



Filling the Care Gap in Feminising European Economies: Spanish and Portuguese Women's Migration to France, 1960-1980s



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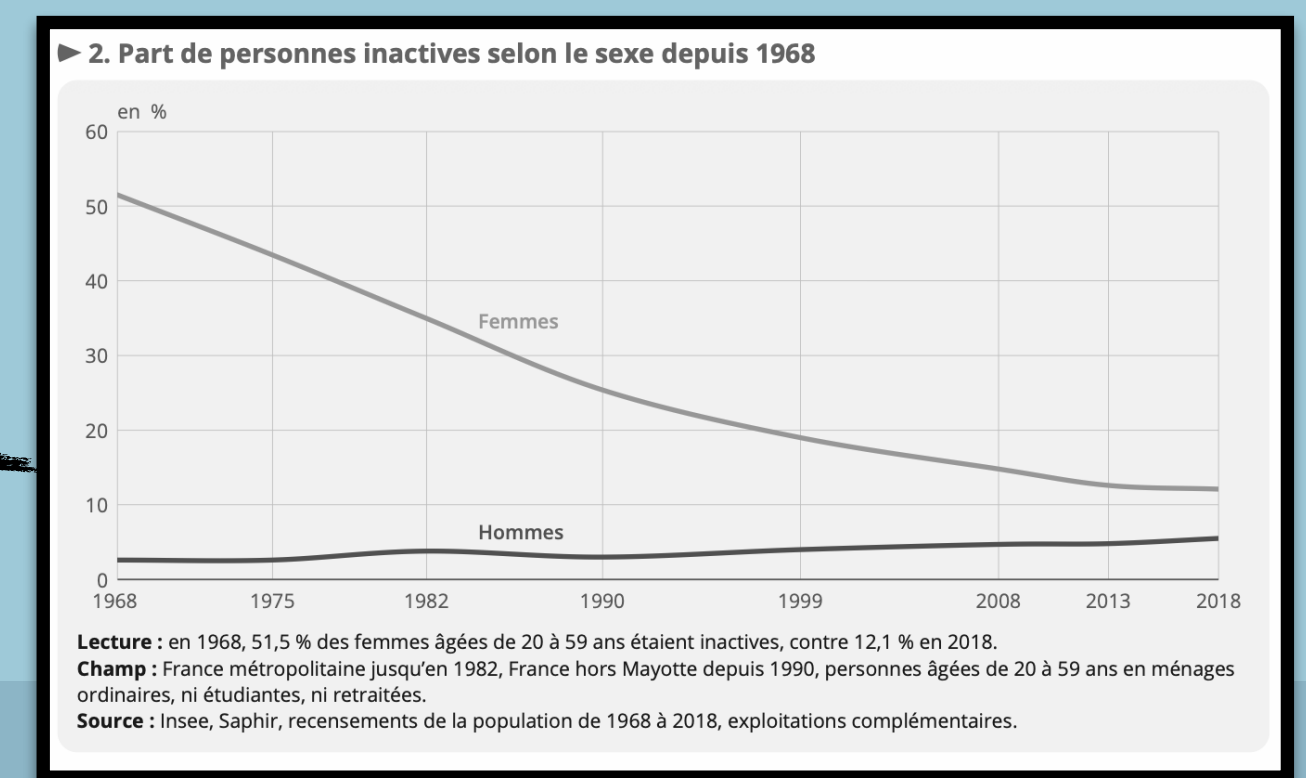
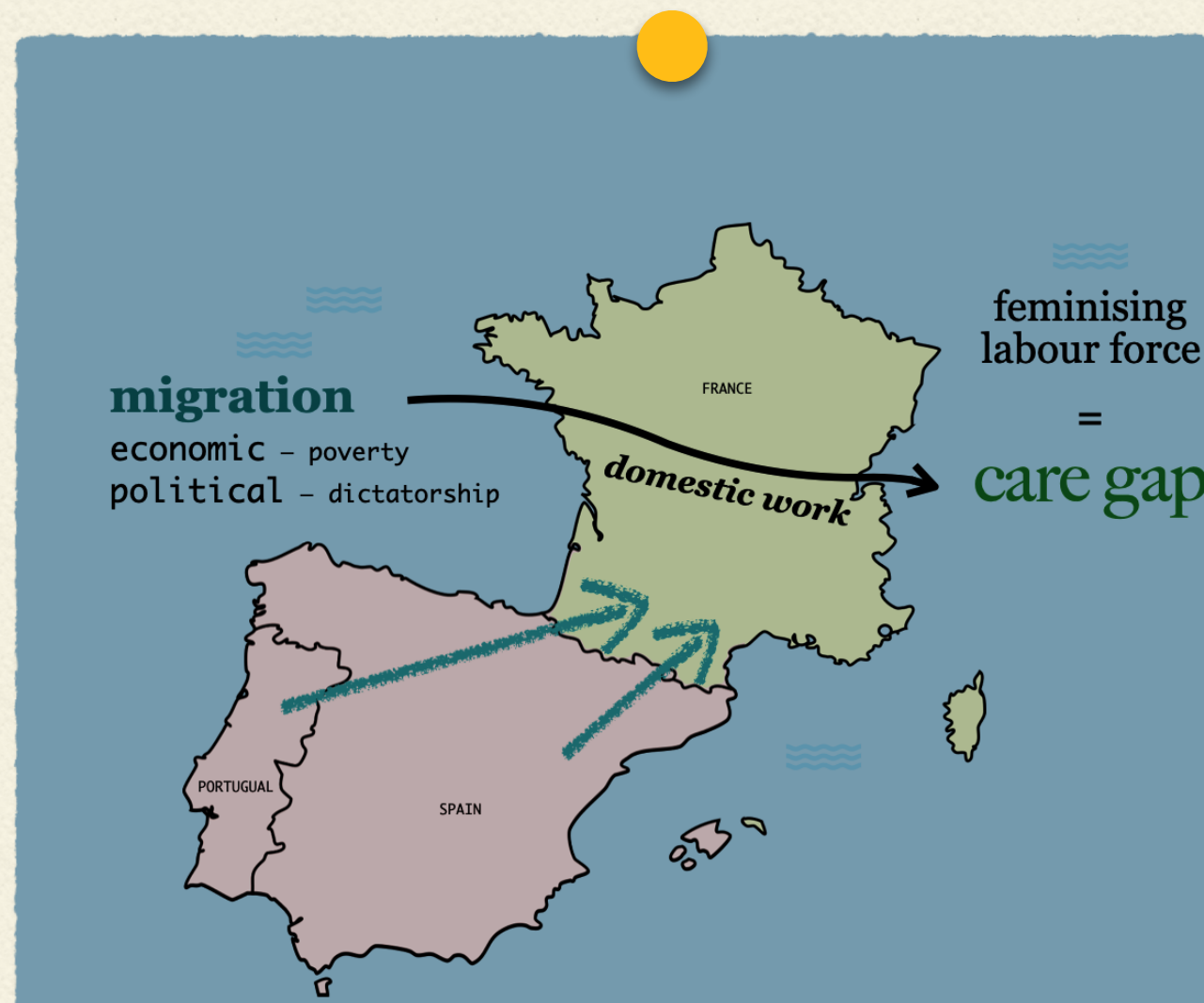
research topic

1960-1980s

- feminisation of the French labour force
 - ➔ care work provided by women → emergence of care gap
- migration of Spanish & Portuguese women to France
 - ➔ significant portion of French domestic workers

D 12 POPULATION TOTALE PAR NATIONALITÉ, SEXE, ÂGE, CATÉGORIE SOCIOPROFESSIONNELLE ET TYPE D'ACTIVITÉ													
ACTIFS AYANT UN EMPLOI PAR NATIONALITÉ ET ACTIVITÉ ÉCONOMIQUE													
Caractéristiques individuelles		Ensemble		Français		Étrangers		dont nationalité					
				Total	dont par acquisition	Total	%*	Italiens	Autres C.E.E.	Espagnols	Portugais	Algériens	Marocains
Population totale par sexe, âge, catégorie socioprofessionnelle et type d'activité													
Total général		54295612	50581412	1421568	3714200	6, 8	340308	160008	327156	767304	805116	441308	190800
Hommes		26487656	24388088	620108	2119568	8, 0	192996	84090	172612	405744	494640	268892	118760
Total		5755324	5281888	20032	453436	8, 6	18880	8688	23784	112108	130528	82244	34196
moins de 15 ans		4366532	4084416	56100	282116	6, 5	18844	8568	24452	68884	66432	29600	12884
15 à 24 ans		4322184	3943244	76460	378940	8, 8	25620	13216	19772	75576	53636	61112	29544
25 à 34 ans		6470740	5788288	190924	682452	10, 5	65584	22792	51280	128272	199652	85288	36284
35 à 44 ans		2643208	2432424	128396	149784	5, 7	31148	14072	22368	16120	33924	8412	4044
45 à 54 ans		2929668	2796828	146196	132840	4, 5	33120	16824	30956	4784	10468	2236	1828
55 à 64 ans													
65 ans ou plus													
Femmes		27807956	26213324	801460	1594632	5, 7	147312	75948	154544	361560	310476	172416	72040
Total		5481704	5017048	19404	464656	8, 5	17660	8000	22220	105592	124720	78472	31428
moins de 15 ans		4248472	3977636	61412	270836	6, 4	15424	12640	21336	69508	63476	31556	11232
15 à 24 ans		4241868	3948760	104944	293108	6, 9	13112	15628	15124	73192	54688	38196	16628
25 à 34 ans		6323124	5988504	243684	334820	5, 3	38780	16960	45492	99580	56628	21020	9708
35 à 44 ans		2913748	2629324	160396	84424	2, 9	21084	7096	18728	11556	7544	1924	1184
45 à 54 ans		499740	4452052	211656	146968	3, 2	41252	15604	31644	5132	7420	1248	1860
55 à 64 ans													
65 ans ou plus													
1. Agriculteurs exploitants		1470904	1460480	16644	10444	0, 7	3176	3592	1356	420	104	212	76
2. Artisans, commerçants, chefs d'entreprise		1829788	1768524	68280	61264	3, 3	15268	6256	6608	5456	11708	3544	3044
3. Cadres, professions intellectuelles sup.		1897872	1847128	52340	50744	2, 7	4228	15672	2284	948	2236	1400	1460
4. Professions intermédiaires		3938696	3858160	91848	80536	2, 0	13836	14116	16112	3444	8560	2780	3112
5. Employés		5368876	5212188	136040	154688	2, 9	12952	10108	13512	30456	33328	11524	7936
6. Person. serv. directs aux partic.		885172	776032	131316	109140	12, 3	6892	2700	16112	11220	6256	3712	2856
7. Ouvriers non qualifiés		4038764	3847048	121576	391716	9, 7	46960	7120	39160	111200	84516	37140	20148
8. Ouvriers qualifiés		3464876	2856108	103388	609768	17, 6	39680	4880	38736	171680	153336	83772	33092
9. Ouvriers agricoles		294620	242728	7132	51892	17, 6	2668	1052	9376	11188	1904	19212	2856
10. Retraités		7402180	7159616	337328	242564	3, 3	68096	30636	53936	8080	16224	2836	2072
11. Autres sans activité professionnelle		23705864	21754420	456676	1951444	8, 2	127572	63676	135612	373776	481980	272832	113392
Actifs ayant un emploi		21471784	20126088	570368	1345696	6, 3	132680	60240	126016	361180	251740	145044	63756
dont hommes		12998384	11952688	335776	812444	6, 3	106032	41244	88824	236564	228232	133012	58512
Chômeurs		2079392	1859476	65772	219916	10, 6	13956	6120	13832	30236	70612	25592	13688
dont hommes		934860	791492	28004	143368	15, 3	8508	2984	8124	18828	51264	16724	10720
Inactifs		30744436	28555548	785428	2148688	7, 0	19372	93648	187308	375908	482764	270672	113456
dont hommes		12554412	11624008	256328	930404	7, 4	78456	39832	77664	154252	215144	117156	49528

French census data (INSEE, 1982)



French census data (INSEE, 1968-2018)

research topic

2000

global care chain

Hochschild (2000)

= a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring

= chains usually made up of women

research question & objectives

How did the migration of Portuguese and Spanish women to France and their domestic work operate as an early form of *global care chain* responding and contributing to the feminisation of the French labour market?

objectives

- ① **retrace** the *global care chain* connecting Spain, Portugal, and France
- ② **map** the intersection of care work, migration, and women's labour to analyse how the domestic work of migrant women supported the feminisation of the French labour market
- ③ **understand** the lived-experience and everyday strategies of migrant Portuguese and Spanish domestic workers
- ④ **examine** the interpersonal relationships and power dynamics between migrant domestic workers and their French female employers as the most local and tangible expression of the care chain

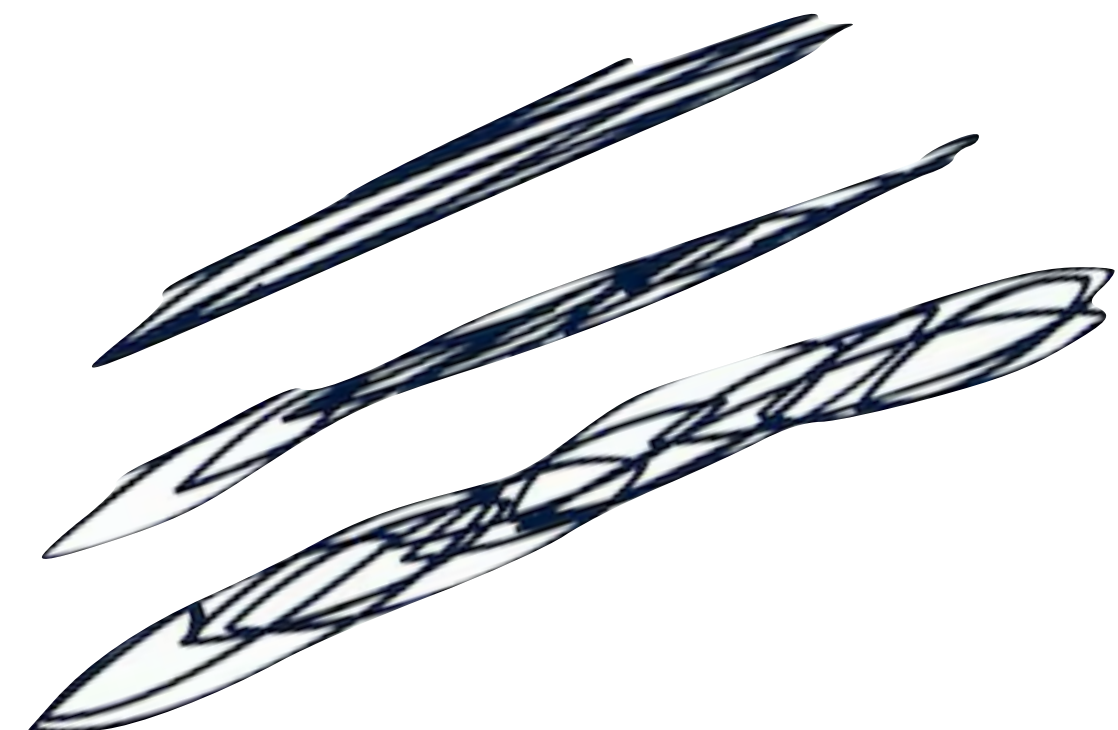
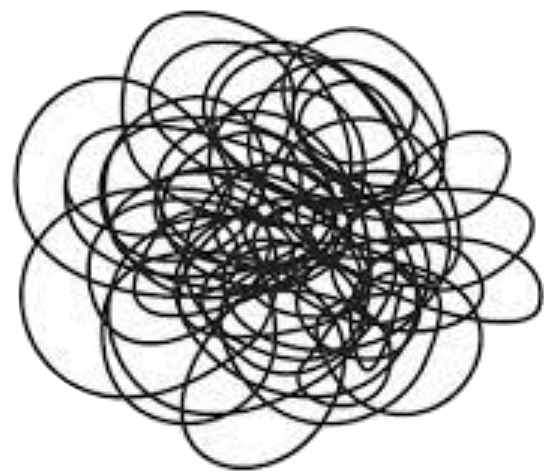
primary sources

challenging data collection

=

topic importantly
invisibilised and underdocumented

- irregular migration — hard to track and measure
- gendered perspective — still overlooked
- care work — often informal, undocumented and mostly devalorised



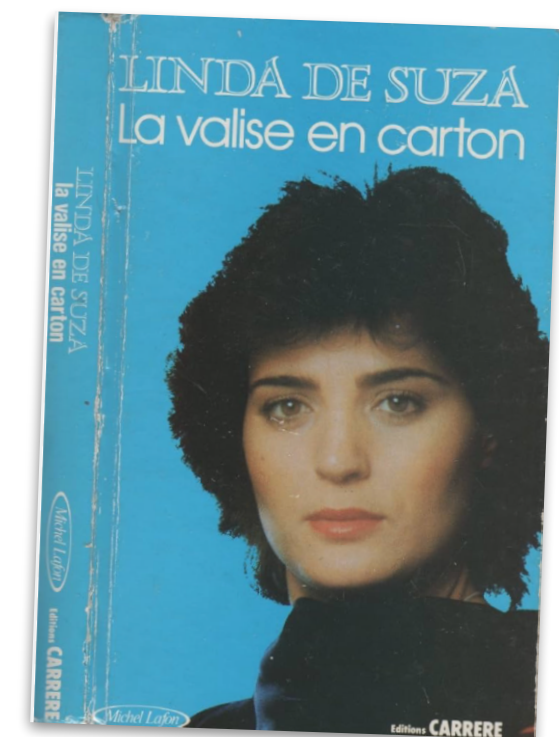
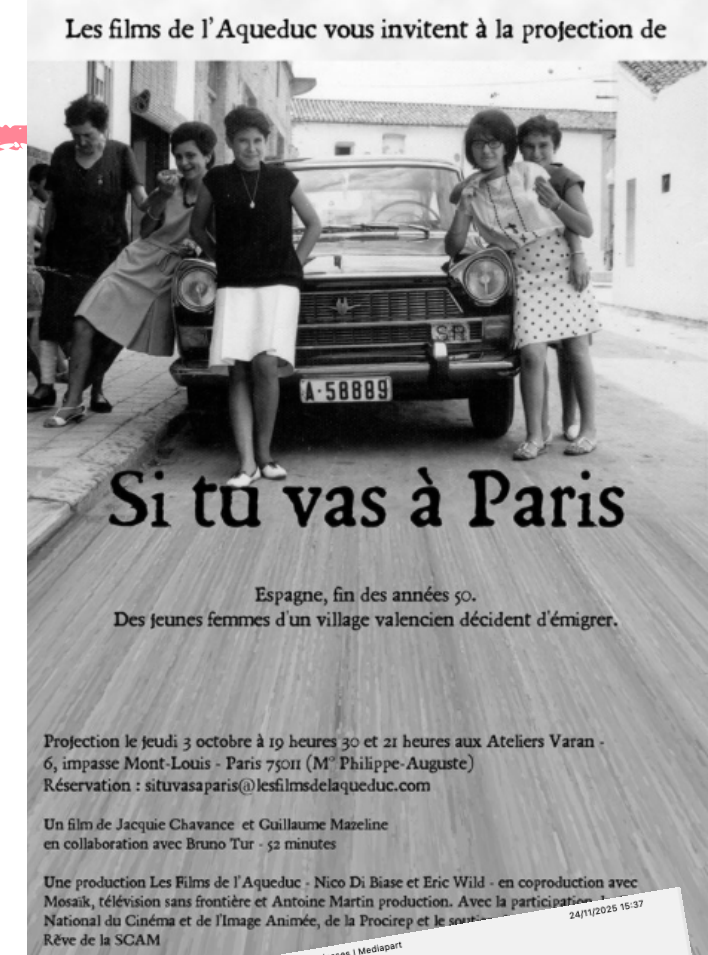
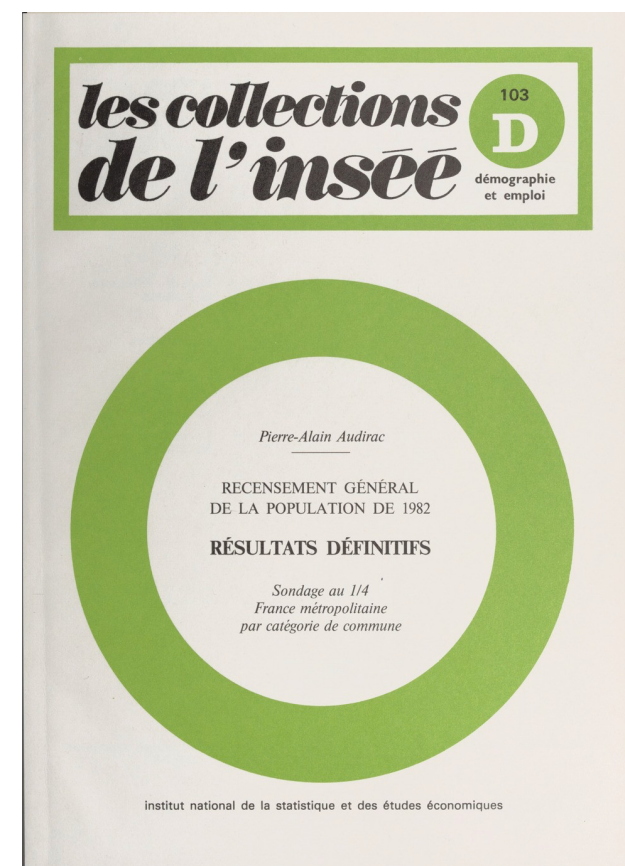
primary sources

quantitative

- census data from INSEE (1962-1982)
 - ➔ map broader systematic changes
 - significance of Spanish and Portuguese female migration and domestic work
 - increasing feminisation of labour in France

qualitative

- autobiographies
- documentary
- retrospective investigation
 - ➔ show lived-experience and agency
 - ➔ fill potential gaps in data arising from the informal nature and invisibilisation of domestic work



primary sources

quantitative

INSEE. “Recensement général de la population de 1962 —Résultats définitifs.” *Les Collections de l’INSEE*, 1971.

INSEE. “Recensement général de la population de 1968 —Résultats définitifs.” *Les Collections de l’INSEE*, 1972.

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INSEE. “Recensement général de la population de 1982 —Résultats définitifs.” *Les Collections de l’INSEE*, 1985.

qualitative

Arondo, Maria. *Moi, la bonne*. Témoigner, 1975.

De Suza, Linda. *La valise en carton*. Editions Carrère - Michel Lafon, 1984.

Chavance, Jacquie and Guillaume Mazeline. *Si tu vas à Paris*. Les Films de l’aqueduc - Antoine Martin Production - Mosaïk, télévision sans frontière, 2013.

Correia, Mickaël. "Portuguese housekeepers describe daily ordeal of working for France's upper classes." *Mediapart*. August 19, 2020.

secondary sources

- feminist and political economy literature on care and *global care chains*
- literature on Portuguese and Spanish *migration* and *integration* in France
- literature on *feminisation* labour in France

secondary sources

feminist and political economy literature on care and transnational care chains

Avril, Christelle, and Marie Cartier. "Care, genre et migration." *Genèses* 114 no. 1 (2019): 134-152.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. "Global care chains and emotional surplus value." *Justice, politics, and the family*. Routledge, 2015. 249-261.

Nguyen, Minh TN, Roberta Zavoretti, and Joan Tronto. "Beyond the global care chain: Boundaries, institutions and ethics of care." *Ethics and Social Welfare* 11 no. 3 (2017): 199-212.

Yeates, Nicola. "Global Care Chains: A State-of-the-Art Review and Future Directions in Care Transnationalization Research." *Global Networks (Oxford)* 12, no. 2 (2012): 135–54.

Falquet, Jules, and Nasima Moujoud. "Cent ans de sollicitude en France. Domesticité, reproduction sociale, migration & histoire coloniale." *Revue Agone. Histoire, Politique & Sociologie* 43 (2010).

literature on the migration and integration in France of Southern-European women

Condon, Stéphanie. "L'activité Des Femmes Immigrées Du Portugal À L'arrivée En France, Reflet D'une Diversité De Stratégies Familiales Et Individuelles?" *Population* Vol. 55, no. 2 (March 1, 2000): 301–30.

Da Cunha, Manuel Antunes. "Portuguese women in French public sphere: From invisibility to emancipation". *Alternatif Politika*, 2016, vol. 8, no Special, p. 41-60.

Lévi, Florence. "L'Évolution De Femmes Portugaises Immigrées A Paris Et Dans La Banlieue Parisienne." *Année sociologique* 26 (1975): 153–77.

Negrete Peña, Rocío. María Arondo,"¿ Una voz representativa de las 'bonnes' españolas en París? Clase, género, raza y migración". 2019.

Oso Casas, Laura. "La réussite paradoxale des bonnes espagnoles de Paris. Stratégies de mobilité sociale et trajectoires biographiques." *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 21, no. 1 (2005): 107-129.

Oso Casas, Laura, Nicole Lillo Marqués, and Vicente Lillo Marqués. "Bonnes et concierges espagnoles à Paris: immigration et rapports de domination de classe dans le secteur professionnel du service domestique." *Exils et migrations ibériques au XXe siècle* 3, no. 2 (2006): 241-269.

Tur, Bruno. "Españolas en París ou la solitude des «bonnes à tout faire» espagnoles à Paris." *Décadrages. Cinéma, à travers champs* 14 (2009): 66-78.

literature on feminisation labour in France

Afsa, Cédric, and Sophie Buffeteau. "L'activité Féminine En France : Quelles Évolutions Récentes, Quelles Tendances Pour L'avenir ?" *Economie Et Statistique / Economics and Statistics* 398, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 85–97.

Chaïb, Sabah. "Femmes immigrées et travail salarié". *Les cahiers du CEDREF. Centre d'enseignement, d'études et de recherches pour les études féministes* 16 (2008): 209–229.

Dumont, Gérard-François. "Population Active: Féminisation Croissante." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, January 1, 1992.

Marchand, Olivier, and Claude Minni. "The Major Transformations of the French Labour Market Since the Early 1960s." *Economie Et Statistique*, 510-511–512 (December 18, 2019): 89–107.

Maruani, M. "Féminisation Et Discrimination : Évolutions De L'activité Féminine En France." *L'Orientation Scolaire Et Professionnelle* 20, no. 3 (January 1, 1991): 243–56.

methodology

two-level approach

① network analysis

map actors, places, and interactions

➡ to apply the concept of *global care chain*

objectives ① & ②

② microhistory

look at personal stories through first-hand testimonies

➡ to understand local individual experiences of broader historical trends

objectives ③ & ④

preliminary findings

- 1 domestic work of female Portuguese and Spanish women in France as an early example of *global care chain*
- 2 significant reliance on Spanish and Portuguese domestic workers to fill a growing care gap
- 3 interactions between French female employers and Spanish and Portuguese employees revealing a class and ethnicised hierarchy within "European whiteness" producing harmful racialised stereotypes

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