

# Domestic workers

## Their wages and work in 12 countries

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### **About DECISIONS FOR LIFE (<http://dfi.wageindicator.org/home>)**

The DECISIONS FOR LIFE project aims to raise awareness amongst young female workers about their employment opportunities and career possibilities, family building and the work-family balance. The lifetime decisions adolescent women face, determine not only their individual future, but also that of society: their choices are key to the demographic and workforce development of the nation.

DECISIONS FOR LIFE is awarded a MDG3 grant from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs as part of its strategy to support the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals no 3 (MDG3): "Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women". DECISIONS FOR LIFE more specifically focuses on MDG3.5: "Promoting formal employment and equal opportunities at the labour market", which is one of the four MDG3 priority areas identified in Ministry's MDG3 Fund. DECISIONS FOR LIFE runs from October 2008 until June 2011 and was extended till December.

DECISIONS FOR LIFE focuses on 14 developing countries, notably Brazil, India, Indonesia, the CIS countries Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and the southern African countries Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Project partners are International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), Union Network International (UNI), Wage Indicator Foundation, and University of Amsterdam/ AIAS.

### **About Wage Indicator Foundation (<http://www.wageindicator.org>)**

The independent non-profit Wage Indicator Foundation aims for transparency of the labour market by sharing and comparing data through its network of national websites. *Wage Indicator* has operations in more than 60 countries.

The WageIndicator Foundation was established in the Netherlands in 2003. The Foundation is based in Amsterdam. It has regional offices in Ahmadabad, Bratislava, Buenos Aires, Cape Town/Maputo and Minsk. Its headquarters and postal address are:

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# 1 Introduction

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## 1.1 ILO Convention concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers

On 16 June 2011, the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted a Convention concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers. At ILO's 100th International Labour Conference (ILC) in Geneva, Switzerland, on June 16, 2011, governments, employers and trade unions from around the world adopted Convention No. 189 and the accompanying Recommendation No. 201, establishing global minimum labour standards for domestic workers -- a group of currently between 53 and 100 million people that has long been excluded from most traditional labour protections. The large majority of domestic workers are women, many of whom are migrants and girls.<sup>1</sup> The basic rights the Convention lays down include: 1) promotion and protection of the human rights of all domestic workers (Preamble; Article 3); 2) respect and protection of fundamental principles and rights at work: a) freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining; b) elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour; c) abolition of child labour, and d) elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation (Articles 3, 4, 11); 3) effective protection against all forms of abuse, harassment and violence (Article 5); 4) fair terms of employment and decent living conditions (Article 6). The Convention establishes the right of domestic workers to be informed, in an easily understandable manner, of the terms and conditions of their employment. It also establishes limits to the proportion of remuneration that can be paid in kind, and provides for a weekly rest period of at least 24 consecutive hours. The Convention provides for special measures to address the vulnerability of particular groups of domestic workers: young workers, live-in workers, and migrant workers. The Recommendation provides practical guidance concerning possible legal and other measures to implement the rights and principles stated in the Convention.

Support for the Convention at the ILC was overwhelming, with 396 voting in favour and only 16 voting against (Swaziland as the only government and 15 employers' organizations), with an additional 63 abstaining (governments: El Salvador, Malaysia, Panama, United Kingdom, Singapore, Sudan, Czech Republic, Thailand, the other employers' organizations). The Recommendation passed with a vote of 434 to 8, with 42 abstentions (ILO 100<sup>th</sup> session website). This success was among others due to lobbying efforts of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) as well as the International Domestic Worker Network (IDWN) in partnership with the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Association (IUF).<sup>2</sup> A number of trade union centres

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<sup>1</sup> Convention No. 189, full text: <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp1.htm>; in brief: ILO 2011b. Recommendation No. 201: <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/recdisp1.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> It has to be noted that a large number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in many countries have been active over the years in supporting domestic workers and their cause. For example, in an International NGO Consultation on the Ratification of Convention No. 189, early June 2011 in Geneva, nearly 40 NGOs from all over the world were involved (Hagemann *et al* 2011).

at the ILC included domestic workers in their delegations, as was the case for the delegations of South Africa, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Peru, Brazil, UK, US, and the Netherlands. Whereas historically domestic workers lacked organisation and access to international legislative processes, now they had the opportunity to bring their demands directly to the international negotiating table (Hobden 2011). The ILC standard setting process empowered domestic workers at national level. Once added to the ILC agenda, national trade union centres and domestic workers met with their respective labour ministries to provide guidance on what rights they needed and to start processes for ratification of Convention No. 189. For example, in the Philippines this will result in a first ratification of C189 before June 2012.<sup>3</sup>

At the 2011 ILC, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) has coordinated the trade union input and has actively contributed to the adoption of a strong and fair Convention on Domestic Workers. After that comes the phase of lobby work in countries for its ratification, which will most certainly require a lot of persistence: reason why the ITUC is launching the “12 by 12” campaign on 19 December 2011, on getting 12 countries to ratify Convention 189 by the end of 2012. The ITUC organises the campaign in partnership with IDWN, ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation), IUF, PSI, MFA (Migrant Forum Asia), Solidar and HRW (Human Rights Watch) ([www.ituc-csi.org](http://www.ituc-csi.org)). The extension of the DECISIONS FOR LIFE (DFL) project offered an opportunity to reach out to this too often forgotten category of precarious workers. For this reason, the University of Amsterdam/AIAS conducted research on the incidence, wages, and characteristics of domestic employment in the DFL countries.

## 1.2 About this report

This report focuses on the fourteen countries included in the DECISIONS FOR LIFE project. These countries are Angola, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Brazil, Botswana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Ukraine, Zambia and Zimbabwe. However, as will be shown in this report, due to a lack of data from the *WageIndicator* web-survey our research could not cover all these countries: for eight of the fourteen countries sufficient data allowed for detailed analyses.

During 2009 and 2010, the University of Amsterdam/AIAS has made inventories with the underlying gender analyses for all fourteen countries in the DECISIONS FOR LIFE project (See Van Klaveren *et al* 2009, 2010, in the References list). In 2011, as part of the DFL project extension, three more reports are being prepared. The first one addressed the eight service sector occupations (Tijdens and Van Klaveren 2011). The second report is the current report on domestic workers. A third report will address minimum wages for women.

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<sup>3</sup> Confirmed by high government officials at a regional meeting in Manila (October 2011), organised by IDWN/MFA (Migrant Forum Asia), Global Network, the ITUC and the ILO (information ITUC).

The outline of this report is as follows. Section 2 details the definition of domestic workers. Section 3 gives more insight in the employment of domestic workers. Section 4 provides details about their socio-demographic characteristics, such as household composition, age and education. Section 5 describes remuneration of domestic workers. Section 6 explores their working hours, focusing on the length of the working week and on shift and irregular work.

### **1.3 The data sources used in this report**

The data used in this report stem from several sources. First, the DECISIONS FOR LIFE reports about the 14 countries have been used. Second, the data of the *WageIndicator* survey has been used. This is a multi-country, continuous survey, posted at the national *WageIndicator* websites in a wide range of countries, among which the DFL countries, including a paper-based survey in Zambia. Appendix 2 includes a methodological explanation of this survey. Third, academic journals and all kinds of reports have been searched for information on domestic work.

## 2 Defining domestic workers

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### 2.1 Defining domestic work

The overall understanding of the concept of domestic worker is mostly clear. In this report, domestic work is understood as paid domestic services delivered to private households. There are three common elements in this definition. We will discuss these three here.

The first one is that the job includes services delivered to a private household. In case of dependent employment, the definition states that the jobholder's employer is a private household. In case of own-account or self-employed workers, the definition states the worker's services are delivered to a private household. The latter definition is much broader than the former definition.

The second element is that the job includes domestic tasks, thus tasks related to housekeeping. Clearly, this states that domestic tasks have to be distinguished from home work and workplaces at home. It should also be separated from agricultural work, though the boundaries are not always clear. Housekeeping has a broad meaning, including cooking, food preparation and dishwashing. It includes cleaning, washing and tidying up. It also includes child caring and caring for sick or elderly persons in the household. Finally, it also includes the tasks related to the organisation of housekeeping.

The third element is that the job includes payment for the services delivered. Thus, domestic work performed by members of the household's family as part of unpaid household duties is not included in the definition. Discussions concern payment in kind. Domestic workers may be paid in food and subsistence, in addition to receiving financial remuneration.

### 2.2 Domestic workers in the *WageIndicator* dataset

Taken into account the definitions mentioned above, the domestic workers in the *WageIndicator* web-survey had to be identified. Two approaches were used. The first one was based on the ticked *occupation*, derived from the survey question 'What kind of work do you do?'. The occupation database underlying this question in the web-survey does not have an occupational title 'domestic worker delivering services to private households', but the database has several related occupational titles such as domestic cleaner, domestic helper, child carer, kitchen help, cook, and alike. These jobholders may either deliver their services to private households or are employed in institutional settings, such as elderly homes or child care centres.

The second approach was based on the ticked *industry*, derived from the survey question 'In what industry do you work?'. The database with industry categories underlying this question in the web-survey has a broad category 'Security, cleaning, homework' and within that category a number of items, among others 'Domestic staff employed by private households', 'Security staff employed by private households', 'Child care staff employed by

private households', 'Gardening staff or stablemen employed by private households', 'Other staff employed by private households' and alike (See Appendix). When listing the job titles of respondents, who had ticked to be staff employed by private households, we came across job titles such as au-pairs, nannies and other child minders (grouped under Childcare workers); domestic workers and home care aides (grouped under Domestic workers); cooks, catering workers and dishwashers (grouped under Catering workers); and cleaners and housekeeping staff (grouped under Cleaning workers). Yet, a wide variety of other occupations was ticked, such as private drivers, doorkeepers, wardens, hairdressers, clerks, personal assistants, bookkeepers, and alike.

The analyses in this report could have been restricted to a very tight definition of domestic workers, namely to survey respondents with occupational titles 'domestic cleaner' or 'domestic helper' and to those who had ticked the industry category 'Domestic staff employed by private households'. In that case, however, there would have been left simply too few observations to conduct analyses on these workers' wages and working hours. For this reason, in this report the domestic work occupations have been defined for the following occupational titles as indicated above: Catering; Childcare; Cleaning, and Domestic (See Appendix 1).

## **2.3 The data for domestic work occupations**

The *WageIndicator* web-survey is a continuous, volunteer survey. For this report, the data covers the period between January 2006 and July 2011, thus over 5.5 years. Table 1 shows that in this period of time 7,704 men and women in the domestic work occupations in twelve DECISIONS FOR LIFE countries under study completed the survey. For two countries, Malawi and Botswana, we had hardly any data. In order to have sufficient data per country, we decided to limit the analyses to countries with at least 150 observations. For eight countries analyses could be made, as Table 1 shows. The one-last row in the table shows which countries could not be included in the remaining part of this paper. The last column shows the first quarter in which observations from this country entered the database. As can be seen, a late start of the survey is one of the reasons for excluding a country from the analysis. Another reason is that in some countries data-intake was overall insufficient. The remaining part of this report is based on 7,704 observations in eight of the twelve countries, namely Belarus, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, South Africa, Ukraine, and Zambia.



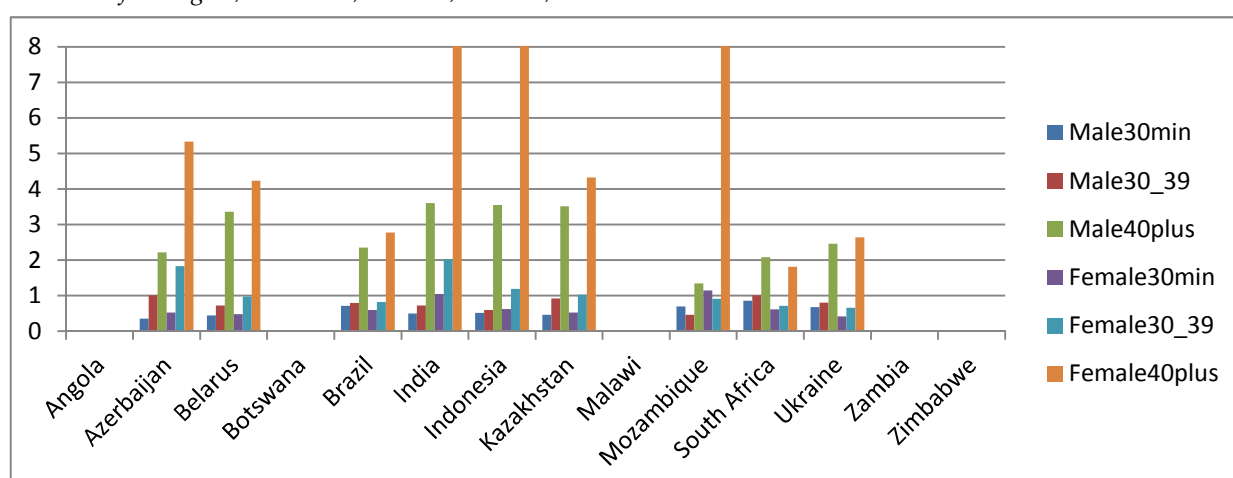
Table 1 Number of observations in the four categories of domestic work occupations, breakdown by country (The one-last column indicates if the country is included in the analyses and the last column indicates when the web-survey started in the country at stake)

	Catering	Childcare	Cleaning	Domestic	Total	Included	Since
Angola	5	2	7	6	20	No	2009Q2
Azerbaijan	18	6	6	3	33	No	2010Q1
Belarus	278	197	166	24	665	Yes	2008Q1
Brazil	1663	352	998	511	3524	Yes	2006Q4
India	417	83	470	409	1379	Yes	2006Q1
Indonesia	100	32	63	22	217	Yes	2009Q2
Kazakhstan	73	54	76	24	227	Yes	2008Q2
Mozambique	10	5	3	5	23	No	2006Q3
South Africa	587	116	166	185	1054	Yes	2008Q1
Zimbabwe	5	1	3	2	11	No	2009Q4
Ukraine	126	107	101	38	372	Yes	2008Q2
Zambia	112	0	48	19	179	Yes	2009Q3
Total	3394	955	2107	1248	7704		

Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: men and women in the domestic work occupations in 12 DfL countries. No data available for Botswana and Malawi.

It should be clear that the data in the survey is not representative for the domestic workforce in the countries at stake. The reason is that the *WageIndicator* survey is a volunteer survey, thus only web-visitors interested in the topic of the website may complete the survey. In addition, the *WageIndicator* survey is a web-survey, thus it requires reading skills. Based on comparisons with representative data about the labour force from ILO, we know that younger and male workers are overrepresented in the *WageIndicator* survey data, whereas older and the female workers are underrepresented. Graph 2.1 shows to what extent groups are over- or under-represented in the survey. Particularly in India, with its relative large share of illiterates in the population, this contributes to the bias in the survey data.

Graph 2.1 Factor of under- respectively overrepresentation of WageIndicator survey data compared to the Economically Active Population Estimates and Projections 2010 from ILO, Geneva. No data available for Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe.



Source: WageIndicator data 2010

## 3 Employment in domestic work

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### 3.1 The demand for domestic work

The demand for domestic work stems from households with sufficient income which might hire a domestic worker or from households where the members are not able to conduct their housekeeping. Domestic work occurs frequently in case of a dispersed wage distribution, when the households in the higher layers of the wage distribution can afford hiring a domestic worker whose earnings are in the lowest ranks of the wage distribution. As the law and practice ILO report on Decent work for domestic workers in preparing the Convention noted, in many countries paid domestic work remains virtually invisible as a form of employment. Domestic work takes place in the home, not alongside co-workers but in isolation behind closed doors (ILO 2010a: para 4). Related are the difficulties in collecting data on the number of domestic workers throughout the world. According to the ILO report, the main reasons for the lack of accurate and comparable data include the high incidence of undeclared domestic work and the consequent under-reporting, the varying definitions of domestic work in statistical surveys, and the fact that national statistics often do not count domestic workers as a distinct category (ILO 2010a: para 20).

Neither much data is available with respect to the number of households hiring a domestic worker. South Africa is an exception here. In this country in 2000 7% of households indicated that a non-member did most of the housework. The percentage was highest in urban formal areas (11%), next highest in rural commercial areas (6%), and 2% or lower in urban informal or deep rural (i.e. ex-homeland) areas. In terms of population group, the percentage of households employing domestic workers was 29% among households in which the first respondent was classified white, 19% among Indian households, and only 2% among coloured and African households (Budlender 2011a: 6, using South Africa's Time-Use Survey 2000). Worldwide, the number of households employing one or more domestic workers is most likely larger than the number of domestic workers, as many domestic workers are employed by more than one household while the share of households employing several domestic workers may be quite limited.

### 3.2 Numbers of domestic workers

Recent ILO estimates based on national surveys and/or censuses of 117 countries place the number of domestic workers as of the year 2010 at around 53 million worldwide. The authors regard this as the most reliable minimum estimates available, but add: "Given that there are reasons to believe that the source data under-count domestic workers, the true number could be close to the estimate of 100 million domestic workers worldwide that was previously cited by the ILO" (Simonovsky and Luebker 2011: 6). Following this estimate, domestic work accounts at least for 1.7% of total employment worldwide, and for 3.6% of wage employment. The ILO also estimates that women account for five in six (83%) domestic workers, with female domestic workers making up 3.5% of all female employment and 7.5%

of all female wage workers in the world -- reflecting the importance of domestic work as a source of employment for women. This is especially the case in Latin America and the Caribbean, where paid domestic work accounts for over 17% of female employment, and in the Middle East, where even over one in five of female workers (20.5%) are domestic workers. In particular in the Middle East, many of them are migrant workers (Simonovsky and Luebker 2011: 7-8). Many children carry out domestic chores in others' households, mostly against extremely low pay rates or, in the worst cases, with no pay at all. The ILO estimates the number of 5-17-year-olds in domestic work worldwide at 15.5 million for 2008, of which 11.3 million girls (73%). In this category, 4.9 million girls were only 5-14 years of age (Simonovsky and Luebker 2011: 9). Already because of their age they are lacking in the national labour market statistics, that mostly cover those 15 years and older.<sup>4</sup> We have to make the reservation here, that our *WageIndicator* web-survey is not suited to trace child labour among domestic workers.

Below we recapitulate the indications, from various sources, on numbers of domestic workers for the 14 DECISIONS FOR LIFE countries. We found such numbers for six countries.

In 2001, an official survey of urban employment in Angola counted 7,000 domestic workers, or 0.5% of total employment in urban areas (Van Klaveren *et al* 2009b). According to the official 2005/06 Labour Force Report of Botswana, 7% of the female workforce of that country worked in private households as well as 2% of the male workforce (Van Klaveren *et al*, 2009e).

As for South Africa, the official statistics noted for 2007 943,000 women in paid employment as domestic workers, nearly 16% of total female employment in that country; moreover, 323,000 men worked as domestics, just over 4% of the male workforce. In 2000, 1,036,000 female domestic workers were counted, 18.5% of the female workforce, implying a decrease of 90,000 or nearly 9% in the years in between. By contrast, in 2000 234,000 male domestics were counted, suggesting an *increase* of 90,000 in between 2000 and 2007. It should be noted that the total figures for 2000 and 2007 likely hide between 200,000 and 300,000 persons mainly living on subsistence agriculture. Using slightly different criteria than in 2000 and 2007, in April – June 2009 Statistics South Africa counted 931,000 female domestic workers, or 15.5% of the female workforce. Though between 2007 and 2009 the number of females in informal labour fell substantially in South Africa, this obviously was not the case for female domestic workers – in contrast with the decreasing number of male domestics (Van Klaveren *et al* 2009c).

The Brazilian Labour Force Survey 2007 counted the considerable amount of 6.3 million women aged 15-64 employed as domestic workers: 16% of Brazil's female employment. 62% of these females were Afro-Brazilians; 64% had either no education or only partial education

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<sup>4</sup> In some countries child labour on an even lower age is permissible. For example, in India there is no overall minimum age for child labour, though a ruling, effective 2006, prohibits children under the age of 14 from labour in the domestic sector and the hospitality industry (Van Klaveren *et al* 2010a).

at elementary school level. By 2007 about 400,000 men were employed as such, 0.9% of the male workforce. Other research indicates that in the country's urban areas, domestic work recently accounted for nearly half of all paid employment of poor women. According to official statistics the number of domestic workers in Brazil in 2008 had even grown to 6.6 million, the single largest occupational category in the workforce (Zepeda 2008; Van Klaveren *et al* 2009g; Gomes and Bertolin 2010).

In India and Indonesia the shares of female domestic workers seem considerably lower than in South Africa and Brazil. ILO calculations based on India's 2004-05 Employment and Unemployment Survey suggest that the number of female domestic workers was nearly 2 million, or 2.2% of all employed women (compared to 0.5% for men). In particular for India, NGOs and media have come up with much higher figures of domestic workers, up to 90 million, but it is usually not possible to verify the source or estimation method behind such non-official figures (Simonovsky and Luebker 2011: 4-5).

Indonesia counted, according to the country's statistical bureau BPS, in August 2008 1.7 million women performing domestic chores for rich and middle-class households: 4% of its female workforce, whereas 0.5 million men were domestic workers, nearly 1% of the male workforce. Like elsewhere, the child domestic workers younger than 15 of age remain outside the regular labour market statistics. For 2009, BPS stated that 1.6 million girls aged 10-17 were in child labour, of which over one-third in domestic work (Van Klaveren *et al* 2010b). Earlier, the ITUC concluded, based on ILO reporting, that more than 700,000 children, mainly girls, were employed as domestic workers in Indonesia (ITUC 2009).

### **3.3 Employment status**

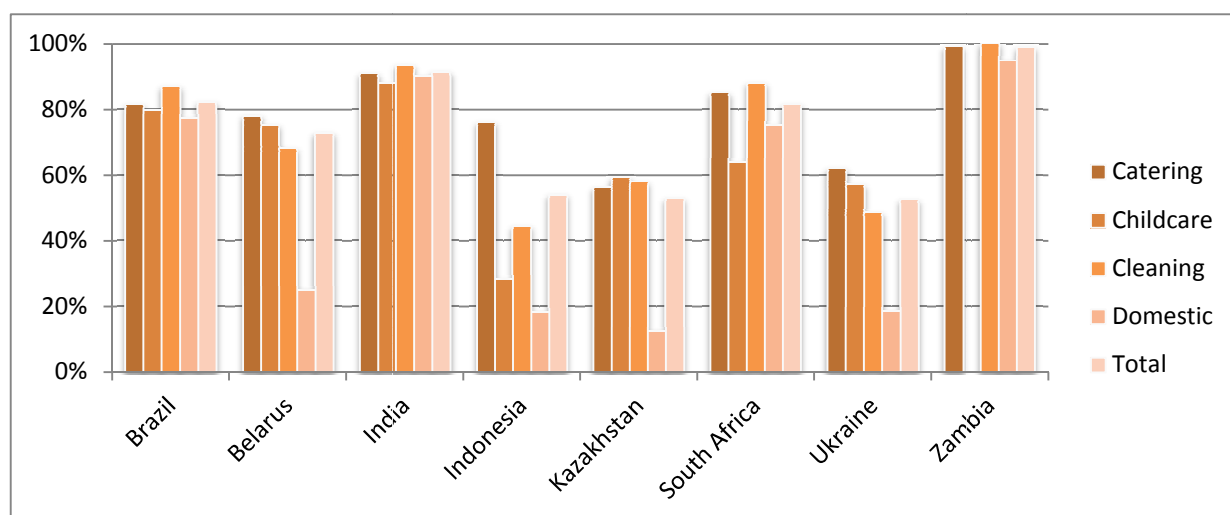
Paid domestic work is hardly visible in society and tends to be perceived as something other than regular employment. As a result, the domestic employment relationship is not specifically addressed in many legislative enactments, thus rendering domestic workers vulnerable to unequal, unfair and often abusive treatment (ILO 2010a: para 4). Important legal initiatives have been taken in this respect in a number of countries, including some of the FDL countries. For example, in India the Unorganized Workers' Social Security Bill, 2008, has been enacted. The Bill addresses pensions, maternity insurance, general insurance and health insurance (website Ministry Labour & Employment India). Moreover, a Domestic Workers (Registration, Social Security and Welfare) Bill, 2008, has been proposed by India's National Commission of Women which, in its statement of objectives, refers to the "severe exploitation" faced by domestic workers in the absence of national legal protection and, in the case of child labour, the lack of enforcement machinery. Building on the initiative of some state governments in India to take regulatory initiatives in respect of domestic workers, notably on minimum wages, the Commission proposes legislation to regulate conditions of work nationally, establish a registry of workers, employers and employment agencies, and set up state and district boards to monitor and assist domestic workers (ILO 2010a: para 96).

In 2006 Brazil combined two mechanisms to foster the entry of domestic work into the formal economy and the payment of wages: (1) income tax deductions linked to the payment of

social security benefits on behalf of the domestic worker to the National Institute of Social Security (INS); and (2) simplified social security payment procedures. The formalization of domestic work and the increase in contributions to the social security scheme were believed to offset the tax incentives to employers; earlier, Brazilian employers could deduct 25% of salary for room and board (ILO 2010a: para 147, 157).

What are the employment statuses of the men and women in the domestic work occupations in the *WageIndicator* web-survey? Graph 3.1 indicates that on average eight in ten workers are employees, with little variation across the four occupational groups. The remaining group is self-employed or falls in the category 'other', which includes trainees, students, disabled persons, and alike. The graph shows that particularly in Indonesia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine the percentages employees are relatively low (around 50%).

Graph 3.1 Percentages employees in domestic work occupations by country and by occupation



Source: *WageIndicator* data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 7617.

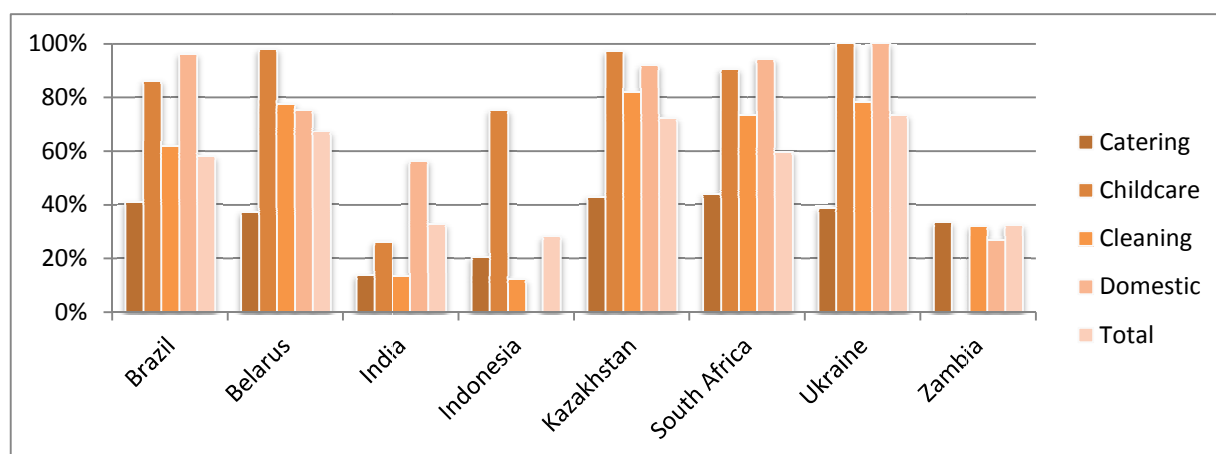
## 4 Socio-demographic characteristics

### 4.1 Gender and household composition

According to the ILO estimates, females make up 87% of domestic workers worldwide. In Latin America and the Caribbean this share is even 92%, while in Asia (82%) , Africa (73%) and the Middle East (64%) the female share is lower but still women and girls form a large majority (Simonovsky and Luebker 2011). The female shares in the DFL countries that can be derived from the former section, reflect these regional differences: Brazil 94%, South Africa 74%, Indonesia 77%. According to the ILO data, childcare and domestic workers are predominantly women, while catering is predominantly male and cleaning is equally male and female (who may well be the main breadwinners for their families and themselves) and, in many countries, child labourers. Further, these workers often either belong to historically disadvantaged and despised communities such as minority ethnic groups, indigenous peoples, low-caste, low-income rural and urban groups, or are migrants (Oelz 2011).

Graph 4.1 shows, based on the *WageIndicator* survey, the shares of females in the four domestic occupations in the eight countries. The highest percentages females are found in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, followed by South Africa. Across occupations, the childcare occupation is the most feminized, immediately followed by the domestic occupation, whereas the catering occupation is clearly a male-dominated occupation in all eight countries. In this last occupation, at least six in ten workers are male. The cleaning occupation is in between: in most countries this is a highly feminized occupation, but in India and Indonesia it is male-dominated. Thus, the general picture is quite similar of that found by the ILO.

Graph 4.1 Percentages females in domestic work occupations by country and by occupation

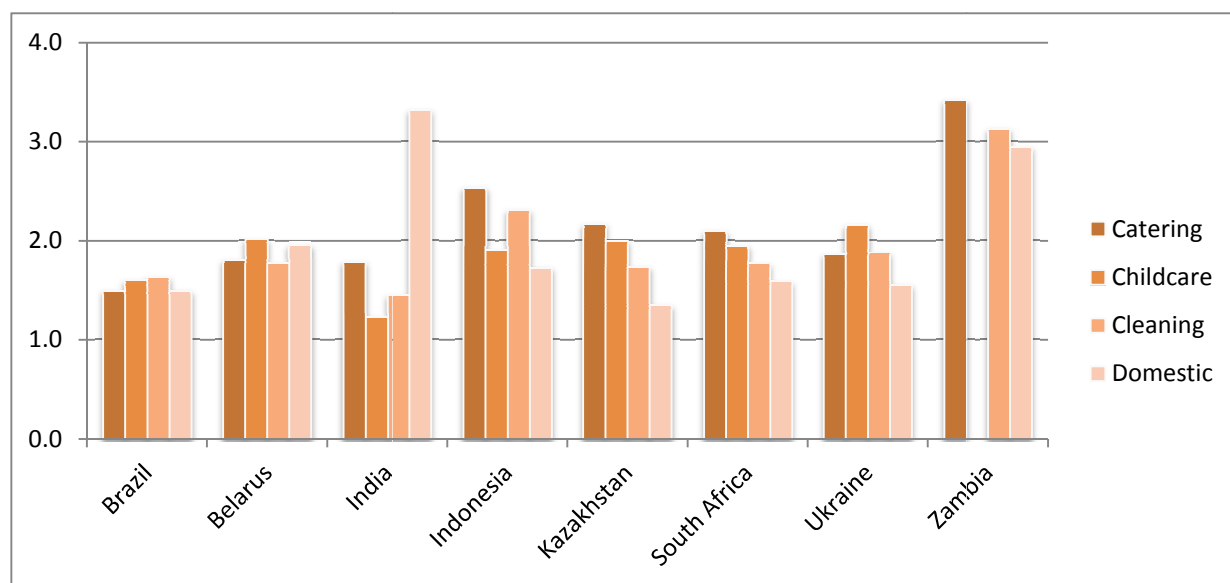


Source: *WageIndicator* data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 3986.

In what kind of (own) households do the workers in domestic occupations live? Based on the survey data, Graph 4.2 shows the average number of household members. Compared to

other countries, in India, Indonesia and Zambia these workers live in the largest households, with on average almost 2.5 members, including themselves. By contrast, in Brazil, Belarus, Kazakhstan, South Africa and Ukraine their households are on average less than two persons. When comparing the four occupations, the catering workers on average live in the largest households, whereas the childcare workers live in households with the smallest number of members. The cleaning and the domestic workers are in between.

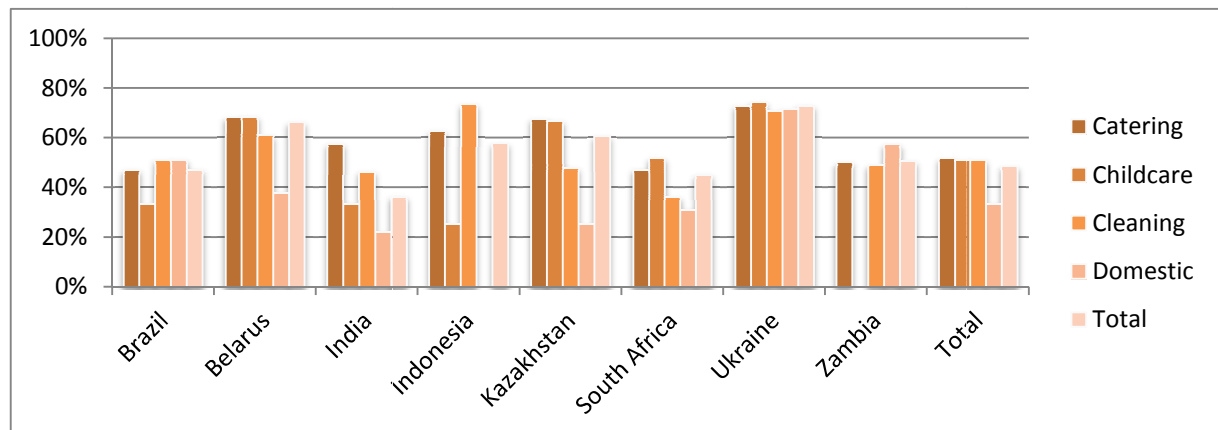
*Graph 4.2 Average numbers of household members of workers in domestic work occupations by country and by occupation*



Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 6175.

Do the workers in domestic work occupations live with a partner? Graph 4.3 shows the percentages workers reporting so, based on the survey data. In the four occupations jointly, five to seven in ten workers live with a partner. Across countries, the share of workers with a partner is highest in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, and lowest in Brazil, India, and South Africa. When comparing the four occupations in the eight countries, the catering workers on average have most often a partner, whereas the domestic workers have least often so. The childcare and the cleaning workers are in between.

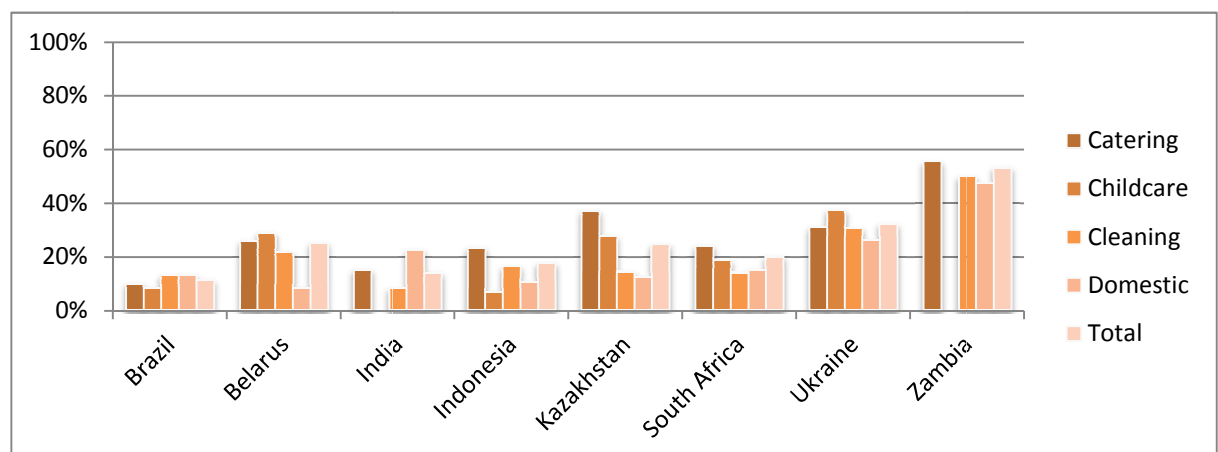
Graph 4.3 Percentages of workers in domestic work occupations with a partner by country and by occupation



Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 3986.

Do the workers in domestic occupations have children? Graph 4.4 shows the shares of workers reporting so, based on the survey data. Across countries large differences can be noticed. In Brazil, only one in ten workers in the four occupations has a child, whereas in Zambia this is, with five in ten, much higher. When comparing the four occupations in the eight countries, the catering workers on average have most often a child, whereas the childcare and the domestic workers have least often so. The cleaning workers are in between.

Graph 4.4 Percentages of workers in domestic work occupations with one or more children by country and by occupation



Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 5951.

## 4.2 Live-in workers

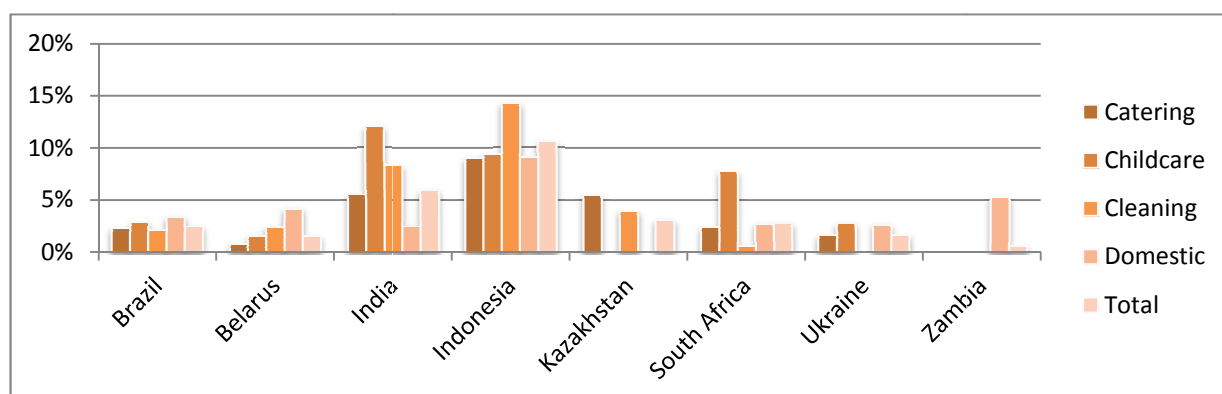
In many cases, the workplace is also the domestic worker's residence. According to the law and practice ILO report, living and working in their employer's home has a major, mostly negative, impact on workers' personal autonomy and mobility and can influence decisions as to their future, including the decision to found a family of their own. It notes that in



particular live-in and migrant domestic workers are vulnerable to various forms of mistreatment at the workplace. Verbal abuse such as shouting, insulting the employee's nationality or race and using inappropriate language, is frequently reported. Physical abuse of various kinds, including sexual harassment, has also been identified (ILO 2010a: para 27, 28). Very few data is available about the numbers of live-in workers. It can be assumed that in rural areas the percentages live-in domestics are much higher compared to urban areas, where only a limited part of houses will have sufficient space to house a domestic worker. The 2011 Census in South Africa contains a survey question asking if the respondent has a summerhouse where a domestic worker lives.

To what extent do the workers in domestic occupations in our *WageIndicator* survey live in with their employer? Graph 4.5 shows the percentages workers reporting so, based on the survey data. Across countries, large differences can be noticed, though the shares remain quite low. In Indonesia, one in ten workers in the four occupations lives in, whereas in Belarus, Kazakhstan, South Africa, Ukraine, and Zambia this is one to three in hundred. When comparing the four occupations in the eight countries, the catering workers on average live in the least often with less than three in hundred workers, whereas the childcare workers most often live in, with five in hundred workers. The domestic and the cleaning workers are in between.

Graph 4.5 Percentages of live-in workers among all in domestic work occupations, breakdown by country and by occupation



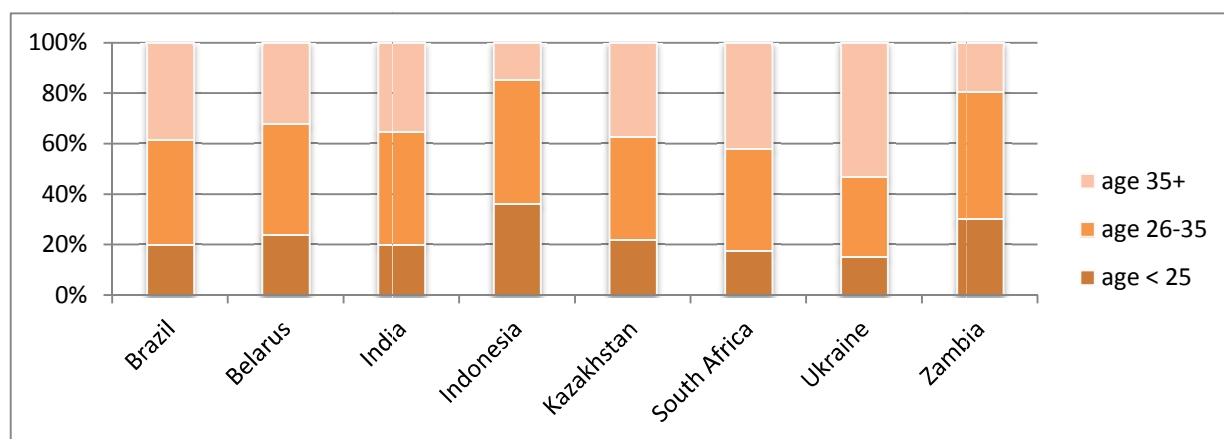
Source: *WageIndicator* data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 7617.

### 4.3 Age

How old are the workers in the domestic occupations? The ILO reports that young girls can be found alongside older age groups. In Ghana, for instance, legal child domestic workers are reported, whereas in the Southern Cone of Latin America, the bulk of domestic workers are between 29 and 49 years old, and in Jordan 70% of migrant domestic workers are 30 years old and above (ILO 2010a: para 21). In South Africa, in 2007 55% of all domestic workers aged 30-49, with 26% aging 50 and above and 19% below the age of 30 (Budlender 2010b: 22).

We used the *WageIndicator* web-survey to explore the age distribution in the four domestic occupations in the eight countries. We have to repeat one reservation here: our web-survey is definitely not a good tool to trace child labour among domestic workers. Graph 4.6 shows the distribution over three age groups, based on the survey data. Obviously, Indonesia has the largest share of young domestic workers aged 25 and under with almost four in ten workers in this age group, followed by Zambia with three in ten. In contrast, in Ukraine only one in ten domestic workers is young, followed by South Africa with almost two in ten. In Indonesia and in Zambia, the shares of workers aged 26-35 is with five in ten larger than in other countries. In Ukraine, the share of that age group is only three in ten. When tracing the shares of workers aged 36 and older, not surprisingly in Indonesia this is only one in ten. In contrast, in Ukraine it is five in ten, followed by South Africa with four in ten. Besides Indonesia, Zambia also shows a relatively young group of respondents.

*Graph 4.6 Distribution of workers in domestic work occupation over age groups by country and by occupation*



Source: *WageIndicator* data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 4557.

## 4.4 Migrant workers

According to the basic ILO report on domestic workers, one of the most striking changes in domestic work in the past 30 years has been the growing prevalence of migrant work. In several regions, including Europe and the Gulf countries and the Middle East, the majority of domestic labourers today are migrant women (ILO 2010a: para 21). According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), by 2010 there were approximately 1.5 million migrant domestic workers in Saudi Arabia; 660,000 in Kuwait; 200,000 in Lebanon; 300,000 in Malaysia; and 196,000 in Singapore – in majority female (HRW 2010: 8). These migrant domestic workers may be extremely vulnerable, for many reasons, last but not least as recruitment is poorly regulated and monitored. For example, if recruited through intermediaries in one country for employment in another country, they generally have little or no opportunity to engage in direct negotiations with the employing household, and thus have no possibility to make their skills and motivation part of the equation. Also language barriers may frustrate negotiations with their employers. Socio-cultural factors increase their vulnerability to abusive treatment, discrimination and unfair working conditions (Oelz 2011: 3; Budlender 2011a: 1). It may also

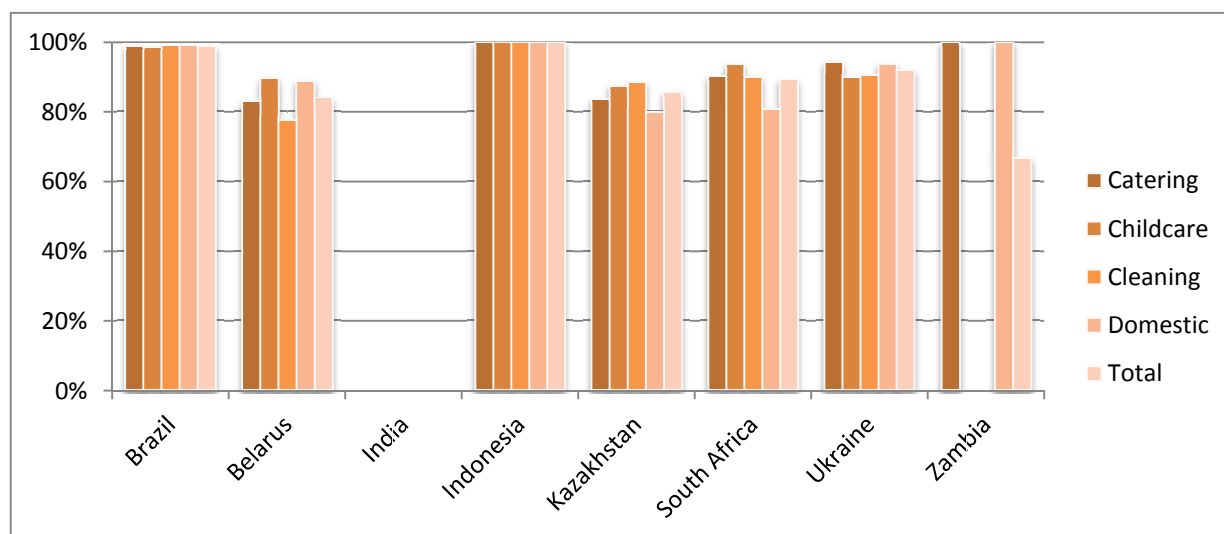
be that the migrant worker is engaged in, as the ILO calls it, “a triangular employment relationship where the agency acts as an intermediary by receiving the payment from the households and, subsequently, compensating the workers after making all the corresponding social security contributions” (Simonovsky and Luebker 2011: fn. 3). Such constructions may widen the possibilities of exploitation further. Besides social security contributions, recruitment fees for agencies, labour brokers and other, often questionable, intermediaries, as well as travel costs (including return travels), may be deducted from domestic workers’ wages. Such practices may leave them with little or no cash income, notably in the first six months or so of their job – or even longer (Cf. HRW 2010: 9). Moreover, such practices will contribute to the extremely long working hours that many live-in migrant workers make (Cf. King-Dejardin 2011: 4).

Most labour-receiving countries of Asia and the Middle East have relied on introducing standard employment contracts to regulate terms and conditions of employment of domestic workers, but with much weaker protections than most labour laws. In addition, governments have not dedicated significant resources to create monitoring mechanisms to detect cases of deception, exploitation, and abuse of domestic workers, or to take steps to make labour and criminal justice systems more accessible and responsive. Reform including the extension of labour protections in national law to domestic workers has so far been slow (HRW 2010).

Hardly any reliable information could be traced concerning the share of migrants among the domestic occupations in the DfL countries; most labour force surveys do not ask about nationality or country of birth. Undocumented workers will rarely be captured. The available figures mainly concern outgoing migration. For instance, the ILO estimated that about 2006 approximately 72% of Indonesian migrant workers are women, with almost 90% of them employed as domestic workers in the Middle East and South-East Asian countries (ILO 2007: 7).

Thus, we had to rely on the data of the *WageIndicator* web-survey, which does provide data on country of birth. Yet, it does not provide information whether foreign-born workers in domestic work occupations migrated due to temporary migration schemes for domestic workers, au-pair arrangements in foreign countries, labour placement agencies, or for reasons that were not related to the current job. The web-survey contains a survey question if the respondents are born in the country from where they complete the survey or if they are born in another country, though not in India. Graph 4.7 (next page) shows that almost all workers in the domestic work occupations in the survey have responded that they were born in their own country. In Brazil, Indonesia and Zambia, this is almost 100%. In the former Soviet countries, these percentages are artificially lower, because part of respondents were born in Russia, thus before these countries received independence. In India, the survey question is not asked, because the country is so large and populated, that a question about country of birth does not make sense. In South Africa, the survey data show that one in ten workers in the domestic work occupations was not born in this country.

Graph 4.7 Percentages of workers in domestic work occupations born in own country, by country and by occupation



Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 2266.

## 4.5 Education

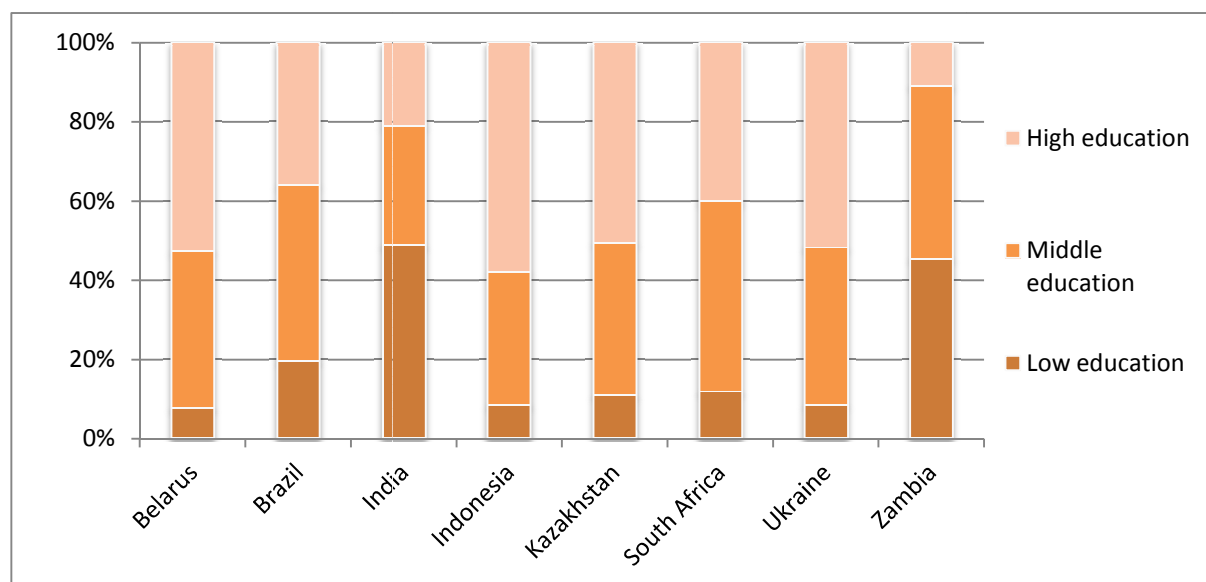
It has been gradually recognized that domestic work, far from being ‘unskilled’, mostly requires a broad range of skills and training. The ILO emphasizes that career development must be central to domestic work if it is to be seen as something more than a temporary job entailing self sacrifice and low wages. A contemporary approach to career development reflected in national policies and legislation is to recognize the skills required in domestic work and to offer domestic workers a better future by promoting basic literacy skills and vocational training. Professionalizing domestic work through enhancing education and formal recognition of skills and qualifications is also a means of strengthening the bargaining power of domestic workers (ILO 2010a, 206, 301). A number of countries have developed capacity-building and other career development schemes for domestic workers; examples are Brazil and South Africa. Since 2005 Brazil has been running a government programme which focuses on social and occupational skills to improve the level of education of domestic workers and strengthen their ability to organize, and, in so doing, it has made human rights, health and combating violence against women and child domestic labour a matter of public policy. The programme has been implemented as a pilot project in its first stage (educational component) in seven key Brazilian regions (ILO 2010a: para 208). In South Africa, a massive training project entitled the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project was launched in 2008. It aimed to train 27,000 domestic workers throughout the country over three years (ILO 2010a: para 209).

What education do the workers in the *WageIndicator* survey have? Measuring educational attainment in a web-survey is not difficult as long as the major national educational categories are presented to the respondent to make a choice. Comparing educational categories is a challenge. Here we build on work, designed by UNESCO and its ISCED 1997

classification, to make educational categories comparable across countries. However, the level of educational categories may change over time, thus the validity of the comparison is questionable. Nevertheless, as no other yardsticks are available, we will use the ISCED levels. Graph 4.8 shows the distribution over three educational groups in each of the eight countries. In India and Zambia, five in ten workers are low educated, whereas in Belarus, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, South Africa, and Ukraine this is one in ten. In all eight countries, three to five workers are middle educated. Large differences across countries are evident when it comes to the higher educated. Whereas in Zambia, only one in ten is highly educated, it is five in ten in Belarus, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine.

The web-survey has a survey question about the respondent's educational attainment in national educational categories. For a cross-country comparison, a cross-over table is available to assign these national educational categories a ranking on a seven-point scale, ranging from no education to high education; in Graph 4.8 these are summarized into three groups: low, middle and high education. This Graph shows that in Indonesia almost six in ten workers in the survey have a high educational level, followed by Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine with five in ten workers. In South Africa and Brazil, this is three in ten, in India two in ten and in Zambia one in ten. In India and Zambia, the share of low educated among the domestic work occupations is high with almost five in ten, whereas it is low in Belarus, Indonesia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine with one in ten workers.

*Graph 4.8 Distribution of workers in domestic work occupation over education groups, breakdown by country*



Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 5130.

## 5 Remuneration of domestic workers

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### 5.1 Wage levels

Low pay for domestic work is a global phenomenon: domestic work is among the lowest paid work in any national labour market. Domestic workers typically earn less than half of average wages. In Brazil, their average wage was about 35% of the over-all average, in India just over 30%, and in Botswana about 15% (Oelz 2011: Table 1). In 2007, in South Africa domestic workers earned on average 40% of the average of non-domestic workers and wage employees (Budlender 2011a: 4). In Indonesia at first sight the situation seems better, with female domestic workers in 2008 per month earning 61% of the average for the female workforce – but it has to be taken into account that the average working week of female domestic workers is, with 53 hours, nearly 40% longer than the total average for female workers (authors' calculations based on Van Klaveren *et al* 2010b).

ILO reporting highlights factors that tend to depress domestic workers' wages even more than those of otherwise comparable categories of workers. These include unequal bargaining power, the isolation of in particular live-in workers, to usual lack of co-workers, and "the perception that the ability to perform domestic work is innate", including the skills and competencies required to perform domestic work. To a large extent, domestic work involves tasks that women have traditionally provided in households without pay, such as cleaning, cooking, shopping, laundry, as well as caring for children and other household members the elderly, disabled and other household members in need of care. Such attitudes and perceptions tend to result in the undervaluation of domestic work in monetary terms. On top of these factors, socio-cultural factors such as language barriers, may prevent particularly migrant domestic workers and those belonging to ethnic minority groups or indigenous peoples from negotiating with their employers. Such factors also increase their vulnerability to abusive treatment, discrimination and unfair working conditions (ILO 2010a: para 23, 139; Oelz 2011; Budlender 2011a, 2011b).

Some argue that male-female wage differentials reflect skills differences. Yet, particular attention should be paid to the principle of equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value as set out in the Equal Remuneration Convention (No. 100): remuneration should be determined on the basis of the content of the work performed, taking duly into account the skills, effort, responsibility and working conditions (Oelz 2011). ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR) has cautioned against undervaluing domestic work by setting the minimum wage for domestic work equivalent to that for unskilled workers. The CEACR has questioned the classification of domestic work as 'unskilled work', considering the complex tasks and responsibilities assumed by many domestic workers (ILO 2010a: para 63).

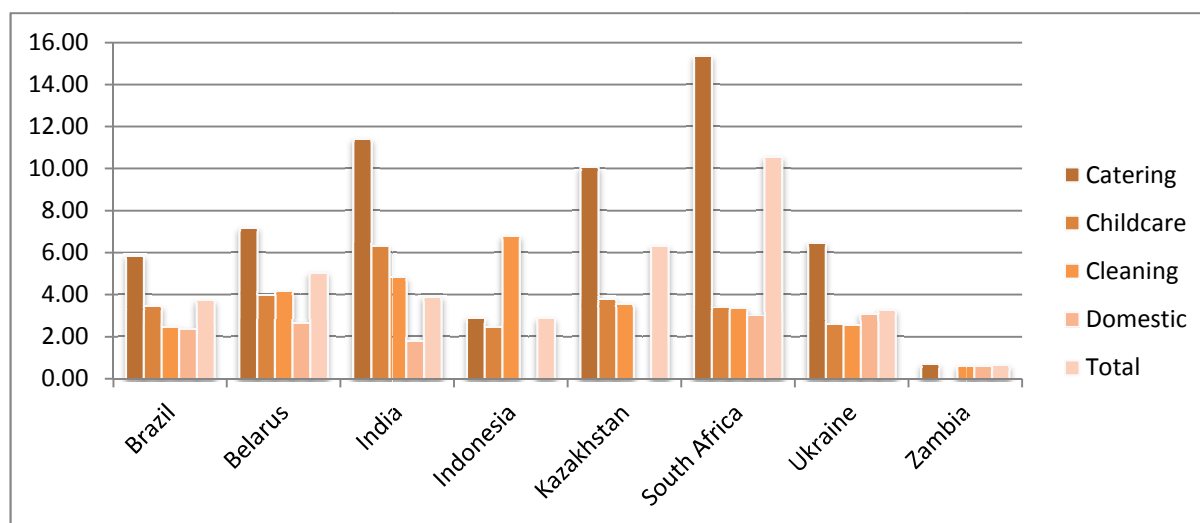
In relation to remuneration, it should be added that domestic workers' access to social security is in many countries absent or incomplete. For example, in Latin America in 2003 only 23% of female domestic workers contributed to a social security scheme (For Brazil the

share was 29%). On the positive side and concerning the DFL countries, domestic workers are explicitly included in occupational health and safety legislation in South Africa; in general health care in Brazil and South Africa; in retirement pension regulation in Brazil, and in unemployment insurance in again Brazil and South Africa (ILO 2010a: para 211, 213). Moreover, domestic workers are covered by general maternity leave legislation or by separate but equivalent provisions in five of 14 countries: Brazil, Kazakhstan, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe (ILO 2010a: para 223).

The *WageIndicator* web-survey asks in detail about respondents' wages. A two-step procedure has been applied to harmonize the hourly wages in the national currencies across countries and across survey years. First, using the World Bank's purchasing power parity indexes, the wages in the database have been converted into standardized US dollars (USD). In this step, the earnings data becomes comparable across countries. In the data cleaning, the standardized hourly wages lower than 1 standardized USD or higher than 400 standardized USD have been considered outliers (Tijdens *et al* 2010). Second, to make these standardized wage data comparable over the years (note that we have data between January 2006 and July 2011), all wages have been converted to the level of 2010, using the annual percentage change in wages of employees per hour, as available in the LABDEV Economic databases and indicators of the European Commission, DG Economic and Financial Affairs. Thus, using the 2006 percentage change, the standardized USD wages collected in 2006 have been converted to the level of 2007. Jointly with the wages collected in 2007, these have been converted into the level of 2008, et cetera. The wages collected in 2011 have been considered equal to the 2010 level, because LABDEV does not yet contain information for 2011. This procedure results in wage information in standardized USD allowing for cross country comparisons, using wage data from several years.

Graph 5.1 presents the median hourly wages, expressed in PPP-standardized US dollars for 2010. It shows clearly that the catering workers have the highest earnings in all countries apart from Indonesia: in this country the cleaning workers have the highest wages. In all countries, apart from Ukraine, the domestic workers have the lowest wages. Here it should be taken into account that not sufficient data was available for Indonesia and Kazakhstan. In most countries, the wages of the childcare and cleaning workers are only slightly higher than those in the domestic occupations.

Graph 5.1 Median hourly wages, expressed in PPP- standardized US dollars for 2010, of workers in domestic work occupations, breakdown by occupational group and country



Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 1458.

## 5.2 Bargaining power and unionisation

Many domestic workers have a low level of individual and collective bargaining power, which leaves them disempowered to extract remuneration that allows them to enjoy a decent standard of living (Oelz 2011: 2). Thus, empowerment of domestic workers through organizing and building bargaining power is a key issue. As the ILO (2010a: para 297) concludes, domestic workers, when given the chance, are generally keen to represent themselves and to take control of their working lives by organizing.

In a number of African countries domestic workers have managed to create trade unions or associations of their own. In Angola, in 2007 the STAD union, organizing guards and domestic workers, joined the UNTA-CS confederation; yet, by the time the membership of STAD, once 14,000, had fallen below 2,000 (Van Klaveren *et al* 2009b). In Mozambique the OTM-CS union federation in 2009 had besides 17 affiliated unions two associations, one for the informal economy and one for domestic workers. The CONSILMO federation by then also included a domestic workers' association (Van Klaveren *et al* 2009a). In Malawi, informal sector workers are organized in the Malawi Union for the Informal Sector (MUFIS), which is affiliated with the national union confederation MCTU. In 2010 they were unable to obtain the same standard of protection as formal sector workers. This inequity was the result of an administrative Ministry of Labour decision that the MUFIS did not have sufficient standing to bargain collectively (US Dept of State 2011). In 2009 in Zambia the United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ) was registered, affiliated to the main ZCTU affiliation (Van Klaveren *et al* 2009d), whereas the Zimbabwe Domestic and Allied Workers Union (ZDAWU) was affiliated with the Zimbabwean confederation equivalent (Van Klaveren *et al* 2010g).



In South Africa, the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU) was formed in 2000. It currently has about 30,000 members, 95% of whom are women. SADSAWU provides service and support to domestic workers in respect of work-related problems such as unfair dismissal and low wages, whether or not they are members. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) supports the union by providing premises, services and personnel, though SADSAWU is not officially a COSATU member. SADSAWU (and its predecessors) played a major role in campaigns leading, in 2002, to Sectoral Determination 7, setting a minimum wage for domestic workers (Ordor 2011; on minimum wages see next section).

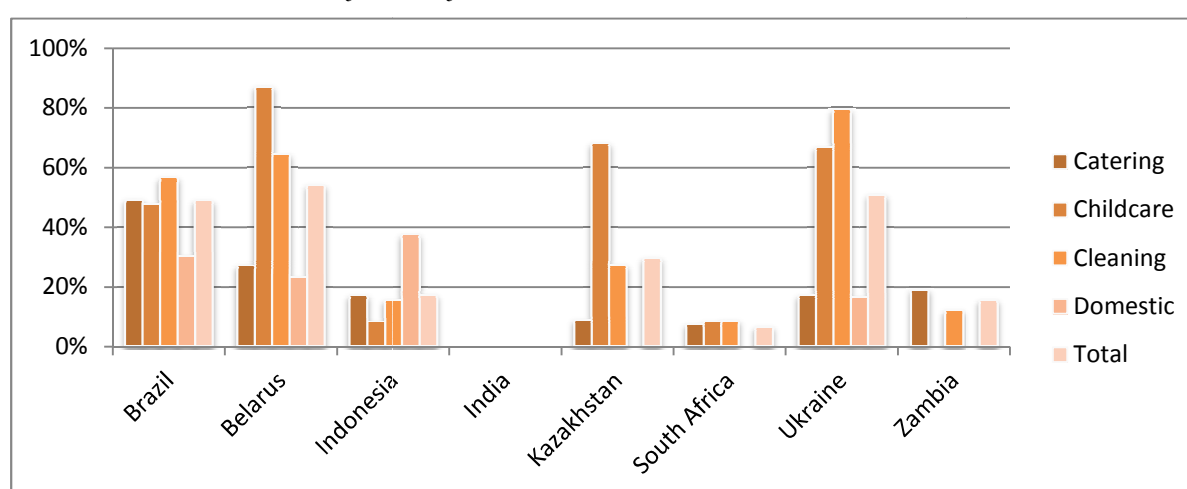
In Latin America domestic workers in recent years have increasingly been subject to trade union action and have growingly acted collectively. For quite some years in Brazil the largest national trade union centre and ITUC affiliate, Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT), has taken a leading role in defending and expanding domestic workers' rights (Information ITUC). Also in Brazil, a National Federation of Domestic Workers (FENATRAD) was created in 1997 and now has 35 union affiliations (ILO 2010a: para 269; ILO 2010b). In total the country has about 40 domestic workers' trade unions, mostly city-based (Gomes and Bertolin 2010). Stimulated by the various union activities in this field, already in August 2011 the regional organisation of ITUC in Latin America, TUCA-SCA, and the Comité de Mujeres Trabajadoras de las Américas have launched a campaign for the ratification of Convention 189 (information ITUC).

In India associations of domestic workers have been lobbying for improvements in pay and conditions since independence in 1947. Indian domestic workers' unions have continued to organize strikes, lobby for legislative change and provide support for members, but they have not been able to provide them with the security offered by the Industrial Disputes Act. In particular two national confederations affiliated with the ITUC, initially Self-Employed Women's Association of India (SEWA) and somewhat later also Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), have been active over the years in organising domestic workers and undertaking efforts to improve their rights (information ITUC). More locally, for example a domestic workers' union in Mumbai, the Gharelu Kamgar Sangh (GKS), is affiliated to a central union, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) (ILO 2010a: para 271). Also in India, a number of cooperatives run by domestic workers have been established, with some of these having associated themselves with trade unions (ILO 2010a: para 271, 296).

Only few figures are known about the union density of domestic workers. In South Africa, the union density among domestic workers can be estimated at 3%. Unionisation in this group has risen, because union density was only 1% in 1995 (Van Klaveren *et al* 2009c), but a major challenge is presented to membership strength by the fact that members tend to drop off after the work dispute is resolved or otherwise ends (Ordor 2011). According to the Brazilian 2007 Labour Force Survey, the union density in domestic services, though still very low, in that country recently showed an increase from 1.7% in 2005 to 1.9% in 2007 (Van Klaveren *et al* 2009g).

The *WageIndicator* web-survey provides data on trade union membership, because a question in the survey asks if the respondent is a member of a trade union. In India, this question is not asked. In Brazil, Belarus, and Ukraine, five in ten workers are unionised, followed by Kazakhstan with three in ten. Trade union membership in Indonesia, South Africa and Zambia is much lower: around one in ten. When comparing occupational groups, the childcare workers are highest unionised, particularly because in this group union membership is high in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Union membership is lowest among the domestic occupations; here, one-and-a-half in ten is organised. Particularly in South Africa and Zambia hardly any worker in a domestic work occupation in our survey is a union member.

*Graph 5.2 Percentage trade unions members among of workers in domestic work occupations, breakdown by country*



Source: *WageIndicator* data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 1380.

### 5.3 Minimum wage setting

From the side of the ILO, it has been argued that extending minimum wage coverage to domestic workers is a key regulatory tool for the realization of the universal human right to the enjoyment of favourable conditions of work, in particular fair remuneration (Oelz 2011: 9). Do countries apply statutory minimum wages, and if so, do these also apply to domestic workers? For the fourteen DFL countries we have explored minimum wage setting: see table 2, next page.

Table 2 Incidence of Statutory Minimum Wage (SMW) and coverage of domestic workers, by country, situation 2010 (for Zambia 2011)

	Statutory min wage(s)	Domestic workers mentioned in MW law	Domestic workers covered / excluded from SMW/lower SMW	SMW domestic in % of general SMW/other SMWs
Angola	yes	no		
Azerbaijan	yes	no		
Belarus	yes	no		
Botswana	yes	yes	lower	55-65%
Brazil	yes	yes	covered	
India	yes	yes	excluded(central)	
Indonesia	yes	no		
Kazakhstan	yes	yes	covered	
Malawi	yes	no		
Mozambique	yes	no		
South Africa	yes	yes	lower	33-87%
Ukraine	yes	no		
Zambia	yes	yes	lower	67%
Zimbabwe	yes	yes	lower	9-66%

Sources: Van Klaveren *et al* 2009, 2010; ILO 2010a, 2011a; Oelz 2011; ILO *Natlex Database*; *WageIndicator* websites

All 14 DFL countries have a statutory minimum wage (SMW) or a set of such wages (situation 2010, for Zambia as of 7 January 2011 (ILO 2011a)). In two countries, Brazil and Kazakhstan, domestic workers are explicitly covered by the national minimum wage. India is a special case: although the central government in New Delhi excludes domestic work from the National Minimum Wage legislation (an exclusion that contravenes ILO Convention No. 131 on Minimum Wage Fixing), regional governments are allowed, with previous notification to the central administration, to set minimum wages for additional (not listed) occupations; by the end of 2010 the states of Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Rajasthan had done so for domestic work. In four countries, Botswana, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, domestics are explicitly legally entitled to a minimum wage, albeit lower than the general rate and/or the rates for other groups of workers: see the last column. In the other seven countries domestic workers are not mentioned in minimum wage legislation i.e. neither explicitly included nor excluded (sources: Van Klaveren *et al* 2009, 2010; ILO 2010a, 2011a; Oelz 2011; *WageIndicator* websites; ILO *Natlex Database*).

South Africa represents a highly interesting case. Here, in September 2002 roughly one million domestic workers –about 840,000 predominantly African and coloured women working as housekeepers, cooks and nannies, and another 180,000 men work primarily as gardeners-- were granted formal labour market protection, and subsequently in November 2002 a schedule of minimum wages for domestics went into effect. Currently South Africa has occupational minimum wage rates for domestic work set by region. They are computed on an hourly, weekly and monthly basis, with specifications as to the hours of work involved for daily or monthly rates. Sectoral Determination 7, regarding the conditions of employment and minimum wages for employees in the domestic work sector, provides for a yearly increase by at least 8%, while higher minimum wage increases are triggered by increases in

the Consumer Price Index of more than 10% (Oelz 2011: 6). Moreover, in domestic services employees who work less than 28 hours a week are entitled to an hourly minimum wage which is about 10% higher than that earned by employees working longer hours, likely to offset the lower level of benefits received by those working fewer hours per week (Posel and Muller 2008: 472). Linking levels of remuneration to hours worked is indeed a key element in addressing inappropriately low pay of domestic workers (Oelz 2011: 4).

In spite of the existence in South Africa of only a small body of Labour Inspectors whose job is to enforce compliance with minimum wage regulations (Bhorat *et al* 2010), jointly the new regulations do appear to have raised the relative wages for the domestic workers. Their average nominal hourly wages were in September of 2003 23% higher than they had been in September 2002, while for similar workers in other occupations the nominal increase was less than 5%. There was some decrease in employment, but that was not clearly related to the wage increase. Despite substantial non-compliance, for many low paid women the minimum wage made a difference (Hertz 2005). Budlender (2010) also found that average wages of South African domestic workers have risen without any significant employment loss since their minimum wage came into effect in 2002, though she notes that their average working hours have decreased. Moreover, using South African Labour Force Survey 2007 data the same author has calculated that domestic workers still suffer from a 'wage penalty', earning 13.6% less than other employees with the same characteristics (Budlender 2011a, b).

## **5.4 Protecting domestic workers' remuneration**

Domestic workers are particularly vulnerable to abusive practices with regard to the payment of wages. Majorities are engaged informally, without terms and conditions regarding hours of work and remuneration being clearly established, and without a written contract or statement of contract particulars. Language barriers and illiteracy among domestic workers may well aggravate problems in this respect. Various reports and studies on working conditions of domestic workers found that abusive practices affecting domestic workers' pay may include the following (Oelz 2011: 6):

- overtime requirements without compensation;
- inappropriately high portions of the remuneration that are paid in kind, and excessive cash value attributed to in-kind payments;
- imposition of in-kind payments or deductions without the workers' prior knowledge and agreement;
- non-payment or late payment of wages.

Against this backdrop, the ILO has recommended a number of steps towards protecting domestic workers' remuneration (ILO 2010a; Oelz 2011):

- the establishment of legal requirements for written contracts of employment or a written statement of particulars, including making model contracts available to employers and workers;
- legally, strictly limiting payments in kind and deductions, or the proportion of the remuneration that may be paid in kind. For example, the legislation in Brazil prohibits

deductions from domestic workers' wages for meals, accommodation, clothing and hygienic products, except when the domestic worker stays in a different place than the one where (s)he is employed; in South Africa, payments in kind are legally permitted up to 25% of remuneration;

- preventing non-payment or late payment, through imposing obligations on employers for fixed pay intervals and methods of payment, and keeping records of hours worked and payments made;
- improving compliance with standards protecting domestic workers' remuneration, including broad dissemination of information on applicable laws to domestic workers and their employers;
- developing a coordinated mechanism for information sharing and learning from good practices in the regulation of domestic work.

## 6 Working hours of domestic workers

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### 6.1 Usual working hours

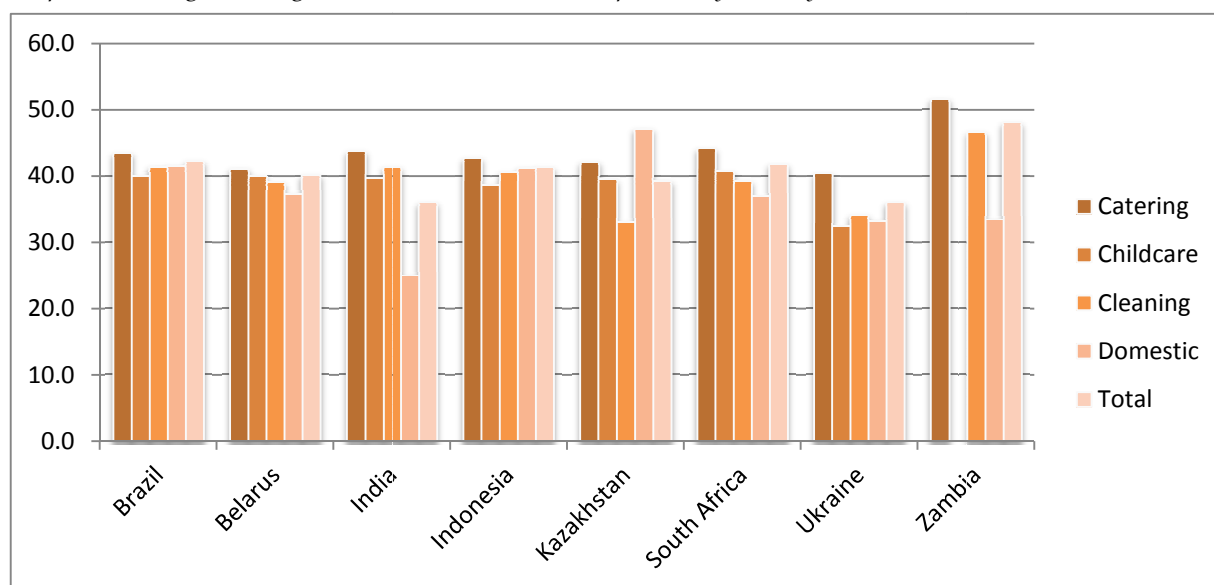
In preparing Convention No. 189, the ILO has paid special attention to the issue of working time of domestic workers, and sought to examine and suggest potential frameworks for the regulation of that working time. A major challenge here is formulating working time measures that protect domestic workers' interests while taking into account the needs of the households that employ them. Complicating factor is the widely varying situation of various groups of domestic workers: live-in workers tend to work full-time, probably very long hours, while live-out workers may work full-time for one household or for different households for two, three or more hours each time per day, week or month. It has been calculated for Peru (2001) and Chile (2000) that average weekly hours of live-in workers were respectively 27% and 69% longer than those of live-out workers. Moreover, for live-in workers the division between work and home, between work and rest, may be a grey, fuzzy line, whereas other domestic workers have relatively more control over their working time arrangements (King Dejardin 2011: 1-2). These varying realities remain hidden behind averages on weekly hours of domestic workers, though the latter may deliver useful indications. Concerning the DfL countries, the available data shows averages of 49.1 hours for Zambia (2002), 36.8 hours for Brazil (2007; females: 36.4), and 51.6 hours for Indonesia (2008; females: 53.0) (King Dejardin 2011: 3; Van Klaveren *et al* 2009g, 2010b).

Key concerns regard in particular the association between long working hours and shift work on the one hand and fatigue, (risks of) mental stress and depression, work-related accidents, problems with own children and family care responsibilities, and quality of service and performance on the other (King Dejardin 2011: 5). In this context it is striking that about half of 71 countries surveyed by the ILO in 2009, covering over 56% of domestic workers, has not imposed a mandatory limit on the length of the working week for domestic workers (McCann and Murray 2010; ILO 2010a, para 177; Tomei 2011). In one ILO study a Model Law has been developed, recognizing the importance of providing information about legal standards, access to independent dispute resolution processes and techniques to alleviate disparities in bargaining power between individual domestic workers and their employers. Based on a 'framed flexibility' model, the Model Law contains a number of key 'framing standards', which provide a framework within which working time flexibility is constrained by limiting working hours, mandating rest periods and designating certain periods as 'unsocial.' Second, the study the study proposes a set of 'flexibility' standards, addressing the unpredictable requirements that can arise in certain domestic work occupations, by permitting periods of on-call work. Third, it proposes monitoring standards, and finally, across the Model Law a set of 'incentives to bargain' is found. The first and most basic step towards ensuring compliance with working time standards remains a written contract between the employer and the domestic worker (McCann and Murray 2010).

In the *WageIndicator* web-survey, one question asks if the respondents have agreed their working hours with their employer, either in writing or verbally. If yes, they are asked how many hours per week they work under the terms of their contract. A next question asks ‘Do you usually work the number of hours laid down in your contract?’ If no, the usual number of working hours is asked. If yes, the question is skipped. Respondents who do not have an employment contract or have no working hours agreed, are always asked about their usual working hours. Working hours are asked using drop-down selection lists with hours, ranging from 1 to 80 hours per week. A final question asks respondents how many days a week they work. This question is used for checking the reliability of the reported hours. This section reports about the findings in the web-survey regarding working hours.

What is the average length of the working week in the four occupations in the eight countries, according our web-survey? Graph 6.1 shows that in almost all countries and all occupations, workers work on average 40 hours per week. A few exceptions are striking. The working week in Zambia is longer, with on average 48 hours a week, which is predominantly due to the catering workers with long working weeks of almost 52 hours. In almost all countries, the catering workers have the longest hours, whereas in five of the eight countries those in the domestic occupations report to be working on average the least hours. The cleaning and childcare workers are in between.

Graph 6.1 Average working hours in domestic work occupations by country

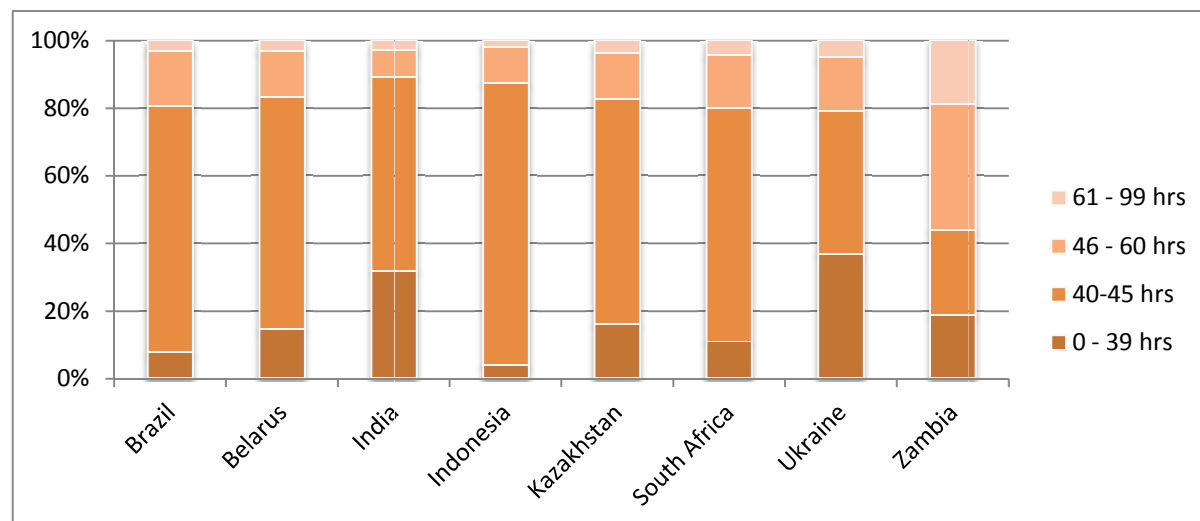


Source: *WageIndicator* data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 5104.

A closer look at working hours is shown in Graph 6.2. Here, it can be seen that by far the largest group in Brazil, Belarus, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, and South Africa has a working week of 40-45 hours. In Indonesia, this applies even to more than eight in ten workers. Only in Ukraine and in Zambia, less than five in ten workers is employed between 40 and 45 hours. In Ukraine, this is due to the fact that a large group, almost four in ten, has a working week of less than 40 hours. In Zambia, the opposite is the case. In this country, three in ten workers reports to be working between 46 and 60 hours and almost two in ten has

even a longer working week. In all other countries, less than two in ten workers report to be working 46-60 hours and only three in hundred reports to be working more than 60 hours. The long hours' picture we found for Zambia fits in with the national statistics for that country, while for Indonesia the average hours are less than in those statistics; by contrast, the average hours we found for Brazil are higher than reported in that country's official statistics.

Graph 6.2 Distribution over five categories of usual working hours in domestic work occupations by country.



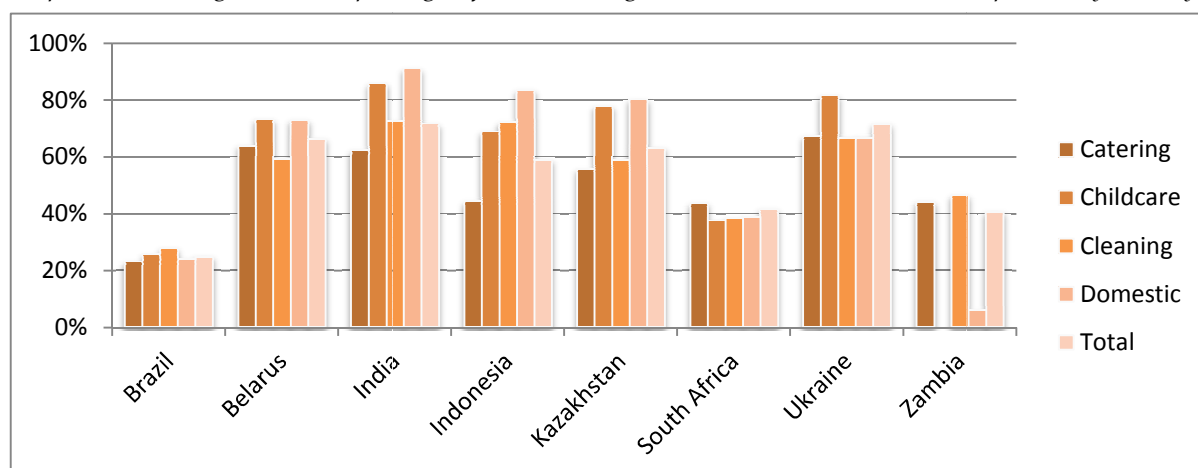
Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 5104.

## 6.2 Shifts or irregular hours

The WageIndicator web-survey includes a question asking if the respondent works shifts or irregular hours. Graph 6.4 shows how often the domestic workers report to do so. In Brazil, the incidence of shift work or irregular hours is lowest for all occupations. Here, two in ten workers reports to work shifts or irregular hours. Next are South/ Africa and Zambia, where four in ten workers reports to do so. In contrast, in the five other countries (Belarus, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine) six to seven in ten workers reports working shifts or irregular hours. When exploring differences across occupations, it turns out the childcare workers report most often to be working shifts or irregular hours. Six in ten childcare workers report so. This might be due to the fact that the childcare occupation includes babysitters, which almost all will work on irregular hours. In contrast, the catering workers work the least in shifts or irregular hours, though even five in ten of them reports to do so. The cleaning and domestic occupations are in between.



Graph 6.4 Percentage workers reporting shift work or irregular hours in domestic work occupations by country.



Source: WageIndicator data 2006Q1-2011Q2, selection: women and men in the domestic work occupations in 8 DFL countries. N= 3068.

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## Appendix 1 Domestic work occupational titles

Table A1 Domestic work occupational titles in this report

1412020000000 Catering manager	CATERING
1412030000000 Kitchen manager	CATERING
5120040000000 Food preparation worker	CATERING
5120080000000 First line supervisor food servicing workers	CATERING
5120090000000 Catering worker	CATERING
5120990000000 Cook, all other	CATERING
5131030000000 Food server (not in restaurants)	CATERING
5131040000000 Host or hostess	CATERING
5132010000000 Bartender	CATERING
5152020000000 Butler	CATERING
9411010000000 Fast-food preparer	CATERING
9412010000000 Kitchen helper	CATERING
5120100000000 Chinese food cook	CATERING
5120110036000 IDN European food cook	CATERING
5120120000000 Japanese food cook	CATERING
5120140000000 Indian food cook	CATERING
5120150000000 Latin American food cook	CATERING
5120160000000 Indonesian food cook	CATERING
2221030000000 Childrens nurse	CHILDCARE
2342010000000 Early childhood educator	CHILDCARE
5311010000000 Child care worker	CHILDCARE
5311010282600 Pre-school assistant	CHILDCARE
5311020000000 Au-pair	CHILDCARE
5311030000000 Schoolchildren attendant	CHILDCARE
5311040000000 Creche nurse	CHILDCARE
5311160000000 Nanny	CHILDCARE
5311180000000 Baby-sitter	CHILDCARE
5312010000000 Teacher's assistant	CHILDCARE
1219040000000 Housekeeping department manager	CLEANING
5151010000000 First line supervisor housekeeping workers	CLEANING
5151020000000 Housekeeper in hotels, offices or other establishments	CLEANING
9112010000000 Cleaner in offices, schools or other establishments	CLEANING
9112020000000 Cleaner in hotels	CLEANING
9112030000000 First line supervisor cleaning workers	CLEANING
9129990000000 Cleaning worker, all other	CLEANING
9412020000000 Dishwasher	CLEANING
5152010000000 Domestic housekeeper	DOMESTIC
9111010000000 Domestic cleaner	DOMESTIC
9111020000000 Domestic help (private homes)	DOMESTIC

## Appendix 2    The web-survey

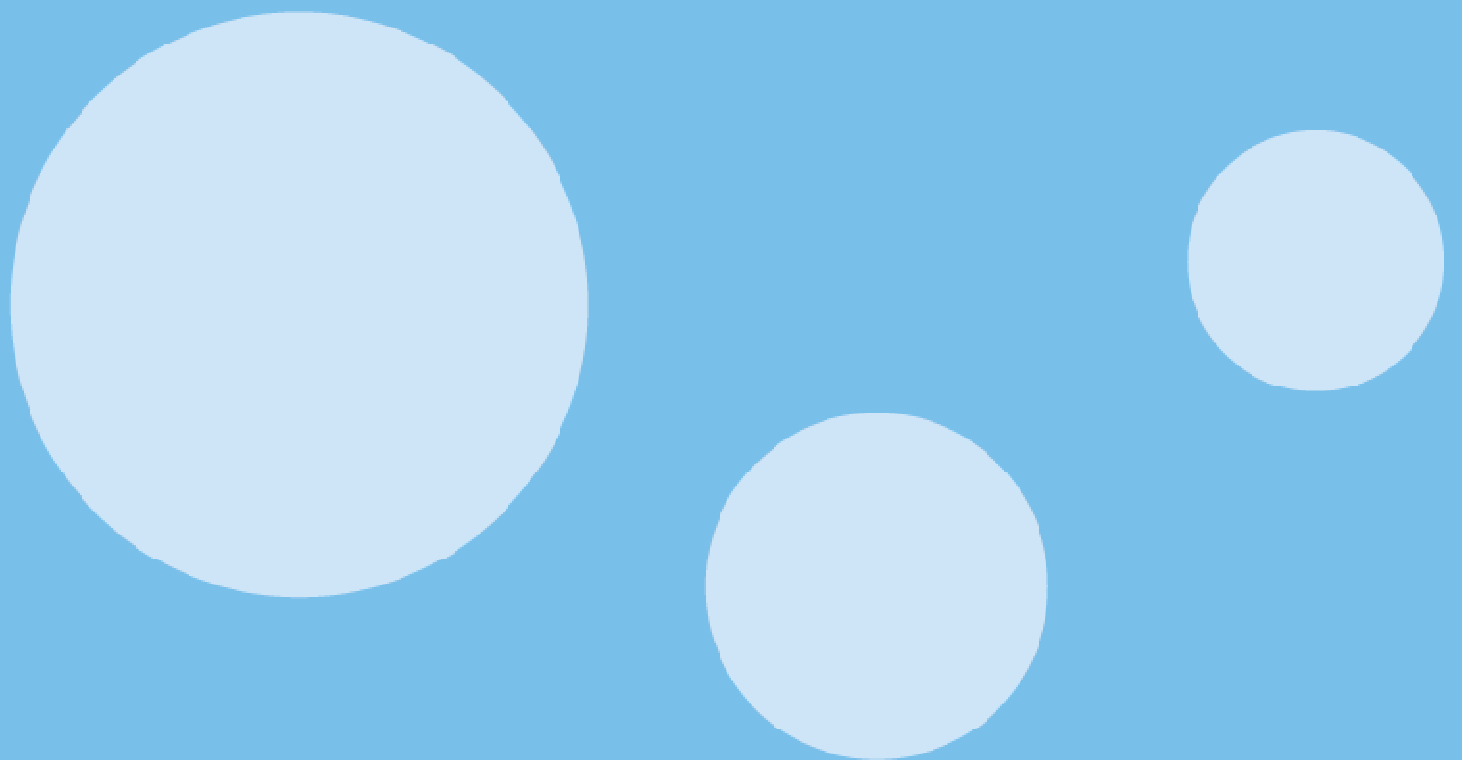
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This paper uses survey data of individuals from eight countries. The data stem from the continuous, volunteer *WageIndicator* web-survey ([www.wageindicator.org](http://www.wageindicator.org)). This is an international comparable survey in national languages, posted at the frequently visited *WageIndicator* websites. The survey contains questions about wages, education, occupation, industry, socio-demographics, and alike (Tijdens *et al*, 2010). In 2000, the *WageIndicator* project started as a paper-and-pencil survey for establishing a website with salary information for women's occupations in the Netherlands. By mid 2011, it had developed into an online data collection tool hosted on more than 60 national websites with job-related content, labour law and minimum wage information, and a free and crowd-pulling Salary Check presenting average wages for occupations. The web-survey has a prize incentive; it takes approximately 10 minutes to complete part 1 and 10 minutes for part 2.

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