

Female 'Birds of Passage' a Decade Later: Gender and Immigration in the European Union

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Despite the increasing body of theoretical and case study literature about the feminization of international migration, general formulations of international migration have failed to include insights derived from this research. First, this article critically assesses the dominant accounts of the sequence of labor migration and family reunification and argues that it is time to reclaim the heterogeneity of women's past migratory experiences in our understanding of European patterns of post-war immigration. Second, it examines family migration, covering diverse forms of family reunification and formation which, although the dominant form of legal immigration into Europe since the 1970s, has received relatively little attention. Third, it explores the implications of the diversification of contemporary female migration in the European Union and argues for the necessity of taking account of the reality of changing patterns of employment, households and social structures to advance our understanding of European immigration.

Just over a decade ago, Mirjana Morokvasic (1984) edited a special issue of *International Migration Review* which demonstrated that 'birds of passage' were also female. Prior to the mid-1970s, women had been largely invisible in studies of international migration. Since then, however, far more attention has been directed towards women migrants as a result of the general interest in women's position in society, the feminization of the foreign¹ population, the increasingly visible economic presence of immigrant women, and the production of knowledge by immigrant women about themselves. Morokvasic's conclusion in the light of a decade of research was that it was not so much that female migration was understudied and should be "rediscovered" (*also see* reviews by Taravella, 1984; Tienda and Booth, 1991), but rather that the existing literature has had little impact on policymakers and the media and that the main

¹The definition of foreign population varies from state to state. In general, this refers to noncitizens but may be restricted to permanent legal residents and not count asylum seekers, undocumented residents etc. The foreign population includes children of foreigners without citizenship. Where naturalization is relatively easy or *jus soli* applies, the gap between the foreign and immigrant-origin population will be much larger than in a country such as Germany.

body of academic literature on migration has persisted with its male bias. Morokvasic's (1983, 1984). Critical surveys of international research also revealed that even when women were present they were generally treated as dependants and only worthy of consideration in their role in the private sphere and their ability to embrace modernity. Women's diverse backgrounds in the society of emigration were lost upon arrival in the country of immigration as they began their journey to modernity.

In the past decade, the lessons of these varied studies have only slowly and partially filtered through to mainstream formulations of migratory processes. Castles and Miller (1993:8–9), who rank the feminization of international migration as one of the major tendencies of the past twenty years, devote surprisingly little attention in relation to its importance; they adopt a traditional model of the different stages of immigration, starting with labor migration, followed by family reunion and permanent settlement (p. 25). More recently, Cohen (1995:273) commented that "the issue of independent women's migration remains curiously under-researched, despite the long reach of feminist-inspired studies in so many other areas of social life." Zlotnik (1995:230), too, notes that in the developed world "our knowledge of the mechanisms leading to female migration and its consequences for the women involved remains sketchy."

In European reviews of migration (Collinson, 1993; Fassmann and Munz, 1994; King, 1993; Miles and Thränhardt, 1995), the absence of any sustained discussion of women's participation in diverse forms of migration and the tenacity of traditional models are puzzling. For Fielding (1993:53), the small (unspecified) proportion of women in the earlier stages of mass migration means there is no need for any further analysis, leaving the exclusion of women and children from service provision as the main policy issue worthy of consideration. Women have, nevertheless, been active participants in contemporary European labor migration of various kinds (Campani, 1991; 1993; 1995; Morokvasic, 1988; 1993; Wilpert, 1988) and dominant in flows based on family reunification. So, too, have they constituted a sizeable minority of asylum-seekers, although their specific experiences and claims for refugee status do not receive adequate attention in general reviews of European asylum and refugee regimes (Joly, 1996). In addition, black and migrant women remain absent from most European Union programs on women's issues and surveys on racism, such as the *Third Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women* or the European Parliament's *Committee of Enquiry into Racism and Xenophobia* (European Women's Lobby, 1995).

Interest by state and European Union organizations is growing in the status of immigrant and ethnic minority women (European Women's Lobby, 1995; Gaspard, 1994; Hoskyns, 1996; Lutz, 1994). Studies of the aspirations, associations and participation of immigrant women in economic, social and political life reveal the spectrum of national situations. What is still less common are comparative studies of the experiences of women from the same country of origin living in different states. Turkish women, for example, come from different backgrounds (Salom, 1995) and confront diverse economic and social conditions and political rights in their respective host states. They are the largest Third Country group in the European Union and the largest single group in Germany (863,000 women in 1993), the Netherlands (109,000 women in 1992) and Denmark (16,242 women in 1993). In France (Kastoryano, 1995) the Turkish population grew rapidly in the 1980s (87,000 women in 1990), and it now forms the third largest in Europe (Abadan-Unat, 1995). In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, the smaller and little-studied Turkish population (65,000 men and women in 1993) is rendered statistically invisible through its inclusion in the "white" ethnic category.

What considerations should we bear in mind in constructing models that can provide the basis of a more appropriate analysis of the heterogeneity of gendered migratory processes in Europe? First, I would suggest we need to reconsider the simplistic periodization of labor migration and family reunification, heavily influenced by the dominant idea of male guestworker regimes. Labor migration was assumed to be overwhelmingly male until the cessation of mass migration, which was then followed by a predominantly female family reunification. In particular, women's migration as dependants did not require explanation. Secondly, the model(s) needs to acknowledge the diversification of gendered migration, including national histories and experiences, and the range of modes of entry and their dynamic evolution over time. Changes in international political economy, the ending of the cold war and the outbreak of new regional conflicts in Eastern Europe and beyond, and the transition to more temporary forms of residence and circulatory migration have all generated new and modified ways of women being on the move. As Portes (1987:53-4) commented in another context, "current theories do not attempt to encompass the process of international migration in its totality but concentrate on one of its specific aspects." Despite the accumulation of case studies, there remains a tendency to ignore the breadth of class positions (Bhachu, 1993a,b), the complexity of family reunification, and the implications of other modes of entry, such as that of asylumseekers and refugees. Yet women's ability to maneuver within

a particular mode of entry often differs from that of men. It may be easier for them to enter under family reunification, but more difficult to have their claims for refugee status heard and accepted. Equally, international migration needs to be set within broader population movements by tourists, students and business travelers (Kritz, 1987). It has also to take account of switching from one category to another, for example, changing from a student status to employment permit, or gaining the right to residence through marriage.

Achieving a better understanding of the gendered experience of migration and the implications of migration policy for women and men could profitably draw from studies undertaken in Australia (Bottomley *et al.*, 1991). Canada (Labelle, 1990), and the United States, with their long-standing system of family preferences (Boyd, 1989) and history of female migration (Houston *et al.*, 1984). Studies of Third World migration could also yield valuable insights into familial and household strategies (Chant, 1992; Lim, 1993). A fuller appreciation of gendered migratory processes would also involve the (re)writing of women immigrants' history and identities in European societies (Brinker-Gabler and Smith, 1997; Campani, 1995; King *et al.*, 1995).

It is not possible within the scope of this article to encompass all these issues. One of my main objectives is to reconsider the neat classification of the development of European migration into an initial period of male labor migration followed sequentially by female family migration (Zlotnik, 1995). This raises interesting questions about the reasons for and consequences of the perpetuation of traditional views based on the dichotomy of men producing and women reproducing. Case studies and statistical data, however, have demonstrated the presence of women both as independent agents and as family migrants even in the pre-stoppage years, but this seems not to have been properly digested in general accounts. The obverse equation of women with family reunification in the post-stoppage period then leaves intact the stereotypical image of the female dependant unconcerned about employment. Yet family migration, the dominant mode of legal entry in many European Union states for the past two decades (Eurostat, 1995; Lahav, 1996), has itself evolved. I therefore want to reclaim the heterogeneity of immigrant women's history and their diverse experiences in the past and the present. Highlighting the diversity of nationalities, backgrounds, class positions, employment and familial situations may help to challenge the reductionist frameworks into which immigrant women are still placed.

I then turn specifically to family migration, which for a long time constituted the forgotten form (Bouamama and Sad Saoud, 1996). Only since the

mid-1980s has this mode of entry become the subject of scholarly research (Dumon, 1989). Family reunification has emerged at the forefront of political debate in the 1990s, as many states have sought to reduce this form of immigration by tightening the conditions of eligibility for entry (Eurostat, 1995) and thereby seeking to impose greater control over the flows and composition of immigrants. The renewed politicization of immigration, combined with debates about the (in)capacity of immigrants to integrate, have led to calls for limiting further immigration in order to contain the expansion of immigrant communities. Surprisingly, there has been little general analysis of the gendered composition of family migration, its evolution in the past two decades in different states and for different nationalities, and the implications of policy measures for men and women. And possibly not so surprisingly, the dominant means through which families are initially constituted, that of marriage, has received even less attention.

Finally, I explore the implications of the diversification of migratory flows and their geographical extension to Southern and Eastern Europe in the past decade. From the end of the 1980s, the dismantling of East-West borders and the multiplication of regional conflicts have added larger numbers of refugees, sex workers and new contract workers to those migrating. We should also note the paucity of literature concerning professional and skilled women, both in relation to those who have managed to find professional employment as well as the deskilled and deprofessionalized. "Brain waste" (Morokvasic and de Tinguy, 1993) among Eastern European emigrants and the over-qualification of highly educated female domestic labor in Southern Europe (Campani, 1993) need to be explored far more extensively, as does the loss of opportunities for women in dual career international households (Hardill and MacDonald, 1998).

THE DOMINANT MODEL OF MIGRATION

The image of 'the 'adventuresome male seeking new opportunities abroad, joined later by wife and family or returning to hearth and home with cash in hand' (Stahl, 1988:153) still pervades the male bias of research in this field. The usual sequence of immigration for Northern European states (Bohning, 1984:81-6; Werner, 1994) begins with single young men, followed in the second phase by a migratory flow composed of a higher proportion of older and married men. In the third stage, after the stoppage of mass labor migration, men bring in their wives and children. The persistence of this model serves to reinforce the notion of women as passive followers and dependants, whose employment, where it occurs, is of secondary consideration. Absent from this

account of homogeneous phases are active female labor migrants who deploy individual strategies and participate in household decisionmaking.

A more accurate conceptualization has certainly been hampered by poor statistical coverage of the gender breakdown of different flows (Zlotnik, 1995). There is, nonetheless, far more data available than would appear at first sight.² Though not always available in generalist publications, information about gender divisions is nevertheless collected and more readily available in specialist publications. For example, a gender breakdown of labor and family migration statistics in Germany goes back to 1962 (Booth, 1992). There is substantial information in Britain and France on the gender breakdown of modes of entry, settlement and labor migration. In addition to the difficulty of obtaining statistical data, many analysts do not consider the gender division of migrants (for example, Carter *et al.*, 1993) and refugees (Camus-Jacques, 1990:142) sufficiently significant to provide data. This is probably due not so much to the lack of evidence (quantitative and qualitative), but rather to a resistance to acknowledging autonomous female migration in Northern Europe.

It is worth reviewing some of the available evidence on the earlier period. Undeniably, men formed the majority of immigrants during the years of mass labor migration, especially in the initial years, but women were by no means inconsequential. Though women were rare in official labor migration in Belgium and the Netherlands, there were many single and married working women, often without their children, in Germany during the peak years of the guestworker regime (Goodman, 1987; Zlotnik, 1995). After the mini-recession of 1966–7, female labor increase due to preferential recruitment procedures (Abadan-Unat, 1980). As from 1964, one quarter of labor migrants from Turkey were women (Davis and Sherman Heyl, 1986), and by the early 1970s they formed the single largest group of female labor migrants (Booth, 1992). There was some discrepancy between the official figures based on those registered in the federal insurance system and those picked up by specialist studies, a situation particularly characteristic of Turkish women (Booth, 1992:23). It was not at all uncommon for Turkish primary school teachers to seek a new life and better paid jobs in manufacturing than they would have been able to obtain in their home country (Seyham, 1997).

Women were also significant in Portuguese, Spanish and Yugoslav migration to France in the 1960s and 1970s. Although many Caribbean women in

²For example in the United Kingdom, the International Passenger Survey, an annual sample of passengers (excluding those from Ireland) arriving in the main UK air and sea ports, includes a gender breakdown by age, citizenship, reason for entry and geographical destination (by UK region). The Home Office includes, in its annual statistics relating to permanent settlement, data on the gender breakdown by region of those admitted to join families.

Britain came to join men who arrived ahead of them (Byron, 1994), some also came independently in search of employment. From 1963 to 1972, 20 percent of work permits issued to Commonwealth citizens and almost half of those issued to non-Commonwealth persons were to women (Bhabha and Shutter, 1994:37). Irish women, too, were prominent in emigration and now slightly outnumber male migrants to Britain (Walter, 1991). Activity rates of foreign women were higher than citizen women in the 1960s and 1970s in most states, except for France where the rate of participation for nonimmigrant women was already high.

This model of male dominance succeeded by family reunification seems to fit best those groups who are culturally the most distant from the host society. Yet, even among Algerian women in France, family reunification began well before the mid-1970s. There was already a significant increase of family immigration during the Algerian War (1954–1962), and in the early 1970s family reunification involved between 3,000–4,000 persons (Bouamama and Sad Saoud, 1996:46–8). As from 1974, with the higher numbers of non-European immigrants entering under this category, the numbers of North African and Turkish women (populations with the highest percentage of male immigration) increased significantly in the period 1975–1982. Based on the analysis of official French data, Silberman (1991) has established a useful typology concerning the time taken to complete family reunification after the entry of the primary migrant. Among some of the older established groups in France, such as the Portuguese, family immigration was completed rapidly and had almost worked itself out by the mid-1970s. For other groups, such as the Moroccans, the process stretched out over a longer period.

FAMILY MIGRATION

In effect there are two forms which are commonly combined under the general heading of family reunion (Salt *et al.*, 1994:161). Family reunification, the most commonly used term, refers, in its narrow sense, to immediate members, mostly spouses and children, brought in by primary migrants. In more recent years, new family formation has become more important. This includes both settled migrants bringing in a marriage partner, usually from their country of origin, and international marriages of citizens with noncitizens. Both groups are increasing markedly due to the expansion of second and third generations and growing international mobility. It is not always easy, however, to distinguish statistically these various forms. This is especially difficult where migrants have taken up citizenship, as in Britain, France, and the Netherlands. Where I refer to both forms I shall use the term family reunion. I shall try to be as consistent

as possible, though many writers do not make distinctions between the various kinds of family migration.

The numbers entering under family reunion tended to increase and then stabilize during the 1980s in European Union states (Lahav, 1996; OECD, 1994:19), but the pendulum has now swung against it (Eurostat, 1995:xii). And just as labor migration was considered quintessentially male in its composition, so family reunion has been categorized as female, therefore requiring little further investigation. In fact, evidence from several countries reveals the masculinization of family reunification and formation in the past decade. 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. In Southern Europe, the implementation of formalized family reunification policies, for example in 1988 in Italy (Campani, 1997), opened up the possibility of women in employment bringing in spouses, though so far relatively few have availed themselves of the possibility.

Policy changes may be just as significant in altering the gender balance of family reunion. British immigration policy exemplified profoundly sexist assumptions in which the male breadwinner was supposed to determine the place of familial domicile and was considered to pose a threat to the labor market. The opposite applied to women, especially those from the Indian subcontinent, who, as dependents, were expected to follow their husbands and were assumed as normally not entering the labor market (Bhabha and Shutter, 1994:73). It was on these grounds that the British government had prevented British women from enjoying the same rights of family reunion as men since the late 1960s. When the government was forced by the European Court for Human Rights in the mid-1980s to remove the discriminatory practice against women born overseas, it did so by leveling down regulations.³ Women migrant workers had to wait until 1989 to be allowed to bring in husbands and fiancés. In the light of these policy changes, the number of men entering as dependants has increased since 1985 (Table 1). Since 1989, African males are more numer-

³British immigration polices have constantly evolved with more and more complicated rules. For the purposes of this article the description of family reunion rules have been simplified. The 1980 Immigration Rules, passed by the new Conservative government, allowed women born in Britain to bring in husbands but introduced the primary purpose rule to dampen the number of men who would benefit from this change. Primary purpose refers to the fact that one cannot use marriage in order to gain admission to the United Kingdom. The use of the term 'primary' is telling, for it indicates the status of male migration (Bhabha and Shutter, 1994:70). A subsequent ruling in the 1990s from the European Court of Justice eased the application of the 'primary purpose' rule for those who had been married for 5 years or had children. The Labour Government, elected in May 1997, has abolished this rule.

TABLE 1
ACCEPTANCE FOR SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1985–1996^a

Year	Female	Male	% of Male Spouses	Total Acceptances of All Categories
1985	17,990	6,680	27.1	55,360
1988	15,120	7,950	34.5	49,280
1991	19,010	11,160	37.0	53,900
1993	19,100	12,000	38.6	55,640
1995	19,940	12,680	38.9	55,480
1996 ^b	21,520	12,450	36.6	61,730

Source: Home Office, 1997

^a Settlement or indefinite leave to remain may be granted in several ways: upon arrival, after a year's probationary period of marriage, after a 4-year period of work permits, full refugee status, and after seven years of exceptional leave to remain granted to asylumseekers.

^b The rise in numbers in 1996 is due to the increase in wives and children, and especially those not recognized as refugees but granted exceptional leave to remain, who have come to the end of the seven years required for the right to permanent settlement.

ous than female dependant spouses, and there is also a substantial male flow from the Indian subcontinent which has been the traditional source of this kind of migration (Home Office, 1997).

Unfortunately, little is known about the interplay of structural and policy changes in the evolution of family reunion and the differences between established and more recently settled groups. France is the only state to have commissioned a large-scale study tracing the constitution of families and the variable patterns among male and female immigrants from different nationalities (Silberman, 1991; Tribalat 1991, 1995, 1996). Reliance, however, on data and studies derived from official sources and formal sectors of employment cannot capture the extent of family reunion nor the labor market presence of women who enter under this category. Not only has family reunion occurred unofficially, but female immigrants are disproportionately employed in informal sectors.

While family reunion has been placed on national and international political agendas (Lahav, 1996; Perruchoud, 1989), and the right to live in a family is included in international conventions (Hune, 1991), it remains the jurisdiction of states to decide the conditions of entry, residence and exit of foreigners. The European Convention on Migrant Rights came into force in 1983; it was ratified by five states, but applied only to workers in waged employment. The right to live in a family unit does not entail any obligation on the part of European Union states towards third nationals. Furthermore, the reality of bringing in family members is constrained by the requirement to have a standard of housing commensurate with prevailing regional norms and adequate resources to maintain the family (Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, 1994a).

For asylumseekers, the decreasing proportions granted full refugee status has had direct consequences for their rights to family reunification. Convention refugees have unconditional rights of reunification with close family members, but those attributed temporary protection do not have any automatic right to family reunion (Liebaut and Hughes, 1997) and may have to comply with the normal criteria for migrants. In Germany, family reunion is discretionary for those with tolerated residence status, while in the Netherlands, those who are permitted or "tolerated" for a stay of three years do not have the right to family reunion (Essed, 1996:140). In Britain, those granted exceptional leave to remain must wait four years before applying for family reunification.

While the right to live in a family is recommended in many international conventions, women entering under this category face many other economic, social and political issues which are not addressed by international conventions. For a long time, women did not officially have the right to work in most European states in the initial years after entry, thus increasing their dependence on men. And, of course, the right to work does not apply to those entering unofficially as family migrants. In Germany, between 1973 and 1979, there was a complete ban on spouses working. Subsequently, spouses of foreign workers had to wait four years (three from Turkey) to apply for work permits. Since the Aliens Act of 1991, there is no waiting period for those joining a person with a residence permit of unlimited duration, obtainable after the foreigner has been resident for five years (Boyd, 1996). Contrary to the stereotype, many women worked in their country of origin, not always in waged labor. They frequently seek work in the informal sector, in their own communities, in home working or in domestic labor. Lower rates of participation in waged work (equated with work) can all too easily be interpreted in culturalist terms as the imposition of patriarchal ideologies (Brah, 1993). In other instances, because they have access to nonwork benefits via their husbands, they may also have sought undeclared work. Only 17.5 percent of applicants for regularization in France in 1981–2 were women, it is thought partly due to the stipulation of stable employment, which is largely based on a male model (Whitol de Wenden and Deley, 1986).

Though employment restrictions after entry in many cases have been eased, the probationary period after marriage not only has been maintained but even extended in some countries. In the United Kingdom, a survey found that 755 women had been threatened with deportation during an eighteen month period (January 1994 to July 1995) because their marriages had broken down (Southall Black Sisters, 1997). This was only recently repealed in June 1997 by the new Labour Government. Dependency makes women particularly vulnerable to the regulations of nationality law and confirms the failure to treat

women as members of society outside their familial roles. Their rights are thus derived from their male sponsors.

Conditions of family reunion, whether for migrants or asylumseekers, exemplify the construction of family norms and the role of the State in shaping gender relations, in particular in setting the conditions of marriage and social reproduction, and sustaining female dependency (Boyd, 1996). Above all, these restrictions are intended to make it as difficult as possible for immigrants to settle and establish families. In France (GISTI, 1994), the Pasqua Laws, passed in 1993, tightened procedures in relation to marriage conditions, and the European Union Resolution on Family Reunion drafted in 1993 (Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, 1994b; Weber, 1993) has sought to limit rights to far lower levels of obligations towards kin than are expected of Europeans.

Needless to say, conformity to a model of the traditional family is imposed in order to gain entry, cohabiting not being recognized for purposes of family reunification by most European states. The notion of the head of household and dependents is clearly inscribed in immigration procedures and increasingly the distance from the primary member has been reduced. It is the nuclear family which is assumed to be the norm, and from which differences are deemed deviant or problematic. For example, female-headed Afro-Caribbean households without male authority are said to encourage criminality, disorder and dropping out of school, especially by young males. The existence of polygamy among certain African populations in France (*see* Kofman, 1997; Gaspard, 1992) and arranged marriages among Asian women in Britain have been used to discredit family formation itself (Bhabha and Shutter, 1994).

At the same time, the tightening of legislation concerning citizenship in France (passed in December 1993) has partly been directed toward women's roles in social reproduction and national identity and fears of rampant sexuality and breeding. These are themes prevalent in the Far Right's discourses on gender relations and sexuality. The rights derived from *jus soli* have been limited, with one of its objectives being to prevent Algerian women from coming to France to give birth and eventually passing on citizenship rights to their children. The period for couples staying together has been lengthened to two years before the partner can acquire citizenship rights. The local authority can intervene if there is any suspicion of deception, thereby increasing the degree of surveillance.

In general, the tightening of conditions of entry and the resources required to bring family members to France have sharply reduced the numbers entering as family migrants, in particular through family reunification

TABLE 2
GENDER DIVISIONS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND FORMATION, FRANCE 1990-1995

Spouses in Family Reunification	Male	Female	Total	%Female
1991	3,745	12,765	16,510	77.3
1992	3,741	11,417	15,158	75.3
1993	3,540	11,341	14,881	76.2
1994	2,245	7,538	9,783	77.0
1995	n a	n a	14,360	—
Spouses of French Citizens	Male	Female	Total	%Female
1991	9,449	9,314	18,763	49.6%
1992	9,632	9,413	19,045	49.4
1993	9,556	10,524	20,080	52.4
1994	5,719	7,426	13,145	56.5
1995	n a	n a	13,387	—

Sources: Lebon (1995); Tribalat (1997)

The criteria and resources necessary for bringing in family members are likely to affect men and women unequally. There is evidence from North America that it is more difficult for women to amass the resources necessary to sponsor family members (Boyd, 1989). In many European Union states, the criteria of stable employment and adequate housing as a requirement of family reunion are often stipulated in precise terms (Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, 1994b). In France, a recent study revealed that the provision of housing of equivalent standards to a French family of a similar size is thought to be the most onerous condition (Hu Khoa and Barou, 1996). In Italy, even Filipinas, who earn the highest wages among women, find it difficult to fulfill the housing criteria due to their domestic employment (Campani, 1993:196).

DIVERSIFICATION OF FEMALE MIGRATION

Diversification of modes of entry, duration of residence, and employment contracts are all characteristic of European flows in the 1990s. Asylumseekers and refugees now constitute one of the largest groups, and in some countries they are almost as numerous as those entering as family migrants. At the same time, these categories are not fixed – asylumseekers gain rights to employment and settlement, family migrants participate in the labor market, and students may marry and/or obtain employment and settle in the country permanently. Women and men encounter both similar and different situations in negotiating constantly evolving state policies of entry, residence and employment. What is clear is that the heterogeneity of flows and multiple realities of women's lives should be reflected in contemporary models of European immigration. Although an exhaustive analysis of these develop-

ments lies beyond the scope of this article, I shall suggest several lines of enquiry which could be considered in greater depth.

One of the major changes since the mid-1980s has been the sharp increase in the numbers of refugees and asylumseekers from about 70,000 in 1983 to a peak of 702,000 in 1992 (Salt, 1995). By 1994, the number had declined to less than half of the 1992 figure (Eurostat, 1995). It is thought that about one third of asylum applicants in Europe. In Germany, only 20–30 percent of applicants are female, although the majority are women in refugee camps are women (Polzer, 1995:145). Internationally, the gendered nature of the refugee-determination process has begun to be acknowledged and acted upon. The United States (1995), Canada (1993 and updated in 1996) and Australia (1996) have issued guidelines for dealing with gender-specific persecution as grounds for making asylum claims (Crawley, 1997). While the European Parliament adopted, in 1984, a resolution calling upon states to recognize women who had been victims of persecution as a social group within the definition of the 1951 Geneva Convention, no European state has incorporated this consideration into its treatment of asylumseekers. It is generally thought to be more difficult for women to obtain asylum, whether it be due to a lower degree of mobility, fewer resources at their disposal, or to the lack of recognition of gender-specific reasons, such as rape, forced marriage, genital mutilation, and different forms of political opposition to dominant ethical and moral codes. Although France was the first country in 1991 to establish genital mutilation as justification for refugee status, only two women have been admitted on these grounds (Diouf-Kamara, 1996).

Since the 1980s, too, Southern European states have become countries of immigration with distinctive patterns of gendered flows. Filipino, Cape Verdian, and more recently Peruvian immigration to Italy has been predominantly female (Hillmann, 1996). Many of them migrated independently, a direct antithesis (Andall, 1992; Campani, 1993) to the presumed migratory model. They have, in fact, pioneered migration chains and are often in a more regular situation than men since domestic labor, in which 90 percent of immigrant women are employed, is seen as an area of labor shortage. The level of education of such women may be very high (secondary or tertiary qualifications), as Latin American and Filipina immigration to Spain also confirms (Marrodan *et al.*, 1991).

Demand for female labor migration may well increase, especially in those states where the public provision of caring services for children and the elderly is deficient, yet where nonimmigrant women have increasingly entered the formal sector. In the United States, domestic labor has been the biggest employer

of immigrant women (Sassen, 1988). It is estimated that there are currently one million migrant domestic workers in the European Union. A major study of domestic work in European Union states (Anderson and Phizacklea, 1997), based on five cities (Athens, Barcelona, Berlin, Bologna and Paris), has highlighted the increasing demand for domestic labor. The authors suggest that demand for domestic work has risen due an aging population, changing family structures and the emergence of new social and cultural lifestyles. This is no longer merely characteristic of Mediterranean states, where domestic labor has substituted for inadequate or nonexistent state welfare provision for child care and elderly care (Campani, 1997; Escrivá, 1997). In contrast, there has been less demand for care and live-in domestic labor in Berlin; the increase has been more for cleaners, whose affordability enables middle class couples to devote more time to leisure and consumption (Anderson and Phizacklea, 1997:124).

In recent East-West flows, women slightly outnumber men among *Ausiedler* (ethnic Germans) in Germany. For example, in 1991 there were 111,930 women and 110,065 men in this category (Morokvasic, 1993:462). In the 1980s, Polish women outnumbered men, especially among those who migrated to the nearest countries, such as Germany and Sweden. Today, the new forms of immigration are characterized by a high degree of spatial mobility; contract labor is recruited from Eastern European states in a renewed guestworker system. Rudolph (1996) contends that about 80 percent of those entering on short-term contracts are male. In effect, contracts have been largely given to sectors such as the construction industry, which primarily employs males and is also more visible and in the public domain, unlike domestic labor and office cleaning, which tend to be more informal, casualized and part time. Women often combine temporary labor and family responsibilities (Morokvasic, 1993), in some instances setting up systems of rotation so as to be able to return to look after the house and family. Some women commute daily, others weekly and monthly.

Other female flows of labor in the global political economy, such as mail-order brides and sex tourism, have begun to receive academic attention (Pettman, 1996). There are 3,000 marriage bureaus in Germany attracting Thai and Eastern European women. In the past decades, the geographic origin of women brought into Western Europe for purposes of the sex industry have shifted from East Asia in the 1970s, to the Caribbean and Latin America in the 1980s, and more recently to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (Leidholdt, 1996:87–88). Sex trafficking has become big business in Eastern

Europe, raising concern in high-level conferences such as those held in Vienna (1996) and Budapest (1997), and adopted as a major issue by the European Commission (Uçarer, 1998). Of an estimated 2,000 Thai women in Berlin, 20–30 percent are involved in prostitution, while Amsterdam and Frankfurt have become the centers of the modern slave trade, from which immigrant women are re-routed to other European centers (Morokvasic, 1993:472–3). With a legalized and regulated system of prostitution, Germany and the Netherlands have developed a two-tier system in which immigrant women work in illegal brothels (Leidholdt, 1996:89). A recent study in Italy estimated there were between 18,000 and 25,000 immigrant prostitutes, with the greatest concentration in Milan and Rome. As the principal group working on the streets, immigrant prostitutes (the largest groups now being Albanians and Nigerians) are extremely visible (Campani, Carchedi and Picciolini, 1997).

Not only unskilled labor, however, is attracted to European cities; the wide range of private and public sector employment also draws many professional immigrants (Kofman, 1998a,b). On the one hand, the recent literature on skilled transients ignores the presence of female professionals and omits discussion of gender relations in facilitating or impeding this form of migration (Findlay, 1995; Salt, 1992). On the other hand, research on female immigration in global cities has emphasized the role of unskilled labor (Sassen, 1988; 1991). Representations of immigrant women are still dominated by the image of the unskilled worker, thereby overlooking the broader social base of immigrant populations and their complex and multiple migratory moves (Bhachu, 1993b). Southern Europe demonstrates most clearly the degree of deskilling and loss of professional status commonly faced by women in their quest for higher wages and less precarious employment. Filipina migrant women, many of whom are highly educated, transfer their nursing skills to caring responsibilities in the domestic sphere (Campani, 1997; Escrivá 1997). Professionally qualified migrants from Eastern Europe also reveal a high degree of brain waste (Morokvasic and de Tinguy, 1993) or occupational skidding (Morawska and Spohn, 1997:36). Only about 30 percent of highly skilled Poles (men and women) who left the country in the early to mid-1980s held jobs commensurate with their qualifications (Morawska and Spohn, 1997:38). Some women, finding their employment prospects blocked, turn their sights to self-employment (Morokvasic, 1991b).

Particularly in countries with colonial immigrants, who had citizenship rights and access to public sector employment, many women are employed in intermediate professions, such as nursing. There is far less ethnic segmentation

in Britain than in Germany and the Netherlands (Lutz, 1993a,b), where professional migrant women are frequently limited to occupations concerned with the training and welfare of other migrants. In Britain, immigrant women of East African Asian, South East Asian, Black African and Irish origin, have higher rates of employment in professional and managerial employment than indigenous women (Peach, 1996). Postimperial cities (London, Paris, Amsterdam) have tended to attract a wide range of social classes from their old colonies as well as intra-European migrants. Shared linguistic backgrounds and periods of higher education in the mother country, as well as generally easier entry conditions, mean that such cities attract those pursuing postgraduate education and training and seeking career development.

The fact that women have massively entered professional and managerial occupations in recent years seems to have been overlooked in accounts of international migration. A study of emigration from Australia reveals that in recent years more female professionals have left the country to spend a period abroad (Hugo, 1994). They often head for the United Kingdom where many migrants from Old Commonwealth countries still benefit from easier entry and settlement conditions. The vast majority settle in London for varying durations (Office of National Statistics, 1997) and contribute to the labor force in sectors of social reproduction, such as education and health, as well as management and finance. From 1984 to 1990, the biggest increase in the number of long-term work permits (including trainees) issued to non-EU migrants was for professionals and managers in education, health and welfare, who in 1990 constituted 20 percent of those granted permits (Salt and Ford, 1993). About one fifth of permits between the late 1980s and early 1990s were issued to women (Bhabha and Shutter, 1994:172). Many current shortage areas (1997) are in sectors with substantial female presence, such as nursing specialties, occupational therapy and clinical psychology. It is, however, the world of financial services and corporate transfers which has captured the imagination and dominated research on international skilled migration (Salt, 1992; Salt and Ford, 1993; Findlay, 1995). Might it be that the total lack of interest in researching the category of education, health and welfare is that many of the permit holders are women? It probably also reflects a narrow, and unfortunately still common, view of globalization as primarily involving financial services and technical expertise.

Dual-career households have also become far more common, presenting employment problems for international and expatriate households (Hardill and MacDonald, 1998). A shift from the resolute emphasis on the principal applicant in many migration studies would be a desirable advance. It is

unclear to what extent conflicts within the household over overseas location and career development are resolved through recourse to the "trailing partner" (Bruegel, 1996) rather than foregoing overseas relocation. It may be that attempts are made to make international moves coincide with early parenthood when women are more likely to exit temporarily from the labor market. Bruegel presents evidence from studies of internal migration that the job careers of women living in couples were negatively affected by migration in contrast to men. For women who wish to move internationally, the obstacles may lie elsewhere. Women are still being refused overseas assignments by companies (Adler, 1994). The current focus on intracompany moves of skilled transients, and the neglect of gender relations and household structures in determining international transfers and migration (Findlay, 1995), have meant that the kinds of issues raised in studies of internal migration have not been addressed. Given the evidence of immigrant female professionals in global cities, it is likely that they are moving and looking for work, either independently or through recruitment agencies (Gould, 1988).

More than ever, new insights and accounts of gendered migratory processes are needed to understand dynamically evolving processes. Diversification, however, concerns not only modes of entry, legal status, citizenship, and forms of economic and social activity, but also the range of immigrant groups (re)presented in research. A number of researchers (Campani, 1991; Kofman, 1997; Lutz, 1991) have criticized the tendency to foreground the "problematic" groups, nowadays usually Islamic immigrant women, and use them as surrogates for all immigrant women. Earlier French research in the 1970s (Leonetti and Levi, 1979) showed an interest in a diversity of women immigrants that was replaced in the 1980s in academic and policy research by a narrowing focus on women of North African origin, who were both "problematic" and the potential vectors of integration (Kofman, 1997). The orientaling of immigrant women is, of course, not unique to France, but typical of other countries with large Islamic minorities, such as Germany and the Netherlands (Lutz, 1991). Funding, especially if it is made directly by state agencies, often tends to be channeled towards research involving a selection of the "problematic" groups. In Britain, the hegemony of the ethnic minorities paradigm and absence of a sociology of migration (Miles, 1990), shaped by an almost exclusive concern with the established immigrants from its colonies, has until recently impeded studies devoted to the newer immigrant groups (Peach, 1996).

CONCLUSION

In the past decade, insights drawn from literature on the feminization of labor and other forms of migration gradually have been incorporated into general models of international migration. However, despite 25 years of case studies and comparative research, European mainstream analysis has not responded to the same degree. An explanation for this disparity might be the tenacious hold of a particular account of the development of international migration in Northern Europe. What I have attempted to show is that female migration to Europe has been and continues to be highly diverse. Virtually all accounts continue to subscribe to the idea of an overwhelming male migration prior to the cessation of mass labor migration. Eclipsed from the deeply entrenched model of the transition from male labor migration to subsequent female family migration is the active female migrant. There is a degree of amnesia about immigrant women in Northern Europe who, like those in Southern Europe today, also “managed their own emigration project” (Hoskyns and Orsini-Jones, 1995:61). Even in the guestworker system, female labor was increasingly employed before the cessation of mass labor migration. In addition, there were several migratory regimes operating in Northern Europe prior to the mid-1970s. In guestworker systems, male and female labor was recruited without any cumbersome familial attachments (at least for the host state); in colonial and hybrid (mixture of colonial and guestworker) systems, family migration was far more significant from the early period of immigration. In colonial systems, women with citizenship status were also employed in professional occupations. It is therefore important that we begin to rewrite the history of past migratory processes to incorporate this heterogeneity and thereby transcend a reductionist framework in our understanding of European immigration.

It is not, however, merely past migrations for which the diversity of female experiences have been neglected. In this article, I have paid particular attention to two areas – family reunion and occupational structures of female migrants – which are far more complex and diversified than is usually acknowledged in the study of European migration. I then argued that family reunion has been grossly understudied and deserves far more attention. Unlike labor migration, women have been dominant in family reunion and therefore a likely reason for the relative academic and policy neglect of this form of migration in Europe. This does not mean that there have been no studies of the impact of migration on family life, structures and gender relations (Abadan-Unat, 1980; Bensalah, 1994), but they have often lacked a broader theoretical framework. So, despite its significance, there has been little research undertaken on either the evolving patterns of family flows or how migrants are negotiating and operating within

the increasingly stringent conditions imposed on family reunification and formation. There are many aspects which warrant elucidation. The evidence on the gendered composition of family constitution remains fragmentary. What impact, for example, has the novel status of men as "imported dependants" had on power relations between men and women in the household? What employment is entered into by female family migrants? Female migration was, and still is, regarded primarily as an immigration of dependants and not as a contribution to the development of a future workforce (Muus, 1994). Yet as Boyd (1989) commented, increased family migration does not indicate the demise of labor migration, but its transformation.

Furthermore, family reunion, as much as full-fledged labor migration, reveals the multiple personal and familial strategies involved in the process of migration. Women have ambitions and strategies that cannot be reduced to the simple division between economic and personal autonomy, on the one hand, and family migration, on the other. One strategy does not preclude other meanings, intentions and strategies. For example, marriage can be the means of gaining independence and participating in a different type of society, even when the change may occur within a seemingly traditional framework (Bensalah, 1994; Kofman, 1997a; Tribalat, 1995). Nor does marriage rule out the desire to work or study in the society of immigration. So, too, may a menial job be the means of achieving a degree of economic independence and betterment, as the Southern European studies demonstrate.

The different dimensions of marriage are indeed a fascinating and much neglected topic in the study of international migration. Given the pressure to conform to traditional norms of the family as a condition of gaining entry into a state, migrants are likely to exhibit higher rates of marriage. Women of immigrant origin may weigh carefully whether to marry a co-national in the country of settlement or someone living in their country of origin (Autant, 1995). Mail-order brides, in particular, often elicit stock responses, but the few available in-depth studies should counsel us against hasty judgements of women as victims (on Thai women in Germany, *see* Humbeck, 1996). Married or cohabiting women employed in professional occupations may also find themselves in a dilemma over migration. The growth in the number of dual career households, and its consequences for the labor mobility and international migration of women and men, open up a hitherto unexplored area (Hardill and MacDonald, 1998).

Theorization of international migration now emphasize its diversification (Castles and Miller, 1993; Cohen, 1995), including the growing significance of the minority of skilled migrants, many of whom are transients (Findlay, 1995).

Yet, as indicated, the analysis of skilled migration, especially that written by Anglo-American scholars, is absorbed with the very male world of corporate transfers. One finds a relevant comment occasionally embedded in an article, such that the growing movement of women outside of familial structures in Spanish migration has probably contributed to an increase of female skilled migrants (Rodriguez, 1995). Yet if we could turn our attention, however briefly, away from the privileged corporate world and investigate areas of national shortages, such as in education, health and welfare, we would realize that women, too, are a significant proportion of skilled migrants. The other area that is capturing some attention, that of the brain drain from Eastern Europe, also lacks any concern for a gendered dimension (Maffioletti *et al.*, 1993). The rare case studies of the deskilling of Eastern European women, for example Polish women in Germany (Friese, 1995), reveal the severe difficulties they face in retraining and regaining a professional occupation.

Clearly, we need to build up knowledge of different forms of female migration, but not so as to merely accumulate a series of case studies which, as we have seen in the context of post-war European migration, has not been sufficiently powerful to confront the stock images and/or gender blindness of mainstream research paradigms. Above all, we have to ensure that these studies are translated into our theorizations of the feminization of migration in Europe (Phizacklea, 1998). This is not an easy task and faces a number of obstacles.

One of the major problems in achieving change in our theoretical understanding of a gendered international migration in Europe is the absence of a sustained dialogue between feminist and mainstream researchers in the field of migration studies. In many European states, the reach of feminism has been weak in the social sciences which seek to explain international migration. For example, population geography and international relations have only begun in the 1990s to embrace gender considerations. Challenging dominant interpretations of gender relations in diverse forms of migration has to accompany a critical engagement with mainstream theoretical models. A recent book on new European migrations (Koser and Lutz, 1998) has taken the feminization of migration and gender issues seriously and given it a prominent place. One of the most promising theoretical insights has been the development of a structuration perspective and its emphasis on agency (Goss and Lindquist, 1995) which is being adopted in feminist analyses of global migration (Phizacklea, 1998). While its aims of overcoming the deficiencies of the dichotomy of structure and agency, and of macro and micro approaches, are laudable, a structuration perspective also has to seriously contest the traditional modes of agency ascribed to female migrants and the role they play in maintaining and

sustaining transnational networks (Miller Matthei, 1996). Another propitious terrain for dialogue concerning gendered agency and diversity of intentions and projects might emerge from the use of qualitative approaches, such as (auto)biographies, narratives and ethnographies, which have explored the richness, hopes and disappointments of migrant women's lives (Brinker-Gabler and Smith, 1997; King *et al.*, 1995).

At the same time within feminist research, the communication between migrant women and mainstream European feminist movements (Braidotti, 1992), on the one hand, and feminist and anti-racist movements, on the other (Lloyd, 1998), has been poor. Immigrant, black and minority women usually have had to come together on their own to develop their distinctive views and projects (Essed, 1996). Of course, the situation within national women's movements varies according to different social science and feminist traditions. Until the 1980s, little dialogue had been initiated between black and white feminisms in Britain. Since then, the articulation of gender, ethnicity and class (Brah, 1993b; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993; Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989) has illuminated the heterogeneity and contradictions of women's lives. In France, on the other hand, the studies of gender and race have generally been pursued separately (Guillaumin, 1995). Despite a large number of studies, policy initiatives, and the formation of immigrant women's associations, it was only in 1995 that a research group, *Femmes en Migration*, was established. This has led to some researchers questioning whether the study of immigrant women has really shifted from the margins to the center of theoretical preoccupations (for a critique of French research, *see* Golub, Morokvasic and Quiminal, 1997).

Finally, it is time that migration theories and models embraced the multiple aspects of women's lives and caught up with the reality of changes of the last few decades in employment, household and social structures. Methodologically, we are more equipped than ever to probe the temporal and geographical complexities of individual, household and group itineraries. There no longer is any excuse for the gender blindness of European mainstream research. Yet, it would seem that migrant women are caught in a double bind. On the one hand, their experiences are not worth examining if they constitute a minority in a particular category, however substantial their presence may be; on the other hand, if in the majority, as in family reunion, the fact of its female domination makes it uninteresting and irrelevant for the 'big' issues of migration.

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