir”⁹ approach because of its superficial consideration about the issue.

The main theoretical migration models used to analyse the issue over the last decades have also disregarded women’s presence. In fact, neo-classical, Marxist and other theories do not consider women as independent and active social actors.

Until the 1970’s, migration models were mainly based on neo-classical theories that considered migration as an individual decision and as a consequence of the ‘push and pull’ effect. According to this view, migration causes were nothing but economical: migration was the logical consequence of a proper evaluation that maximizes costs, finding a balance among risks, incomes, outflows and possible earnings. Women’s role in the neo-classical theory is that of complete dependency on men, as if they did not have an active role in the decision to migrate and no active role in the market.

From the mid-70’s until the end of the decade, there is a tendency toward Marxist economies, dependency theory and world systems theory. In this view, migrants are merely a passive social actor, moved by superior forces (those of

⁷Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., (2000) *Gender and international migration in Europe: employment, welfare and politics*, London: Routledge

⁸ Lagomarsino shares the same outcomes, as in her opinion it is the patriarchal system that leads to a misleading vision of the women as economically inactive and fully dependent on men (Lagomarsino, 2006).

⁹ Boyd, M., Grieco, E. (2003) “Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory”, Migration Policy Institute, *migration information source*, March www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/print.cfm?ID=106

international capitalism), and keen to serve the global working class. In fact, migration was interwoven to the problems of wealth distribution around the world and it was therefore considered as a mechanism to mobilize low cost labour in order to increase the capital of the developed countries. According to these theories, women are still regarded as dependent on men¹⁰.

As I have mentioned above, those views had interfered with the study of women's migration for years, as they were not considered as actors in the market and in economics. Therefore, non-economical reasons that pushed them to migrate were not considered: how to economically evaluate a woman that decides to migrate because of an unsuccessful marriage, even though also those factors can influence economical ones? As instance, women usually send remittances back home, improving the living standard of their families and altering the economy of the native country (in the Moroccan case, remittances play an important part in the GDP).

Hence, the reason why those models of analyzing migration were not suitable in order to include women, was also because women's aim when migrating is not purely economical:

“women migrate for a whole of reasons such as poverty, displacement from the land, debt, and many other external constraints over which they have little control. [...] Some non-economic factors are especially important causes of emigration for women, social constraints facing women (or their lack) also influence sex selectivity patterns in migration streams. Marital discord and physical violence, unhappy and broken marriages and the impossibility of divorce often influence women's decision to migrate.”¹¹

The call for a relative estrangement from the pure economic model and the consideration of other aspects is also expressed by Pfeiffer, who stresses how migratory analysis cannot be analysed only through an economic perspective, as most of the factors do not directly relate to it. That is, there are several aspects that

¹⁰ Kofman, E., (2000)

¹¹ Kofman, E., (2000), p. 21

considerably influence the migratory project: those issues are not immediately related to economics but in fact they are important variables in the migratory analysis:

“economic models generally emphasize monetary costs and benefits, including wages, the probability of employment, opportunity costs, and transportation costs, along with the risk. [...] However, other considerations also may affect the benefits and costs more broadly. The legal viability of migration, the social impacts of loss of contact with friends and family, and cultural norms may significantly increase or decrease the benefits and costs, while limiting the viability of international migration as an option for some individuals and households.”¹²

Women have specific reasons that evaluate as they decide to migrate, and some of them are linked to gender specificities. As instance, migration may offer a solution to overcome sexual behaviors both to men and women, but it acquires a much more important meaning to the latter, as they suffer from constraints due to the social structures based on male predominance. In fact, migration may represent a way to escape from restrictive structures and situations in which they have to live and a means to develop and improve economic situations, both personal and familiar, and to “restore self-respect and justice through collective action and resistance in the course of migration”.¹³

This is not to say that gendered migration does not relate with economics and with the job market, but that other issues should be taken into account in order to delineate a complete overview of this particular section of migration. An example of how a purely economic perspective limits a genuine and complete analysis of women’s migration is that family reunification may not be included into an economical analysis of migration, as it may be not considered as a key factor that can influence economics

¹² Pfeiffer, L., Richter, S., Fletcher, P., Taylor, J. E. *Gender in economic research on international migration and its impacts: a critical review*, in “The international migration of women”, eds. Morrison, A. R., Schiff, M., Sjoblom, M. Copublication of the World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, Washington: 2008, p. 15

¹³ Kofman, E., (2000) p. 22

or the job market, given the fact that the status acquired by the migrant through this mechanism is not strictly linked with a job activity¹⁴.

Therefore, there should be added other perspectives to the economic model, that include factors not immediately related to economical and monetary evaluation of the decision to leave. In this view, gender is a key factor in order to create a complete migratory model:

“the gender composition of world migration reflects a complex interaction among social, political, and economic conditions, migration histories, labour demands in destination countries and household and community dynamics.”¹⁵

Kofman adds another reason of the exclusion of gender studies from the migratory streams, that is that interpretative theories are often based upon dichotomies. In this case, the economic sphere is associated to the public and therefore to the male domain, whereas the cultural sphere is linked to the private which is usually related to women's realm. Therefore, in analyzing economy the andropocentric vision limits the inclusion of the female role¹⁶.

In addition, women invisibility within the job market derives also from the fact that even when actively working, the kind of jobs more often done by women are barely considered by the general labour market, being usually linked with their feminine nature and therefore considered as an extension of their 'natural' role. Therefore, women's work has not been included into the general data as it was not deemed as a proper work:

¹⁴ Kofman, E., *Genre et migration internationale*, « Les cahiers du CEDREF » [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 20 juin 2010, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/543>

¹⁵ Pfeiffer, L., (2008), p.13

¹⁶ Kofman, E., (2004)

“women involved in petty trade [...], in jobs with high seasonal variations like agro-industry [...], women employed in their own homes assembling garments or electronic equipment [...], women entering formal wage employment for only a portion of their life cycle, women involved in prostitution [...] and, of course, female illegal migrants or those undeclared as workers -they all can be assessed as being outside the labor force.”¹⁷

1.3. PROFILES OF WOMEN MIGRATION

I will now analyse how the three main kinds of migration (labour migration, family reunion and asylum seekers and refugees) influence women’s migration. In fact, to different kinds of migration correspond different implications that affect gender.

Labour migration is mainly ruled by the pursuit of a decent work. Here, European countries differentiate their approach to the issue. On the one hand, Northern European countries are increasingly halting labour migration movement, even though they keep the door open for those migrants who may be useful to the national economy, such as the unskilled workers or those working in the domestic service sector. On the other hand, Southern European countries¹⁸ are progressively becoming the destination of migration movements. One of the most important aspects is that due to the increasing importance of the tertiary sector, the work demand for women has augmented.

¹⁷ Morokvasic, M., *Birds of passage are also women...*, “International Migration Review”, Vol. 18, no. 4, Special issue: Women in migration (winter, 1984), pp. 886-907

¹⁸ As I have mentioned before, the migratory model in Southern European countries has been named “Mediterranean migratory model” because of its specificity.

The increase of the feminization process got enhanced during the 80's also as a consequence of the Structural Adjustment Programs directed to several developing countries, whose outcomes

“exacerbated unemployment in developing countries, generating increased movements towards Europe. More than ever, women from developing countries accepted unskilled work well below the level of their qualification.”¹⁹

The acceptance by migrant women of unskilled jobs created a process named by Morokvasic²⁰ ‘brain waste’, as those women often have to accept jobs far beyond their level of education.

The second kind of migratory movement concerns the family reunification, which was the most common way to access to the European countries from the late '70s. This process took place also before mass labour migration ended, and it was a key factor in the migratory scene of the colonial and hybrid regimes. Women's role was not defined and they were merely seen as helpers or companions and completely dependent on their husbands.

Over the years, family reunion became more and more limited as governments asked higher standard qualifications, as the time of stay or higher income:

“states have tended, in contrast to the recommendations of international conventions, to impose a number of conditions on those seeking family reunion, such as period of residence, steady income of the sponsor and adequate housing often at the standard of the indigenous population”²¹

¹⁹ Kofman, E., (2000), p. 61

²⁰ Morokvasic, M., “‘In and out’ of the labour market: Immigrant and minority women in Europe” (1993) in Willis, K., Yeoh, B., (eds.) *Gender and migration*, “Annals of the association of American geographers, vol. 92, no. 1 (mar. 2002), pp. 91- 113

²¹ Kofman, E., (2000) p. 67

The same happened for family visits as “the mere suspicion of intent to remain with one’s family has led to the refusal of tourist visas”²².

It is interesting to note that from the 80’s there has been a parallel masculinization process, as Kofman notes, caused by the increasing number of daughters of migrants marrying men from the parents’ native country, who subsequently join their wives in the receiving country. This process may be read as a consequence of the fact that marriage²³ is considered as one of the best ways to legalize migration.

The last and third kind of migratory movement is the one concerning asylum seekers and refugees. The first asylum seekers’ streams were mainly composed by migrants from Chile, Vietnam but also from Southern European countries, such as Franco’s Spain.

After a first phase, something changed and the humanitarian outlook that was initially at the core of the refugee issue failed. With the outbreak of the Yugoslavian war, European countries started to impede to migrants the access to the borders and the settlement to those already entered.

One of the key problems in analyzing the problems involved within gender and refugee status is the division between private and public spaces, that characterizes not only the social but also the political field. As women’s participation in society differs from male’s one, their activities will be difficultly recognized as such, as women behold to the private space. Several negative consequences stem from this separation. Several countries²⁴ do not consider persecutions that are not carried by state actors, and what is more domestic violence is hardly considered as the other forms of violence, that are usually taken into account during the process of granting the refugee status. As a consequence, sexual violence, which is often used as a real ‘weapon’ in conflicts, is not

²² Kofman, E., (2000), p. 68

²³ The European Convention on Human Rights is trying to give more importance to the common-law marriages. So far only Denmark and Sweden are the exceptions guaranteeing to foreigner couples living together the status of residents. (Kofman 2000)

²⁴ France, Germany and Italy included (Freedman 2004).

reckoned as a cause of persecution²⁵. In order to solve those problems several solutions have been outlined, but none really worked. As instance, it has been hypothesized that applying specific directives on 'gender', when deciding the validity of the request of the refugee status, the gender specificities would have been safeguarded. Unfortunately they have never been successfully implemented²⁶.

As for what concerns refugees, only the few who obtain a 'full refugee status' satisfy the requirements asked by the Geneva Convention that allows family reunification even when migrants do not satisfy the income and housing criteria asked for a family reunification²⁷.

The choice of the arrival country by refugee seekers is based on several evaluations. In fact, they try to flee from conflicts, human rights violations, political persecutions or poverty. The choice of the arrival country is also related to historical or cultural connections with the native country or where it has been established a net of migrant fellow countrymen²⁸.

The process to obtain the status of asylum seeker is neutral toward gender. The consequence is less subtle than it seems and it brings about significant effects. In fact, considering that in several countries women's political activity is generally unofficial, their applications based on the political involvement in the country of origin may not be validated because of the lack of proofs²⁹. In addition, it was only during the 80's that "judicial authorities began to recognize gender persecution as a valid reason for the granting of refugee status"³⁰. Since then, several steps have been achieved: as instance in France, Germany and in the Netherlands sexual violence is recognized as

²⁵ In this view, another problem comes to the surface, as Freedman points: often women deny being subjected to sexual violence because of social constraints and the fear of stigmatization. What is more, if during the process they are interviewed by a policeman, it can become more difficult to them to freely declare their stories (Freedman 2004).

²⁶ Freedman, J., « Introduire le genre dans le débat sur l'asile politique », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 20 juin 2010, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/541>

²⁷ Kofman, E., (2000)

²⁸ As instance, after the Iraqi invasion by the US, Sweden has opened its doors to Iraqi asylum seekers. In 2005 the applications were 2.000, the year after the number raised to 9.000 that means almost half of the applications from Iraq in Europe (Bale, 2008)

²⁹ As Freedman (2004) notes, women's political activities is often informal, as their tasks usually involve secretly feeding, hiding, distributing essential goods or carrying secret messages.

³⁰ Kofman, E., (2000), p. 74

persecution whereas in the United Kingdom abortion, sterilization and genital mutilation are recognized as methods of torture. Therefore they are all considered as motivations that grant the refugee status³¹.

³¹ Kofman, E., (2000)

2. FEMINIZATION OF MIGRATION

As it has been highlighted by several scholars, we are now into a new era of migration, named by Castles and Miller the 'Age of Migration'. As they outline, it is possible to individuate several common characteristics despite the complexity of the phenomenon. In specific, those new movements are distinguished by several processes, such as "the globalization [...] acceleration, [...] differentiation, [...] feminization, [and] the growing politicization of migration"³².

2.1. FEMINIZATION PROCESS

The emergence of the women's presence within the migratory movements³³ is related to the economic changes that occurred in the late 80's. In fact, in that period the international market was modifying its structure and as a consequence, the informal sector considerably augmented. One of the major reason that caused the emergence of the women presence is that they fit and perfectly adhered in the space left in the informal sector, notably in the domestic and care services. In fact, because of the cuts in the welfare aids in several European countries and because of the active role of Western women in the labour market, those services (typically feminine) were in need of workers. Hence, the intrinsic flexibility to which migrants tend to adapt, had been exploited by the labour market. In fact, there were

³² Castles, S., Miller, M.J., (2003) (3rd ed.) *The age of migration : international population movements in the modern world*, New York : Guilford Press, p. 7

³³ See appendix i.

created new niches of employment, that matched the gender, class and *race* characteristics of migrant women, in order to take advantage of them with low paid and insecure jobs³⁴.

TAB. 1 ³⁵

Female Migrants to Select European Countries, 2005 (in % of Total Migrants)

Country/Year	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Germany	44.5	44.8	46.7	48.3
UK	50.3	51.1	51.9	52.7	53.5	54.3
France	47.3	48.3	49.1	49.9	50.7	51.6
Ireland	50.6	50.4	50.3	50.2	50.1	50.0
Spain	51.7	51.6	51.6	51.4	50.3	47.4
Portugal	52.5	52.2	52.2	52.1	52.1	52.0
Italy	56.8	56.6	56.4	56.2	56	55.8
Europe	48.1	48.9	52.8	52.7	53.4	53.4
World	47.2	47.2	49	49.3	49.7	49.6

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision.

³⁴ Anthias, F., Lazaridis, G., (eds.)(2000) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Oxford: Berg

³⁵ Pannell, K., Altman, M., *Minding the Gap: Feminist perspectives on policies affecting immigrant labor in the domestic services industry in Europe* ,”Cahiers de l’Urmis” [En ligne], N°12 | juin 2009, mis en ligne le 26 juin 2009, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://urmis.revues.org/index810.html>

The feminization of the migration process has also been boosted by structural adjustments required to non-developed countries by the International Monetary Fund during the '70s and '80s, that incredibly worsened women's living standard and negatively influenced their position within the labour market. The most important point is that the structural adjustments imposed by the IMF have mostly affected women, as the cuts imposed were mainly directed in the sectors where women worked the most, such as the health services or education. What happened in Morocco, as instance, was that the IMF imposed to the Moroccan Reign harsh changes both in the economical and political field. The effects of the implementation of those measures have negatively affected mainly women. In fact, the outcomes were that the government had to reduce the work offer and what is more, the welfare aids.

This situation worsened when it came to be associated with the general situation of the country. In fact, there was a growing rate of poverty and an expanding process of urbanization, whose outcome is a higher data of unemployment and the destruction of the traditional social structure and the familiar bonds. This is the situation that stands behind the decision of migration, that was seen as a way to escape to poverty and to redeem migrants' future³⁶.

The feminization of the migratory movements acquired different shapes within the European territory. As the Northern European countries were applying stricter immigration policies after the 1974 oil shock, the immediate consequence was that it boosted the applications for family reunification during the 70's. Lagomarsino highlights a second wave of female migration that occurred in Northern Europe during the mid-80's. In fact, despite the 'first wave' of family reunification was concluded by the '60s and '70s, the second generation got married in the country of origin and returned to the host country with the new member of the family.

³⁶ Ouali, N., *Mondialisation et migrations féminines internationales: l'esclavage au coeur de la modernité*, "Les cahiers du CEDREF" [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 20 juin 2010, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/545>

In the Southern European countries the female migratory model is quite different, as women were usually migrating alone and their aim in the migratory project is primarily to find a job and a place within the labour market.

As the time goes by, the different processes that were occurring in Europe are homogenizing, as the active and independent women in Southern Europe are settled and rejoined by their families, whereas the Northern countries are becoming the destination of a movement of women alone³⁷.

One of the first scholars having highlighted the presence of women within the migratory movement to Europe has been Mirjana Morokvasic, with the article "Birds of passage are also women..." published in 1984. As she points out, "cheap female migrant labor is the cornerstone of the survival or revival of the 19th century sweating system in the metropolises of the advanced industrial states like New York, Paris and London"³⁸. According to her,

"the incorporation of migrant women into the labor force in Western industrialized countries has to be seen within the context of post crisis economy, progressive deindustrialization and dislocation of vertically concentrated, unionized factories and an increase of small production units which locate their labor through informal networks- immigrant ethnic enclaves."³⁹

The presence of female labour force was essentially more flexible, vulnerable and less demanding. Therefore, it was useful and easily maneuverable in certain sectors that were expanding in Western countries, such as export manufacturing and export agriculture. In fact, women were the more suitable subjects, being in need of a job even though the latter being low paid and insecure. This situation was also due to the fact that after the 1970's immigration halt, European countries required for the

³⁷ Lagomarsino, F., (2006), *Esodi ed approdi di genere: famiglie transnazionali e nuove migrazioni dall'Ecuador*, Franco Angeli: Milano

³⁸ Morokvasic, M., *Birds of passage are also women...*, "International Migration Review", Vol. 18, no. 4, Special issue: Women in migration (winter, 1984), pp. 886-907

³⁹ Morokvasic, M., (1984)

spouses joining their husbands to wait for a period before access to the labour market. As a consequence, they had to turn to illegal job opportunities, as instance in the cloth industry or domestic service. Their rights in those sectors were obviously limited to the advantage of the employers, that could easily exploit migrant women⁴⁰.

For what concerns the representation and the perception of migrant women, the extensive research made on the analysis of gender, *race* and social class⁴¹ may help in understanding their position within the Western society.

In her article, Morokvasic points out an important social aspect of the receiving European countries, that may help in deconstructing the general evolutionist perception by which Western societies are associated to freedom and independence of women. The intrinsic mistake of such a perspective is that migration is analysed within the dichotomy between modernity and tradition, West and East: therefore, migrant women can nothing but improve their status thanks to the migratory project⁴².

Migratory policies until the 1970's halt were only organized on the acceptance and welcoming of a single person, not to bear the costs related to an entire immigrated family. The few women that arrived in that period, had to deal with the Western mentality by which women were dependent upon their husbands, the latter seen as the breadwinners of the family. As an example, Morokvasic cites the German case. In that country, the traditional role of women was still linked to the myth of the '*Hausfrau*' (housewife). But when it came to the Turkish immigration, it was the latter to be seen as submitted to the male figure. The scholar highlights the fact that the percentage of working Turkish women was eventually higher than that referred to the Germans. Moreover, the very fact that Turkish women were working was perceived as a 'gift' that the Western country was giving in order to free them from the male oppression. As a consequence, they had to accept certain kinds of job that the

⁴⁰ Morokvasic, M., (1984)

⁴¹ The importance of an analysis that considers gender, 'race' and class is extensively studied by Campani (2000).

⁴² This is not to say that the improvement of their status is not one of the possible outcomes of migration, but the point is that it should not be taken for granted: mistake that a dichotomous perception makes.

receiving society was allowing them to work for. That is, they were working in the fields that extended the patriarchal structure and enhancing women's role, such as domestic service⁴³.

Vicarelli⁴⁴ notes that women status is very much influenced by the gender, *race* and class factors. She argues that this is the reason why women migrants are more prone to be represented as victims, as in fact they represent the weakest degree of each of those factors. This representation also affects the studies of the 70's, as they are still related to a Eurocentric and evolutionistic vision. During the 80's, women migration studies become more focused and scholars try to avoid those simplistic depictions, but the risk of stereotyping the situation sometimes comes to the surface. In fact, there are two main stereotypes that commonly emerge, both in the general perception and in specific studies: women are or passive actors burdened by patriarchal and oppressive societies (in this case the emigration experience can nothing but improve their condition- stereotype that stems from a superficial knowledge of the country of origin), or enthusiastic about the modern Western societies in which they see an opportunity or a way to redemption. The latter approach is heavily based on ethnocentric and evolutionistic theories, by which the change is nothing but the passage from tradition (in the worst meaning) to modernity.

The point is that in analyzing migratory movements from other cultures, it is necessary to deconstruct those assumed standpoints, as they may blind a complete understanding of the 'others'. Such an exercise is more than needed in considering women immigration, as it involves a switch of the general perception of the situation of Islamic women, more than often perceived *a priori* as a defenceless and submitted figure.

In fact, the issue of women situation within the Islamic countries is as tackled as underrated. Several issues have raised the attention over this topic in the last decades,

⁴³ Morokvasic, M., (1984)

⁴⁴ Vicarelli, G., "Immigrazione al femminile", in Vicarelli, G. *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, (1994) Roma: Ediesse, pp. 10- 25

namely an increase of islamophobia or the problems related to the implementation of the *shari'a* and the inferior status that the code assigns to women.

In fact, the recent revival of islamophobia has been read as an outcome of the politicization of migration, and it directly affects women. What has been called by Basso 'the industry of islamophobia' has as main objective to create a gap between autochthones and immigrants⁴⁵. Women are also involved into this mechanism of mounting islamophobia, being the first target of this process⁴⁶. In fact, they are essentially depicted as submitted and deprived from any basic right. That is why some aspects of the Muslim life have been overrepresented into the main stream media, as the 'veil affair' in several European countries, notably in France. This issue stresses the emergence of the difficulty to integrate Muslim identity into European society, and the fragility of the laic and religious identity in the latter societies, before taken for granted⁴⁷.

2.2. WOMEN'S ROLE

The causes that are at the core of the female migration project trace out male's ones. That is, poor standard of life, conflicts, ecological problems, ethnical hostilities or political oppression. But beside those features, the study of women migration movements should take into account the issue of gender⁴⁸, which does not mean the

⁴⁵ That gap can take different shapes, as according to Basso it is used in order to erode workers' rights and to justify discriminatory migration policies (Basso 2010).

⁴⁶ Basso, P., "Tre temi-chiave del razzismo di stato", in Basso, P., (ed.) (2010) *Razzismo di stato: Stati Uniti, Europa, Italia*, Franco Angeli: Milano, pp. 127-214

⁴⁷ Ouali, N., *Les Marocaines en Europe: diversification des profils migratoires*, in « Hommes et Migrations » , No. 1242 (Mars-avril 2003), pp. 71-82

⁴⁸ It is only during the 70's that the term 'gender' has been introduced in anthropological studies, as before it only belonged to the realm of grammatical studies. As a concept, it may acquire both a theoretical and political meaning being influenced by the feminist discourse. Gender theory analyses how biological and natural differences depend on social constructions. In fact, the difference among sexes in anthropological studies is one of the core principles of societies, but their relationship differs geographically as it depends on specific culture and history. (Campani, 2000)

mere study of the women presence but the interrelationship between sexes within society. In fact, gender is a social and cultural construction of what it means to be female and male.

From this perspective, women are burdened with a broader significance and several important sociological roles. Firstly, women transmit the ethnic culture of the group: that is traditions, history or familiar structure. Secondly, women are regarded as the biological reproducers of the nation. This is an extremely important point, because in migration it acquires a strong significance. In fact, women represent the common origin of the ethnic group and as a consequence, they have the duty to pursue the idea of community, as they are the link between new and old generations.

The reproducing role of women has been extensively studied by Yuval- Davis⁴⁹, who highlights the role that women have as reproducers of the nation. In fact, nationalist and racist ideologies lays on the importance of belonging to a specific community. This community is specified and characterized by myth, that is a specific common cultural, historical or religious grounds that delineates the nation and its people. Those common origins played an important role in defining what the nation is, so that the reproductive role of women is even more stressed. In her view, women are burdened with a further role that assigns them the need to transmit and represent the cultural values of the nation. So that, women also have a sort of 'cultural reproducers' role. This role cannot be undermined, or the entire image of the nation will be damaged. If analyzed in a migration context, it is evident the central role that women have in 'building' the nation. It is not to forget the attention that was given by media on how migrant *women* wear (the 'veil issue') and not on how *men* wear. That has happened because of the representative role of the nation that women have to bear.

On the other hand, this 'burden' in the migratory context may be seen as a help in adapting to the new context. In fact, mothers are often perceived as the link between tradition and modernity, old and new generation. They are the keepers of the

⁴⁹ Yuval- Davis, N., *Women and the biological reproduction of 'the nation'*, "Women's studies international forum", vol.19, nos. 1 /2, 1996, pp. 17-24

native culture, and at the same time the link with the new reality. What is more, the general perception of the receiving country differs a lot in regard to women or men immigrants. In fact,

“in most countries women have been considered the vectors of integration and their familial role in raising the next generation has been highlighted. They are less often perceived to pose a threat to the employment of nationals, as female migrants are constructed as family- formers rather than labourers”⁵⁰

One of the most important stereotypes to be changed and removed is that migrant women are not passive but active actors in their migratory project. According to the analysis of Salvatore Palidda⁵¹, migrant women demonstrate how migration is nothing but a ‘total social fact’, definition taken by the studies of Abdelmalek Sayad. In fact, the outcomes of their experience are reflected in several aspects of both the native and the receiving societies. As Basso points out, immigrants are subjects of the receiving society, rather than objects. In fact, according to the economic perspective, immigrants’ subjectivity is limited to the decision to leave the native country. But once analyzed from a broader angle, it is clear that migrants’ role within the receiving society is not passive at all, and the decision to leave is in fact only the first step of the migratory project⁵².

As to demonstrate how complex the migratory project can be, and how it does actively relate to the receiving society in many aspects, it is interesting to illustrate some strategies that women can undertake during their project.

In fact, the active role of migrant women may take different shapes: they have a pioneer role into the migratory project as they may migrate alone building the path for the family to come. They are able to find a palliative job in case their education level is not fully recognized by the receiving society labour market. As instance, Spaniards women in France often find a job as *conciierge*: this kind of work may help in dealing

⁵⁰ Kofman, E., (2000), p. 2

⁵¹ Palidda, S., “Il cliché della migrante: colf o prostituta, in Morini, C., (2001), *La serva serve: le nuove forzate del lavoro domestico*, Roma: DeriveApprodi, pp. 7-18

⁵² Basso, P. “Dalle periferie al centro, ieri e oggi” Basso, P., Perocco, F., (2000) , *Immigrazione e trasformazione della società*, Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 25-61

with both their reproductive and productive role, and what is more is an efficient solution to the rent problem and to better capitalize incomes. They are able to create collective groups in order to fight together for their rights. They are even able to exploit legislation in order to protect themselves. As instance, migrant women from Eastern Europe in Italy may victimize themselves, as to be included in the list of women caught into the women trade and therefore be protected by the Italian legislation⁵³. Or the fact that marriages are contracted via internet with a compatriot living abroad, as to arrive in the receiving country with more chances to be included into the labour market and to acquire a better legal status⁵⁴.

2.3. MALE STANDPOINT

The mounting attention about the presence of women into migration movements has had a negative consequence. As Catarino⁵⁵ highlights, if gender is the study of the relationship between sexes, the 'male' counterpart is rarely taken into account in gendered migration studies. As the scholar points out, a balancing phase was very much needed, but the focus was excessively given on women whereas the gender study should also analyse any possible further relationships with the other sex.

⁵³ http://www1.interno.it/mininterno/site/it/sezioni/servizi/legislazione/sicurezza/legislazione_514.html?font_size=AA (access 2nd October 2012)

⁵⁴ Catarino, C., Morokvasic, M., *Femmes, genre, migration et mobilités*, in « Revue Européenne des migrations internationales », Vol. 21, No. 1 (2005) pp. 2-17

⁵⁵ Catarino, C., (2005)

Some of the topics analysed within the gender migration are thus barely considered from a male standpoint. As instance, the term 'transnational motherhood' refers to the problems that migrant women face in dealing with their role of mothers once they migrate. In this view, how men face this problem has scarcely been investigated, as the only role that husbands and fathers have is to help in the economic budget of the family⁵⁶.

It is possible to switch perspective also when analyzing other issues, usually only regarded as connected to women. The process of family reunification implemented by men is well examined by Kofman, in her article response to the pioneering work of Morokvasic. The process of 'masculinization' of family reunification can be traced back in the 80's, but its presence has not been fully recognized yet:

"[...] just as labor migration was considered quintessentially male in its composition, so family reunion has been categorized as female, therefore requiring little further investigation. [...]The corollary of this is that women are now, to a greater extent, agents of family reunion, with men the imported dependents. Partly this situation arises from a more equal gender balance of second and subsequent generations of immigrant origin."⁵⁷

Therefore, it is important to impartially observe and analyze migratory policies. Family reunification has been considered as a typically female process, denying the fact that it was also a man's right to join his emigrated wife. In the United Kingdom, it is only from 1989 that women could access to the family reunification procedure: from that moment on, the number of men joining their families in the country has considerably augmented⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Catarino, C., (2005)

⁵⁷ Kofman, E., *Female 'Birds of passage' a decade later : gender and immigration in the European Union*, « International migration review », vol. 33, no. 2 (summer 1999), pp. 269- 299

⁵⁸ The percentage of male spouses in 1985 was 27,1%, whereas in 1991 it raised to 37% (Kofman 1999).

PART 2- MOROCCAN EMIGRATION

The study of a particular migratory movement should not be separated from the analysis of the social, political and cultural situation of the departure country. Only in doing so, it is possible to veritably understand the push and pull factors from which stem migration.

To this end, several factors are worth to be extensively considered and evaluated in the study of Moroccan women migration. First of all, Mediterranean migratory movement is

“a key dimension of the actual relationship between the two shores of the Mediterranean, [...] which promises to continue for years to come and is likely to bring more benefits to both parties in the near future due to the exceptional economic and demographic conditions that are expected to prevail, but it is not recognized as such.”¹

According to forecast studies on migratory movements from Northern Africa to Europe, those movements are likely to rise over the next years². A likely scenario, considered the extension of migration from the Arab region:

“Within it there are four key migrant labour subsystems: emigration from the Mediterranean littoral to Western Europe, Arab labour migration to oil-producing states, migration to non-oil producing Arab states, and East and South Asian labour migration to oil-producing states”³

¹ Fargues, P., *Arab Migration to Europe: Trends and Policies*, in “International Migration Review”, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter 2004), pp. 1348- 1371, p. 1348

² Lacroix (2005) estimates that 5 million of people transit only through the Straits of Gibraltar every year.

³ Castles, S., Miller, M.J., (2003) (3rd ed.) *The age of migration : international population movements in the modern world*, New York : Guilford Press, p.123

TAB. 2⁴*Tableau 2:**Effectifs des Marocains de l'extérieur selon le lieu d'installation en 2007*

Continent et pays	Effectifs	%
Europe	2.837.654	86,18
France	1.131.000	34,35
Espagne	547.000	16,61
Italie	379.000	11,51
Belgique	285.000	8,66
Pays-Bas	278.000	8,44
Allemagne	130.000	3,95
Autres pays européens	87.654	2,66
Pays Arabes	281.631	8,55
Lybie	120.000	3,64
Algérie	80.000	2,43
Arabie Saoudite	28.000	0,85
Tunisie	26.000	0,79
Emirats Arabes Unis	13.040	0,40
Autres pays arabes	14.591	0,44
Amérique	161.216	4,90
Etats-Unis	100.000	3,04
Canada	60.000	1,82
Autres pays d'Amérique	1.216	0,04
Afrique au Sud du Sahara	8.061	0,25
Cote d'Ivoire	1.971	0,06
Sénégal	1.900	0,06
Mauritanie	1.653	0,05
Afrique du sud	832	0,03
Gabon	785	0,02
Autres pays d'Afrique	920	0,03
Asie et Océanie	4.037	0,12
Total général	3.292.599	100,00

ce: Direction des Affaires Consulaires et Sociales. Ministère des Affaires étrangères et de la Coopération.

⁴ Khachani, M., (2010a), *Le tissu marocain et le traitement de la question migratoire*, report made by Association Marocaine d'études et de recherches sur les migrations, [cited 2012 6 Nov 2012], available from : URL : http://www.amerm.ma/publications/publications_tele_18.pdf

In order to set a complete framework of the Moroccan women migration, in the first part of the chapter I will analyse the Moroccan economy and how it has evolved from the colonial period up to recent times. Then, I will briefly outline the evolution of Moroccan emigration and its peculiarities, namely the ‘culture of exile’ (as Capello names it) and the role of the Moroccan government in managing the migratory movements.

In the second part of the chapter I will explore the factors linked to the women situation in Morocco, and the extension of their civil and political rights. In fact, as I have stated in the first chapter, an essential role in the decision to leave their native country is represented by a willingness of changing their situation, dismantling gender relations and improving their status and their rights. Therefore, a deepened overview of their situation will help in analyzing the causes, and the outcomes, of their migration experience.

TAB. 3⁵

Between 1965 and 1972, the estimated number of registered Moroccans living in Europe increased tenfold, from 30,000 to 300,000, to around 400,000 by 1975 (see Table 1).

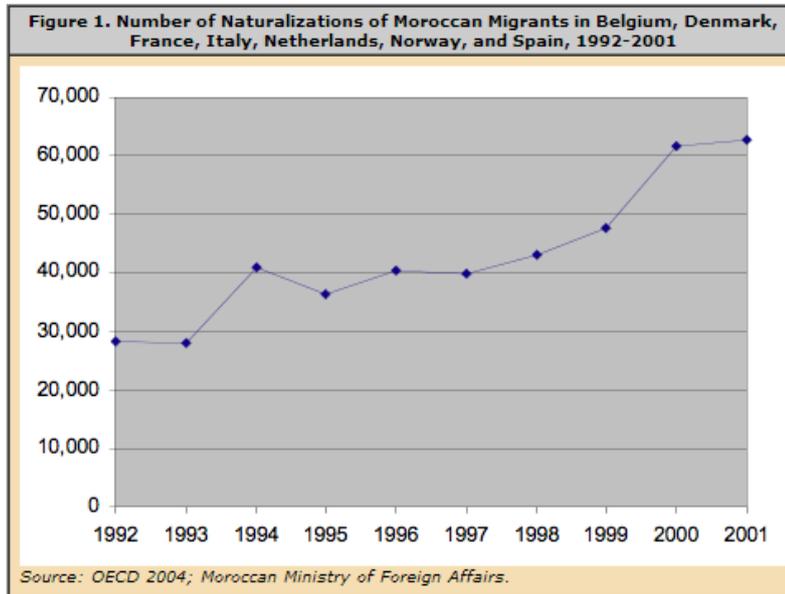
Year	France	Netherlands	Belgium	Germany	Spain	Italy	Total
1968	84,000	13,000	21,000	18,000	1,000	NA	137,000
1972	218,000	28,000	25,000	15,000	5,000	NA	291,000
1975	260,000	33,000	66,000	26,000	9,000	NA	394,000
1982	431,000	93,000	110,000	43,000	26,000	1,000	704,000
1990	653,000	184,000	138,000	62,000	59,000	78,000	1,174,000
1998	728,000	242,000	155,000	98,000	200,000	195,000	1,618,000
2005	1,025,000 (2002)	316,000	214,000 (2002)	73,000 (2004)	397,000	253,000 (2004)	2,278,000

Sources: El Mansouri 1996 (F, NL, B, G 1968 - 1990); Basfao & Taarji 1994 (IT 1982, 1990); National Statistical Services (B and F 1998; N, G, ES, IT 1998 and 2005); López García 1999 (ES 1968-1990); IOM and Fondation Hassan II 2003 (B and F 2002).

⁵ De Haas, H.(2005), “Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe”, [cited 2012 Nov 12], available from: URL: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>

TAB. 4⁶

By 1998, the number of people of Moroccan descent in these countries had risen to 1.6 million. From 1992 to 2001, about 430,000 Moroccans living in Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Norway were granted the nationality of an EU Member State (see Figure 1).



⁶ De Haas, H.(2005), "Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe", [cited 2012 Nov 12], available from: URL: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>

1. MOROCCAN SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OVERVIEW

Morocco has always had a complicated history, whose *files rouges* are essentially made upon social, territorial and economical division⁷.

The Spanish- French protectorate left several marks on the structure of the country, as the Western powers changed the organization of the territory, taking over state-owned land properties, religious properties (*habous*) and collective lands. Additionally, during the first years of the colonial period, peasants were expelled from their lands by the colonial power in order to conquer some space for the *fermes coloniales*. As a consequence, they were forced to move to urban areas, boosting the process of urbanization⁸: cities started to play a key role with regards to the Moroccan society. The process of urbanization⁹ led to several negative outcomes, such as the impoverishment and unemployment of those peasants¹⁰.

As for the economical situation of the country after independence, the general capacity of the country was marked by a dualistic situation. In fact, if in agriculture marginal areas were still characterized by large landed estate based upon archaic techniques, the process of industrialization was developing and the import of industrial products began to take the place of the national ones, creating economical problems as the latter were in crisis due to concurrence. Finished products were still

⁷ The Moroccan internal social division can be traced back even in the 7th century, when the Arabs invaded the territory of Morocco, then populated by the Berbers, trying to chase them away on the Atlas and imposing a process of arabization. It is exactly in this period that started the conquer of the Moroccan land by the Arabs, and it is exactly in this period that started to be outlined the division among Berbers (who were mostly shepherds) and Arabs (who were instead nomads). This division got institutionalized with the creation of the *Bled al-Makhzen*, that was the part of Morocco under the power of the Arab Sultan and that contained the main cities such as Rabat, Fes, Meknes and Marrakesh, and the *Bled as-Siba*, the territory of the Berbers, lands of dissents (Crocilli, L., Mondovi', S., Spagnuolo, D. (1999) *Lontano da casa: albanesi e marocchina in Italia*, Cidis:Perugia).

⁸ Capello, C., (2008) *Le prigionieri invisibili: etnografia multisituata della migrazione marocchina*, Franco Angeli: Milano

⁹ As I will stress, the cultural meaning and importance of migration took shape in the cities, because of the problems that affect urban areas.

¹⁰ Crocilli, 1999.

representing a low percentage of the overall economic production. Over the years, industrialization got enhanced, being mostly based on light food processing industry and phosphates extraction¹¹.

During the 1960's, poor harvests created some problems to the policy of import substitution that had been adopted in order to encourage the national production, that was struggling to compete with foreign goods. When during the 1970's the prices of the phosphates and the oil raised, Morocco experienced an economic growth, thank to the massive flux of petrodollars coming into the country. Social policies were introduced, as to develop the public employment. Several foreign firms were partly nationalized and colonial lands were distributed¹².

But this prosperous period fast ended, and in 1976 the Northern African country had to deal with another economic crisis. In fact, in that year the price of the phosphates lowered again. As a consequence, public incomes lowered, but the government decided not to cut the public expenditure, deteriorated also by the outbreak of the war to conquer the Western Sahara.

During the next decade, the financial crisis worsened and the International Monetary Fund intervened reducing public investments, freezing salaries, and tightening tax evasion controls. Consequently, illiteracy raised, public health services experienced severe cuts and the countryside got poorer, with little access to electric energy and drinkable water¹³. In fact, the deletion of the debt had been successfully achieved, but in order to do so, the government had to lower the GDP growth, worsening unemployment and poverty rate¹⁴.

Nowadays, the productive system of Morocco is mainly based on phosphates processing and chemical semi processed products. Most of the labour force is absorbed by food processing industry, such as the cultivation of citrus fruits and the fishing of the Atlantic fish. As to help small and medium enterprises, Moroccan government has undertaken a programme of investments and privatizations in order

¹¹ Crocilli, 1999.

¹² Crocilli, 1999.

¹³ Crocilli, 1999.

¹⁴ Capello, 2008.

to help national factories to compete with Western Europe. On the other hand, several European firms have started to delocalize¹⁵ their production in Morocco, as instance for what concerns the textile production¹⁶.

An important point to be stressed is that Moroccan economy is profoundly dependent on foreign investments. In fact, several firms are controlled by European capital: 750 firms out of 1200 are controlled by foreign capital, mostly Arab, Spanish, French or American. In 1973, as Capello reports, King Hassan II tried to nationalize the internal production, approving a law by which 51% of the property should have been Moroccan. What happened instead was that this law was easily avoidable, so that in 1991 it was cancelled¹⁷.

For what concerns the Moroccan labour market, it has little attention to the workers' rights or guarantees. There is a massive grey occupational area, made of irregular workers that are abused and exploited: the importance of the informal sector is a direct consequence of the labour market segmentation and of the exclusion of the popular classes from the primary sector of the economy and from the social and political rights. As Capello¹⁸ stresses, the lack of rights pools together both the secondary sector of the official economy and the workers of the informal economy, so that they both constitute a huge sector of subaltern work, which includes dependent workers, often exploited, and artisans or traders.

Also the welfare has never been completely effective, and things worsened after the International Monetary Fund intervention. If the public health service is not reliable, the private one is not affordable: for the majority of the population, informal solidarity among the community or the family is often the only way to access to the private health.

¹⁵ As instance, the Irish firm *Fruit of the Loom* produces now in Salé (Crocilli 1999).

¹⁶ Crocilli, 1999.

¹⁷ Capello, 2008.

¹⁸ Capello 2008

Having traced a framework of the economical Moroccan situation, it is possible to individuate in it several push factors that are at the core of migration from the Maghrebi country.

The difference between a Moroccan and a European salary is one of the main elements that heavily influence migration. In fact, the minimum salary in Morocco is about 1800 dirhams (180 euros), if not less in the informal sector. European salaries are therefore a strong pulling factor: working with a Western salary means to help in building or to extend the house of the family back home, to improve the status of the families or their own by acquiring symbolic capital usually shown off during the summer breaks¹⁹.

As Fargues²⁰ highlights, it is not the demographic pressure that produces the migratory movements, as from the 1980's the demographic pressure has been lowering. The very core of the pushes to emigrate is instead the problems involved in work dynamics. In fact, unemployment rate mostly affects young people living in cities and the pressure that the young exercise on the labour market due to the high rate of unemployment is a key factor in the emigration mechanism²¹. As Capello puts it, the real problems of those areas in addition to unemployment are underemployment- as it does not allow reaching independence and creates a sense of frustration, and bad employment- because of the role that the informal labour market has²².

¹⁹ Capello (2008).

²⁰ Fargues (2004).

²¹ De Sarno Prignano (2006).

²² Capello (2008).

TAB.5²³

POPULATION AGED 20–29 IN ARAB COUNTRIES OF THE BARCELONA PROCESS, 2000–2025
(IN THOUSANDS)

Population 20–29 (January 1)	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025
Algeria	5,823	6,616	7,033	7,181	6,693	5,923
Egypt	11,530	14,728	16,014	15,426	14,892	14,971
Jordan	955	1,097	1,153	1,162	1,104	1,051
Lebanon	591	626	614	583	552	542
Morocco	5,475	6,078	6,394	6,227	5,820	5,601
Palestine	542	638	730	882	1,016	1,094
Syria	3,062	3,760	4,120	3,884	3,727	3,790
Tunisia	1,848	2,009	2,037	1,942	1,778	1,709
Total	29,826	35,553	38,096	37,286	35,581	34,680
Variation over the period	2000–05	2005–10	2010–15	2015–20	2020–25	
Algeria	794	417	148	-488	-770	
Egypt	3,199	1,286	-588	-534	79	
Jordan	142	56	9	-58	-53	
Lebanon	34	-11	-31	-31	-10	
Morocco	603	317	-168	-407	-219	
Palestine	96	91	152	134	78	
Syria	698	360	-236	-157	63	
Tunisia	161	28	-95	-164	-69	
Total	5,727	2,544	-811	-1705	-901	

Source: Courbage 1999

²³ Fargues, P. *Arab Migration to Europe: Trends and Policies*, in "International Migration Review", Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter 2004), pp. 1348- 1371

2. HISTORY OF MOROCCAN MIGRATION

Morocco has a secular history of migration. Generally, it is possible to delineate three main phases of Moroccan migration.

The first one characterizes the movement up to 1974. It was fed by temporary labour force selected by agreements with European countries. The second phase lasted until the late 1980's, where because of the economical crisis in Europe, restrictive immigration policies were implemented: therefore, despite the push factors due to the economical difficulties experienced in Morocco and the increase of the movements directed to the Gulf countries, the global migration from the Northern African country diminished. In this period, it was mainly formed by women and children that emigrated within the mechanism of family reunification. The third phase, during the 1990's, is characterized by the presence of undocumented migrants, consequence of the persisting of restrictive immigration policies²⁴.

Moroccan migration's origin can be traced back during the 19th century, as because of a crisis in the agricultural field more than 64,000²⁵ peasants moved to Algeria, as it was in need of labour force in the *fermes coloniales* already settled in the country by the French power. It was primarily a temporary migration, whose actors were mainly farm workers coming from the Rif Valley²⁶.

²⁴ De Sarno Prignano, A., D'Angelo, A., "Marocchini in Marocco e in Europa: migrazioni e popolazioni a confronto", in Paterno, A., Strozza, S., Terzera, L., (eds.) (2006), *Sospesi tra due rive: migrazioni e insediamenti di albanesi e marocchini*, Franco Angeli: Milano, pp. 44- 70

²⁵ Salih, R.,(2003) *Gender in Transnationalism: home, longing and belonging among Moroccan migrant women*, London: Routledge

²⁶ Capello, 2008.

During the First World War, more than 30,000 Moroccans left their country and moved to France, as to substitute the native work force called to arms. Some 40,000 men were included into the French army, in the *Armée Indigène Nord- Africaine*. In 1916 it was created the *Service de l'Organisation des Travailleurs Coloniaux*. This office was charged of recruiting labour force from the colony in order to replace French soldiers in war, as the workforce provided by the Moroccan immigrants was very much needed after the war hecatomb. The office continued to work up to the Second World War when 85,000 Moroccans were sent in France in order to be employed in the cereal fields and in the vineyards, and other 30,000 were directed to the army²⁷.

1963 marked a new chapter in the Moroccan migration history. In fact, Morocco signed several agreements, as to send workforce, with European countries such as the Netherlands (1969) Belgium (1964), France or Germany (1963)²⁸. Emigrants were mainly from the Rif and Souss regions but over the years they also started to emigrate from the richer areas of the country, such as the proximity of Casablanca. During the 1970's, the same destiny marked other areas, such as Fez, Meknes, Kenitra and later Chaouia Ouardigha (the region of Khourigba) and the Tadla, that are semi rural and urban zones: those emigrants had to migrate to Southern Europe²⁹ because of the immigration halt that characterized Northern Europe after the mid-1970's³⁰.

Moroccan emigration shortly lost its temporary duration. The 'return option' was not taken into account by migrants, added the fact that at the beginning of the 1970's Morocco was experiencing a period of economical and social crisis, with an increasing oppression by the *Makhzen*. Family reunification incremented the process of settling in the arrival country. An important role in the settling of Moroccan

²⁷ Salih, (2003).

²⁸ Belgium and Germany came to agreements in order to find mine workers, and additionally they both opened during the late 1960's offices whose aim was to recruit Moroccan workers directly in Casablanca and Rabat (Crocilli 1999).

²⁹ In fact, most of the Moroccan emigrated to Italy come from the region of Khourigba.

³⁰ Capello (2008).

migrants was also played by the restrictive immigration policies implemented by European countries:

“paradoxically, the increasingly restrictive immigration policies pursued by receiving states interrupted the traditional, circular character of Moroccan migration. Migrants feared not being able to go back to the receiving country if their return home was not successful”³¹

Return was only considered a decade later, with a peak during the early 1990’s of 40,000 returnees³², that slowly came back down by the end of the decade proving itself as the lowest ‘return rate’ among all the migratory movements in Europe.

As for what concerns the more recent movements, new countries have become destinations for Moroccan migrants. In fact, Southern European countries have attracted the movements from the Northern African country, as Northern Europe was implemented restrictive policies and a general immigration halt. Therefore, until countries such as Italy and Spain decided to tighten their immigration policies, Moroccans in those countries incremented³³. Also other countries experienced an intensification of the Moroccan presence, such as the Gulf countries, the United States and Canada (Quebec).

³¹ De Haas, H., (2005), “Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa’s Migration Passage to Europe”, [cited 2012 Nov 12], available from: URL: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>

³² De Haas (2005)

³³ “Between 1980 and 2004, the combined Moroccan population officially residing in Spain and Italy increased from about 20,000 to 650,000” (De Haas 2005).

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF MOROCCAN MIGRATION

From the 1960's onwards, several forms of migration characterized Moroccan movements: female, irregular³⁴, familiar and seasonal migration, but also a migratory movement fueled by the process of 'brain drain'.

Family reunification mainly involved traditional immigration countries as France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. Only lately it has also characterized more recent arrival countries such as Spain or Italy³⁵.

Seasonal labour migration increased from the 1960's to the 1980's, in relation to the demand of seasonal workers in specific working sectors (building industry, catering or agriculture). Khachani reports that during the 1970's, 126,000 Moroccan emigrants were welcomed in France within this mechanism, though the number decreased over the years: nowadays, it is estimated that only 7,000 emigrants fall within the seasonal scheme. Morocco is currently signing several agreements with European countries in order to permit a regular seasonal work migration. As instance, the Italian government has signed an agreement³⁶ in order to employ Moroccan workers in the seasonal work migration.

As to what concerns the 'brain drain' phenomenon, Khachani notes that it affects migratory movements at a global level: according to OCDE data on the year 2000, 15-18% of migrants coming from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia and living in

³⁴ Those two types of migration will be extensively analysed later in the chapter.

³⁵ In Spain, during the years 1999-2004, 158,060 emigrants have been granted the permit of sojourn through this procedure, of which 35,755 Moroccans. Moroccans are the first migratory group to benefit of the family reunification system, followed by Ecuadorians, Colombians, Chinese and Peruvians. The importance of the migratory movements stemming from the family reunification is evident in analyzing the figures : in 2000, only 7 permits of sojourn were granted thanks to this procedure, whereas in 2004, as Khachani notes, there were 103,998 ("Aujourd'hui le Maroc" 31-03-2005, cited in Khachani, M., (2010a), *Le tissu marocain et le traitement de la question migratoire*, report made by Association Marocaine d'études et de recherches sur les migrations, available online at http://www.amerm.ma/publications/publications_tele_18.pdf).

³⁶ Available online at <http://www.lavoro.gov.it/NR/rdonlyres/E6E6FA18-7E49-434B-8A0A-16B52CB787AC/0/Protocolloaccordomarocco.pdf>

OCDE countries have a university degree. Unfortunately, they barely have their level of education recognized in the arrival country, having to accept job opportunities far beyond their possibilities³⁷.

I will now analyze the grounds of the cultural elements that form the Moroccan emigration. In fact, it is from internal divisions that over the years will spur the sense of marginalization that marked migration as a way to escape from the social, economical situation of Morocco. This sense of isolation is in fact based on the issues of urbanization and the role that cities play within the Moroccan society.

3.1. EL-GHORBA

As I have highlighted above, cities have always played an important role in the changes of the Moroccan society. The process of urbanization started during the 19th century, but has not halted so far. Actually, it is the core element that led to the creation of the 'culture of exile', as Capello names it. Referring to the Arabic term *el-Ghorba* (exile, or diaspora), the scholar delineates the features that characterize the will of leaving Morocco that is spread among the population³⁸.

In order to better understand this situation, Capello gives in his work an overview of what it does mean nowadays to live in the bigger Moroccan cities, highlighting the history of one of the main ones, Casablanca.

³⁷ The importance of such a migratory movement is evident through the list of associations set up by Moroccans in foreign countries, as Khachani lists: « l'Association Maroc Entrepreneurs le plus grand réseau d'étudiants et jeunes diplômés issus des Grandes Écoles françaises (6393 membres); l'Association des Informaticiens marocains en France (environ 200 membres), l'Association Marocaine des Biologistes en France, l'Association Marocaine des Biologistes aux Etats Unis, la «Moroccan Academic Research Scientists» (USA), le Réseau des Intellectuels Marocains en Europe, l'association « Savoir et Développement », [...] la Fédération des Ingénieurs Maghrébins de France, l'Amicale des Médecins d'Origine Maghrébine de France, l'Association Culture Echange France Maghreb. » (Khachani 2010a, p. 18).

³⁸ Capello (2008).

Before the colonial period, Casablanca used to have a secondary importance within the Moroccan territory and its increasing importance is strictly linked to that period. Casablanca has been divided into blocks by the colonial power, following a city plan called *Plan Ecochard*. The city plan institutionalized from the very beginning the social divisions among the different blocks, that are still kept nowadays. As instance, the block called *Californie* with its modern skyline is one of the richest, whereas *Sbatah* is a *cité de recasement*, a popular area where houses are built by private building contractors, as soon as the *bidonvilles* get absorbed by the enlargement and extension of the city, that includes and englobes the poorest areas³⁹.

Marginalization experienced every day in the most disfavoured blocks, which spurs from evident social divisions, is at the core of a sense of uneasiness among the population. The social distress linked to the sense of insecurity and social exclusion experienced in those popular areas, is boosted by the policies adopted by the *Makhzen*⁴⁰. In fact, social distress is incremented because of the severe control over the Moroccan population and the suppression of political and popular movements, fact that evidently does not allow a veritable freedom in political expression. Moroccan monarchy is considered as one of the most long-lived monarchies in the Middle East countries, and its conservative attitude is carried out through the control over both opposition and allies parties⁴¹. As a consequence, politics are perceived as distant from the people, despite the relative openness of King Mohammad VI in respect to the previous King: in fact, as King Mohammad VI took the power in 1999, people started to concretely believe that changes were possible. As Pittman notes,

“King Mohamed VI supported women’s equal rights, democratic deepening, and economic liberalization. A significant portion of the population held high hopes for

³⁹ Capello (2008).

⁴⁰ *Makhzen* was the term used to name the Moroccan government under the French protectorate: it is still popularly used nowadays despite the independence of the country.

⁴¹ As Crocilli (1999) notes, opposition parties are barely considered as interlocutors.

improving their quality of life, so much so that the public characterized him ‘the king of the poor’⁴².

Despite the positive and more open attitude of the King, the general situation has not sufficiently changed so far. The uneasiness created by such circumstances has been expressed in different ways and uprisings⁴³ are then one of the few tools of political free expression⁴⁴.

Hence, *el-Ghorba* has a deep meaning, as it has a psychological root due to the sense of loneliness and alienation experienced in Morocco, especially by citizens living in the outskirts. In this perspective, migration has also acquired a political meaning⁴⁵, being a way to dissent with the politics of the country.

Also, it is built on a collective imaginative and idealistic picture of what it does mean to migrate. Both the periods that the migrants spent in their native country during the summer and the European programmes broadcasted by satellites play an important role in shaping the collective image of the Western countries, and therefore it has a crucial part in the ‘culture of exile’⁴⁶. As in Morocco there are only two official channels approved by the *Makhzen*, satellites are a key to access to the Western countries. Therefore, satellite dishes acquire an important role in creating and imagining the country and what they will find once emigrated. But at the same time, the idea of modernity linked to Western consumerism is perceived as far from their possibilities, creating a sense of frustration. In some cases, it can bring to an approach to Islamic ascetism or extremist views, as to reject this idea of modernity which is not affordable. Therefore, the tendency toward Islamism can be read as a consequence of

⁴² Pittman, A., “Cultural Adaptations: The Moroccan Women’s Campaign to Change the Moudawana”, (2007), IDS Institute of Development Studies, available at <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/Part/proj/pnp.html>, access 7/11/2012

⁴³ As instance in several popular revolts, such as the one that took place in 1981 in Casablanca (Alam, A., “Islam, Bread riots and democratic reform in North Africa”, http://www.muslimsocieties.org/Vol_4_No_1_Islam_Bread_Riots_and_Democratic_Reforms.html) (access 5/11/2012).

⁴⁴ Capello (2008).

⁴⁵ Capello stresses the political meaning of the choice to migrate: according to him, an emigrant is a social actor that counts on his rights of escaping, in order to flee from a negative situation made of exclusion and loss of opportunities (Capello 2008).

⁴⁶ Capello (2008).

political repression and the lack of political spaces, where people should be able to express their views: it is a way to express the refusal of a political system deemed as corrupted and not effective⁴⁷.

Hence, collective imagination plays an important part in the construction of the 'culture of exile'. This image, even though it selects the positive sides of the coin excluding the negative ones, is even more powerful if considered the fact that it strikingly contrasts with the everyday life which is made of marginalization and frustration. As a consequence, foreign countries are charged with projections of the life Moroccans cannot reach in their native country.

3.2. HARRAGAS AND PATERAS

Over the last years, due to several factors, irregular emigration has risen. As Campani⁴⁸ and other scholars note, the increasing presence of undocumented migrants is a direct consequence of the process of cultural globalization and neo-liberalism that caused structural changes in the economical organization⁴⁹. Plus, this process has been boosted by a tendency toward restrictive immigration policies adopted by European countries. In fact, while the pull factors have not diminished their attraction, on the other side the immigration policies have become stricter. As a consequence, the pressure created by potential emigrants willing to leave their countries has been absorbed by the illegal network of migrants' traffic. In some cases this political closure caused collective explosions of migration, as in the Albania case

⁴⁷ Capello (2008).

⁴⁸ Campani, G., (2000), *Genere, etnia e classe : migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identità*, Pisa : Edizioni ETS

⁴⁹ But as Campani stresses, those processes also influenced migration, as they created a support to the illegal migrants' traffic. In fact, migrants' mentality is often influenced by neo-liberalism aims, as they mainly tend toward to increase his own wealth and richness. In the scholar's opinion, this is the reason why they accept to pay exorbitant prices in order to try to reach European countries (Campani 2000).

during the 1990's. In other cases, as in Morocco, migrants individually or supported by traffic networks try to emigrate⁵⁰.

Peraldi⁵¹ notes that before the 1990's, undocumented migration was somehow part of the Moroccan migratory movements but it was accepted and untroubled. It was only during the 1990's that the *harragas* started to appear in the media, and they came to represent an issue that had been nameless for the previous decades. It is a term that comes from the Moroccan dialect, where undocumented migration is called *Hrigue*, which comes from the verb *harg*, to burn, as migrants with no documents 'burn' borders by migrating with no legal document⁵². There are several ways through which those migrants (*harragas*⁵³) can illegally 'burn' the frontiers and hope to reach the Western lands.

As it is noted by Castles⁵⁴, the emergence of the issue is also related to the entrance in 1991 of Spain in the Schengen area, and the following request of visas for the Moroccan emigrants transiting through the Iberian country. As a consequence, undocumented migrants were increasingly putting the sea. It is reckoned that 30,000 emigrants try their way on *pateras*⁵⁵ every year: among them, 14,000 arrested and about 1,000 drown⁵⁶.

The market that feeds this kind of migration is well organized and offers several forms of 'offer'. As instance, a touristic visa for the Schengen area in the black market costs 100,000 dirhams. For those who prefer not to falsify documents, it is possible to be transported by *passeurs*⁵⁷, who carry migrants to Western countries: it costs from

⁵⁰ Campani (2000).

⁵¹ Peraldi, M., Rahmi, A., *Des 'pateras' au transnationalisme : formes sociales et image politique des mouvements migratoires au Maroc*, in « Hommes et Migrations », n. 1266, (Mars- Avril 2007), pp. 66-81

⁵² The same acceptionation is used in French, with the term *brûleurs*.

⁵³ Chadia, A., *Le 'hrrague' ou comment les Marocains brûlent les frontières*, in « Hommes et Migrations », n. 1266, (Mars- Avril 2007), pp. 82-94

⁵⁴ Castles (2003).

⁵⁵ A Spanish term that stands for the open boats or rubber dinghies used by undocumented migrants to reach European coasts.

⁵⁶ Daoud, Z., (2002), *De l'immigration à la citoyenneté. Itinéraire d'une association maghrébine en France : l'ATMF, 1960-2003*, Houilles, Mémoire de la Méditerranée cited in Lacroix (2005), p. 20.

⁵⁷ The role of the *passeurs* is analyzed by Palidda, S., *Passeurs, mediatori e intermediari*, in "La Ricerca Folklorica", No. 44, Antropologia dei processi migratori (Oct., 2001), pp. 77-84. According to him, the *passeurs* has always existed, being part of the net that people use in order to access to certain social

10,000 up to 30,000 dirhams and they usually reach Spanish coasts on *pateras*. Another means to reach Western countries is to hide on trucks or boats directed to Europe, and as Capello points, it is unfortunately at the same time one of the most dangerous and less expensive way to emigrate.

An interesting analysis of this situation is offered by Peraldi⁵⁸, who outlines a difference between the terms *harragas* and *pateras*. The study of the differences between the terms reveals again the symbolic and hidden meaning of the *el-Ghorba*. In fact, the *harraga* is popularly considered as a hero, who defies the system that impedes a free circulation, while the *patera* is an anonym victim, considered as a symbol of the ill-informed and weak migrant. In a certain extent, *pateras* and *harragas* have different aims, once they decide to migrate. That is, the former migrate within a familiar project and therefore following a specific strategy. The latter instead, sees in migration a sort of initiation ritual, a rite of passage that, as the scholar notes, is a consequence of the lack of spaces of socialization where to be initiated by their parents.

The fact that those terms imply a hidden meaning and a hidden difference stems somehow in the process of individualization. Despite the fact that *el-Ghorba* implies a collective image and a collective hope in a better future, the very act of migrating is not considered anymore as a part of the social destiny of a cohesive group, but as a personal means to achieve social promotion. Moreover, it is a signal of the emerging discriminatory logic that divides migrants according to the way they emigrate⁵⁹.

milieu or working opportunities. The *passer* acquires a different importance to migrants, and has acquired a increasing significance over the recent years, because of the restrictive immigration policies implemented by Western countries. In fact, they are often reckoned as the only key to (illegally) access to European coasts and they are therefore getting more expensive despite the danger involved in the sea crossing.

⁵⁸ Peraldi (2007).

⁵⁹ Peraldi (2007).

3.3. ROLE OF MOROCCAN GOVERNMENT

As in transnational migration official national policies play an important role that delineate the migratory movement, and that can interfere with the personal decision to migrate, it is useful to delineate the role of the State within the issue in order to give a complete overview of the characteristics of the Moroccan migration.

“Morocco has had the most consistent policy with regard to emigration. As early as 1968, the quinquennial plan set as a target the largest possible number of emigrants in order to retain as few unemployed workers as possible in the local labor market, to draw, thanks to remittances, a maximum of hard currency in the national economy, and to raise the skills of the national labor force in anticipation of its return”⁶⁰.

The problem is that the Moroccan government has to deal with the destination countries from a subaltern position. Hence, it has to try to cope with its inferiority by trying to exploit the immigration policies outlined by the European countries⁶¹.

⁶⁰ Fargues (2004).

⁶¹ With this aim, several scholars (as Fargues 2004) note how the Moroccan government points the finger towards other countries' migrants, especially from the Sub-Saharan area, as to indicate in them the scapegoats of the problems linked to illegal migration. In particular, as Peraldi (2007) states, this statement hides two lies: first of all, migration from that region is not a novelty and secondly not all of the Sub-Saharan migrants only transit through Morocco, as some of them settle in the Northern African country (among them, Peraldi stresses the number of the Sub-Saharan young studying in Moroccan universities).

TAB. 6⁶²

*Tableau 2: Les interceptions des migrants clandestins entre 2000 et 2007 selon
l'origine*

Année	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Nationaux	9.850	13.002	16.100	12.400	9.353	7.914	7.091	6.619
Etrangers	14.395	15.000	15.300	23.851	17.252	21.894	9.469	7.830
Total	24.245	28.002	31.400	36.251	26.605	29.808	16.560	14.449

Source : Ministère de l'Intérieur, Maroc.

Before 1974, it mainly managed the flux of the work force asked by France and other European countries. After that year, it was forced to halt the emigration flow and to act against undocumented emigration. As Capello notes, the policy of the Moroccan government about this issue is quite ambiguous. In fact, it is on the one hand halting the undocumented migration, but on the other hand because of the importance of the remittances it is not completely involved in stopping the migratory movements. What is more, migration is not estimated to reduce over the future years, despite the increasing long staying of migrants, as they usually settle down in the arrival country⁶³.

⁶² Khachani, M., (2010a), *Le tissu marocain et le traitement de la question migratoire*, report made by Association Marocaine d'études et de recherches sur les migrations, [cited 2012 6 Nov 2012], available from : URL : http://www.amerm.ma/publications/publications_tele_18.pdf

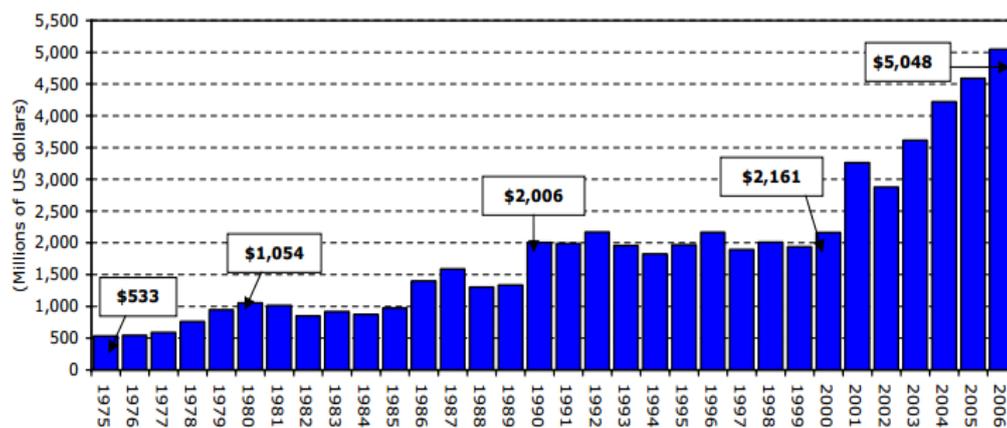
⁶³ Lacroix (2005).

TAB.7⁶⁴

Remittances Profile: Morocco



Formal Inward Remittance Flows

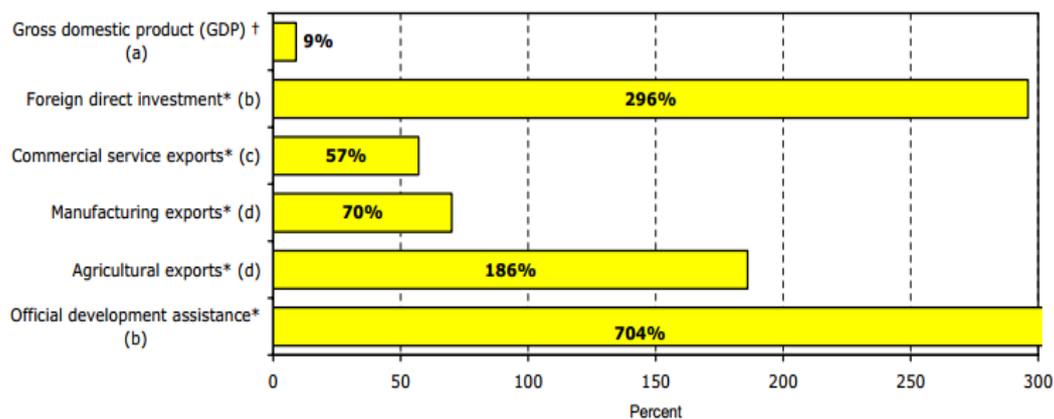


Notes: All available historical data is included above. No data is available for years prior to 1975. For data on other countries, see the [World Bank Development Prospects Group](#). For definitions, see [Glossary](#).
Source: [Remittances data, Development Prospects Group, World Bank, 2007](#).

TAB.8⁶⁵

Remittance Inflows as a Share of Selected Financial Flows and GDP (Percent)

Remittance flows constitute an important source of foreign exchange for developing economies. Comparing remittances to other financial inflows displays the extent to which remittances contribute to a country's inflow of foreign exchange.



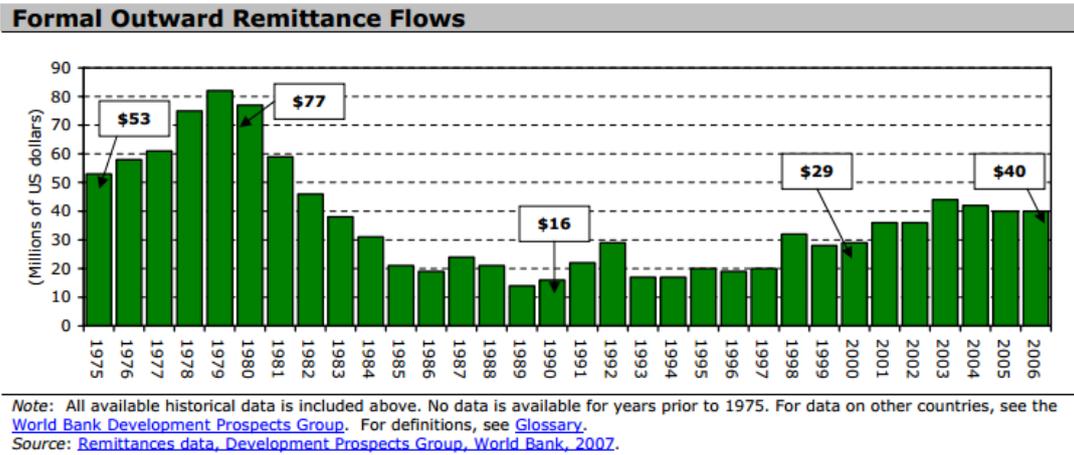
*Data for 2005. † Data for 2006. For definitions, see [Glossary](#).

Sources: ^a[Migration and Remittances Factbook, Development Prospects Group, World Bank, 2007](#); ^b[Global Development Finance, World Bank, 2007](#); ^cInternational Monetary Fund, Balance of Payments Statistics, 2007; ^d[International Trade Statistics, World Trade Organization, 2006](#).

⁶⁴ <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/remittances/morocco.pdf>

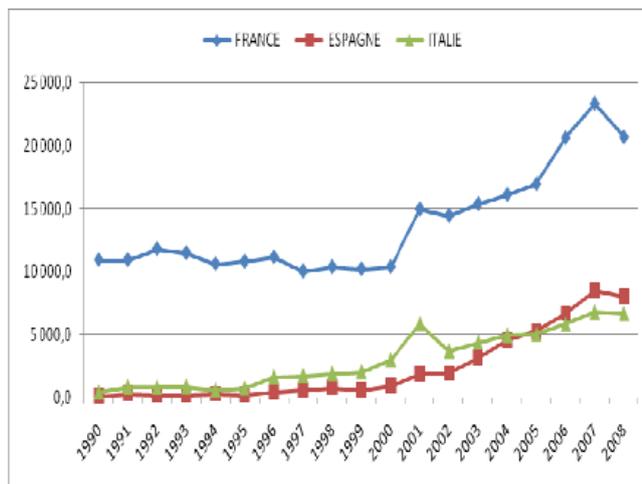
⁶⁵ <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/remittances/morocco.pdf>

TAB. 9⁶⁶



TAB. 10⁶⁷

Graphique 4: Evolution des recettes MRE annuelles (En Millions de dirhams)



Source : Office des Changes

⁶⁶ <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/remittances/morocco.pdf>

⁶⁷ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., "Analyse d'impact de la crise financière et économique mondiale sur al pauvreté et la situation sociale des MRE et sur le flux de leurs transferts", Octobre 2009, Ministère de la Communauté Marocaine Résident à l'étranger, available at : URL : [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report\(French\).undp.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report(French).undp.pdf)

Most of the Arab states have outlined migration policies that consider emigration as a purely economic advantage and as an export activity⁶⁸, and they have

“created institutions having the capacity to deal with the multifaceted bond between the migrants and their native country - from the banking or legislative instruments intended to facilitate direct investment, whether in the productive sector or in real estate, to cultural and religious instruments intended to safeguard or revive the Arab, Muslim and Maghrebi identities among members of expatriate communities.”⁶⁹

As for what concerns the Moroccan state, it has seen in migration an opportunity to solve several internal problems analysed above. Migration has therefore been considered as a way to decompress the social distress accumulated among the population, as the low classes were encouraged to see in migration a way to escape from their problems, first of all unemployment.

At the same time there is a double advantage for the State. In fact, it is heavily dependent on the remittances sent by the R.M.E. (*Resortissants Marocains à l'étranger*), as they are more considerable than the incomes from the phosphates and tourism. Indeed, they are increasingly raising from the 1990's: “between 1968 and 1992, the officially registered remittances rose from \$23 million to \$2.1 billion per year”⁷⁰. In 2001, remittances were estimated around €3,6 milliard, being the first legal source of foreign currency in Morocco. Therefore, it is in the interests of the government to sustain Moroccan emigration, as if successfully exploited, it can promote the country's wealth⁷¹.

⁶⁸ Campani notes that remittances are also a key issue in other countries, such as Philippines, Sri Lanka or Thailand. In those countries emigration is then encouraged and supported by governments (Campani 2000).

⁶⁹ Fargues (2004).

⁷⁰ De Haas (2005).

⁷¹ Significantly enough, Fargues (2004) titles a chapter of his work “Arab policies of emigration, or how to keep inside those who are outside”.

The flourishing of several cities is the direct consequence of the remittances sent in Morocco by emigrants. Salih⁷² quotes the case of Settat, a small city close to Casablanca. Thanks to the remittances, it has grown from an anonymous rural village to a rich place where golf fields, swimming pools, libraries, a university, luxury shops and restaurants contrast with the neighbor towns. The same process happened to Khourigba, a town that grew during the 1920's by the French protectorate near to an important site of phosphates extraction. It is only thanks to remittances that over the years a proper town was built, taking the place of a mere company town where the workers had to sleep⁷³.

Despite the importance that remittances have, it has been noted a stagnation of the total received remittances during the 1990s'. Because of the fear that they could have recede over the years, the government decided to change the way it was approaching to Moroccan migrants abroad. Previously, the government was ostracizing a complete integration of Moroccan migrants in receiving countries as to maintain intact cultural and economical ties with the native country. Because the European countries were condemning this policy, and because the *Makhzen* became aware of the stagnation in remittances, it radically changed strategy and "along with the dismantling of the control apparatus in Europe, this has meant a more positive attitude towards naturalization and dual citizenship"⁷⁴.

In line with this new approach, it was created the Minister of the Moroccan community abroad, the Hassan II Foundation for the R.M.E., described by Fargues as an "institution whose orientations are designed by the state, [that] received in 1990 a mission of cultural, religious and social action among Moroccan emigrants"⁷⁵, and the Bank Amal, whose goal is to collect the transnational investments made by the migrants⁷⁶. It has to be stressed that the creation of those institutions and banks is also

⁷² Salih (2003).

⁷³ Capello (2008).

⁷⁴ De Haas (2005).

⁷⁵ Fargues (2004), p.1364

⁷⁶ Capello (2008).

part of the liberalization process that had been implemented during the 1990's as the government

“encouraged expansion of Moroccan bank branches in Europe, the lifting of restrictions on foreign exchange, fiscal measures that favour migrants, and devaluations that increase the value of foreign currency”⁷⁷

Apparently, those policies have succeeded, and from the early 2000's remittances have increased again.

Migration is therefore also used as a means to balance the national trade by securing long-term loans to Moroccan emigrants, which can repay them over the years by using foreign currencies. This policy helps in solving unemployment (and extending the stay of the emigrants) and at the same time introduce foreign currency in the Moroccan economy⁷⁸. From this perspective, it emerges that

“[...] migration is also understood as a political- economical strategy of the Moroccan government which is unwilling and unable to provide alternatives to young people with no prospect of employment in their own country.”⁷⁹

⁷⁷ De Haas (2005).

⁷⁸ Crocilli (1999).

⁷⁹ Salih (2003).

4. MOROCCAN WOMEN IN SOCIETY AND IN MIGRATION

4.1. INTRODUCTION ON WOMEN SITUATION: MOROCCO AND THE MIDDLE EAST

In my opinion, a deeper knowledge of the women situation is an essential part of the study of women migration. As I have highlighted before, the reasons that push women to migrate are often related to a willingness in changing the gender relations and to acquire independence, autonomy and a *gouvernement de soi*⁸⁰.

Therefore, in order to introduce the process of feminization that concerns Moroccan emigration, it is necessary to open a parenthesis on the women situation in Morocco. As Salih states in analyzing the transnational movements of Moroccan migrant women,

“[...] a study of Moroccan migrant women must start by examining the national structures of power and the cultural constraints, and their global implications, which actually shape women’s migration.”⁸¹

The role that religion plays within Northern African countries is particularly important. The religious element, the Quran and the *umma* are intrinsically interwoven to the social life and space. So that, many of the cultural constraints that

⁸⁰ M. Foucault, *Le gouvernement de soi et des autres*, course au Collège de France (1982-1983), edition directed by François Ewald and Alessandro Fontana, by Frédéric Gros, Paris, Gallimard-Seuil, « Heutes Etudes », 2008, cited in Roulleau-Berger, L.,(2010), *Migrer au féminin*, Presses Universitaires de France: Paris, p. 64

⁸¹ Salih (2003).

women experience eventually come from religion⁸², as in the Maghreb, Islam and the Quran have sacralized the structure of society and therefore the patrilinear line of descent. The extended family, which is the core cellule of the Maghrebi society (representing the economic, social and religious core model), is organized in relation to the male dominance⁸³. Women's cycle of life is defined on the male status: hence, female status evolves from being mothers, sisters, wives or daughters. Especially in rural areas, the traditional society still influences women's freedom in personal decisions, and the will of the single woman is definitely influenced by the group and community decision.

As Campani⁸⁴ notes, over the years there have been several changes in the social structure which has slightly been modified. In fact, several processes have paved the way for modifications in gender relation⁸⁵.

The consequences that the entrance of women in the labour market has, as instance, is a key factor toward a broader openness and independence of women's role despite the low rate of employed women. The general development of the wage system, leading to an increase of individualism in societies where the value of the *umma* is central, has challenged the significance of the traditional structures. To what concerns women's situation, work has represented an ally to the struggle of their rights, giving them the chance to acquire firstly economical independence and then to better their status and the claim of their personal rights⁸⁶.

⁸² But it is also true that not all of them have a religious root, as the dependent status attributed to women also characterizes other countries. The disparity in gender relations can be traced in most of the European countries. In fact, an example of how women status has been considered as secondary in respect to men is quite evident in examining the acceptance of the women's suffrage. As instance, in Italy it was introduced only on the 31st January 1945. (<http://www.camera.it/512?conoscerelacamera=39> access 5/11/2012)

⁸³ Campani (2000).

⁸⁴ Campani (2000).

⁸⁵ As De Poli notes, the processes of colonization and emigration have caused as instance the disaggregation of the traditional social structures, which consequently has led to the possibility of altering the established gender roles (De Poli 2007).

⁸⁶ Campani (2000).

TAB. 11⁸⁷

Tableau 2.1 : Activité des citoyens âgés de 15 ans et plus

Année	2007		2008				2009
	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I
Population active (en 10 ³)	5 697	5 728	5 884	5 884	5 864	5 886	5 935
Taux d'activité	44,4	44,3	45,2	45,0	44,5	44,4	44,5
- Hommes	71,0	71,1	72,0	71,7	71,1	72,0	71,0
- Femmes	19,1	18,9	19,8	19,6	19,4	18,3	19,0

Source : Direction de la Statistique-HCP.

To what concerns the Moroccan situation as instance, this process has considerably improved women's situation and rights. During the colonial period, nothing had been done in order to change women's rights: the *shari'a* was actively adopted, even though the colonial power had weakened the role that the head of household wielded, by altering the traditional social structure. Unfortunately, as modernization was perceived as a negative outcome of colonialism, women did not take advantage of it in order to enter into the social and political fields. In the political arena, two main factions were created: on the one hand, the traditionalist party that traced in the loss of traditions the cause of colonization itself, and on the other hand the modernist faction, which claimed that an introduction of reforms being at the same time warrantor of traditions and of the Moroccan identity was possible. During the 1940's, the debate ended in a stalemate being the political arena involved in the national struggle of independence. As the latter had been acquired, the debate was opened again and the progressive and reformist discourse affirmed. The reform of education held in 1963 in Morocco implemented the mandatory teaching for both

⁸⁷ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., "Analyse d'impact de la crise financière et économique mondiale sur la pauvreté et la situation sociale des MRE et sur le flux de leurs transferts", Octobre 2009, Ministère de la Communauté Marocaine Résident à l'étranger, available at: URL: [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report\(French\).undp.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report(French).undp.pdf)

sexes and as a consequence, from the 1970's women left the farm labour where they mainly worked before, and joined the working class, sector developed by the process of development of the manufacturing industry⁸⁸.

In the Moroccan case, women's condition is not considered as an official concern, and the pushes toward an improvement of women situation have spurred from the people and not from the government authority. Despite the difficulty in achieving results, I will now analyse the personal code reforms delving into the issue of the Mudawana, namely how it differs in Morocco and how it influences women's status.

4.2. MOROCCAN WOMEN AND POLITICS: THE CASE OF THE MUDAWWANA REFORMS

It is worth considering the Moroccan women situation through an exhaustive discourse, as to deconstruct the general perception that does not properly distinguish the differences among the countries of the Middle East. Therefore, I will now stress the peculiarities of the Moroccan society highlighting the relative openness of the King Mohammad VI in reforming the Mudawana, the Moroccan personal code, and the role women played in succeeding in this important process.

As Salih highlights, Moroccan women do not have an equal access and weight in the political field, being limited by the patriarchal structure embedded in the society. Despite being considered as second class citizens, their successes are based on

⁸⁸ Campani (2000).

the fact that they fruitfully achieved some improvements thanks to the fact that their struggles “take place within, and not despite, nation- states’ control”⁸⁹. In fact, the emerging importance of women’s action within the Moroccan political arena is evident when analyzing the recent reforms of the Mudawana, even though this is not to say that the path towards a better women status is accomplished. In fact, there is still need for a more pervasive change within the political framework in the Moroccan society, in order to achieve an authentic democratic system with an equal access of both sexes.

In analyzing the Moroccan politics, it is important to highlight a peculiar aspect: being the King at the same time a religious authority (*Amir al-Mu’minin*⁹⁰) and the maximum political authority, the political and religious elements frequently overlaps and this issue is at the very core of the reformist discourse⁹¹. An outcome of this situation can be traced in the politicization of the family law. As Dieste demonstrates, as the nation-state was born, family law, that before was regulated by the *shari’a*, was eventually codified by national laws. This process of codification has been achieved by stressing selected elements in order to strengthen and affirm national unity⁹²: so that, the family code became an instrument helpful in the homogenization of the country process. What is more, this order of things has been strengthened by manipulating the

⁸⁹ Salih (2003).

⁹⁰ “Commander of the Believers”.

⁹¹ The reformist discourse has influenced several fields. As instance, from the 1970’s studies on Islamic law are mostly based on the relation between sacred texts and social practice. There has been therefore a slow process that made the human and social issue emerging as to highlight a certain discontinuity between rule and practice (Dieste, M. J.LL., «Demonstrating Islam: The Conflict of Text and the Mudawana Reform in Morocco», *The Muslim World*, Vol. 99, n.1, (2009) pp. 134-154).

⁹² As instance, the Mudawana codified in 1957-1958 helped in boosting the Maliki (a Sunni school of religious law) conservatory religious ideas throughout the Moroccan country but at the same time it reflects some points of the Western law, such as the notion of marriage, conceived as a union between two persons. Despite being based on sacred texts, it was also a remark of the importance given to the patrilineal links, read by certain scholars as a sign of gratitude given by monarchy to the local tribes and the support they assured it (Dieste 2009). Concerning the nature of laws, it has been noted that while the Personal Code was influenced by the Maliki religious ideas, other laws were inspired by civil law, notably the penal code and the Constitution (Sadiqi, F., “Morocco”, in AAVV, *Women’s rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress amid Resistance*, (2010), Lanham, Maryland: Freedom House, pp. 311- 336).

general perception of the family law in such a subtle way, as to make it perceived as sacred and inalterable⁹³.

It is within this framework and with this premises that the reforms of the Mudawana, the Moroccan family law, should be analysed. It is important to highlight that during the 1980's Hassan II adhered to several improvement and structural adjustments concerning human rights and economic measures, in order to overcome the financial crisis. It is in this period that a sort of liberalization of the political arena allowed several women's organizations to born, laying the foundations to ask for reforms.

The struggle for the Mudawana reform started in the early 1990's, when the Union of the Feminine Action collects a million signatures, asking and obtaining a reform of the code. Before that important success, Mudawana was perceived as a sacred and incontrovertible text being legitimized by the *fiqh*⁹⁴, and based on religious sources: that is one of the reasons why the reformist attempts have been previously ostracized. The project of reform was mainly directed at slightly change some points, but most of the text remained unvaried. In fact, the ultimate success of the reform in 1993 was the reform itself as from that moment on, Mudawana was not perceived as a dogmatic text but cline to modifications⁹⁵.

From 1993 onward women's organizations kept asking for reform carrying on campaigns in order to make people aware of the issue. Their campaigns succeeded and Mohamed VI included several women⁹⁶, as well as religious personalities, in the Royal Commission he created in order to deal with another successful Mudawana reform in 2004. Despite the fact that the King started in 2001 to work on a reform of the Personal Code, "the final push for reform came after May 2003 terrorist attack in

⁹³ Dieste (2009), p. 137

⁹⁴ The Islamic jurisprudence.

⁹⁵ Dieste (2009).

⁹⁶ Wuerth, O. (2005). "The Reform of the Moudawana: The Role of Women's Civil Society Organizations in Changing the Personal Status Code of Morocco". *Hawwa* 3 (3): 319

Casablanca [that] stoked widespread antifundamentalist sentiment”⁹⁷. The need of a reform was more than ever required. The main points of the reform were the

“restriction of the *wali’s*⁹⁸ functions; raising the minimum age for marriage (18 years); restriction of polygamy, justified only before a judge; equality between men and women when asking for divorce, restriction of unilateral divorce; equal rights of inheritance received by the grandsons, indistinctly through paternal or maternal line”⁹⁹.

Genre inequalities within the Moroccan society are evident, as in fact Mudawana has institutionalized genre discrimination mirroring a patriarchal system and making difficult every reformist tentative. Being based on *shari’a* assumptions, Mudawana has reinforced the dependence that women have towards men as “the traditional interpretations of the *shari’a* that form the basis of family laws have strengthened the male breadwinner/female home maker dichotomy”¹⁰⁰. Women’s organizations have brought into question the patriarchal system, trying to investigate about the real origins of this system, that is the historical reasons why it has been perpetuated in their opinion: “the fact that the Mudawana was masterminded only by men and was based on religious law was meant to make it ‘sacred’ and not open to public debate”¹⁰¹. What liberal feminists were asking for was to contribute and participate to the public space, dismantling those impediments. The reform in 2004 was mainly based on three principles: “equality between spouses, family equilibrium, and the protection of the children”¹⁰².

So that, the reform of the Mudawana in 2004 has represented a significant step in the Moroccan society towards an improvement of the democratic political

⁹⁷ Sadiqi, (2010), p. 312

⁹⁸ Governors of the Moroccan regions.

⁹⁹ Dieste (2009).

¹⁰⁰ Moghadam, V. M. (2007), “Globalization, States, and Social Rights: Negotiating Women’s Economic Citizenship in the Maghreb”, *Monthly Review*, June, 31, p. 11

¹⁰¹ Sadiqi, F., Ennaji, M., (2006), “The feminization of Public Space: Women’s Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco”, *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol 2, n. 2, p. 101

¹⁰² Sadiqi, (2006), p. 108

system¹⁰³. In fact, the reform was important not only in order to improve women's rights, but in a broader extent also to modernize the religious Moroccan institutions, to eventually accomplish Morocco's intentions to adhere to several international conventions signed by the government but never fully fulfilled¹⁰⁴ and to increment women's participation in economy and in society¹⁰⁵. As Pittman puts it,

“the case broadens knowledge of the dynamic activism that exists in women's movements in the Maghreb as well as describes the activists' contributions that enabled the reform of the *Moudawana*, such as their capacity to utilize and actively create political opportunities; to enhance the depth and strength of their advocacy efforts; to extend the reach and influence of their alliances and coalitions; and to remain flexible and adaptive in their campaign strategy”¹⁰⁶.

But the success of the Mudawana's reform is only the first step in order to achieve an equalitarian genre status. In fact, the problem of the implementation of the 2004 reform is very much the core of a complete success. As Wuerth stresses, there is still “a large gap between law in theory and law in practice; social realities may impede the application and realization of the law as it was intended”¹⁰⁷. This gap is also noted by Sadiqi:

“the ongoing societal influences of patriarchy, tradition, illiteracy, and ignorance may prevent women from invoking their rights or reporting crimes such as rape, child abuse, sexual exploitation, and domestic violence”¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰³ As Kelly notes, the success of the 2004 Mudawana reform inspired other countries' reforms of the Personal Code, such as Algeria in 2005, where the women's rights were improved by bettering their power and autonomy. Also in Jordan the situation has improved: in fact, the government has created in 2009 special courts that deal with honour crimes (Kelly, S., “Hard-won progress and a long road ahead : women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa”, in AAVV, *Women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress amid Resistance*, (2010), Lanham, Maryland: Freedom House, pp. 1-14).

¹⁰⁴ Moghadam (2007) cites various international conventions that the Moroccan government has stipulated, such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, CEDAW, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (p. 13)

¹⁰⁵ Moghadam (2007)

¹⁰⁶ Pittman(2007).

¹⁰⁷ Wuerth (2005), p. 324

¹⁰⁸ Sadiqi, (2010), p. 313

TAB. 12¹⁰⁹

Issue	1957-58 <i>Moudawana</i> ¹	2004 <i>Moudawana</i> ²
Marital Age and Consent	At 18 years of age for males, 15 for females; judges can authorize marriage of girls younger than 15 years of age. <i>Wali</i> (marital tutor) mandated.	At age 18 for both males and females; judges now required to provide a written justification if authorizing underage marriage. <i>Wali</i> optional but not required.
Polygamy	Men may have up to four spouses. Permission of the first wife not required to take an additional wife; recommended but not legally required that the new wife be informed of her husband's first wife at the time of marriage. Theoretically possible for a wife to ask her husband to commit to monogamy in the marriage contract, but no legal mechanism for enforcing the agreement.	Judicial authorization required to take a second wife; husband must have an exceptional reason for seeking an additional wife and prove his ability to financially support both wives and offspring equally. The first wife must be present when the husband appears before the judge to seek authorization. Wife can stipulate a monogamy clause in the marriage contract.
Responsibilities and Rights	Husband is the legal head of household and the wife is legally required to obey the husband. Husband is legally required to financially support the wife.	Husband and wife are joint heads of household; legal requirement of obedience abolished. The husband is still legally required to financially support the wife.
Divorce and Repudiation	Repudiation executed through verbal pronouncement ("I repudiate thee"), without cause or judicial control (but notarized by an <i>adoul</i>); wife's presence not required. Two types of divorce available to women: (1) divorce "for cause" (five causes: harm, financial non-maintenance, abandonment,	All previously specified forms of divorce were retained. Repudiation placed under judicial oversight and wife must be present so she knows she is being repudiated. It remains an option available only to males.

¹⁰⁹ Malchiodi, B., "Assessing the impact of the 2004 Moudawana on Women's Rights in Morocco", Participant in the 2008 Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Morocco: The Delicate Balance Between Traditional Identity and Modernity, available from: URL: http://www.outreachworld.org/Files/u_texas/Women_and_family_law_Morocco_curriculum.pdf (access 3/11/2012)

Divorce and Repudiation (continued)	long term imprisonment, or abstinence), or (2) a “negotiated repudiation” where the wife pays the husband to repudiate her (<i>khul’</i> divorce).	Two new forms of divorce: (1) mutual consent (initiated by both spouses), and (2) irreconcilable differences (can be initiated by either spouse).
Filiation and Nationality	Filiation legally conceived of as a child’s integration into his or her father’s patrilineage. Children can only acquire Moroccan nationality through the father.	The child of a non-Moroccan father and Moroccan mother and can acquire his or her nationality through the mother. Judges can order paternity testing to establish filiation. ³
Custody and Guardianship	Sons remained with their mother until puberty, then the father assumed custody. Daughters remained with their mothers until marriage, at which time they became the legal responsibility of their husbands. The father is always the legal tutor (guardian), even if the mother is the physical custodian. A mother can lose custody of her children upon remarriage or if she moves to a location too distant for the father to exercise his rights as the legal tutor. Father is “third in line” in the legally dictated sequence for custody, after the mother and maternal female relatives. (The 1993 revision made the father “second in line,” ahead of maternal female relatives.)	Upon reaching fifteen years of age children can choose either their mother or father as custodian. Distinction between physical custody and legal tutorship remains. A mother no longer automatically loses custody for remarrying or moving; the father must petition the court within a specified period of time to gain custody.
Marital Property	Completely separate estates in terms of both property/wealth brought into the marriage and property/wealth acquired during the marriage.	Spouses can opt to enter into a prenuptial agreement specifying alternative arrangements.

Therefore, it is necessary to dismantle the barriers, mostly social, that impede the application of the reform, and in this view the role of the civil society action and the achievement of a legitimate legal support are important. Another element that interferes with the implementation is the different contexts that women have in rural and in urban areas. In fact, women living in urban areas share other needs rather than

law knowledge because of the poor conditions in which they live. At the same time, also urban women have difficulties towards the Mudawana reform. In fact, despite a better juridical knowledge, there are still certain factors that impede their freedom. As instance, they can suffer from social pressure that inhibits their conquer of the social space, as in the case they want to enter in the labour market. What is more, they also have legal barriers, due to a certain dependence of their legal status that links women to men. As instance, women need the judge's permission in order to file a civil suit against her husband. Wuerth analyzes also the logistic impediments, which overlap with the social ones: there is no mechanism that assures the judges to adhere to the reform and it is difficult to reach some areas of the country in order to spread the knowledge about the reform¹¹⁰.

In fact, the reform of the Mudawana can be considered only the first step, tough essential, toward a process of democratization within the Moroccan political arena: if not helped by a freer framework, reforms will not be fully implemented. So that, the need of a real and concrete process of democratization has to be entrenched with the need and the urgency of a better women's social status. It is also evident how women's organizations can implement the success of those changes, being both the protagonists of the changes of their status and of the general political freedom and rights in Morocco.

So that in my opinion, it is possible to say that women's situation in Morocco has considerably improved over the last years, even though those reforms represent the point of departure, not the arrival point toward a completely equal gender relation.

In my view, a parenthesis on the Moroccan context in what concerns women's rights is a key element in order to better individuate the background from where migrant women come from. Analyzing the Mudawana means analyzing not only the importance of the religious element within Maghrebi societies, but also the rights

¹¹⁰ Wuerth, (2005)

accorded to women and the force that those women have in struggling to access to a better status, to acquire more rights and to overthrow gender relations.

Moreover, the study of the case of the Mudawana reforms helps in recognize the power they acquire from the group struggle: in fact, the importance of the networks they create once arrived in the new country is one of the best examples of how they use the strength of their community in dealing not only with the everyday problems, but also with the major ones, such as the mastery of the new language, the structure of the new society, the search of a job or the creation of trade unions.

4.3. WOMEN IN MIGRATION

The feminization process of migration analysed in the previous chapter, eventually characterizes also the migratory movements from Morocco.

Several elements played a part in this process, both in the departure and in the arrival countries. To what concerns the departure country, the process of modernization and the changes within the gender relations that were creeping in Morocco, opened a breach into the traditional cultural structures eroding the impediments that before impeded women to autonomously emigrate¹¹¹. In fact, as Ouali¹¹² notes, individual women migration before the Second World War was quite unlikely possible, as female status hindered them in an inferior position in respect to men and in order to emigrate they had to require their men's permit.

¹¹¹ Campani (2000).

¹¹² Ouali (2003).

TAB. 13¹¹³

Les femmes dans la population marocaine immigrée

Pays	Total de Marocains	Part des femmes
France (1995)	572 700	43,7 %
Pays-Bas (1991)	163 700	44,5 %
Belgique (1995)	145 600	46,7 %
Italie (1993)	90 600	11,5 %
Allemagne (1995)	81 900	26,0 %
Espagne (1991)	49 500	33,3 %

As far as concerns the arrival countries, other issues contributed to the feminization of migration. First of all, the process got mainly boosted by the increasing presence of familiar reunification within the migratory movements. Secondly, the changing structure of the labour market helped in creating a gap perfectly filled by migrant women. In fact, it saw the increasing demand in certain sectors where the female presence was privileged, namely those characterized by high work intensity and services, such as private services, social, health and the sex business¹¹⁴. What is more, this process led to the increase of the Moroccan migrant movements as previously those sectors were not easily accessible to Northern African women being the domestic service mainly absorbed by Eastern European, Portuguese and Spanish women¹¹⁵.

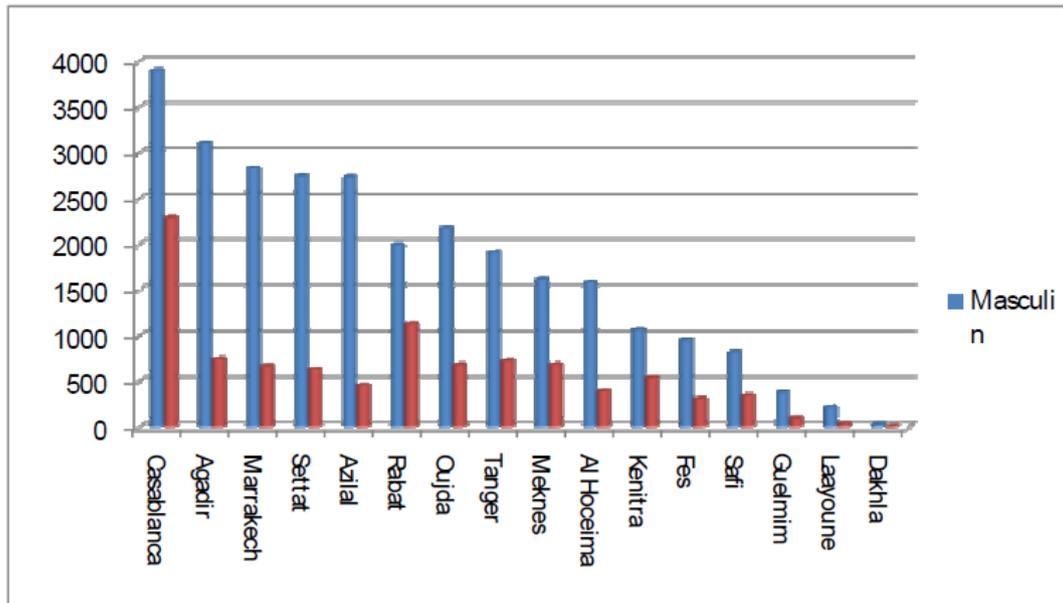
¹¹³ Ouali, N., *Les Marocaines en Europe: diversification des profils migratoires*, in « Hommes et Migrations », No. 1242 (Mars-avril 2003), pp. 71-82

¹¹⁴ Campani (2000).

¹¹⁵ The situation for what concerns male migration was quite different: the male demand was still high, as they were asked in certain sectors such as mines, metallurgy and building industry (Ouali, 2003).

TAB. 14¹¹⁶

Emigrants récents par région de départ selon le sexe, 2004



So that over the years, Moroccan migration got feminized through two mechanisms: family reunification and female individual labour migration¹¹⁷. In fact, it is from the 1980's that the migratory movements from the Northern African country saw an emerging presence of women. Family reunification was the principal means they used to emigrate, but being their legal status so related and dependent to their men, it caused the solidification of their image as oppressed and submissive¹¹⁸. Moreover, this perception was eventually stressed by the Muslim practices and costumes and the fact that Moroccan women barely entered into the labour market¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁶ Khachani, M., (2010a), *Le tissu marocain et le traitement de la question migratoire*, report made by Association Marocaine d'études et de recherches sur les migrations, [cited 2012 6 Nov 2012], available from : URL : http://www.amerm.ma/publications/publications_tele_18.pdf

¹¹⁷ Ouali (2003).

¹¹⁸ This stereotype had been unchanged for years, but as Campani notes, it is slightly changing in regard to the second generation especially in Belgium and France (Campani 2000).

¹¹⁹ Campani, G., (2000), *Genere, etnia e classe : migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identità*, Pisa : Edizioni ETS

The process of feminization was partly due to the International Monetary Fund measures, which negatively affected women's situation during the 1970's. In fact, the structural adjustments imposed by the IMF were mainly directed at changing the structure and the national management that, according to the a competitive market model, was the cause of structural inefficiencies such as low productivity, low quality products and low competitiveness.

Previously, women had been the principal target having benefited of the state work, that was assuring not only a decent salary, but also social and health services and high quality conditions of work. As a consequence, the outcomes of the IMF structural adjustments invested several aspects of women's life¹²⁰. As instance, as for what concerns education the state was reducing the investments, so that the quality of education rapidly lowered and the rate of illiteracy raised. In the health sector, the loss of the state funding mirrored a decrease of the quality of the services provided¹²¹. Also the female unemployment rate was negatively affected by the national cuts, as most of the women were working in the public sector, that was getting privatized. The eventual consequences of the women's unemployment were the rising average age of marriage or the commitment on their husbands' earnings¹²².

“With women out of the labour force, especially out of the state sector where they tended to be concentrated, structural adjustment has been doubly successful in diminishing the state sector and undermining the support it had among women as an important social group”¹²³

The process of urbanization increased this negative situation, by eroding traditional familiar structures and solidarities. A general economic crisis eventually

¹²⁰ They also provoked unease among the population, so that in 1990 a popular uprising and a general strike demonstrated against the government's decision to undertake the measures imposed by the IMF (Chossudovsky 1998).

¹²¹ Not to mention the fact that in other countries, such as Egypt, half of the monetary aids in the health sector coming from the United States within the framework of IMF adjustments, were spent in providing contraceptives that were not testified and approved in the US (Hatem 1994).

¹²² Hatem, M. F., “Privatization and the demise of state feminism in Egypt”, in Sparr, P., (ed.) (1994), *Mortgaging Women's Lives: feminist critiques of structural adjustments*, London: Zed Books, pp. 40-57

¹²³ Hatem, M. (1994), p. 56-57

worsened the economical background and migration was therefore seen as a means to improve both the social and economical condition¹²⁴.

Unfortunately, women are the first target of the general casualization process that is taking place at a worldwide scale. In some working sectors in fact, the only way to enter in, is to adapt to precariousness which has become a strategy of the labour market. Moroccan women who emigrate to the Emirates or the Gulf countries are exposed to this mechanism. In fact, they are recruited by a system of patronage (*kafala*)¹²⁵ which allows the employers to seize their documents until the end of the work contracts, impeding free circulation. Moroccan women are mostly demanded in primary school teaching, care or domestic assistance. Despite being part of the *umma*, they are not guaranteed any rights. Quite the opposite, Gulf countries are increasingly giving the preference to Asiatic workers, who are cheaper, docile, politically neutral and most of all do not have the intention to permanently settle down¹²⁶.

In this perspective, also the case of the *Freshuelva* shows the case. Analysed as an example of bilateral agreements on Moroccan workers in foreign countries, it also reveals the increase of casualization that affects women migrant condition. In 2007, the *Freshuelva* (an association of production and export of strawberries) and the ANAPEC (the national agency for the promotion of employment and skills) decided to select 3,000 female Moroccan workers to be employed in the seasonal picking of fruits, which represents a key resource for the Spanish region of Huelva.

The process of selection brings out the preference accorded to married women and mothers¹²⁷. This choice has been justified by the *Freshuelva* as an ethic choice, as

¹²⁴ Ouali, N., *Les Marocaines en Europe: diversification des profils migratoires*, in « Hommes et Migrations », No. 1242 (Mars-avril 2003), pp. 71-82

¹²⁵ *Kafala* is a system created in the Gulf countries by which the work of the immigrants is excluded from the regulation of the national workers' rights. The occupation of the immigrants defines their classification and also indicates the amount of taxes to be paid by the immigrant's employer in order to obtain the sojourn and work permit (Bret 2007).

¹²⁶ Peraldi (2007).

¹²⁷ Peraldi (2007).

those women were probably more in need of a job¹²⁸. But according to several scholars¹²⁹, the choice was rather selective: in fact, the possibility that married women or mothers would have prolonged their staying over the legally accorded period would have been higher among spinsters rather than married women. The official aim of such a politic is the attempt to contain the presence of undocumented migrants in the Iberian country¹³⁰.

So that, as for what concerns the job opportunities that are usually offered to migrant women, it has been noted how it does trace out a sexist division of the job. In fact, working environments reserved to women usually mirror the activities to which they are traditionally associated, as the domestic service or the textile industry. Unfortunately, working concentration of migrant women usually realizes in the fields that do not offer a positive social valorization. On the other side of the coin, it is also true that some of those working situations often offer advantages for women that work in those sectors, allowing an easy management of the family, a protected environment and a favorable milieu¹³¹ in order to integrate within the receiving society¹³². Another working environment where women play an important role is the health care assistance. This is partly due to the constant ageing of the European population added to an increase of the life's years expectations: this situation inevitably brings a significant increase of the demand of care assistance for elders, which is not possibly solvable within the familiar unit¹³³.

¹²⁸ The wage was about 34 euros a day (Peraldi 2007).

¹²⁹ Zeneidi, D., (2011) but also other voices support this thesis, as the website <http://www.storiemigranti.org/spip.php?article59>

¹³⁰ Miranda, A., *Les multiples situations migratoires féminines dans la Méditerranée*, « Femme en migration. Travail, biznes, exil, asile » (sous la direction de A. Kadri, A. Miranda), Naqd, numéro 28, 2010, pp. 21-33

¹³¹ This is the case of Spanish women that used to work in France as *concièrges*, being a work that allows to deal with both the productive and the reproductive women's roles.

¹³² Pedraza, S. *Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender*, in "Annual Review of Sociology", Vol. 17 (1991), pp. 303-325

¹³³ Bettio, F. Simonazzi, A. Villa, P. *Change in care regimes and female migration: the 'care drain' in the Mediterranean*, in "Journal of European Social Policy," Issue 16 (2006), pp. 271-285

PART 3- MOROCCAN WOMEN MIGRATION IN FRANCE AND ITALY

1. FEMINIZATION OF FRENCH IMMIGRATION

France is among the oldest immigration countries in Europe. As a matter of fact, during the 20th century only in two occasions the immigration movement has been interrupted: firstly it happened during the 1930's, because of the economical depression that the European country experienced. The restrictive politics was even strengthened during the Vichy period, when a xenophobic and anti-Semitic climate was toughened¹. After that period, the years from 1945 to 1975 have been named the '*trente glorieuses*' because of the economic boom that interested the European country. During this phase, the immigration movement was characterized by an intensive turnover of immigrant workforce coming from a broad range of countries². It is in this period that immigration movement experienced another halt: in fact, after the oil crisis in 1974, both the entry of immigrant workers and the familiar reunification had been severely limited³.

¹ Héran, F., (2012), *Parlons immigration*, La Documentation Française : Paris

² Withol de Wenden, C., « Dispositivi istituzionali, azione delle reti e modalità di inserimento economico : l'esperienza francese e il caso di Parigi », in Ambrosini, M., Abbatecola, E.,(eds.), (2004), *Immigrazione e metropoli: un confronto europeo*, Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 129- 154

³ Only when the Council of State stressed the fact that family reunification is among the alienable rights established by the international law, it was reintroduced. It was also set a project, eventually failed, by which a million Algerians would have returned to their native country (Héran 2012).

STOCKS IN 2010		
Immigrant population (thousands)		6,684.8
Proportion of immigrants (%)		10.7
Total population (thousands)		62,787.4
FLOWS IN 2005-2010		
	NUMBER (thousands)	RATE (%)
Net migration	96.1	1.5
Natural increase	244.4	3.9
Total increase	340.6	5.4

TAB. 15⁴

Institut national d'études démographiques www.ined.fr & Population Europe www.population-europe.com

Nowadays, immigration in France is a well-established reality, as the data collected in 2012 demonstrate. In general, according to the Insee, immigrants in France represent 10% of the total population⁵. In 1982 they were 4 million, while in 2008 the number increased to 5,2 million: this growth is twice faster than the one related to the native population⁶.

⁴ www.ined.fr

⁵ However, the percentage characterizing the French situation is lower than in other European countries: in Switzerland the immigrants' rate in 2008 was almost 23%, in Spain 14% and in Austria 16%. Despite the relatively important percentage, migrants represent one quarter of the rise of the French population every year (Hèran 2012).

⁶ Hèran, F., 2012.

TAB. 16⁷

1. Caractéristiques des nouveaux migrants selon le motif d'admission au séjour

	Ensemble	Femmes	Hommes	Ancienneté de présence moyenne en 2010 (en années)	Origine principale
Migration professionnelle	9	3	15	7,6	Afrique hors Maghreb
Migration familiale	73	83	63	2,8	Maghreb
Conjoints de Français	38	43	33	1,1	Maghreb
Regroupement familial	9	14	3	0,4	Maghreb
Autres membres de familles de Français	11	11	11	5,1	Afrique hors Maghreb
Liens personnels et familiaux	15	15	16	7,8	Maghreb
Réfugiés	12	9	15	3,1	Asie (Sri-Lanka)
Réfugiés (y c. protection subsidiaire)	11	8	14	3,2	Asie (Sri-Lanka)
Familles de réfugiés	1	1	1	2,4	Asie (Sri-Lanka)
Autres	6	5	7	9,9	Afrique hors Maghreb
Ensemble des nouveaux migrants	100	100	100	3,8	Maghreb

Champ : signataires du CAI ayant obtenu un premier document de séjour en France en 2009.

Source : DSED, enquête Elipa 2010.

The rate of regular migrants entered in France was 200,000, of which 20,000 those legally entered with a working aim, whereas 100,000 those actively participating in the labour market, but arrived in France for other reasons than the work, as instance familiar, asylum or studying motivations⁸. The total number of migrants within the family reunification mechanism is 80,000- of which 50,000 are represented by the relatives of both the second generation and the naturalized immigrants. As for what concerns the children of migrants, the data estimate that there are 3,1 million considered between 18 and 50 years. As a consequence of such data, the second generation and the children of migrants represent together 20% of the French population⁹.

⁷ Domergue, F., Jourdan, V., "L'intégration sur le marché du travail des signataires du Contrat d'accueil et d'intégration en France en 2009", in *Dossier Immigrés et descendants d'immigrés en France, édition 2012*, available at : URL : http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/docs/ffc/ref/IMMFRA12_c_D1_integ.pdf

⁸ It should be stressed the fact that those represent five times the immigrants of the first group.

⁹ Héran, F., 2012.

1.1. MOROCCAN IMMIGRATION

Moroccan immigration in France has been predominantly linked with global events, as the World Wars, the start and the end of the Moroccan protectorate and its independence¹⁰. It may be traced two phases of Moroccan immigration: one from 1912 to 1956, and the second from the Moroccan independence and the 1963 Franco-Moroccan Agreement on workforce up to the present¹¹. It is in this second phase that French immigration has been more extensively analysed: as it was getting more stable and settled, the mere economical reasons that trace in migration an answer to the post-war problems, was not sufficient to the debate on the issue. It appeared clear, in fact, that immigration was involving more profound problems, related to the challenge of the notions of citizenship, identity, Islam, exclusion and multiculturalism¹².

I will now briefly sum up the phases and features of the Moroccan immigration in France.

During the First World War, the number of Moroccan workers in France rapidly grew. In fact, from 1914 to 1918 it raised from 700 to 20,000, among which there mainly were male migrants, working in employment gaps left by French citizens at war¹³. Being those migration movements connected to war, once it was over immigration rates rapidly decreased, and only by 1921 it increased again: from that year to 1929, the rate of Moroccans grew from 15,000 to 21,000. According to a report

¹⁰ While the most conspicuous movements were linked to those events, Belbah reminds that Moroccan presence in France was already in force before 1912 as between the countries were maintaining neighborly relations (Belbah, M., "Pour une histoire des Marocains en France", in *Hommes et Migrations*, n. 1242, (Mars- Avril 2003), pp. 18- 31).

¹¹ Belbah, M., 2003.

¹² Withol de Wenden, C., 2004.

¹³ Moroccan workers at the time were recluded by three ministers, the "l'Office de la main d'œuvre agricole (ministère de l'Agriculture), le Service des travailleurs coloniaux (ministère de la Guerre) et le Service de la main d'œuvre étrangère (ministère du Travail) » (Belbah 2003).

made by the Minister of Agriculture in 1927, they were employed in mines, steel industries and in post-war reconstruction works¹⁴.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, France leant again on its colonies in order to strengthen its power at war. During the first years of war, 28,000 workers and 12,000 soldiers were recruited, and this trend lowered only with the defeat of the European country: between 1939 and 1940, 5,000 Moroccans were employed in agriculture or in weapon and mine factories. Over the war years, only considering the Moroccans hired as soldiers, more than 70,000 among them were hired by the French army, including those who collaborated with the liberation. As the war was over, the presence of the Northern Africans in France lowered, and from 1945 to 1946 it reduced from 44,000 to 16,458¹⁵.

After the end of the Second World War, a new phase of Moroccan immigration in France started. At that moment, the two countries had to relate to each other from a new perspective, as the Northern African state eventually gained independence. In 1956, they signed a mutual declaration by which citizens of both countries in both national territories were granted their rights. But as Morocco underwent the passage from colony to sovereign state, its internal situation worsened, leading to an increase of the emigration movement directed to France. Even though in 1974 the general immigration halt was meant to stop the immigration movement, Moroccan immigration was moderately altered by this decision. In fact, from 1974 to 1986 Moroccan presence augmented by 90%, and they represented over the mentioned years from 7,7% to 12,6% of the total number of immigrants in France. It is in this period, and because of the immigration halt, that family reunification and the presence of women migrants started to increase¹⁶.

¹⁴ Belbah, M., 2003.

¹⁵ Belbah, M., 2003.

¹⁶ If during the 1960's women represented 20% of the total immigrants, during the early 1980's they reached 40% (Belbah 2003).

TAB. 17¹⁷

Tableau 3.13: Secteur d'activité des MRE en 2005 (en pourcent) : France

Secteur d'activité	Pourcentage du secteur	Total
Agriculture, forêt et pêche	6,7	8,1
Mines et énergie	1,4	0,7
Industrie de transformation (y compris l'artisanat)	23,2	23,2
Bâtiment et travaux publics	17	19,6
Secteur secondaire	41,7	43,5
Commerce	13,4	13,7
Transports et communication	8,4	6,6
Hébergement et Restauration	5	5,5
Autre Services	24,6	22,2
Secteur Tertiaire	51,5	48
Activités mal désignées	0,1	0,4
Total	100	100

Source: Marocains Résidant à l'Etranger L'utilisation des Transferts Résultats d'enquête 2008 Observatoire de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l'Etranger 2008 page 65

TAB.18¹⁸

Tableau 3.1: Répartition (pourcent) de l'ensemble des Marocains résidant en France à enquêtés selon le sexe

Pourcentage des individus Marocains résidant en	Masculin	Féminin	Total	Effectif
France	52,4	47,6	100	5294
Total	54,6	45,4	100	10948

Source : HCP-CERED, « L'Enquête sur l'Insertion Socio-économique des MRE dans les pays d'accueil, 2005 ».

¹⁷ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., "Analyse d'impact de la crise financière et économique mondiale sur al pauvreté et la situation sociale des MRE et sur le flux de leurs transferts", Octobre 2009, Ministère de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l'étranger, available at: URL: [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report\(French\).undp.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report(French).undp.pdf)

¹⁸ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., 2009.

1.2. MOROCCAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE FRENCH LABOUR MARKET

Migrant women have always been part of the French labour market, but the studies on this topic are quite recent, despite the long history of immigration in the country¹⁹. The image of the migrant woman has been consolidated over the last forty years. Their perception is often based on stereotypes, so that they are regarded as illiterate, with few resources, that had to deal with a patriarchal system and with male predominance. The scheme used to perceive women's role was therefore solidifying the representation that links men to work and women to culture, reinforcing their invisibility. Over this period, even though their presence in the labour market was underestimated, several studies were carried on the cultural discourse about their adaptation difficulties or the passage from tradition to modernity. In fact, from the beginning the attention was given to cultural factors despite their role within the labour market.²⁰

In this paragraph I will outline and document women migrants' presence in the job market over the years, highlighting how it did change according to the modifications occurred to it.

During the 19th century, working migrant women were usually unmarried and young, and once they got married they usually left the job activity. Migrant women who carried on working usually had specific jobs, such as in the domestic or sex sectors: those were in fact jobs that kept women in the private space of the family, and that did not question the established social order²¹. From the second half of the 19th century, it emerged the figure of the working class women. This new image of the female worker was mirroring the eventual outcomes of the industrialization process,

¹⁹ Chaïb, S., « Femmes, migration et marché du travail en France », in Hersent, M., Zaidman, C., (eds.), (2003), *Genre, travail et migrations en Europe*, Paris : Publication Paris 7, pp. 211- 238

²⁰ Chaïb, S., « Femmes immigrées et travail salarié », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* [En ligne], 16 | 2008, mis en ligne le 18 juin 2011, Consulté le 11 octobre 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/587>

²¹ Chaïb, S., 2008.

such as the distinction between family and working spheres and women's participation to the waged society. In any case, migrant women were in a lesser extent active in the labour market than their male counterparts, with the exception of specific sectors, as the domestic care²².

TAB.19²³

Population étrangère et immigrée par sexe et âge en 2009						
	1990		1999		2009	
	Étrangers	Immigrés	Étrangers	Immigrés	Étrangers	Immigrés
Part des hommes	55	52	53	50	51	49
Part de la population ayant :						
moins de 15 ans	22	7	15	5	17	5
15 à 24 ans	14	11	11	9	10	9
25 à 54 ans	48	55	52	56	49	55
55 ans ou plus	15	27	22	30	25	32
Nombre (en milliers)	3.661	4.238	3.338	4.387	3.771	5.433
Poids dans la population totale	6,3	7,3	5,5	7,3	5,9	8,4
Champ : France.						

Source : Insee, RP1990 exploitation au quart, RP1999 et 2009 de l'exploitation principale.

From the 20th century, women's presence within the job market became more evident and visible in France, and the trend that shows their presence particularly involved in the domestic sector did not halt. In fact, between the two World Wars, this sector was especially absorbing women workforce, and Italian and Portuguese maids substituted the ones coming from Switzerland, Luxembourg and Belgium²⁴.

During the interwar period, there is an increase of the immigrants' unemployment, so that they were forced to reinvent themselves by creating new forms of self-employment, usually in the trade or in the handcraft sectors. Women were also participating, either alone or abreast their husbands, or working at home, as in the case of tailors²⁵.

²² Chaïb, S., 2008.

²³ www.insee.fr

²⁴ Another switch happened in the Maghrebi countries, where native maids replaced the Europeans working in colonies, such as Spanish or Italians (Chaïb 2008).

²⁵ Chaïb, S., 2008.

After the Second World War, the opportunities for migrant women to be employed increased, but in this period there were still favoured European migrants, usually Spanish, Portuguese or Italians, both regular and irregular. This trend was continued until the 1950's- 1970's, when active European women migrants were mostly employed in industries or in the service sector: only from the 1970's Maghrebi, African and Turkish women started to substitute European nationalities²⁶.

In this period, one of the sectors that experienced a major increase of migrant women's presence was the industrial cleaning: in fact, from 1962 to 1990, the number of women employed in it augmented by 1100%²⁷.

During the 1980's, migrant women were increasingly employed in the service sector (namely in cleaning, laundry or gardening), that was undergoing to several changes. The sector was in fact characterized by the same modifications that occurred in industry from the 1950's, such as an increasing standardization and rigorous working norms, and small activities were disappearing in favor of the creation of big companies. Migrant women in this sector had to deal with precarious, part-time contracts and harsh timetables that covered early mornings, late evenings and weekends. Tough turnovers, low social security and few cases of elderly workers characterized the situation²⁸.

²⁶ Silverman, M., (1992), *Deconstructing the nation: immigration, racism and citizenship in modern France*, London: Routledge

²⁷ This was also connected to the process of outsourcing of the services that were previously integrated and in the firms. This process stressed the flexibility and mobility of women workforce (Chaïb 2008).

²⁸ Merckling, O., « L'emploi des femmes étrangères et issue de l'immigration », in *Hommes et Migrations*, n.1239 (September- October 2002), pp. 100- 111

Tableau 1 : Répartition des actifs ayant un emploi, par secteurs d'activité

	Part des immigrés dans le secteur	Structure de l'emploi	
		Immigrés	Non immigrés
Agriculture	4,7%	3,2%	6,2%
Industrie	7,7%	12,8%	14,6%
dont: textile habillement chaussures	14,1%	1,0%	0,6%
Édition, imprimerie, reproduction	21,5%	1,2%	0,4%
Automobile	7%	2%	2%
Construction	15,7%	12,2%	6,3%
dont: Construction de maisons individuelles et autres bâtiment	25,4%	1,8%	0,5%
Travaux de second œuvre murs sols	18,2%	2,0%	0,9%
Maçonnerie générale et gros œuvre	27,2%	3,4%	0,9%
Commerce de gros, intermédiaires	7,9%	3,6%	4,0%
dont : Commerce de gros et intermédiaires en textiles, habillement, chaussures	19,2%	0,3%	0,1%
Commerce de détail, réparations	8,4%	7,3%	7,6%
Commerce d'alimentation générale	21,6%	0,4%	0,1%
Commerce de détail alimentaire sur éventaires et marchés	13,8%	0,1%	0,1%
Transports	8%	4,1%	4,3%
Transports de voyageurs par taxis	23,5%	0,5%	0,1%
Hôtels et restaurants	17,5%	7,5%	3,4%
dont: Hôtels et hébergement similaire	19,0%	1,7%	0,7%
Restauration traditionnelle	19,6%	3,0%	1,2%
Restauration de type rapide	21,2%	1,2%	0,4%
Postes et télécommunications	7%	2,3%	3,0%
Activités financières	5%	2,1%	3,5%
Activités immobilières	13%	1,9%	1,2%
dont : Administration d'immeubles et autres biens immobiliers	25,2%	0,8%	0,2%
Conseils et assistance	8,5%	5,3%	5,5%
Recherche et développement	10,4%	0,7%	0,6%
Services opérationnels	16,5%	9,8%	4,7%
dont : Interim	13,5%	3,3%	2,0%
Activités de sécurité et d'enquêtes	21,9%	1,3%	0,4%
Activités de nettoyage	22,1%	3,5%	0,7%
Administration publique	3,9%	4,5%	10,4%
Éducation	6,3%	5,4%	7,7%
Santé, action sociale	7,5%	11,2%	13,1%
Activités récréatives, culturelles et sportives	9,5%	1,8%	1,6%
Services personnels et domestiques	15,2%	3,4%	1,8%
dont : Activités des ménages en tant qu'employeurs de personnel domestique	25,6%	2,4%	0,7%
Activités associatives et extra-territoriales	11,7%	2,2%	1,6%
Total		100%	100%

²⁹ Breem, Y., Jolly, C., Lainé, F., « L'emploi et les métiers des immigrés », *Infos migrations*, n° 39 - Mars 2012

Another sector where women were employed was the industry, where they were often employed thanks to a social networks made of friends and relatives³⁰. Working in industries meant to them, again, tough turnover, low wages and little career opportunities. In fact, migrant women represented the lower stair of the hierarchical structure. The average age of the employees was quite young, as they often left the job by 35-40 years because of health issues or because they change their family status, so that as a consequence there were few elderly workers. Unlike their male counterparts, their role essentially required little qualification, and their tasks mainly concerned the assembling of little pieces or the machines surveillance. In fact, they could easily absolve to those tasks thanks to the experience acquired at home or during the everyday life. The contracts given to migrant women were mostly seasonal, short- term or temporary³¹.

TAB. 21³²

SECTEURS TRAVAIL POPULATION MAROCAINE	%
Hôtellerie, restauration, banques assurances, affaires immobilières, service personnels et domestiques	24,6%
Industries de transformation	23,2%
Bâtiments et travaux publics	17%
Commerce	13,4%

³⁰ The importance of the social connections is still relevant nowadays : in fact, women's presence in the industrial sector largely depends on the networks that they exploit in order to get an access to the labour market. But while male social nets usually help them in finding a job in firms, the female ones mainly work in the informal sector, or local employments (as homekeepers, baby sitters or elderly care). This scheme has eventually strengthen the scheme that relegates women in private spaces, but at the same time it also worked during unemployment crisis, allowing migrant women to earn their lives (Merckling 2002).

³¹ Merckling, O., 2002.

³² Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., 2009.

Despite the increasing presence of migrant women within the French labour market, their employment rate is still lower than the autochthones³³. The unemployment rate of migrant women is higher than the national average, while in specific the rate of Maghrebi unemployed women reach 29,5%³⁴.

Nowadays, the presence of migrant women in the labour market can be recorded in specific sectors: industry, public sector, health sector or media and fashion industries. It has been studied that only ten out of thirty-six sectors employ foreign women, such as those related to firms services, restaurants, *haute couture* and dressmaking, domestic service, education, health sector, with an increasing presence of foreign women as to what concerns the works related to assistance to infirm people, elderly, children care or housekeepers.

In the public service they are mainly hired in education establishments, administration offices or local bureaus. It has also been studied that naturalized women experience more favourable conditions than the others, who have to cope with short-term contracts³⁵ and discouraging situations.

Women represent 80% of the total employees in the health sector and the difficulties experienced by women in this field have different origins. As to what concerns this specific sector, during the 1990's private hospitals were created in France, where the wages can be 20-30% lower than in the public ones. Another problems stems in the fact that despite the need of hospital nurses, foreign education certificates might not be recognized, condemning women that were actively working in the native countries to lower their expectations.

³³ In fact, between 15 and 64 years old, the rate of working migrant women has increased from 35% in 1990 to 47% in 2007 (Rouilleau- Berger, 2010).

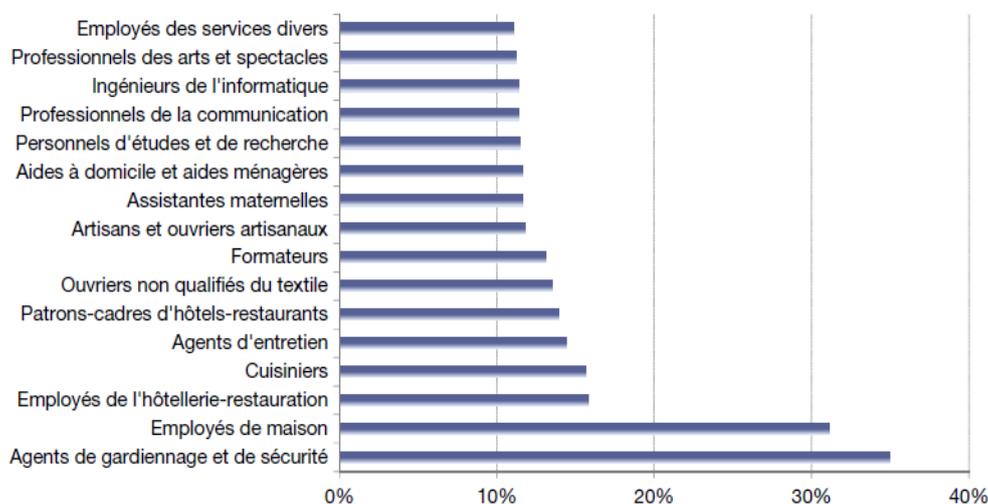
³⁴ The weight if the informal work should be taken into account, as the official data of women unemployment state that Chinese unemployed were only 4,7%, while Eastern European 40,4% (Rouilleau- Berger, 2010).

³⁵ The types of contracts may vary, but they all have in common the precariousness of the workers: usually they are auxiliary, temporary, *contrat-solidarité*- contracts that have a public use, or *contrat-jeune*- contracts addressed to the young (Merckling 2002).

The last sectors where they mostly work is the media and fashion industry. In this case, contracts are usually short-term, as migrant women are usually hired for a couple of weeks. Therefore, employees cannot even appeal to the status of ‘intermittent worker’, that could grant them several social rights, as the medium length of a contract in this sector is only three weeks³⁶.

TAB.22³⁷

Graphique 10b : Familles professionnelles dans lesquelles les femmes immigrées occupent plus de 10 % des postes



Source : INSEE, recensement de population 2007; traitement : CAS et DSED-SGII.

The study of the relation between migrant women and the labour market should also take into account the role that the French government and the official laws have in shaping women’s eventual role in society, having the state a key importance as a decisional actor. In fact, migrants’ status, which is defined by national laws, inevitably influences their participation in the labour market³⁸. The state has a fundamental role in allowing or not the access to employment. This mechanism can involve the risk in creating legal discriminations, as instance imposing a certain rate of migrants’

³⁶ Merckling, O., 2002.

³⁷ Breem, Y., Jolly, C., Lainé, F., 2012.

³⁸ The same happens in Italy, where regularizations directed to the employees in the domestic service control the entrance of specific groups of migrants (Chaïb 2008).

workforce in specific sectors, though the same process concerns also male migrants as during economic crisis they might be used as safety valves in order to regulate the

TAB. 23³⁹

Tableau 3.11 : Taux d'activité et taux de chômage des natifs, immigrants et MRE par sexe en France

	Sexe	
	H	F
Taux d'activité de la population âgée de 15 à 64 ans		
Natifs	75.1	63.3
Immigrants	76.6	48.6
MRE	68.2	38.6
Taux de chômage de la population âgée de 15 à 64 ans		
Natifs	7.1	10.7
Immigrants	17.1	23.9
MRE	8.7	18.6

Source : HCP-CERED, « L'Enquête sur l'Insertion Socio-économique des MRE dans les pays d'accueil, 2005 ».

labour market, and as a laboratory of work flexibility⁴⁰. The latter function is often also used concerning women migration. In fact, according to Chaïb, the situation within the labour market that women are forced to cope with often anticipates the changes that will occurred within the labour market⁴¹.

The process of social differences construction is heightened by the changes occurred in the global labour market that negatively influenced migrant women's position within it. According to Merckling as instance, the development of multinational companies in the sale sector, in the entertainment production and even in hairdressing salons, has led to trivialization of the services' production value,

³⁹ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., 2009.

⁴⁰ AAVV, *Pour une politique ouverte de l'immigration* (2009), Editions Syllepse : Paris

⁴¹ Chaïb, S., 2008.

eventually leading to a professional degradation related to the flexibility that has been enforced to workers⁴².

1.3. LAWS AND MIGRANT WOMEN IN FRANCE

The laws that regulate the incoming immigration movement in France do not contain any acceptance or hint related to gender. But as long as the social, cultural and representational cultures are deeply embedded and interwoven to the gender relation, that is a dimension that should be taken into account when analyzing and applying those laws. Lesselier points out the role that the French laws have in impeding to migrant women their emancipation, their role in the labour market, and their veering off from the traditional role of mothers, sisters or wives⁴³. In this paragraph I will point out if and how migrant women are affected by French law, and in what extent, particularly highlighting the application of the Islamic law in France and its outcomes.

Family reunification has always been an important tool for women migration⁴⁴. After the halt of the immigration flow in 1974, family bonds were essential to female migration. In fact, in order to legally sojourn in France, it was requested a marriage contract, or with a migrant already settled in the country or with a French citizen⁴⁵. Other reasons to sojourn were contemplated, such as the recognition of private and

⁴² Merckling, O., 2002.

⁴³ Lesselier, C., « Femmes migrantes en France », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 20 juin 2010, Consulté le 11 novembre 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/540>

⁴⁴ Women applying for this mechanism had to deal with and bear twelve laws variations from 1974 up to 2004 (Weil, P., (2004), *La France et ses étrangers*, Paris : Folio Histoire).

⁴⁵ Rassignier, C., « Ces mères qui dérangent : immigrées africaines en France », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 20 juin 2010, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/538>

family bonds in France and the length of stay in the European country- at least 10 years, but the marriage was the principal⁴⁶.

An ordinance issued in 1998 sets that in the frame of the family reunification also other persons may be accepted in France, who have an important role within the family bonds: in the case of a deny by the French state they would be negatively affected by the distance from their relatives⁴⁷.

From 1999, also PACS⁴⁸ between either heterosexuals or homosexuals are accepted among the reasons acknowledged to legitimize the family bonds required. Those may be between a French citizen or a foreigner with a regular situation, and a foreigner asking for the sojourn permit: in case of a positive response, the latter will obtain a temporary sojourn permit. This is also the case of the common-law couples. In order to verify the validity of those relations, they should be long-termed, with children and with a common residence.⁴⁹

In case of a polygamous marriage, only the first wife and her eventual children have the possibility to ask for the family reunification mechanism, according to the 27th August 1993 law, named 'Pasqua law'⁵⁰. Therefore, the other wives and their children, despite being part of the family, are disadvantaged as they cannot ask for the sojourn permit. Rassiguier highlights the scaremonger usage of the presence of polygamous marriages. In fact, despite being extremely difficult to have a precise survey, the number of polygamous marriages seems to barely reach thousands of cases. Hence, this issue has been over estimated and manipulated in order to fuel the anti-immigration discourse in politics. It should also been noted, on the other hand, that an Islamic marriage contracted in the origin country of the spouses will be recognized in France only if it does not interfere with the public order. As a consequence, the High

⁴⁶ The recognition of such bonds were granted to both workers and active persons but unwaged, to refugee seekers and to their families, and in a less extent to artists or researchers (Lesselier 2004).

⁴⁷ Lesselier, C., 2004.

⁴⁸ Pacte Civil de Solidarité.

⁴⁹ Lesselier, C., 2004.

⁵⁰ Recently, polygamous families have been asked to separately live in different accommodations. Because of the lack of low- rent houses, this will eventually creates problems for those families and namely the wives (Rassiguier 2004).

Court Of Appeal has often decided this is the case of polygamous marriages, so that health insurance has been given also to the second wife, being dependent on the husbands, beyond of the juridical validity of the marriage. For what concerns social aids, those will not be given to the second wife if the first one is beneficiary, unless she leaves the French territory⁵¹.

As to what concerns a marriage between a foreigner and a French or communitarian citizen, it will be given to the relative the sojourn permit and a residence document after a year of marriage, the latter given when it is certified a continuous conjugal life⁵².

Also in the case of prostitution, the laws is limiting the freedom of women's status, due to the internal security law of the 18th of March 2003 on prostitution. Migrant women that have a temporary sojourn permit might be deprived of this document in case they are catch in flagrante. Those who do not possess the documents have to denounce their traffickers and proxenetes in order to get a temporary authorization to sojourn in France.

Therefore, French law impose to prostitutes, that in most of the cases are immigrants, a possible double penalty: penal conviction and expulsion. What is more, they have to bear a double violence: they are both exploited by the prostitution system and are victims of the police repression⁵³.

As for what concerns the application of the Islamic law, there are several specific treaties and agreements that regulate the process, as the juridical cooperation between states. Being France a country where the multicultural and assimilationist discourse have always been part of the notion of French identity, in order to become a citizen it is required to adopt the French values, such as equality and laity. Two juridical instruments control this process: the Constitution and the 9th December 1905 law. The

⁵¹ Fournier, P., « Le traitement réservé au droit musulman de la famille dans les États libéraux occidentaux », Juin 2006, available from : URL : <http://www.wluml.org/fr/node/537>, (access 3/12/2012)

⁵² Lesselier, C., 2004.

⁵³ As a consequence, those circumstances do not help them toward a successful emancipation (Lesselier 2004).

former establishes that France is a democratic, laic and social state, which respects faiths and makes no distinctions on 'race', religious or origin grounds. The latter separates the religious from the political powers and realms⁵⁴. So that, the need of creating a system that could eventually lead to the application of a foreign law stems from the fact that on 4 million Muslims living in France, only 1 million has the French citizenship, so that over the years French judges had to legislate on Islamic law and its relation with the French one⁵⁵.

In specific, the French Civil Code⁵⁶ states that every person is subjected to the juridical system of the country of which he/she has the nationality. But the consequences of such a mechanism can negatively affect the status of women migrants. In fact, as for what concerns the Moroccan Mudawwana, the Algerian family code, the Egyptian code of personal status, they all are in some extent discriminatory toward women's status.

As instance, being the marriage between a Muslim woman with a non-Muslim man not allowed by Islamic law, if it is contracted in France, the marriage might not be recognized in the origin country⁵⁷. Or, if a North-African husband residing in France decides to divorce, he may apply to the law of his origin country. In that case, his wife can appeal to the French law in the event that it contrasts with the Islamic one according to the private international law, but she can question only the effects of her husband's decision, and not the decision itself. As a consequence, even though repudiation is not contemplated by French laws, the judge has to take it into account⁵⁸ and might consider the marriage as dissolved⁵⁹. However, in this case, the fact that this form of divorce negatively affects women and therefore contrasts the French public

⁵⁴ Fournier, P., 2006.

⁵⁵ Fournier, P., 2006.

⁵⁶ The third article of the French civil code.

⁵⁷ Hochart, C., « Le statut personnel des musulmans en France », in *Hommes et Migrations*, n. 1232, (Juillet- août 2001), pp. 55- 67

⁵⁸ As Fournier explains, even though it does contrast the gender equality professed by the French law, « en raison des accords bilatéraux signés avec le Maroc et l'Algérie, dans les années 1980 et 1990, les juges ont conféré des effets juridiques au *talâq*, pour autant qu'il ait été prononcé à l'étranger et que les deux conjoints en aient témoigné devant les tribunaux français » (Fournier 2001).

⁵⁹ Lesselier, C., 2004.

order, has led to the decision by French judges that unilateral repudiation is not recognized in France⁶⁰.

The fact that foreigners are able to pursue the laws of their origin country may create problems concerning the issue of polygamy. In fact, if on the one hand this mechanism protects the validity of the polygamous marriage contracted in the origin country, the “Pasqua law” forbids the entrance of polygamous families, even in the framework of the family reunification, as only the first wife can⁶¹.

In conclusion, outcomes of the status that migrant women have in the arrival country may negatively influence them. Those depend on the fact that as far as their status is dependent upon their being mothers, wives or sisters⁶² and that they have to be part of the normative frame that considers family as the only legitimate and stable source of legitimacy, their freedom and emancipation will eventually depend upon other factors rather than their choice:

“dependency makes women particularly vulnerable to the regulations of nationality laws and confirms the failure to treat women as members of society outside their familiar roles. Their rights are thus derived from their male sponsors.”⁶³

⁶⁰ Fournier, P., 2006.

⁶¹ Rassiguier, C., 2004.

⁶² Rassiguier defines women’s rights as *droits dérivés*, as in fact the juridical status of women depends on the nationality and on the status of their father or husband (Rassiguier 2004).

⁶³ Kofman, E., *Female ‘Birds of passage’ a decade later : gender and immigration in the European Union*, « International migration review », vol. 33, no. 2 (summer 1999), pp. 269- 299

1.4. GETTING ROUND THE LAW: THE CASE OF THE 'MARIAGE BLANC'

As a consequence of the importance that family bonds have, several mechanisms that could exploit them were created. One of those is the *mariage blanc*, marriages contracted in order to get the documents needed to legally stay in the destination country. Women involved into those mechanisms may experience negative situations of abuse, as those marriages are often linked to the traffic of women, so that they have to live in stricter conditions than the one they thought to escape from in the native country. Sham marriages might be organized by both French citizens- who through websites or specialized agencies can arrange the wedding, or by men from the same country- who want to get married with migrant women legally staying abroad⁶⁴. In fact, marriage is one of the way through which French citizenship could be obtained: as to positively get the citizenship, the marriage should have been contracted at least for 4 years, mutual life⁶⁵ should be uninterrupted and the knowledge of the French language should achieve the *brevet*⁶⁶ level. Additionally, from 2011 immigrants that potentially apply to obtain the French citizenship have to sign the *Charte des droits et devoirs du citoyen*⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ Lesselier, C., 2004.

⁶⁵ Both affective and material (Hèran 2012).

⁶⁶ High school.

⁶⁷ Héran, F., 2012.

TAB.24⁶⁸

■ Acquisitions de la nationalité française en 2011

Acquisitions de la nationalité française en 2011

en nombre

	2009	2010	2011	
				(en %)
Acquisitions par décret	91 948	94 573	66 273	57,8
par naturalisation	84 730	88 509	62 382	54,4
par réintégration	7 218	6 064	3 891	3,4
Acquisitions par déclaration anticipée	23 771	23 086	23 342	20,4
Acquisitions par mariage	16 355	21 923	21 664	18,9
Autres déclarations d'acquisition et de réintégration	1 405	1 238	1 183	1,0
Acquisitions sans formalités	2 363	2 455	2 122	1,9
Total des acquisitions	135 842	143 275	114 584	100,0

Champ : France.

Source : SDSE.

Controls over marriages have been regulated since 1945 as after an ordinance, family reunification were kept under a tighter control. In fact, sojourn permit are granted only if the conjugal life is kept: if not, the one year sojourn permit could not be renovated, or the card of residence could be withdrawn. In 2003, a law set that a foreign wife could receive only a sojourn permit valid for a year, even though her husband has a ten year sojourn permit. The residence card will be given to those spouses only after two years, following a control that certifies the effectiveness of their mutual life. As for what concerns PACS, the law establishes that the verification of the mutual life must be checked every time the documents have to be renewed. In case the marriage will be acknowledged as a sham marriage, both sojourn permit and card of residence might be withdrawn⁶⁹.

Therefore, women face a situation of dependence and have no defense toward those mechanisms, which could be a relevant problem in case they are rejected by their husbands or victims of violence. What is more, in case their marriage fails, the return in the origin country as divorced women is often followed by a general

⁶⁸ www.insee.fr

⁶⁹ Lesselier, C., 2004.

stigmatization, leading to a complex situation to cope with. This condition is even more worsened by the fact that they are often isolated, they have difficulties in accessing to resources and in entering into the labour market. As a consequence, the sum of all those factors does not help their path towards emancipation.

2. FEMINIZATION OF ITALIAN MIGRATION

For the first century since it was founded, Italy has always been characterized by an emigration and an internal immigration movements. Only during the 1970's, after the general immigration halt in Europe, Italy became an immigration country, but only a decade after the situation has been officially recognized⁷⁰.

During the early 1970's, Italian immigration was mostly made of developed countries' citizens. Migrants from non-developed ones were the minority, but over the years they rapidly incremented.

In fact, the situation modified during the 1980's when the first migrant women working in the domestic and care services arrived, mainly coming from Italian ex-colonies and the Philippines. Another group that grown in this period was composed by Northern African and Sub-Saharan men. Over the decade, new migration movements interested Italy, such as those coming from Eastern Europe- Albania, Romania and Poland, and the Chinese immigration. Over the 1990's migrants' presence doubled⁷¹ and the Eastern Europeans outdid Northern Africans⁷².

Immigration movements directed to Italy follow different schemes. Some of them are mainly male, such as those coming from Morocco, Tunisia or Senegal: in that

⁷⁰ Gattullo, F., Orsini- Jones, M., "Migrant women in Italy: trends and local perspectives", in Anthias, F., Lazaridis, G., (eds.)(2000) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 125- 139

⁷¹ If in 1991 it amounted to 550,000 in 2000 it reached 1,400,000 (Fazzi 2008).

⁷² Fazzi, P., (2008) *Migrazioni e trasformazione sociale in Italia: dall'età moderna a oggi*, Milano: Franco Angeli

case, women included into those movements mainly migrate because of the family reunification and are rarely aimed at actively and independently working. Other movements are mainly composed by women migrants, such as those from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Philippines or Brazil. Those women are essentially moved by economical or political- cultural motivations. Some other movements include both features, such as those from China, India, Argentina or Chile, of which women work in restaurants or in the domestic sector⁷³. So that in general, four main groups of migrant women in Italy can be distinguished: female fluxes, made of women that migrate alone with a working project usually from Eritrea, Ethiopia, South America, Philippines and Eastern Europe; male fluxes, where women join their husbands thanks to the family reunification, from Northern Africa or Sub-Saharan Africa; women arrived with their husbands, that usually work in familiar activities; refugee seekers⁷⁴.

2.1. ITALIAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES

I will now analyse how immigration policies have been outlined over the last decades, according to the considerable changes that the immigration issue has undertaken in that period.

Only during the 1980's, as the migratory movements started to be a visible feature of the Italian society, regularizing policy started to be outlined. Three elements were mainly taken into account: immigration policies, as to control incoming migration and establish access conditions to contrast the presence of undocumented migrants,

⁷³ Vicarelli, G. , "Immigrazione al femminile", in Vicarelli, G., (ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 10- 25

⁷⁴ Lagomarsino, F., (2006), *Esodi ed approdi di genere: famiglie transnazionali e nuove migrazioni dall'Ecuador*, Franco Angeli: Milano

policies that dealt with migrants already settled in Italy, as to define their rights and the access to services, and policies for migrants whose juridical status is problematic as they entered in the state with no regular documents⁷⁵.

In this sense, 1986 represented a watershed in the Italian immigration policies⁷⁶. The law 943/1986 for the first time recognized the presence of non – European migrant workers, regulating their entrance, juridical status and rights. This humanitarian approach, focused on defining migrant workers' rights, was embedded in the juridical approach that before the fall of the Berlin wall, characterized European countries⁷⁷. The 943/1986 and the following 39/1990 tried to programme the entrance of foreigner workers according to the needs of the Italian economy⁷⁸. The latter, named 'Martelli law', imposed quota in order to limit the incoming immigration movement, as during the late 1990's the presence of undocumented migrants was fueling the public debate⁷⁹.

The 40/1998 law, named 'Turco-Napolitano' approached the issue of migrant workers' quota in a more organic way, delineating the existence in certain sectors of a workers' offer that should have been satisfied⁸⁰. Additionally, more attention was given to all the different aspects of migrants' life, as religion, education and health services. But on the other side, the crucial issues concerning the growing informal labour market and the discrimination experienced by migrants were not solved⁸¹. In 2002, a new law came to regulate migration: the 189/2002, 'Bossi- Fini'. It introduced restrictions as to what concerns the workers' quota, establishing a new system by which migrants have to find a work offer before their arrival in Italy. This

⁷⁵ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*, report commissioned by the Ministero dell'Interno, available at: URL:

http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/15/0673_Rapporto_immigrazione_BARBAGLI.pdf (access 10/10/2012)

⁷⁶ It seems clear why 1986 has been considered a watershed: previously, migration was regulated by the 1935 Public Security Code (Fazzi 2008), that mainly considered discretionary controls on migrants carried out by the police (AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*).

⁷⁷ Gattullo, F., Orsini- Jones, M., 2000.

⁷⁸ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

⁷⁹ Fazzi, 2008.

⁸⁰ AAVV (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

⁸¹ Fazzi, 2008.

system has been called the 'sojourn contract', by which the employee has to warrant the migrants' accommodation and his eventual return.⁸²

As the immigration policies in Italy do not directly concern women, I will now examine how and if, the figure of female migrant has been taken into account by those laws, considering the family reunification scheme and the struggle against the human beings trade.

As to what concerns family reunification, the 40/1998 law states that it can be asked by migrants that have a regular sojourn permit longer than a year. The only conditions to solve are having a proper accommodation and legally earning more than the social check received. Relatives benefitting of the family reunification are spouses, underage children, dependent and unable to work parents and relatives up to the third parental grade. The following 189/2002 law has abrogated the latter right and has tightened the conditions under which dependent parents are allowed to legally immigrate, by affirming that it is possible only if they do not have other children in their origin country, who can eventually sustain them⁸³.

Regarding human beings trade and notably women involved in this trade because of sexual works, the 40/1998 law has given attention to the issue, becoming one of the most innovative among the European countries by clearly distinguishing the different responsibilities of traffickers and victims. In fact, to the latter might be given a sojourn permit on the grounds of social protection and integration⁸⁴.

But there is a negative side of the coin, as other voices point the finger to the gap between the juridical level and the actual development of the issue, being more and more linked to the work exploitation. In fact, despite the Rosarno revolt, that took place in 2010, human beings trade is mostly focused on sex workers, whereas data

⁸² AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

⁸³ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

⁸⁴ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

show that the problems is much more heterogeneous. Italy is in fact the country of destination or passage of human beings coming from Romania, Nigeria, Morocco, Albania, Moldavia, Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and China. Different forms of human beings exploitation have been recorded, such as the coercive begging of Eastern European underage children. Victims of forced labour are employed in different sectors: services, building trade, domestic care or catering, and they come from Poland, Romania, Pakistan, Albania, Morocco, Bangladesh, China, Senegal or Ghana⁸⁵.

2.2. MOROCCAN IMMIGRATION

Moroccan immigration is among the oldest and most relevant in Italy. Despite the fact that a relative number of Moroccans were present in the country since the 1950's- most of them were students from Fez studying at Bologna university thanks to international agreements, a more consistent immigration movement can be detected at the end of the 1970's⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ Mascellini, F., « La tratta degli esseri umani e le azioni di contrasto », in AAVV,(2011), *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas-Migrantes 2011*, Roma: Edizioni Idos, pp. 150-153

⁸⁶ Pala, L., "L'articolato processo di aggregazione comunitaria", in Giacalone, F.,(ed.), (2007), *Marocchini tra due culture: un'indagine etnografica sull'immigrazione*, Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 39- 87

TAB.25⁸⁷

TABELLA 1 - EVOLUZIONE DELLA COMUNITÀ MAROCCHINA RESIDENTE IN ITALIA (1993-2007)

Anno	Numero	Tasso di nascita annuale (%)	% rispetto al totale degli stranieri residenti
1993	78596	-	12,5
1994	86128	9,6	12,6
1995	92905	7,9	12,6
1996	117487	26,5	13,3
1997	132653	12,9	13,4
1998	147783	11,4	13,2
1999	170905	15,6	13,5
2000	194617	13,9	13,3
2001	180103	-7,5	13,5
2002	215430	19,6	13,9
2003	253362	18,6	12,7
2004	294945	16,4	12,3
2005	319537	8,3	12,0
2006	343228	7,4	11,7
2007	365908	6,6	10,7
Total	-	11,6	- -

Fonte: Istat

TAB.26⁸⁸

TABELLA 17 - POPOLAZIONE MAROCCHINA RESIDENTE IN ITALIA SECONDO IL LIVELLO D'ISTRUZIONE PER SESSO (CENSIMENTO 2001)

	Numero			Percentuale		
	Maschi	Femmine	Totale	Maschi	Femmine	Totale
Laurea	3 217	1 698	4 915	3,4	2,9	3,2
Diploma universitario o terziario non universitario	1 264	597	1 861	1,3	1,0	1,2
Diploma di scuola secondaria superiore	15 320	8 285	23 605	16,1	14,1	15,3
Diploma di scuola media o istituto professionale	31 118	17 807	48 925	32,7	30,2	31,7
Diploma elementare	18 213	10 755	28 968	19,1	18,2	18,8
Alfabetizzati ma senza titolo di studio	19 576	12 448	32 024	20,6	21,1	20,8
Analfabeti	6 530	7 355	13 885	6,9	12,5	9,0
Totale	95 238	58 945	154 183	100,0	100,0	100,0

FONTE: Dati consolari, Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione, Marocco, 2008

⁸⁷ Fassi Fihri, M., Mghari, M., (2010), *Cartographie des flux migratoires des Marocains en Italie*, report made by Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations adn Ministero degli Affari Esteri, available at : URL : http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/activities/countries/docs/Cartographie_des_flux_migratoires_des_Marocains_en_Italie.pdf

⁸⁸ Fassi Fihri, M., Mghari, M., 2010.

In fact, the first phase can be traced from 1978 to 1986, when the migratory movement was quite invisible and characterized by a circular and temporary approach. The second phase, from the 1990's, records a more settled approach and a higher presence of Moroccan migrant women.

Initially, Moroccan immigration was mainly short-termed, with a high territorial mobility, high turnover, and a constant growth and was predominantly composed of male migrants⁸⁹. From 1987 to 1991, thanks to two acts of indemnity the rate of undocumented migrants sensibly lowered: the rate of legal migrants grew from 15,705 in 1987 to 97,000 in 1993⁹⁰.

Because of the lack of regulations over the migrants' work activities and a general indifference to their presence, they were mainly absorbed by the informal sector, so that they eventually created new forms of job, as the ambulant trade⁹¹ or the commerce of Italian products in Morocco⁹². A crucial sector in which they were hired was the seasonal work, where they worked as field hands in the picking of fruit and vegetables in Campania, Sicily, Puglia, Umbria, Tuscany or Emilia⁹³.

During the late 1980's, they particularly migrated to the North of Italy, attracted by a noticeable unqualified work offer, that could assure sojourn permit and a certain security⁹⁴. Thanks to a stable work, family reunification increased, as in 1991 immigration policies tightened. During this period, migrants' origin also modified, as it

⁸⁹ Crocilli, L., Mondovi', S., Spagnuolo, D. (1999) *Lontano da casa: albanesi e marocchina in Italia*, Cidis:Perugia

⁹⁰ Capello, C., (2008) *Le prigionie invisibili: etnografia multisituata della migrazione marocchina*, Franco Angeli: Milano

⁹¹ This type of trade is also accounted by Ambrosini in his analysis of the situation of Moroccan immigrants in Milan. In fact, he reports the high percentage of Moroccans involved in deviant activities, such as drug, ambulance or counterfeiting trades (Ambrosini, M., "Percorsi di un incontro. Domanda di manodopera e reti migratorie in un mercato segmentato", in Ambrosini, M., Abbatecola, E.,(eds.), (2004), *Immigrazione e metropoli: un confronto europeo*, Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 191- 268

⁹² Crocilli reports the case of the market of Darb Ghalef, a peripheral area of Casablanca, where Italian products are sold (Crocilli 1999).

⁹³ Crocilli, L., Mondovi', S., Spagnuolo, D., 1999.

⁹⁴ Frisina, A., Gandolfi, P., Schmidt di Friedberg, O., "L'inserimento lavorativo e l'imprenditorialità degli immigrati marocchini a Milano", in Ambrosini, M., Abbatecola, E.,(eds.), (2004), *Immigrazione e metropoli: un confronto europeo*, Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 311- 358

interested not only big Moroccan cities, but also smaller and medium ones, such as Khouribga⁹⁵.

Over the 1990's Moroccan immigration in Italy settled. In fact, from 1993 onwards, the conditions of entrance were restricting, fewer sojourn permits were granted and family reunification became an important tool for immigration movements. Labour migration continued to play an important role, but the number of undocumented migrants did not lower. The process of tightening of immigration policies got reinforced by the entering into force of the 'Bossi- Fini' law, which contemplates rigid access quota and fewer concessions of family reunification⁹⁶. According to the latest data, Moroccan community is the third presence within the Italian territory, after the Romanian and Ukrainian communities⁹⁷.

2.3. FEMINIZATION OF IMMIGRATION

Feminization of Italian immigration is a recent phenomenon, despite the fact that an internal movement has been present since the 1950's, when young girls coming from rural and poor areas moved in bigger cities as to be employed as domestics⁹⁸. As it happened for what concerns migration in general, only during the 1980's it was given attention by the public debate in the country. As Andall highlights,

“the lack of response to their presence suggests that female migrants were not considered to be culturally or economically threatening to Italians. [This situation]

⁹⁵ Capello, C., 2008.

⁹⁶ Capello, C., 2008.

⁹⁷ Istat, (2012), *Rapporto annuale 2012 : la situazione del paese*, available at: URL: <http://www.istat.it/it/files/2012/05/Rapporto-annuale-2012.pdf> (access 10/10/2012)

⁹⁸ Palidda, S., “Il cliché della migrante: colf o prostituta”, in Morini, C., (2001), *La serva serve: le nuove forzate del lavoro domestico*, Roma: DeriveApprodi, pp. 7-18

led to migrant women being absorbed into a typically male migration framework.”⁹⁹

The slow response to the issue was overcome only over the last decades, when the number of women arrived within the framework of family reunification has considerably increased, as until the 1980’s women that were migrating alone were the majority¹⁰⁰. So that, it was only during the 1990’s that the presence of the former group increased: in this respect, Islamic women play an important role, as they were mostly migrating with their husbands¹⁰¹.

The first group of women immigrated in Italy during the 1970’s, represented the ‘traditional’ image of women migrant, being aged, married, with a considerable number of children compared to the Italian families, and not interested in working. The more recent group coming from Islamic countries has different features, as they are younger, with smaller nuclear families, more educated, with a better knowledge of the Italian language and more prone to enter in the labour market. The latter characteristic is partly due to the fact that on the one hand they are more skilled and therefore more compliant and willing to enter the labour market, on the other hand the market itself offers a certain security to find a space where to fit in, despite the latter being limited to specific sectors¹⁰².

⁹⁹ Andall, J., (2000), *Gender, migration and domestic service: the politics of black women in Italy*, Burlington: Ashgate, p. 53

¹⁰⁰ Lagomarsino, F., 2006.

¹⁰¹ Grasso, M., (1994), *Donne senza confini: immigrate in Italia tra marginalità ed emancipazione*, Torino: Harmattan Italia

¹⁰² Vicarelli, G., “L’economia della vita quotidiana”, in Vicarelli, G.,(ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 26-39

TAB.27¹⁰³

Tab. II.13. Cittadini Stranieri. Popolazione residente per sesso e cittadinanza al 1° gennaio 2007. Prime 20 nazionalità. Incidenza percentuale delle singole nazionalità sul totale di quelle presenti. Percentuale di donne e variazione percentuale nel periodo 2002-07

	Maschi	Femmine	Totale	% sul totale	% donne	Var % MF nel periodo 2002-07
Albania	209.209	166.738	375.947	12,8	44,4	73,6
Marocco	205.852	137.376	343.228	11,7	40,0	59,3
Romania	162.154	180.046	342.200	11,6	52,6	260,1
Cina Rep. Popolare	76.739	68.146	144.885	4,9	47,0	108,1
Ucraina	23.058	97.012	120.070	4,1	80,8	843,2
Filippine	41.591	59.746	101.337	3,4	59,0	56,0
Tunisia	58.294	30.638	88.932	3,0	34,5	49,4
Macedonia	42.943	31.219	74.162	2,5	42,1	118,0
Polonia	20.516	51.941	72.457	2,5	71,7	141,7
India	42.275	27.229	69.504	2,4	39,2	95,7
Ecuador	27.004	41.876	68.880	2,3	60,8	350,8
Perù	25.884	40.622	66.506	2,3	61,1	94,4
Egitto	46.791	18.876	65.667	2,2	28,7	94,9
Serbia e Montenegro	35.624	28.787	64.411	2,2	44,7	18,3
Senegal	48.984	10.873	59.857	2,0	18,2	60,9
Sri Lanka	31.667	25.078	56.745	1,9	44,2	66,0
Moldova	19.488	36.315	55.803	1,9	65,1	700,2
Bangladesh	33.927	15.648	49.575	1,7	31,6	140,6
Pakistan	32.596	13.489	46.085	1,6	29,3	107,1
Germania	14.666	23.469	38.135	1,3	61,5	16,5
Altri paesi	273.811	360.725	634.536	21,6	56,8	49,5
Totale	1.473.073	1.465.849	2.938.922	100,0	49,9	89,7

Fonte: elaborazioni su dati Istat.

¹⁰³ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

TAB.28¹⁰⁴

Tab. II.6. Primi quindici paesi per numero di permessi concessi al 1° gennaio 2007. Motivo della presenza secondo la nazionalità e sesso

	Lavoro	Famiglia	Altro	Totale	% M lavoro	% M famiglia	% M altro	% F lavoro	% F famiglia	% F altro
Albania	52,4	42,5	5,1	282.650	78,5	16,9	4,6	18,5	75,8	5,7
Romania	68,5	28,1	3,4	278.582	85,5	12,0	2,5	54,1	41,7	4,2
Marocco	63,3	34,8	1,9	258.571	85,8	12,3	1,9	25,0	73,1	1,8
Cina,Rep.Popolare	69,3	27,7	3,0	122.364	79,9	17,7	2,4	57,3	38,9	3,8
Ucraina	78,8	18,4	2,7	118.524	72,6	22,2	5,2	80,1	17,7	2,2
Polonia	69,4	24,1	6,4	78.930	79,5	12,1	8,3	65,4	28,9	5,7
Filippine	77,1	16,5	6,5	76.413	77,5	18,8	3,7	76,8	15,0	8,2
Tunisia	65,9	32,4	1,7	64.870	86,5	11,8	1,6	15,1	83,2	1,7
India	55,2	34,0	10,8	57.122	82,8	11,7	5,5	10,4	70,1	19,5
Serbia e Montenegro*	51,7	35,3	13,0	55.701	70,4	13,8	15,8	26,4	64,3	9,3
Perù	69,0	26,5	4,5	52.133	69,9	26,2	3,8	68,5	26,7	4,8
Moldova	71,3	24,9	3,8	50.308	73,7	22,8	3,5	70,2	25,9	3,9
Ecuador	73,9	22,5	3,6	50.274	75,0	21,0	4,0	73,3	23,3	3,4
Senegal	85,5	13,4	1,1	49.805	94,4	5,0	0,7	29,9	66,5	3,6
Egitto	71,4	26,8	1,8	49.552	89,6	8,7	1,7	5,7	92,4	1,9
Totale	60,6	31,6	7,8	414.972	77,8	14,6	7,6	43,6	48,4	8,0

Fonte: elaborazioni su dati Istat.

* Dal 3/6/2006 il Montenegro è divenuto Stato autonomo; tuttavia, le informazioni disponibili ancora non consentono di distinguere gli individui di cittadinanza serba da quelli montenegrini.

An important characteristic of the feminization process in Italy is that because of the different groups that arrived over the decades, it is the result of the overlapping of various migratory movements, which have distinct features. In fact, if women from Cape Verde arrived because of the links with the Catholic Church or Philippines were mostly pushed by their government that carried out as to fuel the emigration movement. As Miranda notes, the substitution and intersection among those different groups is due to a feature that characterizes Italian immigration policy, which is the express choice of those policies to attribute those women to the domestic and care sector. In fact, Italian immigration policies are manifestly moved by a gender logic¹⁰⁵ so that regularizations mostly interest only specific sectors¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁴ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

¹⁰⁵ According to several scholars, as Kofman, there is a positive side of the coin, as the "recognition of the continuing need of economic migration in recent immigration legislation means that there will be opportunities in the future for female migrants", thanks to quota reserved to migrant women or the particular attention that the domestic sector has been given (Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P.,

TAB.29¹⁰⁷**Tableau 5.11: Taux d'activité et taux de chômage des natifs, immigrants et MRE par sexe en Italie**

	Sexe	
	H	F
Taux d'activité de la population âgée de 15 à 64 ans		
Natifs	73.6	46.6
Immigrants	87.7	50.7
MRE	90.2	30.1
Taux de chômage de la population âgée de 15 à 64 ans		
Natifs	8.0	13.9
Immigrants	7.4	21.3
MRE	2.1	9.8

Source : HCP-CERED, « L'Enquête sur l'Insertion Socio-économique des MRE dans les pays d'accueil, 2005 ».

Grasso has outlined two main groups as to what concerns the typology of migrant women in Italy: *les instrumentalistes*, who consider migration as a temporary experience undertaken because of economical reasons, and *les promotionnelles*, whereof migration represents an opportunity to change their social and cultural conditions.

The migratory period for the first group is generally short-termed, undertaken by house-mothers often from a rural background. They keep a strong relation with the origin country, so that the problems that they experience during the emigration period are overtaken by temporarily adapting to the new circumstances while at the same

Sales, R., (2000) *Gender and international migration in Europe: employment, welfare and politics*, London: Routledge, p.60).

¹⁰⁶ Miranda, A., « Per un approccio di genere allo studio delle immigrazioni », in AAVV,(2012), *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas-Migrantes 2012*, Roma: Edizioni Idos, pp. 105-111

¹⁰⁷ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulemi, K., Wahba, J., "Analyse d'impact de la crise financière et économique mondiale sur al pauvreté et la situation sociale des MRE et sur le flux de leurs transferts", Octobre 2009, Ministère de la Communauté Marocaine Résident à l'étranger, available at : URL :

[http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report\(French\).undp.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report(French).undp.pdf)

time keeping their cultural identity unmodified. But because of their role in safeguarding the cultural roots despite the new situation, they may be damaged once the family starts to have some contacts with the new society. In fact, if their children or their husbands socialize and adapt to the new society, their role may be devalued, leading in the worst cases to psychological problems¹⁰⁸.

The other group, *les promotionnelles*, tends to regard to migration as a way to access to modernity, and social and professional promotion. They rarely have conjugal bonds, being often divorced, nubile or widows and they use migration as a means to escape from the patriarchal system and social structure, having the Western society as an ideal model to reach. Those women have a different perception of themselves, as they modify their original role unhinging the link with tradition and shaping new and individual values, eventually modifying men's role.

In this analysis, the second generation represents an aside case as they are daughters of a stabilized migration or that have joined an already emigrated family. They can suffer because of the change, once arrived in the new society, or experience a quickened integration and are usually linked to both the cultural systems and embrace both the traditional values¹⁰⁹.

The modality of women's migration pattern influences their situation once arrived. In fact, if migrating because of the family reunification, they are usually accepted by the ethnic network, already established by men. But if migrating alone, they create new networks, mainly directed by women. In that case, women's role will be less dependent upon their men who are often absent or their presence is insecure¹¹⁰.

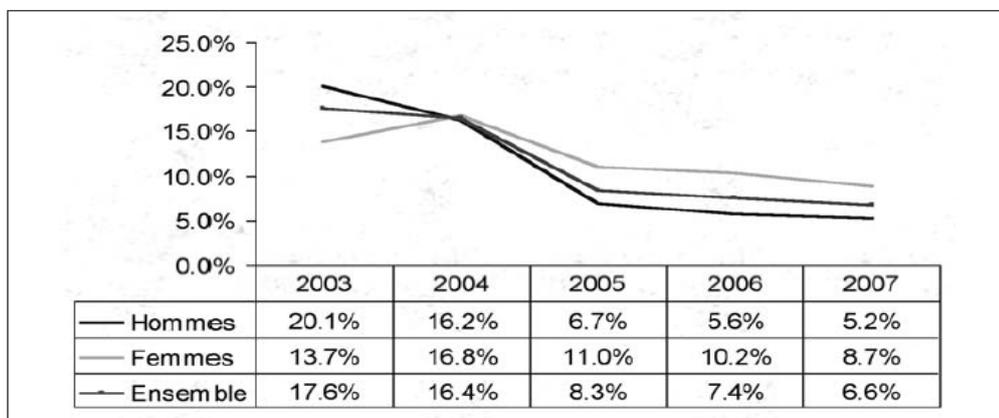
¹⁰⁸ Grasso, M., 1994.

¹⁰⁹ Grasso, M., 1994.

¹¹⁰ Grasso, M., 1994.

TAB.30¹¹¹

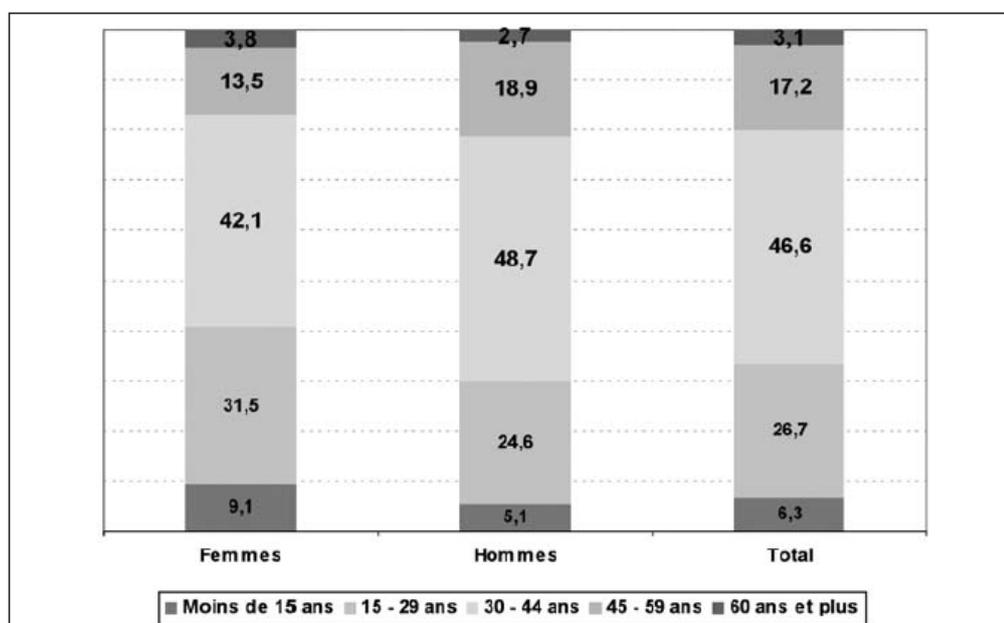
FIGURA 2 . EVOLUZIONE DEL TASSO DI CRESCITA (%) DEI MAROCCHINI RESIDENTI IN ITALIA SECONDO IL SESSO (2003-2007)



Fonte: ISTAT.

TAB.31¹¹²

FIGURA 4 - STRUTTURA PER CLASSI DI ETÀ E SESSO DEI MAROCCHINI RESIDENTI IN ITALIA



FONTE: Dati consolari, Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione, Marocco, 2008

¹¹¹ Fassi Fihri, M., Mghari, M., 2010.

¹¹² Fassi Fihri, M., Mghari, M., 2010.

The presence of women in migration leads to several changes, one of which is the stabilization of the emigration experience of the entire family. In fact, they are considered as the symbol of the bonds between the new and the previous lives, the fundamental element that links continuity and change, as women usually carry the interactions with the new realities¹¹³. Islamic women in migration are embedded in different networks, linked with different aspects of their lives, in both the origin and the destination countries. Because of this dichotomy situation, they are more cline than men to accept new cultural values and a new identity linked with the destination society¹¹⁴.

In fact, feminization of migration indicates a different approach to the arrival society, as women carry a key role in adapting and inserting their families in the new society, denoting a more stable presence in the country and playing an important part in interlacing social bonds and creating networks. Over the years, the female presence may lead to a change in the migration pattern as it will switch from a young workers' presence, to an increase of families, second generation children and aged migrants¹¹⁵.

TAB. 32¹¹⁶

Tab. II.8. Popolazione straniera residente per classi di età al 1° gennaio 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006 e 2007 – Italia.					
Variazione percentuale sull'anno precedente					
Popolazione straniera residente per classi di età	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
0-17 anni	353.546	413.293	503.034	587.513	666.293
18-39 anni	805.635	1.060.886	1.263.217	1.356.182	1.449.770
40-64 anni	347.651	470.546	585.797	670.940	760.913
65 anni e più	42.541	45.434	50.109	55.879	61.946
Totale	1.549.373	1.990.159	2.402.157	2.670.514	2.938.922
Variazione % sull'anno precedente					
0-17 anni	-	16,9	21,7	16,8	13,4
18-39 anni	-	31,7	19,1	7,4	6,9
40-64 anni	-	35,4	24,5	14,5	13,4
65 anni e più	-	6,8	10,3	11,5	10,9
Totale	28,4	20,7	11,2	10,1	

Fonte: elaborazioni su dati Istat.

¹¹³ Vicarelli reminds that this potentially positive role may conflict with the host society, by creating new balances between migrants' group and the new reality (Vicarelli, G., 1994).

¹¹⁴ Grasso, M., 1994.

¹¹⁵ Fazzi, P., 2008.

¹¹⁶ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

TAB.33¹¹⁷

Tabella 1.3.4 - Stranieri residenti in Italia, per sesso e Paese di cittadinanza primi 16 Paesi al 1° gennaio 2002 2010 e 2011

CITTADINANZE	1° gennaio 2002		1° gennaio 2010		1° gennaio 2011	
	Totale	M/F*100	Totale	M/F*100	Totale	M/F*100
Romania	95.039	87,49	887.763	85,6	968.576	83,0
Albania	216.582	126,60	466.684	118,4	482.627	116,2
Marocco	215.430	154,77	431.529	131,6	452.424	129,1
Cinese,Rep.Pop.	69.620	105,96	188.352	107,3	209.934	106,8
Ucraina	12730	23,68	174.129	25,9	200.730	25,4
Filippine	64947	62,46	123.584	72,5	134.154	72,9
Moldova	6974	40,75	105.600	52,1	130.948	48,9
India	35518	139,21	105.863	146,5	121.036	154,3
Polonia	29972	36,98	105.608	41,6	109.018	40,5
Tunisia	59528	192,36	103.678	176,3	106.291	173,6
Peru'	34207	57,59	87.747	66,6	98.603	66,3
Ecuador	15280	51,05	85.940	70,3	91.625	70,8
Egitto	33701	201,49	82.064	225,3	90.365	228,3
Macedonia, Repubblica di	34019	149,50	92.847	129,8	89.900	127,2
Bangladesh	20.607	222,29	73.965	204,3	82.451	207,5
Sri Lanka	34.177	114,87	75.343	125,4	81.094	124,7
Totale 16 Paesi	978.331	114,60	3.190.696	95,7	3.449.715	93,4
TOTALE	1549373	103,57	4.235.059	95,0	4.570.317	92,9

Fonte: elaborazioni Staff SSRMDL di Italia Lavoro su dati Istat

As to what concerns Moroccan migration, it is possible to delineate the feminization process to which it underwent over the last decade from the table 33. In fact, data report the gender balance among the most numerous immigrant communities in Italy: in 2011 in total, there were 92,9 men every 100 women, whereas in 2002 there were 103,57 men every 100 women. In specific, the balance varies among the different groups, so that Eastern European and Southern American migrant communities reveal the highest number of women. Regarding Northern African countries men represent the majority, but despite this statement, Moroccan community embodies one of the most evident cases from which it is possible to highlight the process of feminization. In fact, if in 2002 the gender balance was 154,77,

¹¹⁷ Direzione Generale dell'Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione, "Secondo rapporto annuale sul mercato del lavoro degli immigrati", luglio 2012, available at: URL: http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Documenti/Documents/Lavoro/II_Rapporto_immigrati_2012.pdf (access 27th December 2012)

a decade later it diminished to 129,1, exemplifying the case where feminization occurred the most¹¹⁸.

2.4. MOROCCAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE ITALIAN LABOUR MARKET

One of the main reasons that attracted immigrants in Italy relates to the labour market: in fact, the weight of the informal market started to characterize the country during the economic boom, and

“labour markets created a sectoral shift away from heavy manufacturing to high technology and service industries [...]. Consolidated niches have developed that demand specific labour characteristics, typified in the case of migrant workers by a thirst for ‘inexpensive and flexible’ labour in ‘marginal’ areas of employment.”¹¹⁹

As the informal market needs workers that could adapt and accept the worst conditions, migrants and especially women migrant, have soon become the target to those sectors¹²⁰.

The features of the relation between women immigration and the labour market in Italy are quite specific. In fact, being immigration in Italy a recent

¹¹⁸ Direzione Generale dell’Immigrazione e delle Politiche di Integrazione, “Secondo rapporto annuale sul mercato del lavoro degli immigrati”, 2012

¹¹⁹ Chell- Robinson, V., “Female migrants in Italy: coping in a country of new immigration”, in Anthias, F., Lazaridis, G., (eds.)(2000) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Oxford: Berg, p. 105

¹²⁰ Chell- Robinson, V., 2000.

phenomenon, the majority of immigrant women had to deal and insert in the framework of changes that occurred at the labour market over the last decades. Italian immigration has in fact coincided with the process of casualization and the increase of the informal work, and consequently largely found a place within those processes¹²¹. Another process that women migration has been influenced by, is that during the 1970's Italian women were entering the labour market, so that especially in the domestic sector

“the incoming migrants, particularly the female migrants, have satisfied a demand for work that comes not from the productive system, but the redistribution of income where families from the ‘middle-classes’ have rediscovered a function for migrant labour not readily available from Italian nationals.”¹²²

The analysis of the gender component is important to consider, as it may alter and influence the settlement of the different ethnic and national groups. In fact, gender component is influenced by the job offer in specific areas of the host country, so that the link between the territorial presence and the work collocation of migrants are quite dependent. The different territorial contexts within the Italian territory¹²³ affect the dynamics that move migration movements, their settlement, their concentration or their work demand, which changes in relation to the different areas.

As a consequence, female migration will be concentrated in those areas offering jobs in the domestic and care sectors, whereas male migration will adhere to the industrial job offer¹²⁴. Therefore, the analysis of the gender components of migratory

¹²¹ Altieri, G., “I colori del lavoro”, in Vicarelli, G.,(ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 40-50

¹²² Chell- Robinson, V., 2000, p. 108

¹²³ In the Italian case, the South of Italy is mainly interested by the agricultural sector, whereas the North represents the industrial area (Fazzi 2008).

¹²⁴ Altieri, G., 1994.

movements should also be linked to the work demand of the destination country, which alters the migratory projects influencing the women's or men's presence¹²⁵.

TAB.34¹²⁶

Tab. VII.11. Occupati stranieri delle cinque principali comunità di immigrati presenti in Italia per professioni prevalenti (fino al 50% degli occupati) e sesso. Media 2006 (valori percentuali)

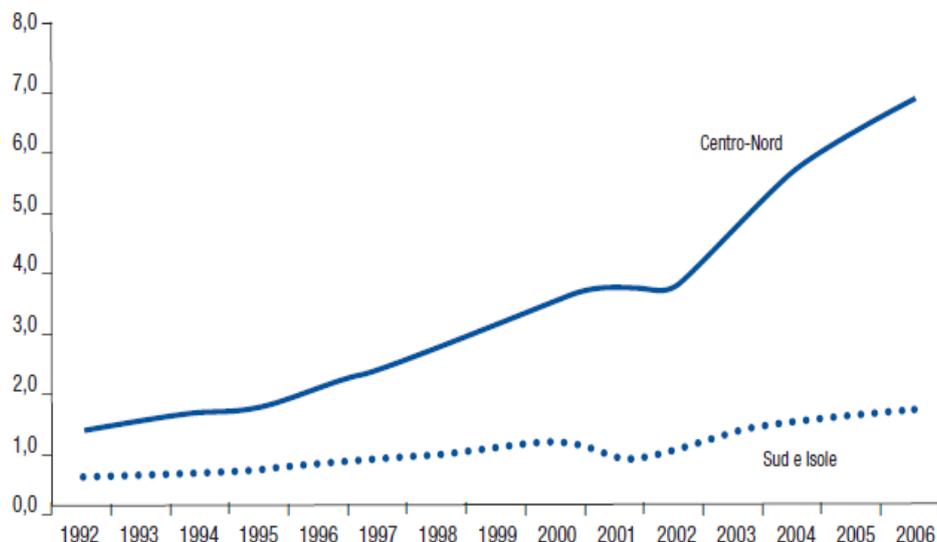
Cittadinanza	Sesso	Professioni prevalenti	% sul totale occupati
Marocco	Maschi	Muratori in pietra, mattoni, refrattari	10.5
		Venditori ambulanti di manufatti o di servizi	
		Manovali e personale non qualificato dell'edilizia civile	
		Saldatori e tagliatori a fiamma	
		Fonditori-conduttori altoforno, convertitori e forni di raffinazione (siderurgia)	
		Facchini, addetti allo spostamento merci	
		Personale addetto alla gestione degli stock, dei magazzini	
		Ebanisti, falegnami e artigiani specializzati lavorazione del legno	
		Braccianti agricoli	
		Altri operai addetti a macchinari dell'industria tessile e delle confezioni	
		Meccanici artigianali, riparatori e manutentori di automobili	
		Operai di macchine utensili automatiche e semiautomatiche industriali	
			Femmine
		Operai addetti ai servizi di igiene e pulizia	
		Professioni qualificate nei servizi sanitari	
		Cuochi in alberghi e ristoranti	
		Altri operai addetti a macchinari dell'industria tessile e delle confezioni	
	Totale	Muratori in pietra, mattoni, refrattari	8.8
		Venditori ambulanti di manufatti o di servizi	
		Collaboratori domestici	
		Manovali e personale non qualificato dell'edilizia civile	
		Saldatori e tagliatori a fiamma	
		Fonditori-conduttori altoforno, convertitori e forni di raffinazione (siderurgia)	
		Facchini, addetti allo spostamento merci	
		Altri operai addetti a macchinari dell'industria tessile e delle confezioni	
		Personale addetto alla gestione degli stock, dei magazzini	
		Ebanisti, falegnami e artigiani specializzati lavorazione del legno	
		Cuochi in alberghi e ristoranti	
		Operai addetti ai servizi di igiene e pulizia	
		Braccianti agricoli	

¹²⁵ Miranda, A., 2012.

¹²⁶ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

TAB.35¹²⁷

Fig. II.4. Cittadini stranieri sul totale dei residenti; valori percentuali; Italia, 1992-2007



Fonte: elaborazioni su dati Istat.

As to what concerns the Italian situation, migrant women have happened to perfectly adhere to certain sectors of the labour market in need of workforce. This is the case of the workers in the domestic and care sectors, whose occupation is favoured by an offer within those specific work segment: in 2010, according to the data provided by the Inail, 464,603 immigrants were hired in the domestic sector or in house assistance, of which almost 87% were women¹²⁸. This is not the case of male migrants who do not face a job offer *ex ante* their venue, as they have to find a place within the labour market during their stay, while women can easily insert in 'empty' sectors, denied by Italian women¹²⁹. Hence, women migrants' work is doubly important. On a macro-social level, it is functional to the internal economy, as they

¹²⁷ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

¹²⁸ In 1999 women represented 77,8% of those sectors (Miranda, A., 2012).

¹²⁹ Not to mention the fact that they are often hired even before arriving in Italy, as instance through Catholic organizations (Altieri 1994).

contribute to economical production and social equilibrium mechanisms, while on the micro-social level, work helps them in extending their status and power resources¹³⁰.

TAB. 36¹³¹

Moroccans resident in Italy actively engaged in the Italian labour market	73%
Of which men	86.1%
Of which women	43.3%
Immigrants average	€10,343
Moroccans average annual wage	€11,437
Immigrants with fix-term contract in general	15,6%
Moroccans with fix-term contract	19,9%
Moroccans unemployment rate	10,8%

¹³⁰ Vicarelli, G., 1994.

¹³¹ Devitt, C., « Circular Migration between Italy and Morocco : A case study », Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, available at: URL: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/METOIKOS/Documents/CaseStudies/METOIKOScasestudyItalyMorocco.pdf>, p. 10

3. COMPARING FRANCE AND ITALY

In 2005 Moroccan immigrants presence in France was estimated being 52,4% the male and 47,6% the women respectively, representing 34,35% of the immigrants in France (table 18). As the table 19 states, over the years the percentage of male immigrants has diminished: if in 1990 there were 52% of male immigrants, in 2009 data report only 49%, revealing the increasing feminization of the incoming migratory movement.

As for what concerns the Moroccan immigrants' presence within the labour market, they have to cope with the processes of segmentation and racialization by which only a few sectors are effectively open to them. In fact, they mainly work in four sectors: *hôtellerie*, domestic and care service (24,6%), manufacturing (23,2%) and building industries (17%), and commerce (13,4%), demonstrating the restricted possibilities they have within the labour market (table 21).

Migrant women in particular have to cope with an even more discriminating market, and from the table 22 it emerges how their presence is massive in two sectors: security agents and domestic workers. The other sectors where they may find a job are strictly linked to the traditionally 'female' works, such as chefs, textile industries, care service or nursery school teachers.

Data regarding Moroccan immigrants' employment rate in France reveal a certain disparity between the sexes (table 23). In fact, if men's rate is 68,2%, women's decreases by 38,6%. This discrepancy is also present in immigrants' data in general, even though it is higher than the one referred to Moroccans: men immigrants reach 76,6% of employment, and women only 48,6%. Unemployment rate affect women more than men, as the former attained 18,6% and the latter only 8,7%.

As to what concerns the Italian case, over the years the percentage of Moroccan immigrants has diminished not in the effective number but in percentage in respect to other groups of immigrants, such as those coming from Eastern Europe or Sub-Saharan areas whose presence has increased over the years (table 26). The growing role of Moroccan women is revealed by the table 31, which highlights from the one hand the diminishing rate of Moroccans in general, but on the other hand it confirms that this trend affects fewer women than men over the long-term period. In fact, if from 2003 to 2007 the male presence has diminished from 20,1% to 5,2%, the female one has only passed from 13,7% to 8,7%, revealing the growing importance of women within the Moroccan migratory movement to Italy. From 2002 to 2007, the gap between sexes has diminished, as women have substantially augmented by 59,3%, mostly through the framework of family reunification (table 28). This also explains the average age, that differs between sexes: in fact, as women mostly come within the framework of familiar reunification, they mainly are between 30 and 44 years, whereas men aimed by working purposes are younger, diminishing the average age of Moroccan male migrants (table 32).

Regarding Moroccan migrant women in the Italian labour market, they face the same processes of segmentation and racial discrimination shared by migrant women in general. According to the table 34 the work sectors where they usually find a job are mostly the domestic, care and cleaning sectors, the *hôtellerie*, or the textile industry. It is also to be highlighted that their activity rate is considerably lower than their male counterparts. In 2005, it was estimated being only 30,1%, while Moroccan men reach 90,2%. Also, their unemployment rate is higher than that referred to male: 9,8% against 2,1% (table 30).

This reading of the situation is also confirmed by the data regarding the immigration permits accorded in 2007. In fact, from table 29 it emerges that concerning Moroccan immigrants, the main reason used to get the permit for male was working (85,8%), whereas for women was familiar reasons (73,1%). This confirms on the one hand the ties that Moroccan migrant women still have regarding familiar

bonds and the fact that most of them migrate with their family, and on the other hand their scarce participation within the labour market.

PART 4- MOROCCAN WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

1. MOROCCAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

1.1. CHANGES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The study of the relation between labour market and migration highlights several important issues related to the topic. Migrants' occupational destiny is a direct consequence of the changes and developments of the job market itself. So that, if during the 1960's and 1970's migrants were mostly needed in specific work sectors, such as in mines or heavy industries, the recent changes in the structure of the global economy have radically altered the migrants occupational destinations.

It is in a framework characterized by processes of post industrialization and casualization, that the modern features of migration should be analysed and discussed. In fact, the crisis of the fordist and taylorist model has completely modified the global situation of the labour market. That model was in fact based on the importance that industries had within the global economy: it was therefore

possible to forecast and create a system based upon a long term structure. That means there were assured occupational stability and union and wage guarantees. This situation is nowadays radically changed, as the model founded on big productive unities has been substituted by small and decentralized unities, based on flexible specializations¹³².

After the modifications occurred at the economical and industrial structures during the 1970's, two forms of workforce exploitation were put to use: one concerns the decentralization in peripheral and less developed areas¹³³. The other, directly visible in European countries, concerns the work sectors that cannot be transferred elsewhere. In that case, industrialized countries exploit immigrants' workforce, that have to work in those sectors characterized by intensive labour but that are not transferable according to the decentralization principles- as building trade or small industries, or those sectors connected to the services- as tourism¹³⁴.

The consequences of such a situation characterize the international labour market and the global economy. This process has been developed through the last forty years: in fact, as Maciotti¹³⁵ explains, the first step of this transformation can be traced back in the 1970's and it was linked to the drop of the agricultural sector, the increase of the tertiary sector and for the first time the work occupation in industries experienced a fall. Several adjustments were taking place within the industries, as it was reduced the rate of dependent workers compared with the independents and at the same time, the occupational rate in big industries was reduced, while it was augmented in small and medium ones.

So that, important modifications occurred in what concerns the stability and the guarantee of the occupation: in industry and service sectors, temporary workers

¹³² Maciotti, M.I., Pugliese, E., (2010) *L'esperienza migratoria: immigrati e rifugiati in Italia*, Bari: Laterza

¹³³ The exploitation of the low-wage workforce initially interested only specific areas, such as the South-East of Asia, and it acquired a remarkable importance during the 1970's and 1980's (Chossudovsky, M.,(1998), *La globalizzazione della povertà*, Edizioni Gruppo Abele: Torino).

¹³⁴ Vicarelli, G., "L'economia della vita quotidiana", in Vicarelli, G.,(ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 26-39

¹³⁵ Maciotti, M.I., Pugliese, E., 2010.

augmented. This general situation of precariousness and mobility of the occupational work force attracted the more marginalized actors, namely migrants, women and the young. They were in fact expelled from the regular labour market, and easily reabsorbed by the informal- situation that they had to accept relying for the legal sojourn on their work¹³⁶¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ In fact, this situation can be also read as an outcome of the changes in the labour market, added to which there are the migratory policies. In fact, the latter do not properly recognize the needs of the labour market and in addition they tend to see in migrants only a mere source of work force (Lagomarsino, F., (2006), *Esodi ed approdi di genere: famiglie transnazionali e nuove migrazioni dall'Ecuador*, Franco Angeli: Milano).

¹³⁷ Macioti, 2010.

TAB.37¹³⁸Tab. VII.7. Occupati stranieri e italiani per genere e settore di attività economica.
Media 2006 (valori in migliaia e composizioni percentuali)

Attività economica	Stranieri			Italiani	Totale	% stranieri su totale
	UE (a)	Non UE	Totale			
Maschi e Femmine						
Agricoltura	3,3	3,9	3,9	4,3	4,3	5,3
Industria	23,6	42,5	40,9	29,5	30,1	8,0
<i>ind. senso stretto</i>	18,2	24,2	23,7	21,8	21,8	6,4
<i>costruzioni</i>	5,4	18,3	17,2	7,7	8,3	12,2
Servizi	73,1	53,6	55,2	66,2	65,6	4,9
di cui:						
<i>commercio</i>	11,7	9,4	9,6	15,7	15,3	3,7
<i>alberghi e ristoranti</i>	9,2	8,9	9,0	4,6	4,8	10,9
<i>servizi alle famiglie</i>	14,4	19,1	18,7	2,7	3,6	30,3
Totale	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	5,9
Maschi						
Agricoltura	6,3	4,9	4,9	4,9	4,9	6,1
Industria	36,5	57,7	56,7	37,7	38,8	8,8
<i>ind. senso stretto</i>	22,6	29,5	29,2	25,7	25,9	6,8
<i>costruzioni</i>	13,9	28,2	27,5	12,0	12,9	12,8
Servizi	57,2	37,4	38,4	57,5	56,3	4,1
di cui:						
<i>commercio</i>	8,5	10,9	10,8	15,5	15,2	4,2
<i>alberghi e ristoranti</i>	5,5	7,4	7,3	3,9	4,1	10,8
<i>servizi alle famiglie</i>	2,6	5,2	5,1	1,0	1,3	23,6
Totale	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	6,0
Femmine						
Agricoltura	1,6	2,2	2,2	3,4	3,3	3,7
Industria	16,1	15,0	15,2	16,8	16,7	5,1
<i>ind. senso stretto</i>	15,7	14,6	14,7	15,7	15,7	5,3
<i>costruzioni</i>	0,5	0,4	0,4	1,1	1,1	2,4
Servizi	82,2	82,7	82,7	79,7	79,9	5,9
di cui:						
<i>commercio</i>	13,5	6,7	7,6	16,0	15,5	2,8
<i>alberghi e ristoranti</i>	11,3	11,7	11,7	5,7	6,0	10,9
<i>servizi alle famiglie</i>	21,2	44,2	41,0	5,2	7,2	32,1
Totale	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	5,7

Fonte: Istat, Rilevazione sulle forze di lavoro

¹³⁸ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*, report commissioned by the Ministero dell'Interno, available at: URL:

http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/15/0673_Rapporto_immigrazione_BARBAGLI.pdf (access 10/10/2012)

The increasing presence of women in migration has directly led to their entrance in the labour market. In fact, one of the main stereotypes to be deconstructed is the one that sees women as not dependent and active social actors, who are relying on a male figure in order to overcome and survive to the experience of migration. Instead, migrant women should be regarded as social agents, being not victims of the circumstances and the mechanisms intrinsic of migration, but as active actors that play an essential role in migration¹³⁹.

In this perspective, the structure of the female work in the European labour market has began to change from the 1960's, as the migrants' presence started to move from heavy industry to *hôtellerie*, catering or in the domestic sector. It is in this context that it started to be clearly outlined the current position of women within the labour market. In fact, during the 1980's it was evident that the presence of women led to the introduction to new forms of work, based upon flexibility and exploitation¹⁴⁰.

There is in fact a clear connection between women migration and the process of casualization that occurred economy. From the 1970's by the end of the 1990's, the service sector has been interwoven to the logic of transnationalism and the quest of low-wage workforce, so that the need for a low-wage workforce has attired workers behind the national borders¹⁴¹.

In this situation, women are the first target to adhere to job sectors in need of workforce. The process of casualization, flexibility and segmentation of the labour market and the growth of the informal sectors- they all cause the creation of niches to which women tend to adhere, because of their race, gender and class characteristics.

¹³⁹ During migration, they are able to modify the familiar structure, and to acquire more power, autonomy and control over the economical resources of the family (Anthias, F., Lazaridis, G., (eds.)(2000) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Oxford: Berg).

¹⁴⁰ Scrinzi, F., « « Ma culture dans laquelle elle travaille ». Les migrantes dans les services domestiques en Italie et en France », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 02 juillet 2010, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/554>

¹⁴¹ Chossudovsky, M.,1998.

This general process of changes within the labour market has also been accompanied by a process of disintegration of workers' rights, by the implementation of the plurality and flexibility of temporary jobs, and by the boosting of the informal sector. So that, full time work has been multiplied and broken up into different forms: temporary, temping or seasonal- just to give an example. Into this scenario, women are frozen in unflattering conditions: they are often negatively considered in respect to another worker with the same qualifications, they are more exposed to temporary contracts, they rarely receive promotions and professional mobility and they cope with high demanding work conditions¹⁴².

The Italian and the French contexts demonstrate that the processes of casualization, globalization and precariousness of the labour market rely on migratory logics, inclined or forced to adhere to those sectors, characterized by an important sexual division of job- such as the domestic and care¹⁴³.

1.2. WOMEN, MIGRATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET: THE CURRENT ECONOMICAL CRISIS AND ITS OUTCOMES

The analysis of migration is often reduced to the examination of the cultural, demographical, or social aspects of it. But migrants' integration in the host society is strictly interwoven to their economical integration, as "the overwhelming majority of international migrants move — whether permanently or temporarily — in search of better economic opportunities"¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴² Roulleau-Berger, L.,(2010), *Migrer au féminin*, Presses Universitaires de France: Paris

¹⁴³ Miranda, A., « Per un approccio di genere allo studio delle immigrazioni », in AAVV,(2012), *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas-Migrantes 2012*, Roma: Edizioni Idos, pp. 105-111

¹⁴⁴ Batalova, J., Fix, M., Lin, S. Y.-Y., Mittelstadt, M., Papademetriou, D. G., Terrazas, A., *Migration and the Global Recession : a report commissioned by the BBC World Service*, Migration Policy Institute, September 2009, p. 14 available online www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MPI-BBCreport-2009.pdf

Hence, the attention on migration should switch from the media's focus on the *pateras* to the impact that migration has in the receiving countries' economic and occupational fields.

To this end, this perspective is even more important if considered the fact that migrants could play an important role in relation to the economic crisis that the Western countries are experiencing in the latest period.

In fact, according to the study conducted by the Attac¹⁴⁵, migrants eventually enhance economical development: their presence relieves demographic pressure, boosts demographic growth, creates workforce to be employed in agriculture, increases monetary transfers and opens new cultural dimensions and investments¹⁴⁶.

Because of the tight relation between migrants and the labour market, in case of an economical recession they are among the first victims. In fact, the economical crisis has affected migrants' status, as those "with temporary work permits have been especially hard hit by the recession, because they are most closely linked (along with illegal immigration flows) to the economy."¹⁴⁷

There are several reasons that brought to such a situation. First, they usually work in sectors that are easily influenced by economic downturns, such as "construction, wholesale, export-oriented manufacturing, and hospitality"¹⁴⁸. Secondly, because of the type of contracts and working relations they have, such as seasonal, temporary or informal, their guarantees in case of economical crisis are easily avoidable. Third, they experience discrimination when entering into the labour market because of their foreign origin and this mechanism is even more intensified during recession¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁵ Attac is an association created in 1998, in response to the publication of an editorial on the journal *Le Monde Diplomatique* by Ignacio Ramonet with the title '[Désarmer les marchés](#)'. Attac's aim is to inform people about economics and politics, in order to give them the necessary knowledge to act and to be aware about global events at an economical, political, social and cultural level. Attac claims being considered as a 'movement of popular education'. (<http://www.france.attac.org/> accessed 26 august 2012)

¹⁴⁶ AAVV, *Pour une politique ouverte de l'immigration* (2009), Editions Syllepse : Paris

¹⁴⁷ Batalova, 2009, p.16.

¹⁴⁸ For those working in sectors that are less influenced by the economical changes- as health or education, the recession is less directly experienced (Batalova 2009, p. 16).

¹⁴⁹ Batalova, 2009.

This perspective may contrast with the negative general perception that is related to migration, which is usually built on stereotypes and disinformation. In fact, as the same French Minister of Economy and Finance has stated in 2006¹⁵⁰, migrants do not represent a menace to the national economy. On the contrary, they have a positive effect in economics: as instance, the population increase because of migrants' presence, which will eventually boost national production. The outcomes that are generally deemed as depressing and unhelpful can be deconstructed if better analysed. In fact, it is true that migrants' presence might have a damaging effect on wages, bringing them down but this mechanism has to be considered from a right perspective. In my opinion, this situation is due to the changes of the labour market analysed above, namely casualization and the exploitation of migrants' workforce. Then, the negative consequences on the labour market in general are not to be hunt in migrants' willingness, as they have little option.

Additionally, the impact of migrants' workforce in altering wages or workers' rights depends also whether the workforce taken into account is complementary or not in respect to the autochthon workforce: in fact, those two sectors are not always in contention, so that migrants could at the limit reduce the rate of native workforce in certain sectors. The real menaces deriving from migration are to be detected in the informal market, which is partly fed by migrants¹⁵¹.

In order to positively enjoy the potentiality that migrants have in boosting and overcoming the crisis, two moves are essential to be implemented. First, the relation between migrants and their job should be based on the right acceptation of the latter. In fact, because of the importance that work has as an indispensable element in order to legally sojourn in the host country, it is often merely considered as an essential element required. But work has a more important and valuable meaning, according to the social history of the Western countries, and the same meaning should be granted also to migrants. In this view, protect migrants workers' rights is an important element in order to overcome this stage of

¹⁵⁰ AAVV, (2009), *Pour une politique ouverte de l'immigration*

¹⁵¹ AAVV, (2009), *Pour une politique ouverte de l'immigration*

economical recession. As a consequence in fact, being migrants so dependent on work as a way to preserve a legal status, in case of loss of their occupation they usually face only two options: or being absorbed by the informal market or leave the host country¹⁵². And neither of the two represents a step toward a proper attribution of value to migrants' work.

Second, because of the crisis, several OECD countries have modified the immigration laws. In fact, as those countries are experiencing a high rate of internal unemployment, several measures have been implemented in order to reduce the incoming flow: by reducing the quota system (as in Italy, Slovenia, Portugal, Croatia and Hungary), or tightening the selective parameters by which the inflow movement is regulated (as in the United Kingdom or in Spain). Generally, low skilled migrants have been negatively considered in respect to the high skilled, more favorably accepted. But according to several studies, on the long term this kind of policy might have negative consequences. In fact, because of the high rate of work demand, limiting the quota system could increase the phenomenon of the informal labour market. Secondly, it could negatively affect the crisis itself, as it impedes the availability of work force in the sectors needed in order to overcome the recession¹⁵³.

In this perspective, the analysis of the Fondazione Moressa hopes for a change: migrants should have the access to the social security and welfare system, and politics of social inclusion and integration should be implemented. Only in this way, the valorization of the social capital of migrants will be successfully achieved¹⁵⁴, in order to eventually perceive migration as an important actor of the economical development and competitiveness¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵² Fondazione Leone Moressa, (2011), *Rapporto annuale sull'economia dell'immigrazione. Gli stranieri: un valore economico per la società. Dati e considerazioni su una realtà in continua evoluzione*, Bologna: il Mulino

¹⁵³ Fondazione Leone Moressa, (2012), *Rapporto annuale sull'economia dell'immigrazione. Immigrati : una risorsa in tempo di crisi*, Bologna: il Mulino

¹⁵⁴ Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2012.

¹⁵⁵ Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2011.

In the analysis of the relation between migration and the labour market, it is interesting to put the accent on the peculiarities related to the category of women as such a study could reveal important issues. Analysing this issue, it is possible to note that women are discriminated at a global level, migrants or autochthones¹⁵⁶. Their activity rates are lower, their unemployment rate higher, they mostly work part time and finally their access into the labour market is limited to particular work sectors¹⁵⁷. From the 1980s', the presence of migrant women into the labour market has risen, but despite their increasing presence, the job sectors where they can access are limited: manufacturing industry, agriculture, domestic care or low skilled jobs. In fact, they had to deal with the process of changes occurred into the labour market, such as segmentation, flexibility and precariousness, whereof they had been one of the first victims¹⁵⁸.

TAB.38¹⁵⁹

TABELLA 18 - GENERE DI ATTIVITÀ DEI MAROCCHINI (%) RESIDENTI IN ITALIA SECONDO IL SESSO E LA FASCIA D'ETÀ, 2008

Sesso	Attività		Totale (%)	Numero
	<i>Inattivi</i>	<i>Attivi</i>		
Maschi	13.9	86.1	100.0	233163
Femmine	56.7	43.3	100.0	104806
Classe d'età				
0 - 14 anni	100.0	0.0	100.0	21371
15 - 29 anni	41.1	58.9	100.0	90069
30 - 44 anni	14.0	86.0	100.0	157072
45 - 59 anni	12.5	87.5	100.0	58043
60 anni e oltre	39.4	60.6	100.0	10306
Totale	27.2	72.8	100.0	336861

Fonte: Dati consolari, Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione, Marocco, 2008

¹⁵⁶ In fact, as Kofman states, also autochthones women are disadvantaged in respect to men. Just to give an example, European women globally earn 20% less than men (Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., (2000) *Gender and international migration in Europe: employment, welfare and politics*, London: Routledge).

¹⁵⁷ From the mid-1980's the European Union has tried to implement social programs that could change this situation and reach a gender equality, addressing to parity of wages or equality in occupation and professional training, but they have never eventually succeeded (Campani, G., (2000), *Genere, etnia e classe : migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identità*, Pisa : Edizioni ETS).

¹⁵⁸ Campani, G., 2000.

¹⁵⁹ Fassi Fihri, M., Mghari, M., (2010), *Cartographie des flux migratoires des Marocains en Italie*, report made by Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations and Ministero degli Affari Esteri, available at : URL :

TAB. 39¹⁶⁰

TABELLA 19 - MOTIVI D'INATTIVITÀ DEI MAROCCHINI (%) RESIDENTI IN ITALIA PER SESSO, 2008

<i>Motivi d'inattività</i>	<i>Sesso immigrato</i>		<i>Totale</i>
	<i>Maschi</i>	<i>Femmine</i>	
Studenti	82.8	32.2	50.1
Casalinghe	0.0	22.4	15.1
Altri inattivi	17.2	45.5	34.9
Totale	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numero	32481	59424	91905

FONTE: Dati consolari, Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione, Marocco, 2008

Because of the changes within the economical structure there have been several changes also in relation to the workers' role. As Campani notes, after the crisis of the fordist- taylorist model and the imposing of the post- fordist one (based on flexibility, informality and tertiary sector), the role of the worker has eventually changed. If in the previous model the lack of workers' rights was addressed to the notion of exploitation, this was not adequately describing the new situation. In fact, the notion of exploitation is not sufficient to describe the situation of migrants, as they are both excluded at a social and at a working level. Therefore, Campani pushes for the adoption of the term 'exclusion' which better describes the situation of division and stigmatization those migrants have to deal with¹⁶¹.

To this end, Campani describes two theories of exclusion that are embedded in the present labour market.

The first one is related to the socio- economic factors, as the 'excluded' has taken the place of the oppressed and the exploited. The occupational crisis has shifted the attention from the exploitation on the work place, to the exploitation based on the distinction between guaranteed and not guaranteed workers.

The other exclusion theory considers the political and cultural factors, and it focuses on the global crisis of social cohesion. To this end, the state is not considered

http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/activities/countries/docs/Cartographie_des_flux_migratoires_des_Marocains_en_Italie.pdf

¹⁶⁰ Fassi Fihri, M., Mghari, M., 2010.

¹⁶¹ Campani, 2000.

anymore as the warrantor of the welfare services. In fact, those social rights were connected to waged workers' rights and therefore they were not related to the informal labour market. As a consequence, in order to overcome this lack of rights in this sector, the state should be able to adequately insert migrants into the labour market, as to halt the desegregation of the social structure and to preserve their social rights. Hence, as a consequence of the corrosion of the concept of waged work there are hidden crucial problems, as the deterioration of the workers' rights and their exclusion create a sort of exile of a part of the population from the society and the citizenship realms¹⁶².

To this analysis of exclusion experienced by migrants, it should be considered the gender factor, being considered as one of the main factors that can augment the exclusion situations. Therefore, social actors that qualify themselves as women, migrant and disadvantaged may experience strong impediments once entering the labour market. This mechanism has been named the triple discrimination, as migrant women are discriminated because of their gender, because of their class and because of their ethnic origin¹⁶³.

1.3. RACISM, STIGMATIZATION AND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE

In this new form of global economy, inequalities have increasingly reshaped the labour market and the relations between different social groups which have different access to social, economical and symbolic resources. Those inequalities have brought onto the labour market visible processes of ethnic discrimination and sexual

¹⁶² Campani, 2000.

¹⁶³ Campani describes a social advertising where it was depicted a women homeless, noting that this image was even more effective, as women homeless are not as much represented in the collective imagination rather than their male counterparts (Campani, 2000).

stigmatization. As a consequence, ethnic segmentation and social inequalities are easily revealed analyzing the situation of migrant women in the labour market.

As instance in France, almost 50 works are not accessible to foreigners: some of them require to follow a quota system (as in the case of national defense industry), but some of them are reserved to national citizens. Those mechanisms lead to an invisibility of migrant women's status by placing them in a disadvantaged position in regard to the labour market. In fact, knowledge, qualifications, professional training and experiencing are not always recognized to them, negatively affecting migrant women possibilities to succeed¹⁶⁴.

Hence, several mechanisms of symbolic violence can be traced in the labour market. Migrant women experience those processes, as they collide with inequalities and official norms that impede integration and a successful job position. In fact, the imposition of norms that impede the migrants' qualification, reveals violent forms of economical domination based on differentiation and ethnic distinction.

This mechanism is revealed, as instance, through the lack of workers' rights or because of the unofficial and informal activity to which often migrants are obliged. As for what concerns women, the symbolic violence also takes shape because of the imposition of inactivity, as their competences and knowledge are often ignored¹⁶⁵.

Roulleau- Berger illustrates the mechanisms toward which migrant women are forced to go through, as they arrive in the destination country and they attempt to enter in the labour market looking for a job.

According to her, the first contact with a racist environment happens from the very beginning, as soon as they enter in an office of professional insertion. The discriminations that they experience in this stage take different shapes and different levels of awareness of the interlocutor. The first one is the suspect: in that case, women migrants are stigmatized and perceived as mere consumers of services, as they are deemed to try to exploit institutions by manipulating institutional actors in

¹⁶⁴ Roulleau-Berger, L., 2010.

¹⁶⁵ Roulleau-Berger, L., 2010.

order to get a job. The second case depicted by the scholar concerns the discrimination in regard to the employee. In this case, the interlocutor pretend to recognize migrant's experiences and knowledge, but consecutively addresses her to a job evidently under her capacities. This form of discrimination profoundly affects the identity of migrants, which experience difficulties in recognizing themselves in the job offered, as it does not mirror their competences. The last kind of discrimination has been named by the scholar 'interior colonialism', through which migrants' experiences and knowledge are negatively analysed because of the maintain during the interview of a certain distant and dominating approach toward migrants. In this sense, migrant women are perceived as seeking for a partial integration into the 'superior' French society and evidently, this mechanism leads to a sense of frustration by the migrants who have experienced it¹⁶⁶.

Once they overcome those interviews and are eventually inserted into the labour market, they have to deal with other forms of racism, deeply embedded into the labour market itself. As instance, in function of their religious identity women are exposed to different forms of discrimination. In the case of Muslim migrant women, as instance, the veil is often perceived as an important discriminant.

There have been revealed three main forms of racism: political, cultural or institutional. The first refers to the mechanism by which migrant women are rejected by the labour market because of their cultural origin: as instance, employers deny to hire them *a priori*, because of their foreign origin. The cultural racism into the labour market is expressed by public speeches and discourses held by public figures or employers, that affirm that migrant women could experience difficulties in integrating into the autochthones' labour market because of a different conception of the 'work culture'. The last kind of racism, the institutional racism, is the eventual outcome of a society that trivializes racist actions that could daily affects migrants,

¹⁶⁶ Roulleau-Berger, L., 2010.

such as humiliation, suspect, interior colonialism, symbolic or even physical violence¹⁶⁷.

As for what concerns Islamic women entering the labour market, they might experience specific reasons of exclusion. In fact, beside the general reasons that could create difficulties in integrating for migrants in general, such as the qualification level, the appearance, or the knowledge of a foreign language, Islamic women often have to cope with a certain cultural racism which associates them to the negative stereotyped images released by the mainstream media. As a consequence, they are mainly excluded from the labour market because of their religious belonging¹⁶⁸. The negative perception of Islam might then lead the employers not to take into consideration to hire Islamic women¹⁶⁹. From the study undertaken by Ben Mohammed it emerged that the problem slightly differs if considering a private or public working space. As to what concerns the latter in fact, the reasons singled out usually refer to the principle of neutrality that should be granted in a public space. Islamic women's religious belonging could damage the contact with the public or clients, and the intrinsic freedom of choice and neutrality embedded in it. In the case of a private work, other reasons came to exclude Islamic women, which are the risk to harm the affairs of the employer, in case the client will not accept the religious symbols shown and exposed by Islamic women. Fortunately, this scheme is sometimes bypassed, as it may happen that this mechanism is negotiated between employee and employer¹⁷⁰, so that Islamic women wearing the veil happen to work in public places. The same could happen also in private works,

¹⁶⁷ Roulleau-Berger, 2010.

¹⁶⁸ The fact that Islamic women encounter difficulties in entering the labour market because of external signs of religious identity may lead to the acceptance that despite the education level acquired, work in itself does not help in the process toward emancipation.

¹⁶⁹ As Ben Mohamed puts it, "l'interprétation occidentale du voile islamique comme signe d'intolérance, d'oppression de la femme et frein à l'intégration, va pousser certains employeurs à refuser d'engager des femmes voilées en invoquant des arguments dérivés du débat sur la question." (Ben Mohamed, N., « Les femmes musulmanes voilées d'origine marocaine sur le marché de l'emploi », available from : URL : http://www.ulb.ac.be/socio/germe/documentsenligne/femmesmusulmanes_nadia.pdf (access 3/12/2012).

¹⁷⁰ «En l'absence de règles spécifiques claires sur la manifestation d'une identité religieuse sur le lieu de travail, la décision d'engager ou non une femme voilée sera, la plupart du temps, laissée à l'appréciation du recruteur» (Ben Mohamed).

but it is more likely to realize if employees are so skilled, educated and prepared that the religious issue is overcome by their ability¹⁷¹.

Other outcomes are derived from the exclusion experienced because of their religious identity. Because of the discrimination that they experience, they might decide not to wear the veil. According to Festinger¹⁷², this decision is part of a mechanism analysed in psychology named 'cognitive dissonance': those women decide to set in motion a process of self-exclusion as to avoid the failure caused by exterior factors. This process might take different shades, as resignations, lack of professional ambition, abandonment of social promotion and lack of competitiveness and grit. In some cases, the difficulties encountered may lead them to prefer the family life to the professional inclusion and success¹⁷³.

Hence, it seems clear that all those forms of racism that migrant women have to cope with before, during and after the entrance in the labour market, profoundly affect their life. Migrant women are socially and ethnically discriminated and because of this process, they may suffer because of a difficulty in recognizing their identity. Secondly, the uneasiness and social distress alter their capacity of action, mobilization and resistance¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷¹ Being the laws that regulate the issue quite undefined and because of the fact that it all depends on the employer's decision, this choice might be regarded as a form of discrimination and outlawed differentiation (Ben Mohamed).

¹⁷² Leon Festinger, (1964), *Conflict, decision and dissonance*, Tavistock cited in Ben Mohamed.

¹⁷³ Ben Mohamed, N.

¹⁷⁴ Roulleau-Berger, 2010.

1.4. WORK: EMANCIPATION FOR MOROCCAN WOMEN?

The meaning of the term 'work' is embedded in all the societies, but it has differently developed throughout the countries, acquiring different shapes and social values. If those considerations were brought into the analysis of the relation between women and work, it is interesting to stress the differences of the evolution of the feminine work concept, according to their origin.

As instance, in socialist countries such as Chinese or Eastern Europe women put a specific meaning to the term, as to them their identity is also built through and thanks their job activity. This is a reason why, if not working, those women can suffer at a psychological level as their individuality is not completely recognizable if not complemented by a work activity.

On the contrary, Northern African women do not consider the work as a part of the construction of an image of themselves: work is not a fundamental part of their social identity. A part from high skilled women, it is normal to them not to have a protected status, or enter into the labour market with no formal contract: so that, the situation that they have to deal with as migrants in the destination country is not as much different as the one faced in the native country, and therefore their probability to positively adapt to the new reality are higher¹⁷⁵.

So that, the different ways to enter into the labour market are very much influenced by political and social factors, but also by the characteristics that the labour market has in the origin country. As a consequence, the symbolic dimension of the work can become a means to affirm women emancipation and the '*gouvernement de soi*'¹⁷⁶.

In analysing the relation between Moroccan women and the work issue, the first step to be taken into consideration is the traditional familiar structure of the

¹⁷⁵ Roulleau-Berger, L., 2010.

¹⁷⁶ Roulleau-Berger, L., 2010.

Maghrebi societies, and the religious influence on that aspect of life. Family is the core element of the northern African societies, and it is reflected into the general social organization. Having delineated such a framework, it is possible to better approach the role of work into Moroccan women's life. According to the Islam religion, and despite the general perception that considers Maghrebi women as inactive and dependent upon their husbands, women are allowed to work. But even though this permit being contemplated, their job activities must be secondary to their familiar role: as Giannini¹⁷⁷ notes, their main function is to assure familiar cohesion or supervising domestic activity.

Despite the difficulties that women encounter in the labour market, as the fact that the sectors in which they usually find a job are a perpetuation of their female domestic competences, they carry an important role according to their traditional values. Women are in fact the figures that transmit cultural values in society: role that is strictly linked first to their centrality within the familiar structure, and secondly to the centrality of the family itself.

That is the reason why in migration they tend to reproduce the same structure in the arrival country, as it preserves their role and responsibilities in protecting the family in an alien milieu. This is not to say that their position is somehow 'frozen', as the new circumstances and realities may alter the traditional structures and provoke the need of adapting to the new society. To this end, it is possible to trace new roles assigned to women in migration, as the help in the family adjustment, mostly in the case they have young children: this can be revealed as they are cline to the interaction with the autochthon culture, and they often represent the link between their family and the new society¹⁷⁸.

One of the main issues on which the analysis of women migration is founded is whether the participation and the access to the labour market is a key to women

¹⁷⁷ Giannini, M., "Donne del sud", in Vicarelli, G.,(ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 73-92

¹⁷⁸ Giannini, 1994.

emancipation. This sort of question should be deconstructed and liberated from a stereotype that sees in migration an almost automatic improvement of their status, because of the different circumstances in which they happen to live in the arrival country, where they supposed to be free and independent. But if taken into account the fact that women usually enter in the labour market into specific sectors, namely characterized by disqualification, low wages and informal contracts, it is needed a different approach that could solve the study of the relation between emancipation and work activity.

The relation between work activity and women emancipation has been extensively analysed, as it seems clear that

“the most commonly adopted view [...] is that migration and incorporation of women in waged employment bring both gains and losses: they may enhance women’s exploitation but in the same time, women can gain independence, respect and perhaps awareness that their condition is not fated and that it can be changed”¹⁷⁹

Therefore, work activity may acquire an important meaning to those women, who through the entrance in the labour market can obtain at first economical independence that over the time will become broader autonomy and self-government.

Of course the elements that may bring those women to emancipation are more than the mere work activity. As Morokvasic states, those are also the

“decline of the extended family patterns, adoption of the nuclear family, fragmentation of the family structure, access to paid work, influence of the

¹⁷⁹ Morokvasic, M., *Birds of passage are also women...*, “International Migration Review”, Vol. 18, no. 4, Special issue: Women in migration (winter, 1984), pp. 886-907

media, decline of religious practices, increasing adoption of egalitarian values for girls and boys and adoption of consumption behavior”¹⁸⁰.

An important element in order to identify work as a means toward emancipation is that the situation in the new country is not the only element that could bring to a positive and successfully achieved women’s autonomy. The reasons that brought them to the decision to migrate, or the gender relation that they experience in the origin country may have a certain influence in the changes that they may or not go through in the new society. Morokvasic suggests some factors that may influence the eventual outcomes toward women emancipation:

“first, women’s role in production and her social status in the area of origin; second, possibilities of employment in the receiving areas for women but also for men; and, third, migration patterns and reasons women engage in them. [...] The interrelationship between these non-economic factors and the economic ones will determine who will be the women who engage in the migratory movements and what will be the meaning of migratory experience for them, how they will incorporate, adapt new values and behavior, or totally reject them, seeking refuge but often strength, in the old patterns.”¹⁸¹

According to Giannini in fact, gender inequalities are not caused by the labour market itself. Her theory is based upon the belief that they are rather a consequence of the role they have within the family: gender inequities depend on the level of independence and freedom of choice.

¹⁸⁰ Morokvasic, 1984. Concerning the consequences of the changes in the approach toward religion, laity could play an important role to trace the path toward women’s emancipation. According to Minces, laity generally concerns women, as they have been guided by religions throughout the world in so many different aspects of the everyday life: the way to dress, their behavior, their sexuality or the use of their body. And this happens in most of the religions. In laic countries they are therefore able to freely express themselves, as the citizens’ identity is not based upon their religious belonging. They are free to be believers, but in front of the state and of the law, they are nothing but citizens. In addition, in laic countries religion cannot interfere with civil law (Minces, J., « Les trois formes de discriminations subies par les femmes de l’immigration », in *Hommes et Migrations*, n. 1248, (Mars- avril 2004), pp. 14-22).

¹⁸¹ Morokvasic, 1984.

As instance, the modality through which they emigrate, individually or because of the family reunification, heavily influences the gender relation during the migration experience. Additionally, women work in migration is hardly a key factor in changing the gender relation, as it is considered as an instrumental activity in order to earn and make their living (not to stress the fact that is characterized by informality and precariousness). Therefore, according to her, the very core of the possibility of a change in gender relation lays in the change of the familiar structure itself, which could liberate and open to new possibilities of a really autonomous entrance in the job market¹⁸².

1.5. THE CASE OF FRANCE: 'ECONOMIE DE PROXIMITÉ'

Despite this negative situation, women are able to overcome those difficulties. In fact, while men usually remain in the realm of the productive sphere, women may be forced to develop different forms of job, in function of their survival strategy and conciliating familiar and professional lives¹⁸³.

As instance, they create important networks among migrant women in order to resolve the lack of possibilities offered by the official labour market. To this end, they play an important role in the local economy made upon informal circuits or association management¹⁸⁴. In those networks, they develop economical activities that, because of their social importance among the community, eventually repay them with a social identity. Even though those activities are developed within an unofficial economy and the waged activities are a minority, it does not mean that those women are excluded from the labour market, as they develop other forms of

¹⁸² Giannini, M., 1994.

¹⁸³ To this end, Roulleau-Berger (2010) stresses the fact that the process by which women reinvent themselves, involves a negative aspect, as every time they change job they lose the knowledge acquired with the previous job because of the lack of continuity among the jobs they are offered.

¹⁸⁴ AAVV, *Les femmes immigrées et l'intégration*, (1995), Editions du Conseil de l'Europe : Strasbourg

valuable change. As instance in France, from the 1980's several migrant women have been working in the public space, mostly in the disadvantaged neighborhoods helping to solve the issues of drug addiction, violence, housing or helping in finding a job. The importance of those kinds of works within the immigrant community leads them to gain an important role as economical and institutional actresses¹⁸⁵.

Those kinds of activities hide a double positive side. In fact, on the one hand they enable several people to take part in the labour market and on the other hand, they help in creating a better environment in problematic neighborhoods.

The example of the '*économie de proximité*' shows how women are capable to react to the difficulties that they encounter in the labour market. This example embodies the strategies that women may activate as active actors, who because of the difficulties experienced in the formal labour market decide to react and to create new forms of consumption, production and exchange, exploiting their experience and knowledge to earn their lives¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁵ Roulleau-Berger, 2010.

¹⁸⁶ Hersent, M., « Initiatives de femmes immigrées dans les zones sensibles urbaines », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 20 juin 2010, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/549>

2- WORK SECTORS

In this chapter I will extensively analyze the role of migrant women within two specific work sectors: domestic work and the trade sector. Within the analysis of the work sectors where migrant women are mostly employed, it should be taken into account the different processes linked to this issue, as globalization or racial segmentation of the labour market.

According to Chiaretti, the presence of women migrant workers is strictly intertwined with the process of globalization. In the scholar's view in fact, because of this process they firstly have been exploited in their origin country- as a consequence of the delocalization realized by Western countries. Then, because of the problematic situations that this decision produced, women in underdeveloped countries were pushed to migrate, only to be once more exploited in Western countries. The analysis of the labour market they found once emigrated reveals other outcomes of this mechanism: women's entrance in the labour market has acquired specific features, being women victims of the worst shades of working conditions, based on precariousness, underpayment and discrimination¹.

This has to be linked with a macro-structural analysis of the global labour market, and to the sectors where migrants eventually find a job. In fact, they experience the same processes of the post industrial societal transformations, where workforce is

¹Chiaretti, G., "Badanti': mal di lavoro, mal da rapporti sociali, fronteggiamenti", in Chiaretti, G. (ed.), *C'è posto per la salute nel nuovo mercato del lavoro? Medici e sociologi a confronto*, (2005), Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 171-218

forced to adapt to the worst conditions and treatments, low wages and fewer working rights².

Different processes inevitably influence their presence within the labour market, such as its racial segmentation, by which migrants usually do the less qualified, less paid and labour intensive jobs. Or, the fact that their working placement is systematically underestimated both professionally and occupationally, so that their competences and their education level are not even taken into account³.

As to what concern women migrants, they are mainly employed in the care and domestic sector, so that they are mainly working as domestics, familiar assistants, cleaners, waitresses or hospital attendants. Their eventual income is lower than the national average, but not only: it is in fact lower than their male counterparts and than autochthon women's incomes. Vertical mobility, to which migrants can count on, is rarely successfully achieved, as it is usually linked to the seniority of staying. However, what happened is that in the sectors where they work newly arrived migrants are continuously hired, so that an eventual career is hardly contemplated. On the other hand, horizontal mobility hides negative aspects: whereas it is easier to achieve, it may have negative outcomes, as it may not involve improved social status and condition. What is more, in some work sectors it is not even considered, as in the domestic care⁴.

Being their access to the labour market so severely limited, it is interesting to consider whether the push toward emancipation plays a role in their choice to enter the labour market:

“female migrations toward Western Europe can be seen from a dual perspective. From one perspective, it is a form of refusal of subjugation, also in terms of gender, that women experience in their countries of origin; thus, it is a sort of emancipation. In another perspective, it is the outcome of a strong demand of their services in the destination countries, where alongside the

² Vicarelli, G. , “Immigrazione al femminile”, in Vicarelli, G., (ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 10- 25

³ Fondazione Leone Moressa, (2012), *Rapporto annuale sull'economia dell'immigrazione. Immigrati : una risorsa in tempo di crisi*, Bologna: il Mulino

⁴ Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2012

traditional division of labor based on gender, there is another division between autochthonous and migrant women; the latter are mostly destined to the domestic and sex markets, independently from their occupational and professional levels”⁵

The aim of this part is to highlight the processes through which migrant women undergo once entered in the labour market, the situation they have to deal with, and the effective possibilities they can access to in the Western labour market, as to trace the eventual value of work as a means toward emancipation.

⁵ Massari, M., « The *Other* and her Body: Migrant Prostitution, Gender Relations and Ethnicity », *Cahiers de l'Urmis* [En ligne], N°12 | juin 2009, mis en ligne le 26 juin 2009, Consulté le 12 novembre 2012. URL : <http://urmis.revues.org/index787.html>

2.1. DOMESTIC WORK

Domestic work is a peculiar sector to analyse, as it crosses both ideological and economical issues. In this perspective, the feminist analysis having stressed the overlapping relations between gender and power, might help in dissolving the problems that underlay the sector. In fact, there are several aspects from which the increasing demand of workforce in the sector stems from, and an analysis of how they intersect with the 'race', gender and class factors might reveal interesting dynamics:

“the demand which drives (and is driven by) the policy gap is not simply for workers who are willing to accept low wages and poor conditions, who just happen to be immigrants because of economic differences between receiving and sending countries. [...] Rather, the demand is specifically, and crucially, for foreign women to do these sorts of work, and it arises within a web of economic and ideological factors”⁶

In this chapter I will analyse how the domestic work has been structured in Italy and France, stressing the different features that it has acquired in both the countries. I will then bring to the surface some aspects that it involves, as the peculiar mechanisms of the relationship between employer and employee, and the role and influence that immigration policies have in the domestic sector. In the last paragraph I will outline differences and similarities between the French and the Italian situations.

⁶ Pannell, K., Altman, M., *Minding the Gap: Feminist perspectives on policies affecting immigrant labor in the domestic services industry in Europe*, "Cahiers de l'Urmis" [En ligne], N°12 | juin 2009, mis en ligne le 26 juin 2009, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://urmis.revues.org/index810.html>

A GROWING SECTOR

According to Truong, there are two main reasons at the core of the increasing work demand in the domestic sector. Firstly, national services regarding children and elders are more than often denied and cut, added to the general ageing of the population. Secondly, the increasing presence of autochthon women in the labour market, which was not adequately balanced with a reorganization of women's traditional work at home⁷.

TAB.40⁸

Women as a percentage of the labor force, 1980-2004 (in %)

Country/Year	1980	1990	2000	2004
Ireland	28	34	41	42
Spain	28	34	39	41
Italy	33	37	38	40
Portugal	39	43	45	46
Germany	39	40	44	45
France	40	43	45	46
UK	41	44	46	46

Source: World Bank data, 2006.

Another crucial factor is that the welfare system has undergone to several changes, so that both the lack of services offered and their rising price has lead to an

⁷ Truong, T. D., "Gender, international migration and social reproduction: implications for theory, policy, research and networking", *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, n. 5, vol. 1, 1996, pp. 27-52, cited in Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., (2000) *Gender and international migration in Europe: employment, welfare and politics*, London: Routledge

⁸ Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

increasing demand of private domestic services⁹. Those are in fact fueled by the presence of migrant women in the labour market, that offer their services for low wages¹⁰.

In this perspective, Pannell clearly highlights the connection between women's entrance in the labour market, the lack of public social services and the role that women migration has acquired in fitting those lacks:

“the exchange of women across borders actually facilitates, and stays within the model of, capitalism, merely seeking to (partially) extend its benefits to a slightly wider group. If we are inclined to see the movement of host-countrywomen into the labour force, and their upward mobility within that labour force, as good thing (either from the perspective of greater productivity of from a liberal feminist perspective), we could applaud the flexibility of transnational capitalism in easing the social costs of that transition.”¹¹

Other factors fueled the increasing importance of the sector: from the workers' perspective the fact that it does not demand any specific competence is a crucial attiring feature. In fact, it is mostly based on the social and capital networks that those women are able to build and on the immediate satisfaction of the primary needs they have once arrived in the destination country: the domestic sector, in fact, satisfies those needs despite an eventual irregular legal status or an insufficient knowledge of the national language, such as food and accommodation¹². But on the other hand, the very same easiness to access to that work is among the factors that make domestic sector an invisible job, as it is not considered as a proper work given the fact that it

⁹ Other cultural factors influenced the sector. In Italy, the conception that the elders care should be performed within the familiar realm, added to the structural lacks of the sector, has lead to the demand of private services (Colombo, E., “L'estranea in casa: la relazione quotidiana tra datori di lavoro e badanti”, in Colombo, E., Semi, G., (eds.) (2007) *Multiculturalismo quotidiano: le pratiche della differenza*, Milano: Franco Angeli, PP. 99- 127

¹⁰ Colombo, E., 2007.

¹¹ Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

¹² Tognetti Bordogna, M., “Fra le mura domestiche: sfruttamento e crisi del welfare nel lavoro di cura delle badanti”, in Bernardotti, A. M., Mottura, G., (eds.), (2003), *Immigrazione e sindacato: lavoro, discriminazione, rappresentanza*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 163- 182

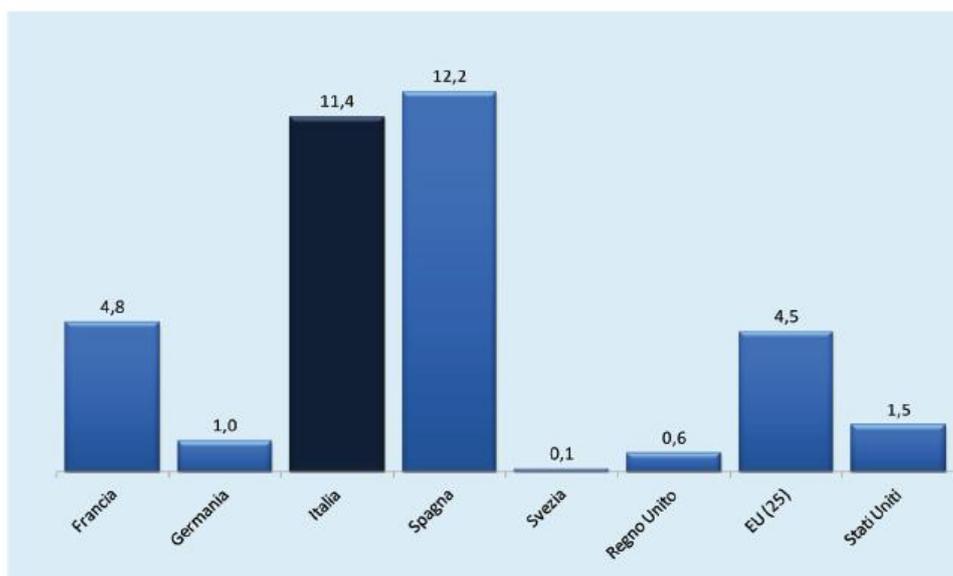
does not require any technical or specific skills. Rather, elements that are considered to be at the core of this job are cultural and moral specificities, such as unselfishness and self-abnegation¹³.

Domestic work is considerably increased over the last ten years, at a global level. Its importance is officially recognized, so that

“countries, such as Italy, Greece and Spain, recognize the demand for domestic work by either regularizing large numbers of undocumented domestic workers at frequent intervals or actually setting aside a certain quota of work permits every year for this occupation.”¹⁴

TAB.41¹⁵

Figura 2: quota di lavoratori stranieri occupati nelle famiglie nel 2007



I dati si riferiscono al 2007, per la UE (25) alla media 2005-06. Fonte: OECD (2009), International Migration Outlook.

¹³ Alemani, C., “La fabbrica delle donne”, in Vicarelli, G.,(ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 51- 64

¹⁴ Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., 2000.

¹⁵ Fondazione Moressa, *L'economia della migrazione*, No. 2, (February 2012)

FRANCE: REGULARIZING THE SECTOR

In France, the presence of the issues related to domestic workers can be traced back since the beginning of the 20th century: it has been evaluated that there were 900,000 only in metropolitan France¹⁶ by the end of the 19th century. The feminization of the sector was intertwined with the raise of the demand by an increasing important bourgeoisie, of which women were starting to enter in the labour market and despised the domestic work¹⁷.

During the inter- war period, Italian and Portuguese domestic workers substituted those coming from Germany, Switzerland, Luxembourg and Belgium. Even during the economic crisis of the 1920's and 1930's, the sector kept to increase: laws meant to protect national labor force did not affect the domestic sector, as it was not perceived as in contrast with French workers. In the meantime, the French government did not adequately protect domestic workers' rights, as it did with the industrial sector. As a consequence, those women were excluded from important rights, such as trade-union rights, health assistance or compensation insurances¹⁸.

During the 1970's, the process of migration feminization increased and the number of Northern Africans considerably raised, but as Falquet remarks, the feminist discourse that at the time was developing did not embrace the issue of women migrants' relegation in certain working sectors¹⁹.

A law in 1977 set that women migrated within the framework of the family reunification could not work, discriminating them towards both French women and

¹⁶ Not to mention that during colonialism, Northern African women entered the labour market with a unequal status and rights compared those of their male counterparts. As instance, in Morocco in 1956 31% of women were working as *fatma*- domestic workers in Europeans' houses, 20% in industries and 20% as artisans. There were even women, called *garsûna*, asked to both work in the sexual realm and charged of tidying up male workers' accommodations (Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., « Cent ans de sollicitude en France », *revue Agone*, 43 | 2010, [En ligne], mis en ligne le 18 juin 2012. URL : <http://revueagone.revues.org/925>)

¹⁷ Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., 2010.

¹⁸ Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., 2010.

¹⁹ Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., 2010.

immigrated men, that on the other hand that were pushed to enter the labour market. As a consequence, those women were forced to join the informal sector²⁰.

Despite the initial failure in achieving its aims, France is the only European country that has enforced a policy meant at reorganizing the domestic work sector. The main target of this policy was to fight against unemployment and to create new job opportunities, so that it has been considered as a model by the EU institutions as to regularize the sector²¹.

France has implemented a system that works on Long Term Care, as to regularize working relations, often based upon an irregular base and to create a service system able to guarantee more flexibility and quality of care and assistance work²². I will now trace the more recent reforms of the domestic and care sectors in France, as to delineate the path French government has undertaken.

From the 1980's, French government has been concerned about improving the quality of the services offered, professionalizing the activity and diminishing informality in the sector. But the effective outcomes of those policies have been criticized, as in fact the informality characterizing the sector was not completely solved, while on the other hand a process of extreme individualization of the relation between employer and employee has brought to the creation of different forms of occupation and the development of several part-time statutes. As a consequence, policies implemented by the state have eventually disqualified the sector, rather than

²⁰ Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., 2010.

²¹ Scrinzi, F., « « Ma culture dans laquelle elle travaille ». Les migrantes dans les services domestiques en Italie et en France », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* [En ligne], 12 | 2004, mis en ligne le 02 juillet 2010, Consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://cedref.revues.org/554>

²² Bertazzon, L., Bettella, I., Perissinotto, L., "Immigrati e servizi alla persona", in AAVV, (2011), *Immigrazione straniera in Veneto. Rapporto 2011*, edited by Osservatorio Regionale Immigrazione, February 2011, available at: URL: <http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Documenti/Documents/Veneto/Rapporto%20Immigrazione%20Regione%20Veneto%202011.pdf>, pp. 111- 134

creating jobs opportunities, highlighting the precariousness experienced by domestic workers²³.

It was during the 1990's that the French government acknowledged the outcomes happening in the sector, such as rising unemployment and precariousness, that mostly affected women workers²⁴. As those problems started to concern the domestic sector, public entities admitted that private domestic labour force was a resource for the state. Then, the government decided to reorganize the sector, reducing public expenditures and absorbing part of the work force²⁵.

The first phase of the construction of this system was set over the decade. In fact, in 1997 it was introduced the PSD²⁶, a money transfer to non dependent people over 60 as to help them in getting the needed assistance. But the PSD project was unsuccessful, as only 150,000 elderly actually received the transfer²⁷. Beside the lack of PSD given, the outcomes of such policies were rather negative, as they increased precariousness, created a new 'domesticity' disqualifying women's work. Also in this case, the contribute of the feminist discourse was quite ineffective, as few academic studies noticed the massive presence of migrants in the sector²⁸.

During the 2000's, the process of privatization of public services incremented, so did the attacks to the social and health protection. As for what concerns immigration policies, French laws are increasingly tightening, creating a massive number of *sans-papiers* and fueling the informal work sector, whereas women are still pushed to get married or give birth in order to easily get the documents required to legally stay in France²⁹.

²³ Scrinzi, F., 2004.

²⁴ In 1997, an important regularization highlighted the presence of domestic workers in the informal work sector, but one of the main criteria used to regularize was the longevity of migrants' presence in France, rather than their effective presence in the labour market- condition used in several other European countries, such as Italy or Spain (Falquet 2010).

²⁵ Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., 2010.

²⁶ *Prestation Spécifique Dépendance*.

²⁷ Bertazzon, 2011.

²⁸ Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., 2010.

²⁹ Falquet, J., Moujoud, N., 2010.

In 2002, a new instrument was introduced, the APA³⁰. Similar to the PSD, it was meant to give a monetary help to non dependent over 60, both in private assistance at home and in assistance structures³¹.

Those measures were focused on regularizing working relations in the domestic and care sectors, creating employment opportunities and halting the proliferation of private and individual working relations between private citizens. Those were the main aims of the reform actualized in 2005. This reform was aimed at reducing the cost of a declared work making it lower than an undeclared, lightening the bureaucratic procedures needed to buy the services. Moreover, it was meant to professionalize the workers of the sectors as to create qualified job opportunities. As instance, the French government has introduced a means of payment called CESU³², a bond emitted by banks or licensed organisms that citizens can use to pay their domestic and care employees, as to provide a traceable payment and to regularize the sector. As a consequence, employers will short the bureaucratic procedures and quickly access to a formal work offer and, most important, employees will be guaranteed workers' rights³³.

³⁰ *Allocation Personnalisée d'Autonomie.*

³¹ Bertazzon, 2011.

³² *Chèque Emploi Service Universel*, they can be also used to pay gardening works, scholastic help, etc.

³³ Bertazzon, 2011.

ITALY: THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY

One of the most relevant features of the domestic sector in Italy is the place that it has always had, both in the labour market but also at a social level. The role of the work demand assumes specific features in the Italian case: in fact, on the one hand the importance of domestic workers relies on the cuts on the welfare and social aids and the ageing of the Italian population³⁴, but on the other hand it is a direct consequence of a mentality, that sees in having a domestic workers available twenty-four hours a kind of worker that it was thought to be archived after the 1960's³⁵. The rural and poor servant is therefore nothing but substituted with an immigrant domestic worker, the latter being a sort of status symbol³⁶. As Andall highlights,

“in some Southern European contexts, the domestic work sector maintained its traditional organizational form as live-in labour into the post-war period. Thus, when migrant women entered the sector in the Southern European countries, the existing structural conditions of the sector had remained intact.”³⁷

Therefore, ‘race’ and ethnicity play an important part in defining Italian situation as to what concerns the domestic sector:

“the emigrant labour force in Italy is heavily segregated by ethnicity and gender, for example Filipinos are predominantly domestic workers, whereas

³⁴ Campani, G., (2000), *Genere, etnia e classe : migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identità*, Pisa : Edizioni ETS

³⁵ Maciotti, M.I., Pugliese, E., (2010) *L'esperienza migratoria: immigrati e rifugiati in Italia*, Bari: Laterza

³⁶ Lagomarsino, F., (2006), *Esodi ed approdi di genere: famiglie transnazionali e nuove migrazioni dall'Ecuador*, Franco Angeli: Milano

³⁷ This has not happened in other European countries, where the figure of the ‘servant’ had disappeared when the sector increased over the last decades (Andall, J., (ed.) (2003), *Gender and Ethnicity in Contemporary Europe*, Oxford: Berg).

Moroccans (the largest non-EU national group in Italy with work permits) are predominantly male and clustered in construction and agriculture³⁸.

In Italy, migrants in general and specifically women migrants have to deal with a general inequality that involves most of the aspects of their lives: work, juridical status, accommodation or social spaces are intrinsically interwoven with a 'racial' inequality. This kind of discrimination, based on national belonging, is systematic, as it has been developed on an already present net of various forms of discriminations typical of the Italian society and therefore, it is intertwined with historical Italian discriminations.

As it involves several aspects of migrants' life, it has been defined as 'multidimensional', where work plays an important part as it is the element at the core of human activity and societal function in industrialized countries. In fact, to migrants work is the main element that pushed him/her to radically change life, so that the forms of discriminations that are interwoven to work are a key issue to analyse³⁹.

There may be traced two different phases in the history of immigrants domestic workers in Italy. The first one can be located during the 1970's, when domestic workers usually from Catholic underdeveloped countries⁴⁰ arrived in Italy to work full-time for an indefinite period. The second phase, during the late 1990's, was mainly composed of women arriving from Eastern Europe and more generally from ex-communist areas. The type of working relations they had differed from the previous

³⁸ Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., 2000.

³⁹ Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2012.

⁴⁰ Catholic church has played an important role being among the first organizations to cope with the immigration issue, even before the Italian government outlined appropriate laws. Catholic church has always dealt with migrant women, making them work as domestic workers. According to Scrinzi, this role of the church has been allowed and boosted, as official Italian policies have always seen in the Catholic immigrants a fewer potential of social unease (Scrinzi 2004).

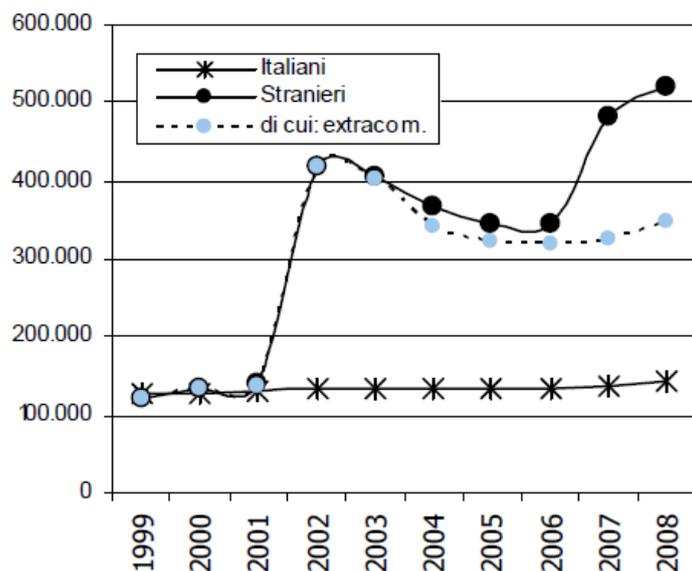
phase, as they are full time working taking care of an independent elders but for a definite period, limited in time⁴¹.

Because of the different forms of migration they had, those two phases of domestic workers consequently have different approach to their immigration strategies and characteristics.

The workers of the first phase have been named *colf*, term that broadly means ‘familiar aide’ therefore involving different tasks related to the care of the house and its members⁴². Among the tasks required to *colf* are included different duties, one of which is the house maintenance, usually required by medium-class working families.

TAB.42⁴³

Graf. 1 - Italia. Lavoratori domestici per anno e cittadinanza (1999 - 2008)



Fonte: elab. Veneto Lavoro su dati Inps

⁴¹ Tognetti Bordogna, M., 2003.

⁴² Tognetti Bordogna, M., 2003.

⁴³ Bertazzon, L., Bettella, I., Perissinotto, L., 2011.

TAB.43 ⁴⁴

Tab. III.12. Lavoratori stranieri intervistati per l'indagine campionaria dell'osservatorio per l'integrazione e la multietnicità secondo l'occupazione e la classe di; Lombardia, 2004

	Fino a 28	29-34	35-39	40-49	Oltre 50	Totale	N
Domestici fissi	15,3	16,3	21,6	26,3	20,6	100,0	320
Domestici a ore	24,0	26,6	20,9	24,3	4,2	100,0	354
Assistenti familiari	13,9	21,0	15,6	29,6	19,9	100,0	423
Baby sitter	27,6	32,9	15,8	18,4	5,3	100,0	76
Tutti i lavori	15,3	16,3	21,6	26,3	20,6	100,0	6407

Fonte: Quarta indagine dell'Osservatorio regionale per l'integrazione e la multietnicità della Regione Lombardia, 2004.

They usually work on a hours-based contract: in that case, *colf* are able to autonomously decide whether to work in more than a house, so that they have a certain independence on the decision making, situation that rises their consciousness and their ability to move and insert within the territory. Upper- class families might assign other tasks, such as managing all the aspects of the house, or houses, and the other employees. Only rarely, they are asked for specific tasks, such as gardening, driving or cooking⁴⁵.

Until the 1980's, they were mainly working full-time, then they gradually obtained more rights and autonomous spaces so that they now work with hours-based contracts. As said before, the migratory movement during the 1970's was stemming from Catholic countries- Philippines, South America, Cape Verde and Eritrea, as Catholic church played an important role in fueling this kind of migration. In this case, the economical aim frequently overlapped with the quest of autonomy and independence, so that those women rarely went back in their origin countries⁴⁶.

The second wave is mainly formed by Eastern European workers- from Poland, Moldavia, Romania, Russia and Ukraine, whose task is to take care of dependent elders, as the public structures are not able to cope with the higher demand of those

⁴⁴ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*, report commissioned by the Ministero dell'Interno, available at: URL: http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/15/0673_Rapporto_immigrazione_BARBAGLI.pdf (access 10/10/2012)

⁴⁵ Alemani, C., 1994.

⁴⁶ Tognetti Bordogna, 2003.

services⁴⁷. Because of their specific tasks, they have been labeled *badanti*: terminology that have fueled an intense debate, as it comes from the verb 'badare' which is usually associated with a supervision of a simple action- far from the work that those women have to cope with⁴⁸. The term defined the difference between *colf*- domestic helper, and *badante*- person care, but it hides a depreciative and negative acceptance⁴⁹ as it was once used to define the people that took care of animals⁵⁰, as to mean a simple task⁵¹.

The features of the migratory movement of those workers diverge from the *colfs'*: initially, the rate of irregularity was high as there was no institution, that organized and monitored the immigration, as the church did with the Catholic immigrants. Additionally, their migratory project differs from the *colf*, as they individually migrate in order to improve the life of their family: that is the reason why their commuting is frequent, so that they often have to live their maternity at a distance⁵².

As to what concerns Italy, domestic workers are among the largest immigrant workers' groups. They are mainly concentrated in specific territories, big cities and often accommodate in their employers' house- condition that at the beginning may be experienced as a positive situation but over the time it limits the possibilities of the migrants, being a sort of cage. In fact, there are only three possible changes of the domestic career: changing the working relation- but not the work as domestic helper

⁴⁷ Alemani, C., 1994.

⁴⁸ Tognetti Bordogna, 2003.

⁴⁹ Given the fact that they often have to take care of a dependent person, the term seems quite restrictive. What is more, it reveals a hidden meaning by which migrants are deemed as the host country has given them the possibility to migrate under condition, undermining the effective role migrants have in the Italian economy. As Scrinzi notes, «lorsqu'on a besoin d'elles on les traite d'indispensables remplaçantes des mères italiennes ; lorsqu'il s'agit de leur reconnaître des droits, ne serait-ce que l'octroi d'un permis de séjour et d'un contrat en règle, on leur rappelle qu'elles ne sont qu'un succédané des Italiennes telles qu'on les voudrait, et qu'on leur rend service en acceptant de les accueillir.» (Scrinzi 2004).

⁵⁰ Or, as Scrinzi notes, as someone checking the cooking time of a sauce (Scrinzi 2004).

⁵¹ Lagomarsino, F., 2006.

⁵² Tognetti Bordogna, M., 2003.

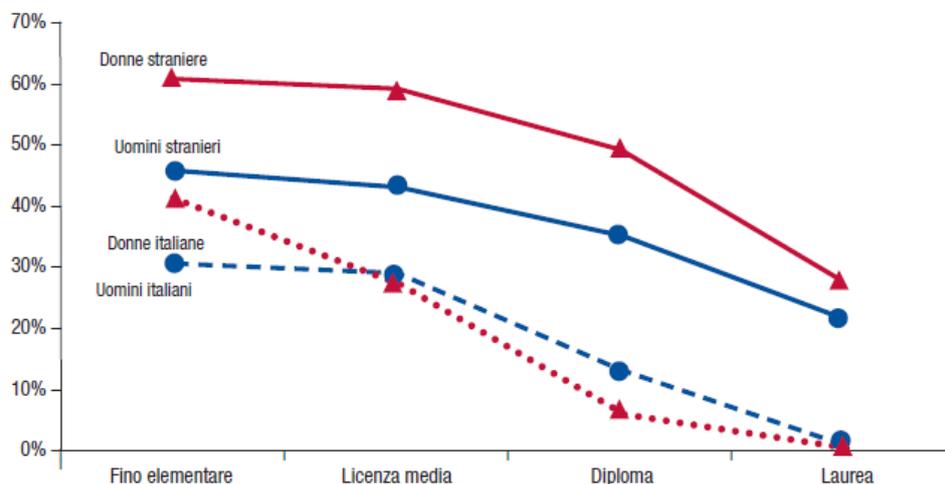
itself, changing to another job activity or retiring from the labour market- usually because of a marriage or because of a return in the home country⁵³:

“the most that they could aspire to, regardless of their individual experiences and education, was movement from the live-in sector to live-out work. [...] This is despite the fact that migrant domestic workers are more highly qualified than their Italian counterparts”⁵⁴

In fact, a common feature is that they have to cope with a waste of human resources, as they are mainly well- educated⁵⁵. As instance, the first groups of Philippines arrived in Italy to be employed as housekeepers, were also hired because of their high competence in the English language, so that employers’ children could take advantage of that competence and skill. Of course, this task was not acknowledged and paid⁵⁶.

TAB. 44⁵⁷

Fig. VII.13. Incidenza percentuale lavoro non qualificato per cittadinanza, genere e titolo di studio. Media 2006



Fonte: Istat, Rilevazione sulle forze di lavoro.

⁵³ Maciotti, M.I., Pugliese, E., (2010) *L'esperienza migratoria: immigrati e rifugiati in Italia*, Bari: Laterza

⁵⁴ Andall, J., “Hierarchy and Interdependence: the Emergence of a Service Caste in Europe”, in Andall, J., (2000), *Gender, migration and domestic service: the politics of black women in Italy*, Burlington: Ashgate, pp. 39- 55, p. 48

⁵⁵ Maciotti, M.I., Pugliese, E., (2010) *L'esperienza migratoria: immigrati e rifugiati in Italia*, Bari: Laterza

⁵⁶ Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., 2000.

⁵⁷ AAVV, (2007), *Primo Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*

This mechanism is to be connected to the creation of a global social classes, interethnic and beyond national classes:

“the current nature of migratory trends to Europe also means that class differences between women overlap, in that middle-class female migrants from the developing world are to be found in working-class occupations in Europe.”⁵⁸

TAB.45⁵⁹

Macroaree di provenienza dei lavoratori domestici stranieri, anno 2010		
	Incidenza %	Var % 2001/2010
Europa Est	57,3%	1270,5%
America del Sud	10,8%	245,9%
Asia	20,5%	148,1%
Africa	9,4%	199,2%
Altro	2,0%	107,6%
Totale	100,0%	408,3%

Fonte Caritas Idos su dati Inps

⁵⁸ Andall, J., “Hierarchy and Interdependence: the Emergence of a Service Caste in Europe”, in Andall, J., (2000), *Gender, migration and domestic service: the politics of black women in Italy*, Burlington: Ashgate, pp. 39- 55, p. 43

⁵⁹ Fondazione Moressa, *L'economia della migrazione*, No. 2, (February 2012)

TAB.46⁶⁰

Primi 10 Paesi di provenienza dei lavoratori domestici stranieri, anno 2008			
		% sul totale nati all'estero	% di donne
1	Romania	26,3%	96,0%
2	Ucraina	16,1%	97,0%
3	Filippine	10,9%	75,3%
4	Moldavia	7,1%	95,5%
5	Perù	4,5%	87,0%
6	Polonia	4,3%	97,5%
7	Ecuador	4,1%	92,3%
8	Sri Lanka	3,9%	49,5%
9	Marocco	3,0%	70,2%
10	Albania	2,6%	88,0%

Fonte Caritas Idos su dati Inps

From the table 45 and 46 it is possible to highlight the important presence of Eastern European migrants in the domestic sector (57,3%), and the preponderance of women within it. In fact, Romanian, Ukrainian, Moldavian, and Polish migrant women working in the sector represent on average 96- 97% of their communities.

As for what concerns Moroccans, table 34 states that women within the community work mostly in the domestic sector, followed by cleaning services, qualified health services, chefs and textile industries. In the Italian context, Moroccan immigrants working in the domestic sector represent only 3%, of which 70,2% are women: this is one of the lowest gender balance, characteristic that involves also Sri Lanka and Philippines (table 46).

Concerning the present situation, the economic recession has led to the necessity of cutting the national expenditure, while on the other hand has augmented

⁶⁰ Fondazione Moressa, *L'economia della migrazione*, No. 2, (February 2012)

the range of citizens in need of social services. The importance that migrants' presence has undertaken in the work segment has created an Italian model of the domestic sector, named by Nanni 'Italian welfare mix'. The features of this situation are specific, because this model stems from the Southern Mediterranean culture where the care of relatives should be provided at home, even though an external person of the family is more than ever called as to fulfill this task⁶¹. As instance, families often create a network of self-assistance, so that a pension of a member might be used to pay the fee for a grandchildren or to sustain an unemployed son⁶².

Through the families, and at their expense, migrants have gradually conquered an important role as to give a solution to the assistance needs of the population⁶³, so that "migration is also a resource for managing the relationships between households, labor market and the state"⁶⁴.

This is also the view shared by Sciortino, who highlights the peculiarities of the Italian welfare system, particularly concerning the role that family has in satisfying the social needs:

"the Italian welfare regime is clearly characterized by the key role mandated to families for most welfare matters. [...] The centrality of the male breadwinner model in the structure of employment protection is derived largely from a vision of the centrality of the family and of the wider responsibilities the primary breadwinner assumes 'on behalf' of his household."⁶⁵

In fact, researches have demonstrated that the "reduction in the number of elderly people living in extended families [but] no parallel rise in the number of elderly

⁶¹ The importance of the family rather than the state in providing for social needs is among the main features of the Italian welfare (Agostini, C., Longobardi, E., Vitaletti, G., "Donne migranti. Quali opportunità per il nostro paese?", in *L'economia della migrazione*, No. 2, (February 2012), pp. 2-7)

⁶² Sciortino, G., « Immigration in a Mediterranean Welfare State : the Italian Experience in Comparative Perspective », in *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, Vol. 6, No. 2, (August 2004), pp. 111- 129

⁶³ Nanni, M. P., « Il lavoro domestico e di cura : il welfare 'straniero' all'italiana », in AAVV,(2011), *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas-Migrantes 2011*, Roma: Edizioni Idos, pp. 260- 267

⁶⁴ Sciortino, G., 2004, p. 126

⁶⁵ Sciortino, G., 2004, p. 115

people living in institutions”⁶⁶. Because of that situation, it is explained the recourse to domestic workers⁶⁷.

In Italy since the 1960’s the demand for domestic workers started to grow, and from the 1970’s Italian women diminished their presence in the sector, accepting only hours-based contract and refusing to live in the employers’ house. The Martelli law “eased the restrictions on working hours for migrant domestic workers and the ties to a specific employer.”⁶⁸ With the Martelli law incoming movements have been restricted, and family reunification and individual call became the only ways to legally immigrate in the Italian territory. With the 156/91 circular, emanated by the Minister of Works, the individual call concerning the domestic sector was eased, so that this kind of job became one of the easiest ways for both women and men to legally immigrate in Italy⁶⁹.

Female migrants are an important factor that can balance the cut the Italian welfare state underwent over the last decades. Hence, they help in the social regulation and attenuate conflicts deriving from welfare changes, familiar structure alterations and economic production in European countries⁷⁰.

Therefore, the relation between migrant women and the crisis of the welfare, that is affecting most of the European countries, is at the core of their presence in the labour market. In fact, working in the worst conditions with low wages, their work is becoming accessible also to the working class, supplying the services offered by the state⁷¹.

⁶⁶ Andall, J., 2000.

⁶⁷ Andall, J., 2000.

⁶⁸ Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., 2000.

⁶⁹ Alemani, C., 1994.

⁷⁰ Giannini, M., “Donne del sud”, in Vicarelli, G.,(ed.), (1994), *Le mani invisibili: la vita e il lavoro delle donne immigrate*, Roma: Ediesse, pp. 73-92

⁷¹ Chiaretti, G., 2005.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

The relation between domestic workers and their employers may bring to the surface important aspects, connected to a certain negative vision and perception of the immigrant. As Palidda points out, there are two main schools of thought, but they both bring to *clichés* and limited perceptions: if according to a gooder and humanitarian approach, women migrant can learn our culture as at heart they are 'good women', according to a more negative vision, they can nothing but working in specifically 'female' sectors⁷². The analysis of such a relation may bring to the surface interesting and complex dynamics, as

“employers may feel morally superior for helping someone from a poor country or may feel more comfortable having someone not of their own race in a market transaction carried out in their own home. Ideas that immigrant groups, or different races, have an incompatible gender structure, ideology, or a 'different' family, may also serve as an excuse for unconcern about who is looking after the childminder's children or cleaning the housekeeper's house”⁷³

According to Pannell, one of the reasons that creates tensions between employer and employee is the fact that the former is not adequately aware of the fact that his very same decision to hire an immigrant in the domestic sector will fuel the migratory movement. This happens because employers do not perceive themselves as employers, but rather as 'consumers of immigrant labour', delegating their influential role to other factors⁷⁴.

The relationship between employer and employee is in fact often based upon a maternal or personal approach.

⁷² Palidda, S., “Il cliché della migrante: colf o prostituta”, in Morini, C., (2001), *La serva serve: le nuove forzate del lavoro domestico*, Roma: DeriveApprodi, pp. 7-18

⁷³ Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

⁷⁴ Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

The first case is based on a relationship where the employer perceives himself as a charitable and benevolent person who is helping the worker with advices, assistance and gifts. As a consequence, the employer becomes a sort of guardian of the domestic worker, being the only link the latter has with institutions, with the process of documents and bank bureaucracy. In this sense, it is built a sort of legitimacy to the exploitation of the domestic worker and additionally, this sort of approach builds a distance and difference of status between employee and employer so that the former hardly succeeds in preserving her/his own rights and interests.

The second approach differs, as it is based upon a personal relation, so that a certain autonomy is recognized to the domestic worker, who is seen a person and whom dignity is recognized. This is often the case of middle class and intellectual families, where the employer tends to feel guilty being at unease holding the power in the relationship toward the domestic worker⁷⁵.

This sort of vision is even fortified by the fact that most of the organizations that work as links between employees and employers run on a voluntary basis⁷⁶, so that recruitment may happen through a personal and charitable approach. This approach will in time influence the relation between domestic workers and employers. In fact, migrants are perceived through a miserable depiction, as they were in need of a job that could be given by the host society depending on migrants' behavior. Eventually, as their work is seen as an outcome of a personal rather than a professional relation, domestic workers will be regarded as in need of a job, a house and a family, and having found them they should be thankful to their employers, eventually influencing the image they have of themselves⁷⁷.

From the workers' perspective, other difficulties are intertwined with the working relation. In fact, those women are forced to live and experience intimate

⁷⁵ Colombo, E., 2007.

⁷⁶ And according to Scrinzi, most of the women working in those associations are older than the women migrants so that they build a maternal relation, thing that do not help migrants' emancipation and independence (Scrinzi 2004).

⁷⁷ Scrinzi, F., 2004.

moments with the employer's family, trying to build a barrier between them. This barrier, that has been called 'barrier in the intimacy' is necessarily demolished as the worker takes care of a children or of an elder, being therefore forced to relate with a relational system of a stranger family, whereof codes and significances are to be rebuild between the family and the domestic worker⁷⁸.

Family codes are not the only thing to be understood and familiarized with. Cultural differences might especially concern Muslim women, surprised and unfamiliar with the scanty attention given to elders or by the mononuclear families, the use of prohibited drinks or by the differently managed house spaces. Other problems may stem from professional difficulties linked to the usage of high technologies, or because of the lack of private spaces⁷⁹.

To those women, employers often represent the only link with the new society, so that they soon acquire an important role in their lives, charged with emotional bonds. They are therefore among the few connections they have with the new reality, that is often a synonym of documents to sign and procedures and practices to compile, so that employer's help is essential. As a consequence, because of the ambivalent relation created between employer and employee, domestic workers may have problems in reclaiming their rights, such as a higher wage or days off⁸⁰. Another risky consequence stems from the emotional relation created: because domestic works are often perceived as being part of the 'natural' task of women, they might be deprived of their professional meaning⁸¹.

Additionally, there is a certain perception based on cultural features of the relation between employee and employer, so that according to the ethnic origin of the

⁷⁸ Tognetti Bordogna, M., 2003.

⁷⁹ Alemani, C., 1994.

⁸⁰ According to a study carried by Scrinzi, in the employment agencies migrant women are taught to stress their invisibility not to damage the relation with the employer and as a key to a social an working success. This attitude will often translate into a certain acceptance by migrants of the lack of workers' rights: Scrinzi reports how in some agencies, once the women worker has complained about working conditions or the low wage, she will not helped anymore by the centre: "la disponibilité sans réserves : voilà les références les meilleures qu'une employée de maison migrante peut faire valoir." (Scrinzi 2004).

⁸¹ Lagomarsino, F., 2006.

former a specific task would seem more appropriate: as instance, Moroccan migrants are often seen as housekeepers, whereas Peruvians are associated to the elders' care⁸². As Andall points out,

“research demonstrates that employers construct and adhere to racialized hierarchies of employees. [...] It can mean that women belonging to a particular ethnicity, often regardless of other factors, such as education, will be predominantly employed to do cleaning, whereas a different ethnic group will be employed more readily to care for children or the elderly.”⁸³

In fact, the analysis of the effects that the 'race' issue has in the domestic sector, will reveal how it massively influence the relationship between employee and employer. According to this view, being both migrants and women, they are more easily exploited not only by the labour market- intended as a virtual structure, but also by single employers:

“domestic work represents the commodification of highly personalized and emotional relationships, yet the employment of a third country national seems to mean for many employers the opportunities to treat the worker with less respect.”⁸⁴

Analysing the gender, 'race' and class factors it emerges that solidarity concerning the relation employers and employees is rarely traced. In fact, Western women are able to conciliate reproductive and productive works⁸⁵ only thanks to the presence, and often exploitation, of migrant women⁸⁶. This mechanism

“shows how power relations not only exist between men and women but also amongst women. This supports the view that many of the gains that indigenous women have made have depended on the exploitation of other women from poorer countries in the international division of labour. It also

⁸² Scrinzi, F., 2004.

⁸³ Andall, J., 2000.

⁸⁴ Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., 2000.

⁸⁵ Barone, G., Mocetti, S., “Conciliare casa e lavoro: quale il ruolo delle immigrate?”, in *L'economia della migrazione*, No. 2, (February 2012), pp. 8- 10

⁸⁶ Lagomarsino, F., 2006.

shows the importance of state processes in the facilitation of subordination within the employer/employee relationship.”⁸⁷

The need of the help of a domestic workers is particularly important for the women between 50 and 60 years. In fact, they have to cope with the assistance they have to give to their parents, while on the other hand they have to take care of their children, or, in the case of a working daughter or daughters-in-law, of their grandchildren⁸⁸.

Then, domestic work allows autochthon women to create and rebalance their familiar and working commitments, exploiting women migrants’ work. So that, Western women are able to focus on their job, denying the ‘traditional’ roles assigned to them. The relation therefore created is thus based upon an asymmetric relation, highlighting the presence of the differences among the broader sector of ‘women’, where migrants and autochthones have a different weight⁸⁹. One of the causes of such an unbalanced relation is that as European women started to enter the labour market, working at home as housewives was not sufficiently gratifying. This acceptance of the house work still guides the general perception of the domestic workers: gratifications derived from this kind of work are not recognized, so that this job in general is underestimated⁹⁰. Care work is perceived as an activity that erodes spare time, and the interests of a person in life and it is therefore deemed as impossible to conciliate with the expectations of the modern life, such as freedom of choice, free life, autonomy and independency. In this perspective, the recourse to a domestic worker is seen as a way to successfully conciliate the need of a free time and the care of its own relatives⁹¹.

⁸⁷ Anthias, F., Lazaridis, G., (eds.)(2000) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Oxford: Berg, p. 27

⁸⁸ Colombo, E., 2007

⁸⁹ Chiaretti, G., 2005.

⁹⁰ Alemani, C., 1994.

⁹¹ Colombo, E., 2007.

The recourse to a domestic worker does not mean a complete assignment of the tasks related to the elder, but rather a mandate of the repetitive and less significant duties. In fact, usually daughters keep a central role of supervision, affective presence and management. In general, it is delegated the quantity rather than the quality of the care services required. As a consequence, domestic workers' tasks are underestimated and their job is perceived as a mere 'company', denying the 'material' and cleaning work they cope with⁹².

The perception of time is different as to what concerns employers and employees. In the first case, in fact, the cares given to the elder are perceived as an exclusive and total gift of precious time, a continuous presence and devote company. In the second case, time is perceived as excessive in domestic workers' life who have lot of spare time, so that they do not even know how to use it⁹³. The difference created between the employer and the employee duties partly justify the overlapping of women's roles. In fact, a relationship based upon a conception of difference allows the construction of a mandate of the gender identity. This kind of discourse is built on three different principles, namely destiny, tradition and sacrifice. Domestic workers are deemed to be able to freely chose this job, as they migrate alone and have no familiar and social constrictions, so that it is 'destiny' that they work in a sector that implies a complete dedication to the work itself. Additionally, they are perceived as culturally used to complete tasks linked to their being women. On the contrary, the models to which they have to get used to are rather specific of the destination country and are therefore assimilated during the migratory experience. Ultimately, domestic work is seen in the context of women's effort to provide a better life for their daughters and granddaughters, as a sacrifice done in order to better the life of their families. So that, those differently perceived shades of relationship are mainly built as to create an asymmetric balance and to justify the 'difference' of the domestic worker⁹⁴.

⁹² Colombo, E., 2007.

⁹³ Colombo, E., 2007.

⁹⁴ Colombo, E., 2007.

GENDER, 'RACE' AND DOMESTIC SECTOR: COMPARING FRANCE AND ITALY

Having delineated both the French and Italian situations as to what concerns immigration policies and domestic sector, it is possible to trace several differences and similarities. An interesting analysis stems in fact from the study of the connections between immigration policies, social policies and the 'race' factor: even though those issues are differently developed in the two countries, they both tend to reproduce sexist and racist categories, creating hierarchical structures based on the notion of 'race'⁹⁵. The outcomes of the interrelation of those issues is placing migrant women in a more than ever fragile position in respect to the labour market and their rights as workers.

It seems to me that among the most relevant issues is the process of racialization that is increasingly forging the sector in both countries. In fact, Italy is relying on female migrant workforce, as massive regularizations directed at the domestic and care sectors have demonstrated over the years. Those regularizations, while on the one hand are thought to create a legal framework in which they could legally work, are rather fueling the processes of precariousness and extreme dependence upon their employers, as their sojourn permit derives from their work permit. Other mechanisms were creating, trying to contrast their increasing presence in the informal economy, as the creation of cooperatives aimed at assume an intermediate role between the sector offer and the public services offered by the government, receiving funds from the state in order to satisfy social services required. Unfortunately, they did not succeed in protecting workers' rights⁹⁶.

⁹⁵ Scrinzi, F., 2004.

⁹⁶ The creation of those cooperatives has been connected to the development of a new model of welfare state, that could combine privatization and state's role as to what concerns the domestic sector (Scrinzi 2004).

On the other hand, in France the situation is quite different. In fact, domestic workers are not publicly recognized as it happens in Italy, where they have been at the core of the media discourse. Workers in this sector are rather perceived as disqualified women coming from popular and difficult areas, and the fact that most of them are migrants is not considered as a key feature of the issue. The interventions set by the government have opened the sector to private enterprises and have focused on cutting the fiscal costs of those social services, rather than professionalizing the workforce. As a consequence, the latter is increasingly exploited and forced to accept fewer workers' rights⁹⁷.

MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION POLICIES IN THE LABOUR MARKET: THE EXAMPLE OF THE DOMESTIC SECTOR

An interesting example of how immigration policies are deeply interwoven to the needs of the labour market is well illustrated by the relation between domestic work and restrictive immigration policies.

According to several scholars, there is a gap between the official policies implemented by European countries and the effective outcomes of the labour market as for what concerns the domestic care sector. It is in fact possible to notice a certain divergence between the ultimate official goals of those policies, and the eventual consequences that they produce.

In fact, undocumented migration is part of the movements despite, and because of, the official halt and this situation eventually causes and feeds the invisibility of illegal migrants, not to mention the fact that it does not help in guaranteeing their

⁹⁷ Scrinzi, F., 2004.

rights as workers. Quite the opposite: restrictive policies play a key role in maintaining low salaries and a vulnerable status of those migrants, while at the same time making them attractive by employers.

Because of this situation, restrictive policies simply do not work:

“countries that have stricter immigration policies, do not have significantly lower levels of irregular immigration, nor do they have lower overall immigration as a proportion of the total population than those who have done periodic regularizations”⁹⁸

Vision shared also by other authors, as Kofman, who states:

“there is a widespread recognition that the restrictive immigration policies practiced by virtually all states that receive migrant labour do not stop migration, they simply increase the number of migrants who are clandestine”⁹⁹

This reading is partly sustained by the very fact that in Italy from the 1980's there have been five regularizations, that regularized more than 1.5 million of workers especially in the domestic sector. This situation means the constant need of absorbing the presence of undocumented migrants into the formal economy and therefore the presence of a constant inflow of this migration¹⁰⁰.

Restrictive policies are therefore ineffective as for what concerns migrant women involved in the domestic sector:

⁹⁸ Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

⁹⁹ Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R., 2000, p. 115

¹⁰⁰ Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

“strong ‘pull’ factors along with some restrictive policies [...] will simply encourage people to ‘go underground’. But as undocumented migrants, these women will receive lower pay”¹⁰¹

So that, according to Pannell, the main reason why immigration policies do not take into account in a proper way the negative issues related to the domestic service into the labour market is because there is a need of maintaining such a situation. Despite the long list of negative consequences of the massive presence of informality into the domestic service, there is a certain convenience in not altering the situation. According to Pannell, the reason is very much linked to capitalism and the exploitation of migrant work force within the Western societies:

“there is something ethically and politically troubling about the exploitation of women to serve the reproductive needs of capitalism. [...] it seems that keeping borders formally “closed” when they are to all practical purposes actually rather porous is a quasi-deliberated strategy to maintain this low-cost service to capitalism. What underlies this is a pervasive functionalist approach to women’s position within society”¹⁰²

Solving the issue of the presence of informality in the domestic sector seems to me one of the key challenges to make the care work a more dignified work. In fact, the means upon which relies the potential role that work has in the process of emancipation of those women stems from the importance that work has in the building of self-depiction as a person. Ignoring the fact that informality removes important workers’ rights to migrant women is a key issue that should be solved. As long as they will have to cope with racial discrimination, limited access to the labour market, and a general underestimation by the receiving society, work will not have such a meaning. The conditions under which migrant women have to deal with, eventually deprive them from the dignity that work embeds. Hence, it is necessary that

¹⁰¹ Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

¹⁰² Pannell, K., Altman, M., 2009.

Italian and French governments success in implementing immigration laws that could limit the informality from the domestic sector as to preserve migrant women's rights as workers.

2.2. TRADE SECTOR

The changing pattern of migration is increasingly giving more importance to the role that women may acquire within it. In this chapter I will point out the characteristics that the trade sector carried by emigrated Moroccans in both France and Italy has, demonstrating the growing important role of women within this peculiar work sector.

The economical systems that they may create within their migration movements may acquire different shades, but they all mark the protagonist role of migrant women. Roulleau- Berger traces the differentiation among those groups.

Ethnic enclaves are based upon the bonds among the immigrants' community and its resources. Women access to the enclaves through personal, familiar or social bonds, but the structure of the enclave being overlapped with the structure of the immigrants' community may have negative consequences on women. In fact, the economic systems reveal themselves as too authoritarian as they may create relationships based on domination, in case the bonds between it and women are not too strong. In fact, the presence and the role of women within it depend on their social capital, linguistic knowledge and professional qualifications: in a positive case, women will be strengthened by the network, that will eventually give them social gratitude

and visibility. Otherwise, in the negative case, they will experience unhelpful outcomes by the enclave regime, as it is often based upon informal work opportunities. Those, if on the one hand do not guarantee workers' rights, on the other hand are often deemed as a solution to the first approach to the labour market, especially by less advantaged and resourced women. But this mechanism of 'first aid' may eventually be a cage, creating an economical, social and ethnic domination upon those women, making mobility in the labour market at least extremely difficult.

Ethnic niches differ slightly from the ethnic enclaves. In fact, as the latter are increasingly saturated because of the growing global mobility, they might not guarantee job opportunities. Ethnic enclaves developed from unqualified job sectors, which attract migrants from different origins. Those multi ethnic niches also have negative consequences on migrant women, as they hide their professionalization, confine them in informality with no workers' rights, imposing a drastic flexibility and eventually precluding their possibilities to enter the autochthon formal labour market.

The last type of economical system concerns the ethnic entrepreneurship, and it is the type I will analyse as to stress the role that women may acquire in migration, being this kind of trade born in a transnational context. The role of women within this sector is important, carrying women the ideal intermediary role among different spaces and different cultural and material goods. In this sense, women represent an important figure as they are often perceived as a source of trust and confidence and therefore helped in creating a transnational network among clients. The development of such a trade is a direct consequence of the segmentation of the European labour market. In fact, as migrant women have a limited access to it, they may try to create by their own new job opportunities. Also in this case, the role of networks is a key factor, as women may build their career as traders on the social contacts they previously had, exploiting the strength given by the community¹⁰³.

¹⁰³ Roulleau-Berger, L.,(2010), *Migrer au féminin*, Presses Universitaires de France: Paris

As Manry notes, the frequency of transfers and the length of stay have sensibly changed over the last decades. Capital mobility and migration movements have intensified, and women are increasingly acquiring a role within the productive sphere, which has been denied for years¹⁰⁴. The process of liberalization of trade and the capitalistic mass production, that has eventually intensified the migratory movements, has also altered the global economy, giving more weight to informality. It is in this context that migrant women, despite suffering from inequalities and limited access to social, economical and symbolic resources have succeeded in creating new forms of trade within the transnational migration between European countries and Morocco¹⁰⁵.

The role of Maghrebi women within commerce has been traced back to the early 1960's, mostly between Italy and Tunisia and between France and the immigrants going back home during holidays. But women's role and presence in this sector follows particular codes, as on the contrary of Sub-Saharan Africans, Maghrebi women are not used to trade in public spaces. In fact, only in particular cases women are culturally accepted carrying those activities in public, such as old women or beggars selling small articles, or women selling gold in streets.

Over the time, women have increasingly acquired independence, as they started to help familiar activities when their husbands were away. As a consequence, their implication in informal trade has led to the development of new forms of mobility in the urban space and has therefore led to the creation of new social relations. In fact, thanks to the commerce, they could develop the network of social relations beyond the domestic, neighborhood or familiar realms.

To them, being a trader means having acquired social promotion. Hence, opening their own shop signifies more than it seems, as it is both a social and financial success. Additionally, because of the problems in freely accessing to all the sectors of the labour market, having a commercial activity means to them the possibility to have a legal, dignified and long-term work¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁴ Manry, V., Schmoll, C., *"Le business des femmes" : Nouvelles figures des mobilités maghrébines dans l'espace euro-méditerranéen*, available from : URL : <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00239280>

¹⁰⁵ Roulleau-Berger, L., 2010

¹⁰⁶ Manry, V., Schmoll, C.

As to what concerns the familiar realm, the entrance of women in the trade sector alters the gender balance, causing a rearticulation of the conjugal and familiar relations. As instance, the fact that they have to travel modifies the habits of the family, even though it does not necessarily mean that men take the place of their wives. In fact, the familiar female network, made of mothers or sisters, mobilizes to help each other. On the other hand, the economic power given by their earnings eventually strengthen their position and better their power within the conjugal realm¹⁰⁷.

As Manry highlights, the emergence of women's role within the trade sector is not only related to their increasing presence within the migratory movements, but to their individual decision to migrate. In fact, as it has been stressed by several authors from the mid-1990's, women are individually migrating following a precise and personal project, separated to the familiar one¹⁰⁸. The analysis of those transnational trades evokes how important the social capital of those women is. In fact, their success is strictly overlapped with the stability of relations among the community group, and on the extent of their social, familiar and ethnic networks. Over the migratory period, their social capital resource may alter, as to the different stages it coincides different migrants' personal resources¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ Manry, V., Schmoll, C.

¹⁰⁸ Manry, V., Schmoll, C.,

¹⁰⁹ Roulleau-Berger, L., 2010

FRANCE: TRANSNATIONAL TRADE

In France, because of the peculiar relation created between the two countries, it has been developed a significant commerce carried by Maghrebi immigrants, especially from Morocco. I will now outline how migrant women have increased their presence and importance within it, and the characteristics of such a transnational commerce.

El Hariri traces two types of female commerce: one linked to the summer holiday return, and one that is carried throughout the year.

The commerce based upon the summer holidays is usually aimed by the willingness of helping the family in Morocco, to finance the stay in the destination country or to simply show and exhibit migrants' social success. It is often carried by women behind their husbands' backs: this can be explained by the fact that women prefer not to have their husbands embroiled and do not want to be stopped. It is a discreet commerce that moves small figures, while men over the holidays in the origin country are usually involved in a more complex trade. In fact, the latter is carried in public spaces and leads to high earnings, as men often sell cars or cycles bought in France¹¹⁰.

¹¹⁰ It should be noticed that the practice of the gift is regarded as a sign of loyalty to the friends and families in Morocco, so the trade involves only part of the products carried in Northern Africa (El Hariri, S., « Les Marocaines au cœur d'un nouveau circuit d'échanges marchands : entre ici et là-bas », *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* [En ligne], vol. 19 - n°1 | 2003, mis en ligne le 16 mai 2007, consulté le 17 mars 2012. URL : <http://remi.revues.org/2991>)

TAB.47¹¹¹

Tableau 3.13: Secteur d'activité des MRE en 2005 (en pourcent) : France

Secteur d'activité	Pourcentage du secteur	Total
Agriculture, forêt et pêche	6,7	8,1
Mines et énergie	1,4	0,7
Industrie de transformation (y compris l'artisanat)	23,2	23,2
Bâtiment et travaux publics	17	19,6
Secteur secondaire	41,7	43,5
Commerce	13,4	13,7
Transports et communication	8,4	6,6
Hébergement et Restauration	5	5,5
Autre Services	24,6	22,2
Secteur Tertiaire	51,5	48
Activités mal désignées	0,1	0,4
Total	100	100

Source: Marocains Résidant à l'Etranger L'utilisation des Transferts Résultats d'enquête 2008 Observatoire de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l'Etranger 2008 page 65

The other kind of commerce is carried throughout the year and builds a circular network of products between Morocco and France. In this case, the interviews done by El Hariri have delineated a profile of those women: they are usually between 45 and 54 years, come from rural origin and do not have a long-term work contract in France, so that they can go back to Morocco up to 5 times a year in order to manage their trade. They usually have started this trade not involving their husbands, but over the years he usually accepts it and accompanies them.

It is usually aimed at supplying shops of a relative back home, or to bring specific French products in Morocco. Those might be deemed as more convenient or with a higher quality than the items available in Morocco, or simply considered as French symbols, such as cosmetics or clothes. On the other side, it supplies emigrants in France with Moroccan products, as in Europe their availability is often limited.

¹¹¹ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., "Analyse d'impact de la crise financière et économique mondiale sur la pauvreté et la situation sociale des MRE et sur le flux de leurs transferts", Octobre 2009, Ministère de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l'étranger, available at : URL : [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report\(French\).undp.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Poverty%20assessment%20and%20monitoring/PSIA/Morocco-Full%20report(French).undp.pdf)

This trade is at the base of French markets run by Northern Africans, or directly sold through the network created among women migrants. It usually covers specific products, such as traditional cosmetics, henna, clay or dried rose petals, cooking ingredients as specific spices, religious items, as prayer rugs or traditional clothes¹¹².

In conclusion, the transnational trade carried by Moroccan immigrants in France demonstrates the peculiar relation that is kept between the countries. This relation in fact, is the result of a bond that is on the one hand made upon economical reasons but also stems from a sense of belonging that Moroccans keep despite the long period as emigrants in the European country.

As for what concerns the economical side of the coin, personal transnational trade carried by those women mirrors the trade carried at a national level between the countries. In fact, according to the 2010 data, France is the first economical partner of Morocco, representing 15,3% of the supplying commerce to the Northern African country, and it is also the first client country of it, reaching 21,5% of the total export trade¹¹³. Investments by MRE are realized in both the countries: in 2005, those made in Morocco were 50,8% (properties, commerce and agriculture) and in France 27,9% (properties, commerce and industry). The gap diminished in analyzing the data regarding the projects of investments, where France and Morocco both reach 53% (table 48).

¹¹² El Hariri, S., 2003

¹¹³ Boquet, D., (2010), "Commerce bilatéral France- Maroc", report made by the *Ambassade de France au Maroc* and *Service économique régional de Rabat*, available at : URL : http://www.tresor.economie.gouv.fr/2394_les-echanges-commerciaux-entre-la-france-et-le-maroc-en-2010 (access 4th January 2013)

TAB.48¹¹⁴

Tableau 3.18: Pourcentage de MRE (ménages) investissant ou ayant des projets d'investissement, au Maroc ou dans les pays d'accueil, résidant en France

Pourcentage des MRE résidants en	Pourcentage de MRE ayant réalisé des investissements au		Pourcentage de MRE ayant des projets d'investissements au	
	Maroc	Pays d'accueil	Maroc	Pays d'accueil
France	50,8	27,9	53,9	53,2
Total	44,1	27,3	60,3	43,0

Source : HCP-CERED, « L'Enquête sur l'Insertion Socio-économique des MRE dans les pays d'accueil, 2005 ».

Tableau 3.19 : Structure (en %) des investissements réalisés par les MRE aux pays d'accueil selon le secteur en France.

Pourcentage des investissements réalisés par les MRE en	Immobilier	Industrie	Commerce	Tourisme	Agriculture	Autre	Total
France	71,5	2,4	14,1	1,3	0,8	9,9	100,0
Total	72,4	1,9	13,8	2,1	0,4	9,4	100,0

Source : HCP-CERED, « L'Enquête sur l'Insertion Socio-économique des MRE dans les pays d'accueil, 2005 ».

Tableau 3.20: Structure (en pourcent) des investissements réalisés par les MRE en France, au Maroc selon le secteur.

Pourcentage des investissements réalisés par les MRE en	Immobilier	Industrie	Commerce	Tourisme	Agriculture	Autre	Total
France	89,4	0,9	3,9	0,6	3,9	1,3	100,0
Total	86,9	0,9	5,2	0,8	4,1	2,0	100,0

Source : HCP-CERED, « L'Enquête sur l'Insertion Socio-économique des MRE dans les pays d'accueil, 2005 ».

The sense of belonging that Moroccan citizens have in migration is demonstrated by data regarding the sense of belonging: according to the results of interviews done by Cherkaoui in fact, among the Moroccans living in France 73% feel Moroccans, 3,9% French but 22,6% are represented by both the countries. Data that contrast with the Italian case, where 88,8% feel Moroccans, 2,9% Italians but only 8,1% have a transnational sense of belonging¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁴ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., 2009

¹¹⁵ Cherkaoui, M., Rhoulami, K., Wahba, J., 2009

ITALY: WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS

The Italian case differs from the French one because of several differences. Mostly, according to the notion of circular economic migration- implying a come-and-go regular movement aimed at earning, it is interesting to analyse how it applies to the peculiarities of the Italian case. I will now define the increasing presence of Moroccan migrant women within the Italian trade sector, and how it intersects with the characteristics of Italian immigration.

Moroccan immigration in Italy during the last decades has been characterized by a sedentary approach, rather than a short-term migratory project. According to Devitt, “there are four main factors, which have obstructed circularity: visa requirements; employee status and employment based work permits; low earnings; and the absence of a livelihood in Morocco”¹¹⁶.

In fact, those factors are linked in a certain extent to the Italian immigration policies. First of all, since the 1990's, Italy has more restrictively regularized the presence of undocumented migrants within its territory. As a consequence, irregular migrants are not able to move without restraint among different countries. The majority of Moroccans residing in Italy are employees, so that employers usually do not agree in giving long and frequent periods off to work. Gaining low wages, they also cannot save money enough to regularly visit Morocco¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁶ Devitt, C., « Circular Migration between Italy and Morocco : A case study », Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, available at: URL: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/METOIKOS/Documents/CaseStudies/METOIKOScasestudyItalyMorocco.pdf>

¹¹⁷ Devitt, C.

TAB.49¹¹⁸

Table 2: Typology of Moroccan economic circular migrants circulating between Morocco-Italy with main residence in Italy

	Type 1: Circular trade and transport	Type 2: Economising in Morocco	Type 3: Seasonal agricultural work in Morocco	Type 4: Brain circulation
Dimensions:				
1. Legal status in Italy	Permits/id documents allowing them to circulate: - Dual citizenship - LT residency - work permit for employment or self-employment	Permits/id documents allowing them to circulate: - mainly work permit for self-employment	Permits/id documents allowing them to circulate: - work permit for employment or self-employment - LT residency	Permits/id documents allowing them to circulate: - Dual citizenship, - LT residency - work permit for self-employment
2. Skill level of occupation in Italy	Semi	Semi & low	Semi & low	High
3. Time length of each stay and return	Repeated short stays or annual stays of a few months	Two month stays annually	Three to six month stays annually	Repeated short stays
4. Residence in north or south Italy	North & South	South	North & South	North
5. Work status in Italy	Mainly self-employed and unemployed	Unemployed & employed	Employed	Mainly self-employed
6. Number of years living in Italy (more or less than 10 years)	Mainly more than 10 years	Both more & less than 10 years	More than 10 years	More than 10 years
7. Nuclear family country of residence	Mainly Italy	Morocco	Morocco or Italy	Italy
8. Circular economic	Transport & trade	Save money	Work in family farm	Business/development project

¹¹⁸ Devitt, C.

The last consequence linked to the restrictive immigration policies is that they cause the increasing recourse to the family reunification: as a consequence, Moroccan presence within the Italian territory will stabilize, impeding circularity. In fact,

“in 2003, Moroccan citizens constituted 6% of all visas issued to foreign nationals for employment and 13% of those issued for family reunification. Moroccans are the immigrant group with the highest number of cases of naturalisation. In 2006, 3,295 Moroccans became Italian citizens, followed by 795 Albanians. Furthermore, Moroccan men have the highest rate of intermarriage with Italian women of all foreign groups.”¹¹⁹

Because these peculiarities of the Moroccan immigration in Italy, as for what concerns women migrant entrepreneurs operating within the Italian territory, the phenomenon is more relevant than the circular economic migration. According to the study carried by De Luca, several reasons stem at the core of the trend, which is considerably increasing. If in 2009 enterprises created by women migrant were more than 47,000, only two years later the number raised to 57,000. The positive trend concerning the increase of the creation of enterprises run by immigrants is confirmed both by data regarding women’s and men’s situations: the former increased by 6,4% and the latter by 4,5% from 2008 up to 2010. Women interviewed both in the South and in the North of Italy, affirmed that at the core of the choice to undertake a career in the trade sector were the problems of segmentation and difficulties encountered within the national labour market¹²⁰.

¹¹⁹ Devitt, C., « Circular Migration between Italy and Morocco : A case study », Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, available at: URL: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/METOIKOS/Documents/CaseStudies/METOIKOScasestudyItalyMorocco.pdf>

¹²⁰ De Luca, D., “Donne immigrate e impresa”, in *L’economia della migrazione*, No. 2, (February 2012), pp. 18- 20

TAB.50¹²¹**Tableau 3. Entrepreneurs marocains en Italie au 30 juin 2008**

Secteur d'activité	Effectif	%
Agriculture	81	0,3
Manufacture	1 143	3,9
Alimentation	222	0,8
Textile et confection	79	0,3
Mécanique	649	2,2
Autres industries	193	0,7
Construction	5 373	18,5
Commerce	18 873	64,9
Hôtellerie et restauration	90	0,3
Transport	1 401	4,8
Services professionnels	664	2,3
Services personnels	103	0,4
Non disponible	224	0,8
Total	29 095	100,0

Source : Ci Siamo - Fondazione Ethnoland, 2009

So that, as to react to the problems of underemployment and unemployment, they decided to start their own activity. Because of these motivations, in respect to men, women migrants appear more motivated and focused than their male counterparts as the private trade seems to them one of the few answers to the segmentation to which they are forced to adapt within the labour market.

Beside those reasons, others are also strictly linked to their being mothers: this sector allows them to better conciliate productive and reproductive roles. Additionally, it seems to them a way to successfully exploit and practice the competences acquired in the origin country, valuing their skills and knowledge. It has been observed that this

¹²¹ Khachani, M., *La qualification des personnes hautement qualifiées. Le cas du Maroc*, CARIM- AS, No. 2010/37, (2010b), available from : URL : <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/13689>

mechanism is more often at the core of the decision to start the activities when women individually enter the sector, and not with the support of their families. Migrant women usually work more than their male counterparts and as a consequence, their fertility rate is lower- 2 children in respect to the 2,7 observed among migrant male entrepreneurs. Their children are usually old enough to be autonomous or to go to school, and they often help their parents with the trade activity. From the interviews, a common feature to the French situation emerged, and it is the role of trust upon which migrant women build the relations with their clients. As in the French-Moroccan transnational trade they conquer a place within the market also thanks to the reliability established with their clients, the same happens in the Italian situation: according to De Luca, two factors are stressed by those women as to overcome the economic crisis: competitive prices and quality products and services, two elements that allowed them to conquer a good reputation with their clients¹²².

TAB.51¹²³

TABELLA 22 - CONDIZIONE PROFESSIONALE DEI MAROCCHINI (%) RESIDENTI IN ITALIA PER SESSO, 2008

Condizione professionale	Sesso		Totale
	<i>Maschi</i>	<i>Femmine</i>	
Lavoratori autonomi	4.1	1.2	3.6
Salariati	95.6	98.3	96.1
Imprenditori	0.2	0.5	0.3
Totale %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numero	200682	45382	246064

FONTE: Dati consolari, Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione, Marocco, 2008

¹²² De Luca, D., 2012

¹²³ Fassi Fihri, M., Mghari, M., (2010), *Cartographie des flux migratoires des Marocains en Italie*, report made by Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations and Ministero degli Affari Esteri, available at : URL : http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/activities/countries/docs/Cartographie_des_flux_migratoires_des_Marocains_en_Italie.pdf

In general, Moroccan entrepreneurs in Italy specially work in commerce (64,9%), in building industry (18,5%) and in transport (4,8%) (table 50). Within the sector, the important role that Moroccan women play in business is also revealed by table 51, whose data state that women presence in the sector is higher than their male counterpart: respectively 0,2 and 0,5.

The report “Osservatorio sull’evoluzione dell’imprenditoria femminile nel terziario”, made by *Gruppo Terziario Donna Confcommercio* and *Censis* in 2011, highlighted the growing presence of women within the entrepreneurship sector. According to the data provided, 70% of migrant women in business work in the tertiary sector (73,861 women entrepreneurs), but all the sectors are marked by their presence. In fact, in agriculture it is registered +3,7%, in industry +5,8% and in the service sector +6,5%. The most important immigrant group is made by Chinese women (15,8% of women entrepreneurs), followed by Romanian (7,6%), Swiss (7,3%) and Moroccan women (6,7%). Moroccan women are mostly present in the trade sector: in fact, after the first place held by Chinese (21%), Moroccans represent 10,3%, followed by Nigerian women with 7,6%¹²⁴.

¹²⁴ <http://www.confcommerciovenezia.it/index.php?area=4&menu=231&page=764>, (access 5th January 2013)

Conclusion

The aim of this study is to verify whether, and in what extent, work might have a role in the process of migrant women's emancipation. In this view, I have analysed Moroccan migrant women's role in the French and Italian labour market, with a particular focus on two work sectors: the domestic and trade sectors.

The assumptions from where I have started the study considered work as a tool through which emancipation was at least relatively accessible. In my opinion, two main factors positively boosted by the work activity could have constituted this achievement: economic independence and an extended social resource and network.

The logic sequence of the structure of my dissertation was studied in order to deconstruct those assumptions, as to verify whether the hypothetical scenario that I had in mind could apply to the situation of the Moroccan migrant women, and how it differed in France and Italy.

I firstly have examined the role that women have had in migration over the last decades, realizing that their presence had been consistently ignored because they were not regarded as active social actors in migration from an economical perspective. The reasons that push women to migrate are not necessarily related to economical grounds, which are deemed as one the main causes of migration. Other issues are at the origin of the decision to leave their native countries, and are barely related to economical factors. In fact, they are often pushed by a willingness to improve gender equality, their social and civil rights, or to enhance their personal or familiar status. As a consequence, those issues being hardly collocated in a perspective that considers migration as a mere balance between costs and profits, have been denied for decades.

In order to understand what the term 'emancipation' could mean to Moroccan migrant women, I have researched on the social and civil rights women have in the Northern African country. The situation has considerably changed, as in 2004 the

Moroccan code of personal status (*Mudawana*) has been modified as to assure women's rights as to what concerns marriage, divorce, heritage and children custody. But in trying to individuate women's role within the Moroccan labour market, data state that their participation is rather low. Scholars identify in the patriarchal and cultural structures of the Moroccan society one of the main reasons to this outcome: cultural constraints still impede a complete application in the everyday life of the *Mudawana* reform. Additionally, in most of the cases, the reproductive role assigned to women is to be preserved, so that their access to the labour market is deemed as secondary in respect to it.

Then, I have studied the situation that Moroccan migrant women have to deal with in migration to Italy and France.

As for what concerns the French case, I have highlighted the long history of Moroccan immigration in the country: in fact, the colonial bonds between the two countries have constituted the bridge that has alimeted the immigration movement from the Northern African country for decades. Migrant women's presence in the French labour market mirrors the representation that links migrant women to culturally assigned 'female' types of work: *hôtellerie*, catering, cooking, textile industry or care and domestic services. What is more, data show that Moroccan women's rate of employment is considerably low (38.6%) highlighting on the one hand their dependence on male's activity and on the other hand their presence in the informal market.

The Italian situation differs because of the structure and features of immigration history, but the outcomes are similar to the conclusions identified in France. Moroccan presence have started to be significant during the early 1980's, but over the years it has represented the group that more than all the others has gone the process of feminization, even though it is mostly composed of men. As for what concerns the Moroccan migrant women in the Italian labour market, the situation reflects the French one. Women unemployment data are sensibly high, and the work sectors where they can find a job are selected according to their being women and migrant. In

fact, they especially work in the care, health and domestic sectors, as chefs or in the textile industry.

Having delineated a broad framework of Moroccan migrant women situation in the French and Italian labour markets, I have decided to focus on three work sectors. The initial hypothesis regarding the value of work in migration, from where I started, has been extensively analysed. In fact, the focus has been given on three work sectors where migrant women usually access: the domestic sector, the sex industry and the trade sector.

Domestic and care work are among the work sectors where migrant women access to. Several reasons are at the base of this outcome, from the fact that in both Italy and France national welfare services are being cut, while on the other side the population is ageing. As a consequence, the domestic and care services are highly demanded, and the sector has exponentially grown over the last decades. Migrant women fit this demanding sector for several reasons: as instance, they offer cheap and unprotected work, which to them represents an easily approachable first contact in the labour market.

Aimed at delineating the value of this type of work in the perspective of women's emancipation, I have found out that several mechanisms interfere with it. In fact, from the general perception of the care and domestic work to the relationships that usually develops between employee and employer, this type of work represents and solidifies the negative acceptance of migrant women in respect to the work activity. Having European women entered in the labour market and left the traditionally 'female' house duties, this type of work is not regarded as a proper work but rather as an extension of women's role. What is more, employers usually confront with the employees with a maternal or personal approach, so that the former perceive themselves as guardians and helpers of the domestic worker, mitigating the role the work activity has as a means toward emancipation. Additionally, vertical career is not contemplated within the domestic sector, while horizontal career may only regard the passage from a live-in to a part-time contract.

In conclusion, the domestic and care sector can hardly represent a means toward women's emancipation. In fact, it carries a scarce social value and opens little possibilities of career to migrant women working in it. In respect to the two initial hypotheses, this sector seems to scarcely help in the extension of the social network of women employees, while the economic income does not allow their independence in respect to their male counterparts.

The second case taken into account is the trade sector, of which I have analysed the characteristics and the presence of Moroccan migrant women in both France and Italy. The main difference between the two countries can be linked to the different histories of migration, and to the different grades of transnationalism embedded in them.

As for what concerns the French case, Moroccan migrant women have increasingly acquired an autonomous role in the French-Moroccan trade, creating commercial bonds between the two countries, exporting and importing goods. This type of trade sees women involved both on an occasional basis, so that the summer holidays spent in their origin country become an occasion to sell French products and to buy traditional Moroccan goods to be exported in Europe, and on a regular basis, establishing a long-term commerce that involves considerable sums. In fact, transnationalism marks this trade, and demonstrates the long common history between the countries: the bonds between the countries are kept by Moroccan immigrants despite the long stay in the European country.

The Italian case does not involve such a transnational feature. The reasons are to be detected in the Italian restrictive immigration policies, which interfere with a free circulation needed in order to establish a circular economic business, the immigrants' low earnings, so that frequent and regular periods in Morocco are not possible, and the fact that being mostly employees, frequent periods off to work are not allowed. Despite this general framework, over the last years immigrant women have increasingly entered in the national trade sector. There are several reasons to explain this growth, but it seems that commerce represents a way to react to the

segmentation and racialization of the national labour market, as they decided to create new job opportunities that could avoid those negative mechanisms. Additionally, commerce allows migrant women to conciliate both the productive and reproductive roles, and to exploit their competences and skills, often denied during migration. In this perspective, Moroccan migrant women are mostly present in the trade sector, preceded by Chinese migrants and followed by Nigerians.

In conclusion, being the female trade in public spaces culturally negatively perceived among Maghrebi countries, the fact that in migration they are able to build such an activity demonstrates how work might acquire a new value. Having a successful trade activity, established independently from the husbands' and the Moroccan immigrants community's controls, means having acquired social promotion.

In my opinion, there is an important connection between work and women's emancipation. Work activity leads to a certain economic independence, helps in building a social network within the new society, and opens the range of relationships that migrant women can reach. Those positive outcomes are in most of the cases completely withdrawn by the actual conditions in which migrant women are forced to work. As long as work offered to migrant women will be characterized by lack of rights, ethnic segmentation and various forms of exploitation, it will not be a synonym of emancipation. Only thanks to a respectable work, that includes the notion of dignity, emancipation will be a natural outcome of the work activity, not only as to what concerns migrant women but workers in general.

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