



International
Labour
Office

Promoting integration for migrant domestic workers in France

Executive Summary



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Box 1. Research field and research scope

This research is based on analysis of national statistics and a critical analysis, by the researchers, of the categories used. Fifty semi-structured interviews were conducted with migrants (average length: 100 minutes) and 16 with institutional actors. In addition, help desks were regularly observed, notably those run by trade unions. Finally, two round-table events were organized with third-sector associations, trade unions, public sector actors and employers' representatives.

The respondent sample was made up of migrant women from different geographical areas with different levels of qualifications and of different ages. In addition, they have (or have had) different statuses and different histories in terms of their documentation. Finally, they worked for different categories of employers (in the social economy, the not-for-profit and voluntary sector, the for-profit sector, or for private individuals), under different forms of service provision, and with differing levels of qualification. The interviews were conducted in the Paris region where, historically, there has been a concentration of migrant women.

The French country report of the European research project “Promoting the integration of migrant domestic workers” analyses the trajectories of migrants working in the domestic services sector in France. Although the sector has been significantly transformed, against a background of major socio-demographic changes, this research relates in particular to three groups of paid activities carried out in people's homes: care for incapacitated adults (dependent elderly and people with disabilities), childcare, and household services used by private individuals (single persons or families).

This research aims to understand how the position of migrants in the domestic work sector is constructed and changes over time, in terms of employment conditions, situations at work, qualifications, etc. In this framework, the issues of labour market mobility and the lack thereof have been fully explored, with the objective of understanding how such moves are ‘made’, when they take place, and what their significance is. The research has taken the following questions as its starting-points:

- Where are migrant women workers engaged in domestic work (i.e. What are their occupations? In which segments – formal and/or informal – of this sector can they be found, and what are their occupational trajectories? Do they have access to training schemes? etc.)?
- Who are they (not only in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, occupational trajectories, migration histories and levels of qualification, but also in terms of their documented status – introducing the issue of residence papers)?
- What are the effects on their trajectories of, inter alia, the practices of trade unions, third-sector associations and employers and, more particularly, of public policies (on employment, migration, training, old age, the family)?

1. MIGRANT WORKERS' TRAJECTORIES: CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

Domestic work in the French context

In order to analyse domestic work in France, it is important to note that we are looking at a mixed system of care for vulnerable people (a 'mixed care regime'). Its organization relies on government intervention (which gives rise to policies and public-sector funding measures), historically delivered through certain actors (third-sector associations or individuals), even though the informal economy and, more recently, the for-profit sector have contributed to structuring the area. Within that framework, home-based personal care and (less centrally) household services have been at the intersection of different social and public policies (not only family and old-age policies but also employment or training policies) since the 1980s.

Domestic work in France has been undergoing major transformations since the early 2000s. Led by the government of the day, these transformations were characterized by a drive towards commercialization, by support for emerging new actors (notably the for-profit sector, given that other players such as the social economy, not-for-profit and voluntary sector and private employers had long been present). These transformations have had a strong influence on the organization of domestic work, as well as on the employment conditions, working conditions and training of women domestic workers, as previous research has shown.

Moreover, domestic work constitutes a working universe that is extremely complex because of the diversity of the actors involved, the levels/scales of intervention (local and national) and the modes of regulation observed. Even though a law was passed in 2005 to bring 'personal and household services' – heterogeneous activities historically financed and organized in very different ways – under one umbrella, it did not reduce this complexity. Thus, home-based personal care for the elderly is still covered by different public policies and measures than those which apply in the field of childcare in the parents' home, for example. This means that the issues involved and the appropriate policy levers will be different.

It therefore seems difficult to argue in terms of a general, unifying trend in the sector. When it comes to professionalization, there have been huge strides forward over the course of 30 years, but this progress still remains fragile and has not taken place evenly or at the same time across all segments of the sector. Although there are some indicators of improvement in terms of employment conditions and working conditions, notably in the social economy and the not-for-profit and voluntary sectors, these advances too are fragile. The report examines these indicators and the various forms of service provision separately in order to identify not only where advances have taken place but also where there has been stagnation, or even some degree of regression (see Box 2).

In this landscape, undeclared work and jobs in the informal economy continue to structure the sector, particularly among certain groups of occupations such as housework, home security/ caretaking and childcare. The complex relationship between undeclared work and jobs in the informal economy (and the difficulty of reducing them) is well known: the mechanisms that govern the many different conditions under which work is carried out are difficult to apply and/or interpret by employers, employees and even those responsible for defending workers' rights like labour inspectors or work supervisors. The strengths of public policies in reducing undeclared work must therefore be emphasized – but so must its weaknesses. For instance, where social service provision is subject to monitoring undeclared work plays the smallest role – in home-based care for the elderly, for example.

Box 2. Diversity of employers, diversity of forms of service provision, diversity of rights

Paid home-based care work is not a homogeneous activity. Its formal segments include many different kinds of employers, from private individuals to public institutions, through companies and associations operating in the social economy, the not-for-profit and voluntary sectors. It is only very recently (2012) that people working for private companies have come under a collective agreement.

In this context, people can be employed in three ways. 'Direct employment' means that they are employed and paid directly by the person for whom they perform the service. In the 'service provider mode' (*voie prestataire*) the person is employed and paid by a body that may be an association, a company, etc. In the 'agency mode' (*voie mandataire*) the person performing the service is employed and paid by the person receiving it but an agency recruits the domestic worker and handles the administrative aspects. Therefore the agency mode is not precisely equivalent to direct employment. Under a Government Order of 2004, agency activities were opened up to companies.

Employees working under the agency or service provider modes come under different collective agreements. These forms of service provision are not equivalent in terms of rights or payment conditions. Direct employment and the agency mode tend to lead to individualization of working conditions, employment conditions and pay – and to make them more insecure.

Our research includes these different frameworks and employment statuses, as well as looking at the possible different types of employers and taking into account situations where people have more than one job, more than one employer or even work that is undeclared or in the informal economy.

Migration and migration policies

The changes in the sector continue to take place against a background of changing migration policies and dynamics. For more than three decades, immigration policies and regulations have become increasingly restrictive, making everyday life more precarious for all foreigners and introducing complex conditions and longer timescales for regularizing one's migration status. However, the State undertook several large-scale regularization programmes in 1986 and 1997, in a context where regularization 'went with the flow'. A final wave of regularization was implemented in 2008 for migrants without legal residence status but who had already worked for an employer for a long time; this often involved associations and trade unions reaching out to migrants in an irregular situation. On the other hand, the most recent regularization programmes have been instigated ad hoc by local government officials, which has led to cases of unequal treatment. Associations remain active on these issues and continue their attempts to influence migration and regularization policy directions. It should be emphasized that despite the increase in deportation orders (obligations de quitter le territoire français, or OQTFs), their enforcement remains financially costly and tricky in terms of diplomatic relations with the countries of origin and the political weight of human rights .

As in other European countries, European Union measures transposed into French law have generated particularly complex legal mechanisms and a dense forest of constantly changing legislation and regulations. This transposition has also tended to increase the number of legal classifications of migration and migrants ('temporary migration for work', 'permanent migration for work', 'family reunification', etc.) without enabling a better description or understanding of social practices and dynamics, since migrants may belong to several categories simultaneously or successively over the course of their lives. These changes have tended to produce different categories of 'irregular migrants' and to increase not only the number of people moving towards this status but also diversified the ways of becoming irregular.

Focusing more particularly on the issue of work, we find that this guiding legislation led to a policy of selective migration (*immigration choisie*), with the Law of 24 July 2006. This selective approach to migration and migrants privileges the movement of skilled or highly skilled people while introducing measures to restrict the free movement of people identified as low-skilled or to confine them to certain occupational sectors or seasonal labour.

2. IS PUBLIC POLICY FOR DEVELOPING PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD SERVICES BASED ON IMMIGRATION POLICIES ... OR ON MIGRATION?

In the late 2000s, domestic work did not generally appear on shortage occupation lists (which tended to outline occupations mostly held by men), but did appear in two scenarios: on lists drawn up under bilateral agreements between France and Senegal and between France and Mauritius. However, when the lists were updated, these occupations disappeared from the agreements. There have been no published data relating to the number or profiles of people covered by these measures. Indeed, the policymakers consulted during the project were in agreement that the numbers involved were extremely small.

Looking at this first area of observation and the analysis of our interviews, it is clear that policies for developing personal and household services have been based on the policy of selective immigration. In contrast, the development of domestic work itself has been based on migration, as analysis of quantitative data and, in particular, analysis of the trajectories of women working informally in this sector show.

Migrant women: a non-target group?

In fact, it seems that policy for developing these forms of employment and their professionalization has, since the late 2000s, favoured the entry of young people to the labour market – notably as care workers – through funding their initial training or apprenticeship agreements. The new majority government elected in May 2012 has included personal and household services as one of the main spheres of activity promoting youth employment. However, there is no explicit reference made to migrant women. Nor is the idea of favouring migrants put forward any longer, since the domestic work sector is increasingly seen, alongside several other sectors, as work that cannot be outsourced. Migrants therefore seem to be a ‘non-target audience’ for public policies. In terms of employment and professionalization policies, the emphasis has been on promoting general schemes to migrants, rather than on creating special schemes specific to any one sector.

Existing schemes tend to focus on pre-professional training. These schemes operate notably through a “Welcoming and Integration Contract” (contrat d’accueil et d’intégration, or CAI). This is the situation with the 2008 Statement of Agreement between the Ministry of Immigration, the Pôle Emploi (Job Centres) and the Agence nationale des services à la personne (National Agency for Personal and Household Services, ANSP); five priorities were identified for promoting the employment of people who benefit from the CAI and of

immigrants (knowing that different schemes apply to different groups):

1. implementing schemes that aim to make both parties to a CAI more aware of the employment potential offered by the personal and household services sector.
2. making a “Personal and Household Services: Introductory Module” training scheme (“module d’insertion dans les services à la personne”, or MISAP) available to Job Centres.
3. promoting learning of the French language.
4. concluding partnership agreements between the ANSP and employers’ networks or associations.
5. setting up an information base for employees about schemes for the accreditation of skills and experience acquired during previous work (validation des acquis et de l’expérience, or VAE).

To summarize:

- Migrants appear to be an unacknowledged target group for pre-professional training measures (with major prominence given to the issue of language).
- The scope of the professionalization policy chosen is universal.
- There is tension between the de facto presence of migrants, the recognition of this presence, their categorization as a ‘special group’ and the guidelines followed by public authorities and public-sector operators.



3. STATISTICAL OVERVIEW

The measurement of the role of migrants within the domestic work sector, the characteristics of migrant domestic workers and their employment conditions presented us with two challenges. First, existing employment categories do not cover the range of occupations grouped together under the internationally recognized definition of ‘domestic workers’. Second, it was crucial to give a clear definition of what we mean by ‘who is a migrant’, as this has consequences for analysis, understanding and also policy-making.

First, after consulting a number of studies carried out by government departments, as well as academics specialized in this field, the most recent data set from the national LFS (2010) was found to be best suited to the exercise. The criterion of work used in this study as that being carried out in the home of the employer meant that childcare workers (in the home of the child’s parents) escaped measurement (these workers being grouped together in the category *assistantes maternelles*, the majority of whom look after children in their own homes). Thus the role and characteristics of migrants in the occupational groups “home maintenance/cleaning workers” and “dependent elderly/disabled homecare workers” are analysed in detail.

Second, migrant workers were distinguished from other categories of foreign-born, foreign nationals or persons born in France of foreign parentage, combining the variables place of birth and nationality, in addition to a minimum age of arrival in France of 16 years.

Available data on international migration flows to France reveal a number of changes in their size and composition. France has a long history of immigration, from neighbouring European states from the end of the nineteenth century, to colonial/postcolonial migration from the 1950s, to a widely diverse tableau of geographical origins from the 1990s. Information on migration trends is fragmented; however, the report brings together data from a number of sources in order to contextualize the study of migrants in the domestic work sector. Thus certain origins are shown to predominate (North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa), with a differing gender balance between flows (e.g. women outnumber men migrating to France from China, Cameroon and Russia). Census data reveal that the longstanding over-representation of migrants in construction (men) and personal services (women) still applies, as does the fact that the Paris Region remains a principal magnet for migrants (47% of salaried immigrant workers in France lived in the region in 2008).

The LFS data reveals, first, that women are over-represented in the two groups of occupations and, second, migrants are over-represented amongst home maintenance/cleaning employees (17% UE27 nationals and 8% TCN women, compared to 2% of all women working in the sector) and dependent elderly/disabled homecare workers (8% and 10% respectively, compared to 4% of all women). The estimated totals of migrant workers in the two occupational groups in 2010 are: 36,000 UE27 nationals and 34,600 TCN home

maintenance/cleaning workers and 17,800 UE27 nationals and 43,000 TCN dependent elderly/disabled homecare workers.¹ Taken together, migrant workers comprise 28 per cent and 11 per cent of each occupational group respectively, and are highly concentrated in the Paris Region (60% and 45% respectively). Whilst migrants from Portugal account for 80 per cent of European migrant workers in home maintenance/cleaning, women from Germany and Poland are numerous amongst elderly/disabled homecare workers from Europe. Women from North and Sub-Saharan Africa account for over half of TCN home maintenance/cleaning workers, but Latin/South American and Asian women represent 13 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. TCN migrant workers in elderly/disabled homecare are principally from Africa (79%) and Latin/South America (15%).

The age structure and education levels of migrant workers in these two occupational groups reflect general trends within the groups. Whilst migrant workers in elderly/disabled homecare are younger (particularly amongst TCNs), older migrants are over-represented in both occupational groups. A majority of home maintenance/cleaning workers hold no education diplomas (particularly amongst migrants from the UE27); this was less the case for migrant workers in elderly/disabled homecare. In both occupation groups, a significant proportion of TCN migrants have tertiary education qualifications (10% and 14% respectively).

The majority of employees worked part-time but TCN migrants more frequently reported under-employment. Migrant workers in elderly/disabled homecare, particularly the TCNs, commonly worked during weekends.

For the first time in France, it has been possible to bring together statistical data from different sources in order to gain an appreciation of the part played by migrants in the 'domestic work' sector. This study also contributes to moving the perspective towards who are the people carrying out the work in this sector apparently targeted by policy-makers. The role of migrants caring for children in the homes of their employers also becomes clearer in our analysis of trajectories of migrant women in the domestic work sector in the Paris Region.

¹ The LFS does not include questions on legal status nor on whether employment is declared or not.

4. ANALYSING AND UNDERSTANDING TRAJECTORIES. FROM OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIZATION TO MOBILITY BY CHOICE?

The singular nature of migrants' trajectories is constructed in the ways they move or are unable to move between different forms of service provision, types of employers, etc. The current context for implementing professionalization policies redefines and constantly updates this set of issues. The particular nature of their experience can also be seen in the difficulties that they encounter in acquiring qualifications in a professional universe where routes to, and levels of, qualification are generally limited.

Following this observation, analysis of trajectories confirms the hypothesis that there is a process which relegates migrant women to the most vulnerable spaces of domestic work; this research project explores how differentiations between the different categories of migrant women come into play in this dynamic.

This analysis goes hand in hand with a presentation of the diversity of trajectories within this population. This also helps us, finally, to understand the increasing insecurity for migrant women, as well as the resources they draw on when trying to negotiate an occupational integration trajectory that matches the possibilities they have chosen to explore.

The qualitative approach does not provide a nationally representative picture of the number and trajectories of migrant women domestic workers. On the other hand, it does enable us to give a very precise reply to the key questions for identifying the factors driving and impeding improvement in working conditions or employment conditions and for supporting the integration and professional advancement of migrants, such as: Are there movements between the different segments of domestic work, as defined by government statistics?; How are these made and in what directions?; Are they accompanied by improvements in employment conditions, working conditions and pay?; Do they correspond to a qualification trajectory, even for those who have no educational and occupational qualifications (acquired in their country of origin)?; How do the women perceive them?; How and why do migrant women leave domestic work?

Two ways in which migrant women enter the domestic services labour market in France

First, entering into domestic work in France is almost concomitant with migration, which indeed helped to build it. Entrants to the segment include migrant women from the former Eastern bloc countries and from the Philippines. Even though immigration to France from these two geographical areas is recent, they are typical of those supplying the care workforce in various societies of both North and (for the Philippines) South.

In this case, there are (formal or semi-formal) migration channels which are organized by and for the international care labour market. Through informal networks and prior experience, many migrants are aware that labour is needed in care services and in personal and household services. It is this knowledge that links in to their needs – not only to a plan to improve their living conditions or resist poverty but also to “the desire to be elsewhere”,² which acts as a major impetus for leaving their country of origin.

‘Care routes’ may take these women around an international market in paid care or bring them directly to France. This international market for domestic work in private households is in part configured by the demand from and availability of direct employment through private employers. Alternatively, there are migrant women whose trajectories form part of what is considered ‘postcolonial migration’. In this scenario, which includes women coming from North African countries, migration and plans to migrate – when there are any – are not envisaged or developed with regard to the gendered international market for care.

On the contrary, women are ‘snapped up’ by this sector after they arrive in France. They go into the domestic services labour market either because they cannot find a job in other sectors or because they are recruited into it by someone close to them. These women’s trajectories accord with those of the women who make up the first group, in that they enter the sector through undeclared and informal work and for private employers. What is striking in this case is the position and role of informal intermediaries. Moreover, if we analyse employers’ practices, it seems that they are less likely (by comparison with the first group) to recruit domestic workers directly and more likely to do so through a woman already in the job. Therefore these entries into the sector are, as a rule, distinguished by a trajectory that involves replacing others on a one-off basis before moving on to have one’s own ‘family’ (i.e. regular clients).

The logic of domesticity, the logic of employment, and the logic of occupation: a typology of possible movements and of changes in conditions of employment and working conditions

We highlighted three types of logic that offer a framework for a clear interpretation of forms of engagement in work and of those forms of mobility where migration trajectory, migration status, occupational trajectory and the course of family life interact.

² Fraisse, G., *Femmes toutes mains. Essai sur le service domestique*, Paris, Seuil, [1979], 2009 .

The diagram below gives an overview of the three kinds of logic that make up a typology of possible movements and changes in working conditions and conditions of employment. It should be noted that, although it is possible to move between the logic of domesticity and the occupational logic, not all women experience the latter. Moreover, such movements are not systematic. For these reasons, it is important to understand what underpins them and what they mean for women when they take place. Finally, we should draw attention to the fact that the same person may be involved in one logic or another at different times over her life course, as analysis of our interviews shows.

These occupational changes are constructed through linkages between social dynamics, women's capacities for action and any tactics they can develop. But it must be understood that the latter are formed in the light of employers' practices and context effects, which include in particular the effects of public policies (whether general, focused on migrants or focused on women).

Within the logic of domesticity, entering the French domestic services labour market – and remaining there – is an experience socially constructed by the ways in which emigration and immigration take place. However, it is above all in France itself that the entry into domesticity and – for some women – into servitude is constructed. This is because, although modes of emigration and immigration play a part in this process, they do not constitute a necessary condition for it. Employers' practices, the effects of public policies and even the difficulties of bringing the home into the scope of labour legislation as a work space all certainly do.



People who emigrate are those who are in a position to raise a sufficiently large sum of money to embark on the journey. Therefore, it is not the most deprived groups (in terms of economic, symbolic or social capital) who leave their country of origin. Women who emigrate, notably those who join the 'care routes' in Europe (for example women from the Eastern Europe or the Philippines) may therefore be in a situation of indebtedness, dependent on work to pay back the sum owed (to an agency, to a third party or to their family) on top of paying for living in Europe and sending money home. Several women stated that they are working in order to take care of other people 'back home' and in response to money pressures 'back there': this seems to suggest that their willingness to accept especially poor working conditions, comparable to situations of servitude, is particularly high.

The logic of domesticity is also constructed through what we have called 'the rules of informality' or rather, of dual informality (irregular migration status and undeclared work) against a backdrop of personalized employer-employee relationships. Thus, as we analysed our interviews, a picture emerged of an informal labour market, linked to the formal segments but with its own recruitment spaces (known resource sites in different districts of Paris or the surrounding towns that have a large population located in the managerial classes and where offers of or requests for work are displayed), with its own codes and its informal employment intermediaries (who may be the women or the employers). Because of its permanence over time, this informal organization is not exceptional. Among these rules there are norms and practices that regulate linkages between employment supply and demand, such as reputation (constructed as the worker continually moves between families) and trust, in parallel with acknowledged skills; this is similar to what we observe in the formal segment, but is particularly salient in the informal. These intertwined dynamics help us to understand and interpret why women (seem to) accept such poor working conditions and low pay, violence at work and situations of blatant mistreatment. Not least among their reasons is the fact that they know the weight these informal 'rules' carry and the importance of their component 'trust/reputation/word-of-mouth' triad: they accept these situations with a view to their next or future employment. In this sense, they understand this experience as a temporary stage in a trajectory – although social isolation and exploitation can make it a long one.

Their material conditions in life at the time of recruitment also play a big role in this process of acceptance: a live-in job is one means of solving problems of access to housing, which are made worse where the worker's documented status is irregular. Taking a longer view, the women are also aware of – or have an intuition about – the effects of professionalization on current recruitment practices in the 'formal' and formalized domestic services labour market. In other words, these experiences of domesticity are also constructed because of the objective situation in this sector. In that context, lack of qualifications recognized on the formal labour market not only increases women's occupational and social vulnerability, but also produces a negative self-image.

Finally, employers' practices must be highlighted. In this configuration, these may relate to women being subordinated in a number of ways, ranging from withholding identity documents to denying their individuality.

It appears that working, living and payment conditions depend on the way that tasks are broken up, on the constant requirements to be available that are permitted by living-in (unlimited working time, sleepless hours, rest periods liable to interruption at any moment on the employer's demand) and on lack of privacy or of time to oneself. Furthermore, analyses of working situations and of relations with the employer reveal an image of the stately domesticity of the past which was and remains "a representation, an incarnation of the masters in whose service one was"³ or of the figure of the maid of all work – which both relate to a relationship of servitude.

Pay is often well below not only the minimum wage laid down by collective agreements but also the statutory minimum wage – all the more so if hours worked or available for work are taken into account. Moreover, terms of remuneration are offered by employers at a time when the person who is being recruited often does not yet have the resources enabling her to challenge the offer.

Finally, the trajectories of working lives spent in domesticity are punctuated by abuse and violence – which are especially damaging to health because the people who experience them think of themselves as outside the scope of labour law and social protection. In this sense, dual informality has a powerful influence on trajectories, both objectively and subjectively.

It does seem to be possible to flee the situation – although doing so is not necessarily synonymous with breaking away from this logic of domesticity. Where women do manage to escape, the weakness of social ties formed 'over here' and the lack of resources that they can mobilize at this point in their trajectories increase their vulnerability and social insecurity, thus exposing them to other forms of violence. Like migrants who have arrived in France over decades before them, new arrivals have certain existing resource spaces and sites: churches as a space for socialization and for circulating key information about access to the work, networks that they have built up here, and various associations (charitable ones in particular, since associations campaigning for foreigners' rights were not well known among interviewees); people they meet locally also act as resources.

3 Fraisse, G., *Femmes toutes mains. Essai sur le service domestique*, Paris, Seuil, [1979], 2009 .

THE LOGIC OF EMPLOYMENT

The logic of employment is also based on the rules of informality described above, and even when women move on to this logic, it continues to be configured by their documented/migration status, notably in the form of casual jobs. Like migration status, conditions of emigration and immigration continue to have an impact. Analysis confirms what other research has often shown in the last 30 years: increased occupational and social vulnerability arising from (a lack of) legal status and the resulting construction of the dynamics of labour market mobility. From the perspective of this social reality, in particular, the terms used by the women begin to make sense: notably the recurrent mention of the theme of 'luck' in looking back at encounters with employers whose assistance (though not necessarily accompanied by labour law compliance) had provided leverage in women's trajectories (active mobilization of the employer's network to find new employers, renting housing with proof of rent, etc.). However, these were fragile, unpredictable levers, drawing the women into what might be called a 'random integration trajectory', which is subject to the whim of the employers and/or those of their family (and thus more a part of the logic of assistance and gift than the register of law and social justice).

In terms of employment status and employment conditions, this logic may relate just as much to jobs in the informal economy as to carrying out functions reflecting poor practice by agencies or taking employment with organizations that impose broken and fragmentary schedules and/or overt deviations from labour law.

In practice, there seems to be a fall in the number of working situations that involve extremely fragmented tasks, ranging from childcare to care for an elderly person through taking care of everything relating to the home when the family is not there (which can include painting and decorating, helping with removals, etc.). These give way to a heterogeneity of clientele (housekeeping at one person's house, childcare at another's, caring for an elderly person at yet a third), within a framework of multiple casual or permanent employment, and continue to blur the boundaries between groups of occupations.

It is notably when women attain a form of 'stability in instability' (for example, in terms of working hours, or because they cease to be registered with a temping agency, working sporadically as a substitute for other women, who are themselves in an insecure situation) that they can be said to have shifted from the casual employment logic to the stable employment logic. The arduous nature of the work does not necessarily diminish, but it changes in register and different levers come into play.

Women found in this register, as in the preceding one, have a positive attitude to work. Women who, upon finding employment, find themselves in the casual job register – involving very short and probably fragmented working hours and making it difficult to manage responsibility for domestic pressures – are not doing this by choice. This is often a time

when there is no other option. Although casual jobs involve women in a spiral of increasing and sometimes long-term insecurity, the fact that they do not live-in does allow them to keep a fundamental distance from the employer and to break away from a fundamental form of dependence.

This stage may also briefly involve strategies of deferring entry to employment or the search for stable employment, whether formal or informal. And there are other features distinguishing the logic of employment from the logic of domesticity, notably the register of stable employment.

If we focus more attention on the women's **trajectories** and on **changes of occupation**, it appears that reducing social isolation, encounters with institutions 'over here' or even increasingly diverse networks may all provide the fertile ground necessary for such movement. Furthermore, children starting school is also an important stage, as are access to the state medical assistance scheme (*Assistance Medicale de l'Etat, AME*) and women's improving knowledge of their rights and of social protection. Forming a relationship and/or moving in with a partner is another important stage, in that this may give access to a more stable income through the sharing of resources. Other triggers to add to this list are the role of life course hardships, such as, the abrupt end of a working relationship and therefore of one's housing situation (whether caused by the employer or another scenario), or suffering health problems (at work). The activities of associations and trade unions may also be another driver for exit from the logic of domesticity and entry into the logic of employment, as can collective action and campaigns. The trajectories of women who were active in the 'movement of the undocumented' in the late 2000s provide an example of this. These different elements characterize not only individual trajectories but also the social dynamics that feed the social construction of the logic of employment.

THE LOGIC OF OCCUPATION

Access to skills training and qualifications is an important precondition for involving women in an occupational/career logic or in long-term mobility in the formal segments of this labour market. Regularization of residence status represents an important stage in women's occupational trajectories. It allows them to access the most formal segments and forms of service provision as well as particular schemes intended for those who have completed the process of regularization (like the CAI – though not all our interviewees identified this scheme as such).

Underpinned by policies of professionalization implemented at the intersection of the local and the national, this logic is driven particularly by the service provider form of employment. The occupational logic is also found in the context of direct employment, but it is confounded by the personal nature of employer-employee relations. In that sense, it is unpredictable, since it depends on the life events of the employer or his/her family and on their readiness to respect legal frameworks (if they know the legislation) and leads to an uncertain and/or unsettled form of integration.

That being the case, it seems important to highlight the biases/risks of professionalization and of implicit recommendations.

For example, the formalization of recruitment criteria plays a part in relegating migrant women to the most subordinate and increasingly vulnerable situations in this already insecure segment. Although one might speculate that this is a transitory situation, field data show that this is in fact a long-term construct. Moreover, most of these training schemes are generally available and the issue is no longer to produce new schemes but to work on their effectiveness and on their accessibility to all. Therefore the true risk is that only a minority of migrant women will gain access to these schemes, since they lack not only resources but also knowledge, including institutional knowledge that places value on this type of scheme. This is one of the particular reasons why, based on the current research, the service provider mode of employment seems the most likely to support circulation of this information and therefore to support access to training schemes. Access to occupational training and to information on the topic is diffused through service provider employers (when employers are involved) and through institutional actors (public-sector and state agencies, trade unions). Indeed, this hypothesis has been validated in the case of women working in home-based care for vulnerable adults. In this regard, local experiments – picking up on a national approach to migrant issues – also seem to represent an interesting way forward. However, it is important to make these training and professionalization schemes relevant and immediately applicable, and not to adhere solely to pre-professional training schemes, such as language learning.

As mentioned before, schemes such as the VAE do exist, but the question remains how accessible they are for migrant women, as access to training has been reduced because of budgetary constraints – whether difficulties in funding these training schemes or in paying women adequately once they have qualifications.

ON THE ISSUE OF LANGUAGE

The last point raises the question of French language competency. If discussions on this are to go forward, it is important that the issue covers diverse aspects, such as the oral and written language, but also the acquisition of specialist occupational language and institutional language.

A SUGGESTED ACTION PLAN

- Make employment, education, and integration schemes more accessible to migrant women
- Validation of local experimental schemes aiming to share information about work, changes in the organization of work and access to training schemes
- Long-term support to aforementioned schemes and the actors who implement them, as well as to transferability of knowledge acquired at the local, regional and national level
- Promoting cooperation between diverse social actors in the field of domestic work
- Creating and supporting spaces in which information and expert advice on domestic work can be provided to three groups: migrants, institutional actors, employers
- Supporting self-directed (training) activities on the basis of alternative educational methods for learning French in its different registers (colloquial vocabulary, administrative language)
- Make readily available information on labour rights to facilitate the voicing of complaints to unions or other organisations that can assist in defending and protecting migrant workers.
- Pressing for the implementation of existing measures and agreements (within the framework of negotiations with social partners) and in the context of European resolutions on social and legal support
- Supporting national associations which assist immigrant women and combat the particular forms of violence that affect them
- Preventing and combating violence against women

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