



**SOCIEDADE
CRISE E RECONFIGURAÇÕES**

VII CONGRESSO PORTUGUÊS DE SOCIOLOGIA

19 a 22 Junho 2012

Universidade do Porto - Faculdade de Letras - Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação

ÁREA TEMÁTICA: ST5 Trabalho, Organizações e Profissões

DOMESTIC SERVICES, GENDER AND MIGRATION IN PORTUGAL: A QUANTITATIVE CONTRIBUTION

ABRANTES, Manuel

PhD Researcher in Sociology, School of Economics and Management

Technical University of Lisbon (ISEG-UTL)

mabrant@socius.isseg.utl.pt

Resumo

Esta comunicação começa por identificar duas limitações na investigação recente sobre serviços domésticos: a escassez de análises quantitativas e a ênfase exclusiva em contextos urbanos. Propõe-se Portugal como um caso singular a examinar. O Inquérito à Força de Trabalho da União Europeia e os registos nacionais da Segurança Social oferecem dados para analisar o período de 2000-10. Os resultados sugerem que o número de pessoas empregadas em serviços domésticos aumentou entre 2000 e 2008, e decresceu sob a crise económica posterior. Houve mudanças notórias no que diz respeito à idade e à nacionalidade da população trabalhadora neste ramo de atividade, embora a assimetria de género permaneça intacta. Por fim, discute-se um conjunto de recomendações para pesquisa futura.

Abstract

This paper begins by identifying two limitations in recent research about domestic services: the lack of quantitative analysis and the exclusive focus on urban settings. Portugal is proposed as a singular case to be examined. The European Union Labour Force Survey and national Social Security records provide data to analyse the period of 2000-10. Findings suggest that the number of individuals employed in domestic services increased between 2000 and 2008, and decreased under the economic recession of 2008 onwards. Change in the profile of domestic workers regarding age and nationality is apparent, whereas gender asymmetry remains unaffected. Last, some recommendations for future research are discussed.

Palavras-chave: serviços domésticos; género; migrações; prestação de cuidados; limpeza
Keywords: domestic services; gender; migration; care; cleaning

PAP0222

1. Domestic labour, gender and migration: a tale of change and persistence

The marginalization of domestic work in social science has been often denounced. Arlie Russell Hochschild's (2000) elaboration on care chains and emotional work is one of the most renowned contributions. Her proposition was to frame the subject of paid domestic labour, and in particular the extended phenomenon of migrant domestic workers, within the dynamics of contemporary capitalism. Ever since, the notion of domestic services as a trait of traditional societies about to dissolve under the flush of modernity would be difficult to uphold (see also Sassen, 2007, pp. 97-165).

Both Bridget Anderson (2000) and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2001) suggest that the overrepresentation of women and migrants among domestic workers requires analysis to cover institutional factors, such as law and welfare state policy, as much as social factors like racism, sexism and work status. Further studies expose an ambiguous picture of difference and similarity across countries (Anderson and Phizacklea, 1997; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002; Lutz, 2002, 2008; Isaksen, 2010). The expansion of domestic services is observed throughout Western Europe and North America; the degree of expansion may vary, but dynamics and operating networks are analogous. The same can be said about poor working conditions and disadvantage in the local labour market. Whereas domestic workers are often migrant women, there is considerable variation in dominant nationalities and the configuration of ethnic hierarchies. National legislation provisions are also different, but they all hold common fundamental restrictions.

As far as the employment relationship is concerned, domestic services are based on a direct negotiation between employer and worker, or else mediated by a private company. In some countries, public enterprises can also be part of the story (Williams, 2010a). Diversity in contractual arrangements and performed tasks poses difficulties for research to proceed in a consistent extensive manner (Anderson, 2007; Abrantes, 2011). By this token, some authors prefer to draw a divide between typical housework tasks, such as cleaning, cooking or laundering, and the provision of care to children and elderly at home. Fieldwork has though shown how this distinction is often ambiguous or artificial, and a broader notion of domestic services is likely to be more adequate if one is to describe actual events (Anderson, 2000, p. 21).

Research on domestic services to date has drawn chiefly, if not exclusively, on qualitative methodology. According to Ann Oakley (2000: 41, 302-3), this is a general feature of gender studies based on a long-standing paradigm war that must be brought to a halt. Researchers on family and work-life articulation have been quicker to follow this recommendation (e. g. Drew *et al.*, 1998; Crompton *et al.*, 2005; Crompton *et al.*, 2007). While rarely concerned with paid domestic workers, the work of these authors provides important evidence to frame the subject in hand. First of all, the participation of women in paid employment rose substantially since the 1970s; in the same period, men's participation in household chores increased only at a much slower rate (Drew *et al.*, 1998; Crompton *et al.*, 2005). Thereby, a growing number of individuals are expected to resort to domestic services in their conciliation of professional and personal aims. The implementation of corporate flexibility strategies or job mobility increases the pressure on highly qualified professionals (Fagan, 2001; Hochschild, 2005). In addition, demographic ageing and the rise in the average age of parents when having their first child mean that an increasing number of adults in paid employment are taking responsibilities for two

generations – older and younger – at the same time, or with a shorter interval in between (Eurostat, 2009: p. 47, pp. 76-81).

Historically, in Europe and the US the presence of household domestic workers was a measure of the prestige of bourgeois families, whose women did not go 'out to work'. Although family status persists as a rationale for the employment of domestic servants (in some countries more than others), in these days, household domestic workers are more likely to be employed in order to facilitate women's employment. In circumstances in which dual earner households access marketised reproductive work, largely via the hiring of domestic servants, even full-time employment amongst women may easily co-exist with enduring traditionalism in gender relations, as we shall see in the case of Portugal. (Crompton et al., 2007, p. 119)

Despite common developments, these various studies also disclose significant difference across western societies concerning the volume of time spent on paid and domestic labour, its distribution between men and women, or the availability of public care systems. A second limitation of research on domestic services is that data collection has been circumscribed to urban settings, usually the largest agglomerations in the countries under study. While the cases of different cities have been submitted to comparison (e. g. Anderson, 2000; Parreñas, 2001), analysis at national or cross-national level remains rather weak.

Portugal is a privileged site of observation due not only to a peculiar combination of elements pertaining to the organization of household and gender roles, but also the prominent positions of migration and economic recession over the latest decade. In comparative research, Portugal is often considered within the Mediterranean or Southern European model. Documented similarities with Spain, Italy and Greece in contrast to the remaining countries of Europe are relevant: low rates of qualification and tertiary education attendance, small chances of occupational upward mobility, high incidence of temporary contracts, rising unemployment, and insufficient public care systems for children and frail adults (Arts and Gelissen, 2002; Gonçalves, 2009; Carmo, 2010; Gal, 2010; Abrantes and Abrantes, 2012). All these factors have been shown to bear a greater impact on the lives of women than men.

At the same time, women in Portugal maintain a considerably high rate of participation in paid employment, long working hours and little chances of part-time arrangements (Wall and Nunes, 2010). In 2005, an ad-hoc module on the reconciliation of work and family life was conducted within the European Union Labour Force Survey covering the 25 member states of that time. According to the results, the percentage of couples from 20 to 49 years old in which both partners had a full-time job was the highest in Portugal (67 per cent of couples), followed by Finland and France (Eurostat, 2005, p. 5). In contrast, different-sex couples in which only the man was in paid employment were more common in Italy, Greece and Spain (43 to 45 per cent of the couples). The same report indicates that the share of couples in which both people work full-time is lower when there are children under 12 in all EU-15 countries except Portugal (Eurostat, 2005, p. 4).

Data collected by the Community Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (Eurostat, 2009: 56-7) further show that arrangements other than childcare centres outside the house are especially common in Portugal, especially regarding children from 0 to 2 years old (46 per

cent). France and Portugal are the countries in which a private professional childminder is most often used. The help of grandparents is also more frequent in Mediterranean countries, the same countries that register a largest number of multigenerational households.

Further information is provided by Rosemary Crompton's (2006) comparative study of six countries: Britain, France, Norway, Finland, United States, and Portugal. Portugal is the country in which total household work time is the largest, and less equally distributed between women and men. The relevance of cultural values must not be neglected. In particular, Portugal shows the highest values in negative attitudes towards the employment of women outside the house, especially when they are mothers of young children, and a strong preference for a traditional model of household organization based on a male breadwinner and a female housekeeper (Crompton *et al.*, 2007, pp. 11-2). Comparing to other countries, attitudinal patterns of work-life articulation vary little across age or social class, and a high estimate (72 per cent) of families maintain a domestic division of labour based on traditional roles (see also Aboim, 2010). This percentage is the lowest in families in which women hold managerial and professional jobs. A total estimate of 12 per cent of families has their domestic labour outsourced (Crompton, 2007: 128-9). Due to methodological misfortune, this number includes both the help of relatives and the recruitment of domestic workers, and distinction is not possible.

Similarly to other countries, migrant workers in Portugal have been shown to be over-represented in occupations with low credentialization, low wages, or a high volume of precarious arrangements and informal work (Baganha, 1997; King *et al.*, 2000; Ribas-Mateos, 2004; Carvalho, 2007; Arango *et al.*, 2009). Difference across genders is apparent. While migrant men are largely employed in craft and industrial occupations, a substantial majority of women are to be found in service occupations (Casaca&Peixoto, 2010, pp. 124-6). Considering data of 2010 (Abrantes and Peixoto, forthcoming), the economic activities in which migrant women in Portugal are more often employed are household services (21 per cent), followed by accommodation and food services (18) and wholesale and retail trade (12). On the other hand, the seminal studies of Vanessa de la Bl  ti  re (2008) and Patr  cia Baptista (2009) on domestic workers in Portugal underline that they are often exposed to poor working conditions, unfulfilled labour law provisions, and lack of union representation.

Last, it is important to bear in mind that labour markets underwent considerable wavering in the past decade. Portugal presents a striking case. Unemployment rose from 4 per cent in 2000 to 11 per cent in 2010 (Abrantes and Peixoto, forthcoming). Economic recession was especially apparent since 2008. Existing figures show that migrant workers have been more vulnerable than native workers to unemployment. They also indicate that men have been more vulnerable than women. Much of this variation can be explained by the industries or occupations in which these groups are more often employed (Papademetriou *et al.*, 2010, 2011; Peixoto and Iorio, 2010). However, domestic services raise a general doubt. By nature, they are expected to be less exposed to cyclic and structural meltdowns in comparison to other activities such as manufacture or construction. On the other hand, demand may be substantially affected by variation in overall employment security and purchasing power.

2. Methodology

Extensive statistical datasets on employment entail particular limitations regarding domestic services. First of all, concepts and categories adopted in data collection are not as meaningful or detailed as one would like. Particular problems will be mentioned below. Second, it is expected that results exclude a substantial number of cases in which working conditions are precarious or informal. It is important to note that qualitative studies, while more appropriate to the study of shadow economies and undocumented migration, are not exempt from the very same difficulties (Anderson, 2000, p. 21; Williams, 2010b). Above all, the inclination of large-scale quantitative analysis to underestimate or neglect informal work does not eliminate its capacity to describe formal work. In this article, data from two distinct datasets are used: first, the European Union Labour Force Survey (EULFS); second, the Social Security records at the national level.

The EULFS provides the most reliable and thorough figures on employment and occupational distribution across the European Union. It is a household sample survey conducted in cooperation by national statistic offices. Therefore, it is possible not only to examine the case of one particular country, but also to compare it with others. The survey aims to be as representative of the total population as possible and cover all existing industries and occupations. It is conducted on a quarterly basis, with a specific standard week for reference. Interviews take place either by telephone or face-to-face. In Portugal, the sample is weighted according to geographic, demographic and socioeconomic key variables recorded in the general population census conducted every ten years. Due to reliability concerns, comparative analysis in this paper is circumscribed to the fifteen member states of the European Union by 2000 (EU-15), and annual averages are used instead of quarterly data.

For the particular subject in hand, the coverage of undeclared work or undocumented workers is a main issue. In principle, the EULFS is blind to the legal status of respondents or work. When individuals are asked about 'paid work', 'main source of income' or 'main occupation', they are expected to answer regardless of the manner in which these activities are classified in law. Still, it is reasonable to expect that people performing undeclared work are less available to be interviewed or provide complete and accurate answers on this specific issue.

According to the International Standard Classification of Occupations, domestic services are comprised in two main groups: 'Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers' and 'Personal care and related workers'. While useful, these groups are not sufficiently accurate as it is not possible to distinguish whether work is carried out within or outside private households. For example, domestic and industrial cleaning, or residential and institutional care, are considered together. On the other hand, the Statistical Classification of Economic Activities contains a group called 'Activities of households as employers of domestic personnel'. This includes a useful variety of in-house services such as cleaning, cooking, personal care, secretarial assistance and security, although it is not possible to estimate particular numbers for each of them.

The wisest option is to use both classification schemes as complementary sources of information. Ideally, the greatest level of disaggregation would be used in both. However, as more detailed statistical figures are sought, the sample size naturally decreases and so does data reliability. Estimates of distribution across age or nationality therefore lack reliability.

In this regard, the Social Security records in Portugal provide a precious contribution. A national legal decree approved in 1982 established that registration in the social security system is compulsory for all individuals employed in domestic services regardless of their pay, contractual arrangement or number of working hours (Regulatory-Decree No. 43/82, July 22). This registration is also required if one is to discount over wages for retirement and unemployment public benefits. Analysis will consider all individuals who made at least one contribution to the social security over the year. As for nationality, some countries of origin are aggregated by social security services based on their close location, historical similarity or small volume of migrants. Records are available since 2002.

To be sure, it is impossible to estimate how many domestic workers are not registered in the social security system. Undocumented migrants in particular are likely not to be. Migrants may thus be underestimated in the final figures. On the other hand, many documented migrants may deem registration in the social security system more important than Portuguese nationals. Besides allowing them to build up welfare benefits, the proof of registration is often precious, if not necessary, to secure their legal residence permit.

Both datasets rely on the total number of employed individuals, rather than the number of working hours. The latter is an equally important indicator to assess change in occupations. For instance, the number of individuals employed in a particular occupation might increase while average (or even total) working time decreases. Future data collection on diverse scales is much needed to complement current findings. Some recommendations are included in the concluding remarks.

3. On the volume of domestic services

Data from the EULFS indicate that cleaning and caring occupations employ a very substantial number of individuals in Portugal. By 2010, the occupational group of ‘Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers’ comprised 280.2 thousand individuals, that is, 6 per cent of the total employed population in the country. The group of ‘Personal care and related workers’ stood at 146.9 thousand individuals (3 per cent). Considering women only, the dimension of these two groups is larger, comprising 12 and 6 per cent of the total women in paid employment respectively.

Both groups increased over the last ten years, especially in the years between 2004 and 2008 (Figures 1 and 2). Increase is more noticeable and sustained in the group of ‘Personal care and related workers’. It is important to add that Portugal, in contrast to all the remaining countries of the EU-15, shows a decrease in the total number of individuals in paid employment from 2000 (5020.7 thousand) to 2010 (4978.2 thousand). Therefore, growth in the absolute number of individuals in particular occupations corresponds to a greater growth in the relative volume of these occupations.

In both cases, the large majority of women is striking (96 and 94 per cent). This proportion is quite high in the context of the EU-15, where the share of women is 85 and 89 per cent respectively.

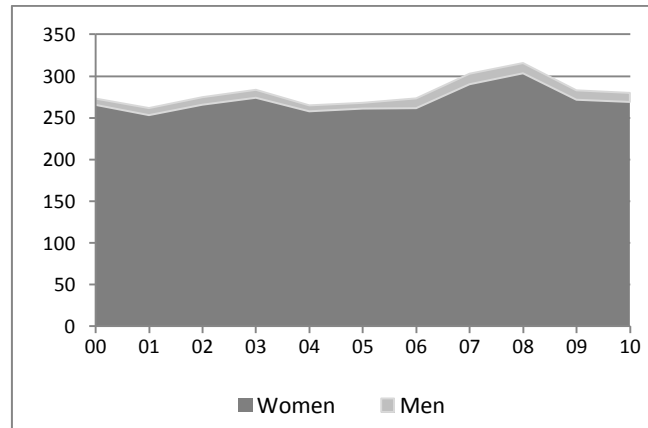


Figure 1: Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers, Portugal, 2000-10 (in thousands). Source: European Union Labour Force Survey, 2011.

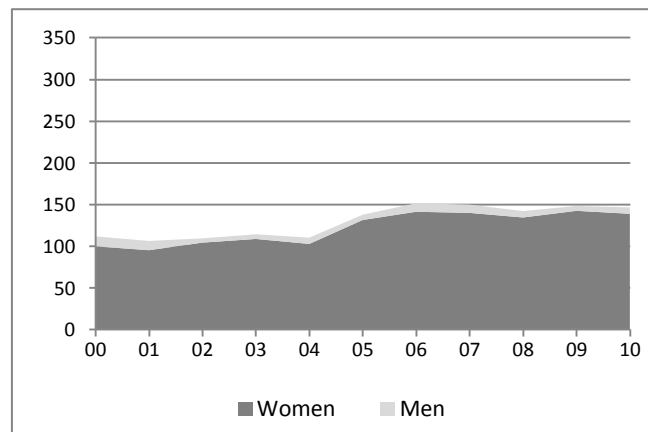


Figure 2: Personal care and related workers, Portugal, 2000-10 (in thousands). Source: European Union Labour Force Survey, 2011.

The percentage of total employed population made up by these occupational groups in each particular country is a key indicator for cross-national analysis (Figures 3 and 4). Difference is apparent. Together with Spain, France and Luxembourg, Portugal is among the countries in which the volume of ‘Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers’ in the labour market is the largest (over 5 per cent). Values below 3 per cent can be found in Sweden, Denmark and Ireland, whereas the EU-15 total stands at 4 per cent. In the group of ‘Personal care and related workers’, variation is greater (between 10 and 2 per cent), and the distribution of countries is partially reversed. The highest values are to be found in Scandinavian countries, as well as the United Kingdom and France; the lowest values are registered in Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, Germany and Portugal.

In regard to growth, patterns in the EU-15 are consistent, although some countries show a greater variation between 2000 and 2010. In the group of ‘Domestic and related helpers,

cleaners and launderers’, growth is especially remarkable in the Mediterranean countries, whereas ‘Personal care and related workers’ increased in a more uniform manner.

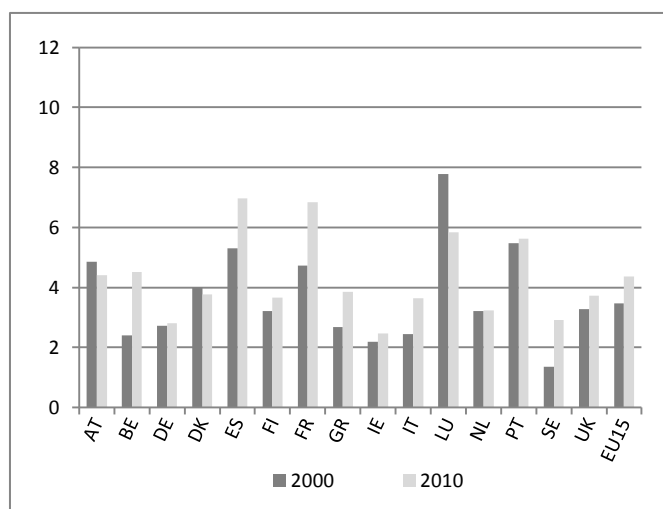


Figure 3: Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers in percentage of total employed population by country, EU-15, 2000 and 2010. Source: European Union Labour Force Survey, 2011.

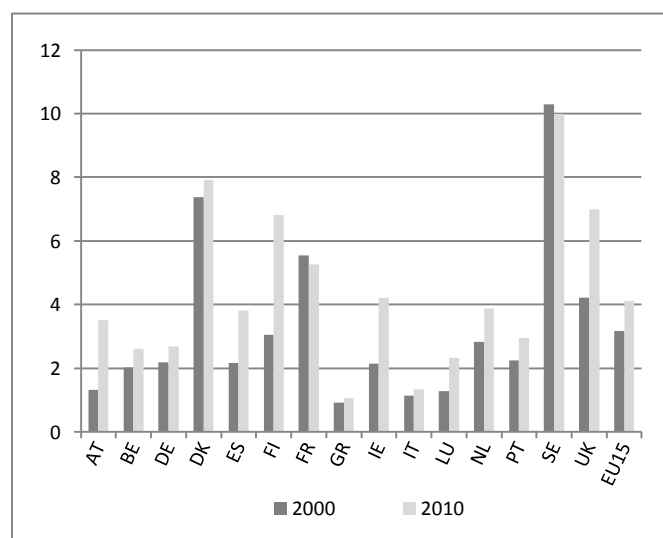


Figure 4: Personal care and related workers in percentage of total employed population by country, EU-15, 2000 and 2010. Source: European Union Labour Force Survey, 2011.

As explained earlier, analysis shall now resort to the Statistical Classification of Economic Activities. Figure 5 shows the number of individuals comprised in ‘Activities of households as employers of domestic personnel’ in Portugal. There is a considerable increase between 2003 and 2008, followed by a decrease in the latest two years. The number by 2010, 138.8 thousand, is actually smaller than what was registered ten years before, 148.2 thousand. The share of men in the employed population is almost invisible in the graph, standing below 2 per cent. Again,

this distribution across genders is extremely unbalanced when examined in the context of the EU-15, where the total share of men in the same category is 10 per cent.

As indicated in Figure 6, Portugal is one of the countries of the EU-15 in which this category is the largest (3 per cent), only exceeded by Spain. On the other hand, countries in northern Europe show values below 1 per cent. The volume of this category has remained stable in most countries, with a significant increase only in Spain and Italy.

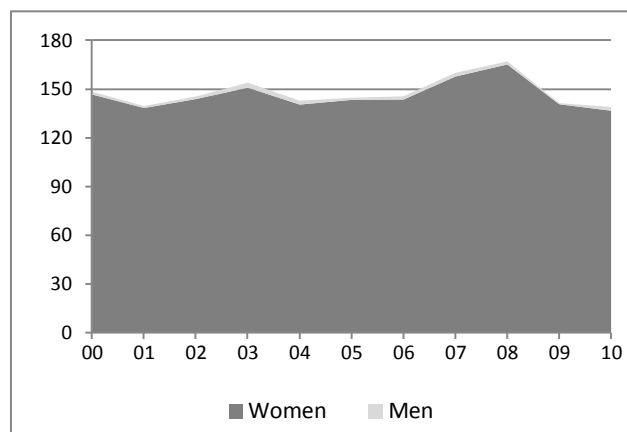


Figure 5: Activities of households as employers of domestic personnel, Portugal, 2000-10 (in thousands). Source: European Union Labour Force Survey, 2011.

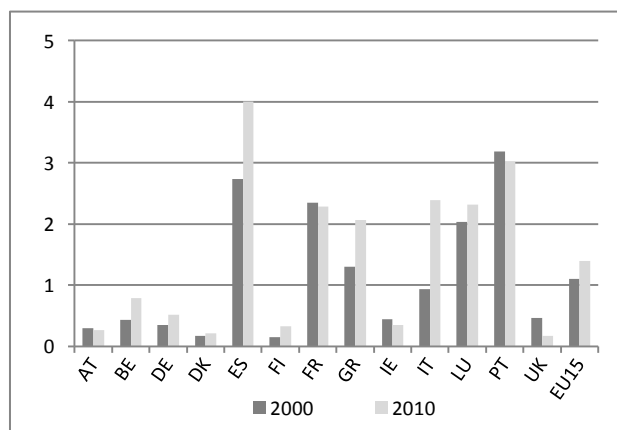


Figure 6: Activities of households as employers of domestic personnel in percentage of total activities by country, 2000 and 2010; data for Sweden and the Netherlands are missing. Source: European Union Labour Force Survey, 2011.

4. Gender, age and nationality of domestic workers

The total number of individuals registered as domestic service workers in the social security system in Portugal is 117.6 thousand (Table 1). A significant decrease since 2002 can be observed. The share of women remains above 98 per cent.

At the same time, there is a notorious increase in the share of population with a foreign nationality (Table 2). In fact, the substantial decrease in the number of Portuguese nationals has been accompanied with an increase, albeit smaller, in the number of foreigners, from 9.2 thousand in 2002 (5 per cent) to 21.5 thousand in 2010, representing 17 per cent of the registered population. Increase has been the greatest among people coming from Brazil and Eastern Europe and, to a smaller extent, other European Union member states and African Portuguese-speaking countries, whereas all the remaining nationalities stand below 1 per cent. Figure 8 illustrates the recent evolution of the four main groups of nationalities.

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Women	170.744	167.482	156.117	150.219	138.695	133.964	139.147	132.692	116.151
Men	1.744	1.882	1.869	1.826	1.594	1.628	1.944	1.905	1.464
Total	172.488	169.364	157.986	152.045	140.289	135.592	141.091	134.597	117.615

Table 1: Individuals registered as domestic service workers in the social security system by gender, Portugal, 2002-10 (in thousands). Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2011.

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Portugal	163.363	158.266	145.401	138.698	127.234	120.025	120.383	113.071	106.060
PALOP*	3.381	3.602	3.482	3.490	3.428	3.672	4.209	4.471	4.741
Africa (exc. PALOP)	92	98	74	79	74	77	104	116	117
Central America	23	27	29	29	23	24	39	41	39
North America	14	11	7	7	7	6	9	9	8
South America (exc. Brazil)	145	149	143	144	128	138	175	184	171
Brazil	1.916	2.958	4.165	4.490	4.578	6.843	10.698	11.261	10.217
Asia	438	412	347	351	302	281	353	454	478
Middle East	23	24	21	19	24	27	27	33	34
India	11	15	16	15	15	13	17	19	26
Eastern Europe	2.412	2.874	3.130	3.401	3.258	3.271	3.939	4.075	4.251
EU (exc. Portugal)	693	915	1.161	1.326	1.271	1.291	1.362	1.369	1.449
Rest of Europe	9	8	7	8	7	5	5	5	4
Oceania	3	3	4	4	3	3	6	3	3
Total Abroad	9.160	11.096	12.586	13.363	13.118	15.651	20.943	22.040	21.538
Total	172.523	169.362	157.987	152.061	140.352	135.676	141.326	135.111	127.598

Table 2: Individuals registered as domestic service workers in the social security system by nationality, Portugal, 2002-10 (in thousands). Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security,

2011. Note: * PALOP stands for ‘African Portuguese-speaking countries’: Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe.

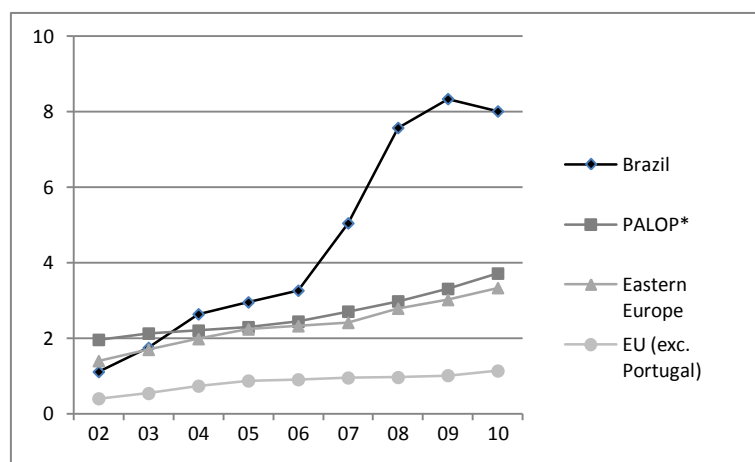


Figure 8: Main foreign countries of origin in percentage of individuals registered as domestic service workers in the social security system, Portugal, 2002-10. Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2011. Note: * See note in Table 2.

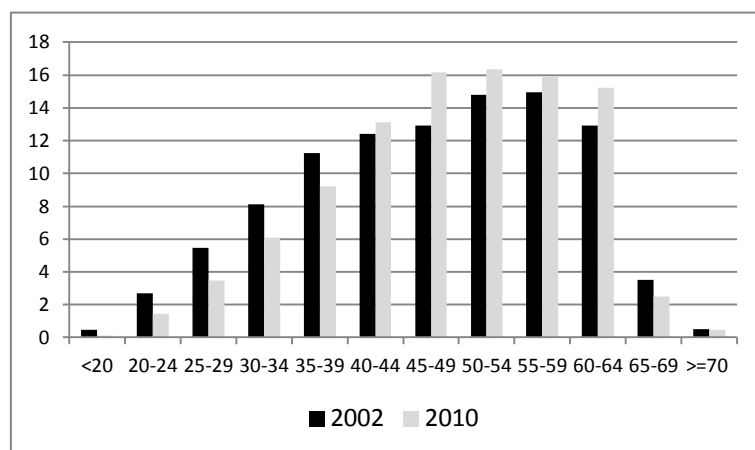


Figure 9: Individuals registered as domestic service workers in the social security system by age, Portugal, 2002 and 2010 (in percentage). Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2011.

Concerning age, the registered population is concentrated in the brackets between 40 and 64 years old (Figure 9). This is more the case in 2010 than it was eight years earlier. The combination of data on age, sex and nationality of the examined population discloses two main elements. First, the population with Portuguese nationality is largely to be found in the oldest age brackets, with 71 per cent of individuals over 45 years old by 2010. The foreign population is significantly younger, with only 32 per cent individuals over 45. Second, the share of men is larger among the foreign population, especially coming from Eastern Europe (9 per cent), against a value below 1 per cent (0.6) in the Portuguese population. However, this was more evident in the beginning of the decade, as the share of men decreased since then for all origins.

In other words, the growth in the number of migrants reported in Figure 8 comprises almost exclusively women.

5. Summary and conclusions

Previous studies provide a wide array of evidence on gender and ethnicity as key elements of differentiation and vulnerability in contemporary labour markets. In-depth research on particular occupations is bound to offer a positive contribution and open up new trails of enquiry. According to examined data, cleaning and caring services employ a growing number of individuals since 2000, especially women. This is the case not only in Portugal, but in the EU-15 at large. A statistical overview on occupational segregation covering all current and candidate member states can be found in an extensive report of the Eurostat (2008, pp. 171-173).

Four main conclusions regarding the case of Portugal deserve particular attention. First, the development in the number of individuals employed in activities of private households shows a change in 2008, when a steady increase (at least since 2000) was replaced by a decrease. This is likely to be related to the economic recession and contraction in overall employment. If one is to combine these data with those of the Social Security records, interesting results come up. Both sources show a reduction, or, to be more precise, an increase in the period of 2004-06 and a later decrease in 2008-10. However, whereas according to the EULFS data the total reduction is moderate (about 5 per cent), in the Social Security records it is quite steep (32 per cent) and more constant over the decade. This suggests that there are two concomitant trends in operation. On the one hand, a mild decrease in the number of individuals employed in domestic services; on the other, a significant fall in the share of workers who are registered in the social security system.

Second, examination of the Social Security records indicates that the employed population is getting older and the number of migrant workers is increasing. These two findings are likely to be linked to one another, as the foreign population tends to be younger and have a more difficult access to social security. At the same time, it is important to beware that migrants may consider this registration more important than their Portuguese counterparts. This can translate into a higher propensity of migrants to register in the social security system or demand regular contractual arrangements from employers. The impact of the economic recession on their chances of success is a lingering question mark.

The prominence of women among domestic workers is remarkably persistent, even though difference across countries is noticeable. Portugal has been identified as one of the countries in which the share of women in these occupations largely surpasses EU-15 average, with no signs of decrease during the first decade of the 21st century.

Finally, in the overall picture of the EU-15, the suggestion is that domestic services are expanding, in particular those related to the provision of care to children and frail adults. Care services have grown especially in the northern countries, while southern countries retain a larger volume of employed domestic workers. It is nonetheless important to bear in mind that variation in examined data may not correspond accurately to difference in the actual volume of these services, as the size of the shadow economy also presents a significant variation across countries, with particularly high values estimated for southern Europe (Schneider and Klinglmair, 2004).

One of the key goals in future research is certainly to assess the relationship between numbers presented in this article and developments in the volume of informal work. A more detailed knowledge on the negotiation of the employment relationship in domestic services is also urgent. While qualitative methodology may play a leading role in this regard, it would be very useful if extensive statistical endeavours such as the EULFS expanded data collection and reliability on the profile of workers. Coverage of educational degree, pay, access to welfare and live-in or live-out condition is essential if qualitative and quantitative contributions are to be brought together.

The mediation of private companies and public institutions also requires future attention. In particular, it is yet to be understood what is the impact of different contractual arrangements on the profile of domestic workers and their working conditions.

References

- Aboim, Sofia (2010). *Plural Masculinities: The Remaking of the Self in Private Life*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Abrantes, Manuel (2011). *Borders: Opportunities and Risks for Immigrant Workers in Cities of the Netherlands*. Saarbrücken: Lambert.
- Abrantes, Manuel, & Peixoto, João (forth coming). Género, imigração e flexibilidade laboral: o caso dos serviços domésticos. In Sara Falcão Casaca (Ed.), *Relações de Género e Mudanças Laborais*. Lisbon: Fundação Económicas & Almedina.
- Abrantes, Pedro, & Abrantes, Manuel (2012). *What is the Impact of Educational Systems on Social Mobility Across Europe? A Comparative Approach*. Lisbon: SOCIUS –Research Centre in Economic and Organizational Sociology.
- Anderson, Bridget (2000). *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Anderson, Bridget (2007). A very private business: exploring the demand for migrant domestic workers, *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 14, 3, 247-264.
- Anderson, Bridget, & Phizacklea, Annie (1997). *Migrant Domestic Workers: A European Perspective. Report for the Equal Opportunities Unit*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.
- Arango, Joaquin; Bonifazi, Corrado; Finotelli, Claudia; Peixoto, João; Sabino, Catarina; Strozza, Salvatore, & Triandafyllidou, Anna (2009). *The Making of an Immigration Model: Inflows, Impacts and Policies in Southern Europe*. Stockholm: IDEA – International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Arts, Wil & Gelissen, John (2002). Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 12, 2, 137-158.
- Baganha, Maria Ioannis (Ed.) (1997). *Immigration in Southern Europe*. Oeiras: Celta.
- Baptista, Patrícia (2011). *Imigração e Trabalho Doméstico: O Caso Português*. Lisbon: ACIDI – Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural.

Blétière, Vanessa (2008). *Por uma Sociologia do Trabalho Doméstico: Contribuição para um Projecto Interdisciplinar*. Lisbon: Dinâmia-CET/IUL – Centre for Studies on Socioeconomic Change and Territory.

Carmo, Renato Miguel (Ed.) (2010). *Desigualdades Sociais 2010: Estudos e Indicadores*. Lisbon: Mundos Sociais.

Carvalho, Lourenço Xavier (2007). *Os Limites da Formalidade e o Trabalho Imigrante em Portugal*. Lisbon: ACIDI – Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural.

Casaca, Sara Falcão, & Peixoto, João (2010). Flessibilità e segmentazione del mercato del lavoro in Portogallo: genere e immigrazione, *Sociologia del Lavoro*, 117, 116-133.

Crompton, Rosemary; Brockmann, Michaela, & Lyonette, Clare (2005). Attitudes, women's employment and the domestic division of labour: a cross-national analysis in two waves, *Work, Employment and Society*, 19, 2, 213-234.

Crompton, Rosemary (2006). *Employment and the Family: The Reconfiguration of Work and Family Life in Contemporary Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crompton, Rosemary; Lewis, Suzan, & Lyonette, Clare (Eds.) (2007). *Women, Men, Work and Family in Europe*. New York: Palgrave.

Drew, Eileen; Emerek, Ruth, & Mahon, Evelyn (1998). *Women, Work and the Family in Europe*. London: Routledge.

Ehrenreich, Barbara, & Hochschild, Arlie Russell (Eds.) (2002). *Global Woman. Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Owl Books.

Eurostat (2005). *Gender Gaps in the Reconciliation Between Work and Family Life*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Eurostat (2008). *The Life of Women and Men in Europe*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Eurostat (2009). *Reconciliation Between Work, Private and Family Life in the European Union*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Fagan, Colette (2001). The temporal reorganization of employment and the household rhythm of work schedules: the implications for gender and class relations, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44, 7, 1199-212.

Gal, John (2010). Is there an extended family of mediterranean welfare states?, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 20, 4, 283-300.

Gonçalves, Carlos Miguel (Ed.) (2009). *Licenciados, Precariedade e Família*. Vila da Feira: Estratégias Criativas.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2000). Global care chains and emotional surplus value. In Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens (Eds.), *On the Edge. Living with Global Capitalism* (pp. 130-46). London: Jonathan Cape.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2005). 'Rent a mom' and other services: markets, meanings and emotions, *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion*, 1, 1, 74-86.

Isaksen, Lise Widding (Ed.) (2010). *Global Care Work. Gender and Migration in Nordic Societies*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

- King, Russell; Lazaridis, Gabriella, & Tsardanidis, Charalambos (Eds.) (2000). *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*. London: Macmillan.
- Lutz, Helma (2002). At your service madam! The globalization of domestic service, *Feminist Review*, 70, 1, 89-104.
- Lutz, Helma (Ed.) (2008). *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Oakley, Anne (2000). *Experiments in Knowing. Gender and Method in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Papademetriou, Demetrios G.; Sumption, Madeleine; Terrazas, Aaron; Burkert, Carola; Loyal, Stephen, & Ferrero-Turrión, Ruth (2010). *Migration and Immigrants Two Years after the Financial Collapse: Where Do We Stand?* Washington: Migration Policy Institute.
- Papademetriou, Demetrios G.; Sumption, Madeleine; & Terrazas, Aaron (Eds.) (2011). *Migration and the Great Recession: The Transatlantic Experience*. Washington: Migration Policy Institute.
- Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar (2001). *Servants of Globalization. Women, Migration, and Domestic Work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Peixoto, João, & Iorio, Juliana (2011). *Crise, Imigração e Mercado de Trabalho em Portugal: Retorno, Regulação ou Resistência?* Cascais: Principia & Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Ribas-Mateos, Natalia (2004). How can we understand immigration in Southern Europe?, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30, 6, 1045-63.
- Sassen, Saskia (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schneider, Friedrich, & Klinglmaier, Robert (2004). *Shadow Economies Around the World: What Do We Know?* Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labour.
- Wall, Karin, & Nunes, Cátia (2010). Immigration, welfare and care in Portugal: mapping the new plurality of female migration trajectories, *Social Policy and Society*, 9, 3, 397-408.
- Williams, Fiona (2010a). *Claiming and Framing in the Making of Care Policies: the Recognition and the Redistribution of Care*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Williams, Fiona (2010b). Migration and care: themes, concepts and challenges, *Social Policy and Society*, 9, 385-396.