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Desenvolvimento Econômico e Mudança Social
“A Divisão Social do Trabalho no Século XXI”.

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10. Care work, imigração internacional e a crise do welfare state europeu. (10 e 11 de maio)

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- Nadya Araujo Guimarães, Helena Sumiko Hirata e Kurumi Sugita (2011) “Cuidado e cuidadoras: o trabalho de care no Brasil, França e Japão”. *Sociologia & Antropologia*; v.01.01: pp. 151-180.
- Kendra Strauss (2015) “Social Reproduction and Migrant Domestic Labour in Canada and the UK: Towards a Multi-Dimensional Concept of Subordination”. In: Gary Craig & Louise Waite & Hannah Lewis & Klara Skrivankova *Vulnerability, Exploitation and Migrants: Insecure Work in a Globalised Economy (Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship)*. Palgrave Macmillan. (Cap. 4: pp. 59-71).
- Teresa Kleba Lisboa (2007) “Fluxos migratórios de mulheres para o trabalho reprodutivo: a globalização da assistência”. In: *Estudos Feministas*, 15(3) set/dez.

A divisão internacional do trabalho reprodutivo

“Over the last 30 years in Southern Europe, and in Italy in particular, foreign domestic migrant care workers have been replacing Italian internal migrants. **The domestic workers’ issue has evolved from one of class to one of ethnicity and nationality and become a structural and stable part of the gendered division of reproductive labour in many European welfare states.**”

“women immigrate for domestic and care work using either legal or illegal entry because it provides the first opportunity to be incorporated into the labour market and a chance for a work permit and a legal status. **These contemporary flows of migrant women may lead to the emergence of a ‘service caste’ (Anderson 2000) in the host societies.**”

Nexo entre regimes de *cuidado, de gênero e de migrações*

Economics alone does not determine care workers' migration to another country. Pull and push factors are not pertinent for understanding the complex and dynamic phenomenon of care and domestic work. Other issues need to be taken into account, such as women's agency in determining their migratory projects and objectives. Recognizing the significance of women's agency draws attention to women's empowerment and the experiences of their families in the countries of origin. The agent-centred perspective adopted in this study addresses the issue of why women 'opt' to work as domestic workers/caregivers.

Nichos étnicos nos mercados de trabalho

Each year, countries such as Italy and Spain formulate immigration policy through **quotas that accommodate demands for cheap labour in the catering, tourism, building services, care and domestic service industry**. The **underground economy** is already well-rooted within Southern Europe and has been strengthened by the quota system which facilitates the movement of undeclared workers from the underground economy into the official sectors of the Italian economy, as I explain below. **The entry of migrant workers consolidates ethnic niches in the labour market where migrant workers are hired as ‘inexpensive and flexible labour in marginal areas of employment’**, (Chell 2000: 105). This process has nurtured the growing segmentation and fragmentation of the Italian labour market. New migrants often accept poor working conditions, and women especially, end up as live-in caregivers and domestic workers.

“Desfamiliarizando” o trabalho reprodutivo

The ‘domestic help’ phenomenon is related to important changes in the southern welfare system, typically sustained by conservative familial practices. Purchasing foreign labour force involves a de-familialization of welfare services, a form of externalization of domestic tasks achieved by the employment of migrant women. Rather than the state taking responsibility for aiding families in the social reproduction of everyday life, market-based strategies have led to an international division of care work that places the burden of care work on migrant women workers. The term ‘social reproduction’ is used by feminist scholars to refer to the set of activities and relationships involved in maintaining people both on a daily and intergenerational basis: ‘[R]eproductive labour includes activities such as purchasing household goods, preparing and serving food, laundering and repairing clothing, maintaining furnishing and appliances, socializing children, providing care and emotional support for adults and maintaining kin and community ties’ (Nakano Glenn 1992: 1).

Mercados étnicos de força de trabalho

Migration to domestic work may represent a significant movement of ethnic minority women, constituting a *transnational transfer of reproductive labour* from origin to destination countries. The segmented and ethno-stratified market for low-skill and care jobs contributes to wage inequalities, power differences, ethno-cultural preferences, subordination, 'occupational stigma' and social marginalization, which involves the *invisibilization of women*, both in the work sphere and in the socio-economic sphere. Most domestic workers are employed without a regular labour contract. In Southern Europe, this emerging 'service caste' is characterized by preferences for migrant workers from Central and South America in Spain, Portugal and Italy, and from Eastern European in Italy and Greece.

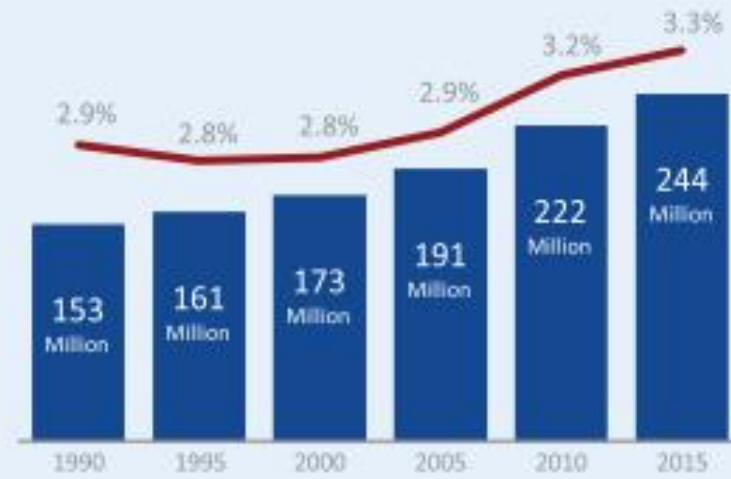
Quem cuida da cuidadora?

the 'international transfer of caretaking' (Parrenas 2000, 2008, Lutz 2008a) has consequences in both the destination societies and in the countries of origin. In the latter, the **departure of adult females results in better social and economic conditions for their families left at home**, whereby a care chain to care for dependents is established. According to the literature on remittances, regular money transfers are important economic resources for families left behind and contribute significantly to the GDP of many sending countries. Families back home have the possibility of accessing higher education for their children, building larger homes and upgrading social and well-being levels. However, **the tasks of looking after children, the sick or elderly relatives seems to be passed on to other mainly female family members (grandmothers, aunts, adult daughters) or by hiring women who may need to migrate internally** within the country of origin to perform this care work. In a few cases, men also take on the responsibility of caring.

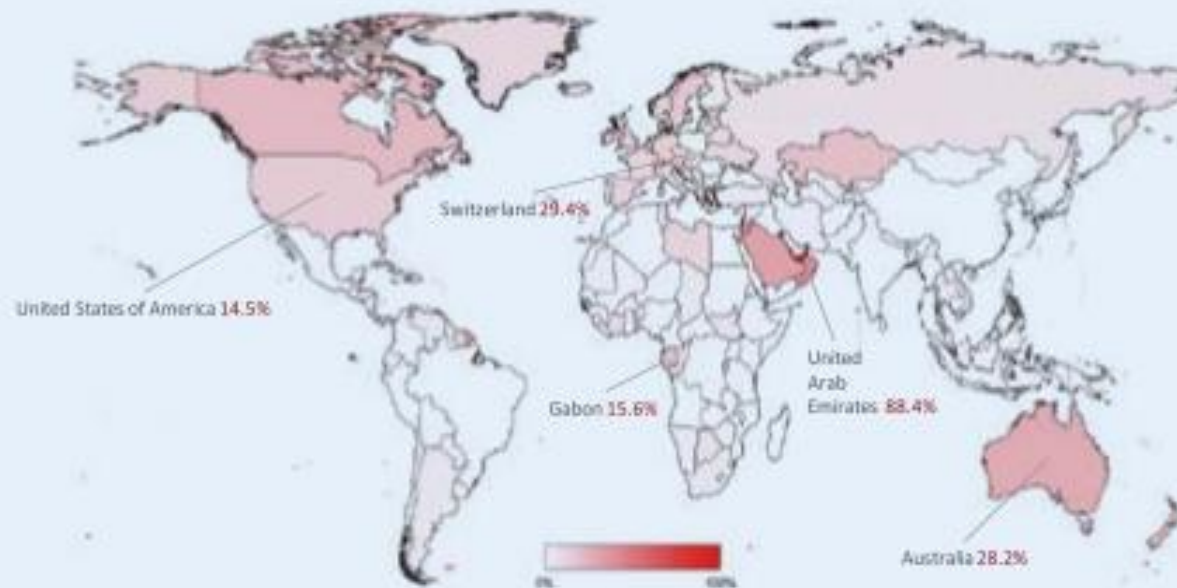
“Refamiliarizando” o cuidado

personalized family-based care is endorsed as opposed to commercialized, hospitalized, institution-based care. **Welfare states are increasingly pushing care work out of hospitals and institutions and handing it back to families.** (...) Italian families are reluctant or unable to institutionalize elderly or dependent people, either for moral or economic reasons. In this new framework, care work relies on the **employment of migrant women as a systemic solution for the publically provided care deficit.** (...) The cost of employing migrant workers is relatively low – **wages vary greatly, from 1200 Euro per month for a live-in worker with a residence permit to 750–450 Euro per month for a live-in worker who has just entered the country illegally.** Thus the institutionalization of elderly or disabled people in hospitals or care homes is, if possible, postponed or avoided.

The international migrant population globally has increased in size but remained relatively stable as a proportion of the world's population



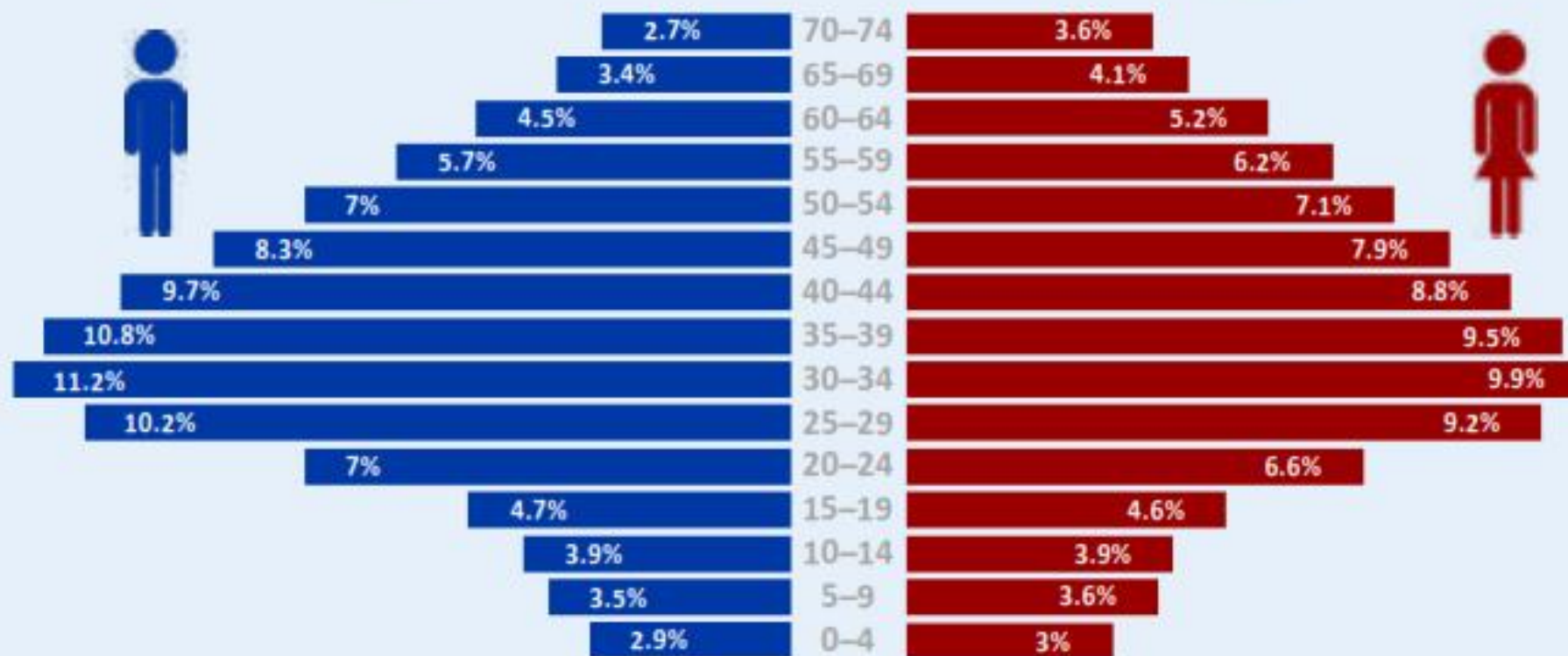
The proportion of international migrants varies significantly around the world



Note: Names and boundaries indicated on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by IOM.

Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018, IOM-UN

52% of international migrants are male, 48% are female

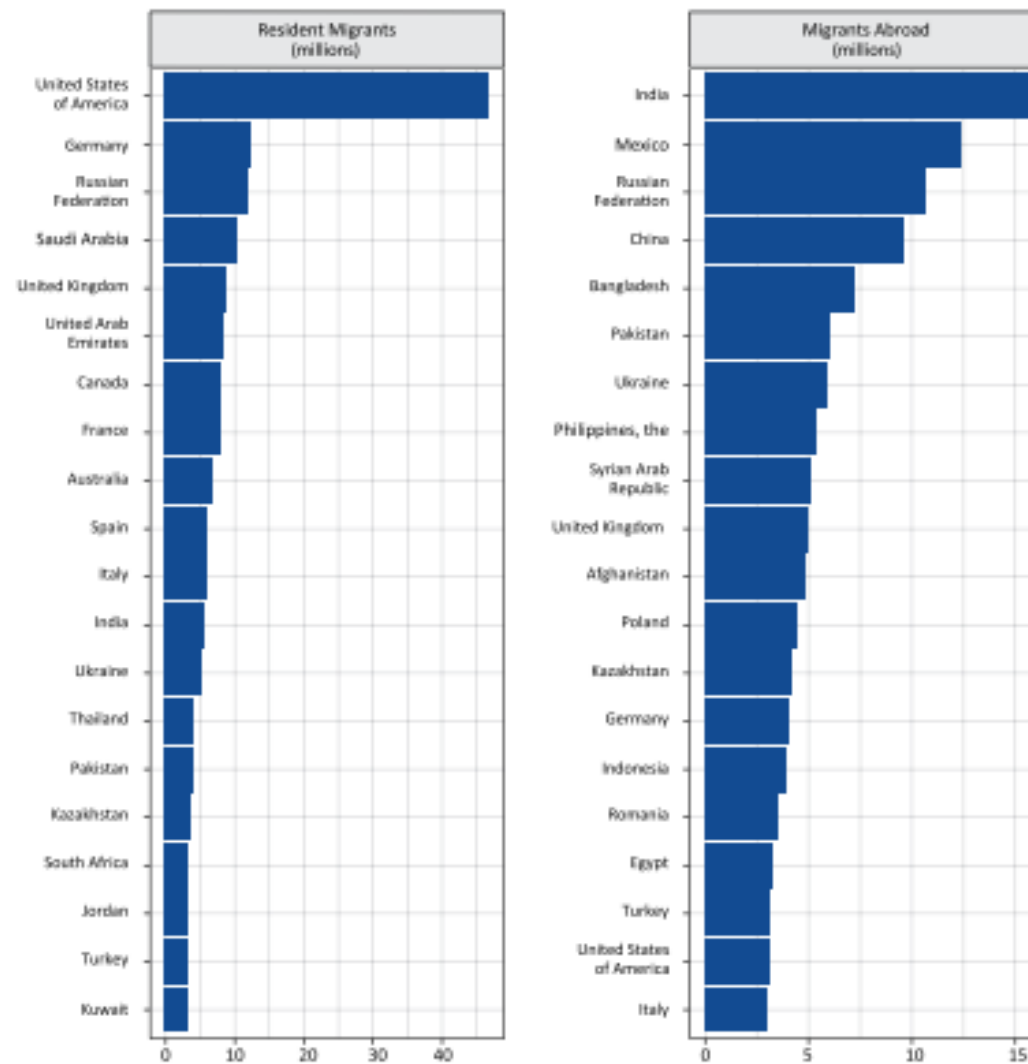


Most international migrants (72%) are of working age (20-64) years

* Age groups above 75 years omitted (male 4.5%, female 6.8%).

Note: Snapshot based on infographics by IOM's Migration Research Division and Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (IOM, 2017d), which draw on UN DESA data (UN DESA, 2015a).

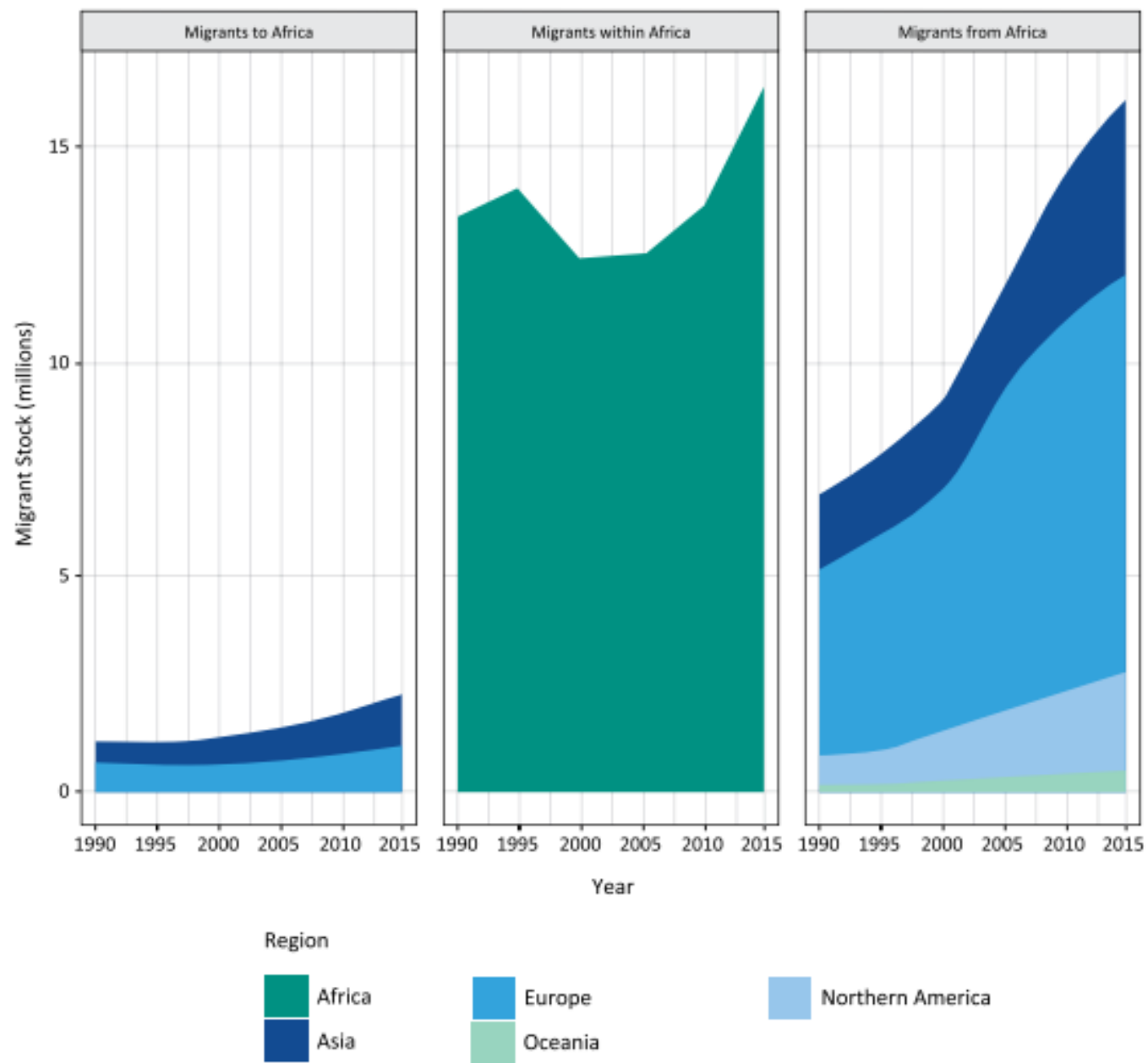
Figure 2. Top 20 destinations (left) and origins (right) of international migrants in 2015 (millions)



Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018, IOM-UN

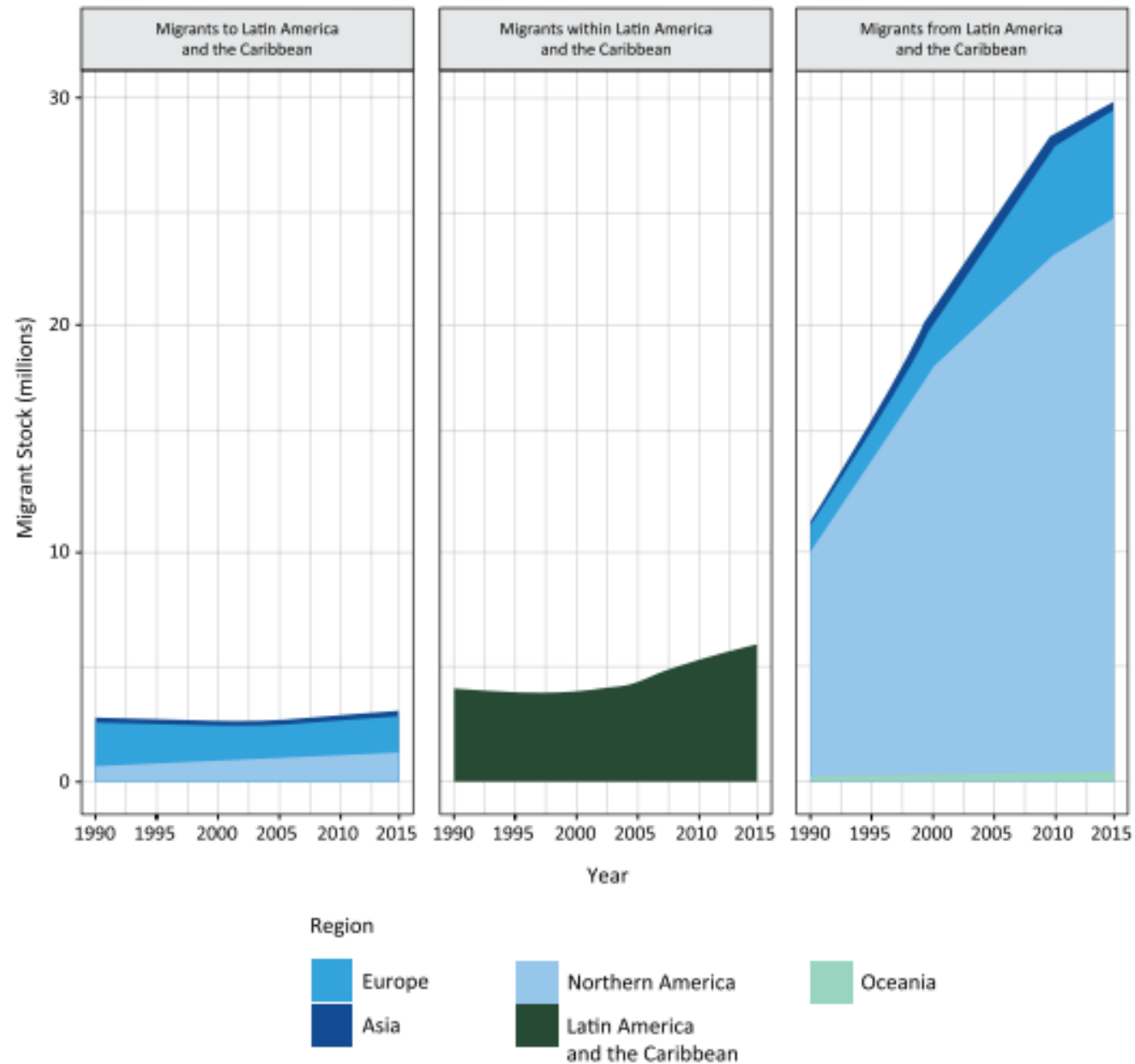
Source: UN DESA, 2015a. Datasets for the 2015 Revision available at www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates15.shtml.

Figure 1. Migrants to Africa, within Africa and from Africa between 1990 and 2015



Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018, IOM-UN

Figure 13. Migrants to, within and from Latin America and the Caribbean between 1990 and 2015



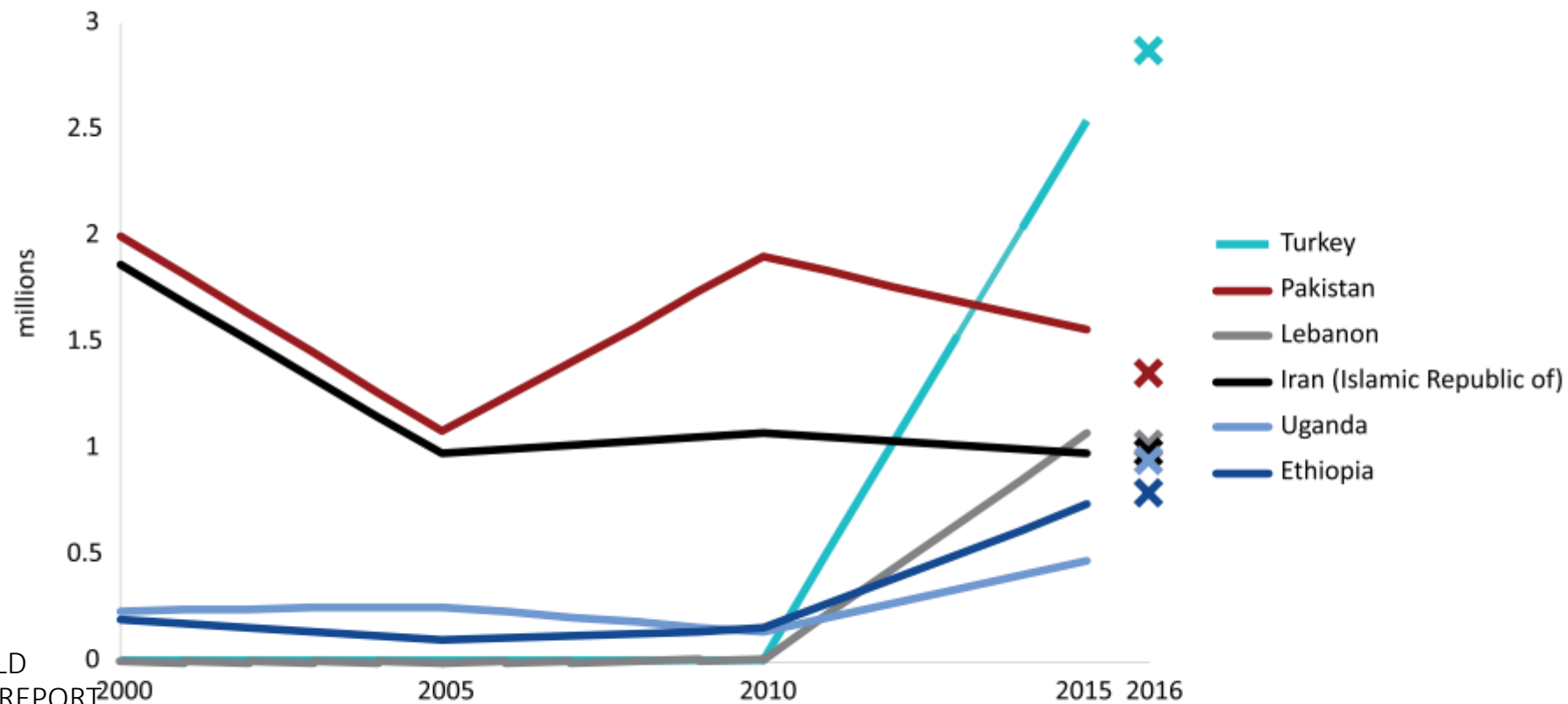
Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018, IOM-UN

Source: UN DESA, 2015a.

Top countries receiving remittances							
2000		2005		2010		2015	
India	12.84	China	23.63	India	53.48	India	68.91
France	8.61	Mexico	22.74	China	52.46	China	63.94
Mexico	7.52	India	22.13	Mexico	22.08	Philippines, the	28.48
Philippines	6.96	Nigeria	14.64	Philippines, the	20.56	Mexico	26.23
Republic of Korea	4.86	France	14.21	France	19.90	France	23.35
Spain	4.86	Philippines, the	13.73	Nigeria	19.75	Nigeria	18.96
Turkey	4.56	Belgium	6.89	Germany	12.79	Pakistan	19.85
United States of America	4.40	Germany	6.87	Egypt	12.45	Egypt	16.58
Germany	3.64	Spain	6.66	Bangladesh	10.85	Bangladesh	15.38
United Kingdom	3.61	Poland	6.47	Belgium	10.35	Germany	15.36

Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018 , IOM-UN

Figure 7. Number of refugees by major host countries as of 2016 (millions)

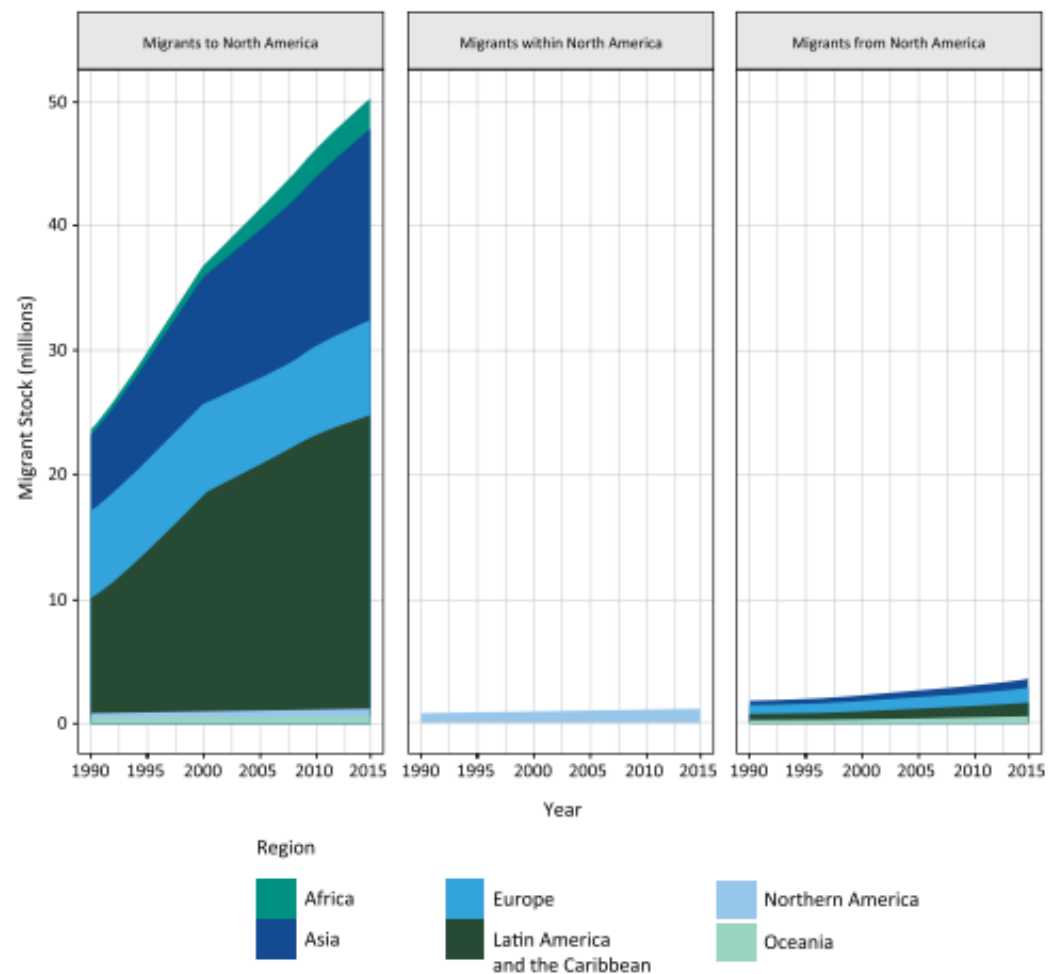


Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018, IOM-UN

Source: UNHCR, n.d. (accessed on 18 July 2017).

Note: Lines indicate five-year trends and crosses indicate a single year's data.

Figure 17. Migrants to, within and from Northern America between 1990 and 2015



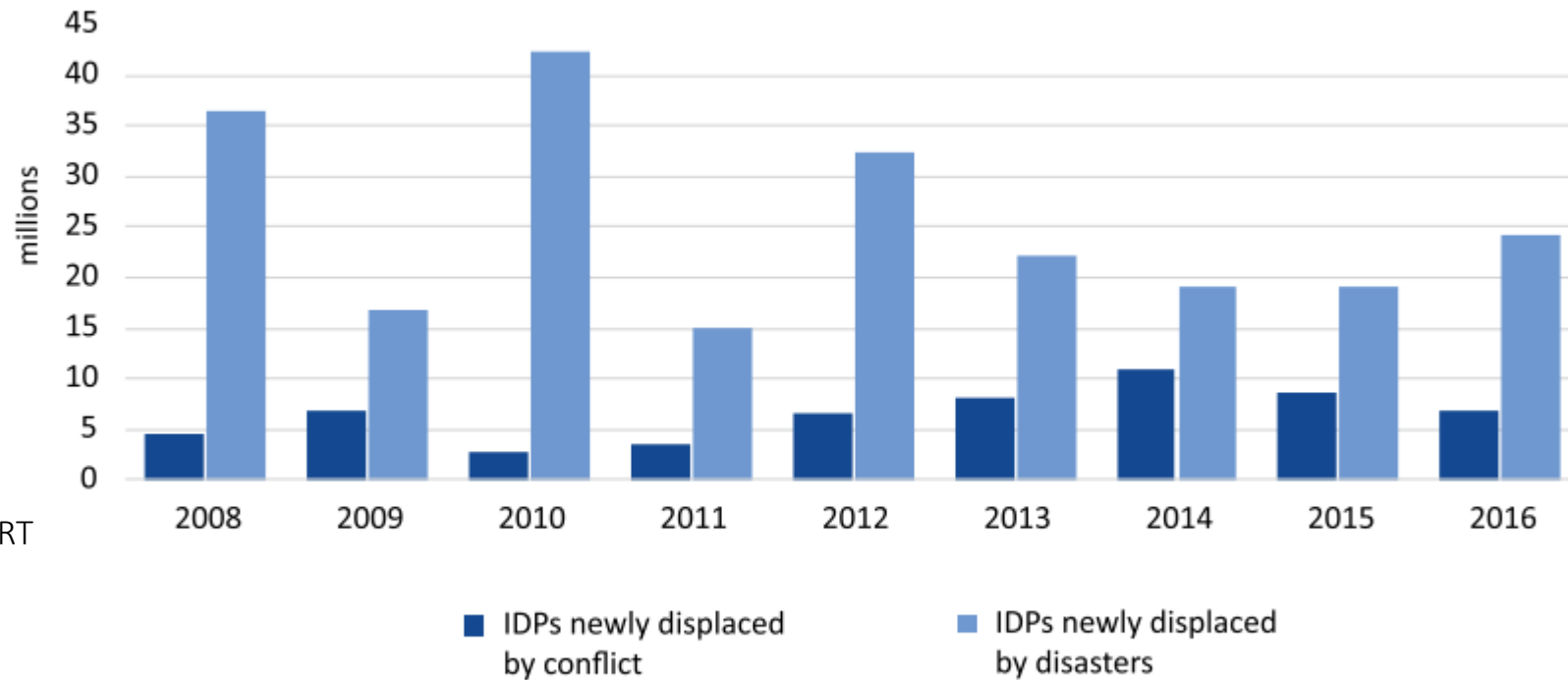
Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018 , IOM-UN

Source: UN DESA, 2015a.

Note: "Migrants to Northern America" refers to migrants residing in the region (i.e. Northern America) who were born in one of the other regions (e.g. Europe or Asia). "Migrants within Northern America" refers to migrants born in the region (i.e. Northern America) and residing outside their country of birth, but still within the Northern American region. "Migrants from Northern America" refers to people born in Northern America who were residing outside the region (e.g. in Europe or Africa).

Internally displaced people

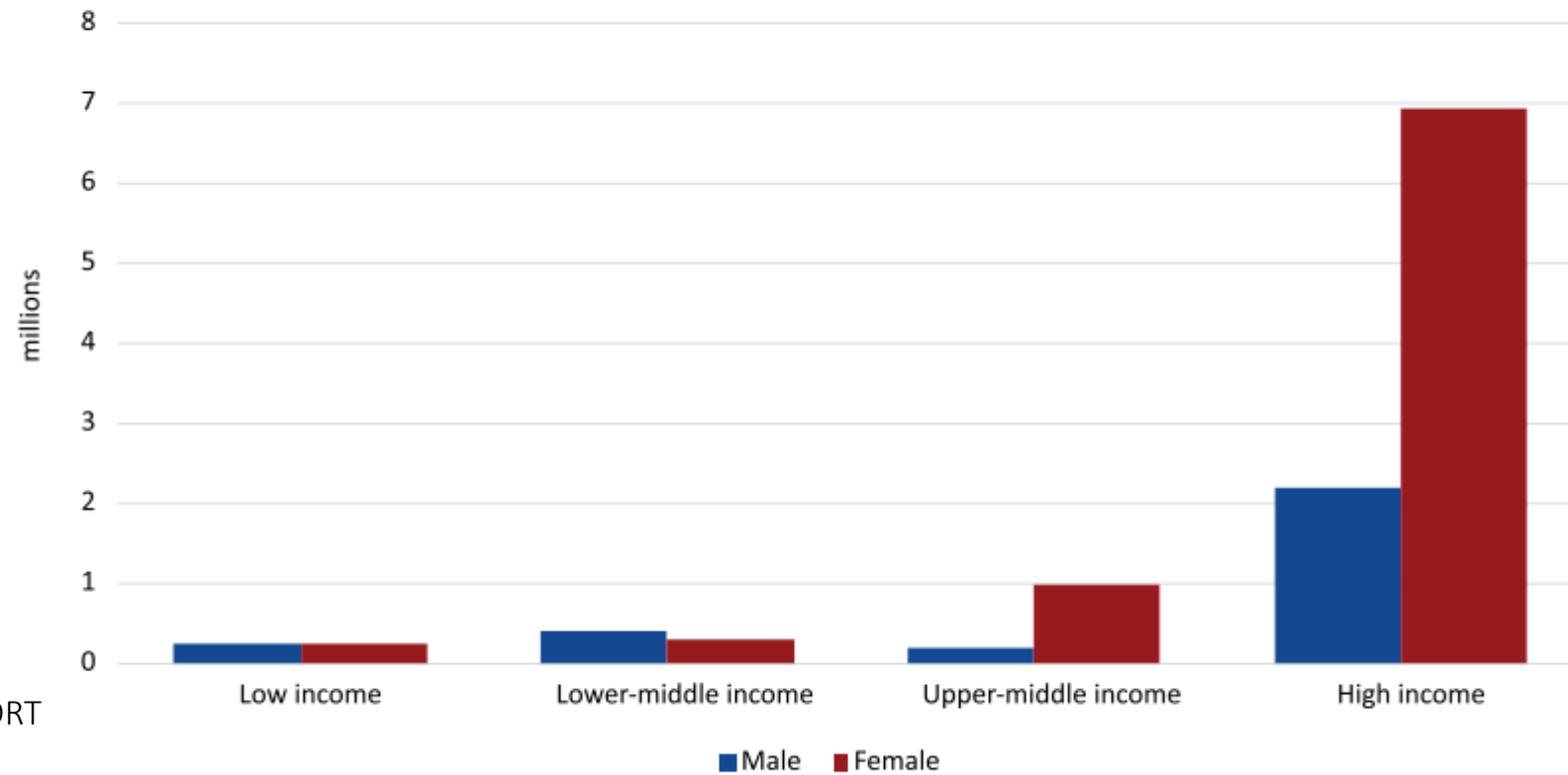
Figure 9. Newly displaced IDPs (millions)



Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018, IOM-UN

Source: IDMC, n.d. (accessed on 23 June 2017).

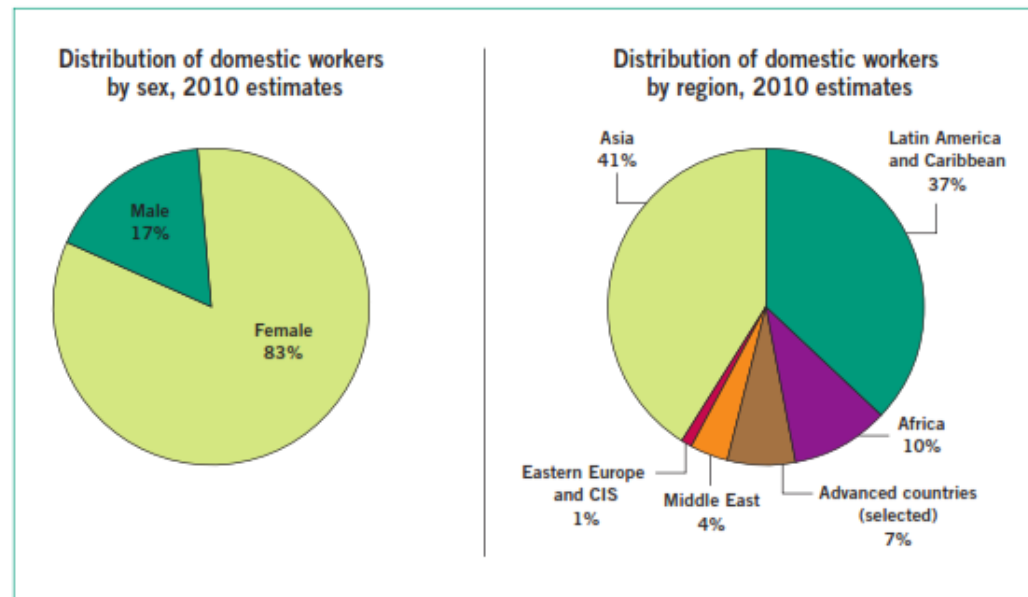
Figure 5. Migrant domestic workers by destination country income level and sex as of 2013
(millions)



Fonte: WORLD
MIGRATION REPORT
2018, IOM-UN

Source: ILO, 2015.

Figure 3.1 Distribution of domestic workers by sex and region, 2010



Note: See Appendix I for detailed information on the methodology that was used to obtain the global and regional estimates and Appendix II for national source statistics.

Source: ILO estimates based on data from official sources.

Fonte: OIT (2013) Domestic workers across the world.

Table 3.1 Global and regional estimates on the number of domestic workers in 2010, by sex

PANEL A. BOTH SEXES

	Domestic workers	Domestic workers as percentage of total employment	Domestic workers as percentage of paid employees
Developed countries	3 555 000	0.8	0.9
Eastern Europe and CIS	595 000	0.3	0.4
Asia and the Pacific	21 467 000	1.2	3.5
excluding China	12 077 000	1.2	4.7
Latin America and Caribbean	19 593 000	7.6	11.9
Africa	5 236 000	1.4	4.9
Middle East	2 107 000	5.6	8.0
Total	52 553 000	1.7	3.6

PANEL B. FEMALES

	Female domestic workers	Female domestic workers as percentage of female employment	Female domestic workers as percentage of female paid employees
Developed countries	2 597 000	1.3	1.4
Eastern Europe and CIS	396 000	0.4	0.5
Asia and the Pacific	17 464 000	2.5	7.8
excluding China	9 013 000	2.6	11.8
Latin America and Caribbean	18 005 000	17.4	26.6
Africa	3 835 000	2.5	13.6
Middle East	1 329 000	20.5	31.8
Total	43 628 000	3.5	7.5

Table 3.2 Estimates of number of children in domestic work by age and sex, 2008

Age group and sex	Children in domestic work	Children in employment	Children in domestic work as percentage of children in employment
5–11 years	3 514 000	91 024 000	3.9
Boys	1 430 000	49 490 000	2.9
Girls	2 084 000	41 534 000	5.0
12–14 years	3 880 000	85 428 000	4.5
Boys	1 069 000	49 679 000	2.2
Girls	2 811 000	35 749 000	7.9
15–17 years	8 131 000	129 217 000	6.3
Boys	1 694 000	76 608 000	2.2
Girls	6 436 000	52 609 000	12.2
Total 5–17 years	15 525 000	305 669 000	5.1
Boys	4 193 000	175 777 000	2.4
Girls	11 331 000	129 892 000	8.7

Source: ILO Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (IPEC/SIMPOC).

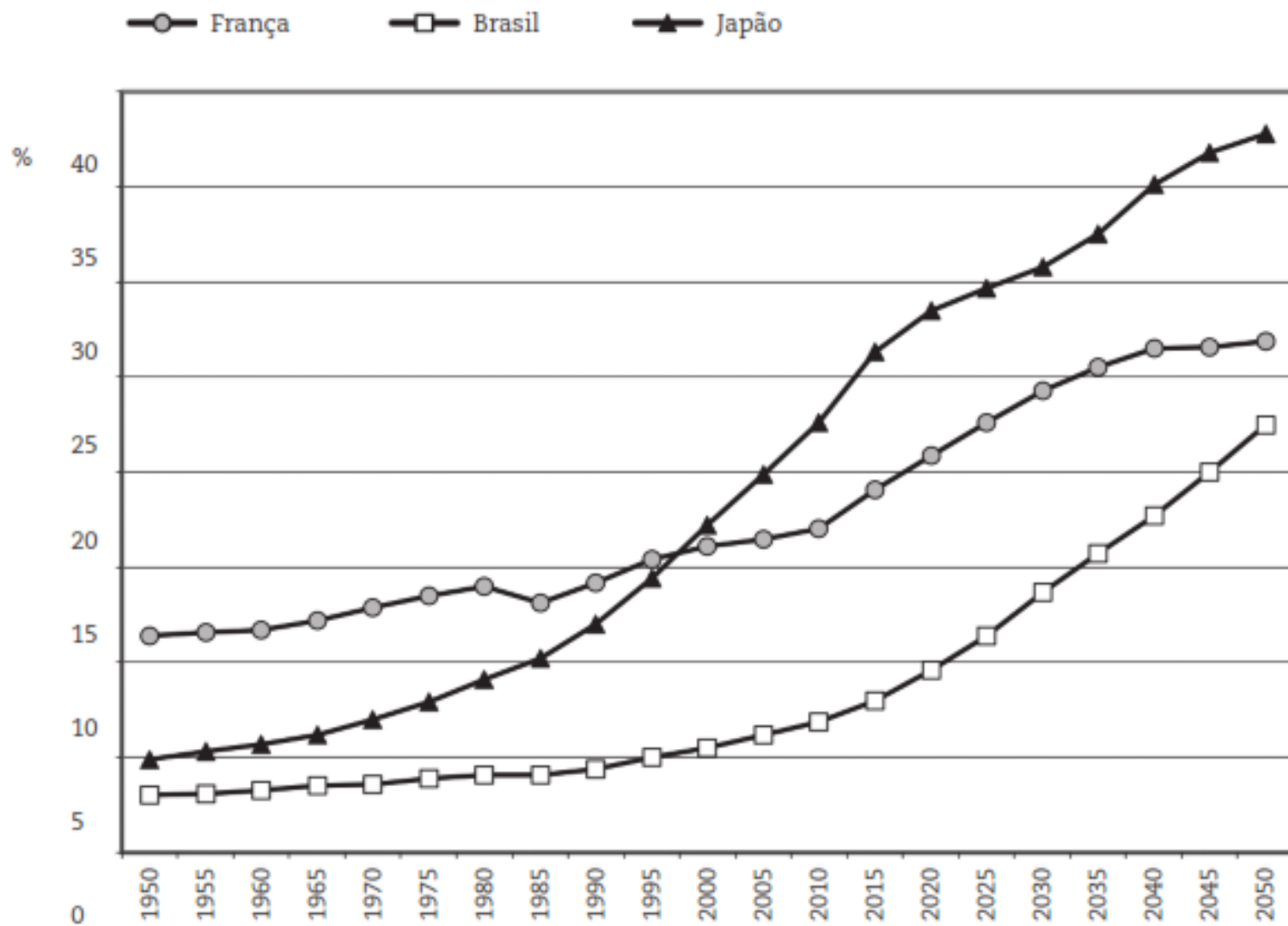


Gráfico 1: População com 65 anos e mais: 1950–2050

França, Brasil, Japão

Fonte: World Population Prospect — The 2008 Revision Population Database

Care e feminilidade

Não sem razão vemos que a sociologia do gênero e os *gender studies desde muito cedo se preocuparam com a questão*, na medida em que a divisão sexual do trabalho de *care*, a *mobilização da masculinidade* e da feminilidade, ou ainda da afetividade, se encontram no coração da conceituação do *care*. (...) **a emergência do *care* como profissão implica o reconhecimento e a valorização do trabalho doméstico e do trabalho familiar como “trabalho”**; em outras palavras, a associação do trabalho do *care* com uma profissão feminina deixa de ser natural.

Terceira Idade

observa-se em muitos países asiáticos uma divisão de trabalho entre, por um lado, **mães e avós que cuidam das crianças** e, por outro, domésticas às quais são delegadas as demais tarefas, como limpeza, lavagem das roupas, compras etc. Essa mudança estaria ligada à valorização, relativamente recente nesses países, da educação das crianças. Quanto ao cuidado dos idosos, Ochiai relata uma tendência oposta. **Enquanto o papel das domésticas com relação ao *care* direcionado às crianças está diminuindo, vem aumentando o *care* voltado aos idosos**, de modo a sugerir uma provável mudança nas normas sociais: quando as filhas e filhos adultos financiam uma doméstica para o *care domiciliar* de um pai dependente, são considerados/as cumpridores/as de seu dever filial.

Ainda o trabalho doméstico

(...) analisando os dados da Pesquisa Emprego e Desemprego (PED) para a região metropolitana de São Paulo em 2008, tivemos acesso a 7 mil registros de entrevistadas, as quais, com base nas informações obtidas sobre a natureza do seu trabalho, poderiam ser classificadas como trabalhadoras do *care*. *A análise de como essas pessoas descreviam a sua própria ocupação e, nesse sentido, percebiam a si próprias do ponto de vista profissional, mostrou que a maioria delas — embora desempenhando tarefas de *care* — se auto-identificava como “empregada doméstica”, antes que como “cuidadoras”.*

Mercado fechado

No caso japonês, o governo proíbe a introdução de mão de obra estrangeira não qualificada. Por isso mesmo, são as mulheres adultas autóctones que asseguram a oferta de mão de obra para a assistência domiciliar ao idoso. Segundo pesquisa realizada pelo *Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training* (2003), as mulheres representavam nada menos que **96% dos 11.239 helpers e coordinators engajados nas 854 instituições que, em 2002, prestavam serviços de assistência domiciliar.** Dessas mulheres, cerca de 70% estavam concentradas na faixa etária de 40 – 69 anos. (...) Apenas 20% das *helpers trabalhavam* como assalariadas regulares, ou seja, com contratos por prazo indeterminado, em tempo integral, enquanto 30% trabalhavam em tempo parcial com horários fixos. Cerca de 40% eram registradas e solicitadas em horários variáveis, conforme as necessidades dos seus clientes.

- Na França, há três modalidades de emprego de trabalhadoras do *care* e domésticas: emprego direto, que estabelece um vínculo empregatício imediato entre um particular e um empregado; *mandataire*, em que ocorre a intermediação de um organismo (...)); e *prestataire*, quando o organismo é o patrão das trabalhadoras do *care* e domésticas (que administra a mão de obra e a coloca à disposição do particular).

- Essas trabalhadoras, no Brasil, são migrantes internos; no Japão, são mulheres relativamente idosas; na França, destacam-se as pessoas de origem estrangeira ou seus descendentes. Nos três casos, os salários são baixos, e a perspectiva de carreira é muito limitada. Assim, seria possível inferir que esse mercado do *care parece ser regido, nos três casos, por um princípio de desigualdade* (homens/mulheres, migrantes/não migrantes etc.).