UWT Undocumented Worker Transitions

SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME

Female Migrants – the New Nomads in Old Europe

The gender specific dimensions of migration

Undocumented Worker Transitions

EU Sixth Framework Programme
Contract Number: 044272

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December 2008

The Undocumented Worker Transitions project

This report is one of several reports prepared by the Undocumented Worker Transitions (UWT) project, which has been funded by the EU Sixth Framework Programme (Contract Number: 044272) from March 2007 to February 2009. It is co-ordinated by the Working Lives Research Institute (WLRI) at London Metropolitan University, UK, with partners in six other EU Member States. The partners are: Forschungs- und Beratungsstelle Arbeitswelt (FORBA) in Austria; the Centre for Sociology of Work, Employment and Training, at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) in Belgium; the International Centre for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations (IMIR) in Bulgaria; Roskilde University in Denmark; the Laboratory of Research on Immigration and Social Transformations (UNIVE) of Ca' Foscari University in Venice, in Italy; and Gabinet d'Estudis Socials (GES) in Spain.

The project website is at: www.undocumentedmigrants.eu

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1. Research methodology

This report will focus on the undocumented migration and on the semi- or undocumented employment of female migrants. Male migrants are well presented in all other thematic researches and the juxtaposing methods, the measurement of differences in male/female migrants are indispensable when analysing status and social adaptation by gender.

In order to draw attention to the problem and to raise discussion on the experiences of female migrants one should have in mind the preservation or disintegration of the traditional responsibility for the family and raising children, as well as the specific reasons for the gender division of migrants' labour in informal labour markets.

It is of particular importance to analyse the countries of origin that are an important factor for the females' socialization (or the lack of it). At the same time, the influence of the traditional culture and religion will inevitably have an effect on the demographic parameters, as well as on participation in the labour market and the domination in certain sectors of employment. The factors that made female migrants leave their countries are in direct correlation with the above, as well as the way they made their choices to come to the host country. It is important that this analysis should pay attention to the obstacles caused by discrimination based on origin, sex and sexual orientation in everyday life and at the workplace in the host country.

As agreed, each of the seven partner countries had to conduct 30 in-depth interviews, about half of them (11-15) with female migrants. Finally, the seven partner countries presented analysed the interviews with female migrants aged between 19-55, who came from different countries: from Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Latin America. The corresponding team members, in some cases interpreters, conducted the interviews and mediators were used and some partners used collaborators from the migrants' own networks, as well as students with a specialized profile. The interviews were conducted using a pre-prepared and unified questionnaire but each partner was free to extend it or interpret it freely. They were in-depth interviews and were carried out at different places – at the workplace,

at home, in ethnic-owned restaurants and shops; the respondents were invited at the interviewer's office or at cafes, in the streets, on the market, etc.

Most of the interviews were recorded on tape or on a Dictaphone. These recordings were subsequently copied to a computer and on paper for their processing and archiving. A shorter interview note was also produced in English for each interview and these were made available to all partners.

During the fieldwork in Bulgaria two women-only focus groups were also organized, as well as a focus group with women, men and children altogether. These took lace at IMIR's office. The team also conducted two specialized interviews with women from Iraq – a speaker and an activist of the Iraqi forum in Bulgaria. In order to show the Bulgarian specifics as a country, which still does not accept that many migrants but actively sends migrants to other EU countries and the USA and to supplement the data of our partners in countries with Bulgarian emigration, the researchers conducted for comparison several interviews with Bulgarian women who work undocumented or semi-documented in Spain, Greece, Austria, Germany and the UK. This made it possible to have the female migrants' point of view in some of the partner's countries (but not exclusively) so to say from within.

Another Bulgarian specificity is the lack of experience in accepting and caring for refugees and migrants, as the country is in its early stage of adaptation to the European practices and legislation. This explains the certain emphasis on the situation in Bulgaria.

Previous studies on this topic, data and analyses of Eurostat and other national and European institutions were used by most of the countries in order to compare data and obtained results.

This report presents the general national state of gender equality and the women's participation on the labour market in each of the partner countries trying to boldly outline the status, role and place of female migrants in the corresponding host societies.

2. Data on gender in the UWT partner countries

The general data of partner countries with the corresponding gender parameters and with a special focus on the gender differences in the different European societies provide a necessary context upon which a clearer state of the art view can be elaborated for the female migrants' place in the surveyed host societies.

We made reference to the Global Gender Gap Report 2007 – Country Profiles[1], using the Additional Data, Gender Gap Index 2007 and Gender Gap Subindexes.[2] It should be noted that the Index is designed to measure gender-based gaps in access to resources and opportunities in individual countries, rather than the actual levels of the available resources and opportunities in those countries. This methodology was chosen in order to make the Global Gender Gap Index independent of the level of development. The Index ranks countries on their gender gaps, not on their development level. Rich countries have more education and health opportunities for all members of society and measures of levels thus mainly reflect this well-known fact, although it is quite independent of the gender-related issues faced by each country at their own level of income. The Gender Gap Index rewards countries for smaller gaps in access to these resources, regardless of the overall level of resources. For example, the Index penalizes or rewards countries based on the size of the gap between male and female enrolment rates, but not for the overall levels of education in the country.

Country profiles for each partner country are contained in Appendix 1.

[1] Global Gender Gap Report 2007, World Economic Forum

[2] It is possible that the data are not correct everywhere. For example, the Gender Gap Index for Bulgaria says that women received voting rights in 1945. Historically, this is not true. The first Bulgarian 1879 Constitution provided general suffrage for all Bulgarian subjects but practically this did not happen. Women voted for the first time in the 1937 municipal elections and in the 1938 Parliamentary elections.

2.1 Demographic and social characteristics of female migrants in the countries surveyed

The following tables provides a general profile of the female interviewees by country of origin, age, education, employment in a given sector and status.

Table 1: UK

Country/ region of origin	Age	Education	Current residence status d/sd/u	Status change	Current employment status	Family status	In host country since
Bulgaria	44	Professional qualification	Documented	Y	Dental nurse	Married , 1 child	1996
Bulgaria	43	Secondary	Semi-Documented	Y	Hotel cleaner	Married, 4 children	2007
Ghana	47	Post-grad, Msc.	Undocumented	Y	Project worker	Single	2002
Philippines	37	Professional	Semi-documented	N	Care assistant	Single	2005
Philippines	52	University	Undocumented	Y	Domestic worker	Married, 1 child	1999
Russia	24	Secondary	Semi-documented	Y	Receptionist and baby-sitter	Single	2006
China	31	Minimum	Undocumented	N	Kitchen assistant	Married, 1 child	2004
Colombia	32	Professional	Documented	Y	Medical admin	Single	2003
Philippines	NA	Minimum	Undocumented	N	Domestic work	Divorced, 1 child	2004
Turkey	48	Minimum	Documented	Y	Textile worker	Married, 2 children	1989
Turkey	38	Secondary	Documented	Y	Kitchen assistant	Married, 2 children	1989
Turkey	31	Secondary	Documented	Y	Restaurant worker	Married, 2 children	1990
Turkey	38	Minimum	Documented	Y	Domestic cleaner	Divorced, 2 children	1997
Kosovo (Serbia)	28	University	Documented	Y	Banker	Single	1999
China	35	Secondary	Undocumented	Y	Child-minder	Married, 2 children	2000

Total 15 female interviewees

Table 2: Italy

Country/ region of origin	Age	Education	Current residence status d/sd/u	Status change	Current employment status	Family status	In host country since
Ukraine	45	Secondary	documented	y	Care giving, services	Separated	2002
Ukraine	46	University	documented	y	Care giving, domestic work, cleaning, shop assistant, teacher	Separated	2002
Romania	30	Secondary	documented	y	Baby sitter, catering	Married	1996
Ukraine	50	University	documented	y	Care giving, chambermaid, cultural mediator	Married	2000
Bosnia	37	Secondary	undocumented	y	Cleaning, care giving, agriculture, food industry	Married	1992
Bosnia	33	Minimum	undocumented	y	Private household work, catering	Married	1997
Burkina Faso	32	Secondary	documented	n	Private household work, tourist sector, industry, social health worker	Married	1995
Senegal	50	University	documented	y	Private household work, catering	Married	1998
Morocco	35	Minimum	Documented (semi-documented)	y	Catering	Separated	1994
Romania	33	Secondary	Documented, undocumented	y	Private household work, private healthcare (ward assistant)	Married	2002
Croatia	44	University	documented	y	Private household work, dental assistant, catering	Separated	1996

Total – 11 female interviewees

Table 3: Austria

Country/ region of origin	Age	Education	Current residence status d/sd/u	Status change	Current employment status	Family status	In host country since
Ex-Soviet Union	29	Tertiary	long-term residence permit	y	Private household, NGO, Catering	married	2006
Ex-Soviet Union	42	Secondary	undocumented	y	Private Household	separated	2003
Ukraine	50	Tertiary	Tourist	n	Private Household	married	20 days
Bulgaria	30	tertiary	EU citizen	y	Private Household, Catering	single	2002
Poland	30	secondary	EU citizen	y	Private Household, Care	single	2003
Slovakia	54	secondary	EU citizen	y	Private Household, Care	single	1996
Poland	38	secondary	EU citizen	y	catering	separated	2007
Slovakia	40	secondary	EU citizen	y	mobile care	separated	2001
Turkey	28	secondary	Long-term residence permit	y	Hair dresser	Single	2003
Serbia	36	secondary	Long-term residence permit	y	restaurant	married	2004
Slovakia	25	secondary	EU-citizen	n	hotel	Single	2003
Serbia	49	minimum (illiterate)	Long-term residence permit	y	restaurant		1985
Turkey	24	secondary	Long-term residence permit	y	hotel	married	2003
Serbia	19	minimum	undocumented	n	cleaning	married	

Total – 14 female interviewees

Table 4: Denmark

Country/ region of origin	Age	Education	Current residence status d/sd/u	Status change	Current employment status	Family status	In host country since
Turkey	28	Minimal	Undocumented	N	Restaurant	Divorced	2004
Thailand	23	Minimal	Documented.	N	Erotic dancer/ Prostitute	Divorced	2006
Brazil	22	Secondary	Undocumented	N	-None	Married	2006
Turkey	19	Minimal	Documented.	N	Catering etc.	Married	2006
Thailand	29	Minimal	Undocumented	N	Catering etc.	Divorced	2006
Ukraine	27	University	Undocumented	Y	Erotic Dancer/ Prostitute	Single	2006
Albania	25	Minimal	Undocumented	N	Prostitute	Single	2006
Philippines	32	University	Documented	N	Au pair	Married	2003
Philippines	23	Secondary	Documented	N	Au pair	Single	2007
Philippines	30	Minimal	Documented	N	Au pair	Single	2007
Philippines	26	Minimal	Documented	N	Au pair	Single	2007
Philippines	26	Minimal	Documented	N	Au pair	Single	2007
Philippines	27	Profession al	Documented	N	Au pair	Single	2007
	30	College (Some)	Documented	N	Au pair	Married	2008
Latvia	29	Secondary	Documented	Y	Baker	Single	2001
Nigeria	24	Secondary	Undocumented	N	Prostitute	Single	2007

Total – 16 female migrants

Table 5: Belgium

Country/ region of origin	Age	Education	Current residence status d/sd/u	Status change	Current employment status	Family status	In host country since
Brazil	30	High school	U		cleaner	Married	2001
Brazil	30	-	U		cleaner	Married	2006
Brazil	32	Secondary school	U		cleaner	Married	2001
Brazil	38	High school	U		cleaner	Lives in partnership	2003 2007
Brazil	40	High school	U		cleaner	Divorced, lives in partnership	2002 and 2005
Brazil	54	Secondary school	U		Cleaning houses and buildings for society	Divorced	2003
Ecuador	31	High school non finished	U		Internal cleaning, then as external servant	Sham marriage	1999
Ecuador	36	University degree	From SD to U		cleaning	Divorced and married again in Belgium	1996 2002
Ecuador	42	Primary school	U		cleaning	Married	2003
Poland	19	High school	D.		horticulture	Married	2007
Poland	34	-	D.		horticulture	Married	2007
Poland	40	Primary school	D		horticulture	Married	2007
Rwanda	51	High school	D		Education, social worker	Single parent	2000

Total – 13 female interviewees

Table 6: Bulgaria

Country/ region of origin	Age	Education	Current residence status d/sd/u	Status change	Current employment status	Family status	In host country since
Iraq	28	Higher	D	Y	Employed	Single	1985
Iraq	40	Secondary	Sd	N	Unemployed	Widow	Oct. 2007
Iraq	55	Secondary	D	Y	Employed	Widow	1979
Guinea	27	N/A	U	Y	Unemployed	Sham marriage	N/A
Palestine	40	Higher	D	Y	Employed	Married	1989
Palestine	33	Secondary	D	Y	Employed	Separated	1991
Ukraine	45	Higher	D	Y	Part-time	Widow	2001
Ukraine	34	Secondary	U	Y	Shadow economy	Living in partnership	1991
Ukraine	33	Secondary	U	Y	Shadow economy	Married?	1990
Moldova	30	Secondary	U	Y	Shadow economy (trafficked)	-	N/A
Armenia	26	Secondary	Sd	Y	Shadow economy	Living in partnership	1996
Mongolia	45	Higher	U	Y	Shadow economy	Single	1995
Guatemala	35	Secondary	U	Y	Unemployed	Living in partnership	1998
Liberia	41	Secondary	U	N	Shadow economy	Widow	2005

Total – 14 female interviewees

Table 7: Spain

COUNTRY	age	married	arrived in	Status d/ud	working	Work qualifications	Status change	education
Uruguay	39	no	2002	Yes	yes	sq	yes	secondary
China	36	yes	2005	No	yes	not working	no	secondary
Mali	29	widow	1993	Yes	yes	q	yes	primary
Morocco	27	yes	2003	Yes	yes	q	no	primary
Morocco	33	no	2001	Yes	yes	q	yes	primary
Bulgaria	39	yes	2001	Yes	yes	nq	yes	secondary
China	55	no	1992	Yes	yes	q	yes	Degree
China	54	yes	1977	Yes	yes	nq	yes	primary
Morocco	38	yes	2002	Yes	Yes	q	yes	Degree
Morocco	38	yes	2000	Yes	Yes	q	yes	Degree
Morocco	44	yes	2000	Yes	Yes	q	yes	Degree
Romania	35	yes	2005	only resid.permit	Yes	nq	no	secondary
Romania	32	no	2002	Yes	Yes	sq	yes	Degree
Gambia	50	widow	1977	Yes	Yes	q	yes	primary
Ecuador	41	yes	2001	Yes	Yes	Nq	yes	secondary
China	53	divorced	2000	Yes	No	not working	yes	secondary
Estonia	46	yes	1995	Yes	Yes	Q	yes	Degree
Argentina	38	no	1995	Yes	Yes	Q	yes	Degree

Total: 18 female migrants

2. 2 Statistics and gender

The lack of precise data on the number of migrants in the different countries remains a basic problem in trying to show migrants' demographic statistics. Although this project made an attempt to apply logical formulas together with a methodology for estimation and calculation of undocumented migrants, the results are regarded as doubtful or do not enjoy consensus among the research teams because of the hypothetical and relative initial data from censuses, mortality rates, illegal transfer to third countries, repeated change of status and dropping out of the control systems and the social networks. Of course this leads to problems in the data collection for female migrants and undocumented workers in particular. It would be more correct to speak of tendencies in the migration flows, their gender dimensions and presence on the European labour market.

During the past years the feminisation of immigration and female participation on the labour markets, including semi- and undocumented employment can be clearly observed in six of the old EU partner countries. This tendency has been formed basically by two factors – old (economic tradition) and new (political

situation). **1**. The traditional factor is a well-developed specific labour market; labelled by the Austrian partners as those" sectors where affective work is of crucial importance", i.e. domestic work – cleaners, housekeepers, carers for children, old people and disabled, cooks, etc. This sector is quite poorly developed in Bulgaria and in the other CEE countries. The Italian researchers use another equally appropriate terminology for this sector, classifying these jobs centering on "care", in a broad sense of the word. One can add to this services in the tourist sector such as chambermaids in hotels, waitresses in restaurants and bars, cleaners in offices, etc. Another important sector is the sex industry, which also may take advantage of trafficked women and participates in its organization, and **2**. After 1989 there were intensive migration flows from the CEE countries, the ex-Soviet republics, as well as from ex-Yugoslavia where the 1990s were marked by military conflicts. After the fall of the Iron Curtain massive female flows from these countries found niches in this well developed market, including also the agricultural sector where ethnic minorities from these countries preferred to turn to hoping to survive in a sector for which they had skills and work experience.

In Bulgaria, being a new EU member state, poor and unattractive as it is and preferred by migrants basically as a transit and frontier country in the EU periphery, the tendency for the feminisation of migration has not been observed yet though this has been argued by some of the researchers. These disputes are based on the logic that Bulgaria, Romania and some other acceding countries are part of a general European tendency rather than on any concrete statistics. For the time being, it is only IMIR's researchers and the surveys of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee that try to demonstrate that the gender ratio within migrant communities in Bulgaria is in favour of male migrants. [3]. We can add here that 93.4 % of migrants are of working age (between the ages of 26 and 45), which is almost the reverse of the sex-age structure of the local population.

Actually, Bulgaria and the other post-communist countries participate in the all-European process of feminisation of migration as a source of migrating women to the other EU countries. These East-European women compete with females from the Philippines, Thailand, Brazil and Turkey, as they are more likely to enter the sectors

[3]Research of the Rights of Migrants in Bulgaria, Final report of the BHC, November 2006, p.20, where it is stated that males represent 62% of all immigrants in Bulgaria.

of domestic cleaners, childcare and elderly, the services in tourism, as well as in agriculture. Of course, one should take into consideration that Bulgarian women, as well as other women from CEE countries and the ex-Soviet republics are extremely vulnerable and over the last 15-18 years have been dominant among women being trafficked to Western Europe, as well as to the Balkan countries especially to the regions where military Peace Corps are deployed.

According to the 2006 BHC Report female migrants represent 80 % of Russian migrants in Bulgaria and their predominance over the other CIS countries and CEE is visible.[4]

Every year around 800,000 people become victims of trafficking, and human trafficking is the third biggest and most profitable business in the world. Annual income from this trafficking amounts to between 8 and 12 billion Euros. Annually 10,000 women from Bulgaria alone become victims of trafficking, with the aim of sexual exploitation. In connection with a scandal with a Bulgarian prostitute in Belgium, *Le Soir* quotes an anonymous Belgian policeman, who claims that 70% of the 200 prostitutes at the Brussels-North railway station are Bulgarian women.[5]

According to data from Spain 70% of the women employed in the sex trade are female migrants from different countries. They specify, however, that this is not always the result of their having been trafficked, but sometimes it is the personal decision of the woman. To a great extent this is due to the feminisation of poverty, which more and more affects women all over the world. According to the European Women's Lobby, 2001 out of 1,3 billion poor people, 70 % are women and their under age children. According to the American Agency for International Development 70-80% of the unemployed Russian workers are women (Refugee Reports, 2000). In the Ukraine and other East-European countries women also constitute 70% of the unemployed (Lebed, 1998)[6]. That is how matters stand in Moldova, considered by IOM as one of the basic sources for trafficked women to Western Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East. (Baker, 2002)[7]

4 Ibid., p.21/
5 Reprint from Le Soir in 24 Hours daily, 23rd November 2008, p.24
6 Lebed, M.A. (1998). A few observations about trafficking in women by a criminologist, Kiev, Ukraine: La Strada
7 Baker, P. (2002). Toronto Star Newspapers Ltd. The Hamilton Spectator, November, 9, 2002

3. Family status/civil state and adaptation to the new environment

According to their family status female migrants belong to all categories, i.e. married, separated, single, widows, with or without children. Based on the data obtained from the 101 interviews, 43 women were married, five lived in partnership, 28 were single, 15 were divorced, and six were widows. Two sham marriages were declared and two females refused to speak of their marital status. The number of children varied from one to the with the exception of a Bulgarian woman migrant in the UK who had four children and who, most probably, was Roma by ethnic origin, as well as a female migrant in Spain raising three children. Eleven of the 18 migrant women interviewed in Spain had children, who in two cases lived in their countries of origin: one was a Chinese woman whose only child was 23 years old and completely independent, and the other a Romanian woman whose two children were of school age and were looked after by a relative. A female migrant in Belgium was a single parent. As we do not have data about the number of children in all seven countries we can only ascertain a tendency, that the usual number of children was one to two and more rarely – three.

Family status is an important part from the process of entering the host country, as well as from the subsequent process of adaptation. Thus for example the majority of migrants in one Bulgarian study (61.8 %) had chosen to migrate on their own, 38.2 % were accompanied by another family member: spouse/partner (21.6 %), child/children (13.8 %), parent(s) (6 %), close friend(s) (6 %), etc. The majority of migrants studied in Bulgaria were married or lived with partners (63.4%). There were a fairly large number of intermarriages with Bulgarian women/men (57.4 %), which is higher among women (61.1 %) and slightly lower among men (55%). The average migrant family has one (42.7 %) or two (41.8 %) children, 46.8 % of whom are Bulgarian citizens.[8]

According to the observations of the Spanish partners the reunion/regrouping of families is a comparatively new tendency and is a result of males' migration who arrived in the country at the beginning of the millennium. These newly arrived wives/daughters, cousins had residence permits only but nevertheless, they were

[8] Research on the Rights of Migrants in Bulgaria, Final Report of the BHC, 2006, p.21

working sometimes as cleaners. Their countries of origin were primarily Pakistan, Morocco, and Latin America. Is it possible to look more generally at family reunion – in other words to look at all the interviews and see how many had come as a result of family reunion and what countries they had come from. Also is it possible to see to what extent family reunion results in the arrival of women or of men.

One of the options is the family reunion when one of the spouses has already been living for a long time in the host country, is employed and has adapted to the undocumented status or to the transition from one status to another. S/he already knows the local culture, which hastens and facilitates family adaptation. There are similar characteristics when real, fictitious or arranged marriages are contracted both with local partners and co-nationals who have a regular residence status. These marriages make it possible for newly arrived female/male migrants to regularise their status by marriage, to get acquainted with the local culture, to find employment and to fit in the social surroundings more easily.

On some occasions however the family can play the role of sustaining discriminatory practices. These two examples are from Austria: “Family reunification is an important pathway of entrance for migrant women. It also can be on the ground of traditional patterns of marriage arrangements, like the finding and following transfer of ‘native’ women as wives to the country of destination”. (A-I27) Another example refers to arranged marriages between settled migrants in Austria and women from their countries of origin as in the case of A-I29, a Turkish female migrant who was living in her husband’s house feeling very isolated and exploited:

‘*I was always at home. I felt in a crisis. In the household I was exploited like a servant. I became depressed. There was nobody. I didn’t get on with my mother in law. … I was always at home for three months and became depressed. You know nobody and you don’t go out. I accepted it*.’

She managed to get out of those coercive family structures and to get access to a German language course as well as to irregular jobs to earn her living. She obtained regularisation of her employment status by her own efforts. Moreover, she also arranged for the family reunification of her mother and her siblings. Despite these emancipative efforts, the pressure of traditional male dominated patterns still is high

when she is rebuked for walking on the streets alone – a behaviour seen as not acceptable for a divorced woman.

Another case (A-I20) shows migration in terms of a forced escape as a result of major, life-threatening gender discrimination. The refusal of forced marriage and serious physical violence inflicted by family males made her leave her home country in order to save her life. She managed to escape the violent patriarchal structures in her country of origin, to cross Europe (without knowing any European languages), and to organise a regularised status, despite the strong patriarchal structures within the ethnic minority community in Austria, which she had either to circumvent or fight against.

There are similar cases of escape from extremely conservative patriarchal traditions in the Bulgarian interviews but they concern male interviewees. An interviewee from the Lebanon explained that the reason for his escape to Bulgaria was the fact that he was forced by his family to leave the woman he loved as she belonged to another ethno-cultural community and to marry his cousin as a result of which his children were born with disabilities (BUL4)

Another interviewee relates the story of an Albanian immigrant from Kosovo who lived in Germany, was encouraged to join the KLA and became a commander of a military unit, solely to escape from a forced marriage[9]

For many women from Turkey and other countries from the Near and Middle East immigration to West European countries (in the context of family migration) is the only chance to get free from family dependence and violence and to become emancipated. Fieldwork in Germany, where the Turkish Diaspora is the largest in Europe, showed cases when women managed to get divorced due to the more liberal local legislation. They took advantage of the social system in the host country, received protection and started a life on their own which would be impossible in their country of origin.

In a similar way women from the Philippines and Thailand have been turned into family slaves in Denmark. This is also the case with the young Chinese women

[9] Zhelyazkova, Antonina. Albanian Prospects. Fieldwork., IMIR, 2003, p.78-79

and men in Bulgaria who are unmarried when they migrate and who remit everything they earn to their families and create the conditions for the arrival, accommodation and adaptation of new family members.

Two quotations from the Danish interviews illustrate the situation of some female migrants from the Middle East.
"*My situation is more or less characteristic for some women from my own country. First we get married, then some things happen, we get divorced, we cannot go back to our country, because we lose face, and then we stay here on our own. If you don't have the social competencies, and you don't want to work hard, you can become a friend of some very nasty guys and very bad people*".

"If you have problems with your host family – and some do – then you must go to the police. Sometimes a new host family can be found – through friends or through the Internet. The kind of problems that some have is misuse and maltreatment – sometimes the family is strict with having your friends in the house, sometimes they criticize your cleaning. The conditions are written in the contract, but sometimes you are not allowed to go to the language lessons, even though it is written in the contract". The situation is very typical for women from this region. Coming to Denmark as au-pair with a limited residence, hoping for staying longer and permanent via getting married.

Leaving aside the specific vulnerability among women who were divorced from a local or naturalized migrant (in such cases they lose their regular residence status in the country) and the cases with erotic dancers/prostitutes (work dominated by women) it appears that there are no other differences. Most interviewees refer to the type of the regular/irregular status as the main factor for the occurrence of such cases with respect to gender.

In the Spanish study all female interviewees with children claimed that they were very well integrated. In some cases the integration of children in the new society is a fundamental factor and in those cases if children's integration has not been achieved, the mother is more likely to return with their children to their countries of origin.

Experience in Bulgaria shows that while the Chinese community finds integration particularly challenging, the presence of children provides a link between the parents and relatives with the host society through the language knowledge, better knowledge of local culture, traditions and public rules assisting in the partial inclusion of the elderly persons. Women from the Middle East can also break out from the confines of the family and develop contacts with the social environment of the host society, through the children and their inclusion in the health and educational systems of the host country.

The fate of some women from the ex-communist countries has its specifics. Unemployment and the low living standards during the period of transition to a market economy in their countries of origin made them work in the “entertainment services”, (this included older women and also women who were highly educated), in order to send money to support their families and their children’s or grand children’s education. During the hard economical and political transition in these countries, which is marked by stages of ‘wild capitalism’ and corrupt practices, social hierarchies in the countries from South-eastern and Central Europe, Russia, the Ukraine, etc, changed places and that workers who were deemed 'inadaptable' were thrown on the European labour market. This includes people with higher educational qualifications, students, children and even agricultural workers with specialized skills, who were protected during the socialist period[10]. Previous research by the Bulgarian team in Greece analysed interviews with middle-aged female migrants, most of whom had higher educational qualifications, who adapted with great emotional struggles to their jobs as home cleaners. These were engineers from closed military plants, teachers, philologists, etc, who worked as housekeepers, looked after children, nursed elderly and people with disabilities working 24-hours a day, some having no rest days over two to three month periods. And those, who were unfortunate enough to work in more isolated agricultural regions, often became

[10] The Effects of Political and Economic Transition on International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe, http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/oso/829702/2004/00000001/00000001/art00004;jsessionid=3b1gg8104gkqp.alice?format=print

Recent Changes in Social Conditions of Countries in Transition: Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and the Commonwealth of Independent States; http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/B321105A86C37EC880256B67005B758F/$file/dp117

International migration in Central and Eastern Europe – current and future trends, http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium_Turin_files/P12_Kaczmarczyk&Okolski.pdf

Glenny, Misha. 1999, The Balkans 1804-1999, Granta Books, London

Novite Balkani, 2006, Hermes Publishing Ltd Canada, Sofia, compiled by Kurvetaris, George, Victor Rudometov, Kleomennis Kutsukis, Andrew Kurvetaris; (a collection of surveys conducted by a number of researchers during the past 10 years. The above four authors have collected them, they are translated in Bulgarian and were published in Bulgarian only).

victims of sexual exploitation by the males in the family that had employed them to do the housework.[11]

People speak nowadays about the syndrome of 'the new generation of children with immigrant parents' in the CEE countries, the ex-Soviet and Yugoslav republics. Many of these children remain in their countries of origin to be brought up by grandparents, relatives and neighbours, while their parents earn money sending it from the host countries. This has overturned the moral principles of these societies because the new generation has been raised without direct parental care and at the same time this generation has a strongly marked consumer's ideal "*I am alone and this gives me the freedom to do what I want, besides, I have Euros, which my parents send me, I have nice clothes, video and CDs*".[12]

Similar evaluations about the family role in the interviews made with female migrants were voiced in the Belgian study whose countries of origin were primarily in South America.

In one way or another, the women's stories are related to the size of their families whether considered as a burden or a support.

Table 5 shows that some women live alone with their children, others raise them with partners, but the children's fate and their future in particular, is part of the project even when the living conditions are extremely difficult. One interviewee believed that, upon her arrival in Belgium she was going to work as a secretary or saleswoman in a store. But like many other interviewees, she was only able to do domestic work for families, which had no respect for her. Her husband's arrest on a building site and his detention in a centre forced her, for the first time, to start approaching the administration and to stand for her rights. Until then, regarding herself as 'illegal', she did not know that she had certain rights, and in particular that she was entitled to social benefits from the local authorities' Welfare Centre. It is from that moment that she decided to take French lessons. She now wonders if the future of her children would not be more secure in Belgium.

[11] Ibid, p. 216
[12] A.Zhelyazkova's archive, interviews with schoolchildren, 2005-2008.

Within one couple (BE 23 and 24) the wife took charge of the project regularization and managed to carry out the necessary formalities.

"My grandfather is Italian. I am a European descendant. Therefore I went to Italy to obtain Italian nationality. This is a known fact among the Brazilian community. I already knew it in Brazil. Actually this is something, which made us decide to leave. Two years before leaving, I started to collect the required documents in Brazil. It is a long process: I knew which documents were necessary and we arrived in Europe with all necessary papers. First I had to live for eight months in Italy. (…) My husband stayed in Belgium. I lived in Belgium, but I went back for one week every month to Italy. After an eight months procedure, I was given Italian identity. As we are married, my husband also has the right to regularization. The process is the following: in November 2007 we both registered with the commune of Anderlecht. We brought the marriage certificates to prove that we are legally married and he was given provisional documents for a two months stay (…) I have the right to remain in Belgium, to work, all. From January my boss will declare me officially. If there are problems, I go directly to the Italian consulate. (…). We know the law a little. One receives a lot of information from other Brazilians.

Often, when they first arrived, the Brazilian male interviewees had not foreseen the difficulties they would encounter. Contrary to the women interviewees, they appear more naive as is seen from interviewee BE 29:

"It is easier to come to Belgium because only a plane ticket is necessary. And then I had these two cousins who were already there. They were telling me that it was easy to learn the language, to register in a school and that they were ready to help me to find work. It was very difficult for me to understand what it meant to live as a clandestine person. I knew that it was not easy, but I did not suspect that it would be so difficult. He said to me that they were well there, that he had a place to live, a job. So I trusted them".

In the conversation with BE 23 and 24, the husband describes what he expected when arriving in Belgium, but the wife describes the steps she had to take to fulfil this expectation. She always says "us". But she is the only one who speaks the language well enough to deal with the administration.

BE 23, the husband:

"Often they come in order to buy a house, a car or with the aim of setting up a business in Brazil. It is not possible any more to reach these objectives today by working normally in Brazil. Coming here in Europe, two years are enough if one has a good job. Even for a house because it is not very expensive in Brazil"

BE 24, the wife:

"What happens is that when they find out what is the reality here, they realize that they will not be able to reach their objective quickly. So they stay longer".

Q. And all the procedures to obtain papers, is it only to have access to a better job or it is because you plan to remain here?

BE 24:

We like the life here and think of staying for a long period. We would like to buy a flat, to have a good car, to start a family and to live here. All is better here; services, quiet, there is no real violence. In Brazil you earn little and live little because you do not have enough to eat fruit, to buy a TV. Here after a day's work you can buy yourself TV!

Q. And if you had the possibility to earn a lot of money in Brazil, to have the same standard of living, would you prefer to live over there or here?

BE 24

"Here. There is culture, education for the children which does not exist in Brazil. In general, Belgians treat Brazilians really well, they are good with them. It is only occasionally that we have these problems as with the municipality and often with some Flemish, but we do not meet many in everyday life. With the other foreigners, we have normal relations. These are not questions of nationalities but that of people to people".

It is obvious that this woman has already planned everything: she wants to move out of her neighbourhood; she wants to live among Belgians and to integrate with the local culture.

In the interviews women from Central and South-eastern Europe, Russia, the Ukraine, Moldova and other ex-Soviet republics made unfavourable comments about their spouses and the women's role in their integration, which suggests once again

the importance of cultures and family traditions for the migrant families' adaptation in the host country. Several women from the ex-socialist countries mentioned that their husbands adapted with difficulty in the new environment, that they had taken longer to find work; they did not accept just any job; they could not accept the fact that their jobs were beneath their qualifications and education. In some cases they had given up and had either returned to their country of origin or they stayed at home while their wives provided for the family. At a given moment it becomes clear that it is more functional for the family if women stay alone in the host country, to make money and send it to their families after their husbands have returned home. A female respondent from the Ukraine who was interviewed in Bulgaria said,
"*Women always manage because their most important value is to protect their families, their children in particular, against poverty. They accept any kind of job and they are more tenacious, they are not fastidious, they can bear humiliations" (*BUL20)

Female emigrants from Bulgaria said that local men in Spain, Italy, Greece, as well as male immigrants from Albania, Turkey and other more conservative minded countries wondered at the Bulgarian phenomenon (it is more precise to speak of post-communist phenomenon), i.e. women bear the hardships of emigration working hard in order to provide for their husbands and children. Albanian migrants or even local Spaniards noted,

"*This is not possible with us, men are obliged to provide for their wives and children. We cannot even imagine a situation like yours – men staying at home, reading newspapers, drinking raki and looking after the children while you are exposed to any risks in a foreign country, without male protection, working for employers who do not respect you.*.".[13]

The situation was reversed in the case of women interviewees from the Near East who had arrived in Bulgaria as refugees and immigrants. Here it was rare that these women would have initiated their labour migration. All the male interviewees in the Bulgarian sample were unanimous that the situation of Muslim female refugees or asylum seekers, especially those who, rarely, but for one reason or another, had arrived alone with children not accompanied by an elderly male from the family, was very difficult. They could not communicate freely with men and as soon as they were

[13] IMIR archive – interviews with Bulgarian women working in Greece, Spain, Italy

placed in a detention centre after getting caught for illegally crossing borders, they fall into the company of males, including the security guards. In such an environment, where difficulties increase with the language problems, they cannot even ask for the necessary sanitary and health facilities. After leaving the detention centre, female migrants survive with even more difficulties because they have to cope with the minimum support of 30 Euro per month, per person. Their traditional culture hampers them in their contacts with more experienced refugees and immigrants who have a several year experience in the host country, as well as with the local job brokers. Institutions that manage the status of refugees have in general more favourable attitude to lonely women (and especially women with children). That is why women become victims of insistent attention from other refugees, undocumented immigrants and men from the detention centres who hope to obtain a legal status and avoid extradition through marriage (even a sham marriage).

The most difficult interviews experienced by the Bulgarian team were with those women who were in a constant state of stress – having lost their homes, their traditional milieu, their spouses or part of the family they had marched for many weeks through the mountains, taken along by smugglers, to make it across the border. They were in poor health and in an entirely male environment, with limited freedom of decision; they had neither any knowledge of the necessary languages nor individuals who would interpret for them and were both stuck and depressed. That is what the female refugees and asylum seekers we interviewed in Bulgaria felt in those situations where they were completely isolated. They had come from Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran but Bulgarian institutions are too inflexible and they are not able to access those migrant's organizations and networks which offer their services as translators and provide essential support for the newly arrived.(Bul FG; BUL12; BUL7; BUL16)

For all of the above reasons, for those interviewed, Bulgaria represented only a transit country where the efforts of the majority of the migrants are to find a means and safe channels to get to other European countries.

4. Female immigrants and education

In this category, the gap between women and men's current access to education is measured through ratios of women to men in primary-, secondary- and tertiary-level education. A longer-term view of the country's ability to educate women and men in equal numbers is captured through the ratio of the female literacy rate to the male literacy rate.

As can be seen from the 2007 Gender Gap Index [14]for the seven UWT partner countries, the educational attainment of women on national level is similar to that of men. As regards the equality index in educational attainment, the sample average for the women in the seven countries is the same – 0.916, which is quite close to the full equality and their participation in teaching is also commensurable with certain nuances of measurement in the secondary, primary or higher education for each country.

Against this background it is interesting to provide a social profile of the female migrants in relation to their educational qualifications and their relevance in the process of socialization and integration in the host country. It is paradoxical that in most of the cases the level of educational attainment and qualifications is not a factor for the female immigrants' access to the undocumented and even documented labour market of the host countries.

Educational qualifications by gender

Educational level	Male	Female
Minimum	13	24
Secondary	51	41
Post secondary	44	34

By country, the situation is as follows: In Belgium all female interviewees except one worked below their educational qualifications and five males out of the 17 interviewees worked to their educational level. The rest worked in the construction industry and horticulture. In Austria one woman with secondary education works as a hairdresser, the remaining 13 females work under their qualifications as cleaners, au

[14] Global Gender Gap Index Report 2007, World Economic Forum

pairs, carers, catering, etc. All male respondents work under their educational qualifications – in construction, hospitality, agriculture, etc. All 16 female migrants in Denmark are employed in jobs below their qualifications. This is also the case for the male interviewees who were working in restaurants, retail, etc. Four of the 11 female interviewees in Italy appeared to be working at their educational level. Three of the males (out of 19) worked close to their educational qualifications, the rest occupied low paid/manual jobs in agriculture, construction, hotel services, industry, etc. Five of the women in the UK were working at their educational level. Thus four of the women with minimum education were working according to their skills. It is assumed from the data that five of the 15 males were employed according to their qualifications. In Bulgaria five females were working in line with their education and that was similarly the situation for just three of the 16 male interviewees. In Spain six women (out of 18) worked at or near to their qualifications and 12 work at below their educational level. They work as cleaners, care minders, etc. Half of the 12 male interviewees were working as skilled or semi-skilled employees. The rest were either unemployed or they were low skilled workers holding minimum educational qualifications. According to the BHC research on migrants' rights in Bulgaria (of both sexes) the average migrant in Bulgaria is very well-educated: most migrants (54 %) have completed their secondary education; 37.1 % hold a university degree (Bachelor's or Master's), 2.1 % hold a higher academic degree, and the same percentage of migrants have only primary education. This level of educational attainment, which is higher than the level among the general population, is largely due to the fact that a significant proportion of established immigrants first came to Bulgaria as university students. Bulgarian citizens by naturalization demonstrate even higher levels of educational attainment compared to migrant groups with resident status: 33.9 % hold a university degree and 3.2 % a higher academic degree. Around half of all migrants (51.4 %) had no knowledge of Bulgarian when they first arrived in the country, 30.9% of them, on the other hand, did not speak English at all.

Nevertheless, a greater part of the female migrants not only in Bulgaria but in the other six countries as well work at under their educational levels attained in their countries of origin and sometimes – in the host country.

From the interview data we have noted that well educated people from Brazil and other South American countries living in Belgium are educated to secondary or higher education (Ecuador), but are undocumented and work as cleaners. They had chosen Belgium either by chance at the beginning or subsequently but their project was always aimed at making quick money tot accumulate material comforts, which were inaccessible to them in their countries of origin. (BE 18, 19 and 20). It becomes clear from these interviews that women migrants coming from Latin America have chosen Belgium as a place with higher standard of living and offering better educational opportunities for their children. Our Belgian colleagues concluded that all of the women they had interviewed, save two had secondary or higher education qualifications. Some had abandoned their studies in order to start working or to allow them to share their lives with their partners better, even if the partnership had later become unsuccessful. It is clear that these women had given up the opportunity, n their own countries of origin, of working in their own areas of qualification to provide for their children's development. Such examples include a nurse who worked as a technician in a private laboratory, an administrative employee, a chemical technician in an industry complex, etc. By gender women were clearer in stating that they had chosen migration, first for the good of their children and second, for the good of the whole family, while men in most of the cases point to political, economical and even emotional reasons. There were almost no men in the interviews conducted with the UWT project who had declared that they were working under their qualifications for the benefit of their children, while the greater part of the female interviewees said precisely this.

In Bulgaria the female migrants who were interviewed were also well educated. Out of 14 interviewees four females were educated to degree level, nine had at least secondary education and only one, a migrant from Guinea, refused to speak of her education and for the purpose of this research we have assumed that she had a minimum level of schooling only. In Denmark 16 interviewees were female and eight of them had minimum education only. They came from Turkey, Thailand, and the Philippines, with one coming Albania six women had secondary and professional education and two had university degrees. From 11 female interviewees in Italy, only two had the minimum level of education – one from Morocco and one from Bosnia. The rest were women with higher education (four) – two from the

Ukraine, one from Croatia, one from Senegal; five had at least secondary education (two from Romania and the other three from the Ukraine, Bosnia and Burkina Faso). None of these females worked in line with their qualifications.

Migrants' high levels of educational qualifications in Bulgaria and in the other countries was due to the fact that some of them had been students who did not return to their countries of origin at the end of their studies; others were qualified people who had came from countries with high unemployment rates - refugees from the Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan who worked for the state in the previous political regimes and were now aiming at regular status or asylum as political migrants.

Another phenomenon is those migrants who came to the host countries to study and after they had graduated they remained in the country usually through intermarriages or they stayed with semi- or undocumented status. What is typical of some of those who had regular status is that they have chosen on their free will to deal with business, or to work in the restaurant sector as they cannot understand how highly reputable in their countries of origin professions, can be so low-paid and low esteemed in Bulgaria. A female interviewee from Iraq who graduated as a medical doctor in Bulgaria said:

"When I went back for several months to Iraq to help my people after the fall of Saddam they looked on me as an idol, as a person from the high classes, well, I am a doctor, while here (in Bulgaria) to be a doctor, an engineer, or a teacher means that you are like the rest. People do not value the qualifications, they do not associate you with any national elite…" (BUL12)

Among the interviewees, those women from the ex-Soviet republics and other post-communist CEE countries had a high level of education. In all seven partner countries, women who work within their competences or close to their education and skills are an exception: there are indeed no such examples in the Austrian sample although the situation among the UK interviewees was better. Out of 15 interviewees five females were working in accordance with their qualifications – one Bulgarian woman was working as a dental nurse, migrant from Ghana with a university degree was a project worker in a voluntary organisation, a Filipino woman was working as a care assistant, a Columbian woman was a medical administrator and a woman from

Kosovo with a university education was working in a bank. In Denmark most of the 16 women who were interviewed had a minimum level of schooling. However, one woman with a higher education was working as an erotic dancer; three other women with University or post-18 education were working one in childcare, one as a baker, another as a prostitute. Almost all 13 female respondents in Belgium with secondary and higher education were working as cleaners and gardeners, with only one working in a professional job as a social worker. From the 14 interviewed women in Bulgaria only four with higher and secondary education had regular work contracts with jobs close to their qualifications and education. 12 females of the 18 respondents in Spain, whose education is shown in Table 7, work as cleaners, and carers for children, elderly and handicapped people.

A comparative analysis on the educational qualifications and professional skills of migrant women in 11 countries confirm the UWT findings. In that study of 186 migrant women more than half had at least secondary education; more than 20% had technical and/or vocational training; around 20% had attended secondary education; almost 10% have primary education.[15]

We can briefly conclude based on our findings and on the findings in the other research identified that the existence of irregular status, together with discrimination against migrants themselves, is an obstacle that prevents them from using their abilities and professional qualifications. Giving individuals the right to work in their professions would ease social tension between migrants and host communities. It is in each host country's interests to consider the regularisation of undocumented migrants; to organisation for their early language adaptation so as to take advantage of the real female migrants' human capital. The fact that within our sample we found some isolated examples of women migrants working in accordance with their education and skills in each of the seven partner countries is a tribute to their efforts at integration, their persistence in remaining within the legal rules of the host country, as well as their willingness to pay taxes and social security.

[15] Comparative analysis on language skills, educational qualifications and professional skills of migrant women in Femipol countries, Brussels, European conference, 31 March 2008

5. Health care and female migrants

As could be seen in the tables, the Global Gender Gap Index attempts to provide an overview of the differences between women's and men's health. To do this, two variables are used. First, the gap between women and men's healthy life expectancy is used, calculated by the World Health Organization. This measure provides an estimate of the number of years that women and men can expect to live in good health, by taking into account the years lost as a result of violence, disease, malnutrition or other relevant factors. The second variable, included in this sub-index, is the sex ratio at birth. This variable aims specifically to capture the phenomenon of "missing women" prevalent in many countries with strong preference for male children.

Migrants' health status and their access to the health services in general and that of female migrants in particular was outside the main area of our research. Only some of the national reports and interview analyses provide data on this topic. For this reason we are using just individual interviews conducted in some of the partner countries where the issues of access to health services were touched upon to demonstrate some tendencies.

According to the UK analysis, regardless of the EU workers' regular migrant status there are problems over lack of access to social and medical assistance and lack of protection against human traffickers. This, naturally, means that for undocumented migrants the situation access is even more limited for workers employed in the shadow economy without labour contracts. The initial employment of some Turkish speaking female migrants in the UK sample was in the textile sector where they worked under very difficult conditions, facing humiliation and harassment. Two of the female interviewees spoke about continuing health problems as a result of their difficult working conditions including having to work excessive hours.

Spain was one of the few countries where female migrants were positive about its health system. A Bulgarian female interviewee made reference to the fact that the Spanish health care system, including its dental treatment, treats undocumented migrants in emergency cases regardless of the fact that they are

undocumented and without social insurance.[16] She spoke of how she had visited a general practitioner in the polyclinic because of a virus illness and he had noticed that she had undergone an operation for breast cancer. He made sure that her medical file from Bulgaria was forwarded to put her down for regular medical check ups by an oncologist every three months. According to other migrant interviews in Spain the health service provides a social care system, which does not marginalise undocumented migrants but provides the necessary assistance solely based on their registration of residence.

There are data from the Danish interviews showing that the employers themselves, when necessary, cover medical care, especially for females working in their households, paying all the costs with their own health insurance cards (we have recorded similar cases with employers in the Netherlands).

In Bulgaria the situation of migrants' health insurance is to a great extent the same as for the general social insurance system, which is poor. Around 23% of the migrant population has no health insurance and 66.4% pay their health insurance fees as self-employed. 70.3% of females and 60.4% of males have a personal doctor though many prefer the services of a general practitioner from their own community and like many Bulgarians; they pay additionally for medical services, irrespective of whether they have health insurance and a personal doctor. Figures show that males (68.8%), more commonly than women, prefer informal access to medical care. In contrast to Spain and the other countries studied, undocumented migrants in Bulgaria cannot obtain register through their residence address and access to the healthcare system is thus out of the question. This leads to corrupt practices in the health system where the undocumented migrant can receive medical care in return for unlawful payments if he/she can afford it. More often, due to a lack of financial resources, undocumented migrants do not get medical assistance; they try to treat themselves alone, thus neglecting serious troubles.

Conditions are more difficult again for women with the most insecure status – refugees, women who crossed borders illegally, and those who have ended up in detention centres. When speaking of specific female disorders in particular, we found

[16] A.Zhelyazkova's archive from May, 2008: A 50 year old woman, with college education of laboratory assistant lived 5 years as undocumented migrant in Pamplona, Spain, taking care of elderly people and handicapped. Since the second half of 2007 she is documented, her employment being the same.

that Muslim women, in particular, would find it difficult to ask for assistance from the security guards or from men working in the immigration and refugee services. A female respondent from Iraq, a doctor, said:

"*Things are much more complicated for women from our religion when they need the attendance of an obstetrician or gynaecologist – and not only then, but when they need a more detailed examination. First, she must confident a woman, then a physician has to be found who must be also a woman, besides a woman must be at the examination to observe the rules of propriety, as well as to translate and to make sure that the check up was adequate".*

Recently in Bulgaria the Border Police reported a story of a woman with two small children who was arrested together with the smuggler, leading her across the Turkish-Bulgarian border. First she started screaming then she fainted and the policemen thought she had simulated this in order to mislead them and to avoid sanctions. In fact she was giving birth, having said nothing about her situation either to the smuggler or the policemen. The border policemen managed to call for an ambulance, as they learnt about the refugee's state from her two small children. After the childbirth they did not take her to the detention centre as the law provides but she was sent to the Agency for Refugees because of her delicate situation and the need of care.

According to the Global Gender Gap Index, as well the different national statistics and reports, other research and data from the UWT interviews, it is clear that the seven UWT partner countries have quite different health insurance systems, different approaches to the health status of their citizens and migrants, female migrants included, both documented and undocumented. On a national scale, Austria and Spain stand out with adequate health care, whereas according to certain indexes, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark and Belgium lag behind. As for Bulgaria, its health service is in crisis, the reforms, which have occurred, have not been successful, and the migrants can only rely on the service to the same extent as Bulgarians themselves, i.e. minimally.

6. Female migrants in the shadow and regular economies

6.1 Motivations for women's emigration

The reasons and factors that make women emigrate to other countries are closely related with their participation or non-participation in the labour market of the host countries. According to our **Belgian** colleagues the motivations emigration is differentiated by gender. They accept that this issue is at the centre of the reconstitution of the migratory experience, as well as that of the social practices which characterize it.

Women's basic motivation models that make them leave their countries and sometimes, their families and children appear to fall into four categories:

1. The most common reason is to join their husbands who have already settled in the host country. In such cases women do not always enter the labour market in the new country. Usually their role is to organise and assist their families

2. Female asylum seekers and refugees may also be accompanying other family members, in particular those leaving regions of military conflict. When they eventually are reunited with their family it is less likely that they will work outside the home after having their refugee status confirmed

3. Women whose motivation is economic – they are looking for a host country with a higher standard of living where they can actively enter the labour market and earn as much as they can in order to send money to their families in the poorer country of origin, to provide for their children's education or to grow improve their economic position so that their lives on return might be better; and

4. Women who work in the sex industry including females, who were victims of trafficking. This category could be considered to a certain extent as part of the third group because it is usually connected with economic motivation. These are females, who in their desire to improve their economic position have either chosen this sector of activity or were misled by the traffickers that they would

work in the tourist and services sector, but in the host country they find themselves as victims of deception.

Our Austrian partners stress on the first motivational model, according to which family reunification is one of the ways for female migrants to come to Austria. It can be organised on the basis of the traditional patterns of marriage arrangements, as is the case in arranged marriages between settled immigrants in Austria and women from their countries of origin.

According to 2004 data, however, it is clear that feminisation of migration in Austria has become a fact as 56 % of migrant women have been in the country for 10 years or less.17 Obviously, in addition to family reunion and arranged marriages, there is an increasing flow of female migration during the past ten years, mainly from the Southern, Eastern and Central Europe, which is economically grounded, irrespective of the kind of work – domestic services, sex industry or agriculture.

The Spanish findings also found that family reunion was a significant factor in migration but the researchers make the point that it is not the only one. Seven of the female interviewees came to Spain to join their husbands and 11 came with tourist visas, a legal means of entering Spain and a route into subsequent undocumented work within the labour market. They arrived directly from their countries of origin and reaching Spain was their goal. This is a clear case for Southern American migrants who speak Spanish and may have the opportunity to travel without the need for visas, a Diaspora which provides contacts with compatriots who migrated earlier and whose presence makes Spain an attractive host country. Spain is also one of the most favoured destinations for female migrants from Bulgaria and other countries from South and Eastern Europe due to its well developed social health care system, the intensive demand of domestic workers, as well as certain similarities in the temperament and culture typical, as a whole of the South European peoples. According to the same source, feminisation of migration in Spain has reached 51%.[18]

According to the same data the feminisation of migration flows in Belgium has reached 54%, 55% in Italy and 50% in the UK. It is only for Denmark that the 2004

[17] Policies for Labour Market Integration 1, European Conference, 31 March 2008, Brussels, (Table 1 Source: Oso and Garson (2005)), FEMIPOL project

[18] Ibid, Table 1

data shows a male prevalence, with female migrants making up 48% of the migrant population.[19] The main sectors in which they work include domestic services, hospitality, restaurants and bars, sex work and horticulture/agriculture. There are no comparable data for Bulgaria, but as indicated at the beginning of this report, the domestic services sector is not well developed, nor is it acceptable to place the care of elderly people and children in the hands of others. Moreover Bulgaria is still used basically as a transit country and male migration prevails there.

6.2 The relevance of age in women's migration strategies

The Belgian research team in its report paid particular attention to age of the female migrants it interviewed, observing that most of the women were not young – only one interviewee as under the age of 20, a 19 year old student of Polish origin, the others were over the age of 30. Indeed five were over the age of 40. The fact that women were migrating fairly late in their lives suggested that they had done this as a result of extreme economic necessity rather than as a period of 'adventure' in their lives.

We should add here the age structure of the interviewees from the other partner countries. In Spain, out of 18 respondents seven were over 40, nine were over 30, and only two are aged around 30. In Austria there was only one 19 year old Serbian woman, four were in their mid to late 20s, and the rest were aged between 30-50. All interviewees in Italy were between the ages of 30 and 50 and in the UK, except for one 24-year-old Russian woman, the rest were also within the age range of 30-50. It was similar in Bulgaria. Three respondents were in their mid 20s and the rest were aged between 30 and 55. In Denmark the youngest in the sample was a 19-year-old interviewee from Turkey and the other 15 female respondents were aged between 22 and 32. The age structure of the male interviewees was is not much different. Five of the 16 male respondents in the Austrian sample were aged between 20-30, four were between 30 and 40 and the rest (seven) were between the ages of 40 and 54. In Belgium four men were between the ages of 20-30, nine were aged between 30 and 40 and four were aged within the range 40-65. In Denmark, five of the male respondents were aged between 23 and 30 years old, and the rest were aged between 30 and 44. Six of the male respondents in Italy were aged between 20 and 30, 13 were 30 and 49 years old. Only three male interviewees in the UK were

[19] Ibid.

between the ages of 20 and 30, the rest were aged between 30 and 48 years old. Only one male interviewee from China was 50 years old and one has not responded to this question. In Bulgaria four men were aged between 20 – 30, one interviewee was 59 years old and the rest were aged between 30 and 45 years old. Six of the male interviewees in Spain were aged between 20 - 30, five were between 30 and 40 and one was 59 years old. Once again, it would be more correct to speak of tendencies rather than of findings.

6.3 Female migrants and their integration in the labour market

Labour market deregulation and flexibility, which are key measures for reducing unemployment and facilitating labour market re/integration, have differential impacts on different groups. This is due to ethnic and gender labour market segmentations, affecting female migrants, in particular, who are disproportionately located in low paid and low qualified jobs. For this reason female migrants may be more likely to face the insecurities and instabilities of part-time and short-term employment contracts and, in many cases, informal/undocumented types of work.

A key problem is that the employment strategies that are currently being implemented are not creating adequate conditions for long-term integration, but rather produce a growing unstable segment of the workforce, which remains on the periphery of the labour market and wider society. In other words, the short-term strategies employed to increase participation and integration have not resolved the long-term problems of social exclusion and marginalisation. The service delivery imperative for economic efficiency often results in providing help for those with fewer barriers to employment and who are thus easier to help; this tends to disadvantage those in need of greater assistance.[20]

Another aspect of labour market segmentation relates to the creation and amplification of ‘ethnic niches’ in the labour market. Although they play an important role, such niches may lead to ethnic and cultural capsulation, may also provide limited access to majority society, and a reliance upon them alone may limit the potential for wider social integration

[20] Maria Kontos, Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society. Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations, March 2008, p.2-3

Cuts in support for the unemployed results in a rejection of those groups unable to qualify for benefits because they do not have a regular residence status or are undocumented or semi-documented or because they do not match the eligibility criteria, either as a result of the temporary nature of their work or because they work too few hours or earn too little. Again, female migrants are more likely to be disadvantaged in this way, because they are more likely to work on the margins of the economy.

There are programmes and measures for labour market integration with a variable potential for success. Access to training and job schemes is important however this is limited for those female migrants with irregular status and limited residence permits. There are further obstacles, which arise from a limited knowledge of programmes and the practical constraints imposed by work and domestic demands. These programmes are inaccessible for wives of migrant workers, who are tied to the home with loose ties only through contacts in their immediate neighbourhoods or with their children's teachers or doctors.

The Specific Targeted Research Project of the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission on 'Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society' ascertains that the increasing distinction between 'desirable' and 'undesirable' migrants in European migration policies facilitates the entry of the highly skilled migrants, whilst restricting that of low-skilled labour migrants, asylum seekers, and those seeking family reunification. Rights are stratified not only in relation to entry, but also in terms of rights to settlement, social welfare, family reunification, and citizenship. The negative gendered effects of these policies are significant, resulting from gender divisions and structures in both sending and receiving countries, as well as the gendered valuation of 'skills' that structure policies. For example, whilst the demand for care is growing (or as we call it affective work), care is de-valued as a profession, which produces constraints for female migrants who are often expected to fill just these gaps.[21] Just to make the point clearly: those sectors that are most open to female labour and where there is the greatest demand for their services are worst regulated and most likely to fall within the shadow economy, depriving female migrants from multiple rights.

[21] Ibid. p.2-3

The distinction between highly skilled labour migrants and asylum seekers disregards the fact that there are many highly skilled in the latter group. In most countries, asylum seekers do not have the right to work, leading to de-skilling and a waste of skills. This is seen very clearly in the Bulgarian sample where part of the interview sample consisted of refugees and asylum seekers who were still undocumented or had only temporary residence permits, making it almost impossible to enter the labour market at the level of education and skills they possess.

6.4 The shadow economy - a basic labour niche for female migrants

For many female migrants, employment in the informal sector is the only possible source of income. For many years migrants' employment in the informal sector has been particularly prevalent in Southern Europe.

This is certainly the case in Bulgaria where a large shadow economy accommodates high levels of undocumented migrant employment. In the Bulgarian case, there is a very close relationship between migrants' limited opportunities for regularised status and his/her participation in the shadow economy and for females – in the non-regulated sex industry as well. We observed several cases concerning women from Palestine with political refugee status who were conscious of the need to keep within the law and to work only in the formal economy.

Migrant women in European societies constitute a significant section of flexible labour. On the one hand, there has been a growth of temporary and insecure employment conditions, and on the other, a growth of the undocumented segments of the workforce. This creates favourable conditions for exploitation by employers, who desire cheap and docile labour, to take advantage of the deregulation of the labour markets and welfare regimes. In this sense, we can speak of a *specific demand for informality*, which encourages not only irregular migrants in need of employment, but also general informal working practices. We have also identified a type of informality produced by EU-led policies, facilitating sub-contracting, which encourages low paid informal migrant labour. At the same time, there has been a general undermining of the welfare regimes, which in turn forces many to seek informal work to supplement their low incomes. Research presented in March 2008 in

Brussels also identified a type of *informality* produced by EU-led policies facilitating sub-contracting which result in cheap informal migrant labour.[22]

There are different types of undeclared workers. This is particularly the case for female migrant workers who do not constitute 'legitimate' workers because of their immigration status as 'undocumented' (i.e. with no regulation or rights at all); or 'semi-documented' (e.g. having legal entry but working beyond the provisions provided in the work permit if they have such).

The criminalisation of undeclared work is particularly negative for female migrant workers: the 'punishment' for the migrant worker is always much harsher than that given to employer, as she will face deportation at the end of the day. In many cases unscrupulous employers take advantage of these norms and themselves threaten undocumented workers that they will call the police if they demand extra payment for additional work, make complaints about their working conditions, employ violence, etc. Repressive policies undermine further the social position and job security of migrant workers. This concerns particularly countries with poor controls on employers, as well as high levels of corruption. Female migrants work in sectors that are invisible and which are not adequately protected by human rights or labour organizations. Sometimes they have limited freedom of movement and work with few rest days, so that it is very difficult for them to make any contacts and enter some social networks even with their compatriots and to ask for assistance when put at risk of harassment. A recent example demonstrates that attempts have made to put exercise some regulation of the domestic cleaning sector. Powerful racist and gendered processes generate specific and acute forms of discrimination towards different categories of female migrants; these processes often operate as informal constraints, which reproduce undocumented and exploitative work regimes. Systematic, institutional and structural discrimination, as well as ideologies, discourses, myths and negative stereotypes are all combined in associating ethnic/cultural/national and gender elements. These act as social, economic, institutional and ideological devices that reproduce and perpetuate structural inequality and discrimination. We can add to this citation the non-punishable moral and physical violence on women as they are in the vague shadow zone of economy,

[22] Ibid., p.4-5

which makes them, to a certain extent, invisible for the human rights' and social networks and their employers are also, to a great extent invisible, thus they are difficult to become subject to punishment.

In addition to the above the role of trade unions is minimized but there is, of course, a subjective reason, as most of the women are not accessible to union activists. At the same time, the women themselves, working in the domestic services, the sex-industry or agriculture, do not have that freedom to participate in trade union activities.

There is insufficient information in the interviews about the access to trade unions or support by unions. In Bulgaria the interviewees' almost always provide a similar answer: "I have never been a union member, what could a union do for me? I am illegal and I work in the shadow economy". Some of the women even did not understand the question and knew nothing about trade unions. The only exception was a female from Latin America, who was a stewardess in her country of origin. She stated that she was a union member because it was obligatory for all employees in the airlines. In Spain the majority of the interviewed women (nine) had no contacts with trade unions. Some others took advantage of the information and legal and labour guidance (five) and only few (four) were or had been members. In the UK the trade union membership is mentioned as an important difference between men and women. While none of the women interviewees was a trade union member or supporter, around one in five of the men described themselves as 'union-friendly'.

On the one hand women, unlike men, worked mainly in sectors where there was no organized union activity. The attitudes of migrants who came from the ex-communist countries are also relevant. In general trade union activity is neglected in the host countries as many from CEE countries do not look to them for support.

6.5 Domestic work as a specific and typical employment sector for female migrants

Demographic and labour market specificity, welfare policies, as well as the evolution of the inter-family obligations, according to the age hierarchy, define different levels of demand for foreign domestic workers within EU countries. South European countries acknowledge the need for foreign domestic and care workers in their

immigration legislation. In Spain and Italy, foreign domestic and care workers are integrated into quota systems. Legalisation of migrant domestic workers in some countries is either on the basis of a work contract or on the basis of self-employment and self-insured work. While the latter may decrease dependency on the employer, it is often merely a disguised salaried work with reduced rights and benefits for the worker. Frequently, domestic workers in Spain claimed in their interviews that they preferred to avoid legalisation because under their current status they could more quickly accumulate the money they had come to the country to earn. Their regular status brought security but also was accompanied by obligations to make regular payment of taxes and social welfare contributions as well, which had a negative impact on their overall earnings.

In **Austria** domestic work in the form of cleaning and caring in private households is a typical sector dominated by women working in the informal economy. Work in private households is perceived as servile work, domestic workers are treated as objects, not as labourers: "The employers think you are their property". Reflecting the social status of domestic work, a Bulgarian student, said:

'*Our societal hierarchy is based on the assumption that the profession of a doctor or lawyer has the highest status, and domestic workers have a very low status. But it's also a construction. I mean, on the one hand it's reality for many women … but for me it is absurd that people leave their families and that this is legitimate and logic due to their needs. They are leaving their families to be able to care for their families. And they come and do a job with is not creating anything just to be able to support their families in another country. I do not see myself in the same situation. (…) it's something transitional for me and I know that I have different possibilities and resources and I am working all the time to fulfil my own expectations.'*

She differentiates between her work history as a domestic worker, who sees this phase as just a transitional period in her life, and other women who rely on this kind of work for a longer period, not only to make ends meet for themselves but also for their families. The point is that she does not perceive herself as a 'domestic worker', she does not want to get involved too much into this transitional period of her life while working as a female migrant in private households and does not identify with this kind of work. The literature on migrant domestic work stresses that many women

see employment in the care economy and private households as a ‘transitional’ occupation. However, there seems to be a hierarchy among the different jobs in the care economy: at the bottom is sex work, migrant women working in the sex industry try to move out of it by seeking employment in what is regarded as the next ‘step up on the ladder’ into the care economy: cleaning’/childminding in private households, which is seen, especially by highly qualified migrant women, as servile and less prestigious work. The next realistic option is employment in the formal care sector, with defined working conditions and seen by the public as a worthwhile and respected profession, and is considered as an option by migrant women who are planning to stay in Austria and who do not want or cannot go back to their former profession. (see Caixeta et.al. 2004)

The employer’s position is perceived as privileged. Hierarchies between employers and employees are not only visible when shedding light on the often abusive way in which employees are treated but hierarchies are created because such kind of migrant labour can do no more than simply exist:

‘*Perhaps we have now this moment historically and socially that there are these different kind of groups: people who are in need for a domestic worker, and people who need a job. And the two things go together, they are complementary. I do not accuse people who hire a domestic worker. But I would want them [employers] to reflect, also to question their positions as Austrian majority.’* (A-I12)

On the other hand ’good’ employers reflecting on their own privileged position over-compensate in their responses to employing domestic workers, according to one interviewee:

‘*She does not say that I am a ‘cleaning lady/Putzfrau’… thanks thanks. I don’t care if she calls me ‘putzfrau’ or not. Household cleaning – no problem. I do not feel these words, this is not my language. But I thought about hundreds of times. If I was a man I could easily work on a construction site and earning ‘normally’ like the other people too. But my documents and my curriculum say: I am a woman. Some people come and say: is this the wrong curriculum or the wrong person? This is the problem with me. This was also the problem in XX. Now I am curious which jobs I can get here*’ (A-I13).

In this quotation the allocation of domestic work to ‘women’ is emphasised, i.e. the deeply inscribed gendered division of labour. Austrian colleagues compare this response with that of a male interviewee who had also worked as a domestic worker. A Ukrainian worker, he was asked to find a female domestic worker for a potential employer in the Ukrainian community. All his female contacts, however, were very busy with work and could not undertake more work. He emphasized the fact that it was much easier for women to find work, because private households were continuously demanding domestic workers. He on the other hand, sometimes had periods out of work. At that time he had little work to do so he offered to undertake the domestic work himself. He made the point that he didn’t mind doing that kind of work while in contrast his employer praised him saying: *’you are working better than women*.’ (A-I9)

According to the **Spanish** interviews the main sectors of activity for female migrants’ are domestic work, services in hotels and restaurants and intercultural mediation. The first activity is carried out within the shadow economy; the second encompasses cases of work in the shadow and formal economy; while the third is completely regulated. As regards domestic work in Spain, there is a difference in the pay made to local and foreign women. The first earn roughly 9-11€, as against 8€ per hour for the latter. In both cases women usually work in the shadow economy. This is one reason why their working conditions are very similar: they work at different workplaces but doing around the same hours per week (2-4 hours). In both cases the fact that their working hours are variable is very important because it helps to establish a relation based on mutual trust. There are no differences between documented and undocumented women.

Domestic work in Spain is not regulated and it is invisible (it is difficult to know whether someone is just paying a visit to an apartment or is going to clean it.) but at the same time it is a fundamental within Spanish society as it creates the conditions that allow local women to work in better jobs, as they are released from domestic work, including their caring responsibilities for the elderly and children.

This is how female migrants in **Denmark** also describe their vulnerability in this sector, although most of them have the right to work with regular labour contracts. An interviewee from the Philippines described a typical situation:

'*If you have problems with your host family – and some do – then you must go to the police. Sometimes a new host family can be found – through friends or through the Internet. The kind of problems that some have is misuse and maltreatment – sometimes the family is strict about you having your friends in the house, sometimes they criticize your cleaning. The conditions are written in the contract, but sometimes you are not allowed to go to language classes, even though it is written in the contract.'*

This situation is quite typical for women in Denmark who have arrived as au pairs with limited residence rights and who are perhaps hoping to stay longer or permanently through getting married.

Because of the specifics of this sector and the complicated and expensive administrative procedures, a great number of domestic and care workers in Southern Europe were undocumented.

The participation of migrant women in the **Italian** labour market is described as a structural phenomenon, characterized by strong elements of both vertical and horizontal segregation. Compared to the occupational segregation that characterizes the employment of migrant workers in general, in the case of women we find not only discrimination on the ground of class and race but also of gender. The mechanics of the labour market destine migrant women - along with the majority of Italian working women - to jobs for which they "ought" to have a "natural" disposition for as women and that can be classified as jobs cantering on "care", in a broad sense of the word. The type of work, then, is not limited to domestic work or assistance for the elderly or childcare only but also covers areas like social and healthcare work, whether as: a hospital ward assistant, a school caretaker, an instructor, a till operator in a bar, a waitress, or a cook, what is central - or, rather, becomes consequent on gender - is the capacity to take care of people, manage relations, look after the cleaning of places or objects: in other words, work in the sphere of *services.*

For most of the female interviewees, in Italy their first experience of work was in domestic work or care giving. In fact, it is quite easy to find employment in this sector, due to the strong demand for this kind of work. It is fuelled by the destruction

of the welfare state for all, the aging of the local population, and the increasing feminisation of the Italian labour market.

This work experience usually began during the period of irregularity, with the women finding their jobs, above all with the help of relatives or acquaintances, and tended to continue in various forms even once the residence permit had been obtained; either as the primary source of income, especially in the case of the migration of single women. Within families it becomes a supplementary but indispensable part of the family budget.

It is clear from the interviews that this sector is characterized by long working hours, low wages, and high labour turnover. Working conditions are often very hard, not only at the physical but also at the psychological level. In cases where the woman lives in the home of the family she is working for, occupational segregation is transformed into full-fledged material segregation, imposed directly, by prohibiting or limiting her right to leave the house, or indirectly, with a prolongation of the work day, which prevents her from having relations outside the work sphere and greatly limits her socio-affective life.

This clear occupational segregation of female migrants is confirmed, moreover, by the very small number of them working outside the services sector. Only five interviewees were employed in factories.

More than in other types of work, the relationship of subordination between employer and employee is regulated by racism. Racism, as a social relation, is an organic component of the personal subjugation and greater exploitation of migrant women. At the same time, by creating the conditions that allow for the "emancipation" of western women from domestic and care work, the sexual division of labour is maintained. In this way the migrant women are reduced to mere labour power, not as workers, but “slaves”.

Most of the interviewees had decided to leave this type of work, calling both their occupational and material segregation into question. Their new occupations, although marked by the segregation characteristic of the services sector, were outside the domestic sphere and often involved a new opportunity for socialisation through direct contact with other workers. We also note an important consequence

as regards the women's family and affective life: leaving domestic and care work - around the clock or paid by the hour" - provided the opportunity for many of the women interviewees to apply for reunification with their children or to marry and create a family of their own in Italy. The extreme precariousness derived from employment in this sector, capable of pervading every dimension of existence, is then replaced, by the possibility of achieving stability in all aspects of life, while calling into question the processes that have reduced them to mere labour power. Furthermore, as the case of the Ukrainian worker demonstrates, engagement that originates in the occupational sphere can become a full-fledged process of political self-organisation in the struggle to obtain residence permits and to improve the conditions of all workers. In this struggle for social emancipation, political activation and "solidarity" among workers are pitted - perhaps not unconsciously - against "staying home" and the "division" that derives from it. This attitude can manifest itself not only in extreme forms but also in softer, looser ones. For example, in one of the cases we examined, the Italian employer's fear of theft and consequent surveillance may have no actual foundation, but is entirely as a consequence of the fact that the woman working in her home is a migrant.

The researchers working on *'Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society'* project, which is a Specific Targeted Research Project of the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission ascertain that Eastern European countries do not officially recognise a demand for foreign domestic workers for a number of reasons. In Slovenia home and personal services are not identified as deficit professions, and in Poland, these sectors employ mainly undeclared migrant women.[23] This is not quite accurate because in many of these countries such services either are not used and the family manages alone, or they use local women who are as low paid as migrant women would be, but they have the advantage of knowing the language, the local culture and infrastructure.

There is an obvious need for such kind of work in EU countries and each government is trying to find adequate policies to meet these needs. Germany, for example, has failed to attract foreign domestic workers within the existing immigration recruitment scheme, whereas in France the domestic and care work is

[23] Ibid, p.7

listed among 150 labour shortage occupations, but open to the citizens of new EU member states only.

The Swedish government recently adopted a policy on tax deductions for domestic services, aimed at creating jobs. Tax breaks are also part of UK policy in the area; however, domestic work is not part of the new ‘points system’ for migration, and hence legal routes for domestic workers from outside of the EU are very limited. The policy is in line with the general aim of filling gaps in lesser skilled sectors of the labour market with workers from within the EU, and notably the new accession countries.

Immigration laws and care policies present immigrant/foreign domestic and care workers as “helpers” and “assistants”. This is in contradiction to the widely underscored need of professionalisation in this sector, where indeed considerable skills are required.

Two of the Belgian interviewees spoke of being welcomed on arrival by an Ecuadorian “lady”. One presents her as her mother-in-law’s friend, the other as a family friend. This lady places migrant Ecuadorians in families as living-in domestic workers. This is illegal although the regulatory authorities are aware of it. In all probability the placement is paid for, in part by the family left in the country, in part by the client willing to have an undeclared and undocumented domestic worker.

In an interview conducted in 2001 at the Brussels Capital Region social inspection, the head inspector explained the system of Polish “au pairs”, introduced as students wanting to learn French in catholic families. The Polish parish took care of the placement. Since then, the law on the “au pairs” has been changed but in any case women are not likely to have any other employment choices than cleaning in private households.

This specific job, however, is increasingly under threat in Belgium due to by competition on the market. On the one hand, there is a pressure to lower wages because of the massive presence of Polish women in this niche and, on the other hand, a new government measure to create domestic service jobs ("*emplois de proximité*") has been introduced in order to integrate long-term unemployed women into the labour market ("*titres services*"). The low cost of work, the fact that

employment is declared and the tax incentives given to the users of the services did result in the disappearance of a great number of undeclared jobs. In addition, the sector also includes live-in domestic employment, which is still open to undocumented women, while office and industrial cleaning jobs are more often reserved for men.

In **the UK** there are fewer similarities with the other partner countries. The most significant difference in the experiences of the interviewees by gender relates to the jobs and the sectors where they were employed. For example, no women worked in construction, whereas nearly a quarter of the male interviewees had been working in that sector. Women dominated in the domestic and industrial cleaning sector, where more than one in three of the women interviewed worked in cleaning, whereas only one of the 15 males worked in the sector. Men were more likely to work in the hotel and catering sector, and this was mainly due to a high level of presence in the ethnic restaurant sector. Again, this demonstrates that occupational segregation is dominant for migrant workers, for while approximately the same proportions (around half) obtained work in ethnic businesses, the businesses that women worked in were different than those worked in by men. Women worked in the textile sector and for ethnic minority employers in domestic households, whereas men worked for ethnic businesses in the catering sector.

With reference to domestic work (done notably by women) there are different opinions about the relationships between workers and their employers. While some interviewees spoke of good relations, these mainly were observed in those cases where either the worker was exceptionally vulnerable and felt safer when ‘hidden’ in their employer’s house, or where the individual worked as a domestic, but in a self-employed capacity.

In relation to wages, there is no clear pattern as regards gender. Of those interviewees where an hourly rate of pay was given (28 out of the 30 UK interviewees) male earnings ranged from £1 an hour to £10.50 an hour. For women, earnings ranged from £1.49 an hour to £9.37 an hour. Work in private homes provided a similar ‘protected’ environment, although it may also offer the poor pay and working conditions. Paid domestic work has been a step into work for women migrant workers, in particular, whether they had arrived claiming refugee status or as

economic migrants. Domestic work in private homes was often defined as work that was ‘safer’ for those without documents, as it was felt that the police were less likely to raid private houses. It also meant that work could be conducted unseen. But at the same time the consequences were that workers were very poorly paid and sometimes were badly treated. One interviewee originally from Bulgaria, while undocumented, had first worked as a cleaner in a private household. She had started with one house and had then been recommended to other clients, eventually cleaning five or six houses a week. However, she had held back from expanding further as she was concerned that this would put her at greater risk of detection from the authorities. Another interviewee, a Filipino worker, had also always worked in private homes, as without documents this was the only type of work she could access. However, even in this case her latest employer was starting to express concern about her status. One was currently working as a cleaner in private houses, with around eight clients sourced through friends or adverts in shop windows. Another had recently taken up work in a private household, following the increased number of police raids against Chinese owned restaurants, where she had traditionally worked. Private household employment was described as ‘more secure’ because ‘the police can’t easily come and check a private home for undocumented migrants’.

There is a great variety of domestic work in terms of work content (cleaning, housekeeping, care for old, child care), work arrangements (live in or live out, single or multiple employers, service agencies) work premises (work at other people's home/versus at home-in case of child care), underlying legislation (au pair programmes of cultural exchange, labour legislation). There are also a variety of experiences. Domestic work can be a simple step to entering the country and later shifting to other employment or study, i.e. it is either a transitional and short-lived experience (often parallel to other work or training) or a long-term working experience or durable situation. This overall lack of recognition contributes to undermining the self-esteem of workers, most of whom experience a sharp de-skilling when entering care and domestic work.

According to the stories of Bulgarian interviewees who had university degrees and high skills and who worked as domestic workers or looked after the children of

less educated employers in Spain, Italy or Greece, the fact that they were educated but with a non-prestigious current job led to violence from their employers.

"*My mistress used to wake me up during the night saying, 'Come on, the engineer, change my bed sheets and bring me a glass of water, let me see you now'… 'After I was employed they did not give me a day of rest for four months and I had not left the house. When I went out for the first time in the street, in the unknown city, having no acquaintances, I had the feeling I had gone mad…I had no one to complaint to – neither any institution, nor friends, nor any contacts*"[24]

The existing data confirms that live-out domestic work predominates in Northern Europe. This often implies having multiple employers and fragmented working hours. Cases of live-in arrangements, which are more widespread in Southern Europe, are associated with the risk of being trapped in this sector against one's will and being subjected to exploitation. On the other hand, live-in arrangements may provide a transitional solution to housing problems as they enable workers to cope with instability, precariousness and occasional housing problems. They also help workers to save money on rent, which is important for fulfilling their role as 'breadwinner' and, in many cases, as a 'transnational mother'. At the same time it is necessary to highlight the specifics as each country has a varied pattern of cases of exploitation and applies different rules in relation to domestic work.

Usually, undocumented employment in private households is very stable. From the employer's point of view it is important to have one or two females for care work and to keep relations of mutual trust between the employee who provides cares (the vendor) and the one who receives care (the customer). For females providing care is seen as degrading work and it is not a rare phenomenon that they are forced to leave the job. Besides, there is insecurity as regards the patient's health condition: he/she can die or be transferred to residential care.

In this sector the trust relationship between employers and employees is very important because the domestic workers infiltrate into the private sphere of their employers. Therefore, private networks for job placement are crucial. An Austrian interviewee, a female migrant from Bulgaria gave an example as for two years she

[24] A. Zhelyazkova's archive, interviews conducted in 2002 and 2007 with Bulgarian women working in Spain, Italy and Greece.

had been cleaning the flat of a woman whom she never met because she was never present when she came to clean on weekends. A high level of trust is required to let an unknown person enter and clean your private space. Therefore, changing your domestic worker is not recommended. Domestic work is perceived as 'invisible work'. Employers usually prefer not to be present when their employees are working. Very often the only contacts are notes left with wages and brief telephone calls. Another feature of the invisibility of undocumented domestic workers is that the private household is a place of 'protected work', i.e. far from police, governmental control or prosecution, from labour inspection, etc. On the other hand just because of this invisibility there is a greater probability of being exploited and discriminated:

When childcare is part of domestic work emotional binding becomes an important aspect creating a triangle: migrant domestic worker – child – parents/employer: A female worker from CIS had started off her migration as a live-in in a Russian-Jewish household looking after a girl for two years 24 hours. The girl called 'mama' because she rarely saw her parents. Now she is not living and working anymore in this house but still goes there to do casual work and is very close to this family.

'*Every time they call now, I like to help.'..: 'We are combining everything: what you need on the one hand, what is necessary [job, caring for her daughter] and try to derive also a benefit from this necessities. [taking the daughter to her employer*].'

She and her daughter are part of this family, but: *How to draw the line between job and free time – when employers become some kind of 'friends*?' [25]

To enter into one's private space also means adapting to the peculiarities of the private household: which polish to use, where to clean first, which method of cleaning to use. Sometimes these requests are easy to fulfil and employer and employee get on together without problems. Sometimes when the employer sets out too many rules, this leads to a low evaluation of the domestic worker's skills and the simple aim is to exercise power over the 'servant'.

[25] UWT_TR Labour Market, first draft, prepared by Austria

6.6 Working areas in regard to tasks, to spaces and to persons involved[i]

There is no clear definition of the areas of responsibility/work. Informal caregivers have to do household tasks, medical tasks, social tasks (going for a walk, playing, cooking together with the patient), and there is no clear limitation of working hours. If available for 24 hours, when can they find time for rest? Even sleeping time is working time because the patient can wake up any minute, you have to hold her/his hand during the night, accompany her/him to the toilet, etc.26

Actually, their basic task is to work with their patients' bodies and souls but often they have also to do other jobs, like preparation of meal for some relatives, too. A Bulgarian female immigrant in Spain told of how she had to care for a very old disabled lady. She worked in shifts with a local woman who took the nighttime responsibilities. Little by little, however, the old lady became attached to the Bulgarian employee from the day shift and she categorically asked for her 24-hour care – of course, for higher pay. Thus, the worker had to gradually drop her other part-time commitments, which she had fulfilled during her free time and had brought her in good additional money, to devote herself entirely to the old patient, whose conditions, on the one hand brought security for her but on the other – turned her into a person available for 24 hours a day, depriving her of any opportunities for social contacts and privacy.[27]

6.6.1 Lack of Privacy

24-hour care is defined as a mental and physical burden. The carers have to wash, dress, to massage the patients, to carry around the patient if he/she cannot walk anymore by him/herself. The whole day is structured according to the patient's needs. Carers do not have any time for themselves, do not have any private sphere, no room of their own. Patients' health status has a strong impact on the working and living conditions of the migrant care worker. The health status defines whether the women have the opportunity to leave their households for a short walk, or if they are tied up to the household. '24 hours. No freedom at all. That's like it is.' (A-I6)

[26] Ibid

[27] A.Zhelyazkova, Interview, May 2008, IMIR's archive

Permanent availability is required although it is not absolutely necessary. Employers/patients think that the worker should be disposable whenever they want her to come. Because of the nature of the affective work, careers have problems of dissociating themselves from the patients.

This type of physical, as well as emotional exploitation has a structural societal aspect linked to the crisis of the welfare state all over Europe. An Italian lawyer and gender expert explicitly addressed this point referring to the weak social position of elderly people who were in need of care. “Improvements in the national contract of the domestic-work sector introduced since March 2007 have not affected the conditions of exploitation in force in this sector. These conditions are correlated with the crisis of welfare policies, which on the one hand make recourse to private forms of assistance necessary, and on the other adversely affect the elderly who receive assistance. Senior citizens more and more often live in conditions of marginality, with pensions that are too low and without the support of a family network. Their poverty affects, in turn, the female migrant workers, who are underpaid and are obliged to work in conditions of exploitation.

Due to the permanent pressure of work migrant workers suffer from severe health problems. A Spanish expert, from an NGO working with migrants pointed out that aspect: “The uninterrupted dedication required by the migrant can be the cause of psychological suffering and it is mainly common among Latin-American women who have migrated alone and who live with ill or older people. The fact of not being able to have relationships with other people and practically not having a rest strongly affects them”.[28] Migrant women from Bulgaria made the same point about the impossibility of being detached even for short periods of time from the elderly people they care for, in order to visit their children in the country of origin. In Austria all interviewed migrant women working in this area reported the incidence of severe health problems during their irregular “care-career”.

[28] UWT_TR Labour Market, first draft, prepared by Austria

6.7 Sex services as an ordinary employment niche and as forced work

The UWT research, which, as a whole, focused on undocumented migrants' employment irrespective of gender, did not have a specific focus on female sex-workers. However, it was inevitable during the interviews that we did have a few cases of females working in this sector and it deserves to be described as it represents a not inconsiderable part of the European shadow economy.

The Specific Targeted Research Project of the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission, presented on March 31 in Brussels, focused on the variety of female migrant employment and produced the following findings in respect of their participation in the sex industry: "Prostitution and entertainment are a part of highly diversified and global sex industry with strong economic and social bases underlying and producing demand and supply of those who enter the sector and generate an income from it.

Ideological debates and dichotomous considerations frame the policies on prostitution either as a quintessential form of male violence against women and sexual exploitation, or as a labour market issue - *sex-work as any other work*[29]

For some of the women interviewees who had left for the host country with the aim to make their living through this type of work and in this particular sector, sex work was accepted as any other type of work. The situation was different in the case of females who were forced to become prostitutes and who migrated hoping to work in sectors like tourism, hospitality, restaurants and domestic services but having arrived in the host country or in a third country before reaching their final destination discovered that they had to work in places where sex was being traded or that they themselves were being forced to trade in sex by the managers of the entertainment places they were working in or by employers in whose houses they were hired to work as domestic workers.

The research confirmed the observations of all partners that women who enter the sex industry in the main came from the ex-communist countries in transition, Latin America and Africa. Their typical motivation is that they have escaped from

[29] Ibid, Migrant Women in Prostitution and Entertainment, ppt presentation, Brussels, 31 March, 2008

unemployment, exclusion and discrimination in the labour market in their countries of origin. Sometimes these women enter the host country with a tourist visa, they work in the sex industry and when their visa expires, they return to their country of origin, then leaving again to another country, with another tourist visa thus their life becomes nomadic with a period of work in a different country followed by a periodic return to the countries of origin. These female migrants are relatively fortunate as they work independently or with temporary employers and they do not fall into forced labour. The experiences of women who had fallen into the hands of traffickers and who found themselves in the host country without identity cards, documents and entirely dependent on the procurers, kept locked up, exploited and ill-treated by them was quite different.

Here is a story of a Moldavian interviewee whose host country was Bulgaria and whose case is a typical one for women who have been trafficked. She came from a region in Western Moldova. Her parents, trying to save her from poverty, were working in Romania to save money and to pay the smugglers. Their hope was that the smugglers were connected with employers who would employ their daughter as a waitress or barmaid first in Greece and then in the UK. This is how she fell into a channel for human trafficking aimed for sexual exploitation. The interviewee and her friends from the same region were forced to prostitute for tourists in Romania. After some time they were placed on a bus for Greece and only when they had reached the border were they given their documents and informed that they would be met in Bulgaria and then taken to Greece, and from there, after a time they would be transferred to Great Britain or Italy. As her sister had been working for two years in Italy the interviewee hoped that she would be met in Italy by a close relative. While crossing Bulgaria they managed to escape and for a time lived there completely illegally hiding from the traffickers. The interviewee managed to get in touch with her sister in Italy who started sending her money to rent a room and to buy food. Later she began to work in Bulgaria as a waitress and prostitute because, being undocumented, she could not find a job of a hairdresser or a model as she would have wished[30].

[30] An expert from the Border Police stated that as a result of the increased migrant flow from Moldova immigrants arrive legally with Moldavian passports, tourist or transit visas and official invitations from

It is useful to consider the entanglement of service work with sexuality. As an interviewee, a waitress in bars, stresses sexuality is very central in her business, her body and her appearance are her means of production:
'*Just when I am entering the bar the customers pay me compliments. I have such a mentality. I like it when men look at me and I have the impression to be desired. And I underline my strengths. You can see my G-string when I bend down. But I don't mind and the customers like it. I like to flirt. But I don't accept touches.*'

The boundaries between personal integrity and business are very narrow. Therefore she expects her work to be complimented on not only by the customers but also by her employers. She also expects respect of her person and dignity in her work. She often experienced the transgression of boundaries: not only are there structural hierarchies between customers who are males, and service providers who are females, but also between employers who are males and employees who are females. Finding themselves in a dominant position vis-à-vis their employees, male employers often expect sexual services as a premise (and of course without payment) for obtaining or holding the job, especially when accommodation is provided by the employer:

'*Every waitress had to go to bed with the boss – otherwise she had to go right now. I know that many friends of mine made such experiences in catering – I never – but in general it takes place like this. For them (employers) women are just objects. But I am Aries by zodiac sign and don't accept such a treatment. A colleague asked if I wanted to work for him, but for 30 Euros I do not work. But it's also our own fault, the fault of women. Because women have accepted this treatment: if you are working as waitress you are indirectly obliged to have sex with your employer. If we women stick together then such a treatment would not be possible – especially now within the EU. If you want to find a job, you find one. And you don't have to accept any working conditions proposed by the boss. You can find something else.'*

Young and inexperienced women are usually (sexually) exploited. You have to be very self-confident, resolute and you have to know where the limits of your (bodily) integrity lie to succeed and survive in this very gendered sector. In this quotation the

Bulgarian citizens. Straight away however they look for smugglers to be transferred to Greece. From Greece, the Greek smugglers ferry them to Italy as a final destination/ 24 chasa daily, 31.08.2007/

interviewee stresses the necessity of solidarity among women working in the sector. At the same time competition among women working in entertainment industry is very strong.

Respect for women who are working in entertainment is often lacking. Not only employers and customers treat women working in this sector with contempt and disrespect but also the authorities and the society as a whole. The above interviewee stated that before her first expulsion from Germany she was captured by the German Police and treated very paternalistically. As she was pregnant at that time the German authorities found out that she was working as a prostitute and they arrested her ‘for her own safety’.

The analysis of the Spanish interviews also shows the sexual industry as a very important sector. Most of the women working in it are migrants (around 70%) and while considered as an illegal sphere of employment, it allows them to earn much more than they would in domestic services. However, it is impossible to calculate the level of their earnings, as these are dependent on activity levels.

Working in this sector can be a result of human trafficking but sometimes it is the immigrant’s personal decision. These women nevertheless are usually deceived about the working conditions they will face and did not realise that they would have no freedom (for example that their identity cards would be held). At the same time we also found that for some women who had been employed 24 hours a day to nurse the elderly and could no longer continue to endure the conditions of work may move into prostitution.

Searching for positive aspects of this type of work, the report from the Danish partners identified the opportunities for more social contacts with local people as possibly one positive aspect. They found that women migrants in these cases had been more successful in their inclusion in the social networks of the local population. This might be due to the nature of the sector they were working in (domestic services) or the type of activities they perform as erotic dancers in nightclubs owned by local people.

I think my situation is pretty gender specific. You cannot find many or any male from Ukraine doing what I do. In this manner it is gender specific, but I don’t know if it is

good or bad, only that it is this way. I think the whole situation is special for women from Eastern Europe, maybe also from Africa. This business works this way, you have some strong men that can mange the business, and some women that can make the money, and every body should be good in their work to make it running properly and purposefully.

Within the aspect of gender you can have (subjective) experiences of discrimination because of different nationality or race:

'I have my private clients but Asian girls and African girls get less in tip from the management than European girls, even Russian girls get more in tips although they are not having so many clients as we have'.

A British expert referred to the issue of trafficking within the EU and stated that there are cases with people who have right to stay in the country but who nevertheless had been trafficked. He mentioned cases with women from Lithuania and Bulgaria who were trafficked for sexual exploitation and pointed to the fact that many of the protectionist programmes in the EU countries are designed for non-EU citizens and that they should be adjusted for people who came from the new accession countries, who have by rights legal status, but they need support in order to be saved from the human traffickers and procurers.

7. Conclusions

An important element in the changing gender specifics of the migratory flows is the tendency for the females to migrate individually. Aiming at finding employment, they migrate without accompanying males often as heads of families. The potential positive role of migration for women's emancipation and empowerment has, however, its 'downside' , which deserves attention. Female migrants remain more vulnerable towards the migration risks as they are exposed to a greater extent than men with respect to violent labour and sexual exploitation, unfavourable working conditions and low pay. The empirical data from the interviews show that female migrants find it even more difficult as refugees and asylum seekers.

Female migrants from the ex-communist countries, who are emancipated, educated, used to work a lot and to live in poverty, did not necessarily agree with all such assessments. Some emphasised that their basic goal was to make money and send it to their families and children in order to support their education. In their opinion, women can always manage. Having fallen into a foreign country they are ready to do any work in order to succeed, even in the entertainment industry and sex-work. Those who migrated with their husbands were more likely to find that their husbands took more time to find work as they were trying to find jobs according to their qualifications and in cases where they had to perform unskilled work they might give up and go back to their countries of origin or they stay at home while wives went out to work. Quite often educated and skilled women are employed for unskilled but well-paid jobs in the North and Southern European countries. They work like this for years sending money to their husbands and children in the countries of origin.[31] This is the origin of the term 'transnational mothers' recognised as a special social phenomenon in social science research. In recent years there have been debates in Bulgaria and in other countries, which export women migrants, , caused by alarm that a second generation with 'transnational mothers' is being raised in these countries, often in the absence of both parents. Relatives and friends raise these children and there is already some evidence that they experience emotional and moral deficits.

[31] See: Urgent Anthropology, vol. 2, Economic Migration to Greece in the Personal and National Prospects of Albanians, IMIR, 2003, p. 194, as well as all 101 interviews.

Women who choose to migrate are heterogeneous but they generally exhibit courage and strength that may make their survival more tolerable for men and children in the new environment. For women from the ex-communist countries, they more usually arrive alone and the reasons for leaving their countries are not only economic; they immigrate due to social insecurity, as well as the potential or current civil and transboundary conflicts. These are basically women from the ex-Soviet Union – Russia, the Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, as well as from the Balkans. A great number of these women enter West European countries as well as Bulgaria already trapped within trafficking channels. According to experts Bulgaria remains a transit country as regards trafficking in women for sexual exploitation while countries like Greece, Italy, Spain, Austria, Germany and the North European countries are mentioned as a final destination. Trafficking in women is also stimulated by the presence of international military corps in the Balkans, i.e. in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo. The role of Bulgaria as a transit country however, does not exclude practices of labour/sexual exploitation of women passing in transit.

According to UN experts the role of the female sex is constantly increasing. Their work creates from 60 to 75 % of world production but at the same time, women only receive 10% of the annual average income. In relation to the UK, a Home Office survey showed that migrants contributed £2.5 billion more in taxes than they claimed in benefits in 1999-2000. Some estimates have stated that the UK will need approximately 1.2 million migrants in the next few years to replace a workforce entering retirement (cited in Kaye 2003:13). As Kaye emphasizes, however, while research data point to the contribution that migrant workers make to the economy and the fact that most developed countries have an ageing population that will soon lead to labour shortages and to a greater tax burden. Despite this governments in host countries have been reluctant to acknowledge the demand for migrant labour but have instead sought political advantage from the often ‘xenophobic reactions to the issue of migration’ by proposing even tighter immigration controls (2003: 13). Kaye makes it clear that unless restrictive immigration policies give way to more open ones, that recognize the domestic demand for migrant labour and seek to manage and facilitate it, many migrants who are forced to look for work abroad ‘as a means of survival, rather than an opportunity to improve their standard of living’, will

be left with no other choice but to rely on smugglers and traffickers to get access to these jobs (2003: 3)[32].

Border control and migration management issues have also become central to the process of European integration and candidate countries have found themselves under increasing pressure to strictly apply migratory legislation as they become external border of the European Union. While one of the positive outcomes of this process has been the increased focus on migration and asylum issues and the adoption of anti-trafficking and asylum legislation, a rather negative result is the adoption of a 'forced' approach to migration, which is excessively focused on border control, thus giving significant, not to say disproportionate power to law enforcement authorities in a region where corruption practices are wide spread.

Due to already existing disparities in the negotiation positions between origin and host countries, the 'law enforcement' approach could lead to further power imbalances between these countries, since 'receiving' countries could put disproportionate pressure on the countries of origin and impose unilateral and asymmetrical restrictions on the movement of people, while failing to meet their own obligations in addressing the protection of migrants' human rights within their own borders. The International Labour Organization (ILO) warns of this tendency in one of its report on forced labour and concludes that the forced labour exploitation of irregular migrants in host countries calls for an urgent and radical rethinking of migration management policies (2005: 84). The lack of administrative control in countries of origin and the dominant philosophy of self-regulation in many host countries, which also informs neo-liberal policies and practices of many multilateral and bilateral donor agencies in transition countries, could prove highly detrimental to the protection of the rights of migrant workers. There are disturbing disparities between the philosophy of non-interference in the 'free' market, frequently employed to justify poorly regulated labour market relations, and the less liberal policies on immigration. Unfortunately, as Barbara Limanowska concludes, so far, the dominant migration management approaches have been largely 'repressive' and protective of state interests, such as prevention of migration and trans-border crime. There is a growing awareness, however, that while the protection of state security might often

[32] Mike Kaye, Migration-trafficking nexus, The Printed Word, UK, 2003

be justifiable concern, it can run counter to the protection of migrants (Limanowska 2005: 2).[33]

There is an expressed need for a change of direction and a broader understanding of the role of the state in regulating such areas of the economy that have proved to be consistently exploiting migrants' labour. So far many host countries have failed to meet their responsibilities and have thus become accomplices of the vicious cycle. This is most obvious in the fact that the most comprehensive international instrument addressing the rights of migrant workers, the 1990 United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, has to date been ratified only by countries of origin. None of the traditional receiving country is Party to the Convention, which suggests that even migrants who have accessed these labour markets through regular channels are potentially exposed to serious human rights violations (Kaye 2003:17, 20). What is more, according to Ann Jordan, many governments have adopted a 'two-tiered' approach to human rights within which only citizens are acknowledged as having rights, even though international human rights legislation 'does not predicate the majority of human rights upon citizenship' (2002: 30).

[33] Research on the Rights of Migrants in Bulgaria, Final Report of the BHC, 2006

Appendix:
Austria

Gender Gap Index 2007 Rank **27** (out of 128 Countries) Score **0.706** (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Indicators

Total population (millions), 2005..... 8.23
Population growth (in %)..... 0.72
GDP (US$ billions), 2005..... 208.68
GDP (PPP) per capita..... 29,981
Mean age of marriage for women (years)..... 26
Fertility rate (births per woman)..... 1.40
Year women received right to vote..... 1918
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)..... 0.95

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Economic participation and Opportunity	**89**	**0.582**	**0.577**			
Labour force participation	43	0.82	0.69	64%	77%	0.82
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	116	0.52	0.64	—	—	0.52
Income (PPP US$)	92	0.44	0.50	20,032	45,095	0.44
Legislators, senior officials and managers	49	0.39	0.26	28%	72%	0.39
Professional and technical workers	59	0.85	0.68	46%	54%	0.85
Educational Attainment	**77**	**0.980**	**0.916**			
Literacy rate.....	—	—	0.85	—%	—%	—
Enrolment in primary education.....	81	0.99	0.97	—%	—%	0.99
Enrolment in secondary education.....	95	0.95	0.92	—%	—%	0.95
Enrolment in tertiary education.....	1	1.00	0.81	54%	46%	1.19
Health and Survival	**1**	**0.980**	**0.958**			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male).....	1	0.94	0.92	49%	51%	0.94
Healthy life expectancy.....	1	1.06	1.04	74	69	1.07
Political Empowerment	**15**	**0.282**	**0.142**			
Women in parliament.....	14	0.47	0.19	32%	68%	0.47
Women in ministerial positions.....	.9	0.55	0.13	35%	65%	0.55
Number of years with a female head of state. (in last 50 years)	40	0.00	0.11	0	50	0.00

Additional data

Maternity and Childbearing

Births attended by skilled health staff (as % of total).—
Contraceptive prevalence, married women (%).....51
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births).....5
Length of paid maternity leave.....16 weeks
Maternity leave benefits (% of wages paid)..... .....100%
Provider of maternity coverage. social security
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births..... ...5
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15–19).... 12.72

Education and Training

Percentage of female teachers, primary education.....90
Percentage of female teachers, secondary education....61
Percentage of female teachers, tertiary education.....29

Employment and Earnings

Female adult unemployment rate (%) 5
Male adult unemployment rate (%) 5
Women in non-agricultural paid labour (as % of total labour force) 45
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership* 5.53

Basic rights and Social Institutions**

Paternal versus maternal authority 0.00
Female genital mutilation 0.00
Polygamy 0.00
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence against women 0.17

*survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1=worst score, 7=best score)
** data on a 0-to-1 scale (1=worst score, 0=best score)

Italy

Gender Gap Index 2007 Rank **84** (out of 128 Countries) Score **0.650** (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Indicators

Total population (millions), 2005.....58.61
Population growth (in %)..... 0.74
GDP (US$ billions), 2005.....1,132.83
GDP (PPP) per capita..... 25,381
Mean age of marriage for women (years)..... 28
Fertility rate (births per woman)..... 1.30
Year women received right to vote..... 1945
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)..... 0.96

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Economic participation and Opportunity	**101**	**0.543**	**0.577**			
Labour force participation	82	0.67	0.69	50%	74%	0.67
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	111	0.54	0.64	—	—	0.54
Income (PPP US$)	84	0.46	0.50	18,070	.38,902	0.46
Legislators, senior officials and managers	74	0.27	0.26	21%	79%	0.27
Professional and technical workers	64	0.82	0.68	45%	55%	0.82
Educational Attainment	**32**	**0.997**	**0.916**			
Literacy rate.....	.56	0.99	0.85	98%	99%	0.99
Enrolment in primary education.....	.63	1.00	0.97	99%	99%	1.00
Enrolment in secondary education.....	1	1.00	0.92	93%	92%	1.02
Enrolment in tertiary education.....	.1	1.00	0.81	72%	54%	1.34
Health and Survival	**82**	**0.972**	**0.958**			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male).....	109	0.93	0.92	48%	52%	0.93
Healthy life expectancy.....	67	1.06	1.04	75	71	1.06
Political Empowerment	**80**	**0.087**	**0.142**			
Women in parliament.....	.56	0.21	0.19	17%	83%	0.21
Women in ministerial positions.....	88	0.09	0.13	8%	92%	0.09
Number of years with a female head of state (in last 50 years)	42	0.00	0.11	0	50	0.00

Additional data

Maternity and Childbearing

Births attended by skilled health staff (as % of total)..... —
Contraceptive prevalence, married women (%). .60
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births).....5
Length of paid maternity leave.. ..... 5 months
Maternity leave benefits (% of wages paid)..... 80%
Provider of maternity coverage.....Social security
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births..... ...5
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15–19)..... 6.96

Employment and Earnings

Female adult unemployment rate (%) 11
Male adult unemployment rate (%) 6
Women in non-agricultural paid labour (as % of total labour force) 41
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership* 3.53

Basic rights and Social Institutions**

Paternal versus maternal authority 0.00
Female genital mutilation 0.00
Polygamy 0.00
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence against women 0.42

Education and Training

Percentage of female teachers, primary education.....96
Percentage of female teachers, secondary education.....66
Percentage of female teachers, tertiary education..... 34

*survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1=worst score, 7=best score)
** data on a 0-to-1 scale (1=worst score, 0=best score)

Spain

Gender Gap Index 2007 Rank **10** (out of 128 Countries) Score **0.744** (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Indicators

Total population (millions), 2005.....43.40
Population growth (in %)..... 1.65
GDP (US$ billions), 2005..... 678.02
GDP (PPP) per capita..... 24,171
Mean age of marriage for women (years)..... .26
Fertility rate (births per woman)..... 1.30
Year women received right to vote..... 1931
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)..... 0.96

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Economic participation and Opportunity	**84**	**0.589**	**0.577**			
Labour force participation	75	0.71	0.69	57%	81%	0.71
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	117	0.51	0.64	—	—	0.51
Income (PPP US$)	76	0.50	0.50	16,751	. 33,648	0.50
Legislators, senior officials and managers	33	..0.47	0.26	32%	68%	0.47
Professional and technical workers	57	0.89	..0.68	47%	53%	0.89
Educational Attainment	**39**	**0.994**	**0.916**			
Literacy rate.....	64	0.98	0.85	97%	99%	0.98
Enrolment in primary education.....	.71	0.99	0.97	99%	100%	0.99
Enrolment in secondary education.....	1	1.00	0.92	99%	95%	1.04
Enrolment in tertiary education.....	1	1.00	..0.81	72%	59%	1.22
Health and Survival	**74**	**0.973**	**0.958**			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male).....	109	0.93	0.92	48%	52%	0.93
Healthy life expectancy.....	1	1.06	1.04	75	70	1.07
Political Empowerment	**5**	**0.421**	**0.142**			
Women in parliament.....	7	0.56	0.19	36%	64%	0.56
Women in ministerial positions.....	1	1.00	0.13	50%	50%	1.00
Number of years with a female head of state. (in last 50 years)	42	0.00	0.11	0	50	0.00

Additional data

Maternity and Childbearing

Births attended by skilled health staff (as % of total).....—
Contraceptive prevalence, married women (%).....81
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births).....4
Length of paid maternity leave..... 16 weeks
Maternity leave benefits (% of wages paid).....100%
Provider of maternity coverage.....social security
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births..... ...5
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15–19)..... 9.31

Education and Training

Percentage of female teachers, primary education.....69
Percentage of female teachers, secondary education.....56
Percentage of female teachers, tertiary education..... 39

Employment and Earnings

Female adult unemployment rate (%) 15
Male adult unemployment rate (%) 8
Women in non-agricultural paid labour (as % of total labour force) 41
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership* 3.95

Basic rights and Social Institutions**

Paternal versus maternal authority 0.00
Female genital mutilation 0.00
Polygamy 0.00
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence against women 0.25

*survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1=worst score, 7=best score)
** data on a 0-to-1 scale (1=worst score, 0=best score)

United Kingdom

Gender Gap Index 2007 Rank **11** (out of 128 Countries) Score **0.744** (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Indicators

Total population (millions), 2005.....60.23
Population growth (in %)..... 0.66
GDP (US$ billions), 2005.....1,619.53
GDP (PPP) per capita..... 29,571
Mean age of marriage for women (years)..... . 26
Fertility rate (births per woman)..... 1.70
Year women received right to vote..... . 1928
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)..... 0.98

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Economic participation and Opportunity	**32**	**0.695**	**0.577**			
Labour force participation	36	0.85	0.69	69%	82%	0.85
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	61	0.66	0.64	—	—	0.66
Income (PPP US$)	22	0.65	0.50	24,448	.37,506	0.65
Legislators, senior officials and managers	29	..0.49	0.26	33%	67%	0.49
Professional and technical workers	59	0.85	..0.68	46%	54%	0.85
Educational Attainment	**1**	**1.000**	**0.916**			
Literacy rate.....	1	1.00	0.85	99%	99%	1.00
Enrolment in primary education.....	1	1.00	0.97	99%	99%	1.00
Enrolment in secondary education.....	1	1.00	0.92	97%	93%	1.03
Enrolment in tertiary education.....	1	1.00	..0.81	70%	51%	1.37
Health and Survival	**67**	**0.974**	**0.958**			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male)..... .	1	0.94	0.92	49%	51%	0.94
Healthy life expectancy.....	85	1.04	1.04	72	69	1.04
Political Empowerment	**12**	**0.307**	**0.142**			
Women in parliament.....	47	0.25	0.19	20%	80%	0.25
Women in ministerial positions.....	14	0.40	0.13	29%	71%	0.40
Number of years with a female head of state. (in last 50 years)	7	0.30	0.11	12	39	0.30

Additional data

Maternity and Childbearing

Births attended by skilled health staff (as % of total)..... 99
Contraceptive prevalence, married women (%)..... 84
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)..... 5

Length of paid maternity leave..... 26 weeks

Maternity leave benefits (% of wages paid) ..... 90 for the first 6 weeks and flat rate after
Provider of maternity coverage..... Employer (refunded for 92% by public funds)
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births..... .11
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15–19)..... 25.83

Education and Training

Percentage of female teachers, primary education..... .82
Percentage of female teachers, secondary education..... .... .61
Percentage of female teachers, tertiary education 40

Employment and Earnings

Female adult unemployment rate (%)..... .4
Male adult unemployment rate (%)..... 5
Women in non-agricultural paid labour (as % of total labour force) 50
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership*..... . 4.98

Basic Rights and Social Institutions**

Paternal versus maternal authority.....0.00

Female genital mutilation 0.00
Polygamy.....0.00
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence against women.... ..... 0.08

*survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1=worst score, 7=best score)
** data on a 0-to-1 scale (1=worst score, 0=best score

Denmark

Gender Gap Index 2007 Rank **8** (out of 128 Countries) Score **0.752** (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Indicators

Total population (millions), 2005..... 5.42
Population growth (in %)..... 0.27
GDP (US$ billions), 2005..... 171.21
GDP (PPP) per capita..... 30,224

Mean age of marriage for women (years)..... 31
Fertility rate (births per woman)..... 1.80
Year women received right to vote..... 1915
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)..... .0.98

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Economic participation and Opportunity	**18**	**0.734**	**0.577**			
Labour force participation	16	0.90	0.69	74%	83%	0.90
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	39	0.72	0.64	—	—	0.72
Income (PPP US$)	6	0.73	0.50	27,048	36,882	0.73
Legislators, senior officials and managers	63	..0.33	0.26	25%	75%	0.33
Professional and technical workers	1	1.00	..0.68	52%	48%	1.08
Educational Attainment	**1**	**1.000**	**0.916**			
Literacy rate.....	1	1.00	0.85	99%	99%	1.00
Enrolment in primary education.....	1	1.00	0.97	99%	97%	1.01
Enrolment in secondary education.....	1	1.00	0.92	93%	90%	1.03
Enrolment in tertiary education.....	1	1.00	..0.81	87%	61%	1.42
Health and Survival	**96**	**0.970**	**0.958**			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male).....	87	0.94	0.92	49%	51%	0.94
Healthy life expectancy.....	101	1.03	1.04	71	69	1.03
Political Empowerment	**13**	**0.305**	**0.142**			
Women in parliament.....	5	0.58	0.19	37%	63%	0.58
Women in ministerial positions.....	11	0.50	0.13	33%	67%	0.50
Number of years with a female head of state (in last 50 years)	42	0.00	0.11	0	50	0.00

Additional data

Maternity and Childbearing

Births attended by skilled health staff (as % of total)..—
Contraceptive prevalence, married women (%).....78
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)..... ...5
Length of paid maternity leave.....18 weeks
Maternity leave benefits (% of wages paid).. .90% up to a ceiling
Provider of maternity coverage..... State
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births..... . 7
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15–19)..... 6.76

Education and Training

Percentage of female teachers, primary education.. –
Percentage of female teachers, secondary education. –
Percentage of female teachers, tertiary education..... –

Employment and Earnings

Female adult unemployment rate (%) 5
Male adult unemployment rate (%) 5
Women in non-agricultural paid labour (as % of total labour force) 48

Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership* –

Basic rights and Social Institutions**

Paternal versus maternal authority 0.00
Female genital mutilation 0.00
Polygamy 0.00
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence against women 0.25

*survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1=worst score, 7=best score)
** data on a 0-to-1 scale (1=worst score, 0=best score)

Belgium

Gender Gap Index 2007 Rank **19** (out of 128 countries) Score **0.720** (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Indicators

Total population (millions), 2005.....10.48
Population growth (in %)..... 0.55
GDP (US$ billions), 2005.....249.35
GDP (PPP) per capita..... 28,575
Mean age of marriage for women (years)..... . 28
Fertility rate (births per woman)..... 1.70
Year women received right to vote..... 1948
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)..... . 0.96

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Economic participation and Opportunity	**46**	**0.668**	**0.577**			
Labour force participation	54	0.79	0.69	57%	73%	0.79
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	84	0.63	0.64	—	—	0.63
Income (PPP US$)	32	0.63	0.50	24,123	38,338	0.63
Legislators, senior officials and managers	41	..0.43	0.26	30%	70%	0.43
Professional and technical workers	54	0.92	..0.68	48%	52%	0.92
Educational Attainment	**1**	**1.000**	**0.916**			
Literacy rate.....	1	1.00	0.85	99%	99%	1.00
Enrolment in primary education.....	1	1.00	0.97	99%	99%	1.00
Enrolment in secondary education.....	1	1.00	0.92	97%	97%	1.00
Enrolment in tertiary education.....	1	1.00	. 0.81	69%	57%	1.21
Health and Survival	**50**	**0.979**	**0.958**			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male).....	1	0.94	0.92	49%	51%	0.94
Healthy life expectancy.....	61	1.06	1.04	73	69	1.06
Political Empowerment	**20**	**0.232**	**0.142**			
Women in parliament.....	11	0.53	0.19	35%	65%	0.53
Women in ministerial positions.....	28	0.27	0.13	21%	79%	0.27
Number of years with a female head of state. (in last 50 years)	42	0.00	0.11	0	50	0.00

Additional data

Maternity and Childbearing

Births attended by skilled health staff (as % of total).... –....
Contraceptive prevalence, married women (%).....78
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)..... 4
Length of paid maternity leave..... 15 weeks
Maternity leave benefits (% of wages paid).. 82% for the first 30 days and 75% for the rest (up to a ceiling)
Provider of maternity coverage.....Social security
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births..... 10
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15–19)..... 8.05

Education and Training

Percentage of female teachers, primary education..... 79
Percentage of female teachers, secondary education... 57
Percentage of female teachers, tertiary education..... 41

Employment and Earnings

Female adult unemployment rate (%) 8
Male adult unemployment rate (%) 7
Women in non-agricultural paid labour (as % of total labour force) 44

Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership 4.86

Basic rights and Social Institutions**

Paternal versus maternal authority 0.00
Female genital mutilation 0.00
Polygamy 0.00
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence against women 0.17

*survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1=worst score, 7=best score)
** data on a 0-to-1 scale (1=worst score, 0=best score)

Bulgaria

Gender Gap Index 2007 Rank **25** (out of 128 countries) Score **0.708** (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality)

Key Indicators

Total population (millions), 2005..... 7.74
Population growth (in %)..... -0.53
GDP (US$ billions), 2005..... 16.03
GDP (PPP) per capita..... 8,036
Mean age of marriage for women (years)..... 21
Fertility rate (births per woman)..... 1.20
Year women received right to vote..... 1945[34]
Overall population sex ratio (male/female)..... . 0.93

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Economic participation and Opportunity	**30**	**0.699**	**0.577**			
Labour force participation	40	0.84	0.69	52%	63%	0.84
Wage equality for similar work (survey)	86	0.63	0.64	—	—	0.63
Income (PPP US$)	22	0.65	0.50	6,406	9,855	0.65
Legislators, senior officials and managers	29	..0.49	0.26	33%	67%	0.49
Professional and technical workers	1	1.00	..0.68	61%	39%	1.56
Educational Attainment	**62**	**0.989**	**0.916**			
Literacy rate.....	58	0.99	0.85	98%	99%	0.99
Enrolment in primary education.....	76	0.99	0.97	95%	96%	0.99
Enrolment in secondary education.....	88	0.98	0.92	87%	90%	0.98
Enrolment in tertiary education.....	1	1.00	..0.81	44%	38%	1.16
Health and Survival	**37**	**0.979**	**0.958**			
Sex ratio at birth (female/male).....	87	0.94	0.92	49%	51%	0.94
Healthy life expectancy.....	1	1.06	1.04	67	63	1.06
Political Empowerment	**32**	**0.167**	**0.142**			
Women in parliament.....	36	0.28	0.19	22%	78%	0.28
Women in ministerial positions.....	22	0.31	0.13	24%	76%	0.31
Number of years with a female head of state (in last 50 years)	37	0.00	0.11	0	50	0.00

Additional data

Maternity and Childbearing

Births attended by skilled health staff (as % of total).. 99
Contraceptive prevalence, married women (%).....42
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births).....13
Length of paid maternity leave..... 135 days
Maternity leave benefits (% of wages paid)... ...90%
Provider of maternity coverage.....Social security
Maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births..... 32
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15–19)..... 43.97

Education and Training

Percentage of female teachers, primary education.....93
Percentage of female teachers, secondary education..77
Percentage of female teachers, tertiary education.....45

Employment and Earnings

Female adult unemployment rate (%) 13
Male adult unemployment rate (%) 14
Women in non-agricultural paid labour (as % of total labour force) 52
Ability of women to rise to positions of enterprise leadership* 5.22

Basic rights and Social Institutions**

Paternal versus maternal authority 0.00
Female genital mutilation 0.00
Polygamy 0.00
Existence of legislation punishing acts of violence against women 0.33

*survey data, responses on a 1-to-7 scale (1=worst score, 7=best score)
** data on a 0-to-1 scale (1=worst score, 0=best score)

[34] See the note on p.4. Women in Bulgaria voted for the first time in 1937 and 1938.