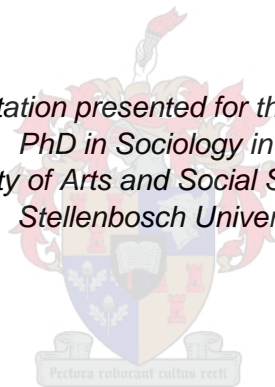


**“Cleaning up:
A sociological investigation into the use of outsourced
housecleaning services”**

By

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*Dissertation presented for the degree of
PhD in Sociology in the
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at
Stellenbosch University*



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DECLARATION

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David du Toit
March 2020

Abstract

The nature of paid domestic work is changing. Where the shift from full-time, live-in and live-out, to part-time and temporary domestic work has been well documented in the literature, a new trend of domestic outsourcing is prevalent. People can contract out or outsource domestic or care duties to domestic service firms that render professional, tailored, and hassle-free services. A particular issue at hand is the outsourcing of cleaning through housecleaning service firms. Few studies have looked at this trend, but it appears that many people no longer employ a domestic worker directly, but through a housecleaning service firm that brings forth a different dynamic to domestic work. Professionalism, the standardisation of cleaning services, and numerical and functional flexibility are some of the changes it offers people using these services.

International literature indicates that the use of housecleaning service firms is linked to reconciliation between work and family demands, especially since the rise of women in formal employment. Other factors show that state interventions through tax cuts are linked to the increased use of housecleaning services in some European countries. There is also a link between changing household sizes, and an ageing population that renders the need for domestic outsourcing. In South Africa, where the contracting in or employing of domestic workers is the norm among the middle-class, it is unclear why people use outsourced housecleaning services.

The primary aim of this dissertation, is, therefore, to identify factors, which contribute to the use of housecleaning services in South Africa. From a theoretical perspective, feminism, maternalism, changes in work and employment patterns and life cycles are used to provide a deeper understanding into the use of housecleaning services. Using a mixed-methods design, I focused on three outsourced housecleaning service firms that render team cleaning under similar terms and conditions. By focusing on clients' perspectives, the following factors were found to have an effect on the use of housecleaning services. Firstly, the broad benefits of using housecleaning services, which include high levels of professionalism, reliable and trained domestic employees, and a tripartite employment relationship that limits dependency and responsibility, was found as a particular reason why housecleaning services are used. Demographical and household characteristics profiles and life cycle patterns of clients also affect the need to use housecleaning services. It was found that clients of housecleaning services are mainly white and female, aged in their fifties. Clients also predominantly live in households with less than three members.

Another finding reveals that a large percentage of clients have shifted from employing a domestic worker privately to hiring a housecleaning service firm. It was found that labour legislation and the

underlying issues of a personal bipartite employment relationship contribute to the shift to housecleaning services. Finally, this study also looked at the disadvantages of using housecleaning services from current and former clients' views and found that the loss of control, feelings of detachment and lack of consistency regarding cleaning were some of the issues for terminating the use of housecleaning services.

In closure, a novel contribution of this study is that outsourced housecleaning services have been widely neglected in a context where domestic work is a major source of employment for thousands of black women in South Africa. By outsourcing domestic work to housecleaning services, not only are physical cleaning tasks outsourced, but also maternalism and emotional labour. This study shows that some people are no longer willing to have a relationship with the people who clean their homes and that they believe it is simply not worth the effort to maintain a relationship. The interaction between clients and domestic employees are stripped to the bare minimum. What this study ultimately shows is how race and class oppression is renegotiated in the domestic work sphere when domestic labour is outsourced to housecleaning services. The long-term effects of housecleaning services are far-reaching. By integrating a mix of qualitative and quantitative data, this study is one of the most comprehensive studies to date on outsourced housecleaning services in South Africa.

Opsomming

Die aard van betaalde huishoudelike werk is besig om te verander. Alhoewel die verskuiwing van voltydse inbly- en uitbly- tot deelydse en tydelike huishoudelike werk deeglik gedokumenteer is, is 'n nuwe tendens van huishoudelike uitkontraktering algemeen. Mense kan huishoudelike of versorgingspligte uitkontraakteer aan firmas wat professionele, persoonlike en moeite-vrye dienste bied. Die uitkontraktering van skoonmaak aan skoonmaakdienstefirmas is 'n saak wat veral onder die soekglas is. Min studies het al hierdie tendens bestudeer, maar dit blyk dat heelwat mense nie meer 'n voltydse huishoudelike werker gebruik nie, maar eerder 'n huisskoonmaakdiens, wat 'n ander dinamiek tot huishoudelike werk bring. Professionaliteit, die standaardisering van skoonmaakdienste en numeriese en funksionele buigzaamheid is 'n aantal veranderinge wat aan mense wat hierdie dienste gebruik, gebied word.

Internasionale literatuur toon aan dat die gebruik van huishoudelike dienste firmas gekoppel is aan die versoening van werks- en gesinseise, veral sedert vroue toenemend formeel in diens geneem word. Ander faktore toon aan dat staatsingrypings deur middel van belastingverlaging gekoppel is aan 'n toename in die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste in sekere Europese lande. Verder voed die verband tussen veranderende huishoudinggroottes en 'n verouderende bevolking die behoefte aan huishoudelike uitkontraktering. In Suid-Afrika, waar die inkontraktering of aanstelling van huishoudelike werkers die norm is by middle-klas huishoudings, is dit nie duidelik waarom mense huisskoonmaakdienste gebruik nie.

Die hoofdoel van hierdie verhandeling is dus om faktore te identifiseer wat bydra tot die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste in Suid-Afrika. Vanuit 'n teoretiese perspektief, word feminisme, maternalisme, die veranderinge in werkspatrone en lewensiklusse gebruik om 'n dieper begrip te kry oor die gebruik van huisskoonmaak dienste. Deur gebruik te maak van 'n gemengde-metodes ontwerp, het ek gefokus op drie uitgekontraakteerde huisskoonmaakfirmas wat spanskoonmaakdienste onder soortgelyke terme en voorwaardes bied. Deur te fokus op kliënteperspektiewe, is die volgende faktore gevind om 'n effek op die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste te hê. Eerstens is die breë voordele van die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste - wat hoë vlakke van professionaliteit, betroubare en opgeleide huishoudelike werknemers en 'n drieledige indiensnemingsverhouding wat afhanklikheid en verantwoordelikheid beperk - insluit, gevind as 'n besondere rede waarom huisskoonmaakdienste gebruik word. Demografiese en huishoudingseienskapprofiele asook lewensikluspatrone van kliënte beïnvloed verder die behoefte om huisskoonmaakdienste te gebruik. Daar is gevind dat

kliënte hoofsaaklik in huishoudings met minder as drie lede woon. 'n Ander bevinding openbaar dat 'n groot persentasie van kliënte verskuif het van die privaat indiensneming van 'n huishoudelike werker tot die huur van 'n huisskoonmaakdiensfirma. Daar is bevind dat arbeidswetgewing en sake onderliggend aan 'n persoonlike, tweeledige indiensnemingsverhouding bydra tot die verskuiwing na die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste.

Laastens het hierdie studie die nadele van die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste ondersoek vanuit huidige en voormalige kliënte se perspektiewe en het bevind dat die verlies van beheer, gevoelens van losmaking en gebrek aan konsekwentheid sommige van die redes is vir die terminering van die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste.

Ten slotte is 'n nuwe en unieke bydrae van hierdie studie dat uitgekontraakteerde huisskoonmaakdienste grootliks afgeskeep is in 'n konteks waar huishoudelike werk 'n hoofbron van indiensneming vir duisende swart vroue in Suid-Afrika is. Die gebruik van huisskoonmaakdienste word nie net die fisiese werk van huiswerk uitgekontraakteer nie, maar ook maternalisme en emotionele arbeid. Hierdie studie bevind dat mense nie meer beried is om 'n verhouding te hê met die mense wat hulle huise skoon maak nie and hulle glo dat dit bloot nie die moeite werd is om 'n verhouding met huiswerkers te hê nie. Die interaksie tussen kliënte en huiswerkers word beperk tot 'n minimum. Wat hierdie uiteinde wys is dat race en klass onderdrukking heronderhandel word in die huiswerk sfeer wanneer huiswerk uitgekontraakteer word na huisskoonmaakdienste. Die langtermyn effekte van huisskoonmaakdienste is verreikend. Deur 'n mengsel van kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe data te integreer is hierdie studie een van die mees omvattende studies tot op hede oor uitgekontraakteerde huisskoonmaakdienste in Suid-Afrika.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCING THE STUDY OF OUTSOURCED HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

1.1 BACKGROUND

Like many white people in South Africa, I grew up with a black African¹ domestic worker². First, there was Maria³, who worked for us for many years. She lived in the backyard room on our premises, furnished by my parents. She was loyal and friendly, made our beds, cleaned our bathrooms and did the laundry. When my sister and I were young, she often looked after us when my parents went out with their friends or had to attend work functions. She was part of our family for as long as I can remember. However, one day, she broke the news that she wanted to move back to her town of origin near Pietermaritzburg, which was about 500 kilometres from our home. She left us after many years of service.

After Maria's departure, a few women worked for us on a part-time basis, until Liesbet's arrival. Being hardworking and loyal, she was finally employed formally on a full-time, live-out basis. After a year or so, things started to change. She regularly arrived late or did not turn up for work, debt collectors frequently called, and household items, clothing and cash disappeared from time to time. After many confrontations and a formal warning, my mother dismissed her in 2002 after five years of service. After Liesbet, my parents never contracted in a domestic worker again. For a while, my mother did the bulk of household labour. My sister and I had to keep our rooms tidy, make our beds and help where we can. A few months later, my mother

¹ South Africa's racial terminology is complicated, but the following four terms are widely used: "black African" refers to people classified as native, Bantu or black (i.e. people with African ancestry); "white" refers to people classified as European, Caucasian or with European ancestry; Indian/Asian are people whose ancestors derived from the Indian subcontinent; and coloured (elsewhere known as mixed race) refer mainly to people in the Western and Northern Cape, who are descendants of the indigenous Khoi and San, Malays from Indonesia and elsewhere or who are the product of relations between white and black people. Although "coloured" is a contested term, it is a self-identified label for a multiracial South African ethnic group. The term "black" is a socio-political term referring to people formally oppressed by the apartheid government, and including African, coloured and Indian people collectively. See Seekings & Natrass (2005) for a discussion on race in South Africa.

² This vignette is a personal account of how I, as a white middle-class child, grew up with a black domestic worker and should not be read as a nostalgic remembrance of the past. Employing a domestic worker was (and continues to be) an almost universal expectation of the middle-class in South Africa. In other international contexts, such as the Philippines (Barber & Bryan, 2014:36) and Tanzania (Bujra, 2000:38), the middle-class also employ domestic workers. In South Africa, however, the racial characteristics of domestic work are a result of discriminatory colonial and apartheid policies, which have had devastating effects on black families and communities. During apartheid, which ended in 1994, all black people (black Africans, Indian or Asian people and so called 'coloured' or mixed raced people) were excluded from social, legal and political rights. Consequently, they were steered into marginalised, informal and poorly paid jobs. As a result, black African women dominated as domestic workers for white families. They were informally employed to subsidise many white families, especially white women, from their reproductive roles as up keepers of the households. The informal nature of domestic work perpetuated a particular colonial and apartheid set of assumptions of the naturalness of domestic work as a job reserved for black women and a privilege for whites (and the middle-class) to enjoy. Chapter four presents a more detailed discussion.

³ Pseudonyms are used for both domestic workers – Maria and Liesbet.

became aware of a housecleaning service firm and decided to contract out domestic labour on a bi-weekly basis.

Although my memory of a private domestic worker might have been coloured by age, perhaps being less attuned to the politics and social change taking place during that time, as an adult, I was wondering why other households have decided to contract out, or outsource domestic labour to housecleaning services. Reasons for using housecleaning services are not clear, especially in the South African context where contracting in or employing domestic workers is the norm among middle-class households.

In Western nations⁴, several economic, family and legal factors have caused the change from a male-breadwinner and highly segregated 19th-century family into a more equal, less segregated 21st-century family. In the past, patriarchal values and the lack of legal rights have prevented married women from entering paid work, which steered them into the unpaid domestic labour sphere. One set of studies focused on the sexual division and specialisation of productive and reproductive labour in the pre-World War II (WWII) industrial capitalist period (1850-1940) (e.g., Alvesson & Billing, 2009; Edgell, 2012; Grint, 2005; Strangleman & Warren, 2008). During this time, men typically held standard full-time jobs, while women primarily cared for their husbands and children at home, which established the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model.

The next set of studies focused on the rise of women in productive labour during WWII when women filled the labour positions of men who served in the war. Leading studies that encapsulate this trend include Holloway (2005), Goldin (1989) and Summerfield (1998). The post-WWII period (1945-1970) brought many social and economic changes, where the demolishing of marriage bars and economic prosperity saw an increase of middle-class women in full-time productive work. Despite women's growth in employment, they were secondary earners and remained responsible for reproductive duties. The Keynesian welfare state also facilitated this trend, where employed women did not qualify for many of the service benefits. Important scholarly work that discusses this pattern includes, Barr (1998), Beaumont (2017), Grint (2005) and Holloway (2005). These scholars discuss the effects of the dual-adult earner model on women, who remained responsible for reproductive work.

Things started to change with the decline of Keynesianism and the adoption of neoliberal policies during the 1970s. During this time, the service sector became prominent, resulting in

⁴ When I refer to Western nations, I refer to various regions, nations and states, depending on the context, most often including at least parts of Europe, Australia, and the Americas. For a complete list of nations, see *Western countries*. 2019 in reference list).

the restructuring of work and employment patterns. Flexible, part-time and outsourced work arrangement increased during this period (e.g., Sennett, 1998; Vidal, 2016; Warren, 2016). These changes were also primarily facilitated by the information revolution period (the 1970s-2000s) when computer information technologies brought about a greater need for flexible labour. Technology made flexi-time and multi-locational work possible, which suited women, enabling those with dependent children to manage work and family responsibilities more effectively (e.g., Chung, 2019; Edgell, 2012; Gottlieb et al., 1998; Sennett, 1998; Snyder, 2016; Strangleman, 2016).

Currently, the rise of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) and digitalisation has transformed productive labour once again, where an on-demand economy facilitates an increase in the virtualisation of productive work. Consequently, work and employment are less predictable and secure, where there is an increase in freelance work, the growth of multiple short-term contract employment and self-employment (e.g., De Stefano, 2014; Rubery, 2019; Schwab, 2016).

Where productive labour has undergone several transformations over time, reproductive labour has seen a similar trend. At the turn of the 20th century, the first-wave feminist movement started to raise concerns about women's role in society. Seminal works include Wollstonecraft's "*A vindication of the rights of women*" (1792) and Mill's "*The subjection of women*" (1869), which spearheaded the liberal feminist movement. Consulted works include Bryson (2003), Krolokke and Sorensen (2006), Lorber (1997) and Renzetti et al. (2012). A central theme under these works is the fight for equality and fundamental rights for women in the economic and political spheres.

From here, the second-wave feminist movement of the post-war period integrated the productive and reproductive roles of women in their fight against oppression and subordination. Patriarchy became a key theme during the time, of which leading works include Friedan (1963), Hartmann (1979), Millett (1971), and Walby (1990). The rise of radical and socialist feminism took patriarchy as a theoretical lens to explain the sexual division of productive and reproductive labour and demonstrated how women serve men and the male-dominated society (e.g., Bryson 2003; Mendes, 2009). The socialist feminists focused on the household, which is the centre of exploitation and inequality of women, where domestic labour is not just work, but a specific gendered type of work. Central texts that address these debates include Delphy (1984), Hartmann (1981) and Molyneux (1979), who persuasively argue that a woman's role of primary caregiver of the household increases her subordinated and exploited position in society. These debates facilitated the third-wave feminist movements, where the focus is on experiences of women from different race and class backgrounds.

Inspired mostly by post-modern thought, third-wave feminism argues that women from different socio-economic contexts face different challenges. Consequently, black feminist theories developed, of which the works of Collins (1990), Davis (1982), bell hooks (1981) and Yuval-Davis (2006) serve as essential texts. From these texts, intersectionality developed as an analytical tool to analyse how race, class and gender intersect with women's social positions and everyday experiences. Key works include Collins (1990), Crenshaw (1991) and Dhamoon (2011). These texts address the colour-blindness of the other feminist movements and argue for a more robust dualistic power relationship between privilege and oppression. For example, black women undertake the burden of feminised domestic labour of cleaning and caring, which enables a class-based labour division between women. Women who buy out their domestic labour responsibilities, therefore lighten their own gender load (Romero, 2002; Van der Westhuizen, 2017:40). Thus, race and class hinder the connection and unity between women and increase women's vulnerability (King, 2007:35). These debates are useful in a South African context, where changes since the post-apartheid period facilitated different levels of privilege and oppression, especially concerning productive and reproductive work.

From here, the discussion moves to the dual role of women as productive and reproductive labourers, which often results in work-family conflict. Numerous scholars debated the effects of work and family demands and how women, in particular, often find it challenging to manage the requirements of work and family responsibilities. The changing nature of work, where working hours and demands are intense, unpredictable and unstable, contributes to tensions between work and family life. Consulted work includes Boyar et al. (2008), Greenhaus and Beutell (1985), Greenhaus and Powel (2006) and Gregory (2016). One way to gain a better work-family balance is either to contract in domestic help on a full-time or part-time basis or to contract out some duties to professionals. However, there were also other broader societal forces contributing to the shift in domestic employment within the household.

Another significant societal influence affecting domestic labour, is changes in household structures. The decline and delay in marriages and fertility and the rise in cohabitation, single-parenting and maternal employment affect domestic labour differently. Consulted works include Becker's theory of marriage (1973), Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa's second demographic transition (1986), Akerlof et al.'s technology-shock theory (1996), Becker's human capital theory (1964) and Hakim's preference theory (2000). These works provided a theoretical understanding of these social changes and their effects on household structures. Various empirical studies have also been consulted to explore the differences in household structures and domestic labour. For example, Baxter and Tai (2016) and Lyonette and

Crompton (2015) address the gendered division of domestic labour of married and cohabitating women. Bianchi (2000), Hochschild (1989) and Treas and De Ruijter's (2008) research address the link between maternal employment, work-family conflict and the need to contract in domestic help.

These changes bring forth a different life cycle that affects domestic and caring labour. Today, new household structures, reproductive technologies, and changing value systems cause a life cycle that is less predictable and sequential. Derived from the Murphey and Staples (1979) life cycle model and Gilley and Enis's (1982) non-traditional life cycle models, which incorporate various additional stages of life cycles, the South African Audience Research Foundation's (SAARF) (2014) life cycle model applies the different stages of households in a South African context. For example, the rise in single-person households and a decline in nuclear households brings forth different domestic and caring needs. These changes, together with changes in work and employment patterns, possibly affect the need to contract in domestic and care help. A particular focus of this thesis, however, is whether these changes affect the need to contract out or outsource domestic labour duties to professionals.

Drawing on Lair's (2007:33-34) conceptualisation of what he refers to as "intimate outsourcing" within the household sphere, in the context of this study, housecleaning service firms refer to the outsourcing of domestic labour, traditionally performed by someone in the household or by a private domestic worker, to a formal commercial firm that renders housecleaning services inside the dwellings of people making use of them. This implies that domestic work rendered by outsourced housecleaning service firms are professionalised by, where every aspect of the work is bureaucratised and organised. There is a shift from a bipartite personal interaction between employers and domestic worker to an employment relationship that is tripartite, instrumental and clinical between clients (households who use these housecleaning services), domestic workers employed through housecleaning service firms and the managers of these firms. Not only is cleaning standardised, predictable and uniform, but clients can remove themselves from the supervisory roles and potentially confrontation by directly communicating their displeasure with someone's work (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:164-165).

While the size of the housecleaning service market is unknown, trends indicate that housecleaning services are an international phenomenon. In the United States of America (US), for example, there are many housecleaning service firms, such as *Merry Maids*⁵ and *Molly Maid*⁶, which have been operating for more than twenty years (Lair, 2007:63; Napierski-

⁵ https://www.merrymaids.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/MM_Teesside_TC.pdf

⁶ <https://www.mollymaid.com/why-hire-us/>

Prancl, 1998:3). In Canada, the cleaning industry saw an average growth of 11% annually from the early 2000s. In some European nations (e.g., Belgium, France and Portugal) and Australia, the use of housecleaning services is typical too (Abrantes, 2014; Camargo, 2015; Devetter, 2017; Morel & Carbonnier, 2015). In Africa⁷, in nations such as Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya, housecleaning service firms are widespread too.

In South Africa, housecleaning service firms are widespread, mainly located in metropolitan regions in the country. However, there is no comprehensive data on the characteristics, size and scope of housecleaning services. In South Africa, research on paid domestic work often fails to focus on the growth of housecleaning services and can be grouped into two main sets. The first set of studies focused on the historical background of paid domestic work in South Africa in terms of gender, class, race and immigration (Ally, 2010; Cock, 1980; Gaitskell et al., 1983; Van Onselen, 1982; Walker, 1982). These studies discussed the use of local and migrant black Africans as agricultural and domestic servants, which has remained the norm ever since. During the apartheid years (1948-1994), Cock's seminal work, *Maids and Madams* (1980), explains how domestic workers were subjugated and affected by poor working conditions, exploitation and abuse. Her work provides a useful historical and theoretical assessment of paid domestic work during apartheid.

The second set of studies looked at domestic work after apartheid in 1994, which gave rise to new social, political and economic rights for domestic workers. The Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1996, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) of 1997, and the Sectoral Determination 7 (SD7) gave new rights to domestic workers and attempted to standardise the terms and conditions of the employment relationship. Key works include King's "*Domestic work in post-apartheid South Africa: Difference and disdain*" (2007); Ally's "*From servants to workers: South African domestic workers and the democratic state*" (2010) and Du Toit's edited book "*Exploited, undervalued, and essential: Domestic workers and the realisation of their rights*" (2013). These studies provide insights into the formalisation of domestic work and the effects this has on the working conditions and employment relationship between employers and domestic workers. Ally's (2010) work is critical in mapping the effects of the formalisation of domestic work and whether it has improved the working conditions for domestic workers. She argues that many employers in her study fail to adhere to labour legislation. Despite these claims, the growth of housecleaning service firms, and how it affects employment relations, is missing in these debates.

⁷ <https://maidinblisskenya.com/>

To date, my studies are the only studies that have looked at housecleaning services in South Africa (Du Toit, 2012; 2013; 2016). My Masters dissertation (Du Toit, 2012), published in a subsequent article in 2013, focused on the effects of a tripartite employment relationship between former employers (now clients⁸), domestic employees⁹ and managers of housecleaning service firms in Stellenbosch. These studies focused on recruitment and selection procedures of housecleaning service firms in Johannesburg. While they provide an insight into the outsourced housecleaning service market in South Africa, the study lacked a broader sociological understanding of why people use housecleaning services. Accordingly, it is not known why or when people come to shift from contracting in employing domestic workers, to contracting out domestic work to household cleaning companies.

1.2 RATIONALE

In South Africa, there has been little to no research on the factors that have led to the growth in the use of housecleaning services. While there are no statistics on the size or scope of the outsourced housecleaning service market in South Africa, this is clearly a growing and vibrant sector, judging from the proliferation of companies since the 1980s until the present. While approximately one million domestic workers are employed in South Africa, (StatsSA, 2019:4), there is a decline in the employment of full-time domestic workers, but whether this is due to a growth in outsourcing domestic work to outsourced household service firms is not known (Bothma & Campher, 2003:190; Blaauw & Bothma, 2010; Matjeke et al., 2012:1-3). Besides this, there is little understanding of what societal factors are driving the growth in the household cleaning services and whether South Africa is following international trends. This study attempts to fill this void by studying the growth of housecleaning service firms from the perspective of clients¹⁰. By making clients the object of analysis, rather than domestic workers, this study brings an original contribution to the debate on paid domestic work in South Africa.

⁸ The terminology of “client” is consistent with other studies on housecleaning services, when referring to a household who outsource their domestic tasks to housecleaning service firms (See e.g. Abrantes, 2014:428; Anderson, 1998:110).

⁹ Throughout this study, I refer to ‘domestic employees’ when they are employed by a housecleaning service firm. I refer to ‘domestic workers’ when they are contracted in or employed directly by an employer or household. In South Africa, both full-time domestic workers and domestic employees are protected by labour legislation. I refer to ‘domestic servant’ when a domestic labourer is not protected by labour legislation. In South Africa, this is typically during the apartheid era.

¹⁰ It should be noted that clients of housecleaning services are most likely to be in a particular socio-economic stratum. In South Africa, the availability of private domestic help is widespread, and affordable. Contracting out or outsourcing domestic labour to housecleaning services are relatively expensive compared to other options – if one looks at the price of cleaning sessions (See chapter 5).

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES

This study thus seeks to investigate the client profile and the reasons for using housecleaning services. The primary research question is: *“What is the profile of people who use household cleaning services, and why is this preferred above the employment of a domestic worker on a full-time or part-time basis?”* The research objectives are to establish:

1. How the contracting in of domestic help or labour has changed over time.
2. What societal factors influence the contracting in of domestic help in the household.
3. The profile of clients who use housecleaning services.
4. Why households shift from employing or contracting in a domestic worker privately to contracting out domestic work to a housecleaning service firm.
5. What the current and former clients' perspectives are on the disadvantages of using housecleaning services.

To address these research objectives, the following mixed methods research approach was adopted.

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Given that limited research has been done on housecleaning services in South Africa, a mixed-methods research approach is used. This approach draws on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research methods and allows for various perspectives on the use of housecleaning services to enrich knowledge and validity, breadth and depth (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2014). Access was obtained to three housecleaning service firms, which render household cleaning through teams. Two housecleaning service firms operated in the Stellenbosch and Somerset West regions in the Western Cape and one in the Roodepoort region in western Johannesburg, Gauteng.

The first part of the study focused on clients' who are currently using one of these three housecleaning service firms, and their reasons for using it. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently during a six week period between September and October 2016. Face-to-face qualitative interviews were conducted with 28 clients who use one of these housecleaning service firms. These qualitative interviews lasted approximately an hour and were recorded, transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis (Bryman, 2016:445-447). In addition, 900 self-administered paper-based questionnaires were distributed to all clients of the three firms, of which 333 were completed. Quantitative data were analysed using IBM SPSS (v25).

The second part of the study focused on former clients of housecleaning services and reasons why they have stopped using it. None of the three selected housecleaning service firms had a record of their former clients. Consequently, access was obtained to a housecleaning service firm that operates mainly in the Bryanston region in the northern parts of Johannesburg. Emails with open-ended questions were sent to former clients of this housecleaning service firm, of which fourteen responded. For both parts of the data collection, ethical procedures were followed. Chapter five presents a complete discussion of the methodology.

1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter two provides a theoretical discussion of the transformations in productive and reproductive labour. The first section gives a historical overview of productive labour during the industrial revolutions, the two World Wars and the post-war era, regarding race, class and gender characteristics of productive labour. A particular focus of this section is the transformations in work and employment patterns that shifted from standard and full-time work to flexible and part-time work patterns and how these affect the gendered division of labour. From here, the discussion moves to feminist debates that deliberated upon women's role in productive and reproductive labour. These debates are linked to the work-family conflict theory that shows how work demands interfere with family life, which affects the need to contract in domestic help. From here, the discussion moves to a theoretical debate about household changes that affect domestic labour. Becker's economic theory of marriage (1973), Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa's second demographic transition (1986), Akerlof et al.'s technology-shock theory (1996), Becker's human capital theory (1964), Hakim's preference theory (2000), and Gilley and Enis' household life cycle model (1982) are mobilised to explain changes in domestic labour. Concluding remarks are provided concerning how changing work and employment patterns, household structures and life cycles affect the domestic division of labour and the need to contract in paid domestic help to perform domestic and caring tasks.

Chapter three offers a contextual analysis of how paid domestic work has changed over time. A brief historical overview of the intersections of gender, race, class and migration of paid domestic work is discussed. Hereafter, the different ways in which paid domestic work is supplied is deliberated, which includes a discussion on the shift from full-time and part-time work, and live-in and live-out domestic work. Hereafter the focus moves on to the contracting out of domestic work through the outsourcing of specific tasks to service providers. In particular, the characteristics of housecleaning services are discussed, which include the emergence of a tripartite employment relationship, the standardisation of cleaning, security and the benefits of flexibility. In closure, the chapter illustrates how the information and digital

period facilitates demands for flexible domestic help that is provided by outsourced domestic service firms.

Chapter four provides a contextual analysis concerning the need for and supply of flexible domestic work in South Africa. This chapter starts with the intersections of race, class and gender in productive and reproductive work. This discussion includes the rise of the black middle class, a more demographically balanced workforce and changes in work patterns and employment practices. Hereafter, the supply of domestic work is discussed, with references to the racial, gender and class characteristics of paid domestic work, the shift from informal to formal, full-time to part-time, and live-in to live-out domestic work, and the emergence of outsourced domestic service firms. An overview of the different types of housecleaning services is then presented, with a specific focus on the characteristics and benefits. The discussion then moves to possible factors that contribute to the demand in housecleaning services, which include changes in household size and structures and life cycle patterns.

Chapter five reflects on the methodology of this study. It addresses the rationale for utilising a mixed methods research approach, how the questionnaire and interview schedules were constructed, and how data was collected and analysed. The chapter advocates for a more pragmatic mixed-methods manner of doing research, especially in the case of paid domestic work.

The sixth chapter presents the findings of the first three objectives of this study, linking to the conceptual and theoretical chapters. Based on 333 completed surveys and 28 qualitative interviews with clients, the background in the use of housecleaning services and its benefits are discussed. Hereafter the second objective is answered where the demographical and household profile of clients is presented and how these factors influence the use of housecleaning services. The third part of this chapter focuses on the life cycle phases of clients and how singles, couples and families have different domestic and caring needs and how housecleaning services solve these needs.

Chapter seven presents a discussion of the findings of the fourth and fifth objectives of this study. The first part focuses on clients who have shifted from employing a domestic worker privately to hiring a housecleaning service firm. The discussion focuses specifically on clients' (former employers) experiences on the formalisation of the employment relationship, as well as other issues such as dependency, reliability and costs. These findings are interpreted against the background of the various theoretical debates and contexts discussion in chapters two, three and four in order to gain a deeper understanding of what is driving this practice of contracting out or the externalisation of domestic work to private firms. Hereafter,

disadvantages of housecleaning services are discussed with specific reference to former clients of housecleaning services and why they have stopped using housecleaning services.

Chapter eight concludes this study on outsourced housecleaning services. It provides theoretical and conceptual insights into the transitions in paid domestic work, possible implications that outsourced housecleaning services have for the domestic work sector, and the durability of housecleaning services in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2. TRANSFORMATIONS IN PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

An analysis of how domestic labour has transformed over time illustrates that several factors influence the contracting in of domestic help to perform household duties or to assist with reproductive tasks. A combination of changes in patterns of work and employment, changing societal norms and values associated with women's work, as well as other factors such as declining fertility and marriage rates, technology and changing consumption patterns, has fuelled this transformation too. The focus of this chapter is how these changes affect reproductive work (domestic labour and caring duties) within families, a responsibility carried mainly by women.

In the following sections, these debates are deliberated. The first section focuses on the historical transformation in productive work. This is followed by a feminist discussion on how the transformation of work has influenced the productive and reproductive labour of women over time. How this has brought about work-family conflict is then debated from a theoretical perspective. From here, the debate moves to a theoretical discussion concerning the transformations of households and the effects on domestic labour. Hereafter, life cycle theories are discussed, where different life cycle phases are seen to affect domestic labour differently. The chapter concludes by arguing how changing work and employment patterns, household structures and life cycles affect the domestic division of labour and the need to contract in paid domestic help to perform domestic and caring tasks.

2.2 HISTORIC ECONOMIC TRANSITIONS AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

This section debates the economic transitions and technological change through a historical period. The following five periods is discussed: The pre-World War II industrial period (1850 – 1940), followed by the World War II period (1940 – 1945) and the industrial capitalist period. The focus then moves to the post-WWII period (1945 – 1970) and the Keynesian Welfare state. The Information Revolution and flexible capitalism period (the 1970s – 2000s) is then discussed. Lastly, the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) of the 2010s is discussed.

2.2.1 Pre-World War II industrial capitalist period (1850-1940)

The division of domestic labour during the pre-industrial era in the US and Western Europe was mostly shared between the sexes. Such labour included weaving, milking cows, carrying water, cooking food and mending clothes (Cowen, 1983:26). The shift from pre-industrial agricultural societies, where men and women worked as a family unit and shared productive

and reproductive work, to industrial capitalism in the late 18th century transformed life and work for everyone. Social relations were embedded in the family, and household as people left their home to work elsewhere (Anderson & Taylor, 2017:364; Edgell, 2012:7-8; Strangleman & Warren, 2008:115). Industrial capitalism led to wage labour and the centralisation of work in factories and organisations, where technology and labour-power were synchronised in an economy based on manufacturing, rather than agriculture. Factory work focused on profit-making and competition, the spatial separation between home and work, and a high degree of division of labour, specialisation and mass production (Edgell, 2012:24; Macionis, 2018:433).

Historical research in the US and some parts of Europe reveals that during the initial phases of industrial capitalism (1800-1840), women were employed in the textile and silk factories (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:50). What households had previously produced was now produced commercially, faster and cheaper through the mechanisation of production and machinery. Thus, the early stages of industrialisation continued to utilise the family as a productive unit, where both husbands and wives, and in some cases, children, worked for pay. During the mature phase of industrial capitalism (1850-1890), the number of women employed outside the home increased, though they were paid poorly. A series of patriarchal legislative Acts later restricted women's employment, where their working hours were cut and where they were also excluded from specific workplaces and occupations (Edgell, 2012:25; Strangleman & Warren, 2008:115). During this period, the roles of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers emerged, reinforcing a patriarchal gender ideology and the gendered division of work which emphasised woman's reproductive roles in the household.

Within the workplace, employment for men was standard, permanent and continuous, with wages large enough to support stay-at-home wives and children (Burnette, 2008:227). Reinforcing the division between productive and reproductive labour was the marriage bar, which operated across the US and Europe and which excluded the employment of married women in the workplace (Hakim, 1993:100; Rubery, 2015:634). At the same time, the decline in home-based artisanship caused a dependence among women in marriage, which bound them into unpaid reproductive work. For men, supporting a family with a single wage became a matter of honour and masculine pride (Such, 2002:20). Employed women were perceived as "a misfortune and a disgrace" for the family (Kreimer, 2004:227-228; Warren, 2007:320). The male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model was established and borne from state interventions in people's social and economic lives. For example, factory legislation passed in the mid-1800s 'protected' women by limiting their working hours so that they could focus on family responsibilities (Barr, 1998:18).

Consequently, in many Western nations in middle-class families, the role of men was one of the full-time financial providers to the family, while the role of women was one of a full-time homemaker and mother (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006:243-244). However, industrialism not only affected the division of labour and class systems; it also changed domestic labour. Households ceased to manufacture cloth, chop wood and butcher meat; instead they began to purchase higher quality clothes, coal and meat from the market. Other household inventions at the time included hand-driven washing machines, taps for indoor cisterns, tinned milk, prepacked flour, porcelain crockery and cast-iron coal stoves to make domestic labour more comfortable and convenient (Cowen, 1983:41-44). Despite these inventions, domestic labour remained difficult and time-consuming. With the restriction in factory work, many working-class women worked as full-time domestic servants for middle-class families, liberating middle-class women from the drudgery of domestic labour and caring responsibilities (Oakley, 1974:49-52).

A shift occurred in the first decades of the 20th century, which saw a growth in the industrial economy and a rise in service industries. Shops, banks, insurance companies, postal agencies and elementary schools increased and opened up a range of work, such as clerical work, school teaching and nursing jobs. Gradually women acquired more education and training that enabled them to take on paid employment, and many jobs in the service sector became typical jobs for women (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:51; Strangleman & Warren, 2008:115). However, patriarchal values, the Depression-era after World War I, and the restrictions of the marriage bar still meant that the female workforce was typically young and single. The temporary employment of single women in the US and some parts of Europe remained the norm until marriage, after which they were usually dismissed, or their contracts ended, and they were steered into reproductive roles within the home (Simonton, 1998:192; Wooton & Spruill, 1994:241). For example, trends in the United Kingdom (UK) and the US show that the employment participation of single women was steady during the period between 1900 and 1940. In the UK, about a third of women were in paid employment, the majority of whom were single women, while in the US, approximately 20 percent of women were employed between 1900 and 1940 (Goldin, 1989:1).

For married middle-class homemakers, the importance of domestic labour and family care was emphasised by magazines, medical doctors, social workers and teachers. However, the development, availability and affordability of domestic appliances and household technologies reduced the burden of domestic labour to some extent and enabled the homemaker to enter the creative and pleasurable side of domestic labour. For example, technology-savvy homemakers performed the same amount of domestic labour that three or four household members performed during the pre-industrial era. Household technologies eliminated only the

drudgery, however, not the labour, and with better living conditions and housing, raised the expectations of domestic labour performed by homemakers (Cowen, 1983:100-101; Treas, 2010:4-5). Higher standards and duties of homemakers were embodied in the essential duties of good cooking, laundry and the provision of comfortable and loving homes for husbands and children. For example, changing attitudes of childcare and increased pressure of healthcare contributed to new demands on childcare. The need for full-time domestic help continued during this time from middle-class households with enough resources (Miller, 1983:76; Simonton, 1998:189-199). WWII dramatically changed the social and economic role of women and affected attitudes towards productive and reproductive work.

2.2.2 Second World War and the industrial capitalist period (1940-1945)

The Second World War was a turning point for female employment in the US and some European nations and changed the economic, social and family dynamics of the middle class. Many employed men were drafted into the war service, leaving a shortage of workers, challenging the gendered division of paid labour. The decline in fertility rates and an increase in marriage rates of the 1930s reduced the number of young and unmarried women available for employment, which promoted the abolishment of gender discrimination and marriage bars. Since then, large numbers of married women entered the labour market and remained in employment even after they got married (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:52; Grint, 2005:81-82; Summerfield, 1998:210). The decline in family income, patriotic duty to aid the nation during war, the propagandistic WWII posters (e.g., Rosie the Retriever) and the rise in wages encouraged (married) women to undertake temporary employment for the duration of the war (Goldin, 1989:2; Such, 2002:21).

With the growth in the service sector, women became employed in a variety of occupations from bookkeepers and accountants to clerical and transport jobs. Some even worked in male-dominated industries, as pilots in the air force or bus conductors for example, but after the war they were prevented from working in these fields, which were considered too demanding given women's dual role as mothers and housekeepers (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:52; Gazeley, 2008:653; Wooton & Spruill, 1994:243). For working middle-class mothers, the burden of the second shift became an issue. The number of domestic servants declined during this period, as many working-class women were employed in low-skilled factory work. Consequently, many middle-class mothers had to rely on relatives for domestic labour and childcare. The government implemented a temporary policy to reduce the burden of domestic labour, where wartime nurseries offered childcare services and food canteens provided cooked meals (Holloway, 2005:171-172; Summerfield, 1998:213). The end of the war in 1945 changed

attitudes of productive and reproductive work once more, but by now women had asserted themselves as part of the permanent labour force.

2.2.3 Post-World War II industrial era (1945-1970)

As men returned from the Second World War, the general expectation was that young married women would return to their roles as homemakers and mothers. Single women would return to typical female-dominated occupations during the interlude between marriage and starting a family (Grint, 2005:82). The reduction in nursing jobs that existed during the war and the rapid increase in childbirth increased women's responsibility for reproductive labour (Beaumont, 2017:149). Despite this, a large proportion of married middle-class women remained in productive employment. Changes in the economy and demographical shifts in the US and European nations influenced the demand and supply of female employees. The war proved to employers that women could perform jobs just as well as men (Goldin, 1991:743). Although young married mothers returned to their role as homemakers, older married women, who were unlikely to have young children, continued to work in certain occupations.

For women, economic prosperity and the demolishing of marriage bars saw an increase in women taking employment outside the home, especially in typical female-type service jobs, such as clerical work, nursing and teaching (Summerfield, 1998:213; Wootton & Spruill, 1994:247). The period of homemakers culminated around the 1950s, after which more and more women (including married women) had paid work and childcare became the responsibility of the state (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:52). Increases in education, later age at marriage, changing consumption patterns, and growing preferences among women for non-domestic roles led to an increase in their productive employment (Pettit & Hook, 2005:779-780). There was also a slight increase in educated women in male-dominated professions, such as medicine, law and architecture, in the US and some European nations (Holloway, 2005:185-188). For the first time in history, women enjoyed standard employment, where work was full-time, permanent and continuous (Beaumont, 2017:149). There was a shift from the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model to a dual-adult-earner model.

From an economic perspective, economic growth during the post-WWII period was facilitated by the Keynesian Welfare State model, where wages and salaries were complemented with social and public services to workers and citizens. The Keynesian Welfare State pursued not only a policy of full-employment in nationalised industries, government and welfare services, but also through various modes of cash benefits, free health care, housing subsidies, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sickness benefits and progressive taxation. The State funded some of these benefits, while others were publicly produced and delivered free of

charge by the private sectors (Barr, 1998:21-25). In short, it guaranteed economic stability and secured a high and stable level of employment for men, who qualified for the various service benefits as the primary breadwinner.

Much of this system of regulation remained premised on the gendered nature of work and social reproduction, with women being located in secondary jobs and as secondary earners of their households during much of the mid to late twentieth century. They were not considered the primary breadwinners and in so doing did not qualify for many of the service benefits that employers provided under the welfare state model (Gottschall & Dingeldey, 2016:543; Lucio, 2016:155; Rubery, 2015:634). In addition, many households tended to live considerable distances from where the male head was employed, causing them to leave home early in the morning and return late in the evening, forcing women, regardless of being employed or not, to assume the responsibility for childcare and domestic labour (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:52; Beaumont, 2017:14; Holloway, 2005:180). Household technologies and domestic appliances continued to develop and become more affordable. As such, more households became equipped with labour-saving technologies. However, these technologies tended not to eliminate but reinforce the gendered division of domestic labour in the household, as they were designed to help women with their domestic labour duties (Cowen, 1983:200-201). For women engaged in productive waged labour, they continued to carry the double burden of domestic labour at home, often causing increased work-family conflict (De Sousa, 2013:3). This necessitated the need to contract in domestic help to assist with the burden of domestic labour, which increased as more women entered the labour market permanently (Bittman, 2016:533; Gottlieb et al., 1998:38-39; Gregory, 2016:510-511). This became an even greater imperative as men's stable, standard employment contracts became more unstable.

By the 1970s, the decline of the Keynesian economic policies and the adoption of neoliberalism and individualism popularised economic rhetoric of free markets independent of the State. At the organisational level, manufacturing production was increasingly rigid in the face of emerging production models and the globalisation of production and finances. Westerns industries were facing increasing foreign competition from emerging economies from the East (e.g., Japan and China). Domestic manufacturing employment has been replaced with service work, which resulted in new labour contracts, downsizing and labour restructuring, radically changing the way labour was managed and employed (Strangleman, 2016:24; Vidal, 2016:301).

Consequently, the neoliberal economic policy became dominant, where private companies, individuals and markets generate economic growth and social welfare through free markets, tariffs and trade. Neoliberalism in practice saw the deregulation, privatisation and withdrawal

of the state from many areas of social provision and the growth in the “flexibilization” of work (Harvey, 2005:2-3; Poster & Yolmo, 2016:579). The basis of neoliberalism is that free markets and free trade will set free creative potential and entrepreneurial spirit, which is built into the spontaneous order of any human society, leading to individual liberty and well-being and more efficient allocation of resources. Within all this, growth in technology has taken place with extraordinary developments in information and computing, which led to a flexible capitalist era, erasing some of the stable working conditions associated with the post-war Keynesian period (Kalleberg, 2001; Sennett, 1998; Snyder, 2016).

2.2.4 Information Revolution and flexible capitalism (the 1970s-2000s)

By the 1970s, the nature of production changed once again with the technological breakthrough of computer and information technologies that saw a shift from industrial production and manufacturing industries where tangible goods were produced to the service industry where services were provided (Warren, 2016:44). Driven by the Information Revolution, new types of products, services and communication were created and developed. Where the industrial manufacturing era mass-produced goods by mechanically skilled factory workers, the information era produced specialised technology workers, such as computer programmers, financial analysts, architects, advertising executives and all sorts of consultants with literacy skills. These occupations opened up more jobs for women, who have long worked in the service sector under flexible, often part-time employment conditions (Strangleman, 2016:25).

The centralisation of work under factories changed with computer technology, characterised by the conversion of employee jobs into self-employed jobs, allowing people to work almost anywhere at any time. Laptops, wireless computers and cell-phones now turn the home, the car and even aeroplanes into virtual offices, which blurs the lines between people’s work and private lives (Edgell, 2012:153; Macionis, 2018:433; Rubery, 2015:635). The information age is characterised by a 24-hour society, increased domestic and global competition, and changing consumer demands and preferences toward customisation and personalisation. The introduction of computer information technology allowed the restructuring of workplaces and the rise in flexible employment practices, where the flexible worker and the flexible production method (computer, robot) are geared towards the flexible demands of the modern consumer and affected labour relations (Anderson & Taylor, 2017:366; Grint, 2005:302; Kalleberg, 2001:479; Snyder, 2016:6).

In line with the neoliberal economic policies that boosted flexibility within firms, workplaces were restructured into a leaner core (permanent full-time employees) and a larger, peripheral workforce (part-time, temporary and outsourced contract workers). The core workforce

comprises mostly multi-skilled professionals, who have great decision-making powers and affiliations with the long-term goals of the organisation. These core workers can be deployed to perform a variety of tasks irrespective of the labour involved, which increases the functional flexibility of the firm. The more multi-skilled the workforce is, and the more it is disentangled from specific jobs, tasks or territories, the more flexible labour is (Grint, 2005:301; Snyder, 2016:5; 128).

In contrast to the core workforce, the peripheral, non-standard workforce work on a part-time basis (less than 35 hours per week) or on temporary and short-term contracts (Rubery, 2015:634-635). These contracts are typically less secure, allowing organisations to increase and decrease the size of their workforce through rapid hiring and firing (Morgan, 2009:23). Companies can adjust labour supply to product and service demand, increasing their numerical and wage flexibility in the process, which is also linked to the decline of the manufacturing sector and the growth of the service industry workers (Edgell, 2012:155; Grint, 2005:301). Non-standard workers typically experience temporal flexibility, where they go through periods of underemployment and overwork, with less regular and predictable working hours (Lopez-Andreu & Rubery, 2018:5; Snyder, 2016:128-129). In short, businesses have curtailed full-time, permanent, in-house employment with its accompanying benefits of health insurance and pensions, replacing it with peripheral, flexible employment to reduce costs and manage the competition. Reduced and flexible work hours have turned towards reduced work hours, removal of job security, hire and fire at will policies, and the outsourcing of work to subcontractors and temporary staffing firms. In turn, workers have to be flexible to fit into these new precarious settings (Poster & Yolmo, 2016:581).

These changing employment practices have implications for domestic labour too. Core workers tend to work in high-pressured occupations with long working hours. They go through periods of being over-employed and overworked. Deadlines, changing teamwork responsibilities, high-performance expectations and time pressures meant that work hours and job locations are not always stable and consistent. Part-time, temporary, self-employed and outsourced contract workers often have multiple contracts and irregular work schedules. For example, some may work half-day or night shifts, while others work over weekends or move from one job to another, from one shift to another (Castells, 2004:428; Snyder, 2016:7).

Regarding domestic labour and caring responsibilities, flexible work patterns may be an advantage in managing work/family obligations, but they affect others negatively. Part-time work, for example, is beneficial for women who have demanding domestic labour and childcare obligations and have to balance their productive and reproductive roles (Gottlieb et al., 1998:12; Rubery, 2015:635). The need for full-time domestic work is reduced, and perhaps

more flexible or on-demand arrangements of paid domestic work exist. For temporary and outsourced workers, the demand for flexible domestic work is needed. Sennett (1998:11) argues that short-term employment breaks down the attachment of place and causes more rapid mobility between geographical locations. Normal family functioning is disrupted where employees have little control over work, family and leisure time (Florida, 2002:109-115).

Flexible capitalism includes not only different employment contracts but also flexible work patterns that include non-standard work schedules, flexible time-space and flexitime. The demands of a 24-hour service economy, the rise of female employment and the shift from single- to dual-earning households have several implications on people's working lives. For example, some people work longer hours than before, while others work after hours. Non-standard work schedules are typical and broadly include non-day-time employment. For example, some people work during evenings (work hours fall between 04:00 pm and midnight); nights (work hours fall between midnight, and 08:00 am); and rotating shifts (work schedules change periodically from days to evenings to nights) (Begall et al., 2015:958; Presser, 2006:459). In the US, for instance, one in five people works evenings, nights and on rotating schedules or over weekends. In Europe, almost a fifth of all workers work at night at least once per month, nearly half work at least one Saturday per month, and nearly a quarter work at least one Sunday per month (Presser, 2006:460; Bünning & Pollmann-Schult, 2016:297). These work schedules influence how domestic and care responsibilities are undertaken and under which conditions.

Digitalisation and technology cause a rise in another form of flexible work pattern, namely, flexible time-space work, which refers to teleworking or remote working (Rubery, 2019:99). Remote working or multi-locational work, which is particularly prevalent in some European nations, occurs when work is less dependent on physical office space or time. Instead of travelling to be face-to-face, work projects and meetings with clients and colleagues occur virtually through emails, online spreadsheets and Skype in different geographical locations (e.g., various business facilities, coffee shops, private homes) and time zones (Ojala & Pyoria, 2018:404; Snyder, 2016:7). Home-working is also an option where workers can work from home, which is often attractive to women who have young children (Gottlieb et al., 1998:19; Kalleberg, 2001:491). One of the main reasons for the increase in remote working or multi-locational work is technological advances, most notably information and communication technologies. Managerial strategies also increase numerical flexibility, to reduce costs related to the centralisation of work, and to increase outsourcing to enhance competition (Edgell, 2012:157-159).

However, one of the challenges for people working from home is to manage work and family demands effectively. For example, those with young children can set aside a few hours to take care of them and work during the evening when childcare responsibilities do not consume their time and energy. A disadvantage, however, is that work is unpredictable and can be commanded at any place and time at short notice (Edgell, 2012:159-160; Pettinger, 2002:27-28). Time for domestic labour can be affected, where there is a need to outsource domestic and care duties at short notice. Also, the rising expectation of men as involved fathers and husbands for their children and partners can generate possible new tensions between family members. Some men may want to avoid and resist domestic labour duties despite being employed on a flexible basis or from home, and may demand that some domestic and caring responsibilities are outsourced (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019:3).

Another flexible work arrangement is flexitime, which permits workers to change their daily arrival and departure times periodically. In the US, for instance, flexitime is especially prominent in female-dominated occupations, because of the gendered assumptions that they remain responsible for the caretaking of their households (Chung, 2019:26-27; Rubery, 2019:100). In Europe, in nations such as Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands, occupations and sectors with roughly equal proportions of men and women have greater access to flexitime working arrangements than in male-dominated occupations (Chung, 2019:29-30). Despite differences, flexitime affects domestic labour. For example, shopping no longer has to occur only during weekends, as flexitime allows workers to do these activities when it suits them best. Parents who work on flexible schedules can pick up their children from schools themselves, rather than making other arrangements. Thus, flexitime resolves some of these family conflicts (Chung, 2019:25). Compressed workweeks are another form of a flexible work pattern where workers can work longer hours on some days, so as to work fewer days per week. A forty-five-hour five-day workweek is compressed into a four-day workweek, allowing workers to spend a full day at home to focus on family responsibilities (Edgell, 2012:149; Galinsky et al., 2010:134; Gottlieb et al., 1998:12-15).

The unstable and unpredictable nature of these flexible work patterns (e.g., non-standard work schedules, flexi-space and flexitime) has implications for domestic labour. Flexi-space and flexitime workers need discipline with work habits and family responsibilities and face the risk of spillover between work and family obligations. For example, eating dinners together as a family can be challenging for those with non-standard working schedules (Gottlieb et al., 1998:19; Presser, 2006:464). Consequently, working mothers who work non-standard work hours are less likely to perform routine domestic labour duties than those with standard work schedules and may need to outsource these duties to domestic service firms (Bianchi & Wight, 2010:21).

In addition, new technologies cause more people to work from home on a full-time, part-time or temporary basis. Working from home is especially attractive to women and mothers, who can take care of their family and care commitments (Rubery, 2019:99-100). However, statistics from twenty-eight European nations reveal that in 2018, working from home did not differ very much by gender (Eurostat, 2019a). Nevertheless, working from home does not eliminate the need for paid domestic and care work. For example, people who work from home may find it challenging to balance work and family duties. Many workers must complete tasks on short notice, causing them to work during evenings or over weekends to meet project deadlines. Other flexible work practices, such as flexible working hours and compressed workweeks, may increase fatigue of workers (Gottlieb et al., 1998:21; Rubery et al., 2016:236). There is thus a need for flexible support for domestic labour, given the unpredictable nature of productive work, the loss of benefits and the need to earn a decent living through holding multiple jobs simultaneously.

In sum, the economic and technological changes over the past few centuries represent three major industrial revolutions: mechanical and steam production in the late 18th century, mass-industrial production in the later 19th century, and the information period with the developments of personal computers and the internet since the 1970s. Together, these have liberated humankind from animal power, made mass production possible through capitalism and industrial technology, and brought digital capabilities to billions of people (Anderson & Taylor, 2017:110; Schwab, 2016:11-12). However, the recent digitisation and automation of work, known as the Fourth Industrial Revolution, have revolutionised productive and reproductive work once again.

2.2.5 Fourth Industrial Revolution (the 2010s)

Current changes in the world of work are known as the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), which is characterised by advances in technologies and digitalisation. Genetics, artificial intelligence, cloud computing, advanced robotics, nanotechnology, biotechnology, sensor technology and 3-D printing all form part of the 4IR (Hirschi, 2018:193; Schwab, 2016:12). These technological manifestations have made new cost-effective, efficient, flexible and eco-friendly products and services possible. For example, autonomous vehicles, such as driverless aeroplanes, boats and drones, operate on sensors and artificial intelligence. Flexible and adaptive industrial robotics are used for a wide array of tasks, ranging from agriculture to nursing. New materials are produced from recycled waste that is lighter, stronger and more flexible than materials made from traditional ingredients (Pham & Ahn, 2018:520; Schwab, 2016:19-22). These technological developments have various implications for productive and reproductive work.

Regarding productive work, advances in technology have and continue to fully automate routine and lower-skilled jobs in the manufacturing, logistical and retailing sectors, and partially automate some professions such as law, journalism and accounting. Consequently, careers are becoming boundary-less, more flexible and mobile between and within organisations, where workers are forced to be self-directed, taking responsibility for their career development and being flexible by working on multiple contracts for multiple employers (Hirschi, 2018:194-196; Schwab, 2016:37-39). Digitalisation also enables a gig economy, increasing the virtualisation of work, which occurs on online platforms and apps (e.g., Uber, Airbnb). Employment is, therefore, becoming less full-time, permanent, secure and centralised, and workers will become more self-employed, working on short-term contracts outside of traditional workplaces from anywhere in the world. Working hours are not necessarily fixed, and workers can work remotely and offer their services on online platforms and apps whenever they want (De Stefano, 2014:1-5; Hirschi, 2018:197; Rubery, 2019:100-101). Thus, the 4IR increases contractual destandardisation through self-employment, spatial destandardisation through home-working and temporal destandardisation through freelance work and multiple contracts (Edgell, 2012:150-160; Rubery, 2019:98-101).

The 4IR affects not only productive labour but also reproductive labour, where domestic service robots and automation are increasingly entering people's homes that change people's cleaning routines (Caudwell & Lacey, 2019:1; Fortunati, 2018:2674; Nicholls & Strengers, 2019:73). Regarding cleaning, robotic vacuum cleaners have been designed to clean autonomously without human control. They detect dirt and dust through sensors, and when the battery is low or when it has completed its job, it returns to a self-charging base. A timer enables individuals to set a time for regular intervals without having to press the start button. These robotic devices are also smaller, lighter and make less noise than traditional electronic household devices. Other autonomous robotic domestic devices include lawnmowers, pool cleaners and window washers, which come with a GPS, sonars, cameras and scanners to detect the areas of cleaning that cut human labour (Fink et al., 2013:389-390; Frennert & Östlund, 2014:160). Thus, people can focus on their careers and let technological devices and robots take care of their cleaning duties at home. This decreases the demand for domestic help, whether through contracting in labour or outsourcing it to a cleaning company.

In line with the economic transformation of productive work, reproductive work has undergone a similar historical transformation. Historically, the performance of these activities was considered the work of women and a natural extension of womanhood. It was believed that women's unpaid domestic labour role was necessary for the optimal functioning and well-being of families (Treas, 2010:3). The position of women was relatively unchallenged in society, where women were strongly stereotyped in traditional roles as wives and mothers. It

was not until WWII, when women entered the labour market in larger numbers and on a more permanent basis, that things began to change. Particularly during the post-WWII period in Western nations, women started to raise questions about the gendered division of paid and unpaid work and the dominance of patriarchy and inequality in the family, workplace and society. Issues related to women's rights included sexual reproductive health, the gendered division and value of domestic labour, equal education, political rights, employment opportunities and differences in wages for men and women (Eipstein, 2002:118-119; Gray & Boddy, 2010:369). Awareness of these issues led to various feminist theories that focused on the inequality of power between men and women in society and within the home.

2.3 HISTORICAL REPRODUCTIVE TRANSITIONS AND FEMINIST THEORY

Feminist theory can broadly be defined as an understanding of the personal, social, economic and political oppressed and exploited positions of women in society and strives to establish equal rights, freedom and legal protections for women. Feminist views that societies prioritise men through patriarchy, while women are mistreated and discriminated against. In an attempt to reduce gender stereotypes, feminism seeks equal legal and workplace rights (e.g., voting power, maternity leave and equal pay); reproductive rights (e.g., the right to contraception, abortion and prenatal care); and protection from violence (e.g., domestic violence, sexual harassment and rape) (Drucker, 2018; Stinnett et al., 2017:30-31). In short, feminist theories aim to liberate all women in all societies.

The purpose of this section, however, is not to study the literature on all the feminist theories, but rather to emphasise how the different historical feminist waves have targeted various women's issues. In particular, the problems of patriarchy, male dominance and gender oppression are used as lenses to explore the kinds of exploitation and repression concerning women's roles in productive and reproductive work. Consequently, this section discusses the three waves of feminism¹¹.

2.3.1 First-wave feminism: Liberal feminism

Against the background of an expansion of the capitalist society, early industrialism and liberal politics of the mid-1800s, various patriarchal legislative Acts discriminated against women in the economic, political and social domains (Edgell, 2012:25; Strangleman & Warren, 2008:115). While middle-class women had limited access to education, most professions were legally not available for them and the only way to fill their days was to stay at home performing

¹¹ It should be noted that the periodization and categorization of the three waves of feminism should not be understood as singular moments, but co-exist and does not necessarily follow or elide one another. Feminist theorists are also not necessarily either in one wave or another. For example, Davis can be considered as a socialist feminism and an intersectionalist feminist.

household and caring tasks. Women were also prohibited from engaging in public political debates. Women were outraged by this, and the first major collective attempt to resolve these issues was held at Seneca Falls in 1848, which is known as the official launch of the first-wave feminist movement. However, it was not until after the American Civil War that the first-wave feminist movement became prominent (Marilley, 1996:6-7).

The first-wave feminist movement, best known as “liberal feminism”, but also “equal-opportunities feminism” or “equity feminism”, aimed to collectively integrate women in dominant modes of citizenship and into the civil society of industrial capitalism (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006:6; Renzetti et al., 2012:16-17). Liberal feminists argued that there should be no distinction between sex (biological traits) and gender (social traits, gender roles) concerning access to education, employment and political power. At that time, access to tertiary education was given only to white men, and feminists argued that biological differences are not a valid reason for any form of discrimination or exclusion (Krolokke & Sorensen 2006:6; Mendes, 2009:2). First-wave feminism is linked to liberal feminism and the early socialist feminism of the early 20th century in the US and Europe, which pioneered for equal rights for all and has inspired later feminist movements too. The seminal texts of liberal first-wave feminism include Wollstonecraft’s “*A vindication of the rights of women*” (1792) and Mill’s “*The subjection of women*” (1869), although these works also laid the basis of the radical second-wave feminist movements during the mid-20th century.

The primary concern of Wollstonecraft’s and Mill’s works has to do with the lack of justice and freedom for women and their subordinated positions in the private and public spheres. These authors refused to accept that women are less capable of reason than men and asserted that women too are competent and entitled to education (Bryson, 2003:16-17, 29). They campaigned for a variety of issues, where freedom, equality, opportunities and women-friendly legislation were on the foreground to improve the daily lives of women to enable them to pursue their destiny. They lobbied for equal rights in marriage, inheritance and property, where women should not be treated as the property of men but should be valued as human beings in their own right (Bryson, 2003:146; Drucker, 2018). They also pushed for equal rights in education and within the workplace. Finally, by the 1890s, women campaigned for suffrage and voting rights and aimed to demolish discriminatory laws, exclusionary social norms and the injustices of women’s political exclusions (Gray & Boddy, 2010:369; Marilley, 1996:8).

Theoretically, liberal feminism challenges the view that men and women should be defined to certain positions and roles in society based on their biological sex. They reject the claim that men are naturally dominant, aggressive and ambitious, while women are naturally inferior, subordinate and nurturing. They maintain that society is sexist and that sex difference is

irrelevant for equal rights. Women should have the same opportunities and human rights as men to make their own choices in terms of their abilities as rational beings (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:23; Mendes, 2009:2-4). Women should not be cast into specific roles that perpetuate their subordination based on patriarchal values and should not be treated differently under the law (Bryson, 2003:19; Renzetti et al., 2012:18). These claims were based on the industrial capitalist period, which distinguished between men and women regarding economic, political and social rights. Liberal feminists are fairly conservative and do not aim to revolutionise or upset the capitalist society by transforming the educational, juridical or social system, but rather to redistribute equal social and economic rights for both women and men (Alvesson & Billing, 2009:23; Gray & Boddy, 2010:374).

The industrial capitalist era implemented various marriage bars that prohibited married women from entering paid employment. Economically, this led to the claim that men and women should be treated equally and should have equal access to education, resources and employment positions. Women should be acknowledged for their contributions and competencies. As such, men should be encouraged to train for such jobs as nursing, teaching and secretary, while women should be educated in engineering, construction and security industries. With a diverse pool of qualified applicants, employers can be legally mandated to hire enough different workers to achieve a reasonable balance in their workforce and to pay them the equally, with the same opportunities to advance in their careers (Lorber, 1997:9-10).

Politically, liberal feminists, especially suffragettes, challenged the gender stereotypes of women where it was considered “unwomanly” for women to engage in public and political persuasions. It was believed that when women spoke in the public, they showed typical masculine qualities which went against the norm of what it means to be a woman (and a man). Suffragettes argued that looking and sounding different from men should not disallow them from engaging in public and political debates. To deny them voting power is to deny all women their fundamental rights as citizens. Some argued that giving women the right to vote supported the fundamental democratic principles of freedom to all. Other claimed that the broader society would benefit, as women will purify and enrich politics with their innately female concerns. Finally, at the end of World War 1, in 1920, millions of American women were allowed to vote, and by 1928, British women gained the vote (Bryson, 2003:153; Krolokke & Sorensen 2006:3; Renzetti et al., 2012:18).

However, first-wave feminism has been criticised as being simplistic and naïve. It is labelled as an individualistic theory, concerned mainly with making women equal to men, without considering other possible forms of dominations and inequalities in the broader society, such as differences between age, race, class, sexuality and ethnicity and how these demographics

affect women's lives differently. It also fails to consider differences between women and societies by trying to outline a universally valid concept of justice and equality. Large proportions of women continue today to experience a gender pay gap, segregation of jobs and an unequal share of domestic labour and caring commitments at home (Bryson, 2003:153-154; Paltasingh & Lingam, 2014:47; Rubery, 2015:634).

Regarding reproductive work, the liberal position generalises the perceptions and experiences of many women who find joy and pleasure in motherhood, while at the same time, it does not effectively manage to solve the inequality that women experience at home concerning reproductive labour. Regarding productive work, liberal feminists also failed to acknowledge class differences between women. Their point of view is mainly from a white middle class, educated female perspective, where they assume that all women want to work, not that they have to. In fact, working-class women and marginalised women have to work to support their families economically, and their oppression in society goes beyond that of sex – it includes race, class, gender, age, sexuality and ethnicity (Bryson, 2003:185; Krolokke & Sorensen 2006:4-5; Mendes, 2009:6). Despite these criticisms, the liberalist first-wave feminist movement paved the way for fundamental rights for women and set the stage for the development of the radical and socialist second-wave feminist movement of the mid-twentieth century.

2.3.2 Second-wave feminism: Radical and socialist feminisms

Rising from the post-WWII welfare era, second-wave feminism is known for its radical potential to challenge women's oppression in society and their subordinate role as homemakers. This was a time when the middle class desired a return to normality and routine after the war, where patriarchal nuclear family and suburbia values were cherished. In the US and western European middle-class suburbs, many women stayed at home to care for children and families, while men earned a living in the city (Gottschall & Dingeldey, 2016:543; Lucio, 2016:155). Affluence improved their lives, and new home technologies reduced time on domestic and caring responsibilities. At the same time, the post-war period changed women's political participation, education opportunities and work patterns. The growing economy brought new types of jobs for skilled women, and a larger percentage of married middle-class women were employed than in the pre-war period. Despite these changes, women faced various levels of employment discrimination as they dominated in secondary jobs and were strikingly absent from highly professional and political positions. They were also paid lower wages than men and were typically excluded from welfare benefits. At home, they remained primarily responsible for the reproductive duties and liberation remained a mirage (Bryson, 2003:126).

The focus of the second-wave feminist movement was the role of patriarchy, which can be defined as the “rule of the father” (Bryson, 2003:8). Likewise, Hartmann (1979:13) explains patriarchy as, “women are hierarchically dominated, exploited and oppressed by men”. The focus on patriarchy stems from women’s oppression in society, the workplace and the home. To address women’s oppression, second-wave feminism focus on issues related to the gendered division of productive and reproductive labour, equal pay, job discrimination, educational systems, childcare, reproductive rights, and physical and sexual violence against women (Gray & Boddy, 2010:369; Hartmann, 1979:15). The seminal texts that spearheaded the second-wave feminist movement are de Beauvoir’s *“The second sex”* (1949) and Friedan’s *“The Feminine Mystique”* (1963). De Beauvoir’s (1949) work focuses on the reproductive physiology of women and examines ‘what is a woman’ and how women are seen as ‘the other’ in relation to men. Friedan’s (1963) work investigates the social and individual consequences that white middle-class homemakers experienced in suburban nuclear families during the 1950s in the US. She further challenges how magazines, education systems, consumer goods and societal expectations reproduced the stereotypical image of what it means to be a woman. It is in response to these arguments that several forms of feminism emerged, such as radical and socialist feminisms.

Thus, second-wave feminism politicised and publicised the personal and focused on the injustices in private matters in the family, in society and in everyday life of men and women. They rejected liberal feminism’ focus on law and Marxism’s focus on political economy. Rather, for second wave feminists, overcoming gender injustice is to end the systematic devaluation of both paid and unpaid caregiving and the gender division of domestic labour that were mostly performed by or associated with women. They connected women’s main responsibility for unpaid caregiving and domestic labour, their subordination in marriage and personal life, to the gender injustices and wage gaps in labour markets and men’s domination in the political sphere (Fraser, 2009:100). Within the second-wave feminist movement, two main strands of feminism developed: Radical feminism and socialist feminism.

Rising since the 1960s from the political left, social movements, the Civil Rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movements, radical feminism developed as a conceptual framework and a particular type of activist campaign to liberate women. The literature on radical feminism is vast, but it can be broadly defined as an attempt to uncover the root causes of women’s sexual oppression through patriarchy, the radical restructuring of society and the removal of male authority (Mendes, 2009:6). Essential works of radical feminism include Firestone’s *“The dialectic of sex: The case for feminist revolution”* (1970) and Millett’s *“Sexual politics”* (1971). At the centre of these works is the notion that men universally oppress and fundamentally

dominate women. For example, Firestone (1970) outlines how the biological sexual dichotomy between productive and reproductive labour is the most fundamental form of oppression, but that they are so deeply entrenched in society that they are hardly recognised. She ultimately argues that the aspects of women's lives, especially the private reproductive roles, should be politicised. Similarly, Millett's (1971) work emphasises how patriarchy is embedded in society and in institutions such as education, religion, the media and the state.

Thus, radical feminist theory is useful to explain structural aspects of women's oppression. Radical feminists also focus on the private spheres of the household, where sexualities and family politics are challenged as mechanisms of patriarchal dominance. For example, private issues of sexual violence, pornography and domestic abuse are questioned and actively exposed in public (Bryson, 2003:163; Gray & Boddy, 2010:375). The only way to liberate women is to revolutionise and transform the status quo (Abrahamyan et al., 2018:60; Alvesson & Billing, 2009:23). Thus, one of the main goals of radical feminism is to make the natural, taken-for-granted aspects of women's lives visible through patriarchy, which has been widely addressed in Sylvia Walby's *"Theorising patriarchy"* (1990).

Walby (1990:39) defines patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". This definition rejects the biological differences between men and women and argues that social structures and relations contribute to women's subordinated position in society, the workplace and the family. Consequently, Walby (1990) identifies six structures of patriarchy. First, paid employment has played an essential part in women's subordinated position in society, and despite women's growth in the labour market in the post-war period, they are typically paid less than men, they often experience sexual discrimination and harassment at work, particular job positions are restricted, and working conditions are unfavourable (Walby, 1990:59). The second patriarchal structure is the household, which is dominant in women's lives and one of the primary areas for gender inequality. Despite the increase of women in the labour market in the post-WWII period, many women continue to remain primarily responsible for domestic and caring labour (Walby, 1990:61). Also, despite the rise in divorce, many women stay in an exploitative marriage as a strategy for personal survival and greater material comfort. Third, cultural values about femininity and masculinity also contribute to the patriarchal structure, where discourses enforce how to behave appropriately like a man or a woman (Walby, 1990:90). Fourth, even though women have made significant improvements in sexual reproductive behaviour, with the widespread acceptance of reproductive technologies, sexuality remains patriarchal and a central focus for radical feminists (Walby, 1990:118). Lastly, the state (in the UK and the US, for example) remains patriarchal, capitalist and racist, favouring white men above others.

By taking patriarchy as a theoretical lens, radical feminists were able to emphasise the sexual division of productive and reproductive labour, not addressed by the liberal feminists and first-wave feminist movement at the turn of the 19th century. They demonstrate that these female roles not only serve men but also demote women into a lower social economic status, whether as cheap labourers in the workplace or free labourers at home, which is inherently unfulfilling and degrading. Radical feminists have publicised the private such as inequalities in reproduction, childrearing, domestic labour, pornography, and sexual and domestic violence, aspects of women's lives that have been overlooked and taken for granted (Bryson, 2003:167).

Regarding reproductive labour, radical feminists emphasise men's resistance to change and their refusal to participate with domestic and caring responsibilities at home. Where liberal feminists note the unfairness and unequal performance of household labour between men and women, radical feminists argue that women should refuse to continue to perform domestic labour for men. Men should also be forced or persuaded into accepting domestic and caring responsibilities at home. Thus, through patriarchy, radical feminists analysed how socially created sex roles exploit women's activities, work, desires and aspirations (Bryson 2003:176; Mendes, 2009:4). However, radical feminism and its emphasis on patriarchy have been criticised as being too uniform. Different experiences of women from different race, class and ethnic groups are ignored. Radical feminists have also been criticised for villainising all men and portraying all women as inherently good (Gray & Boddy, 2010:375; Vogel, 2000:2). These debates are enhanced by the socialist feminists, which offers a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, capitalism and the gendered division of paid and unpaid work.

Socialist feminism rejects liberal feminism, which argues that women are merely unequal to men, and also rejects radical feminism's claim that women are solely oppressed through patriarchy. Socialist feminism can be defined as a two-fold theory that argues that a combination of capitalism and patriarchy contribute to women's exploited position in society. It mainly focuses on the political economy and social exploitation resulting from capitalism and patriarchy and argues that women are unable to be liberated due to their historic economic dependence on men. They emphasise how women's reproductive and unpaid household labour benefit men and capitalism, which became known as the "domestic labour debate" (Gray & Boddy, 2010:375-376; Vogel, 2000:2). Delphy's *"The main enemy"* (1984) and Hartmann's *"The family as the locus of gender, class and political struggle"* (1981) formed the basis of this debate.

The domestic labour debate is a theoretical approach to domestic and care labour within the household as sites of production and labour processes (Vogel, 2000:2). It grapples with the

idea that domestic labour has value, and reproduces labour-power under particular circumstances, constraints and conditions. The domestic labour debate focuses on how domestic labour maintains the capitalist economic system by “providing the labour necessary for the reproduction of labour-power” (Molyneux, 1979:3).

At the centre of both Vogel’s and Molyneux’s works is the household, which became the centre for inequality and exploitation of women. If a woman works for her household, she is economically dependent on her husband. If a woman engages in paid labour outside the home, then she is still expected to perform her domestic and care duties after work, meaning she works twice as hard. In an attempt to address these inequalities, materialistic concepts such as production, reproduction, use values and exploitation are used to expose the roots of women’s exploitation within society, as workers and particularly as primary domestic labourers and caregivers in the household (Lorber, 1997:11; Vogel, 2000:2).

Following these materialistic concepts, Delphy (1984:10) argues that there are two modes of production within society: The goods and services produced in the industrial mode of production with a capitalist economic system, and a patriarchal mode of production within the family. In the former, the male wage earner sells his labour-power for fixed wages as determined by the service he provides, the hours of work and particular qualifications and skills. His labour-power has exchange value, which employers and workers negotiated upon until a deal is struck. In contrast, a married woman’s domestic labour is not fixed. She earns no money for it and her hours of work are unspecified. Ultimately, she depends on the goodwill of a single individual, her husband. Whatever goodwill she receives from her husband is independent of her work. The only obligation that her husband has is to provide for his wife’s basic needs and his family. Her work, therefore, has use-value, where her labour contributes to the reproduction of labour power of the male wage worker. In return, the wife only receives her subsistence money from her husband, while she contributes to “the surplus of labour which appears in the capitalist sector as surplus value” (Molyneux, 1979:8). Thus, homemakers are essential to capitalism because of their unpaid labour in the home maintains workers and reproduces the next generation of workers, but the exchange value of women’s work in the family is valueless and is not considered to be real work (Lair, 2007:140; Lorber, 1997:10-11).

Through mechanisms of patriarchy and the capitalistic organisation of production, women’s participation in the paid labour force was restricted and controlled through male-dominated trade unions. Together with the inability to financially support themselves, women’s sexuality was controlled through the denial of abortions and the right to divorce, and by forcing women to depend on men through marriage. Men, therefore, managed the labour-power of women and benefited directly from their unpaid domestic labour and childrearing duties, as well as

many other unpleasant responsibilities both within and beyond the household (Hartmann, 1981:114). Women shaped and maintained the lives of male workers presently and of the next generations' workforce, performing subsistence tasks for men and reproducing the labour-power of the capitalists.

Where socialist feminism provides a robust theoretical view on the exploitation of women through patriarchy and capitalism, the socialist feminist perspective also has been criticised as being too homogeneous. Not all women are subsumed under marriage relations, and not all marriages are identical. They vary considerably between nations, entailing different labour organisations and obligations for men and women. Delphy's (1984) argument focuses on marriage as a source of patriarchal domination. However, she forgets that motherhood and women's position in the labour market contributes to their oppressive positions within society. In reality, not all women perform domestic labour, as single men, children and others do so too. Socialist-Marxist feminists also fail to acknowledge the differences between women of colour and from poor socio-economic backgrounds compared to women in the middle and upper classes: middle-class white women frequently transfer the burden of domestic labour onto other women of colour from poor socio-economic backgrounds (Molyneux, 1979:6-7; Walby et al., 2012:224). Hence, the intersections of race, class and gender, as well as geographical location, became a central issue of the third-wave feminist movement.

2.3.3 Third-wave feminism: Post-modern feminism and intersectionality

Rising from the 1990s, and in an attempt to respond to the shortcomings of the second-wave feminist movement, third-wave feminism rejects essentialism and universal truths, and honours different, contradictory and multiple individual experiences among women (Gray & Boddy, 2010:382; Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006:16-18). Where the second-wave feminist movement over-emphasised middle-class and white privileged women's experiences of oppression, inequality and exploitation through patriarchy and capitalism, the third-wave feminist movement is a pluralist approach. It used multiple aspects and layers of race, class and gender to illustrate how women's oppression plays out in people's lives. Inspired mainly by post-modern thought and theories, it focuses on multiple subjective meanings, different power and agency (Bryson, 2003:220; Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006:19). By doing this, it rejects the claim that women from the same race, gender and class have similar experiences, and claims that women in different societal contexts face a different set of individual challenges (Snyder, 2008:175-176). In essence, the third-wave feminist movement is more inclusive and diverse than the second wave by allowing not only differences between race, class, gender, age and economic standings but also different identities within a single person (Snyder, 2008:184). It seeks to identify multiple perspectives, including suppressed and marginalised

voices, and bringing them to the fore. As Yuval-Davis (2006:199-200) argues, by bringing in different perspectives and experiences in feminist theoretical analyses, one can avoid attributing fixed identity groupings to the dynamic processes of positionality and location.

These ideas of multiple perspectives were first linked to black feminist theorists, who criticised other feminist theorists of ignoring the particular challenges that black women experience. Their critical scholarly works include bell hooks's *"Ain't I a woman: Black women and feminism"* (1981), Davis' *"Women, race and class"* (1982) and Collins' *"Black feminist thought"* (1990). These works criticise white, middle-class feminists for the lack of diversity in their analyses and their inability to speak for all women's experiences. They demonstrate that mainstream feminism fails to acknowledge multiple types of oppression, such as race, gender and class, and how it produces various forms of abuse and subordination for women. Black feminists advocate for their rights and experiences as black women to overcome white domination and privilege and argue that black women suffer from triple oppression based on their gender, race and class (Gray & Boddy, 2010:378; Yuval-Davis, 2006:195). Many black feminists argue that black women have to choose to identify themselves by either gender or race, rather than combining the two (Mendes, 2009:xv). Out of these concerns came a need to develop an approach or framework that would encapsulate these different experiences, while analysing power indifferences.

Crenshaw (1991:139) coined the term "intersectionality", which can broadly be defined as a theoretical, analytical tool that "underscores the multidimensionality of marginalised subjects' lived experiences". Under the theoretical lens of intersectionality, Crenshaw (1991:124) emphasises how different experiences of women from different race, class and gender backgrounds overlap and lead to various social positions, power relations and everyday experiences (Dhamoon, 2011:230). The intersections of multiple forms of discrimination, including racism, sexism and other social and structural inequalities (e.g., sexuality, disability, class and age), add additional obstacles to the everyday life experiences of women of colour. In essence, intersectionality problematises alleged colour-blindness, neutrality and objectivity in theoretical discourses and rejected the single-axis homogenous framework often embraced by feminists and anti-racist scholars. Intersectionality is a useful theoretical tool to uncover the full spectrum of oppression, exclusion and marginalised aspects of identities as socially constructed, which affect people differently across multiple categories and location (Bryson, 2003:230; Crenshaw, 1991:124). Others, such as Collins (1990:18), use intersectionality to refer to "particular forms of oppression, for example, the intersections of race and gender, or sexuality and nations." Intersectional work has also reflected different orientations toward the relative importance and centrality of various layers of society, ranging from the individual to the institutional (Cho et al., 2013:787-788). It treats social positions as relational, and it makes

visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it.

However, Dhamoon (2011:230) argues that where many of the feminist intersectional-type analyses focus on the individual or social group marked as oppressed, one can also mainstream intersectionality to understand identities of privilege. The focus on identities often occurs through case studies or narratives of various black women as individuals, as a general group or as a specific group. While Dhamoon values the contribution that intersectionality makes to celebrate marginalised voices, she argues, “An individual derives varying amounts of penalty and privilege from the multiple systems of oppression which frame everyone’s lives.” As such, “an individual may be an oppressor, a member of an oppressed group, or simultaneously oppressor and oppressed” (Collins, 1990:225). The positions of privilege are vital regarding domestic labour, where different experiences of employers may yield a better understanding of their views on domestic labour in general and paid domestic work in particular.

Linking intersectionality to reproductive labour, the intersections of gender, race and class become evident. Where unpaid reproductive work remains primarily divided by gender, waged reproductive work is typically gendered, racialised and performed by working-class women. White privileged women shift their reproductive responsibilities onto other women of colour and from marginalised or underprivileged backgrounds (Anderson, 2001:25; Ehrenreich, 2006:513; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:7). The historical dualism between productive and reproductive work affects the racial division of labour. Good jobs were reserved for white men (and later, middle-class white women), while racial-ethnic and migrant workers were typically employed in low-wage and marginal jobs. As a result, many working-class black women and children were forced into low-paid factory jobs and domestic service, reproducing race, class and gender subordination and inequalities (Duffy, 2007:313; Glenn, 1992:7).

The racial domination of waged reproductive work also intersects with class. Middle-class households have a clear polarity between the public and the private domains, which allows middle-class homemakers to care for her own family. In working-class households, however, both men and women contribute to the economic survival of their household. Neighbours, parents or extended family members often care for working-class women’s children. With fewer resources and opportunities than middle-class women, many working-class women work as domestic and care workers for the middle class (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006:243; Laslett & Brenner, 1989:389-391). As Miller (1983:76) argues, “a basic requirement for middle-class status was the [employment] of at least one maid-of-all-work”. Not only were many middle-class women emancipated from many domestic labour duties, but they also had new forms of

power, freedom and status as managers of domestic servants. Intersectionality draws attention to the particularities of black women regarding productive and reproductive work and the manifestations of power (Cho et al., 2013:788). As such, the experiences of black middle-class employers and (black) domestic workers is an important and interesting aspect of intersectionality, which has not been explored in depth. Another theoretical perspective to understand the intertwining forces of race, racism, and power that affect domestic workers, is the critical race theory (CRT).

2.4 CRITICAL RACE THEORY (CRT)

Emerging from the post-war period in the US, critical race theory (CRT) stemmed from critical legal studies, feminism, and the civil rights movement. CRT instigates that racism and racial inequality is entangled and reinforced in society, which makes it normal and natural and aims to remove racial discrimination and provide remedies for racial injustice (Breen & Meer, 2019:596). CRT focuses on power relations, patriarchy, social roles, nationalism and empowerment, and aims to challenge and change racism and racial prejudice in society. For example, it examines how the legal doctrine elevates white power and subordinate black power. In short, scholars of the CRT use this theory as an essential framework to challenge and transform historical legal, political and social underpinnings of racism, racial politics and power relations in society, institutional systems and everyday life (Gillborn, 2015:278; Mills & Unsworth, 2018:314).

While there is no uniform definition of the CRT, it offers a set of principles for analysing and understanding racialised social systems. It confronts race neutrality and colour-blindness in policy and practice and acknowledges that “the black voice” is marginalised in mainstream theory, policy and practice. In short, CRT argues that racism is embedded in society and aims to explore, understand and examine racism in a society that privileges “whiteness”, while others are oppressed, discriminated and subjugated because of their “blackness” (Hylton, 2010:338-339). Despite a lack of a uniform definition of CRT, it is concerned with five aspects that guide research on racial justice: Firstly, CRT centralises around issues of race and racism, and intersect this with other forms of oppression (e.g. class, gender, sexuality, social status, disability). The second focus of CRT, is that it challenges dominant perspectives and re-centralises marginalised positionalities. Thirdly, CRT commits to social justice and race equity. Fourthly, CRT also values experimental knowledge and builds on oral traditions of indigenous communities of colour to understand social inequality. Lastly, CRT is interdisciplinary and believe that the world is multi-dimensional and research should reflect multiple perspectives (Howard & Navarro, 2016:258-259).

CRT has been embraced and adopted by a broad array of disciplines. In education, for example, scholars have used CRT to illustrate how the curricula maintain a “white supremacist script”, how school assessments are geared toward white students, and how educators use racist narratives when addressing black students. In psychology, CRT is used to understand colour-blindness, equal opportunities and racism, and link this to the individual, institutional and macro structures. In geography, race and place are connected through various forms of colonialism. Political activists show how modern economies and political systems are linked to relationships of land and labour, which benefits whites. Thus, the adoption of the CRT in numerous disciplines has demanded a careful examination of the nature of racism, which intersects within the lives of black people (Christian et al., 2019:1-2; Mills & Unsworth, 2018:314). For example, people in power may agree that policies and laws should be implemented to end oppression and discrimination against black people, but these same people do not want to surrender their power and privilege to achieve equality and justice for everyone.

Regarding waged reproductive labour, CRT allows for a critical theoretical understanding of the underlying intersections of race, gender and class in reproductive labour. Historically, under capitalist and patriarchal structures, reproductive labour is unpaid and performed by women. With the white feminist movements, many white women have been emancipated from their reproductive responsibilities (e.g. domestic and care labour), by transferring these duties to black women. The employment of black women as domestic servants, who cook, clean and care for children, the sick and the elderly, has allowed white female mistresses to maintain and elevate their status within the confines of patriarchy. As such, they have come to supervise and regulate the labour of black women. In this regard, white feminists view of work as resistant to motherhood and a liberating force for women has afforded little recognition to the exploitation of black women in their achievement of gender equality. White women’s reliance on the labour of black women has meant that they are able to fulfil their lives with paid employment without the burden of reproductive labour. By hiring or contracting in their help, they have been able to ensure that their children thrive, have a contented spouse and a well-managed home. To achieve this illusion, black domestic workers clean up the home, bathe the children and cook, and then disappear when they return from their productive work. Hence, the lifestyles of the middle-class are made possible by the transfer of the services associated with the wife’s traditional role as wife and mother to domestic workers, most of which are of a different race and class (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002:4; Nilliasca, 2011:380-383; 393-394).

By engaging with CRT, one is provided with a useful lens to uncover white privilege, and the lived experiences of black domestic workers, since race, racism, classism and patriarchy, among other factors, shape the nature and experiences in waged reproductive labour

(Nilliasca, 2011:379). CRT provides vital insights into how race (and racism) continues to be a significant factor regarding the inequalities in waged reproductive labour and underlying power systems. For example, for black domestic workers, the intersections of race, class, and gender have been a major factor in their over representation as domestic workers who serve white employers, their inability to be served by white people, their lack of education and negative stereotypes in the media and broader societal discourse. The use of CRT as a theoretical perspective highlights the institutional and structural forms of racism of waged reproductive labour, and how it contributes to racial injustice, inequality and oppression of domestic workers.

This is perhaps even more noticeable in the outsourcing of domestic work to housecleaning service firms. Given the nature of domestic services, which is deeply embedded in a personal status relationship between women from different race and class groups, a feature of housecleaning services is that interaction between clients and domestics is kept at the minimum. The relationship becomes institutional, detached and instrumental. By taking a CRT perspective on this issue, it could add to our understanding of why people use housecleaning services instead of hiring a domestic worker directly, how the use of housecleaning services uplifts white privilege, and how this new type of relationship is contoured by questions of race and power. By taking a CRT perspective to outsourced housecleaning services, the notion of race as a socially constructed concept can illustrate how race and racism are fluid and flexible, and can take new shapes and forms in the outsourced domestic service space.¹²

Another theoretical perspective to consider is the work-family conflict perspective. Despite the ability to pay others to perform domestic and care labour, a concern for many women, mainly employed mothers, is the inability to balance work and family demands. Together with the transformations in productive labour, where large proportions of women are employed, causing an increase in dual-earning couples, feminist debates have adequately demonstrated that reproductive labour remains the primary responsibility of women. Furthermore, the growth of the information period, with its new technologies, has increased the possibilities of interdependence between work and family roles and also the conflict a person may experience between these roles (Colombo & Ghislieri, 2008:35). For employed women and mothers, this can be a challenge, as employment has become more demanding and unpredictable. Theoretically, these tensions can be explained by engaging with work-family conflict theories.

¹² Although the focus of this study is not on the lived experiences of domestic workers employed by a housecleaning service firm, clients' views on why they hire housecleaning services and their experiences on the impersonal, detached relationship with domestic workers of firms may shed new insights into the underlying racial power dynamics and inequalities in the relationship.

2.5 WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT THEORY

The most widely cited definition of work-family conflict theory is a bidirectional form “of inter-role conflict, in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by participation in the family (work) role” (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985:77). Time, energy and commitment are required to perform both work and family roles effectively, and competing time pressures and unpredictable demands from work and family may increase stress and conflict for individuals (Greenhaus & Powel, 2006:73).

Accordingly, work-to-family conflict occurs when work responsibilities, commitments and demands interfere with the duties of the family domain. For example, inflexible work hours, unexpected work meetings, inconvenient travel times and work overload can interfere with housekeeping demands, parents’ ability to pick children up from school or to have family dinners together with partners and children. On the other hand, family-to-work conflict occurs when family responsibilities interfere with work demands. For example, a working parent may need to take leave to care for a sick child or elderly parent during a critical period at work (Colombo & Ghislieri, 2008:35; Frone, 2003:145; Kulik, 2019:258). Since Greenhaus and Beutell’s (1985) pioneer work, a large body of literature on work-family conflict has developed, where various studies agree that numerous factors have stimulated the intersections and consequences of the bidirectional work-family conflict. Under discussion is the decline of the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model, the changing nature of work and employment and the role of technology.

One of the fundamental changes that affect work-family conflict is the decline in the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model into a dual-earner adult model. Until the mid-twentieth century, the primary financial provider of the household was the man of the household, while the primary homemaker of the household was the woman. Today, with a general movement toward greater gender equality, the growth in women’s increased participation in the labour force has caused an increase in dual-earner households, where both fathers and mothers are simultaneously both breadwinners and caregivers of the household. Although women continue to take charge of family responsibilities, both employed men and women are likely to experience significant work and family obligations, which has brought new challenges for work-family reconciliation and possible work-family conflict (Gregory, 2016:502; Heraty et al., 2008:480; Kulik, 2008:271). For example, dual-earner parents, especially mothers, often find it challenging to reconcile work schedules around various social institutions such as schools, shops and the transportation of children. These pressures result in the need and desire to

either contract in domestic help or outsource some duties to lessen the burden of particular family responsibilities (Lair, 2007:160).

Another factor that contributes to the likelihood that work-family conflict will occur is the changing nature of work and employment. Today, work is more intense, workloads are more substantial, and working hours are long and unpredictable, which increase tensions between the work and family domains (Boyar et al., 2008:228). For example, increased work demands often prevent professionals from finishing work during working hours, resulting in them working overtime or over weekends or bringing work home, which interferes with time for family responsibilities and childcare (Frone, 2003:150; Gregory, 2016:510). Long and inflexible working-hours often prevent parents from picking up their children from school or transporting them to their various destinations. They are faced with either cutting back on worktime or taking extended breaks from work, neither of which is available in some jobs. Thus, stress and work-family conflict increase and working parents need to find alternative solutions (Lair, 2007:85).

In addition, the current digital era has caused an increase in non-standard flexible employment practices (e.g., part-time contracts, remote working and flexitime), which also affect work-family relationships. Where voluntary part-time work, especially among mothers, is a deliberate choice to reconcile work and family demands, involuntary part-time work is on the rise, forcing many employees to hold multiple jobs and employment contracts simultaneously to support their family (Bittman, 2016:533; Kulik, 2019:269). Accordingly, working hours and demands may interfere with family responsibilities. While working from home may be a strategy to reconcile work and family responsibilities, it can also lead to more significant intrusion of work into family life. For example, the continuous availability of employees, especially in high-stressed jobs, makes it challenging for employees to distance themselves from their work demands and, as a result, they often neglect their family responsibilities. Consequently, working from home may encroach upon family time, causing work-family conflict to increase (Adisa et al., 2019:1636; Russel et al., 2009:80).

Another factor that affects work-family conflict is the current era of technological development, which affects how and when work is performed. For instance, the Internet, emails, laptops and smartphone communication devices have enabled employees to stay connected to work, completing work tasks anywhere and at any time (Beutell & Wittig-Berman, 2008:510). While technologies aim to improve work-family balance, they can also cause work-family conflict. For example, an employee can check and respond to emails in the evening or over the weekend, increasingly blurring the lines between work and family life. Technologies, therefore, have the potential to interrupt or distract an individual at any time and place. Flexible work

patterns, through remote working or compressed workweeks, similarly aim to facilitate a greater balance between work and family demands, but the “always-on” technologies increase working time and the expectations of being always available. The boundaries between work and family are becoming increasingly permeable and blurred with technologies, increasing the likelihood of work-family conflict (Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007:593).

However, the intersections between class, race and gender render different experiences regarding how work-family conflict is experienced and how it can be solved. For example, often working-class dual-earning parents are forced to stay in full-time jobs, even when children are young, and the only way for them to cope with family demands is to rely on informal networks or extended family members. Where middle-class dual-earning parents are also time-pressed, they earn more money than in the past, which enables working mothers to cut working time or to contract in domestic help or outsource domestic and care labour to professionals (Hochschild, 2003:254; Lair, 2007:160). Apart from transformations in productive work that affects work-family conflicts, the increase of women’s participation in the labour force has affected household structures and life cycles, and consequently reproductive labour.

2.6 CHANGING FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

In large parts of the Western world, the abovementioned shifts in the number of women entering the workplace and the changes in working contracts and arrangements have had a marked effect on family and household structures. In addition, changes in fertility and mortality rates and societal values have also effected changes in family and household sizes, composition, dynamics, roles and shapes. Defining ‘family’ is complex, as it varies depending on the historical, social, cultural, economic and regional structure of the community and family members (Blythe, 2013:243). As a Human Rights Committee affiliated with the United Nations report indicates, “there is no definition of the family” and that family should rather be understood in “a wide sense of the word” (Gennarini, 2016:1). The complexity of the term family is evident in how it has been defined in various disciplines (Sharma, 2013:306). A central feature of the family is its social and economic unit based on kinship, blood relations, marriage or adoption, where adult family members are responsible for the upbringing of children within their family (Belsey, 2005:11; Elliot, 1986:4; Giddens, 2010:331).

The term ‘household’ has been used to include non-traditional types of families for all individuals (relatives or non-relatives) who share a household or dwelling unit (Kurajdová, 2013:20). Some family members have multiple households, where they reside in different dwellings. Others live on their own or with extended relatives. Thus, one of the main differences between families and households is that the former is an ideological and emotional

unit between individuals, whereas the latter is a functional and geographical unit. Similarly, within a South African context, the term household refers to “an arrangement of co-residence with shared consumption and production (even though household members may not be co-resident all the time)” (Hall & Mokomane, 2018:32). For these reasons, households, rather than families, are used in this study as the unit of analysis.

The United Nations Statistics Division (2018) categorises households into four types¹³. The first type of household is the most elementary one: a single, one-person household where the individual lives by himself/herself in a dwelling. While many young people continue to reside with their parents until marriage or when they have secure employment, increasing numbers of people are choosing to live on their own (EuroStat, 2019b; Macionis, 2018:502). Women are now less financially dependent on men due to the rise in education opportunities and career development. Living alone can also be the result of the disjunction of time and space. Partners may have separate residences and only see each other occasionally. Social acceptance of flexible relationships and situational factors, such as technological changes and growing migration patterns, also cause a rise in single, one-person households. The increase in the current information and digital era, where people are more mobile, and work is not fixed to a specific time and place, also affects the rise in single-person households. Different requirements for men and women regarding geographical mobility for career success sees an increase in commuter marriages, where spouses or partners live alone during the week and cohabit only on weekends (Cheal, 2002:26; Stinnett et al., 2017:69; Teachman, 2000:38). In short, living alone can be temporary, where individuals may resume family living at some period in the future, or permanent, where individuals choose to live alone (Beck-Gersheim, 2002:21).

The second type of household – intact nuclear households – refers to married couples with children, incipient nuclear households (couples without children) or attenuated nuclear households (single parents with children) (Bryant, 2016:1; Stinnett et al., 2017:5). However, the intersections of class and race affect household size, where households from lower socio-economic backgrounds and ethnic minority status are less likely to live in intact nuclear households than in white and middle-class households (Garcia et al., 2016:110).

Third, an extended household, a popular type of household in many traditional societies, includes individuals or couples with or without children and other relatives (e.g., a sibling, aunt or parent); or with non-relatives (e.g., friends or co-workers) who live together mostly for economic reasons (Schiffman & Wisenblit, 2015:258; Taylor, 2000:239). A more significant

¹³ These four types of households are also typically found in South Africa, which is discussed in more depth in chapter 4.

proportion of extended households are noted among economically marginalised people (Macionis, 2018:309; Perkins, 2019:527-530). Lastly, composite households involve a complex network between the householder and other members of the household unit. Composite households are mostly temporary, where non-related individuals (e.g., friends or a group of students) live together. Single individuals meet some of their companionship and emotional needs and share living expenses by sharing a dwelling with non-relatives (Stinnett et al., 2017:75-76).

Theoretically, these different household types can be explained by focusing on changing marriage and cohabitation patterns; the rise in single-parent households; maternal employment and dual-earner households; changing fertility rates and increased ageing.

2.6.1 Marriage and economic theory

There is no uniform definition of marriage, given that marriage differs throughout history, between cultures and religions, but typically, it involves a long-term commitment between two people, in which their relationship is institutionally approved and/or certified (Macagno, 2016:324). There are different patterns of marriage, which is often linked to cultural norms. For example, in most parts of the western world, monogamy is practiced, which refer to the marriage between two partners only, while in some parts of Africa and Asia, polygamy is practiced, which refer to marriage among multiple partners (Macionis, 2018:487-488). While the prevalence of marriage remained high after WWII, in recent decades, marriage rates among heterosexuals have declined dramatically since the feminist movements and the abolishment of marriage bars (OECD, 2018:1). In this regard, Becker's (1973) widely cited "a theory of marriage" is applied to current trends of changing marriage patterns.¹⁴

Becker (1973) pioneered the theory of marriage, which applies the principles of rational choice to marriage and family life of heterosexual couples in a monogamous marriage. This theory explains the benefits (albeit heteronormative) of being married compared to being single (Becker, 1973:820). Some of the gains of marriage among men and women include a traditional sexual division of domestic labour, where most women specialise in reproductive labour, while most men specialise in productive labour. Both parties benefit from each other's complementary specialisations in goods, time and effort used in the household production (Becker, 1973:815). While Becker's view is rather traditional and heteronormative, he argued

¹⁴ It should be noted that a careful reading of the works of Becker (1973), Beck-Gerheim (2002) and others, demonstrates that they have a strong heteronormative and traditional, perhaps even an old-fashioned view of family and marriage. It is not lost on me that marriage, for example, can be between people from the same sex and among more than two people (polygamous), especially in the last few decades where traditional values have declined in many aspects of society. In some contexts, polygamous marriages are common practice.

that women contribute to households on an emotional level, while men contribute to households on a financial level (Becker, 1991:63). Thus, marriage is a rational arrangement between two parties, who would be more productive as a joint unit than they would be if they remain single. In essence, this means that through marriage, a two-parent household would function most efficiently, when specialisation and a division of labour take place between the partners. However, marriage patterns have changed over time, with fewer heterosexual people are getting married. This has become a central pattern to modern family life.

Consequently, this theory argues that the decline of marriage among heterosexuals is linked to women's increased participation in the labour force, especially with the rise of the service sector, where they gain more financial power. As such, they gain less from marriage and the sexual division of labour, which reduces the need for marriage and hence, the attractiveness of divorce is raised (Becker, 1991:55, 336). Subsequently, other scholars, such as Bloom and Bennett (1990) and Oppenheimer (1997), argue that the increasing educational opportunities and economic independence of women, especially since the information and digital era, lead not only to the delay in marriage but also to a reduction in the proportion of women who will marry. The delay and decline in marriage are also associated with a rise in the number of people who live in the arrangement of non-marital cohabitation.

2.6.2 Cohabitation and second demographic transition theory

Cohabitation can broadly be defined as a union between two adults, without any legal documentation, but who share a dwelling and economies of scale, and who may present themselves socially as a 'couple'. Cohabitation can be a temporary period before marriage, or more long-term, where cohabitation is preferred to marriage (Perelli-Harris et al., 2014:1047). Several theories explain the rise in cohabitation, of which the second demographic transition theory is discussed.

Where the first demographic transition refers to the historical declines in mortality and fertility, the second demographic transition theory addresses the transformation in family relationships (especially cohabitation) and the prevalence of sub-replacement fertility. Pioneered by Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa (1986), second demographic transition theory is a conceptual framework that addresses the changing patterns of sexual and reproductive behaviour. This theory argues that a cultural shift has taken place, where greater secularism facilitates a decline in traditional values and a growth in premarital sex, egalitarianism and non-traditional household formation patterns, including cohabitation. Couples who cohabit often reject traditional institutions such as the church, including marriage, in favour of individual autonomy, anti-authoritarian and non-conformist value orientations and greater gender symmetry. These

individualistic value systems cause not only an increase in a larger proportion of women in education and employment but also a rise in the percentage of women choosing not to marry or to remain childless (Lesthaeghe, 2010:228). Thus, the second demographic transition theory brings forth a multitude of living arrangements other than marriage, which are normalised and motivated by self-realisation and individualised lifestyle choices. As such, cohabitation becomes more acceptable and widespread, and even remarriages among divorced and widowed people decline in favour of post-marital cohabitation (Karraker & Grochowski, 2012:142).

Despite these transformations, changing marriage and cohabitation patterns affect the gendered division of domestic labour little. Regarding time spent on domestic labour, women, regardless of their relationship status, devote more time to domestic labour than men (Kan & Laurie, 2018:71; Lyonette & Crompton, 2015:24). Although married and cohabiting men's timeshare of domestic labour has increased, married and cohabiting women continue to spend more time on it than men (Arosio, 2017:245; Baxter & Tai, 2016:460). In the suburbs, regarding the type of domestic labour, women predominantly perform routine and daily chores such as cooking, cleaning and laundry, whereas men mostly perform non-routine and less urgent activities such as lawn mowing (Geist & Ruppner, 2018:242). What then explains the need for women to contract in domestic help to assist them with domestic and childcare duties? One explanation is Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa's (1986) argument of individualised autonomy, where the transfer of domestic labour duties to others can be perceived as an expression of greater individual freedom and self-actualisation. Linked to the changing patterns of marriage and cohabitation, the rise in single parenting also affects reproductive labour (Strong et al., 2011:487).

2.6.3 Single parenting and technology-shock theory

Single parents include never married, separated, divorced or widowed individuals with children (Kendall, 2010:358). Before the First World War, single parents were seen as tragic widows or widowers who struggled to take care of their family. During the post-WWII period, divorce rates increased, resulting in a rise of single-parent households. Several different theories explain the growth of single parenting. For example, Murray's public policy theory (1985) links single parenthood to welfare eligibility and benefits, and Wilson's dislocation theory (1987) links single parenthood to the decline in the marriageability of men due to the shortages of jobs for less-educated individuals. However, in the context of the information and digital era of today, Akerlof, Yellen and Katz's "technology-shock theory" (1996) is the most useful explanation concerning reproductive behaviour and the rise in single parenthood.

In their paper, *“An analysis of out-of-wedlock childbearing in the United States”* (1996), Akerlof et al. argue that the rise of single parenting is a consequence of changed attitudes toward sexual behaviour and reproductive technologies. In the past, contraceptives were not widely available, and abortion was not legalised in many nations, which meant that if a woman became pregnant, the norm was to marry. Thus, there was a stigma attached to unwed motherhood, and few women were willing to bear children outside of marriage. This resulted in what Akerlof et al., (1996:279) call the “shotgun” marriage. However, changing sexual attitudes, with the increase in reproductive technologies and liberal customs since the 1970s (e.g., the availability of contraceptives and the legalisation of abortions) eroded “shotgun marriages” (Akerlof et al., 1996:278). In other words, there is a change in the sexual and marital customs, which they argue caused the rise in single parenthood. Out-of-wedlock childbearing is no longer socially ostracised, and there is an increase in the proportion of single parents to married parents (Akerlof et al., 1996:313). This theory links well with current reproductive debates, where unmarried individuals choose to bear or adopt and raise children alone. Reproductive technologies make artificial insemination possible, which allows women to choose to conceive children in this manner. Although single parenthood is common among women with lower levels of education and marginalised socio-economic backgrounds, there is an increase in single parenthood among well-educated and professional women (Karraker & Grochowski, 2012:186; Stinnett et al., 2017:80-81).

However, the effects of parenting alone dramatically change how domestic labour and parenting duties are performed. Although class differences probably exist, in general, the challenges of being a single parent include the demands of parenting alone, less flexibility in scheduling personal and children’s activities, and exhaustion in managing the everyday family demands. Single parents are also more likely to experience work-family conflict than dual parents. For example, keeping a house and yard clean, doing laundry, cooking meals, driving children to sports activities and finding time for leisure as a single parent with a full-time career is difficult. In addition, single parents often draw on a range of resources, such as flexitime at work, working-from-home arrangements or relying on extended family members, to look after children (Karraker & Grochowski, 2012:186-187; Stinnett et al., 2017:80-81). Thus, there is a need to either contract in domestic help or outsource some duties to professionals. Other changes in households include a rise of mothers in the workforce, which increases dual-earning households and affects domestic labour too.

2.6.4 Maternal employment, dual-earner households and human capital theory

After the second-wave feminist movement made it possible for more women to have access to education and participate in the labour force, many mothers with young children took

advantage of the opportunity to move into employment, referred to as “maternal employment” (Bianchi, 2000:401; Bianchi, 2011:16-21). Maternal employment has increased in many nations, which also increased the proportion of dual-earning households, which can be defined as the situation where both partners are participating in the labour force.

Theoretically, the increase in maternal employment can be explained through human capital theory, pioneered by Schultz (1961) and Becker (1964). Human capital can be defined as the intellectual and physical skills that stem from education, knowledge, training, work experience and habits that affect an individual’s labour productivity and earnings (Becker, 1964:11-12; Schultz, 1961:1). Accordingly, human capital theory can explain why highly educated mothers are more likely to be voluntarily employed than their less-educated peers. Furthermore, more education tends to generate better jobs, higher wages and better working conditions. Higher educated and employed mothers typically have less traditional views on gender roles concerning reproductive labour and often have an equally educated partner with similar attitudes. Thus, employment can improve mothers’ bargaining position in the household, leading to more significant mutual support from each other, limiting work-family conflict (Dotti Sani & Scherer, 2018:77).

On a macro level, maternal employment is also linked to gender equality in the country. For example, where female employment and maternal employment are the norm, men will generally be more willing to contribute to reproductive labour independently of individual characteristics. Gender inequalities undermine the abilities of female employees, primarily employed mothers, as well as their bargaining power within the household concerning reproductive labour. In addition, the availability and affordability of public childcare, tax relief for private childcare, and characteristics and benefits of the parental leave system also facilitate the reconciliation between work and care responsibilities and subsequently affect maternal employment (Flynn, 2017:262; Schober & Zoch, 2019:158).

Although women’s time on domestic labour has decreased, and men’s share in domestic labour has increased, a gender gap still remains (Baxter & Tai, 2016:457; Raz-Yurovich & Marx, 2019:205). Evidence suggests that employed mothers generally cut employment hours when children are young and go back to full-time employment as children age (Schober & Zoch, 2019:173). Thus, most employed mothers do two jobs: paid employment or productive work that earns money and reproductive work related to the second shift of keeping up with domestic labour and childcare after working hours (Hochschild, 1989). In this regard, Hochschild (1989) found that among dual-earning parents, women tend to do more of the maintenance work (e.g., feeding, clothing or bathing the children), while men perform more of the fun activities, such as playing with their children. However, class differences exist where

dual-earning couples or employed mothers in well-paid careers can contract in full-time childcare or outsource it to specialists (e.g., au pairs, crèches or child development centres). The availability and affordability of childcare services encourage working parents to take part in the labour force on a more full-time basis. Scholars also suggest that there is a link between the decline in time spent on domestic labour, the outsourcing of family chores (Treas & De Ruijter, 2008) and the advancement of domestic technologies. Another factor that affects the need for domestic help is the change in fertility rates.

2.6.5 Fertility and preference theory

The decline in fertility in the second half of the twentieth century is often linked to various macro-, meso- and micro-level determinants. For example, on a macro level, economic trends, industrialisation, social policies and welfare regimes influence fertility rates, while on a meso level, social interaction, place of residence and social networks have been related to changing fertility rates. Research on the micro-level focuses on the individual or couple decision-making processes underlying the choice to have a child, which has been linked to life course circumstances and social class. While these different levels bring forth a vast body of knowledge and theories concerning changing fertility patterns, the focus of this section is on a particular micro-level theory: preference theory.

Pioneered by Hakim (1998), preference theory is concerned with women's lifestyle preferences and choices concerning motherhood (reproductive labour) and employment (productive labour). Preference theory breaks away from male-dominating economic and social theories, which often are based on theoretical assumptions of the male-dominated male labour market and patriarchal values. In contrast, preference theory was developed explicitly regarding women in mind and strives to explain that the decline in fertility is linked to the free choices and preferences that women have today, which were not available in the past. This argument is substantiated with particular historical changes in society (Hakim, 2000:2).

The sexual revolution of the 1960s, with the acceptance and widespread use of contraceptives and the liberalisation of abortion, allowed women to control their fertility (Hakim, 1998:140). As such, women can control the timing and spacing of childbirth and restrict the household size, and hence improve the balance between employment and family work (Lyonette & Crompton, 2015:24-25). Changing values and norms also facilitate women's choice and preferences. For example, the stigma of voluntary childlessness is disappearing, where many women make conscious lifestyle choices by remaining childless. In the past, fertility was linked to survival, where children were often essential helpers in the family and businesses, but today, pension schemes are a reliable alternative to children's support and having children is

no longer a priority for some women (Hakim, 2000:52-53). Preference theory is also linked to the “equal opportunities revolution”, facilitated mainly by the feminist movements and the abolition of gender discrimination laws. The expansion of professional jobs and the service sector are more attractive to women than manual jobs or jobs in the manufacturing industry. Furthermore, workplace restructuring since the 1970s, with the rise of the information and digital era, has created secondary earning jobs, as well as a variety of new jobs with different employment contracts and working conditions that suit women. For example, the increase in part-time employment and flexible work arrangements allow women the opportunity to balance paid work with other life interests (Hakim, 2000:82-83).

These changes in women’s lifestyle choices and preferences concerning employment and motherhood facilitate three groups of women: (i) home-centred, (ii) career-orientated and (iii) adaptive between productive and reproductive work. For home-centred women, family and children are the main priorities, and these women prefer not to work. Work-centred women invest in qualifications and training, remain childless and are committed to their careers. Adaptive women combine employment and family responsibilities (Bianchi, 2011:24; Hakim, 2000:6). These three groups of women, therefore, may have different reasons for contracting in domestic help or outsourcing it to specialists. Another factor influencing the demand for domestic help is an ageing population.

2.6.6 Ageing and continuity theory

Globally, people are living longer, healthier lives. The average age of people is rising and the proportion of people aged 65 years or older is increasing, which significantly changes the demographic profile of the population, hence the term population ageing (Moodley, 2010:23). Rising life expectancy, improved health care technologies, better nutrition and the decline in the overall fertility rates cause the growth of an ageing population, which is expected to reach one billion in 2030 (Cox & Goljanek-Whysall, 2019:249; Zhu et al., 2019:272). Differences in race, class and gender exist, with people who have financial means having better access to nutrition, medical care and professional help. While a number of theories have been developed to explain the process of population ageing (e.g., Omran’s (1971) widely cited theory of epidemiologic transition), the focus of this section is not to look at the causes of an ageing population, but how older persons adapt to ageing and the impact on reproductive labour.

From a theoretical perspective, Atchley’s (1989) continuity theory of ageing is summarised as follows: Despite significant changes in health and physical and cognitive functioning, ageing people tend to preserve the same habits, fulfilment, preferences and lifestyles they developed in earlier years, for as long as possible. This theory maintains that individuals actively decide

which roles they would keep and which ones they would reject to preserve their social status and life satisfaction. For example, lifestyle arrangements, marital status, modes of transport and income remain relatively consistent and serve as a measure for older people's security and well-being (Cooper & Beehr, 2017:2059).

To illustrate this point, continuity theory has been applied to retirement decisions and the lifestyle adjustments of retirees after employment (Fernandez-Carro, 2013:37). The shift from employment to retirement is an anticipated life event and may be stressful to some. Traditionally, retirement occurred at age 65, but the abolishment of compulsory retirement ages in some nations produces new retirement options (Nagarajan et al., 2019:2). Increasingly, older employees are postponing retirement or do not entirely withdraw from the workforce, by engaging in partial retirement or bridgework (e.g., part-time, temporary or flexible employment). Consistent with continuity theory, people who have been deeply involved in their work will try to sustain it by performing a job similar to their former career. For example, an English professor may edit dissertations or author a book after retirement (Cooper & Beehr, 2017:2059). In sum, the continuity theory emphasises stability, but also acknowledges that specific changes will occur, especially for older people with life-altering experiences (e.g., physical or cognitive decline, illness).

Concerning domestic labour, one could argue that people who retire may not necessarily put more time and effort into household cleaning tasks just because they now have more time. For female-homemakers, their retired husbands may not suddenly help them with domestic and caring responsibilities. Accordingly, the need to contract in domestic help may remain stable for retirees until their physical abilities change dramatically, where specialised domestic and caring help is required. Then there are changing life cycle patterns, which also affect domestic labour. The shift from traditional to non-traditional life cycles comes with a range of factors that affects the need for flexible paid domestic work.

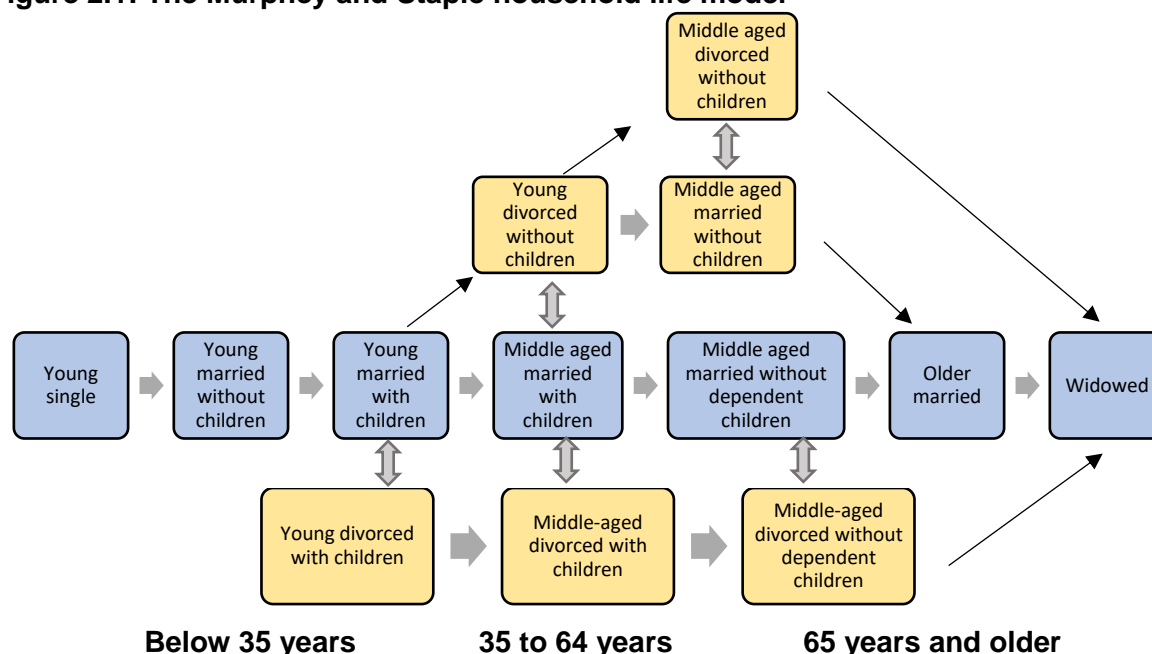
2.6.7 Households and the life cycle model

Dating back to Darwin's theory of natural selection, the life cycle model was linked to the origin and extinction of species. Accordingly, the idea of life cycling through stages implies a population process of intergenerational sequences (O'Rand & Krecker, 1990:243). However, sociologists only started using the family life cycle model during the 1930s as a developmental approach to the family (Murphey & Staples, 1979:12). Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin (1931) identified four stages based on the changing family member constellation, which was followed by Kirkpatrick (1934), Loomis (1936) and Glick (1947). It was not until 1966 that Wells and Gubar developed a sequential nine-stage traditional family life cycle model based on the ages

of parents and children and employment status. Their family life cycle model focuses on a life span and strives to describe the changes in family structures, composition, functions and challenges over time. For example, the birth of a first child or death, the retirement of the primary financial provider of the family or the death of a spouse each launches a new stage within the family. The timing of these events is relatively predictable and creates a sequence of anticipated stages (Stinnett et al., 2017:171).

However, their traditional family life cycle model does not adequately portray contemporary changes in Western families. It overlooks differences in class and excludes unmarried single parents, same-sex married partners or cohabiting couples. These types of families have become more prevalent in the second half of the twentieth century. There has also been a shift away from a purely sequential developmental approach to the family. As some people reside with individuals to whom they are not related, they are not considered as a family. As such, the term household is instead used (Wilkes, 1995:28). Adopting a household life cycle is more appropriate for this study, as households include all members who share a dwelling on a regular or daily basis. It consists of all non-traditional households. As a result, scholars have used non-traditional household life cycle models. The Murphey and Staples (1979) household life cycle model was one of the first to adopt a model applicable to non-traditional households.

Figure 2.1: The Murphey and Staple household life model

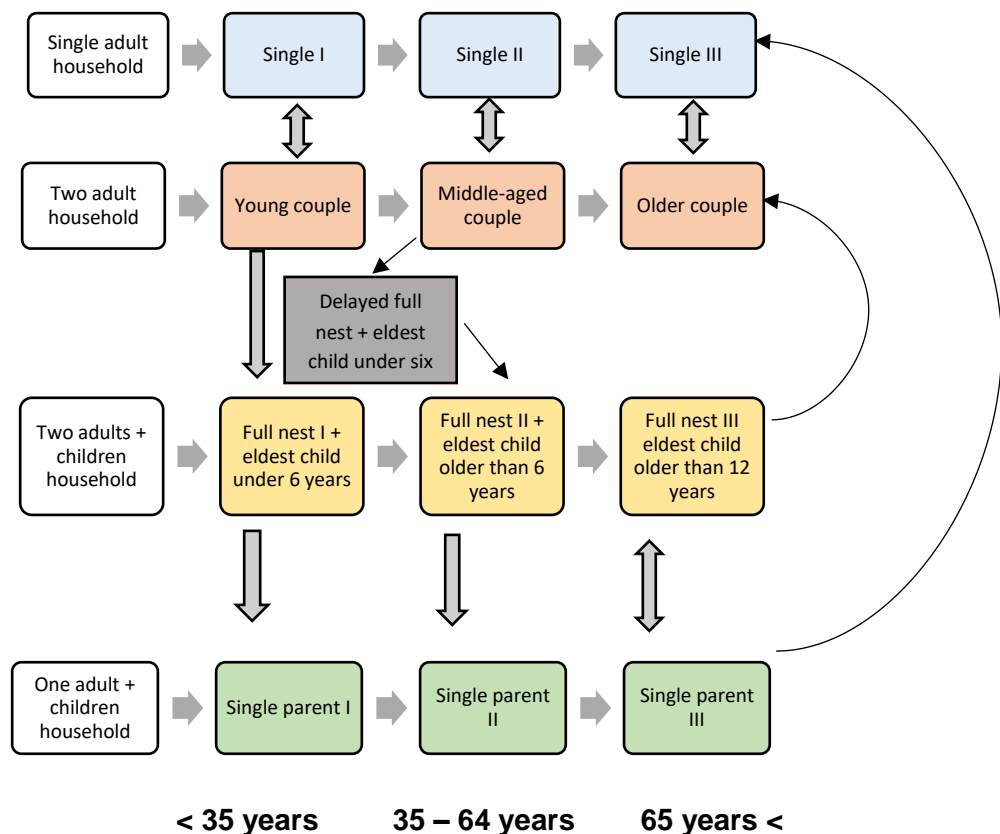


The Murphey and Staples household life cycle model (1979) includes not only the traditional life cycle stages (in blue) but also additional stages that fit the non-traditional household life cycle pattern (in yellow) (Figure 2.1). As such, divorce and childless phases are included. In

addition, the head of the household's age is organised into three age groups: Young (below 35 years), middle-aged (35 - 64 years) and older (above 64 years). The age of 35 was considered a milestone for women regarding childbearing (Wilkes, 1995:28).

While their model addresses the shortcomings of a traditional household life cycle theory, it assumes the dominance of heterosexual households where couples with children dominate and fails to include non-family households such as single-parents and extended households (Bellon et al., 2001:616-617; Danko & Schaninger, 1990:41; Gursoy, 2000:71). Divorced or remarried persons with or without their children may share households and form extended or blended households where different generations of the same family live together in one dwelling (Beck-Gersheim, 2002:3-4; McGoldrick et al., 2014:11). In an attempt to address these shortcomings, the Gilley and Enis (1982) household life cycle model denotes household compositions at given points in time (Wilkes, 1995:28). Here the individual moves along various routes, rather than through sequential paths, which also do not take the middle class as *de facto*.

Figure 2.2: The Gilley and Enis household cycle model



The Gilley and Enis household life cycle model¹⁵ (1982) retained many stages of the Murphey and Staples model, but some adjustments have been made (Figure 2.2). The single category includes three single phases, namely never-married singles, divorced and widowed individuals without dependent children. The couples' category includes a combination of married and cohabiting childless couples and includes three phases: young couples under 35 years, middle-aged childless couples (between ages 35 and 64 years) and older couples (65 years and older) (Danko & Schaninger, 1990:41). In the family category, the age of children is the focus. Four full-nest phases are specified: full nest I (children under 6 years), full nest II (children aged 6 to 12 years) and full nest III (children aged 13 years and older). The delayed full nest stage suggests that people delay marriage or childbearing. As such, they tend to reside in smaller households. The single-parent category includes three corresponding single-parent phases: Single-parent I (children under 6 years), single-parent II (children between 6 and 12 years) and single-parent III (children 13 years and older) (Bellon et al., 2001:617; Lantos, 2011:278; Wilkes, 1995:28-29). These four categories, with their phases, come with differences in the division of domestic and caring responsibilities and possibly the need to contract in domestic help. These different categories are described briefly.

2.6.7.1 Singles

Of the world's two billion households, approximately 15% of people live in single-person households. It is predicted that by 2030, single-person households will grow faster than any other type of household type globally (Chamie, 2017; *Households in 2030: Rise of the Singletons*, 2017). Linked to the different life cycles, single-person households face different opportunities and challenges at different phases during a life cycle.

Singles I (aged 34 years or younger) are those who no longer reside with their parents but live by themselves¹⁶. Predominantly part of the Generation Y cohort (also known as millennials born between 1982 and 2000), they are the most educated generation, with high rates of female tertiary education graduations and employment (Lancaster & Stillman, 2010). Living in a digital world, they are a technologically well-informed generation, and they tend to have flexible lifestyles and travel more frequently than other generations (Stanimir, 2015:22). They typically seek career flexibility, flexible work schedules and a better work-life balance. They are also more prone to change jobs when new opportunities offer higher levels of appreciation and self-realisation. Work-life balance is essential to them, and many singles work from home.

¹⁵ The Gilley and Enis household life cycle model refers to singles as 'bachelors'. This terminology has been adjusted here to accommodate both men and women who are single.

¹⁶ It should be noted that the majority of people in South Africa, mostly from poor socio-economic backgrounds seldom reside with their biological father and substantial numbers do not live with their mothers (Padi et al., 2014). This trend is discussed in more depth in chapter 4.

Despite this, they tend to work harder and longer hours in more demanding jobs than those from other generations (Kane, 2018; Sharma, 2012:74; Schiffmann & Wisenblit, 2015:269).

The next phase is Singles II (35 to 64 years), who are part of Generation X (also known as the “latchkey” generation) and the baby-boom generation (Lancaster & Stillman, 2010). Having similar characteristics of Generation Y, they are highly educated, adapt to technology, value work-family balance and have flexible work schedules (Floriya, 2014:8). Growing up, large-scale downsizing and restructuring of firms, high rates of divorces and single-parent and dual-earning households were typical (O’Neill, 2010:3). The baby-boom generation cohort is the largest generation in terms of size. They are more educated, wealthier, have higher divorce rates, lower marriage and fertility rates, and have a higher life expectancy than their predecessors. They have little work-life balance, as they work long hours and are loyal to their employers (Bejtkovský, 2016:108; Pruchno, 2012:149). Known as the ‘sandwich generation’, they face additional demands of having to support both children and their elderly parents (Peralta, 2015).

Singles III (65 years or older) include never married or widowed individuals. Being part of the traditionalist generation (also known as the ‘silent generation’), they saw the rise of white-collar jobs and are probably the last generation to have full social security and medical benefits (Salkowitz, 2008:65-66). Mostly retired, expenditures are more orientated toward health products and services, smaller dwellings and future investments in nursing homes in specialist care facilities (McGoldrick & Shibusawa, 2012:393). The increase in older people living alone (e.g. after the death of a spouse or marriage breakdowns), a reduction in residential care and a decline in public care services, possibly create the need to buy in or outsource domestic and care labour (Anderson, 1998:141). How often they rely on others is not clear, but one would presume that their need to contract in or contract out domestic help would be more flexible and less frequent than couples with children.

2.6.7.2 Couples

The second category of the household life cycle model includes couples without children, which is divided into three phases: young couples (19 to 34 years), middle-aged couples (35 to 64 years) and older couples (65 years or older).

Concerning productive labour, young and young middle-aged couples are perhaps more likely to reside in dual-earning households than older couples. In these households, it is probably not unusual that both partners are employed in jobs that are more flexible concerning working hours and employment contracts. However, work-family conflict can occur, where the boundaries between work and family are becoming more permeable and blurred due to

technology (Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007:593). This facilitates the need to contract in domestic help. Older middle-aged couples who reside in dual-earning households are perhaps more likely to hold stable and full-time jobs. With longer work hours and more strenuous job demands, work-family conflict can occur for these couples too, where work demands interfere with family responsibilities. This facilitates a need to contract in domestic help, where domestic workers meet the manual demands of domestic work (e.g. cleaning, cooking), while wives meet the emotional demands of their husbands and children (e.g. bathing children, having family dinners together). Buying in domestic help or outsourcing domestic tasks also enable women to transfer their reproductive duties to other women, while they do better things with their time.

Young and middle-aged couples in single-earning households may also experience work-family conflict. In single-earning households, typically one partner is employed, while the other one is mainly responsible for domestic labour duties at home. Although Becker's theory of marriage (1973, 1974) argues that couples' specialisation in different tasks (one productive, one reproductive) is beneficial, they too can experience work-family conflict. With changing patterns of work and employment, working hours can be unpredictable, and contracts can be unstable. Frequent relocation is common too. These changes increase tensions between work-family demands and expectations. As such, a need exists to contract in or outsource domestic labour when needed.

Regarding older couples (65 years or older), the assumption is that one or both partners are retired. Yet, according to continuity theory, the demand to pay for outside domestic help does not necessarily disappear, given that some individuals may continue working after retirement.

2.6.7.3 Families and single-parenting

Category three includes families with resident children. Families are divided into four phases. The first group comprises Full-nest I, where the oldest child is six years or younger. The delayed full-nest stage occurs when first-time parents are older than 35 years. They typically have no more than one child. In both these stages, childcare is the primary concern for new parents. One parent often stops working for a period to care for their child or pay for childcare services by typically hiring a nanny or enrolling the child in a daycare centre. During this period, there generally is a decline in family income and savings and a rise in expenditure on food, toys, medical products and services (Carter, 2005:251; Solomon, 2013:405; Schiffman & Wisenblit, 2015:273). Regarding domestic and childcare duties, female homemakers with young children may hire domestic help or outsource domestic tasks to others to manage the demands of both physical and emotional aspects of domestic work and childcare. For

employed women, buying in or outsourcing domestic and childcare is a coping strategy to manage both productive and reproductive duties (Anderson, 1998:46).

Full-nest II (the oldest child is aged six to 12 years) includes parents with children in primary school, and Full-nest III refers to the stage when the eldest child is in a secondary school (typically between ages 13 and 18 years). During both these stages, many mothers return to work, albeit on a part-time or half-day basis, and family income recovers. Children, extracurricular activities and family holidays influence expenditure (Blythe, 2013:255). Throughout the parenthood phase, the interrelationships between family members, the household structure and financial resources of the family change, as childrearing and domestic responsibilities gradually increase and decrease as children age (Schiffmann & Wisenblit, 2015:271). However, domestic labour and childcare do not stop when children go to school as short school days and holidays make it difficult for employed parents to manage their productive and reproductive duties. The lack of public provision of childcare in many countries means that many working parents need to make private provision and buy in or outsource domestic labour and childcare (Anderson, 1998:140).

Regarding single-parent families, many are female-headed households due to out-of-wedlock births, separation, divorce or death of partners. These parents are typically employed, and expenditures include children-based goods and services (e.g., pre-cooked meals and child-minders). Employed single-parents often find it challenging to carry out basic domestic and care duties and productive labour. The lack of public support and changes to intergenerational contracts where grandparents live far or are unable to care for children necessitates the need to buy in domestic help or outsource domestic and care responsibilities to others (Anderson, 1998:141; Lantos, 2011:277).

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter provides a theoretical discussion primarily based on the US and western nations concerning productive and reproductive labour, where the process of social change has far-reaching implications for the role of women in society. Despite the outcomes of feminism that allowed greater access and labour participation for women, together with reproductive freedom and subsequent smaller households, the gendered division of reproductive labour within households remains relatively unchanged. While women undertake fewer domestic labour and caring duties, and some men have increased their responsibilities, women remain responsible for the bulk of the reproductive labour at home, which is both time-consuming and burdensome. For employed women, primarily, the double burden of employment and domestic labour raises several concerns to the well-being of the women and the family.

While this chapter was mainly concerned with a theoretical discussion of the transformations in productive and reproductive labour, many of these theories can be applied to the need to contract in or outsource reproductive labour to others. For example, the post-modern values, driven by the second demographic transition, give priority to self-actualisation, individualisation, individual autonomy and quality of life, which result in different types of households and living arrangements. Emphasis on individuality and issues of self-actualisation may encourage the giving over to others of some of the reproductive duties that stand in the way of spending quality time with others or oneself. Similarly, Becker's theory (1973), which argues that the sexual division of labour is beneficial for couples, is under threat, given that there is a rise in dual-earning households. As such, a desire for outside domestic help is required to manage work and family conflict effectively. In addition, Hakim's (1998) preference theory emphasises women's lifestyle choices and preferences regarding employment and motherhood. One can also hypothesise that some women may actively choose not to perform domestic labour and hand it over to others.

While the life cycle perspective attempts to standardise the sequencing of adult life, modernisation and individualisation affect the sequencing and timing of adult life transitions, such as completing education, time of employment, leaving home, marrying and becoming a parent, and retirement, are flexible and diverse. Work and employment patterns are changing with fewer opportunities for continuous and stable employment, which also create greater diversity in work trajectories. While educational trajectories may be more standard for most well-off individuals who move smoothly from primary to secondary to tertiary education, it is less structured for others. In short, life course trajectories vary by gender, race, ethnicity, health and social class (Hutchison, 2007:23).

In closure, the need to transfer domestic and caring duties to others is probably more urgent today than in the past, as more and more women are absorbed into the labour market, and people are less restricted by social and cultural norms. The supply of paid domestic work ranges from full-time, part-time, live-in and live-out domestic services, as well as outsourced domestic services that bring forth a different employment relationship and benefits to people who use them. What one sees today is that although many households are continually relying on word-of-mouth to find domestic workers, intermediaries such as domestic service firms also play an important role in the recruitment, placement and employment of domestic workers. The next chapter focuses more in depth on the changing nature of paid domestic services.

CHAPTER 3. SUPPLY OF PAID DOMESTIC WORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Building on the evidence from the previous chapter that despite the effects of the feminist movements that allowed greater options and opportunities for women, which caused different household structures and life cycles to emerge, it emerges that the gender division of reproductive work has changed little. At the same time, work and employment patterns have changed, where work has become more unpredictable and intrusive, causing work-family conflict to increase. These changes have affected the need to contract in domestic help to assist women with their domestic and caring responsibilities. The focus of this chapter is how the contracting in of domestic help has assisted women with their reproductive duties over time.

In this chapter, the supply of paid domestic work is deliberated. The first section evaluates the changes in paid domestic work, which include the formalisation of domestic work and the shift from full-time and live-in to part-time and live-out domestic work. This is followed by the growth of outsourced domestic services that specialise in one or a combination of domestic labour and caring duties. From here, the debate moves to the increase in outsourced housecleaning service firms that focus on household cleaning duties specifically and how these change the nature of domestic work. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of these trends regarding the demand for and the supply of domestic help from housecleaning services.

3.2 DEBATING THE CHANGES IN PAID DOMESTIC WORK

While paid domestic work occurs in every society, and mostly reside with women, it has different meanings in different contexts. How paid domestic work is supplied also differs. This section addresses four aspects of paid domestic work. First, paid domestic work is conceptualised, and a discussion is provided on who domestic workers are. This is followed by the formalisation of paid domestic work and the implications it has for the working conditions of domestic workers. Next, full-time live-in and live-out domestic work is addressed. Fourthly, part-time domestic work is discussed.

3.2.1 Paid domestic work and who performs it

Despite the emancipatory discourses and feminist movements on the gendered division of productive and reproductive work, domestic labour continues to be perceived as women's work (England, 2017:369; Lutz, 2011:1). Although men have increased their time in domestic labour, women continue to take on the bulk of it. In no country in the world do men and women provide an equal share of domestic labour (ILO, 2018:xxix). Typically, households who can

afford it contract in domestic help, mostly from another woman from poor socio-economic and migrant backgrounds. For these households, unpaid reproductive work is changed into waged reproductive work. The term paid domestic work is commonly used to describe domestic work that is undertaken by someone else for compensation (Agarwala & Saha, 2018:1208; Blofield & Jokela, 2018:531-532). Paid domestic work involves working for a family or household, where duties generally include cleaning, laundering, cooking and care work. Globally, the employment relationship is highly personalised between employers and domestic workers, where employers tend to view their domestic worker “like family” to their household, obscuring the labour relations and generating power inequalities and work imbalances (Blofield & Jokela, 2018:533; Jansen, 2015:26; Neetha, 2009:489).

Despite this, paid domestic work remains one of the largest employment sectors for working-class women from disadvantaged backgrounds. Domestic workers account for two percent of the global workforce and four percent of the total female workforce. Approximately one hundred million domestic workers are employed globally, of whom 41% are employed in Asia, 27% in Latin America, 14% in Africa and 6% in the Arab States. The US and Western Europe account for around 10% of the global figure of employed domestic workers (ILO, 2016(a):4). In South Africa, approximately one million domestic workers are employed and form the largest employment sector of black African women, mostly from impoverished backgrounds. Concerning the gender dimension of paid domestic work, women account for around 80% of all domestic workers globally. This sector is also closely linked with labour migration, as the ILO estimates that there are almost 11.5 million migrant domestic workers worldwide (Fudge & Hobden, 2018:1).

The abundant supply of domestic workers is marked by the significant growth of the middle class and their changing needs, which require outside domestic help (England, 2017:368). Paid domestic work is also promoted across countries as a strategy for higher- and middle-income households to reconcile work and family life. Consequently, paid domestic work is one of the growing sectors of employment for some groups of women and migrants (Hellgren & Serrano, 2018:2; ILO, 2016(b):5). Globally in all nations, paid domestic work remains highly feminised, racialised and class-based and is intricacy linked to migration (ILO, 2016(b):25; Lexarta et al., 2016:2). The oversupply of labour, high unemployment rates and discriminatory policies against women, especially in South-East Asian and Latin American nations, contribute to the abundant supply of migrant female domestic workers. Recruitment and domestic placement agencies, social networks, non-governmental organisations and the internet are also essential channels to supply female migrant domestic workers to employers (Anderson, 2001:37; D’Souza, 2010:5; Lutz, 2011:18-20).

Linked to the gender, race and class dimensions of paid domestic work, is the large variety in which nations consider what paid domestic work is. In 2011, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) developed an internationally agreed-upon definition for paid domestic work:

Domestic work is performed in or for a household or households for remuneration – either in cash or in kind. It includes duties 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 (ILO, 2016(c):3).

Domestic work has to do with servicing the household and responds to the cleaning and caring needs of employers. A domestic worker is considered any person who engages in domestic work within an employment relationship, for some form of payment and under the authority and supervision of employers. It excludes employment in institutions such as hospitals, old-age retirement homes and kindergartens (Estevez-Abe & Hobson, 2015:133; Ramirez-Machado, 2003:9-14).

Domestic work represents a significant proportion of informal employment among women, which contributes to their vulnerable status. It is distinct from the rest of the informal economy in that the employment relationship takes place within the private and highly personalised household sphere. It typically falls outside the conventional regulatory frameworks of many nations. It is only recently that many countries have attempted to formalise domestic work and protect domestic workers from abuse, servility and exploitation (ILO, 2016(a):9-10; Marchetti, 2018:1191-1192).

3.2.2 Formalisation of paid domestic work

In recent decades, domestic workers have come together to create awareness of their severely oppressive and appalling employment conditions. Together they have attempted to formalise domestic work and ensure workplace rights for all domestic workers. The precarity of their employment situation arises out of the nature of domestic work, which is often described as hidden labour inside employers' homes, where domestic workers are excluded from many labour protections such as fair wages, overtime pay and sufficient rest breaks (England, 2017:370; Pape, 2016:190-191).

However, in some nations, domestic work has been formalised dating back to the mid-twentieth century. In Finland, for instance, the Employment of Household Workers was implemented in 1951, which standardise working conditions, wages and working hours for domestic workers. Belgium has included domestic workers in its National Decree of Social

Security since 1969 (ILO, 2016(c):51). In other nations, the formalisation of domestic work occurred much later. In the US, for instance, domestic workers' activism caused a wave of Domestic Workers Bill of Rights laws in several states to be implemented only since 2013. In Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Labour Act of 1984 gave workplace rights and fair labour practices to workers, including domestic workers (ILO, 2003). In South Africa¹⁷, domestic workers already organised during the apartheid regime and formed the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) in 1985, which has since been replaced by the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU) (Pape, 2016:192). When apartheid ended in 1994, domestic workers were given workplace rights by the Labour Relations Act of 1995 (LRA) and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1998 (BCEA). Together, these Acts attempt to regulate the employment relationship between domestic workers and employers. However, the specificity of this sector called for an amendment with the BCEA, namely the Sectoral Determination Seven of 2002 (SD7), which lays down the minimum conditions of employment for domestic workers (Department of Labour, 2012:10; Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:99-100).

As a result of the variation between countries and the continuous struggle and persistent activism from domestic workers to improve working and living conditions for all domestic workers, the ILO published the Domestic Workers Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201 in 2011 set out international standards for the minimum protection of domestic workers. Under this Convention, which is a multi-layered and highly heterogeneous framework, domestic workers are entitled to the same rights as other employees in their countries. These rights include regulated working hours, minimum wage coverages, overtime compensation and other forms of social security schemes, as well as protection against abuse and workplace discrimination (England, 2017:368; ILO, 2011(a):3-4; Marchetti, 2018:1192). Since then, many nations in Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe have ratified the Convention and strengthened their national laws in compliance with these new standards of protection for domestic workers. For example, Uruguay became the first nation to approve a Domestic Workers Convention Act, followed by the Philippines, Mauritius and Italy. In Spain, for instance, the Royal Decree of 2011 ensures minimum standards of employment for domestic workers, while Argentina adopted a new domestic workers law in 2013 in compliance with the ILO's Convention. The South African government ratified the Domestic Workers Convention in 2013 (ILO, 2011:3-4; ILO, 2016(c):12).

¹⁷ Throughout this chapter, the South African context is not comprehensively addressed, as the next chapter provides a detailed discussion of the South African context.

Formalising domestic work is not without its challenges, given the different ways in which national legislation deals with the conditions of paid domestic work. Regarding working hours, domestic workers have some of the longest and most unpredictable working hours of all groups of workers. In some nations, such as Guatemala, Honduras and the Dominican Republic, domestic workers are excluded entirely from the general norms of working hours. In other countries, paid domestic work is not subjected to fixed hours of work, but instead, the law refers to hours of rest for domestic workers. In some countries (e.g., Portugal, Spain and South Africa), working hours are specified, generally ranging between forty and forty-eight hours per week. For live-in domestic workers, working hours tend to be longer as they are often not specified (Ramirez-Machado, 2003:19-36). There are also discrepancies between nations concerning the weekly rest periods, overtime work and leave periods for domestic workers (Lexarta et al., 2016:20; Marcadent, 2013:56).

Regarding wages, some nations (e.g., France, South Africa and Zimbabwe) have fixed minimum wages for domestic workers. In other countries (e.g., Chile and Turkey), payments are individually negotiated between employers and domestic workers. In Brazil, for instance, wages of domestic workers have risen faster than any other occupation in the past decade (Walker, 2015:1). Benefits in kind, annual bonuses, lodging, food, uniforms and transportation fees are provided in addition to wages in nations such as the Dominican Republic and Malta. The extent to which these benefits are offered differs significantly between countries (Lexarta et al., 2016:17; Ramirez-Machado, 2003:52-55). In addition, how these stipulations are practised is debatable. Legislators and inspectors may find it challenging to enforce fair working conditions, but the assumption is that employers could face severe penalties if they deviate from them.

Termination of employment, including notice periods, is another aspect that has been adopted by the International Labour Conference (ILC) in June 2011. According to its Convention, employers may terminate employment only on valid grounds, such as a domestic worker's breach of work obligations, theft and dishonesty. Domestic workers may terminate employment based on a hostile treatment from employers, abuse and employer's failure to abide by the employment contract. One of the effects of the termination of employment is the economic compensation of severance payments that follow (Ramirez-Machado, 2003:61-62). Hence, the dismissal process can be a long, costly and unpleasant process for both parties.

Despite national differences in the labour protections of domestic workers, the aim of these minimum standards of protection for domestic workers proposed by the ILO is to transform paid domestic work from a private and hidden affair between domestic workers and employers into a visible and public one governed by laws. Together with the different domestic work

needs of employers, the specificities of labour laws vary in terms of how domestic workers are employed. Traditionally, paid domestic work has had devastating effects on domestic workers and their families. Formalising domestic work does not necessarily eliminate exploitation, but it does limit these adverse effects to some extent. Domestic workers are often the only financial provider in their family, and the informal nature of domestic work makes employment precarious and unstable. Thus, one of the aims of attempting to formalise domestic work is to provide workplace rights, and to some extent, job security to domestic workers.

How employers practise these standards remains debatable. Some employers may well pay their domestic workers more than what is required and attempt to have a favourable and kind relationship with their domestic worker. Other employers may continue to employ domestic workers informally and exploit them in the process. Despite some variations that could occur, the formalisation of domestic work attempts to standardise working conditions and pay and protect domestic workers from unfair dismissals and unreasonable demands. While domestic workers are often receiving abysmal compensation when terminated, in South Africa, domestic workers can challenge the fairness of dismissal by referring the case to the CCMA for conciliation or arbitration. In the event of succeeding with a claim, the remedy available to the worker would depend on the reason for, and nature of, the dismissal (Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:91).

3.2.3 Domestic work, emotional labour and maternalism

Paid domestic work is a unique occupation in that it takes place inside people's dwelling, a place of interpersonal familial relationships, and one of the few spaces where women can exercise their authority over others (ILO, 2016:3; King, 2007:1). The employment relationship between employers and domestic workers requires emotional labour from both parties. For example, an employer may use a domestic worker as a confidante and at the same time, requires emotional efforts in managing the domestic worker in listening and comforting the woes of domestic workers (Mendez, 1998:123).

In this regard, Rollins' (1985) classic study "Between women", gives insights into the exploitative personal employment relationship between white middle-class employers and African-American domestic servants. Through ethnographic research, Rollins uncovers how employers use emotional labour and benevolence to encourage domestic servants to work harder and for longer hours. Similarly, Hondagneu-Sotelo's (2001; 2007) "Domestica", gives insights into how the lack of clear job duties, boundaries and rules result in exploitative working conditions for migrant Latina domestic servants and their white middleclass employers. In contrast, Romero's (2002) "Maids in the USA" gives an insider's look about how Mexican

women resist the oppressions of marginalisation and informality by negotiating labour arrangements with their employers.

Despite these differences, a central debate in these studies is the use of maternalism to explain the unique interpersonal relationship between employers and domestic servants. Maternalism derives from paternalism, which is rooted in its Latin meaning of “fatherly” that evokes an authoritarian supervisory role between parent and child (Barker, 2015:95). In the workplace, paternalism is often used by employers in highly personalised employment relations to remain in control of servants/workers. Paternalism can be traced back to the early years of industrialism when the industrial organisation was based on familial principles. Paternalism stifles opposition and emits discipline – the same way in which children are not allowed to speak back to parents, who are older and have authority to discipline them when misbehaving (Wray, 1996:702). The ideology of paternalism is control, used by employers to create a family-like working environment for their servants/workers, who often work and live on employers’ premises. Employers pay and provide goods, but at the same time can withhold these when they are dissatisfied with services and work performances (Webb, 2017:58). Without formal protections, servants can do little to resist this paternalistic employment relationship. Within the agricultural sector, paternalism is common where employers emphasise authority and superiority in relation to their child-like and dependent agricultural servants (Kritzinger, 2005:111-113).

Whereas paternalism is an extension of the patriarchal authority that is associated with the state and the workplace (e.g. agriculture), maternalism occurs within the household domain, largely between women (Moras, 2013:248; Rollins, 1985). While employers may in some cases treat their domestic servants/workers like children, Rollins (1985) and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001; 2007) argue that within the paid domestic works, the distinctive emotional, intimate, nurturing and dependent employment relationship between female employers and (mostly) female domestic servants/workers are better encapsulated by maternalism than paternalism.

Another feature of maternalism is personalism. Hondagneu-Sotelo’s (2007:207-209) study reveals that maternalism and personalism are linked. While maternalism is a one-way relationship where gestures of charity, unsolicited advice and assistance of employers are reciprocated by extra hours of unpaid work, loyalty and commitment, personalism is a two-way relationship, albeit still asymmetric. Personalism means that one recognises the other as a person. For example, a mother recognises the needs of her toddler who is in need of love, care and supervision. Within domestic work, personalism exists when an employer recognises and cares for her domestic servant/worker. However, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2007) argues the

level of personalism within an employer-domestic servant/worker relationship depends on both parties, as some employers (and domestic servants/workers) may prefer an impersonal, less time-invested employment relationship (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:164).

As with personalism, empathy is linked to maternalism. When empathising with someone, one must be able to imagine what it feels like to be that person, to transcend the boundaries of one's own mind and body and to develop strong emotional connections with others (Ward & Durrant, 2013:66). Psychologists use empathy to imagine what patients are going through in a given situation in order to provide guidance and care. Similarly, within the paid domestic work setting, an employer may empathise with a domestic servant's/worker's daily economic and social struggles. She may imagine the oppression of domestic work, as she faces the same expectation being a woman and mother and may empathise with the gendered role that she herself is trying to escape by projecting her own powerlessness on other women. While empathy appears to be harmless, it has been described as "false generosity" or "ideological camouflage" that conceals the exploitative dependent nature of the employment relationship (Arnado, 2003:154; Moras, 2013:248-250). Despite the nature of the employment relationship, employers can employ domestic workers on a full-time or part-time, live-in or live-out basis, which comes with different demands, employment conditions and duties.

3.2.4 Full-time domestic work: Live-in and live-out domestic work

Workplace arrangements typically differ. Full-time live-in domestic work occurs when domestic workers are employed by a single-family and live inside the dwelling of or on the premises of employers in backyard rooms, attics or servant quarters (ILO, 2018(b):33; Kagan, 2017:21). Historically, full-time live-in domestic work is one of the oldest forms of domestic work and has its origins in slavery and servitude in the US as well as other nations in Latin America as well as in South Africa. In the US, for example, under the master-servant relationship, dating back to the seventeenth century, indigenous black men and women were imprisoned by raids, as prisoners of wars or indentured servants, or sold by poverty-stricken relatives (Anderson, 2001:129-130; Rojas-García & González, 2018:150; Srinivas, 1995:269). Working conditions were highly exploitative, where masters excessively controlled and abused domestic servants (Hoerder, 2015:70-74; Rubbo & Taussig, 1983:15-18).

When slave labour mostly disappeared by the mid-19th century in many of these locations, with the developments in industrial capitalism, domestic work was transformed into wage labour. Live-in domestic work became one of the most employable occupations for poor and migrant women (Katzman, 1978:44). In the UK and Mexico, for instance, domestic work was considered a life-cycle occupation, where many young single women worked as a domestic worker for a family throughout her life or until marriage (Rojas-García & González, 2018:150).

Due to the unregulated nature of domestic work during this time, the live-in working conditions were often harsh. They were typically asked to perform a range of tasks: to clean, cook, perform childcare and eldercare, maintain the household and attend to their employer's needs, while their own family were taken care of by others (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:30-33; Lutz, 2011:5).

Being separated from their own family, as well as the proximity of their working and living conditions means that domestic workers and employers are likely to build close personal and dependent, albeit patronising bonds. Ideologically, they become "part-of-the-family" and a residential member of their employer's household, although difference and inequality exist (Ally, 2010:135; Anderson, 2001:40; Lutz, 2011:14). The nature of the employment relationship of live-in domestic work is characteristically personal and unequal between domestic workers and employers. Employers and domestic workers often know the details of each other's lives, but employers have the power to support or withdraw support when they please. For example, employers provide gifts, kindness and care to elicit harder work and favours from domestic workers. The dependency is important, but a tension-filled part of the employment relationship (Van der Merwe, 2009:124). In this regard, Rojas-García & González's (2018:155) study exposes how a domestic worker in Mexico experienced this:

She was very good to me. She never yelled at me, never hit me. If I was sick, she took me to the doctor; she told her children to be kind to me. If she had extra food, she gave it to me for my children. Toys, clothes, things they weren't using any more, they gave to me.

This narrative shows how this domestic worker appreciates the kind treatment by her employer. Consequently, domestic workers' only way to show gratitude is to reciprocate support with underpayment, overwork and extra favours (Galvaan et al., 2015:43; Hochschild, 2012:178; Neetha, 2009:491). Likewise, studies in the US, Brazil and South Africa also show how employers assert their power through differences in social class, race and gender hierarchies (Ally, 2010; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007). In addition, some employers require live-in domestic workers to remain single and childless, while others prohibit domestic workers from cultivating friendships or inviting family members to their living quarters. It highlights that domestic workers become part of the properties they work in, not the families they work for (Moras, 2013:248-249; Romero, 2002:160; Van der Merwe, 2009:159).

Although less common today, live-in domestic work continues to exist and is a preferred form of domestic work for some employers and domestic workers. For domestic workers, especially migrants, one of the advantages of live-in domestic work is that it solves the issues of seeking accommodation and employment (Lee et al., 2007:115; Lutz, 2011:14). In Canada and some

Asian nations, migrant care worker programs sustain live-in domestic work by offering live-in domestic workers open work permits and permanent residency at the end of a 'live-in' period in the home of their employers (Banerjee, 2018:909; Jokela, 2018:15). Live-in domestic work also allows new opportunities to learn a language, adapt to a new culture and familiarise oneself with an environment. In most cases, the living quarters are equipped with basic furniture and amenities for domestic workers (Anderson, 2001:39-40; D'Souza, 2010:10-11). For employers, a full-time live-in domestic worker is also beneficial, given their permanent availability. When needed, employers can call on live-in domestic workers to relieve them from domestic and care responsibilities, so they can focus on more pleasurable activities (Lundström, 2012:153; Marcadent, 2013:1). In nations with limited state interventions to support childcare and personal care of the elderly and the frail, live-in domestic workers are necessary for both care and non-care duties (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:31-33).

However, live-in domestic work also comes with some disadvantages for domestic workers. Live-in domestic workers often lack freedom and independence, as they are required to devote most of their time to the needs of employers. The permanency of domestic workers and often-vague service conditions enable employers to demand domestic workers to perform duties at any time, often without extra payment. The labour legislation is not always clear in specifying the working hours of live-in domestic workers. In Peru, for instance, live-in domestic workers must have eight continuous hours of rest per day. However, some interpret this as an opportunity to extract 16-hour workdays from domestic workers. As such, live-in domestic workers frequently work more than sixty hours per week, and over weekends, and receive little pay, working benefits and overtime compensation (Lutz, 2011:79-82; Marcadent, 2013:55-57). Labour legislation often fails to specify the standard of living quarters for live-in domestic workers. Subsequently, they usually sleep in small, barely liveable quarters with poor ventilation, light and space. In Hong Kong, for instance, live-in domestic workers seldom have a room of their own and sleep in the corridor or children's room, intensifying their lack of privacy and vulnerability (Anderson, 2001:40-44; Parrenas, 2001:162; Ramirez-Machado, 2003:2). In many cases, the domestic worker is the sole financial provider of her extended family, all of whom depend on her income. With poor prospects of other employment, the domestic worker is often trapped in a cycle of exploitation and dependence with limited bargaining power and inaccessible public support (Bamu, 2013:194). Thus, domestic workers spend their time with employers and care for their children to provide for their own.

Employing live-in domestic workers also comes with some challenges for employers. Renewing work permits for and checking for legal statuses of migrant live-in domestic workers is time-consuming and requires effort. The permanent presence and dependency of a live-in domestic worker can feel like an invasion of the employers' privacy (Lutz, 2011:160). The

additional provision of food and the increased use of electricity and water add to the financial expenses of employers (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:35). Where labour legislation specifies the working hours, rest periods and overtime night work of live-in domestic workers, it comes with rigidity for employers. In Austria, for instance, live-in domestic workers' working hours may not exceed sixty hours per week, and they may work a maximum of only six hours on Sundays, which limits employers' ability to demand extra work outside of these specifications (ILO, 2011(b):8; Ramirez-Machado, 2003:31-35). In some nations, such as Denmark, France and South Africa, the size, lighting, sanitation, ventilation, furniture and bedding of live-in domestic workers' living quarters are specified in the labour laws and labour inspectors can sporadically inspect living quarters and give employers penalties for failures to abide by the standards set by law (Ramirez-Machado, 2003:56). These legislations and specificities may cause some employers to avoid employing a live-in domestic worker. Some employers may find it challenging to maintain a professional employment relationship while also fulfilling a caring and altruistic one, given the socio-economic class differences between the employers and domestic workers.

Live-in domestic work is also impractical for some employers. Today, people have smaller households with fewer children. As cleaning and care duties decline, so too does the need for a full-time live-in domestic worker (Kagan, 2017:21). Additionally, people reside in smaller dwellings without the capacity to provide accommodation for domestic workers. For example, in 2016 in Europe, four in every ten persons (41%) live in flats, while almost a quarter (24%) live in semi-detached houses (Eurostat, 2019b). The average dwelling size in Wales is 83 square metres, in France, it is 80 square metres, while in Italy, it is 108 square metres (Young, 2017). In addition to smaller dwellings, housing prices are increasing. Many households are overburdened by housing costs, where up to 40% of disposable income goes on housing (Pettini et al., 2017:20). People who cannot afford to have a full-time live-in domestic worker, or prefer not to have one, may consider live-out domestic work.

Full-time live-out domestic work occurs when a domestic worker continues to work for a household on a full-time basis, but does not live on the premises of their employers (ILO, 2018(b):34). In the US, for example, the shift to live-out domestic work occurred when transnational migration virtually disappeared during the First World War. Local African American women from the South filled these positions as domestic workers (Katzman, 1978:44-45). In Latin American nations, such as Bolivia, the gradual replacement of live-in domestic work by live-out domestic work occurred from the 1950s onwards (Gill, 1994:41). In South Africa, the shift to live-out domestic work occurred much later in the 1970s (Ally, 2010:53).

For domestic workers, live-out domestic work provides more freedom, independence, dignity and autonomy from their employers and an opportunity to escape the exploitative working and living conditions of live-in domestic work. Working hours are predictable, where they can have some time for their own family. They also have time to take on additional part-time jobs and become active members of their community, which improves their financial status and social identities (Anderson, 2001:44; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:38). For employers, privacy is improved, and electricity and water costs are reduced by not having on an extra person living on their property. The employment relationship is somewhat less intimate between employers and domestic workers.

Although live-out domestic work reduces exploitation and minimises the dependency on employers, the demands of employers are often exceedingly high. Domestic workers' output and performance continue to be controlled by their employers. They have little autonomy over workloads and have the additional burden of being pressed for time by completing duties before returning to their own families (Napierski-Prancl, 1998:55; Salzinger, 1991:153). In this instance, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2007:38) gives an example of how live-out domestic workers compare themselves to "octopuses with busy arms extended simultaneously in all directions". They are expected to perform childcare duties, clean dwellings and do laundry before going home. Since employers do not provide accommodation, they need to find and pay for accommodation themselves, increasing their daily living expenses. Transport costs and travel time are additional financial burdens and time-constraints for domestic workers where they often spend hours each day on transport, cutting into time with their families. Also, many live-out domestic workers face the double burden of cleaning not only their employers' dwellings, but also their own when they return from work, which increases exhaustion and stress (Anderson, 2001:46; Kelly, 2006:4).

For employers, employing a full-time live-out domestic worker does not necessarily mean less financial and emotional dependence. They are often the sole employer and financial lifeline of a domestic worker. Employers continue to fulfil an altruistic role towards their domestic workers, supporting them financially and emotionally, which can be costly and demanding for some (Cohen, 1991:208). The formalisation of live-out domestic work also impacts how and when duties are performed and the type of paid leave, sick leave, maternity leave and bonuses, which potentially add to the expenses of employers (Ramirez-Machado, 2003:36-43). In Brazil, for example, since the implementation of labour legislation, "fewer middle-class Brazilians can afford to employ domestic workers on a full-time basis" (Walker, 2015:1). Hence, some employers who seek more flexibility shift to part-time domestic work, which comes with different advantages and demands (Kagan, 2017:7).

3.2.5 Part-time domestic work

The shift to part-time work occurs mainly for domestic workers who are primarily responsible for non-care work such as housecleaning and laundry duties (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:43). The working hours of part-time work are shorter than those of full-time domestic work and generally range between 30 and 35 hours per week or five to six hours per day (Fagan et al., 2014:3).

For domestic workers, having part-time employment means greater independence from employers. Working hours and workweeks are generally shorter, which enables them to spend more time with their families. Having a part-time job allows domestic workers to supplement their income with other part-time jobs, improving their financial status. Those with multiple contracts and different employers do not depend solely on one employer. When conflict arises, they can leave the job without jeopardising their entire weekly earnings (Anderson, 2001:45; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:44-46). For employers, employing a part-time domestic worker can also be beneficial. The financial and emotional dependence is limited as contact between part-time domestic workers and employers is reduced (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:40; 44-46). Flexible lifestyles, smaller dwellings and households without children may prefer employing a part-time domestic worker as their services may not be required on a full-time basis.

While part-time domestic work has certain benefits, there are some disadvantages for domestic workers and employers. For domestic workers, this evokes more significant economic insecurities, as employers are less likely to financially and emotionally support them in times of need (Arnado, 2002:111; Jakela, 2018:31). Part-time jobs are also less stable and come with fewer service benefits, such as paid leave provisions and unemployment insurance benefits. For employers, employing a part-time domestic worker means that they have a less established relationship and lower levels of trust, commitment and loyalty. Often there is a higher turnover of domestic workers, which means spending more time training new domestic workers. Searching for a competent domestic worker takes time, which many people do not have.

In some cases, employers are the sole employer of a part-time domestic worker, which intensifies economic and emotional dependence from domestic workers. Regarding labour legislation, part-time domestic work comes with fewer specificities and rigidity. However, in some nations such as Italy and Colombia, have implemented provisions to enable the registration of domestic workers who have multiple employers or who work part-time. It aims to provide domestic workers with social security coverages despite working only a few hours a week (ILO, 2016(a):31). In South Africa, the law protects part-time domestic workers who

are employed more than twenty-seven hours per month. They receive similar wages and work under the same working conditions as full-time domestic workers. A domestic worker who works less than 27-hours per month for a single employer is thus vulnerable and not protected by law.

Hence, full-time live-in, full-time live-out and part-time domestic work offer employers some flexibility in employment options. The hiring and firing of domestic workers come with repercussions that are not changeable. In addition, changing personal and household circumstances make it difficult for some to contract in a domestic worker on a full-time or live-in basis. For example, unpredictable work patterns make the employment of domestic workers on a regular full-time or part-time basis challenging. Many employers must leave early for work and are not able to wait for the domestic worker to arrive or leave. Employers have little control over domestic workers, who are often left unsupervised. The employment relationship remains personal, where dependence can be an issue for some. These factors have contributed to the contracting out of domestic labour through the use of domestic service firms, where the same domestic work duties are performed, but in a timely, flexible and professionalised manner (Mendez, 1998:118).

3.3 DEBATING DOMESTIC OUTSOURCING

The demand for flexible domestic services both nationally and internationally is increasing, and outsourced domestic service firms are filling the void around the globe. However, there are different types and ways for how domestic and caring responsibilities are contracted out. Consequently, this section debates domestic outsourcing on four aspects: First, the growth of domestic outsourcing is discussed. This is followed by the needs for domestic outsourcing from middle-class perspectives. Finally, the typical duties that are outsourced are discussed, which include cleaning, laundering, and cooking; gardening and pool cleaning; and care work.

3.3.1 Growth of domestic outsourcing

Domestic work market substitutes, where specialised domestic service firms render domestic work duties, is referred to as domestic outsourcing or the externalisation of domestic work and has become increasingly popular (Bittman et al., 1999:249; Fudge & Hobden, 2018:3; Van der Lippe et al., 2012:1575). Like with businesses, cleaning activities are procured from a specialist and commercial domestic service firm, rather than managed in-house (Hochschild, 2012:223; Lair, 2007:32). Outsourcing cleaning and laundering work to specialists frees up time for clients to spend on essential activities, such as income-generating work, family responsibilities, fun and leisure (Devetter, 2015:365; Hochschild, 2012:162; Lair, 2012:561). As with businesses, these services can be contracted out or externalised on a flexible ad-hoc

or regular basis, which depends on the needs of clients and the specific duties offered by the domestic service firm. Clients enter into a service agreement with the domestic service firm, negotiating the responsibilities and terms and conditions of the services which can be daily, weekly or ad hoc (Bittman et al., 1999:250; Suralova, 2015:151).

An advantage of externalising domestic services is that it can be tailored to one's needs. Some are sizeable nation-wide franchise firms that operate in different regions in the country, while others are smaller, working in a specific area only, targeting particular domestic needs. Some specialise in a single service or provide a combination of domestic and caring duties (Mendez, 1998:118; Suralova & Jelinek, 2018:56). Central to these domestic service firms is the tripartite employment relationship between an employee, a client (formerly an employer of a domestic worker) and the management of the service firm. The client pays a fee for the service, and the management pays the employees a wage, but extract profit from the labour-power of employees (Napierski-Prancl, 1998:3-5). Although scholars have different opinions on the effects of the tripartite employment relationship, it creates distance between employees and clients. Domestic employees and clients are, therefore, less likely to be financially and emotionally dependent on each other (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009; Ehrenreich, 2000; Mendez, 1998). The burden of negotiating wages, working hours and work duties are now the responsibility of the domestic service firm that oversees the service conditions. Hence, payments, salaries, workloads, working sessions and service benefits are fixed, which may be beneficial for workers, as this limits abuse and exploitation (Camargo, 2015:145).

There are other benefits for domestic employees too. Outsourced firms often have financial incentives and encourage teamwork to increase loyalty and commitment. There is also a workplace culture where colleagues form friendships and support each other, which makes isolation and exploitation less prevalent (Du Toit, 2012:85; Mendez, 1998:131). Service benefits and regulated working hours are some of the benefits, as well as training to increase skills and employability (Ehrenreich, 2000; Mendez, 1998). There is the added advantage of promotion and status – of becoming a team leader or supervisor – which comes with extra benefits. However, these strategies are not uniform and require a personal commitment by management, which also depends on their experience and expertise in human relations (Camargo, 2015:145-147; Glenn, 1992:23; Rees & Fielder, 1992:349).

Despite this, most domestic service firms compete with inexpensive private workers, especially migrants, as well as other domestic service firms who may render similar services at more competitive prices. Some of the business strategies include advertising the firm's niche market in a way that distinguishes their products and services from others. They target the specific needs of clients in different ways and offer services in a flexible and customised

manner. To reduce costs and to improve profit margins, domestic service firms can reduce pay rates for domestic employees, increase their work intensity by cleaning more dwellings per day or create a more flexible workforce by employing staff on a casual basis. However, these factors can have adverse effects on the workers' job security and stability (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:300; Mendez, 1998:118). Despite these consequences, the demand for domestic outsourcing has been growing in recent years.

3.3.2 Need for outsourcing domestic services

Time-strapped individuals, especially women with demanding careers, have little time for domestic and care work duties. Work-family conflict is likely to increase as they strive to balance their job demands with domestic work, childrearing and social activities. As disposable income increases, there is more money to spend on previously unaffordable products and services to meet their particular domestic work needs (Sullivan & Gershunny, 2013:1312). Domestic service firms specialise in services to relieve women (and men) from care and non-care domestic work duties. These duties can include home-delivered meals, cleaning services and laundry and ironing services that are convenient and time saving (Global Home-Care Report, 2016:5; Gonalons-Pons, 2015:38).

Another factor that has contributed to the use of domestic service providers is changes in work and employment practices. Flexible work practices related to changes in working hours, income and location affect the ability to employ domestic workers on a full- or part-time basis. For example, flexitime allows workers to change the starting and ending times of their work and/or change the hours they work per day or week, which can be banked to take days off when needed (Begall et al., 2015:958; Chung & Van der Lippe, 2018:2; Presser, 2004:84). Flexible working hours allow people to adapt their working hours to accommodate their domestic and family demands. However, unpredictable and fluctuating working time and job demands can interrupt typical family time (Guendouzi, 2006:901; Lott, 2018:2). Domestic service firms target these needs by providing clients with a range of flexible care and non-care options. The client can book a service when needed and terminate it when no longer required. Clients who prefer a longer-term service enter a service agreement with the domestic service firm that is still flexible. Clients can postpone services to another date and time or cancel services without penalty, which is more difficult when one is employing someone directly (Chung & Van der Lippe, 2018:7; Lair, 2007:34; Morel, 2012:1).

Some people may find it challenging to contract in a domestic worker. Being unfamiliar with the requirements of labour legislation adds stress, time and costs to some employers. To avoid these responsibilities, people outsource domestic work tasks to domestic service firms who take care of all the legal matters of the employment (Safuta & Camargo, 2019:2;

Triandafyllidou & Marchetti, 2015:1). Outsourcing domestic work to domestic service firms relieves clients of concerns about and responsibility for the bureaucratic 'red-tape'. Instead, managers are responsible for training and paying domestic workers (Napierki-Prancl, 1998:3-5).

Added to these benefits for clients, the present-day growth of an on-demand gig-economy and digitalisation has also influenced the rise in online domestic service platforms. Through online apps, clients can access and buy all types of domestic services that offer rapidly accessible, affordable and flexible domestic services. These apps are easy and convenient, and service quality control occurs through ratings and review systems (Fudge & Hobden, 2018:14; Hunt & Machingura, 2016:6). These on-demand domestic services are especially popular among the rising middle class in developing nations such as Kenya, India, Mexico, Columbia and South Africa. South Africa's *SweepSouth* and *Domestly*, India's *MyDidi*, Columbia's *Hogaru* and Mexico's *Aliada* provide on-demand domestic services to clients in affluent suburbs and popular hot spots. Thus, clients of on-demand domestic services appear to reflect the modern living arrangements of tech-savvy, young, independent and middle-class urban professionals (Hunt & Machingura, 2016:26; Shevel, 2019). In short, digital platforms match supply and demand, but long-term employment is jeopardised and so too the livelihoods of domestic workers. They may find it challenging to organise and be protected by labour legislation, given that employment is short-term and temporary (Fudge & Hobden, 2018:14).

Elsewhere in Europe, in nations such as Austria, Belgium, France and Denmark, clients of domestic service firms gain some financial benefits of utilising domestic help through a domestic service firm, where the state has implemented cash-for-care schemes, service vouchers, subsidies and tax incentives (Devetter, 2015:366; Pérez & Stallaert, 2016:156; Safuta & Camargo, 2019:3). Using domestic service firms is not only financially beneficial to clients, but also improves the work-life balance for dual-earning middle-class families. The 'brain waste' of educated women is avoided, as they can pursue careers while others perform domestic and care duties (Bruck et al., 2003; Camargo, 2015:134; Morel, 2012:2-3).

There are additional benefits of outsourcing, rather than insourcing domestic help directly. Where they outsource or externalise the performance of domestic tasks, it comes with the additional benefit that they do not have to supervise, provide for the welfare needs of domestic servants or deal with the emotional labour associated with the employment of people. Hence, they not only outsource the mental labour of planning and telling domestic what needs to be done and providing the necessary resources to do this, but the emotional labour associated with the employment of someone working in one's house. By outsourcing domestic tasks to a domestic service firm, a tripartite employment relationship exists between managers, clients

and domestic employees. The employment relationship is typical instrumental and clinical between clients and domestic employees, where clients avoid dealing with personal issues of domestic employees as the job just needs to be done. The emotional labour is now performed by the employee of the company, who has to ensure that the client likes the manner in which the service is delivered. Hence, the pressure is on the employee of the company to be friendly, professional and neatly dressed and to foster a positive relationship with the client. Thus, through outsourcing, clients not only buy out physical tasks but emotional labour to the provider of the service.

In summary, people outsource domestic work for similar reasons to businesses outsourcing work as a strategy to avoid responsibilities, increase flexibility and enhance efficiency by gaining expert services from specialised firms (Lair, 2007:5; McIvor, 2010:7-12). Domestic service firms target these needs by rendering services that are convenient, efficient and professional and that specialise in a range of domestic work duties.

3.3.3 Typical services

This section describes the various types of domestic services that can be contracted out or outsourced to professionals. First domestic labour that occurs inside the dwelling, which includes cleaning, laundering and cooking. This is followed by typical outside domestic labour such as gardening and pool cleaning. Finally, care labour is discussed with specific reference to childcare and elderly care and the transport of dependents.

3.3.3.1 Inside domestic labour: Cleaning, laundering and cooking

Domestic service firms provide households with a range of services, though this study focuses on household cleaning services, which offer a variety of domestic tasks. For example, *Molly Maid*¹⁸, a leading housecleaning service firm in the US, states the following on their website profile:

When you hire us, trust that your home will be cleaned your way. We'll take the time to discuss your preferences and priorities with you before your first home cleaning service. We'll combine them with our time-tested Molly Maid methods to provide the best clean possible. Our residential housekeepers will always arrive with your customised cleaning plan in hand to ensure that all of your needs are taken into account.

One of the benefits of hiring a housecleaning service firm is a customised and effective cleaning plan to suit specific domestic work requirements. Not only is it flexible, but domestic employees are trained in time-efficient cleaning methods and techniques that are unique to

¹⁸ <https://www.mollymaid.com/why-hire-us/>

the housecleaning service firm. In some cases, these techniques may be otherwise inaccessible.

Laundering and ironing can also be outsourced to laundromats and dry-cleaning service firms, which often collect dirty laundry and drop clean laundry off at the client's residence. Outsourcing laundry is convenient for time-strapped clients who have unpredictable work schedules and lifestyles. Many laundry services are available on online apps, enabling clients to pay electronically for the services, which eases the extent to which these services can be utilised. For example, the website of *Laundryheap*¹⁹, a laundry service that operates in many countries, states the following:

Easily choose collection and delivery times at your convenience, including late evenings and weekends. A driver arrives, collects, and drops off your items at our cleaning partners, where we take the utmost care to ensure excellent results. Your clothes are back to you in 24 hours – all clean and ready for action.

These types of laundry service providers are professional, innovative and convenient and render a customised service to clients.

Another domestic labour chore that can be outsourced is food preparation. Family dinner is an important activity that many families share. However, preparing food and washing dishes afterwards can be difficult and time-consuming. Food delivery firms fill this void by incorporating different ways of food prepping that range from meal planning services to complete done-for-you-ready-to-eat meal delivery service to save time for busy people. Prepared by someone else, balanced and healthy meals can be ordered electronically or through apps and are delivered quickly and without hassle (Lair, 2007:52-57; Loper, 2016). Gardening and pool cleaning are domestic labour duties that are traditionally performed by men, but these can also be outsourced.

3.3.3.2 Outside domestic labour: Gardening services and pool cleaning

Gardening is a weekly household chore performed predominantly by men. There has been a rapid growth in outsourced gardening services, especially in middle-class neighbourhoods. Services include mowing, watering, planting, fertilizing, pruning and cleaning swimming pools. Standards for lawn care have increased, and it is rare to see dead or untidy lawns and gardens in middle-class neighbourhoods (Ramirez & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009:122-123; Lair, 2007:72). For example, *Weed Man*,²⁰ a lawn service firm operating in Canada, states the following on their website:

¹⁹ <https://www.laundryheap.co.uk/#home-howitworks>

²⁰ <https://www.weedmancanada.com>

Weed Man is more than a professional lawn care company – we're the friend your lawn has always wanted. With expert lawn care from people who live and work right in your community and personalised solutions for your local conditions, we treat your lawn as if it is one of our own.

These lawn and gardening services are examples of the services and benefits of outsourcing. They are professional, boost property appeal, offer cost-efficient solutions, are convenient and save time for homeowners. Pool cleaning is another outside domestic work task that requires labour. Pool technologies, such as "Kreepy Krauly", ease pool cleaning, but testing the pH levels, scrubbing tiles and repairing cracks require time and patience. Instead of performing these duties oneself, outsourcing it to specialists is cost-effective and efficient. Pool cleaning and maintenance services are offered in a customised manner to meet the lifestyles and budgets of clients. For busy parents, care work can also be outsourced to save time.

3.3.3.3 Care work: *Childcare services, transport services and elder care*

There are various examples how childcare has "flourished into a massive, multifaceted [outsourced] industry", where "the heart of the mother's job" is now outsourced to expert professionals (Hochschild, 2012:105). Using childcare services improves the reconciliation of work and family life. It enables busy parents to spend time on their work demands without interfering with the care duties at home, and vice versa. It also fosters greater labour market participation of women, as working mothers can focus on their career by leaving their children in the care of specialist childminders who are trained to promote optimal child development and stimulate the intellectual growth of children (Janta, 2014:5; Plantenga & Remery, 2009:7).

The use in and growth of childcare services are linked to the scarcity of public funding for childcare support and the widespread acceptance of outside childcare specialists. Short parental leave periods and the lack of other alternatives (e.g., the availability of grandparents) leave busy parents with little choice than to outsource childcare. State subsidies also increase the outsourcing of childcare duties to childcare service firms. In Germany, for instance, every child between the ages of one and three years has the legal right to be enrolled in a day-care centre or day nursery for free (Janta, 2014:6; Plantenga & Remery, 2009:8; Raz-Yurovich, 2013:294-295).

Apart from outsourcing childcare, transport is another issue for some working parents with little time to drive children around from home to school to extracurricular activities (Lair, 2007:83). These parents can utilise transport service firms such as *Kids Kruiser*,²¹ which offers

²¹ <http://www.kidskruiser.com/about-kids-kruiser/>

convenient and safe transport for children of busy parents. They state the following on their website profile:

Kids Kruiser understands the challenges busy parents face today. Families that work full-time can call us when they can't pick up their kids, and we recognise the growing need for safe and reliable kid-friendly transportation.

Some of the other childcare duties that are increasingly outsourced include teaching toddlers table manners, exercising programmes, potty training, organising birthday parties and attending to children's diet (Hochschild, 2012:110).

Another issue many people deal with is the caring of ailing or frail elderly parents or family members. Many older adults are unable to cook for themselves, bathe on their own or perform administrative tasks such as paying bills. They often rely on their adult children to assist, a job that requires time and emotional effort. However, care for the elderly through family members is increasingly becoming a challenge, due to the rise in female employment, increased job demands and longer lifespans. These factors make it challenging to provide care for impaired elderly parents and relying on outsourced caring services is often the only solution (Naldini et al., 2016:608). Where old age homes are an option for those who can afford it, availability is limited, care is often generic and not tailored to the specific needs of the individual, and moving can be traumatic to some (Aulenbacher et al., 2018:521-523; Fine & Davidson, 2018:504-505). Those who need help with care work but wish to receive it in the comfort of their home can utilise elder care agencies such as *HelpingHands*.²²

If you need some extra attention, speak to our specialist team for the right level of support. As one of the UK's top providers for elderly care at home, we will work with you and your family to provide care that is as unique as you are – within the home, you know and that you love.

While these types of care service firms perform the same care work that a private domestic care worker or family member does, they offer care work in a more convenient and effective manner. Qualified care specialists, who can be hired for short-term visits or full-time live-in care, address individual needs and render customised care services. Consequently, the pressures in finding reliable and trustworthy care workers or relying on family members are reduced.

Thus, it is apparent that domestic outsourcing has clear benefits for clients. While these domestic service firms respond to the different domestic and care needs of clients, the focus of this study is specifically on housecleaning. Cleaning is one of the most tedious and

²² <https://www.helpinghandshomecare.co.uk/home-care-services/elderly-care/>

demanding domestic labour duties, which does not require emotional labour in contrast to child and elder care.

3.4 DEBATING OUTSOURCED HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

Outsourced housecleaning service firms involve the commercialisation and externalisation of domestic work in the market sphere, where contractual agreements are bureaucratically organised between domestic employees, clients and housecleaning service firms (ILO, 2018(b):34; Lair, 2007:32-34). A hybrid of specialised housecleaning services is available and includes a combination of sweeping, vacuuming, dusting and cleaning of surfaces, furniture and appliances; scrubbing and sanitising of bathrooms; washing dishes and ironing clothes, which are performed by domestic employees (former domestic workers). They are typically trained in specialist cleaning methods, organising techniques and other domestic skills (Abasabanye et al., 2016:5; Bailly et al., 2013:304). For the same price, or perhaps a little more, housecleaning service firms offer the same or better cleaning services than an individual domestic worker (Ehrenreich, 2000:66; Napierski-Prancl, 1998:3).

What these housecleaning service firms also do is transform the employment relationship between the employer and the domestic worker. For those employed in this sector, the employment relationship becomes more bureaucratic, impersonal and detached. The workers now sell their domestic labour to a firm, who sells their labour (service) to a client for a profit (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009: 305; Mendez, 1998:118). Workload, duties and working hours are controlled to formalise domestic work (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:164-168; Mendez, 1998:114). In so doing, housecleaning services attempt to professionalise both the employment relationship and the service provided. By emphasising the necessity for professional screening and training, housecleaning service firms portray themselves as providing experts in the field of domestic work and improve the job quality of domestic service (Bailly et al., 2013:304; Souralova, 2015:162-163). For example, job seeking domestic workers go through a rigorous selection and recruiting process, where physical and emotional skills are tested prior to employment. From a critical race perspective, the inclusion and exclusion of women are determined by their race, (as well as their age, gender and migrant status). Such stereotypes reinforce a sense of the difference between female employers and domestic workers (Anderson, 2002:108). Regarding class and race, domestics employed by housecleaning service firms remain predominantly from low socio-economic backgrounds, often migrants, and of colour (Abrantes, 2014:435; Du Toit, 2016:25). Thus, housecleaning services do not change the racial, class and gendered profile of domestic services, but continues to maintain the race, class and gender characteristics of this occupation even further.

Concerning the profile of domestic employees employed by housecleaning service firms, they reflect the same characteristics of traditional domestic service, which are dominated by women of colour (Du Toit, 2012:77). Studies found that the majority of firms employ mostly female workers, as clients prefer females to males. Female domestic workers are also better suited for the job, as they possess the emotional labour to engage with clients (Abrantes, 2014; Du Toit, 2016).

In essence, the domestic worker employed through the housecleaning service firm needs to use more emotional labour as a “value added benefit” of the firm, but this has little influence on the power dynamics of the employment relationship. The firm managers, through their conduct, have assumed the maternalistic role (Mendez, 1998:118). In a bureaucratic, rationally organised system, domestic workers lack agency and control over the work process, they have to follow instructions of how to clean and when, and they have to engage in emotional labour by providing friendly and professional services to clients (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:165-167). All these factors together emphasise the exploitative nature of this occupation, where the ideologies of racism and classism are maintained and reinforced by housecleaning service firms.

Although domestic employees may lack autonomy and control over the work process, the outsourcing of domestic work to housecleaning services promotes new kinds of commodified employment arrangements. The following is discussed in this section: First, the type of employment arrangements of housecleaning services, which include domestic placement agencies, and housecleaning services that render cleaning through either a single domestic employee or a team. This discussion is followed with a specific focus on housecleaning services that render team cleaning and the benefits it provides clients.

3.4.1 Types of employment arrangements of housecleaning services

Domestic placement agencies play an important role in the employment of domestic workers. People who want to contract in a domestic worker but find it challenging to find a reliable and skilled worker may consult a domestic placement agency (Fudge & Hobden, 2018:3). Domestic placement agencies are particularly popular in Canada, some European nations, India, China and South Africa. Similarly, domestics searching for a job often work through a domestic placement agency to find them suitable employers. The domestic placement agency has a database of trained, screened and experienced job-seeking domestic workers with specific demographic backgrounds (e.g., age and immigration status) and skills (e.g., cooking, ironing and childminding skills) (Abrantes, 2014:440; Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995:304; Du Toit, 2016:27; Neetha, 2009:502). Clients have the opportunity to interview a select few before employment, and once a domestic worker is selected, a once-off fee is charged for the

placement (Fudge & Hobden, 2018:9). After placement, changes can be made regarding the selection of a domestic worker within a specified period. The agency can also be consulted regarding employment contracts and terms and conditions of employment. Once this is settled, the client is the legal employer of the domestic worker, and the agency plays no further role (Du Toit, 2016:27; Souralova, 2015:162; Souralova & Jelinek, 2018:56).

Utilising a domestic placement agency is beneficial for clients who wish to have a trained and skilled domestic worker tending to the household tasks. The increase of women in paid employment outside the home has increased the need for help with domestic work as professionals struggle to balance work and family obligations. Psychological health, criminal records, work permits and positive references from former employers are also checked (Abrantes, 2014:440; Camargo, 2015:140; Souralova & Jelinek, 2018:58). In this way, clients are ensured that the domestic candidates are professional and reliable.²³

Alternatively, clients can outsource domestic work to housecleaning service firms who render cleaning through a single domestic employee or teams. In the first case of sole-domestic employees, one domestic employee performs agreed-upon domestic work duties that last a few hours. The service provider employs the domestic employee, but the client provides all the cleaning supplies and often gives directions of the cleaning. The client pays a fee for the services rendered, whereby the service provider pays a wage for the domestic employee and keeps the rest to cover expenses and for profit (Fudge & Hobden, 2018:11-12). In the second case, cleaning is rendered through supervised teams comprising three to five uniformed domestic employees, where cleaning is performed quickly within two- or three-hours. Duties are divided between the team members, where (for example) one domestic employee scrubs the bathrooms, one sweeps the floors, and one cleans the kitchen and dishes (Ehrenreich, 2000:66; Du Toit, 2012:88; Du Toit, 2013:26).

In general, one of the benefits of housecleaning service firms is that clients have no liabilities toward the domestic employee and only pay a fee for the services. In Europe, clients receive tax reductions, service vouchers and other incentives by outsourcing domestic work to housecleaning service firms (Safuta & Camargo, 2019:5). Clients who want quick and efficient cleaning services can hire a team of domestic employees. Clients who value privacy, who work from home or require prompt, but thorough cleaning may benefit from such services. Employees who work long hours or have unpredictable schedules may find these

²³ For a detailed discussion of domestic placement agencies, see the website profile of "The luxury household staff agency" that render placement services in the US, Europe, the Middle East and South Africa. <http://www.householdstaff.agency/housekeeper---maid-placement-and-recruitment-agency---household-staff-agency-los-angeles-new-york-london-johannesburg-paris-geneva-monaco-moscow-dubai.html>

arrangements more convenient, as they can be provided on demand (Craig & Baxter, 2016:272; Hochschild, 1997:81).

Despite differences in the employment arrangements that housecleaning service firms offer clients, there are many changes that they bring forth, which include a tripartite employment relationship, the standardisation of cleaning, security and flexibility. These characteristics may be deciding factors in why people shift to housecleaning service firms.

3.4.2 Changes that housecleaning services bring forth

3.4.2.1 *Tripartite employment relationship*

The main feature of housecleaning service firms is the transformation of a personal bipartite employer-domestic worker relationship, with all its dependencies, into a tripartite customer-vendor employment relationship between a client, a domestic employee and a manager or franchise owner (Camargo, 2015:142-145; Mendez, 1998:118; Romero, 1988:319). The housecleaning service firm is a mediator between clients and domestic employees, reducing contact and dependency between them. Clients and domestic employees typically do not invest time in face-to-face personal relations, as interaction remains focused on specific work duties (Mendez, 1998:118). Even if contact between domestic employees and clients remains stable, the employment relationship is less personalised than under direct employment (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:307; Mendez, 1998:123). The tripartite employment relations allow clients to call managers if dissatisfied with services, which spares them from having to deal with possible confrontations with domestic employees (Duffy, 2011:120; Ehrenreich, 2000:64; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:165). Hence, the employment relationship becomes detached, impersonal and professional, which may serve as an ideological buffer to some clients to avoid feelings of guilt and responsibility (Safuta & Camargo, 2019:9; Duffy, 2011:120). Managers of housecleaning service firms perform emotional labour by listening and responding to domestic employees' personal problems and not clients. In short, a distinct benefit of hiring housecleaning service firms, is that maternalism is outsourced and clients are liberated from emotional labour and investing time forming personalistic relations with the domestic employees.

For domestic employees, the effects of a tripartite employment relationship are mixed. The workload, working hours and pay are typically not controlled by clients, but by the managers of the housecleaning service firm. Consequently, working conditions can be more favourable than under direct employment, where employers often exploit domestic workers (Camargo, 2015:145; Mendez, 1998:122). The management attempts to shield domestic employees from over-demanding and unreasonable clients, prices are set, duties are specified, and working

sessions are controlled and secured (Bailly et al., 2013:304; Camargo, 2015:143-145). Under direct employment, unsociable working hours are more frequent, pay differs significantly, and the workload is less predictable (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:304-305; Mendez, 1998:119). In addition, the impersonal employment between clients and domestic employees is often supplemented by a caring and maternalistic one by managers. Domestic employees can consult managers when needed and birthday gifts and performance incentives are common to gain loyalty, trust and commitment from domestic employees (Du Toit, 2012:113; Mendez, 1998:118). Yet, some domestic employees may feel the impersonal relationship with clients can contribute to lack of dignity and respect. In addition, supervisors typically oversee domestic employees' work and criticise it if not at a satisfactory level, which can also add pressure to their job. Some domestic employees may feel powerless to challenge a supervisor's verdict or feel humiliated when a supervisor confronts them in the presence of a colleague or client.

Despite these mixed effects of a tripartite employment relationship, there are some other features that could make this more favourable for domestic employees. Opportunities for vocational development, such as team leader and middle-management positions are also on offer, which comes with more authority, improved skills and better payment (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:305; Safuta & Camargo, 2019:13). Working in teams is also less isolating than working for a single household. Forming friendships and support groups help domestic employees to cope better with the demands of the job (Du Toit, 2012:87). Although not uniform across all types of housecleaning service firms, domestic employees have job security and stability. Many are employed on a full-time basis, as is the case for *Hogaru* in Columbia (Wood, 2018) and some housecleaning services in South Africa (Du Toit, 2012:88). Under direct employment, this varies greatly, and if employers terminate services, domestic workers face unemployment. If a client terminates a cleaning session, it does not necessarily affect the job security of the employee, given the size of the firm's clientele (Du Toit, 2013:106). However, there is a broad spectrum of bureaucratisation among housecleaning service firms. Some housecleaning service firms may refrain from filing taxes or paying social security for staff. Others employ domestic employees on a casual basis, which jeopardises the job security and stability of domestic employees (Mendez, 1998:119).

For clients, the tripartite employment relationship may cause loss of control. Pay, working sessions and cleaning techniques are controlled and managed by the management of the housecleaning service firm and clients have little say in this (Mendez, 1998:120). The less personal relationship between domestic employees and clients mean that clients often lack knowledge of the personal background of domestic employees, and some may find this

uncomfortable (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:165). Another feature of housecleaning services is the specialisation and standardisation of cleaning.

3.4.2.2 Specialised and standardised cleaning services

A key characteristic of outsourcing is the utilisation of specialised and standardised services (McIvor, 2010:12; Lair, 2007:29-31; Oshri et al., 2015:1). When contracting in a domestic worker, there is the potential that standards in cleaning may drop over time, but with housecleaning services, cleaning is rendered efficiently on a continuous basis (Bailly et al., 2013:314; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:165). Domestic employees are trained to clean, sweep, scrub and iron fast and effectively. Attention to detail, such as fluffing-up cushions, arranging products to face their labels outwards, folding loose ends of toilet paper and spraying rooms with the housecleaning service firm's signature room spray, are strategies to ensure client satisfaction (Ehrenreich, 2000:66; Meagher, 1997:14; Mendez, 1998:121).

Some housecleaning service firms, such as *Molly Maid* which operates in the US and some parts of Europe, train their domestic employees to practice Health and Safety regulations. Others teach domestics hygiene procedures by instructing them to use different cloths for different surfaces and new materials in every house to avoid cross-contamination and the spread of bacteria. Housecleaning service firms ensure that cleaning is rendered in a predictable, standard and well-organised manner (Duffy, 2011:121; Fudge & Hobden, 2018:3; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:166), by using checklists of cleaning duties, methods and cleaning products. Customised services are offered where a specifically tailored cleaning plan is developed that matches the client's home and preferences. Hence, the standardisation and customisation of cleaning may be a reason why people use housecleaning services.

Cleaning is not only rendered professionally on a physical level but also an emotional and aesthetic level. Domestic employees are required to be friendly and professional when in contact with clients (Hochschild, 1989). For example, 'Kingsmaid', a housecleaning service firm in the UK, advertises that their cleaners "have a real passion for cleaning and take great pride in their work ... happy staff who enjoy their job lead to happy customers". Care is often shown by responding to notes by absent clients regarding specific cleaning instructions, which aims to satisfy clients' expectations. Domestic employees are mostly dressed in neat uniforms and transported in the firm's vehicles (Mendez, 1998:121). Hence, professionalism is further standardised through specific training techniques, aesthetics and the physical and emotional skills of domestic employees.

While these features add to the professional nature of housecleaning services, there are some potential adverse effects of the standardisation of services. Clients who wish to divert from

these stipulations must ask permission from the management first. Some applications will not be honoured, where others come with extra payment, which some clients may experience as rigid and frustrating. Ironing duties are often limited to 25 clothing items per household and anything additional needs to be paid for (Lair, 2007:142; Mendez, 1998:120; Ramirez & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013:123). Under direct employment, employers can easily ask domestic workers for extra favour without hassles.

Working sessions are controlled too. Clients can request a preferred timeslot when they want their dwelling to be cleaned, but it may not always be available. Contracting in a domestic worker is perhaps better for some people. Some housecleaning service firms provide their cleaning equipment and cleaning chemicals, but it may not be to the satisfaction of requirements of clients. These clients then must provide their cleaning equipment and cleaning chemicals, which can be costly.

The standardisation of services is also achieved by providing the same domestic employee or team of domestic employees to clients. Having the same group of domestic employees improves the likelihood that a trustworthy relationship with clients will be developed. However, staff rotation does occur, and cleaning sessions are reorganised with changes in staff, clientele and logistics. Clients may get a different domestic employee or team, which can become a problem. Clients have no authority to decide who is in the group, and it can take some time before a trusting relationship is developed.

Domestic employees are required to follow specific rules, adhere to time pressures and regulations as these form part of the professional image of the housecleaning service company. Domestic employees no longer have the autonomy to decide what tasks to start with, and they must clean houses in specific time schedules. Regardless of how cleaning is rendered, another factor that contributes to the use of housecleaning services is the security offered by housecleaning service firms.

3.4.2.3 Security and trust

Accidental breakage and damaging of goods or clothes are inevitable when performing domestic work. One of the benefits of hiring domestic employees through a housecleaning service firm is that insurance policies mostly cover such incidents. When something is accidentally broken or damaged, a manager will reimburse clients for the damages (Mendez, 1998:120-121).

Employing trustworthy domestic employees also maintains security, where a clean criminal record is a prerequisite for employed domestic employees (Abrantes, 2014:304; Carey, 2013:1; Du Toit, 2012:77). In some firms, theft prevention strategies are put in place. For

example, domestic employees are not allowed to take their handbags or any other personal items into clients' dwellings. Supervisors may randomly do body searches on domestic employees to limit the chances of theft (Meagher, 1997:16). In the event of theft, managers intervene and try to solve the matter amicably between clients and domestic employees. When domestic employees are guilty of theft, the managers punish them often through immediate dismissal and clients are seldom involved (Safuta & Camargo, 2019:58). However, while this may lead to a decline in theft, it may increase the knowledge of these employees of the movements and contents of the households of strangers.

3.4.2.4 Flexibility

Housecleaning service firms offer various forms of flexibility to clients, according to their needs and payment preferences. For example, invoices are sent electronically or on paper and clients can pay either in cash or electronically. Payments can be done on the day when cleaning is rendered or in advance or based on the actual service. Clients benefit from this, as payment options are managed professionally and easily. By contrast, private domestic workers may not have a bank account, and employers are thus forced to pay salaries in cash, which some employers may find inconvenient.

Another issue under direct employment is the rigidity of an employment contract with a private domestic worker. Wages, working conditions and dismissal procedures are governed by various laws, which means employers need to be knowledgeable about labour laws. For first-time employers of domestic workers who are unfamiliar with labour laws, this can be an issue. For clients with unpredictable work or travel schedules, contracting in a domestic worker on a full-time basis can be challenging, as domestic workers cannot be dismissed without sound reasons or financial repercussions. Housecleaning service firms fill this void by offering clients flexible service agreements. For example, *Merry Maids* in the US and the UK offers clients the option to change, reschedule or cancel a particular cleaning session up to three business days before the appointment. Having these options is beneficial to clients with flexible lifestyles, unpredictable working schedules and family demands, as they can source in domestic work when needed (Craig & Baxter, 2016:271). Without having to enter long-term contracts, these people benefit from flexible service agreements that offer cleaning services with limited liabilities. Once cleaning is rendered and fees are paid, clients have no other obligations toward domestic employees.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Most middle-class households continue to rely on contracting in or outsourcing domestic services to assist with household cleaning and care. The need depends on a range of factors,

which influence the type of employment relationship that people choose. What one sees over the years, is a change in the nature of the employment relationship in terms of the provision of domestic help. Whereas during the industrial era, characterised by stable standard employment relations, most households contracted in a domestic worker on a full-time or part-time basis under different live-in and live-out relationships, in the contemporary era, we see a growth in the contracting out of domestic and care labour to professionals.

Possible reasons include the following: The contracting in of domestic labour comes with a bipartite employment relationship, which often results in a dependent relationship where guilt, responsibility and moral duty blur the boundaries between the professional and the familial working relationship. Social class differences, together with issues of gender, race and migration, often render employers unable to avoid feeling responsible for assisting domestic workers financially and emotionally, beyond the scope of the working contract. In addition, the formalisation of paid domestic work comes with particular expectations, where employers are bound by legislation regarding duties, working hours, wages and other work-related issues. For some employers, the formalisation of the employment contract can be rigid and uncomfortable.

With the rise of the information and now digital era, characterised by more flexible employment relations, one sees rapid growth in the use of domestic cleaning services. It is not fully understood what has driven the increase in the use of these firms in providing domestic services – hence, the aim of this study – but one reason could be the burden that formalising domestic work poses and the need for greater flexibility. The preceding discussion also highlights that the use of these outsourced domestic service firms has grown and held many benefits. They provide clients with flexibility in work relations and increased task performance. Very little research has been conducted on this topic in South Africa, nor on why one sees such a prolific growth in the provision of domestic cleaning service firms. The following chapter will explore the historical transitions of paid domestic work and the growth of outsourced housecleaning services in South Africa.

CHAPTER 4. CHANGING NEED FOR AND SUPPLY OF PAID DOMESTIC WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the international context and the changing nature of domestic labour globally. South Africa has undergone a similar transition, but at different stages due to its long history of racial segregation during apartheid and patriarchy, which benefitted white men, while black people were steered into low-paid and marginalised jobs. Black African women dominated paid domestic work, where they were informally employed as domestic workers in mostly white households. Over time, the terms of employment of domestic work changed, which affected domestic work from full-time and live-in to live-out, part-time, temporary and outsourced arrangements. The focus of this chapter is to discuss why there is a need for flexible domestic work in South Africa.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: The first section examines the intersections of paid and unpaid work by providing a historical context of productive and reproductive labour during the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. This is followed by how these changes affect the supply of paid domestic work, particularly the growth of outsourced housecleaning services. The focus then shifts to possible social, economic, household and legal factors that affect the need for flexible paid domestic work. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of these trends regarding the demand for and supply of domestic help from housecleaning services.

4.2 INTERSECTIONS OF PAID AND UNPAID WORK: RACE, CLASS AND GENDER

This section provides an overview of productive and reproductive work during apartheid, which is followed by a discussion of productive and reproductive work in post-apartheid South Africa. The latter is divided into three sub-sections, which include a discussion on the changing class and race dynamics of productive labour, followed by the changing gender characteristics of productive labour, and finally, the changes in employment practices and work patterns.

4.2.1 Productive and reproductive work during apartheid

Where women have predominately performed unpaid reproductive labour, productive work was dominated by its racial-class and a gendered division of labour between white and black male and female workers in South Africa (Bezuidenhout, 2005:94; Van der Westhuizen, 2017:126). Various legislation (e.g., Industrial Coalition Act of 1924; Bantu Labour Act of 1953; Industrial Consolidation Act of 1956) elevated the socio-economic privileges and rights of white male workers above black workers, while patriarchy ensured a male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model (Bisschoff et al., 2018:321; Mariotti, 2009:4-5). For

example, the black population and all groups of women were excluded from acquiring sufficient education, training and labour skills, which limited their access to skilled occupations, unions, industrial councils, dispute settlements and owning businesses. These statutes ensured that the black male and female population served the white population by routing them into the lowest-skilled, poorly paid and informal employment in the mines, on farms, in factories and inside dwellings as domestic servants. Black people could be employed and dismissed with little repercussion. This signalled them into a permanent socio-economic class of subordination and poverty (Devey et al., 2003:146; Finnemore, 2002:24; Venter & Levy, 2011:42).

Consequently, white male employees, comprising a very small percentage of the adult population, benefited from the racial-class and gender division of productive work, where they had access to proper service delivery, education and social services, experienced a low unemployment rate and had little exposure in terms of vulnerability or job risks (Bisschoff et al., 2018:321). Not only were they employed in higher-salaried, official positions and prestigious occupations, but also work and employment was typically standard, full-time, long-term, and secure, and performed continuously at a single workspace. The employment contract regulated conditions of employment, including wages, working hours and service benefits. Retirement packages were controlled, ensuring a middle-class lifestyle where material assets were consumed and affluence maintained. White males' employment status and patriarchal relations liberated them from unpaid reproductive work at home, a responsibility performed mainly by their wives (Frankental & Sichone, 2005:69; Le Roux, 2009:12; Van der Westhuizen, 2017:7).

For white women, legislation and patriarchal values restricted employment in productive work, locating their identity to serve men: being a wife, mother and daughter. Through marriage, middle-class white women became financially secured by their husband's standard full-time employment and many remained economically inactive as homemakers and mothers (Van der Westhuizen, 2017:123; Walker, 1982:3-4). Economically active white women (mostly young and unmarried) were employed in traditionally female occupations, such as teaching, nursing, clerical or retail workers. Employed white women had a secondary status compared to employed white men, and their employment contracts were mostly casual and part-time compared to the permanent full-time employment of men (Kenny, 2018:10). Regardless of their employment status or type, women remained primarily responsible for unpaid reproductive work in their households (Naidoo & Kongolo, 2004:128; Pillay, 1985:23-27; Van der Westhuizen, 2017:108).

However, racial discrimination in the workplace and white men's ability to support their wives and families meant that middle-class whites could employ low-paid black domestic workers. Consequently, many white women were liberated from laborious, repetitive and unpleasant domestic labour and caring duties, an almost universal pattern in South Africa at that time. Consequently, black domestic workers are oppressed based on their race, class and gender (Button et al., 2018:603; Maqubela, 2016:7214).

From an intersectional perspective, gender and race cut through and complicate the positioning of white women in South Africa. In the apartheid period, through the race-gender-class intersectional nature of society, white women gained power from the racialized service rationality. White women draw on the labour power of black women who become responsible for the dirty work of their reproductive responsibilities (e.g. domestic labour and caregiving). Thus, race enables a classed labour division, where black women serve the interests of white women and their families. The reduced status of being a woman (gender), is compensated with the elevated status of whiteness (race) and middle-classness (class) to gain control, authority and status. Hence, the inter-racial social interaction is limited to a service relationship when black bodies can be usefully employed by the white and the middle-class to achieve greater gender equality, freedom and liberation from mundane domestic and caring tasks (Van der Westhuizen, 2017:40).

In one of the first South African studies on paid domestic work under apartheid, Whisson and Weil's "*A microcosm of the race problem*" (1971) outlined the poor working conditions of black African domestic workers under the superiority of white employers. Their study showed how racial inequalities meant black domestic servants were paid very little to perform domestic duties. In another study by Gaitskell et al. (1983:89-90), the intersections of race, gender and class are highlighted, where job segregation, the social relations of reproductive work and the gendered and racial subordination of black women meant that paid domestic work was one of the only paid employment options for black African women. Similarly, Cock's (1980) "*Maids and madams*" showed how paid domestic work was deeply embedded in the class, race and gendered inequalities of apartheid, where black African women served white households on a typical full-time and live-in basis, often until retirement. Without workplace rights, domestic servants received no service benefits and were excluded from trade unions and collective bargaining councils to negotiate better working conditions, which placed them in a permanent position of subordination and inferiority to white (female) employers (Ally, 2010:45-47; Gaitskell et al., 1983:98; Van Onselen, 1982:3). What these studies illustrate is that domestic work is not only a woman's job but also a *black* woman's job. Furthermore, the lack of workplace rights promoted a power divide between white female employers and black domestic workers, which was significant for the socio-political climate during that time.

These complex intersections of race, class and gender regarding productive and waged reproductive work continued until the end of apartheid in 1994, where domestic workers had almost no rights. Unlike many Western nations, where the second feminist movement of the 1960s was a watershed for women to re-enter the public sphere of work and employment, in South Africa, the democratic transitions of the 1990s were considered a turning point for many women and the black population. The new democratic government enacted a new Constitution, where social, economic, and political, and workplace rights were provided to all citizens and employees, regardless of race, class or gender (Shepherd, 2008:6; Van der Westhuizen, 2017:140). All types of productive work, including waged reproductive work, were formalised. Employment contracts became mandatory where employment conditions and dismissal procedures were regulated, which affected the intersections of race, class and gender in productive, and to some extent, reproductive work.

4.2.2 Productive and reproductive work in the post-apartheid democratic era

Post-1994, new education and employment opportunities for the black population and women became available. Statutes were passed, such as the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 and the Employment Equity Act of 1998, which actively protected and advanced the employment of women and black people. In addition, the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill mandates the equal representation and participation of women in the economy. These Acts aimed to achieve fundamental workplace rights to all employees, equal opportunity for employment, and eliminate unfair treatment and discrimination based on race and gender. Added to this, they actively sought to address the socio-economic ills of the past and attempted to reinvigorate an equal and demographical representative profile in productive work and the economy. One of the consequences of these changes is the rise in the middle class, especially among the black population (Jaga et al., 2018:430; Shava, 2016:161).

4.2.2.1 Changing class and race characteristics of productive work

While employers of domestic workers are predominantly middle class, it is challenging to define what precisely is meant by middle class within the context of South Africa. A popular view is to reconsider education levels and type of job, as well as the division of labour that determines income, rank, prestige and social status (Southall, 2015:125). This argument stems from Wright's and Goldthorpe's "employment-aggregated" approach, which positions prestigious and well-paid occupations into a higher-class status. Although international scholars such as Crompton (2008), Harvey (1990) and Sennett (1998) criticise this approach due to the breakdown in standard employment and the rise in flexible employment that increases job insecurity, South African scholars such as Rivero et al., (2003); Seekings, (2010); and Visagie (2013) continue to use employment as a measure of class. Informed by a

quantitative study by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), Rivero et al. (2003:7) view middle class in terms of individual factors such as occupation and financial standing. They identify specific categories of the middle class such as professionals and managers who have similar standards of living, consumption patterns and lifestyles (Rivero et al., 2003:13). Similarly, Schlemmer (2005:3), Seekings (2010:6-7), Visagie and Posel (2011:5-7), and Visagie (2013:5-6) also use employment and occupation types as indicators of class. They argue that individuals employed in particular occupations share affluence, prestige, particularly consumption patterns and lifestyle choices. People with well-paid employment or who were employed in well-paid occupations before retirement are perhaps in a better financial position to contract in domestic help in various forms.

Apart from the employment characteristics, demographic factors influence the employment of domestic workers. Traditionally, the white middle class have contracted in domestic help, but today, skilled and well-paid occupations²⁴ have become more racially representative, meaning people have higher salaries to pay for outside domestic work. The 18th Commission for employment equity report of 2017-2018 is used to illustrate these changes (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Changing population characteristics of skilled occupations - 2001 and 2017

Occupational level	Year	Population group			
		White	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian
Top management	2001	87%	6%	3%	4%
	2017	67%	14%	5%	9%
Senior management	2001	81%	9%	5%	5%
	2017	56%	22%	8%	11%
Professionals	2001	56%	33%	6%	5%
	2017	42%	37%	10%	9%
Technically skilled	2001	18%	58%	18%	6%
	2017	20%	62%	11%	6%

(18th Commission for employment equity report, 2017-2018:3)

Although the black population in skilled occupations, especially in top management, senior management and professional occupations²⁵ between 2001 and 2017 has increased (Table 4.1), the white population continues to dominate the top positions (in proportion). Despite population differences, these occupations come with more authority, prestige and higher salaries (Mattes, 2015:666; Visagie, 2013:2). As their socio-economic class status improves, people have better lifestyles and consume more, but they are often working in strenuous jobs with demanding and long working hours. For example, a recent survey conducted in 2018

²⁴ The Labour Force Survey (See StatsSA, 2019) classifies occupations in three groups. Skilled occupations (top management, senior management, professionals, skilled technical occupations); semi-skilled occupations (clerks, services workers, skilled agriculture, and machine operators); unskilled occupations (domestic work, elementary occupations).

²⁵ While it is unclear whether these two cohorts have significant size differences between them (it is highly unlikely), there has been an increase in the black population and females in occupations.

among 2500 professionals, reveals that their workload is continuously resulting in longer and more over-time working hours, leaving little time for responsibilities at home²⁶ (Kahla, 2019). One way to effectively balance work and family demands is to hire outside domestic help (Akinnusi et al., 2018:112, 125; Maqubela, 2016:7218).

Similar to other contexts such as the US (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007); the Philippines (Barber & Bryan, 2014:36) and Tanzania (Bujra, 2000:38), in South Africa, contracting in a domestic worker was and continues to be an expectation of the middle class (Hoobler, 2016:38). During apartheid, the white population, of which a large proportion was middle class, has traditionally employed black domestic workers privately to provide the cleaning and caring relief. However, with the rising education levels and subsequent careers, the middle class is more demographically diverse (Burger et al., 2018:31-32; Burger & McAravey, 2014:5; Nieftagodien & Van der Berg, 2007; Southall, 2015:175-176). Consequently, there has been a rise in the employment of domestic workers among the newly emerged black middle class. However, studies show that some black middle-class employers primarily rely on extended family members from rural areas to work as domestic workers (Carroll, 2004; Maqubela, 2016). Some black employers hire migrant domestic workers from neighbouring African countries, where class differences are upheld and reinforced (Dilata, 2009:19; Nyamnjoh, 2006:152). Little evidence exists on which population groups are hiring housecleaning services.

4.2.2.2 Changing gender characteristics in productive work

In addition to the changing racial profile of skilled, productive work, there has been a rise of women, especially black women, in professional occupations, because of equity legislation and improved access to education and job opportunities (Jaga et al., 2018:430). To illustrate this, the 18th Commission for employment equity report of 2017-2018 is consulted (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Changing gender characteristics of skilled occupations - 2001 and 2017

Occupational level	Year	Gender	
		Men	Women
Top management	2001	87%	13%
	2017	77%	23%
Senior management	2001	80%	20%
	2017	66%	39%
Professionals	2001	62%	38%
	2017	53%	47%
Technical skilled	2001	60%	40%
	2017	53%	47%

(18th Commission for employment equity report, 2017-2018:3)

²⁶ Working-class women also have long working hours that often result in over-time work. Added to this, the stress of relying on public transport can also mean longer travelling time, which cut into their time for family responsibilities. Consequently, they too experience work family conflict but unlike the middle-class do not have the luxury of contracting on domestic help or outsource it to domestic service firms.

In South Africa, the rise of women in skilled occupations is facilitated by several factors. Rising educational levels among women have increased their employment opportunities in management, professional and technical skilled positions (*18th Commission for employment equity report*, 2017-2018:19; Jaga et al., 2018:430). Changes within households, with the decline in birth and marriage rates, have also affected their participation in the labour market for more extended periods. Together with the global recession, South Africans have experienced significant increases in the cost of living. For example, interest rates, food, electricity and fuel have increased, forcing more women to work in order to supplement the family income (Dano, 2018; Van Wyk & Dlamini, 2018:1-2). Consequently, social conventions and attitudes of the roles of women in society have changed. Large proportions of women embark on professional careers for self-fulfilment, financial independence and individual career success (Jaga et al., 2018:431; Van der Westhuizen, 2017:111-112). As disposable income rises, households spend more on domestic appliances to cut time on domestic work and allows women to work (*The Nielsen Global Home-Care Survey*, 2016:5). Reduced workplace discrimination and a higher demand for female workers have increased their participation in the labour market. Lastly, national statutes such as the Employment Equity Act of 1998 and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 have promoted gender equality in workplaces (Ackermann & Velelo, 2013:157; Jaga et al., 2018:430).

Despite the increase of women in skilled, productive work, organisational culture tends to favour long working hours, which depict high organisational commitment. Accordingly, women employed in skilled occupations typically work over forty hours per week. Many organisations are also structured around the idea that employees are able to afford external domestic and care labour, but in reality, many women struggle to manage work and family demands effectively. Besides, the gendered division of domestic labour within households has changed little, where women, regardless of employment status, continue to take on the main burden of domestic and caring responsibilities (Jaga et al., 2018:436; Malan, 2008:4-6; Mokomane, 2009:3).

From the work-family conflict perspective, South African women work longer hours than men, taking in account both market and non-market activities. Indeed, data from the latest Time Use Survey of 2010 (published by StatsSA, 2013) indicates that women spend up to three times more on caring and domestic labour duties (e.g., looking after children, supervising with homework, cleaning) than men do. Those who are able to contract in a domestic worker spend fewer hours on domestic labour, but despite the extra help, women still spend more time than men on domestic and caring duties (StatsSA, 2013:3).

Additionally, for employed women, travelling pressures, challenging job demands, long working hours and over-time working hours leave many working mothers with little time to resume their family role as caregivers. The lack of time for and little help from male partners' increases the need for working women to seek outside domestic help (Maqubela, 2016:7218; Reddy, 2015:15). For example, childcare is increasingly outsourced to childcare facilities, crèches and after-daycare centres with flexible operational times to suit working parents. Some working mothers share driving responsibilities together, taking turns to pick up children from schools and sports events (Akinnusi et al., 2018:113; Blaauw & Bothma, 2010:4). Added to these pressures, work patterns and employment practices have changed too, increasing the need to transfer domestic and caring responsibilities to others.

4.2.2.3 Changing work patterns and employment practices

Changing work patterns and employment practices are interlinked to the rise of the service sector and trade liberalisation that started in the late 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s during the transition into the post-apartheid era. When South Africa re-entered into the global market, there was an increase in competition, resulting in large-scale retrenchments, plant closures and economic restructuring (Theron, 2008:8). There was also a decline in standard employment, which includes permanent and full-time work, and an increase in non-standard part-time and temporary employment (casualisation), and the contracting of flexible labour through intermediaries (outsourcing). These different types of employment practices come with various contracts and working hours, disrupting the normal functioning of work-family demands (Makino, 2010:80; Kenny, 2018:3; Theron, 2005:298).

Research on the rise of non-standard casual employment has mainly focused on semi-skilled occupations in the steel sector (Von Holdt, 2005), the retail industry (Kenny, 2018), the footwear industry (Mosoeta, 2005), the clothing industry (van der Westhuizen, 2005), and the private security industry (Budlender, 2013:20), among others. Trade liberalisation has also seen a growing trend towards the outsourcing of employment, where user enterprises avoid direct employment relations by hiring employees through outsourced contractors. Access to social protection (e.g., pension, medical aid) for workers in non-standard employment is also lower compared to those in standard employment. Working hours and wages are also more volatile than those employed in standard employment (Cassim & Casale, 2018:1; Makino, 2010:2; Theron, 2011:14).

Employees in standard employment, most notably in the formal sector (e.g., skills-intensive occupations such as managerial and professional occupations), form part of the core workforce, where they have access to social protection and permanent contracts (Von Holdt

& Webster, 2005:29). South Africa appears to have a large proportion of core workers. The latest statistics in 2018 indicate there has been an increase of fifty thousand full-time employees in the formal non-agricultural sector, of which the businesses services industry accounted for the most significant proportion of the rise (StatsSA, 2019:13). Individuals employed in full-time jobs typically work at least forty-five hours per week, which increases the chances of work-family spill over and affect the need for outside domestic help (Bowen et al., 2018:154).

Regarding the rise in full-time employment, especially in the business service sector, one would expect a more flexible work arrangement given the interaction between employees and clients. Unlike international trends that favour flexible work patterns, South African workplaces have not yet fully incorporated flexible work patterns such as flexitime, job sharing, and compressed weeks. For example, flexitime is not widely practised for reasons that include the lack of managers' support for flexible work options, increased work pressures and workload, the nature of work and the availability of supportive domestic and caring labour (Jackson & Fransman, 2018:2). Hence, many employees remain committed to long working hours and five to six workdays per week. Hence, the reliance on outside domestic help is necessary in order to manage a work-family balance.

Added to this, poor public transport options in South Africa and an overreliance on private cars, which increase traffic volumes and congestions, makes it challenging for employees to get to work on time and to return to their homes and families within a reasonable time (Gobind, 2018:1-2). As a result, some companies are increasingly allowing remote working for employees to reduce the city's rush-hour gridlocks (Apelgren-Coleman, 2018). Remote working allows some employees to work outside one of their central office locations, in coffee shops or from home due to the availability of and improvements in technology and Wi-Fi, where they can take their work around the city as they go from one meeting to another (Naidoo, 2019; Odendaal & Roodt, 2002:81; Regus, 2017:9).

Apart from the rise in remote working, digitalisation and technological driven markets of the Fourth Industrial Revolution facilitate an increase in the gig economy. There has been an increase in a self-employed, on-demand, freelance and flexible workforce, where workers can work from wherever, whenever and to whomever they like. Gig workers typically register on websites or mobile apps such as *LinkedIn*, *Upwork*, and *Freelancer.com* and sign up for work that they want to perform (SACIA, 2017:2; Wood, 2018:105). How the gig-economy is affecting the labour market in South Africa is not clear, but a weak job market and the high levels of unemployment, especially among the youth, create new flexible and innovative jobs (Rajah & Moodley, 2018:8). One of the consequences of gig-work is that workload is unstable, and

working hours and payments are unpredictable. Sourcing regular clients can take time, which affects pay and stability (SACIA, 2017:2). How these factors influence the employment of domestic workers is not clear, but the supply of paid domestic work has also changed from full-time and live-in to part-time and flexible arrangements. These changes possibly accommodate employers with different work schedules and lifestyles, as the next section shows.

4.3 THE SUPPLY OF PAID DOMESTIC WORK

This section discusses the changing nature in the supply of paid domestic work in South Africa. There are five points that are discussed: The first is a brief historical overview of paid domestic work during colonialism and apartheid. Secondly, the size and the formalisation of paid domestic work in post-apartheid South Africa, followed by a discussion of full-time live-in and live out domestic work, and part-time domestic work. Finally, domestic outsourcing is discussed.

4.3.1 Overview of paid domestic work during Colonialism and apartheid

Since the 17th century in South Africa, records show that slaves initially performed domestic services to white colonial settlers from Europe. Until the mid-18th century, African male and female slaves were imported from Madagascar, Mozambique and South-Asian countries to perform agricultural and domestic services to white colonial settlers in the Cape (Gaitskell et al., 1983:98). During the same time, Dutch colonial settlers in the Eastern Cape enslaved indigenous women and children from the Khoi and San population as agricultural and domestic servants, who were later replaced with local black Xhosa women (Cock, 1980:174; Gaitskell et al., 1983:98). Although immigrated white labour was available, early Dutch settlers preferred African slaves due to racial attitudes and prejudiced ideas that they are more suitable for doing menial domestic and agricultural work than white labourers. However, domestic service transformed at the end of the 18th century from slavery into wage labour and became a permanent fixture in colonialists' homes (Ally, 2010:24).

Although the Dutch colonial settlers used indigenous women and children from the Khoi and San tribe as domestic servants, a shift in the racial profile of domestic servants occurred when the British settlers arrived in 1820 in the Grahamstown area in the Eastern Cape. They did not use African female slaves as domestic servants but brought with white female servants from the UK to fulfil domestic roles. The use of white British women as domestic servants did not last long. Consequently, white settlers became increasingly frustrated with labour shortages and implemented the Master and Servant Act in 1856 to control the supply of domestic labour by making the insubordination, neglect and breach of the employment contract illegal on the

servants' side. As such, the pre-capitalist gender and racist hierarchies caused black people to gradually replace white women as domestic servants (Ally, 2010:25; Gaitskell et al., 1983:98-99).

Although black women worked as domestic servants for white families in the Cape, in Natal, domestic servants were predominantly black African males, referred to as "houseboys". They cooked, cleaned, nursed and cared for white families (Ally, 2010:28; Van Onselen, 1982:34). These men became domestic servants (houseboys) for a number of reasons: The rinderpest epidemic (lung disease and fever plagues amongst cattle), no prior training in mining, the prospect of earning some cash, receiving food and lodging from white families, all contributed to the supply of men as domestic servants (Van Onselen, 1982:8). This supply of male domestic servants later spread to other areas, most notably Johannesburg, controlled by labour Bureaus set up in 1908. The Labour Bureaus controlled the influx of Black men and women from rural to urban areas and pushed them into domestic services. At the time, black African men rather than black African women were the preferred employees by white households as they were admired for their trustworthiness, working skills and abilities to learn fast (Van Onselen, 1982:29-30).

However, the economic conditions in the country at the time changed the supply of domestic servants once again. From 1904 to 1905 the economic depression from 1906 to 1908, increased unemployment all over the country, especially in rural areas. Many poor white families migrated to Johannesburg, with the hope that their daughters could find employment, not in the domestic services, but in small factories, bottling-plants and laundries. At the same time, famine, a rebellion in Natal and a new plague of cattle diseases forced many black African women to abandon the rural areas in search of a livelihood in the urban area of Johannesburg (Walker, 1990:187). However, given that many domestic servant positions were taken by black African men, the only solution for black African women was to earn money by selling beer or sex (Van Onselen, 1982:146). Things started to change with the First World War (1914 – 1918), which saw many white miners leaving the mines for the battlefields of Europe, which created new temporary employment opportunities for black miners (Finnemore, 2002:19). The end of the war saw a collapse of the gold price, and many mines were forced to cut costs laying off white miners and substituting them with cheaper black male workers (Venter & Levy, 2011:36). The changes in the capitalist demand system, increase urbanisation of black African women and labour shortages at the mines that contributed to the gradual replacement of "houseboys" by black African women (Ginsburg, 2011:8-9; Van Onselen, 1982:34). The steady increase in the urbanisation of black African women to Johannesburg became worrisome for the white authorities. Consequently, influx control through various labour bureaus and administration boards, and the regulation of illicit liquor selling and

prostitution, regulated the supply of cheap black African men to the mines and black African women into domestic services. By the 1930s, Black African women came to dominate as domestic servants for white homes and became the norm across South Africa ever since (Ally, 2010:37-39).

During apartheid, several Acts were passed to regulate the conditions under which black people were allowed to sell their labour power. For example, The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 excluded black people to belong to trade unions and other political organisations; The Bantu Labour Act of 1953 and the Industrial Consolidation Act of 1956 segregated white and black people further apart by excluding black people to join unions or industrial councils denying them any form of dispute settlement mechanisms (Venter & Levy, 2011:42-43). The Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1956, which derived from The Industrial Coalition Act of 1924, was intended to give stability and security for white waged labourers through the establishment of various sectoral industrial councils, which regulated wages and conditions of employment for white labourers only. In addition, the Group Areas Act of 1966 prohibited black, Indian and coloured entrepreneurs to establish and operate businesses (Devey et al., 2003: 146). This meant that Black people literally had no other choice than to fill jobs in the informal economy. Domestic workers were one group of workers that was coerced into the informal, non-core economy and who lacked any alternative jobs (Ginsburg, 2011:1). As Ally (2010:63) argues that the dominant image of paid domestic work under apartheid is of a sector managed by employer and employee divorced of regulatory oversight of the state.

The ease with which employers could hire and fire domestic workers contributed to the exploitative nature of domestic work. Domestic workers were often at the mercy of their employers, which had devastating effects on their families and broader black communities (Ally, 2015:49). For example, racial discrimination, the lack of education and limited skills made it challenging for many black women to find employment in other sectors and they were often trapped in the vicious cycle where poor working conditions and little pay had to be accepted. Given these working conditions, the post-apartheid government formalised paid domestic work to protect domestic workers from exploitation, unfair treatment and abuse.

4.3.2 Paid domestic work in post-apartheid South Africa: Legal factors and size

Together with the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 (LRA), the Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1998 (BCEA) and the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 (EEA) that regulates the employment relationship and conditions between employers and domestic workers, the specificity of this sector called for an additional statute.

The SD7 was launched in 2002 and applied to all domestic workers, except those employed on farms and those working less than twenty-seven hours a month. The SD7 aims to regulate and enforce minimum standards of employment for paid domestic workers (Du Preez et al., 2010:396; Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:76-77; Matjeke et al., 2012:3). The SD7 requires an employment contract between employers and domestic workers, which must specify general working conditions, mutual duties and employment obligations (Persson, 2006:412-413; Matjeke et al., 2012:6-8). A minimum wage is to be paid to domestic workers, daily, weekly or monthly (Department of Labour, 2012:10; Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:95-98). Notice periods must be given in advanced and come with extra payments and obligations (Department of Labour, 2012:16; Nel et al., 2008:146-147). Working hours are specified and standardised. Full-time domestic workers (whether live-in or live-out) are restricted to nine hours of work per day and 45 hours per week from Monday to Friday. Part-time domestic workers are limited to 35 hours per week, with overtime pay, if exceeded. Work on public holiday or weekends comes with additional payments (Department of Labour, 2012:4-6; Matjeke et al., 2012:9). Domestic workers are entitled to paid annual leave, paid maternity leave, and additional paid leave for family responsibility duties (e.g., funerals and weddings). Employers, as stipulated by the Unemployment Insurance Act 63 of 2001, must contribute monthly payments towards domestic workers' unemployment insurance fund (UIF). Employers are only allowed to deduct medical insurance and UIF payments from the salaries of domestic workers, and may not deduct any money for breakages of or damages to household items or clothing, meals, uniforms or work equipment (Department of Labour, 2012:18-24; Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:99-102; Nel et al., 2008:147). Recently, the Department of Labour has introduced the 'uFiling' system that is a secure online system for employers to register, declare and pay UIF of their domestic workers with ease. Domestic workers can also use the system to apply for benefits such as unemployment, maternity and illness²⁷. The success of this online system is yet to be established.

Where some employers probably pay their domestic worker more than these minimum requirements and have a friendly, interpersonal relationship with their domestic worker, the fundamental aspects of labour relations, namely dismissal, collective bargaining and industrial action, are administered by uniform rules and regulations (King, 2007:24). Concerning termination, employers may only dismiss a domestic worker based on misconduct, lack of capacity (e.g., ill health or injury) or the employer's operational requirements. Dismissed domestic workers can dispute the fairness of their termination at the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA), and if unresolved, be referred to the Labour

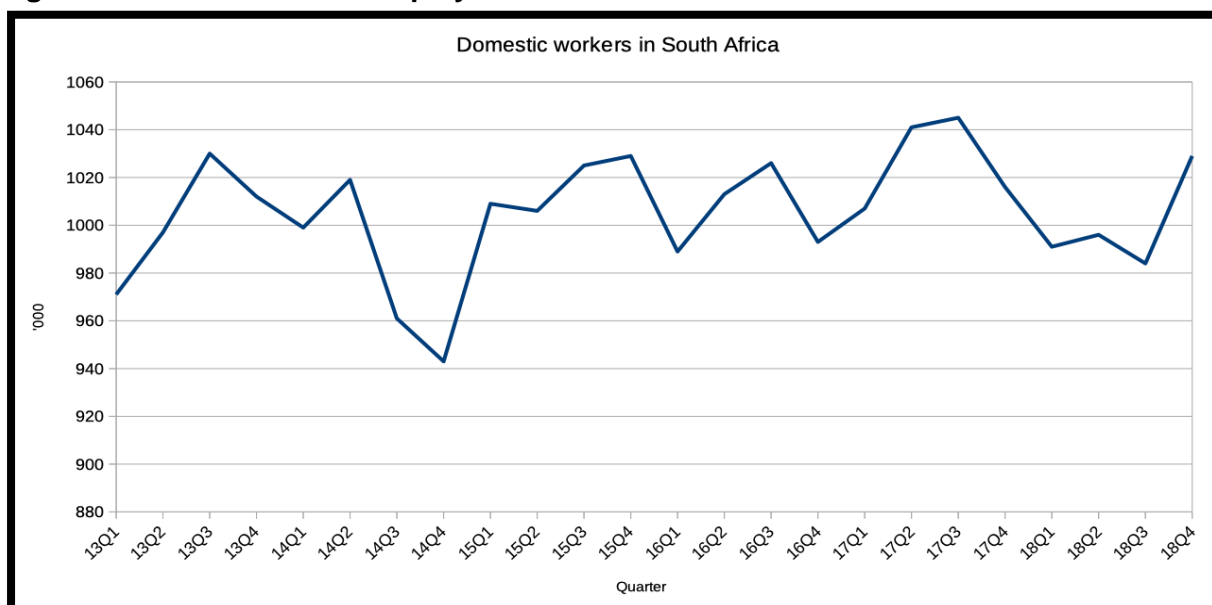
²⁷ See *ufiling* in reference list - <https://www.ufiling.co.za/uif/>

Court. CCMA statistics reveal that, between 2008 and 2013, of the 66 000 cases by domestic workers, 81% were in favour of domestic workers and only 19% were in favour of employers (Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:91-94). These trends possibly indicate the extent to which domestic workers are unfairly treated and dismissed by employers.

As such, Ally (2015:49) argues that South Africa is one of the leading countries in the world to recognise, modernise, formalise and professionalise domestic work, which was welcomed by most domestic workers to secure a contract and subsequent employment rights. It should be noted, however, that in Ally's (2015:50) study, some domestic workers refused to sign employment contracts with employers. Instead, they preferred to negotiate employment conditions, pay and service benefits informally, which in some cases were better than what the minimum wage stipulation requires.

In short, paid domestic work remains an essential occupation for black women, and the employment of domestic workers remain relatively consistent over time. Figure 4.1 refers to the total of domestic workers who were contracted in between the first quarter of 2013 and the fourth quarter of 2018 (18Q4)²⁸.

Figure 4.1: The number of employed domestic workers in South Africa



(Business Tech, 2019)

Despite the consistent employment of domestic workers, there are different ways in which paid domestic work is supplied in South Africa and how it affects the employment conditions and relationships between employers and domestic workers.

²⁸ The information in figure 4.1 is based on the Labour Force Survey, which releases data every three months. The labels on the x-axis. Q1 (January – March); Q2 (April – June); Q3 (July – September); Q4 (October – December). For example, 14Q2 refers to the second quarter of 2014 (April to June 2014).

4.3.3 Full-time, live-in and live-out domestic work

Full-time and live-in domestic work was a prominent feature for white middle-class households during apartheid (Phillips & James, 2014:416). South Africa's apartheid policies and restrictions controlled who could live or move in which areas and under what conditions. Without legal rights, it was challenging for employed black African women to decide where and how they lived, and the only way for many black domestic servants to remain in white urban regions was to be employed on a full-time live-in basis (Ally, 2010:45-47; Ginsburg, 2000:83-84; Hoobler, 2016:38).

Similar to international trends, live-in domestic servants were considered to be 'part of the (white) family', where they were given free lodging in confined, small detached backyard rooms on the employer's premises in the suburbs, far from the areas where a large proportion of black Africans lived (Ally, 2010:135; Cock, 1980:62; Jansen, 2015:232). Servant quarters were mostly furnished with cast-off furniture from employers (Ginsburg, 2000:84-88; Ginsburg, 2011:57; Makosana, 1989:97). Added to the poor living quarters, live-in domestic servants' duties were demanding and included sweeping floors, scrubbing bathrooms, cooking meals and raising employers' children. Wages were low and working hours long, often exceeding 16-hours a day, usually six days per week (Jansen, 2015:174; Phillips & James, 2014:416; Preston-Whyte, 1976:73). They were restricted from socialising with their friends during working hours and leave periods were controlled, leaving little time to visit family and children, leading to increased feelings of isolation, loneliness and guilt (King, 2007:51). When on duty, they had to wear servant uniforms and caps, further degrading their status and identity. They were expected to address their female employers as "Mrs" or "Madam", male employers as "Sir" or "Baas" (Afrikaans for "boss") and their children on their names. In return, they were often given names that were easier for white people to pronounce or called derogating names²⁹ emphasising difference and subordination (Ally, 2010:48; Jansen, 2011:103; Jansen, 2015:20-21).

However, things had supposedly changed in South Africa in 1996, when workplace rights were extended to full-time live-in domestic workers. Employers can no longer extract extra duties or labour beyond the stipulated working hours without additional payment. Employers must

²⁹ Names such as "ousie", "aia" or "meid" were used to insult domestic workers. While in English, these Afrikaans terms translate to "maid", the English term does not carry the same insulting power as in Afrikaans. Sometimes, employers referred to their domestics as "menties" ('small people') or "meidjie" ('little maid') to emphasise that domestics were not yet full adults and needed help just like children (Jansen, 2015:158). Today, domestic workers are no longer called these names and are mostly called by one of their birth names. Legally, they are also referred to as domestic workers and not domestic servants. Ally (2010) discusses at length how domestics insist to be regarded as "workers" and not 'servants', to protect them from exploitation.

also adhere to the SD7's specific general employment conditions, as well as maintaining liveable standards of live-in domestic workers' living quarters, with suitable furniture, adequate lighting and bathroom facilities (Le Roux, 2013:19). However, the extent to which these regulations are practised remains debatable, given the hidden nature of domestic work and the lack of sufficient labour inspectors.

Employers (and domestic workers) who prefer to abstain from live-in domestic work with all its challenges can shift to a full-time live-out basis. While the nature of the work changes little, live-out domestic work means domestic workers do not reside on the premises of their employers but go to their own dwelling after the workday. Occurring predominantly since the 1970s, live-out domestic work comes with relatively more control over work and family time and less dependence, enabling domestic workers to fully 'knock-off' at the end of the workday (Ally, 2010:50; Preston-Whyte, 1976:46). Live-out domestic work provides domestic workers with some degree of personal freedom, more autonomy from employers, the ability to maintain an independent family life, and more manageable work hours. Still, they typically face extra time pressures to complete work faster, as dwellings must be cleaned during working hours.

The financial and time burden of travelling can also be challenging as many travels for hours each day to and from work. As an example, Bezuidenhout and Fakier (2006:463) illustrate the realities of a domestic cleaner at a South African university, which is similar to thousands of other domestic workers who are employed by households. They found that a typical working day lasts more than twelve hours, including travelling time. Living in townships, often far from middle-class suburbs, means many domestic workers rely on public transport, catching buses, taxis and trains, which are not only costly but also unpredictable, given the chances of strikes or protests (Ally, 2010:51-52; Dube, 2019). Concerning the employment relationship, it remains personal and often maternalistic. Many domestic workers are employed by a single household on a full-time live-out basis and rely not only on the wages of their employers but also on their goodwill in times of need. In reality, live-out domestic work differs little from live-in domestic work (Du Toit, 2012:84; Galvaan et al., 2015:43).

Where the focus of the literature is often on the exploitative employment relationship, some studies have documented the positive side of the bipartite employment relationship between domestic workers and employers. Despite racial and class differences, the daily close contact between domestic workers and employers enables the employers and domestic workers to become friends (or at least friendly) with each other, where they share a major part of each other's lives. Large proportions of white children were partially raised by black domestic workers, as was I (see Section 1.1). Although domestic workers lacked concomitant authority, most domestic workers cared deeply for their employers' children as if their own. Domestic

workers were sensitive to their needs, knew and managed their routines, and they feared for their general safety and well-being, just as their biological mother did (Hickson & Strous, 1993:111; Jansen, 2015:332; Van der Merwe, 2009:24-25). Consequently, long-lasting friendships often develop between domestic workers, employers and children. Even after retirement, some employers and children maintain an emotional bond with their former domestic workers and their family (Bosch & McLeod, 2015:145-146; Galvaan et al., 2015:44; Jansen, 2015:255).

However, in recent times, there has been an unclarified decline in the employment of full-time domestic workers in South Africa (Alexander, 2013:1). The increase in personal taxes perhaps affects the need to cut expenses, including the employment of domestic workers. Maybe the middle class' cleaning and caring needs are changing with the rise in smaller households and the delay in marriage and childbirth, which reduces the need for full-time domestic help. Flexible schedules are on the rise, where employees relocate or travel for work or leisure more frequently than in the past. These social changes possibly contribute to the decline in full-time domestic help and a rise in part-time domestic work, which comes with greater flexibility.

4.3.4 Part-time domestic work

The shift from full-time to part-time domestic work is often a strategy by employers to cut costs, gain flexibility and reduce dependency from domestic workers. A large proportion of domestic workers are employed on a part-time basis, where they are employed on various time and wage schedules by single or multiple employers (Ally, 2010:56-57; Dinat & Peberdy, 2007:196). For some domestic workers, part-time arrangements are the only available option and finding additional jobs for empty days can be challenging. In addition, part-time domestic workers are often employed informally, which affects their vulnerability and job security (Ally, 2010:58-60; Mullagee, 2011:10; Neetha, 2009:491).

For some employers, employing a part-time domestic worker may be a preferred option, but it does not necessarily eliminate the typical issues of full-time domestic work. For example, dependency remains, as some part-time domestic workers may not have any additional sources of income and rely solely on the day's wages. Consequently, some employers may feel guilty and responsible for the well-being of the domestic worker and her family. Also, transport issues are not solved, and arrival times of domestic workers can be affected. Employers may be unable to wait until their domestic worker arrives. In addition, stricter employment regulations have been implemented by the SD7 to part-time domestic workers who work more than 27-hours per month for a single household. They are protected by the same labour legislation as full-time domestic workers, although they are excluded from some leave provisions (Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:81; Galvaan et al., 2015:44).

In closure, part-time domestic work does not solve many of the problems associated with full-time domestic work. In fact, part-time domestic work comes with another set of challenges, and people who wish to avoid these issues may rather outsource domestic labour to domestic service firms, which comes with more flexibility and less dependence.

4.3.5 Domestic outsourcing

In South Africa, outsourced domestic service providers are widespread, located in many metropolitan regions in the country, specialising in different domestic work and care duties and operating on different terms and conditions. However, there is no comprehensive data on the characteristics, size and scope of the outsourced domestic service market. To understand how domestic outsourcing came about, it is useful to look at the principles of labour brokers, also known as temporary employment services or sub-contracting, which is widely practised in South Africa, especially among unskilled or semi-skilled labourers.

Labour broking is a type of sub-contracting practice, where labour brokers source many workers to clients for a specific period or for the performance of a particular task. Workers are mostly employed on a temporary contract by the labour broking firm, while the client enters a commercial agreement with the labour broking firm based on the specified duties. Once the job is done, the agreement between the client and the labour broking firm is terminated (Bamu & Godfrey, 2009:8; Theron et al., 2005:10). One of the benefits of labour brokers is that they reduce the number of employees directly employed by the core enterprise, which is attractive to clients who require seasonal, large-scale, temporary or short-term staff. It enhances numerical flexibility when labour surpasses the availability of permanent workers. For example, during harvest season in the agricultural sector, farmers need extra workers for a short period and often rely on labour brokers to provide them with casual workers for short-term employment. When labour ends, the client has no liabilities toward the labour broker worker (Benjamin, 2013:1; Budlender, 2013:5).

The use of labour brokers in South Africa has grown over the past years due to the perceptions of high costs involved of direct employment, with an estimated one million people being employed through labour brokers in 2018 (Dludla, 2018). Clients have the freedom to decide the duration and specified duties of the labourers and can terminate the services of workers when needed. Workers can easily be replaced with others when the employer is dissatisfied with their work. Labour broker firms also take care of all labour matters and administration issues, leaving clients to focus on their core business (Bamu & Godfrey, 2009:26-27).

While periodic employment offers financial relief to poverty-stricken individuals and opportunities to try out different work, it also has disadvantages. Since labour brokers operate

on the principle of short-term casual work, the employment contract is of limited scope and duration, and the labour broker worker is not guaranteed continuous work. Labour broker workers are often paid less than permanent workers, have little job security and have limited employment benefits (Budlender, 2013:46-49; Gwala, 2016:3).

In an attempt to improve working conditions for temporary employees, amendments to the Labour Relations Act (LRA) in 2018 have dictated that employees who are employed for longer than three months must be employed on a full-time basis. To some extent, this transforms many labour broking firms into outsourced service providers, who are bound by the country's labour legislation regarding minimum wages, working hours, service benefits and dismissal procedures.

Regarding domestic service firms, there is no comprehensive data on its size and scope, or how domestic employees are employed, but one can assume that many are employed on a long-term and permanent basis given the new legislation.³⁰ Despite the lack of clarity, website profiles provide some information on the range of household services on offer. For example, gardening can be outsourced to gardening service firms that seem to be more time-efficient and cost-effective than to purchase a lawnmower and other gardening tools that are used only occasionally. Another example is laundry. While most middle-class households have washing machines, laundry is a laborious and time-consuming activity. To relieve people from laundry, many laundry services firms in South Africa offer services by collecting and dropping-off items of clothing at the client's dwelling. For example, *Crisp and Clean*,³¹ a leading laundry service firm with over twenty branches in South Africa, provides laundry services in this convenient manner where clients book a timeslot, are charged per kilogram of clothing and pay online. Similarly, housecleaning, shopping, cooking, transport arrangement for children, pool cleaning and gardening are activities that require time and effort. These activities can also be outsourced to domestic service firms, which render specialised and professional services to clients.

From this, it is apparent that domestic outsourcing has clear benefits for clients. While these domestic service firms respond to the different domestic work and care needs of clients, the focus of this study is specifically on housecleaning as this is one of the most tedious and demanding domestic work duties.

³⁰ I do think that the majority of domestic service firms, especially among housecleaning services, do not work on a labour broking principle, but rather on outsourced principles. Despite a lack of evidence, my previous studies (Du Toit, 2012, 2013, 2016) have found that almost all domestic employees are employed on a full-time and permanent basis by the housecleaning service firms under study.

³¹ <http://www.crispandclean.co.za/>

4.4 OUTSOURCED HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

The lack of precise data on housecleaning service firms in South Africa means that the website profiles of these firms had to be consulted to outline the nature and scope of their services. In my search, it appears that there are three primary types of housecleaning service firms in South Africa, all rendering general household cleaning services, but in different ways and under different terms and conditions: (i) domestic placement agencies; (ii) on-demand domestic services through online apps; and (iii) the sourcing of sole or teams of domestic employees, managed through a tripartite employment relationship.

4.4.1 Domestic placement agency: *Marvellous Maids*

Like domestic placement agencies in the other nations (e.g., US, Canada, some European nations and India), in South Africa, domestic employees are sourced based on their training and experience to clients on a continuous part-time or full-time basis. A fee is charged for the placement, and the domestic placement agency plays no further role (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007; Neetha, 2009:502; Souralova, 2015:157). There are many domestic placement agencies in South Africa, but with over twenty branches across the country, *Marvellous Maids*³² is perhaps the best example of this.

Marvellous Maids' website profile boasts that they only register honest, reliable, experienced and friendly job-seeking domestic workers. References, skills and trustworthiness are scrutinised, and other criteria such as age, migration status, personality traits and language proficiency are considered. When job seekers pass these requirements, they are registered in a database. Clients complete a job specification form that focuses on general questions (e.g., the size of the household and dwelling, age and language preferences) and the type of employment arrangement they want (e.g., full-time, live-in, live-out or part-time arrangements). Clients can also specify the domestic duties they require (e.g., general cleaning, cooking, table laying and ironing) as well as preferred personality traits they value in a domestic worker (e.g., honesty, confidence or sophistication). (See Addendum I).

Once this form is completed, *Marvellous Maids* presents a shortlist of potential candidates to clients to interview for a fee. Once a domestic worker has been selected, a facilitator assists with contractual obligations, payslips, unemployment insurance benefits and cleaning schedules. A fee is paid, and the domestic worker is placed on a sixty-day probation period with the client. If clients are dissatisfied with the placement during this period, a replacement

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<http://www.marvellousmaids.co.za/search?searchword=job+specification&ordering=newest&searchphrase=all>

is provided at no additional costs. Once settled, the domestic agency plays no further role, and the employment relationship is managed between the client (now the employer) and the domestic worker.

One of the advantages of working through a domestic placement agency is that clients who seek a long-term traditional bipartite employer-employee relationship with the domestic worker have easy access to skilled, hard-working and well-equipped domestic workers. Another benefit includes the assistance with compliance with legal procedures during the appointment of domestic workers that can be daunting to some. On the downside, placement fees are costly, as *Marvellous Maids* charges a hefty call-out and placement fee. The withdrawal of the domestic placement agency after placement means clients are held accountable for any severance, dismissal or retirement payments. People who seek more flexible domestic work may opt for on-demand domestic services.

4.4.2 On-demand cleaning by apps: *SweepSouth* and *Domestly*

Like nations where the digitalisation facilitates the growth of domestic services and goods that are bought online, in South Africa, *SweepSouth*³³ and *Domestly*³⁴ offer clients the convenience of booking on-demand housecleaning sessions. Launched in 2013 and 2015 respectively, *SweepSouth* and *Domestly* are considered the 'Uber of housecleaning services', where clients are connected to registered and allegedly trained and screened domestic workers.

In a systematic process, clients specify the location of their dwelling, size of the residence and specific cleaning duties required. These specificities are linked to an estimated number of hours and price, of which the firm extracts some profit. There is also an option to indicate whether domestic cleaning chemicals should be included in the deal for an extra fee. Dates and times are selected, after which a domestic worker is linked to a client, and a short biography with reviews from former clients of the domestic worker appears. Cleaning sessions can be booked again, rescheduled or cancelled on the go with safe and cashless payment when cleaning is completed.

For clients with unpredictable schedules, these on-demand domestic cleaning services work well, as time schedules, duties and payments are flexible, predictable and convenient. By hiring on-demand cleaning, clients avoid any of the commitments that come with an employment contract and cutting costs by discontinuing domestic services when needed. However, one of the disadvantages of utilising either *SweepSouth* or *Domestly* is that domestic workers are registered as independent contractors, which means little control is

³³ <https://sweepsouth.com/>

³⁴ <https://domestly.com/>

provided in terms of theft or breakage issues³⁵. Clients who prefer a more controlled employment relationship can opt for established housecleaning services where a tripartite employment relationship exist between clients, domestic employees and the management.

4.4.3 Tripartite employment: *Mollywood Maids* and *Skitterblink*

*Mollywood Maids*³⁶ and *Skitterblink*³⁷ are typical examples of housecleaning services found in other parts of South Africa that render domestic cleaning through a tripartite employment relationship. *Mollywood Maids* was launched in 2001, with branches across the Gauteng and North West provinces, provide a range of cleaning services from regular weekly or bi-weekly services, on-demand spring cleaning, pre- and post-moving cleaning, after-party cleaning and even office cleaning. At *Mollywood Maids*, employed domestic employees arrive at the firm's premises every morning, where they receive their uniform, after which a management team sources their labour to clients as booked the previous day. Domestic employees are driven to clients' premises in an easily-identifiable company vehicle, where they clean dwellings in seven hours or less. Duties are specified and generally include cleaning, ironing, sweeping, scrubbing and dusting. Once done, domestic employees are collected by a firm driver and brought back to the firm's premises, return the uniform and go home.

Being in the market for almost fifteen years, *Skitterblink* has eighteen branches in Johannesburg and Pretoria and offers a range of residential and business cleaning. In contrast to *Mollywood Maids*, *Skitterblink* renders cleaning in teams of four domestic employees and supplies all the cleaning equipment (e.g., brooms, vacuum cleaners, dusters and irons), cleaning chemicals and room spray. Cleaning is standardised in that clients can choose between three systematic cleaning packages that differ from basic cleaning, standard cleaning or deluxe cleaning packages, each coming with different requirements and prices. Clients, who are not at home when cleaning is booked, have the option to give management their house keys, which are kept safe. Cash or electronic payments are made monthly for clients who use cleaning teams regularly. Regular clients also receive the same team, but on rare occasions, another team helps in unforeseen circumstances. Lastly, all administrative, transport and legal issues of domestic employment are the responsibility of the management of *Skitterblink*.

One of the benefits of entering a tripartite employment relationship is the shifting of all administrative regulations, such as employment contracts, wages, transport and service

³⁵ https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.sweepsouth&hl=en_ZA;
<https://www.hellopeter.com/sweepsouth>

³⁶ <http://www.mollywoodmaids.co.za/>

³⁷ <https://cleaningsouthafrica.co.za/>

benefits of domestic employees, to the management. For example, a manager of one housecleaning service firm confirmed the immediate dismissal when a domestic employee is guilty of theft, which liberates clients from a potentially lengthy and taxing dismissal process (Du Toit, 2012:77). Price for cleaning sessions can be adapted depending on the circumstances of their clients. For example, students and pensioners are likely to pay a reduced fee to accommodate their circumstances. Duties can be negotiated when clients' circumstances and needs change, or when specific demands are requested.

The standardisation of cleaning services is another benefit, as clients have access to domestic employees who have been trained with specific cleaning techniques, ironing methods and operational skills of household technologies that are efficient and effective for optimal client satisfaction. *Skitterblink*, for example, also supplies cleaning products and equipment, which is cost-effective and valuable for clients who expect the services they pay for. While training is perhaps aimed to give clients a guarantee of service quality, it also increases the skills and future employability of domestic employees. The standardisation of services is also achieved by providing the same domestic employee or team of domestic employees to clients, although the rotation of staff can occur. Another benefit is an avoidance of entering contractual obligations with domestic employees that are often perceived as expensive, rigid and time-consuming. Housecleaning services can provide clients with a customised and flexible contract, where terms and conditions can be adapted or changed. For example, clients who are away for extended periods can negotiate a customised service plan and timeslots with the housecleaning service firm with ease (Du Toit, 2012:89).

Potential negatives include loss of control and authority. The tight control of duties and sessions means any deviation thereof often contains extra payment. For example, both *Mollywood Maids* and *Skitterblink* have limitations in the number of clothing items to be ironed per session, which can be inconvenient to some (Du Toit, 2012:68). In addition, cleaning sessions can sometimes change, and a different team of domestic employees can be sourced to clients, which may be an issue for some. Clients also have little control in deciding who is in the team or how cleaning is rendered.

Despite these negatives, housecleaning services have transformed paid domestic work, where cleaning is rendered in a more efficient and timeous manner. Where tax reduction schemes and other benefits have caused its growth in Europe, in a South African context where these interventions are absent, it is not fully understood what factors contribute to its usage. For this reason, several possible factors can affect the usage of housecleaning service firms.

4.5 POSSIBLE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE USE OF HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

This section attempts to show the link between changes in household factors and life cycles that affect the need for flexible domestic work offered by housecleaning service firms. In addition, the type of dwellings the middle-class are buying is also changing, which also affects domestic labour.

4.5.1 Household factors

The discussion of changes in households and the need for flexible domestic labour include aspects: First, the different household types are discussed, after which changes in marriage and cohabitation patterns are provided. This is followed by a discussion on declining fertility rates and a rise in single-parenting and how it affects the need for flexible domestic labour.

4.5.1.1 Changing household types

When it comes to cleaning, the living arrangements of clients are important. The term household, rather than family, is used as it refers to the sharing of a dwelling (Hall & Mokomane, 2018:32). The use of the term household corresponds to the international application of this term. In essence, not all household members are related by birth, marriage or adoption, and it makes sense to rather use the term household than family in this study (See Section 2.4.). If one looks at the distribution of household types in South Africa, the following representative profile of South African households in 2017, is noted (Table 4.3):

Table 4.3: Household types in South Africa in 2017

Household type	%
One-person (where there is only one person)	22%
Couple (where there are only two members, and they are either spouses or partners and do not have children)	10%
Couple with children (where there is a spouse/partner couple with their children and no other members)	19%
Single parent (where there is a person without a spouse/partner in the household, with their children and no other members)	11%
Extended (any household that does not fit into one of the above categories, but all members are related)	36%
Composite (any household with at least one unrelated member)	2%
Total	100%

(Hall & Mokomane, 2018:34; based on StatsSA, 2017)

Based on a cross-sectional national survey conducted in 2017 in South Africa (Table 4.3), extended households are the most significant type of households (36%), followed by one-person households (22%). Almost a fifth of households involve couples with children (19%),

which is the traditional nuclear family. While this result does not indicate how households are changing over time, it does provide some insight into the arrangements of households in South Africa. However, these types of households are distributed differently among the four race groups in South Africa (Table 4.4). One person and coupled households are unfortunately not included in the presentation.

Table 4.4: Population groups and household types in South Africa in 2017

Household type	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
Couple with children (couple with children and no other household members)	21%	37%	61%	67%
Single parent (single parent with own children and no other household members)	11%	6%	3%	6%
Extended (not nuclear or lone parent, but all household members are related)	66%	50%	35%	23%
Composite (household members are not related)	2%	7%	1%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

(Hall & Mokomane, 2018:34; based on StatsSA, 2017)

Couples with children have traditionally been and continue to be the most typical household type among the white and the Indian/Asian population groups (Table 4.4). They are typically governed by traditional norms and religious values, and are more economically stable than extended households are (Button et al., 2018:603; Mohanoe, 2009; StatsSA, 2017:10). Extended households have traditionally been and remain dominant among black African and coloured communities (Table 4.4). On the one hand, patriarchal values, poverty, a high incidence of out-of-wedlock births and the historical political migration patterns during apartheid have caused many black African and coloured households to be horizontally extended (e.g., when siblings of adults reside with them in the same dwelling) and vertically extended (e.g., multi-generation households) (Button et al., 2018:602; Hall & Richter, 2018:26). On the other hand, extended households also place a high value on family connections and communal caretaking and childrearing. In such households, there might be a greater sense of security and belonging as household members tend to share resources. In this regard, Pasternak et al., (1976:110) suggest that extended households often develop when family labour cannot be replaced by an outside person. For example, when a mother or father, or both, work far away from home, it is challenging to perform household duties (e.g. childcare labour, domestic labour). Consequently, an extended household is likely to emerge in these situations, where extended family members help with these duties in the absence of parents.

Concerning domestic and caring duties, different household types have different requirements. On the one hand, single-person and coupled households without children or dependents possibly have less domestic labour and caring needs than households with dependents. Contracting in domestic workers on a regular basis is perhaps not necessary and can be outsourced when needed. Couples with children, on the other hand, face extra pressures of domestic and caring responsibilities. Depending on the age of children and employment status of parents, these households could contract in domestic or care workers on a regular basis to assist them with their domestic and care responsibilities. Working parents particularly may experience increased pressures from their work and family demands and may need to contract in domestic help (Baxter & Tai, 2016:449). However, as children age, care work is cut, and perhaps there is a decline in the need for regular domestic help.

Extended households are typically large, have more cleaning and laundry duties. How these domestic duties are managed is not clear, but the presence of children or other dependents in households typically necessitates more regular domestic and care help to effectively manage these demands (Ally, 2010; Button, 2018:605). Thus, factors such as the presence of children, the ability to perform domestic work oneself or the size of the household determine how domestic labour is managed. Another factor that affects domestic labour is changing marriage rates and cohabitation patterns.

4.5.1.2 Changing marriage and cohabitation patterns

Marriage used to be widespread in South Africa, but over that last decade, it had declined substantially (StatsSA, 2018:17). The latest trends by the General Household Survey disaggregates marital or relationship status by gender (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Marital or relationship status by gender

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	TOTAL (%)		18-34 years (%)		35-59 years (%)		60-74 years (%)		75 + years (%)	
Single	51.8	45.9	94.7	85.8	47.1	42.6	8.8	14.6	3.8	7.2
Married	31.8	28.9	2.3	5.1	34.1	34.4	68.3	37.2	67.7	15.2
Cohabit	12.3	11.7	2.9	8.8	15.6	14.4	6.7	2.9	2.4	1.0
Widowed	2.0	10.2	0	0.1	1.0	5.0	10.8	38.4	20.6	73.4
Divorced / separated	2.1	3.4	0.1	0.3	2.2	3.6	5.5	6.9	5.5	3.3

(StatsSA, 2018(b):4)

Focusing on the total, in 2017, slightly more than half (52%) of males are single compared to 46% of females, while 32% of males are married compared to 29% of females (Table 4.5). Males are also more likely to cohabit (32%) compared to females (29%). Females are also more likely than males to be widowed (10% vs 2%) and divorced or separated (3% vs 2%). The pattern changes as relationship status is disaggregated with age groups. As males age,

they are more likely to be married than females. In comparison, 81% of women in the age group 75 years and older remained single or widowed compared to 24% of males in this age group.

When looking at marriage rates among population groups, there has been a decline among all population groups in South Africa. Yet, the white and Indian/Asian populations have the highest proportion of marriage rates, while the black African and coloured populations have the lowest marriage rates. This possibly explains the differences in the household structures among the population groups, where white and Indian/Asian group are more likely than black African and Coloured households to reside in households where both parents and children are present (StatsSA, 2018(b):4).

Studies have indicated that the rise of wedding costs have changed marriage from being a universal rite of passage into being a conspicuous celebration of an extravagant lifestyle. Many cannot live up to these expectations, being unable to access the requisite financial resources, thus avoid marriage. The decline in marriage is also linked to the increasing proportion of women who have access to formal education and employment that reduces dependence on men and the need to marry. Thus, individualistic values mean people delay marriage, marry at a later age, remain single for more extended periods or cohabit with partners without marrying. This is often cheaper and more convenient than committing to a lifelong marriage (Coetzee & Gumada, 2018:1; James, 2017:5; Pauli & Van Dijk, 2016:259).

Regarding the gendered division of domestic labour for married or cohabiting couples, there is little difference. According to the Time Use Survey³⁸ conducted by StatsSA (2013:31), married women, on average, spend more time on domestic labour duties than single women. For men, the reverse is true, where married men spend less time on domestic labour than single men. South African men and women tend to have traditional attitudes towards the gendered division of housework, where men's share in domestic labour decreases with marriage (Gupta, 2007:401). In households where domestic workers are employed, women continue to spend more time on domestic labour and caring duties than their male partners (StatsSA, 2013:39). How these trends affect the need for outsourced domestic services is not fully understood, but perhaps in households where domestic labour is more evenly shared between partners, the need for only sporadic outsourcing of domestic labour is more practical.

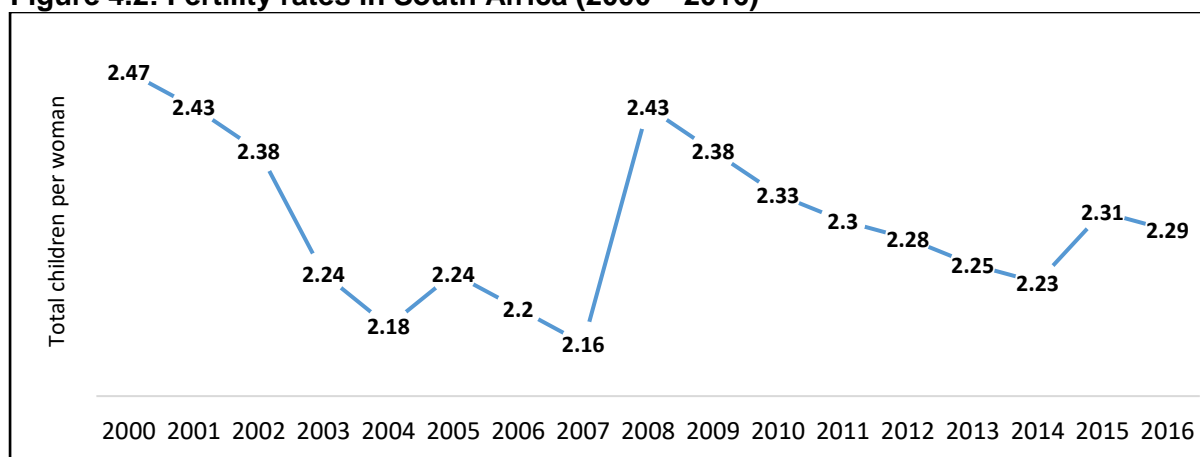
³⁸ The Time Use Survey, conducted by StatsSA in 2000 and 2010, provides a comprehensive analysis on how men and women from different class backgrounds spend their time on various paid and unpaid work (StatsSA, 2013:1-4). The sample of this study is representative of the South African population.

Apart from changes in marriage and cohabitation rates, the presence (or absence) of children in households and an ageing population also affects domestic and caring responsibilities.

4.5.1.3 Changing fertility rates and single parenting

Fertility rates have declined in South Africa over time (Figure 4.2). Access to and the rise in education among women, and the widespread use in contraceptives and birth control technologies is believed to be a significant factor in the decline of fertility. Educated and career-focused women delay marriage, have fewer children or have no children at all. Changing social norms have led to greater societal acceptance of children born outside marriage, which contributes to the rise in single-parent households (Hall & Richter, 2018:24; Naidoo, 2014:6; Palamuleni et al., 2007:113-115). While cleaning and laundry duties remain, the absence of children in a household cuts cleaning, laundry and care work and the need for regular outside domestic work. In this regard, domestic service firms offer a range of specialised on-demand services without long-term obligations, contracts or hassles, which may suit households without children.

Figure 4.2: Fertility rates in South Africa (2000 – 2016)



(IndexMundi - <https://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?v=31&c=sf&l=en>)

Another factor that affects domestic and caring labour is single parenting, which has increased with rising divorce rates, separation and widowhood (Akinnusi et al., 2018:114). In South Africa, parenting patterns differ along with race and class. Historic population control policies, segregation and migration trends, poverty, and traditional cultural practices cause many children in poor black households to be raised by their mothers only or by other family members. In 2017, 33% of black African children, 22% of coloured children, 13% of white children and 8% of Indian/Asian children were raised by single parents (Hall & Sambu, 2016:107; Shapiro, 2015:1). An absent parent dramatically affects how domestic labour and parenting duties are performed (Nickolson et al., 2014:169). One of the challenges for employed single-parents (predominantly women/mothers) is work-family conflict, where they

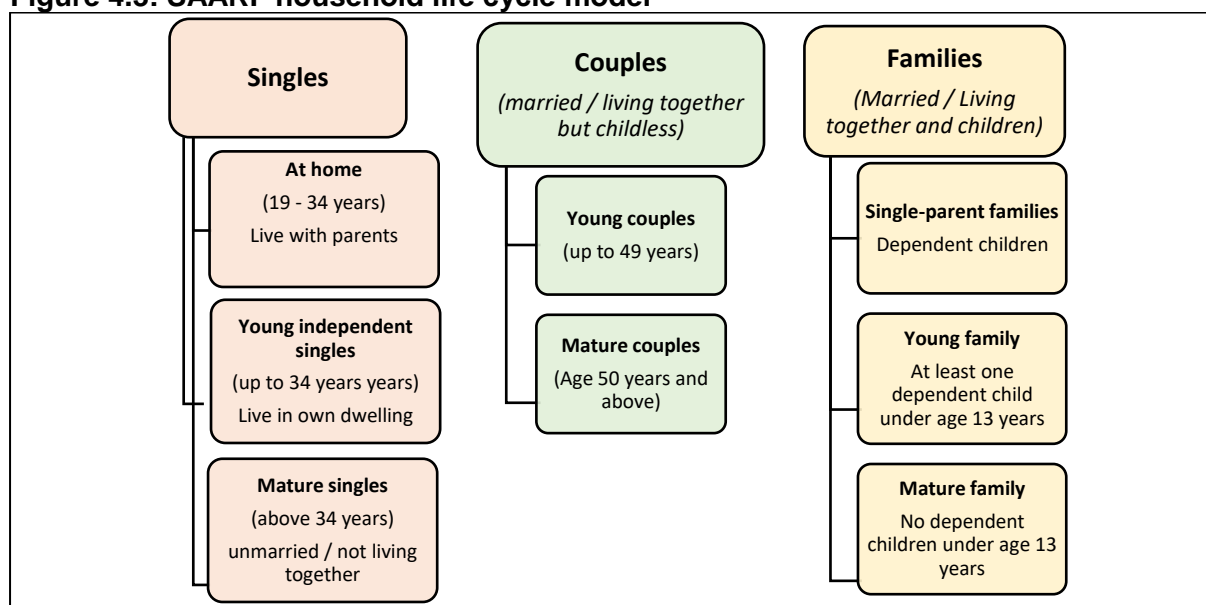
often must rely on outside help for domestic and caring responsibilities. Although domestic workers or family members can perform care duties, parents who can afford privatised childcare do so. Changing requirements of primary care and pre-school education of children have caused a rise in parents enrolling their children in childcare centres (Akinnusi et al., 2018:114-115; Aulenbacher et al., 2018:523).

Yet, there are notable differences between class and the utilisation of professional childcare facilities. Almost two-thirds of middle-class children under the age of seven are enrolled in early childhood development schools or facilities. However, over a million children, mostly from poor households, do not have access to pre-school facilities or group learning programmes (Labantwana, 2017:34-35). Despite these differences, enrolling children in a childcare facility cuts parents' time on childcare and other domestic labour responsibilities. Another household factor that affects domestic labour is the increase in an ageing population.

4.5.2 Life cycle factors

Changes in marriage, parenthood and post-parenthood are life-cycle patterns that are experienced by many individuals, which also affects domestic labour and caring responsibilities. Within a South African context, the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) (2014) has developed a household life cycle model that is useful.

Figure 4.3: SAARF household life cycle model



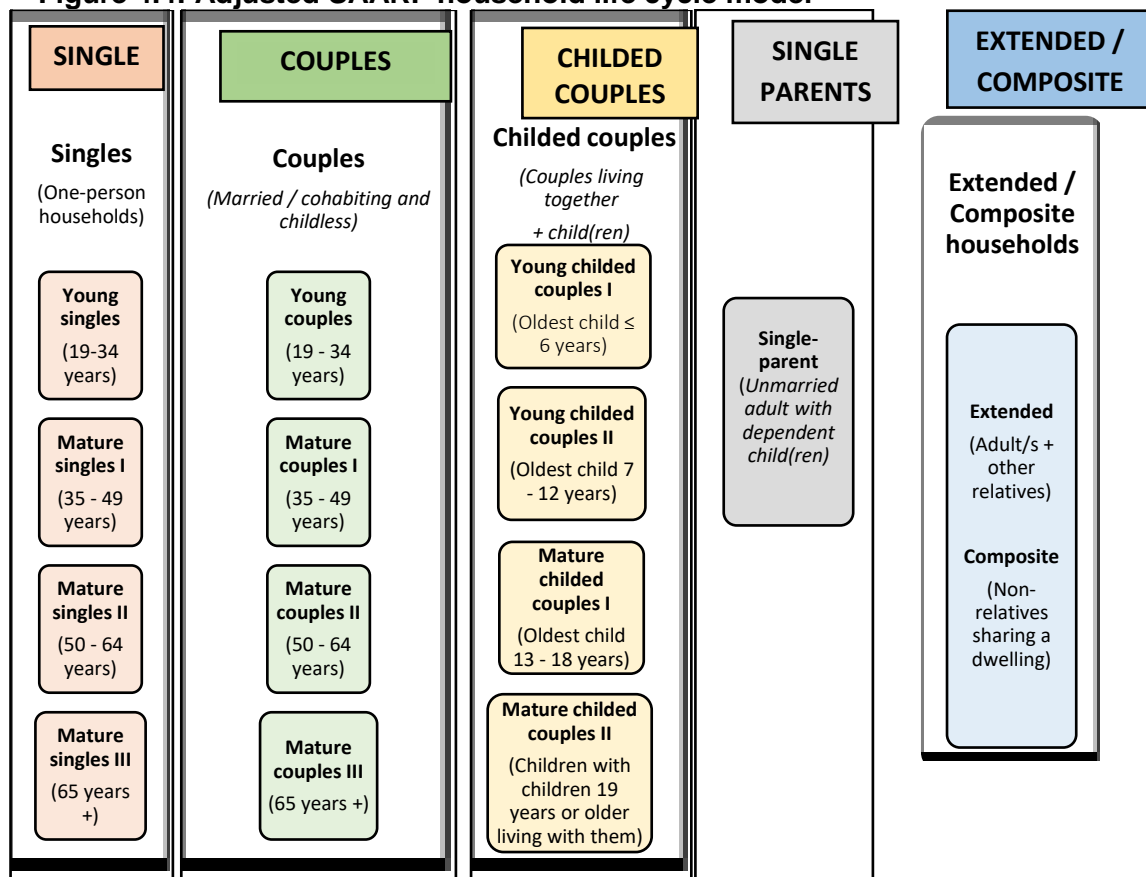
(SAARF, 2014 - <http://www.saarf.co.za/LSM/lifestages.asp>)

This model (Figure 4.3) provides eight stages of the household life cycle with three main categories: Category one is singles and consist of at-home singles, young independent singles and mature singles. Category two involves couples and includes young couples and mature couples. Category three (families) includes single-parent families, young families and mature

families. While this framework is useful and provides the different categories and stages clearly, there are shortcomings. The age groups of the stages are ambiguous. For example, mature singles include all single individuals of 35 years and older. If one wants to understand who outsources domestic labour, then this age bracket is too broad. Retired individuals have different domestic and caring needs and different consumption patterns than individuals with careers. Another distinction should be between those in their working years and those who (presumably) retire at 65 years.

The children’s ages in the families’ stages are also ambiguous. There needs to be a distinction between children in the different school phases, as usually, children under the age of six do not attend primary school and parents thus need to arrange childcare. There is also no category for extended households. Many households have other relatives or non-relatives who reside with them. It is vital to include extended households if one wants to understand who outsources domestic labour and for what reasons. A remedy for this shortcoming is to adjust some stages and age groups.

Figure 4.4: Adjusted SAARF household life cycle model



Adjusted categories and stages of the SAARF household life cycle model is added (Figure 4.4). Four generations and four household types are identified, which possibly affect domestic

labour differently. The discussion below mainly focuses on the experiences of middle-class households.

4.5.2.1 Singles and couples

In South Africa, the 2017 statistics reveal that people who live alone (single households) represent 22% of households, whereas couples who do not have children represent 10% of all South African households (Hall & Mokomane, 2018:34; derived from StatsSA, 2017). For singles and couples, four age groups were identified.

Age group one consists of individuals aged between 19 and 34 years, which typically represents students or employed individuals in the early stages of their careers. Their savings may be low, employment patterns are flexible and less permanent, and dwellings small (Joubert, 2013:30). However, experiences may differ by race. Many younger black middle-class individuals make financial contributions to their next-of-kin and extended families, often referred to as “black tax”. The challenges of institutionalised white privilege and structural racism have contributed to persistent levels of poverty within the black communities (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2018:1). Whether young singles outsource cleaning is not fully understood.

Age group two and three includes individuals aged between 35 and 49 years and 50 and 64 years. Employed individuals in these groups are typically well established in their careers and are financially more stable and secure. Again, there may be differences in race. The children of many black people of these age groups grew up in unstable, fatherless homes, but with their mothers and extended household members, while whites grew up in more stable, nuclear homes (Schenk & Seekings, 2010:3). Many white children’s parents had full-time jobs, and black female domestic workers were employed on a full-time, live-in basis to assist with domestic and care labour (Duh & Struwig, 2015:93-94; Jansen, 2015:51). To what extent there is a difference between whites and blacks to contract out or outsource domestic labour among these age groups is not clear. However, this age group tends to value more flexible work-family lifestyles, which may cause a greater need for outside domestic help that also offers flexibility. Instead of contracting in domestic help that comes with rigid employment contracts and responsibilities, cleaning can be outsourced to domestic service firms when needed.

Age group four involves individuals aged 65 years or older, which is the traditional age when people retire. However, recent trends indicate that many people no longer retire at 65 years and continue to run businesses or pursue a second career as a consultant, freelancer or teleworker (Koning & Harbor, 2013:86-88). Concerning domestic and caring demands, the needs of the elderly vary by range and type. With limited state interventions for care work, the

care regime in South Africa comprises a hybrid mix of public and private care provisions. The inability of families to provide ongoing care, typically for the elderly, means they have to employ others to help them. Those who need more advanced and specialised care require high levels of professional assistance. Those who can afford it rely on old-age care facilities where professionals provide personal care. Those who cannot afford this often rely on their extended family (Button et al., 2018:603; Fine & Davidson, 2018:504). Perhaps there is a change in domestic and care needs for independent people of this age group, who may feel the necessity to use housecleaning services as a temporary solution until their domestic and care needs change.

Mature couples II (50-64 years) and *mature couples III* (65 years and older) may have children, but they no longer reside together in one dwelling. For example, their children have left the parental home and are either enrolled at a tertiary education institution or entering the labour market. For *mature couples* without dependent children, expenditure typically revolves around leisure and travelling. As individuals enter retirement ages, there is often a decline in household income, and expenditures are typically orientated towards health products, easily accessible services and smaller dwellings (McGoldrick & Shibusawa, 2012:392). Households not well prepared for retirement may struggle financially and need to rely on children for financial support and care (Mpinganjira, 2013:239).

In short, *single* individuals and *couples* without children are likely to have similar domestic and care needs. Work-family conflict may be less than those with dependent children. For example, there is less cleaning and laundering tasks than households with children and may outsource these duties when needed. Single and couples without children do not have to adjust plans around children, which also affects domestic labour (Berliner et al., 2005:368). Perhaps there is a need for flexible domestic help, which is offered by housecleaning services. Other factors, such as available time for domestic labour, flexible employment and work patterns, time for leisure, the size of the dwelling and gender roles attached to domestic and care responsibilities, also affect whether and how often they rely on outside help. Having children in a household affects the need for domestic labour considerably.

4.5.2.2 Childed couples and single parents

Childed couples refer to married or cohabiting couples who have children and consists of four sub-groups, as well as single parents, where children reside with their parent/s or guardians. In South Africa in 2017, children under the age of 18 years made up 35% of the population, of which 85% were black African, 8% coloured, 5% white and 2% Indian/Asian. Less than one-third (30%) of black African children live with both their parents, while most Indian and white

children (83% and 78%, respectively) live with both biological parents (Hall & Sambu, 2018:132-133). Accordingly, the family life cycle is mostly applicable to white and Indian/Asian households.

Regarding the SAARF household life cycle, *childed couples I* include couples with children aged 6 or younger, typically infants, toddlers or pre-schoolers. For working parents, work-family conflict may be a particular concern. Consequently, one parent often stops working for a period, as childcare becomes the primary concern for parents (Carter, 2005:251). Young children need attention and supervision by adults with little interruption. Although childcare day-centres are widespread in South Africa, perhaps contracting in full-time domestic help to assist with domestic and care labour is preferred. How this affects the use of housecleaning services is not clear.

Childed couples II include couples with children in primary school (aged 7 to 12 years), while *Mature couples I* refer to couples with children in secondary school (aged 13 to 18 years). During this stage, many mothers return to work, albeit on a part-time or half-day basis, and family income recovers (Van Rooyen & Du Plessis, 2003:30). Working parents, especially mothers, may find it easier to manage work and family demands as children age. As children age, care work is cut, and the need for full-time supervision and care declines (Schiffmann & Wisenblit, 2015:271). Perhaps couples with older children are more likely to outsource domestic labour when needed.

Childed couples II also referred to as the “post-parenthood phase”, refers to couples whose eldest child continues to reside with them, while they are studying or employed. In South Africa, although class differences probably exist, trends suggest that in 2017 almost 32% of people between the ages of 25 and 35 years continue to reside with their parents, which echoes trends in the US and some Western European nations (Nair, 2017). Prolonged tertiary education causes many young adults to continue to live with their parents. For those who enter paid employment, economic factors play a role as it has become increasingly challenging to secure a job with a liveable wage, meaning that many young people continue to be financially dependent on their parents (Fingerman, 2017:1-5). How this affects domestic labour in households is not clear.

Single-parent households represent 11% of all types of South African households (Hall & Mokomane, 2018:34). Regarding domestic and caring responsibilities, single parents, especially those who are employed, have to manage work and family demands without the help of a partner (Matjeke, 2017:28). Factors such as the age of children, financial stability, employment patterns and the size of the household may determine how domestic labour

duties are handled. Whether single-parents contract out some domestic labour duties to domestic service firms is not clear.

4.5.2.3 Extended and composite households

Individuals may share dwellings with extended relatives or non-related individuals (e.g., friends in student houses or house sharing with other related family members), and in some cases, siblings may reside with each other, with or without their parents. In South Africa, children who live in extended households represent 62% of all children, the majority of whom are found among the black African (66%) and coloured (50%) populations (Hall & Mokomane, 2018:34). Individuals residing in alternative households include individuals of different ages, income levels, needs and expenditure patterns. In these households, the extent to which they share income and household responsibilities (e.g., cleaning and cooking) is unclear. In South Africa, most people who are born into impoverished households typically do not go through these various stages. Quite often, they reside in households with other extended family members, whether single or married (Amoateng et al., 2007:43-59).

What one sees from these household life cycle categories and sub-stages, is that domestic and care responsibilities change as people age. Each stage incorporates age, marital status, employment and the presence or absence of children, each with their distinctive financial situations and purchasing patterns (Van Rooyen & Du Plessis, 2003:30). These factors may affect the need for full-time domestic help or flexible outside domestic labour. Then there are changes in the type of dwelling that people buy. Smaller dwellings require less maintenance and cleaning than larger ones and the need to sporadically outsource domestic labour when needed is perhaps more attractive.

4.5.3 Dwelling factors

The types of dwellings that the middle-class buys are changing. During the 1970s, the middle-class white population used to reside on residential stands, with large dwellings often accompanied with servant quarters and swimming pool on the premises (Ginsburg, 2000:86-87). In 2010, the average residential stand halved to around 500 square metres, with smaller, low maintenance dwellings, often without servant quarters and swimming pools. In fact, in 2010, only 11% of new-built dwellings had servant quarters, and less than ten per cent had swimming pools. Other changes include a decline in four-bedroom dwellings and an increase in two-bedroom dwellings. These changes are linked to urban land scarcity and density, as well as an increased preference in smaller, simpler homes, which also affect the need for regular domestic help (SA Property Insider, 2017).

There is also a rise in gated communities that mainly consist of security villages (e.g., golfing estates and residential security areas) and enclosed neighbourhoods (e.g., fenced neighbourhoods). The increase in gated communities is linked to a greater sense of community, financial investment, specific lifestyle choices and prestige, as well as the avoidance of crime. Body corporate committees of the homeowner associations manage residents of gated communities. Paying a monthly fee, residents are ensured of acceptable aesthetic, architectural, environmental, security and living standards inside the boundaries of the estate (Landman, 2004:4, 17). Perhaps there is a need to contract out domestic labour to housecleaning service firms to maintain the aesthetic standards.

Apart from these individual and household changes that affect domestic and caring labour, experiences with employing a domestic worker privately may also contribute to people making the shift to housecleaning services. The new demands that legislation puts on employers of domestic workers may become an issue for some and hiring a housecleaning service firm instead may solve some of the issues. In addition, the bipartite employment relationship, which is characterised by dependency and responsibility, may be a problem for some. Then people may have had an unpleasant experience with a former domestic worker, which may have contributed to the shift to housecleaning services.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Paid domestic work continues to be a significant source of employment for black African women in South Africa, where the middle class continues to rely on the contracting in or outsourcing of domestic labour to assist with household cleaning tasks. However, there has been a shift in the nature of the employment relationship concerning the provision of domestic work. Where it was informal during the apartheid era, where most white households contracted in domestic work on a full-time and live-in basis, the post-apartheid period saw a shift to part-time, live-out and now, outsourced arrangements. What causes the shift to the externalisation of domestic work to housecleaning services is not clear.

However, with the contracting in of domestic workers, a dependent bipartite employment relationship between employers and domestic workers often develops. Despite the formalisation of domestic work, the differences in class, together with feelings of guilt, responsibility and moral duty, makes it challenging for employers to assist domestic workers financially and emotionally beyond the scope of the employment contract. In addition, the formalisation of paid domestic work that is governed by the Labour Relations Act (LRA), Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) and the SD7 can be experienced as rigid for some employers. For example, wages, working hours and service benefits are fixed, and dismissal

procedures are controlled. Domestic workers may also dispute dismissal and unfair treatment at the CCMA, which can add to the pressures of employers.

Consequently, the growth of outsourced housecleaning service firms corresponds to the extension of labour law regulations to the domestic work sector since the late 1990s and early 2000s. Perhaps one reason for the growth in housecleaning services is the perceived burden of the formalisation for employers. Other reasons could include the need for flexible domestic services, which housecleaning service firms offer to clients. Perhaps the changing socio-economic context, where changes in work and employment patterns, smaller households and dwellings, and unpredictable life cycle patterns lead to the need for flexible domestic services.

This argument is essential, as the chapters that follow investigate whether and to what extent these identified factors contribute to the growth of housecleaning services in South Africa, a nation where employing or contracting in a domestic worker is the norm among middle-class households. Although there are some methodological limitations to answer this question, as the focus is only on the clients who currently use housecleaning services, a small portion of former clients are also investigated to illustrate that domestic needs are changing and that housecleaning services are a temporary solution to people's domestic needs.

CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY: MIXED METHODS RESEARCH ON DOMESTIC WORK

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, significant debates and seminal texts of the effects of outsourcing on domestic service were debated. While these discussions aid our understanding as to why housecleaning services emerged, they also guide the research design of this study. The goal of this chapter is to describe how I approached the study along the different dimensions of a mixed methods research design. This chapter starts with the listing of the primary research question and related sub-questions that guided the empirical components of this study. Hereafter, the research design is discussed with its philosophical underpinnings. The focus then shifts to discussions on data collection, with specific reference to the selection of housecleaning service firms and the development of questionnaires. I then discuss the thematic analysis of the qualitative data and the statistical analyses used. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the value of using a mixed-methods research approach to the study of domestic work and outsourced housecleaning services.

5.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study seeks to investigate the client profile and the reasons for using housecleaning services. The primary research question is: *“What is the profile of people who use household cleaning services, and why is this preferred above the employment of a domestic worker on a full-time or part-time basis?”* The objectives of this study are to establish:

1. How has the contracting in of domestic help or labour changed over time.
2. What societal factors influence the contracting in of domestic help in the household.
3. What is the profile of clients who use housecleaning services.
4. Why do households shift from employing a domestic worker privately to hiring a housecleaning service firm.
5. What are the current and former clients' perspectives on the disadvantages of using housecleaning services.

The research question and objectives in any given study determine whether a qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods research approach is used. Both a qualitative or quantitative methodological approach could be equally appropriate in investigating the research question and objectives of this study. Given the aptness of both methodological approaches in answering the research question of this study, a mixed-methods design, which draws on both qualitative and quantitative methodological and epistemological traditions, is suitable. In the following section, I discuss the theoretical strengths of a mixed-methods design and how it relates to this study.

5.3 METHODOLOGY

A mixed-methods design involves a combination and integration of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods and data analysis techniques in a single study or as multiple dimensions of a study. Arguments against mixed-methods research focus on the foundations of qualitative and quantitative research, claiming that they carry substantially different and incompatible epistemological and ontological commitments. For example, every research method or procedure (e.g., survey questionnaires or participant observation) is embedded in commitments to a particular version of the world (Bryman, 2012:629). Arguments for mixed methods research include the benefit of combining qualitative and quantitative data sources to overcome the weaknesses of using either approach by itself. It allows for context-specific in-depth views of a subject, as well as opening the possibility to transfer findings from the specific to the general. Triangulating qualitative and quantitative data provides more variables to the analysis and thereby offers a complete and robust understanding of the research problem (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011:8-11). In favour of this view, by combining and integrating autonomous, but complementary research methods and analyses techniques, a mixed methods research design provides answers to the research questions in the most robust and complete manner. Additionally, given the novelty of exploring the use of housecleaning services from clients' perspectives in South Africa, it was crucial to include not only their contextual and narrative understanding but also statistical trends to provide general and transferable conclusions of the research problem.

However, there are different paradigmatic foundations of mixed methods research. For example, transformative mixed-methods research enables the researcher to work toward promoting social justice by collaborating with marginalised groups of the community who are actively participating in decisions of the research project and methods (Mertens et al., 2010:195; Shannon-Baker, 2016:326). Dialectic mixed-methods research juxtaposes different paradigms such as positivism and constructivism and the tensions that often arise between them. The role of the researcher is to remain reflective throughout the inquiry and to promote dialogue between theories and comparative data (Greene & Hall, 2010:124). Pragmatic mixed methods research is orientated toward a problem solving, action-focused inquiry process. It is a practical research philosophy that guides the research design and methodological choices that 'work best' to answer the research questions (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011:43-45).

Being informed by the different paradigmatic foundations of mixed methods research, I argue that the most suitable design for this study is pragmatic mixed methods research. The use of a pragmatic mixed-methods design allows for an innovative and dynamic approach that is more flexible and adaptable. Such a design places greater prominence on the strengths of

complementary, practical and multiple research designs and methods as techniques of data collecting. Therefore, the findings will produce better knowledge and sound solutions to the research problem (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011:45). Pragmatism also provides new ways of addressing methodological issues in social research.

Regarding ontology and epistemology, which asks questions about the nature of reality and knowledge, qualitative purists (associated with constructivism) believe in multiple subjective truths and the different meanings people attach to it. Quantitative purists (associated with positivism) believe in a single objective reality that can be revealed through hypothesis testing. Pragmatists take an intersubjective stance to reality where there is an interplay between a single objective reality and multiple subjective realities (Morgan, 2007:72). Reconceptualising ontology in this study in flexible terms allows for innovative ways to understand why people use housecleaning services. Different research methods and analysis techniques are used as the research unfolds. At some points during the research process, I was required to be interactive with participants to gain information, whereas, at other times, I was not. To put this into practice, through qualitative interviews with clients, different subjective perspectives on reasons for using housecleaning services were gathered. In other cases, where I was more interested in establishing general factors that influence people to opt for housecleaning services, hypothesis testing through survey questionnaires was more appropriate.

Secondly, qualitative inductive and quantitative deductive research methodologies are quite different and are often posited as opposing approaches. Rather than having to choose between these two apparently mutually exclusive processes, pragmatists connect theory and practice abductively (Morgan, 2007:71). Pragmatists view these two approaches as complementary, rather than diametric. Here researchers move back-and-forth between inductive and deductive reasoning. I consider such an approach to be the most appropriate manner to answer the research questions of this study.

Given the lack of literature on housecleaning services in a South African context, international literature (such as Devetter and Rousseau, 2009, Ehrenreich, 2000 and Mendez, 1998) was consulted to deduce explanations to the research problem. However, the peculiarities of the South African context regarding paid domestic work called for explorative empirical work to be conducted first to induce relevant bodies of literature and theories. For example, in the explorative interviews, participants confirmed that changes in their household (e.g., children leaving the parental home or retiring from work) influenced the use of housecleaning services that are more convenient and practical than other arrangements. This finding and others led me to the theory of household life cycles, which was used both in qualitative interviews and during the hypothesis generation and testing among clients of housecleaning services. In this

way, I worked abductively between theory and both qualitative and quantitative data to formulate and explore or test the research questions and hypotheses of this study.

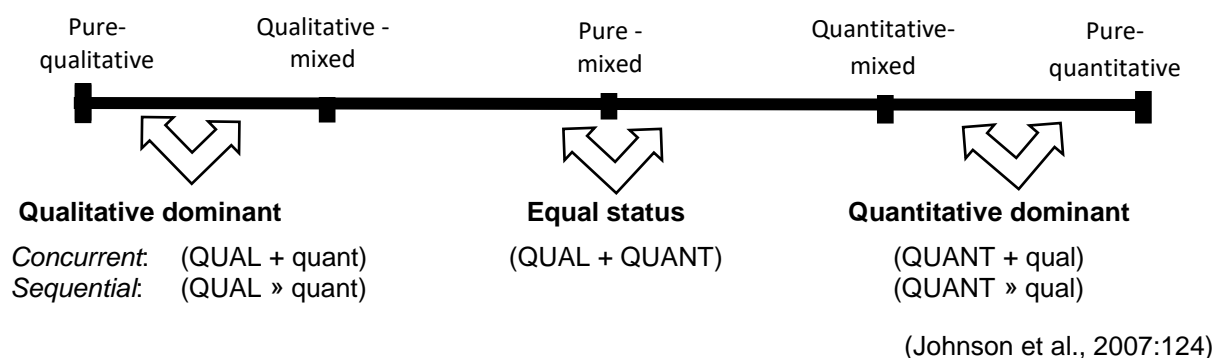
This links to the third element of pragmatism that argues that it is impossible to accumulate knowledge that is either specific and context-dependent or universally generalizable. As Bergman (2008:22) states, “While we must certainly recognise that there are variations among people and groups in what is taken to be true and that all knowledge is fallible, we need not and should not reduce ‘truth’ to ‘what is believed to be true’”. One should instead grapple with the extent to which knowledge from one specific geographical setting can be *transferred* to other similar settings in South Africa (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011:42; Morgan, 2007:71-72). In an attempt to strengthen transferability, I chose three housecleaning services firms that render similar cleaning through teams (see Table 5.1). Rather than sampling clients who may use any type of housecleaning service, I addressed the same research question, using the same data collection and analysis methods and techniques at three housecleaning service firms that render similar cleaning services. This enhances the ability to transfer findings to other similar settings and groups (Bryman, 2012:631; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010:17).

Thus, the emphasis on abduction, intersubjectivity and transferability adds new ways of thinking about housecleaning services in South Africa. Not only is there a lack of understanding about housecleaning services in South Africa, but obtaining results that are both context-specific and transferable enables researchers focusing on domestic outsourcing to use these results in their studies. For me, taking a pragmatic stance to this study also influenced the type of mixed methods research design in this study.

5.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

There are overlapping groups of mixed methods designs on a qualitative-quantitative continuum (Figure 5.1). Making a choice depends mostly on the underlying practicalities of the research, such as access, time-period for data collection and expertise.

Figure 5.1: The qualitative-mixed methods-quantitative continuum

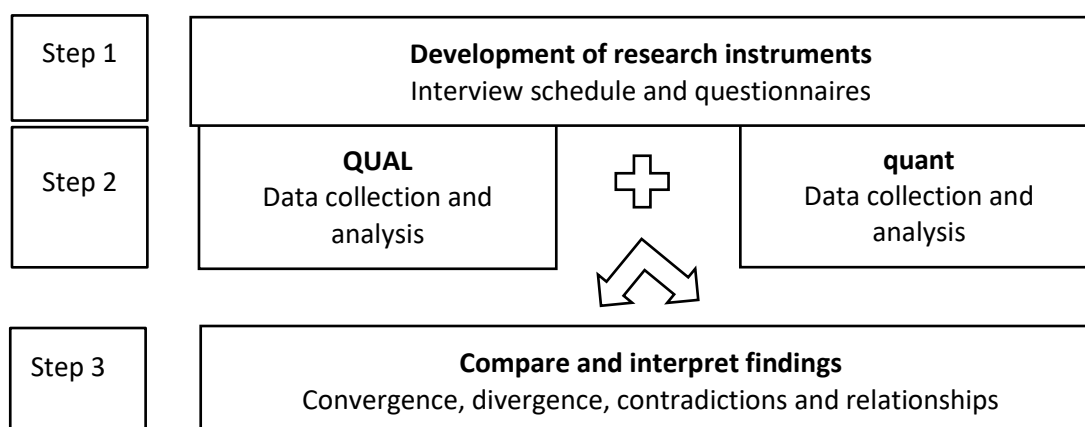


At the centre of Figure 5.1 is the *pure-mixed* position, where qualitative and quantitative methods are equally weighted and important and where qualitative and quantitative data are collected concurrently. *Qualitative-mixed* methods research (including QUAL + quant and QUAL » qual) occurs when the qualitative component of the research is dominant, while the quantitative part is used to triangulate the qualitative findings. Data can be collected, conceptualised and analysed either concurrently (as symbolised by the + sign) or sequentially (as expressed by the » sign). *Quantitative-mixed* methods research (including QUANT + qual and QUANT » qual) occurs when the quantitative component is dominant, while the qualitative part adds secondary depth to the study (Johnson et al., 2007:124). *Pure-qualitative* and *pure-quantitative* are not missed methods in that only qualitative or quantitative methods (respectively) are used.

In addition to the continuum of options in Figure 5.1, I also had to consider practical matters about access. Access to clients was gained for three weeks in September 2016 at the two housecleaning service firms that operate in Stellenbosch and Somerset West, and three weeks in October 2016 for the one working in Johannesburg. Given these time constraints, it was decided to collect the data concurrently.

Furthermore, as the size of my sample was to be determined during the data collection process, I decided to put more emphasis on the qualitative component (QUAL + quant). This decision was based on pragmatic reasons. I was uncertain how many clients will complete the survey questionnaires, so I decided to invest in the qualitative data collection process to gain as much in-depth qualitative information until saturation was reached. The explorative nature of this study also influenced this decision, as several themes were identified from the qualitative data and statistical analyses were later used to validate these qualitative claims using the subsequently collected quantitative data. Thus, the results of the quantitative component are supplementary and were integrated into the qualitative part of the study (Morse, 2010:341; Johnson et al., 2007:124). The quantitative results aim to describe the sample in terms of demographical factors through descriptive statistics, but also to validate claims that emerge from the qualitative data.

In relation to Figure 5.1, therefore, I adopted the concurrent, qualitative-mixed (QUAL + quant) mixed methods research design (Johnson et al., 2007:124) as being most suited to this study. Figure 5.2 illustrates the steps of a concurrent triangulated mixed methods research design (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011:69).

Figure 5.2: Illustration of concurrent triangulated mixed methods research design

For corroboration and validation purposes, different research methods (qualitative interviews and quantitative survey questionnaires) were developed and used to obtain triangulated results regarding the use of housecleaning services. Using different research methods concurrently to answer the same research questions reduces personal biases and deficiencies that stem from a single methodology. For example, selection biases could occur when clients are selected for qualitative interviews as they may not be demographically representative of all clients from that housecleaning service firm. Data from the quantitative survey will verify this.

Additionally, social scientists are never completely value-free or objective during the research. The type of questions asked, how questions are formulated and how they are asked may all influence the results (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011:77). This is quite common for researchers working in a qualitative strategy when interviews are conducted. Although qualitative data was collected personally from clients, quantitative data was collected through a self-administered paper-based questionnaire. Another reason for concurrent data collection is to test whether contradictory results are obtained, and if so, how I would proceed after this. For example, are the qualitative findings meaningfully related to the quantitative results? To what extent do the quantitative results enhance the qualitative findings? (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011:77-80). It is against these decisions that data were collected concurrently. In the following section, I describe the data collection sites and how respondents were recruited.

5.5 SELECTING HOUSECLEANING SERVICE FIRMS: POPULATION AND SAMPLING STRATEGY

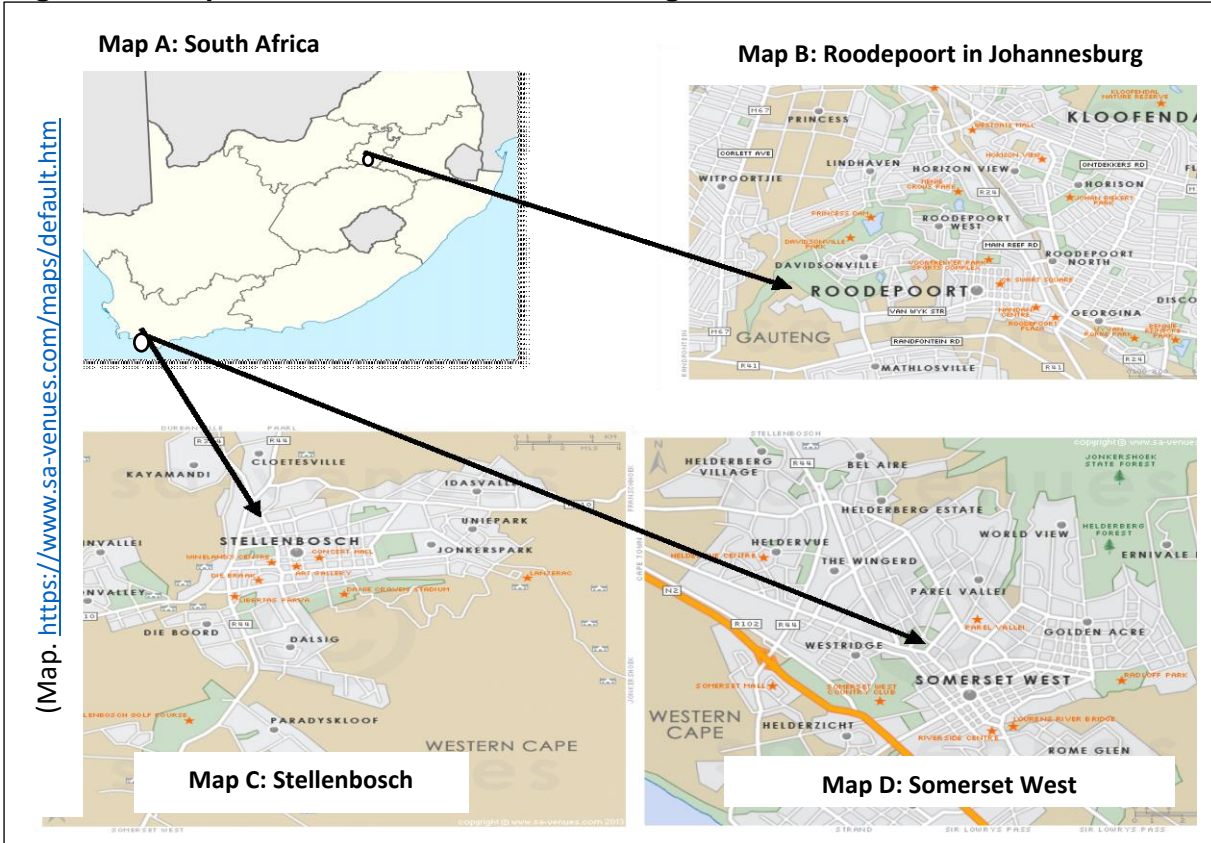
Various routes were explored to select multiple housecleaning service firms. Initially, I decided to focus on housecleaning service firms that operate in Johannesburg only, as I have previously done research among seven housecleaning companies in Johannesburg (Du Toit, 2016). I went back to the managers of these housecleaning service firms and explained to

them what the focus of my study is. However, none of the managers wished to participate in the study. Subsequently, I approached acquaintances in Johannesburg and enquired if they make use of housecleaning services or if they know someone who uses these services. Through such an approach, two other housecleaning service firms were identified, and I approached the managers of these service firms. While they indicated an interest in the study, they too declined to provide access to their clients. I soon discovered the challenges related to accessing the clientele of housecleaning services.

I decided to cast a wider net and include housecleaning services in Cape Town with its surrounding suburbs and Stellenbosch and Somerset West until I could secure access to clients (the population of the study). Since there is no list of operating housecleaning service firms in these areas, I created my own by searching the website profiles of housecleaning service firms in the area. Different keywords – “housecleaning services”, “domestic cleaning services”, “maid services”, “professional residential cleaning services” and “domestic household cleaning services” – were used, which revealed some interesting findings. First, website profiles include contact details and mostly specify the type of services rendered, which include general housecleaning services, carpet cleaning, window cleaning or laundering services. Second, most of the website profiles also include regions where services are rendered, as some operate in one region, while others have franchises in different areas. Third, some website profiles include a historical background of the firm, when it started and who runs it. Fourth, some websites explain how services are rendered. For example, some housecleaning service firms drop off one domestic employee at a client’s house where she cleans by herself in a few hours. Other housecleaning service firms render team cleaning, where three to five domestic employees clean a client’s dwelling in less than three hours.

Although this list was not exhaustive, I sifted through it and subsequently focused on those firms who render primarily general housecleaning services. These housecleaning service firms were categorised into the area, date of operation and how services are rendered. Once this was completed, I decided to start with housecleaning service firms that have provided cleaning services for more than 15 years (2001 or earlier) as they are most likely to be well-established with a large clientele. Of these housecleaning service firms, seven operate in Cape Town, and surrounding suburbs, Stellenbosch and Somerset West and twelve operate in Johannesburg and surrounding areas (Fig. 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Map of South Africa and selected regions



I called the managers of these firms and made an appointment to discuss the goal of the study. Managers of three housecleaning service firms permitted me to conduct research with their clients, and a consent form was signed (See Addendum C). These are in Roodepoort (Map B), Stellenbosch (Map C) and Somerset West (Map D) (Figure 5.3). Thus, the sampling method was a non-probable convenience sampling method given that no comprehensive list existed of all operating housecleaning services.

Table 5.1: Selected housecleaning service firms

Housecleaning service firm (Pseudonyms)	Circa	Regions	Cleaning session time	Price per session	Regular clients	Full-time domestic employees	Type of service
<i>Spotless Cleaning</i>	1995	Stellenbosch and Somerset West	150 minutes	R300 – R600	250	35	Teams
<i>Busy Brooms</i>	1997	Stellenbosch and Somerset West	150 minutes	R350 – R550	300	44	Teams
<i>Cleaning Bees</i>	1997	Johannesburg: Roodepoort	180 minutes	R280 – R500	350	50	Teams

In terms of similarities, all three housecleaning service firms started operating around the same time (Table 5.1). Being in business for more than twenty years indicates successful and long-term experience in the service market. Two of the housecleaning service firms render cleaning services in the same regions, namely Stellenbosch and Somerset West and the

surrounding wine or golf estates and in gated communities. The other housecleaning service firm provides services in Johannesburg, mainly in the Roodepoort area.

Regarding the clientele, all three housecleaning service firms have roughly the same number of regular clients who use their services on either a weekly, bi-weekly or twice-monthly basis. Prices are relatively similar per session but are flexible as they depend on the size of the dwelling and the specified duties. Pensioners and students also pay reduced rates per session. With regards to the staff profile, all three housecleaning service firms employ black African or coloured women as domestic employees, and most of them are employed on a full-time permanent basis, with only a few employed temporarily. Domestic employees have employment contracts with managers where duties, wages and working hours are stipulated.

All three housecleaning service firms render cleaning in teams of three to five domestic employees. Permission was gained to the access point where domestic employees and drivers gather each morning at 06:30. All cleaning materials and equipment, such as buckets, brooms and vacuum cleaners, are collected and divided into groups. From around 07:30, they leave in a firm vehicle to start the day's work. As an outcome of gaining access to these housecleaning service firms, I saw that the variance is limited in terms of the price for cleaning sessions, how services are rendered and the regions where services are provided. These similarities make transferability potentially plausible from one similar setting to the next (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:311-312). Thus, findings of this study may apply to clients using team cleaning elsewhere in the country under similar terms and conditions.

5.6 DEVELOPMENT OF DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

There are several qualitative and quantitative data collection tools social scientists can use to gather data, but I decided on qualitative interviews (QIs) as a qualitative data collection tool, and a self-administered paper-based survey questionnaire as a quantitative data collection tool. The section that follows discusses the choice and the development of these tools in more depth.

5.6.1 Qualitative interview (QI) tool

Existing literature and informal conversations with colleagues and acquaintances informed the development of open-ended and probing questions for the qualitative interviews (QIs) and indicators for the survey questionnaire. Initial reviews of the literature were based on a few significant international and national studies on domestic work and outsourcing practices. For example, (1) the works of Ehrenreich (2000), who focuses on team cleaning; (2) Hochschild's (2012) book *"The outsourcing self"* that debates different forms of domestic outsourcing and the effects on households; (3) Mendez's (1998) research article that reports on the nature of

the tripartite employment relationship between clients, managers and domestic employees; and (4) Triandafyllidou and Marchetti's (2015) edited book *"Employers, agencies and immigration: Care work in Europe"*, formed the basis for the interview schedule. I also referred to my research on domestic work and outsourcing, as well as significant South African scholars, such as Ally (2010), Cock (1980) and King (2007), to develop context-specific questions. Once a draft interview schedule was developed, my supervisors and three of my colleagues – who were familiar with interview methods – were consulted. Improvements were made, gaps were filled, and additional questions were included from these conversations and literature. Once these adjustments were made, I tested the QI questions again with four colleagues after which further improvements were made.

Once satisfied, the QI questions were piloted among clients who are currently using housecleaning services. I sent an email to the Faculty of Humanities' mailing list, inviting colleagues who were presently using housecleaning services to volunteer to participate in this study. Five responses were received and interviews were conducted at a convenient time and place. Small adjustments were made, and a final QI schedule was developed (Addendum A). In the end, this process took almost three months to complete.

5.6.2 Quantitative survey tool

At the same time as the QI questions were developed, I developed a survey questionnaire, which was based on the grounded indicator approach that argues that indicator development occurs not on logical deduction, assertion or speculation, but instead on systematic empirically based data through different stages: generation, modification and verification (Tucker, 2010:318). The next section discusses the generation and modification of the questionnaire, while the verification of indicators is discussed under data analysis.

❖ Stage one: Generation

The generation stage includes the process of exploratory research, literature review, concept definition and item and scale generation (Tucker, 2010:318). Together with the literature on domestic work and housecleaning services, the data that was collected during the exploratory interviews with managers and clients were used to develop indicators. Ehrenreich's (2000) study, for example, gives a detailed overview of how domestic work is divided among teams who clean homes as efficiently as possible. Devetter and Rousseau's (2009) study discusses the nature of housecleaning services in France, while Devetter's (2017) other study provides a good overview of the demands for outsourced housecleaning services from clients' perspectives. These studies and others, as well as the explorative interviews, were analysed, which informed the development of indicators for the questionnaire.

The first section of the questionnaire consisted of demographic questions about clients and their household members' age, gender and race, relationship (marital) status, employment type, as well as the presence of children and their ages. Questions also focused on the kind of dwelling type (e.g., house or apartment) and its size.

Section two focused on respondents who have employed domestic workers in the past before shifting to housecleaning services. Questions ranged from years of employment, service arrangement (e.g., full-time, part-time, live-in or live-out) and reasons for the termination of services (e.g., dismissal or resignation). Contingency questions were included if respondents had dismissed their domestic worker. A declarative statement asked respondents why they dismissed their domestic worker, with eighteen options including a decline in cleaning standards; labour law requirements; health issues of domestic workers; security and theft issues; or relocation of employers or domestic workers.

Section three focused on the reasons for shifting to housecleaning services and included questions on the range that housecleaning services are used (e.g., weekly or bi-weekly); type of duties (e.g., laundry and ironing) and service arrangement. A declarative statement asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they use housecleaning services based on items ranging from benefits of a tripartite employment relationship, the nature of team cleaning, price, expertise and professionalism. Once the questionnaire was developed, the next stage of Tucker's grounded indicator approach was followed.

❖ Stage two: Modification

The modification stage involves improving scales and items through expert reviewing, piloting, regular adjustments and gap identification between instruments and measures, multiple locations and multiple condition testing (Tucker, 2010:318). Following these suggestions, self-administered paper-based questionnaires were distributed in May 2016 to fifteen individuals (my two supervisors, eight colleagues and five post-graduate students). Various adjustments were made based on their recommendations. The final questionnaire consists of four main themes as per Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Indicators based on four emerging themes

Topics	Analytical category	Variable
Demographic factors	Household reference person (e.g. respondent)	Household size
		Sex
		Age
		Race
		Relationship status
		Employment
	Characteristics of other household members	Sex
		Age
		Race
		Employment
Schooling		
Situational factors	Dwelling characteristics	Type
		Size
		Region
Attitude towards housecleaning services	Experience with and views on housecleaning service firm	Frequency of use
		Service agreement
		Responsibilities
		Professionalism
		Advantages and disadvantages
Attitude towards private domestic workers	Experience with and views on employing domestic workers privately	Years of service
		Labour legislation
		Termination of services
		Advantages and disadvantages

Three draft questionnaires were submitted to my supervisors, and some questions were altered and clarified. Three rounds of piloting were done among reviewers who consisted of academics and acquaintances who have used housecleaning services in Johannesburg. Adjustments were made accordingly, and the questionnaire was finalised. Once this was done, I referred back to the QI schedule to evaluate whether the survey questionnaire was in line with the questions for the QI. Small adjustments were made, and the survey tool was finalised (see Addendum B). Once satisfied with both data collection tools, data collection commenced with clients from the three selected housecleaning service firms.

5.7 SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

A concurrent QUAL + quant approach (see Figure 5.2) was used in the collection of data with more emphasis assigned to the qualitative data. Quantitative data were used to triangulate the qualitative findings. These triangulations are necessary if one wants to establish how the quantitative results link to and enhance the qualitative findings. Table 5.3 provides a summary of the concurrent data collection process.

Table 5.3 Summary of data collection with clients

Housecleaning service firm (pseudonyms used)	Location	Qualitative data collection	Time period
		Number of interviews	
<i>Spotless Cleaning</i>	Stellenbosch, Somerset West	8	5 – 26 September 2016
<i>Busy Brooms</i>	Stellenbosch, Somerset West	12	5 – 26 September 2016
<i>Cleaning Bees</i>	Johannesburg: Roodepoort	8	9 – 24 October 2016
Total		28	

5.7.1 Qualitative data collection

Concerning the sampling strategy for selecting clients to conduct interviews with, a non-probable convenience sampling method was chosen. A consequence of convenience sampling is that an unknown portion of the population is excluded and selection bias is possible. However, given time constraints and the availability of participants, I decided that the best way to select clients was with the help of managers. Managers were asked to select clients, who they thought would have the best knowledge of hiring housecleaning services. For example, clients who deal with payments and/or manages the services. Managers were also used to select clients on my behalf as it reduced the violation of the sharing of private information (e.g., contact information) with a third party. Managers were also asked to select clients from different ages, race groups, household sizes (e.g., those with young children and those without) and employment status (e.g., employed individuals, homemakers or retirees). Based on these criteria, managers called clients on my behalf and appointments were made with their consent (See Addendum D for consent form). Table 5.4 provides the profile of the twenty-eight interviewee participants.

Table 5.4: Profile of participants in qualitative interviews

	Pseudonym name	Gender	Race	Age	Household members	Dwelling type	Employment status	Area
1.	Martin	M	W	72	1	House	Retired	Stellenbosch
2.	Maggie	F	W	55	4	House	Homemaker	Stellenbosch
3.	Anna	F	W	64	4	House	Retired	Stellenbosch
4.	Francis	F	W	56	2	House	Employed	Stellenbosch
5.	Claire	F	W	66	2	House	Retired	Stellenbosch
6.	Lorna	F	W	66	2	House	Homemaker	Somerset West
7.	Tracy	F	W	60	2	House	Homemaker	Somerset West
8.	Barbara	F	W	55	3	House	Employed	Somerset West
9.	Emma	F	W	66	2	House	Retired	Stellenbosch
10.	Samantha	F	W	65	2	House	Retired	Somerset West
11.	Hannah	F	W	58	2	House	Homemaker	Stellenbosch
12.	Julia	F	W	54	4	House	Employed	Somerset West
13.	Joan	F	W	40	1	House	Employed	Somerset West
14.	Cathy	F	W	37	4	House	Employed	Somerset West
15.	Elize	F	W	52	4	House	Homemaker	Stellenbosch
16.	Christine	F	W	61	2	House	Homemaker	Stellenbosch
17.	Maria	F	W	42	4	House	Employed	Somerset West
18.	Andrew	M	W	62	2	House	Employed	Somerset West

	Pseudonym name	Gender	Race	Age	Household members	Dwelling type	Employment status	Area
19.	Olivia	F	W	38	2	House	Employed	Stellenbosch
20.	Nina	F	W	57	3	House	Homemaker	Stellenbosch
21.	Thea	F	W	52	3	House	Employed	Johannesburg
22.	Lydia	F	W	55	3	House	Homemaker	Johannesburg
23.	Richard	M	W	71	2	House	Retired	Johannesburg
24.	Elizabeth	F	W	64	2	House	Homemaker	Johannesburg
25.	Amy	F	W	23	2	Flat	Student	Johannesburg
26.	Natalie	F	W	62	2	House	Homemaker	Johannesburg
27.	Jenny	F	W	55	3	House	Homemaker	Johannesburg
28.	Muhammed	M	I	44	4	House	Employed	Johannesburg

Reflecting on the profile of interviewee participants, the following is noted: Interview participants were overwhelmingly women and white, which typically reflects the historical pattern of employers of private domestic workers in South Africa (Table 5.4). Regarding their age, the majority of participants were in their 50s or early 60s and resided in a two-person household, which reflects a particular life cycle pattern. Perhaps the need for housecleaning services increases as households become smaller. Saying this, results from the survey questionnaires may yield different results. Regarding employment status, there is a mix of employed individuals, homemakers³⁹ and retirees, but these categories are not clear cut. For example, homemakers, students and retirees can engage in paid work, and employed individuals can go through periods of employment and unemployment. Added to this, only two students (from one household) were interviewed, both of whom resided in a flat. It could be that students may have different reasons for using housecleaning services than other clients.

Qualitative data was collected through face-to-face semi-structured interviews at participants' dwellings, their workplaces or coffee shops. At the beginning of my meeting with clients, they were informed about the goals of the study, the ethical protocols, and an informed consent form was signed off which they received a copy. Confidentiality was guaranteed as I indicated that pseudonyms would be used for both them and the firm they use. QIs commenced with a broad question on why they have decided to use housecleaning services, followed by more focused questions that lasted around sixty minutes and were recorded on a voice recording device. As QIs progressed, some questions were revised, and in some cases, probing questions were used to gather additional information. Although saturation was reached by the twenty-fifth interview, I conducted twenty-eight in the end, to confirm saturation.

In Johannesburg, eight QIs were conducted over three weeks (9 – 24 October 2016), while in Stellenbosch and Somerset West area, twenty QIs were conducted between 5 and 26

³⁹ The term homemaker rather than housewife is used, as a homemaker is a gender-neutral term. Shifting roles between men and women mean that men may be homemakers while their female partners are employed.

September 2016. This was quite tight, so I had to manage time effectively, which meant that up to three QIs were scheduled per day. I had to make sure about the locations where QIs were scheduled and that there was enough time between the QIs if interviews lasted longer than anticipated or there were traffic issues. QIs mostly occurred at participants' dwellings, while some QIs were conducted at coffee shops or workplaces. Only one QI had to be rescheduled as an unexpected work duty came up.

In general, I felt that participants were friendly, enthusiastic and open to share their experiences during the QIs. Some participants asked me more about why I became interested in this topic, and so on. None of the participants expressed any discomfort during the QIs.

5.7.2 Quantitative data collection

For the quantitative part of the study, I decided not to sample the population of clients. As a low response rate was expected, questionnaires were distributed to all clients – a total of 900 clients during the data collection period across the three housecleaning service firms. In the end, 333 completed survey questionnaires were received. The sample is the respondents who completed the survey questionnaire. Results from the survey questionnaires may include a broader distribution of clients regarding demographics.

During the same period when QIs were conducted, self-administered paper-based survey questionnaires were distributed. I decided against the use of personal face-to-face interview surveys for pragmatic and logistical reasons. The period in which data could be collected was limited to three weeks and doing a few hundred personal face-to-face survey interviews is extremely time-consuming and costly. Given that I already decided to conduct the QIs personally, survey questionnaires had to be self-administered.

I also decided against the use of computerised self-administered questionnaires (CSAQ) via email because clients may consider it a violation of their privacy if managers share their email addresses with a third party. Furthermore, some clients might not have access to computers or the internet, which would exclude them from completing the CSAQ. Response rates of an electronic survey are also typically low, as many people avoid responding to unsolicited emails from unrecognised sources (Dillman et al., 2009:8-9). Hence, I decided to use a self-administered paper-based survey questionnaire to allow respondents to complete it on their own and at a time convenient for them. Survey questionnaires were distributed by domestic cleaning teams during their visits to the respondents' dwellings. I motivated domestic employees to distribute the survey questionnaires by financially rewarding them for every completed survey returned. An incentive was also offered (a chance to win a free housecleaning service session) to increase the completion rates by clients.

However, specific precautions were followed. First, the absence of an interviewer meant that the survey questionnaire had to be designed in such a way that is easy for respondents to follow instructions, understand the questions and complete the questionnaire thoroughly. In doing so, all questionnaires were in English⁴⁰ and instructions were clear on the cover page and at each question or section. Second, to reduce nonresponse rates, which is often related to the perceived burden of the time it takes to complete a questionnaire, questions were kept brief. Pilot tests revealed that it took approximately ten minutes to complete the questionnaire. To encourage response rates, it was clearly stated on the cover page that survey questionnaires would not take longer than ten minutes to complete. Third, all clients received a sealed envelope distributed to by cleaning teams, which included the following: A consent form (see Addendum E), which was the first page of the survey questionnaire, a separate page for clients to complete if they wanted to participate in a lucky draw and separate envelopes to put completed questionnaires and the lucky draw page in. Managers were provided with printed lists to keep a record of the distributed and returned survey questionnaires. Every morning at 06:30, I went to offices of the housecleaning firms to assist with the distribution and in the afternoons at 16:00 with the collection process.

Reflecting on this process, it is not clear whether the presence of clients at home when teams arrived with the survey questionnaires affected completion rates. Possibly, domestic cleaning teams could have influenced clients to complete the questionnaire given that an incentive for the cleaners is linked to this and a possibility to win a free housecleaning service session. Despite emails sent about the study, managers reported that they received calls and emails from some clients enquiring about the survey questionnaires. Once managers explained that this is part of a research study, they seemed to be supportive of it and left the completed questionnaire for the domestic cleaning teams to collect.

Table 5.5: Summary of data collection with clients

Housecleaning service firm (<i>pseudonyms used</i>)	Quantitative data collection		Period
	Distributed questionnaires	Completed questionnaires	
<i>Spotless Cleaning</i>	250	97 (39%)	5 – 26 Sept. 2016
<i>Busy Brooms</i>	300	150 (50%)	5 – 26 Sept. 2016
<i>Cleaning Bees</i>	350	86 (25%)	9 – 24 Oct. 2016
Total	900	333 (37%)	

Table 5.5 shows the distributed and completed questionnaires with clients and the period. Data was firstly collected from the two housecleaning service firms operating in Stellenbosch

⁴⁰ A study in 2016 found that English is the language that most adults claim to be reading in (National survey into the reading and book reading behaviour of adult South Africans, 2016:39). This informed my decision to have the survey in English. Also, since I distributed the survey questionnaires during a particular time period, I was unable to first establish the language of choice of participants. By keeping the survey in one language also limits bias and the chance for different meanings of words or phrases that can easily occur when translated.

and Somerset West region followed by Cleaning Bees working in the Roodepoort area in Johannesburg. In retrospect, the domestic employees co-operated well, and response rates were acceptable.

Regarding ethical issues, anonymity was ensured by refraining from asking questions related to names, addresses or contact information. No access to any contact details or addresses of clients was obtained. Only those willing to participate in the lucky draw were asked to provide contact details. Two boxes were supplied to managers, one for the completed questionnaires and another one for the lucky draw. It is impossible to link personal information provided for the lucky draw to any of the completed survey questionnaires. Completed questionnaires were collected at the end of each week and incentives were given to the teams.

5.8 DATA ANALYSIS

In line with the concurrent mixed methods research, qualitative and quantitative data were analysed separately. However, there are essential differences between qualitative and quantitative data analyses.

5.8.1 Qualitative data analysis

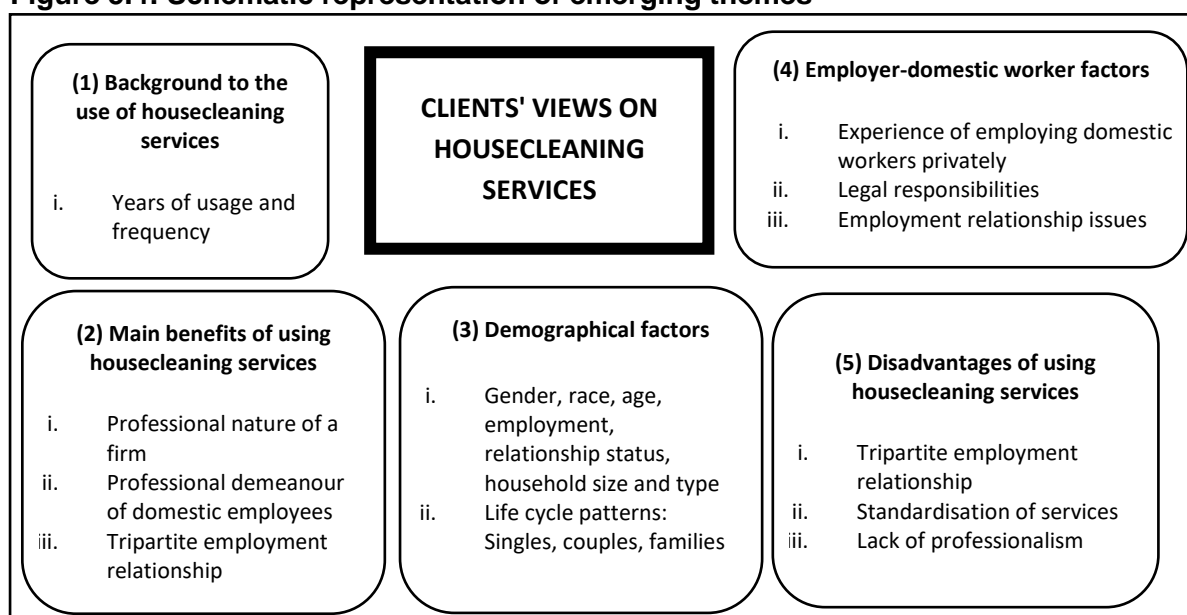
The analysis commenced with the verbatim transcripts of the interviews that were captured in Microsoft Word 2016 and uploaded into Atlas.ti, a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software programme. Through the process of familiarisation, I became immersed in the data with a close reading of the transcripts. The nature of semi-structured interviews allowed for codes to be developed where phrases were highlighted with several code names. Hereafter, codes were revised and combined to create themes and sub-themes.

This study grouped responses into five broad themes drawn from the literature (Figure 5.4):

1. Theme one focused on the background of the usage of housecleaning services, where years and frequency of usages are accounted for.
2. The second theme focuses on the main benefits of using housecleaning services and looks at the professional nature of the firm, how clients' expectations are met by the firm and clients' perceptions on the benefits of having a tripartite employment relationship and how they experience it.
3. Theme three looks at the demographical factors of clients and how it influenced the decision to use housecleaning services. Life cycle factors are also highlighted where clients' experiences of either living alone, as a couple or with a family have influenced the use of housecleaning services.

4. Employment experiences with former private domestic workers are the focus of the fourth theme. Here issues of legal responsibilities are outlined, as well as the experiences of having a personal and maternalistic employment relationship with a former domestic worker.
5. The last theme looks at current and former clients' experiences of perceived disadvantages of using housecleaning services. Sub-themes include the problems of a tripartite employment relationship, the standardisation of services and lack of professionalism of the domestic employees.

Figure 5.4: Schematic representation of emerging themes



5.8.2 Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative survey analysis was done to supplement the qualitative themes discussed above. The use of quantitative data increases the potential to explain existing qualitative findings and add more factors to the qualitative data, which could have been missed due to the homogeneity of the profile of participants during the qualitative data collection phase.

Data from completed survey questionnaires were captured in IBM SPSS. For the demographic factors (e.g., sex, age and population group) and structural factors (e.g., dwelling type and size), descriptive statistics and graphs were used to describe the characteristics of the sample. A unidimensional scale was constructed to measure attitudes toward housecleaning services. Based on 22-items combined into a single scale, it included attitudes toward the professional nature of services, responsibility toward domestic employees, labour legislation and the flexibility of services. All items were worded in the same direction, and measured on a five-point Likert scale, with one indicating "strongly agree", a midpoint of three named "neither

agree nor disagree” and five indicating “strongly disagree” (Addendum B). To test for reliability and validity, an item- total correlation analysis was conducted for the 22-items (Items 27.1 – Q 31.3 - Table 5.6). Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient (α) was .79, which is larger than the sub-minimum of .60 for group research, which indicates good internal consistency reliability for the index (Pallant, 2016:187). Only one of these values (item 28.1) is larger than Cronbach’s Alpha of .79, but the increase is small, and the item was not deleted from the index.

Table 5.6: Item-to-Total correlations

Item-to-total statistics				
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach’s Alpha if Item Deleted
27.1	40.31	82.459	.252	.789
27.2	40.41	85.314	.305	.784
27.3	40.42	84.093	.321	.783
27.4	40.51	83.461	.495	.777
27.5	40.57	83.099	.217	.792
27.6	40.52	84.018	.378	.781
27.7	40.15	82.180	.242	.791
27.8	40.66	84.945	.455	.780
27.9	40.03	83.181	.388	.780
28.1	39.65	86.787	.081	.800
28.2	40.23	82.321	.346	.782
28.3	40.62	84.049	.427	.779
28.4	40.67	84.360	.434	.779
28.5	40.70	83.915	.447	.779
28.6	40.57	84.264	.348	.782
29.1	39.65	79.187	.497	.772
29.2	39.61	79.029	.500	.772
29.3	40.13	78.990	.516	.771
29.4	39.79	79.995	.476	.774
30.1	40.28	83.397	.286	.785
30.2	39.98	84.282	.243	.788
30.3	39.83	82.132	.319	.784
Cronbach’s α				.79
N of items				22

This index with all 22-items was retained and analysed using factor analysis (Table 5.6). While factor analysis is neither used for hypothesis testing, nor does it provide information about between-group differences, it compresses items into a smaller set of linear combinations of the original items. The data met the criteria for the use of factor analysis: sample size should be greater than 150, and the strength of the inter-correlations between variables or items should be greater or equal to .30 ($r \geq .30$). To do this, two statistical measures were required: Bartlett’s test of sphericity ($p < .05$) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy with a minimum value of .60 (Pallant, 2016:187).

The extraction method used was Principle Component Analysis (PCA) on the 22-items through Oblique Rotation (Direct Oblimin rotation) to determine which components were related (i.e. which items cluster together as coherent constructs). The analysis revealed three components with eigenvalues larger than 1.0, a sub-minimum of Kaiser’s criterion. These three

components cumulatively explained approximately 59% of the variance. (See Addendum H for the Scree plots). According to Pallant (2016:193) when inspecting a scree plot, one needs to look at the change of the elbow in the shape of the plot. Only components above this point are retained. Accordingly, three components were retained for further investigation. The results of the PCA are presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: KMO and Bartlett's test

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.821
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	2706.913
	Df	231
	Sig.	.000

The Kaiser Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) value is .821, exceeding the recommended value of .602 (Table 5.7). The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity 2706.913) was statistically significant because the p-value is < .05. This shows that correlations between items were large for PCA, and it is, thus, a suitable test to determine what factors influence the attitude towards housecleaning services. All three components have Cronbach's α values larger than 0.6 (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Summary of factor analysis results of the index of views towards housecleaning services

		Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
		Professional nature of cleaning firm	Professional demeanour of domestic employees	Tripartite employment relationship
27.1	Expectation of services	0,416808	0,022684	-0,043932
27.2	Little problems caused by domestic employees	0,621714	0,059761	-0,061683
27.3	Arrive on agreed time	0,642611	0,030633	0,065602
27.4	Professional manner of cleaning services rendered	0,722764	0,077167	0,202643
27.5	Replacement of employees	0,369389	0,001193	0,072057
27.6	Communication regarding any changes	0,624531	0,009641	0,190510
27.7	Protection of privacy	0,449816	-0,013800	0,163390
27.8	Access to reliable services	0,702061	0,028231	0,189040
27.9	Customised services	0,664316	0,028280	0,130519
28.1	Cancel without contractual obligations	-0,010847	-0,112948	0,436871
28.2	Avoid CCMA	0,193306	0,089867	0,651988
28.3	Avoiding financial responsibility of employees	0,197282	0,000360	0,862820
28.4	Avoiding emotional dependency from employees	0,150816	0,048318	0,875588
28.5	Avoiding transport issues of employees	0,187864	0,089908	0,801267
28.6	Only pay when services are rendered	0,071847	0,104206	0,582116
29.1	Employees clean more effectively than private worker	0,179133	0,789369	-0,015478
29.2	Employees are trained well	0,178123	0,785397	0,044634
29.3	Employees cause less problems than private worker	0,145361	0,807749	0,065510
29.4	Firm is safer to use than a private worker	0,088369	0,781612	0,104064
30.1	I do not need a private domestic worker	-0,020046	0,643807	-0,029309
30.2	I do not have time to clean my dwelling myself	-0,145258	0,626741	-0,045517
30.3	I do not have time to search for reliable worker	-0,099198	0,583148	0,065478
	Eigenvalue	4.89	3.38	2.14
	% Total variance	22.25	15.38	9.74
	Cumulative %	22.25	37.64	47.38
	Cronbach α	.73	.84	.77

Primary loadings for each item are in bold.

Table 5.8 shows items that group together, indicating three dimensions to explain why households use housecleaning services. I named the factors as follows: (i) professional nature of housecleaning services; (ii) professional demeanour of domestic employees; and (iii) tripartite employment relationship. The Cronbach's α values are all above .6, indicating strong reliability for group research (Pallant, 2016:201). (See Addendum H for the scree plots).

The second section of the survey questionnaire focused only on clients who have employed a private domestic worker in the past but not anymore. Eleven items on a 4-point Likert-scale were developed with four categories measuring the "level of the problem", ranging from "not a problem at all" (1) to "a serious problem" (4). This section aimed to develop a scale that measures the "problems experienced with my most recent private domestic worker". A PCA was conducted on the 11 items through Oblique Rotation (Direct Oblimin rotation) to determine which components are related. The initial analysis revealed two components with eigenvalues > 1.0 , which cumulatively explained approximately 57% of the total variance. However, an inspection of the Scree plot shows a clear break after the second component, and I decided to retain two components for further investigation (See Addendum H). In this regard, the value of using mixed-methods research is beneficial, as information obtained through the QIs will add contextual depth to the analysis.

The Kaiser Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) value is .843, which is larger than the recommended value of .60 (Pallant, 2016:201). The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (505.772) is statistically significant because the *p-value* is .005. This indicates that correlations between items are large for the PCA, and it is, therefore, a suitable measure to determine the level of problems caused by privately employed domestic workers. Both components have good reliability, as their Cronbach's α s are larger than .60. The eleven items were developed based on extensive literature and qualitative interviews. Table 5.9 shows the items that cluster together and provides two dimensions of problems experienced by clients' regarding the private domestic worker. These two components are named, which is based on two themes that emerged from the QIs: (i) Responsibility towards the domestic worker; and (ii) irresponsible behaviour of the domestic worker.

Table 5.9: Summary of factor analysis results of the index of problems caused by a former domestic worker

		Factor 4	Factor 5
		Responsibility towards domestic worker	The behaviour of domestic worker
46.1	I financially supported the domestic worker	0,842486	0,113723
46.2	I provided transport to the domestic worker	0,710839	0,094106
46.3	I was involved in family issues of the domestic worker	0,890318	0,093515
46.4	The domestic worker had poor health	0,096812	0,619301
46.5	The domestic worker was lazy	0,603804	0,447455
46.6	Theft issues by the domestic worker	0,157271	0,454176
46.7	The domestic worker was careless	0,267345	0,554112
46.8	Attitude problems of the domestic worker	0,300217	0,642891
46.9	The domestic worker used alcohol/drugs	-0,124093	0,783204
46.10	The domestic worker was unreliable	0,525822	0,491633
46.11	The domestic worker rarely paid back borrowed money	0,762935	0,241631
	Eigenvalue	4.89	1.39
	% Total variance	44.44	12.61
	Cumulative %	44.44	57.05
	Cronbach α	.86	.61

Primary loadings for each item are bolded.

Once the indexes were finalised, descriptive and factor analyses were conducted on (i) main benefits of using housecleaning services and (ii) former employers' (now clients of housecleaning services) perceived problems with their former domestic worker before they shifted to housecleaning services. The following descriptive statistical tests were used.

5.8.2.1 Bivariate correlations

A bivariate correlation analysis describes the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables, as values range between -1 and +1. For example, a coefficient with a value from -1 to < 0 indicates a negative relationship, a value of 0 indicates no linear relationship, and values higher than 0 to 1 a positive linear relationship. For bivariate correlations, I used the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r) (Pallant, 2016:132).

Correlation tests were conducted with the three factors that measured the main benefits of using housecleaning services: Factor 1 (Professional nature of the firm), Factor 2 (Professional demeanour of the domestic employees) and Factor 3 (Nature of the tripartite employment relationship).

Concerning former employers of domestic workers (now clients of housecleaning services), a correlation test was also done with the two extracted problems former employers experienced with their former domestic worker before using housecleaning services. These correlations

tests were done to determine whether there is a statistically significant relationship between these factors.

5.8.2.2 One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA)

ANOVA was used to determine whether there are any statistically significant differences between the means of more than two independent groups (Pallant, 2016:255-256). Statistical testing was not compromised by the violations of normality in the data.

By using an ANOVA test, I was able to compare the variances between groups (e.g., single, couples, families, age groups, etc.) with the variability within each of the groups. An F-value is calculated, which represents the variance between the groups divided by the variance within the groups. In essence, an ANOVA test will indicate whether there are significant differences in the mean scores on the dependent variable across the three groups. A post-hoc test will then determine where the differences are (Pallant, 2016:255-256), for example, to test whether there is a statistically significant difference in the mean scores of single, nuclear, extended and composite households regarding the perception of the professional nature of housecleaning services, the professional demeanour of domestic employees and benefits of a tripartite employment relationship.

5.9 PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

The qualitative and quantitative results were merged, compared and integrated. I moved back and forth between the qualitative findings and quantitative results. In some sections of the following chapters, quantitative results are presented first followed by qualitative findings, while others first present the qualitative findings followed by quantitative statistics. The aim is to produce knowledge by presenting complementary information that illuminates different aspects of the topic.

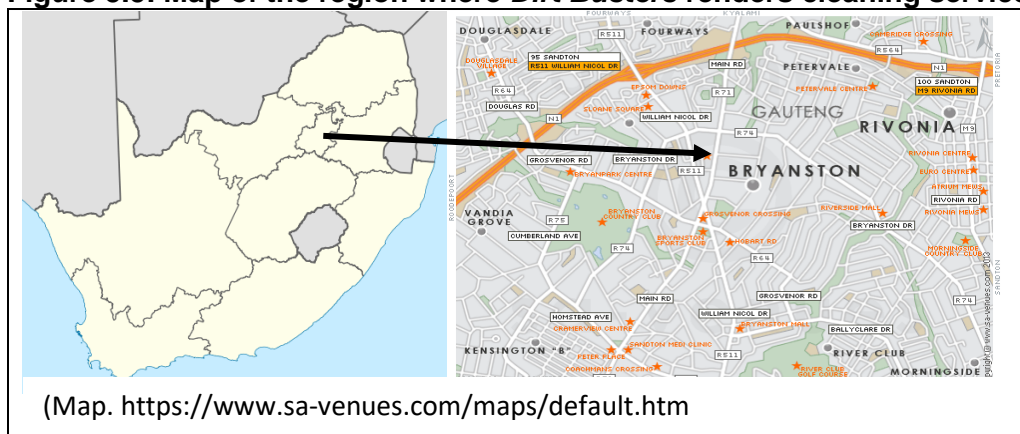
5.10 COLLECTING AND ANALYSING DATA FROM FORMER CLIENTS

From both the QIs and the survey questionnaires, several negative aspects of using housecleaning services emerged from the data. Looking at the negative effects of using housecleaning services offers a chance to show the two sides of housecleaning services. Former clients were, therefore, included in this study. Former clients refer to people who have used housecleaning services at some point in time but no longer use these services. The aim of this section was to determine what possible factors have contributed to their termination of housecleaning services.

The first step was to gain access to former clients of housecleaning service firms. I called the managers of the three selected housecleaning service firms to ask whether they have a

database of former clients, but none had. I then used the list I developed of operating housecleaning services in Johannesburg and Cape Town with its surrounding regions and started contacting managers of other firms. After several managers were called, one manager in Johannesburg indicated that he had a record of former clients who have terminated services between 2012 and 2016. We met to discuss the purpose of the research, and he agreed to assist. The manager of *Dirt Busters* (pseudonym) sent an email on my behalf to all former clients in February 2017 with a brief description of the aim of this part of the study and a URL to a computerised self-administered questionnaire (CSAQ) with five open-ended questions. When former clients clicked on the URL, they were referred to a page with a description, guidelines and ethical protocols (e.g., confidentiality, anonymity and rights). Those who agreed to participate were requested to indicate why they have stopped using housecleaning services and how they manage their domestic labour duties now. Follow-up emails were sent a week later to increase completion rates, but after two weeks, only fourteen questionnaires were completed. I decided not to do further follow-ups and responses were captured in Excel and analysed thematically.

Figure 5.5: Map of the region where *Dirt Busters* renders cleaning services



Dirt Busters renders cleaning in the Northern suburbs in Johannesburg mainly in Bryanston and Rivonia, an affluent part of Johannesburg that boasts many businesses, residential homes and gated communities (Figure 5.5). However, while *Spotless Cleaning*, *Busy Brooms* and the *Cleaning Bees* render team cleaning in 150-minute sessions, *Dirt Busters* renders cleaning through sole-domestic employees, where a domestic employee cleans a client's dwelling in six or seven-hour sessions on her own. Despite this difference, the employment relationship remains tripartite and business-like, which some clients may experience as unfavourable. Duties are standardised, and prices are controlled by managers. It is these criteria, which are typical of housecleaning services that I want to explore in this study. It is also a chance to show the other side of housecleaning services that is perhaps less positive than what many believe it ought to be.

5.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Research Ethics Committee (Humanities) of Stellenbosch University approved the proposed study in August 2016 (Addendum E). The section below addresses ethics in more depth.

Concerning the qualitative interviews, the following ethical procedures were implemented. A consent letter was signed prior to the interview. This letter obtained information about the nature and purpose of the study, what is expected of participants and the underlying ethical considerations. All participants were treated with respect, and their integrity was upheld at all times. Any information that was obtained in connection with this study was confidential and was not discussed with the managers who gave me access to their clients. Participants' names or any other identifiable information have not been revealed in this report or transcripts. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identification of both clients and housecleaning service firms. Participation was voluntary, and participants could refuse to answer particular questions they felt uncomfortable with and could stop the interview at any time if they wished to do so. Participants have not received any form of payment for their participation in interviews. There were no foreseeable risks associated with participation in this study and participants were not harmed at any stage during the interview.

Concerning the survey questionnaires, the following ethical procedures were implemented. To address anonymity, all clients received a sealed envelope distributed to by cleaning teams, which included the following: A consent form which was the first page of the survey questionnaire, a separate page for clients to complete if they wanted to participate in a lucky draw and separate envelopes to put completed questionnaires and the lucky draw page in. All survey responses were anonymous (e.g. no identifiable or personal information such as names/addresses were asked), and all results were presented in an aggregated manner, which protects the responses of the respondents. Respondents were not forced to complete the survey and completion was at their discretion. Respondents did not receive any payment, although an incentive was used to increase the response rate – a common practice for surveys (Bryman, 2012:236). A lucky draw was held for clients who completed a separate section of the survey, and it was impossible to link these forms to the completed questionnaires.

5.12 LIMITATIONS

Several limitations could have occurred during the qualitative data collection part of the study. Given that I have had experience with a housecleaning service firm when living with my parents, I may have had carried some personal biases when I have first started planning this study. I tried to minimise this through a systematic review of the literature and informal

interviews with colleagues about domestic labour and the use of domestic service firms (Bryman, 2012:102). The type of questions I developed for the interview schedule was kept broad and open to allow the research participants to speak as freely as possible. However, a potential error that could have occurred during the interviews is social desirability bias, as participants could have been hesitant to reveal the truth and risking putting themselves in a negative light, in particular when speaking about former domestic workers. For example, I noted that some interview participants typically discussed the issues they had with former domestic workers and how well they have treated their former domestic workers, but hardly ever mentioned whether they perhaps had too high expectations or were unreasonable. However, the promise of confidentiality and anonymity might have countered this to a degree. A second possible limitation is an interpretive bias. As social scientists, we often risk that we highlight or present certain phrases to confirm our argument. I tried to control this through triangulation of quantitative data that confirmed many qualitative findings (Bryman, 2012:187). This highlights the value of mixed-methods research where particular issues can be addressed through triangulation of qualitative findings and quantitative results.

There are four typical limitations or biases that can occur in quantitative research: First, coverage error occurs when one fails to include some population elements in the sampling frame or population lists. Second, sampling error occurs when subsets of the population are used to represent the population, rather than the population itself. Non-response error results from a failure to obtain data from all population elements selected into the sample. Finally, a measurement error occurs when the recorded values are different from the true value of the variable (Alwin, 2007:3). I focus specifically on two: sampling error and measurement error.

Sampling error could have occurred as I do not know to what extent respondents who completed the survey questionnaires are representative of the broader population. Yet, 333 questionnaires of a potential 900 were completed, which give a response rate of 37%, which is acceptable. Despite this, sampling error cannot be avoided. As Bryman (2012:198) argues that as sample sizes increase, sampling error decreases. Another possible error in survey research is measurement error, which refers to the inaccurate use of an instrument or poorly worded questions, and/or the selection of items. I tried to minimise this by applying Tucker (2010) grounded indicator approach that implies a systematic review of indicators and the development of scales and questions (See section 5.6.2 in this chapter).

5.13 CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the data collection process, it was more challenging than anticipated. The process was often unclear and situational, given the specificity to access, time and locations.

Despite this, I gathered detailed qualitative and quantitative information to answer the research questions of this study. A mixed-methods approach allowed me to capture the experiences and context of clients and broader trends of why they are shifting to housecleaning services (and cancelling such services). One of the benefits of triangulating qualitative and quantitative data is that the former provides context-specific details, whereas the latter offers a descriptive statistical background to the study. The rigorous exploratory interviews before the primary data collection phase eased the integration of qualitative and quantitative results.

Despite the possible biases that could have occurred at different stages of the research process, by taking a mixed methods research approach to the study of housecleaning services in South Africa, adds both depth and breadth to this topic. As far as could be determined, there has been no study focusing on housecleaning services that use a mixed methods research approach in South Africa. Hopefully, this study provides essential insights into the group that responded. The next chapter ties the conceptual, contextual and empirical findings together.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: BENEFITS OF AND DEMOGRAPHICAL, HOUSEHOLD AND LIFE CYCLE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE USE OF HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The proceeding chapters provided an overview of the changing needs and supply of paid domestic work in South Africa and elsewhere. In some societies, the contracting out of domestic labour (outsourcing) to housecleaning services is often linked to the reconciliation between work and family demands. In South Africa, however, the norm is to contract in or employ domestic or care workers, but little is known why people use outsourced housecleaning services.

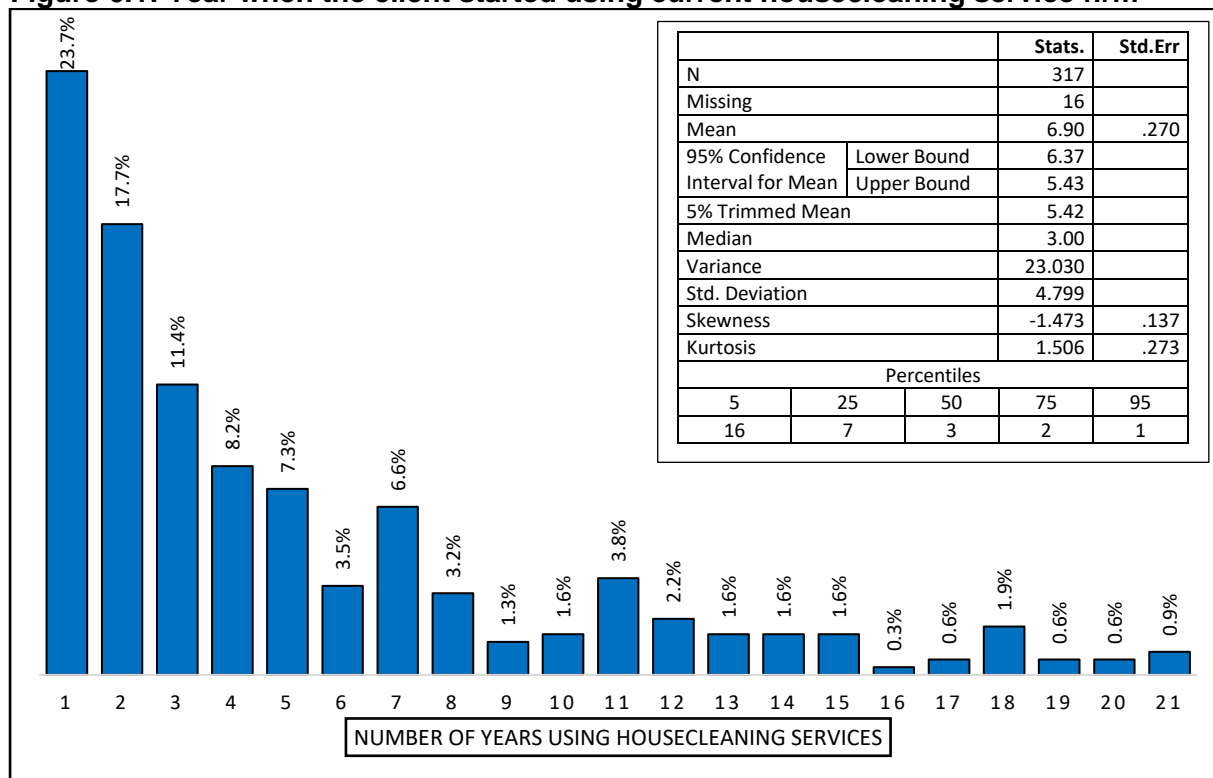
This chapter provides a discussion of the findings based on empirical findings from 28 qualitative interviews (QIs) and 333 completed survey questionnaires and the theoretical and conceptual discussion of chapters 2 to 4. The background to the year in which clients started using housecleaning services and how frequently they use them is first provided, after which the general benefits of housecleaning service are discussed. The focus then shifts to the demographical and household profile of clients. Under this discussion, the results are evaluated and compared to international and South African trends to investigate whether clients who use housecleaning services differ from typical employers of private domestic workers. Hereafter, the life cycle patterns are discussed and how these affect the need for outsourced housecleaning services. The chapter closes with concluding remarks and possible implications.

6.2 BACKGROUND TO THE USE OF HOUSECLEANING SERVICES FIRMS

Respondents were asked to indicate the year in which they first started using one of the selected housecleaning service firms. The surveys were distributed and collected during a particular period (September – October 2016), and it is not clear whether some clients have used other housecleaning services before they have started using the one, they are currently using⁴¹. From the QIs, it appears that some clients have shifted back-and-forth between several housecleaning service firms and private domestic workers at various stages, depending on their particular domestic and caring needs. Respondents were asked to indicate the year in which they first used the current housecleaning service firm they were using when data was collected.

⁴¹ The survey failed to ask respondents whether they had previously used any of these housecleaning services in the past. It could well be that some clients have shifted back-and-forth between several housecleaning services and private domestic workers as their domestic needs or personal circumstances have changed over time.

Figure 6.1: Year when the client started using current housecleaning service firm



Concerning how long clients⁴² in this sample have used housecleaning services, the following results were yielded (Figure 6.1): clients who have used housecleaning services for more than ten years represent almost 16% of the sample.⁴³ Almost a quarter (24%) of clients have used housecleaning services between five and ten years. Larger percentages of clients have used housecleaning service for four years or less, with almost a quarter (24%) using it for one year or less.⁴⁴ Perhaps these results show that housecleaning services are a temporary solution to clients’ domestic needs, as only a small percentage of clients have used it continuously for more than five years.

Concerning how often clients use housecleaning services, Figure 6.2 depicts the following results. Nearly half of the clients adhere to a weekly cleaning schedule (49%),⁴⁵ followed by a third (33%) who use housecleaning services once every two weeks. Only a small percentage of clients use housecleaning services twice (11%) or three times a week (3%). From the QIs, some clients such as Elizabeth (F-W-64-2HH)⁴⁶ had indicated that in the past, “*when our*

⁴² In this study, a client refers to the person using a housecleaning service firm.

⁴³ Data was collected in 2016. It could mean that there has been an increase in the percentage of clients using housecleaning services between 2017 and 2019.

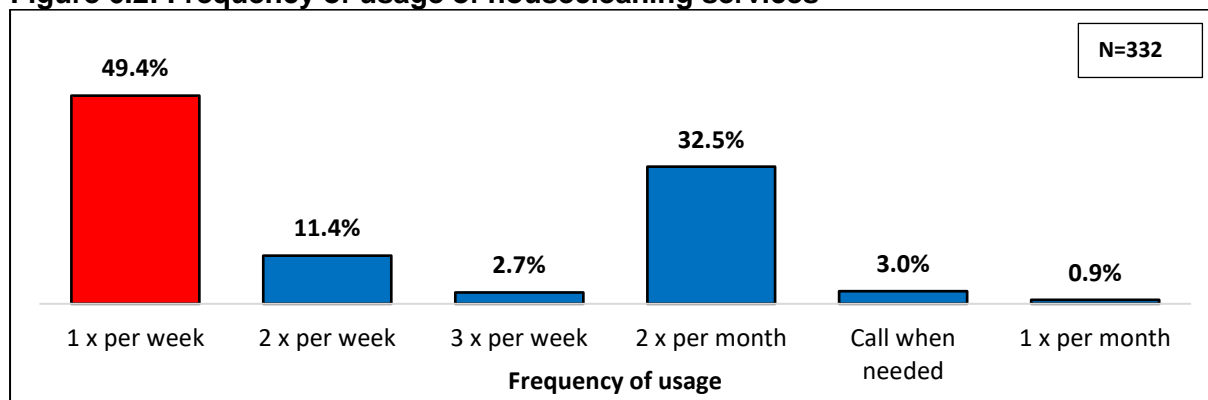
⁴⁴ Regarding the statistics, the mean is 7 years, while the median is 3 years.

⁴⁵ The percentages in Figures / Tables have one decimal, in the text the decimal digits are rounded off.

⁴⁶ A typology was developed to indicate the participants’ gender – population group - age – total household members. Elizabeth (F-W-64-2HH) is female, white, 64 years old and lives in a two-person household. Muhammed (M-I-44-4HH) is male, Indian, 44 years old and lives in a household with four household members.

house was full, we used them more regularly". Natalie (F-W-62-2HH) also said she is likely to use them less frequently when they moved to a smaller dwelling. It seems that clients' circumstances affect how often housecleaning service firms are used. A benefit of using housecleaning service is that people can dictate how often they want to use it based on personal circumstances, the size of the household and several other factors.

Figure 6.2: Frequency of usage of housecleaning services



Affordability is perhaps another factor that determines how often clients use housecleaning services. In some European nations, the state supplements part of the payment when clients contract out cleaning or care duties to a domestic service firm (Devetter, 2015:366; Safuta & Camargo, 2019:3). However, in South Africa, clients pay the full fee for services rendered through a housecleaning service firm. For example, the SD7 requires employers to pay their domestic workers a minimum of R20 per hour, while the three selected housecleaning service firms in this study charge clients between R350 and R600 per 150-minute cleaning session.

From the QIs, some clients said how housecleaning services are costly compared to other alternatives. Jenny (F-W-55-3HH), for instance, said hiring a housecleaning service firm is *“more expensive compared to a maid [a private domestic worker], but for the convenience one gets, it’s worth it”*. Anna (F-W-64-4HH) also said, *“It’s more expensive than the traditional model”*, referring to employing a domestic worker privately. Another client, Nina (F-W-57-3HH), said: *“I am at a point in my life where I weigh down the pros and the cons. The determining factor is the price. If they go up in their price, then I may not be able to afford them”*. Other clients shared similar sentiments. It appears that these clients make a rational choice of hiring housecleaning services when the benefits outweigh the costs, which is the focus of the next section.

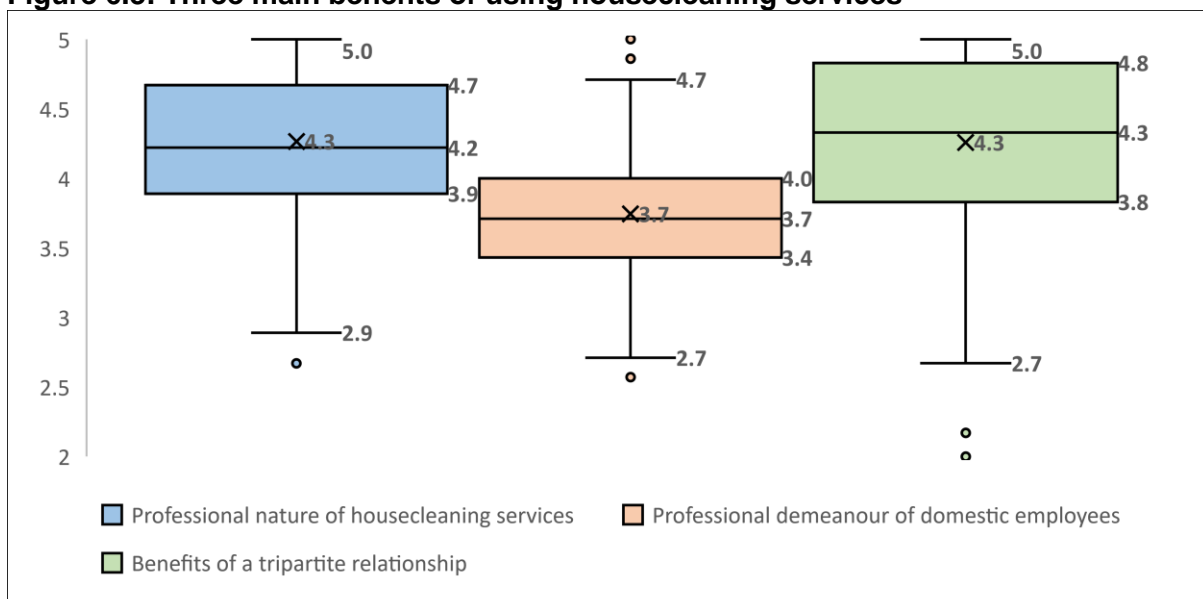
6.3 BENEFITS OF USING HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

In European and American contexts, the literature identifies broadly three primary benefits of housecleaning services for clients: first, the transformation of a personal bipartite employer-

domestic worker relationship, with all its dependencies, into a tripartite employment relationship between a client, a domestic employee and a manager or franchise owner, is attractive to some (Mendez, 1998:118; Romero, 1988:319). Under these conditions, contact, dependency and responsibilities between domestic employees and clients are reduced and standardised (Camargo, 2015:143; Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:307; Ehrenreich, 2000:64). Second, professionalism is another feature of housecleaning services, which is linked to the type of domestic employees who are employed by a housecleaning service firm. For example, demographics, personality and expertise are taken into consideration when managers employ domestic employees. Once hired, domestic employees undergo extensive training where they are taught specific and standardised cleaning techniques for optimal client satisfaction (Abrantes, 2014; Ehrenreich, 2000:66; Mendez, 1998:121; Safuta & Camargo, 2019:58). A third benefit includes flexibility, in that it allows clients to reschedule or cancel services within the terms of conditions of the particular housecleaning firm (Craig & Baxter, 2016:271). The service agreement between clients and managers is flexible, unlike an employment contract with a private domestic worker. In other words, clients can dictate when they want to contract out domestic labour to housecleaning services. Also, once cleaning is rendered and fees are paid, clients have no other responsibilities toward domestic employees.

As discussed in section 5.8.2, three factors were extracted summarising the benefits of using housecleaning services based on the responses from clients (Figure 6.3). I have labelled them as (1) The professional nature of housecleaning services; (2) The professional demeanour of domestic employees; and (3) Benefits of a tripartite employment relationship. These benefits also correspond to the broad advantages of using housecleaning services, as discussed in the literature.

Figure 6.3: Three main benefits of using housecleaning services



The factor that has the strongest loading the professional nature of housecleaning services and has a range of scores from 2,9 to 5 (out of a possible range of 1 to 5). This factor has a median score of 4,2 and a mean score of 4,3. The factor with the second strongest loading is the benefits of a tripartite employment relationship and has a range of scores from 2,7 to 5, a median of 4,3 and a mean score of 4,7. The third factor has a range of scores from 2,7 to 4,7, a median of 3,7 and a mean of 3,7. The next step is to determine whether there is a statistically significant relationship between the three extracted factors.

Table 6.1: Pearson product-moment correlation between three extracted factors

Variables			MAIN REASONS/BENEFITS OF USING HOUSECLEANING SERVICES		
			Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
			Professional nature of housecleaning services	Professional demeanour of domestic employees	Benefits of a tripartite employment relationship
1.	Professional nature of housecleaning services	Pearson correlation	1	.406**	.396**
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000
		N	327	324	321
2.	Professional demeanour of domestic employees	Pearson correlation	.406**	1	.459**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
		N	324	329	323
3.	Benefits of a tripartite employment relationship	Pearson correlation	.396**	.459**	1
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
		N	321	323	326

The relationship between factor 1 (The professional nature of housecleaning services) and factor 2 (The professional demeanour of domestic employees), and factor 3 (The benefits of a tripartite employment relationship) was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. There is a moderate⁴⁷ positive statistically significant relationship between factor 1 (The professional nature of housecleaning services) and factor 2 (The professional demeanour of domestic employees); $r = .406$, $N=324$, $p < 0.01$.) (Table 6.1). Thus, the more clients value the professional nature of the housecleaning services, the more they value the professional demeanour of domestic employees.

⁴⁷ Different authors suggest different values of measures of association to interpret the effect size. I use Pallant's (2016:137) explanation, and she argues the following; small $r = .1$ to $.29$; moderate $r = .3$ to $.49$; and large $r = .5$ to 1.0

There is also a moderate positive statistically significant relationship between factor 1 (The professional nature of housecleaning services) and factor 3 (The benefits of a tripartite employment relationship); $r=.396$, $N=321$, $p < .01$. Thus, the more clients value the professional nature of the housecleaning services, the more they value the benefits of a tripartite employment relationship.

There is also a moderate positive statistically significant relationship between factor 2 (The professional demeanour of domestic employees) and factor 3 (The benefits of a tripartite employment relationship), $r=.459$, $N=323$, $p < .01$. Thus, the more clients value the professional demeanour of domestic employees, the more do they value the benefits of a tripartite employment relationship. Through the contextual detail from the QIs, it is possible to understand how clients experience these benefits of using housecleaning services.

6.3.1 Professional nature of housecleaning services

The item “professional manner in which cleaning is rendered”, with a mean score of 4,53⁴⁸ (and a coefficient of .72)⁴⁹ loaded the strongest under this extracted factor. From the QIs, many clients mentioned the professional aspect of how housecleaning service firms render cleaning. For example, Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) said: *“For me, it is about how the work remains professional. I receive an invoice every time and can check that the price is correct. They communicate with me. It is very professional”*. Lorna’s statement indicates how housecleaning service firms handle administrative and cleaning aspects of the services professionally. Christine (F-W-61-2HH) also shares her experience: *“I don’t feel they serve me like with a [private] domestic worker. If I drink tea, I don’t make tea for them. But also, if they drink tea, they don’t make any for me. It is more professional”*.

Another item that makes up the factor (benefit) is “access to reliable services”, with a mean score of 4.51 (and a coefficient of .70)⁵⁰. From the QIs, some clients have relocated to a new region and started using a housecleaning service firm, which offers reliable cleaning services. For Thea (F-W-52-3HH), reliable services mean services will always be rendered: *“I know that they will be here. On-time. Every Thursday and that they will send somebody if the regular person cannot come on that day”*. For other clients such as Muhammed (M-I-44-4HH), reliability means having access to honest domestic employees. He explains how his family

⁴⁸ The values range from 1 (negative) to 5 (positive). See Addendum B.

⁴⁹ There were nine items that made up the factor (benefit). The item, “professional manner in which cleaning is rendered” loaded the strongest of the nine items. The factor loadings can be thought of as Pearson correlations between a factor and a variable. If the factor loadings are squared for a variable, a measure of its substantive importance to a factor is obtained. (See Field, 2018:781). See the factor analysis scores presented in chapter five under section 5.8.2, Table 5.8

⁵⁰ See the factor analysis scores in chapter five, section 5.8.2, Table 5.8

has relocated from Durban to Johannesburg and needed domestic help: *“I need help. I am prepared to pay. And well above the norm. I am new in town. How do I find reliable, competent domestic help?”*.

Similarly, Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) explains:

After moving to Stellenbosch, I did not want to train somebody again. I was just not in the mood for that. You know, you get one diamond and ten who don't want to work. I didn't have the energy for that search. I've decided to use housecleaning services. But who do I use? I asked my friends who used these companies, and they referred me to this one. It was a word-of-mouth situation. And it is wonderful.

From these clients' remarks and others, being new in town can be challenging to get access to a domestic worker who is reliable and cleans well. In this regard, another item that loaded strongly is “customised services” with a mean score of 4.31 (and a coefficient of 0,66). During the QIs, several clients mentioned customised services as a reason why they use housecleaning services. For example, Nina (F-W-57-3HH) describes: *“It is expensive, but I can see a difference when they leave. You cannot believe how amazing my home looks when they leave. Not only can you see it, but you can smell it”*. Nina's statement emphasises the extent to which housecleaning services go beyond the essential cleaning duties.

Similarly, Richard (M-W-71-2HH) who is in a wheelchair and who use housecleaning services once a week, explained how he receives not only a discount but also specialised services. While laundry is not part of the general services that this housecleaning service firm renders, Richard explains how one domestic employee in the team always helps them with laundry: *“The girl will push me up the ramp to the washing machine. I'll load the washing machine, and we'll take the one load off, and she hangs it up because I can't reach the line”*.

Another item⁵¹ that made up factor 1 (benefit 1) and one that loaded strongly is “communication regarding any changes” with a mean score of 4,36 (and a coefficient of 0,62). Many clients revealed how the communication between them and the manager remains professional and that the manager always makes sure they are informed about any changes, such as time slots or team members. For example, Oliva (F-W-38-2HH) said, *“Another advantage is that all communication happens through the manager. When the lady went home for two weeks, the manager told us officially that she is going home. Is it okay if I send another lady in her place?”*

⁵¹ See chapter 5 section 5.8.2 where the factor loading scores are presented.

These sentiments support the typical benefits of using housecleaning services, in that cleaning, administration and communication are rendered professionally (Bailly et al., 2013:314; Duffy, 2011:121; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:165). Access to reliable and well-trained domestics is another distinctive benefit of housecleaning services, which were shared by some clients in this study too (Abrantes, 2014:440; Camargo, 2015:140-141). A consensus then is that housecleaning services distinguish themselves from a traditional domestic work model, in that all aspects of the services are dealt with professionally for the convenience of clients. Another factor that contributes to the use of housecleaning services is the professional demeanour of domestic employees.

6.3.2 Professional demeanour of domestic employees

Under this factor, there are six items, with three items having very high mean scores. The first item, “domestic employees clean more effectively than a private worker” with a mean score of 4.48 (and a coefficient score of 0.79). Another item, “domestic employees cause fewer problems than a private worker” with a mean score of 4.34 (and a coefficient score of 0.81), and a third item “domestic employees are trained well” with a mean score of 4.53 (and a coefficient score of 0.79).

From the QIs, clients refer to several aspects that could be linked to these items and the overall professional demeanour of domestic employees in general. Related to the first item, Martin (M-W-72-1HH) said: “*The main advantage with the company is that you don’t have problems finding someone because they [the cleaning service firm] do a background check on them*”. Other clients shared these sentiments too. These sentiments support the distinctive features of housecleaning services, where managers recruit domestic employees based on expertise and experience (Abrantes, 2014; Du Toit, 2016; Mendez, 1998).

Also, some clients mentioned that the emotional representation of domestic employees is professional too. For example, Francis (F-W-56-2HH) said that the “*domestics are always very friendly*”. Barbara (F-W-55-3HH) shared Francis’s sentiments by saying: “*They are always friendly. Always. They never come here with any issues. Even if there is a personal issue, family issue, you know, they remain friendly. They always smile. They are always positive and professional*”. These views emphasise the importance of emotional labour when services are contracted in by clients, even in the area of cleaning, which perhaps requires little emotional labour compared to other types of services such as care work or event planning (Hochschild, 2012:55-56). Clients clearly value the friendly attitude of domestic employees.

Apart from the emotional labour aspects, other clients commended the practical and efficient way in which cleaning is rendered. Domestic employees are well-trained and equipped with

specific cleaning techniques for optimal client satisfaction. For example, Olivia (F-W-38-2HH) said: *“I don’t have to train them. With the agency at least you know that they might have gone for some training. Or they are told to be responsible”*. Similarly, Thea (F-W-52-3HH) said:

I think they are well trained. They know how to clean. They know what to clean. They know how to switch on my dishwasher. I expect them to be trained, and I know they are because I pay for it. It is part of the benefits of using a company. Trained workers.

Access to trained domestic employees is one of the reasons why people use housecleaning services. As Nina (F-W-57-3HH) explains how the team cleans her dwelling:

The main thing is the deep cleaning of the corners. They know the corners. The skirting boards. They clean all my kitchen cupboards in the inside. They clean every single item that is in the cupboard. They do the passage cupboards, but they don’t do the bedroom cupboards, because I mean that is my job. They vacuum. They scrub the toilet properly. They clean the oven. They do what you don’t do. It’s like thorough spring cleaning. I am delighted with them.

Some clients also praised the division of tasks among teams for more time-effective cleaning. For example, Lydia (F-W-55-3HH) explains:

They each clean a separate room, and the team leader takes them at the beginning of the house, and each one of them gets a task. Some do the same room every time. The one will get the bathroom, while the other one vacuums. The other one mops the floor. It works well.

Linked to the division of domestic duties, is the team’s ability to clean their dwelling in less than three hours, which is convenient for some clients. For homemakers and retired clients, quick but thorough cleaning is particularly beneficial, as Lorna (F-W-66-2HH), Christine (F-W-61-2HH) and Emma (F-W-66-2HH) said respectively: *“It’s heaven. They are in and out”*; *“It is not invasive. They don’t invade your privacy. They clean and they go”*; and *“They are never here for longer than three hours, and that is nice. I have my home for myself”*. In this regard, Ehrenreich (2000:65-66) and Du Toit (2012:88-90) discussed how duties are divided among teams of domestic employees to ensure optimal and timeous cleaning. Linked to these benefits, is the third extracted benefit, namely the nature of a tripartite employment relationship, where the management is a mediator between clients and domestic employees.

6.3.3 Nature of a tripartite employment relationship

The nature of a tripartite employment relationship is that the management takes all the contractual responsibilities of domestic employees, limiting the involvement, dependency and financial responsibility between clients and domestic employees. Under the extracted factor “the nature of a tripartite employment relationship”, there are six item loadings, of which three

have high scores. The first item “avoiding emotional dependency from domestic employees” with a mean score of 4,52 (and a coefficient score of 0,87). This is followed by a second item, “avoiding financial responsibility of domestic employees” with a mean score of 4,46 (and a coefficient score of 0,86). A third item “avoid transport issues of domestic employees”, also had a high mean score of 4,55 (and a coefficient score of 0,8).

From the QIs, several clients mentioned how the tripartite employment relationship is less personal and dependent. In this regard, Maggie (F-W-55-4HH), Emma (F-W-66-2HH) and Nina (F-W-57-3HH) said respectively: “*I am no longer involved with their [domestic employees] issues*”; “*The management has to sort out everything*” and “*You don’t have that emotional attachment with them [the domestic employees].*” The employment relationship becomes detached and instrumental and is something that clients like. Similarly, Amy (F-W-23-2HH) shares her experience of having a less personal employment relationship with the domestic employee:

It feels more like a working relationship. She doesn’t say anything. Like I’ve tried to speak to her, but she’s not interested in talking. She wants to get in and do her stuff and get out. I know nothing about her circumstances or family or anything.

The effect of having a quick, hassle-free and an emotionally detached relationship with domestic employees is clear. Domestic employees refrain from talking to clients about their person lives and keep the interaction to work-related things. Yet, despite this, some clients revealed that the tripartite employment relationship does not necessarily reduce the communication between them and domestic employees but does limit the feeling of dependency. As Thea (F-W-57-3HH) explains:

The distance is only as far as payment is concerned. Not much else. She tells me of her private matters, her family issues. But I do ask. But I do not give her extra money. No. Because that will then interfere with the relationship as far as payment is concerned. So, I do not give her money, and if she does ask, then I say, no sorry it is not part of the arrangement I have [with the company]. It’s against the rules. She knows it is against the rules.

Although domestic employees are instructed to keep interaction with clients professional, it appears that some clients like Thea are still interested in knowing something about the domestic workers’ personal lives. It seems then that some clients want to keep some form of emotional familiarity with their domestics, despite the typical impersonal nature of a tripartite employment relationship. However, the financial dependency is cut and appears to be favoured by Thea and perhaps others too.

Apart from having a less dependent relationship with domestic employees, some clients appreciate that they are not responsible for the transport of domestic employees. As Claire (F-W-66-2HH) explains: “*You don’t have to provide transport. They drop them off and pick them up again*”. Similarly, Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) explains how convenient it is not to have to worry about transport:

The problem of transportation. That thing that the train is late or the taxi has not arrived. Or it rains, and you feel guilty and have to drop them off somewhere. You know, your whole day has to be planned around them. With the company, they are dropped off, and when they are done, the combi stops here, and they are gone.

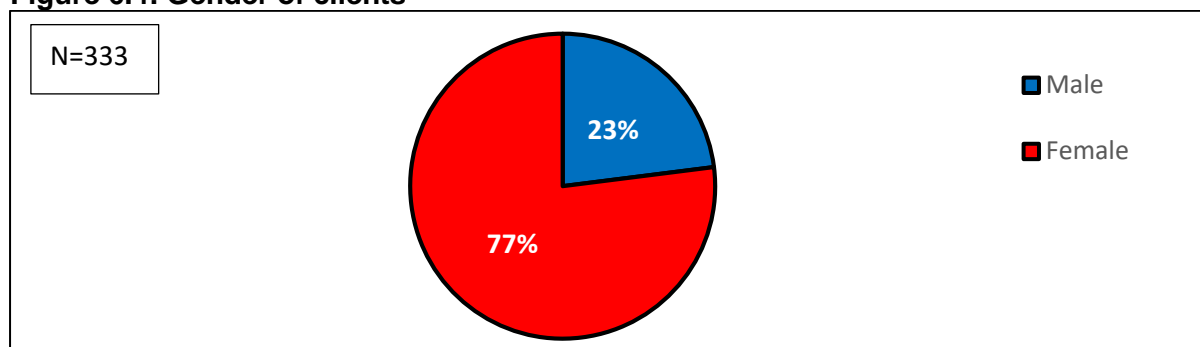
Clients are removed from any responsibilities toward domestic employees. As mentioned above, clients do not have to worry about transport issues, as this is covered by the housecleaning service firm too. The next step is to investigate the demographical profile of clients using housecleaning services.

6.4 DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSEHOLD PROFILE

6.4.1 Gender

Despite the emancipatory discourses and feminist movements, a large body of studies concludes the same finding: in no country in the world do women perform fewer domestic and caring duties at home than men (Baxter & Tai, 2016:454; Chesters, 2012:512). Although men’s share in domestic labour has increased, and women’s share decreased, due to changing gender attitudes, increased labour force participation of women, affordable time-saving household technologies and smaller households, a considerable gender gap remains regarding domestic labour (Baxter & Tai, 2016:457; Raz-Yurovich & Marx, 2019:205). International studies have shown that the decision to transfer domestic duties to others, including housecleaning service firms, is to relieve time-strapped individuals, especially women with demanding careers, from the “dirty work” of domestic labour (Gonalons-Pons, 2015:38; Sullivan & Gershunny, 2013:1312). Despite the use of outside help, women remain responsible for domestic labour, and a trend also observed in South Africa (StatsSA, 2013:3).

While this study does not focus specifically on the time allocation or the gendered division of domestic labour at home, the person in the household who takes primary responsibility for communicating with or paying the housecleaning service firm was asked to complete the questionnaire (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Gender of clients

A larger percentage of females (77%) completed the survey compared to males (23%) (Figure 6.4). Despite no control in determining that the person who completed the survey is responsible for communicating or paying the housecleaning services, an overwhelming percentage of women completed it. These findings appear to support the literature that women remain responsible for managing domestic labour duties, even when it is outsourced to housecleaning services. Thus, despite the transformations in productive and reproductive labour, where there has been a push for gender equality, women remain burdened with domestic labour issues. In Walby's (1990) view, this perhaps demonstrates that South African society remains largely patriarchal, where reproductive labour is seen as women's work. When gender was disaggregated with relationship status, the following was found (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Single and partnered respondents

Household type	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Single	23	36,5	40	63,5	63	100
Couple	33	25,2	98	74,8	131	100
Couple + 1 child	7	16,3	36	83,7	43	100
Couple + 2 children	4	9,8	37	90,2	41	100
Couple + 3 children	0	0	7	100	7	100

As the household gets larger, with the presence of a spouse and then children, there is an increase in the percentage of females who completed the survey (Table 6.2). Similarly, the QIs with heterosexual partnered females revealed that domestic labour remains their responsibility, and by outsourcing it, it relieves the burden to some extent. For example, Nina (F-W-57-3HH) said:

I mainly clean the house when I go home after work. Every afternoon I iron, I wash, cook. And the heavy cleaning I do over the weekend. Picking up the chairs and vacuuming and so on. I don't get help from my husband. No. No. No. He is a real Greek chauvinist pig. My child will sometimes cook. But that is it. You can't expect him [the child] to do it, because he is a BSc second-year student and it is hectic.

Domestic labour remains gendered, where women predominantly are responsible for performing it or managing the payment thereof. Nina's response shows how little help she

gets from her husband and son. She refers to her husband as a “*chauvinist pig*” as he refrains from helping her with domestic labour. Outsourcing domestic labour to a housecleaning service firm once a week is “*a blessing*” and relieves the burden of domestic labour from her. Many other female participants shared Nina’s sentiments by reflecting on how, in their households, domestic labour is still considered a “*woman’s responsibility*”. Thus, despite the decline in patriarchal values in many nations, in South Africa, women, regardless of being employed or not, remain primarily responsible for domestic labour.

While, in some households, female participants disclosed they do receive help from their husbands or children sporadically, the bulk of the domestic labour remains their responsibility. For example, Thea (F-W-52-3HH) said: “*I do the basics. I just put the dishes in the dishwasher. Luckily, my husband helps. He loves cooking, and he is very neat. If I am not quick enough to clean, he will do it*”. Thea’s response, “*luckily, my husband helps*” with domestic labour, probably confirms that domestic labour remains her responsibility. Thus, within a hetero-patriarchal household, women continue to be the main caregivers and performers of domestic labour, but by outsourcing these duties to housecleaning service firms, it is white women who act as supervisors and regulators of the black domestic worker.

To some extent, this supports the claim that some men are taking more responsibility regarding domestic labour (Arosio, 2017:245; Baxter & Tai, 2016:460; StatsSA, 2013:3). Amy (W-F-23-2HH) the youngest participant in this study, who resides with her partner also said: “*He does all the ironing, I’m very lucky, so he does all the ironing. Before we got the dishwasher, he would wash the dishes too, and I would dry them and pack them away. We both clean our flat.*” It seems that Nina, Thea and Amy share similar experiences regarding domestic labour responsibilities and that different ages and generations do not seem to matter how domestic labour is divided within their households, and also how household technology is used to relieve the burden. The broader literature indicates that while women remain responsible for cleaning, cooking and laundry duties, men mainly perform outside domestic labour such as gardening and maintenance work (Geist & Ruppner, 2018:242). However, these findings possibly indicate that some men are beginning to perform domestic labour duties traditionally performed by women.

Regarding single male participants, Martin (M-W-72-1HH) said that since his wife passed away a few years ago, he started using a housecleaning service firm, because “*there is not a woman here, and cleaning is not something I am prepared to do*”. He mentioned that when his wife was still alive, they had a full-time domestic worker, but since then, he shifted to a housecleaning service firm. It is not clear what happens to domestic labour on the days when the housecleaning service is not there. The statement is clear – some men are reluctant to

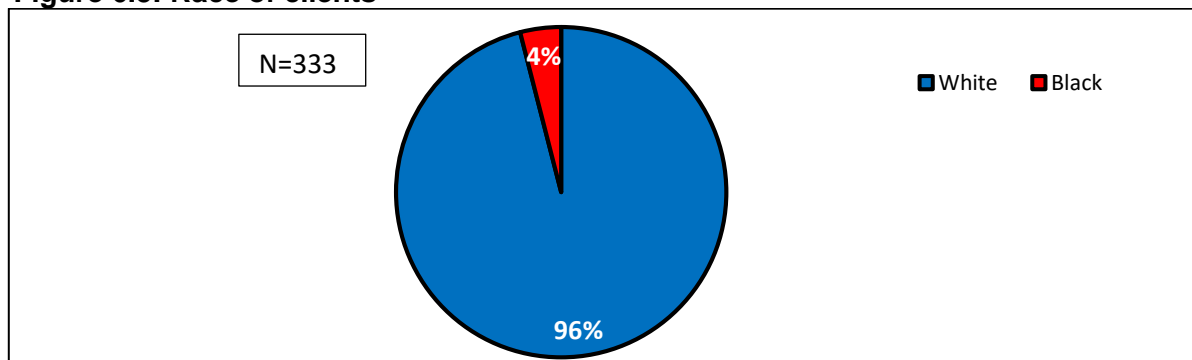
perform domestic labour. Theoretically, Atchley's continuity theory (1989) demonstrates that people tend to continue their habits they have developed in earlier years and continue to do this in their elderly years. In Martin's view, then, one can see that he continues to refrain from doing domestic labour, as it was not something he had done when he was younger.

Thus, the consensus among these participants is that domestic labour remains the primary responsibility of women, regardless of whether housecleaning services are used or whether men help. These findings support the general trend in Europe that women either contract in domestic help or outsource it to domestic service firms to manage a better work-family balance (Bruck et al., 2003; Camargo, 2015:134; Morel, 2012:2). Another demographical characteristic to look at is the race of clients, given that whites in South Africa have traditionally employed domestic workers.

6.4.2 Race

For centuries, paid domestic work was and remains dominated by working-class black or migrant women, whether they are used privately or through domestic service firms (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:309; ILO, 2016(b):4; Lutz, 2011:18-20). In the US and some European nations, for example, privileged white women predominantly shift their domestic labour responsibilities onto other women of colour, often from marginalised or underprivileged backgrounds (Agarwala & Saha, 2018:1208; Blofield & Jokela, 2018:531-532; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:7). Studies in Africa with a predominantly black population, in nations such as Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania (Pape, 1993; Hansen, 1990), show that the employment of domestic workers is linked to class. In South Africa, historical studies by Cock (1980), Ally (2010) and van Onselen (1982) indicate that white middle-class households have traditionally been employers of domestic workers. Later studies on domestic work in post-apartheid South Africa by Dilata (2010), Fish (2006), King (2007) and Maqubela (2016) show that the black middle class in post-apartheid South Africa is increasingly contracting in or employing domestic workers. Regarding the contracting out or outsourcing of domestic labour, the survey results indicate the following regarding clients' race (Figure 6.5):

Figure 6.5: Race of clients



Clients are overwhelmingly white (approximately 96%), and black African (1%), coloured (2%) and Indian/Asian (1%) combined represent 4% (Figure 6.5), which fits the general profile of employers of domestic workers in South Africa (e.g., Dilata, 2010, King, 2007, Maqubela, 2016). Stellenbosch and Somerset West, the two towns where two of the selected housecleaning service firms render their services, are predominantly white middle-class areas. The third housecleaning service firm operates in Roodepoort in western Johannesburg, which is perhaps more racially diverse. Whether it is whites who predominantly use housecleaning services in other regions is not clear. An internet search revealed that no housecleaning services operate in traditionally black areas such as Soweto's black middle-class suburb of Diepkloof extension. Perhaps housecleaning services are more likely to be used by white people, but a more comprehensive study in different regions needs to be conducted.

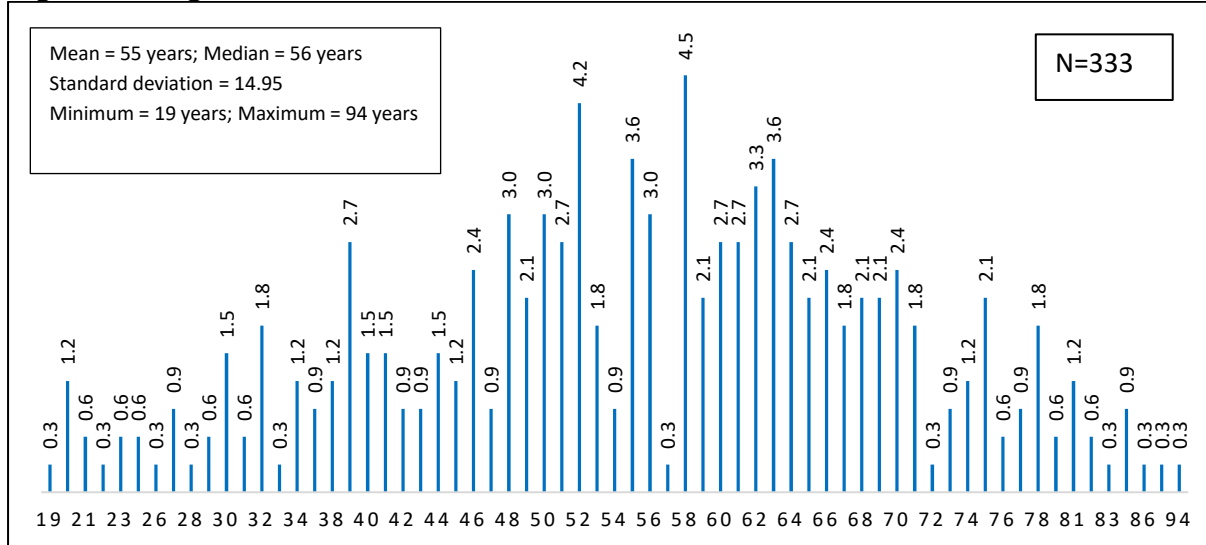
From a CRT perspective, the dominance of white clients, and the underrepresentation of black clients indicate a strong white/black divide when it comes to the outsourcing of domestic labour to housecleaning services. Outsourcing housecleaning service firms do not disrupt, nor change the racial makeup of domestic service in South Africa. This research shows that it reinforces it to the extent that it replicates and reproduces privileges to those who can afford outsourced domestic services (the whites, middle-class) and those who serve them (poor blacks). Furthermore, it replicates the notion that white women regulate the work of black domestic workers. Just like under direct employment of domestic workers, by using housecleaning service firms, white women accept the racist division of domestic labour in order to elevate her status in a hetero-patriarchal setting. It also secures their whiteness by not doing "the dirty work" of domestic labour and transferring it to black women (Niliasca, 2011:409).

Another demographical factor that affects the outsourcing of domestic work is the age of employers as domestic and caring needs change with age.

6.4.3 Age

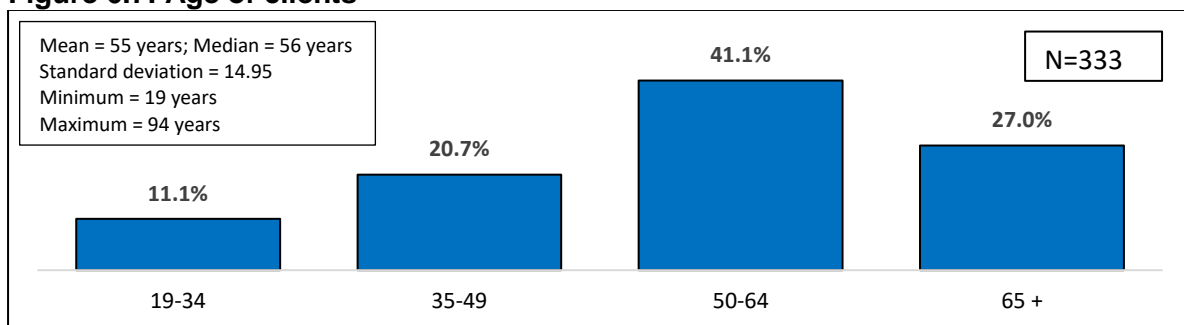
The distribution of clients, according to age, is presented in Figure 6.6. The youngest client is 19 years old, while the oldest one is 94 years old. The mean age is 55 years, while the median is 56 years.

Figure 6.6: Age of clients

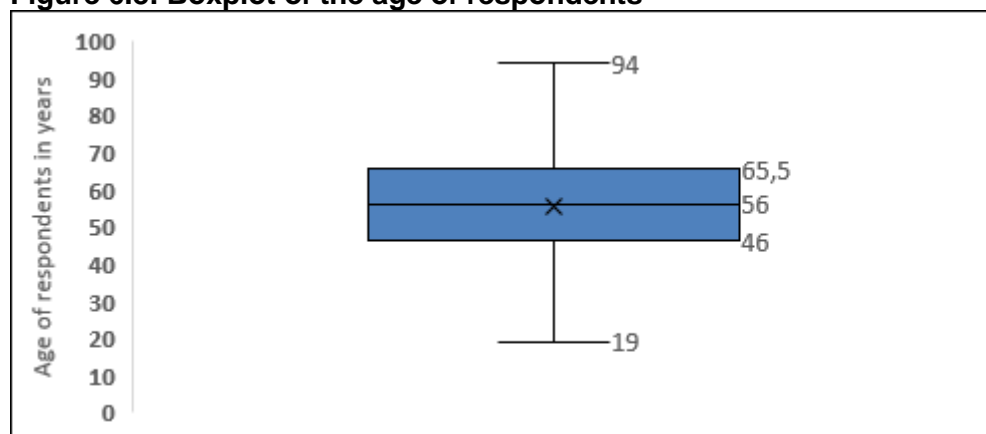


When age was categorised into the four age groups based on the life cycle pattern (See section 4.5.2), the following is observed: The largest percentage of the respondents are between ages 50 and 64 years (41%), an age group where people are typically employed or have grown-up children (Figure 6.7). Clients aged 65 years or older represent slightly more than a quarter (27%) of the sample, which generally is an age when middle-class people retire and possibly down-scale to smaller dwellings. Combined, these two age groups represent 68% of respondents. Almost a fifth (21%) of respondents are between ages 35 and 49 years, a typical phase when there are young children in the household. Respondents aged between 19 and 34 years represent only 11% of the total clients in this sample. It seems the use of housecleaning services that render team cleaning increase as household members' age, decline again from age 65 years.

Figure 6.7: Age of clients



Regarding statistics, the boxplot below (Figure 6.8) shows the median (or 50th percentile) is 56 years, and the mean is 55 years. The top 25% of clients are 66 years or older, while the youngest 25% of clients are below 46 years. The rectangle indicates that 50% of respondents are between ages 46 and 66 years. The oldest respondent is 94 years old, and the youngest respondent is 19 years old.

Figure 6.8: Boxplot of the age of respondents

From the QIs, it appears that some clients with young and dependent children need more regular help with domestic labour and caring duties. For them, a housecleaning service firm is not practical, as they only perform general cleaning and not caring. As Andrew (M-W-62-2HH) said: *“In our earlier days we had children in our house, and we needed more full-time assistance”*. Similarly, Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) said that she had *“a live-in domestic worker when her children were young”*. Employing a domestic worker directly is needed by parents with young children where the dirty work is performed by other women on a full-time basis. These views support the broader literature where frequent contracting in of domestic help, often in the form of live-in arrangements, is used to help mothers with domestic and care duties (e.g. Anderson, 2001:40; Lutz, 2011:14). Thus, housecleaning services appear to be more practical for people without dependents, which was also found from the QIs with older couples.

Clients aged 65 years or older confirmed that they do not need help with care yet, and therefore use a housecleaning service firm to clean their dwelling thoroughly. Also, pensioners pay a reduced fee. As Richard (M-W-71-2HH) said *“paying a special fee”* is wonderful, and having a manager who oversees contracts and working conditions of domestic employees is essential and suits them. Richard explains: *“I pay a different fee, and I have somebody trustworthy to overlook everything, the labour relations and all that”*. Perhaps these sentiments signal a need for older people, who probably are less familiar with the requirements of labour legislation, to hire a housecleaning service firm where others take care of this. One can also interpret these findings in that the need to contract out cleaning to housecleaning services perhaps remains stable for older people until their physical abilities perhaps change and the need for more specialised domestic and caring help is required. Apart from age, employment status is another factor that affects the outsourcing of time-consuming household tasks.

6.4.4 Employment

Employed people, especially women who remain primarily responsible for “the second shift” (Hochschild, 1989) at home, may find it challenging to effectively manage work and family demands (De Sousa, 2013:3; Gregory, 2016:510-511). Also, the nature of work and employment is changing, which affects not only normal family functioning but also domestic and caring responsibilities in many ways. Trends in the US, the UK and Europe, show a rise in a 24-hour society, which affects employment practices to become lean, flexible, project-based and virtual (Edgell, 2012:159; Sennett, 1998:11). There is also an increasing use of flexitime, compressed work-weeks, job-sharing, flexi-space and remote working in these nations, which improves the balance between work and family demands to some extent (Bünning & Pollmann-Schult, 2016:297; Chung, 2019:26-27; Rubery, 2019:99). Consequently, the lack of fixed and predictable working hours and pay can influence how domestic and caring duties are undertaken and shared within the household, which stimulates the need for flexible and short-term solutions to domestic work, typically offered by domestic service firms.

Unlike international trends, in South Africa, professionals appear to be employed primarily on a full-time and permanent basis. The latest statistics in 2018 indicate there has been an increase of fifty thousand full-time employees in the formal non-agricultural sector, of which the businesses services industry accounted for the most significant proportion of the rise in full-time employment (Bowen et al., 2018:154; StatsSA, 2019). Unlike international trends that favour flexible work patterns, South African skilled workplaces have not yet fully incorporated flexitime, job sharing and compressed weeks. However, these flexible work schedules do not necessarily lead to reduced working hours, as many people today have more than one job (Jackson & Fransman, 2018:2). Hence, many employees remain committed to long working hours and work over weekends. Thus, the need for outside domestic help exists. The survey’s findings reveal the following regarding clients’ employment status (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Employment status and type

		MALE (N=73)		FEMALE (N=230)		TOTAL (N=303)	
EMPLOYMENT STATUS		N	%	N	%	N	%
Economically active	Employed	37	50,7	100	43,5	137	45,2
Economically inactive	Retired	33	45,2	66	28,7	99	32,7
	Student	3	4,1	6	2,6	9	3,0
	Homemaker	0	0	58	25,2	58	19,1

(Chi-square test for independence (using Yates’ Continuity Correlation) indicated no significance association between gender and employment status ($\chi^2 (1, N=303) = .90, p = .35$).

Looking at the type of employment, for economically inactive clients, almost a third (32%) are retired, followed by nearly a fifth (19%) as homemakers and only 3% as students. However,

these classifications are not mutually exclusive, as some retired individuals, homemakers and students may work as part-time or temporary employees.

Regarding gender and employment status, slightly more than half (51%) of males are economically active, compared to 44% of females (Table 6.3). Concerning economically inactive respondents, a large percentage of males (45%) are retired, compared to slightly more than a quarter (29%) of females. A quarter of females (25%) identified as homemakers, but no men (0%), while a small percentage of both males and females are students: 4% and 3% respectively. Despite this difference in percentage, there is no significant association between gender and economic status ($p > .05$).

Although the statistical results yielded no significant difference, findings from the QIs indicate specific reasons why employed clients use housecleaning services. Many employed females confirmed they experience work-family conflict, where work demands interfere with their family responsibilities. To resolve this, they outsource cleaning and laundry duties to housecleaning services. For example, Elize (F-W-52-2HH) is employed and said: *“I work from eight to five every day. I don’t have time for domestic work. When I come home, I want my home clean”*. Olivia (F-W-38-2HH), whose husband is also full-time employed, said:

I am a full-time academic, and so is my partner. I need someone to clean, even if it is just once a week. She cleans my house so that I can work more. It is getting worse and worse. I work a lot and over weekends. How do you fit in the cleaning?

Demanding careers leave little time for domestic labour, and for those who can afford it, outsourcing domestic labour and care work to others is practical and necessary. Joan (F-W-40-1HH), single and a full-time employee, also confirmed that she leaves the more difficult and repetitive cleaning duties to the housecleaning service firm that she uses once every two weeks. From a work-family conflict theoretical perspective, these participants clearly struggle to manage work and family demands. Contracting in domestic help is a typical strategy of employed people to manage time more effectively (Bittman, 2016:533; Gregory, 2016:510-511; Jaga et al., 2018:436). Here, outsourced housecleaning services resolve some of these issues. Joan (F-W-40-1HH) also described how housecleaning services are convenient:

I have to leave my home early in the morning and come back late. At this stage, it is just me. I can’t wait for a domestic worker to arrive and rush back to open the gate again. I also travel quite often for work, usually at the last minute. I trust the manager and gave a key to my house. If I’m not at home, then they have a key to come in and clean. It is really wonderful.

Clients can provide access codes or keys of their homes to the management to keep and use when needed. Unlike Elize and Olivia, who mentioned that they use housecleaning services

only to relieve the burden of domestic labour, Joan's statement indicates that her long working hours and frequent travelling schedule makes a housecleaning service more practical, which supports the general literature on outsourcing and flexible lifestyles (Craig & Baxter, 2016:271). Where Elize, Olivia and Joan have fixed working hours that interfere with their domestic labour demands, Claire (F-W-66-2HH) has more flexible working hours as she works from home. Using a housecleaning service firm is convenient, as she explains:

It is convenient to have a team that comes in, clean and leave again. There is also not a vacuum cleaner that makes a noise the whole day. There is not someone who hangs around the entire day like a wet fig.

Quick cleaning services are valued by clients. Where homeworking is often preferred by employed women with dependents to manage domestic and care duties better (Gottlieb et al., 1998:19; Kalleberg, 2001:491), for Claire a homemaker without dependents, housecleaning services are used for their time-effective and less intrusive nature. Here, working from home encroaches upon Clair's family time and, subsequently, causes work-family conflict to increase. For her, using team cleaning with its quick and hassle-free services, is beneficial and practical (Adisa et al., 2019:1636; Russel et al., 2009:80). Like people who work from home, homemakers (also referred to as housewives) also spend a lot of time at home and prefer less intrusive services offered by housecleaning service firms that render cleaning through teams. In this study, homemakers represent almost a fifth (19%) among all clients and a quarter (25%) of females (Table 6.3). Lydia (F-W-52-3HH), a homemaker explains why she prefers housecleaning services: *I don't have someone in my house the whole day. If I want to watch TV, then I can do it without feeling guilty. I am a housewife. My house is my space.*

Privacy is another reason why clients use housecleaning services that render quick cleaning services. Another home-maker, Thea (F-W-52-3HH) said: *"I don't like cleaning. The scrubbing and washing part. I don't mind doing it because it is part of life, but I don't like doing it. So, I rather employ somebody to do the hard labour"*. Thus, homemakers use housecleaning services to avoid laborious duties and for its less intrusive nature. These sentiments support the general trends that middle-class homemakers typically pay others to perform tasks they want to avoid (e.g., Ally, 2010; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007). Perhaps Hakim's preference theory (1998/2000), which argues that women make a free choice regarding motherhood and employment, can also be applied here, where some women prefer to transfer domestic labour duties to other, regardless of being able to do it themselves. The difference now is that they have the option to utilise housecleaning services.

Retired individuals represent a third (33%) of all clients (Table 6.3). From the QIs with retired participants, the flexibility offered by housecleaning services suits them. For example, Emma

(F-W-66-2HH) said: “Since we have retired, our daily routines have changed. We have a completely different life now. We eat breakfast at 11:00 and maybe lunch at 16:00”. They have fewer responsibilities toward the domestic employees, as Samantha (W-F-65-2HH) also mentioned: “Because I’m retired now, I don’t want to be so bound to someone [a private domestic worker]. I can go around as I please”. In this regard, retired individuals perhaps represent a flexible lifestyle similar to individuals who are employed in flexible employment contracts or who have flexible work arrangements.

Only one QI was conducted with a student couple, Amy (F-W-23-2HH), who lives in a garden cottage close to a university. They are in the final year of their MA studies and will be moving back to their town of origin about 200km from Johannesburg. For them, using a housecleaning services firm is a temporary and convenient solution as they “don’t want to employ someone [privately]” and “use them [the housecleaning service firm] when we have money”. Reflecting on the main findings, clients with flexible lifestyles, such as retirees, use housecleaning services for their flexibility. Employed clients use them for their convenience. The next step is to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between groups based on the demographic variables and the three main reasons why they use housecleaning services (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: ANOVA results between demographics and the reasons for using housecleaning services

Demographic variables ⁵²		MAIN REASONS OF USING HOUSECLEANING SERVICES		
		Professional nature of housecleaning services	Professional demeanour of domestic employees	Benefits of a tripartite employment relationship
1.	Gender	$F(1, 330) = 0.800$, ⁵³ $p = .372$ ⁵⁴	$F(1, 324) = 0.403$, $p = .526$	$F(1, 328) = 0.490$, $p = .484$
2.	Age groups	$F(3, 328) = 1.147$, $p = .330$	$F(3, 328) = 1.285$, $p = .279$	$F(3, 326) = 0.970$, $p = .407$
3.	Relationship status	$F(2, 292) = 0.1267$, $p = .283$	$F(2, 292) = 0.547$, $p = .579$	$F(2, 290) = 0.800$, $p = .450$
4.	Employment status	$F(1, 301) = 1.536$, $p = .216$	$F(1, 301) = 0.173$, $p = .677$	$F(1, 299) = 2.529$, $p = .113$

A series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted to determine whether gender, age, relationship status and employment status (demographic variables) have an effect on the mean scores for the three extracted factors. Table 6.4 shows that there were no statistically significant differences at the $p < .05$ level. While there are no statistically significant differences, the

⁵² Categories are: Gender (male, female); Age groups (19-34; 35-49; 50-64; 65+ years); Relationship status (Single, couple, family; couples + children and single parents); Employment status (Employed, not in paid employment).

⁵³ The F value = variance between sample means / variance within the sample.

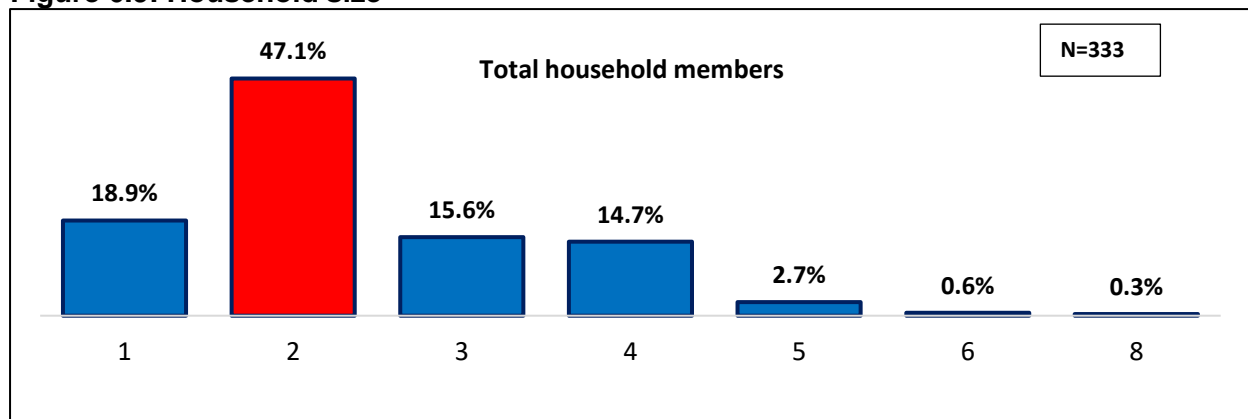
⁵⁴ The p value should be $< .05$ to show statistically significant difference between variables.

factors are composite measures, and it is through the contextual detail from the QIs that one can understand how demographic factors might shape their views on the benefits of using housecleaning services. This leads to the next possible factor that affects the use of housecleaning services: household size and type.

6.4.5 Household size and type

Over time, the size and type of households for the middle class in some western and Latin American nations have changed. For example, the availability of reproductive technologies, women's employment patterns, the decline in marriage rates and rise in divorces have caused households to become smaller and less predictable (Macionis, 2018:502; Schadler, 2016:504). Consequently, there is a rise in single-person households, childless couples, single-parent households and multi-generational households among the middle class in some western and Latin American nations (Stinnett et al., 2017:69-70). These trends are relatively similar to South Africa, where statistics show that slightly more than a fifth (22%) of all South Africans live alone, while 10% of couples are childless. While these statistics do not differentiate between race and class, these statistics indicate that one- and two-person households represent almost a third of all household types in South Africa (Garcia et al., 2016:110; Hall & Mokomane, 2018:34; Schiffman & Wisenblit, 2015:258). From the survey, clients also primarily reside in households with less than three household members (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Household size



From the survey results, it appears that as households are getting larger, the use of housecleaning services declines (Figure 6.9). Consequently, the survey results reveal the following regarding the relationship between household members (Table 6.5):

Table 6.5: Household type, household size and the relationship between household members

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	HOUSEHOLD SIZE	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	N	%	TOTAL
SINGLE	1	Single	63	19,3%	19,3%
COUPLE	2	Couple	131	40,2%	40,2%
COUPLE WITH CHILDREN	3	Couple + 1 child	43	13,2%	27,9%
	4	Couple + 2 children	41	12,6%	
	5	Couple + 3 children	7	2,1%	
SINGLE-PARENT	2	Single parent + 1 child	9	2,8%	3,4%
	3	Single parent + 2 children	1	0,3%	
	4	Single parent + 3 children	1	0,3%	
EXTENDED	2	Householder + 1 elderly parent ⁵⁵	3	0,9%	5,8%
	3	Couple + sibling	4	1,2%	
	3	Couple + 1 parent	2	0,6%	
	3	Couple + 1 other relative	1	0,3%	
	4	Couple + 1 child + 1 other relative	1	0,3%	
	4	Couple + 1 child + 1 non-relative	1	0,3%	
	4	Couple + 1 Parent + 1 Non-Relative	1	0,3%	
	4	Single-Parent + 1 Child + 2 Grandchildren	1	0,3%	
	5	Single-Parent + 2 Children + 1 Parent	1	0,3%	
	5	Householder + 2 Parents + 2 Parents-in-Law	1	0,3%	
	5	Householder + 2 Parents + 2 Non-Relatives	1	0,3%	
6	Couple + 2 Children + 2 Parents	1	0,3%		
8	Couple + 2 Children + 1 Sibling + 3 Non-Relatives	1	0,3%		
COMPOSITE		Unrelated household members	11	3,4%	3,4%
TOTAL			326	100%	100%

The majority of clients (40%) reside as a couple (with their partner or spouse without children), followed by couples with children (30%), while almost a fifth (19%) reside on their own (Table 6.5). A smaller percentage of clients live in single-parent (3%), extended (6%) or composite (3%) households and use housecleaning services. Extended households have a variety of different relationship combinations among household members. (See Addendum G for an illustration of household type, household size and relationship between household members).

While national statistics do not differentiate between classes, international trends suggest that there is a rise in single and childless coupled households among the middle and upper classes. South African statistics indicate that whites dominate in households where couples share a dwelling with their children, whereas black households are typical extended and large. Thus, results from this study reflect a similar pattern of typical white households in South Africa

⁵⁵ The notion where an elderly parent moves in with his or her adult child refers to “shared living” or “multi-generational living”. In South Africa, this pattern is on the rise due to rising costs and a shortage of affordable retirement accommodation, together with a concern for the care of ageing parents is also contributing to the trend towards parents living with their adult children (Williams, 2016). In this study, I categorised these households as extended, which include multi-generational living arrangements.

(Hall and Mokomane, 2018:34), and middle- and upper-class households internationally (Cheal, 2002:30; Oláh, 2015:5-6; Stinnett et al., 2017). Contextual details from the QIs provide deeper meanings to why we see this trend, which is discussed under the household life cycle section (Section 6.4).

The next step is to determine whether being single, a couple or a couple with children has a statistically significant effect on the main reasons for using housecleaning services. Table 6.6 shows that the type of household (single, couple without children, and couple with children) has no statistically significant effect (at the $p < .05$ level) on the mean scores on the three factors.

Table 6.6: ANOVA results for household and the main reasons for using housecleaning services

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3
	Professional nature of housecleaning services	Professional demeanour of domestic employees	Benefits of a tripartite employment relationship
Household	$F(3, 321) = 1.170,$ $p = .321$	$F(3, 321) = 1.727,$ $p = .161$	$F(3, 319) = .0750,$ $p = .973$

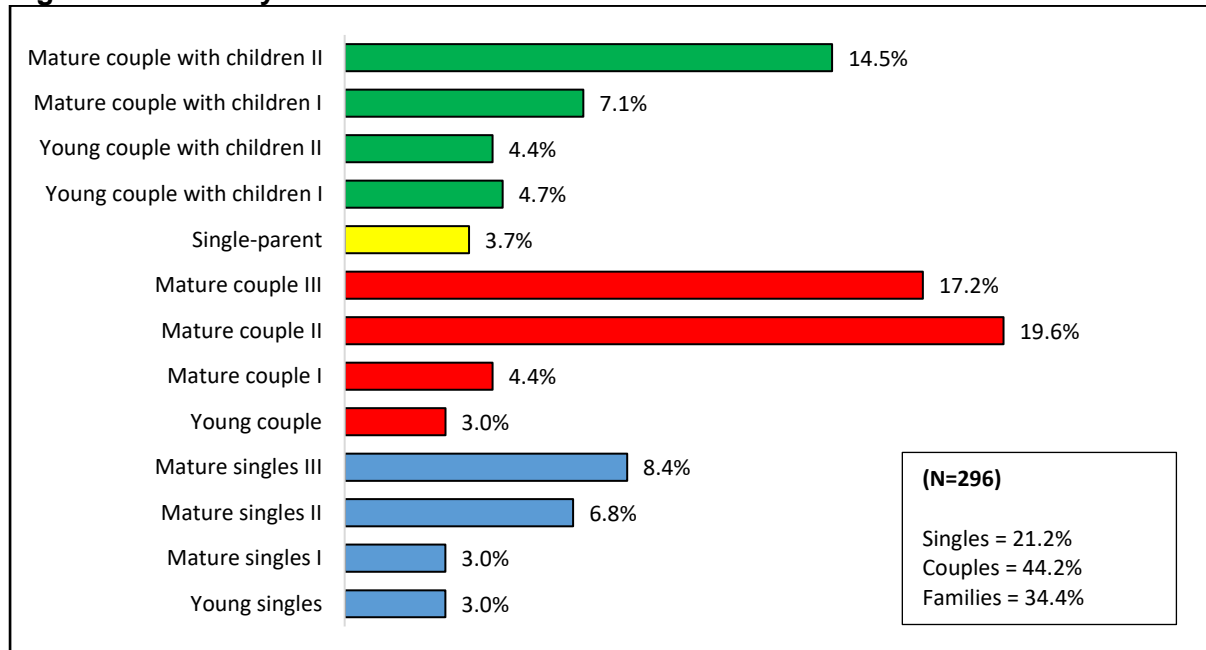
Despite no statistically significant results, the use of a mixed-methods research approach is clearly beneficial here, given the rich contextual details obtained from the QIs. Various participants mentioned that when their households were larger, the need for more regular domestic help was required, and the use of housecleaning services that specialise only in cleaning was not practical. Concerning household types, a visual diagram was developed to present these different household types and relationship combinations between household members (See Addendum G), after which clients' life cycles patterns are investigated and how this affects domestic labour.

6.5 LIFE CYCLE FACTORS

Globally, family life cycle patterns have changed over time. Many delay marriage and childrearing, while others remain single and childless by choice (Lyonette & Crompton, 2015:24-25; Smith, 2019:2-3). Similar patterns emerge in South Africa, although class differences exist (Hall & Richter, 2018:24; StatsSA, 2018:17). One of the effects of these changes is that it brings forth a non-traditional life cycle, where people do not necessarily follow a sequential pattern of marriage, childbearing and so on (e.g., Gilley and Enis' household life cycle model, discussed in Bellon et al., (2001:617). In this study, an adapted South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) life cycle model is used (see Section 4.5.2), where a distinction is made between singles, couples and couples with children. While extended and composite households are widespread in South Africa (e.g., Hall & Mokomane,

2018:34), clients in this study predominantly identified as single (19%), couple (40%) or couple with children (28%) and single-parents (3%) (Table 6.5). Singles, couples and couples with children typically have different cleaning and caring needs, which is also linked to the age composition of household members, as another factor (e.g., McGoldrick & Shibusawa, 2012:393; Stanimir, 2015:22). Figure 6.10 indicates the different life cycle phases of clients.

Figure 6.10: Life cycles of household

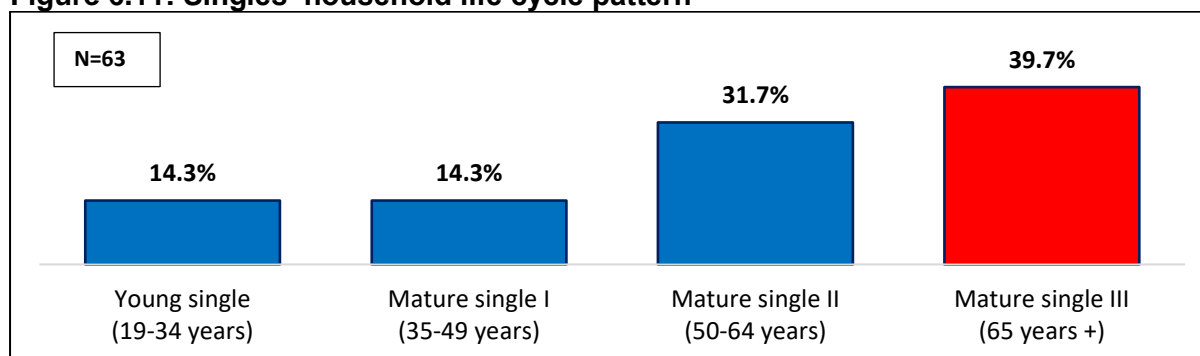


The main categories, singles, couples (without children) and couples with children, are used to distinguish different life phases. Based on the age of the respondent, each of these groups was divided into sub-groups. For example, singles, who represent 21% of households, and couples who represent 44% of households, were divided into four groups each: Young singles/couples (19-34 years); mature singles/couples I (35-49 years); mature singles/couples II (50-64 years) and mature singles/couples III (65 years and older) (Figure 6.10). Couples with children represent 31% of households, and consist of four groups: Group one includes a young couple with children I (couples whose eldest child is six years or younger), and group two is young couples with children II (couples, whose eldest child is between ages seven and twelve). Hereafter, mature couples with children I (couples whose eldest child is between ages thirteen and eighteen) and mature couples with children II (couples, whose eldest child is nineteen years or older, but continues to reside with them) are the next two groups. Single-parent families (respondent and child/ren) represent 4% of cases. Consequently, each type is discussed.

6.5.1 Singles

Although many people marry or cohabit with a partner at some point in their life, living alone is no longer a phenomenon typical to young people. Globally, among the middle class, there is an increase in middle-aged people who choose to live alone, while some older adults live alone for prolonged periods after the death of a spouse or partner (Berliner, 2005:362). The rise in technology, affordable travel and unlimited entertainment means that today's generations have more choice in how they spend their free time than their parents ever did. Possibly, the flexibility of outsourcing domestic labour to housecleaning services suit their lifestyles and domestic needs better. Based on the four life cycle phases of singles, the survey results reveal the following (Figure 6.11):

Figure 6.11: Singles' household life cycle pattern



Single clients aged 65 years or older (*Mature singles III*) represent 40% of single clients (Figure 6.11) and 8% of the total number of clients (Figure 6.10). This phase typically represents individuals who are retired, never married or widowed. *Young singles* (19-34 years) and *mature singles I* (35-49 years) each represent 14% of single clients (Figure 6.11) and 3% of the total percentage of current clients of housecleaning services (Figure 6.10). Single clients aged between 50 and 64 years (*Mature singles II*) represent 32% of single clients (Figure 6.11) and 7% of the total number of clients (Figure 6.10). Employed individuals in this age bracket are typically at the peak of their careers, have relatively little debt and high disposal income.

QIs with clients living on their own said that their circumstances influenced them to use housecleaning services. Martin (M-W-72-1HH) (*Mature single III*), said:

My circumstances changed. My wife passed away. Now, I live alone with my dog, a Poodle, and he does not make a mess. Why should I use a person every day? I need someone to help me with the cleaning and ironing, but I don't want them here every day. That is when I have decided to use them [a housecleaning service firm] once every two weeks. They do the cleaning and ironing, and that is enough.

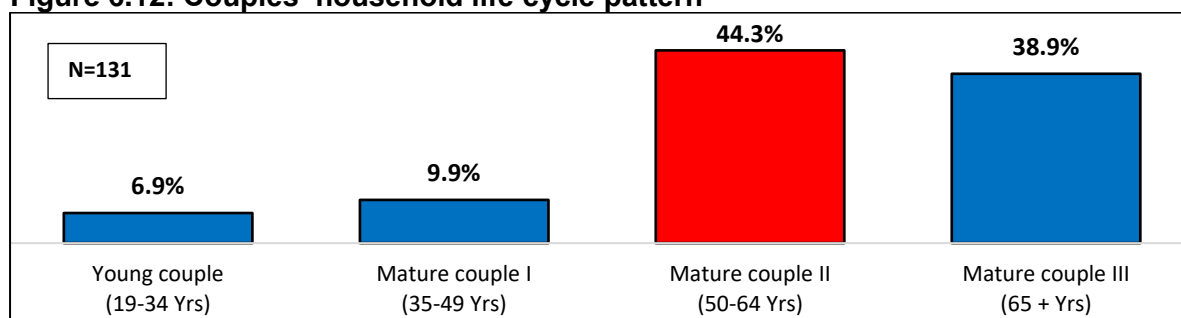
Using housecleaning services is useful for people whose households have become smaller with the departure of children or a spouse, or whose domestic labour needs have changed. The need for regular domestic help declines with decreasing household size. For Martin, using a housecleaning service firm is convenient, and suits his needs. Similarly, Joan (F-W-40-1HH) (*Mature single I*), who is employed and the only other single interview participant, cleaning needs seem to differ little from Martin's. She uses housecleaning services only once every two weeks, because "it is just me at this stage. I don't have anybody who lives with me at the moment". She said later in the interview that although she is unlikely to have children, she may use housecleaning services more regularly if she has "someone in [her] life".

Life cycles continue to be based on relationships, and single individuals such as Joan need to confront the expectation of cohabiting or marrying a partner later in her life or never having a child of her own. Single adults' lives are less predictable than those with children, and they do not have to adjust plans around children (Berliner et al., 2005:368). Thus, a housecleaning service firm works for Joan as she can reschedule services as her needs change.

6.5.2 Couples

Young couples are generally freed from immediate child-rearing responsibilities and costs, whereas older couples, who had children, tend to let go of some duties they performed when their children still lived with them. For example, domestic and care responsibilities, such as transporting children to and from schools, cooking family meals or attending sport or cultural events of children, are reduced. Where class differences exist, while older children from working-class households frequently help parents with domestic duties, middle-class households tend to contract in domestic help, a pattern that dates back centuries (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007). To what extent do couples from different life cycles rely on housecleaning services to attend to their domestic cleaning needs? The survey results indicate the following (Figure 6.12):

Figure 6.12: Couples' household life cycle pattern



A large percentage of couples identified as *mature couples II* (50 - 64 years), which represents 44% of all couples (Figure 6.12) and 20% of all clients (Figure 6.10). This phase typically

represents empty-nest households, where children leave their parental home. The QI with Andrew (W-M-62-2HH) (*Mature couple II*) confirmed this:

For us, it was what you call an 'empty-nest' thing. Our children grew up and then they started leaving home. So, we no longer needed a fulltime domestic worker. It is only my wife and myself. We decided to try one of these firms weekly, and it works for us.

The departure of children cuts domestic and care labour, and subsequently the need for regular outside domestic help. Instead of employing a full-time domestic worker, they use housecleaning services that suit them better, given that it is only him and his wife. He said that because they often travel, employing a domestic worker will not work for them. Andrew's story echoes many other couples' stories who use housecleaning services for similar reasons. As households are getting smaller, as children are leaving their parental homes, decisions are made regarding domestic work and expenditures. As children no longer require daily care, certain chores are cut, such as cleaning, cooking and laundry. Parents may turn back to each other as a couple and enjoy the pleasure of their independence as they no longer have to put their children's needs first (Fulmer, 2005:219).

Like Andrew's story, others said that the absence of young, dependent children in their households contributes to their decision to shift to housecleaning services. For example, Anna (F-W-64-2HH) (*Mature couple II*), said:

If I think back, I never minded the presence of another person, but that was different because I had young children. She [the domestic worker] looked after them. You know that was the reason why I used her. I think if I still had children, young children, I would continue using a domestic worker or nanny. They also help with childcare. You know, somebody like that is worth gold. She is like a surrogate mother. Now with the company. They are amazing. They clean my house well.

This extract above is clear. The absence of children has caused Anna to stop employing a full-time domestic worker and shift to housecleaning services, which Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) (*Mature couple III*) also shared: "We often go on vacation now that the children have left home. They give us four weeks of leave a year which suits us perfectly". Lorna's circumstances changed since retirement, as she travels more frequently with her husband travel. One of the benefits of using housecleaning services is that clients can reschedule cleaning sessions. With full-time and part-time domestic workers, employers are bound by contracts and service conditions, which are perhaps less flexible than the service agreements that housecleaning service firms typically offer. Thus, changes in personal circumstances affect people's domestic labour requirements, as Barbara (F-W-60-2HH) (*Mature couple II*) also explains:

We don't need a full-time domestic worker. Our circumstances changed. My baby is thirty years old. The other one is 32 years old. They left home a long time ago. So, yes, you can say my circumstances changed. If they were children, you know, still living with us, then I would have employed a domestic worker or care worker permanently. But we don't need that now.

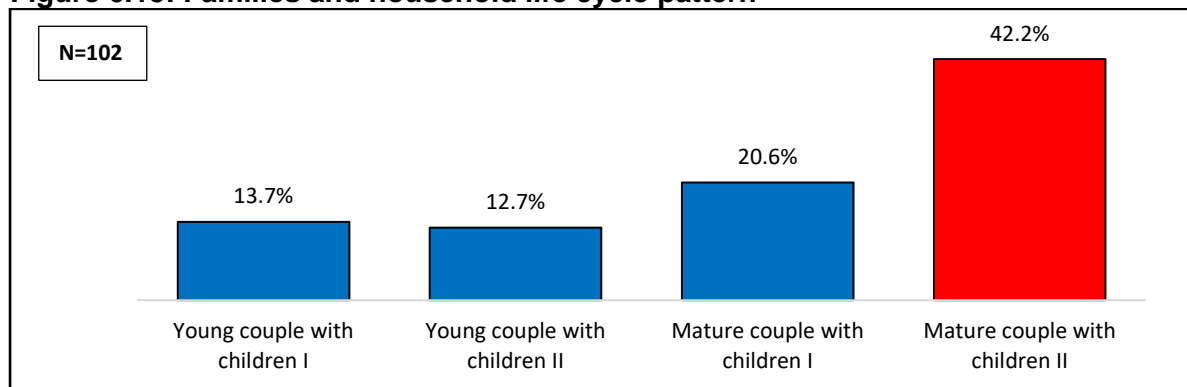
Anna's, Lorna's and Barbara's stories all indicate that their circumstances changed with the transition of children out of their households, which affected their decision to shift from a full-time domestic worker to a housecleaning service firm. Many others echoed similar stories. Housecleaning services are typically attractive to clients without children, regardless of the life cycle. For example, Olivia (F-W-38-2HH) (*Mature couple I*) said: "*We don't have any children. We have two dogs. They are our children. We don't need a full-time person*". Similarly, Amy (F-W-23-2HH) (*young couple I*) use housecleaning services only when needed.

For *mature couples III* (aged 65 years or older), who represent 39% of couples (Figure 6.12), and 17% of all clients (Figure 6.10), the flexibility of going on vacation for extended periods, without having to feel responsible for a domestic worker, is attractive. For example, Samantha (F-W-65-2HH) (*Mature couple III*), said: "*Since we both are retired now, we don't want to be that responsible for someone. We can come and go as we want without any obligations*". These sentiments were shared by Claire (F-W-66-2HH) (*Mature couple III*) too, who mentioned that she and her husband go to their holiday home in a different region of the country more frequently since retirement.

Despite these views, many clients said they might need more full-time domestic and caring help if their needs change. Thus, using housecleaning services is perhaps a temporary solution to couples' domestic labour needs, and they may consider using more frequent help as they age. However, the presence of children affects the domestic labour, as sleep deprivation, shredded schedules, endless chores and the need for ceaseless vigilance put pressure on parents to manage time effectively (Carter, 2005:249).

6.5.3 Couples with children

The presence of children in a household changes the domestic and caring responsibilities of parents. For example, young dependent children require constant care regarding feeding, bathing and supervision, while older children do not. When the use of housecleaning services was disaggregated with family life cycles, the survey results yielded the following (Figure 6.13):

Figure 6.13: Families and household life cycle pattern

In the context of this study, it seems that as children age, the more likely team cleaning is used. Couples with children represent 34% of all clients (Figure 6.10), of whom the majority (42% - Figure 6.13) identify in the mature family II phase (the eldest child is 19 years or older and continues to reside with their parents).

Mature couples with children I (child between ages 13 and 18 years) represent 7% of all clients (Figure 6.10) and slightly more than a fifth of couples with children (21%) (Figure 6.13). Children during this phase are usually in secondary school and perhaps more independent. For example, Elize (F-W-52-4HH) (*mature family I*) said: “*We are four people in the house, but everyone is doing their part in the house [referring to domestic labour]. We don’t need a cleaner every day*”. These views support the broader literature on families/couples with older children, which shows that reliance on outside domestic and care workers declines as children age (Schiffmann & Wisenblit, 2015:271). Typically, expenditure is focused on luxury items, leisure and investments in children’s education (Joubert, 2013:30-31). It appears that using housecleaning services for couples with a child aged between 12 and 18 is also attractive.

Parents with young dependent children need more help with domestic labour duties, as childcare is their primary concern (Carter, 2005:251). The QIs with both Maria (F-W-42-4HH) (*Young couple with children II*) and Cathy (F-W-37-4HH) (*Young couple with children I*), confirmed that they need more regular help with domestic and care duties. Both women contract in domestic help for childcare mainly, while they contract out their cleaning and laundry duties to housecleaning services on a weekly basis. Maria explains:

We have a big house. The domestic help that works for us looks after the children. She also does the basics. She does, you know, the maintenance in the house, the laundry and the necessary preparation of the food. I just felt that our home must be cleaned once a week. And she does not have enough time to do everything. She is also a bit old. So, I need her for my children, because she is lovely with the kids.

The dirty work of cleaning and caring is transferred to other women, whether it is a domestic worker employed directly or outsourced to a housecleaning service firm. Similarly, Cathy (F-W-37-4HH) (*Young couple with children I*) employs a domestic worker privately to assist with childcare, while the housecleaning service firm focuses on the cleaning duties weekly.

She looks after the children and to do a deep cleaning of my house is impossible. So, we have a team of cleaners who comes in once a week and who does the general housecleaning. Then we have Bertha [domestic worker - pseudonym] who looks after the children. Our house is chaotic with two children.

To sum up, different life cycles come with domestic and caring duties and affect the extent to which housecleaning services are used. Singles and couples (without dependent children) use housecleaning services for their convenience and flexibility, while couples with young children supplement their private domestic work with housecleaning services.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter shows that contracting out (externalising) domestic cleaning duties to housecleaning service firms is associated with clients' perceptions that their domestic cleaning needs are taken care of better than other options. Housecleaning service firms improve the quality of cleaning, the skills of domestic employees and the numerical and functional flexibility that are necessary to meet the cleaning demands of clients. The tripartite employment relationship, in particular, is valued by clients who wish to avoid some responsibilities and emotional labour associated with paid domestic work.

Reflecting on the gender, race and class divide between employers (clients) and domestic workers, a number of salient points emerge. The first point is that the outsourcing of domestic labour to housecleaning services does not bring gender equality regarding the division of domestic labour at home. Few men have been willing to take responsibility for domestic or care labour, which continues to rest on women, even when housecleaning services are used. Although it appears that some men help, housecleaning services are used to relieve some of the domestic labour burdens from women. The only way to challenge the gendered division of domestic labour is for women to adopt a more assertive and radical stance in order to facilitate an equal division of domestic labour between the sexes.

The second point is that the racial/class composition of households paying for domestic work, and those who perform it, has also not changed. Clients are predominantly white and middle-class, as it has been the case historically in South Africa, while domestic workers are black women from poor backgrounds. The dirty work of cleaning continues to be transferred from women in privilege positions to other women from subordinated race and class position.

Housecleaning services do not actively challenge the preconceived ideas that domestic workers in South Africa are black women, given that they continue to recruit only black women in their firms. Perhaps housecleaning services should be compelled to recruit a more diverse profile of domestic staff in terms of race and gender. At least could be an attempt to recognise that paid domestic work is not only a (black) woman's job.

This chapter has also demonstrated that while the contracting in or employing domestic workers directly is typical for households with young children, housecleaning services are in demand for people without children. It appears that housecleaning services provide a temporary solution to people's cleaning needs, where only a small percentage of clients use housecleaning services for longer than ten years. As cleaning needs change, so too does the need to either contract in or outsource domestic work to others. Accordingly, clients who live alone or as a couple (two-person household) appear to have the same need for flexible, quick and effective domestic cleaning, which is offered by housecleaning services. As households are getting larger, the need for housecleaning services declines. The results of the different life cycles of clients demonstrate this claim clearly.

In closure, housecleaning service firm can be seen as a legitimate role-player in the domestic service industry, one that provides domestic cleaning in a new, innovative, flexible and professional manner. These attributes are necessary for today's society, where change is inevitable. The next chapter discusses why clients' have shifted from contracting in or employing a domestic worker directly, to contracting out domestic cleaning to housecleaning services.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: MAKING THE SHIFT FROM A PRIVATE DOMESTIC WORKER TO A HOUSECLEANING SERVICE FIRM

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed clients' views on the benefits of the use of housecleaning services and how demographic, household and life cycle factors influenced the decision to use housecleaning services. What is not fully understood is whether people shift from employing a domestic worker privately to hiring a housecleaning service firm, and if so, for what reasons? This chapter gives an overview of former employers of domestic workers (now clients of housecleaning services), their experiences of employing domestic workers privately, and reasons for shifting to housecleaning services. Particularly, former employers' experiences concerning the legislation and the employment relationship with their former domestic workers are considered, and how these factors affected their decision to shift to housecleaning services. The focus then shifts to the perceived disadvantages of using housecleaning services from current and former clients. The chapter ends with concluding remarks on the possible effect that housecleaning services have on the domestic work sector in South Africa.

7.2 BACKGROUND TO FORMER EMPLOYERS OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

Globally, approximately 100 million domestic workers are employed, mostly women from poor socio-economic backgrounds (ILO, 2016:3). In South Africa, nearly one million people are employed as domestic workers, which continues to be an essential occupation for black women (StatsSA, 2019:4). Despite its large numbers, there has been a shift from full-time, live-in and live-out arrangements to part-time and temporary domestic work (e.g., Ally, 2010:45-47; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007:38; Pettini et al., 2017:20). Factors such as an increase in tax and housing costs, a decline in nuclear households, better household technologies, changing labour practices and smaller dwellings have caused paid domestic work to become less full-time. In conjunction with these changing domestic needs, the supply of domestic work has also become more flexible, with the emergence of outsourced domestic services, where domestic work is outsourced to professionals when needed (e.g., Jakela, 2018:14; Kagan, 2017:21).

Similarly, in South Africa, where domestic work was once predominantly full-time and live-in during the apartheid era, over time, it has become more part-time and flexible. Reasons for this shift are not adequately explained in the literature, but factors such as an attempt to minimise dependency between employers and domestic workers, increased social costs such as housing, fuel and electricity, changing domestic and care needs of the middle class, and

the requirements of labour legislation with its underlying rigidities possibly affect this shift (e.g., Alexander, 2013:1; Blaauw & Bothma, 2010:4; Du Toit, 2012:84; Galvaan et al., 2015:43). What is less clear is to what extent people have shifted from employing a domestic worker privately to contracting outsourced housecleaning services. Consequently, one of the sections in the survey questionnaire focused on clients' experiences with employing a domestic worker privately before shifting to a housecleaning service firm.

Table 7.1: Age group and experience with using domestic workers

Experience in employing a domestic worker		Total N	Total %
1.	I have employed a domestic worker in the <u>PAST</u>	259	78,0
2.	I have <u>NEVER</u> employed a domestic worker privately	59	17,8
3.	I am currently employing <u>BOTH</u> a domestic worker privately and using a housecleaning service firm	14	4,2
TOTAL		332	100

Overwhelmingly, 78% of clients have previously employed a domestic worker privately, followed by 18% who have never hired a domestic privately. Only 4% of clients use both a housecleaning service and a private domestic worker (Table 7.1).

Focusing just on the 259 former employers of domestic workers, the following results were yielded from the survey with regards to the years of employment and living arrangement of a former domestic worker before the client (former employer) shifted to housecleaning services:

Table 7.2: Former employers' experiences in employing domestic worker privately

Experience in hiring a domestic worker before turning to housecleaning services		N	%	
1.	Years of employment of a former domestic worker (N=259)	< 1 year	19	7.3
		1 – 4 years	105	40.6
		5 < 10 years	67	25.9
		10 years or more	68	26.3
2.	Living arrangements of former domestic worker (N=259)	Live-in	50	19.3
		Live-out	209	80.7

Concerning living arrangements, the largest percentage of former employers employed a domestic worker on a live-out basis (81%), which reflects the national trend (Ally, 2010:50). Focusing on years of employment of a former domestic worker, a large percentage of former employers relied on private domestic help for many years. Combined, more than half (52%) of former employers, employed a domestic worker privately for at least five years, with slightly more than a quarter (26%) using a domestic worker for more than nine years (Table 7.2). The need for full-time domestic help is particularly apparent in countries such as South Africa where there are not sufficient public care provisions or state interventions (e.g., Jokela, 2018:3-4). From the QIs, several reasons from former employers (now clients of housecleaning services) emerged as to why they employed a domestic worker in the past.

QIs revealed that the majority of clients had contracted in or employed a full-time domestic worker at some stage. For example, Thea (F-W-52-3HH), needed a full-time domestic worker when her children were young:

When both my children were young. When they were babies. That domestic worker used to stay in. Or live in as you call it. And she did everything except cooking. She cleaned and washed. She did not do childcare. I stayed at home during that time and looked after my children myself. She mainly did the cleaning. The scrubbing of the floors, the dishes and so on.

Thea's story resonates with many other people who have employed a full-time domestic worker to help mothers with their domestic and caring responsibilities. Childcare is a rewarding but time-consuming task, which may interfere with other duties. People employ domestic help to relieve them from less desirable and rewarding domestic work tasks, especially when childcare is involved. Similarly, Samantha (F-W-65-2HH) said when their children were younger, they employed a live-in domestic worker: "You need someone to clean the house because you want some time with your children. That person could be here the whole day and clean".

Mundane cleaning tasks are assigned to other women to liberate those who can afford this. The broader literature indicates that full-time and live-in domestic workers are most in demand by employers with young dependent children, especially in nations such as South Africa with limited state mediations to support mothers with domestic and care labour (e.g., Ally, 2010; Lundström, 2012:153). These findings possibly confirm that many people in South Africa employ a domestic worker at some stage during their lives.

Why then does such a large percentage of former employers of domestic workers then shift to housecleaning services? Do former employers of domestic workers (now clients) perceive the housecleaning services a better option than employing a domestic worker privately? One way to answer this is to test statistically whether there are significant differences between the means of two or more independent groups (former employers, current employers, and no experience in employing domestic workers privately) and the three main benefits of housecleaning⁵⁶ of hiring housecleaning services. Consequently, a series of ANOVA tests were conducted.

⁵⁶ To recap, the three benefits are: (1) The professional nature of housecleaning services, which involves how cleaning and all other aspects of the service agreement are managed continuously on a professional level; (2) The professional demeanour of domestic employees, which focuses on how domestic employees are selected, trained and equipped with skills for optimal client satisfaction; (3) The perceived benefits of a tripartite employment relationship, where clients are liberated from legal/personal duties of domestic employees, which are overseen by managers.

Table 7.3: One-Way between-groups analysis (ANOVA) for predictors

	Main benefits of housecleaning services	ANOVA	Groups	Experience with employing domestic worker privately	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
1.	Professional nature of housecleaning service firm	$F(2, 329) = 3.105, p = .046$	1	Past experience	259	4.2570	.48600
			2	Currently employing both	14	4.0079	.62597
			3	No experience	59	4.3636	.49573
			TOTAL			332	4.2655
2.	Professional demeanour of domestic employees	$F(2, 323) = 1.128, p = .161$	1	Past experience	259	2.2605	.76240
			2	Currently employing both	14	2.5614	.73450
			3	No experience	59	2.1188	.87071
			TOTAL			332	2.2480
3.	Perceived benefits of tripartite employment relationship	$F(2, 327) = .3063, p = .048$	1	Past experience	258	4.2455	.59244
			2	Currently employing both	14	3.9657	.63078
			3	No experience	58	4.3822	.56872
			TOTAL			330	4.2576

There is a statistically significant difference between employing a domestic worker privately and clients' perceptions of the professional nature of the housecleaning service firm $F(2, 329) = 3.105, p = .046$ (Table 7.3). Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between groups was small. The effect size is small (eta squared = 0.2). Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test showed that the mean score for clients who have employed a domestic privately in the past (group 1, $M = 4.26, SD = .49$) is not significantly different from the other two: Clients who are currently contracting in both a domestic worker and outsourcing domestic cleaning to housecleaning services (group 2, $M = 4.01, SD = .63$) and clients who have never employed a domestic worker privately (group 3, $M = 4.36, SD = .50$).

There was a statically significant difference between the employing a domestic worker privately and perceived benefits of having a tripartite employment relationship⁵⁷, $F(2, 327) = .3063, p = .048$ (Table 7.3). However, the effect size is again small (eta squared = 0.2). Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for clients who have employed a domestic worker in the past (group 1, $M = 4.25, SD = .59$) is not significantly different from clients who are currently employing a domestic worker privately and using a housecleaning service firm (group 2, $M = 4.00, SD = .63$) and clients who have never employed a domestic worker privately (group 3, $M = 4.38, SD = .60$).

Domestic work is distinctive from other occupations due to its characteristically intimate, personal, nurturing and emotional employment relationship that often develops between domestic workers and their employers (Du Preez et al., 2010:396; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007). The proximity of their working and living conditions means that domestic workers and

⁵⁷ From the previous chapter, the benefits of a tripartite employment relationship include clients' limited involvement, lack of dependency and reduced financial responsibility for domestic employees

employers are likely to build close bonds with each other and ideologically become “like family” (Ally, 2010:135; Anderson, 2001:40; Lutz, 2011:14). However, the notion of “being-part-of-the-family” has been widely discussed for its often exploitative and personalistic nature, where employers use kindness and care to elicit harder work and loyalty from domestic workers and to mask exploitative working conditions (Ally, 2010; Galvaan et al., 2015:44; Jansen, 2015:51). Some scholars have explored this and found that the “bureaucratic”, “impersonal”, “distanced” relationship between clients and domestic employees was a conscious decision and preference to avoid any form of dependency and personal responsibilities toward domestic employees (e.g., Du Toit, 2013:105; Mendez, 1998:118; Safuta & Camargo, 2019:9).

Despite the shift to housecleaning services, some clients shared their experiences of having a personal bond with their former domestic worker, even after employment has stopped. For example, Elize (F-W-52-4HH), who moved from Pretoria to Stellenbosch, described the loving and caring employment relationship she had and continues to have, with her former domestic worker who has retired after many years of service.

The relationship is different than what we have now [referring to the housecleaning service firm], and it is something that I miss. I had a very close relationship with Ellen [a former domestic worker]. She was like family to us. She is still like family to us. I call her now and again and listen to her stories about her husband and children. We always send her some money when it's her birthday.

Similarly, both Francis (F-W-56-2HH) and Maggie (F-W-55-4HH) are in regular telephonic contact with their former retired domestic workers. These comments suggest that former employers somehow miss the maternalistic relationship and the bonds they formed with former women that worked in their houses. While some resent this, others do not mind caring for their domestic worker and miss doing it. Similarly, Maggie described her relationship with ‘Magda’ after she retired more than fifteen years ago and moved back to her family in the Eastern Cape.

She has five children. Five sons. And I had four sons. And she is now eighty years old, but I still call her once a week. And when her child married, we went to the wedding. Old “Magda”, she is blind now and cannot see a thing. But she is a beautiful person.

Having a domestic worker in the house that one forms a close bond with provides some form of connection between white and black women, even if this is built on servitude. When this is lost, it also means that women from different classes, backgrounds and lived experiences are no longer shared. Despite these positive memories, it seems that many find the emotional energy associated with this as draining, or an additional burden on their busy lives and prefer a relationship, one that is more professional and detached. The addition burden of labour legislation, the growth of mistrust, racial tensions and crime in the country, add to the notion

that some people prefer to opt for a less intrusive, and more professional relationship that is offered by housecleaning services. The next step is to look at how former employers terminate services from their former domestic worker (Table 7.4).

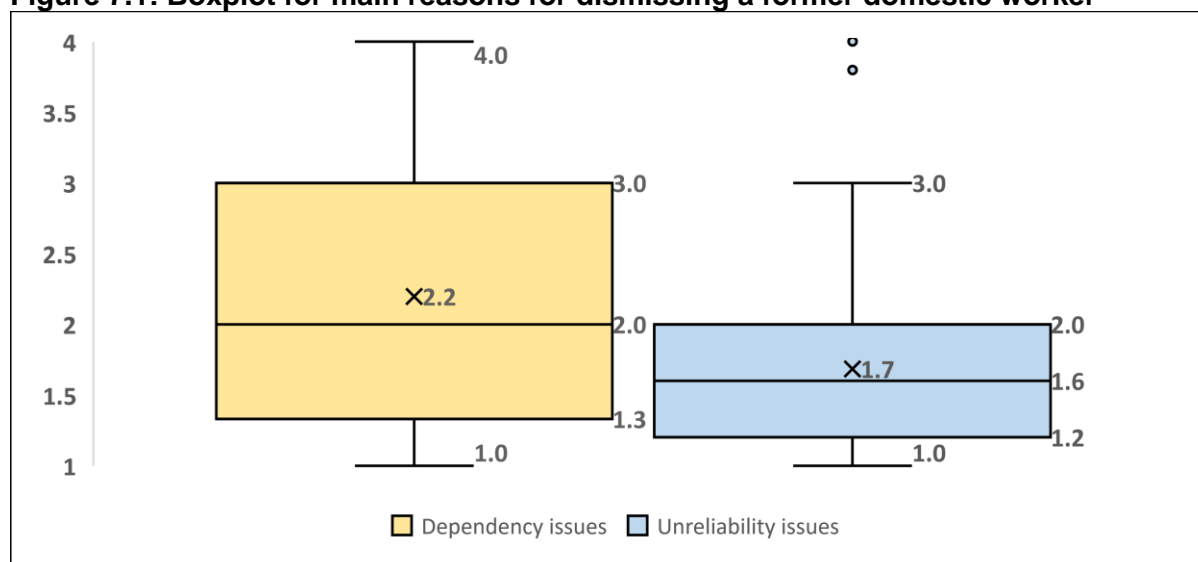
Table 7.4: Reason for termination of services

Termination of services from the former domestic worker (N=205)	N	%
Dismissed	97	47.3
Passed away	13	6.3
Disappeared	24	11.7
Retired / Resigned	71	34.6

Almost half of the clients (47%) dismissed their former domestic worker before shifting to a housecleaning service firm, while slightly more than a third (35%) of former domestic workers retired or resigned (Table 7.4). Fewer clients have indicated that their former domestic worker has disappeared (12%) or passed away (6%). Legally, employers can dismiss a domestic worker for misconduct, lack of capacity (e.g., ill-health or injury) or the employers' operational requirements (e.g., employers no longer require services) (Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:91-94).

From the survey, on a four-point scale,⁵⁸ former employers (current clients) who have dismissed their former domestic workers before shifting to a housecleaning service firm, were asked to indicate to what extent they have experienced issues or problems with their former domestic worker. An index (score) was calculated from the two main issues: (1) dependency issues of a domestic worker, and (2) unreliability of a domestic worker. A boxplot is used to show the results (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Boxplot for main reasons for dismissing a former domestic worker



⁵⁸ The values on the Likert scale ranged from 1 (Not a problem at all); 2 (Minor problem); 3 (Moderate problem); and 4 (Serious problem). See chapter four for factor analyses, and Addendum B for survey questionnaire Q46.

As discussed in chapter 5, section 5.8.2, Table 5.9, two factors were extracted summarising the main reasons for dismissing a former domestic worker before shifting to housecleaning services. I have labelled them as (i) Dependency issues, and (ii) unreliable issues. The factor that has the strongest loading has a range of scores from 1 to 4 (out a possible range of 1 to 4), with a median of 2 and a mean of 2,2 (Figure 7.1). The second factor, “unreliability issues” has loading scores that range between 1 and 3, with a median score of 1,6 and a mean of 1,7. Yet, from the QIs, more in-depth explanations were provided as to why clients have dismissed their former domestic worker (Discussed in section 7.3).

The next step is to test to what extent these two identified issues have a statistically significant relationship (correlate) with each other, as well as to the three identified benefits and ratings of using housecleaning service firms (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Correlation relationship between predictors

Variables	Dependency issues of domestic worker	Unreliability of domestic worker
	(Pearson's r)	(Pearson's r)
1. Three primary benefits of using housecleaning services		
Benefit 1: Professional nature of housecleaning service firm	.084	.084
Benefit 2: Professional demeanour of domestic employees	-.001	-.094
Benefit 3: Perceived benefits of tripartite ER	.209[†]	.023
2. Ratings		
Rating services rendered by the housecleaning service firm	.019	.243[†]
3. Two main problems experienced with a former domestic worker		
Problem 1: Dependency issues of domestic worker	1	.494^{**}
Problem 2: Unreliability of domestic worker	-	1

[†] $p < .05$; ^{**} $p < .01$ (Two-tailed). (Note: Missing values were excluded pairwise).

Dependency issues regarding former private domestic worker relate most strongly to the unreliability of a former domestic worker ($r = .494$, $N = 95$, $p < .01$) (Table 7.5). Thus, the more former employers (current clients) perceived that their former domestic worker was dependent on them (e.g., for finances and transport), the more they perceived them to be unreliable (e.g., turning up late for work and breaking goods).

There was also a significant positive relationship between perceived benefits of the tripartite employment relationship (offered by the housecleaning service firm) and dependency issues experienced by employers of their former domestic worker ($r = .209$, $N = 95$, $p < .05$) (Table 7.5). Thus, the more former employers (current clients) perceived their former domestic worker to be dependent on them, the more they valued the benefit of having a tripartite employment relationship through the housecleaning service firm that is typically less intimate and comes with fewer responsibilities for clients. There is also a positive relationship between employers having experienced their former domestic worker as unreliable and high ratings of

housecleaning services ($r = .243$, $N = 95$, $p = .05$). To understand these statistics better, themes from the QIs indicated that the shift to housecleaning services is motivated by (1) legal factors and (2) the issues related to a bipartite employment relationship.

7.3 MAKING THE SHIFT TO HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

7.3.1 Legal factors

Globally, and in South Africa, the nature of domestic work has been notorious for its informal and exploitative employment relationship, creating a large pool of marginalised female labourers who were dependent on domestic work for a living. Working conditions were typical appalling, and domestic workers had no job security as they were excluded from any form of legal protection (Du Preez et al., 2010:396; England, 2017:370; Pape, 2016:190-191). In an attempt to address this situation and improve gender equality and workplace rights for domestic workers, many nations have offered legal protection to domestic workers under its national laws. However, the significant variations between countries have led to the ILO's Domestic Workers Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201, which attempts to standardise the formalisation of domestic work (ILO, 2016(c):8).

In South Africa, the post-apartheid era saw an attempt to improve gender equality and working conditions for domestic workers to such an extent that South Africa today is considered by many as one of the leading nations to recognise, modernise, formalise and professionalise domestic work (Ally, 2010:49). Consequently, the SD7 stipulates fixed employment regulations for employers of domestic workers, which include being obligated to have an employment contract, paying UIF and paid leave. In the event of dismissal, employers need to follow the process carefully, and the fairness of the termination can be disputed at the CCMA⁵⁹ for conciliation or by the Labour Court (e.g., Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:76; Matjeke et al., 2012:3).

While these regulations are difficult to control by labour inspectors and some employers probably avoid these regulations altogether, from the QIs with former employers (now clients of housecleaning services), it appears that the formalities of employing domestic workers are best described as "*inconvenient*" for some. For example, Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) said: "*I promise*

⁵⁹ The CCMA (Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration) is a dispute resolution body established in terms of the LRA 66 of 1995. It aims to promote co-operation, peace and social justice and deals with unfair dismissals, the conflict between employees and employers and discrimination issues. As mentioned in chapter four, many domestic workers are the sole financial providers of their families and are in a vulnerable position, despite legal protection. The CCMA process, at least, gives some support to domestic workers.

you, the more labour legislation there is when you want to hire and fire your domestic, the fewer people want to deal with it". Similarly, Jenny (F-W-55-3HH) said:

The domestic workers' rules are much stricter than the typical office worker because they were abused in the past, you know. They were made to work long hours for little pay. So, I can understand that. I can understand them maybe having a minimum wage and things like that. But you have to be able to hire and fire. Like any business. I mean that is why a lot of factories have closed down because the staff are rioting and carrying on.

Labour laws place an additional burden on employers that they do not want to deal with, and is resented. A means to opt out of this is to get someone else to take responsibility for the employment contracts of domestic workers. One of the benefits of hiring a housecleaning service firm is that clients have no long-term responsibilities and can give notice within the terms and conditions of the particular firm (Chung & Van der Lippe, 2018:7; Lair, 2007; Morel, 2012:1-3). For example, Andrew (M-W-62-2HH) said:

It becomes riskier to employ people full-time, in terms of labour laws, and all the things you have to comply with. All the problems you can get if you don't comply with it. As a homeowner, you are not up to date with all the laws and stuff. Because those kinds of things are for the formal labour agreements and to impose that same way of thought into the informal market makes it difficult because you don't have the resources that firms have to regulate the employment contracts and all the things that go with that. So, it is a huge thing, but now with the company, you pay monthly, and after that, you don't care. You don't have to worry about anything. Any laws, nothing. I don't have those responsibilities.

Andrew's story resonates with so many other stories of former employers (now clients) who decided to use housecleaning services. The extra burden of registering and apply labour legislation is not worth the effort and stress. It is also indicative of a more pluralistic employment relationship, which may more confrontational. In the past, the employment relationship was essentially unitarist in that the domestic servant was seen as part of the family. However, the promulgation of labour laws has led to a pluralist labour relations dispensation, which aims to balance the power between employer and employee. Where labour regulations become stricter regarding the employment of domestic workers, the shift to housecleaning services is a means of avoiding the regulations, dealing with dismissals and other unfair labour practices. Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) and Elize (F-W-52-4HH) said the labour laws are "a schlep" and "take a lot of my time". In this regard, Barbara (F-W-55-3HH), shared her views on the labour legislation of domestic work:

Definitely because of the labour laws. I mean, I know the law, and I studied the domestic laws, and I know what to do, but I just thought it is taking too much of my time and I

could work, I could be cleaning my house while I am doing all this legal stuff. I will pay for a company rather. I would never employ a person [a domestic worker] again. The labour laws are too bad. They are ridiculous, and that's why a lot of them are out of work.

The formalisation of domestic work is time-consuming for employers. As Barbara points out that the labour laws have been a deciding factor for her, and perhaps others, too, who have shifted to a housecleaning service firm where they avoid these responsibilities. Her last statement “[because] that is why a lot of them are out of work” perhaps imply that people will continual to shift to housecleaning services instead of employing a domestic worker privately, which can have devastating effects for the future employability of job-seeking domestic workers.

Apart from the issues of labour legislation, many clients described the dismissal process as “lengthy”, “expensive” and “emotionally draining”. For Nina (F-W-57-3HH), the dismissal process was very distressing, and she claimed the CCMA case afterwards “killed her”:

I had to pay her three months of extra salary even though I had enough evidence. I had files with warnings. I had everything. It took a year at the CCMA where I had to take off from work to go for the hearings and everything.

Nina’s response highlights the perceptions of time implications and financial costs linked to CCMA disputes. These participants do not want to deal with confrontation. In the past, you simply dismiss, but now employers have to confront this, which is not only stressful but also time-consuming and can be costly. Similarly, Lydia (F-W-55-3HH) shared her story after dismissing her domestic worker after many confrontations about lack of commitment. While she claims that she followed the right legal procedures, she still lost the case at the CCMA.

We followed the procedures exactly as the book said, but despite that, we were still taken to the CCMA. We had to sit there for a day or two. My husband had to take leave from his work to sit there. It costs us time and money. He didn't get any income for those two days that he had to take off from work to go to the CCMA. We just decided that this is the end of the story.

The risks, time and costs of dealing with the CCMA is not worth it for some and opting for a housecleaning service that takes these responsibilities is beneficial. Hence, the complexities of ensuring the correct procedures are followed when employing (and dismissing) a domestic worker place extra strain on employers, and by shifting these responsibilities to a housecleaning service firm is more convenient.

Given the history of informality in the sector, the justification for legislative intervention is without a doubt necessary. Against this background, the views of former employers on the formalisation of domestic work can be interpreted as insensitive and controversial towards

vulnerable workers, who have withstood years of abuse and discrimination, and whose livelihoods depend on their employment. However, one needs to try and put these findings into context as it can be of interest to the public (e.g., employers and domestic workers) and policymakers (e.g., legislators and judges). The shift to housecleaning services also mirrors the reasons why businesses outsource parts of their duties to other firms, viz. to avoid responsibilities, increase flexibility and enhance efficiency (Hochschild, 2012:162; Lair, 2012:561; McIvor, 2010:7-12). Thus, it seems that employers of domestic workers require more flexibility regarding employment and dismissal matters, which is not currently offered by the labour legislation.

Another reason for the shift to housecleaning service that emerged from the QIs with former employers of domestic workers is the bipartite employment relationship with all its dependencies.

7.3.2 Employment relationship factors

7.3.2.1 Dependency and guilt

As a result of the differences in class positions, the inequality between employers and their domestic workers is something that is almost universally observed. In South Africa, the apartheid period exacerbated the intersections of race, class and gender differences and inequalities between employers and domestic workers. Even in the post-apartheid era in South Africa, domestic workers remain predominately black African women from mostly poor socio-economic backgrounds and employers remain middle class.

Concerning the nature of the employment relationship of domestic work, it is characteristically bi-directional, interpersonal and intimate, where domestic workers dependent not only financially on their employers but also emotionally. Also, employers sometimes share their personal issues with domestic workers, but the unequal maternalistic power dynamics remain. While the formalisation of domestic work perhaps provides more agency to domestic workers, wages remain low. One can argue that some employers and domestic workers may find it challenging to effectively manage dependency and formal employment (Lutz, 2011:160; Van der Merwe, 2009:159-160). Consequently, the shift to housecleaning service firms transforms the bipartite employment relationship, with all its dependencies, into a tripartite one between clients, domestic employees and managers. Typically, the employment relationship between domestic employees and clients becomes detached, impersonal and professional, which may serve as an ideological buffer to some clients to avoid feelings of guilt, dependency and responsibility (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:308; Duffy, 2011:120; Napierski-Prancl, 1998:6; Safuta & Camargo, 2019:9).

From the QIs, dependency emerged as a particular concern for former employers of domestic workers. Christine (F-W-61-2HH), who claims to have had a good relationship with her former domestic worker, said that financial dependency was a particular challenge:

Financially, I mean, you have to. I bought clothes and all sorts of other stuff. I did not mind, but it was expensive. It costs a lot of money. It became a problem. You know. You are their only lifeline. Whatever happens to their children, the schools and so on, you always have to give money. When she died later, I decided never to employ a private domestic worker again. That is when I started using the domestic company.

The emotional labour, feelings of guilt and privilege, and the sense of responsibility is something that employers no longer want to carry. The option to shift these responsibilities to housecleaning service firms is convenient and desired by some. By hiring housecleaning services, the employment relationship becomes professionalised, one that is not emotionally charged, and this is precisely what clients prefer. Other participants such as Tracy (F-W-60-2HH) also claims her former domestic worker (and her children) was financially dependent on her. She said: *"I gave a lot to her. I gave a lot to her children. On birthdays, Christmas. You know, gift hampers and train tickets to Queenstown. You know, stuff like that"*. Likewise, Anna (F-W-64-2HH) revealed the extent to which she felt responsible for her domestic worker and her family's well-being:

I had a domestic worker who worked for us for thirty years. I had a very good relationship with her, and she became like a family. But then their circumstances become your problem. You are their only lifeline. If someone dies, if someone marries, if someone gets a baby, if someone needs a dress for her matric farewell, then you are the one paying for that. Who can they ask other than you? You are under a lot of pressure to support the whole infrastructure that these people represent. I just decided on a day that this is no longer working for me.

Despite a good relationship with domestic workers, employers no longer want to be responsible for domestic workers (and their families) and can be removed from this by hiring housecleaning services. For some clients (former employers) sharing their life with the needy and the poor is inconvenient and by hiring housecleaning services, this is avoided as the relationship is detached from emotion and responsibilities. Similarly, Olivia (F-W-38-2HH) described how having a personal employment relationship added to her guilt in finding additional employment for her former domestic worker. She avoids this responsibility since hiring a housecleaning service firm:

She mentioned at some point that she didn't have as much work as she is used to. But I don't feel guilty. It is the responsibility of the company to find her work. Previously I felt guilty. It was expected of me to find her a job.

Guilt, white privilege, and being accountable for the livelihood of domestic workers is a burden to some. However, from an intersectional perspective, the above-mentioned statements underline the failure of these white female clients to fully understand the positions of black, female domestic workers from a different class background. The normalisation of middle-class and whiteness is clear, in that offering support to others who are different is an issue. Particular productions of racial, gender and class hierarchies entrench colonial exclusions and marginalisation (Van der Westhuizen, 2017:6-7).

Another issue for some former employers (now clients) is their inability to effectively shift between having a contractual employment relationship and a familial one, where feelings of guilt and responsibility often creep in. The broader literature often describes the large proportion of domestic workers who are their family's primary source of income. Their dependence on their employers' goodwill is, therefore, necessary. Consequently, the personal employment relationship is often manipulated by both employers and domestic workers depending on what suits them at the time (Blofield & Jokela, 2018:533; Jansen, 2015:26; King, 2007:160).

One of the benefits of hiring a housecleaning service is the tripartite employment relationship that minimises involvement and responsibilities between clients and domestic employees (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:300; Du Toit, 2012:86). Team cleaning, in particular, is beneficial for some clients as it is quick, and clients are not confronted with the presence of a domestic worker for an extended period (Ehrenreich, 2000:65). For example, Francis (F-W-56-2HH) explains the benefits of having quick cleaning services:

With the company, they come in. It is not my worry whom they send, or who is sick, or whose grandmother is sick. I mean, the girls are very friendly, but I don't ask them how old they are, where they live, how many children they have. They come in, and I greet them. They do their job, and I say 'Thank you!' It is wonderful. My home is clean. Bye. There are no hassles or hiccups.

The employment relationship becomes instrumental, emotionally detached and clinical. There is little concern for the livelihoods of domestic workers beyond employment. Interaction between clients and domestics is one-dimensional. Under direct employment, the employment relationship between employers and domestic workers is typically personal and involves emotional energy. In other words, dealing with the lives of the poor (in this case the black domestic worker) is inconvenient, and these responsibilities and guilt are outsourced to housecleaning services. As Maggie (F-W-55-4HH) confirms: "*I have a very superficial conversation with them [domestic employees]*". Managers typically interact with domestic employees on a personal level, where related issues are shared and resolved. The consensus

in the literature on housecleaning services is that the relationship between managers and domestic employees is often maternalistic, where care and kindness are reciprocated by devotion, trust and commitment to the firm (Du Toit, 2012:74; Mendez, 1998:118).

For clients, having a manager who takes care of domestic employees is helpful. As Barbara (F-W-55-3HH) said: *“the relationship is easier now”*. Also, Emma (F-W-66-2HH) said figuratively: *“I am not in the mood for that anymore. I got rid of my dogs, my cats, my children and the domestic worker. Anything that looks like they want something from me”*. The benefit of having a less dependent relationship is noted by clients of housecleaning services where all forms of dependencies are shifted to the managers (Du Toit, 2012:40; Ehrenreich, 2000:65). There is a sense that the responsibility of care is becoming too much of a burden for some. This could be linked to the increase in stress and the insecurity of work that often demands longer working hours and that cut into the energy and time to invest in a caring relationship with domestic workers. Another sub-theme that emerged from the QIs regarding employment relationship factors is logistical issues and hidden fees.

7.3.2.2 Logistics and hidden costs

Logistical issues, particularly the transport of domestic workers, were voiced as a particular concern for some former employers (now clients). In South Africa, many live-out domestic workers live in townships often far from middle-class suburbs, where they rely on typically unreliable public transport, buses, taxis and trains to travel to employers' dwellings in middle-class suburbs (Ally, 2010:51-52; Dube, 2019). There is always a chance that domestic workers may arrive late at their employers' dwellings or not at all due to strikes and the poor infrastructure of public transport. Employers with busy schedules cannot wait for a domestic worker to come. So, alternative arrangements need to be made, which can be challenging and inconvenient. In this regard, Hannah (F-W-58-2HH), who lives with her husband said: *“We never knew if the taxis are on strike, or whether the busses broke down, or if something happened to her. You can never count on her 100%. With the company, I am guaranteed that my home will be cleaned every Friday afternoon”*. The unpredictability and lack of assurance of arrival times of domestic workers, interferes with the routine and working time of employers and adds stress and tension. As Francis (F-W-56-2HH) explains:

It is always your problem if they can't find a taxi or when the train is late. There are always hassles in their transport. You know, at one stage I picked up Bertha [former domestic worker] and dropped her off again at the other side of town. It was a pain, but it was cheaper than to give her R40 for petrol.

Hassles with public transport mean that employers have to take responsibility for this by transporting domestic workers, which is both costly, inconvenient and time-consuming.

Similarly, Lorna (F-W-66-2HH), who also employed a gardener when she hired a domestic worker, described the hassles of managing the transport logistics for both workers.

I had to pick up the Silas [gardener - pseudonym] at 09:00 and had to rush back before Miriam [domestic worker] arrived at 10:00. Then I need to rush back again when I drop him off before she leaves again. Then you are stuck in traffic. It was always such a nightmare. So, for me, it is a blessing that they [the team] are dropped off at my doorstep. It is possibly the best of all.

Transport issues are avoided by hiring housecleaning service firms who drop off and collect their team of domestic employees again. Doing these tasks place an additional strain on their employers' time, which distracts from their own work performance and is resented. Also, studies have shown how some housecleaning service firms solve other logistical issues by supplying their staff with food, as well as bringing their cleaning chemicals and equipment. Clients save time and money on food and chemicals (Du Toit, 2012:88; Mendez, 1998:121). In this study, too, clients claim they save money on cleaning chemicals and food, since shifting to a housecleaning service firm. For example, Lydia (F-W-55-3HH) said:

The team brings their own cleaning equipment, their own cleaning chemicals and their own vacuum cleaner. Their own uniform. They bring everything. Their own polish, everything. It's a benefit I would say because I save on mine. It smells well. The products that they use to clean.

An additional advantage of hiring a housecleaning service firm is that they supply cleaning equipment and chemicals that is cost-effective for clients. Lorna (F-W-66-2HH) also describes how she saves money on cleaning chemicals:

Do you know how much money I save on cleaning chemicals? You know, with Noni [former domestic worker], I had to buy a kilogram of washing powder every month. Now I do the washing myself. I don't want to lie to you, but a bag of washing powder lasts me almost six months. And stuff like sugar, tea, coffee.

Nina (F-W-57-3HH), who shifted from employing a live-in domestic worker to a housecleaning service firm, shared her thoughts on how there were several hidden fees involved with having a live-in domestic worker.

With the previous private maid, it was the issue of tea and coffee and sugar. And washing powder. If you buy her a 25 kg mealie meal, then when she goes home it will disappear, even if it's not month end, then I have to buy her food again. So, I've learned the hard way I would buy her small packets. She also had access to all the vegetables: the potatoes, tomatoes, and the cabbage. I can't deprive them. They don't like the way we cook, so they take it and cook their food. It was quite pricy because we supplied her with her soap, her deodorant and her sanity pads. It's like being a child. She lives with you, and you have to provide her with all this stuff.

The extracts above show how clients save on food, cleaning chemicals and uniforms, which is described by some clients as “*hidden costs*” or “*payment in kind*” of employing a domestic worker privately. These hidden costs are something that people also do not want to deal with and is disliked. In terms of the labour laws, making any deductions from the salaries of domestic workers, regarding food or uniforms, supplied or any breakages to items while at work, is not allowed (Department of Labour, 2012:18-24; Du Toit & Huysamen, 2013:99-102). Thus, hiring housecleaning services is not only saving clients “*hidden fees*”, but the firm’s insurance covers accidental breakages or damage to goods (Mendez, 1998:120). Reliability and security issues was another sub-theme that emerged from former employers of domestic workers.

7.3.2.3 Reliability, conflict and theft

Many former employers (now clients) claim their former domestic worker was unreliable and untrustworthy, something they have not yet experienced since shifting to a housecleaning service firm. Jenny (F-W-55-3HH) explained:

Pitching for work at 10:00 or not pitching up for work at all. Defying everything, I said. I kept telling her the back door must be locked, and she continued to leave it open and doing things like that. I gave her written warnings, and in six months she took forty days’ sick leave with no note, not a single note. It was just things like that. There is always a long, sob story. I can tell you a million trillion stories. But I started to give her written warnings and eventually I fired her. With the company, I never have these hassles, and it’s a joy!

The tension between Jenny and her former domestic worker is evident in the above extract. Problems of enforcing discipline and compliance the need to supervise the work is also shifted to the company. While these generalisations regarding Jenny’s former domestic worker’s behaviour and personality traits may be imbued with racial biases and discrimination, it is clear that she prefers using a housecleaning service firm, which she claims is hassle-free. Many other clients have shifted to housecleaning services that they claim are more reliable than their former domestic worker. Also, a lack of a clear understanding of personal demands on domestic workers living in poverty, having inadequate access to proper health care and transport, and general safety problems in townships, may cause people to shift to housecleaning services, which perhaps solve many of these issues. Even if employers empathise with domestic workers’ daily struggles, relying on only one domestic worker is complex, and the burden of care is perhaps too much. Housecleaning service firms resolve these concerns, as managers take full responsibilities of these issues. As Nina (F-W-57-3HH) said:

I don't want them to come back from a long weekend, and then they tell you that so and so died and I am leaving again. And I will be back again ten days later. And can you please advance me X amount for the funeral. It is inconvenient because now you have to find someone else in her place for that time. You have to take the kid, which she is looking after, to a day-care centre.

The emotional and financial responsibilities, and care that comes with employing a domestic worker directly is inconvenient and draining. This is a way to continue to avoid doing domestic work oneself, and without being exposed to the inconvenience of the poor by having no responsibilities toward domestic workers' private lives. As Tracy (F-W-60-4HH) said that with a housecleaning service firm she knows "*they will be on time*" or "*sometimes they are even a bit early*". In this regard, Thea (F-W-55-3HH) explained: "*I am guaranteed on three cleaners. If one of them is sick or whatever, then they replace her with an alternative cleaner. But it's not my problem, and it is wonderful*".

Nina's story above can be read as insensitive, as she portrays her former domestic workers as lazy, inconsiderate and unreliable. However, to contextualise these stories from a former employers' viewpoint, there is a need for employers to have as few hassles as possible with hiring reliable domestic help, which they claim housecleaning service firms offer.

Some former employers (now clients) also claimed that their former domestic workers did not clean their home consistently, which often resulted in confrontations and accusations. For example, Jenny (F-W-55-3HH) said:

We had a fight. And she decided that she doesn't like it that I check up on her. I did quality control, and she did not like it. She asked me if I wanted to fire her and I said no, I want her to work here. She then said 'I will resign' in a sarcastic voice and she left.

What the above quote indicates is that having to supervise and reprimand domestic workers creates tension and strains relations, that employers do not want to deal with. Similarly, Elize (F-W-52-4HH) shared her views on dealing with supervision and consequential confrontation with her former domestic worker:

There was always an atmosphere in the house when I asked Tumi [a former domestic worker] to clean here and redo a room there. You know, now with the housecleaning service firm, I have the confidence to ask the team leader to tell the others that they have not cleaned properly there. There is never an atmosphere.

In both Jenny's and Elize's views, their domestic worker needed to be supervised to clean their dwellings, which the domestic workers despised. The similarities to Cock's (1980:181) study on domestic work during apartheid is uncanny, where domestic workers were often denied human dignity and capacity to work without close supervision. While domestic

employees are still supervised, though by a team leader or supervisor rather than the employer, and it is not clear how domestic employees feel about this, it appears that clients seldom find fault with the standard of cleaning rendered by the team. Thus, the complex mix of the standard of cleaning, the personal relationship and aspects of the treatment of domestic workers are now largely taken care of by the housecleaning service firm, especially in the case where teams clean. These experiences occur in other contexts too (Devetter & Rousseau, 2009; Ehrenreich, 2000), but perhaps the addition of the apartheid past, where there is a complex interplay of race, class and gender issues, makes these aspects more intense.

In addition to these concerns, accusations of theft were also mentioned by several former employers (now clients) as a deciding factor to shift to a housecleaning service firm that is supposedly more trustworthy and safer. For example, Julia (F-W-54-4HH) said: “*My wedding ring was stolen [by a former domestic worker], so I dismissed her and used housecleaning services instead*”. Similarly, Emma (F-W-66-2HH) said:

She [a former domestic worker] stole a lot. I did not always notice at the time. Only later. I went into the garage one day, and I just saw that she was busy at my fridge there. So, then my neighbour told me how she had seen her [domestic worker] several times come out with mutton and other food. Then I noticed other things that went missing and I just decided enough is enough.

What this all implies is that like other employment relationships, there is a need for employers to supervise domestic workers to ensure the quality of work remains, and to minimise issues related to misconduct and theft. The responses above indicate that this is considered time-consuming and draining. For example, King (2007:131-132) describes how an employer dismissed her former domestic worker because she stole “clothes, small items of jewellery and ornaments”. By shifting to housecleaning services, accusations of theft do not disappear, but supervisors or managers validate these claims by interrogating these accusations and trying to solve them as fairly as possible. To avoid unnecessary conflict, some housecleaning service firms prevent domestic employees from taking any personal items, such as handbags or cell phones, into clients’ dwellings. Some supervisors or managers perform random body searches on domestic employees as a theft-prevention strategy (Meagher, 1997:16; Safuta & Camargo, 2019:58). Theft accusations are, therefore, managed by the management to shield clients and domestic employees from possible uncomfortable arguments and unfair charges.

The shift from employing a domestic worker privately to hiring domestic help from a housecleaning service firm is beneficial to clients on various levels. Housecleaning services differentiate themselves from traditional paid domestic work, in that they change the personal bipartite employment relationship into a tripartite one, which is less personal. Clients typically

have fewer responsibilities, as the management determines who is employed, what the cleaning service packages involve, and how domestic employees are trained. They also decide on the length of cleaning sessions and under which terms and conditions cleaning is rendered. The standardisation of services, therefore, is one of many distinctive features of housecleaning service firms.

Conversely, there may be negatives in using housecleaning services, as it often takes some time before the negative consequences of outsourcing domestic labour to the housecleaning service market are known. Many clients may realise that it is not ideal to use housecleaning services, and they may consider other alternatives. While most clients in this study said they do not experience any disadvantages, a few clients said there are some disadvantages which they realised only after using housecleaning services for some time. The next section shares these views, as well as those of former clients who have stopped using services from housecleaning firms.

7.4 THE DISADVANTAGES OF USING HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

7.4.1 Impersonal employment relationship, trust and theft issues

Paid domestic work is often considered as distinct from other occupations in that the employment relationship takes place within the private and highly personalised household sphere. Consequently, the employment relationship between the employer and the domestic worker is personal, but unequal, where employers often impose the terms and conditions of the relationship (Du Preez et al., 2010:396; King, 2007:24). However, the shift to housecleaning services often causes some clients and domestic employees to have little face-to-face personal conversations, as interactions remain focused on specific work duties at hand (Camargo, 2015:143; Mendez, 1998:118). Where most clients seem to prefer a less personal relationship with the people who clean their homes, it appears that some clients are somewhat ambivalent about this. For example, Joan (F-W-40-1HH) said she finds the impersonal and distanced employment relationship with domestic employees “*awkward, especially when I try and talk to them and then they just carry on*”. Similarly, a former client⁶⁰ who contracted out domestic cleaning when needed said that having a different domestic employee every time did not work for her, as it makes a trusting relationship challenging. She explained:

⁶⁰ To clarify, some former clients in this study used a housecleaning service firm that renders cleaning through one domestic employee for up to seven hours. The nature is different compared to the factory/Fordist like nature of team cleaning. Despite these differences, the downside of contracting out domestic labour to housecleaning services is clear. Some clients find it challenging to develop a trusting relationship with domestic employees who are employed through a housecleaning service firm.

I believe that there should be a trusting relationship between a domestic worker and the employer. It's quite an intimate appointment and using a stranger in your home every time is not great. Both the employer and worker learn to work together, e.g., preferences, likes, dislikes, etc. on both sides. In the end, it just did not work for me, so I stopped [using the services].

Although housecleaning services typically manage their staff from a unitarist perspective, where domestic workers identify with the aims of the organisation and are part of a team, for some clients, they felt too detached from the workers who cleaned their private houses. It appears that some people are reluctant to trust domestic workers about whom they know very little. Whether this is a personal preference or a generalisation that some employers view their black domestic workers as dishonest and untrustworthy is not clear (e.g., King, 2007:24). Typical under a direct employment relationship, employers know intimate and personal details of their domestic workers' life and family members, which is then used in their favour. With housecleaning services, the sharing of personal information is prohibited by the management to maintain professionalism, which is frustrating to some clients.

Amy (F-W-23-2HH) encapsulates this by saying: *"If you don't know them and you haven't established a relationship with them, you don't know if they are trustworthy to be in your house"*. Several studies have shown that the personal employment relationship between employers and domestic workers is often built on trust, loyalty and friendship. For example, the intimacy of becoming "like family" often leads some employers to confide in each other or consign financial loans, which consequently can result in tangible improvements and more significant material benefits in domestic workers' lives (e.g., King, 2007:124; Parrenas, 2001:149-150). There seems to be a need for a more personal and trustworthy employment relationship between some clients and domestic employees.

Despite limiting interaction between clients and domestic employees, housecleaning service firms often claim they employ only reputable domestic employees. The selection and recruitment of loyal and hardworking domestic workers are essential for success. For example, studies in Portugal and South Africa have found that job-seeking domestic workers are thoroughly screened before employment (Abrantes, 2014:304; Du Toit, 2012:77). In both studies, a clean criminal record is a prerequisite for employment in a housecleaning service firm, as well as experience in domestic work and references from former employers. These requirements are necessary to maintain a regular client base in a competitive environment. Despite all this, some clients reported on issues of thefts. For example, Maggie (F-W-55-3HH) claims her *"daughter's rings were stolen"* by one of the domestic employees of the housecleaning service firm. She mentioned that she called the manager a few days after realising her rings were stolen, but that it was too late as she could not prove anything. Despite

this experience, she continues using the same housecleaning service firm, but a different team of domestics are now cleaning her dwelling.

Natalie (F-W-62-2HH) also said she has shifted from one housecleaning service firm to another one after one of the domestic employees from the first firm stole from them. She explained: “*They come in for the day from the agency, they have been selected to work, have stolen, yes, and they have stolen wallets from us and stolen other things*”. Natalie mentioned later in the interview that she does not want to shift back to a private domestic worker again and instead changed to another housecleaning service firm in her area, which she has been using for the past five years. Another disadvantage that some current clients are experiencing in the high turnover of domestic employees and loss of control.

7.4.2 High turnover of domestic employees and loss of control

A unique feature of housecleaning services is the shifting of responsibilities from clients to the management regarding recruitment procedures, training, costs, and the nature of services (e.g., Napierski-Prancl, 1998:3-5). One of the benefits of this is that clients are always guaranteed that their dwelling will be cleaned in an agreed-upon session or timeslot. To ensure the service is rendered as contracted, often the management replaces a domestic employee when absent. Some clients may perceive this as a benefit, while for some, it is a disadvantage. For example, Martin (M-W-72-1HH) said what he finds most frustrating about hiring a housecleaning service firm:

I had three girls in my team, and I liked all three of them. But then one of them has been replaced by another one, and I don't like that. It bothered me. It was frustrating because I have not been told about this. I open the door and see there is a new person on the team.

His story resonated with many other stories regarding the inconvenience of having little control over selecting team members to clean his dwelling. Perhaps this shows that there remains a need from some clients to maintain a familiar, personal employment relationship with teams. However, the replacement of domestic employees is standard in housecleaning service firms for whatever reasons. In this regard, Thea (F-W-52-3HH) shares Martin's frustration:

One of the benefits is a disadvantage, as well. The advantage is that if she is sick or on leave, then somebody else will be there. The problem of that is then it is somebody that I don't know. She does not know what I like and not. Where I want things or how I want items to be cleaned.

In Thea's statement above, having a replacement for a domestic employee is beneficial in that one always has a person who cleans one's dwelling, it also disrupts the patterns of familiarity and comfort to some extent.

For former clients of housecleaning services, the replacement and turnover of domestic employees was a deciding factor to terminate cleaning services. Previous clients stopped cleaning services because: "*Often the good workers would find permanent jobs, so turnover on new people coming to work for me was quite high*". Another former client said: "*Too much rotation of people in your house, and when something goes missing, no one takes responsibility for it. They work just for the sake of it and no pride in their work*". Also, another former client stopped using housecleaning services because:

The cleaning service company would send me a different cleaner every time they came. This necessitated a training session at the start of each booked cleaning service to familiarise the cleaner with my specific requirements. Not very cost or time effective from my point of view. Cleaners also had, as a result, no sense of responsibility or accountability to the service they provided me with – next time it'll be someone else. I had so many breakages and damages to my property as a result. It is just not worth it.

A disadvantage of outsourcing is a loss of control and the inability to give workers direct instructions. There are also problems with accountability and trust, which affects the loyalty of workers to the firm. As such, there is potential for high turnover and replacement of domestic employees, which is an issue for some clients. This also possibly confirms that domestic work is not an occupation that many people want to do and that job-hopping among domestics is inevitable. Perhaps the high turnover is also linked to the need for a personal employment relationship and agency that perhaps disappears when working for a housecleaning service firm. The literature often reiterates the negative qualities of domestic work concerning its tedious, demeaning and exploitative nature (Ally, 2010; Cock, 1980; King, 2007).

Despite these negativities, housecleaning service firms often aim to professionalise this occupation by offering domestic employees training, opportunities to share grievances and ideas and to create a caring environment. Some studies have claimed that some domestic employees of housecleaning service firms take pride in their job and see the job of cleaning as a source of satisfaction and motivation (e.g., Du Toit, 2012:63; Napierski-Prancl, 1998:240-241). It appears, however, that these positive feelings are linked to how well managers manage the employment relationship and working conditions of domestic employees. Thus, poor management has negative effects on clients, as well as domestic employees. Another negative feature of housecleaning services is the sourcing of trained domestic employees and quality cleaning services to clients, which in some cases, do not meet the expectations of clients.

7.4.3 Lack of adequate training and quality of services

Managers train domestic employees with specific cleaning techniques and methods, which is typical of housecleaning service firms. All these training techniques are aligned to the firm's professional reputation and image (e.g., Devetter & Rousseau, 2009:306; Du Toit, 2013:99; Mendez, 1998:119).

While most clients praised the firms' well-trained domestic employees, some clients such as Jenny (F-W-55-3HH) thought that *"they [the domestic employees] are not very well trained. They do not always give their best and tend to become lazy as time goes by"*. Similarly, Amy (F-W-23-2HH) is not convinced that domestic employees are trained adequately: *"The domestic [employee] doesn't clean [my dwelling] better than my parents' maid"*.

A former client, who claims that the domestic employees were poorly trained, decided to stop using housecleaning services and employ a domestic worker privately again.

The companies do not use proper cleaning products, but cheap versions and then the house is not cleaned correctly. They use your cleaning tools and equipment, and then they take it with them, never to be returned. Most of the cleaning companies use Jik (a type of bleach) and spill this everywhere they clean, with the result of white marks on carpets, curtains and clothes. When giving a washing and ironing service, most of the times they do not read the labels, so wool gets washed with denim and curtains and linen. White and dark clothes are washed together, or most of the cleaners cannot read.

The standardisation of services is a motivational factor to outsource tasks. This means that responsibility for and performance of cleaning is handed over to the housecleaning services, where domestics are trained and equipped with the knowledge of how to clean affectively and timeously. However, there is no control over the quality or rigour of services, which is a typical problem of outsourcing. Another former client decided to stop using a housecleaning service firm because: *"Most of the cleaners were inexperienced and untrained. One cleaner asked me to explain to her how to use a vacuum cleaner. They damaged carpets and materials while cleaning. The services were, however, advertised as 'professional'"*.

These abovementioned extracts dispute the claim that housecleaning service firms professionalise domestic work. Historically, paid domestic work is characteristically poorly paid, isolated and unskilled due to lack of proper training (Hellgren & Serrano, 2018:2). One of the distinctive features of housecleaning services, however, is that they train their domestic staff to increase the quality of services clients receive, and perhaps, to provide new types of services to clients to distinguish themselves from other housecleaning service firms or private domestic workers (e.g., Bailly et al., 2013:306). It seems that some housecleaning services do not train their staff appropriately, which jeopardises their reputation, as well as the skills

and employability of domestic workers. Domestic work will remain an undesirable occupation if managers of housecleaning service firms or policymakers fail to improve the training and subsequent skills of domestic workers.

Another misleading benefit is shifting responsibilities to managers, in that some clients feel they have no control over what is included and excluded in the cleaning duties on offer. Often housecleaning service firms sell cleaning packages that include specific tasks and exclude others⁶¹. While this is done to standardise services, and perhaps to protect domestic employees from unfair demands from clients, some clients have expressed they find this quite rigid. For example, Lorna (W-F-66-2HH) said that *“They [domestic employees] don’t do anything extra. You can ask a domestic worker to do extra stuff without paying her extra. With the company, I have to pay for anything I want extra”*.

For Cathy (F-W-37-2HH), the limited time of each session is an issue. She said that she sometimes needs someone to help her organising and cleaning cupboards, but *“they only work for two-and-a-half hours, and there is no time for that”*. This rigidity of services was echoed in some clients’ frustration regarding particular time slots when cleaning services are rendered, as Maggie (F-W-55-3HH) explains:

I don’t always have the flexibility of days that you require the cleaning service. For example, I would like to have cleaners twice a week on a Monday and a Friday, but currently, they are only available to clean my house on a Tuesday.

The intangible demands and specific requirement of clients make it difficult for housecleaning services to adhere to all requests. As such, the lack of flexibility means that either the clients or vendor is disadvantaged, which damages the outsourcing relationship. For former clients, the rigidity of the cleaning services was a deciding factor to terminate services from a housecleaning service firm: *“There were too many rules. They cannot wash windows or the outdoor stoep [veranda], because it is not part of the agreement.”* This implies that rigidity and inflexibility of outsourced firms to adapt to changing conditions can limit their attractiveness as a service provider. A client commented on this as follows:

There is a lack of a clear understanding of what I as a client want and what they offer. They are also too strict in terms of what is included and excluded from what they offer. Everything I want extra I need to pay extra for. With a private maid I can ask her to clean, and she does, without additional payment.

⁶¹ See for example the discussion in Section 4.4.3, where *Skitterblink*, a housecleaning service firm in South Africa, offers clients three cleaning deals to choose from. Each deal comes with specific duties and prices.

Rigid service agreements mean that clients' changing demands may be less likely met, affecting the outsourcing relationship. In the past, the extent to which domestic workers under private employment can be exploited in terms of extra duties, is typical, despite the labour legislation that prohibits employers from doing so (Le Roux, 2013:19). With housecleaning services, there is an extra layer of authority and bureaucracy in terms of team leaders, supervisors and managers who all control what duties are performed, how and when.

One sees that the lack of proper training and rigidity of service may become a deciding factor for some to terminate cleaning services. Some people are more comfortable to negotiate extra favours from domestic workers employed privately. Some current and former clients mentioned the high prices for cleaning sessions, as well as the exploitation of staff as another disadvantage of hiring housecleaning services.

7.4.4 Financial costs and exploitation of staff

Globally, domestic work is a characteristically poorly paid occupation, despite being included in national minimum wage legislation. In South Africa, for example, employers need to pay their domestic worker R20 per hour, and although many employers probably pay more than that, domestic workers remain economically vulnerable (Omarjee, 2019; Rangongo, 2019).

The fees of using housecleaning services for a 150-minute cleaning session range between R300 to R600, depending on the size of the house, suburb, and the package deal. Clients can expect to pay for the service that includes focused and efficient cleaning, but also the removal of any additional "hidden costs" such as emotional labour and dependency. The management is also faced with the dilemma of paying their domestics sufficiently, making a profit, be competitive and keep a high and satisfied clientele by offering affordable services. Regarding the traditional model, contracting in a domestic worker can potentially be more expensive as employers often pay extras to domestic workers when there is a dependent employment relationship. Emotional labour has a price too – it needs time and effort, which employers sometimes dread (See Cock, 1980; King, 2007). Mixed results regarding fees were found in the QIs with current clients, as Andrew (M-W-62-2HH) said:

I don't find them expensive at all. I can tell you that we get this company and they come in, and they do all this work for us. Once a week and they charge us R320. If we look at it from a financial point of view, it is less than half what we used to pay our full-time domestic worker. So, you get three people working for a few hours, so you get ten man-hours. And they work, they concentrate on their work. It is not that they take a few minutes off here or taking it slow there. They are just full-out there. I think it is a bargain.

One of the benefits of outsourcing is there is seldom any “hidden costs” involved. Once the service agreement is approved by all parties, payment is clear and clients can expect little deviation from it. Similarly, Emma (F-W-66-2HH) said: “*It is cheaper in the long-run than employing a live-in maid*”, while Christine (F-W-61-2HH) said: “*I don’t mind paying more because the benefits are so much more than with a private domestic [worker]*”. It seems the benefits outweigh the costs of hiring housecleaning services. Direct employment with domestic workers often involves hidden costs, financial loans and other responsibilities, which employers resent.

However, the majority of clients said that they find housecleaning service costly. For example, Amy (F-W-23-2HH) said it is “*exceptionally expensive*”, while Jenny (F-W-55-3HH) said it is “*much more expensive, it is about double the price*”. Some clients said that if prices continue to rise, they may consider terminating services. Thus, in contrast to the business literature where outsourcing is used as a cost-effective strategy, it seems that outsourcing domestic labour to housecleaning services are pricier than other alternatives.

In addition to this disadvantage, some clients are uncomfortable about the unfair salaries that domestic employees are paid out of the fees the clients pay. For example, Natalie (F-W-62-2HH) said:

I think I spend about R300 or R350 per session. And from the ladies that I’ve had, they don’t seem to get transport money, and that worries me terribly. How can they afford to, in today’s circumstances, in the current economic times? I mean even the basics, bread, milk, and all those ordinary things are expensive, and everything gets more expensive, including transport.

Clients have no control over the working conditions of domestic employees, how much they are paid and managed. As such, some clients are aware that domestic employees are exposed to dire circumstances, but they can do little about it. Some clients opt out of using housecleaning services to regain control, and a sense of dignity. Similarly, Elizabeth (F-W-64-2HH) claims her team of domestic employees do not get paid for extra work:

There were incidences where they told me from the agency that they had not been paid for extra work. So, along the way it wasn’t as hunky-dory and or as plain sailing as I thought and once, I said ‘do you want me to talk [to the manager] about this situation?’ And the lady in question said, ‘If you would, please’ and then the manager wrote her a letter of warning because she had spoken to a client about the business. It put them in a very awkward situation. They are not supposed to talk to clients about wage issues.

Both Natalie’s and Elizabeth’s stories echo concerns about the low wages domestic employees receive from managers compared to the fees they pay for each cleaning session.

Both women claim that if the situation does not improve, they will consider terminating services and look for other alternatives. For some former clients, the exploitation of domestic employees by some managers caused them to end cleaning services. One former client explained:

Our current cleaner came from a housecleaning company, but this company was exploiting her. They were not paying her, gave her no employment contract, and made her buy her uniform (with their branding on it). They paid her a tiny portion of what they charged me. Hearing all this makes me wary of ever using housecleaning services again because these workers are so vulnerable.

Exploitation bedevils race relations in the domestic work sector and much of the tensions are due to past inequalities. It appears that some clients have hoped that housecleaning services would treat domestic employees with more dignity, respect and better working conditions. Another former client said: “*They work long hours for a tiny portion of the fee paid to the cleaning company. I would far rather pay a larger portion to a private maid*”. Although clients of housecleaning service firms want to avoid dealing with administrative issues, they expect better wages for and treatment of domestic employees managed by housecleaning service firms. Again, the ambivalence is clear: The burden of employing a domestic worker privately compared to what the housecleaning service firm offers, but then also having domestic employees in your house that are clearly exploited in terms of poor wages and strenuous working demands. At least it appears that some clients feel uncomfortable with this; some even stop using housecleaning services because of this. These concerns are shared by Devetter and Lefebvre (2015:168) in France, where they have demonstrated convincingly that outsourced domestic service firms fail to improve working conditions for domestic employees, despite state interventions.

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter firstly demonstrates that clients predominantly have contracted in or employed a domestic worker privately before shifting to housecleaning services. Particular issues were raised regarding the perceptions that labour legislation is biased towards domestic workers, especially with regard to dismissal procedures. Former employers became quite assertive in defending their stance that CCMA cases are managed unfairly, claiming that they followed the procedures correctly. While there are good reasons to be concerned about these remarks, as domestic workers have withstood years of exploitation and abuse, it does evoke the question of whether employment and dismissal practices regarding domestic work should not be reviewed and perhaps adapted. There is a potential negative consequence, if left unresolved: More people will avoid employing a domestic worker on a regular basis, which seriously

jeopardises the livelihoods of domestic workers, their families and the larger black communities who rely on this employment.

Another concern is the inability of some former employers to effectively manage the bipartite employment relationship with domestic workers, which comes with dependency, emotional labour, guilt and responsibilities. In particular, the issue of the hidden costs of contracting in or employing a domestic worker has been noted as a concern to some. This shows that despite the attempts to formalise domestic work, it remains an occupation where domestic workers remain dependent on the goodwill of employers as the only way to improve their livelihoods. Unfortunately, for some employers, the demands of having a domestic worker who is financially and emotionally dependent on them appear to be too much of a burden on their already stressed lives.

The findings show that the use of housecleaning services is linked to specific demographical factors: white women in their fifties. This implies that some clients may be in a position to no longer rely on a domestic worker and may outsource domestic tasks only when needed. People in their fifties, who are employed in professional careers are also typically at the height of their careers, financially stable and the children are either out of the house or adult. Some women may be employed in positions of power and authority, in managerial positions where demands are high and working hours are long. These women do not have the time or emotional energy to employ a domestic worker directly and opt for outsourced housecleaning service firms. Thus, the use of housecleaning service is clearly no longer just about cost-effectiveness, efficiency and flexibility, but is also used to avoid responsibilities, guilt and possible transgressions.

Despite the convenience and many benefits that housecleaning services offer clients, this chapter also demonstrates that using housecleaning services is not without its challenges. Lack of control, the distanced and often cold tripartite employment relationship, high fees and inconsistent service delivery have been noted as negative aspects of using housecleaning services. Regardless of these issues, it appears that the outsourcing of domestic labour duties is not going to stop any time soon.

However, a limitation of these findings is that I do not have the views of firm managers nor of the domestic employees. It could be that firm employees are often more vulnerable than domestic workers who are employed directly by an employer (a household), because employers do (sometimes) take personal responsibility to care for their domestic workers, because of the more intimate relationship. With the firm, domestic employees are dehumanised – clients hardly know any of their names – they are just bodies that work and

clean dwellings. How domestic employees who are employed through housecleaning services feel about working for these firms is not clear.

CHAPTER 8. CLEANING UP AND BEYOND: CONCLUDING REMARKS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to contribute to understandings of paid domestic labour and the use of housecleaning services in South Africa. The study was conducted in three geographical settings in South Africa: Stellenbosch, Somerset West and Roodepoort, where the survey assisted in unpacking the structural significance and the qualitative interviews the contextual meanings. 28 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with clients and 333 survey questionnaires were completed by clients using one of three housecleaning service firms that render team cleaning. Additionally, fourteen former clients of a housecleaning service firm responded to emails with open-ended questions to determine why they have stopped using housecleaning services.

Paid domestic work is becoming flexible and professional through the availability of domestic service firms. The need for flexible domestic services is linked to changes in context we live in today. We see a decline in marriages and childbearing among the middle-class and heterosexuals, the feminisation, flexibilisation and intensification of productive labour and changes in patterns of unpaid and paid domestic labour. The demand for flexible domestic services both nationally and internationally is increasing, and outsourced domestic service firms are filling the void around the globe. The overarching goal of this thesis was to investigate why people contract out or outsource their domestic labour duties to housecleaning service firms in South Africa, a context where contracting in or employing domestic help has been the norm among the middle-class. This concluding chapter aims to critically reflect on the theoretical and practical implications that outsourced housecleaning services have for domestic work.

This chapter is structured as follows: The first section focuses on four theoretical implications. The first is on reproductive labour, feminist debates and the outsourcing of domestic labour. This is followed by productive labour, work-family conflict theory and the outsourcing of domestic labour. From here, changes in household structures are discussed in relation to the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) life cycle model. And fourth, the benefits of using housecleaning services against the notion of ‘outsourced maternalism’ is discussed. In the second section of this chapter, the focus shifts to practical implications that the contracting out of domestic labour to housecleaning services have on the paid domestic work sector. Here the experiences of former employers of domestic workers are reflected upon and the possible implications for paid domestic work sector. The chapter ends with concluding remarks and recommendations for future research concerning the contracting out of domestic labour.

8.2 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Early theoretical understandings of reproductive labour (domestic and caring labour) were linked to the subordinated role of women and the burden this posed. Those who could afford it could contract in domestic help, to take over the drudgery of household tasks that typically reside with women. Over time, and despite advancement in household technologies, contracting in of domestic help has increased. Despite different cultural-geographical locations, the intersecting patterns of race, class and gender remain consistent: Those who perform domestic tasks in the houses of others are mostly women from poor socio-economic and low educational backgrounds. In the section below, an attempt is made to explain the growth in the use of housecleaning services within various theoretical contexts.

8.2.1 Reproductive labour, feminism and the outsourcing of domestic work

The feminist unpacking of domestic labour used both theoretical and empirical approaches to the role of women and reproductive labour. Historically, the first-wave feminist movement of the 1900s improved women's political power and equal political rights but did little to address the gender inequalities of reproductive labour (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006:6; Renzetti et al., 2012:16-17). It was only in the mid-twentieth century that the role of women in the productive and reproductive spheres profoundly changed (Bryson, 2003:16-17). During this time, radical and socialist feminists challenged the dominant role of patriarchy and capitalism in society and illustrated how domestic labour is done within patriarchal relations, which devalue the role of women in society, the workplace and the family (Vogel, 2000:2; Walby, 1990:39). Consequently, not only did women's productive roles improve in society, but a broader public discourse developed on women's reproductive roles and making domestic labour visible as work (Gray & Boddy, 2010:369; Hartmann, 1979:15). However, despite these discourses, in no country in the world do men and women provide an equal share of domestic labour (ILO, 2018:3).

This resonates with the findings of my study. The results show that women remain predominantly responsible for domestic labour, even when contracted out or externalised to housecleaning service firms. More than three-quarters of respondents who completed the survey questionnaires were women, and almost all the qualitative interviews were conducted with women. This was because they were the ones primarily using or contracting in domestic help. A gendered division of labour has persisted in the household, with many women pointing out how patriarchy continues to influence the domestic sphere. Female participants shared phrases such as *"it is a woman's responsibility"*, *"I don't get help from my husband"*, *"I am very lucky that he does the ironing"* and *"he is a chauvinist pig"*. Irrespective of who provides the service, the responsibility still falls on women to employ or coordinate domestic work. Based

on these responses one can see that some women continue to feel that this is a task they are expected to assume, that they should be grateful when some men do assist and that they should cow-tow to men thinking that their superiority to women means they do not need to perform certain tasks. Accordingly, for those women who do have access to the financial resources, having the ability and flexibility to use a housecleaning service when they needed it was considered to be “*a blessing*” and “*a relief*”.

Hence, what housecleaning service firms offer is the freedom or relief from domestic labour duties, without the additional burden of having to employ someone who (mostly) women employers have to manage and care for. However, this privilege of hiring help is limited to those who can afford it, and it does not challenge the underlying gender inequalities within the household or patriarchal relations. As such, the gender structure and inequalities of domestic labour remain. There is also a distinct racial, gender, class and even age bias.

The findings of this study show that clients who contract out domestic labour to housecleaning services are relatively homogeneous concerning their race, gender and age. People who tend to use housecleaning firms are typically white women in their fifties. This supports intersectional feminist views that when looking at issues of gender, one needs to take into consideration the power dynamics that underlie class, race and gender identities, which produce different experiences of both “privilege and oppression” (Collins, 1990:225; Dhamoon, 2011:230; Yuval-Davis, 2006:199-200). The dualism and co-existence between positions of privilege and oppression are notable from the findings in this study. Women are sometimes oppressed and victims of power (patriarchy), but some women can overcome this when they acquire positions of power, especially where they are more economically independent and privileged.

The documentation of privileged home-makers who transfer domestic labour duties by contracting in domestic help has been widely discussed in the literature (Cock, 1980; Ginsburg, 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007), but it is less clear why they contract out domestic duties to housecleaning services, rather than contracting in help. Qualitative findings revealed that some homemakers refuse to perform specific tasks such as “*scrubbing and washing*” and that they would “*rather employ somebody else to do the hard labour*”. They do not like the ‘dirty work’, that has little value and status. These duties are assigned to women from a lower race and class status, which reproduces and reinforces the historical intersections between the privileged (white) women and the oppressed (black) domestic worker. The ability to outsource ‘dirty work’ to others is also about status enhancement, as this liberates other women to do more rewarding and stimulating tasks. In short, housecleaning services firms

transform dirty work into quality services, whereby specific training in cleaning techniques and skills are managed by the management.

From an intersectional feminist perspective, the findings suggest there is a renegotiation in terms of race, class and gender oppression in the intimate space of domestic work and by outsourcing domestic labour to housecleaning services reinforces this oppression. Whiteness and class are reinforced by the outsourcing to domestic work to housecleaning services, where black women from impoverished backgrounds perform the dirty work for white women and their families. As seen, most of the clients who make use of household cleaning services are well-endowed with resources, and domestic work continues to be considered as “dirty work”, work that white women refuse to do and which is transferred to black women. The division of waged reproductive labour remains racialised and the value thereof remains unchallenged.

However, in South Africa, there is a growing black middle class, making it likely that black women are also making use of household cleaning service firms. One would presume that these black women clients experience similar forms of oppression and privilege, although this cannot be confirmed or refuted by this study because most of the clients were white. The absence of black participants may suggest that black women continue to employ domestic workers according to traditional models of full-time and perhaps also live-in domestic workers, rather than making use of more recent cleaning firms. However, the rise in the black middle-class, where productive work is becoming more racially and gender representative, it could be worthwhile to do a study on women from other race and class positions and the contracting in or out of domestic labour. Although my study suggests that women in the same class position (middle-class) use housecleaning services, perhaps the racial identities of women play a role too. Across contexts, there is the need to recognise that domestic labour is neither stable, nor fixed, but is dependent on specific social assumptions and positions.

8.2.2 Critical race theory and the outsourcing of domestic labour

From a CRT perspective, overt and subtle forms of racism and racial inequalities are highlighted in everyday life, where white racial dominance is critically interpreted. This study shows that the outsourcing of domestic labour to housecleaning services reinforces racial stereotypes and white supremacy on three levels: the micro, the meso and the macro levels (Christian et al., 2019).

On a micro level, findings revealed that clients of housecleaning services are predominantly white (women), while domestic employees are black (women). This finding indicates that outsourced housecleaning services maintain white privilege, in that white women transfer their

reproductive duties to others from a different race and class background. In doing so, white women do not get their hands dirty, while black women continue to be the doers of dirty work. The colour-blindness of some clients is also remarkable. Very few participants acknowledged that paid domestic work, regardless of being outsourced, are performed by black women. Derogatory terms such as “*mensies*” (little people), “the institution” and “girl” are used when referring to domestic workers employed by a housecleaning service firm, emphasising the racial hierarchies further.

On a meso level, many housecleaning service firms claim that they professionalise and uplift the status of domestic work and domestic workers, yet it fails on different levels. The naming of many of these housecleaning service firms such as “Marvellous Maids”, “Mollywood Maids”; and “Rent-a-Maid”, among others, suggest that little has changed to improve the value and racial stereotypes of domestic work and domestic servants. Despite legislation that changed domestic servants into domestic workers, many housecleaning service firms fail to acknowledge this transformation. By using “maid”, a term that comes with complex layers of servitude, discrimination and oppression, housecleaning services reinforce the white/black, the privilege/oppressed, the us/them divide of this occupation.

On a macro level, the transition from apartheid to democratic South Africa came with new rights for all South Africans. For the first time in 1996, domestic workers enjoyed labour rights under the LRA, the BCEA in 1998 and the SD7 in 2002. Working conditions, wages and working hours, among others, became regulated. However, findings show that clients of housecleaning services, many who were former employers of domestic workers, are reluctant to fully cooperate with these regulations set by the state. Although some clients acknowledged that labour regulation is necessary for this occupation, many clients find labour laws to interfere with the way how they want to manage their home, domestic workers and their relationship with them. For them, there is more comfort and less responsibility in using housecleaning services. From a CRT perspective, by hiring housecleaning services to secure the whiteness of how things were during the apartheid. Under apartheid, white people could negotiate and enter an agreement with their black domestic workers as they pleased. In this vein, many clients spoke of great nostalgia of the past – referring to the “good old South Africa” where they had the power to negotiate, discriminate, and oppress black people for their own satisfaction and benefit. In essence, housecleaning services do little to change the racial hierarchies of this occupation, but further reinforcing the difference between employers/clients and domestic workers.

The changes in productive labour (both becoming demographical representative and flexible) also comes with new challenges, and hiring housecleaning services provide a buffer to some.

8.2.3 Productive labour, work-family conflict and the outsourcing of domestic labour

Concerning productive labour, one of the fundamental changes that have occurred since the mid-twentieth century is the increase of middle-class women in paid employment (Poster & Yolmo, 2016:579). The expansion of employment opportunities for women in the labour market has resulted in the feminisation of productive labour, especially with the growth of the service sector (Gregory, 2016:507; Rubery, 2015:633). One of the consequences of the feminisation of productive labour is that within traditional heterosexual nuclear households, there has been a shift from the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model, to a dual adult-earning model where both men and women are performing paid work, even though gender inequalities and pay gaps remain (Gregory, 2016:502; Heraty et al., 2008:480).

At the same time, when the feminisation of productive labour occurred, there was an increase in the flexibilisation of productive labour. A shift has taken place from standard, full-time employment and fixed working hours to flexible, part-time and temporary employment. Flexible work patterns included flexitime (e.g., compressed workweeks and different starting times) and flexi-space (e.g., remote working and working from home) (Chung, 2019:25; Rubery, 2019:99-100). These flexible work patterns were partly implemented to minimise the interference of work with the family demands of employed mothers and wives. The question I had, was whether these more fluid, flexible employment relations related to 'productive' work had any bearing on the use of more 'flexible' arrangements for help in terms of 'reproductive' work within the household.

Concerning these trends, mixed findings were found. Quantitative results indicate that just under half of the women were employed (44%), with many still employed in full-time jobs with standard working hours, at a specific location. Unlike international trends, where flexible work practices are integrated into workplaces to facilitate better work-family balance, this seems not to be the case in the context of this study. These findings also reflect the broader South African trends, where working women, especially mothers, find it challenging to balance job demands with family obligations (Maqubela, 2016:7218; Reddy, 2015:15). Inflexible working hours, intensive work demands, and commuting time added to the daily stress of employed women in this study. Phrases such as, "*I work from eight to five every day and I don't have time for domestic work*"; "*I work a lot, over the weekend, on Sundays*"; "*I travel a lot for work*" and "*How do I fit in cleaning?*" were commonplace. This indicates the level of stress on women to meet different demands. Most of the women in this study felt overwhelmed by the responsibilities associated with the dual shift of productive and reproductive work.

From a work-family conflict perspective, work and family roles both require time, energy and commitment, and time pressures and unpredictable demands from work and family increase stress and conflict for individuals (Greenhaus & Powel, 2006:73; Kulik, 2008:271). Inflexible or long working hours and intensive work demands often interfere with family responsibilities and causes an increase in work-family conflict. One way to improve work-family balance is to alleviate cleaning demands by contracting them out to housecleaning services, with minimal effort for time-strapped individuals. International studies show that the employment status of women is linked to the increased contracting out of domestic and care labour, to manage a better work-life balance. As discussed in chapters three and four, time-starved individuals outsource several domestic labour duties such as laundry, transport of children and meal preparation to professionals (Hochschild, 2012:105; Ramirez & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009:122-123).

This study confirms this trend by showing that among employed clients – mostly women – with busy work schedules and long working hours, reproductive tasks are contracted out to professionals as a way to cope with work and family demands. However, within the South African context, where contracted in private domestic help is widely available and affordable, why do people then decide to contract out domestic labour to housecleaning services on an hourly or short-term basis? Are there other factors that influence this?

Based on the responses of participants, it is clear that one of the key reasons why outsourced housecleaning services are used is that they offer convenience and are considered safer than other alternatives. To illustrate this argument, one employed participant said: *“I have to leave my home early in the morning and come back late. At this stage, it is just me. I can’t wait for a domestic worker to arrive and rush back to open the gate again”*. Housecleaning services fill this need by offering clients the option to provide an extra set of house keys to the manager, to open up their dwelling for the team. The need for flexible domestic help could also be pragmatically determined, as long-term trends show that women spend less time on domestic labour, possibly due to technologically advanced household appliances that raise productivity and increase convenience (Baxter & Tai, 2016:457; Raz-Yurovich & Marx, 2019:205). Also, with the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which increasingly penetrates the household sphere, automatic appliances such as robotic vacuum cleaners replace the need for human labour.

Possibly, as flexitime, remote working, working-from-home and other flexible work arrangements become more widely practised in South Africa, one might see a concomitant increase in the need for flexible domestic labour. This study could not accurately determine how changes in the use of household technologies influenced the time spent on household tasks. However, what was more apparent was the influence of changing household structures

and lifestyles as motivational reasons for contracting out domestic labour to housecleaning service firms.

8.2.4 Households, life cycles and the outsourcing of domestic work

Recent decades have seen substantial shifts in household structures among the middle-class. Among heterosexuals, marriage and fertility have declined, while single-parenting and lone-person households have increased. These changes affect domestic labour in various ways. For example, having fewer children reduces domestic and caring duties, and possibly the need for full-time outside domestic help. My findings show that two-thirds (66%) of households contracting out domestic labour to housecleaning services have less than three members. Phrases such as, “*I live alone ... why should I use a person every day?*” and “*We don’t have any children ... we don’t need a full-time person*” were often repeated. The added benefit of outsourcing is that housecleaning services often specialise and can perform only specifically requested tasks, such as cleaning or laundry. They are quick and efficient, and because they work in teams, are in the private household of a client for a short period.

The age of the clients, who tended to be older, was another factor that emerged in this study. Hence, my reason for looking at the particular life cycles of individuals. An adapted South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) life cycle model was used as a framework of analysis. The life cycle model focuses on the life span of individuals and implies that as individuals move through different life cycles, they face various opportunities and challenges (Stinnett et al., 2017:171). Scholarly work on life cycles mainly focuses on consumption patterns concerning goods and services and excludes the issues of domestic labour (Joubert, 2013:30; McGoldrick & Shibusawa, 2012:392). Thus, one of the contributions of this study is that it provides a better understanding of the distinctive domestic labour needs of people in different stages of the life cycle, and how contracting it out to housecleaning service firms solves some of their challenges. The findings of this study showed that most of the clients using housecleaning services were singles (19%), couples without children (40%) and couples with children (28%), within different life cycle phases. Single-parents (3%), extended households (6%) and composite households⁶² (3%) seem to use housecleaning services less often.

Concerning different life cycle phases, quantitative results reveal that for singles, the largest percentage (40%) were in the mature single III phase (65 years or older). Qualitative findings revealed that the amount of time spent on domestic labour by single participants remains little compared to other households. Thus, the motivational reason for singles to use housecleaning

⁶² For definition clarification, see Section 2.5. For findings, see Table 6.4 in chapter 6.

services is that they do not need regular domestic help and that contracting it out to professionals is efficient and effective. However, qualitative findings reveal that single individuals tend to contract in domestic and care labour more regularly if their health deteriorates, and as they are no longer able to perform their daily routines. The link between the contracting out of domestic labour and single-person households is scarce, as it addresses their consumption patterns concerning comfort, health products and services, and smaller dwellings (McGoldrick & Shibusawa, 2012:393; Salkowitz, 2008:65-66). Thus, the findings of this study potentially add to these debates by showing that the outsourcing of domestic labour duties to housecleaning services is a preferred option for senior singletons who do not require full-time assistance with care. However, it could be that people who need assistance with care use firms that render care services.

Regarding couples, it was found that the majority (44%) fall in the mature couple II phase (at least one partner is aged between 50 and 64 years), followed by mature couples III (39% – at least one partner is 65 years or older). Qualitative findings indicate two motivational reasons for couples using housecleaning services. Changes in the size of the households with the departure of children cut domestic and care responsibilities. Phrases such as “*empty-nest thing*”, “*it is only my wife and I*” and “*my circumstances changed*” affected the decision to contract out domestic labour to housecleaning service firms. Another motivational reason includes the need for flexibility since couples no longer have to consider the needs of children and like to travel frequently. Qualitative findings reveal that some couples travel more regularly, especially since retirement, and housecleaning service firms offer them flexibility, vis-à-vis the terms and conditions and service agreements.

Concerning couples with children, the majority of clients are in the mature couple with children II phase (the eldest child is older than 18 years living with their parents). While the household is full and domestic labour demands are high, qualitative interviews revealed that in some of these households, domestic labour is more equally shared among all household members. For example, one participant said: “*We are four people in the house, but everyone is doing their part*”. The need for a full-time domestic worker is thus not necessary, and the contracting out of domestic labour to housecleaning services is sufficient for this household. Qualitative interviews revealed that couples often continue using housecleaning services after their children have left their home, or when couples relocate to a new region, as the need for flexible domestic work is required. It seems that coupled clients find ways to address their domestic labour needs, and the solutions have primarily been furnished by the flexible and hassle-free nature of team cleaning offered by housecleaning service firms.

An interesting finding is that couples with young children tend to outsource some parts of domestic labour (mostly cleaning) while contracting in other parts (mostly care work). However, one could assume that the private domestic worker who performs mainly care work, also helps with cleaning and laundry tasks when the housecleaning service firm is not present. In this study, cleaning was outsourced to housecleaning services, while childcare was contracted in through a full-time domestic worker. In the context of this study, housecleaning services render team cleaning in a quick and efficient, though in an impersonal manner. This finding suggests that when it comes to childcare, there is a desire among some parents to preserve the personal characteristics of care work, rather than placing children in childcare centres or day-care, which is often impersonal and institution-like. The broader literature on the contracting in of domestic labour supports this claim that domestic workers or care workers are often hired by households with young children or other dependents on a full-time and/or live-in basis (Ally, 2010; King, 2007). Qualitative interviews with clients who formerly employed domestic workers privately revealed they did so when their children were young and needed extra help with domestic and caring responsibilities.

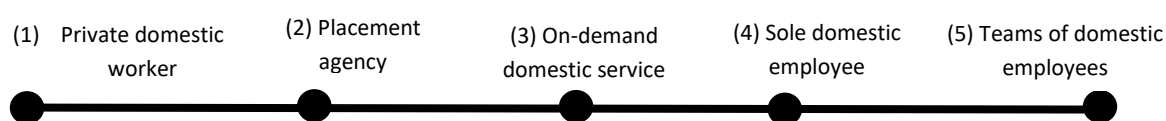
The implications of these findings can be interpreted as follows: It seems that housecleaning services do not pose a threat to private domestic workers who work with families with young children. However, what these changing life cycles indicate is that cleaning services are filling a particular niche in the market, by providing greater flexibility and freedom of choice to clients that contracting in of domestic workers in a full-time or part-time employment relationship is not providing. Thus, housecleaning services are providing particular expertise and the flexibility to adapt to changing needs with proficiency and flexibility.

8.2.5 Benefits: Outsourcing domestic work, emotional labour and maternalism

Housecleaning services make a valuable contribution to domestic work in general and clients' domestic needs in particular. They expand the capabilities, employability and skills of domestic workers and provide clients with both the numerical and the functional flexibility to meet demands. In comparison to insourced domestic workers, housecleaning service firms are more flexible, cost-effective and focused and domestic employees are often better trained and equipped to perform the expected tasks. Many domestic service firms have come to claim this as their domain and advertise a wide range of services to clients. For these housecleaning service firms, domestic work is not just about vacuuming and spraying room freshener, but it involves rendering cleaning in a customised and professional manner and establishing a friendly and trusting relationship with clients. These characteristics are some of the reasons why people opt for housecleaning services rather than insourcing domestic help.

To put this into context, people mainly choose from four types of paid domestic work models provided by housecleaning services (Figure 8.1). The first model represents the traditional paid domestic work model, where employers contract in or employ a domestic worker privately. Second, people with specific cleaning or caring demands can employ a domestic worker through a domestic placement agency, where domestic workers are selected based on their competence and skills. Third, contracting out of domestic labour can occur through housecleaning service firms that provide a single domestic employee who cleans the dwelling by herself, or fourth the firm provides a team of cleaners, where cleaning occurs in less than three hours.

Figure 8.1: Options of domestic services



Regarding the personal nature of the employment relationship, by employing a domestic worker directly (option 1) is typically high in maternalism, emotional labour and care. By hiring a placement agency (option 2), employers are not necessarily having a less personal employment relationship with the domestic worker. It implies that employing a domestic worker through a domestic placement agency, employers do not have to perform any “background checks” regarding work permits, experience and loyalty. The assumption is that owners/managers of domestic placement agencies select only worthy candidates for their clients, and help clients with all legal aspects of employing a domestic worker. On-demand domestic services through apps (option 3) gives clients quick access to domestic workers when needed. There is very little time to develop a personalistic relationship with the domestic employee as people use this option mostly once-off. By hiring a domestic worker through a domestic service firm that renders cleaning through a sole domestic employee (option 4) limits some of the intimacy and responsibilities between clients and the domestic worker. The client is not considered the employer of the domestic worker, which means that all issues are managed through the service provider. Option 5, where a team of domestic workers are hired to clean a clients’ home, also limits chances of developing face-to-face personalistic relations with domestic employees, given that cleaning sessions are fast, uniform and predictable.

In this regard, my findings revealed the following benefits of contracting out domestic labour to housecleaning services that render team cleaning (option 4):

- Administrative issues are handled professionally: Clients commented that the terms and conditions of services are clear and hassle-free. Clients are also informed in advance about changes in price, time and team members
- Domestic employees are reliable and well-trained: Clients praised how reliable housecleaning services are concerning the time of arrival and training in physical and emotional skills
- Domestic employees are trustworthy: Background checks are done on domestic employees, and fewer problems are experienced as a result
- The division of domestic duties among team members renders cleaning more efficient and time-effective: Team cleaning is not only quick, but it is also less intrusive since cleaning is done in less than three hours.
- Dependency is avoided: Clients are no longer involved in domestic employees' private lives, which cuts financial and emotional attachments. The transport of domestic employees also is the firm's responsibility, not the clients.
- Conflict is dealt with professionally: Managers try to resolve disputes or concerns of both clients and domestic employees professionally and amicably.
- Cost-effective: Housecleaning service firms provide their cleaning equipment (vacuum cleaners, brooms) and cleaning chemicals, which is cost-effective for clients. It is also cost-effective from the point of view that there are no 'hidden fees' and clients are not involved in dismissal procedures and legislation issues that are costly, both financially and in time.

Several phrases confirmed that people are aware of the cost and benefits of outsourcing domestic labour to housecleaning services. From a financial point of view, phrases such as *"It is expensive, but I can see a difference when they leave"*; *"It's more expensive compared to a maid [a private domestic worker], but for the convenience one gets, it's worth it"*; *"I pay a different fee, and I have somebody trustworthy to overlook everything"*; and *"It is cheaper in the long-run than employing a live-in maid"* were shared by clients. From a risk point of view, some clients mentioned that *"It becomes riskier to employ people [domestic workers] full-time ... [but through contracting out domestic labour to housecleaning service] you don't have to worry about anything. Any laws, nothing. I don't have those responsibilities"*. From an emotional perspective, clients revealed that *"the relationship is easier now [compared to a private domestic worker]"*; *"with the company ... there are no hassles or hiccups"*. These findings illustrate that some people look beyond the financial costs when it comes to their decision to outsource domestic labour to housecleaning services and that emotional, risk and trust factors also play a role.

This study also demonstrates that by using housecleaning services is not only beneficial in obtaining professional and trained domestic services, but it also allows clients to outsource emotional labour and maternalism typically associated with employing a domestic worker directly. A bipartite employment relationship between employers and domestic workers is not only characterised by unequal power relations, but one that also involves a bi-directional personal, maternalistic bond that requires emotional labour. Where domestic workers are responsible for the menial work of cleaning, employers are responsible for emotional labour. A domestic worker is often seen as a confidante, to whom employers share their personal issues, but at the same time, requires emotional labour, kindness and empathy by managing the domestic worker and listening and comforting her woes (Mendez, 1998:123). Many former employers (now clients) have expressed feelings of guilt of being in a fortunate socio-economic, race and class position to their domestic workers, and feel obligated to help domestic workers financially and emotionally. Despite being comforted by the domestic worker, the altruistic behaviour is often experienced as a burden by former employers, and by using housecleaning services, the employment relationship is transformed into a tripartite one (managers, clients and domestic employees). This relieves clients from not only the physical demands of domestic work, but also emotional labour and maternalism. This study has shown that those who outsource domestic work, are perhaps less attuned to the daily struggles of domestic workers as they choose to outsource maternalism too. In short, by hiring a housecleaning service firm, clients avoid dealing with the issues of poverty, where they have no responsibilities towards the lives of domestic workers and their families.

Essentially, this study suggests a new concept of “outsourced maternalism”, which means an employment relationship that is characterised as instrumental and clinical. Although friendliness is still valued in the interaction, there is a decline in empathy for the daily struggles of domestic workers. People who have the means to buy out domestic work to housecleaning services also have the privilege to buy out maternalism, avoiding the duties and responsibilities of the middle-class, and devaluing paid domestic work in the process.

8.3 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

In South Africa, apartheid encouraged the supply of informal and cheap full-time black female domestic and care workers to white households as an almost universal trend across the country. However, over time, paid domestic work has become formalised, and employment practices have shifted from live-in and full-time to live-out and part-time arrangements. With the rise of outsourced housecleaning service firms that transform paid domestic work into business-like professional work, this next section considers the implications for the private domestic work sector. Findings reveal that a large percentage of clients (78%) had made the

shift from employing a domestic worker to using the services of a housecleaning firm for several reasons based on rational choice. A key consideration was the influence of new labour legislation.

8.3.1 Legislation and the outsourcing of domestic labour

The exploitation that many domestic workers experience stems from the lack of recognition that domestic work is work, from the hidden nature of the workplace, and the informality of the employment relationship. In a South African context, the apartheid past exacerbates the race-based exploitative conditions of this occupation. Consequently, paid domestic work has become formalised where employment contracts and minimum wages and working hours are regulated. However, the formalisation of paid domestic work was one of the main reasons why participants in this study shifted to housecleaning services, where they have no legal responsibilities regarding the employment conditions of domestic employees.

While there is a need for the formalisation and legal protection of domestic workers, who are one of the most vulnerable groups in society, former employers (now clients of housecleaning firms) regarded labour legislation as rigid, biased and unfair. While many were paying more than the minimum wage required, it was things such as the dismissal procedures and UIF payments that were considered daunting, time-consuming and costly. Some clients claim that despite following the dismissal procedure ‘correctly’, they lost the case at the CCMA. Phrases such as “*lengthy*”, “*expensive*” and “*emotionally draining*” were used to describe the dismissal process. For many former employers, the CCMA experience left them with the perception that employing a domestic worker privately is not worth it.

While these perceptions can be interpreted as insensitive and controversial, the implications are nevertheless far-reaching. This study found that the labour legislation was a major deterrent to employing domestic workers. The repercussions are that the livelihoods of thousands of black women, and their households, who remain dependent on this employment, may no longer be employed. A possible solution is perhaps to shift the focus on the benefits of legislation for clients. Maybe South Africa can follow a European model where tax rebates are offered to people who register their domestic workers on an online system, where there is evidence that employers pay domestic workers sufficiently and contribute to their unemployment insurance funds. Perhaps this could inspire people to look beyond the “emotionally draining” aspects of domestic work labour legislation.

Another finding was the burden of the bipartite employment relationship, with all its dependencies, that causes some people to shift to housecleaning services that offer a tripartite employment relationship with fewer dependencies and responsibilities.

8.3.2 Employment relationship and the outsourcing of domestic labour

In contrast to the personal narrative (albeit patronising) of domestic workers being "part of the family", professionalising domestic work means avoiding any personal responsibility. Qualitative findings show that some former employers of domestic workers (now clients of housecleaning services) often face a moral dilemma of effectively managing a dual contractual-familial employment relationship with privately employed domestic workers. Employers feel a great sense of responsibility to help domestic workers beyond the contractual obligations, which has been described by some as "hidden costs". The word "cost" signals something negative, something that can and should be avoided. Some, therefore, welcome the shift to housecleaning services where a tripartite employment relationship shields client (former employers) from guilt, responsibilities and these "hidden costs".

Clients' narratives of their former domestic workers' lives are presented as filled with hardship and personal problems, but by shifting to housecleaning services, they do not have to deal directly with these problems and inequality that separates them from their domestic workers. Housecleaning services enlarge the distance between clients and domestic employees, where domestic work becomes mechanical and instrumental, like an assembly-line, where duties and interactions are painstakingly controlled, timed and organised. The "us-and-them" divide increases, as the inter-class and racial contact between employers and domestic employees, is reduced to the extent where clients and domestic employees interact only superficially or not at all. These changes brought about by the shift from personal employment of a domestic worker to outsourcing to an anonymised team of cleaners suggest that we are perhaps heading towards a society where paid domestic work is disposable, dehumanised and temporary. With the Fourth Industrial Revolution, where robotic technologies are increasingly penetrating the private spheres of households, this will further impact on domestic labour.

At this point, it is necessary also to point out some of the disadvantages that emerged from using housecleaning services highlighted by current and former clients. These included issues of financial costs, and contrary to the claims of most companies and clients in this study, some felt that they were unreliable, had poorly trained employees and that there was a lack of control over the workers, which led some to reconsider using housecleaning services. In particular, some clients (former employers of domestic workers) shared their frustrations and worries about how domestic employees are treated by these housecleaning services firms. Concerns about improper wages, long working hours, lack of transport money and exploitive employment contracts were raised. Some people worry that the housecleaning service firm is taking most of the money that clients' pay and those domestic employees are exploited by the capitalist machine. The decisions are quite complex and multifaceted. Some like the quick,

efficient, and hassle-free entangled use of housecleaning services, but that it feeds to the capitalist exploitation of highly vulnerable workers. The owner of these housecleaning service firms rakes in the profit while virtually doing nothing. What is interesting about this is that these concerns were voiced by women who shifted to housecleaning services specifically to avoid responsibility toward domestic workers. Thus, women are aware of other women's needs and their challenges, but they are ambivalent about taking co-responsibility for this.

8.4 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In closure, what this study has shown is that the practice of outsourcing and specialisation has influenced who and under what conditions domestic labour is contracted in or outsourced to a housecleaning service firm. Beyond this, culturally, there is something deeper that is changing in South African society with the use of housecleaning services. In the domestic service sector, employers' homes are the workplaces of domestic workers. While the home as space is private, it is also a space where identities are formed, reformed and deliberated upon, family values and norms are passed on from parents to children, and cultural and religious traditions are learned and practised. In short, the home is a space, which broadly reflects and reproduces the broader national culture and identity. Contact between people from different class and race positions – although unequal and maternalistic in nature – is also manifested in a kind of sharing that takes place from both sides. Employers contribute to the schooling and opportunities of domestic workers and their families, but employers and their children also benefit from the nurturing and care from domestic workers. To illustrate this point, the other day I heard a beautiful Xhosa song on the radio while driving to work. The radio broadcaster said we all know this song because of our domestic workers sang it to us when we were children. There is a cultural exchange that goes missing with the use of housecleaning services.

With housecleaning services, which come with an impersonal, instrumental and clinical tripartite employment relationship between clients, domestic employees and managers, these kinds of nuanced features of domestic work disappear. Housecleaning services depersonalise domestic work to such an extent that clients do not recognise domestic employees, do not know them or want to know anything about their personal life. Contact between clients and domestic employees are stripped to the bare minimum – they come in to clean as quickly and efficiently as possible; they are nameless bodies that clean homes. This study shows that some people are no longer willing to have a relationship with the people who clean their homes and that they believe it is simply not worth the effort to maintain a relationship. It is devastating, as domestic work remains an integral feature of our society and domestic workers remain one of the most vulnerable groups of workers in society. Thus, domestic work needs a broader

political, economic and emotional understanding and appreciation of how the outsourcing of domestic work is eroding the character of society in ways not thought of before. One cannot help but think about the experiences of domestic workers who were previously employed by a household, where the exchange between people from different class and race positions shaped the identities and livelihoods on both sides.

By outsourcing maternalism also neglects the agency of domestic workers, where they have the ability to actively construct identities and negotiate working conditions with employers. Often under direct employment, domestic workers have the agency to decide with what tasks they want to start with, how they mop a floor or when lunch breaks are taken. In housecleaning services, all aspects of their labour power and working conditions are controlled to such an extent that they become docile bodies. The division of labour within teams increase supervision and control either by team leaders, clients or managers of housecleaning service firms, who are distinct from the domestic employees. By assigning each domestic employee to a specific task (e.g. cleaning kitchen, sweeping floors) enable the supervision of each individual employee and the simultaneous work of the whole team. Comparing workers and teams to each other, classifying them according to skill, speed and positive feedback from clients, and rewarding specific individuals or teams, breaks down the agency of domestic employees further. The rotation of tasks only occurs at the approval of supervisors, clients or managers.

Time is controlled and calculated too. In the mornings, all domestic employees must report at the offices of the manager. Here they receive their client list, equipment and uniforms, and engage in Morning Prayer. They must leave behind their personal items and embark on the days' work until their return in the afternoon. Everything that might disturb or distract the domestic employee is eliminated. It is forbidden to talk to clients unless talked to and client's dwellings must be cleaned as quickly and efficiently as possible. Disruption of any kind is punishable.

Thus, outsourcing domestic work to housecleaning services comes with a new set of power dynamic not thought for before. It serves to neglect the agency of domestic employees as passive and docile bodies, who need to be disciplined and punished. It suggests that despite the legal rights of domestic workers, domestic work is still not valued by our society. The cost of outsourcing domestic work and maternalism is not only to shift responsibilities to others, but also to neglect domestic workers, the very workers who make the lives of the middle-class possible.

In essence, paid domestic work has moved on to outsourced and flexible options. Yet, despite this, housecleaning service firms continue to evoke stereotypes associated with domestic

work. It is considered a job that needs supervision and control. Maternalism is also incorporated into the culture of housecleaning service firms, where managers use gifts and incentives to control domestic employees. It also shows that paid domestic work cannot exist without those who are prepared to work as domestic workers, but that people outsource domestic work to housecleaning services to gain privileges without connecting with the poor. Dealing with those from different race and class backgrounds is inconvenient for and resented by some people, and by hiring housecleaning services, this is avoided. In essence, housecleaning service firms contribute to the race, class and gender stereotypes of domestic work and that outsourcing domestic work to housecleaning services is not enough to elevate the status of this occupation or to improve the working conditions of domestic workers.

Two main recommendations stem from the findings of this study. Firstly, the focus of this study is merely on one aspect of domestic labour, namely household cleaning. However, the definition of domestic work encompasses various levels of domestic labour, including cleaning, cooking, laundering, care work and gardening. Whether and to what extent people contract out these duties to the domestic service market is not fully known or understood in South Africa. Future studies can focus on these dimensions of domestic work too from a client's perspective, which could also add insights into an under-research area of domestic labour.

The second recommendation points to the broader transformation of work and labour in South Africa. One of the findings of this study illustrates that female employers or clients have a sense of empathy for other women in lower class positions – domestic workers – yet they experience it as a burden and sometimes overwhelming to engage with the broader socio-economic challenges they face. Clients shared their concerns about how they believe domestic employees are ill-treated within these housecleaning service firms, and that they hire these firms with ambivalence and feelings of guilt. Future studies could use a feminist 'ethics of care' lens to explore these challenges of labour and care between women. Inherent to the ethics of care are feminist approaches and methodologies that recognise the significance of relationships and the underlying power structures that form and preserve these relationships. The central focus of the ethics of care is the moral duty that one has of attending to the needs of 'the particular others' for whom we take responsibility. For example, caring for one's child is perhaps at the forefront of a person's moral concerns. "The ethics of care recognises that human beings are dependent for many years of their lives, that the moral claim of those dependent on us for the care they need is pressing, and that there are highly important moral aspects in developing the relations of caring that enable human beings to live and progress" (Held, 2006:10). Similarly, the moral duty of caring and of meeting the needs of domestic

workers should be taken seriously by employers, whether they are employed directly or through outsourced housecleaning service firms.

This debate links to the changes in the employment of farm workers. White male farmers typically used to house farm workers and their families on their farms within a highly paternalistic and unequal context. Today, many tend to rely on off-farm labour and labour brokers, with farm labourers now being hired on temporary, casual and seasonal arrangements. Future research could use some of the theoretical implications of this study and the changes that occur in the domestic work sector and apply it to other contexts such as farm labour. All this points to the need to look at these issues from an intersectionality perspective. This is the gap for future research on this topic, which lies at the heart of the household.

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ADDENDA

ADDENDUM A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CLIENTS

(Person mainly responsible for employing the housecleaning service company)

Date and time:

Personal background

Household size (number of people living in the same household to whom housecleaning company render cleaning services)	
Gender	
Age	
Employment type	
Name of housecleaning firm used	

1. Why have decided to employ a housecleaning service company and not a private domestic worker? *(Expand on issues coming from client's response asking the question how, why, how long etc.). Probe.*
2. Why have decided to employ this current housecleaning service company? *(Expand on reasons coming from client's response). Probe.*
3. What are the main duties that the team perform? *Probe: How, under which conditions, time, do they provide cleaning equipment / chemicals? etc.*
4. Have you employed a private domestic worker in the past, before shifting to a housecleaning service company? *Why/why not?*
5. Why are you no longer employing a domestic worker privately? *Probe (employment relationship, issues, problems, labour laws etc.)*
6. What do you think are the main advantages and/or disadvantages of using a housecleaning service company? *(Expand on client's response). Probe.*

ADDENDUM B: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

"CLEANING UP: A SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE USE OF HOUSECLEANING SERVICES"

Hello, my name is David Du Toit, PhD student in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Stellenbosch University. As a current user of a housecleaning company, I would appreciate your participation in this study.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to establish what type of households use housecleaning services and why this service is chosen in preference to employing a domestic worker privately.

2. TO BE COMPLETED BY

This questionnaire is completed by the person mainly responsible for the communication with and/or payment of the housecleaning services rendered.

3. PROCEDURES

- Please complete all the questions reflecting your situation
- Please mark with an "X" in the box provided *or* write a number in the space provided
- It will take approximately 10 - 15 minutes to complete this questionnaire
- If you want to participate in the lucky draw, and/or would like to be involved in further research (interview), please provide a contact number on the last page of the questionnaire

4. BENEFITS

This study will contribute our understanding of the increased use of housecleaning services. Little research has been done of this sector to date, and your contribution to the generation of new knowledge is valued

5. CHANCE TO WIN 3 FREE HOUSECLEANING SESSIONS

A lucky draw will take place where five lucky clients will win 3 free housecleaning session.

6. ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

All information obtained from the questionnaire is anonymous, i.e. your name/address will not appear on the dataset, and you cannot be identified.

7. PARTICIPATION

Participation in this study is voluntary. Should you be willing to assist me in this study, please start answering the questions on the next page. This will serve as your consent to participate in this study.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

David Du Toit (main researcher) daviddt@uj.ac.za

Lindy Heinecken (supervisor) lindy@sun.ac.za

Jan Vorster (co-supervisor) jhv3@sun.ac.za

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact Ms Maléne Fouché (mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622) at the Division for Research Development.

WHEN ANSWERING THIS SURVEY, PLEASE TAKE NOTE OF THE FOLLOWING IN TERMS OF HOUSEHOLD PROFILE:

- ❖ **TO BE COMPLETED BY: THE PERSON MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PAYMENT OF / COMMUNICATION WITH THE HOUSECLEANING SERVICE COMPANY. THIS PERSON IS "YOU" IN THE TABLE BELOW.**
- ❖ **THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE ARE EXCLUDED FROM THIS HOUSEHOLD PROFILE:**
 - FRIENDS OR OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS WHO ARE VISITING
 - ADULT CHILDREN WHO ARE VISITING OVER WEEKENDS
 - ALL OTHER PEOPLE LIVING ON THE PREMISES TO WHOM THE HOUSECLEANING SERVICE COMPANY DOES NOT PROVIDE ITS CLEANING SERVICE

***** PLEASE ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS *****

1. What is the name of the housecleaning service company you are currently using?

(Please write the name on the dotted line provided)

.....

2. *CURRENTLY, how many people live in your household for a minimum of 4 days per week?

(Please write the total in the dotted line provided)

..... People are currently living in my household

3. DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF ALL PEOPLE LIVING IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD FOR A MINIMUM OF 4 DAYS PER WEEK

- **TO BE COMPLETED BY:** The person mainly responsible for the payment of / communication with the housecleaning service company. This person is "**you**" in the table below.
- Please write the appropriate number indicating your situation
- **THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE ARE EXCLUDED FROM THIS HOUSEHOLD PROFILE:**
 - Friends or other family members who are visiting; adult children who are visiting over weekends; All other people living on the premises to whom the housecleaning service company **does not** provide its cleaning service

	SEX What is person's Sex? 1-Male 2-Female	AGE What is person's..... Age? Write age in years	RACE What is person's race? 1-Black 2-Coloured / Mixed 3-Indian / Asian 4-Cuasaian / White 5-Other, please specify	RELATIONSHIP Person is my 1-Husband 2-Wife 3-Partner 4-Child / step-child / adopted child / grandchild 5-Housemate / flatmate 6-Brother / sister 7-Parent / parent-in-law 8-Other relative	OCCUPATION Please indicate the best option for describing your CURRENT employment / unemployment / schooling status 1 - Managers (e.g. Chief executives; senior officials; legislators etc.) 2 - Professionals (e.g. Health; science and engineering; teaching; business etc.) 3 - Technicians and associated professionals (e.g. Medical technicians; nursing etc.) 4 - Clerical support workers (e.g. Clerks; secretaries etc.) 5 - Service workers, shop and market sales workers (e.g. Personal service workers etc.) 6 - Skilled agricultural / fishery workers (e.g. Market-orientated skilled agricultural workers) 7 - Craft and related trade workers (e.g. Metal, machinery and related trades workers etc.) 8 - Plant and machine operators (e.g. Stationary plant and machine operators etc.) 9 - Student (primary, secondary and tertiary level) 10 - Retired 11 - Preschool (e.g. Day care, crèche; stay at home) 12 - Housewife / househusband / Homeworker 13 - Other, please specify:
e.g. You	2	50	4	Respondent	12
person 2	1	53	4	1	6
You				Respondent	
Person 2					
Person 3					
Person 4					
Person 5					
Person 6					
Person 7					
Person 8					

***** PLEASE MARK WITH AN "X" IN THE BOX PROVIDED *****

11. *Do any of the household members have any serious disability that prevents his/her full participation in day-to-day activities, who currently lives in your household for a minimum of 4 days per week?

(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No



Proceed with question 11



Skip question 11 and proceed with question 12

12. *Please indicate the type of serious disability you / household member has: (Please be as clear as possible)

--

13. *Who is mainly responsible for housework on the days when someone is not employed to do housework in your dwelling?

*(Housework refers to general housecleaning tasks such as cleaning, laundry etc., BUT it **EXCLUDES** any form of care work etc.)*

(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Only I am doing housework
<input type="radio"/>	Myself + all/most members of this household help with housework
<input type="radio"/>	I am not doing any housework, but other household members are doing housework
<input type="radio"/>	No one does housework
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

14 * How would you describe your current dwelling? (Single answer only)

- House (on a separate stand / yard)
- Flat / Apartment (in a block of flats)
- Cottage / room (in someone's home / backyard)
- Town house / cluster / semi-detached house (simplex, duplex, triplex)

15. *In what year did you move into your current dwelling? (e.g. 2002)

--

16. *Approximately, how many square meters is your dwelling? (e.g. 120 m²)

--

***** PLEASE MARK WITH AN "X" IN THE BOX PROVIDED *****

**17. *I have..... bedrooms in my current dwelling
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	1
<input type="radio"/>	2
<input type="radio"/>	3
<input type="radio"/>	4
<input type="radio"/>	5
<input type="radio"/>	6 or more

**18. *I have..... bathrooms in my current dwelling
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	1
<input type="radio"/>	2
<input type="radio"/>	3
<input type="radio"/>	4 or more

**19. In what area / suburb and city / town do you CURRENTLY live?
(E.g. Die Boord, Stellenbosch)**

--

*** **PLEASE MARK WITH AN "X" IN THE BOX PROVIDED** ***

20. *Where did you get information about the CURRENT housecleaning service company that you are using?

(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Internet
<input type="checkbox"/>	Advertisement in newspaper / magazine / radio
<input type="checkbox"/>	Billboards / Pamphlets
<input type="checkbox"/>	Friends / family members / neighbours / colleagues
<input type="checkbox"/>	I cannot remember
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

21. *In what year did you start employing the CURRENT housecleaning service company?

22. How often do you use cleaners from the CURRENT housecleaning service company?
(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	1 x week
<input type="radio"/>	2 x week
<input type="radio"/>	3 x week
<input type="radio"/>	4 x week
<input type="radio"/>	5 x week
<input type="radio"/>	1 x every 2 weeks
<input type="radio"/>	ad hoc basis (call when needed)
<input type="radio"/>	1 x every month
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

23. Please indicate what the cleaners from the **CURRENT** housecleaning company do in your home

(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	General housecleaning (e.g. sweeping, doing the dishes, making beds etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Washing clothes (e.g. putting clothes in the washing machine, hanging up clothes)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ironing clothes (but restricted to specified number of items)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cooking (e.g. breakfast / lunch for your household)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Care work (e.g. looking after children / elderly)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

24. *What form of **agreement** do you have with the manager / owner of the **CURRENT** housecleaning company?

(Single answer only)

- **(Formal written contract:** A formal arrangement between two or more parties that, by its terms and elements, is enforceable by law)
- **(Verbal agreement:** An arrangement (usually informal) between two or more parties that are not enforceable by law)

<input type="radio"/>	Formal written contract
<input type="radio"/>	Verbal agreement
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

25. *Please specify what the written employment contract / verbal agreement with the **CURRENT** housecleaning company involves

(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Payment before cleaning services are rendered
<input type="checkbox"/>	Payment after cleaning services are rendered
<input type="checkbox"/>	I only pay for the days when cleaners' have cleaned my home
<input type="checkbox"/>	I can give notice easily without any contractual obligations
<input type="checkbox"/>	A replacement cleaner is provided if a cleaner is sick / unavailable
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am responsible for the transport of cleaners
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am responsible for cleaners' Unemployment Insurance Funds (UIF)
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am responsible for cleaners' personal problems (e.g. financial, family, health related problems)
<input type="checkbox"/>	I provide cleaners with food, tea/coffee, other
<input type="checkbox"/>	I provide cleaning chemicals / equipment (e.g. vacuum cleaner, iron, mop etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/>	I provide cleaners with a bonus / gift
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

26. *Initially, what was the **MAIN REASON** why you have decided to use the services of a housecleaning service company?

(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to deal with the requirements of labour laws of domestic workers (e.g. employment contracts, UIF, wages)
<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to be responsible for the domestic worker's well-being (e.g. financial support, personal issues)
<input type="radio"/>	I had a bad experience with a domestic worker I employed privately and I do not want to experience that again (e.g. theft issues, CCMA)
<input type="radio"/>	I could not find a reliable domestic worker privately and decided to employ cleaners from a housecleaning company
<input type="radio"/>	External factors and/or personal reasons (e.g. I do not need a full-time domestic worker)
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

27. *To what extent does the following apply to you

I **CONTINUE** to use the **CURRENT** housecleaning service company, because.....

(Please answer all questions)

Strongly Disagree <-----> **Strongly Agree**

	Strongly disagree	disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Cleaners clean my dwelling consistently to my expectations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cleaners have not caused me any (major) problems	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cleaners arrive on time as agreed upon	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Manager / company cleaners will attend to my inquiries in a timely and professional manner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The manager replaces a cleaner if she / he is unavailable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The manager communicates with me regarding any changes in payment / times / cleaners etc.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The firm offer protection of confidential and personal information (e.g. do not share my contact number etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The firm renders reliable services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The firm is able to render customised and unique cleaning services beyond the basic cleaning services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

28. *To what extent do the following statements apply to you:

I **CONTINUE** to employ the **CURRENT** housecleaning service company because.....
(Please answer all questions)

Strongly Disagree <-----> **Strongly Agree**

	Strongly disagree	disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I can cancel cleaning services without any contractual obligations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I cannot be taken to the CCMA (Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid being financially responsible for domestic employees	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid being responsible for any personal issues of domestic employees	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid being responsible for transport issues of domestic employees	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I only pay for cleaning services when rendered	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

29. To what extent do the following statements apply to you:

I **CONTINUE** to employ the **CURRENT** housecleaning service company, because.....
(Please answer all questions)

Strongly Disagree <-----> **Strongly Agree**

	Strongly disagree	disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
The company cleaners clean my dwelling better compared to a private domestic worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The company cleaners offer better value for money compared to a private domestic worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The company cleaners cause me little/no problems compared to a private domestic worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel safer to employ company cleaners compared to a private domestic worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

30. *To what extent does the following apply to you:

I **CONTINUE** to employ cleaners from the **CURRENT** housecleaning service company because.....

(Please answer all questions)

Strongly Disagree <-----> **Strongly Agree**

	Strongly disagree	disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I do not need a full-time / permanent domestic worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do not have time to clean my dwelling myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do not have time to search for a reliable private domestic worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

31. *Do you experience any disadvantages of employing cleaners from the CURRENT housecleaning company?

(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No



Proceed with question 32



Skip question 32 and proceed with question 33

32. Briefly explain some of the disadvantages you experience employing the CURRENT housecleaning service company?

(Write as much detail as you want)

33. *Prior to the employment of the **CURRENT** housecleaning service company, have you employed cleaners from another housecleaning service company in the past that you no longer use? (Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes	➔	Proceed with question 34
<input type="radio"/>	No	➔	Skip question 34 and proceed with question 35

34. *What was the main reason why you have decided to no longer use the previous housecleaning company?

(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	They became too expensive
<input type="radio"/>	My home was no longer cleaned to my expectations
<input type="radio"/>	There was a theft issue with a cleaner/s
<input type="radio"/>	I moved to a new area / town / suburb and had to cancel their cleaning services
<input type="radio"/>	I did not get along with the cleaners / managers
<input type="radio"/>	I no longer needed their cleaning services

35. *Apart from employing the **CURRENT** housecleaning service company, do you currently employ cleaners from another housecleaning service company?

(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes	➔	Proceed with question 36
<input type="radio"/>	No	➔	Skip question 36 and proceed with question 37

36. *The reason/s why I use cleaners from an additional housecleaning service company is because they.....

(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Clean windows
<input type="checkbox"/>	Do laundry
<input type="checkbox"/>	Do care work (e.g. child care / elderly care)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cook (e.g. breakfast / lunch / dinner for my household)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Clean carpets and/or upholstery
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other:

37. *Overall, I **THINK** that the **CURRENT** housecleaning service company is than a **FULL-TIME / PART-TIME** private domestic worker
(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Much better
<input type="radio"/>	Better
<input type="radio"/>	About the same
<input type="radio"/>	Worse
<input type="radio"/>	Much worse

38. *I am **CURRENTLY** employing cleaners from a housecleaning service company, but.....
(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	In the PAST , I have employed a FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker privately	→	PROCEED WITH QUESTION 39
<input type="radio"/>	I am also CURRENTLY employing a FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker privately	→	PROCEED WITH QUESTION 57
<input type="radio"/>	I have NEVER employed a FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker privately	→	PROCEED WITH QUESTION 63

(Full-time: 35 hours or more per week)

(Part-time: less than 35 hours per week, but she works on a regular basis, e.g. every Wednesday)

(A private domestic worker is a person who is paid to help with cleaning and other household tasks in a person's home. This person is not hired through an agency or housecleaning service company)

39. *What was the **main reason** why you employed a **FULL-TIME / PART-TIME** domestic worker privately to clean your home? (Single answer only)

(Full-time: 35 hours or more per week)

(Part-time: less than 35 hours per week, but she works on a regular basis, e.g. every Wednesday)

<input type="radio"/>	I needed someone to clean / cook / do some care work (e.g. did not have time to do housework myself)
<input type="radio"/>	I did not want / like to clean my home and employed someone to do it for me
<input type="radio"/>	I wanted to help someone financially and employed her/him as a domestic worker
<input type="radio"/>	I grew up with a domestic worker and am used to someone doing domestic chores
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

40. * Think about your last **FULL-TIME / PART-TIME** domestic worker **who no longer works for you**. Approximately how many years or months did she/he worked for you? ***(Single answer only)***

<input type="radio"/>	Less than a year
<input type="radio"/>	1 year, but less than 2 years
<input type="radio"/>	2 years, but less than 3 years
<input type="radio"/>	3 years, but less than 4 years
<input type="radio"/>	4 years, but less than 5 years
<input type="radio"/>	Between 5 and 10 years
<input type="radio"/>	10 years or more

41. *What were the main duties of your last **FULL-TIME / PART-TIME** domestic worker? ***(Multiple answers possible)***

<input type="checkbox"/>	General house cleaning (e.g. doing dishes, sweeping, making beds etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Laundry (e.g. washing and ironing)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cooking
<input type="checkbox"/>	Child care / Elderly care
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

42.

*Did your last **FULL-TIME / PART-TIME** domestic worker that no longer works for you live on your premises? ***(Single answer only)***

("Lived on your premises" refer to the instance where YOU HAVE PROVIDED a domestic worker with accommodation on your premises)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No

43. *To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following:

My / our last FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker no longer works for me / us, because..... *(Please answer all questions)*

STRONGLY DISAGREE <-----> **STRONGLY AGREE**

	Strongly disagree	disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I / we no longer need a regular domestic worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I / we do not want to deal with labour law requirements (e.g. employment contracts, UIF etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It became too expensive to employ her / him	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I / we did not want someone in our dwelling for long periods of time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I / my household did not get along with her / him	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I / we had a burglary and suspected she / he was involved	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

44. *Have you DISMISSED your most recent FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker? *(Single answer only)*

(Full-time: 35 hours or more per week)

(Part-time: less than 35 hours per week, but she/they work(s) on a regular basis, e.g. every Wednesday)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No



Proceed with question 45



Skip question 45-46, and proceed with question 47

45. *What was the most important reason why you have dismissed your last FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker? *(Single answer only)*

<input type="radio"/>	Employment relationship issues (e.g. personality clash; financial dependence etc.)
<input type="radio"/>	Unreliable (e.g. non-performance; coming late; breakage of goods etc.)
<input type="radio"/>	I no longer needed a regular domestic worker
<input type="radio"/>	Theft issues
<input type="radio"/>	I/We moved to another area / town, and the domestic worker could not move with me/us
<input type="radio"/>	It became too expensive to employ he / him
<input type="radio"/>	Labour Law Requirements (employment contracts; Wages; UIF etc.)
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

46. To what extent did the following apply to you:

My last FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker.....?

(Please answer all questions)

Not a problem at all <-----> Serious problem

	Not at all a problem	Minor problem	Moderate problem	Serious problem
Pressured me to help her financially	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pressured me to help her with transport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pressured me to help her with her / his personal problems / family issues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Had poor health	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did not perform / was lazy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Stole from me / us	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Broke my / our stuff ; burnt my / our clothes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Had an unpleasant attitude	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Had alcohol / drugs problem	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did not tell me when she / he will not come to work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Seldom paid back the money she / he borrowed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***** Skip question 47 and proceed with question 48 on page 16 *****

47.

***The most recent FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker no longer works for me, because of she/he.....**

(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Resigned
<input type="radio"/>	Passed away
<input type="radio"/>	Disappeared
<input type="radio"/>	On maternity leave
<input type="radio"/>	Retired
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

48.

***Would you employ a private domestic worker on a FULL-TIME / PART-TIME basis again?
(Single answer only)**

(Full-time: 35 hours or more per week)

(Part-time: less than 35 hours per week, but she works on a regular basis, e.g. every Wednesday)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No

➔ Proceed with question 49 – 50

➔ Skip question 49-50, and proceed with question 51

49.

***What is the most important reason why you would employ a private FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker again?
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	If I can find someone trustworthy and reliable
<input type="radio"/>	If I can afford a private domestic worker (again)
<input type="radio"/>	If I am no longer satisfied with the current housecleaning service company
<input type="radio"/>	If I have to move to another town / area / province / country
<input type="radio"/>	If I need someone on a regular basis / more permanently again
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

50.

What are some of the additional reasons why you would employ a private FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker again?

(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	If I can find someone trustworthy and reliable
<input type="checkbox"/>	If I can afford a private domestic worker (again)
<input type="checkbox"/>	If I am no longer satisfied with the current housecleaning service company
<input type="checkbox"/>	If I have to move to another town / area / province / country
<input type="checkbox"/>	If I need someone on a regular basis / more permanently again
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

***** SKIP QUESTION 51 – 52 AND PROCEED WITH QUESTION 53 *****

51.

***What is the most important reason why you would not employ a FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker privately again?
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to deal with the labour laws again (e.g. employment contracts
<input type="radio"/>	I do not want someone in my home / private space on a regular basis
<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to get involved with the domestic worker's personal problems (e.g. financial help
<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to be tied up with contractual obligations
<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to go through a CCMA process
<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to train someone how to clean
<input type="radio"/>	I do not want to be stolen from again
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

52.



***What are some of the additional reasons why you would not employ a FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker privately again?
(Multiple answers possible)**

<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want to deal with the labour laws again (e.g. employment contracts, UIF, Wages etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want someone in my home / private space on a regular basis
<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want to get involved with the domestic worker's personal problems (e.g. financial help, family issues, health relates problems etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want to be tied up with contractual obligations
<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want to go through a CCMA process
<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want to train someone how to clean
<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want to be stolen from again
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

53. Please indicate what you have agreed upon in the employment contract / verbal agreement with your last FULL-TIME / PART-TIME private domestic worker:
(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Specific wages
<input type="checkbox"/>	Specific working hours
<input type="checkbox"/>	Specified annual paid leave
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sick leave
<input type="checkbox"/>	Maternity leave
<input type="checkbox"/>	Family responsibility leave
<input type="checkbox"/>	Uniform (free of charge)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Money for transport
<input type="checkbox"/>	Breakfast / Lunch
<input type="checkbox"/>	Tea / Coffee / Sugar
<input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployment Insurance Funds (UIF)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Accommodation
<input type="checkbox"/>	Additional training expenses
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

54. *Apart from what you specified in the employment contract with your last FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker, did you give her/him any extras now and again?
(Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes		Proceed with question 55
<input type="radio"/>	No		Skip question 55, and proceed with question 56

55. *Please indicate what "extras" you provided her/him *and/or* her/his family with
(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Advice regarding her personal problems
<input type="checkbox"/>	Money / financial assistance
<input type="checkbox"/>	Food / tea / coffee / sugar
<input type="checkbox"/>	Extras such as sanitary pads / deodorant / toothbrushes and so on
<input type="checkbox"/>	Medicine / paying for medical expenses
<input type="checkbox"/>	Transport / money for transport
<input type="checkbox"/>	Clothes
<input type="checkbox"/>	Household goods / equipment

**56. *Do you provide any "extras" to the company cleaners you CURRENTLY employ?
(Extras refer to money, medicine, food, clothes etc.)
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No

**57. *I have employed the current FULL-TIME / PART-TIME private domestic worker..... I have started using cleaners from the CURRENT housecleaning service company?
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	Before
<input type="radio"/>	After

58. *Please indicate which of the following statements CURRENTLY apply to you:

**The private domestic worker CURRENTLY works for me on a.....
(Single answer only)**

(Full-time: 35 hours or more per week)

(Part-time: Less than 35 hours per week, but she works on a regular basis, e.g. every Wednesday)

<input type="radio"/>	Full-time basis
<input type="radio"/>	Part-time basis

59. *In addition to the cleaners from a housecleaning service company, I employ a domestic worker privately (Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	On the days when the cleaners of the housecleaning company do not clean my home
<input type="radio"/>	On the same days as the cleaners from the housecleaning company clean my home
<input type="radio"/>	Both on the days when cleaners clean my home and when they do not
<input type="radio"/>	Other, please specify:

60. *Please indicate what the private domestic worker currently is responsible for
(Multiple answers possible)

<input type="checkbox"/>	General housecleaning (e.g. sweeping, vacuuming, doing dishes, making beds)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Washing clothes (e.g. putting clothes in the washing machine, hanging up clothes)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ironing clothes
<input type="checkbox"/>	Washing windows
<input type="checkbox"/>	Polishing wooden furniture / floors / brass / copper objects
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cleaning patio / braai area
<input type="checkbox"/>	Doing care work (e.g. looking after children / elderly / household members)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Looking after my home when I / my household is on holiday
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cooking
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other, please specify:

61. Why are you **CURRENTLY** employing a domestic worker privately in addition to the housecleaning company cleaners?

(Please be as clear as possible, e.g. the private domestic worker cleans windows from time to time that the company cleaners do not do etc.)

62. Does the current domestic worker who you employ privately in addition to the cleaners from the housecleaning service company live on your premises?

(Single answer only)

("Live on your premises" refer to the instance where **YOU ARE PROVIDING** the domestic worker with accommodation on your premises)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No

63. *Do you foresee that the private domestic worker you **CURRENTLY** employ will no longer work for you in the next 5 years? (Single answer only)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No
<input type="radio"/>	I don't know

64. *Please explain in as much detail as you want why you foresee that the CURRENT private domestic worker will no longer work for you in the next 5 years:

--

65. *Do you foresee cancelling the CURRENT housecleaning services in the next 5 years? (*Single answer only*)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No
<input type="radio"/>	I don't know

66. Why do you THINK you will no longer use the CURRENT housecleaning service company in the next 5 years? (**Please write as much detail as you want**)

--

67. *Do you think you would employ a FULL-TIME / PART-TIME domestic worker privately if you would no longer use the CURRENT housecleaning service company? (*Single answer only*)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No
<input type="radio"/>	I don't know

68. *Do you think you would employ another housecleaning service company if you would no longer use the CURRENT housecleaning service company? (*Single answer only*)

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No
<input type="radio"/>	I don't know

*** THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY ***

***Do you want to participate in a [lucky draw](#) where 5 lucky participants can win a free housecleaning session?
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No

***Please leave your contact number and/or email address below:**

***Do you want to participate in [further research](#) (a short interview at a convenient time / place)?
(Single answer only)**

<input type="radio"/>	Yes
<input type="radio"/>	No

Please leave your contact number / email address below:



ADDENDUM C: CONSENT FORM - MANAGERS



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CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

"Cleaning up: A sociological investigation into the use of housecleaning services"

Owners / managers of outsourced housecleaning service companies

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by David du Toit, PhD student, from the Sociology and Social Anthropology department at Stellenbosch University. The results will be used to complete a doctoral degree.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to understand what type of households are using these cleaning services and what factors contribute to their usage of these cleaning services. It is unclear, whether it is mainly middle class whites using housecleaning service companies, or the rising black middle class? Are only married couples using these services or do single men and women too? There has been no scholarly study of this sector from a sociological perspective, and this study hopes to fill this void.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

Interview procedure

Read through the consent form to familiarise yourself with the purpose, goals, potential risks and discomforts, and so on of this study.

The interview will be recorded using a digital recording device.

The duration of the recorded interview will be approximately 30 - 60 minutes.

Only I, as the researcher and my supervisors of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, will have access to the transcripts.

The transcripts will be stored on an encrypted storage device for 10 years for legal and ethical purposes.

Distribution of a paper-based survey questionnaire to households

Managers will be kindly asked to send an email to all their clients that they will receive an A4 brown sealed envelope with a paper based questionnaire in due course, which will be dropped off and returned by cleaners

Cleaners will be briefed beforehand on the process

The sealed brown envelope will contain the following: (1) One small blue empty envelope and one medium sized white empty envelope; (2) One page consent form explaining the process, confidentiality and anonymity issues, and a brief description on the lucky draw where clients can win a housecleaning session paid by the researcher. This one pager will include a short "tear off section" at the bottom of the page where clients will be asked to fill in their names and contact details if they want to participate in the lucky draw. If they complete this section, they will then be asked to put this in the small blue envelope and seal it; (3) A paper based self-administered survey questionnaire which will contain general questions on possible reasons why they have chosen to make use of a housecleaning company

No personal details of clients will be asked in the questionnaire

If the questionnaire is completed, then clients will be asked to seal this in the white envelope provided and give this to the cleaners who will return it to the manager

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no foreseeable risks associated with participating in this study. No personal information will be asked in this interview.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

This study will contribute to new sociological knowledge on the usage of outsourced housecleaning services. Particular patterns such as the demographic background of clients using these cleaning services as well as other possible factors contributing to the use of housecleaning services will be highlighted in this study. A report on the analysed data will be available to you.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Cleaners will receive a financial bonus for every returned completed questionnaire. A lucky draw will take place where a client will win a free housecleaning session

CONFIDENTIALITY

A written informed consent letter will be signed by managers of housecleaning companies and verbal informed consent with clients will be verbally accepted or declined prior to participation. Participants will be informed that no information obtained from the interview will be shared with others. No recognisable personal information will be asked during the interview. Pseudonyms for housecleaning service companies will be used in this study, which will make recognition by

other impossible. Participants will also be ensured that only the researcher, supervisor and co-supervisor of this study will have access to electronic transcriptions of interviews. The data will reflect a general pattern of all participants. Individual cases will not be able to be identified.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact David du Toit (main researcher); Lindy Heinecken (supervisor) AND/OR Jan Vorster (co-supervisor).

David du Toit

Tel: 011 559 2882

E-mail: daviddt@uj.ac.za

Prof Lindy Heinecken

E-mail: lindy@sun.ac.za

Mr Jan Vorster

E-mail: jhv3@sun.ac.za

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché (mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622) at the Division for Research Development.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ and was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in [*Afrikaans/*English* and [*no translator was used/this conversation was translated into* _____ by _____].

Signature of Investigator

Date

ADDENDUM D: CONSENT FORM FOR QUALITATIVE FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW – CLIENTS



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David du Toit
45 Avalanche Rd
Melville
Johannesburg
2006

Request for permission to conduct an interview for PhD study

Dear Participant

My name is David du Toit, and I am a PhD student in Sociology at Stellenbosch University. The research I wish to conduct for my PhD study involves the usage of housecleaning services. This project will be conducted under the supervision of Prof Lindy Heinecken (Stellenbosch University) and Mr Jan Vorster (Stellenbosch University).

I am hereby seeking your consent to interview you regarding your decision to contract out or outsource domestic cleaning to housecleaning services. Interviews will be strictly confidential, as no identifiable information will be shared with others. Pseudonyms will be used for you and the housecleaning service firm you are currently using. There are no foreseeable risks or financial benefits of participating in this interview. You can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer particular questions. The interview will mainly focus on your perceptions of using a housecleaning service firm.

Upon completion of the study, I undertake to provide the Department of Sociology with a bound copy of the full research report. If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me on 011 559 2882 or david.dutoit@hotmail.com. Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

David du Toit

I hereby give permission to David du Toit to conduct research for his PhD study. (Please fill in and email back to daviddt@uj.ac.za)

Name of Participant:

Signature of Participant:

Date:

ADDENDUM E: CONSENT FORM FOR SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE - CLIENTS



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CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

"Cleaning up: A sociological investigation into the use of housecleaning services"

Households / clients of outsourced housecleaning service companies

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by David du Toit, PhD student, from the Sociology and Social Anthropology department at Stellenbosch University. The results will be used to complete a doctoral degree.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to understand what type of households are using these cleaning services and what factors contribute to their usage of these cleaning services. It is unclear, whether it is mainly middle class whites using housecleaning service companies, or the rising black middle class? Are only married couples using these services or do single men and women too? There has been no scholarly study of this sector from a sociological perspective, and this study hopes to fill this void.

PROCEDURES: Distribution of a paper-based survey questionnaire to households

You will receive an email by the manager informing you that an A4 brown sealed envelope with a paper based questionnaire will be dropped off by the cleaners in due course. The sealed brown envelope will contain the following:

- (1) One small blue empty envelope and one medium sized white empty envelope;
- (2) One page consent form explaining the process, confidentiality and anonymity issues, and a brief description of the lucky draw where you can win a free housecleaning session. This one pager will include a short "tear off section" at the bottom of the page where you can fill in your name and contact details if you want to participate in the lucky draw. If completed, please tear off and put this in the small blue envelope and seal it
- (3) A paper based self-administered survey questionnaire which will contain general questions on possible reasons why you have chosen to make use of a housecleaning company

No personal details will be asked in the questionnaire. If the questionnaire is completed, then kindly seal this in the white envelope provided and give this to the cleaners who will return it to the manager

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no foreseeable risks associated with participating in this study. No personal information will be asked in this survey.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

This study will contribute to new sociological knowledge on the usage of outsourced housecleaning services. Particular patterns such as the demographic background of households/clients using these cleaning services as well as other possible factors will be highlighted in this study.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

All Cleaners will receive a financial reward for every returned completed questionnaire. A lucky draw will take place where a client will win a free housecleaning session

CONFIDENTIALITY

All information obtained from the questionnaire will be anonymous and will be impossible to identify respondents. The completed questionnaire will automatically be fed into an electronic database and cannot be linked to anyone. The database is stored in a secured electronic server managed by the IT department for the purposes of electronic surveys. Only I, as the researcher and my supervisors of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, will have access to the database containing completed questionnaires. The electronic database will be stored electronically for ten years for legal and ethical purposes.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact David du Toit (main researcher); Lindy Heinecken (supervisor) and/or Jan Vorster (co-supervisor).

David du Toit
Tel: 011 559 2882
E-mail: daviddt@uj.ac.za

Prof Lindy Heinecken
E-mail: lindy@sun.ac.za

Mr Jan Vorster
E-mail: jhv3@sun.ac.za

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché (mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622) at the Division for Research Development.

LUCKY DRAW

(Tear this section off and seal it in the blue envelope provided. Give to the cleaner who will return it to the manager)

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study and to participate in the lucky draw.

Name and Surname of Participant: _____

Contact number of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

ADDENDUM F: ETHICS APPROVAL



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Approval Notice

New Application

21-Sep-2016

Du Toit, David D

Proposal #: SU-HSD-002272

Title: Cleaning up: A sociological investigation into the use of outsourced housecleaning services in South Africa

Dear Mr David Du Toit,

Your New Application received on 08-Aug-2016, was reviewed. Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: 12-Sep-2016 -11-Sep-2019

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

Please remember to use your proposal number (SU-HSD-002272) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Also, note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and

Processes 2004 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number REC-050411-032.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at.

Included Documents:

REC: Humanities New Application

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

Investigator Responsibilities

Protection of Human Research Participants

Some of the general responsibilities investigators have when conducting research involving human participants are listed below:

1. Conducting the Research. You are responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC approved research protocol. You are also responsible for the actions of all your co-investigators and research staff involved with this research. You must also ensure that the research is conducted within the standards of your field of research.

2. Participant Enrolment. You may not recruit or enrol participants prior to the REC approval date or after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials for any form of media must be approved by the REC prior to their use. If you need to recruit more participants than was noted in your REC approval letter, you must submit an amendment requesting an increase in the number of participants.

3. Informed Consent. You are responsible for obtaining and documenting effective informed consent using only the REC-approved consent documents, and for ensuring that no human participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their informed consent. Please give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents. Keep the originals in your secured research files for at least five (5) years.

4. Continuing Review. The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is no grace period. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, it is your responsibility to submit the continuing review report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur. If REC approval of your research lapses, you must stop new participant enrolment, and contact the REC office immediately.

5. Amendments and Changes. If you wish to amend or change any aspect of your research (such as research design, interventions or procedures, number of participants, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material), you must submit the amendment to the REC for review using the current Amendment Form. You may not initiate any amendments or changes to your research without first obtaining written REC review and approval. The only exception is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants, and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

6. Adverse or Unanticipated Events. Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to Malene Fouche within five (5) days of discovery of the incident. You must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the RECs requirements for protecting human research participants. The only exception to this policy is that the death of a research participant must be reported in accordance with the Stellenbosch University Research

Ethics Committee Standard Operating Procedures. All reportable events should be submitted to the REC using the Serious Adverse Event Report Form.

7. Research Record Keeping. You must keep the following research related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence from the REC

8. Provision of Counselling or emergency support. When a dedicated counsellor or psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

9. Final reports. When you have completed (no further participant enrolment, interactions, interventions or data analysis) or stopped work on your research, you must submit a Final Report to the REC.

10. On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits. If you are notified that your research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, you must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

ADDENDUM G: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF TYPE OF HOUSEHOLDS AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEMBERS USING HOUSECLEANING SERVICES

One-Person	Couple						
Single (19,3%) 	Couple (40,2%) 	Couple + 1 child (13,2%) 	Couple + 2 children (12,6%) 	Couple + 3 children (2,1%) 	Single-parent + 1 child (2,8%) 	Single-parent + 2 children (0,3%) 	Single-parent + 3 children (0,3%)
Extended Householder + 1 elderly Parent (0,9%) 	Extended Couple + Sibling (1,2%) 	Extended Couple + 1 Parent (0,6%) 	Extended Couple + 1 Other Relative (0,3%) 	Extended Couple + 1 Child + 1 Other Relative (0,3%) 	Extended Couple + 1 Child + 1 Non-Relative (0,3%) 		
Extended Couple + 1 Parent + 1 Non-Relative (0,3%) 	Extended Single-Parent + 1 Child + 2 Grand-Children (0,3%) 	Extended Single-Parent + 2 Children + 1 Parent (0,3%) 	Extended Householder + 2 Parents + 2 Parents-in-Law (0,3%) 	Extended Householder + 2 Parents + 2 Non-Relatives (0,3%) 	Extended Couple + 2 Children + 2 Parents (0,3%) 		
Extended Couple + 2 Children + 1 Sibling + 3 Non-Relatives (0,3%) 			Composite Unrelated (2,8%) 	Composite Unrelated (0,3%) 	Composite Unrelated (0,3%) 		

This figure visually shows the type of household and the relationship between household members. For example, the first block in the top left shows that 19% of respondents live by themselves. The second block illustrates that 40% of respondents are couples (living with their partner) and so on. The top right block gives information on the circles. For example, the purple circle indicates the respondent's sibling who lives together. The turquoise circle represent the respondent's children who live together and so on.

ADDENDUM H: SCREE PLOTS

Figure 7.1: Scree plot for Factor analysis – Q27-31.

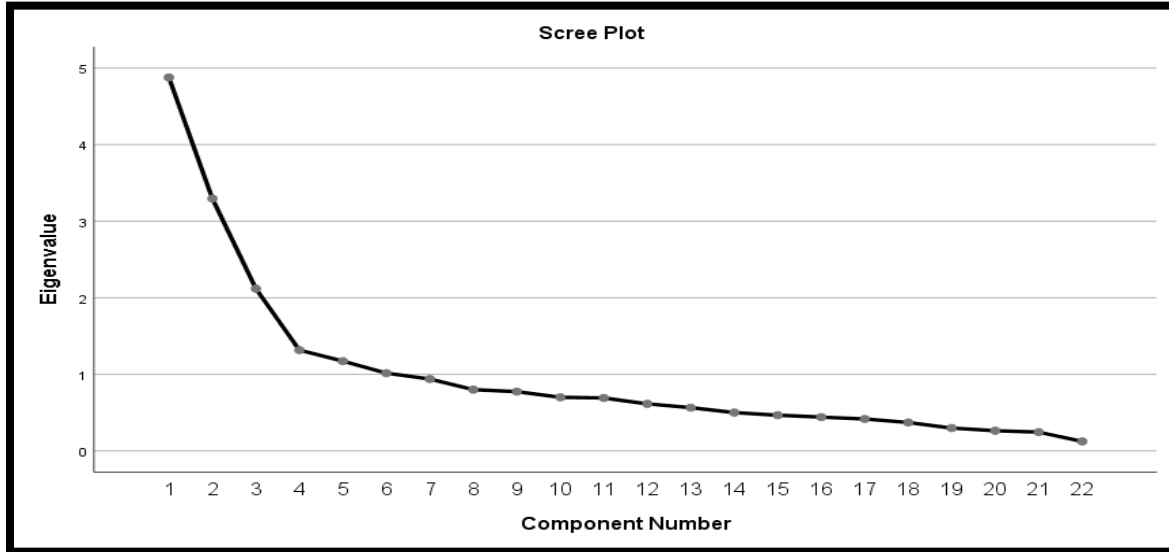
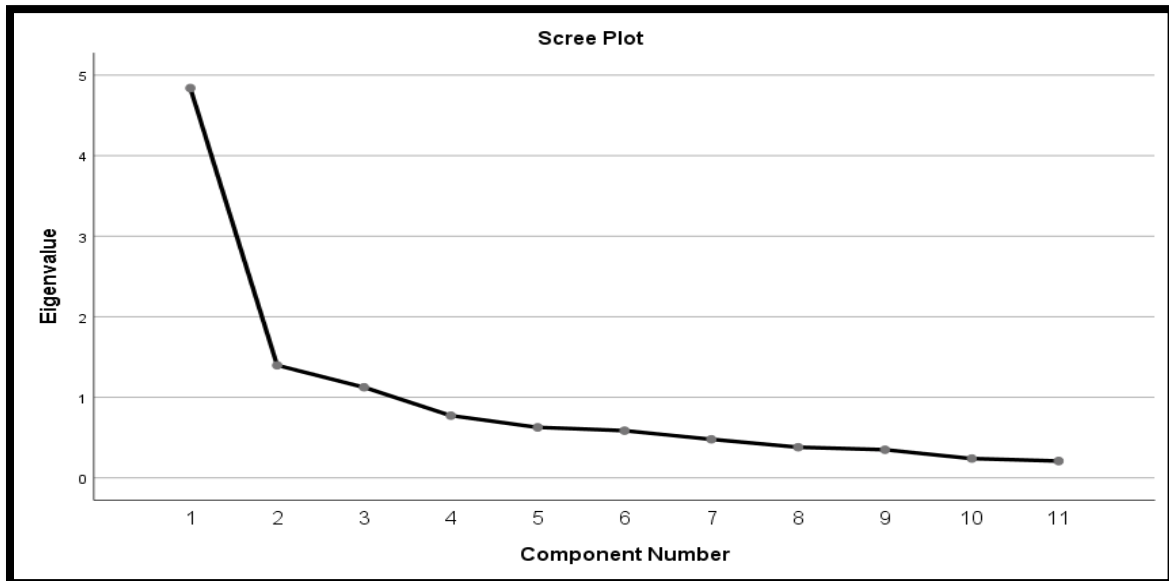


Figure 7.2: Scree plot for factor analysis, Q46.



Inspection of these scree plots reveal that three factors have been retained in Figure 7.1. For Figure 7.2, I decided to keep two factors, based on the qualitative information that clearly pointed to these two factors.

ADDENDUM I: JOB SPECIFICATION FORM – DOMESTIC PLACEMENT AGENCY

Thank you for your enquiry. We would be delighted to assist you by placing suitably qualified domestic staff in your household.

This is how we work:

We would firstly take a comprehensive job specification from you. From this, we would present you with a short list of candidates. This could happen in our offices, or if you prefer a facilitator could bring prospective employees to your home or place of business for you to interview. A call out fee of R450 including Vat will be charged when we bring the candidates to you.

The facilitator will either assist you with the interview or simply be available to answer any questions. The facilitator will make sure that the duties are clearly defined and that the candidates are suitably able and willing to perform them. All references and contact numbers of referees will be made available.

When you have selected an employee, we will assist you with the contract. In terms of the contract, your new employee would be subject to a probationary period of up to 60 days. The contract falls within the parameters of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and clearly outlines all duties and obligations for both parties. Our facilitators will be present when the contract is drawn up and make sure that the new employee clearly understands what is expected of him or herself.

Our fee is payable before or on the day the worker starts. This equates to 14% of annual salary plus vat, covered by a 3 month warranty, terms and conditions of which are outlined below.

WARRANTY

Should the employee not prove satisfactory then we will be pleased to provide a replacement at no further charge during the warranty period of 90 days from date hereof.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

OUR FEE is calculated as a percentage of the employee's annual salary. This is due and payable before or on commencement of employment. Our fee is 14% of the annual salary plus vat. This once off fee is payable by the employer, and there is no charge to prospective employees. Employment of a candidate referred by xxx® will be deemed to be acceptance of our terms and conditions.

OUR WARRANTY xxx® warranty is subject to validation, which is by full payment being made before or on commencement of employment. The warranty is not valid where the candidate is no longer employed due to termination owing to operational requirements, unfair labour practices or breach of contract with the employee.

REPLACEMENT xxx® undertakes to replace the employee with a candidate willing and able to fulfill the same tasks and duties as in the original employee's contract. Whereas every effort is made to replace the employee as soon as possible, xxx undertakes to replace the employee within 21 days of the employee leaving or of being advised that a replacement is required.

DISCLAIMER Whereas every effort is made to ensure that the person working in your home is honest and competent and does not have a history of negligence or clumsiness, accidents do occur. xxx® does not accept liability for any act or omission or delict, which might result in loss of, or damage to, your property.

JOB SPECIFICATION Please be advised that by filling in and submitting this form, you accept and agree to the terms and conditions of xxx®

Client Name:	
Date Job Specification submitted:	
Contact Telephone No:	
E-Mail Address:	
Address	
Tell us about your family?	
What pets do you have?	
Size of House (No of stories? lots of stairs? very big or small?)	
What is the job description	
Is the job gender specific?	
Where is the job?	
Is the job sleep in or live out?	
Are you aware of any transport problems?	
Describe the workers quarters and amenities	
What is the age preference?	
Do you have a preference for any particular culture or language group?	
Is appearance important to you?	

What skills do you require? Please tick as required

Cleaning Shopping Lists Basic		Laundry		Tidying	
Food Preparation		Cooking (what level of ability?)		Baking	
Table Laying		Table Service		Driving	
Child minding		Reading To Children		Activities with ildren	
Baby care		New-born baby care		Shopping	
Shopping List Making		Stock-taking		Flower Arranging	
Managing junior staff or char		Pool Care (men only)		Gardening (men only)	

What character traits and abilities are important to you? Please tick as required

Honesty		Quiet		Unobtrusive		Modern	
Reliability		Calm		Outgoing		Sophisticated	
Punctuality		Introvert		Forward thinking		Old Fashioned	
Loyalty		Outspoken		Shows Initiative			
Confident		Passive		Common Sense			

What happened to your last domestic worker?

(If he/she was dismissed due to dishonesty, incompetence, lack of reliability, a bad attitude or any other reason which would make her unsuited to domestic work, please supply us with his/her full names for our blacklist.)	
What are the working hours/times?	
Do you anticipate needing overtime?	
What are your weekend needs?	
Do you have any requirements outside the remit of domestic duties?	
What monthly salary are you offering? Please tick and indicate salary parameters	R2 200pm
	R2500 – R3000 pm
	R3500 – R3500 pm
	R4000 – R4500 pm
	Other
Does this include transport?	
If sleep in, does this include food?	
Anything else that you would like to tell us about the job	
When do you need the candidate to start?	

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