

Migration, gender and development: constraints and challenges in the European area

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The rise of international female migration has experienced considerable growth these past twenty years and was accompanied by multiple effects both on the level of the individual journey of migrant women, as well as on their relationships with their immediate or distant environment regarding issues of equality between men and women. While this new reality is of interest to migration and integration management policies within the European Union, it also highlights a new conceptual framework, one of a dual role held by the migrant woman: a protagonist in economic co-development and social transformation both in the host country and country of origin.

Within the European Union, the term ‘migrant woman’ refers to the criterion of nationality of one of the 27 Member States of the EU, while in the European popular imagination, the ‘migrant woman’ is associated with criteria associated with continental, race and material criteria: she is a woman from a southern country, developing and poor in material terms and in terms of capabilities (Ngo, Nyemb-Wisman, 2011). Yet the expression also defines the “daughter of a female immigrant, born in a European Union country [...]. Certain recent European documents begin to refer to immigrant women in subsequent generations, specifying that they should be taken into account when developing integration policies” (Kin-Armbrust, 2010). Furthermore, the notion of female migration nowadays refers to female quantitative scale movements of population, variable both by the number of persons involved, goals and issues as by the distance covered. Migration can be an individual and free choice (autonomous migration) or either an imposed or organized action, driven by external actors, natural forces, coercing populations or a single person (forced migration) (Bardot, 2009, 108).

Therefore one cannot define female migration in a monolithic and homogeneous manner. Migrant women are, as much as men or other social categories, diverse in concepts of race, class, nationality, ethnicity, age, conflicts of authority, religion, culture, etc. These form part of inter or intra categories in relationships of power and domination. However the common denominator of a majority of migrant women, from all continents, is their quest for existential security. However, in the case of African women migrating to Europe, particular situations and experiences sometimes lead to atypical routes characterised by socio-professional change which may have a substantial influence on the quality of their social well-being.

In the light of this, the reflective frame of the present contribution intends to identify causal factors that explain their constraints, issues and challenges of this new deal that is female migration, especially Sub-Saharan African migration within the EU-27. This problem finds its conceptual foundation in the theoretical line ‘migration/gender¹ and development’ and looks specifically at questions of autonomy (empowerment), equality, integration and co-development. As to its root in fact, it is described on the one hand in the conclusions of the symposium organized by Women Interface North-South (FINS) held in Wavre in Belgium on April 30th, 2010²,

¹ The interest in studying the phenomenon of migration is recent and has only been considered in the European Community in the last fifteen years. It allowed an unveiling of domination, discrimination and gross inequalities suffered by migrant women in terms of race, gender, class, religion, etc. It is a combined approach on the living conditions of migrant women and their journey, as well as focusing on their integration or exclusion in the host country.

² See: www.fins-wins.org. One of the main conclusions of the participants at the symposium is the insistence on the need for a paradigm shift in relation to the issue of diversity and integration of migrant women, which should be considered as a wealth and not a threat to European societies. This requires the development of intercultural competences, a necessary decentring and greater openness to others. The symposium ‘Migrant and indigenous women’s view and dialogue on intercultural prejudice and stereotypes’ was held as part of the Conferences of Interculturality (2010).





and also through structured interviews on the routes of thirty indigenous and immigrant women living in Belgium, collected before the symposium. Finally as a backdrop to this reflection, numerous reports on the experiences of a number of African migrants in Western Europe are emerging.

Female migration: decrypting a complex and problematic phenomenon

On the EU-27 level, female migration is historically linked to the gender and development topic. This topic is in part due to social relationships and inequalities between men and women in the field of development, and also due to the highlighting of decisions made on migration policies. For a long time these issues were addressed in the margins of social science publications. It was not until the 1980s that 'gender studies' emerged, thanks in part to the black feminists movement in the United Kingdom (Dorlin, 2008; Davis, 2007) devoted to the subject of female migration in Europe, paying particular attention to the role of women and inequalities between the sexes. Gender defines in part who migrates, why and where to.

Observations

Within the EU-27, despite the implementation of restrictive and deterring migration policies designated 'zero immigration, chosen and selective'³ put in place in the aftermath of the 1973 oil crisis and restricted further today, official figures on female migration have significantly increased⁴ showing that recruitment selectivity and feminization are two aspects of contemporary migration. Today women are more likely to take the road of human mobility. In gender terms close to 50% of migrants from all countries are women (compared to 46% at the beginning of the 1960s) from which a substantial proportion migrate voluntarily and autonomously. With a world population estimated at over 6 billion people according to IOM (2008), "100 million women leave their country of origin each year, or half of the 200 million migrants in total". Even if these figures only partly reflect the reality (failing to take into account underground or illegal migratory flows), female migration has become a major concern for the 'international community'. And for good reason: they have increased and paradoxically migration public policies in host countries are often inadequate and ineffective with regard to decent living conditions and integration. Varying approaches between political strategies of integration, regulation and repression have resulted in perverse (human trafficking, slavery, mafia networks) and often dramatic situations.

Interactions and impulses

Even if family reunification including marriage migration remains the primary motivation, female labour migration increased sharply in Europe because of the knowledge and service economy, as well as demographic transition in most European countries. According to the United Nations (2000), the European Union should welcome 80 million migrants by 2050 to meet necessary workforce demands and balance increasing human capital deficits (highly qualified) to help finance social security systems.

"Eurostat projections show that the European population will decrease by 1.5% between 2004 (457 million) and 2050 (450 million). Germany risks losing between 4 and 7 million inhabitants (decline of 9.6% by 2050) in twenty-five years, followed by Italy (8.9%), Spain, Hungary and the Czech Republic. France will have 65 million people by 2030, but one French out of two will be over 50 years of age, and one French in ten over 80 years of age (...) In 2050, 57% of assets will have to bear 30% of people over 65 years of age" (Withol de Wenden, 2009, 21).

At present European policies are turned towards the articulation of qualitative or selective logic, by recruiting qualified migrants, and quantitative logic to counter an ageing population. As part of this 'selective' immigration, European objectives are (1) the improvement of the mobility of skilled foreign nationals and, reversely members and resources of the Diaspora; (2) the strengthening of co-development partnerships between countries of origin, host countries and Diasporas; and (3) the EU/South technical cooperation. This selective framework aims to make the European market attractive to human capital providing access to better

³ Europe put in place control instruments such as SIS, Frontex, Eurodac, Sive, etc.

⁴ Europe 27 counts 490 million people, including over 25 million foreigners, European and non-European taking into account 1.5 million living in Switzerland.



opportunities, higher salaries, as well as the perspective of greater safety, rights and greater political freedom. Some work however (Dumont *et al*, 2007; Follana *et al*, 2006) underlines negative impacts of female migration for southern countries, including brain drain. Technological advances contribute to a growing trade infrastructure; expand the field of mobility and visibility through media, different stages of development between countries as well as diverging living standards and lifestyles for women⁵. Similarly, the dynamic transition economy and disentanglement of nationalities contribute to the attraction (Withol de Wenden, 2009). In this landscape, migrant women are increasingly urban, educated and informed, having accumulated a nest egg and experienced crossing borders and socio-economic, political and cultural determinism.

In addition to these forces of attraction we must add contextual determinants specific to southern countries which are economic (macroeconomic imbalances and the feminisation of poverty⁶), politics (statism, interventionism, human rights violations, bad governance), sociocultural (patriarchy, genital mutilation, polygamy, homophobia, rape, violence, honour crimes and birth control), religious (theory of sin, criminalization of sexual divergences and habits: adultery, common-law, cohabiting), environmental (drought, climate change, soil depletion, pollution, natural disasters, mutations or brutality), health and humanitarian.

Typology and migration profiles

In this evolving framework, Europe has become a migratory field for to diverse typologies of women: elites, brains, exiled, students as well as family members, spouses, workers, patients, tourists; sometimes without papers, economic migrants or asylum seekers. To those who have obtained the right of residence (permanent, temporary, naturalized, refugee) one must add illegal or clandestine immigration.

In terms of migration profiles, family immigration represents 50% of permanent migration, but most migrant women gain access to the labour market (it is often the simplest way to earn a salary). Humanitarian migration represents between 15 and 20% of female migration to the United Kingdom and nearly 30% in the Netherlands (Withol de Wenden, 2009). To the extent that demographic profiles in European countries converge towards one of zero growth, immigration in general and women in particular became one of the driving forces of population growth. Regarding the choice of host country, it varies and is highly dependent on migrants' history and geography. Some countries receive many immigrants they consider as a temporary work force, 'invited workers'⁷. This is the case in Germany, primary country of immigration in Europe. In other countries with a colonial past such as France or the United Kingdom, certain nationalities form 'migration couples' with their former colonial powers (high concentration of Algerian women in France, or Congolese in Belgium, less present in other European countries.)

On the other hand, the typical profile of migrant African women is one of conjugal and family violence, whether physical or verbal, similar in all countries. They are poor, low-educated and predominantly urban. Two main determinants explain the vulnerability of these women: patriarchy and economic deprivation. The need to improve their material life, as well as that of their families forces thousands of African women to immigrate to countries in the North where the transit economy⁸ and sex represent one way out of their vulnerable situation.

"I dreamt of a trouble-free life and I have lived through hell with my family and in-laws. Forced to marry at the age of 16, during my 20 years of marriage, I have known only hell, deprivation and verbal, sexual and physical abuse. I was insulted, beaten, locked up by my husband and his brothers and sisters in front of my children. What image of a mother, a woman or a wife? It was only once my own children began imitating their father's violence towards me that I decided to run away [...], to go elsewhere, to Europe. It was a question of life or death. At the age of 50, I started a new life of freedom in Belgium. I work as a support-nurse in an elderly home and send a little money

⁵ This gives the impression of an Eldorado of communication and freedom, which cultivates and nourishes the imagination of female migrants. This contrasts with an ethnocentric and stereotypical representation that devalues female migrants from the South.

⁶ Almost 70% of women in sub-Saharan Africa suffer from material poverty and lack of capabilities, 85% are unemployed while over 80% survive in the precarious black economy, etc.

⁷ Contrary to conventional wisdom, most migration flows from developing countries (in the South) are inter regional and to neighbouring States (87%) and not to countries in the North (17%). (Follana, 2006)

⁸ The transit economy that grew out of the closure of borders has provided increased means of transport. The border has become a resource. Transnational networks were built offering their services from the point of departure to arrival. This economy prospered and enriched in favour of the sophistication of required travel documents.



every month to my children and parents for their basic needs (food, medical care and education). I finally feel in control of my life. I can dream again despite certain difficulties here in Europe". (S. Amina of Guinean origin, mother of 5 children on her migration to escape hell... Interview conducted on March 15th, 2010 in Brussels).

EU migration policies and the changing roles of migrant women

The migration, gender and development perspective sheds light on the specific character of the place and role of migrant women in the development process in connection with EU migration policies. We can decrypt and analyse, in retrospect, the founding aspects of the construction or statutory transformation of migrant women over time and through the European political zone through three key moments.

1945-1970: migration policy regarding male labour and the reproductive role of migrant women

In the context of post-war European reconstruction and until 1974, geopolitical migration dynamics were dominated by the drive to attract a migrant male labour force intended to contribute to the goal of economic reconstruction and development of European countries. As part of this classic developmental culture, through the strict patriarchal prism and the sexual division of labour, female migration was mostly considered from the point of view of the family (this was the golden age of European policies on family reunification) and characterised by being invisible. Migrant women's only status was one of wife, companion of her husband and family mother. Immigration policy neglects the essential characteristics of the migrant, denies them their own identity and defines their existence by assimilation with her husband. They have few rights of their own (no specific standards addressed to recognize their singularity or even vulnerabilities) and are held to a plurality of duties and reproductive tasks in the invisible and informal sectors of political economy such as the education of children or the upkeep of the home. However, a small share of this immigration is used in manufacturing, in particular in Germany.

During this period, migrant women were confronted with several challenges including being dependent on their husband, difficulty learning the language, integrating the host society, access to work, isolation, loneliness, the devaluation or the conversion of their qualifications, physical and symbolic violence, etc. On the other hand, the absence or lack of specific rules or mechanisms to assist migrant women facing difficulties encountered during the migration procedures reinforces their status as privately and publically marginalised. This framework, claims Jasper (2009), undermines its "*foundations, destroys the essential bearings of migrant women and their sense of reality, ruins social institutions and threatens identities and allegiances based on locations, community and family.*"

Such an encoding of identity and status both at an administrative level and as scientific research⁹ first offers a fertile ground for unequal power struggles between men and women migrants. It also slows the promotion of gender, including couples with low social and cultural capital. Finally it contributes to the invisibility and their undervalued participation in the field of development in Europe as being limited to the sphere of the clandestine shadow economy of domesticity and informality. Among newly arrived immigrants, the migrant man is considered an actor of development while the woman migrant appears most often as a passive agent of progress. At a scientific level, the focus is squarely on female migration and more specifically the roles of women, gender inequalities remained on the margins of theoretical research and demonstrate that the migration process was traditionally explained only in terms of economic development in which the man controls social transformation.

1974-1990: restrictive immigration policy and the (re)productive role of migrant women

The second key moment or period, 1974-1990, coincided with the cyclical changes as a result of socio-economic upheavals and policy changes in Europe. It was characterized by two successive oil shocks, causing economic and development crises in Europe, resulting in a dramatic drop in male labour migration, coupled with more stringent family reunification texts with the aim to better control migratory flows and combat clandestine

⁹ The rare research work in social sciences on migration and migrant women attempted only to illustrate the difficulties of adapting to the host society and confined them to a patriarchal statutory role as mother-wife, ignoring specific problems of migrant women, such as difficulties socialising in the host culture (Es Safi and Manco, 1996).



immigration¹⁰. In addition, although the proliferation of feminist studies and second generation activism by immigrant women were visible and would change the outlook and perspective on the statutory situation of migrant women when deciding on development policy, analysis remained firmly rooted within the paradigm of passive migrant women following their migrant husband and the resulting effects. She was seen to be active as a member of the family, busy in the home, educating the children while being dependant on the man, regarded as the breadwinner and responsible for the welfare of his lineage. Recognized as an active family member privately, migrant women had little or no recognition in the sphere of economic growth. For those having obtained legal residence, having a permanent paid job provided financial autonomy. The effect was immediate and perceptible on a family level and regarding social status. She participated in meeting the material needs of the family, and was considered to be the guardian of the family bond and guarantor of social cohesion. She was sometimes more involved than the man in helping family members in the country of origin through remittances. With her resulting inclusion in the family decision-making process, she regained confidence and self-esteem. This financial empowerment resulted in the transformation of the woman's role: from accompanying her husband and being financially dependent on him, she became responsible for her livelihood and that of her family, sometimes even assisting host families. But the evolution from a family and economic role to a more social and community-based role (in the associative, political and public worlds) failed to take into account her specific needs and did not confer any significant added-value, particularly in the field of development.

1990 to the present day: selective migration policy and the role of migrant women in co-development

It was not until the third key moment or period, from 1990 until the present day, characterized by waves of mass regularisation, a multidimensional globalisation of crises (geopolitical, economic, social, demographic and environmental) and the internationalisation of the reproductive role that we see the emergence of a new definition of the migrant women: that of an independent mobile person, with a visible and important role in the field of development and international solidarity, reclaiming or imposing her position in the public sphere. This new deal highlights two related realities.

Firstly a rise in the feminisation of migration, according to the UNFPA (2006), meaning the significant rise in the proportion of migrant women employed in the host country. This phenomenon is accompanied by their contribution in the transfer of social goods (knowledge and skills) and funds¹¹ to their country of origin¹², as well as their involvement in networks and transnational exchanges. In Southern countries, particularly Central Africa, these remittances are used for consumer goods, health care and education form the visible part of their fight to alleviate poverty and improve the perception of the providential role of sub-Saharan migrant women who can help their family out of poverty. Besides this, one should also mention the phenomenon of reverse family reunification where male migration is today associated with female immigration.

“I arrived in France in 2003 to study for a doctorate in public law. At the end of my thesis, I was hired as a lecturer. Thanks to income resulting from this position, I could benefit from family reunification and thus bring my husband and two children who had remained in Bangui and from whom I had been separated throughout the 5 years of my doctoral research. This reunification has broken our geographic and social isolation and offered us above all the opportunity to build new social networks and well defined identities through mutually structured life choices” (B. Emilia's testimony, 40 years of age and originally from Central Africa, Lecturer at the University of Bordeaux. Interview conducted on May 25th).

This is a consequence of the development of the feminisation of international migration which grows when men and children join their wives and mothers in a European country. However, this new trend, which no doubt has

¹⁰ It is the stated goal and an agreed consensus of all EU governments. Between 1980 and 1990 measures were put in place (assistance for reintegrating the country of origin) to encourage a number of aliens to leave the host country (in particular France and Germany).

¹¹ For the World Bank, 'remittances' include remittances sent by workers and migrants and employees compensation.

¹² Either through personal projects or decentralized cooperation within local initiatives: literacy, health (fighting AIDS for example, or building health centres), promoting entrepreneurship through microcredit, gender, food self-sufficiency, infrastructure, twinning and partnership relationship between the host and towns of origin, etc.



an impact on the migrant and family members occupies a relatively marginal role both in scientific research and the European political agenda.

Secondly, over the past two decades, relations between international migration generally and women in particular on the one hand, compared to development, arise with reference to the principle of the IOM (2005) that migration can contribute to the development of both the countries of origin and host countries provided that it is done in the correct order and with respect for human dignity. Therefore, migration and the mobilisation of people and resources are a source of mutual enrichment and thus participate in shaping political, socio-economic and demographic international relations. According to Johan Wets¹³, when talking of development, emphasis was too often put on economic aspects and not on key social and human issues. In recent years however, we are witnessing the emergence of a new political discourse and new migration policies from many European States, in parallel with changing economic and demographic factors (an aging of the active population in Europe). It is now a question of achieving ‘co-development’ *inter alia* through the Diasporas¹⁴ in which migrant women play a central role.

It is within this context that EU policies are increasingly concerned with women migration as it plays an important role in the economic and social development strategy both here and there. Within the EU and in certain countries, the migration of women from the South relieves job shortages in certain sectors. The International Labour Office highlighted the variety of migration profiles of women of working age in the active population, with a significant proportion of women being heads of household, single, widowed or divorced. The vast majority of them are workers in the social sector (care and clean): hotel, catering, domestic service, child minding and working with the elderly (Devetter and Rousseau, 2011). The extent of the phenomenon in these sectors remains to be measured in sectorial studies, which will enable all to better assess the added value of these migrants and their contribution to development in their host country and country of origin.

“In my many visits and field research missions in Africa and Cameroon in particular, my country of origin, I became aware of the unbearable feminisation of poverty and the informal sector: approximately 80% of women in Cameroon have a median subsistence income of 10 euros per day with an average of 8 people in charge, 85% are unemployed and over 80% survive by working in the informal economy. Also, discrimination based on gender as well as a sustained ideology and patriarchal practices are not an illusion. This led to the founding of the non-profit association FINS-WINS to combat a double issue. One scientific: to contribute to the enrichment and improvement of the knowledge in my field of research related to gender and development, the other more practical: to put in place a concrete programme to fight feminisation and promote gender issues. In 2008, with the financial support of my family, I put in place a strategy to combat both the feminisation of poverty and gender discrimination. This four point strategy involved Micro-Finance-Training-Sponsorship (MFFP in short) for female market traders which found a favourable social and economic echo within the female population. There are currently 150 women Bayam-Sellam benefiting from our solidarity grants totalling CFA100 000 or 152 euros per annum, repayable in 12 monthly instalments. In addition, training in fundamental rights are offered free of charge by Belgian friends. So far the effects and impacts are visible and motivating: on a quantitative level for example, we recorded approximately a 95% rate performance on loan repayment and a 92% attendance rate to the training. Qualitatively, women know and assert their rights in the event of abuse or violence from men in the markets for example. They participate in public speaking and feel valued. On a personal level, this action allowed me to receive the pan-African recognition as the 2009 winner of the Women's Action Prize from the Union of African Women in Brussels. Today, the main obstacle remains a lack of material and human resources available to build on this momentum of feminist solidarity. In Belgium, my adoptive country, my actions focus on the reception and accompaniment of women migrants and on university research” (Martine Wisman, illustration of migration as a commitment and positioning in co-development www.fins-wins.org).

Migrants facing integration issues and challenges: what *empowerment*?

If one of the EU objectives is to combat poverty and promote inclusive sustainable development, it is essential to integrate a degree of *empowerment* which consists in taking into account the equality of treatment for all, particularly between men and women. *Empowerment* becomes an operational variable in improving the situation of women. Therefore, it is appropriate to ask the question whether diverse inputs and implications of migrant women in various development areas from inherent cooperation and international solidarity, is accompanied by

¹³ Director of Research on International Migration at the *Institut supérieur pour l'Etude du Travail, Université Catholique de Louvain*, Belgium.

¹⁴ In Europe, the Diaspora is a result of successive waves of migration primarily associated with labour shortages and more recently with family reunification and training, but also refugee flows. Foreign groups dominant in each country reflect the sources from which labour was recruited, historic links with former colonies or geographical or political ease of access.



a restructuring of favourable social sexual relations for migrant women. Does this favour their integration and empowerment?

Discrimination and unequal treatment

Although it is difficult to establish the employment and activity profile of migrant women due to their mobility and occupation within invisible areas of the labour market, a general observation of their living conditions as well as reference to certain available indicators¹⁵ reveal several realities: structurally women migrants from the South do not form a social category whatsoever, little or badly integrated within the field of human and economic development in the European Union. As a gender group coming from abroad, they have difficulty accessing decent work on the labour market, income (due to the stigma of sexual wage hierarchy), credit, technology, housing, social skill development, as well as public discussion and decision-making processes. Most often employed in low skilled industrial or service jobs as workers, domestic employees, assistants, cleaners and even sex workers, they live under patriarchal law and suffer double professional segmentation: vertical, which keeps them in low level positions or tasks with little responsibility and horizontal, which confines them to a limited number of activities.

Some aspects of reality in figures

Migrant women are in a strongly unequal and discriminatory situation between categories regarding access opportunities to the typical labour market with, as a direct result, a large feminisation of poverty. In turn, this causes a multiplier effect, not only on the future of these women, but also on their children who have difficulties in academia and in finding their place in society.

For example, the non-European migrant women's employment rate is 44% compared with 68% for Europeans. This gap is most significant in the highly qualified age group 24-54 years of age: 60% compared to 85%. As for the unemployment rate, it is 11% for Europeans, 20% for non-Europeans while it affects 12% of migrant men and 15% of migrant women. According to the *Observatoire des inégalités*¹⁶ in France, 16.9% of employed women work part-time, compared with only 3% of men. This rate reaches 14% for non-qualified women, 13% for those under 29 years of age, 13% for female employees and even 16% for foreign women. They are underrepresented in 'noble' sectors with only 10%. Few migrant women find employment in the public sector (13%), the majority (69%) of them are active in '2c' jobs (care & clean). More vulnerable than other socio-professional categories, they are employed on a part-time and / or in temporary employment contracts (Rubin *et al*, 2008).

Women's poverty rate in 2007 was 17% as a whole, compared to 14% for men. This difference is even higher among migrant women at 19%. Add to this multiple discrimination and exploitation, mainly in three cases: absence of employment contract, failure to comply with labour laws, insecurity and poor sanitary conditions in the workplace. These inequalities of treatment and access to certain fundamental rights besides hindering the reduction of female poverty represent a major barrier to sexual equality and pose the political question of economic integration and human development of migrant women (Rubin *et al*, 2008).

¹⁵ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A7-2011-0031+0+DOC+XML+V0/EN>

¹⁶ www.inegalites.fr/spip.php?rubrique114&id_groupe=15



Conclusion

The attention paid to political and feminist thinking and their specificities and singularities of the experiences of migrant women are fairly recent in the field of development. In order to decrypt EU policy strategies in connection to female migration we must look at three key moments in helping to understand the place and role of migrant women in the development process within the European geopolitical area. From the invisibility and undervaluation of the migrant woman's economic development role in the European Union during the 1970s, we moved towards enhancing their social and family role during the 1990s, to finally now acknowledge their role as actors of the migration process and economic and human development both in host countries and in the countries of origin.

In this context, international female migration is perceived more as a means of economic efficiency in the North¹⁷ and of promoting gender equality and equal opportunities. We could assist to the exploitation of migrant women in the era of globalization with a weakening protector-developer State. With regard to the difficulties they face, is there a real willingness within the European Union to promote strategic interests and integrate problems specific to migrant women within the political agenda?

The tripartite political promotion of gender, migration and development within the definition put forward by the EU was able to generalize the idea of a participatory development of female actors here and there, which is based on the principle of self-reliance (*empowerment*), solidarity, mutual enrichment and economic efficiency. The problem remains that such discourse is still far from having a concrete impact and valuable benefits in terms of the economic and political integration of migrant women. We note a large ambiguity between on the one hand, the essence of the European Union as an institution in which social policies reflect particular ‘hot’ approaches to the phenomena of globalisation and exclusion, and on the other hand the dominance of the need for economic growth added to the possible exploitation of migrant women in the context of selective migration.

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¹⁷ See the green paper on the EU approach to managing economic migration: www.eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=fr&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=2004&nu_doc=811