

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION RESEARCH: PAY TO WORK. THE RESURGENCE OF PAID DOMESTIC WORK IN EUROPE AND SPAIN

OBJECTIVES

This dissertation examines the sources and effects of the dramatic increase of the paid domestic sector in Europe, particularly in Spain. This project addresses three main questions about social inequality. First, the thesis analyzes how public policy debates framed the change in this economic sector in relation to issues of gender equality and shifts in immigration across the EU and in Spain. Second, this study investigates the relationship between employing a paid domestic worker and the gender division of paid and unpaid work within families. Third, this research analyzes the implications of increases in paid domestic work for changes in inequality between families over time. At a theoretical level, this thesis seeks to examine how the expansion of this economic sector, which occurred mostly through migrant labor, is at the core of new divides based on the unequal distribution across social classes of the gender division of labor within families. This research connects the dynamics of the pay domestic work sector to changes in the effects of gender, ethnicity and class on stratification and the meaning of social inequality in Europe.

INTRODUCTION

In many European countries migrant domestic workers, often under irregular conditions, carry out routine domestic tasks and take care of children and the elderly. They become a crucial pillar of families' reproductive system, while being excluded as citizens. In the transition to European women's incorporation in the formal labor market, these migrant workers can be seen as part of the overall strategy to reduce native women's burden and increase their "productivity" in the labor market as well as their low fertility, particularly among highly educated women. In this context, an older concern reappears yet again: is the liberation of one class of women provided by the subjugation of another? (Hunt and Hunt 1977) Do liberated women need to hire a wife? (Ferree 1990)

The increasing participation of women in the formal labor market was assumed to transform the division of unpaid domestic work within the household, as predicted by the bargaining or time availability theories (England and Farkas 1986). However, men have only slightly changed their contribution to housework and there is a persistent gender inequality in domestic work that seems stagnant (Breen and Cooke 2005). Earlier accounts about this trend suggested that women would end up having a "double shift", working outside and at home (Hochschild and Maching 1989). Recent studies revised this thesis and showed that, although employed women do not have a double workload, they keep doing more unpaid work than men (Sayer, et al. 2009; Cooke 2011). In the meantime, the paid domestic work sector, which was once in decline, is quickly expanding in Europe. In Europe/Spain, this sector is now mostly composed of international migrant workers.

Spain offers a perfect illustration of how much the paid domestic sector has expanded. Concurrent with Spanish women's increasing labor force attachment¹, official data indicates that the number of domestic workers grew from 200,000 in 1996 to 500,000 in 2009, although other estimates that include informal workers raise that figure up to 800,000 (IDWN, 2010; León 2010). This situation is not unique to Spain, similar increases have been identified in other countries such as Italy, France, Germany, the UK or in the US, and to a lesser extent in Sweden and Finland (Williams 2010a; Duffy 2011; Milkman et al, 1998). In all these cases, the domestic labor sector is often informal, highly feminized and dominated by international migrants. Using data from Spain, the percentage of international migrants in paid domestic work was merely 6.9% in 1996 but 62.5% in 2009 (INE). These

¹ Different indicators can illustrate this trend. For instance, Spanish women's labor force participation went from 34% in 1997 to 52% in 2009, and the largest increases occurred among married women (Spanish National Institute website: www.ine.es).

significant shifts provide an approximation to the relationship between migration, gender and class stratification, whose implications this dissertation examine in depth.

Several scholars have been paying attention to the expansion of paid domestic work across Europe. The lack of systematic data hinders the proper understanding of this phenomenon. Some scholars argue that the paid domestic sector is substantively different across countries (Bettio, et al. 2006; Devetter and Rousseau 2009) while others argue that there is a converging trend (Williams 2010a). This far, these studies have stressed three different conditions that determine the level and kind of paid domestic work across countries: care policies (Bettio et al. 2006), migration policies (Williams and Ganvas 2008) and economic inequality (Milkman et al. 1998; Estevez-Abe 2010; Cooke 2011).

I directly address implications of the reemergence of this economic sector for gender equality, since the employment of domestic workers is linked to women's labor force participation. This association, often taken for granted, has important implications representing both a narrowing of the meaning of gender equality and a crucial change in the organization of all women's employment. The nature of paid domestic work has changed from being one that largely was a class marker (upper class housewife's domestic workers), to being one that sustains employment, particularly *women's* employment and their ability to transform a job into a career in dual-earner families². Due to this shift, I argue that paid domestic sector has become a crucial dimension of new configurations of complex inequality that embed gender/class inequalities in both the home and labor market, and are sustained by ethnicized boundaries of membership in Europe.

Research questions and hypotheses

The expanding paid domestic sector provides a mechanism by which the gendered structure of paid/unpaid work is reproduced through social class and ethnicized divisions, which in turn enlarge inequalities between families. This dissertation seeks to unpack this argument by exploring the following three questions. First, how have media and policy debates reflected and discussed the recent increase in paid domestic work at the European level and in Spain? I suggest that discourses have legitimized the expansion of paid domestic work by framing it as a strategy to attain "*gender equality*". Second, how does the employment of paid domestic workers affect the gender division of paid and unpaid work within the family? I hypothesize that the growing legitimacy of paid domestic labor not only does not challenge gender norms but may also hinder additional steps in that direction, further stalling a gender revolution by discouraging efforts to change men's career and domestic work strategies (England 2010; Cooke 2011). Third, what are the implications of this growing paid domestic sector for inequality between families? I argue that the paid domestic sector is becoming a mechanism of stratification that exacerbates and reproduces inequalities among social classes and family forms (i.e. Single-parent vs. Dual-earner families vs. Male-breadwinner families), as it produces new divides across social classes around the gender division of paid/unpaid work that lead to unequal earnings accumulation.

I use a mixed methods approach to be able to grasp and examine each of these three dimensions of the process of reemergence of paid domestic work as socially significant labor. On the one hand, the first analysis of policy frames is located at the European level and in Spain. I incorporate both levels in order to account for the interconnection between these two policy spheres. On the other hand, the two concrete empirical pieces on effects will be based only in Spain. This country provides a perfect location for this research due to the salience of recent changes in women's labor force participation and in the migrant share of the paid domestic sector over the past decade, as well as the availability of quality data on this topic.

² The employment of paid domestic workers is one among other ways to address "work/life conflicts", such as childcare or family networks. These different arrangements have significantly distinct implications for stratification and for the meaning of gender equality. The purpose of this dissertation is to focus on paid domestic work, without denying the existence and relevance of other kinds of arrangements.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Housework has been a site of contestation for a long time, being both a central location in the division of public/private spheres as well as an expression of the gendered division of labor under patriarchal societies. Feminist scholarship brought relevance to housework for understanding gender inequality to the fore, by challenging the traditional definition of housework as unproductive work and the naturalness of the division of labor (i.e. Oakley 1974). Attention to the importance of housework for the reproduction of the workforce and therefore class inequality drove what socialist feminist called “dual systems theory” (i.e. Walby 1986 or Ferree 1980 for an overview). These works elaborated theories about the interdependence of patriarchy and capitalism, and therefore providing an important theoretical link from the housework division of labor to the broader distribution of inequality in societies (for a recent example, see Cooke 2011).

Many empirical studies on gender division of labor have focused on examining the effects of the amount of time spent on housework on personal outcomes, such as health, friendships, fertility, career mobility, among other things (Budig 2004; Cooke 2004; Noonan 2001). These studies mostly assume housework to be unpaid labor, but this is not always the case. Servants and paid domestic workers have been in charge of housework among wealthy families for a long time and continue to be central to the economies of many developing nations (for India, see Ray 2009). Modernization theorists predicted that the paid domestic sector would progressively disappear (Chaplin 1978; Coser, 1973), and into the 1980s this appeared to be true. Since then, however, the sector has expanded, with much growth coming since 1995. The commodification of housework through the employment of domestic workers brings new challenges to understand the relevance of the housework domain and how it relates to axes of gender, class and ethnicized inequality.

There is a substantial amount of research done on paid domestic work around the world. The contributions of this body of research are multiple and invaluable. For the purposes of this project, there are four lines of inquiry that are important. First, research on domestic work often illustrates how exploitation and basic human rights violations occur in these sites of employment (Romero 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007; Parreñas 2008). Researchers also pay attention to the dynamic of women exploiting women, as an illustration of key racial-ethnic divisions among women (Romero 1992). Second, researchers also examined the ways in which the particular nature of employer-employee relationships in domestic work reinforce inequalities and boundaries around ethnicity, citizenship and to some extent social class in society at large (Duffy 2007; Glenn 1992; Romero 1992). Third, scholars have illustrated the challenges to recognize paid domestic work as a “regular job” that arise from it taking place in the private homes and being linked to unpaid work (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007). Finally, and related to this latter line of research, more recently some investigations have addressed questions related to the formalization and regularization of this economic sector at a broader level (Ally 2010)

These various bodies of research stress the ways in which different spheres of paid domestic work rely on, express and reinforce main axes of inequality, such as ethnicity, class or gender. I build on this literature to look at the broader dynamic and system of relationships that surround the reemergence of this occupation. I situate the impact of this economic sector in an understanding of the broader structure of complex inequality and its relations to ethnicized national citizenship. By complex inequality I mean the structural configurations resulting from multiple yet systematic processes that link different axes of inequality together in different social domains (McCall 2005; Walby 2009). By ethnicized citizenship I mean the ways in which boundaries of membership incorporate ethnic connotations that distinguish members from non-members, and how these divisions are inferred in the definition of national policy goals, such as gender equality.

To that end, I follow the recent theoretical developments of the intersectional approach (Choo and

Ferree 2010; Walby 2009). Intersectional analysis seeks to connect individual positions with structural configurations of inequality by looking at “the relationship among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formation” (McCall 2005). This theoretical framework goes beyond the mere description of different oppressions by considering how each one modifies the other in systematic ways. Epistemologically, intersectionality implies that the social construction of groups and categories around particular axes of inequality, for instance ethnicity, always inscribes notions that involve other axes of inequality, such as gender or sexuality.

These three bodies of theory – housework and class inequality, commodification of unpaid work, and intersectionality – guide my examination of the broader implications of the current resurgence of paid domestic work. I relate gender equality and ethnicized citizenship with the transformation of social inequality through the growth of paid domestic work. The employment of migrant paid domestic workers, and their effect on other portions of the economy and of households is important to understand changes in the way migration, gender and class intersect.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The proposed analysis of the reemergence of paid domestic work in Europe/Spain involves three main dimensions. First, I analyze the general context through which the expansion of this economic sector has been publicly discussed and interpreted. Second, I examine the relationship between the employment of paid domestic workers and within family division of paid/unpaid work. Third, I examine the association between the employment of paid domestic workers and inequality trends between families, disclosing ways in which gender inequality interlocks with class and ethnicized divisions. To this end, I use a mixed methodology research design that includes documents, quantitative survey analysis and qualitative interview analysis. These distinct methods are strongly integrated to address the research questions that this project raises. The design accomplishes the purpose of a comprehensive examination of a particular topic, combining the strengths and weaknesses from different research techniques (Axinn and Pearce 2006). Next, I describe each of the data sources that will be used.

A) Documents: this project will gather and analyze public documents related to the phenomenon of paid domestic workers. I have begun collecting two kinds of documents: a) official records of policy debates and statements related to paid domestic workers from different political actors, including political parties, unions and other involved organizations in Spain and at the EU; and b) newspapers and other media reports in Spain. These documents will be coded and analyzed according to the arguments and frames used to discuss the expansion of paid domestic work.

B) Survey data: Multivariate analyses of three important Spanish surveys provide the core evidence for the analysis of effects on inequality within and between families. The three main datasets are used for these analyses, most of their data publicly available on the Spanish National Statistics Institute website (www.ine.es).

B.1) Spanish Time Use Survey (2002-2003 and 2009-2010). These surveys comprise data on both daily tasks performed by all adults and information about whether the household employs domestic services. The survey data is unique because it includes separate detailed data about the employment of domestic workers as well as individual data on each adult’s paid and unpaid work. The survey includes 24,000 households units in 2002-2003 and 11,538 in 2009-2010. Preliminary exploration of the data from both surveys indicates that on average 12% of the household sample employs domestic workers.

B.2) Spanish Family Budget Survey (from 1986 to 2010) provides information on consumption expenses and other household living conditions. Particularly, this dataset includes information on which households spend money purchasing domestic work and how much they spend. Likewise, the survey also includes information on individuals’ work characteristics as well as earnings. The sample contains approximately 24,000 household units and includes a two-year rotation panel. Preliminary

analyses on that dataset for the last 5 years indicate that around 20% of the sample spends at least something on paid domestic work.

B.3) Spanish Economically Active Population Survey (from 1999 to 2010) is the equivalent to the Labor Force Survey. The goal of this survey is to document the population's relation to employment every trimester. I use this dataset to gather data on the number of paid domestic workers across geographical units in Spain at different points in time. This data at the aggregated level will become crucial to complement the analyses on both within family's housework inequality and between families' income inequalities. Access to this dataset is public, but the data posted on the website does not include the needed level of disaggregation. To access it I need to make a special request for a personalized dataset. These requests involve monetary costs. I also require an IRB protocol, which is under preparation and pending a form that the Spanish National Institute of Statistics has to prepare.

C) Interview data: I will conduct interviews in Spain to complement both the policy and survey analyses. I will conduct interviews with two different actors. First, I interview key informants and public representatives involved on issues related to domestic workers, such as unions, politicians and other organizations. I plan to interview 15 key informants. Second, I conduct in-depth interviews with members of families that employ domestic workers. I focus on dual-earner heterosexual couple families to retain consistency with the quantitative survey analyses. I will start from organizations that deal with work/life balance issues for professional women to sample families that employ domestic workers. From there, I will follow snowball sampling to interview additional members of other families. I plan to conduct interviews with 20 families approximately, and I seek to interview both members of the couple when possible. The large part of these interviews will be conducted in Madrid and Barcelona, which are the major areas where paid domestic workers reside. The main goal of these interviews is to understand the process of decision-making concerning the distribution of caring and housework responsibilities within the family and how employing domestic workers changes and reorganizes the division of housework and pay work in the family.

These interviews will be crucial for addressing the limitations in the other data sources. On the one hand, the analysis of the European policy debate linking paid housework with gender equality will be significantly more meaningful with information from key informants and public representatives who can address what issues were considered but omitted from the final documents. On the other hand, the survey data is mostly cross-sectional. Although some longitudinal data will help to guide inferences, the qualitative data on processes will also aid in the interpretation of effects. This is particularly important as it refers to the decision to employ paid domestic workers, since understanding why and how the decision making has tipped so strongly toward hiring is crucial for my argument about change over time. These interviews, while obviously not representative, will be selected purposively to guide my interpretations of the analyses performed with the broad representative samples. I obtained IRB approval to conduct this research in May 2011. I already conducted some exploratory interviews with key policy actors in July 2011.

EMPIRICAL CASES

1) Framing the reemergence of paid domestic work in Europe and Spain

The first part of my research will contextualize the phenomenon of interest at the European level and particularly in Spain. To do so, I look at the public frames used to discuss topics related to paid domestic work. I examine the ways in which the link between paid domestic workers and native women's employment is used in these reports and discussions. Particularly, I look at the ways in which notions of gender equality, work/life balance, women's work value, among other things are employed in these frameworks. This analysis will provide the setting for the two empirical analyses that look at two dimensions of this relationship among the actual population.

Paid domestic workers have often been invisible for public media and policy debates. The location

where this job takes place and the informal nature of the employer-employee relationship renders this economic sector out of sight. However, since significant increases in the number of domestic workers have been perceived, this topic has captured more public attention (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenberg 2010; Peterson 2007). In fact, the EU has dedicated a significant amount of resources to research the conditions and characteristics of this job across Europe, and different reports have disseminated the conditions that these workers confront (Rubin et al. 2008; OHCHR 2010; MIGS 2008; FRA 2011).

Currently, there are two topics that are discussed at both the EU level and in Spain that directly concern this economic sector: a) the professionalization of paid domestic work and b) recognizing paid domestic worker's rights. In both these discussions the paid domestic work is legitimized and justified as a strategy that provides the means to combine full-time jobs and family responsibilities for native-born women, therefore contributing to goals of "*gender equality*". Preliminary research for my dissertation provides some illustrations. For instance, a recent report from the European Economic and Social Council concludes that one of the main aims of professionalizing domestic workers is "a better work-life balance. Paid work for women, which is a prerequisite for gender equality, has required services to be set up to replace the work that women used to do at home" (EESC, 2010).

I examine these claims from an intersectional perspective. My hypothesis is that economic and labor market oriented focus of Europe's social policy is pushing towards more employment of well-educated native-born women. In the process, it narrows the meaning of gender inequality (to apply only to this relatively privileged group) and uses the increase in paid domestic work by migrants to replace domestic labor demands on them. The legitimization and promotion of paid domestic work sector as a strategy for gender equality hides a tension that lies on the intersection on gender and ethnicized citizenship. The tension resides in the recognition of migrant domestic workers as *workers* while marginalizing them as *women*, as they are excluded altogether from the goals of *gender equality*. I will examine the implications and underpinnings of the lack of attention to this tension. Excluding migrant domestic workers from the realm of *gender equality* is important given that gender equality is today at the core of the definition of Europeaness and European citizenship (Lombardo and Meier 2008; Rottmann and Ferree 2008; Verloo 2006).

The analysis in this section will be carried out based on documents from the EU and Spain and interviews conducted in Spain. As I described above, I will gather public documents about paid domestic workers, both policy and media records. Most of these documents will come from Spain but I will also incorporate official documents from the European Union to address the influence this institution exercises on social policy debates at the national level. I will focus my attention to recent publications from the past five years. These documents will be complemented interviewing key informants and public actors in Spain, particularly political parties and union representatives.

I will code the content of these documents and interviews to examine the frameworks represented and used by public actors when discussing paid domestic work. The analysis will especially pay attention to the ways in which these frameworks use particular notions of gender equality, work/life balance, native women's labor supply, or the size and meaning of this economic sector.

2) Paid domestic work and family's division of paid/unpaid work

This second empirical section of the dissertation looks at the relationship between employing domestic workers and the dynamics within families as for their distribution of paid and unpaid work. How does the employment of domestic workers shape the gender division of housework? Do families that employ domestic workers have a more or less gender egalitarian division of housework?

Despite women's incorporation in the labor market the core gender division within the household remains highly unequal. Women continue to do the large share of housework, though in some countries more than others (Lippe, et al. 2010; Treas and Drobic 2010). Recent studies have looked

at several determinants of household division of labor at the individual and cross-national level, as well as changes over time. Researchers advance different aspects that influence these trends, such as policies (Hook 2010), gender ideology and social norms (Breen and Cooke 2005), class divisions (Heisig 2011), employment flexibility (Ruijter and Lippe 2007) among other things. The missing link from these studies is the availability and employment of paid domestic workers; this should be expected also to have an impact on household's gender inequality in paid and unpaid work. To my knowledge, there are no studies looking at this relationship in depth. In fact, the rise of paid domestic workers is often considered unimportant to understand gender division of housework from the employer's side (Esping-Andersen 2009; Jacobs and Gerson 2004)

Literature explaining the division of housework within couples often incorporates different individual and household level variables. One of the common findings from this literature is that upper class families illustrate more egalitarian distribution of housework compared to working class families. Some have argued that the "culture/values" and the level of education among these upper class families makes men more likely to contribute to housework (Esping-Andersen 2009). Others stress women's bargaining power. Gupta (2007) shows that women's absolute earnings, instead of overall household income, determines the amount of time women spend doing housework. He argues that this mechanism is one of the reasons why higher income families appear to have more egalitarian work-family arrangements. Bittman et al (2003) also examine this relationship between women's earnings and family's division of paid/unpaid work. They reveal, however, that this relationship is not linear. When women contribute more than 50% to the household income, they seem to compensate this situation with more traditional division of housework, therefore "doing gender".

Most of these studies agree that the 'more-egalitarian arrangements' found among upper class couples result from women decreasing their time spent in housework rather than men increasing theirs substantially, especially not in any areas other than childcare. However, these studies are unable to spell out the mechanism and implications of such process. Some speculate that these egalitarian arrangements among upper class households are related to their capacity to outsource, but none of them have been able to test this conjecture satisfactorily (Gupta 2007; Gupta et al. 2010). In fact, studies about outsourcing, broadly defined, do find that families with higher earnings outsource more (Ruijter 2005; Treas and Ruijter 2008; Kornrich 2009). Nonetheless, these later studies do not disaggregate the different types of outsourcing; neither do they explore the implications for families' division of paid and unpaid work.

Using both quantitative and qualitative information gathered from Spain I seek to explore how the employment of paid domestic workers influences men and women's contribution to housework and general division of paid/unpaid work. Particularly, I analyze whether employing a domestic worker helps explaining housework gender gap between upper and working class families.

Quantitative statistical analyses are performed using data from the Time Use Surveys in Spain 2002-2003 and 2009-2010. The main dependent variables are time spent in housework and couple's inequality in time spent in housework. As for the independent variables, I will include both household and individual level control variables drawn from the literature. The main variable of interest is employing paid domestic work. I will explore different modeling strategies to look at the relationship between divisions of housework within the family and employing domestic work, particularly to address issues that cross-sectional data involves, such as reverse causality or endogeneity. The difference between the two surveys is particularly interesting because of two events: a) the Dependency Law from 2005 introduced significant changes in care policies and b) the economic recession that started in 2008.

Preliminary analyses show that the employment of paid domestic workers significantly reduces the amount of time that women spend in housework while it does not have any significant effect on men's time spent in housework. These analyses also suggest that the gaps in housework time spent

between social classes are significantly reduced when the control “employing a paid domestic worker” is introduced. These exploratory analyses suggest consistency with my argument and indicate that paid domestic work may be reinforcing gender inequality in the distribution of housework.

I will then go deeper using the information from the qualitative interviews with families that employ domestic workers in Spain to suggest mediating hypotheses. First, I seek to understand the process of decision-making concerning the distribution of caring and housework responsibilities within the family, and how the decision to employ a domestic worker changes and reorganizes the division of housework in the family, or is a response to resist such change. Second, I examine the changes that domestic workers introduced concerning employment, particularly women’s labor force attachment. This data will be fundamental to analyze the ways in which individuals justify the employment of domestic workers and illuminate the direction and process underlying the quantitative analyses.

3) Domestic work as a mechanism of stratification

The third section of the dissertation looks beyond the dynamics within families to study the implications of paid domestic work for broader inequalities across families. How does the expansion of domestic work affect inequality? Does employing domestic workers increase women’s and/or family’s earnings? Do dual-earner families, adjusted for their spending on paid domestic workers, still earn more than other families? Have any of these processes changed over time as paid domestic work has become both more prevalent and more associated with a migrant labor force with limited labor rights?

As we have seen, the growth of paid domestic work across Europe is closely related to women’s transition to the labor market. The incorporation of women in formal employment has been remarkably important over the past years, although the pace and forms vary across countries. For instance, family policies have been found to be very consequential for the level and type of women’s employment as well as their involvement in unpaid care-giving (Gornick and Meyers 2005). The increasing participation of women in employment has not necessarily brought more gender equality in other measures such as wages or segregation (Pettit and Hook 2009). Gender inequalities in the labor market persist. Nevertheless, women’s employment has significantly changed the earnings structure of families and the overall population.

Some researchers analyze whether women’s incorporation in the labor market has equalizing or un-equalizing effects across families and socioeconomic classes. On the one hand, there is some evidence that women’s employment has general equalizing effects (Cancian and Reed 1998; Harkness 2010). On the other hand, some scholars argue that women’s employment potentially leads to increases in inequality between families (Esping-Andersen 2007, 2009).

The main weakness of this body of literature is the lack of examination of the specific mechanism through which women’s employment may have an equalizing or un-equalizing effect. Furthermore, these studies are often disconnected from examination of the actual mechanisms involved in gender inequality dynamics in paid and unpaid work. The impact of women’s employment on inequality between families depends on what kinds of women enter the labor market, how they enter and why. On the one hand, if only highly educated women enter the labor market and live with homogamous husbands this is likely to increase inequality. On the other hand, if largely low-skilled women enter the labor market then this could have equalizing effects. If both highly educated women and low skilled women enter to the labor market but the gender pay gaps or career mobilities differ across occupations, then this scenario could either increase or decrease inequalities.

Most of these studies assess women’s employment in relation to the labor market structure. While that is important, it is also important to see how the division of paid/unpaid work within the family affects what kinds of women enter the labor market and the kinds of jobs and careers they pursue. Even when women are employed, their upward mobility is strongly dependent on their family-related

responsibilities. Research on motherhood penalty has shown how family responsibilities often have a negative effect on women's labor careers and earnings, while having a neutral or positive effect on men (Budig and England 2001). Consequently, insofar as it is possible to build more egalitarian arrangements in unpaid work, some of these gendered effects may be neutralized and women's upward mobility and earnings increased. But a contradiction is produced if that "*equalizing*" mechanism in the home is an un-equalizing mechanism in the paid labor market, both in terms of the wages paid in the domestic work sector and its increasing relative size.

I hypothesize that the expansion of paid domestic work produces two main effects that may potentially increase inequality. On the one hand, paid domestic workers support highly educated women's employment and their career-orientation, who often live in dual-earner families. On the other hand, paid domestic sector creates unregulated and low-paid employment for women. Paid domestic workers are only affordable by upper-middle class women who can be successful in the labor market and "pay-to-work". The paid domestic sector "balances" the division of paid/unpaid work within these middle-upper class families and allows women's full-time employment and career orientation. The implication of this argument is that "egalitarian" gender arrangements in the household are class dependent. This gender/class divide in paid/unpaid work limits earnings accumulation of working and middle-class single-earner families. As a result, I hypothesize that paid domestic employment works as a mechanism of class inequality that redistributes different gender un-egalitarian arrangements in paid/unpaid work across class divisions.

Building on the empirical evidence of the previous section I aim to look at two processes. First, I analyze the relationship between employing a domestic worker and family's paid work arrangements and earnings, particularly women's. Second, I look at the link between inequality among families and the expanding paid domestic sector over time. Similarly to the previous section, this analysis will incorporate quantitative and qualitative analysis from the fieldwork I described above.

As for the quantitative analysis, I use the Family Budget Survey and the aggregated level data from the Economically Active Population Survey. The main variable of interest for this analysis is household earnings and particularly women's earnings as well as the level of spending on domestic work. I will first develop a macro analysis over time with a decomposition technique to identify whether the changing size of the domestic work sector is related to the dynamics of inequality between families. Second, I will design a more concrete analysis where I will attempt to identify with event historical techniques whether the employment of paid domestic worker has an association with posterior changes in earnings. Due to the limited nature of the longitudinal data, I will apply some techniques to produce robust results, addressing sources of endogeneity and reverse causality.

Here, like in the previous section, information from qualitative data from the interviews will be invaluable for both, guiding the quantitative analysis and the directionality of these processes. Especially I will incorporate information about the changes on the career orientation of family members, particularly women's employment and earnings, in relation to the employment of paid domestic workers. Moreover, I include meaning and personal stories to confront and interpret the quantitative analyses.

Project timeline

Prior to NSF award (January 2011-December 2011) I conducted both preliminary qualitative data collection and also quantitative data analyses. Over the summer 2011 I was in Barcelona and conducted interviews with policy actors on the topic of paid domestic work and attended union meetings with migrant domestic workers. As for quantitative analyses, I conducted a substantial part of the analysis on housework division of labor using the Time Use Survey 2002-2003 and 2009-2010. Currently, I am collecting and analyzing documents of the European Union and Spain that discuss paid domestic work.

During the period of NSF award (February 2012-August 2012) I would conduct fieldwork in Spain, mostly in Madrid and Barcelona. I will interview more policy actors and also interview families that employ domestic workers. At the same time, I will arrange the data for the analysis on earnings inequality between families and incorporate the requested data from the Economically Active Population Survey. Once these datasets are prepared, I will conduct quantitative analyses for inequality between families and finalize the examination on housework inequality and policy debates.

After NSF award (September 2012-May 2013) I will complete the quantitative section of my project and analyze the qualitative data that accompanies it. That will take place over the summer and early Fall semester. At that point, I will start writing the dissertation that I plan to defend in the Spring 2013.

CONTRIBUTION

Intellectual Merit

This dissertation will contribute to the empirical knowledge accumulated in two different fields of research. First, I develop research on housework division of labor. Studies on gender division of housework have not yet included information on the impact of paid domestic workers, as this thesis will incorporate. These analyses will therefore provide valuable information to address several questions that remain unanswered. Second, this thesis also contributes to empirical analyses about the impact of women's incorporation in the formal labor market on household inequality, by testing for a particular mechanism that may potentially increase inequality not only between women but also between families. This mechanism may be important to understand current and future trends in stratification. Moreover, the mixed methods approach provides a guide to address these research questions and minimize the limitations of the available sources to investigate this topic. In this direction, I seek to make theoretical contributions to the literature on stratification and paid domestic work. Also at a theoretical level, this thesis provides a comprehensive framework to analyze the implications of the reemergence of paid domestic work in current advanced capitalist economies. This research provides an explanation to current inequalities that links the housework sphere with the labor market sphere. I extend the intersectional framework to unpack the ways in which ethnicized boundaries sustain interlocking configurations of class and gender inequalities.

Broader scope

The resurgence of paid domestic work is taking place in different places around the world. The conditions under which this is happening are similar across several countries: increased women's labor force participation and career orientation, deindustrialization, and feminization of international migration. This study provides a first step to understand the implications of this economic sector for the broader structure of inequality, which could be contrasted with other countries. Current policy debates, especially at the European Union level, legitimate the growth of this economic sector and propose to professionalize and formalize it. This research aims to inform this debate by providing more information about the actual implications of such proposals, by making visible some of the ways in which inequalities based on gender, class and ethnicized citizenship may not only be reinforced but also possibly enhanced. This analysis is also crucial to understand the meanings and implications of current policy debates about fertility, migration and women's employment broadly understood. The researcher will share the results with policy makers in the national level, domestic worker's advocates, and other organizations in order to facilitate dialog among these groups and inform policy.