Globalization and Migrant Domestic Workers

Who cares?
Dad, what's the name role in raising kids?

Ask your mother.

This society doesn't value children anymore! You women would rather pursue a selfish career than stay home with your kids!

This society doesn't value women anymore! You men would rather pursue a selfish career than stay home with your kids than get a job!

I have to leave early to pick up my child. —Amazing! —Truly a new kind of father!

I'm sorry— I have to leave early to pick up my child too. Who does she think she is? Is she professional? Does she want to work at this company?
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Globalization & Migrant Domestic Workers

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1. Globalization & Migrant Domestic Workers

1.1 Introduction

Globalization is the “buzz-word” of our time.1 Within decades it has become a widely known term and impossible to avoid. Everyone has their own opinion about what it is and it is used wherever and whenever it suits the one who uses it. Globalization is associated with McDonalds, Coca-Cola, poverty, wealth, the environment, a decline of the state, the demise of traditional cultures, the rise of information technology and the Internet. Some people think of globalization as immense, unstoppable and inevitable; others consider it exaggerated, a hype or even a myth. Some say it is new, others claim it is old. Debates around globalization vary from debates about its existence, nature, scope, scale and cause to debates about the role of the state and the role of civil society. Growing complexity and growing connectivity are effects that are widely visible and widely recognized, but the effect of globalization on the distribution of wealth, health and power is far less agreed upon just the effects of globalization on governance, security and democracy. And finally, when more or less agreed upon its existence, nature and scale, there are people in favor, people strongly opposed (anti-globalization movements) and people arguing for a different kind of globalization (other-globalization movements). On the one hand positive images of intensive cooperation between countries and the arise of world citizenship and wealth for all in the future are presented, on the other hand are double standards in trade rules, the continuously broadening of the gap between rich and poor states and within, increasing environment degradation and urban pollution, the increase of migration and a growing market in drugs, weapons and sex-tourism just some of the features that would alter this vision. While these effects of globalization (or, to put it more carefully, ‘in an era of globalization’) are widely recognized and widely studied, the effects of globalization on women are less known.

Globalization and women

The effects on women are also two sided. On the one hand the past decades have brought women greater freedom and economic independence through higher education levels,

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1 Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 3; Scholte 1996 p. 44.
growing labor market participation and the changed view on women and their position in society and the family that preceded as well as followed this change. On the other hand ‘globalization is a man’ as globalization is described by Horgan in one of her articles, which refers to the disproportionate effects of globalization policies on women as public services are cut and women are expected to ‘fill up’ the need for care of children, the elderly and the sick while also performing their paid job. Such double burdens can withhold or withdraw women from the formal labor market, force them to choose between a job and a family or bare the burden of doing both at the same time. This is where my interest in globalization and women began. That globalization has contra-dictionary and highly disputable effects is proven very easily. But to see that these effects of globalization contradict within one and the same person as she is pulled and pushed to leave the house through changing gender and family roles and pro-active government policies while at the same time pushed and pulled to stay at home and ‘take up the slack’ arose my interest in globalization and women and the role women have within the globalization process. The past decades women have entered the formal (paid) labor market in increasing numbers.Apparently more and more women either cope with caring and cleaning while at the same time performing their paid job or there is a solution found to ‘solve’ this double burden. Apart from all possible solutions to solve these contradictory effects of globalization on women, one solution that for different reasons and in different ways has existed throughout history and throughout the world is to let someone else do the cleaning- and care work they would otherwise have had to do themselves or would have had to fight about. To hire someone for domestic work is one option but it is not new. The difference is that today an increasing amount of women travel large distances and they travel independently in order to find work in the private sphere of the household. While women used to migrate alongside their husbands or through family reunification today a growing amount of women is moving ‘on their own’. This trend is part of what Castles identified as the feminization of labor migration. Jacqueline Andall underlines the independency of these women and refers to this trend as

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2 Scholte 2000, p. 251.
‘growing female single-sex migration’.\(^5\) As female migrants overwhelmingly take up work as maids, domestics or nannies, cleaning, taking care of the elderly, the sick and/or children Bridget Anderson and others call this part of the feminization of labor migration labor performed by Migrant Domestic Workers. These Migrant Domestic Workers (MDWs) perform domestic labor in the private sphere of the household and are, overwhelmingly but not exclusively, women.\(^6\) Anderson states that domestic work is the largest employment sector for migrant women workers entering the European Union today.\(^7\)

**Globalization and a growing amount of Migrant Domestic Workers**

While most scholars agree that ‘globalization’ and the advances in communication and transportation technology is what caused the increase and change in labor migration and its composition since the 1970s, I wondered what it is about globalization that causes this growing amount of migrant domestic workers as part of the feminization of labor migration.\(^8\) When recognized that women perform (unpaid) labor in the household as care providers and managing other household tasks it seems inevitable and no surprise that a growing participation on the formal labor market by these women creates a demand for domestic work. But is it really that simple? Why, for example, does this create a demand for migrants and why female migrants? And what does globalization has to do with it? Since apparently globalization causes an increase and change in labor migration and its composition in general, what is it about globalization then that causes an increasing amount of migrant domestic workers traveling the world independently in order to find work in the domestic sphere of the household? And what does this tell us about domestic work?

**Analyzing globalization**

I order to answer these questions I had to find out what globalization is and how it is analyzed. I soon discovered that despite the different definitions of globalization there are

\(^5\) Andall 2006.
\(^7\) Anderson 2000, p. 1.
\(^8\) Castles & Miller 1998, p. 78; UN General Assembly Report 2006, p. 5 punt A.1; Peterson 2003, p. 65.
processes, subjects and characteristics of globalization on which there seems to be some sort of agreement whether agreeing on the ‘rights’ and ‘wrongs’ of the consequences of these processes, subjects and characteristics or not. But analyzing globalization seemed more complex than giving a definition. As Scholte puts it, “given [the] crucial importance of explanation, it is surprising - and disappointing - to find that existing research on globalization has given this matter comparatively little importance”. The multitude of definitions and categorizations of globalization have avoided questions of explanation or left their theoretical perspective implicit. Any of the main schools of social and political theory offers different explanations on globalization but most theorization about globalization is done by scholars of the social sciences, especially economics, sociology, politics and International Relations. Scholte distinguishes six main types of theories: liberalism, political realism, Marxism, constructivism, postmodernism and feminism with their different opinions on governance, structures, subjects, identities, knowledge, power and interests and on what the key actors and central issues of globalization are. Within these theories a broad distinction can be made between ‘positivist’ and ‘post-positivist’ approaches to globalization. As I read the different theories on globalization I discovered that mainstream theories and interpretations of globalization are economic or political and tied to positivist assumptions. Can these kinds of theories explain a growing amount of migrant domestic workers traveling the world independently in order to find work in the private sphere of the household?

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9 Scholte 2005, p. 121.
10 Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 3; Scholte 2005, p. 121 and 122.
1.2 Thesis

I am of the opinion that today’s most developed form of globalization (economic corporate globalization) could not have happened without a workforce consisting of domestic labor and workers, whether this labor force consists of paid or unpaid workers, and that globalization in its current form generates a growing supply of informal, underpaid and un- or under protected domestic services by (female) migrant domestic workers. The thesis I want to defend in this paper is that this is not ´just´ a consequence of growing formal labor market participation by women in ‘the global north’ but, when analyzed properly, is generated by certain foundational dynamics and characteristics of the globalization process.

The main question I will answer is:

“What can be said about the (future) demand for migrant domestic workers in the Netherlands if the Dutch market for domestic services is analyzed according to the dynamics and characteristics of globalization that explain the growing amount of migrant domestic workers world wide?”

In order to answer this question I will divide it into three sub-questions:

1. How should globalization be analyzed in order to explain the growing amount of migrant domestic workers world wide?

2. What are the dynamics and characteristics of globalization that explain the growing amount of migrant domestic workers world wide?

3. What does the Dutch market for domestic services look like when analyzed according to the dynamics and characteristics of globalization that explain the amount of migrant domestic workers world wide?

I will answer these questions by looking at existing literature on globalization and migrant domestic workers. By criticizing the different theories on globalization I will put forward why the mainstream globalization theories are insufficient for explaining the growing amount of MDWs and I will create space for a Relational Thinking approach to globalization. This approach to globalization emphasizes the necessity of analyzing the
different features of globalization and their effects in relation to each other and argues how this reveals forces and structures that provide a more inclusive picture of globalization. It implies the inseparability of empirical, conceptual and socio-psychological developments and advocates a ‘triad analytics’ that reveals co-constituting dimensions of social reality which happen on three interacting levels:
* changes/developments in the world ‘out there’ (practices, institutions, structures of social re/production)
* changes/developments in how we think (meaning systems, ideologies, paradigms)
* changes/developments in who we are (subjectivity, agency, self and collective identities).

By looking at globalization and migrant domestic labor through this Relational Thinking lens I will be able to provide a more inclusive picture of globalization and map out the dynamics and characteristics that explain a growing amount of migrant domestic labor.

I will then use the Relational Thinking approach and the dynamics and characteristics of the globalization process that explain a growing demand of migrant domestic labor worldwide to analyze the Dutch market for domestic services. I will use the Dutch market for domestic services as a kind of case study to illustrate how globalization creates a (growing) demand for migrant domestic workers.

1.3 Outline

Chapter 1 defines our starting point and underlines the Relational Thinking assumption that how we think determines what we study and the other way around and that looking at ‘what we do’ ‘how we think’ and ‘who we are’ creates a more inclusive approach to globalization and its effects. I will do this by looking at what globalization is, how it is analyzed and then introducing migrant domestic workers and their work. In chapter 2 I will provide a more inclusive approach to the current globalization process by mapping out the weaknesses of positivist and post-positivist approaches. I will put forward the answers the Relational Thinking approach has to these weaknesses. With this new lens I

11 Peterson 1997, p.185.
will visualize the dynamics and characteristics of globalization that explain a growing amount of migrant domestic labor. In chapter 3 I will then analyze whether these dynamics and conditions exist in the Netherlands as well. I will map out what forces, dynamics and changes are at work on the Dutch market for domestic services. In the concluding chapter I reflect on whether looking at ‘how we think’, ‘what we do’ and ‘who we are’ through a cross-border, interdisciplinary and multi-level analysis of ideologies, discourses, practices and identities reveals that globalization in its current form creates space for migrant domestic labor in the Netherlands.
2. What we do, how we think & who we are

2.1 Introduction

The first part of this thesis defines our starting point. I will first describe ‘what we do’ referring to globalization in its current form and I will put forward the most dominant definitions of globalization. I will then look at ‘how we think’ by describing the positivist and post-positivist approaches to globalization and formulating the mainstream account to globalization and their methodological and epistemological assumptions. At the end of this chapter I will analyze who ‘we’ is in what we do and how we think.

2.2 ‘What we do’

‘What we do’ is the same as what Peterson in other articles calls ‘the world out there’. By this she refers to practices, institutions and structures of production and reproduction. Globalization ‘happens’ on this level and it happens, as I will illustrate throughout this thesis, in close relation to how we think and who we are.

2.2.1 What is globalization?

In order to analyze globalization and its effects we must first know what it is. Globalization literature reveals many possibilities on how to define globalization. Scholte explains how globalization can be defined according to five concepts which are “in some ways related and to some extent overlapping but with different emphases and therefore fundamentally different understandings of globalization”.

(i) globalization as internationalization

The first concept interprets globalization as internationalization, which is often used synonymously with globalization. The ‘global’ is looked at from the nation-state

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12 Peterson 1997, p. 185.
13 Scholte 2005, p. 16 and 54.
perspective and implies a focus on cross-border relations and interdependence between countries, especially through trade and capital investment but also through the movements of people and symbols.

(ii) globalization as liberalization

The second concept is globalization as *liberalization* (or ‘globalism’) which reduces globalization to its economic effects and looks at it as a process of economic integration that is achieved through eliminating state-imposed restrictions on movement between countries e.g. trade barriers, foreign exchange regulation, capital controls and visas in order to create an ‘open’ and ‘borderless’ world.

(iii) globalization as universalization

The third concept is *universalization* which refers to ‘worldwide’ and the process of spreading various objects, experiences and ideas to people all around the world. This refers to a sense of ‘global humanism’ and ranges from food and cars to ideas like decolonization.

(iv) globalization as westernalization

A fourth definition approaches globalization as *westernalization* stresses how social structures of modernity (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism, bureaucratism, individualism etc.) are spread over the world destroying traditional cultures and local self-determination. It is associated with ‘Americanization’ and (neo) imperialism.

(v) globalization as respatialization

The fifth approach is developed by Scholte and is called *respatialization*. According to this definition globalization entails a reconfiguration and transformation of social geography (determinitorialization) in which social space “cannot be mapped in terms of
territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders” because of growing trans- and supra-territoriality.\textsuperscript{14}

A more common way of defining globalization is by categorizing it according to the economic (and secondly political) or cultural/sociological aspects of globalization.\textsuperscript{15}

\textit{The economical/political dimension of defining globalization} focuses on the economic developments and structures of the globalization process and in specific on international trade and trade related agreements, trans-national and multi-national companies, foreign direct investment and the (global) financial market. In one of the first theories about globalization Marx identified economic forces as the drive behind globalization\textsuperscript{16}. The discovery that globalization has also a political dimension originated by political scientists noticing that political action “was decreasingly confined to the sphere of the nation-state and that an elaborated web of trans-national connections [international organizations, supra-national organizations, nongovernmental organizations, multi-nationals, formal and informal networks, etc.] was emerging alongside it”.\textsuperscript{17} The political aspects of globalization are often discussed in relation to the economic aspects and addressed according to their economic importance.

\textit{The cultural dimension of defining globalization} was recognized as a separate dimension only much later and introduced the concept of ‘the global village’ referring to the exchange of culture and the increase of cross-border movement of travel, tourism, migration and ideas, symbols, beliefs, values and tastes and addresses the “McDonaldization” of culture and processes like multiculturalism and assimilation.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} Scholte 2005, p. 16 and 17.
\textsuperscript{15} Scholte 2005; Waters 2001, p. 17. Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{16} Waters 2001, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{17} Waters 2001, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{18} Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 27.
Looking a bit closer to this broad political-economical and cultural division reveals a classification according to different degrees of rejection of globalization. Scholte divides these approaches into:

Neo-liberal policy
which is market-based internationalism through liberalization, privatization, deregulation and fiscal constraint with “laissez-faire” economies without borders which ‘naturally’ brings prosperity, liberty, democracy and peace for all;

Rejectionist policy
which is truly anti-globalism and considers any and all forms of trans-national connectedness as harmful and advocates ‘de-globalization’ in diverse forms (nationalism, religious revivalism, radical environmentalism) and a return to a pre-global status although, according to Scholte, this is not possible;

Reformism
with the aim of building an alternative globalization based on social-democratic traditions and argues that globalization should be conducted by public policies (the state) and through global governance, public participation and public accountability in order to guarantee official controls on corporate power, the implementation of minimum standards for incomes, labor protection and the environment and to promote opportunities for structurally disadvantaged social groups, and last;

Transformist strategies
that go beyond reformism and advocate revolutionary globalization by fundamental social change for building a fundamentally different society that transcends currently prevailing social structures like capitalism and rationalism.  

\[19\] Scholte 2005, p. 37 and 38.
2.2.2 Globalization as neo-liberal restructuring

Despite the variety of possible classifications of globalization, there still appears to be some agreement on what the important actors, processes and issues are.\textsuperscript{20}

First, there is a general agreement that (late modern) capitalism is the defining feature of and driving force behind current globalization processes. Capitalism encompasses two processes: it is driven by logic of accumulation that depends on progressively increasing the scale of production and by logic of marketization that drives towards an increasing scale of consumption, offering a prospect of general and individual increases of material welfare for all.\textsuperscript{21} Defining the extent and novelty of globalization depends largely on the interpretation of its nature and the driving forces behind it.

Although some regard the link of capitalism to modernization as a process of globalization which has been proceeding since the Peace of Westphalia and the creation of the state in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, most agree that globalization originated in the gold standard period and grew because of liberal policies concerning the opening up of markets in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{22} This period refers to the fall of the Bretton Woods system, the rapid deregulation of international capital flows and the introduction of new information and communication technologies.

Second, in relation to the agreement on capitalism as the defining feature and drive behind globalization, there is agreement on 17\textsuperscript{th} the influence of neo-liberal ideology in determining the direction of globalization. It is considered as the dominant policy discourse for globalization since the early 1980s. The global transformation processes of the 1970s led states to deregulatory policies, liberalizing domestic markets for foreign investors and privatizing state enterprises as well as social services.\textsuperscript{23} During the last decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century most governments, global institutions and UN agencies adopted a neo-liberal approach to globalization. The main task of neo-liberal...
governments is providing free movement of capital, goods and ideas, unrestricted labor markets, stable monetary policies, limited fiscal policies, an integrative banking system, attractive investment opportunities and political stability. But also in commercial circles, particularly in the financial markets and by managers of global firms, in the media, in academic quarters and among researchers, neo-liberalism has been supported and promoted. Often is pointed out how a transnational class of political, economic and intellectual elites has been effective in spreading this neo-liberal thought through intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental forums and the media. Although advocates of liberalization have tended to become less dogmatic since the mid-1990s, enjoying the strongest backing in official, media, academic and business circles, neo-liberalist measures towards globalization have usually been the easiest to endorse and has held widespread acceptance as ‘commonsense’.

Third, most analysts agree that firms or multinational corporations, states, financial institutions and actors in these institutions (banks, investors, speculators, etc.) constitute the main driving force behind globalization. By transforming their location strategies to low-income countries, firms have been searching for ways to improve their competitiveness and expand their market share. States try to improve and guard this international competitiveness by privatization and liberation policies, facilitating financial capital. But the importance of capital and financial institutions have significantly undermined the role of the state and this has elicited as one of the most significant debates of globalization and raises questions about democracy, accountability and global governance.

The fourth agreement lies in the recognition of the role and importance of technology and in particular information and communication technology (ICT) has been an enabling and contributing driving force behind globalization. Using technologies such as internet, communication satellites and telephones, the rise of a global financial system, firms’

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integrated production networks and strategies and the development of a global telecommunications infrastructure have been made possible. Electronic communications, rapid transportation and their ‘instant character’ have therefore been critical to the development of globalization, not just for governments, but also for firms and social movements.

Finally, there is agreement on the high level of interconnectedness under globalization and the contraction this entails, meaning the high level of interrelationship between states and the increasing dependence between them. This contraction implies ‘making the world smaller’ as location and time become less relevant, almost irrelevant, in order to connect.28

The combination of deterritorialization and internationalization accelerated by technological advances refers to the decreasing importance of distances and boundaries and the increase of flows of trade, investment and capital among states (driven by capitalist and neo-liberal policies). Scholte points out that “what studies of globalization do demand is an abandonment of two pervasive and deeply integrated premises of conventional social thought, namely, methodological nationalism and methodological territorialism.”29

From these changes arises the question of whether globalization leads to the homogenization or universalizing of culture. Most agree that globalization is transforming the familiar organizational structures of society and the ways in which individuals relate to society but there is less agreement on what this process entails. Some argue that it is leading to a homogeneous global mass culture and the emergence of a ‘global village’ dominated by cosmopolitans, others suggest that late modern capitalism is accompanied by increased fragmentation in the form of (radical) individualism and various forms of fundamentalism.30

28 Waters 2001, p. 22.
2.3 ‘How we think’

Spike Peterson argues that to stop and think about ‘how we think’ is crucial for any analysis because how we think and what we conceive as reality is inextricably connected to ‘what we do’ and ‘who we are’ and the other way around.31 Unfortunately, as I mentioned earlier, it is difficult to specify how we think about globalization since globalization lacks an explicit theory.

2.3.1 Globalization theories

In his 2005 edition of “Globalization: a critical introduction” Scholte adds a chapter called “Explaining Globalization” which confirms, as he himself admits, how theoretical perspectives are usually kept implicit.32 It also confirms the need and necessity to stop and think about what our theoretical assumptions are. Scholte distinguishes six main types of theories which I will discuss in their plural form and according to the positivist versus post-positivist division.33

Methodological assumptions

The methodological assumptions (i.e. the way we built knowledge/how to undertake study) of positivists and post-positivists can be divided in “explanatory” versus “constitutive” theories and what Scholte refers to as the relationship between the analyst and the analysed. These methodological assumptions are closely connected to their ontological counterparts (i.e. how we define reality). Explanatory/positivist theories try to ‘explain’ reality by looking at it as something outside them. They believe subject and object can be separated and that reality can be observed and explained through observation. Constitutive/post-positivist theories think about theory not as something

31 Peterson 2003, p. 40
32 Scholte 2005, p. 121.
33 In reality accounts on globalization often do not fall completely and obviously in one of these six categories and like Scholte I will use their plural form (i.e. liberalisms, postmodernisms, feminisms etc.) when describing their content because there exist numerous variations within each theory of which, for the purpose of this thesis, it is not necessary to address all of them in detail and to their full extend. Scholte 2005, p. 124.
external to the things it is trying to explain but instead as constructing how we think about the world and how we define what we see as reality. In other words: according to post-positivists the concepts we use to think about the world make that world what it is.

A second methodological difference is the one between materialist and idealist approaches. Materialists treat reality (and globalization) as a result of economical and ecological forces like nature, production, technology, laws and institutions while idealist accounts regard reality (and globalization) as a product of cultural and psychological forces like ideas, identities and ideology. Scholte concludes that cutting across the idealist-materialist divide reveals an old dispute on the degree to which people’s choices (agency) shape history which can be referred to as the individualist-structuralist debate.

Epistemological assumptions
Another division within the positivist and post-positivist groups has to do with their epistemological assumptions (i.e. how we claim to know something/what count as ‘fact’) which can be divided into foundational and anti-foundational approached. A foundational approach implies that all truth claims can be judged true or false on “meta-theoretical” grounds which imply that it is possible to choose between true or false. Through observation and experience foundationalists/positivists explain the social world through ‘neutral’ observation and empirical studies. Anti-foundationalists on the other hand claim that this in itself is simply a reflection of a particular epistemological approach since there are no neutral grounds to judge from. According to them each theory defines what counts as facts. Both these epistemological assumptions are, of course, very much related to their methodological and ontological counterparts.

37 Smith & Owens 2004, p. 274.
38 Smith & Owens 2004, p. 274. Smith and Owens use the examples of “a Marxist and Liberal arguing about the ‘true’ state of the economy or a feminist and Islamic Fundamentalist discussing the ‘true’ status of women.”
2.3.2 Main positivist and post-positivist approaches

Scholte distinguishes six main types of theories: liberalism, political realism, Marxism, constructivism, postmodernism and feminism. I will add ‘normative theories’. I will describe these theories according to their positivist/post-positivist division and discuss feminist theories separately, in the next chapter, because of their special relevance to the Relational Thinking approach.

Positivist approaches

Realisms

Realism has been the dominant theory of international relations. Realists conceive economics as a way to gain political power that strengthens their economic power in order to gain more political power etc. This struggle for power has been the main focus of this group of scholars. For realists the state is the principle actor and international relations are understood as a struggle among great powers in which the only fundamental responsibility of states is to defend its territory and national interests in the name of national security and state survival. This approach arises out of a pessimistic view of human nature in which the state is created out of fear for each other and because this fear continues on state level they agree that only a balance of power or a state hegemony can bring stability to an anarchic world.

Liberalisms

Opposing the pessimistic view of realism, liberalists propose an optimistic approach that is strongly connected to their belief in progress in the sense of individual liberty and material welfare. Economic liberalism emerged as a critique to the subordination of the economy to political control and instead supported the logic that markets would expand automatically due to the natural strive for satisfaction of individual and material needs, as

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39 Scholte 2005, p. 121 and 122.
41 Jackson & Sørenson 2003, p. 178.
42 Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 69.
long as governments would not interfere. The principal actor in this approach is the individual as consumer and producer.\textsuperscript{43} Liberalist thought gained influence after the First World War and spread their belief that rationality and shared interests achieve mutually beneficial cooperation between states which results in greater benefits at home and abroad.\textsuperscript{44} Together with democracy and the promotion of open markets and underpinned by technological and institutional arrangements this brings people the wealth and rights they strive for and eventually and inevitably interlinks all people across the globe. Most mainstream accounts of globalization are based on these liberal assumptions.\textsuperscript{45}

Technological advances and institutional arrangements are important conditions for spreading markets and democracy and this has certainly stimulated the transplanetary connectivity dimension of globalization. But liberals withhold from wondering what (social) forces and (knowledge) structures lie behind these technological and institutional creations. By locating the causes of globalization in material conditions, liberals underestimate the cultural aspects of the process (ideas, meaning, identities) and overlook the existence of power hierarchies that attributed to the globalization process and its course.\textsuperscript{46}

Neo-Marxisms

Around the 1970s neo-Marxism emerged and added analyses of economic underdevelopment and dependence theories to the IR debate. The distinction between the economy and politics and between states and markets was increasingly questioned and attention shifted from war and peace, cooperation and conflict, to international wealth and poverty and other social economic issues.\textsuperscript{47} Marxists explain globalization as an outcome of capitalist strives toward profit making and surplus accumulation on a global scale. According to this approach all of world politics occur in an enormous and influential capitalist structure that reflects and reinforces the pattern of power and control of the economic ‘base’ and a change in this superstructure can only be reached through a

\textsuperscript{43} Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 181 and 182.
\textsuperscript{44} Dunne 2004, p. 186; Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{45} Scholte 2005, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{46} Scholte 2005, p. 124, 125 and 126.
\textsuperscript{47} Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 176 and 177.
change in the economic relations that constitute this base.\textsuperscript{48} The first attempt to apply Marxist ideas to the international sphere is done in world-system theories. Their focus on imperialism explains how the periphery, semi-periphery and core are linked together, how wealth is drained away from the periphery to the centre and reveals dependency structures, but also how social classes are important actors in world politics.\textsuperscript{49} The Gramsci strand of Marxism takes this a bit further and puts civil society (media, education systems, churches, environmental and peace movements etc.) in the equation and point out how they play an important part in creating and recreating but also struggling against the consent needed for the dominant ideology of the hegemony to maintain their power.\textsuperscript{50} While these different approaches to international relations have all been influenced by Marxist assumptions, they have their own interpretation on what Marx his meanings were. New Marxism is most directly engaged by the Marxist tradition and concentrates on imperialism. New Marxism has therefore provided much research on capitalism in third world countries.\textsuperscript{51}

The concept of hegemony and its power to maintain the status quo through coercion and consent questions who prosper under the prevailing order and highlight the role of politics and culture (ideas, law, knowledge) in shaping the interests, actions and policies of the actors within the system. Questioning the prevailing order invites a whole new approach to international relations inspired by Marxism and elaborating on how facts and values cannot be separated and always reflect a certain time and certain circumstances.\textsuperscript{52} This revolutionary approach is called critical theory and introduces post-positivist assumptions to Marxist approaches and a possibility to escape the materialist boundaries that underpin these approaches when ideas are treated as ‘just’ outcomes of, with no autonomy from or influence on, the existing mode of production. Critical theories focus on power and domination and the subtle and not so subtle connection between object and subject and are highly political, even revolutionary, believing in progressive change

\textsuperscript{48} Hobden & Jones 2004, p. 229.
\textsuperscript{49} Hobden & Jones 2004, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{50} Scholte 2005, p.129.
\textsuperscript{51} Hobden & Jones 2004, p. 243.
\textsuperscript{52} Hobden & Jones 2004, p. 236 and 237.
based on the assumption that everything social is constructed and thus changeable and historical.\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{Post-positivist approaches}

Constructivists

Like critical theorists, constructivists argue that the international system is not something that stands on its own. They claim there only exists something that is called intersubjective awareness among people. This is a set of ideas, meanings, norms, values, identities, concepts and assumptions which have been arranged by certain people at a certain time and certain place. Constructivisms focus on the relationship between ideational and material forces, between agent and structure and on how international (normative) structures construct identities and interests.\textsuperscript{54} They investigate how people conceive themselves and their relations with others and how these relations are formed and expressed. Processes of diffusion, standardization, institutionalization, naturalization, reproduction and transformation are deconstructed and analyzed but constructivists abstain from analyzing constructions of structural inequalities and conditions of domination and subordination.\textsuperscript{55}

Postmodernists

Postmodernisms on the other hand also approach social science as historical, cultural and political rather than neutral and a-historical but acknowledge that “knowledge and power are intimately related”.\textsuperscript{56} The influence of power on the construction of identities, norms and knowledge is an important focus for all postmodernisms. They focus on how power structures shape and are shaped by knowledge and determines what is ‘truth’ and ‘real’ and what is not. According to postmodernists the dominant framework of knowledge today is rationality and they assign globalization to rationality’s expansionary logic that

\textsuperscript{53} Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 248.
\textsuperscript{54} Barnett 2004, p. 263.
\textsuperscript{55} Scholte 2005, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{56} Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 251.
implies cultural imperialism. \(^{57}\) Postmodernists have contributed greatly to revealing the deeper social conditions that have prompted the globalization process. But even more for postmodernisms than for constructivists there exist a risk of becoming too nihilistic, deconstructing everything to the bone, and too theoretical, with its critique that all theory is biased and arbitrary being turned upon itself. \(^{58}\) A for relational thinking very important post-modern approach is post-colonialism. Post-colonialism has made significant contributions to the destruction of disciplinary boundaries and has paid special attention to global hierarchies of subordination and control based on gender, class and racial differences. According to post-colonialists power and imperialism operate on the intersection of these gender, race and class hierarchies. \(^{59}\)

Normative theories

A post-positivist theory which Scholte does not mention as a separate theory is the so-called normative theory. Normative theories address the moral dimension of international relations and the wider questions of meaning, interpretation and value. Normative theorists point out that all rules, institutions and practices are value-based and if they claim they are not they merely fail to be explicit about it. This approach to globalization is important for their contributions to the discussion about ‘cosmopolitanism’ versus ‘communitarianism’ and the ethical standing of institutions and their relation to each other. \(^{60}\)

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\(^{57}\) Scholte 2005, p. 133.
\(^{58}\) Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 252.
\(^{59}\) Smith & Owens 2004, p. 288 and 289.
\(^{60}\) Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 261.
2.4 ‘Who we are’

The preceding chapters have explained that globalization is a process of neo-liberal restructuring and that this process and its effects are approached economically, politically or culturally through positivist and post-positivist theories of international relations. What are the consequences of such an account to globalization? My main investigation in this paper is to find out whether the dynamics of globalization that explain a growing amount of migrant domestic services globally exist in the Dutch market for domestic services as well in order to say something about the (future) demand for and supply of domestic labor by MDWs in the Netherlands. Well then, where are the MDWs in the dominant account and the positivist and post-positivist approaches to globalization? In other words, who is ‘we’ in ‘what we do’ and ‘how we think’?

2.4.1 Globalization and identity formation

Globalization creates more space for identity formation outside the limits of the (direct) family and the nation-state and changes in economic and social structures directly influence structures of the state, the daily lives of people and the way they look at themselves and form their identity. Internet and the growing access to all kinds of information (about and from other countries, people and cultures) confront us with the multiple ways of ‘looking’, ‘doing’ and ‘thinking’ and creates a wide range of possibilities to choose from and identify with. In turn our social environment (e.g. family, school, the neighborhood or nation-state) in which our identity is formed will be transformed by this formation and so on. The way globalization broadens and at the same time differentiates (and individualizes) the context in which we ‘do’ and ‘think’ creates possibilities as we are no longer limited to family, nature, class or state structures for the

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62 I found it particularly interesting to read that, according to the ILO’s World Employment Report 2001, approximately one-half of the world’s population lacks access to the electricity and phone lines that enable access to ICT and that of the 5% of the world’s people who use the internet 88% lives in advanced industrialized countries and approximately 75% of all internet information is produced in English. The report continues to tell that users are disproportionately young, urban, educated and male as for example in the United States the ‘typical Internet user is a 36 year old, college educated, high-income, urban and Caucasian... and in Zimbabwe and Ethiopia respectively 87 and 98 per cent of all Internet users have university degrees and they are overwhelmingly male’. Peterson 2003, p. 56.
construction of our identity but at the same time may frighten people as it is confusing and removes the security of simplicity and predictability that existed when people’s identity was connected to their state.\textsuperscript{63} Identity (and ‘subjectivity’) is a construction and is not formed in a vacuum but is surrounded by power relations and power structures. A lack of money to travel or emigrate, differentiated access to sources as the Internet or school or the inability to read and write, create different possibilities to different processes of identity formations. As Goppel in her thesis on ‘Migrant Domestic Workers and Identity Formation in a Globalized World’ points out: the formation of a (national) identity automatically forms an identity which stands outside the collective identity since it is difficult to create an identity without presupposing an ‘outsider’ or ‘opposite’.\textsuperscript{64}

Different processes of identity formation and different processes of in- and exclusion create different identities as they are embedded in different power structures. Goppel talks of three ‘globalization subjects’ and adds a fourth. The three ‘dominant’ subjects within the globalization discourse of proponents as well as critics are what she calls ‘the managers subject’, ‘the cosmopolitan’ and ‘the activist’. She argues that the fourth subject of globalization, ‘the pragmatically globalized subject’, is not visible in these dominant accounts to globalization since these accounts are based on a Western approach which decides what we see and what we do not see. As these accounts focus on the three dominant subjects of globalization the pragmatically globalized subject which includes labor migrants is often forgotten. Chang and Ling argue that the integration of the economic and cultural approaches to globalization sheds light on its unexposed sides. They put forward that applying this in combination with gender analyzes ‘re-visibilizes’ women and other feminized subjects in these various processes of global change and argue to study \textit{corporal} men and women (instead of disembodied categories) “whose choices and movements reflect their gendered, racialized, and class-based identities in the world they inhabit” (instead of ignoring the global structures that limit their choices).\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63} Scholte 2000, p. 226
\textsuperscript{64} Goppel 2003, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{65} Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 7. Important to note here is that this is not to promote these women and other feminized subjects, which Chang and Ling refer to as ‘the subaltern’, as victims. On the contrary, they put them forward as agents and a more inclusive approach to globalization will make their agency
This de-colonizing, as Chang and Ling call this approach to social reality, entails “viewing global restructuring from below, in person, and located at a specific geopolitical-cultural site (..) look[ing] at non-corporate, though not less organized, forms of working and living in the global political economy (..) and taking seriously how corporal subjects themselves make sense of their globalizing world.”  

Parreñas underlines the importance of this kind of relational, interpretive and gender analyses when she writes about Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers in Rome and Los Angeles and stresses that a subject can never be completely removed from the process of its constitution.  

Her focus on this process of identity formation confirms that in order to ‘visibilize’ agency and (unexposed) subjects it is crucial to look at the structures involving the process of identity formation. These eclectic, integrating, interpretive, gender and de-colonizing approaches to globalization reflect the importance of analyzing globalization by looking at the relation between processes, analyzes, effects and subjects and incorporating un- and underexposed subjects and subjectivity in dominant accounts to globalization. It reveals processes and subjects of globalization that exist in very close relation to the ‘dominant’ processes and subjects of globalization.

### 2.4.2 Techno Muscular Capitalism and its intimate other

Migration pre-dates globalization which does not mean that globalization cannot have important and in its own way ‘new’ contributions to the changes in the direction, content and magnitude of migration. Labor migration today is often brought in connection to globalization. Mittelman points out that the global restructuring of production and its connection to migration illustrates how various aspects of globalization (as well as the top-down and bottom-up perspectives) merge. Numerous studies recognize that neoliberal restructuring has created dramatically increased flows of capital and equally increased flows of labor primarily from ‘the global South’ to ‘the global North’ or from ‘un- and underdeveloped countries’ or parts of countries to ‘developed countries’ or noticed and valued. But by paying attention to the larger structures that operate in the global political economy “we aim to avoid romanticizing or individualizing subjectivity”. Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 8.  

66 Chang & Ling 2000, p. 34.  
67 Parreñas 2001, p. 34.  
global cities. But Pellerin and others ascribe the importance of the ‘migration crisis’ in this era of globalization to its increased public attention and cry for global management by developed countries which, she argues, is a consequence of the quantitative and qualitative changes in migration flows to developed countries and not so much in the quantitative changes worldwide.\textsuperscript{70} Due to the low birth rate in North America and Europe migrants represent a significant amount compared to the number of native people in these countries and they provide an important contribution to population growth and economic sustainability in developed countries. But because of this low birth rate in these countries this is needed and at the same time feared. The report “International migration and development” handed over to the U.N. General Assembly in June last year points out that migrants take on jobs for which, often because of low wages, there cannot be found local workers and would otherwise remain undone or cost more. This allows citizens to perform other, more productive and better-paid jobs.\textsuperscript{71} Various scholars put forward the growing importance of the service economy as an explanation for the growing amount of migrant labor in this age of globalization. They point out how labor markets are structured by a global division of labor which differentiates professional, managerial and other skilled workers (often highly mobile) from a group classified as unskilled or deskilled service workers (often bound to a place and time).\textsuperscript{72}

Trends like these have their effects on women as well, of course. An emigration country that illustrates the importance of the service economy and its effect on labor migration and women very clearly is the Philippines.

In 2003 the Philippines had 6.97 million people residing and working overseas of which 2.9 million worked as overseas contract workers and 1.8 million as undocumented workers. It is difficult to establish this precisely because of lack of accurate figures that comes with this informality, but it can be said that the actual amount of undocumented workers.

\textsuperscript{70} Pellerin 2003, p. 177. These figures from the UN secretary in 1998 show that the amount of migrants worldwide increased from 75 million in 1965 to almost 120 million in 1990. While the number of migrants in developing countries increased from almost 45 million to more than 65 million in this same period, the number of migrants in developed countries increased from 30 million to 54 million but representing 4.1% of its population in comparison to ‘only’ 1.6% in developing countries Pellerin 2003, p. 180.

\textsuperscript{71} UN General Assembly Report 2006, point 51 and 52 p. 12.

\textsuperscript{72} Sassen 2002; Agustín 2007; Pettman 2003.
migrant workers will therefore most likely be higher. Yearly 700,000 Philippine people emigrate to reside and work overseas and 60% of the labor migrants from the Philippines is female of which more than half of them end up in the service sector, mainly as care and/or domestic workers.\textsuperscript{73} According to Parreñas this percentage goes up to one third and with their entrance into domestic service in more than 130 countries they represent one of the largest and widest flow of contemporary female migration.\textsuperscript{74} According to Ehrenreich and Hochschild “foreign females from countries outside of the European Union made up only 6 percent of all domestic workers in 1984. By 1987 the percentage had jumped to 52”.\textsuperscript{75} These women are migrants that provide elderly care, childcare, and/or housecleaning in private homes paid by individuals or families. They are what Chang and Ling call globalization’s ‘Intimate Other’ since this low-skilled low-wage labor is performed under intimate, household conditions.\textsuperscript{76} Most analyses of global political economy focus on conditions of the formal productive economy and its ‘aggressive market competition’ that Chang and Ling call ‘techno-muscular capitalism’ (TMC) and refers to a ‘glitzy, Internet-surfing, structurally integrated world of global finance, production, trade, and telecommunications. Populated primarily by men at its top rungs of decision making, this global restructuring valorizes all those norms and practices usually associated with Western capitalist masculinity – “deregulation”, “privatization”, “strategic alliances”, “core regions”, “deadlands”.\textsuperscript{77}

Growing informalization exposes global restructuring ‘from below’ and polarizes the global political economy between a small privileged group (that includes women) of upper class techno-muscular capitalism and the majority of the world’s workers who participate less out of choice than necessity, mostly and growing, female migrant workers. This process is what Chang and Ling call Globalization 2. They argue that the ‘rhetoric of empire’ that follows the god-eyed view with which both advocates of and critics of globalization focus on “finance, production, trade, telecommunications, media, drug cartels and the Mafia” allows them to see only a small segment of the world, i.e. white,

\textsuperscript{73} Lan 2003, p. 257 to 260; Pettman 2003, p. 162.
\textsuperscript{74} Parreñas 2001, p.1.
\textsuperscript{75} Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003 p. 7.
\textsuperscript{76} Chang & Ling 2000, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{77} Chang & Ling 2000, p. 28.
masculinized, cosmopolitans working in or near global cities, at the expense of the majority. Sassen agrees and adds how ‘recapture[ing] the geography behind globalization’ by including production processes and a focus on practices reveals how markets, firms and even the information industry rests on a physical (territorial) infrastructure and employ not only high-professionals but many different types of workplaces and workers. Ehrenreich and Hochschild also refer to this type of dependency in their accounts on migrant domestic labor. The unexposed side of the globalization process that is located in the private sphere of the household is, in every sense, an intimate other to TMC. But this second, intimate, process of global restructuring is more explicitly sexualized, racialized and class-based than its TMC counterpart.

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78 Chang & Ling 2000, p. 31.
79 Sassen 2002a, p. 256 and 257.
80 Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002, p. 11.
2.5 Summary

Globalization can be classified according to fundamentally different approaches to globalization. This reveals the complicatedness of the process and its ‘all-embracingness’, influencing every aspect of economical, political, social and cultural relations. It also reveals that what globalization is depends on who you ask and how he or she thinks. Despite these variations on what globalization is and what its effects are there seems to exist a general agreement that defines globalization as neo-liberal restructuring. This definition refers to a process of global restructuring with capitalism as the defining driving force and neo-liberal ideology determining its direction with an important role for information and communication technologies. The process of neo-liberal restructuring privileges market forces and privatization over public spending. It changes the public welfare role of the state to one in which its main task is providing free movement of capital, goods and ideas, unrestricted labor markets, stable monetary policies, limited fiscal policies, an integrative banking system, attractive investment opportunities and political stability.

Theories of globalization are divided in positivist and post-positivist approaches. Positivists believe that the only true knowledge is scientific knowledge and that there is little if any difference between social science and natural science, which depends on (direct) observation and is explanatory rather than normative. They believe that the social world has regularities which observation can ‘discover’ and that globalization is the result of concrete forces creating neutral facts. Post-positivists think a value free social science does not exist because our subjectivity determines what we see as reality and how we interpret this reality. This means it is not possible to divide between object and subject which makes reality something to understand instead of explain since it is created rather than fixed. In sum, realist, liberal and Marxist theories are positivist approaches and tend to be materialistic, explanatory and foundational; constructivisms, post-modernisms and normative theories are post-positivist approaches and tend to be idealistic, constitutive and anti-foundational.
Dominant accounts on globalization focus on the Techno Muscular Capitalism (TMC) side of the neo-liberal restructuring process. This means a focus on a privileged group of men and women moving within the formal productive economy and valorized by norms and practices associated with Western capitalist masculinity. Such accounts to globalization overlook a process of global restructuring very closely related to this visible part of the globalization process. This unshed side of the globalization process is what Chang and Ling call ‘Globalization 2’ and refers to the majority of the world’s workers. The growing importance of the service economy and the global division of labor create a growing demand for migrant labor and polarizes the world in professional, managerial and other skilled workers and unskilled or deskillled migrant (service) workers. These pragmatically globalized subjects are not visible in the dominant accounts to globalization since these accounts are based on a Western masculine approach which decides what we see and what we do not see. Migrant Domestic Workers, as pragmatically globalized subjects working in the private sphere of the household, are the very ‘Intimate Other’ to this process of TMC. Neo-liberal restructuring and its focus on TMC tells us only one half of the story.
3. A Relational Thinking approach to neo-liberal restructuring

3.1 Introduction

By introducing MDWs and their (lack of) place in the globalization process and globalization theories the other half of the story becomes visible. This creates space for a more inclusive approach to globalization. In this chapter I will put forward a Relational Thinking approach to globalization (and social reality in general) and I will explain what this changes about what we see when we look at globalization. I will then use this lens to describe different processes, dynamics and characteristics of globalization and migrant domestic services in order to explain the growing amount of migrant domestic labor in the world today.

3.2 Relational Thinking

As pointed out in the previous chapters positivist and to a lesser degree post-positivist theories are dominant in analyzing globalization. These accounts overlook important subjects of globalization, like MDWs: “this dominant narrative [of globalization] concerns itself with the upper circuits of global capital, not the lower ones, and particularly with the hypermobility of capital rather than with what is place-bound.”

Making MDWs and their work visible is necessary in order to explain the growing amount of MDWs in today’s globalized world. Therefore another approach to globalization is needed. I will begin with discussing the weaknesses of positivist and post-positivist approaches to globalization in order to create space for this other approach to globalization.

3.2.1 Criticism towards mainstream theories

An obvious critique to realisms is their narrow focus on conflict and states. Although human nature may be self-interested and combative and although states may be key figures in an anarchic world where power and power politics, security, state survival and national interests in general are important guidelines for state policies, realisms overlook

the importance of other key actors like human beings, lobby groups, regional institutions, companies and non-governmental organizations, other ‘sites’ like communities and households and other values like the environment and the ability of cooperation and progress. Realists reduce all power relations to state hierarchies. US hegemony and other major governments and their interests have certainly played an important role in the globalization process and its direction but additional types of power relations - class, ethnicity, gender - have played their part and although maybe standing in relation to state hierarchies these other hierarchies are not reducible to that of the state. After all, as Scholte reminds us, class inequality, cultural hierarchy and patriarchy predate the modern state system. The revelation of deeper forces by Marxist and social theorists and their focus social power relations and inequalities that underpin technological and institutional developments, state strategies and transplanetary connections have been an important contribution to globalization theories but as with state hierarchy not all power structures are reducible to class hierarchy either. Likewise liberalism’s surplus accumulation is an import driving force for the globalization process but not the only one. In this line of thinking structural hierarchies and globalization are either depoliticized as ‘the way things are’, ‘unstoppable’ and ‘inescapable’ or marginalized by more important analytical foci. This reduces analytical foci to either states struggle for power or class hierarchies. It overlooks important power structures and processes. Although not complete, these positivist assumptions are nevertheless a good starting point to begin theorizing about globalization: in the first place because of its extensive and valuable empiric research and in the second place because positivist assumptions and the development from realisms to critical theory has also created an opening for cultural, ideological and subjective elements. Critical theories and ‘associated politics of emancipation’ have created openings towards a gender sensitive, post-modern and relational approach to globalization and its characteristics, ideology and culture. Critical theory has made the first move and post-positivist theories have elaborated on their revolutionary findings. Post-positivist theories focus on how power is experienced instead of how it is exercised.

82 Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 96.
83 Scholte 2005, p. 128.
84 Peterson 2003.
85 Scholte 1996, p. 45.
and introduces ethics and a normative approach to globalization. But even more so for postmodernisms than for constructivists there exists a risk for post-positivist theories of becoming too nihilistic, asking questions and deconstructing everything to the bone criticizing that all theory is biased which eventually can be turned upon itself. 86

Space for a Relational Thinking approach towards globalization

Realists, liberalists and Marxists all contribute to valuable information and research on globalization and its effects. Realists contribute through their focus on state struggles for power; liberalists through their thoughts on individual rights, liberty, wealth and democracy and global connectedness through market forces; and Marxists through their structural questions about capitalism, capital accumulation, deregulation and inequality, its structural explanations for the economic behavior of firms, institutions and markets and its extensive research on changes in the organization of production, global divisions of labor, class and geopolitical hierarchies. The important role of states but also of markets, technology, institutions, civil society and their underlying struggles for power and consent, their ability to see international relations as more than political, to see how the economy is embedded in social and political relations and how institutions are ‘made’ and influence create an important opening to post-positivist approaches. The Gramscian focus on cultural, ideological and subjective elements illuminates hegemonic rule through ‘ideological consent’ and reveals neo-liberal elites and their cross-border power and influence. Critical theories’ elaboration on this introduced materialist Marxism to idealist post-positivisms. Post-positivists introduce ideas, subjectivity and inter-subjective meaning systems (in which subjects and cultural coding are crucial) and how these constitutes reality. Because constructivists deconstruct while holding on to some sort of pre-existing objectivity and complicate but not interrogate dichotomies, it reproduces gendered and/or racialized assumptions. 87 Post-modernisms’ interpretive thought do deconstruct dichotomies, showing their relation and interdependence and exposing relations of power. Gender analyses in combination with this kind of interpretive

86 Jackson & Sørensen 2003, p. 252.
87 Peterson 2003, p. 36.
approach and post-colonialism is of specific importance in order to reveal gender-, class-, ethnicity- and nation hierarchies and their connectivity, which is crucial to ‘poor’, ‘female’ and ‘migrant from ‘un- or underdeveloped’ nation-states’. The mainstream positivist division between subject and object not only “disables an adequate understanding of subjectivity, reflexivity, meaning and value” but has also denied “the ‘power’ of subjective and cultural believes to construct the ‘objective’ world” which consequently denies the power dynamics in constructing ideologies, meaning systems and identities and is of special importance for analyzing globalization because of its dependence on information technologies “that are necessarily conceptual and cultural”.  

The interpretive approach of post-modernists adds tools for analyzing the virtual economy and makes it possible to truly question power structures, constructions of value and the influence of information, symbols, identities, categorizations and language. For understanding relational thinking this interpretive approach is of specific importance in combination with feminist analyses of power relations and structural hierarchies. Feminist research has been relevant to understanding social reproduction and its relation to formal production and power relations. But even feminisms have been constrained by disciplinary and positivist lenses, not in the least when assuming nation-states as the central focus of their studies, paying too little attention to global dynamics. As Peterson and Sassen point out, a “more adequate analyses [of migration] requires situating the movement of people in the context of new and specifically global dynamics.”  

Even more so, feminist theories have the tendency to reduce other oppressions to that of patriarchy and tend to homogenize women which obscure significant differences among women and how racial, ethnical, class, age and nation hierarchies involve women oppressing other women. Post-colonial (feminism) has well addressed this issue. Feminist theories in combination with post-colonial studies have provided the most structural analyses of relations among race, states, class and gender.  

A Relational Thinking approach in which interpretive thinking expands its field of study to the role of information and communication technologies in combination with gender analyses makes

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88 Peterson 2003, p. 22.
89 Peterson 2003, p. 66; Sassen 1998, p. xxxi.
90 Scholte 2005, p. 135.
91 Scholte, 2005, p. 134; Peterson 2003, p. 34.
it possible to elaborate on positivist findings and research on materialist processes, its actors and power hierarchies and continue where interpretive thinking and feminisms stopped and failed to meet.

### 3.2.2 Feminisms

To understand the critiques to mainstream approaches to globalization it is necessary to address feminist theory as interceding with but independent from ‘non-feminist theories’. Feminism starts but does not end with introducing women into the mainstream equation. It is important to understand how women became the feminine and sex became gender. It began with liberal feminisms and its concern with equal rights for men and women. Contemporary liberal feminists want women to be more active in world politics and focus on the elimination of unequal access to power and influence from within the existing system. Marxist feminisms criticize this reformist character and ascribe the inferior position of women to the economic, political and social (power) structures of capitalism and its inherent sexual division of labor in productive and reproductive work. They believe the only way for women to be treated equally is to overthrow the capitalist system. Social feminisms add to this an analysis of patriarchy and refer to capitalism as the oppressive mode of production and patriarchy as the oppressive mode of reproduction. Radical feminisms, on the contrary, reject any cooperation with existing theories and its male values and advocate an independent feminist analysis. They see the oppression of women not simply as a by-product of capitalism but as the root of all systems of oppression, preceding and therefore ‘outside’ of all International Relation theories. By the end of the 20th century the feminist theories, as with ‘non-feminist theories’ on International Relations, abandoned the positivist field and introduced their interpretations of critical theory and postmodernism and the essence of standpoint feminisms and postcolonial theories. Standpoint feminism refers to looking at the world from a female point of view and exposing its male constructions.

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Gender

I will explain the post-positivist development of feminism along a different path than along the path of non-feminist theories because it explains better how the focus on ‘women’ and ‘equal’ rights changed to that of ‘gender’ which points out more clearly where the feminist theories stopped and Relational Thinking begins. Feminist criticism in any discipline begins with exposing the omission of women and their activities and noticing androcentric thinking i.e. male-as-norm thinking. In an attempt to correct this women and their activities were ‘added’. 93 Making women empirically visible exposes (androcentric) assumptions of conventional accounts. But it also immediately reveals that a rethinking of foundational categories is necessary: by simply adding women either women have to become like men or the concepts themselves have to be reformed. 94 It is here were the distinction between ‘sex’ as a positivist tool and ‘gender’ as a constructivist (post-positivist) category is crucial. Gender is a social construction, which means it is not given but learned and therefore not fixed but changeable. Viewing the world through a gender lens reveals how men and women conceptualize and perceive themselves and the world and thus how gender influences how they think and what we perceive as ‘real’. It is therefore not just an empirical category but an analytical tool which reveals existing dichotomies on men and women and all that is associated with the masculine (public, paid, skilled, productive, rational, political) and the feminine (private, unpaid, unskilled, reproductive, emotional, “natural”) and how these distinctions shape concepts, practices, identities, institutions and analyses. Post-modernisms and their interpretive approach are important for deconstructing the social world and revealing gender hierarchies. But post-modern feminists take gender a step further. They see gender not so much in terms of identity or social structures but rather in terms of discourse and point out the power and knowledge relationships. 95 Of special importance is their connection to post-colonialism. Third world women have strongly criticized first world presumption, privilege and homogenizing in western (feminist) discourse. 96 Their criticism on modernity’s universalizing claims and the dichotomies it entails, both conceptually (self/other, 93 Scholte 2005, p. 134.
94 Peterson 2003, p. 29.
95 Steans 1998, p. 28.
developed/undeveloped) and territorially (north/south), links post-colonialism to post-modernism and stand-point feminism and exposes not only gender hierarchy but also hierarchies of race, ethnicity, nation-states and class. Feminisms on the other hand have not sufficiently studied the role of information and communication technologies and therefore have not been able to reveal the relations that these technologies create and the relation they have to structural hierarchies in a ‘globalized’ world.  

3.2.3 RPV-framing & Triad analytics

Disciplinary divisions between economical, political and cultural approaches to globalization influence what we study and make claims about and are linked to epistemological differences about how we study and what we conceive as reality and truth. Scholte argues how these divisions create a narrow approach to globalization and he proposes an eclectic approach in which it is not just one variable (production, governance, identity, knowledge, power etc.) that generates globalization, but “a complex interplay of several forces”. In her book “A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy” Spike Peterson explains that when (if) the growth and changes in migration flows, capital movements, global production and informal activities are recognized and studied they are rarely analyzed in relation. Scholte agrees and argues for an approach that interconnects ideational and material forces rather than looking to one or the other. Analyzing these different co-existing forces and understanding the material and the conceptual in relation is what Spike Peterson considers most important for explaining the effects of globalization. Marchand agrees with Scholte and Spike Peterson when saying that “various processes of global restructuring are not occurring in isolation but are connected.”

Relational Thinking (Spike Peterson explicitly does not call it a theory) is a remapping of the terrain of globalization that asks for a new way of thinking that connects elements of existing theories. It consists of two concepts: ‘RPV-framing’ and ‘Triad Analytics’.

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97 Peterson 2003, p. 33.
99 Peterson 2003, p. 1, 2 and 14.
100 Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 2; Peterson 2003, p. 29.
RPV-framing
The first is what she calls ‘RPV-framing’ which refers to the Reproductive, Productive and Virtual economies and is used in order to ‘remap’ the globalization terrain. In most mainstream theories the Productive economy is the primary field of attention, the place where it all happens. The sphere of the private home is often if not always ignored or marginalized. And this sphere has often if not always been assigned to women. This lack of analyzing gender dynamics in the political economy has not only ignored, or marginalized, the (unpaid) labor of women and their importance to the economy but today again it ignores the (often also unpaid or underpaid) labor and existence of MDWs and their importance to the economy today. A connection between the Productive and the Reproductive economy would bring the productive economy in relation to these otherwise marginalized identities and practices of the reproductive economy. The Virtual economy addresses developments in financial markets, advances in information technology, the growing importance of information and knowledge and the economy of signs and symbols. This latter is of special importance to the construction of ‘value’ and the power of (dominant) discourse and (dominant) images. These three economies are co-existent and interactive and should therefore be analyzed in relation.

Triad Analytics
The second concept is called ‘Triad Analytics’ and is an interdisciplinary analysis in which existing theories are combined in line with what RPV-framing asks for. It is an approach which rejects oppositional framing in favor of relational thinking in which it combines identities, ideologies and practices in order to reveal connections and interdependence between features and effects of globalization. Triad analytics resorts to familiar categories in positivist discourses, while taking subject formation seriously and viewing identities (subjectivity), meaning systems (symbols, discourse, ideology) and social practices/institutions (actions, social structures) as inextricable, interacting and co-constitution dimensions of social reality. Triad analytics in combination with RPV-framing reveals forces, power structures and hierarchies that are of crucial importance to

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102 Peterson 2003, p. 40.
an inclusive analysis of globalization and its effects. In short: analyzing the Productive economy allows continuity with conventional economical analyses and these positivist theories are a good starting point for empiric research on material forces; including the Reproductive economy asks for a gender-sensitive analysis; and in order to investigate the construction of ‘economic value’ the Virtual economy includes interpretive approaches and postmodernists’ (de)constructions.  

As pointed out in the previous chapter Sassen stresses the importance of analyzing practices since “a focus on practices draws the categories of place and work process into the analysis of economic globalization” and “allows us to recapture people, workers, communities, and more specifically, the many different work cultures, besides the corporate culture, involved in the work of globalization.” Parreñas underlines the importance of this kind of relational, interpretive and gender analyses to capture her Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers in Rome and Los Angeles. Chang and Ling argue that the integration of the economic and cultural approaches to globalization sheds light on its unexposed sides. These eclectic, integrating, interpretive, gender and de-colonizing approaches to globalization reflect the importance of analyzing globalization by looking at the relation between processes, analyzes, effects and subjects. By combining economic, political, cultural and social approaches with positivist and post-positivist theories triad analytics transcends the methodological, epistemological and disciplinary boundaries that not only impede analyzing new developments but also analyzing the relation between different features of globalization (production, governance, identity, culture, economy, knowledge, power).

103 Peterson 2003, p. 38 and 39.
104 Sassen 2002, p. 5.
105 Parreñas 2001, p. 34.
106 Chang & Ling 2000, p. 34.
107 Peterson 2003, p. 2.
Looking at social reality this way makes subjects and subjectivity part of otherwise abstract globalization debates about processes, structures, markets and states. It shows how critical theories and their focus on identity formation, ideas and symbols create openings for gender analyses and interpretive understandings that reveal gendered representations and valorizations. It also reveals gendered power dimensions and processes of inclusion and exclusion by gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and class.\footnote{Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 9; Steans 1998, p. 37.}

Since “changes/events in the world out there produce and are produced by changes in how we conceptualize and who we think we are” all features, effects and subjects of globalization should be analyzed in relation.\footnote{Peterson 1997, p. 185.}
3.3 Neo-liberal restructuring

Knowing now what ‘lens’ it takes to ‘see’ globalization correctly I will use this lens to look at globalization and migrant domestic services. I will point out certain processes and effects of globalization and reveal dynamics and characteristics of the globalization process that explain the growing amount of MDWs in the world today.

3.3.1 Privatization, deregulation and cut backs in public spending

Globalization as neo-liberal restructuring (capitalism as the defining drive behind globalization and neo-liberal ideology determining its direction with an important role for information and communication technologies) privileges market forces and privatization over public spending. It changes the public welfare role of the state to one in which its main task is providing free movement of capital, goods and ideas, unrestricted labor markets, stable monetary policies, limited fiscal policies, an integrative banking system, attractive investment opportunities and political stability.\(^{110}\) Privatization and deregulation are the key words of neo-liberal restructuring in both ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries.

Structural Adjustment Programs in the South

Feminists and post-colonialists generated the most extensive research on the effects of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which can be regarded as neo-liberal restructuring in developing countries or what others may call ‘the global south’.\(^{111}\) In order to make indebted countries more competitive the idea was to guide these states in opening up to foreign firms, cut-back their public spending and direct their resources outward oriented rather than national. According to Sassen “it is now clear that in most of the countries involved, whether Mexico or South Korea, these conditions have created

\(^{110}\) Scholte 1997, p. 432; Baylis & Smith 2004; Peterson 2003, p. 5 and p. 45; Cox 2006, p. 18.

\(^{111}\) It should be clear here that I use the terms ‘global north’ and ‘global south’ to refer to the wealthier, ‘developed’ states and Global Cities that are ‘in charge’ versus the underdeveloped or developing states and parts of states that do not have as much to say in the current globalization process. It is not to divide the world in these two categories; I use these terms only to be able to talk about the effects of globalization and the two different consequences of these effects namely a growing demand for domestic labor in ‘the global North’ versus a growing supply of domestic labor in ‘the global South’. I have chosen these terms in stead of alternative ones because most of my literature has chosen to use this terminology.
enormous costs for certain sectors of the economy and of the population, and have not fundamentally reduced government debt.”  

All of these countries are still deeply indebted and 41 countries even show a rise in government debt. 

The negative consequences of neo-liberal conditions like privatization and cut backs in public spending have a secondary effect on the decline of public resources if (more) debt have to be paid for which leaves even fewer amounts of money to spent on public resources. Feminist and post-colonial studies show how women are disproportionately harmed by decreases in public welfare spending in many and different ways, not only directly because of a disproportional amount of job loss since a relatively large numbers of women work in nursing, health- and day care but also indirectly because women are relatively more dependent on public resources in general (as they are the major recipients and providers of such services) and prenatal and postnatal care in particular. 

On top of this women (and/or the eldest daughter) are expected to ‘take up the slack’ and take care of children, the elderly and the sick when public care and health resources are cut, even if these women and girls have a job or go to school. To make up for declining resources as a consequence of a decrease in public spending people and especially women are pushed into the informal economy. As examples of other costs created by neo-liberal conditions Sassen points at shrinking opportunities for male employment, declining male income and less possibilities for more traditional forms of profit-making as these countries increasingly accept foreign firms in a widening range of economic sectors and are pressured to develop export industries. 

When male earnings drop and unemployment rises women engage in additional formal and/or informal work (often creating double or even triple burdens). When because of production restructuring demand is falling in sectors with a high rate of female employment (e.g in Export Processing Zones and agriculture) or when women are replaced by (fewer) men because new technology requires men or needs less labor, again women will have to search for

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112 Sassen 2002b, p. 2; Peterson 2003, p. 71 and see for example Lingam 2005.
113 Sassen 2002b, p. 7.
114 Cox 2006, p. 18; Sassen 2002a, p. 266; Lingam 2005, p. 2; Peterson 2003, p. 72; Marchand p. 17
116 Peterson 2003, p. 72.
117 Sassen 2002b, p. 2; Willis & Yeoh 2000, p. 35.
118 Cox 2006, p. 19; Peterson 2003, p. 72
work in the informal economy. Sometimes, however, these informal adjustments are not enough to provide for their family and dependants and work have to be looked for in rural cities or across borders.

Neo-liberal policy in the North

Neo-liberal policy in ‘the global north’ and the decrease in public spending that follows equally affects women in the global north disproportional compared to men because of the same relatively high number of women working in nursing, health- and day care and because women in the global north bare the same responsibility for ‘taking up the slack’ as in the global south. Again privatization and decrease in public spending means shifting welfare, health- and day care from the paid to the unpaid labor of women. An additional factor in ‘Northern’ countries is the ageing of a large amount of elderly people. Despite this growing need for especially elderly care public spending is cut back and pay and working conditions in health care and education have decreased to such an extend that recruitment of (native) staff have become very difficult. Different compared to the global South is that in the global North alternatives to jobs in health care and education are multitude and better paid. Another difference is that because of changing gender- and family relations and the rapidly growing demand for high-level professional workers more and more women have found work which requires long working hours and intense engagement. Polarization of wealth, changing gender roles and the increasing formal labor market participation by women in the North polarize jobs in terms of skills and work conditions with highly valued (male and female) professionals at the top and devalorized services at the bottom ranging from janitors and repairmen to cleaning, domestic labor, care- and sex work.

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119 Peterson 2003, p. 50; Peterson 2003, p. 75.
120 Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 17; Peterson 2003, p. 72; Anderson 2000, p. 108.
121 Anderson 2000, p. 110.
122 Cox 2006, p. 53.
123 Cox 2006, p. 4; Sassen 2002a, p. 258.
3.3.2 Informalization, flexibilization and commodification

Informalization and flexibilization are consequences of privatization and cut backs in public resources and are closely connected to the feminization and commodification of labor migration. When unemployment, low wages (that do not cover the minimum necessities even with additional female earnings), income inequalities and in arrear payments in the global south create an increasing demand for (in)formal work this puts pressure on their countries to look at (unregulated) labor as their most competitive resource. Since 1975 the amount of migrants has doubled. There is growing evidence that the effects of globalization are contributing to increased human mobility. The International Labor Organization (ILO) points at “processes integral to globalization [amongst others] persistent poverty, growing unemployment and loss of traditional trading patterns [create] serious social and economic dislocations”.124 The Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) describes how in several countries “the actual foreign workforce [...] is characterized by high mobility in response to the cyclical fluctuations of the labor market. It is often said that migrant labour fills the ‘three D’ jobs: dirty, degrading and dangerous”.125 Just like the report handed over to Kofi Anan last year the PICUM adds that research demonstrates that migrants take jobs that natives refuse. The ILO report concludes that “migrants are in competition only with marginal sections of the national labour force ... when they are not sufficiently sustained by welfare provisions, in specific sectors, and/or in the less-developed areas inside these countries.”126

Promoting migration in search of work, organized export of labor and their remittances, is one of the ‘survival circuits’ (as Sassen calls them) for households and governments in order to survive. A growing feminization of labor migration shows how these survival circuits are realized more and more frequently through labor migration by women.127 But just as with international relations theories and theories on globalization, women have only recently come part of migration theory other than as ‘partners’ through analyses of family reunification. Their role and agency in departing and receiving countries has been

127 Sassen 2000, p. 274.
unexposed in these analyses until the 1980s and even afterwards the majority of labor migration research has failed to recognize the gendered aspect of migration. Parreñas states that the economic bloc of postindustrial nations, the unequal development of regions in globalization and ‘commodification’ as one of globalization’s key features and the most important consequence of privatization create a feminization of migration and at the same time structural parallels between female migrant domestic workers across the globe.

### 3.3.3 A growing demand for migrant domestic services

The Global Cities that Sassen talks about (New York, Los Angeles, Berlin, Paris, London, etc) have seen an explosion of wealth and power with a rapid expansion of high-income jobs in information and service sectors and a growing demand for maids and nannies in order to make the lifestyles that go with these high-income and time intensive jobs possible: “urban professionals want it all, including dogs and children, whether or not they have the time to care for them”. The growing presence of MDWs in global cities represents a growing need for domestic services in the global North. It is difficult to estimate the amount of MDWs in the world due to the undocumented state of most MDWs and the unregulated and unregistered status of their work and work relationships that on top of this are located in the very private, invisible, sphere of the household. Nevertheless reports from all over the world indicate a growing amount of MDWs in their countries or cities, noting a growing amount of female immigrants looking for work in this sector or noting that domestic work is the largest sector of employment for female migrant workers. I have mentioned in the previous chapter that 60% of the labor migrants from the Philippines is female of which more than half of them ends up as care and/or domestic workers. Other research indicates similar patterns to, from and within countries across all parts of the world. Haidinger talks about more and more migrant women coming to Austria since the 1990s especially women coming from Central

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128 Willis & Yeoh 2000, p. xiii; Moch 2005, p. 96 and 98; Wright 2000, p.3.
129 Parreñas 2001, p. 3.
130 Sassen 2002a, p. 258; Pettman 2003, p. 162; Sassen 2002a, p. 258; Sassen 2002 p. 11.
Europe. Cox analyzes ‘the servant problem’ in Britain claiming that “there are perhaps two million domestic workers in Britain today - more than there were in Victorian times - and 2.7 million British households now employ some kind of domestic help. As well as the traditional butlers, maids, valets and cooks (...) Britain is now served by tens of thousands of nannies, cleaners and au pairs as well as housekeepers”. According to Cox this domestic employment not only exists but is growing. De Regt puts forward that “in the past two decades an increasing number of women have migrated to other countries to take up paid work as domestics” and “that in areas that have experienced a rapid economic growth, such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States and places in East Asia (Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia), but also in Western countries the market for paid domestic work has rapidly increased.” She continues that “however, even in the Republic of Yemen, a “poor” country on the Arabian peninsula, the demand for migrant domestic labour has increased in the past twenty years.” She analyzes the preferences of employers for domestic workers with a particular nationality of background since “in most “poor” countries local women fill the demand for paid domestic labour [but] in Yemen mainly foreign women are employed as domestics.” Yeoh and Huang confirm that “one of the most striking and rapidly increasing of [these] migrant flows within east and south-east Asia has been that of women from the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, India and, most recently, Myanmar, migrating to work as paid domestic workers in the region’s higher-growth countries of Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia” They claim that this is a consequence of wanting to maintain the economic growth in industrialized/industrializing countries and the increasing number of women entering the formal economy in those countries.

According to Anderson domestic work (and sex work) constitutes the largest area of employment for migrant women in Europe. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) indicates a feminization of migration of over 1% a year in the Netherlands, Switzerland and Finland between 1990 and 1999 and a share of

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132 Haidinger 2007, p. 172 and 173.
133 Cox 2006, p. 3
135 Yeoh & Huang 2000, p. 252.
women in the overall immigration flow of 41.3% for Germany, 56.8 for Greece and around 50% for most of the other countries studied (with a slightly higher rate for United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Nordic countries and Belgium and slightly lower for Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands and Switzerland). The report confirms health and household services as the sectors with most female migrant employment. Agustín refers to this trend as ‘a migrant world of services’ because of the strong demand for women’s domestic, caring and sexual labor in Europe ‘which promotes migrations from many parts of the world’ and offer jobs available for migrant women often limited to domestic work, ‘caring’ and the sex industry, all said to be ‘services’. Sassen, Chang, Ling and Pettman also ascribe the increased feminization of migrant labor to the growing importance of international service work and the gendered division of labor or ‘transnational ideologies of personalizes services’ within it. Marchand underlines how the feminization of labor not only refers to the increase of the amount of women in the formal and informal labor force but also to the ‘flexibilization’ and ‘casualization’ of labor in general and women’s labor in particular to keep labor costs down and productivity up. “Poor, working class, Third-world, minority, and migrant women, are most sought for such jobs which are characterized by low wages, few benefits, little union representation, and minimal regulation and tend to be part-time, temporary, and highly insecure in nature”. Female labor can be appealed to and rolled off whenever this is necessary in the name of economic efficiency, as done so often before in various moments in history.

137 OECD Report 2001, p. 27.
139 Marchand & Runyan 2000, p. 17.
3.4 Migrant domestic services

As Goppel points out in her thesis about MDWs and identity, ‘care’ has a peculiar position in the neo-liberal globalization process. “It is not possible to make care a high profit good and it is difficult to distinguish and measure its particular elements”. The paid labor in the public sphere is preferred over the unpaid labor in the private sphere, especially when the wages that are being earned are high enough to make it unprofitable to perform the household tasks yourself. In this chapter I will lay out the different aspects and characteristics of migrant domestic labor in order to demonstrate how and why neo-liberal restructuring has what kind of influence on the demand for migrant domestic labor.

3.4.1 Domestic labor

The ILO’s definition on ‘domestic helpers and cleaners’ is categorized under ‘elementary occupations’ according to which the ILO distinguishes between ‘service workers’ that includes professional child care and care at home, hospitals or care centers and ‘elementary occupations’ that consist of “simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort” and the “tasks performed by workers in elementary occupations usually include: selling goods in streets and public places, or from door to door; providing various street services; cleaning, washing, pressing; taking care of apartment houses, hotels, offices and other buildings; washing windows and other glass surfaces of buildings; delivering messages or goods; carrying luggage; door keeping and property watching; stocking vending machines or reading and emptying meters; collecting garbage; sweeping streets and similar places; performing various simple farming, fishing, hunting or trapping tasks performing simple tasks connected with mining, construction and manufacturing including product-sorting and simple hand-assembling of components; packing by hand; freight handling; pedaling or hand-guiding vehicles to transport passengers and goods; driving animal-drawn vehicles or machinery.” The ILO definition on domestic helpers and cleaners refers to their

140 Goppel 2003, p.43.
141 ILO 2004.
domestic work as they “sweep, vacuum clean, wash and polish, take care of household linen, purchase household supplies, prepare food, serve meals and perform various other domestic duties.” The definition that the ILO holds for a domestic worker is “[a] wage earner working in a private household, under whatever method and period of remuneration, who may be employed by one or several employers who receive no pecuniary gain from this work.” 142

The content of domestic labor differs according to the specific region or country but it seems that similarities lie in considering domestic labor as some form of household labor and/or elderly- and/or childcare. Household labor often includes cooking, repairing clothes, answering the phone and/or guarding the house. Additionally, domestic work is often ‘informal’, characterized as that part of the market that is not run by (formal) companies or institutions but by friends, family, neighbors and other individuals with whom contact is made via/via other people. Often this informal characteristic runs parallel with the black market/undeclared characteristic of domestic labor when hiring someone to do the labor for you.

3.4.2 Private and informal

In a western society (and labor) that is structured according to the existing dichotomy of ‘woman/private/care/nurture/emotion/passive’ versus ‘man/public/productive/active’ care and women are located in the private sphere. A neo-liberal approach that focuses on the public domain cannot recognize and cannot value ‘care’ in its most broad sense. Goppel underlines the essence of this awareness by referring to what Poldervaart has said about how the value of care and nurture, where the relevance of relations between people is central, cannot be ‘seen’ as long as the unlimited relevance of productivity remains the central focus. 143

142 CNV 2006, p. 3.
143 Goppel 2003, p. 44.
The (gendered) division of labor

An especially important structure that a Relational Thinking analysis of the informal economy would reveal is its gendered division of labor, traditionally referring to the amount of unpaid labor performed by women. Gendered dichotomies like ‘woman/private/care/nature/emotion/passive’ versus ‘man/public/productive/active’ and other (gendered) hierarchical dichotomies such as ‘society/individual’, ‘brain/emotion’ and ‘family earner/housewife’ in which the second is inferior to the first dominate the (international) labor market. In order to address the feminization of migration and the growing demand for MDWs Parreñas combines Glenn’s ‘racial division of reproductive labor’ with Sassen’s findings on the ‘international division of labor’.144 Macklin describes how “the persistent segmentation of the labor market along racialized and ethnic lines operates in tandem with the gender hierarchy to locate migrant women disproportionately on the lower rungs of the economic ladders, especially in low-wage, precarious, female job ghettos”.145 The amount of unpaid labor performed by women would grow up to a quarter or a even third of the world’s gross national product if the unpaid (cleaning- and care)work done by women would be accounted for in formal figures and more recently referring to the increasing amount of women performing informal but paid labor.146 Pointing out to the difference between technical/economical and a social (class) division of labor Marx contributed to theories about the division of labor by addressing the power structures underpinning the social constructions that made the existing division of labor seem technically inevitable. But the Marxist (feminist) and radical feminist theories, although addressing the household as an important site of the capitalist economy, did not elaborate on this sufficiently enough in order to come to a sexual division of labor. More recent (feminist) literature does show that divisions of labor are not only class based but also gender-specific. An adequate analyses of the informal economy therefore requires feminist, post-colonialist, Marxist and world-system theories. Growing informal labor in global cities makes it impossible to keep referring informalization to development theories. Although pre-existing capitalism, the sexual division of labor is an important structural driving force which assigns the unpaid

144 Parrenas 2001, p. 72.
146 Peterson 2003, p. 85.
informal labor of women to their role of sustaining family/household well-being and depoliticizes the socially necessary but informal work that women do. When this informal labor is not included in analyses of the global (political) economy the growing demand for care and domestic labor would probably come as a surprise. And after recognizing this unpaid informal labor performed by women, the growing paid but still informal (and undeclared) labor performed by MDWs should be included in analyzes of the global economy and globalization.

Socialization

The division of formal/informal and paid/unpaid goes further than simply ‘adding’ informal labor to economic accounts. When added, the gendered analytical assumptions which are used create public/private distinctions which refer to distinctions between men and their ‘serious’ politics and ‘real’ (i.e. paid, skilled, rational) labor in the public sphere and women and their caring (i.e. unpaid, unskilled, emotional) labor in the private, family, sphere. Marxist theory has stressed the importance of the reproductive economy in relation to primary reproduction which refers to the production of a next generation and future labor force, addressing the capitalist benefits of paying only one (the man) and getting the other (the woman) and her production of future labor for free. Feminist focus has been on this primary reproduction but also on secondary reproduction which includes social formation or ‘socialization’ and extends the mere production of social members and labor force by paying attention to what this entails and how it is done.\footnote{Steans 1998, p. 18; Peterson 2003, p. 83.} A new generation has to be able to work which requires reproduction of social rules, values and the economic order in general. ‘Labor’ is not a natural produced right of the shelf factor of production but it is socially produced and therefore embedded in social structures. Socialization constructs ‘who I am’ and provides meaning for ‘what I do’ and ‘how I look at the world’.\footnote{Peterson 2003, p. 81.} Ehrenreich describes that when the home becomes a workplace for domestic workers it still is the place where your children are raised and when the inequalities in the world will be reproduced in the home and teaches children that some
people are less worthy than others, black and female, “the result is a kind of virtual existence [compared to violent video games] in which the trail of litter that follows you seems to evaporate all by itself. Spill syrup on the floor and the cleaning person will scrub it off when she comes on Wednesday.” 149 Cox adds to this that children will inherit their parent’s attitudes. 150 In this respect Parreñas and Cox as well as Ehrenreich point out how a domestic worker often functions ‘to stop the arguing’ about gender roles and employing a domestic worker ‘can be a way to stop the arguments about whose turn it is to do chores’ and no progress is made: the work has only be passed to another, poorer, woman. 151

Nowadays, the unpaid informal labor performed by women and the paid informal labor performed by MDWs in the private sphere of the household should be accounted for in theories of globalization because of the economic importance of labor production and social (re)production. On top of this, because of this social (re)production within the family the consequences of racialized, gendered and nation-state divisions of labor are of even greater importance when contracting paid domestic labor by migrants. The so called private household- and care labor is becoming more and more ‘public’ through its (paid) commodification and in a world where borders change, blur or are not what they seem, the analytical divisions between ‘private’ and ‘public’ can not endure.

3.4.3 The state and migration policies

Need for household survival in combination with global wage inequalities make migration attractive even when employing a ‘higher valued job’ in their own country and are a reaction to nation-state segregation. 152 Both the state of origin as the state of destination play an important role in organizing this migration.

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150 Cox 2006, p. 6.
151 Cox 2006, p. 5.
152 Cox 2006, p. 43 and 44.
Migration policy in the state of origin: remittances

Whatever the exact reason to immigrate, often in combination with or solely because of economic differences between countries or parts of countries, these ‘survival circuits’ (as Sassen calls them) for households and governments is organized export of labor and their remittances, realized more and more frequently on the backs of women. According to research by Castles immigrants remitted over 67 million dollar annually to their homelands in 1998. He adds “If accurate, this figure would place labour second only to oil in the world trade”.153 Interesting in the case of migrant work is the role of the state. While the role of the state is said to be decreasing under globalization, the state is nonetheless an important actor when it comes to migration policies and remittances. Household strategies for survival collide with that of the governments of developing countries when it comes to the high return of remittances. Women and migrants are crucial for the hard currency reserves of their countries and often especially significant for struggling economies coping with unemployment an foreign debt. The 67 million dollar sent home in 1998 (the latest year for which there exists date, according to Sassen 2002) should be compared to the GDP and foreign currency reserves in that country rather than to the global flow of capital. For the Philippines (a major sender of migrants and of domestic- and entertainment workers in particular) remittances were the third largest source of foreign currency over the last several years and the same was the case for Bangladesh.154 For this to work, women are ‘sold’ as docile, obedient and clean and positive image are create actively in order to construct images of women as ‘heroes’ or ‘working in the name of God’.155 Not only the sending state benefits from migration but also the receiving state benefits since migrations are to return to their countries of origin one day, taking the costs of their old age with them and the receiving state does not have to bare the costs of raising them. Migrant Domestic Workers are often not allowed to bring their children with them, since it would distract him/her from devoting his/her

155 Parreñas 2001, p.53; documentary
family- and household labor to that of the employers family and household.\textsuperscript{156}
Additionally, the receiving state does not have to pay for the costs of their children’s education and health. Finally, as mentioned earlier, with an aging population and low birth rate many countries depend on immigration to achieve economic growth and social reproduction.

Migration policy in the state of destination: citizenship

Writing about Canadian immigration policy, Macklin stresses that “despite the apparent political consensus affirming the state’s monopoly to police borders, immigration policy is not immune from the transformation signified by privatization”.\textsuperscript{157} “After all”, she continues, “Canadian immigration policy is driven largely by the objective of enriching the Canadian economy.” Interesting here is how immigration policy as a public instrument serves the ends defined by the private realm of the market. She accuses the state for selectively delegating decision-making authority to private actors while and through which it manipulates terms of entry (often through fees) in order to adjust incoming labor to domestic demands. She points out how temporary residence and tying migrant (domestic) workers to one particular employer illustrates how temporary migrants “have a place in the economy but not in the nation” and “have evolved into mechanisms to fill chronic gabs in devalued and low pay sectors – such as live-in domestic work, ‘exotic dancing’ and the garment industry – which are almost exclusively female domains”.\textsuperscript{158} The promise of a permanent residence with continuing employment ensures that migrant workers with a temporary working permit accept wages and working conditions that natives and permanent residents find unacceptable. Admitting MDWs through these kind of mechanisms and tolerating these kind of circumstances makes it possible to privatize the costs of social reproduction and keep that cost low both of which are necessary in a world where public spending is cut down.

\textsuperscript{156} Macklin 2002, p. 230.
\textsuperscript{157} Macklin 2002, p. 219.
\textsuperscript{158} Macklin 2002, p. 224.
3.4.4 Economic value and social attitudes

Parreñas concludes that besides the obvious economic reasons to migrate the MDWs she interviewed put forward reasons to migrate which were shaped by gendered differences between man and women and their position in the family and in the local economy. For women reasons to migrate vary according to gender segregation. Limited job opportunities and the low wages attached to female labor in the country of origin are reasons to migrate and a reaction to gender segregation in the local labor market.\textsuperscript{159} Reasons to escape traditional duties, roles and increasing double burdens which results from the growing, needed, female labor force participation and at the same time no decrease in their household responsibilities but, on the contrary, an increase of household responsibilities and informal labor due to a decrease in public resources as a result from neo-liberal restructuring. But also more directly influenced by gender specific situations: to escape violent, abusive, drinking or gambling husbands and lack of (legal) alternatives to divorce their husbands.\textsuperscript{160} All are a reaction to gender segregation in the family.

Economic value

Recent feminist literature points out how capitalist industrialization refigured gendered divisions of labor, authority and power creating ‘new’ meanings for ‘public’ and ‘private’. ‘Public’ retained its association with the state or government (‘the world out there’) and ‘private’ refers to the civic and economic activities of the market and companies. In this ‘new’ division familial relations and reproductive labor are cast as ‘natural’ and thus neither political nor economic.\textsuperscript{161} Nevertheless ‘privatization’ entails delegating public tasks and responsibilities to the sphere of the (‘private’) market and/or to the (‘private’) household in the case of informal and unpaid household- and care labor performed by women. In a time of changing gender and family roles and increasing labor market participation by women, middle- and upper-class men and women in the global North can afford to have their domestic labor performed by somebody else. As long as it is cheap.

\textsuperscript{159} Parreñas 2001, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{160} Parreñas 2001, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{161} Peterson 2003, p. 80.
Wages for domestic work are difficult to calculate, for one because it has been done for free by women (and, to a lesser degree, children) and therefore seems to have no value. After all, the real worth of a good or activity is based on the financial value placed on it. The value starts to become visible when it is calculated by the amount of money that can be made in the time that is freed by paying another to do the domestic work. When women are seen as the primary care takers and earn less than men and are therefore seen as taking less out of the household when giving up paid work, it is the woman her time and money that is taken into this calculation. Obviously, this is often only part of the family income. Care then is only worth paying for if it costs less than another person’s (woman’s) pay-check.\textsuperscript{162} Further more care workers often have to work longer hours than the people they work for since they have to cover traveling time and often prepare breakfast and diner and do the dishes. But that is not taken into account when thinking of a ‘good’ and ‘reasonable’ price for domestic work. We have always been reluctant to pay for it in the first place.

The uneven distribution of global wealth and the concept of ‘citizenship’ when temporary permits and the prospect of permanent citizenship are tied to the economic opportunities in the country of destination and (lack of) economic alternatives and social citizenship entitlements available to the migrant worker in the country of origin or elsewhere makes migration policy a powerful state tool. Migrant workers in general and MDWs in particular are often confronted with few or no alternatives in either country when considering their lack of education (possibilities) and other forms of gender segregation in the family and the labor market or they are, because of this, willing to enter states on any terms even if it involves occupational deskilling and working under restrictive or badly paid conditions.\textsuperscript{163} The income differences across countries and even parts of countries are the main reason to take up work as domestic workers. Good money can be made doing domestic work, compared to the money that can be made being a nurse in the home country. Further more, this income difference is often used to invest in their children (i.e. send back home) or as a ‘start up’ for young men and women in order to

\textsuperscript{162} Cox 2006, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{163} Macklin 2002, p. 236.
continue studying.\textsuperscript{164} Parreñas points out how “the globalization of the market economy has extended the politics of reproductive labor into an international level” which she calls an ‘international transfer of caretaking’ and creates what according to her is “a three-tier transfer of reproductive labor among women in sending and receiving countries of migration”.\textsuperscript{165} Many children of MDWs that had to leave them behind in their home country will be cared for by relatives (often women) or, if possible, by paying other women. This produces global chains of care that connects wealthy women (1) in wealthy countries to a female migrant domestic worker (2) from a less wealthy country who in turn might need to continue the so called ‘care chain’ by paying women (3) in her home country to take care of the children she left behind.\textsuperscript{166} This ‘commodification of care’, the low value of care and all the prejudices and class-, gender-, nation-state- and ethnicity segregation that comes with it is exemplified in state discourse around domestic work emigration. The Philippines, again, offers the best illustration for this. The Philippine government literally ‘sells’ and promotes the ‘docile’ ‘virtue’ and ‘obedient’ nature of the Philippine woman and her labor in return for remittances.\textsuperscript{167}

Social attitudes and discourse

Ideology and discourse are important aspects to the ‘value’ of domestic work. In order to find out which codes are dominant, the wide social relations of power in which these socialization processes are embedded (linguistic, cultural, economic, educational, religious and not in the last place institutions and their policies) have to be deconstructed. A new born enters in a world where these constructions and hierarchies are naturalized. It is of course not possible to deconstruct everything completely with every new-born and nihilism or absolute relativism is not what I mean. It is the awareness of constructions, socialization and subjectivity formation and the power relations, historical contextualization and naturalization that it exists in that is of importance for understanding the reproductive economy and its mutual links to the productive economy.

\textsuperscript{164} Parreñas 2001, p.51; Botman (forthcoming)
\textsuperscript{165} Parreñas 2001, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{166} Anderson 2000, p. 118; Parreñas 2001, p. 62 and 72; Hochschild 2002, p. 21; according to Parreñas these women are the true subaltern under global restructuring Parreñas 2002, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{167} Macklin 2002, p. 227; Parreñas 2001; Cox 2006; Anderson 2000.
As with informal work in general it reveals that globalization is not simply economic but cultural and social. As explained above, the feminization of (informal) labor, not in the last place through the growing supply of domestic services by MDWs, illustrates clearly that masculist ideologies and the gendered divisions that they construct are crucial to who does what kind of work. “The traditional ideology of patriarchal states, religions, and families locates women in the privacy of the home as loyal dependents and caring service providers who sustain family life with emotional, sensual, and material labor and, when necessary (or culturally desirable), supplemental earnings” as articulated by Spike Peterson. The patriarchal and racial hierarchies that underpin this kind of ideologies devalue feminized bodies, skills and labor and limit women’s access to valorized skills and resources. Women embedded in gender, geopolitical, racial and economic disadvantages are therefore cheap labor and because of their economic vulnerability, fewer skills and their responsibility to put their family first they are not in a good position to avoid devalorized work. Because the low valorization of domestic services employers can justify paying MDWs ‘black’, randomly and withholding them all sorts of basic (legal) protection. Something that would not be tolerated if would concern labor in the public domain. This cycle reproduces the hierarchies it rests upon. Neo-liberal ideology and the discourse that neo-liberal restructuring process is ‘unstoppable’, ‘inescapable’ and ‘the only option at hand’ with claims of ‘profits for all’ in the future obscures gender, racial, geo-political, economical and important constructed hierarchies, historical contextualization, its identities and value. This discourse and its ‘common sense’ power naturalizes and depoliticizes all subjects and activities associated with the feminine. This means not only women, but also ‘the emotional’, ‘cleaning’, ‘caring’ and ‘working part-time’. Shortages of staff in health care, welfare and education are not simply the result of fewer trained people (because there is less money to provide good and a sufficient amount of training) or people leaving the sector for other (better paid) jobs. Important here are the social attitudes towards care. In a society that places the value of care work and care workers very low almost any other service seems more important creates low status and low wages.

168 Peterson 2003, p. 97.
3.5 Summary

Relational Thinking consists of a RPV framing in combination with a triad analytics that reject dichotomies in favor of a relational thinking. This makes it possible to reveal connections (relations, hierarchies) between and within these sites and to investigate interconnectedness and interdependence which would remain invisible in a narrow (economic and productive) approach to the globalization process. Conventional theories tend to be confined to positivist assumptions that focus on economic and political aspects of globalization and tend to marginalize power structures or limit their focus on only one particular power structure. Post-positivist theories pay attention to cultural aspects of globalization but neglect structural inequalities and power hierarchies and tend to take their methodological idealism too far with the risk of becoming nihilistic. In order to ‘add’ feminized subjects and the economy of the reproductive (private) sphere gender analyses are needed. Much information and research comes from conventional positivist (including feminist) theories on globalization. Post-positivist (including feminist) theories on globalization are valuable since they illuminate power structures in e.g. identity- and gender constructions and the naturalization of ideology and consent. Relational thinking, and more specifically its RPV framing and triad analytics, makes it possible to strengthen the weaknesses of positivist and post-positivist theories while elaborating on their existing findings and research. By combining existing theories and investigating the Productive-, Reproductive- and Virtual economies the relations between these economies and all identities within become visible.

Cuts backs in public spending directly related to neo-liberal policies in the global North and to Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in the global South trigger informalization and migration. Because of a higher amount of women working in health care, their greater dependence on public resources and the expectation that women take up the slack the decreasing access to public resources as a consequence of these cut backs in public
spending affect women disproportionately. In the global South the need for additional income to compensate the decrease in public resources co-exists with a rapidly changing technology, declining terms of trade, rising (male) unemployment, decreases in family income, women’s lack of education and women’s lack of access to formal jobs. When responsibilities for the provision of services are being relocated to the community this often means a relocation of these responsibilities to the family and more specifically to women. The search for alternative resources and income drive women onto the informal labor market within their own country or across borders. In the global North privatization, deregulation and cut backs in public spending ask for increasing formal paid labor market participation by women. The rising amount of high-level (male and female) professionals in global cities supplies a growing demand for domestic labor in order to keep up their high-profile lifestyles. In the global North the transfer of responsibilities to individual households has increased the demand for MDWs although this demand is not simply created by a lack of provision in the public sphere but by a combination of changing gender roles, work experiences, lifestyle choices and ambitions. This (growing) supply of informal labor supplied by undocumented female migrants corresponds neatly with the flexible, unregulated and cheap labor demanded in global cities. The unequal development of industrialized and developing countries under global restructuring and the wage differences that come with it, class differences and gender segregation contribute to the international division of labor based on racial, class, gender and nation-state (citizenship) hierarchies and the other way around. Both the supply of and demand for migrant domestic labor is a result of gender inequalities in both sending and receiving countries and nation-state segregation, state policies, the power of discourse and the social attitudes towards care both within and outside of the family. The result is polarization of well-paid, highly valued, formal, ‘techno-muscular’ labor at the top and a large and growing group of un- or under protected, under-paid, poorly valued informal (migrant) service labor at the bottom.

Sweeping, vacuum cleaning, washing, polishing, taking care of household linen, ironing, purchasing household supplies, preparing food, serving meals, picking up children, bathing them, feeding them, playing with them, caring for them. These are just a few of
the household tasks that is considered ‘domestic labor’ if considered at all. Elderly care and care for the sick and disabled are not even mentioned in this sum up. One of the reasons for the very limited and marginal attention for domestic labor is the fact that it is performed in the very private sphere of the household. An almost sacred ‘private’ part where we can decide for ourselves what and how we manage things, without or with very limited government (‘public’) intervention. A world that is structured by divisions like woman/nature/private/care/passive versus man/public/productive/active and focuses on the public and productive sphere while naturalizing the private, nurturing and caring role of women cannot recognize or value ‘care’ in its most broad sense. The racial-, sexual- and nation-state division of labor influences state- and migration policy and the other way around. The economic value of remittances (for both the family and the state) and the relevance of citizenship status dominate the degraded value and status of domestic labor. Its informal status and private work place influence and illustrate the gendered segregation of who does what kind of work. The power of ‘common sense’ discourses naturalize and obscure constructions of identity, value and gender-, race- and nation-state hierarchies. The social attitudes towards care confirm the low status of domestic labor while the growing demand for migrant domestic labor reproduces these attitudes and the hierarchies it rests upon.
4. The Dutch market for domestic services

4.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I will investigate whether the dynamics and characteristics that explain a growing amount of migrant domestic labor on a global level exist in the Netherlands as well in order to be able to say something about the (future) demand for migrant domestic labor in the Netherlands. I will first describe the division between paid and unpaid labor in Dutch households. I will then analyze the level of formal labor market participation by Dutch women. I will do this according to the very limited research that is done in the Netherlands, most importantly the Emancipation Monitor 2006 and the report on the Dutch market for personal services written by the ‘Sociaal Economisch Overleg en advies Raad’ (SEOR – a council for social economic advise in the Netherlands) in 2004.

4.2 Paid and unpaid labor in Dutch households

The SEOR report ‘The market for personal services’ is one of the few investigations that has analyzed the Dutch market for domestic services. It was released in December 2004 and defines domestic services (or ‘personal’ services) as activities inside and around the house that a person could do on its own (by him or herself) but sometimes prefers to hire someone else to do it. The SEOR report specifies three categories of domestic services: ‘personal care’, ‘care for the house, garden and pets’ and ‘care for children’. It differentiates between ‘personal care’ and ‘professional care’, for which some sort of education is required. The Emancipation Monitor for 2006 distinguishes unpaid labor like ‘household labor’ and ‘care for children and other housemates’ from paid labor and they consider the provision of care for meals, clothes and house cleaning as household labor.

4.2.1 The division between paid and unpaid labor within the household
According to the Emancipation Monitor 2006 men their total amount of time dedicated to paid and unpaid labor has dropped with one hour a week to 49 hours a week and women’s total amount of time spent on paid and unpaid labor has increased to 48 hours a week which means that the total amount of time dedicated to paid and unpaid labor by men and women was again more equally divided in 2005 than in 2000. This confirms a trend towards a more equally divided amount of time dedicated to paid and unpaid labor between men and women since 1990. The increase of the total amount of time dedicated to paid and unpaid labor by women is explained by their increased participation on the formal (paid) labor market which increased from 12% in 1975 (3.6 hours a week), to 29% in 2000 and 31% in 2005 (13.3 hours a week). This trend co-exists with a trend of a decreasing amount of time spent on unpaid labor by women in all types of households between 2000 (42.6 hours a week) and 2005 (34.7 hours a week) although this refers to their time dedicated to the part of unpaid labor that is called ‘household labor’ and not to the time they dedicate to the care for children since this has only increased (for women as well as for men). Men’s total amount of time dedicated to paid and unpaid labor decreased one hour a week because their formal labor market participation decreased one hour a week from 29.8 hours a week in 2000 to 29 hours a week in 2000 but this was 27.3 hours a week in 1975. The amount of time they dedicated to unpaid labor in 2005 is the same as the 20 hours a week in 2000 which comes down to a very small decrease in their household labor, a decrease in voluntary work, work around the house and care for (non) family members but an increase in their time dedicated to the care for children and other housemates.\textsuperscript{169}

Households with children

In households with young children women still perform a relatively large amount of unpaid labor (40 hours compared to 20 hours by men) and men a relatively large amount of paid labor (41.5 hours compared to 14 hours by women) while women in all households dedicate most of their time to unpaid labor (29 hours a week compared to the 13.3 hours a week they dedicate to paid labor). Although differing according to the

\textsuperscript{169}Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p.102; Tussen Partners 2003, p. 105.
amount of children (and depending on whether they are under or over 6) in the household the division of paid/unpaid tasks between men and women is becoming more equal but is still far from equal. The younger the children, the greater the difference between mothers and fathers in the amount of time spent on unpaid labor. Men with children under 6 in 2005 spent a higher amount of time on unpaid labor. Again this increase in the amount of time spent on unpaid labor by men with young children refers almost completely to the amount of time spent on the care for their children and not to time spent on other household tasks. In households with children over 6 the amount of time spent on unpaid labor by men dropped a little in 2005 compared to 2000 (just as for women although for them this decrease is occurring since 1990 and for men the amount of time spent on unpaid labor in 1990 was 15, 7 hours a week compared to the 19, 6 and 19, 3 in respectively 2000 and 2005). The amount of time they spent on the care for children and other housemates remained the same, the decrease in the amount of time spent on unpaid labor refers to household labor.  

Households without children

Women in households consisting of young couples without children (young meaning ‘under 40’) are responsible for 45% of the total time spent on paid labor (31,9 hours a week) which is by far the highest percentage compared to women in other kind of households and these women perform 60% of the unpaid labor. For couples over 40 without children this is the other way around: women over 40 spent almost twice as much time on (all kinds of) unpaid labor (including voluntary work) and dedicate little of their time to paid labor compared to young women and men spent more time on unpaid labor and less on paid labor as well.  

Interesting to note here is that, although both single men and single women under 40 dedicate very little of their time to unpaid labor, single women dedicate more of their time to household labor than single men.  

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170 Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 106.
172 Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 103.
In conclusion, in 2005 women spent twice as much time on household labor and care for children as men (29 hours compared to 14 hours a week) and men spent twice as much on paid labor compared to women (29 compared to 13.3). Women spent 8 hours per week less on unpaid labor and 9 hours a week more on paid labor in 2005 compared to 1975 making a total of 48 a week in 2005 compared to 2000 and men spending 2, 6 hours a week more on unpaid labor and 1,7 more on paid labor in 2005 compared to 2000 spending a total amount of 49 hours in 2005 compared to 44,7 in 1975. Children mean far more household and care time for women compared to men especially in households with young children but even so for households with elderly children. Working men on the other hand spent more (total) time on paid and unpaid labor than working women (although not in couples with children over 15 or in couples under 40 without children).

4.2.2 Growing formal labor market participation by women

The Netherlands is slow and late in its formal labor market participation by women. It is a typical one-and-a-half earners country for couples with children as well as for couples without although, interestingly, formal labor participation by women with children is not different from women without children.\textsuperscript{173} Formal labor participation by women began in the 1970s after the (paid) work week was brought back to 40 hours a week and little by little men started to help in the household putting out the garbage, scooping coals and setting the table.\textsuperscript{174} The introduction of household machines, gas and electricity made the household work easier. Increasing education levels of women, labor shortage and the rise of jobs in the service sector created a rise in the demand for labor and increasingly for female labor. Important to remember, in order to be able to understand the road working women have traveled, is that in those days because of the male breadwinner models the salary of a woman (which for a long time has been 70\% of that of a man) was seen as additional to that of a man. One way or the other it was accepted more and more that women had part-time jobs although they were married. Female labor participation, increased marriage instability, reduced fertility (because of ‘inventions’ such as the anti-

\textsuperscript{173} Emancipatiemonitor 20006, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{174} Tussen partners 2003, p. 98.
conception pill but also because of a rising education level) and the aging of societies all contributed to (the need for) female formal labor market participation and the undermining of the male breadwinner model.\textsuperscript{175} This happened in a country where the family wage and family dependencies where relatively well institutionalized and social services relatively limited. I will come back on this in the following paragraph. For now it is sufficient to point at how the female formal labor market participation in the Netherlands did not increase since 2002 and with 54% it stays behind on the 65% that is strived for. A possible explanation could be the bad economy in those years. The amount of women that wants a job or has one has increased a little and compared to the decreasing percentages for men the difference between the amount of men and women on the formal labor market is becoming smaller. But the amount of full-time female workers in the Netherlands stays on the same (low) level - the growth in female formal labor participation until 2002 is entirely thanks to part-time jobs.

Dutch formal labor market participation in European perspective

The formal labor market participation by Dutch women in 2005 (66%) is situated above the average (56%) of the 25 EU countries. This is an increase of 12 percent since 1995 although the highest increase happened in the period before 2001. Male formal labor market participation is higher in all the 25 countries (in the Netherlands this is 80%) and has increased or decreased according to the particular country. In the Netherlands male formal labor market participation has increased from 1995 to 2000 (from 75% to 82%) but decreased again to 80% in 2005.\textsuperscript{176} Part-time work is very common in the Netherlands. In 2005 61% of the working women had a job for less than 30 hours a week and one third of the working women in the Netherlands worked less than 20 hours a week in 2000. In Germany and the United Kingdom the female part-time workers (30 hours a week or less) percentage is high as well (39%) but still almost half of the percentage in the Netherlands. Their seems to be little correspondence between the type of welfare state and the amount of part-time workers as the percentages vary within the same category but

\textsuperscript{176} Emancipatiemonitor 2006 p. 143; Tussen Partners 2003, p. 105.
none of the other countries had more than half of the percentages the Netherlands has and in some countries the percentage of female part-time workers is as low as 11 or 15%. Dutch men perform far less part-time work than women but with 15% the Netherlands has the most male part-time workers among the EU countries (although it does not differ very much from the 12% in Denmark) and 10% of the working men in the Netherlands worked less than 20 hours a week in 2000 which is huge compared to the 5% but most of the time 2% in other EU countries. 177 We can conclude here that, although in all EU countries the amount of part-time workers has increased, the Netherlands is a part-time working country. Mostly because of the low participation on the formal labor market by Dutch women, Dutch women dedicate the least amount of time to paid and unpaid labor compared to women in all other EU countries. In none of the EU countries does a higher amount of hours spent on paid labor by women mean a (equally) smaller amount of time spent on unpaid labor by women. Dutch working women spent less time on paid labor than Dutch working men in all other European countries but they also spent less time on unpaid labor apart from Finland, Ireland and especially Portugal. 178 The work load is the largest among working men and women with children under 7 in all of Europe and in the Netherlands, Sweden and Germany young working fathers are busier than young working mothers but this is not the case when the youngest child is over 7. When the youngest child grows older the amount of time working men spent on paid labor increases and the amount of time spent on unpaid labor decreases even more. 179

Stimulating formal labor market participation by women

An increase of formal labor market participation by women is a European target and underlined by the Emancipation Plan 2006-2010 which elaborates among others on the plans for motivating female economic independence as described in the Emancipation Plan for 2000-2010 where paid labor and income are considered crucial for the emancipation of the individual woman. 180 But at the same time it becomes clear that a

178 Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 149.
growing participation on the formal and paid labor market by women is of great importance to the Dutch economy as a whole considering labor shortage as a result of the decrease in child birth and the aging of society.\textsuperscript{181} In order to compensate for this labor shortage women have to work more and longer. The aim fixed in 2000 is that in 2010 at least 65% of the Dutch women from 15 to 64 years old has a job of at least 12 hours a week. In 1987 this was 35%, 54% in 2002 and this stayed more or less the same until 2005 although women did join the workforce with an increase of 2% from 2002 to 2005 but not all of them where able to find a job.\textsuperscript{182} The European targets for women’s participation on the formal labor market differ in the sense that all jobs (from one hour onwards) count as formal labor participation and since Dutch women participate significantly as part-time workers they have therefore crossed the European target of a 60% formal labor market participation by women set by the Lisbon targets 2000. The Dutch formal labor participation by women is set on 65% and refers to jobs that require more than 12 hours a week. In all European countries except Luxemburg, Italy and Malta the difference between female and male full-time equivalents is not as large as in the Netherlands. Because of this same large amount of female part-time workers in the Netherlands the target of the Dutch government is not only to improve the female formal market participation rate but also the amount of hours women spent on their paid job. This is not only because income from part-time jobs do not provide women with the independency strived for but also because the amount of hours women participate on the Dutch labor market is of importance for the Dutch economy as a whole since the aging of the Dutch population, the growing preference for careers above children and a highest (counted) emigration number ever in the Netherlands creates a dependency of a large amount of (old) people on a continuously decreasing amount of young people.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{181} Levensloop en Gezin 2003 argues that in 40 years the amount of 65 and older has doubled which will be a quarter of the population. They also point out a decrease in childbirth p.17 and p.31; Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 17, p. 30 and 67; SEOR 2004 p. 9; in the case of the aging of population and the decrease in childbirth the participation of elderly and people who receive welfare is of importance. I will come back on this at the end of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{182} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 69 and they point at the growing unemployment in 2001-2005.

\textsuperscript{183} Saraceno 2002, p. 213 and 214; Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 12, 16 and 17; Levensloop en gezin 2003, p. 17.
Education level and gender segregation of work

The level of education of women in the Netherlands is still increasing for both native and foreign women (that of men as well, but to a far lesser degree) but gendered segregation of education according to direction (technical and healthcare for example) has not changed much.\textsuperscript{184} The same counts for gendered segregation of work: in 2005 eight out of ten persons working in the health care and welfare sector were females. Women also work relatively often in the education sector and culture or other service related sectors.\textsuperscript{185} Less educated women work less and fewer hours than higher educated women and they spent (far) more time on unpaid labor.\textsuperscript{186}

4.2.3 Unpaid labor by men

Promoting the formal labor market participation by women as it is set by the Dutch government would mean growing unpaid labor participation by men since in general women perform the largest part of the unpaid (household and care) tasks as we have seen in the previous paragraphs. The Dutch government has therefore set a target for growing unpaid labor participation by men of 40\% in 2010. They strive to achieve this target with a special focus on the households with less educated women since less educated women spent far more time on unpaid labor and far less on paid labor than educated women and are therefore a special focus for growing formal labor market participation by women as well. A second target that is put forward by the Dutch government and should help promoting female formal labor market participation is offering (more and better) ‘combination facilities’ in order to combine paid work with care responsibilities.\textsuperscript{187} The past five years Dutch women have dedicated more of their time to paid labor and have

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{184} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 64; Tussen partners 2003, p. 108.
\item \textsuperscript{185} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 82.
\item \textsuperscript{186} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{187} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 100; Campaign ‘Mannen in de hoofdrol’ (‘Man taking the leading part’) 2003 which had the aim of motivating men to do more in the household so that women could participate on the formal labor market Tussen partners 2003, p. 115.
\end{itemize}
dedicated a bit less of their time to unpaid labor (what appears to be mainly concerning household labor). Dutch men have spent a bit less on paid labor and not much more (but also not less) on unpaid labor. The total amount of time dedicated to paid labor is therefore a bit more equally divided between men and women but this is not the case with unpaid labor. The amount of time Dutch men dedicate to unpaid (care and cleaning) labor has barely increased. In 2005 the percentage rests on 37, 5%. In 1995 and 2000 the amount of time dedicated to unpaid domestic labor by Dutch men was 34, 9% and 35,2% respectively. This means that it has increased 0, 5% and will not achieve the target of 38,5% for 2006 or the 40% in 2010. Only single men and men that live together without children could achieve the target for 2006 but the amount of time they dedicate to unpaid domestic labor has not increased since 1995. Only the amount of time fathers with young children dedicate to unpaid domestic labor has increased. The amount of Dutch people that performs more than 12 hours a week of paid work and more than 12 hours a week of unpaid work has more than doubled from 16% in 1980 to 38% in 2005. The amount of female ‘combiners’ (women that combine paid work with unpaid family responsibilities) is 44% and increased more than the amount of male combiners which is 32%.\footnote{Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 107 and 108.}

4.2.4 Social attitudes

Besides and in combination with the education level the increase in the formal labor participation by women happens to a large amount thanks to the decrease of the amount of women that prefers to stay at home in order to care for the home and children. In 2002 14% of the 15 to 64 year old women did not want to participate on the formal labor market for this reason, in 2005 this percentage decreased to 11% and in 2000 40% of the couples with underage children divided the household labor according to the traditional ‘men work and women care for the children’ compared to 33% in 2005.\footnote{Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 69 and 76.} Changing gender roles in society and the family and the expectation of gender equality aspires young women to better, more attractive jobs. A more dubious argument for growing formal labor market participation by women is the growing divorce rate. One out of four
marriages in the Netherlands ends in divorce. The number of single-person households has been increasing for a while now and will continue to do so in the near future.\textsuperscript{190} It is obviously difficult to tell what a consequence of what is and the amount of single elderly as a consequence of the rapidly aging of society plays an important role in these figures. But, according to this point of view, in a society where still most of the time children come under custody of their mother holding a job is insurance for a woman and her children against the (growing) uncertainty of marriage.

Important for analyzing the possibilities to either include more men or provide more and better possibilities to combine paid work and unpaid domestic labor are the attitudes towards the formal labor participation by women and the combination of paid work and unpaid care work by both men and women. The majority of the men and women in Europe is satisfied with the amount of hours they perform paid work, women more often then men and apart from the Danish men and women Dutch men and women are the most satisfied in Europe. On the amount of unpaid labor it is the other way around: men are far more satisfied with the way things are then women in all of Europe. Interesting is to see that in the Netherlands, where the majority of the working people work a relatively short amount of hours, a quarter of them have plans on working less in the near future.\textsuperscript{191} Obviously money and financial reasons are important arguments for deciding whether or not to quit, start or extend working hours and income differences between countries explain differences in local preferences to stop working if this was financially possible.

Childcare proficiencies are not as important to women in order to participate on the formal labor market as was expected. Women point more to the added financial value their formal participation would provide (and whether this is needed) and to the possibility to ‘manage the household as they please’ which refers to the flexibility of working hours. When asked what they consider important in order to work less men point to financial reasons as well and more often then women they point at the consequences it would have on their career prospects.\textsuperscript{192} An increasing amount of Dutch men and women do not mind that women continue to work after the birth of the first child and the fast

\textsuperscript{190} Levensloop en gezin 2003, p. 7 and p. 20; Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{191} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 154; Tussen partners 2003, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{192} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 135 and 136.
majority of these men and women think a two or three day workweek is ideal for a mother with small children. Although it seems to be changing a bit and depending on the age of the child (for babies it is more important than for 4 to 5 year olds) it still is considered ideal for a child to be raised by its own parents and men agree a bit more on this compared to women.\textsuperscript{193}

\textsuperscript{193} Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 139.
4.3 Outsourcing domestic labor

I will end this chapter with analyzing the different strategies for outsourcing domestic labor. I will use the SEOR report and its research on the market for personal services in the Netherlands to describe the demand and supply sides of the Dutch markets for childcare labor and household labor and the forces at work on this market.

4.3.1 State policy and the family

As pointed out in the previous chapter Dutch women have been relatively late and slow with their participation on the formal labor market compared to other European countries. For a long time the formal labor market participation by women in the Netherlands was the lowest of all European countries.\textsuperscript{194} The outsourcing of their domestic labor has been just as slow. The Emancipation Monitor, the SEOR and the Family Monitor point at the lack of a coherent family policy by the Dutch government as one of the reasons for this late and slow formal labor market participation by women in the Netherlands. Household labor used to be very important for family status and appearance in the Netherlands (cleaning and homemaking even more so than taking care of husband and children) and following the massive unemployment at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century the Dutch government imposed a 45 hours workweek for working men but also imposed a prohibition on work for women once they got married.\textsuperscript{195} This division of paid labor provided by men and unpaid labor by women was the basis for rebuilding the Dutch state after World War II.

The Dutch welfare state

\textsuperscript{194} Tussen partners 2003, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{195} Tussen partners 2003, p. 98.
The welfare state models that emerged during the rebuilding of Europe emerged in all European countries according to their own specific cultural, economic and political needs and desires. Epsing-Anderson differentiates three groups of welfare state models within Europe: in Scandinavian countries, which have institutionalized trustworthy and solid services that are admissible to all inhabitants to such an extend that maternity leave for example does not have a negative effect on women’s careers, formal labor participation by women receives a lot of attention and there are various facilities that make it possible and easy to combine paid labor with care labor. This group of states is what Epsing-Anderson calls ‘social democratic welfare states’. Continental countries like Belgium, German and France are considered ‘corporate welfare states’ and they relate social facilities to labor participation. The pressure to participate on the formal labor market is low in these countries and often the breadwinner model lies at the base of the social systems in these countries (which makes sense since the male breadwinner idea is based on a family wage system in which the male family member provides the income for the whole family). The Angle-Saxon countries belong to the type called ‘liberal welfare state’ with limited collective services that are only admissible to the ones that cannot supply their own needs which means that people have to assure their risks (on loss of income) through private agencies or their employer. Mediterranean and East European countries are not grouped in Epsing-Anderson’s typology. The Emancipation Monitor considers the Netherlands as a special case: the Netherlands has institutionalized basic pension facilities but maternity leave facilities are relatively limited. The male breadwinner model has played a far greater role in the Netherlands than in the Scandinavian countries. The ideal of a man who is able to provide for wife and children and a woman fully devoted to homemaking (and transaction of this ideal from the middle-class household to the lower class household) was strongly connected to the content of family wage (what is should comprise, how it should be packaged and who should receive it) and this process was embedded in the power structures that existed in the Netherlands and in Europe in general. Dominant in all of Europe was Catholicism. This has influenced to a large extend that the Netherlands never had a family policy. The church and Dutch society considered the family as the key stone of society (which was

196 Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 141 and 142.
one of the most important slogans during the rebuilding of Europe after World War II) and the Dutch government ‘protected’ the family by institutionalizing the male breadwinner principle.\textsuperscript{197} A lack of family policy and unclear government signals concerning the family during the ’80 and ’90 when (at least in the public sphere) the discussion about the position of women in society began is not in line with the apparent value that Dutch society attach to living in a family household where children are raised by there parents.

4.3.2 Outsourcing

In the beginning of the previous century household labor was heavy labor because of large families, lack of the technology we know today and the high standards related to status and well-being that were tightly connected to domestic labor in those days. In many working men’s families the income of the man was not high enough to feat the whole family and if so women had to work to fill up the gap. Often they worked at home and as soon as it was not necessary any more, because the man his salary rose or children were old enough to work, the woman quit her job and got back to focusing on the household only. In 1947 98% of all married women were ‘housewives’ only and around this time the role of the housewife changed from cleaning and house making to that of taking care of husband and children.\textsuperscript{198} Richer families could afford a maid. Lutz and Botman describe how a growing demand for maids in the 1920s motivated immigration agencies to actively recruit German girls in order to provide the help in the households that was asked for. But after Germany invaded the Netherlands in 1940 the demand for German girls decreased from 40,000 German servants in 1934 to 3,500 in 1940.\textsuperscript{199} Nowadays 22% of the working women claims that their partner cares for their children during the hours that they work and 3% claims to not make any special arrangements. But most working mothers outsource their childcare, one way or the other. Tijdens points out that outsourcing domestic labor to avoid or overcome the conflicting requirements of paid

\textsuperscript{197} Tussen Partners 2003, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{198} Tussen Partners 2003, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{199} Lutz 2001, p. 26
labor, domestic responsibilities and other forms of time requiring actions is increasing. The Emancipation Monitor argues that especially less- and middle educated women use the informal market for domestic help. Higher educated women with children that do not go to school made more use of the formal market. Of all the working mothers 42% made (exclusively or complementary) use of the formal childcare provisions. Research used by the Emancipation Monitor 2006 showed that 20 to 30% of the households with childcare combine various forms of formal and informal childcare. Especially the combination grandparents and daycare is popular. These combinations of formal and informal markets was the reason for the ‘Marktwerking, Deregulering en Wetgevingskwaliteit’ working group on Personal Services II (a working group on market regulation, deregulation and the quality of law) to establish an investigation into what the gray and black (undeclared) market for domestic services look like and whether the regulations and measures that have been introduced in order to formalize this market and/or increase formal participation on this market have had any success.

4.3.2.1 Childcare

The market for childcare for children from 0 to 3 years old consists for 64% of formal childcare and 36% of informal childcare. On the formal market for childcare almost half of the childcare in the Netherlands consists of the crèche, 9% of a crèche provided by his/her work and 5% consists of host parents. On the informal market 32% is childcare provided by family and others and only 4% consists of the paid babysitter. For childcare of 4 to 12 years old the informal market is even bigger than the formal market (59% compared to 41% on the formal market) and 6% of this market is provided by the paid babysitter, 53% of by family and others. In both sectors unpaid informal childcare is used far more often then paid informal childcare. On a weekly basis the host parent and the paid babysitter provide more hours of care for 0 to 3 year olds than the crèche does, which according to the SEOR report has probably to do with flexibility and the price

201 Emancipatiemonitor 2006, p. 115 and 117.
difference, something on which I will come back later. The amount of unpaid informal care hours is lower than that of paid formal care which implies that family and others are only asked to take care of small children when it concerns a relatively small amount of time. For children of 4 to 12 years old all forms of care take the same amount of hours with the exception for the paid sitter which takes less.\footnote{SEOR 2004, p. 38.} The SEOR confirms what the Emancipation Monitor points out about the correlation between education level and formal labor market participation by women: households with higher educated working women outsource more of their childcare labor than households with less educated non-working women and households with less educated women make more use of informal childcare. Single men and women make more use of childcare than couples, this is more often informal than formal childcare and more children means less outsourcing. Childcare is not very income sensitive, probably because the price paid for formal childcare is income related (not only the part paid by employers but also the tax exemption for childcare depends on the household income). A higher income does mean an increase in the outsourcing of childcare to the formal market but to the informal market as well.

Looking at the amount of informal childcare hours and the fact that a higher income usually means longer working days this has probably to do with after school care more than with fulltime informal childcare. On top of these reasons for price insensitivities the SEOR points at the fact that the price for childcare is almost always lower than the net income per hour (5 to 5,50 euro per hour but often 4 to 4,50 euro per hour because the employer contributes) and that in order to participate on the formal labor market it is necessary to outsource childcare but the price on the informal market still is 1,50 euro per hour lower than the price on the formal market.\footnote{SEOR 2004, p. 46, 47 and 49.} The Emancipation Monitor and the SEOR both point at the important role ‘trust’ has when it comes to outsourcing child labor and they express their concern about women that claim to be satisfied with the way things are (managing their working hours around their care responsibilities or staying home all together) only to hide their real motivation: the costs of outsourcing childcare, a lack of trust and worries about the quality of childcare and/or the opinion that children are better off raised by their parents, or more often than not, their mother.
Formal facilities

In 2000-2004 (before the ‘Wet Kinderopvang’ -law considering childcare- came into effect) the amount of day-care places for 0 to 3 year olds increased from 74.7000 to 117.6000. The amount of places for after-school care (??) for 4 to 12 year olds increased from 36.1000 to 71.1000. Another option in the Netherlands is host parents but only 1% of the children from 0 to 12 years old were take care of by host parents in 2004. The amount of children that goes to day care, after school care or host parents is increasing. In 2004 a quarter of the amount of children from 0 to 3 was taken care of in day care facilities. The after school care was less favorable: only 6% of the children from 4 to 12 years old was taken care of by after school facilities. A quarter of the working mothers with a child up to 4 years old has not used formal care facilities: 22% has a partner that takes care of the children during the hours that she is working and 3% says not to make any special care arrangements. In 2005 three out of ten employees made use of the parental leave facilities in the Netherlands. In 2000 this was 2 out of ten. In the Netherlands parental leave can be used by parents with a child up to 8 years. Women make twice as much use of this arrangement as men and work 60% of their normal working hours (which are very often fewer hours in the first place) during this leave period compared to the 80% by men. Less educated women make not so much use of their right to paternal leave, followed by high school educated women and highly educated women make the most use of it. A relatively high amount of the users of paternal leave concerns both men and women in government jobs, educational jobs and healthcare jobs (where the paternal leave is partly paid): almost half of the female workers and 38% of the male workers compared to the respectively 28 and 3% in other sectors. Concerning short care leave (one or more times for two weeks or less) men and women made use of their right to care leave in almost equal amounts (26% of the

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207 Emancipationmonitor 2006, p. 118-120.
women and 29% of the men) but mostly in the form of vacation leave. For long term care this was also almost equal but considerably less (11% and 12%). In general, only 5% made use of these care leave arrangements. That men made more use of these arrangements than women did is less surprising when considering that they work more hours and therefore need to make use of this kind of arrangements more often than women have to. In 2001 the Wet Arbeid en zorg (law concerning labor and care) which formalized all leave arrangements came into effect and in 2005 long term care leave was added. This law regulated the (partly) payment of leave arrangements. In January 2006 it was made possible to save for income security during parental leave and long term care leave. On top of these legal arrangements employers can create arrangements for their employees in the form of collective labor agreements (CLOs). Compared to 2003 additional arrangements concerning parental and long term care leave where less common in 2005 but a quarter of the CLOs arrangements had formalized details concerning the saving for income security during parental leave and long term care leave. In 66% of the CLOs an arrangement concerning daycare was added which is an increase of 2% compared to 2004 and an enormous increase compared to 2002 although in one out of every three CLO arrangements concerning daycare there is nothing formalized about the contribution by the employer. The aim was that this would be obligatory by January 2007.

4.3.2.2 Household labor

More than 17% of the Dutch households make use of household labor in the form of cleaning, cooking and/or washing in 2004. This means that 1, 2 million households were using household labor of 3,4 hours a week. The SEOR underlines that it is difficult to gather information on the amount and the characteristics of the demanders and suppliers of household labor because apart from the demand by 65+ people (and provided in the form of Alpha workers) almost all the demand for household labor takes place on the informal market and is undeclared. What is known is that there exists a clear and strong

208 Emancipationmonitor 2006, p. 120.
connection between household income, net hourly wage and the outsourcing of household labor. Apart from the level of income education level, the amount of children and the type of household play an important role in outsourcing household labor: in households with at least one highly educated person, households with three children and households with two working people household labor is outsourced most. The (formal and informal) market consists for 85% out of paid labor of which 70% pays the household labor him or herself, 15% pays a part of the costs and 14% does not pay anything which in 60% of the cases means that nobody pays (social exchange or voluntary work) and almost all the rest (40%) consists of 65+ households and is paid by the AWBZ or the lower governments. The formal costs of household labor are 20 euro and (heavily) subsidized household labor costs 11 euro which still is one, two and sometimes three euro more than what is paid for household labor on the informal market. According to the SEOR 70% of the households that outsource household labor do this on a private basis through family (13%), neighbors (40%) or someone from the neighborhood (7%). Only 30% outsource through a company or institution. In 74% of the cases this consists of home care institutions, 18% does this through a private cleaning company and 9% consists of Alpha helpers. The SEOR points out that the demand for domestic labor is far greater than the supply of domestic labor. Most cleaning companies have waiting lists. The financial motivation for cleaning or household labor are difficult to find since it often concerns part-time labor of a bundle of small jobs across different addresses and it does not pay enough to be of interest for people on welfare or other forms of social security. Apart from that there exists a negative image around household labor which withholds people from participating on this market.

Live-in domestics: au-pairs

Outsourcing childcare, elderly care and other household labor to live-in domestic workers is very common in many countries across the world. In Asian countries live-in domestics are the most common way of outsourcing unpaid domestic labor. In countries like

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211 SEOR 2004, p. 27, 28 and 29.
212 Alpha helpers are formally supplied household workers.
Italy, Spain and Greece work permits for domestic workers exist and live-in domestic workers are multitude although almost all are undocumented.\textsuperscript{214} In France both live-in and live-out domestic workers exist but in Paris the live-out domestic workers are dominant. Germany resembles most to the Dutch situation: government services like childcare, elderly care and regulating a host parents system decreases demand for live-in care providers. Botman points out that this difference has important consequences for the labor circumstances of MDWs and therefore for the research on MDWs in a particular country.\textsuperscript{215} In theory it is possible to regulate domestic work migration through domestic workers permits in the Netherlands but in practice these are only used for au pairs. Au pairs usually live in the house of their host family although the au pair system was meant for cultural exchange and girls from good come of.\textsuperscript{216} Because the au pair system is formally arranged and legally protected there has been more research on au pairs as live-in helpers than on live-out helpers. Although legally bound to rules and regulations concerning the amount of working hours, payment and other arrangements these rules and regulations (and the au pairs themselves?) are misused and/or undermined. The situation of au pairs in the Netherlands maybe not as bad as the situation of domestic workers in other countries but it seems that the daily life of au pairs resembles more to the live-in domestic workers than what was (originally) the plan. Recent articles in the newspapers in the Netherlands and research on au pairs point out a rapidly growing demand for au pairs. A legitimate question would be whether this may have more to do with the growing demand for live-in domestic work than with cultural exchange.\textsuperscript{217} An au pair from the Philippines is increasingly popular in the Netherlands and the amount of au pairs in the Netherlands has increased from 810 in 2003 to 1474 in 2006 and the Dutch Au Pair Organization expects this to rise up to 1850 by the end of 2007.\textsuperscript{218} Botman points out that there were 1080 working permits for au pairs released in 2000 but that an owner of an au pair company during an ‘Advies Commissie voor Vreemdelingen Zaken’ (ACVZ - an advise commission for foreign and migration matters in the Netherlands) expert meeting told her that the amount of au pairs with working permits is only 15% of

\textsuperscript{214} Botman (forthcoming) p. 26; Anderson 2000.  
\textsuperscript{216} Botman (forthcoming) p. 27; Kooijman 2005; Miedema, Post & Woldringh 2006  
\textsuperscript{217} Kooijman 2005; Van Oostrum 2007; Botman (nog the publiceren) p. 27; de Waard 2004.  
\textsuperscript{218} Botman (forthcoming) p. 28; Krebbers & de Waard 2004.
the actual amount of au pairs in the Netherlands. E-quality confirms this by underlining that the formal working permits approvals for domestic work are not sufficient as standards for measuring the market for domestic work and au pairs.219

The suppliers of household labor

The SEOR describes that there were 285 thousand people working in private households in the Netherlands in 2003 and that this amount is decreasing. The SEOR ads that according to an international definition this amount was only 5.000 which indicates that a large amount of the people working in the private households does not declare this labor or does this work ‘on the side’ and almost 135 thousand people working in the home care service doing household labor or more client orientated personal care. The overall majority of the market for domestic services in the Netherlands is provided by women.220 Important to remember here is that the SEOR concludes that 94% of the household workers in the Netherlands is native which could imply that they overlook an undocumented and undeclared domestic workers labor force. Other research estimates that the correct amount varies from 250 to 520 thousand persons.221 The SEOR adds that the education level of household workers is relatively low, that of the formally arranged household workers (like alpha workers) and the informally arranged childcare workers as well. Only the formally contracted childcare workers have a professional childcare diploma and this is true for professionals in the personal (and often elderly) care as well.222

221 SEOR 2004, p. 34.
222 SEOR 2004, p. 34 and p. 48.
4.4 MDWs on the Dutch market for domestic services

In this part of the chapter I will take a look at the forces at work on this market. I will describe the way the Dutch government tries to privatize and deregulate the formal part of the market for domestic services while at the same time ‘formalize’ the informal and undeclared part of the market for domestic services and the consequences this has for the demand and supply of domestic work.

4.4.1 Obstructions and expectations

The large role played by the informal market for domestic services when outsourcing domestic labor indicates varies obstructions for outsourcing domestic labor to the formal market. Especially on the market for household labor the price paid on the formal market seems to be the main reason for outsourcing household labor to the informal market. Not outsourcing household labor or prepared to pay only low prices has to do with the fact that outsourcing household labor is not as necessary in order to participate on the formal labor market as compared childcare labor: household labor can be postponed, done on different hours and it takes fewer hours a week than childcare labor. On top of this these household tasks have ‘always’ been done by women and for free, it seems difficult to suddenly source it out and pay for it let alone pay the (high) price that is asked for it on the formal market. The production model as described by the SEOR theorizes what indeed seems to happen in practice: as welfare and income rise time becomes more expensive and activities that cost a lot of time will be replaced by activities that cost (a lot of) money.\(^{223}\) According to Tijdens this comes down to comparing the ‘opportunity costs’ of performing the domestic labor yourself instead of making the money that could have been earned spending this time on the formal labor market to the ‘missed spending’ (the costs of outsourcing that you ‘earn’ when doing it yourself): when the opportunity costs are higher than the missed spending the domestic labor will be sourced out. The Second Earner Model ads to this that the opportunity costs will most certainly be

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measured against the income of the second earner which is more often than not the woman.\footnote{SEOR 2004, p. 14.} Important to realize is that the opportunity costs are measured by the net income (of the woman) and the missed spending by the gross spending. The prices on the formal labor market will therefore be of fundamental importance to the participation of women on the formal labor market. For childcare labor it is not clear whether the prices on the formal childcare market are the reason why an increased family income creates an increasing demand on the formal and informal market. It could be the shortage of (affordable) after school hours that make it necessary to outsource to the informal market as well. But besides prices ‘trust’ is an important factor for outsourcing childcare labor. The Dutch mentality in the perspective does not help in motivating women and households to leave childcare labor to others and high standards are needed in order to convince women and households that their children are safe and well while they work. The supply shortage on the market for household labor is 10% of the total amount on the market for household labor as it was in 2004 (a time of bad conjuncture) because approximately 2% of the households that do not outsource household labor would like to outsource household labor but cannot find anyone.\footnote{SEOR 2004, p. viii.} This can be explained by the lack of transparency on this market. Because of the correlation between income and the outsourcing of household labor the strengthening of the economy in general and the demand for (female) labor in particular would create a demand for household labor that will outgrow the supply by even larger numbers.

Active stimulation of formal labor market participation of women, the aging of the population and the growth of single households will increase the demand for domestic labor. The increasing formal labor market participation by women will move the outsourcing of domestic labor from the informal to the formal market because of the rise of household income but will increase demand on the informal market as well not only for childcare but especially for household labor since the price for household labor on the
formal market is higher than the price for household labor on the informal market.\textsuperscript{226} The decrease in child birth gives the expression that the long term demand for childcare labor will decrease but the fact that fewer children per household means more outsourcing of childcare labor would alter this expectation on the outsourcing of childcare in the future. Since the relatively larger importance of the possibilities (the quality and the price) for outsourcing childcare labor compared to household labor for motivating female formal labor market participation the government has done more to promote formal childcare provisions than it did for household labor. Formal childcare provisions are related to income which makes the price for formal childcare less of an obstruction for outsourcing childcare to the formal market. Other ways for promoting outsourcing of childcare to the formal market as described by the SEOR are: the further developing of franchise formulas where small scale daycare does not exist and promoting more flexible formal childcare provisions where daycare already exists.

\textbf{4.4.2 Changes and blind spots on the Dutch market for domestic services}

Formalizing the undeclared market for household labor seems more difficult. In 1998 there has been an initiative of the Dutch government in order to help unemployed people to find a job on the formal market for household services.\textsuperscript{227} This regulation was initiated through the idea of subsidizing household (cleaning) agencies for every formally unemployed person they hired which allowed these agencies to supply household labor for a lower price than the price on the formal household market. This was not as successful as expected. The cleaning company ‘Woonmooi’ for example points out that offering a possibility to complain if the domestic worker does not do his or her job well, the pre-selection done by the company in order to supply trustworthy employees, the comfort offered like for example easy replacements when the domestic worker gets sick and all this for a reasonable price were the reasons most of their clients preferred this

\textsuperscript{226} The SEOR describes a ‘new economic sociology theory’ as it is used by Ruijter e.a. This theory explains that formal outsourcing is related to an \textit{economic} exchange while informal outsourcing is related to \textit{social} exchange and social exchange create social obligations which literary cost time and when time becomes more expensive because hourly income rises the outsourcing will move from the informal to the formal market. SEOR 2004, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{227} Regeling Schoonmaakdiensten aan huis/ Witte werkster regeling
formal way of employing a domestic worker.\textsuperscript{228} But the very specific government requirements (for example long term unemployment of the employees) and the administrative hassle did not win from this apparent demand for ‘white’ domestics and in January 2007 this regulation was replaced by an updated version of the so called ‘domestic worker construction’.\textsuperscript{229} According to this construction the employer is freed from any tax payments for domestic work with a maximum of three days a week (the older version of this construction applied to domestic work for a maximum of two days a week) but the employee does have to declare his or her domestic work and pay his or her taxes. This construction creates lower hourly prices for household labor compared to the prices on the formal market but because this price is still higher than the price on the informal (undeclared) market and because the domestic workers will end up with less after their tax payment the financial incentive to use this construction is small and the domestic worker will simply withhold from declaring his or her work. Besides this the construction is not well known and the three days of household labor if using the domestic worker construction are not enough to provide an income that is more than the social security payment (32 hours of domestic labor would not be either).\textsuperscript{230}

Other options for formalizing the informal and undeclared market for household labor while at the same time preventing the market for household labor from becoming smaller are allowing domestic workers to avoid tax payment (but oblige them to declare their work in order to prevent for example income related services) or allowing employers to deduct tax for household labor. This tax deduction would then have to be larger for formal household labor than for household labor through the domestic worker construction in order to make them equally attractive and this way broaden the choice for the employers. But both the domestic worker construction and defiscalisation have the disadvantage that the suppliers of domestic services are not ensured and are not able to participate in private pension plans. A more firm and strict control on undeclared labor would be another way to counteract the informal and undeclared part of the household labor market but because of the enormous price difference this will probably return the household labor to the households and most likely to the women. The worst case scenario

\textsuperscript{228} www.planet.nl/planet/show/id=101419/contentid=559985/sc=b6e263
\textsuperscript{229} ‘Huishoudhulp constructie’ of ‘Nieuwe regeling dienstverlening aan huis’
\textsuperscript{230} SEOR 2004, p. xi and p. 36.
would be a withdrawal from the formal labor market by women. The best case scenario
would be a return of the double burden for women and a decrease of the market for
household labor in stead of a transformation of undeclared household labor on the
informal market to the formal market.

The formal household labor market
An interesting change on the formal market for household labor is the ‘Wet
Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning (WMO - a new law on social participation concerning
household- and care labor in the Netherlands). With this law the Dutch government
deregulates the part of its public responsibility arranged in the ‘Algemene Wet Bijzonder
Ziektekosten’ (AWBZ - a Dutch public law that provides public security for sickness
risks that can not be covered by individual assurances) to the lower governments. It
means that in the near future the lower governments will decide whether someone is in
need of household- and care assistance through their right on collective service provided
by the AWBZ and that the lower governments are responsible on how this assistance
should be met. The Dutch government is of the opinion that there is too much expected
from the AWBZ regulation, that there are enough informal and voluntary care workers to
supply this demand and that the lower governments are in a better positions to indicate
this. Thus, because of the WMO care for elderly and sick previously arranged through the
AWBZ will increasingly depend on family, friends and neighbors. The WMO allows the
lower governments to set the private contribution according to what they think is best.
The lower governments will be exclusively responsible for outsourcing household labor
previously arranged by the AWBZ and investigation by Mezzo (an advocacy group for
informal and voluntary care arrangements) points out that the own contribution will
increase enormously. This law came into effect in January 2007 and is a perfect
example of the contradiction in government policy and the hollowing out of the welfare
state model as part of the global restructuring process. On the one hand the Dutch
government is actively promoting and stimulating formal labor market participation by
women while on the other hand at the same time it is privatizing (quite literally) and

231 For the Dutch version of this law: www.wetten.overheid.nl ‘Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning’
232 www.mezzo.nl/Mantelzorg/public/generic/mantelzorg; www.invoeringwmo.nl/WMO/nl-NL/
deregulating domestic responsibilities previously arranged through formal collective security systems to the already heavily burdened informal and voluntary care arrangements suppliers, the same group of people that is already taking (unpaid) care of children and/or combining (other) domestic task with there (increasingly needed and insisted) paid labor. In the Netherlands an estimated 2.4 million people provide informal and voluntary care arrangements of more than 8 hours a week or more than three months. An estimated 750,000 people provide informal and voluntary care arrangements of over 8 hours a week and more than three months and 150,000 to 200,000 people feel overburdened; these are people that provide almost 24 hours of care per day. Together with care for children 80% of the care in the Netherlands is provided by unpaid labor and the current suppliers of informal and voluntary care arrangements complain about the lack of and need for possibilities to transfer this care to someone else, the high expenses they make and the difficulties they have with combining informal and voluntary care arrangements with their paid labor.233

4.4.3 MDWs in the Netherlands?
The measurements and tools that the Dutch government has or could have used to formalize the undeclared part of the market for domestic services focus on a supply of domestic labor by national workers. This is not very strange since the SEOR reported that 94% of the supply of household labor is provided by natives and Tijdens confirms this in her research in smaller Dutch cities. The percentage of national workers on the childcare labor market is not mentioned but it does say that the household labor market is a ‘typically’ female sector and that on the formal childcare market 94% is female and on the informal market for childcare labor this is 85%.234 The aim of formalizing the informal and undocumented part of the market for domestic services has to do with money (taxes and income related services) and state ethics: in a welfare state system everybody pays taxes in order to provide a minimum security system for everybody. Getting people out of the undeclared market and onto the formal market will provide them more rights and security associated with the welfare system. It also ‘creates’ jobs

233 www.mezzo.nl/mantelzorg
234 SEOR 2004, p. 48 and p. 34.
and especially for lower educated women for whom it is difficult to find (other) work. On the other hand do increasing formal labor market participation by women, the aging of the population, the decrease in childbirths and the increasing of single households and divorce rates are hollowing out the male breadwinner model which was so firmly institutionalized at the basis of the Dutch welfare system. It seems that the formalizing of the Dutch market for domestic services is not that easily done. On the household market the price difference between the formal and the undeclared market is the main problem and a very difficult one. On the childcare market the size of the (informal) market has to do with price differences as well but also with the Dutch mentality: lack of trust and/or firm opinions about who provides care best. The large amount of households that wants to outsource household labor compared to the limited amount of households that wants to outsource childcare labor confirms a difference in value and status and trust. But in general all of the market for domestic services is growing and has great potential to grow even more in the near future. The Dutch government is promoting formal labor market participation by women in order to promote independency for women but also to stimulate the Dutch economy in order to provide for the growing amount of elderly people and maintain the Dutch position in the international economy. Since Dutch women are still the second earners of most households and still the ones performing (most of) the domestic household tasks in most households the market for domestic services will be of great importance for their formal labor market participation and the other way around. The ageing of the population will increase the demand for care and household labor as well. But in the WMO the Dutch government anticipates on a supply of informal and unpaid labor providers which consists of the same women that they are stimulating to participate on the formal labor market. To put it more clearly: on the one hand the Dutch government is stimulating formal labor participation by women but for this to happen the demand for domestic services will grow and have to be met while at the same time this formal labor market participation by women will decrease the current (informal) care supply provided by these women. And at the same time the Dutch government is deregulating and privatizing the formal household and care market by anticipating on a group of informal and unpaid care providers that already have their hands full providing (unpaid informal) childcare, elderly care or trying to participate on
the formal labor market. On top of this, the current measurements on the market for domestic services proved to be insufficient for creating or transferring undeclared (and therefore unprotected) jobs into formal jobs. Either the income of household labor for three days a week through the domestic worker construction is too low in order to make a living that is more attractive than the welfare or social security payments they receive or it becomes too expensive for the particular household which will most likely harm the female partner in the household as she still is most likely to be the second earner. But changes in income, the importance of status and ‘doing it all’ will indeed increase the demand for this kind of labor.\textsuperscript{235} This growing demand and lack of (affordable) supply is where the space for migrant domestic labor starts. National supply for domestic labor is decreasing: it is a full time job, one which the Dutch government is not able to formalize and Dutch nationals are unwilling and unable to do and live from. The Dutch government is speculating on a group of domestic service suppliers (whether paid or unpaid) that is simply not there.

Undocumented migrants in the Netherlands

According to estimates on the amount of undocumented people in the Netherlands there exist yearly an estimated 125.000 to 225.000 undocumented people in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{236} And apparently there is a growing demand for cheap domestic labor in the Netherlands. Work permits for domestic workers are not granted because for this there has to be a lack of supply in another form and the ‘Commissie voor Werk en Inkomen’ (CWI – a commission on work and income in the Netherlands) thinks that there is. On top of this the three day working permit under the current domestic workers construction would never be sufficient to provide for the minimal income that is needed in order to apply for a work permit in the Netherlands. This means a migrant worker can never find formal domestic work on the Dutch market for domestic services as it is today. The growing demand for au pairs as established by the Organization for Au Pairs in the Netherlands asks for ‘help in the household’ from over 64 different countries. As explained by

\textsuperscript{235} Lutz points out that household labor still costs a lot of time despite of the inventions and household tools that exists today. She refers to trendy clothes that needs ironing, cleaning with ecologically responsible washing products, hygiene norms and pets. Lutz 2001, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{236} Engbersen 2004, p. 14. This amount includes east- and west Europeans.
Botman the majority of the au pairs work illegal which means on expired au pair documents or expired travel visa. Lutz ads to this that au pairs exist in increasing amounts in countries where there is no domestic worker system, as is the case in the Netherlands and Germany.\textsuperscript{237} The domestic workers she interviewed were all migrants except one and the majority was undocumented. She concluded that ‘the Dutch cleaning lady’ is becoming an increasingly rare form of domestic worker.\textsuperscript{238} This confirms research done by Anderson, Andall and Lutz.\textsuperscript{239} It also confirms Tijdens her expectations as to find more MDWs in larger cities and European studies that describe that domestic services is becoming a sector for (undocumented) migrant workers.\textsuperscript{240} Botman ads that the people she interviewed came from all over the world and from more specifically from countries in economically unstable conditions. The group of domestic workers she interviewed shows many parallels to the domestic worker that the international literature talks about. Interesting to see is that the domestic workers were migrants and relatively young. Except one au pair they were all live-out workers and that most of them had some sort of previous education. They came to the Netherlands through an informal network of family and friends.\textsuperscript{241} Botman adds that her research shows a particular demand for migrant labor in stead of domestic labor performed by Dutch natives, because of preferences for well educated, clean, kind, docile and hardworking men and women.\textsuperscript{242}

\textsuperscript{237} Lutz 2001, p. 24.
\textsuperscript{238} Botman (forthcoming) p. 6.
\textsuperscript{239} Anderson 2000, Lutz 2001; Andall 2006.
\textsuperscript{240} ETUC 2005; Botman (forthcoming) p. 5; PICUM 2004.
\textsuperscript{241} Botman (forthcoming) p. 14.
\textsuperscript{242} Botman (forthcoming) She refers to for example privacy advantages due to language boundaries; letters that cannot be understood, conversations that cannot be overheard. Botman does point out that different groups (class and income related) have different requirements in this regard.
4.5 Summary

Since the 1970s women have been participating on the formal labor market in increasing numbers but the Netherlands is a one and a half earner country. After Italy, Luxembourg and Malta, the Netherlands has the most part-time workers in Europe. It seems the Dutch have a hard time letting go of the idea of the mother as the main or only care provider, although the percentage of women that did not want to participate on the formal labor market because of the care for their children is decreasing. Less educated women, if they participate on the formal labor market, work more often as part-time workers than higher educated women. From 2002 to 2005 the increase of female formal labor market participation stayed more or less the same (54-56%) and with the current speed the Netherlands will not achieve their target of 65% in 2010. Despite the different attitudes towards care or combining paid labor with household tasks, money and financial reasons seem to be important arguments for both men and women to quit or start a job. The time Dutch women spent on unpaid labor (household and childcare labor) has decreased in almost the same amount as the increase in their formal labor market participation but, to put it boldly, children are still the main obstruction for formal labor market participation by women and an equal distribution of the paid and unpaid labor of the household. Working women with children spent more time on unpaid labor than working women without children and often women stop working when having a child or they do so when the second child is born. Along the years men have been spending more time on unpaid labor but this concerns childcare more than cleaning and cooking. This means that the target of increasing male participation in household tasks to 40% in 2010 will not be achieved either.

Growing formal labor market participation by women, the aging of society, the postponing of children or choosing not to have any children and changing household types contribute to the hollowing out of the male breadwinner model that was so very well institutionalized in the Netherlands. The Dutch mentality makes it difficult to outsource the care for their children. If they outsource 60% prefers informal childcare
solutions above formal ones. Again education level is of great importance when it comes to outsourcing: higher education levels of women (this often means that she works and family income rises) means making more use of parental leaves arrangements and the outsourcing of childcare to the formal market. It seems that for less educated women the idea of women as the providers of care and other household labor, institutional difficulties concerning income related rules and regulations but also the lack of well-paid job possibilities and the prices of day care are reasons not to participate on the formal labor market at all, to quit their jobs when the first child is born or when it is not possible to combine paid labor with unpaid responsibilities. Almost all demand for household labor and a large part of the demand for childcare labor in the Netherlands is supplied by the informal market. According to the SEOR almost all suppliers of domestic services are native people (94%) and female. Almost all of the formal household labor demand comes from 65+ households and is supplied in the form of formally provided alpha workers. On top of this a large part of the informal market for childcare labor is unpaid. The overall majority of the market for domestic services in the Netherlands, both the informal and formal market and both the paid and unpaid part of the informal markets, is provided by women. The paid part of the market for domestic services consists of relatively low paid jobs provided by relatively less educated women. The only live-in type of domestic worker in the Netherlands is the au pair and the demand for their live-in household- and care labor is increasing but most outsourcing of household labor and care in the Netherlands is provided by live-out domestic workers and child-care providers.

Domestic labor (household labor and care labor) is locked in from all sides. An increase in the formal labor participation by women will increase the demand for domestic services and at the same time decrease its supply. The WMO and the deregulating and privatizing of government responsibilities only makes this worse since it counts on a supply of informal and unpaid care- and household labor that simply is not there. Under the current circumstances less educated women are affected disproportionately since they are often the ones that cannot afford for example parental leave and other possibilities arranged in Collective Labor Agreements (CLAs). Formal prices for childcare are related to income levels but household labor is not. Formal household labor is almost
unaffordable for all households independent of their education level. Government measures to formalize the undeclared part of the market for household labor like the domestic worker construction and fiscal privileges do not work or work insufficiently. The SEOR focuses on native workers while Botman and others confirm that ‘the Dutch cleaning lady’ is becoming an increasingly rare form of domestic worker. The large and growing amount of undocumented migrant workers in the Netherlands, the growing demand for domestic labor in general and the growing demand for au-pairs in a country without legal arrangements for MDWs in particular suggests that there is a growing space for MDWs in the Netherlands.
5. Conclusion

What can be said about the (future) demand for migrant domestic workers in the Netherlands? The growing demand for Migrant Domestic Workers (MDWs) and their labor is a global phenomenon. I analyzed what the correlation is between globalization and the fact that an increasing amount of women travel the world independently in order to find work in the private sphere of the household. Globalization needs a Relational Thinking approach in order to explain the growing amount of MDWs world wide. An analyses of the neo-liberal restructuring process reveals dynamics and characteristics of the globalization process that would have otherwise remained invisible. A closer look at the globalization process through a Relational Thinking lens reveals an increasing amount of women migrating for economical reasons but as well their supply of as the demand for migrant domestic labor is influenced by gender inequalities in both sending and receiving countries, nation-state segregation in immigration policies and wage differences, the power of discourse and social attitudes towards care both within and outside the family. All these processes, actors, institutions and policies are related to each other and influenced by constructions of economic value and identities underpinned by gender-, racial-, nation-state and class hierarchies and need to be analyzed from economic and political as well as social and cultural perspectives.

Analyzing the Dutch market for domestic services according to the dynamics and characteristics that explain a growing amount of MDWs world wide makes it possible to say something about the (future) demand for MDWs in the Netherlands. Since the 1970s Dutch women have been participating on the formal labor market in increasing numbers but it seems the Dutch have a hard time letting go of the idea of the mother as the main or only care provider in the household. The Netherlands is a typically one and a half earner country and less educated women, if they participate on the formal labor market, work more often as part-time workers than higher educated women. The target of the Dutch government for achieving a 65% formal labor market participation by Dutch women in 2010 will not be achieved at the current rate of formal labor market participation. But this
formal labor participation by women is needed and will therefore have to be more actively stimulated. Despite the different attitudes towards care or combining paid labor with household tasks, money and financial reasons seem to be important arguments for both men and women to quit or start a job and for outsourcing domestic labor. Again education level is of great importance when it comes to outsourcing: higher education levels of women (this often means that she works and family income rises) means making more use of parental leaves arrangements and the outsourcing of childcare to the formal market. It seems that for less educated women the idea of women as the providers of care and other household labor, institutional difficulties concerning income related regulations but also the lack of well-paid job possibilities and the prices of day care are important in order for them to participate on the formal labor market. Almost all demand for household labor and a large part of the demand for childcare labor in the Netherlands is supplied by the informal market. According to formal reports almost all suppliers of domestic services are Dutch natives (94%) and female. The paid part of the market for domestic services consists of relatively low paid jobs provided by relatively less educated women. The only live-in type of domestic worker in the Netherlands is the au pair and the demand for their live-in household- and care labor is increasing but most outsourcing of household labor and care in the Netherlands is provided by live-out domestic workers and child-care providers.

In conclusion it can be said that an (actively stimulated) increase in the formal labor participation by women will increase the demand for domestic services. At the same time it will cause a decrease in the supply of domestic labor since, according to formal reports, Dutch women are the ones supplying this domestic labor. The deregulating and privatization of government responsibilities and cut backs in public spending only makes increases demand for paid household labor since these government policies count on a supply of informal and unpaid care- and household labor that is decreasing. Under the current circumstances less educated women are affected disproportionately since they are often the ones that cannot afford parental leave and other formal alternatives. Formal prices for childcare are related to income levels but household labor is not. Formal household labor is almost unaffordable for all Dutch households independent of their
education level. Government measures to formalize the undeclared part of the market for household labor like the domestic worker construction and fiscal privileges do not work or work insufficiently because the prices on the formal household labor market are simply too high. Formal institutions focus on native domestic workers although according to other research ‘the Dutch cleaning lady’ is becoming an increasingly rare form of domestic worker in the Netherlands. The large and growing amount of undocumented migrant workers in especially large cities in the Netherlands, the growing demand for domestic labor in general and the growing demand for au-pairs in a country without legal arrangements for MDWs in particular suggests that there is a growing space for MDWs in the Netherlands.

More research on the existence of MDWs in the Netherlands is needed to be more accurate about what can be said about the (future) amount of MDWs in the Netherlands. Neo-liberal restructuring needs formal labor market participation by women and by less educated women in particular since they are the ones that participate the least. This is very clear in the Netherlands, where less educated women are stimulated explicitly. Why these women do not participate on the formal domestic labor market is not clear. It could have to do with the low status of household labor and the alternatives the Dutch formal labor market has to offer. It could also have to do with the lack of demand for formal domestic labor (especially household labor) because of the extreme prices paid on this market, which again has to do with the (un)willingness to pay for domestic labor. More research and more specific research is needed to find this out. Dutch households overwhelmingly prefer the informal part of the market for domestic services when it comes to outsourcing domestic labor. Since the prices for domestic labor are measured against the pay-check of the second earner (often the woman), outsourcing domestic labor to the informal domestic labor market is often the only option, especially when it comes to household labor. On this informal market the supply of unpaid domestic labor by Dutch natives is decreasing due to a growing formal labor market participation by women. If the stimulation of less educated women to participate on the formal labor market does not increase their participation on the market for domestic services, the growing demand for cheap and informal labor creates space for migrant domestic labor.
On top of this is current research on MDWs signalling an increasing preference for migrant domestic labor in particular due to cultural and social preferences concerning neatness, education, obedience and privacy. This is another very important area for future investigation in order to make all the effects of globalization visible.
### Glossary

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACVZ</td>
<td>Advies Commissie voor Vreemdelingen zaken (Dutch advise commission on foreign and migration matters)</td>
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<td>AWBZ</td>
<td>Algemene Wet Bijzondere Ziektekosten (Dutch Law concerning public health expenses)</td>
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<td>CLA</td>
<td>Collective Labor Agreement (CAO)</td>
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<td>CWI</td>
<td>Centrum voor Werk en Inkomen (Dutch commission on work and income)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information- and Communication Technology</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labor Organization</td>
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<td>MDW</td>
<td>Migrant Domestic Workers</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<td>PICUM</td>
<td>Platform for Information and Cooperation on Undocumented Workers</td>
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<td>SAPs</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEOR</td>
<td>Sociaal Economisch Overleg en advies Raad (Social and Economic Advise Council in the Netherlands)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TMC</td>
<td>Techno Muscular Capitalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>WMO</td>
<td>Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning (Dutch law concerning informal and unpaid help)</td>
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