Satisfied after all? Working trajectories and job satisfaction of immigrant domestic workers in Italy.

Keywords: job satisfaction, working trajectories, migrants, women, Italy.

1. Introduction

Domestic work[1] is estimated to be a source of employment for at least 2.5 million workers in Europe, most of whom are migrant women (ILO, 2013). Whereas the most rapid increase in the importance of migrant women in the domestic service sector in recent decades has been in countries characterized by residual forms of welfare provision, this phenomenon is also increasingly important in other contexts, both in Europe - in the UK, Germany and Austria - and elsewhere, such as in Japan, Korea, Canada and the United States, Turkey and the Middle East, becoming a global issue (Akalin, 2015; Ambrosini 2014; Michel and Peng, 2012, Spencer et al., 2010; Parreñas 2001).

Some of the explanations for this increasing internationalization of domestic labour are well established. Scholars have repeatedly emphasised that in order to explain the creation of such large numbers of employment opportunities in the domestic services for female migrant workers, we must look at the dynamic relationships, within the developed countries, between on the one hand the social and demographic transformations they experienced over recent decades and, on the other hand, their migration regimes (Andall, 2012; Cancedda, 2001; Salis, 2014). The match between the demand for domestic services from families and the availability of a low cost immigrant labour force gave rise to a "global care chain" that links countries in an international division of domestic

[1] One of the most important problems in the study of domestic work is the lack of universally applied statistical definitions for domestic workers (Gallotti and Mertens 2013). In this study we will adopt the definition of domestic worker given in the International Labour Organisation Convention No. 189 (ILO, 2011). Under the Convention, a domestic worker is "any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship". This work may include tasks such as cleaning the house, cooking, washing and ironing clothes, taking care of children, or elderly or sick members of a family, gardening, guarding the house, driving for the family, even taking care of household pets. The C189 further specifies that a domestic worker may work on full-time or part-time basis; may be employed by a single household or by multiple employers; may be residing in the household of the employer (live-in worker) or may be living in his or her own residence (live-out). This paper follows this standard definition, and therefore includes among domestic workers those care workers who are employed by families and are sometimes categorized separately.

labour (Parreñas, 2000) and, from the receiving countries' points of view, to new patterns of care, nation-specific, informal and self-managed (Michel and Peng, 2012; Bettio et al., 2006; Ambrosini, 2014).

The emergence of a "domestic work issue" has also gained importance at the political level, and both national and international actors have recently become engaged in it. The specific nature of this type of employment, involving large numbers of undocumented migrants and/or workers irregularly employed[2], performed mainly in private households and often on a live-in basis, has given rise to general concern about the vulnerability of this particular category of workers (Ambrosini, 2014; ILO, 2011 & 2013; Mantouvalou, 2012). The extension of social security to migrant domestic workers is made particularly challenging by the prevalence of discrimination and inequality of treatment with other workers, by their low level of unionisation and by the difficulties involved in ensuring appropriate forms of workplace inspections (ILO, 2013). A milestone of fundamental importance on the road to improving the working and living conditions of migrant domestic workers, to setting minimum labour standards and to promoting their integration in the countries of destination was achieved by the 189th Domestic Workers Convention (C189), a treaty adopted by the International Labour Conference in 2011, along with its accompanying Recommendation 201 which was specifically aimed at promoting 'decent work and rights at work' (ILO, 2011).

While some features of domestic work are quite clear and documented, many scholars have recently emphasised how the specific situation of migrant domestic workers in Europe remains under-researched and poorly understood (Gallotti and Mertens, 2013). The lack of proper data is one of the main reasons for this shortcoming: the information available on migrants in this job market sector is uneven across European countries and insufficient for comparative analysis. Most of the

[2] Henceforth we use the term 'undocumented migrants' to refer to migrants who do not have a legal right to residence in the state to which they have migrated. Within this term we include both those who entered the country legally but whose status has subsequently become illegal, such as students, temporary workers, rejected asylum seekers, or tourists, and those who entered illegally, either by crossing a border undetected or with false documents. We will use the term 'irregular workers' to define women who are hired by families without a formal labor contract (Levinson, 2005).

available studies so far have been carried out with qualitative country-based data and only a few have used quantitative data (Suleman, 2014; Fuller, 2014). Recent policy recommendations by international organizations have called for new Europe–wide research on the numbers, profiles and characteristics of migrants in domestic work, including their ranges of responsibility and their working conditions (Gallotti and Mertens, 2013:23). Our study might be regarded as a response to this need for further knowledge. It analyses working trajectories of domestic workers in Italy and it makes a further step towards understanding the phenomenon by analyzing job satisfaction, a dimension that has been almost overlooked in the debate about domestic workers.

This paper proceeds as follows: the next section describes the theoretical and empirical background of our research, and the third clarifies its contribution to the field of study. The fourth section presents the data and the methods used in the analysis and sections five and six present, respectively, the results and the discussion and conclusions.

2.Theoretical and empirical background

Domestic work continues, worldwide, to be easily and readily available to migrants in developed countries (Gallotti and Mertens, 2013). The rapid growth of this job sector is the consequence of the serious challenges these societies are facing in responding to the large and growing demand for services to families. The extent to which this demand is satisfied by female migrants varies between countries, but they represent almost everywhere a significant proportion of both the female foreign employment and of the workforce available in these sectors (Salis, 2014, Spencer et al., 2010). Many scholars have pointed out how the number of foreign domestic workers needed in each country is the result of the interrelation of many factors inherent to advanced societies. Demographic trends are among the most important, in particular the rising number of elderly affected by chronic diseases, the persistence of low fertility levels, the declining size of households and the transformation of family structures and living arrangements. All these factors have resulted in a reduction of the number of caregivers available within families (Fullin and Vercelloni, 2009;

Bettio et al., 2006, Spencer et al., 2010). At the same time social transformation, and in particular the increasing levels of education among women and their consequent participation in the labour market, have also exacerbated the crisis of the traditional systems of informal care (Bettio et al., 2006; Parreñas, 2001). This structural demand for carers has not generally been catered for by state welfare systems that, on the contrary, in the face of severe financial problems are reducing the direct provision of care services, creating substantial numbers of openings for private home-based care work (Salis, 2014).

The growing demand for services has not, however, led to proportionately equal numbers of openings to migrant workers in all countries. While non-European countries, such as Japan or Korea, reacted with policies aimed at the empowerment of the native population such as by enhancing pronatalist measures, by taking actions intended to ease the reconciliation of work and family responsibilities and by expanding public childcare, according to Michel and Peng (2012) "no other countries have been as open to foreign workers as Spain or Italy". In addition, the increased female participation in paid employment in western countries has not been matched by an equal redistribution of tasks within couples nor, in many countries, by an adequate growth of public services for families (Gonalons-Pons 2015; Anxo et al., 2011; Evertsson and Nermo, 2007; Fuwa, 2004).

Migration policies have also played a crucial role. While most governments, including those of Asian and American countries, began to implement care-related migration schemes, Mediterranean countries largely resorted to the toleration of undocumented immigration by, and repeated amnesties of, people employed in care work (Ambrosini, 2014; Fullin and Vercelloni, 2009).

Consequently, although countries differ greatly in how far they continue to rely on or promote informal care and in how quickly they are moving towards professional care, families at all social levels have become increasingly dependent on migrant domestic workers, who are a common feature of labour markets across the advanced societies, especially in southern Europe (Gallotti and Mertens, 2013, Näre, 2012; Bettio and Verashcaghina, 2010, Simonazzi, 2009; Huang et al., 2012).

The interplay of push and pull factors has given rise in destination countries to a highly feminized and largely informal sector which contains significant numbers of irregular workers and which has become “a magnet” for new undocumented migrants, constituting as it does a fairly acceptable solution for newcomers (Ambrosini 2014). During the first phase of settlement jobs in the domestic sector, especially if they offer a live-in arrangement, enable workers to meet several needs at once: secure accommodation, protection from document checks and the opportunity to save a large proportion of their wages (Ambrosini 2014; Triandafyllidou 2013).

Another crucial feature is the segmentation along ethnic lines of the tasks performed by domestic workers and of the likelihood of finding a job outside the sector (Gallotti and Mertens, 2013; Authors, 2014). This is because ethnic networks play a key role in the recruitment phase, which largely draws upon informal channels, frequently by word-of-mouth dissemination of information about jobs or by co-nationals being introduced directly as the replacement for a worker temporary leaving a particular post (Behtoui, 2008; Seibel and van Tubergen 2013, Castagnone et al., 2013, Bagaglini, 2010). The role of networks has been evaluated by scholars in ambivalent terms: on the one hand it is indeed central in facilitating access to the labour market but on the other hand it contributes to ethnic segregation in this sector (Gallotti and Mertens, 2013). These networks also tend to reduce the possibilities of exiting the domestic sector (Authors, 2014), consequently limiting the women’s access to valuable social resources and to higher status employment, reinforcing the concentration of migrants in lower status jobs and their exposure to job instability, to underemployment (in the form of part-time work, multiple employers or temporary arrangements) and to substandard working conditions (e.g. Bettio el at., 2006; del Rio and Alonso-Villar, 2012; Fullin and Vercelloni, 2009; Bethoui, 2008; Tognetti Bordogna, 2004).

Domestic workers have been clearly conceptualized as a vulnerable population (ILO, 2013;2014; Fernandez and de Regt, 2014, Mantouvalou, 2012), with women often depicted as ‘passive victims’. Low wages drive them out of their own countries, networks channel them into segregated labour markets and, as a result, their strategies are mostly limited to survival tactics (Borjas 1989;

Harris 1996; Morrison and Sacchetto, 2014). Less emphasis has been placed on their capacity for agency (Piper and Roces, 2003): forms of resistance and adaptation have been studied (Constable 1997), as have the strategies adopted for managing transnational motherhood (Tungohan 2013, Parrenas 2005, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997) and the processes involved in the negotiation of spaces, the so called "dislocation of non belonging" (Parreñas, 2001). However, the agency and resilience of domestic workers also need to be considered in terms of their response to vulnerability and of their capacity for long term planning. The widely available opportunity of being hired as a domestic worker offers both the chance to enter the labour market easily and a strategy for the family's long term upward socio-economic mobility. While the first phase is indeed often characterized by a high degree of vulnerability and the pressure to accept the so called "logic of domesticity", including irregular work, long hours, low pay and limited autonomy and privacy (Condon et al, 2013), it should also be seen as the first step in a planned migration pattern. Over time migrants adopt a number of individual and collective strategies to improve their employment situations and their lives. Migrants' trajectories reveal the conscious pursuit of stable employment, a process that has been theorized as the non-linear, non-automatic but still possible "transition" from the "logic of domesticity" to "the logic of profession" (Condon et al, 2013; Gallotti and Mertens, 2013). Therefore, following working trajectories - through an often black or grey market - and evaluating job satisfaction can be expected to shed light on these processes of agency.

3. The contribution of the current study

Given this theoretical background, the aim of this study is to shift attention from the crucial but much-studied issue of vulnerability to the underestimated issue of agency, using a descriptive and quantitative approach. The first aim of our study is to analyse professional paths by following the working trajectories of foreign-born women whose first job in Italy was in the domestic sector. Most studies about the domestic sector employ a cross-sectional perspective and a qualitative

approach, denying researchers the opportunity to highlight and quantify different trajectories (Condon et al. 2013; Castagnone et al. 2013, Fuller 2014; Vidal-Coso and Miret-Gamundi 2014).

We will quantify the frequency and the characteristics of each trajectory, checking whether our results are consistent with common assumptions in the literature (e.g., the prevalence and desirability of trajectories heading from live-in to live-out jobs; Condon et al. 2013; Ambrosini 2014).

The second aim is to analyse job satisfaction. As domestic jobs have been categorised as unskilled and undesirable - jobs from which the native labour force is fleeing - few studies exist on job satisfaction among migrant domestic workers. Results from the few existing studies, looking in most cases at caregivers, however, underline how this type of job, whose logic is "pre-modern" and in which the special relationship between employer and employee is often highly emotional, personalized and characterized by mutual dependency (Hochschild, 1983; Stacey, 2011), can be source of job satisfaction for workers when a fair employment situation and basic rights are guaranteed[3]. The very few existing studies show clearly that job satisfaction was positively related to the worker's qualifications, to the characteristics of the workplace, and to the quality of relationships. Other factors associated with higher levels of job satisfaction were a higher degree of integration (longer stay in the country of migration, better fluency in the local language, good living conditions), a more positive self-assessment in terms of caregiving skills and less disruptive behaviour on the part of the person(s) cared for (Iecovich, 2011; Bai et al. 2013; Chowdhury and Gutman, 2012). Another comparative study conducted on different categories of migrant workers, including domestic workers, found no evidence of differences between the mean satisfaction rating and general job satisfaction across workers in different sectors (Bonache, 2005).

Our study will also pay special attention to the consequences of having what will be defined as an embedded citizenship background (see section 4.3). In order to do so we will analyse the case study of Italy.

---

[3] As will be specified hereinafter we will use a sample that is selected in terms of employment status, (i.e. all the interviewees hold a regular job at the time of the survey, which allows us to posit the hypothesis that these workers enjoy some basic job security.

The Italian situation is not exceptional in Europe. As in other countries of the continent the demand for female migrant workers in the domestic sector has increased significantly over recent decades, and is expected to continue to increase in the future (Blangiardo et al., 2014). According to the most recent available data, in 2011 the number of regular foreign female domestic workers was almost 766,000 (INPS, 2013) out of a total number of domestic workers, including those on irregular contracts, of almost 1.655 million (CENSIS, 2013). According to Censis estimates (2013), only 36.8% of foreign domestic workers had a regular contract (with paid holiday, Christmas bonus, sick pay and full social security contributions), 20.2% had a completely irregular job and 42.9% had a semi-irregular job (their employers do not respect the national contract or they paid only some of the required state social security contributions). The likelihood of being employed with a regular contract varies according to the number of employers: domestic workers employed by a single household have higher rates of regular employment.

With regard to Italy we are not aware of other studies analysing either working trajectories of domestic workers or their rates of job satisfaction.[4]

4.Data, Methods, Definitions and Measurement.

4.1 Data

The data used for this nation-wide study were collected as part of the PER.LA (*Percorsi Lavorativi degli stranieri* – Foreigners' Job Trajectories) project, financed by the European Integration Fund 2007-2013, by the Italian Ministry of Work and Social Policies and by the Italian Home Office. The survey was conducted during 2009 by the Foundation for Initiatives and Studies on Multi-Ethnicity (ISMU) on 13,000 female and male migrants aged 18 and over, living in Italy at the time of the interview and born in the main countries of emigration (ISMU et al. 2010).

---

[4] Some recent studies considered only some points in the trajectory, such as first and last jobs in Italy, or current job and previous job (e.g. Censis, 2013; Fullin et al., 2009; Castagnone et al., 2015)

Since the point of our study is to analyse the working trajectories of domestic workers, only women who had at least 5 years of work experience in Italy and had their first job in the domestic sector after migration (see paragraph 4.3 for definition) were selected from the original female sample. In addition, in order to reduce the bias from memory effect and to have a more homogenous sample, we selected only women who arrived after 1989. The final subsample used for this analysis is made up of 1,453 subjects. Henceforth all the analysis and results shown relate only to the women in this subsample.

Before proceeding, it seems wise to point out two limitations of the present study.

The first is that, as we analyse trajectories using a retrospective approach, we should account for bias due to the selection effect. In fact only women who survived and did not re-emigrate could be included in the sample.

Secondly, as was pointed out in footnote 3, if we are to contextualize our results correctly it is important to remember that our target population consists exclusively of migrants with a regular contract of employment at the time of the interview. As a consequence, information is lacking about undocumented, irregularly employed or unemployed migrants at the time of the interview. Our findings should not be extended to those women who are in the weakest positions, without regular job status and/or migration status, two factors commonly cited in the literature as preventing access to enhanced protection and improved working conditions (Gallotti and Mertens, 2013).

4.2 Methods

In order to analyse the professional pathways of domestic workers, we used the sequence analysis technique introduced by Abbott in 1995 and frequently employed for the analysis of working trajectories, including among migrants (Fuller, 2014; Fuller and Martin 2012; Kogan 2007). Such a model allows us to consider the entire employment pathway without limiting the analysis to one time point, and to reflect "the interplay of opportunity and barriers" (Fuller and Martin 2012: 178).

Professional pathways are represented by the semester-based configuration of the type of job held from the date of first entrance into the Italian labour market. This configuration is analysed for the subsequent 10 semesters and for the subsequent 20 semesters [5]. The first analysis (A in Figure 1) is based on the whole subsample of 1,453 domestic workers who had a career long enough to cover 10 semesters (60% of women who enter the Italian job market and who have worked in the domestic sector) and the second analysis (B in Figure 1) is based on a smaller subsample of 447 domestic workers whose career covers 20 semesters. Given the reduced size of this second subsample and for reasons of space only the results of the first period will be presented in this paper, but it is worth underlining that the results based on 10-year time periods[6] confirm the conclusions of the main analysis and will be considered as a consistency check.

The state-space is designed to take nine possible values: live-in housekeeper, live-out housekeeper, caregiver for elderly people , childminder, health care assistant, industrial or craft worker, sales worker, hotel/restaurant/bar worker, other condition.

We employed Optimal Matching Analysis[7] (OMA) to compare each sequence with all the others (full comparison), obtaining a distance matrix. OMA operates by transforming a sequence into another one by using three operations: 1) insertion of a state 2) deletion of a state 3) substitution of a state. The rationale of the technique is that the fewer operations are required for this transformation, the more similar are the sequences. Since each operation has a cost, the distance between two sequences is the minimum total cost of transforming one sequence into another. For our topic we decided to establish an *ad hoc* substitution cost matrix, as previously done by Fuller (2014). In particular, we took into account two key distinctions. Firstly, we considered the cost in terms of the woman's residence (living in, or out of, the place of employment): thus we established that a change between live-in and live-out jobs (in both directions) has a higher cost than changes

[5] In order to have job sequences of the same length and to compare migrants with the same labor experience in Italy, we considered two different time spells spent by women in the Italian labor market, for those who had their first job in the domestic sector: the first 5 years and the first 10 years.

[6] The results are available upon request.

[7] The sequence analysis was performed in Stata using a package implemented by Brisnsky-Fay, Kohler and Luniak (2006).

within live-in or live-out jobs. Secondly, we distinguished between jobs in the domestic sector and outside it: a higher cost was attributed to job transitions out of the domestic sector than to internal shifts within the domestic sector or within other non-domestic sector related employments. The resulting matrix containing the costs of substitution is reported in Table 1.

[Table 1 about here]

In order to classify trajectories into homogeneous groups we applied standard reduction techniques to the obtained distance matrix. Following the approach of McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002), we performed a cluster analysis on the distance matrix obtained by the OMA, using Ward's algorithm and opting for a six cluster solution. These groups are distinguished on the basis of the most recurrent professional pathways and are then used to describe "typical" patterns of transitions.

Finally, in order to examine the relationship between the above professional pathways and job satisfaction outcomes while controlling for confounding variables, two logistic regression models[8] are used. These models include the characteristics of the trajectory, a set of time-invariant socio-economic status, and other migration related, control variables.

4.3 Definitions and Measurement

We will define as *domestic workers* all workers included in the C189 definitions (ILO, 2011, see footnote 1), and we further classified them under four headings: live-in housekeeper, live-out housekeeper, caregiver for elderly people and childminder. Although we are aware that these categories can sometimes overlap, the job to which each woman was allocated was the one that she herself declared.

In order to delineate the role of the ethnic networks we will use two definitions throughout the paper:

---

[8] Preliminarily we tested the hypothesis by using a multilevel model with citizenship of origin as second level variable, but the adaptation of the model did not show significant improvements as the effect of citizenship of origin is very much incorporated into trajectories. For this reason citizenship of origin is not considered as a covariate in the models.

1) We will define as women with an *embedded citizenships* in the domestic sector women from a citizenship *background* where 50 per cent or more of the female workforce of the community is hired in tasks and duties covered by the C189 definition, according to ISMU estimates[9]. Those are communities from Moldova, Ukraine, Philippines, Dominica, El Salvador, Bolivia, Perù and Ecuador.
2) We will consider a citizenship background as *over-represented* in the ith cluster resulting from the cluster analysis when the percentage of women with this citizenship background in the cluster i is more than 1.5 times the overall percentage of women in same cluster.

The dependent variable used in the logistic regression is "job satisfaction" (referring to the last job) coded 1="satisfied" and 0= "not satisfied" (baseline).

In the analysis we control for the main socio-economic control variables: years of schooling, age at the arrival and number of years since migration.

Independent variables related to employment situation are:

- the cluster of the working trajectory (6 clusters: Live-in domestic workers [reference], quick exit from live-out jobs, slower exit from live-out jobs, live-out to live-in domestic jobs, exit from live-in jobs, live-out jobs, exit from the domestic sector; see section 5.1),
- having a regular contract at the first job in Italy (yes – reference -, no);
- the recruitment method for the last job (informal [reference], formal as defined by Bethoui, 2008) ;
- wage level after 5 years (more than 800 euros [reference], less than 500 euros, between 500 and 800 euros)
- pre-migration employment situation (The woman had a previous job [reference], Other conditions).

Other information included in the analysis that usually correlates with job satisfaction are:

---

[9] This definition is similar to that of *ethnic niche* adopted by Wang and Pandit (2007). We estimate the incidence of domestic female workers for each nationality according to the 2010 ISMU Dataset (Blangiardo, 2011).

- the type of family (single [reference], couple without children, couple with children, single parent family, other),
- the location of other members of the family (all in Italy [reference], some members in Italy and some in the country of origin, all members in the country of origin)

5. Results

5.1 Sequence Analysis

The sequence analysis highlights the fact that most women are not mobile across the state space (see section 4.2). Figure 1 and 2 show how the majority of lines (where each line represents an individual) have only one colour. This means that, in most cases, the first type of job found after immigration is usually not temporary but the first step in a process of professional specialisation: more than half of the workers have had the same type of job throughout the first 5 years and nearly 40% of the workers throughout the first 10 years (Table 2).The degree of professional specialisation is higher among live-in workers, especially those who were initially recruited as caregivers for elderly people (Table 2).

[Figure 1 & Figure 2 about here]

The most frequently observed transition is from live-out housekeeper to caregiver for elderly people (5.1%) or live-in housekeeper (3.9%) or hotel/restaurant/bar worker (2.6%). One of the most striking results is that the trajectory from live-in to live-out domestic jobs, commonly considered by scholars to represent an upward step in one's career within the domestic sector (Condon et al., 2013; Ambrosini, 2014), applies to only a small proportion of women, regardless of the period considered: it represents only 3.2% after 5 years and 4.5% after 10 years.

[Table 2 about here]

[Figure 3 about here]

The cluster analysis identifies six different groups of working trajectories:

Cluster one: paths of quick exit from live-out jobs (n = 92, 6.3%);

Cluster two: slower exit from live-out jobs (n = 90, 6.2%);

Cluster three: trajectory within domestic sector from live-out job to live-in job (n = 165; 11.4%);

Cluster four: permanent live-in workers(n = 647; 44.5%);

Cluster five: exit from live-in jobs (n = 57; 3.9 %);

Cluster six: permanent live-out workers (n = 402; 27.7%).

A first set of observations arise from the analysis of how the trajectories combine into clusters and a second relates to the characteristics of the women in each cluster.

The analysis of the trajectories shows that crucial differences arise between paths that lead, at a certain point in time, out of the domestic sector (clusters 1, 2 and 5: overall 16.4% of the trajectories) and paths within the domestic sector (clusters 3, 4 and 6: overall 83.6% of the trajectories). More specifically, the first and second clusters share the same pattern but they differ in their timing. They consist of former domestic live-out workers who left the domestic sector for jobs in hotels, restaurants and bars. In the first cluster the transition occurs earlier (mean exit time 2.7 semesters) than in the second (mean exit time 5.4 semesters). The fifth cluster, the smallest[10], has the same final position as the first and second clusters but it consists of former live-in domestic workers who left the domestic sector after a longer stay (mean exit time 6.1 semesters).

As pointed out in a previous study undertaken on this data, the transition to outside the domestic sector is infrequent but it is definitive: once women have left this sector they usually stay outside it (Authors, 2014).

[10] It should be noted that, while performing the cluster analysis, even selecting models with a different number of clusters this little cluster continues to be separated from the others as it is the last cluster to be aggregated with the others when a small number of cluster is requested.

In the broader categories of trajectories inside the domestic sector, the most common are those that indicate a stability of state and therefore a sort of professionalization: they are permanent live-in jobs (cluster 4) and permanent live-out jobs (cluster 6). Cluster 3 represents the transition from live-out housekeeper to live-in housekeeper or caregiver for elderly people.

An understanding of the relations between working trajectories and the characteristics of the women in each cluster is crucial if we are to deepen our knowledge of the domestic sector.

One of the most important dimensions is the role of citizenship background. The high proportion of women with an embedded citizenship background in clusters characterized by paths inside the domestic sector is an indirect measure of the strength of the collective agency of the ethnic networks in their role of gatekeepers of the sector. As shown in Table 3, in the clusters with the highest proportions of non embedded citizenship background, communities that are not usually connected to domestic jobs (such as Chinese, North African and migrants from Indian subcontinent) are over-represented. Clusters 1, 2 and 5 show that trajectories out of domestic work are typical of women with a non-embedded citizenships background whose first jobs in the Italian job market were either irregular live-out jobs (cluster 1 and 2) or live-in jobs (cluster 5). These are likely to be women who arrived in Italy not intending to work in the domestic sector but who found that alternative options were limited (Castagnone et al., 2013; Bettio et al., 2006). Consistently women in these clusters display a greater use of formal methods of recruitment, which facilitate the transition to other (mainly low-skilled) occupations.

The relationship between domestic work and female patterns of migration is also crucial. Women starting to work immediately after immigration into Italy account for the majority of every cluster. This proportion can be regarded as an indication of the predominance in each cluster of economic or independent migrants. Women who migrate with a clear financial goal, and especially those who migrate alone, are compelled to find a job as soon as they can, and therefore are prepared to accept jobs as domestic workers, irrespective of their previous working background. Conversely the financial support of the spouse for family migrants in the settlement process has been shown to

contribute to women's upward labour mobility by easing the financial pressure they experience (Vono and Vidal-Coso, 2012; Authors, 2014). Consistently with this, these women are well represented in a cluster leading out of the domestic sector (# 5), where 32% of the women waited one year and 17% waited 2 or more years.

The number of jobs held by women since their arrival in Italy is also considered an important dimension of our analysis as domestic workers frequently use the strategy of changing employer within the same sector in order to obtain better pay or working conditions, demonstrating their capacity for agency (Ambrosini, 2013; Authors, 2014; Castagnone et al. 2013). This is confirmed also from our data (not reported in Table 3) that show that most changes from one job to another result from the search for better pay and/or conditions (41% of the women changed their last job due to a better job offer). Interestingly, live-in workers have a particularly low number of different jobs. After 5 years of working experience 40% of them were still working for the same family or employer and 47% had changed employer only once. This stability, along with the high percentage of women from embedded citizenship, suggests that the networks of co-nationals play a key role in introducing a well-chosen newcomer, from the same community, to a family when they need a new carer.

Finally our analysis shows that permanent live-out workers, despite their live-out situation, seem to be disadvantaged relative to permanent live-in workers, commonly considered the most segregated. In fact the majority started to work immediately on arrival, with a high percentage taking irregular work (62.5%). This is also the group with the lowest incomes (the income of 57% of workers is €800 or less per month), which is only partially attributable to the higher percentage of part-time employment.

Other characteristics of the clusters are listed in table 3. They do not substantially differ in their composition accordingly to women's educational level (11.5 years of school on average), their pre-migration employment situation (nearly 50% of women were in employment before migration), their age at arrival or the number of years since migration after 5 years of labour experience in Italy.

It is also worth underlining that all this holds even when we analyze trajectories over 20 semesters, as the majority of transitions between states occur at the beginning of the career.

[Table 3 about here]

5.2 Job satisfaction

Given that domestic work is commonly viewed in negative terms, it is striking to observe that most of the women whose whole career was in the domestic sector appear to be satisfied with their work[11] (Table 3).

The multivariate analysis provides further information about the determinants of job satisfaction (Table 4).

The aim of the first model (model 1) is to analyze the impact of the different trajectories on job satisfaction, controlling for other covariates. This is why it includes all women with at least 5 years of work in Italy who had their first job in the domestic sector.

---

[11] We should however re-emphasise that our results concern workers in a regular employment at the moment of the survey, that is, therefore, a subpopulation less exposed to the worst forms of exploitation. A propos of this, however, some scholars have stressed that, even when domestic workers attain regular status, they still find themselves in a vulnerable position as the loss of their job may throw them back into an irregular status, forcing them to accept low-paid jobs and exploitative working conditions (Castagnone et al., 2013).

The second model (model 2), on the other hand, focuses closely on the role of all covariates in the determination of job satisfaction among women who are still domestic workers at the time of the interview, and is therefore fit only on this latter group of women.

The results of Model 1 demonstrate that trajectories do matter in the determination of job satisfaction.

This is a result that particularly contrasts with part of the earlier literature. We expected women in permanent live-in positions to be the least satisfied workers. However, with the exception of women who made a quick exit from the domestic sector, only women who made the transition from "live-out domestic jobs to live-in domestic jobs" are more satisfied than permanent live-in workers. Moreover, women who have spent their whole career in live-out positions - generally considered to be the most desirable positions, as they facilitate the reconciliation of work and care for the family, giving migrants more autonomy - are significantly less satisfied than live-in workers, probably because they experience greater job insecurity since many workers in this positions work for many families at the same time.

The determinants of job satisfaction among domestic workers, as highlighted by Model 2, are mainly financial: lower income means lower satisfaction. Migrants without a pre-migration job are more satisfied with their job. This result can be attributable on the one hand to the empowerment within the family of women who have achieved a personal income for the first time (Ghosh 2009), and on the other hand to not being able to make that comparison with previous employment experience which might have caused a lower level of satisfaction or a sense of social demotion. The status of the contract (regular/irregular) in the first job does not affect satisfaction: the financial factor is more determinant. Maximization of income seems to be the aim of domestic workers in Italy regardless of working conditions and status.

Factors related to the family - both whether or not there is a family and where the family is, geographically - also play a central role in determining job satisfaction. When migrants have neither financial nor psychological and emotional responsibility towards their family (usually the single

migrant) the propensity to job satisfaction is higher than for migrants with a partner and/or children. Moreover, relative to having all the family reunited, all or some of them being in another country leads to dissatisfaction. These results, reflecting the association between job satisfaction and life satisfaction, accord with findings in previous studies (Iecovich, 2011; Bai et al. 2013; Chowdhury and Gutman, 2012). Conversely, women living in transnational families, and thus bearing the burden of guaranteeing the survival of the family, show lower levels of job satisfaction, as their income is never enough to compensate for the emotional and psychological costs of being separated from the rest of the family.

[table 4 about here]

6. Discussion and conclusion

The importance of the participation of migrant women in the domestic sector of destination countries is currently much studied and is regarded as a global issue involving a complex interrelation of factors. The aim of this study is to analyze some dimensions that are usually overlooked due to the lack of data, such as working trajectories and job satisfaction.

The results for Italy, one of the countries with a large presence of migrant women in the domestic sector, indicate that their particular professional roles are to some extent determined along ethnic lines by the role their communities play in gatekeeping the sector. Opportunities to deviate from the trajectories typical of the community of origin are very scarce in both senses: coming from a country with a high concentration of workers in the domestic sector steers women strongly towards a career in this sector while women from other communities are more likely to leave the sector, as they are not “expected” to be domestic workers simply by virtue of their ethnic background. The country of origin is therefore determinant and discriminant. The Italian labour market, characterised by a high degree of segmentation and a large and widespread informal economy (Fullin and Reyneri, 2011), reinforces the central role of ethnic networks in the dissemination of information and in the recruitment of compatriots. These factors both strengthen and are strengthened by

stereotypes among native Italians such as the widespread belief that Filippinos "are the best live-in housekeepers", while East European or Latin American migrants "are particularly suited to looking after the elderly" (Triandafyllidou, 2013; Ambrosini 2013b). Entry into the job market in the domestic sector in Italy is more likely to become an 'accepted trap', especially for women belonging to embedded communities, than to be a possible *stepping stone* towards better job opportunities (Scherer, 2004; Morrison and Sacchetto, 2014). As exit rates from the domestic sector are low, migrants adopt different strategies to improve their employment situation by means of professionalization (in which area Italy differs from Spain; Vidal-Coso and Miret-Gamundi, 2014), by changing employers and by renegotiating pay and working conditions on the basis of good references from former employers. We argue, however, that if we are to understand fully these trajectories and their relationship with job satisfaction, a broader view needs to be adopted. Attention should continue to be paid to, and concern expressed about, cases of exploitation, violence and violation of workers' rights, but we should also remember that entering and remaining in the job market with a position in the domestic sector can also be seen as an expression of the women's agency and migration strategy. From these perspectives, the role of the ethnic networks in reinforcing and defending their positions as gatekeepers of the domestic sector can be seen as a collective form of agency.

The analysis of job satisfaction gives us a hint of this agency: when, as in our case, basic conditions such as regularity of employment are met, job satisfaction among domestic workers is at quite a high level (80% of migrant women who moved to another sector are satisfied with their last job). This is true even among women who specialized as live-in workers, a position often regarded as one of the hardest and most isolating ones, one from which migrants tend to escape as soon as they can, moving towards live-out domestic jobs, a move which is commonly regarded as a career advancement (Parreñas 2001). Therefore, we suggest, in order to understand fully these high levels of job satisfaction among immigrant domestic workers we should put aside the destination country's standards of judgment and the low level of social desirability commonly ascribed to these

jobs by the natives, and consider other factors. For migrants, and especially for women who have left their children in their country of origin, the job is part of a broader personal and family project in which goals other than the western idea of a high level "career" may well be more important. According to our results, the job satisfaction of migrants is driven mainly by their performance in monetary terms. Even if the wage is not very high it can be enough to meet the expectations related to the migration goals. For breadwinners of transnational families remittances are important for maintaining both the women themselves and their families back home, paying for children's education, and buying houses and goods. Women, as a consequence, can obtain social prestige in the country of origin rather than reaching a higher social status in the country of emigration. They are also likely to gain decision-making power within the family and autonomy (Ghosh 2009), an aspect that is likely to be particularly valued because, as our study showed, a substantial proportion of the women whose first job was in the domestic sector in Italy, and who were therefore financially dependent on other family members before emigration. From this perspective even the high levels of job satisfaction among women who moved from live-out jobs to live-in positions are easily understandable. Live-out work often entails having more than one employer at the same time, with sizeable extra costs both in terms of time and money for transport and for accommodation. Hence live-in jobs, although they are more segregated, enable migrants to save more money, the main aim of labour-migrant women.

Our study also shows that the presence of the family is strongly associated with job satisfaction, suggesting an association with higher levels of satisfaction with life generally and with integration in society, as the presence of the family is usually correlated with higher levels of integration (Forbes Martin, 2004, Bonjour and Kraler, 2014). Being employed regularly, as is the case of all the women in our sample, also equates, for non EU citizens, with securing their legal status and should be regarded as another key factor contributing to job satisfaction. The literature on job satisfaction can complete this picture by suggesting other factors that are not included in our survey but that

should be included in future studies on this topic, such as greater satisfaction with living conditions or good relationships with employer and/or recipients of care.

It is important to stress that the relatively short length of our observation period (5 years) could affect our results: this short period probably prevents migrants from having other expectations and goals beyond securing their legal status, obtaining fair working conditions and an appropriate wage and providing for their family's needs. Many immigrants struggle to gain a secure position in the labour market as a result of limited language proficiency, of facing discrimination and of meeting difficulties in getting their qualifications recognized (Benton et al., 2014). Although our data show that the above results hold even when we expand the analysis to include women with 10 years of working in Italy, the small sample size suggests that we exercise some caution in extending the results to long term migrants. The job satisfaction of domestic workers with a longer career deserves to be analyzed in future studies: a longer period of observation could show that, in time, this segmented integration in the job market may begin to be felt as an entrapment, leading to the emergence in migrant women of new goals and needs such as the evaluation of personal skills and educational qualifications, a broader understanding of their working rights and the desire to explore the possibilities of more highly skilled employment.

References

Authors (2014).

Akalin, Ayse (2015). Motherhood as the value of labour. The Migrant Domestic Workers' Market in Turkey. Australian Feminist Studies, 30(83):65-81.

Ambrosini, M. (2013). Irregular Migration and Invisible Welfare. Palgrave Macmillan.

Ambrosini 2013b A Functional Offence. Irregular Immigration, Elderly Care Recipients, and Invisible Welfare MWG Papers 2013-14 San Domenico di Fiesole: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Ambrosini (2014) Irregular but tolerated: Unauthorized immigration, elderly care recipients, and invisible welfare Migrat Stud (2014) First published online: October 11, 2014

Andall J. (2012), “Gendered Mobilities and Work in Europe: An Introduction”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(4): 525-534.DOI:10.1080/1369183X.2013.745229

Anxo, D., Mencarini, L., Pailhé A., Solaz, A., Tanturri, M.L., and Flood, L. (2011). Gender Differences in Time Use over the Life Course in France, Italy, Sweden, and the US. *Feminist Economics* 17(3): 159-195.

Bagaglini M. (2010). Tra integrazione e subalternità: la mobilità lavorativa degli immigrati. Roma: Ediesse.

Bai, X., Kwok, T. C. Y., Chan, N. Y. T. and Ho, F. K. Y. (2013), Determinants of job satisfaction in foreign domestic helpers caring for people with dementia in Hong Kong. Health & Social Care in the Community, 21: 472–479.

Benton M., Sumption M., Alsvik K., Fratzke S., Kuptsch C. and Papademetriou G. (2014) Aiming Higher: Policies to Get Immigrants into Middle-Skilled Work in Europe. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute and International Labour Office.

Bethoui, A. (2008). Informal Recruitment Methods and Disadvantages of Immigrants in the Swedish Labour Market. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(3): 411-430.

Bettio F., Simonazzi A., and Villa P. (2006) “Change in care regimes and female migration: the 'care drain' in the Mediterranean”, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16:271-285.

Bettio, F. & Verashchagina, A. (2010). Long-Term Care for the elderly. Provisions and providers in 33 European countries. Rome, EU Expert Group on Gender and Employment (EGGE) – Fondazione G. Brodolini, Rome.

Billari, F.C., and Kohler, H.P. (2004). Patterns of low and lowest-low fertility in Europe. *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography* 58(2): 161-176.

Blangiardo G.C., Menonna A., Barbiano di Belgiojoso E, Forlani N. (2014) Household Projections and welfare. In Marsili M. and Capacci G. (eds.) Proceedings of the Sixth Eurostat/Unece Work Session on Demographic Projections. Eurostat Unece Istat pp. 272-286.

Blangiardo (2011) (ed.) L'immigrazione straniera in Lombardia. La decima indagine regionale. Rapporto 2010, Milan: Osservatorio Regionale per l'integrazione e la multi etnicità, Regione Lombardia.

Bonache J. (2005) "Job satisfaction among expatriates, repatriates and domestic employees: The perceived impact of international assignments on work-related variables", Personnel Review, Vol. 34 Iss: 1, pp.110 – 124.

Bonjour S., Kraler A. (2014) Introduction: Family Migration as an Integration Issue? Policy Perspectives and Academic Insights. Journal of Family Issues 35(1):1–26.

Borjas, G. J. (1989) 'Economic Theory and International Migration', International Migration Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 457-485.

Brisnsky-Fay C., Kohler U. and Luniak M. (2006), Sequence analysis with Stata, *The Stata Journal*, 6 (4): pp. 435–460

Cancedda A. 2001 Employment in Household services. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the European Communities.

Castagnone E., Salis E., and Premazzi V. (2013), "Promoting integration for migrant domestic workers in Italy", International Migration Papers, 115.

Castagnone E., Nazio T., Bartolini L., Shoumaker B., (2015) Understanding Transnational Labour Market Trajectories of African- European Migrants: Evidence from the MAFE Survey. *International Migration Review* 49(1): 200-231.

Censis (2013). Servizi alla persona e occupazione nel welfare che cambia, Roma http://www.censis.it/7?shadow_comunicato_stampa=120912

Chowdhury R. and Gutman G., 2012 Migrant Live-in Caregivers Providing Care to Canadian Older Adults: An Exploratory Study of Workers' Life and Job Satisfaction Journal of Population Ageing 5 (4):215-240

Condon S., Lada E., Charruault E. and Romanini A. (2013), "Promuovoir l'intégration des travailleuses et travailleurs domestiques migrants en France", *International Migration Papers*, 117.

Constable N. (1977) Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Filipina Workers. New York: Cornwell University Press.

del Rio C., and Alonso-Villar O. (2012). Occupational Segregation of Immigrant Women in Spain, Feminist Economics, 18(2):91-123.

M. Evertsson, M. Nermo (2007) Changing resources and the division of housework European Sociological Review, 23:455–470.

Fernandez B. and de Regt M., 2014 Migrant Domestic Workers in the Middle East: The Home and the World. New York: Palgrave MacMillan

Forbes Martin S. (2004). Women and Migration. New York: United Nations Working Paper CM/MMW/2003/WP.1http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/meetings/consult/CM-Dec03-WP1.pdf

Fuller S. 2014, Do Pathways Matter? Linking Early Immigrant Employment Sequences and Later Economic Outcomes: Evidence from Canada, *International Migration Review*: 1-51 DOI: 10.1111/imre.12094.

Fuller S. and Martin T. 2012, “Predicting Immigrant Employment Sequences in the First Years of Settlement.” *International Migration Review* 46(1): 138–190.

Fullin, G. and Vercelloni, V. (2009). Dentro la trappola. percezioni e immagini del lavoro domestico e di cura nei percorsi delle donne immigrate. πόλις XXIII(3): 425-461.

Fullin, G., Vercelloni, V. and Reyneri E. (2009). Percorsi bibliografici e itinerari lavorativi. In R. Catanzaro and A. Colombo (eds.) Badanti & Co. Il lavoro domestico straniero in Italia, Bologna: Il Mulino: pp. 299-327.

Fullin, G. and Reyneri E. (2011). Low Unemployment and Bad Jobs for New Immigrants in Italy. International Migration 49(1): 118-147.

Fuwa M. (2004) Macro-level gender inequality and the division of household labor in 22 countries

American Sociological Review, 69:751–767.

Gallotti M. and Mertens J., (2013). Promoting integration for migrant domestic workers in Europe: A synthesis of Belgium, France, Italy and Spain. International Migration Papers no 118. International Labour Office Geneva.

Ghosh J. 2009. Migration and Gender Empowerment: Recent Trends and emerging Issues. Human Development Research Paper 2009/04.

Gonalons-Pons P. (2015) Gender and class housework inequalities in the era of outsourcing hiring domestic work in Spain. *Social Science Research.* 52: 208–218

Harris N. 1996. The New Untouchables: Immigration and the New World Worker. London: Penguin Books. Hochschild A.R. , (1983). The Managed Hearth: Commercialization of Human Feeling, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo P., (1997) “I'm here, but I’m there” The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood. Gender & Society. 11 (5): 548-571.

Huang, S., Yeoh, B. S. A. and Toyota, M. (2012) ‘Caring for the Elderly: The Embodied Labour of Migrant Care Workers in Singapore’, Global Networks, 12/2: 195–215.

Kogan I. 2007, A study of immigrants’ employment careers in West Germany using the sequence analysis technique, *Social Science Research* 36: 491–511.

Iecovich E. 2011, What makes migrant live-in home care workers in elder care be satisfied with their job?, *The Gerontologist* 51(5): 617-629.

ILO 2011 Convention 189 & Recommendation 201 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers. Geneva:ILO

ILO 2013 Extension of social protection of migrant domestic workers in Europe. Geneva:ILO

ILO (2014) Promoting decent work for domestic workers: ILO in action. Geneva:ILO.

Ismu, Censis, and Iprs (eds) (2010). *Immigrazione e lavoro. Percorsi lavorativi, Centri per l’impiego, politiche attive*, Quaderni ISMU 1/2010. http://www.iprs.it/docs/Volume%20finale.pdf

Levinson, Amanda (2005) Why Countries Continue to Consider Regularization. Migration Information Source. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/why-countries-continue-consider-regularization

Mantouvalou V. (2012) The Many Faces of Slavery: The Example of Domestic Work. *Global Dialogue* 14(2) http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=536

McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002), Predicting successful and unsuccessful transitions from school to work by using sequence analysis, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A, 165(2): 317-334.

Michel S. and Peng I. (2012) All in the family? Migrants, nationhood, and care regimes in Asia and North America Journal of European Social Policy 22(4) 406–418

Morrison C, Sacchetto D.(2014) 'Migrant Labour between Russia and Italy: From Strategic Options to "Geography of Needs"' . In Mojca Pajnik, Floya Anthias (Eds) Work and the challenges of belonging: Migrants in globalizing economies , pages 28-51, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Näre L. (2012) Migrancy, Gender and Social Class in Domestic Labour and Social Care in Italy: An Intersectional Analysis of Demand, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(4):601-623.

OECD (2013). International Migration Outlook 2013, OECD Publishing.

Parreñas, R.S. (2000). Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor. Gender & Society 14(4): 560-580.

Parreñas R.S., (2001), Servants of Globalization. Women, Migration, and Domestic Work, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Parreñas R.S., (2005), Long distance intimacy: class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families. Global Networks 5(4):317–336. October 2005

Piper N. and Roces M. (2003) Wife or Worker?: Asian Women and Migration. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Salis 2014 A Crucial Testing Ground. The Governance of Labour Migration in the Long-Term Care Sector. Comparative Migration Studies. 2(4): 519-545

Scherer S. 2004, Stepping-stones or Traps?: The Consequences of Labour Market Entry Position on Future Careers in West Germany, Great Britain and Italy, *Work Employment Society*, 18(2): 369-394.

Seibel V. and van Tubergen F. (2013). Job-search Methods among Non-Western Immigrants in The Netherlands, *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 11: 241-258.

Simonazzi A. 2009. New skills for new jobs? Status quo and perspectives for the elderly care sector in Europe. European Employment Observatory (EEO) Thematic Paper. Rome: Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini.

Stacey, C.L. (2011). The caring self. The work experience of Home Care Aides, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Spencer S., Martin S., Bourgeault I.L., O'Shea E., (2010) The Role of Migrant Care Workers in Ageing Societies: Report on Research Findings in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada and the United States. International Organization for Migration (IOM) Migration Research Series n.41. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Suleman F. (2014) The employment relationship in an (almost) structureless labour market: the case of domestic work Camb. J. Econ. First published online: May 14, 2014

Triandafyllidou A (2013) Irregular migrant domestic workers in Europe. Who cares? Farnham: Ashgate.

Tognetti Bordogna M. 2004, Lavoro e immigrazione femminile in Italia: una realtà in mutamento in Delle Donne M. and Melotti U. (eds.) Immigrazione in Europa. Strategie di inclusione-esclusione. Roma: Ediesse.

Tungohan E. (2013) Reconceptualizing Motherhood, Reconceptualizing Resistance. International Feminist Journal of Politics 15 (1): 39-57

Vidal-Coso E. and Miret-Gamundi P., 2014, The labour trajectories of immigrant women in Spain: Are there signs of upward social mobility? *Demographic Research*, 31(13): 337-380.

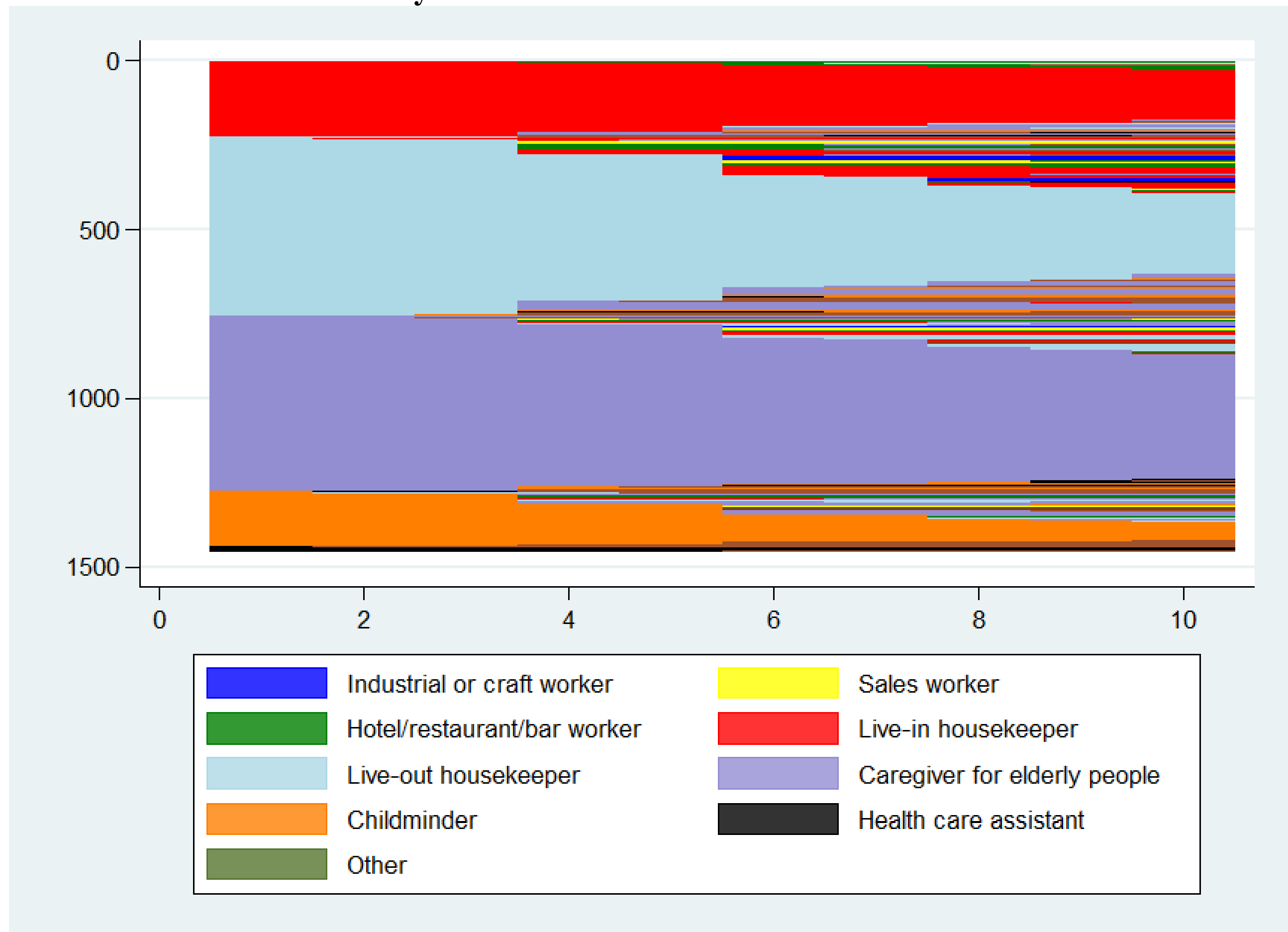
Vono, D. and Vidal-Coso, E. (2012). The Impact of Social Networks on labour mobility: the case of immigrant's first job in Spain. Migration Letters 9(3): 237–247.

Wang Qingfang and Pandit Kavita (2007). Measuring Ethnic Labour Market Concentration and Segmentation, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 33(8): 1227-1252.

Table 1- Substitution cost matrix for the sequence analysis.

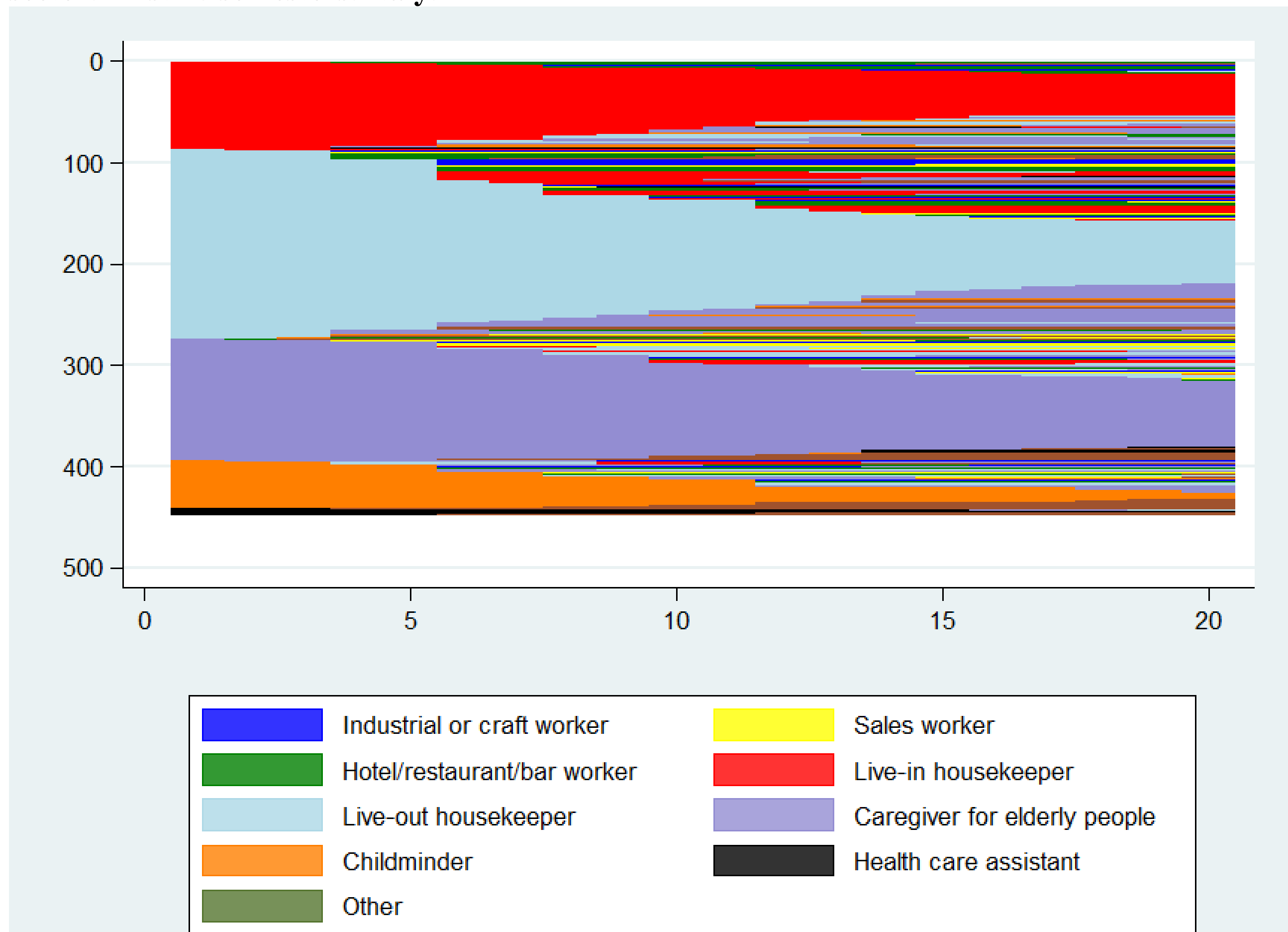
	Industrial or craft worker	Sales worker	hotel/restaurant/bar worker	Live-in housekeeper	Live-out housekeeper	Caregiver for elderly people	Childminder	Health care assistant	Other
Industrial or craft worker	0	0.5	0.5	2	1.5	2	1.5	1.5	0.5
Sales worker	0.5	0	0.5	2	1.5	2	1.5	1.5	0.5
Hotel/restaurant/bar worker	0.5	0.5	0	2	1.5	2	1.5	1.5	0.5
Live-in housekeeper	2	2	2	0	1	0.5	1	1	2
Live-out housekeeper	1.5	1.5	1.5	1	0	1	0.5	1	1.5
Caregiver for elderly people	2	2	2	0.5	1	0	1	1	2
Childminder	1.5	1.5	1.5	1	0.5	1	0	1	1.5
Health care assistant	1.5	1.5	1.5	1	1	1	1	0	1.5
Other	0.5	0.5	0.5	2	1.5	2	1.5	1.5	0

Figure 1 –Professional trajectories of women migrants who started as workers in the domestic sector. First 10 semesters. Italy.



Source: Authors' elaboration on PER.LA survey (2009).

Figure 2 –Professional trajectories of women migrants who started as workers in the domestic sector. First 20 semesters. Italy.



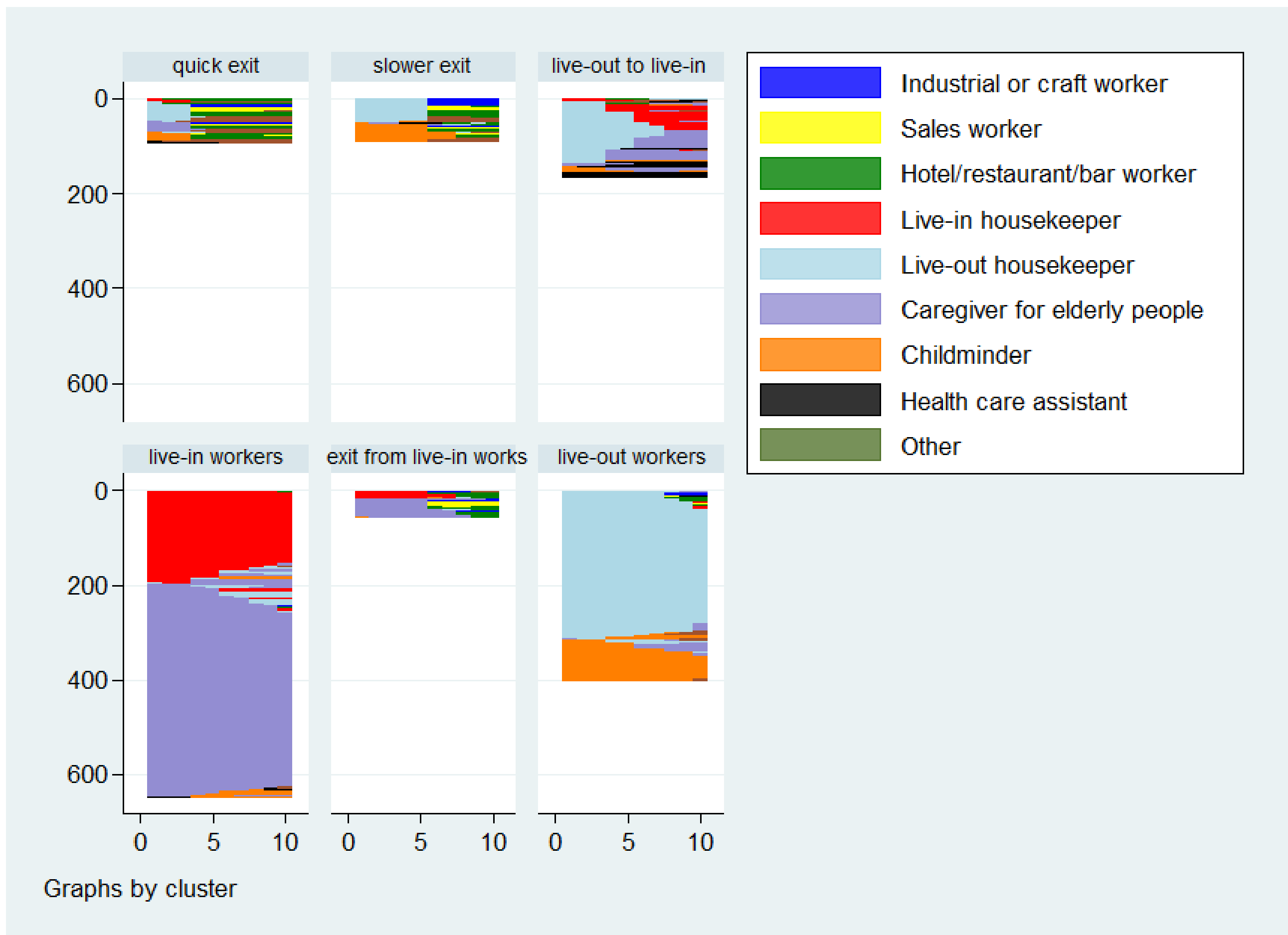
Source: Authors' elaboration on PER.LA survey (2009).

Table 2 – Ten most common sequences, first 10 semesters and first 20 semesters. Italy.

	first 10 semesters			first 20 semesters		
	From	to	%	From	to	%
1	Caregiver for elderly people		25,3	Caregiver for elderly people		14,3
2	Live-out housekeeper		16,7	Live-out housekeeper		13,9
3	Live-in housekeeper		10,1	Live-in housekeeper		9,4
4	Live-out housekeeper	Caregiver for elderly people	5,1	Live-out housekeeper	Caregiver for elderly people	8,1
5	Live-out housekeeper	Live-in housekeeper	3,9	Live-out housekeeper	Live-in housekeeper	3,8
6	Childminder		3,4	Live-out housekeeper	Industrial or craft worker	3,4
7	Live-out housekeeper	Industrial or craft worker	2,7	Live-in housekeeper	caregiver for elderly people	2,2
8	Live-out housekeeper	Hotel/restaurant/bar worker	2,6	Live-out housekeeper	Hotel/restaurant/bar worker	2,2
9	caregiver for elderly people	Live-out housekeeper	1,9	caregiver for elderly people	Industrial or craft worker	2,0
10	Childminder	Industrial or craft worker	1,5	Childminder	Other	2,0
	Other		26,9	Other		38,7
	All trajectories from live-in domestic worker (caregiver for elderly people and live-in housekeeper) to live-out domestic worker (childminder and live-out housekeeper) = 3.2%			All trajectories from live-in domestic worker (caregiver for elderly people and live-in housekeeper) to live-out domestic worker (childminder and live-out housekeeper) = 4.5%		

Source: Authors' elaboration on PER.LA survey (2009).

Figure 3 – Working trajectories, first 5 years, of migrant women who started in the domestic sector, by cluster.



Source: Authors' elaboration on PER.LA survey (2009).

Table 3 – Description of the cluster after 5 years in the Italian job market. PER.LA Survey.

Cluster	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Trajectory	Exit from live-out	Exit from live-out house-keeper or caregiver for elderly people	Live-out house-keeper to live-in work	Live-in workers	Exit from live-in work	Childminder or live-out house-keeper	
Migrants from non-embedded citizenship	70%	64%	55.2%	50%	71.9%	64%	58%
Citizenship over-represented[12] compared to the domestic workers	Chinese, Egyptian, Macedonian, Moroccan, Bolivian, Brazilian and Senegalese	Chinese, Moroccan, Macedonian, Brazilian, Indian and Tunisian			Albanian, Moroccan, Egyptian Pakistani, Serbian Indian and Tunisian		
Exit time from the domestic sector (in semesters)	2.7	5.4			6.1		
Years of schooling	11.6	11	10.9	12.2	11.4	10.9	11.5
Pre-migration employment	47.2%	44.3%	51.9%	55.9%	45.5%	54.5%	53.4%
Age at arrival	30.1	29	31.7	33.2	31.3	29.1	31.4
No time elapsed between arrival and 1st job in Italy	65.5%	60.7%	71.6%	73.3%	51.8%	65.4%	68.8%
Migrants with first job as regular	33.7%	55.6%	45.5%	69.1%	63.1%	47.5%	57.1%
Number of jobs after 5 years of work experience	2.1	2.2	2.7	1.2	2.1	1.3	1.5
Years since migration after 5 years of work experience	5.5	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.7	5.9	5.7
Wage level after 5 years of work experience	The 10% highest earners, > €1,200	The 10% highest earners, > €1,200	The 48% of women who earn €800 - 1,200; and the 40% who earn €500 - 800	The 50% lowest earners, €800 or less	The 61.4% of women who earn €800 - 1,200	The lowest 57% of women, who earn at most €800	The 45.7% of women who earn €800 - 1,200 and the 41% who earn €500 - 800.
Part-time employed after 5 years	19.5%	20%	10.3%	11.6%	10.5%	17.9%	14.2%
Recruitment method of last job: formal method	29.4%	28.9%	16.4%	13.2%	26.3%	10%	15.3%
Job satisfaction for the last job	**85.9%**	**82.2%**	**86.1%**	**78.1%**	**75.4%**	**67.2%**	**76.6%**
Size of the cluster	92	90	165	647	57	402	1,453

Source: Authors' elaboration on PER.LA survey (2009).

[12] As defined in paragraph 4.3

Table 4 – Results of the logistic regression model. PER.LA Survey.

	Model 1: All Women		Model 2: Only Women Who Never Left The Domestic Sector	
	OR	sign.	OR	sign.
Trajectory (ref. Live-in domestic workers)				
Quick exit from live-out jobs	2.25	*	-	
Slower exit from live-out jobs	1.21		-	
Live-out to live-in domestic jobs	1.95	*	2.03	*
Exit from live-in jobs	0.65		-	
Live-out jobs	0.66	*	0.66	*
Exit from the domestic sector	-		-	
Years of schooling	0.85		0.87	
Years of schooling squared	1.01		1.01	
Age at arrival	1.00		0.98	
Age at arrival squared	1.00		1.00	
Years since migration after 5 years of work in Italy	1.01		1.11	
Years since migration after 5 years of work in Italy squared	1.00		1.00	
Family (ref. Single)				
Couple without children	0.46	*	0.38	**
Couple with children	0.55	*	0.53	*
Single parent	0.39	**	0.42	*
Other	0.32	***	0.26	***
Family location across borders (ref. All members in Italy)				
Some members in Italy and some in the country of origin	0.56	***	0.59	**
All members in the country of origin	0.51	**	0.50	**
First job in Italy regular (ref. Yes)				
No	1.25		1.23	
Pre-migration job (ref. Yes)				
No	1.68	***	1.71	**
Recruitment method (ref. Informal)				
Formal	0.96		1.05	
Income after 5 years of work (ref. More than 800 Euros)				
Less than 500 euro	0.57	*	0.58	
Between 500 and 800 euro	0.60	***	0.66	**
Constant	yes	*	yes	*
N	1,269		1,048	

*Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001*
Source: Authors' elaboration on PER.LA survey (2009).