Female paid domestic work in Lima: A contemporary case study on informality and changed forms of employment

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Abstract
The objective of this thesis on the paid feminized domestic work is to describe the two current forms of employment of the live-inside maids and the live-outside domestic workers of paid domestic work in Lima Peru. The live-inside employment, *cama adentro* is the traditional form of maids living inside the household, and secondly, the live-outside employment, *cama afuera*, describes the working woman as an independent worker who lives outside the household. By focusing on the two forms of employment in the 1970s, the 2010s and the 2020s, this study aims to describe the changes on the urban labor market wherein 95% are women and almost 87% have informal employment. The feminized domestic work and the women domestic workers are objects of devaluation and subjects of discrimination. The critical case in this study is to understand the impact of informality and the informal working conditions. Vulnerability and precariousness are concepts frequently used in the current debate and research which describes the feminized remunerated domestic work as a forced labor. Who are the domestic working women, and how do they describe their work and life situation? What are the preferences or the facts of the persisting informality in the domestic labor sector that still have a great impact on the work situation as well as the women’s life situation? By considering women’s right to decent occupation this study also focuses on female empowerment, autonomy, economic independence in the urban domestic sector with influence from the market-oriented labor market in Lima. This case study is grounded in feminist care economy theory and Pierre Bourdieu’s human capital theory.

Nyckelord/Keywords
Feminized domestic work, Lima Peru, forms of employment, informality, devaluation, female empowerment, autonomy and economic independence, feminist care economy and human capital theory

Abbreviations
Working women – paid female houseworkers and care workers in Lima
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1 Introduction

The inclusion of domestic workers in the care economy recognizes the fact that domestic workers provide services and good that are socially necessary for the maintenance of households and the well-being of families. (ILO 2021)

The care economy consists of paid and unpaid labor and services that support caregiving in all its forms. (IPROFOTH 2022)

[…] sin cuidados no hay producción. (Pérez 2023)

Over the last two decades the traditional form of employment of live-inside maids in the urban zones of Lima in Peru is decreasing, whereas the number of live-outside female domestic workers and the part-time employments have increased. The abundance of service providers of employer agencies situated in the city of Lima competing for the supply and demand of house services offer their services of paid domestic to the private households in search for available workcraft for the delivery of daily housework (cleaning, cooking, laundry, ironing), care work (childcare and eldercare, dog walking), nursing and medical assistance. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) 90% of the paid domestic work refers to the daily housework (Garavito 2018)\(^1\). The objective of this thesis is to examine the two modalities of the live-in and the live-out employment by taking account for how the persisting informality in the domestic labor sector has a strong effect on the working women’s work and life situation. In addition, this study aims to describe the work and life situation of the female domestic urban workers. Informality and the informal working conditions are central this thesis.

Why informality one may ask? To understand the changes in the urban domestic labor market is to understand how the feminized domestic work is affected by a market-oriented urban labor market in Lima today. The critical analyze of informality takes us back to the public sectors and the big waves of migrants to Lima in the 1970s-80s. Social organization and building an infrastructure in the new the settlements gave rise to an extra-legal social political system in the marginalized urban zones in Lima, in the young so-called ‘informal public sectors’ (de Soto 1989, 2008). In the women’s stories in other fieldworks most of the women have a personal connection to the public sectors. Some of them have a relative in these

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\(^1\) House service such as gardening and driving constitutes to a small extent approximately 10% of the supply of offered house services mostly made by male workers.
neighborhoods, whereas others live here being second or even third generation of migrants. The early mobilization for better working conditions can be traced back to 1970s. Non-profit agencies of employments have a proactive role in the domestic sector in Lima. Supported by the trade unions the social mobilization of domestic workers has led to certain improvements and development of care economy (IPROFOTH 2022). These organizations offer education, social and work-related support to the working women. Informality in care economy and informal employments dominate the urban domestic sector today. There are just as many factors as agents involved in the changes in a market-oriented urban labor market. In the next part definitions of domestic work and the domestic worker will be clarified.

1.1 Paid domestic work: modalities of employments

This study focuses on the feminized paid domestic work such as paid housework and care work in the urban zones of Lima in the 1970s, the 2010s and the 2020s. In 2020 approximately 87 percent of the Peruvian female paid domestic workers have informal employment compared with almost 89 percent in 2019, whereas solely 10.9 % have a formal contract. (OIT 2022, ENAHO 2019, 2020). Recent statistics on the COVID-19 pandemic situation reveals a decrease of the total amount of domestic workers in Peru. Almost 70% of the domestic workers lost their jobs during the pandemic (ILO 2021) (WIEGO 2023). The labor urban market in Lima is now recovering from the repercussions after the pandemic. The Peru the National Household Survey statistics in 2020 counts on 244 726 domestic workers whereof 95,6 % are women (ENAHO 2020 in Defensoria del Pueblo Perú, March 30, 2023).

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), domestic work means work performed for one household or many households. A domestic worker is any person who is engaged in domestic work based upon an employment relationship. (ILO 2019: 4). There are three forms of feminized domestic work: housework, care work, and medical assistance or nursing. ILO have identified domestic workers in national labor force surveys. ICLS¹ categorization of the domestic workers identifies the two modalities of employment; the live-inside employment (cama adentro), and the live-outside employment (cama afuera). (ILO 2019, ILOSTAT 2021, WIEGO2022). In the relationship between the employee and the employer, the domestic worker can be employed directly by household or indirectly by service

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¹ ICLS, the 20th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (WIEGO 2022: 3)
providers or platforms (WIEGO 2022: 3, 12–13). WIEGO\(^3\) (2022) define the three categories of domestic workers in employment, no matter the nature of the agencies of employment as non-profit making or profit-making domestic service providers. First, domestic employees, live-inside and live-outside employees, are all workers who provide services directly to the household members mainly for consumption. Second, domestic workers can also be employees employed by a domestic service provider, that is, all agencies providing domestic service to the households. Third, so-called dependent contractors are domestic service providers employed for profit providing domestic service to the private households. Most domestic workers are employees. An employed informal domestic worker is a person who is employed by an employer without social protection and benefits such as paid maternity-, vacation- or sick leave, whereas an informal independent worker is a domestic worker whose economic activity is provided by “a non-incorporated private enterprise without a formal bookkeeping system” without being registered by national authorities” (ILO 2021, WIEGO April 2022: 5).

1.2 Objective and research questions
The objective of this thesis is to analyze the two modalities of employment and the informality in the domestic urban work sector in Lima. The live-inside employment, *cama adentro* is the traditional form by having a domestic worker living inside the household, and the live-outside employment, *cama afuera*, as an independent worker who lives outside the household. Informality is a central theme in this study since almost 87% of the female domestic workers in Peru are informal workers (see 1.1 above).

With aims to create an understanding of the working women’s work and life situation I have consulted other fieldworks where domestic workers describe their work and life situation in the urban zones of Lima in three periods of time in the 1970s, the 2010s and the 2020s. These periods are chosen in relation to the occurrence of the two modalities of employment and to how the female domestic workers look at themselves and their work situation in the city of Lima. Today, the number of women live-outside the private household are to a larger extent more frequent than women live-inside the households. Over the two last decades the number of independent houseworkers and care workers in part-time employment paid on hourly basis

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\(^3\) WIEGO, Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing is a global network organization providing statistics on occupational categories of informal workers in the informal economy with aims to encourage poor women working in the informal economy, and to empower and secure the livelihood for these women. In agreement with the International Labour Organization. WIEGO collaborate with IDWF, the International Domestic Workers Federation a world-wide organization based on a membership with domestic and household workers.
have increased. At the same time, a significant growth of private agencies of employment is visible on the urban domestic labor market. The two forms of employment, the live-inside employment and live-outside employment are, still, the two existing modalities of employment on the domestic labor market, to which we can count in the part-time independent employment. To understand informality in the urban domestic sector in Lima is to understand the market-oriented labor market in Peru with an approach “to business that prioritizes identifying the need and desires of consumers and creating products and service that satisfy them” (Kopp 2021). With focus on the feminized domestic work in the urban domestic sector in the strongly market-oriented labor market I argue for the female domestic worker to be recognized for her work and for the domestic workforce to be recognized on their own conditions.

Informality as a practice or a strategy has its origin in the infrastructural and social formation in public sectors in the 1970s that goes back to the big waves of migration from the rural zones into the city of Lima already in the 1950s–60 (de Soto 1989/2008). A parallel informal social and economic extra-legal system was founded from below in the growing public sectors around Lima in the second half of the 20th C. Exploitation, vulnerability and precariousness are concepts of frequent use in the current debate and research of informality in the urban domestic sector. Claims on formalization, formal working conditions and access to social insurance describe the precarious work situation with a strong effect on the women’s life situation. Informality is characteristic for the political and economic system in Peru, a phenomenon deeply rooted in the Peruvian society. Statistics and qualitative research give empirical evidence for the large amount of the female urban domestic workers without a formal employment contract in the urban domestic work sector in Lima. Today, many of the women who work as live-outside independent domestic worker live in the public sectors. To be able to draw reasonable conclusions based on the occurrence of the two modalities of employment these are my research questions:

1. Who are the working women and how do they describe their work and life situation?
2. What are the benefits and the disadvantages in the adjustments of employment, the live-inside and the live-outside employment, respectively?
3. How are the working conditions related to informality and to legislation?
4. What are the preferences or the facts of the persisting informality in the domestic labor sector that still have a great impact on the work situation?
5. How can we explain the increase in independent domestic workers in relation to the changes on the urban labor market?

Based on the research questions, this study will examine the modalities of employment and informal working conditions on par with critical case of informality. Changes on the urban domestic labor market are related to the modalities of employment. Certain improvements and prosperity are to be seen in the development of a so-called feminist care economy thanks to a conscious female empowerment and women’s activism for better working conditions (Pérez et al. 2023: 46–47). The claims on formalization are not solely a demand of legitimate labor rights for the domestic working women, but also, for the group of men who to a lesser extent work as domestic workers, as paid housemakers and as private chauffeurs or drivers. According to the International Labor Organization’s international Convention of Domestic Work No, 189, 2022 (ILO 2011, ILO 2021), domestic work is a decent work that takes place in the private households for the public good, to a large extent performed by women within a high rate of informal employments. However, this dissertation is delimited to the paid feminized housework and care work in the urban zones of Lima.

1.3 The value of women’s lived experiences: making difference

With preference for the ordinary, there are the simple details in everyday life that make a difference. The domestic working women’s lived experiences in the city of Lima, reminds me of grandmother on my father’s side who came as a young girl to Stockholm from a rural northern province in Sweden in the 1920s. My grandmother worked as maid living in a huge residence in one of the wealthy zones in the capital Stockholm. When she got married, she stopped working and became a modest housewife. By listening to her stories when I grew up is one reason to my personal interest in how it is to work as a house servant. In Sweden women achieved their right to vote and right of inheritance in 1921 claiming for economic independence and rights to work. I never heard her talking about women’s emancipation or if she had a formal contract, but she talked about how well the family treated her and her younger sister who worked as a nursemaid, or nanny, as we say today.

The Peruvian domestic working women’s stories and experiences, also remind me of a young maid I met in the family where I lived for five months while working as a volunteer teacher in a school in one of the public sectors in Lima. It was in 2004, just a few years before the worldwide financial crisis in 2008 and some years after the terror of Sendero Luminoso. At this time, President Alejandro Toledo (2001–2006) was in office after President Alan García’s
first period of presidency (1985–1995) followed by President Fujimori’s rise and fall at the turn of the siècle. Thereafter, García was elected for president for the second time (2006–2011). Living in this household in a low-middle class neighborhood I got an insight how this family, a mother and her three adult children struggling with the daily work, running a modest taverna and an auto repair shop to earn their living. The whole situation was new to me, and I was overwhelmed by the activity in the neighborhood and the hard work from early morning until late in the evening. The main street was lined with smaller family businesses, mainly entrepreneurs of handicraft such as car upholstery, joinery productions, house painting, firms of electricians and plumbing. The school where I assisted as a teacher was located at the foot of a mountain with its shantytown on the hillside. These experiences have inspired me in my work with this case study of the domestic working women in the urban zones of Lima.

1.4 Structure of the study
With a design of a case study this thesis is divided in six parts followed by bibliography with references and an appendix with the transcriptions. The first part has introduced the modalities of employments and the relation between employees and employers to situate the urban domestic worker and the critical case of informality in the very center of this case study. In the second part the literatures and previous research reflect on the discourse and current debate on the feminized domestic work and the informal working conditions in the urban context in Lima. In the third part theoretical and conceptual frameworks are presented. The conceptualizations emphasize the women’s professional role as a domestic worker and the devaluation of paid female domestic work. The theoretical frameworks and conceptualizations are grounded in theory and practice. In the fourth part I have outlined the methodology of a single case study sustained by a selection of related sub-cases of mixed qualitative and quantitative methods and of the limitations and difficulties in the work process in my study. In the fifth part the analyzes are structured in a chronological and a thematic order. In the sixth part the results are presented and concluded.

2 Literary review and previous research
Informal sector enterprises produce marketable goods and services. Their goods and services are meant for sale or barter (ILO
This part is divided into two sections with three subordinated parts, respectively, based on a chronological order and a thematic structure. The literatures situate the feminized domestic work and the female urban workers in the socio-economic, political and cultural context in Lima, Peru. In the first part, the narratives are based on research in the 1970s, firstly on an investigation of the live-inside maids’ work and life situation in Lima; secondly, on international and national organizations’ presence in the formation of the public sectors, and finally, how informality grew strong in the public sectors in Lima. In the second part, the narratives respond to firstly, the discourse on the value of reproduction, the devaluation of feminized domestic work, and secondly, to the objectification and the subjectification of the female domestic worker and her work. The socio-economic and cultural differentiation in social human capital theory reflects on the female paid domestic work in research and the current debate on the informal working conditions.

2.1 Exploitation, exclusion and informality

This part consists of an investigation of the live-inside employment in the 1970s in the first subpart. In many aspects, the discourse of informality concerns the industrialization, nationalism, internationalism, and the globalization at a macro-scale level and its effect on the micro-scale level. In the foundation of the International Labor Organization in 1919 the states, companies, enterprises, and the non-profit organization had certain roles. Internationalization was also a social movement from below wherein labor rights were internationalized thanks to the foundation of trade unions.

2.1.1 Live-inside maids in the 1970s

In the 1960s–70s, young female domestic workers had come to the wealthy neighborhoods in the center of Lima in search for a better life for themselves and to contribute their families economically. Rutté García’s investigation (1973) concerns the exploitation and the vulnerability of young maids live-inside the household in the wealthier part of Lima in the 1970s. It shows how young girls and even children migrated or were sent by their parents from the Andean provinces to Lima. Based on a biographic method with in-depth interviews is a way to give voice to the young maids and to let them talk about their work and life situation. This pioneer study gives us information about the practice of the live-inside employment. The microscale enterprises in the outskirts of Lima are brought up in the interviews with one of live-inside maids in the 1970s. With ambition to educate themselves and to work with something else, one maid explains how she escaped to a relative who lived in one the public sectors as she
was ill-treated by the housewife in the private household. The urban domestic workforce is represented by internal migrants from the rural indigenous living in the poor urban zones of Lima Pérez and Llanos 2017: 565). Many of the women are second or third generation of the big wave of migrants in the 1970s–80s.

2.1.2 DESCÓ’s report 1976

DESCÓ’s, Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo, (Rodríguez, Riofrío & Welsh 1976, DESCÓ) investigation in the 1970s explores the social formation of public sectors and the presence of national and international institutions in in Lima. Since the 1970s. DESCÓ, the Center for Development Studies and Promotion work on a social basis with local municipals developing sustainable projects to promote better life conditions for the citizens in the public sectors in the capital of Lima. In the 1970s, DESCÓ’s mission was to develop their Urban Program and to promote processes and investigations on formal politics in the poor public sectors. Their vision was to formulate point of reference for a proactive social work and the inclusion of the public sectors in the Urban Program as a replication of alternative and sustainable urban development (DESCÓ).

In the 1970s, national and international private institutions and humanitarian organizations came to the poor public sectors in Lima. In terms of an ‘invasion of invaders’, this explosion of ‘beneficial institutions’, and social rescue actions from outside describe the philanthropic work that took place in the new settlements in the poor urban public sectors. To supply the new settlements with assistance an abundance of social scientists, pollsters, fieldworkers, social worker’s mission was to improve social wellbeing to raise consciousness and mobilize people to collaborate in the young public sectors. (Rodríguez, Riofrío and Welsh, Desco 1976: 9). The formation of the new societies responded to the big waves of migration to Lima in the 1960s–1980s and to the growing industrialism in the country (de Soto 1989). Quijano’s statement of the overpopulation and the need of network of services constitute a double process of cause and effect of the expulsion of peasants and the government’s fallacy in territorial agricultural policy. It was also a result of governmental incapacity without interest to encourage the establishment of well-functioning societies for all this people. The dependence on foreign finances in the industrial development entailed a reduced need for manpower. According to DESCÓ, this is one of the behind the development of informal economy and of the widespread class-based poverty in the formal sectors in Lima due to the big migration wave.

DESCO’s report the international beneficial organizations aims to state cordial relations with the people in the public sectors emerge from a vision of national bourgeoise and an imperial interest. It was a way to conduct a certain conception, an idea, among the people in the public sectors. For the social scientists, their aid for the people ends in themselves in order introduce a certain idea with origin in the emergence of national bourgeoise and of imperial interests (Rodríguez, Riofrío and Welsh, Desco 1976: 28, my transl.). Rodríguez, Riofrío and Welsh argue for the people who live in the contradiction of the city in the young urban societies. For them the unemployment, the low wages, the precarious dwelling, and lack of public services is beyond the capital system. For them the generous aid from outside indicated a lack of interest. To help themselves and to raise individual initiatives and ambition are beyond hope (Rodríguez, Riofrío and Welsh 1976: 28, my transl.). In this telling dialog between Mafalda and Susanita in the cartoon Snoopy (1976: 24) the authors lay emphasis on their critics in a voice of class-based and Western conscience:

–It cuts me to the heart to see poor people. Believe me!
–When we become ladies, we are going join a charity fund to help the indigents
–And we can organize banquets with chicken, turley and salad, and all that stuff. In this way we can start a fundraising for the poor
–… and we can buy flour, grains and pasta for the poor, and that junk food, they eat. (my transl.)

This example serves as a pre-understanding for de Soto’s critical analyze of informality in the next part where he criticizes not explicitly the international beneficial organizations interference and presence in the public sectors but how people in the public sectors are excluded from the global enterprise (1989/2008).

2.1.3 de Soto’s informal public sectors in the 1970s

Within the persisting informality as a central theme in my study Hernando Soto’s historically analyze describes and explains how informality grew strong in the public sectors (de Soto 1989/2008: xvii–xxi). DESCO’s report from 1976 in the previous part examines the development and the marginalization of in the public sectors in the 1970s. DESCO’s critics of the interference of international and national organization, and institutions in the public sector, goes in line with one of de Soto’s thirteen points of references in his critical analyze of

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4 This analyze was first published in 1989 by the Institute of Liberty of Democracy in Lima under leading Hernando de Soto, a politic and economic analytic with specialization on the informality in the public sectors of Lima since the 1950s. For this study I have taken part of the follow-up edition from 2008.
informality. Here he makes his own statement of how the poor from are excluded from global capitalism and trading, originally for not having property rights (1989/2008):

[...] the poor cannot hold assets or trade within the law, they cannot be part of the global economy either. How can you fill in a bill of lading if you don’t have a legal address or an officially recognized business? How can you move an asset in the international market place if it not fixed in a formal property system?” (xix).

The answer is: “You cannot, and this is why the excluded will not benefit very much from globalization” (de Soto, 1989/2008: xix). People have migrated from the rural Andean provinces to Lima already before the 1940s. The political agrarian reform had taken their land away from them. In the second half of the 20th C., since the 1950s, a parallel existing informal system was (and still is) a way for the new settlers in the public sectors, to combat poverty. But rather than talking about illegality, by making their own rules is what de Soto calls a “extra-legal law”-system. de Soto (1989/2008) is not a defender of illegality, rather, he argues for the extra-legal system as the only option for people to earn their living in the public sectors, and for a goal-oriented business enterprise. For the dwellers, market economy and capital are not “bourgeois prejudices” or “culturally alienating concepts” but “goals that they and their informal organizations strive to reach” (1989/2008: xviii). de Soto goes hard on the Peruvian bureaucratic system confirming that “[t]hese entrepreneurs want to live under the rule of law” (ibid.). Arguing for economic and judicial independence criticizing the politized mercantilism and the bureaucratized processes, is what excludes the poor from being entrepreneurs. de Soto’s criticism is directed to the economic system which oppresses most Peruvians within a strong argument for “why and how they organize themselves outside the law” (ibid). The Peruvian society is characterized for its informality, patrimonialism, clientelism and corruption, and for its patriarchal power system. In the Peruvian case, informality seen from a macro perspective is characteristic for the political and socio-economic system within a strong impact on the microscale level, that is, for people to earn their livelihood such as the urban female domestic workers. Opposed to democratic capitalism it rejects the mercantilism that goes back to the early trading in the colonial history.

de Soto criticizes the Presidents in office and their ignorance and incapacity to reform the Peruvian legal system despite the great number of regulations and implementations of laws since the middle of the 20th (de Soto 1989/2008) since:

the Peruvian central government had issued more that 700,000 laws and regulation since 1947. […] Reading laws as they are written gives no clues how they will work in practice. The Peruvian Government had
reviewed the legal texts many times, using the most prestigious foreign consulting firms, but nonetheless was able to make it easier for the poor to enter the legal system, using the most prestigious foreign consulting firms, but nonetheless was unable to make it easier for the poor to enter the legal system. (xxii).

These lines describe the bureaucratic slowness central in de Soto’s analyze and of relevance for our understanding of the persisting informality in the domestic labor sector as a lack of interest (or incapacity) to bring the laws of domestic work into practice. His analyzes concerns the political ignorance and the insufficient working conditions despite cumulative regulations and implementation of national and international laws of domestic work in favor of fundamental labor rights and social insurances since 2003.

2.2 Devaluation and (re)production and subjectification

In this part the literature follows a thematic structure in three subsections over the two last decades. This second part responds to the feminist discourse and the current debate on the paid female domestic work in Lima. The first subpart introduces the discourse on the devaluation and revalorization of the female paid housework and care work. In the second part the literature reflects on the devaluation of the female paid domestic work within a perspective of subjectification of the female domestic worker and her work. In the third part the structuration of cognitive social constructs and human capital theory situate the female urban domestic worker self-image and the social working conditions in its socio-political context in the capital of Lima the 2020s.

2.2.1 Devaluation and discrimination: gender, ethnicity and class

Feminized domestic work involves decent housework and care work such as cleaning, laundering, dog walking, childcare, tutoring children’s homework and elder care, but also the commission of health care such as nursing, and medical assistance. For being predominated by women, domestic work continues to be economically devaluated and culturally biased (England 2005: 381). By tradition the feminized domestic work in the private households is built on a deep-rooted relationship of domination wherein the maids are dependent on the good will of the employers in their work with personal service such as housework and care work. The discrimination of the female urban domestic workers and the lack of formalization and is well-documented in reports and research of the feminized domestic work on Peru. (England 2005, Federici 2008, Blofield and Jokela 2018, Garavito 2015; 2016; 2017, 2018, Pérez and Llanos 2017, Pérez 2020, Pérez et.al. 2023, ILO/OIT 2013, ILO 2021). Behind the devaluation of domestic work, the research recognizes the unpaid domestic work as a class-based
phenomenon. Nevertheless, the class-based inequality entails a stigmatization of gender and ethnicity and race. In the preface to Recommendation 201 of the Convention No. 189 of domestic work, Juan Somavia, the Director General of ILO in Geneva, declares its fundamental premise that “domestic workers are neither ‘servants’, nor ‘member of the family, nor second class workers” (ILO Geneva 2013).

Pérez and Llanos’ intersectional analyze (2017) includes all economically active population, EPA (2017: 53) in Peru between 2004–2013, based on qualitative analyzes and quantitative data such as structural constraints: i.e., income and educational levels, different indicators for domestic work, employed population, age-groups, gender, migration status, civil status, and evolution of average monthly income (2017: 557–563 in ENAHO 2004–2013, INEI 2013, 2014). Firstly, their findings suggest a change on the urban labor market of “a new trend towards the independent employment” (Pérez and Llanos 2017: 567) for those who work as independent worker live-outside the private household. This new trend indicates cultural changes in a socio-economic meaning have contributed to “occupational mobility possible for domestic workers” (2017: 567). In this ‘national trend’ the total number of domestic workers is decreasing. women with higher levels of education are now leaving the domestic work sector in Lima, for other unqualified jobs. Behind the reduced number of the live-inside employment working as a domestic worker is an unattractive job with low social status. Secondly, Pérez and Llanos explain how women once working as a domestic worker may hinder their possibility to find other jobs other than in the domestic work sector (Pérez and Llanos 2017: 566). With a perspective on horizontal mobility, the socio-economic inequality remains as many women continue to work in other low status jobs available at the labor market. But first and foremost, Pérez and Llanos analysis give evidence for how the economic growth during the last two decades has not led to improvements of labor and social rights which per se requires more research of the employers of domestic workers, they argue (Pérez and Llanos 2017).

In addition, changed familiar economic conditions are also brought into discussion which coincides with Garavito’s research on the demand and the supply of paid domestic work in the urban Peru over time in 1997–2016. Her quantitative and qualitative analyzes on the demand of paid domestic work in 2007–2014 gives evidence for an increase of the live-outside employment in Lima (Garavito 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018). Still, the live-inside and the live-outside employments are the two existing modalities of employment on the domestic labor market. The increase of the independent employment paid on hourly bases in the urban domestic sector in Lima is related to middle- and lower-income families’ use of domestic
service paid by hour, whereas live-inside maids are more frequent in the traditional households in the wealthier neighborhoods in Lima. (Garavito 2018: 35–60). Garavito’s analyzes also show that the live-inside maids work more hours than the 48 hours per week that are prescribed by the Law No. 27968 implemented by the government in 2003. The independent worker can regulate her working hours. But, for employees with a part-time employment paid by the hour the independent workers have more than one employer. Hence, for being paid on hourly bases they earn less than a maid who occupies the traditional live-inside full-time employment.

2.2.2 Subjectification, objectification and (re)production
In a recent cross-cultural study, a group of social scientists, Pérez, Espinosa Anaya & Pérez Recalde (2023) examine the labor and social conditions for female urban domestic workers in three urban environments in La Paz in Bolivia, Lima in Peru and in Montevideo in Uruguay. For the case of Peru, the scholars suggest, that over the last 50 years there have been important advancements in legislation of labor rights. Today, the younger generation of trade union activists have contributed to improvements in care economy in favor of the female domestic workers (2023: 83).

Pérez et.al, are interested in the impact of social working conditions on the women’s work situation, and how social norms have a strong effect on how they look at themselves as women domestic workers. The devaluation of female paid domestic work and the discrimination of the working woman is closely related to her self-image and her sense of low self-esteem. The female domestic workforce in Lima is a culturally marginalized social group in the urban sociopolitical context. The female worker is sharply marked off from its surroundings in a sense of superiority and dislike, the scholars explain. (Vázquez 2017 in Pérez et.al. 2023)

The subjectification of the female domestic worker entails an objectification of the woman. The female domestic worker and her work is objectified. She is not valorized for her work or as a subject with an intrinsic value. Behind the differentiation of class and gender, the deep-rooted sexism in the Peruvian society has a strong effect on the domestic working women’s work and life situation. Women are ignored for their inferiority as the female other, irrespectively of class. Women are pushed into the background because of her reproductive role and the responsibility for home and family. The domestic worker is dependent on the good will of the housewife. The relation between the employee and her employer is built on a twofold dependence. With the metaphor of an invisible chain, the female domestic worker constitutes the link to facilitate the entrance on the labor market for other women. (Pérez et.al.
Irrespectively of class, the feminine ideal is complied with the angelical ideal built upon prevalent stereotypes and how the woman’s value depends on her reproductive role as a fostering mother and a cherish wife. By tradition, the bourgeoise (house)wife’s mission was to please her husband so he could act complying with the high social conformity (Barrig 1979: 21). The Peruvian society is deeply characterized by the social order of a paternalistic and capitalist hierarchy. The patriarchal power structure is by tradition prevalent in the Catholic Church. In the history of the domestic work to dominate or to be dominated goes back to the history of domestic work in the colonial history. Pérez et.al. argues for an authoritarianism in the relationship employer-employee between the domestic worker and the employer, “social authoritarianism is present at the micro level of household reproduction, where the state is absent from regulating the relationship between domestic workers and the employers […] in Peru the intersectionality of gender, indigeneity, rurality and migration status is overlaid with colonial heritage and persistent social hierarchies” (2021: 3).

The growing middle class is relevant for our understanding of the growing number of independent part-time employment in the urban market-oriented labor market over the two past decades. With purpose to explore who make use of paid domestic work in Lima today, Garavito suggests a change in how younger household of middle-lower neighborhoods now make use of paid housework. Today young women work to a larger extent outside the household. Younger families also share the burden of domestic work due to women’s professional work and higher levels of education. It is also dependent on the couple’s income, and if they have children. Hence, hiring a houseworker or care worker per hour has become more frequent. (Garavito 2018: 37–38, 40–56).

In 2022, Pérez’ brings up the differentiation of class by asking, “When do we all move Upstairs?” (Mar 24, 2022). Her article discusses the societal division and the class hierarchization in the 1970s, still, actual in the contemporary Peruvian society. In terms of a “tacit social contract” this inequal social system established “a hierarchy of those who can access and purchase quality goods and services in a highly informal market” where in some are meant to be consumers and others “simply consumed” (Pérez 2022). The growing middle class in the capital is how the traditional aristocratic upper class has been replaced by a new group of plutocrats or businesspeople, whose wealth are built upon their incomes rather than noble lineage. In the next part I will shed light on the growing middle class whether it is relevant to talk about a social equalization or social differentiation.
2.2.3 Differentiation or social equalization

Pérez’s (et.al. 2023) structuration of cognitive social constructs is on pair with Bourdieu’s idea of the human capital and social, cultural, and economic values. Within a difference in degree, the human capital value is distinctive in different social classes, that is, social or symbolic spaces (Bourdieu 1998). With my preferences for the ordinary, the simplicity and the complexity in daily life is mutual and changeable. To make difference and to make changes depends on what degree and what kind of human capital that will be in charge in a certain social class, though, social classes are only determined in theory. Bourdieu’s *Distinctive model* (1998) identify social groups and spaces “through the delimitation of a (relatively) homogenous sets of agents occupying an identical position in social space (Bourdieu 1998: 15). Pérez et.al., argue for how the social order depends on a strong social hierarchy of racialization and sexualization addressing a problematization based on gender, ethnicity, and class. Though, class differences tend to be secondary. The social representations are simply conscious intersubjective wherein the social norms are implemented to be understood in the social world (Pérez et.al. 2023: 29-30, my transl.). In the Peruvian society the institutional patriarchal power structures are deeply rooted in history. The double burden on women’s shoulders depends on the disequilibrium (unbalance) in the paid and the unpaid domestic work, more known as the concepts of gendered division of labor and reproduction. In my study of the urban female domestic workers in the 1970s, 2010s and the 2020s, is to understand how ethnicity is laid on the women’s shoulders on the macro-scale level in the Peruvian society with a strong effect a on micro-scale level. In this two-fold hierarchical socio-economic and cultural perspective class I argue that class cannot no be excluded from the inequalities of gender ethnicity in the contemporary urban society in Lima.

Bourdieu’s (1998) reasoning on social and symbolic spaces is also relevant for our understanding of the practice of the two modalities of employment. The social, economic, and cultural differentiation useful to understand the relationship between the employee, the domestic worker and her employer, no matter if the woman is employed directly by the private household or through one of the service providers, by a non-profit agency of employment, or by a private profit-making agency of employment (see 1.1 above).

In sum, in this part the literature contributes the use of theory and praxis in work process with this thesis. Feminist care theory is brought into the de Soto’s critical analyze of informality theory and to Bourdieu’s social theory of human capital values. With these theoretical frameworks in the foreground, I can relate the conceptualization in the next part to the keywords
of this thesis, that are: feminized domestic work, paid female house workers and care workers in Lima Peru, informality, devaluation, women’s empowerment, autonomy, and economic independence.

3 Theoretical and conceptual framework

In this part theoretical conceptualizations and frameworks will be exemplified in accordance with the objective to describe and examine the two different modalities of the live-inside and the live-outside employment. The modalities of employment with focus on the woman’s professional role as a domestic worker will be situated in the socio-economic and cultural context. The process of labor changes will be analyzed form a market-oriented perspective on the domestic work sector in the urban labor market in Lima. In this way, I have made use of the notions of devaluation and revalorization, occupational citizenship, female autonomy and economic independence, informality and human capital, grounded in theory and practice. These concepts are useful methodological tools in my critical analyze of informality and the informal working conditions, that is, to examine occurrence of the modalities of employment and to identify the feminized paid domestic work and the female workers in the urban zones of Lima in the 1970s the 2010s and the 2020s.

3.1 The value of paid domestic work

The notion of devaluation explains how and why the supply of care work of domestic work is underestimated, offered to a low cost at a high price for the female domestic workers. England points out the logics of care work based on empirical evidence such as altruistic motivations and intrinsic rewards as benefits for the public good, and the prisoner of love theory. England’s notion of the commodification of emotion illustrates the paid feminized domestic work as woman’s biased issue. Controversially, this is not only valid for care work but also for housework services of cleaning, cooking in my study; “the work for pay forces workers to alienate themselves from their true feelings”, (England 2005: 382). In a sense of reward, there are no watertight bulkheads between the low paid care work and altruistic values, nor is it more alienating doing care work compared to other occupations, England argues. The concept of ‘emotional capitalism’ defines the “pursuit of mutually beneficial interaction with other, and the rejection of altruistic, compulsory interaction without a definite purpose” (Urban dictionary). England emphasizes emotional capitalism as a mutual emotional and economic relationship as cultural biases that “limit both wages and state support for care work because of
its association with women” (England 2005: 381–399, Pérez 2019: 87–114). In her notion, the prisoner of love, England asks if the care for others is an expression of genuine care or if the domestic worker is motivated by an altruistic value for the common good (England 2005: 389). Or is she simply motivated by making money, to earn her living? Instead, England argues for “[t]hose proposing the broader public good framework for care work do not necessarily subscribe to Marxist labor theory of value. They see the indirect beneficiaries of care to be all of us, not merely capitalist employers” (2005: 386). The demand of house services to a low cost entails the hard work at a high price for the domestic working women on pair with the concept of market orientation as “an approach to business that prioritizes identifying the need and desires of consumers and creating products and service that satisfy them” (Kopp 2021). Also, Garavito’s calculations (2018) on the time-consuming domestic work on hourly basis and the younger households’ use of the part-time houseworkers and care workers have contributed to our understanding of the changes on the urban domestic labor market, over the last two decades.

In terms of a women’s citizenship, Budd has designed the notion of occupational citizenship arguing for the workers as members of a society with right to decent work. In his notion of labor as the Source of value, he rejects domestic work as a commodity emphasizing “that work is purely done by human beings who are members of communities and societies” (Budd 2011: 59–60). England’s idea of the commodification of women’s paid housework and care work is on pair with Budd’s reasoning to be critically analyzed how and why the female domestic workers still not have become “citizens who are entitled decent working and living conditions that are determined by standards of human dignity, not supply and demand” (Budd 2011: 59). Budd argues that housework and care work is not “a commodity but an activity pursued by human members of a community with inherent equal worth who are entitled to certain rights and standards of dignity and self-determination” (59). Budd’s occupational citizenship can also be compared with women’s right to economic independence and autonomy. These theoretical considerations on women’s rights are essential parts in ILO’s report on women’s autonomy in changing economic scenarios (2019). It is essential for our understanding how the devaluation of domestic work is in great need to be revaluated and not only to be formalized theoretically by law, but to be pragmatically realized into practice.

Analyzing the value of paid domestic work and the right to decent occupation Budd’s and England rejections shed light on Marx ideas of the exploiting of labor workcraft at his time in the end of the 19th. But for them, considering domestic work as a delivery of housework and care work is not an option. Radical feminism rejects the neoliberal capitalism. Women’s unpaid
reproductive work had no capitalist value in the industrial capitalist production. It was per se a commodity to be consumed and reduced to the industrial male workers’ consumption. (Federici 2012: 112). Hence, an alternative reconsidering the value of domestic work is if it counts with a surplus value for the great number of private employments agencies on the market oriented domestic labor market in Lima. With relevance for the female paid domestic work and the urban domestic workers in Lima the value of care work and housework is not conceptualized as a commodity by the scholars is of great importance for our understanding in relation to the market oriented domestic urban labor market. In the next part de Soto’s critical theory and the exclusion of the poor in the public sectors from being entrepreneurs in the 1970–80 can be understood how the domestic working women have been and still are excluded and reduced to a lower value of social human capital in the Peruvian society (Garavito 2017, Pérez et.al. 2023).

3.2 Informality, autonomy, and occupational independence

Built on critical thinking and empirical evidence, Hernando de Soto’s (1989/2008), a Peruvian economist and leader of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD), controversial perspective on informality and informal economy criticizes the national and international institutional power structure by questioning the doubleness and backwardness in the Peruvian civil society that goes back to the 1950s onwards. de Soto’s definitions of informal public sectors, social formation and infrastructure and formal economy building in the new settlements illustrate hardworking and creative societies ruled by a shadow-economy in terms of an informal economy. Despite an informal care economy female empowerment and the domestic women’s organizations has led to improve the so-called feminist care economy (Peréz et.al. 2023, IPROFOTH 2022). Almost ninety percent (87.6%) of the urban female domestic workers today are without a formal contract of employment. (MPTE 2021, ILO 2021, 2022, Pérez 2023).

How can we measure informal economy and why is it important? In the relation between gross domestic product (GDP) and informal employment, there are certain difficulties to measure the complexity in economic informality in a strong market-oriented labor market. Therefore, I have made use of the concept of informal economy in my critical analysis of informality in the urban domestic sector and the so-called feminist care economy. In this way, the qualitative analyses is sustained by the International Labour organization’s recommendation by using this concept “an advocacy tool for the population groups involved; in depicting [global] and national employment trends; and in analyzing linkages between growth and employment” (ILO Geneva 2013: 2)
Analyzing the informal working conditions, I will give attention to female empowerment raised by the live-inside maids in the 1970s (Rutte García 1973: 41). Support was given to the young maids by the non-profit global organization, the Youth Catholic Workers in Peru Lima. The notions of *informality* and *informal economy* also contribute to our understanding of how women in the informal public sectors were harshly excluded from the neoliberal politics and economy in the 1980s–1990s. In her phenomenological political analyze, Rosseau (2009) explains why women’s citizenships are constructed in two different directions. (2009: 32) Firstly, in terms of an institutionalization of women’s citizenship, the feminist movements’ claims were promoted by politicians and other institutional service providers as well as the support of international organization. To gain women’s civil and political rights was a strategy in President Fujimori’s plan of modernization. In this way, some women were included in the political public sphere: “[t]he emphasis that middle and upper class women placed on civil and political rights, relative to the emphasis of women from popular sectors on social and economic rights, exposed substantial differences in priorities for the various on the women’s movement. (Rosseau 2009: 32). Secondly, the institutional process led to a political distance, likewise a gap between the modest women in the public sectors and the more fortunate women who had the possibility to enter public politics.

The concept of women’s *the right to the city* is not considered to promote a new comprehensive legislation of women’s rights but rather a strategic plan to reduce poverty, social exclusion, and urban violence. In collaboration between UN agencies (UN-Habitat and UNESCO) it also aims to encourage women’s political and social inclusion and to consolidate urban policy and governance (Alison and Kristiansen 2009). In Lima, Women’s Political Agenda, the idea of *women’s right to the city* was implemented as an operational plan to secure women’s mobility in the city thanks to a contributory process for the demands and the interest in the Metropolitan districts. The city of Lima is populated by a third part of the approximately 33-34 million of the Peruvian population in 2020–2023. The Agenda of Metropolitan Lima recognizes the women living in the urbanized areas in the West, the North and in the Centre of Lima. Participatory workshops and expertise forums are available for women who lives in the city. Women’s right to education and culture, health, to combat gendered violence, and to promote proactive work on women’s security in the city. Promoting women’s right to the city is to include women in the political work in the city. (Global Platform for the Right to the City 2022).
3.3 Economic inequality: social and cultural differences

To place the female urban domestic work force in the Peruvian context, I have made use of Bourdieu’s two principles of differentiation of economic and cultural capital and the notion of habitus (1998)\textsuperscript{5}. Bourdieu’s idea originates in his Distinctive model (1998: 1–13). In theory a community is structured in different social and symbolical spaces. A social space or social group possesses “different kinds of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of the capital” (1998: 6–7). For instance, in the case of the female domestic workers, the urban workforce can be identified a marginalized social subgroup supported by non-governmental social organizations and trade unions. The private households, the non-profit and the profit-making agencies of employment represent symbolical social groups with economic capital. There are symbolical differences in a social space, different social groups have a total amount of capital. In accordance with Bourdieu’s human capital theory the differences in the volume of capital values give rise to a differentiation, a distinction, of different social, economic, and cultural value. In practice, there are distinctions symbolically inscribed in the differentiation between different social and symbolical spaces or social groups. Bourdieu makes use of his concept habitus as there are different ways to act in a social space, and for the individuals in a certain social group. To act, for instance, there are different conducts and traditions in different social spaces or groups. From theory to practice, the social spaces take place in the public space or sphere, and, in the private informal space or sphere. To make use of the notion of habitus, Bourdieu explains; “One of the functions of the notion habitus is to account for the unity or style, which unites the practices and goods of a single agent or class of agents” (1998: 9). In the first part of the analyzes the young live-inside maid with origin in the Andean culture clash with the urban culture and the family members in the private household. In the 2010s and the 2020s we can observe how the social, cultural and the economic values have an impact on the domestic worker as an individual and as a member of a collective, of the urban domestic work force.

In sum, the theoretical frameworks and conceptualization lay ground for the feminist theory of devaluation of the paid domestic work such as housework and care work (nursing and medical assistance are not included in my thesis). The feminist perspective on the women’s labor rights relates to a female occupational citizenship, female economic independence, and women’s autonomy. de Soto’s theory on economic informality contributes to critical analyze of the persistence of informality and informal employments in the urban domestic sector in demand

\textsuperscript{5} This is my interpretation of Bourdieu’s Distinctive model (1998) with reservation of eventual disagreements.
for formalization and decent working conditions. Budd’s *notion of labor as the Source of value* is in line with the concept of informality which in turn can be related to the *women’s right to the city* within Bourdieu’s perspectives. Grounded in theory, the conceptualizations in this part have contributed to formulate the research question, used methodological tools described in the next part of methodology.

4 Methodology

[Y]ou would want to do a case study because you want to understand a real-world case and assume that such an understanding is likely to involve important contextual conditions pertinent to your case. (Yin & Davis 2007)

The methodological part is divided in two subparts. The first part describes the design of research, the methodological difficulties, limits, and benefits by using a mixed methodology, and the second part the use of secondary sources, material, statistics, theory, and practice. The analyzes of the modalities of the live-in and independent employment, the informal working conditions in relation to legislation and the changes on the urban domestic labor market are sustained by the research questions. Preventing a change of the devaluation of domestic work and the informal working conditions requires a time perspective of decades sustained by the occurrence of the modalities of employment and the working women’s experiences in the 1970s, the 2010s and the 2020s. On the other hand, considering the modalities of employment is part of a longer process of labor changes since the 1970s towards the 2020s. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce the use of time in my work.

4.1 The case/s, a mixed methodology: difficulties, limits and benefits

This case study is based on the live-inside and live-outside employment and the critical case of analyzing the informal working conditions with focus on three cases of female domestic workers in three periods, in the 1970s, the 2010s and 2020s. The analyzes of the working women as agents in their work and life situation in the urban zones of Lima offer a possibility to study the informal working conditions and the changes on the labor market over time. In this case the perspective is longitudinal. To understand this process, firstly, I have focused on the live-inside maid in the 1970 and, secondly, the live-outside domestic worker in the 2010s. In the analyze of how domestic working women are affected by their working conditions and the normative labor changes in the sociopolitical context in Lima on the urban female domestic
worker in Lima in the beginning of the 2020s. By using cloze-listening as a complement to cloze-reading as an interpretative method has deepen the understanding for working women’s lived experiences in my readings of other fieldworks and in the creative part of my work process with this study. The visual and auditive media serves as an empiric platform of evidence through active listening (Berry, Fox and Llinares 2018; Euritt 2023). Finally, the analyze of the part-time employment overlaps the independent part-time employment over two last decades towards the 2020s. We can observe a shift in the role of employers over the two last decades which give evidence for a change on the urban domestic labor market considering the market-oriented approach.

In my role as a non-participant observer from outside to reconcile the empirical gap this study is based on a mixed methodology of both qualitative research and quantitative data. Qualitative and quantitative methods are chosen in order to have bridged eventually gaps being aware of incidence unconscious biases. Based on qualitative evidence and results, and relevant quantitative data collected in other fieldworks are based on theoretical grounds and empirical evidence. For the analyzes of the female domestic workers experiences I have used a qualitative and interpretative method based other field works and through the collected audiovisual digital samples. Limitations and difficulties will be described below, followed by how the sources, theory, and practice have contributed to the analyzes and to the results of my study, based on the findings in my analyzes.

The limitations and the difficulties in this study are mainly methodological and statistical. Firstly, in lack of resources and time without possibility to realize a fieldwork of my own, I planned for a case study based on women’s lived experiences as domestic workers in Lima city. Instead, the analyzes of the working women’s lived experiences are based on secondary sources. Secondly, in doing so, it has been possible to make use of the longitudinal perspective in coherence between the three analyzed periods of the 1970s, the 2010s and the 2020s. Concretely speaking, this study requires a two-fold perspective of time and space. Thirdly, live-inside and the live-outside employment analyzes are sustained by domestic-work related articles and reports such as the International Labour organization (ILO), Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organization (WIEGO) and Institute of Formation of the Female Domestic Workers (IPROFOTH). Garavito’s analyzes on the evolution of the Peruvian domestic labor market cover national representative samples overtime in 1997–2018, as well as the analyze on the demand of paid domestic work in Peru and of the occurrence of the two modalities, the live-inside and the live-outside over time in 2007–2014 (Garavito 2015, 2016,
2017, 2018). Her calculations of the time needed for the women’s paid domestic work assignments in the private household is valuable information also for the part-time employment. Garavito explains that available statistic is not completely comparable due to the raw data in the Peruvian National Household service (ENAHO) conducted by the National Institute of Informatic and Statistics (INEI). As a complement to the qualitative analyzes available statistical data are used in the quantitative analyze of the occurrence of the two modalities towards the part-time employment, and statistics on the number of inspected private employment agencies between 2007–2011. The incompleteness in statistics is compensated by qualitative analyzes. (ENAHO 2007, 2010, 2013 and 2014 in Garavito 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018). Consequently, the divergence in statistics can to a certain extent be sustained by the high rate of informality in the domestic sector and the lack of formal contracts. There are no available statistics on the relation between the independent employments on hourly basis and the temporary agencies of employments with specialization on domestic work in the urban zones of Lima or in Lima city. Pérez, Espinosa Anaya & Pérez Recalde (2023) comment that the information of supply and demand of domestic work on the urban labor market is incomplete. Sustained by Garavito’s statistical data in her quantitative and qualitative analyze on the demand of the domestic work assignment per hour give evidence for the use of domestic work paid by hour (2018). To be able to give empirical evidence that is based on the urban domestic workers perspective on the relation between the two modalities and the independent part-time in the relation to the profit-making private employment agencies flourishing on the urban domestic market-oriented labor market, requires more research. Consequently, the results and the findings in this study might be of relevance in future research projects.

Entering the post-pandemic era in 2023, it is too early to make conclusions of the changes on the domestic work labor market based on the increase of independent workers, the part-time employment, and the temporary employment agencies in their role as domestic service providers of housework and care work. Therefore, it necessary to mention that the labor market now is recovering from the repercussions after the COVID-19 pandemic. Almost 70% of the domestic workers lost their jobs during the pandemic (ILO 2021, WIEGO 2023). Nonetheless, the pandemic situation has to a certain extent led to the increased demand on temporary house and care work paid on hourly basis. The lockdowns with a strong impact on the working women’s spatial mobility working from outside resulted in a reduction of working hours, why there are indications of an increase of part-time employment in the after the pandemic. This process had already begun before the emergence of the pandemic in March 2020. One year
after the weakening of the pandemic the high rate of informality in the feminized domestic sector persists. These changes do not concern the number of vacant jobs but rather a reduction in working hours and an increase of the part-time employment. There are also signs of improvements with positive effects on the women’s work and life situation. These changes debated in care economy requires more research (Pérez and Llanos 2017). The next part makes a summary of how the sources and secondary source of other fieldworks, digital media, policy documents and reports have contributed to this case study.

4.1 Sources and material: evidence-based experience, statistics and theory
The first part of analyze is based on five in-depth interviews in Rutte García’s (1973) psycho-cultural sociological investigation with five live inside maids in the 1970s’. With a design of an explorative and descriptive case study focuses on the relationship between the young maids and the housewife in the private household. The women arrived in Lima in the 1960s-70s as young girls from the rural zones in the Andes. By using a biographic, Rutté García (1973) and his equipment emphasize the participants of five young migrant women’s inner experiences of working as live-inside maids. This fieldwork situates the traditional form of the live-inside employment in the urban context of Lima in the 1970s.

In the second part of analyzes, based on cloze-listening as the method the second reference group is virtually created representing the female urban independent domestic worker in the 2010s. The first audiovisual sample officially published in digital media consists of an animated fictional story of an indigenous woman’s daily work as an urban independent. With a didactic informative purpose created by the national affiliation of the international organization Care in Peru the story of Rosa is the real case, why the woman is called by her real first name. The second audiovisual sample based on an Afro-Peruvian female worker’s lived experiences living in one of the public sectors. These two examples are chosen to exemplify the inequality of gender and ethnicity, and its relation to class differentiation. The third sample based on five women’s talk about the informal working conditions that took place at one of the women centers, Flora Tristán, a non-profit organization in the center of Lima in late 2010s. Their testimonies throw light on what remains to be done to improve the informal workings conditions and the domestic workers legal rights. Finally, the two last samples highlight the cooperation in the urban domestic sector with the trade unions for the female urban domestic workers in Lima. Representing the trade unions for the female workers, the two women as former domestic workers argue for the importance of collective female empowerment, the shortcomings and the
improvements in legislation and the development of the informal care economy. Altogether these sources are chosen to make justice to the domestic workers and other women involved in the concerns for the women’s vulnerability and demands on formalization in the 2010s towards the 2020s.

In the third part of analyzes the sources are situated in 2020s. To make an overview of the working women’s work situation, a recent longitudinal field study was published in April 2023 (Peréz, Espinosa Anaya and Pérez Recade, 2023). In the midst of the pandemic, in a period of 12 months between March 2021 and March 2022, a group of social scientists examined women’s work situation and their self-image as domestic workers in three urban environments in Latin America, La Paz in Bolivia, Lima in Peru and Montevideo in Uruguay. In the case of Peru, 21 distance-interviews in combination with questionnaires and individual videocalls were realized through WhatsApp and other digital platforms. The difficulties in the project responded the participant’s no-response. The interviews were based on a hermeneutic method. By using this interpretative method purpose is to give voice to the women. Each biography is situated in a broader perspective, in the discourse of the devaluation and the revalorization of paid feminized domestic work in the Peruvian sociopolitical urban context in Lima (Peréz, Espinosa Anaya and Pérez Recade, 2023: 31–32, 35). This project with the title ‘In their own words’ addresses social imaginaries and auto-representation. The domestic working women are considered ‘economic agents’ and subjects active in economic politics. That is, she is a female domestic worker with her own rights for autonomy and economic independence in the collective of a female workforce. The women’s names are not their real names.

The concept of informality is used for my critical analyze of informality and the informal working conditions in the legislative process. The analyzes and the discussion are grounded in Hernando de Soto’s (1989) critical analyze and evidence-based theory on informality that characterize the Peruvian society with origin informal public sectors in Lima in the 1960s–1980s. The concept of informality explains the exclusion of ordinary poor people from the administrative and legal system. First, the persistence of the informal working conditions can be understood as an exclusion of the formal labor rights and the of urban female domestic workers. My personal experiences living in one of the public sectors for five months has deepened my understanding for the women through my critical analyze on informality and legislation. Second, the persistence of informal working conditions is related to a weak institutional process and weak institutions. The Government/s have not fulfilled legal reforms despite an abundance of regulations and implementations such as the first national law No
27986 in 200, neither by the implementation of the International Labor Organization’s convention No. 189 (2011) in 2019. Third, the notion of devaluation is used as a methodological tool in the process of the formalization of normative labor rights from a feminist perspective on women’s autonomy and economic independence in terms of a female occupational and economic citizenship (England 2005, Rosseau 2009, Budd 2011).

The concept of valorization contrasted to devaluation throws light on the improvements in the development of a feminist care economy in the 21st. For each period current regulations and implementations of national and international laws of domestic work concretize preferences and the facts in the relation between informality and legislation. Bourdieu’s distinctive perspective on social spaces and groups, the differentiation of social, economic, and cultural capital introduces the stigma of class, ethnicity, and gender. Consequently, my first intention was to include a broader feminist perspective, the Marxist feminist perspective and global capitalism into the discussion on informality. But in lack of space, it will be commented briefly in the analyze if it contributes to the discussion of the research questions.

In sum, the next part of analyze, theory-building and discussion divided in three sections introduces research questions used with accordance to the theoretical conceptualizations and frameworks are grounded in theory. To make practice of the conceptualizations and the research has guided me in the work process with this thesis, and to draw reasonable conclusion based on the findings and the results of the analyzes.

5 Analyze, theory-building and, discussion

The truth as Hegel said, is in the whole (Robinson 2008)

The Convention and Recommendation are founded on the fundamental premise that domestic workers are neither “servants”, nor “member of the family” nor second class workers. (ILO 2011)

Divided in four parts (5.1–5.4) based on a chronological order and a thematic structure of the modalities of employment (1.1) the first part introduces a contextualization and statistics of quantitative data for the qualitative analyzes in this part. Each subpart is structured in five subsections (5.2.1–5.4.5) with reference to the research questions and the objective of this thesis describe the two modalities of employment in the domestic urban work sector in Lima. The second and the third part situate the reference groups of the live-inside maids in the 1970s, and the live-outside independent workers in the 2010s, and other women involved in the urban
domestic sector in the city of Lima. The third reference group in the 2020s lay ground for our understanding of the changes on the urban market-oriented labor market in Lima with perspective on the working women as social, economic, and political agents in the collective of the urban domestic workforce in Lima, Peru. The findings in the analyzes are followed by the results and the conclusions. References are to be found in the bibliography and the transcriptions in the appendix.

5.1 Contextualization, statistics, and legislation

The live-inside and the live-outside employment are the two forms of occupation of paid housework and care work that take place inside the private household. The relation between the female domestic worker and the private household is either a relationship of dependence, or independence. The private household can serve as the direct employer, or the domestic worker can be indirectly employed by an agency of employments. The private profit-making companies should not be confused with non-for-profit and non-governmental agencies of employment. The women centers have contributed to organize the domestic working women in Lima. The growth of profit-making temporary agencies of employment shows an intensification of privatization over the two last decades initiated in 1990s’ neoliberal politics and economics. The feminist discourse and the current debate on feminized paid housework as a commodity considers if the delivery of daily housework and care work per se constitutes a link in the chain of commodification, seen from a macro perspective on global capitalism and neoliberalism.

In 1961 there was a total amount of 175,196 Peruvian domestic workers (men and women). Of 72,019 workers in Lima 86 percent (61,747) were women (Rutté García 1973: 13). When making comparison, in 2019, the total number of 395,000 paid domestic workers (men and women) constitutes 2,4 % of the economically active population (EAP) in Peru (ENAHO 2019, 2020 in OIT/ILO 2022,). In 2020 almost 87 percent of the Peruvian female paid domestic workers have informal employment.

Recent statistic reveals a significant decrease of the total amount of domestic workers in Peru the aftermaths of the pandemic situation in 2020–2022. The National Household Survey (ENAHO) statistics in 2020 counts on totally 244,726 domestic workers compared with 333,900 in 2004, 386,000 in 2010 and with 395,000 in 2019. The contribution of female workers tends to be constant whereof 95,6 % are women in the 2020s statistics (Defensoria del pueblo, March 30, 2023). In 2023, more than 95 percent are women, mostly poor women, and
migrants. Relatively speaking, statistics on the feminized housework and care work in Lima have remained constant since the 1960s–70s.

In 1997, the female workers in Lima were almost 60 percent in 1997 of all women domestic workers in Peru. In 2014 almost 50 percent women are urban workers in Lima compared with other urban zones and rural zones in Peru (Garavito 2016).

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year Percent</td>
<td>1997 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female domestic workers in</td>
<td>2014 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima Metropolitana</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban zones, others</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural zones</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Garavito 2016:7, Cuadro 1 (INEI, ENAHO 2004 y 2010, author’s table)

Garavito’s (2016) analyze suggests that the modality of live-outside employments have increased by comparison with the live-inside employments since 1997. According to the National Household Survey statistics (ENAHO 2004–2010) in the Labour Organization’s report in Peru (OIT 2013), the live-outside employment has increased from 69.3 percent in 2004 to 81.2% in 2010 whereas the live-inside employment decreased from 30.7 percent in 2004 to 18.8 percent in 2010 (OIT 2013: 96).

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female domestic workers –modality of employment 2004 and 2010 – Peru total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female domestic workers with live-outside employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female domestic workers with live-inside employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (all workers in Peru)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OIT, Organización Internacional de Trabajo. 2013: 96. (INEI, ENAHO 2004 y 2010, author’s table)

In the period 2007–2011 the Management of Labour Inspection of the Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment’s National Management of Labour Inspection inspected 1,114
private agencies of employment within 7,4% sanctions of the private companies’ situational labor conditions for the employees.

**Table 3 Inspection of employment agencies – female domestic workers 2007–2011**

Statistics on unregistered agencies in the National Private Employment Agencies - Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indication</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of inspected agencies</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>1,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of unregistered agencies</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of imposed sanctions</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This is not necessarily illustrative for the working conditions neither for the domestic work itself. According to the report of OIT Peru in 2013, the statistics on unregistered agencies indicate a high level of informality and insufficiency of the administration of fiscal policies in care economy (OIT, Organización Internacional de Trabajo. 2013: 92–93). The increasement of private agencies of employment is a result of the implementation of the National Law of Domestic Work, No. 27986 in 2003. In accordance with ILO’s report on the collaboration between the Peruvian Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment and ENAHO (the National Institute of Statistics and Information), the expansion of privatization contributed to the legislation of domestic work supported by the agencies of employment (OIT/ILO 2013). This information is valuable for the gains in care economy, not for profit, but for the advancements of the formalization of the labor rights of domestic work.

A recent report (ECLAC-ILO 2023) on the economic slowdown shows a cyclical recovery in economic growth on the improvements in labor markets in the Latin American and the Caribbean region from 2021–2022, although it will not persist. The total number of workers are lower than before the outburst of the pandemic in March 2020 in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Peru. (2023: 14). In Peru the informal employments show a slight reduction, -0,1% (14). Almost 70% of the domestic workers lost their jobs during the pandemic (ILO 2021) (WIEGO 2023). The National Household Survey statistics counts on 244 726 domestic workers whereof 95,6 % are women (Defensoria del Pueblo Perú, March 30, 2023).
In 2003, for the first time, the Peruvian domestic workers, both men and women, were recognized by law through the national Law No. 27986 of domestic work, implemented by the Government. Almost ten years later, the International Labour Organization’s Convention for domestic work no. 189 (2011), and its recommendation 201, was adopted in 2011. Its standards were spread worldwide addressing global informality with aims to improve the working and the living conditions for all domestic workers. To ensure minimum labor protections on pair with other workers, domestic work was now recognized as decent work for its social and economic value. In Peru, ILO’s Convention of Domestic Work No 189 and R201 was ratified in 2018 and implemented in 2019, in Congress. Simultaneously with Law No. 31047 and its strong demands on formalization of basic domestic labor rights, ILO’s Violence and Harassment C190 was adopted during the pandemic situation in October 2021, to be implemented in June 2023. (ILO 2011, OIT 2013, ILO 2021)

5.2 Lima in the 1970s

Rutté García’s psycho-social investigation (1973) is based on five in-depth interviews with young living-in maids who came to Lima in the 1970s. The women are at the age between 22 and 31 years old at the time of the interviews working in a private household in the richer neighborhoods in the center of the city. Consuelo 22 years old from Cuzco; Margarita, 22 from Cajamarca; Teresa, 24 from Cajamarca; Soledad, 31 from Pisco y Felícita, 29 from Huancayo. Four of the women are of indigenous origin and one of them is Afro descendant. Only one has graduated primary school but she has not finished secondary school. Three of them have solely a few years of study in primary school. Another almost finished secondary school. At the time of the interviews one of them was studying sewing and dressmaking. In order to protect the
women’s integrity, their names are not their real names. A biographic method is used to establish trust and a sense of confidence with the five live-inside maids. A female anthropologist was consulted (Mrs. Mercedes Castro de la Universidad de San Marcos assisted by the Misses Constanza and Catalina Hernández, ex-directors of Youth Catholic Worker (JOC, la Juventud Obrera Católica) (Rutté García, 1973: 30–31).

Consequently, the working conditions’ psychological and sociological effect on the young maids work and life situation. (Rutté García 1973: 30–31), Rutté argues for the social aspect in Marxist theory incorporated in the psycho-cultural analyze. Marx’ socio-cultural approach made it possible to create an in-depth individual understanding in the interviews with the five maids who together constitutes a culture-specific sub-group. This pioneer study suggests a methodological difficulty per se (Rutté García1973: 20–21. The objective in García’s investigation is not to establish a socio-economic analyze on marginalization and exploitation. The women’s vulnerability and precarious working conditions are considered consequences of the production relations. The development of capitalism and its impact on remunerated domestic work situation shed light on the live-inside maids as a marginalized group the global capitalist system (Rutté García 1973: 17, de Soto 1989/2008, Federici 2012). On the one hand, the relation between the mind and the socio-cultural conditions in the relationship between the maid and her employer is valuable for our understanding of the live-inside maids’ situation in the 1970s. On the second, the socio-economic perspective can be related to the notion of exclusion in de Soto’s critical informal theory.

This study in 1973 involves a group of investigators at the Center of Studies and Development of Promotion in Lima with purpose to explore and describe psycho-social matters but also to make justice for the many of young girls and women who came to the big city in search for better life conditions. At an early age they were either sent to Lima by their family or the leave was taken as desperate decision by the girl or the woman herself. The live-inside maid women are invited to talk about their work and life situation. In their testimonies they describe an unworthy treatment in their relationship with the housewife, or the Lady as she is called by the maids. This pioneer study argues for a socio-cultural recognition of the live-inside maids’ civil and labor rights. Historically this had yet not been the case. In the 1970s the maids, mostly young women, suffered inequal treatment, physical and psychical abuses. They were

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6 The translations from Spanish to English are all mine and I have tried to be as authentic as possible in the mediation of their testimonies.
exposed to sexual harassments living inside the private households. In next part the young maids’ talk about their expectations and their arrival to the big city.

5.2.1 Hopes, dreams, and possibilities

In accordance with the first question the young maids who have migrated to Lima to work as live-inside maids in the 1970’s Lima describe their work and life situation, their aims, and dreams. In this way we can understand why and how they came to the capital in the first place, their attraction to Lima, and how they were harshly introduced into the domestic work in the households (Rutté García 1973).

Besides the attraction for the big city of Lima the reason behind the leave at an early age to the big city most of the women suffered a strained economic situation. As rural small holders they could not stay in their native place for social or economic reasons. For girls and women there were no possibilities of social advancement due a prevalent social conformity in the villages, either they were sent away in need of money, or driven by their attraction in search for a better life. Each one of the women has her own life story. Below, two of the five maids talk about their aims, hopes and dreams but also about the difficulties in the households (1973):

My grandmother brought me to Lima. My grandmother on my mother’s side. As my mother has a brother who lives here, my grandmother comes to visit him. And because my mother was in a bad situation— as my father was in charge maintaining the house—, when he died my mother could not pay the costs for the house. Or, to say, she stayed with my little brother, and I went with my grandmother to my uncle (Felicita, p.52)

In this example the young woman’s attraction to the big city was one of the reasons behind the migration with dreams to make money, possibilities of social advancements and personal development such as education. With aims to solve the family’s economic problems the internal migrants saw an opportunity to work as a domestic worker without being aware of the working conditions. Above we can share the young maids aims for at a better life in Lima. We can see how their shared dreams and the idea of the big city was put into circulation:

The women where I began to work had a huge house… My father knew them very well. They held shares in xxx. And, I heard them say to the lady that Lima was very beautiful. Then, I felt animated to go Lima. I said, ‘I am going to work so I can send [money] to my mother. 100 soles will do for me, the rest I will send to my mother. With all these desires I wanted to go to Lima. (Soledad, p.54)

I have a cousin who came to Lima in 1962. She lived in Chepén… later she came back here from Lima, to Chepén… She told me that everything was different: that there was more work; better things; that life was easier to live. So, I dreamed about how I would get to know Lima too, I imagined Lima being another world. (Teresa, p.54)
In this part the arrival to Lima gave rise to unexpected consequences. Being attracted to the big city is not a new phenomenon. In the end of the 19th C., after the rebellion in the Andes Clorinda Matteo Turner describes the attraction to Lima in the third part of her trilogy *Herencia* (1895). Young indigenous women came to Lima with their patrons working as maids in the Creole households in the Andean provinces. This literature also describes both women and men as domestic workers and their working conditions in the aristocratic residences. Single mothers with indigenous origin worked inside the big households, living in the public sectors already at the turn of the 20th siècle (Matteo de Turner 1895: 27). As we can see the live-outside employment is not a new phenomenon.

5.2.2 Cultural differences: a sense of urban alienation

In the 1970s, the maids describe their first time in Lima as a clash between the rural popular culture and the urban culture. Since, many of the maids still were children when they were sent to Lima in agreement with the girls’ families. In most of the cases the young women had become a girl-maid who met a whole new world being overwhelmed by a different culture and with work she had never done before. Margarita talks about her employers as ‘the patrons’ author’s note in Rutté García 1973: 58, 76–78). They were often treated badly in the household. Besides, the difficulties to adapt themselves to the unfamiliar urban environments, they were confronted with new routines in the household and with fear to not please the patrons (1973):

> When I came to Lima, they told me that I just had to follow the lady in the house, and I began to cook. There were fifteen persons and because I did not know… the traditions in Lima are not the same where I come from. Of course, I had some experience, but I didn’t know anything about the electric things … or yes, I did now, a little, because there are girls who don’t know anything, but I did pretty well. So, they put me to cook but I didn’t know how, they yelled at me, day and night. I endured everything because I was brought here with a contract. (Margarita, p.58).

Here the maid talks about how they are exposed to a harsh cultural and psychological shock when they arrive in Lima. The patrons belong to a different class of people (Rutté García 1973: 58). Margarita talks about her first traumatic experiences and how she had been tricked into the work as a domestic worker. By not knowing how to use the new modern technology of household appliances. The story of Margarita tells us how (1973):

> [s]he came to Lima in good faith to keep the ‘señora’ company in the household although she was sent to the kitchen cooking without know how to cook or how use the electric kitchen equipment. Sometimes there were fifteen when relatives came to visit the residence. I did not know the customs in Lima. They kept shouting at me, day and night. It was unbearable but I had to stand out because I was handed over by contract. (Margarita, 58)
When she first came to Lima, she clashed with another young maid in the household who already were familiar with the new culture, the Creole culture in Lima, but instead of a mutual friendship the young maid was put a side which intensified her sense of alienation in the household:

In the beginning the other girl didn’t want me to be there. She let me do everything watching TV with the housewife’s daughter. She didn’t say: I will help you. I was desperate because I didn’t know how to do the laundry and I sat down crying. (Margarita, p.59)

Here we see how the maids’ emotional frustration enhance the process of a Creole acculturation. Hence, the move to the big city was more than a geographic dislocation but rather a cultural transformation leaving the familiar rural culture behind entering the urban Creole culture in the capital of Lima. In this sense we can ascertain how the colonial history plays an important role to understand the female domestic worker’s vulnerability in terms of a gender-, and race-based problematization, but also the clash with the upper class. With reference to Quijano and the so-called ‘cholification’ or Indianization, the female servant is no longer just an indigenous woman. Her cultural identity is transformed into her urban identity. ‘Chola’ in Spanish can be explained as a woman of indigenous origin who lives in capital embodies her indigenous identity into her urban identity. According to Quijano’s definition, Rutté García explains (1965, 1973):

The contemporary phenomenon of the ‘cholification’ is a process wherein certain layers of the indigenous population, and other cultural elements are abandoned. Instead, the specifics of the Creole and the Occidental culture is adopted, and a new lifestyle is elaborated. At the same, in this process of acculturation the two different cultures are basically differentiated in our society, but without losing its fundamental cultural linkage. (My translation, p.59)

This example illustrates how the maids were discriminated for their indigenous origin. The solidarity between the maids depends on whether they can get in contact with other maids who are in the same situation. Opportunities to take contact with other maids was per se an achievement for being controlled in the private household. Working alone in the household their isolation is compared to a slavery of housework commodification in terms of a forced labor; “they just wanted me to be their slave” (Rutté García 1973: 62). One of the maids, Margarita, talks about her contract with the householder. The only form of formalization is the ‘papers’ that affirms how the young girl is handed over by her parents to the ‘patrons’, mostly to an upper or middle-class family, in exchange for free bord and lodging. (1973: 61–62). In this manner, it makes sense consider ‘the delivery’ of young girls a commodification of human beings on the verge of trafficking of a far-reaching patriarchal power structure. Their leave to
Lima driven by the parents the ’delivery’ of a daughter as workcraft may not has been a displacement or rejection made on purpose but rather an act in need of money, and in good faith. Later, to hinder the exploitation of young girls “the effective abolition of child labour” (ILO 2011, article 3c) has been legally implemented. The live-inside maids’ vulnerability and precarious situation are well-documented in research, in formal reports and policy documents (Vázquez, 2014; Garavito 2022; Pérez 2020, 2022; Pérez et.al. 2023; ILO/OIT 2013, ILO 2021, WIEGO 2022, 2023; IPROFOTH 2022). In the next part the young maids talk more about their background and hopes.

5.2.3 Shattered hopes and mental disappointments

Leaving friends and family, customs, and values behind, the young maids meet a totally new world in Lima. It is complicated and she feels very lonely. The employers belong to a different cultural social, and economic world in terms of Bourdieu’s differentiation of social and economic capital in the social and symbolic space (1998: 4). The habitus and the differences in the woman’s perception of the real world is a valid principle for a demarcation between different social positions and lifestyles. Thus, these cultural and economic structural differences are related to different collective histories and not to the soul of a national individual character (Bourdieu 1998: 3–5). The woman domestic worker and her employers belongs to the same nation but with origin in two different social worlds with different social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1998 2–9). The rural national indigenous and the Afro-Peruvian identity, and the national urban identity are not the same, though, they share the colonial history. In the logics of the social world the young maid’s perception of cultural and economic alienation has its origin in an “empirical reality, historically located and dated” (Bourdieu 1998: 2). The live-inside maid’s lived experiences back home in the village clashes with, for her, the unknown urban context and her new life in the big city.

Consuelo, a 22-year-old woman from Cuzco, whose father never acknowledged his paternity, was sent away by her mother at the age of seven to keep a wealthy lady company at a ‘hacienda’. The little girl could not get used to live in the house with the old lady whose children had moved out and got married. She returned home and went to school at the age of eight, though, her mother was not happy to see her, Consuelo confirms. Once again, she was sent away, this time to Lima. As we can see in all these testimonies, the young maids give evidence for have been sent away very young at an early age because of economic reasons or for being born out of wedlock.
Another young maid from Cajamarca, Teresa, a 24-years old woman, talks about her employment for being a slave in the household. She also argues for the formation of a trade union for the maids to claim their rights being domestic workers: “Who can support that girl?” (1973: 41). she exclaims explaining her ambitions. She aims to educate herself to be able to support to other maids who share the same vulnerability and precariousness working as live-inside maid. These are her ideals. (1973: 93, 98).

5.2.4 Industrial work and domestic work in the 20th C.
As regards the informal working conditions and legislation, in the 1970s more than a third part, 67%, of the female domestic workers are younger than 24 years, according to the data of the Employment and Human Resources of the Ministry of Labor (1973: 56). To understand the relation between the informal working conditions and legislation in the third research question the women were very young or even unaccompanied minors when the emigrated from the place where they were born to the capital of Lima. How could they know how it would be to work as domestic worker? At this time, the female domestic workers were far more than the male domestic worker, 23.8% vs. 1.4% in 1972. Even if less well-off women, initially, took part in the urban industrial expansion, the big gap of wage differentials estimated to 54% compared with men in all economic activities, illustrates women’s inferiority. (Barrig 1979: 62). At this time, only the male domestic workers were recognized in the prescriptions for the industrial workers in Law No. 8467 and the Supreme Decreet on the 27 of November in 1944 (Rubio in Rutté García 1973: 132). In general terms, in 1970 the conditions for the domestic worker were regulated in the Supreme Decreet 002-70-TR that led to a reduction of labor rights for the domestic workforce (1973: 131). By this time the domestic workers, neither men nor women were recognized by law. Although as we can see in Teresa’s testimony the early trade unionism for the female domestic workers is dated to the 1970s (Rutté García 1973: 93, 98.).

5.2.5 Adjustments of the two modalities of employment: live-inside and live-outside
Regarding the second research question and benefits and the disadvantages working as a live-inside maid, we can see that the accommodation gave them a sense of social protection. The young girls were handed over with confidence in good faith, mostly by a familiar. A contract of confidence was drawn between a family member and young girl. These contracts were formulated in terms of an exchange, or as a delivery of a daughter, in most cases to a middleclass household. The household was now responsible for the young domestic workers education, alimentation, and accommodation. Nothing was said about the living expenses, but the ‘papers’
was written to assure the young girl possibilities for a better life. (Rutté García 1973: 62, my transl.). In this way, informal working conditions are carried into practice as a special privilege. But, instead, this ‘benefit’ undermines the young maid’s whole life situation. She had arrived in Lima in good faith with hopes and dreams. Instead of having a proper meal they had to eat food with poor nutrition value or what has been left over. Their aims for a better life are transformed into a slave-like life situation. In terms of a forced labor the relation between master and slave can be explained and as an objectification of the woman as the Other in the relation with her employers. The hopes for taking part in the urban life and possibilities to education and occupational improvement was in many cases strained. In line with England’s notion a prisoner of love and the devaluation of care work, the young maids are not driven by an altruistic value in doing the work in the household. It is rather a case of how “many jobs in the new service economy require workers to act emotions the do not actually feel” even when they are sad. (England 2005: 391); “[s]ometimes they even require deep acting, where the acting comes to the feelings described” (391).

Int sum, the five young women consent to talk about their feelings. The idea was to unburden the woman’s mind to herself. The live-inside maid’s isolated work situation has a strong psychological and emotional effect on the women and their life situation. Nonetheless, this psycho-cultural perspective can be seen from a feminist perspective which has motivated me to my critical analyze on the informal working conditions. The working women forms part of collective considered as a social (sub)group in the Peruvian urban context. Rutté García psycho-cultural study in 1973 was elaborated in collaboration with the Youth Catholic Workers. Within 88 years of experience in Peru this world-wide organization supports young persons’ “training and education, action and the search for critical, analytical and proactive spirit to promote the protagonism of young people in their lives, communities and workplaces, starting out from their own realities” (YOC 2023). In the next part the demands for labor rights and decent working conditions throw light on the cooperation between the paid women domestic workers and the trade unions and the live-outside independent employment in the 20102.

5.3 Lima in the 2010s

Rosa is married with three children and lives in a small house in the edge of the city. (CARE Peru)

Informal sector enterprises produce marketable goods and services. Their good and services are meant for sale or barter (ILO 2013)
In the previous part we met five young women who came to Lima at an early age to work as live-in maids in the wealthy neighborhoods in the second half of the 20th, in the 1970s (5.2). This part is introduced by a fictitious story of how it can be to work with housework and care work in a big city like Lima today. In the second subpart, an Afro Peruvian woman living in one of the public sectors working as an independent worker in the urban zones of Lima, describes how racism has a great impact on her work and life situation. In this part the analyze is based on the video with five women representing different roles in the urban domestic sector in Lima. At the Peruvian Woman’s Center Flora Tristán⁷, three domestic workers, an investigator, and an assisting attorney give their perspectives on the current difficulties being a domestic worker today. The analyzes are sustained by the transcriptions of the audiovisual samples (see Appendix).

5.3.1 Work as maid from outside in the big city

With reference to the first research question, the 2010’s domestic workers work and life situation the story of Rosa was officially published in 2015 by the national organization CARE Peru in favor of visualize the work and life situation of an ordinary woman working, an ordinary day in her life. The presentation of Rosa illustrates a contemporary domestic worker that could be taken for an independent houseworker in Lima today. Rosa is an indigenous woman working in a big city representing one of the many migrants who work as live-outside employees with an informal employment. But the two forms of employment, the live-inside employment and live-outside employment are, still, the two existing modalities of employment and some are part-time employees paid by the hour. In this description we meet an indigenous woman who earn her and her family’s living as a live-outside domestic worker, that could be taken for the urban context of Lima (CARE Peru 2015)⁸ ii

In this animated testimony we can see how the woman’s work situation is harshly affected by the many layers of how informality come into practice. Rosa is a domestic worker also in real life (CARE Peru 2018). Her vulnerability characterizes the precariousness in the female urban domestic workers’ livelihood closely related to a social stigma as an attribute of gender, ethnic and class inequality in a patriarchal culture. Not only her work is devaluated (England 2005, Federici 2008) she is also excluded from basic working conditions with effect on her life conditions and women’sr right to autonomy and economic independence (England 2005, Budd

⁷ Flora Tristán is an early feminist in the early 19th, one of the pioneers besides Clorinda Matteo de Turner and others in the late 19th C.
⁸ See the transcription of Rosa’s work and life situation in the appendix.
2011). In the first place, this example gives a strong sense of social insecurity. The absence of social protection and economic stability highlights the need of childcare and for being an unqualified low-wage domestic worker. Over the two last decades with origin in the 1990s (Rosseau 2009, de Soto 1989/2008), the privatization in the urban domestic work sector is a significant factor as well as the State’s responsibility described in Rosa’s story in the 2010s. In the second place, Rosa’s story gives evidence for how informality is subordinated to the vertical institutional power structures. CARE Peru is one of the national non-profit organizations in the world-wide international network of CARE International supporting the paid female domestic workers and the Peruvian women, active in Peru already in the 1950–60s.

In sum, having in mind how the paid domestic worker facilitates other women’s life situation her elder daughter bears her mother’s burden (Barrig 1979: 21, Pérez et.al. 2023: 67–68). Taking care of other women’s children, one could say that, Rosa’s burden is triplicated. In lack of childcare, her daughter stays home from school to take care of her little brother. These are Rosa’s lived experiences representative for the live-outside employment in the 2010s.

5.3.2 A real case: an independent worker living in a public sector

In this part we meet an Afro-Peruvian woman who tells us about the stigma being Afro-Ascendant and how it has a strong effect on her living conditions. By tradition the Afro-Peruvians have worked as independent paid workers from outside. Representing an urban black domestic worker, Ernesta lives in one of the poor public sectors is also a trade-union activist representing the Workers of Black Women’s Association⁹ (Amunetrap). Representative for the work in the trade union and in national as well as international organizations in collaboration with the women’s centers in and outside Lima, Ernesta Ochoa has become public person why her real name is used in this example. Her story reveals how racism has a great impact on her life as a domestic worker travelling across the city. See the transcription in the appendixiii.

Firstly, from small-scale perspective, in this example we can see how ethnicity and gender cannot not be separated from each other. As an independent worker working from outside, she is exposed to discrimination on her way to work. In the women’s right to the city, la Agenda Política de la Mujer por la Ciudad de Lima (2022–2023) aims to secure women in Lima, and the exposure to violence in the time-consuming commuting. Secondly, on the macro-scale level, the Afro Peruvian women as independent live-outside domestic workers are situated in the colonial history since native Afro Peruvian women and men by tradition have worked as

⁹ Amunetrap, la Asociación de Mujeres Negras Trabajadoras del Perú (Perez et.al. 2023: 47).
paid domestic worker without living in the private household since the abolition of the Slavery in the early 19th C. (Garavito 2022). Indigenous and Afro Peruvian workers who emigrated to the urban zones from the rural has contributed to insert the paid domestic work in the urban labor market already in the 19th C (Garavito 2022: 34). Mentioned before, the discrimination of ethnic origin is an expression for a gendered and class-based racial stigma in the Peruvian society. Therefore, it is unavoidable not to mention the impact of racialization or sexism visible in the women’s perceived experiences of their work and life situation. Besides, the urban women domestic workers migration status is another issue of great importance in the current debate on the urban feminized domestic work in Peru Lima. Pérez et.al (2023: 47). Representing the urban female workforce, the Afro Peruvian and Indigenous working women are strongly differentiated due to their ethnic origin. But also, the sexual harassments are well-documented in research of the feminized domestic work and a ‘standing’ point in legislation the gender- and class-based racial inequalities require a more deepened analyze that can be offered in this thesis.

5.3.3 Working conditions, demands, and female empowerment

This part refers to the third research question how the informal working conditions are related to informality and to legislation. In the previous subpart we met a woman talking about racial marginalization in her work and life situation representing the urban female workforce and the union for Afro Peruvian domestic working women in Lima. Here three women talk about their daily work as paid domestic workers in Lima supported by two other women who stand up for the domestic working women rights. This video sample is originally based on interviews with the five women at the Flora Tristán Center in Lima in 2019 published in an article about the female domestic workers work situation in one of the daily newspapers in Lima (El Comercio, Ana Monzón 01/01/19). Introduced by a brief contextualization this sample highlights the importance of empowerment in the urban domestic sector and the urgent need of a reconciliation of basic labor rights. According to the national statics in Peru (INEI), in 2019, there are approximately 395 000 domestic female and male workers, by comparison with almost 334 000 in 2004, 386 000 in 2010 (see 5.1 above). Over the two decades, the percentage informal employment has remained constant. Still, almost 90% have an informal contract (see 5.1 above).

Representing the urban domestic workforce in Lima in the 2019s, the three working women, Ernestina, Ofelia, and Alicia began to work at an early age in their rural hometowns, two of them at the age of 7 and the third woman at the age of 14. (1-3). They describe the work
as a forced labor, either working for free or for have been less paid. (2b. 1c.). Bettina del Carmen Valdez Carrasco one of the researchers at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru in Lima explains that domestic service in the contemporary Peruvian society is originated in the slavery in the colonial history. Still, the working women are being treated as slaves. Domestic work is deeply devaluated in Peru today, and it is a question of racism, class, and gender, she argues (Bettina, 4d.)

Talking about the discrimination and the insufficient working conditions Antiguané Salvador, working at the Flora Tristán center, confirms the depressing discrimination of the female domestic workers. It makes them feel that they belong to another category of persons. It is violent, and it is never ending. (Anthuané, 5e.). One of the working women admits that she did not know that she had the right to rest on Sundays, and that she was not the only one for not being compensated. But this was how it should be, she continues. There were no rights and I just worked. (Ernesta, 1f.). The researcher remembers when she met a woman at center who was very quiet and obedient. The employer took advantage of her humility. Her rights were kept away from her. Though she did not ask for not. Being aware of her rights. In turn, the investigator, mentions possibilities to make one’s claims in the struggle for the recognition of the women’s paid domestic work as a decent work. It is also important to show the low average pay for a female domestic worker (Bettina, 4g.).

The women keep on talking about gratifications, the less paid and lack compensation for holidays. Bettina, the researcher explains how the rights are not recognized by the housewife as the employer; the woman as a domestic worker must claim for her rights. The struggle is never-ending (Bettina, 4i.). In the next scene, Anthuané, the assisting attorney at the Center gives a concrete example of what the domestic workers can do if the employers are unwilling to pay for the compensation, that is, if they will not be given permission for holiday so the women can go back home to visit their families. Since they were informed about our rights, once they went to the Department of Labor claiming for their rights for paid holiday, and they asked how to proceed. When the women returned to their work they were fired. (Anthuané 5j.)

Talking about the discrimination and the harassments in the private households followed the devaluation of paid domestic work is turned into a (re)valorization of the paid domestic housework and care work.

their work should be evaluated as they take care of their children the most loved in life, we care for their sick parents. We make life easier for them so they can go to work quietly. Don’t we? When they come home the laundry is done, their clothes are ironed and the shoes shine. Therefore, this is why we want our work to be valued and estimated, she argues. (Ernesta, 1k.).
To recognize the value of domestic work, a work to favor a certain group of people who have a great impact, not only on economy, but also for the development of human capital within interest of families. (Anthuané 51.)

[…]

For not recognizing her rights, for not paying her the value of the work she is doing and for not valuate this work, it is the woman as a domestic worker who do this work in favor to the housewife and her family. In her role as the employer, she underestimates the value of the housework and the care work which is done in her household. A work that she would have done by herself it wasn’t for her female employee, the woman as a domestic worker. (Bettina, 4n.)

[…]

You may not ask little boy a girl what they want to be when they grow up. No one would say a domestic worker. No one. Because, this would be the most obvious example of a devaluation, but if they would answer…. Oh, I want to be a domestic worker in its positive form, we can see in answer that domestic work now is valuated. It has to be well paid off and the rights must be recognized, because it is a work just like any other job. (Bettina, 4n.)

In these examples Bettina Valdez and Anthuané Salvador comment on Ernesta’s question in the first example. The domestic workers’ care for the children in the private household requires a recognition of the value of care work. Arguing for the human capital value domestic work should not only be evaluated for its capital value, consequently, it is a work that is done by the domestic worker “in favor to a certain group of people who have a great impact” (Anthuané 51).

The relationship between the employee and the employer is not solely built on the impact of capital value but on the total amount human capital value (Bourdieu 1998: 8–15). In other words, for those who has certain economic capital to pay a for the care of their children it distinguishes the domestic workers from their employers. As we can see in the story of Rosa her daughter makes the care work in their family. Consequently, the difference in human capital value constitutes a distinction between the volume of social, cultural, and economic values.

Likewise, the Center of the Peruvian Woman Flora Tristán, IPROFOTH, Instituto de Promoción y Formación de Trabajadoras de hogar with its market-oriented profile, is a non-profit organization in Peru grounded and administrated by female domestic workers for the women domestic workers in Lima (see also 1.1 above). Its mission is to assure the women domestic workers legal rights, to combat inequalities and harassments, and to raise consciousness among the women. They also work for the revalorization of paid as well as unpaid domestic work based on the four key-terms: recognition domestic women’s labor as a productive activity, promote redistribution of the childcare and the domestic burden for the domestic workers’ children and their households, reduction of the care work through the organization’s nursery care, to ensure rewards such as minimum wage, provide social insurance and benefits of health and pension and offer training education to increase the domestic workers’ skills and abilities (IPROFOTH 2022: 11). With aims to expand the number of services for the workers there are five developing areas: 1. Development of a new business
model; 2. Development of new and existing services; 3. Geographic expansion in Peru; 4. Creating websites and establish platforms, and 5. Increase of administrative personal in office by hiring full-time employees and legal adviser with aims to strengthen the legal services in the organization (IPROFOTH 2022: 17. The Center of the Peruvian Woman Flora Tristán is a feminist institution founded in 1979 as a non-profit association. Other national organizations such as La Casa de Panchita is a formal employment agency founded in 2007 inscribed in the National Register of Private Agencies of the MPTE associated with the Association Group for Work Networks (AGTR, la Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes) is a non-governmental organization (NGO). The profit-making private temporary employment agencies’ that take an active part in the urban domestic sector will only be mentioned in relation to the non-profit organizations and for its market-oriented profile.

5.3.4 Legislation and trade unions

How are working conditions related to informality and to legislation? The Peruvian National Law No 27986 of domestic work was implemented in 2003. For the first time Peruvian domestic workers, both women and men, were recognized by law. In 2011 the world-wide Convention No. 189 (2011) and the Recommendation 201 is adopted by the International Labor organization in Geneva. With preferences for that most workers are women its standards recognize the economic and the social values in specific national contexts. With aims to prevent the exclusion of the great amount of female domestic workers from their labor rights it is necessary to secure women’s rights and social protection. In 2018, ILO’s convention No. 189 was ratified in the Peruvian government and implemented in 2019. In 2019, the Violence and Harassment Convention No. 190 was also adopted by ILO. Towards the 2020s, Law No. 31047 was regulated during the pandemic situation in 2021, to be implemented in June 2023. Besides, ILO’s convention No. 190 was also implemented in June 2023.

There are three official trade unions for women (and men) in Peru. In 2003, the unions’ claims were pronounced as a need to formalize the labor rights and the working conditions but also to prevent gender inequality. The early trade union activism is mentioned by one of the participants, Teresa, in the 1970s (see 5.2.3). In 1973, the domestic (male) workers were of the

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10 The Domestic Workers Union for the Lima Region, (SINTRAHOL Sindicato de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores del Hogar de la Región LIMA, and the National Union of Domestic Workers of Peru, (SINTRAHOGAR Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar). The former is associated with the General Confederation of Workers of Peru, (CGTP Confederación General de Trabajadores del Peru), and the latter with the United Confederation of Workers of Peru, (CUT Central Unitaria de Trabajadores del Peru).
same standing as the Industrial Workers’ regulations (see 5.2.4). The advancement in legislation in favor of the big number of working women in the urban domestic sector in Lima is the result of a cooperation between the trade unions and national and international organizations. Female trade union activists have contributed to push on the legislative process and to pronounce the demand for a formalization of the basic labor rights. Carmen Almeida, the General Secretary (SINTRAHHOL) explains that:

For me the union has been a great tool for domestic workers in the sense that you can consult your demands here and know that there is an organization that supports domestic workers and accompanies them in their struggles for their rights. We have to start building alliances among ourselves and take care of each other so that we take part in same fight that will benefit us all. The union is an organization that empowers us, not only that it will make us grow as people, as leaders but to look beyond the work that has to be done as you already have other perspectives of change of growth in mind. (1)

Paulina Luza, the Defense Secretary for the National Union of Female Domestic Workers of Peru (SINTRAHOGARP argues for the working women to organize themselves:

Building unionism has been a training process, an education process, a learning process, and an understanding process. I think it contributes to the fact that we have empowered these processes in their own rights, that makes us aware of that they are subjects of law. It has not been easy, obviously, it has been a very long process. Having a domestic worker at home was a state of natural, a worker without rights, and without vacations so she could get the job done because there is no gratuity. For instance, on national holidays or Christmas, then it was very, very naturalized, and it was like that for those who were not even domestic workers as they were called la chola or las indias. The union becomes like the family who shelters the demand of the domestic workers. The union get into the workers life. The union transforms them, the union empowers us, makes us be more familiar with one another and with more solidarity among us. (Paulina).

In these examples we can observe the process of female empowerment and the importance in practice to raise the level of consciousness among the domestic working women about their rights. The two trade union leaders with experience of working as a domestic workers argue for domestic workers right now pronounced as a demand for decent labor rights, and not only as a necessity.

5.3.5 Adjustments of the two modalities of employment: the independent worker

How can we explain the increasement of independent domestic workers in relation to the changes on the urban labor market? Over the two last decades research give evidence for a decrease of the number of live-inside maids compared with an increase of the independent worker, but there has also been a decrease of the total amount of working women in the urban
zones of Lima (OIT 2013, Garavito 2015, 2016, 2018). In this example, Pérez and Llanos’s (2017) discuss the situation on the domestic labor market in Lima by asking:

Who continues to employ domestic workers, and why? Under what circumstances and in what conditions do they work? What are the perspectives of employers regarding the right of the workers? Are there possible changes in public policy that would incentivize the formalization of this work? Or are there more realistic possibilities for changes outside of state-centric efforts to improve working conditions? (567)

By asking who the employers are these lines stress that it is not only the private household ‘who’ has monopoly on the supply of domestic work services, neither on the demand. As we can see there are many factors and agents involved in the changing scenarios on the domestic work labor market in Lima. The growth of providers of house services can be sustained by MPTE’s report on the paid domestic work in Peru elaborated in 2013 two years after the adoption of ILO’s Convention No. 189 (OIT 2013: 92–93). This report is the result of a collaboration between the International Labour organization in Peru and the Peruvian Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment

Towards the 2020s, in the Peruvian Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment’s inspection of the private agencies of employment in 2007–2011, we can observe an increase of private agencies of employment, likewise a great number of unregistered private agencies of employment for domestic workers. The number of 1114 inspected agencies correspond to a growth of 206 agencies in 2007 and 335 in 2011. At the same time, the number of unregistered agencies decreased from 12,6 percent in 2007 compared with 7,4 percent in 7.4. (MPTE/SIIT) 2007–2011(OIT, Organización Internacional de Trabajo Peru. 2013: 92–93, see also table 1, 5.1 above). By comparison there are indications of the increase of ‘independent employment’ “who do not ‘live in” with the employers” (Pérez & Llanos 2017: 567) over the two last decades in 1997–2018 (Garavito 2015, 2016, 2018). OIT 2013).

In sum, this part has focused on the second modality of the live-outside independent employment. We learned that some women working within this modality lived in public sectors. We also got a glimpse of how the work situation makes their life situation more difficult. In the selected samples, all women argue for a formalization of the workings conditions. Their whole life situation is undermined by the failure to put basic labor rights and social protection into practice. As working mothers, the lack of childcare for their own children lay a double (and sometimes a triple) burden on the female worker (see 5.3.1). With the metaphor of ‘the invisible chain’ and the female domestic worker takes the burden off for other women, for the housewife in the household as her employer. First, we can observe certain benefits of being a live-outside-worker. Compared with the live-inside employment the independent workers are not reduced
to be isolated in the private household working from outside. Second, the independent employment is not entirely built on authoritarian dependence or on the good will of the housewife. The independent domestic worker lives outside the household. We can also observe an intensification of new agents with interest in the domestic services on the urban labor market with a clear approach of market orientation (Kopp 2021). Pérez and Llanos’ (2017) observation indicates a reservation for that there are other possibilities than the public politics to accentuate the demands on the formalization of the informal working conditions. These possibilities in the development of care economy will be discussed in the last part of analyze below. Towards the 2020, the inadequacy in legislation women’s claims have led to pronounced demands of formalization of the basic needs and the labor rights discussed in the last third part of analyze.

5.4 Lima towards the 2020s

… sin cuidados no hay producción (Pérez 2023)\textsuperscript{11}

In the previous part the two trade union activists, Carmen Almeida (Sindicato de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores del Hogar - Lima) and Paulina Luza (SINTRAHOGARP) talk about the long process of building alliances between the domestic workers and the union with aims to raise the awareness among the domestic workers about their legislative rights (see 5.3.4). Having in mind the high level of informality, out of 95% female workers, almost 87% have an informal contract in 2023 (see 5.1). Here our focus is put focus on the working women in the 2020s, female empowerment and the domestic worker’s occupational citizenship. The latest Law No. 31047 brought into practice in June 2023 accentuates the demand on the formalization of the labor rights and the informal working conditions in favor of the urban female domestic workers.

5.4.1 Devaluation and discrimination: the women domestic worker in the urban workforce

The first question who the women are and how they describe their work and life situation, the urban domestic working woman in the 2020s is analyzed from a broader analytic perspective through Pérez, Espinosa and Recalde’s (2023) project, In their own words (2023). This project examines the impact of the socio-political context on the working conditions with influence on the working women’s self-image. The normative labor changes are closely related to the legislative process and the changes in the urban labor market. (2023: 9). This project is based on a hermeneutic method to examine how the women look at themselves in their role as

\textsuperscript{11} … without caring there’s no production (my translation)
domestic workers. It argues for a revalorization of the female domestic work in accordance with the plan for care economy (IPROFOTH 2022).

With aims to give voice to the working women, Pérez et.al. (2023) discuss the paid female workers’ situation based on the women’s stories and lived experiences. In this sense, their method is similar with Rutté García and his equipment’s work with the young live-inside maid in the 1970s. But there is one significant difference in the way the social scientists do not make use of a biographic method but rather of a hermeneutic method to interpret the women’s testimonies expressed in their own words. For not being able to realize a face-to-face situation because of the pandemic situation the interviews were realized through digital media and digital questionaries. Likewise, the reference groups in La Paz and Montevideo, the urban domestic workers in Lima are represented by middle-aged women. Almost 43% are married or live together with a partner.

In the case with the urban domestic workers in Lima, 71.4% are not born in the capital. Likewise, the paid female domestic workers in Bolivia, 50% of the women have a mother who was a housewife, and 30% whose mother had worked as domestic worker. One half of the women who were born in the capital began to work at the age of 17 to 32 years old. The other half have their origin in rural provinces, this group began to work at of 7 to 25 years old, similar with the young maids in the 1970s who came to Lima at an early age from a rural province.

The auto-representation and women’s work-related experiences are incorporated into a broader temporal and spatial perspective. The female worker in the 2020s is situated in a social space and a social group as a member of the collectivity of the urban domestic workforce. This project shows how the culture-specific socio-political context has an impact on the women’s work and life situation (Pérez, Espinosa and Recalde 2023, see also 2.2.2, 3.3 above). In many aspects, the socio-political perspective is in line with Bourdieu’s distinctive model on social, cultural, and economic differentiation (1998).

Pérez et.al’s (2023) argument that without the house services and the care work there is no production goes in line with England’s reasoning on how the female paid, and unpaid, domestic housework and care work build up our societies from the bottom (England 2005: 382–386). Already in the 1970s, radical feminists protested to the devaluation of women’s unremunerated housework that hindered them to enter the labor market. In Marxist theory, care work does not generate production value that is a profit in ready money. Their work is available to be spent in the family household immediately (Federici 2012: 112). Although, we can understand that the market-oriented labor market has a clear impact on the urban feminized
domestic sector and the value of working women daily work to a low cost. Therefore, the
approach of market-orientation is relevant in the discourse on informal feminist care economy
(Kopp 2021, IPROFOTH 2022). But whether there is reason to consider the paid domestic work
as commodity (de)valuated to the price of money to be consumed for the public good, these
ideas require further analyze as regards the theory of surplus vale than possible in this thesis.

England’s rhetorical concerns, whether the women’s care for others is an expression of
genuine care, or if the domestic worker is motivated by an altruistic value for the common good
(England 2005: 389). Consent or not to the capitalist value of their work, the value of the work
is emotional, and it must be. For “[t]hose proposing the broader public good framework for care
work do not necessarily subscribe to Marxist labor theory of value. They see the indirect
beneficiaries of care to be all of us, not merely capitalist employers”, she argues (England, 386).
In the 2020s, one of the interviewed women expresses her loyalty to her role as a paid domestic
worker and the value of her work: “Giving love and care sustains the Peruvian economy. In this
way our work is important” (Pérez et.al 2023: 67, my transl.).

5.4.2 The female urban domestic worker in third decade of the 21st C.
‘I comply with your demands so you can go to work in peace and quiet. This is how it is, isn’t
it? This is what they have — time’ (Esférica in Pérez et.al. 2023: 66, my transl.) These lines are
interpreted by the scholars as an imagined independence in the relation between a domestic
worker and her work for other women in the private household. Considering my second
question on the benefits and the disadvantages in the adjustments, not only between the live-
inside and the live-outside employment, but also in relation with the part-time employment,
Esférica’a statement can be understood as rights that benefits the housewife’s freedom and
mobility (2023: 66, my transl.). Similar with the women’s discourse in the 2010s, Ernesta
confirms how ‘we make life easier for them so they can go to work quietly. Don’t we? When
they come home the laundry is done, their clothes are ironed and the shoes shine. Therefore,
this is why we want our work to be valued and estimated’ (Ernesta 1k. in Female domestic
workers in search for respect and their rights, El Comercio 2019). Garavito has calculated time-
consuming housework divided per hour which estimates the economic value of the housework
assignments (2017, 2018). On the one hand, the hours of work can be regulated that is 48 hours
per week since 2003. The independent part-time domestic worker can plan her working time,
and she is free to go when the work is done. On the other hand, it also may reduce the working
hours. A disadvantage of the part-time employment is that that many workers are put under stress and her social protection tends to be undermined for having more than one employer.

In the 2020s Pérez, Espinos and Recalde’s project shows that the live-inside employment still is an option for the working women in Lima (2023: 40). In the same manner, the live-inside maids in the 1970s and their counterparts in the 2020’s suffer a discrimination for being women and for their indigenous or Afro Peruvian origin (37). Elsa is a woman who has worked since she was very young. She affirms that society is still the same, it has not change. There might be marginal changes, but the deep-rooted discrimination of the female domestic worker, and the class differentiation of the female workforce has not changed (61). Stereotypes and comments on the woman’s ethnic origin are of frequent use: “You African women know how to cook, doing the ironing and laundry. Of course, you have always worked like this just as your ancestor did during the slavery” (61).

Pérez et al. underline that there are many factors to be reconsidered. The devaluation of feminist care economy is, de facto, of great importance which cannot be excluded from the analyzes of urban female domestic worker in the city of Lima in the 21st C. The devaluation of the paid domestic work and the discrimination of the urban female domestic workforce can be seen through Bourdieu’s distinctive model (1998) of social, economic, and cultural differentiation. It can also be compared with de Soto’s arguments (1989: xvii–xxi) and his critical analyze on the exclusion of the poor in the public sectors in the 1970s. In this way we can understand how the female paid domestic work and the women workers have been excluded from the public politics and economics. Pérez et al.’s socio-political analyze suggests a social differentiation described as an exclusion of the female domestic workers as marginalized socio-economic minority group (2023: 26). Yet the urban domestic workforce is to a large extent represented by women migrants with origin in their indigenous or Afro-Peruvian identity as citizens in the big city of Lima. But also, external migrants have entered the domestic workforce in Lima due to the socio-political disturbances in the Latin American and Caribbean region.

One reference point of importance is the female empowerment in women’s collective organization. From a feminist perspective, since the 1970s the feminist discourse and contemporary Peruvian feminists and scholars have contributed to the feminist movements in Peru and Latin America (Barrig 1979/2008, Cáceres Sztorc 2017) arguing for female autonomy. In current debate and research, scholars, trade union activists and others with interest in the urban domestic sector are deeply concerned about female domestic workers’ situation. They argue in unison for the necessity in standards of formalization of the basic labor rights and
social protection. Hence, improvements in legislation are results of the hard work of the trade unions. (IPROFOTH 2022, Pérez and Llanos 2017, Pérez et. al. 2023). Supported by the non-governmental and non-profitmaking agencies of employment women from below have taken an active part in the struggle. The Institute for the Promotion and Training of Domestic Workers (IPROFOTH 2022) are involved in the demands promoting fair and decent labor conditions. This organization of commitments has a clear market-oriented profile with focus on the development of feminist care economy, to support the female domestic worker. In this sense, it is also of importance to introduce in that profit-making companies with interest on the domestic services have contributed with their presence in the domestic urban sector and in the process of legislation. This was the case with the implementation of the Law No. 27986 for all Peruvian workers in 2003 and in the regulation of the latest Law 31047 that was implemented in June 2023.

In the 2020s, the female workers are identified as a collective of the urban domestic workforce that identifies them as individuals to be the protagonists in their own lives with rights, for being economic agents with an occupational citizenship, for being domestic workers and to be able to earn their living with decent labor rights (England 2005, Budd 2011, Pérez et.al 2023ILO 2011, OIT 2013; OIT 2021, 2023 (Budd 2011). The Political Agenda for the Women in Lima city (2022) is an attempt to improve the working women’s right to the city as one of the advancements on pair with the trade union’s contribution to the implementation of ILO’s Convention of Domestic Work No. 189, approved by Vizcarra’s Government in 2018. In the midst of the pandemic situation the latest Law No. 31047 was approved in 2020 to be implemented on the 8th of June this year, 2023. In the next part the informality in the domestic sector will be related to the process of legislation and the accentuated demands on formalization.

5.4.3 Informality and legislation: preferences and facts

According to the third question, the preferences, and the facts behind the persisting informality in the domestic labor sector. Laws of domestic work have been regulated and implemented by the Governments since 2003. Thus, so far, the female domestic workers’ situation has been ignored in the public politics and economics but also to a large by ordinary people. The paid domestic workers have been and are supported by non-governmental international and national organizations, non-profit agencies of employment and by the trade-unions for female domestic workers (see 5.4.2 and note 17. above). Women’s centers but also the Catholic Church are
involved in the support organizing the female workers, to continue their training and skills, to raise the women’s awareness of their rights, and to claim for their rights for decent working conditions.

Pérez et.al talk about for a gradual normative change thanks to the management and the administration in the trade unions (2023: 47). The new Law No. 31047 was regulated at the time Pérez, Espinosa and Recalde’s project was elaborated. One of the women urban workers in Lima was exposed to the employers’ ignorance talking about the latest law, by means, ‘You already have a law’ (Pérez et.al. 2023: 48). Yet many domestic working women are not aware of their rights. In the story about Rosa and in the women’s talk at the Flora Tristán center in the 2010 we can observe a fear to be fired fighting for their rights. The Peruvian state’s ignorance to finance public services for the domestic workers (CARE Peru 2018) is a fact despite of the preferences for a formalization of the domestic labor rights. The question how the legislation will be in favor of the female domestic worker entering the post-pandemic era in 2023 in a labor market strongly characterized for its market-orientation.

5.4.4 Law No. 31047

The new national Law 31047 of domestic work constitutes a significant demarcation, a milestone, in the process of legislation of domestic work between the 2010s and the 2020s.

Over the two last decades regulations and implementations of former national laws and ILO’s international conventions have led to the regulation of the latest Law No. 31047. The trade-union activism and the affiliations of the three trade unions for domestic workers saw the first light in the 1970s (Pérez et.al. 2020: 18, 46, see also note 17.). The new law regulates the New Labour Regime for domestic workers which was approved on April 17, 2021, to be implemented in June 2023. It was regulated through the Supreme Decree No. 009-2021-TR by the Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment (Apr 17, 2021). The content can be summarized as follows: contract formalities, provision of service, remuneration, social insurances and benefits, gratifications (paid vacancy), working hours, termination of employment relationship, health and security at work, social security, judicial protection, maternity leave, prevention and punishment of sexual harassment, private employment agencies, labor inspection and supervision, judicial protection, and fundamental rights. The content was compiled through the official publication of the regulation of Law No. 31047 of the employers and the domestic workers register in Peru. (Fernández, Heraud & Sanchez Abogados, 2021; Eurosocial 2021, El Peruano 2021).
Law No. 31047 promotes the involvement of the private employment agencies through the modifications of the regulatory norms for the Operation of Private Employment Agencies. It applies directly to women’s paid housework and care work for “those people who carry out activities related to the development of the home and the maintenance of a house (cooking, washing, ironing, assistance, maintenance, care of people and pets) in a subordinated and personal way for a salary, provided that this does not involve a business or economic gain for the employer” (Law 30147 in (Fernández, Heraud & Sanchez Abogados, 2021; Eurosocial 2021, El Peruano 2021). Secondly, the text of law demands for a formalization of the labor rights and the working conditions which can be compared with Law No. 27086 which argues solely for the need of formal contracts. In Law No 31047 the formal employment and a formal contract is formulated as clear demand arguing for the formalization of the labor rights, in particular, the female domestic workers in Peru: “It is provided that the contract may be for an indefinite or temporary term (subject to modality) and must be signed in writing and in duplicate with each of the parties keeping a copy. (Law 31047 Oct 2021. In (Fernández, Heraud & Sanchez Abogados, 2021; Eurosocial 2021, El Peruano 2021)

5.4.5 Situation report: feminist care economy in practice and the part-time employment

How can we explain the increasement of independent domestic workers in relation to the changes on the urban domestic labor market? The objective of this thesis that is to describe the occurrence of the two modalities of employment, the independent live-outside employments have increased compared to the falling number live-inside employments (Garavito 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, Pérez and Llanos 2017, Pérez et. al. 2023, ECLAC-UN 2019, ILO 2021, MPTE 2019). Already mentioned, comparable information is limited in statistics. There are several factors involved in the increasement of the dependent form live-inside the private household or working from outside in the private household. Apart from the benefits and advantages, the distribution of the Peruvian female domestic workers are employees estimated to 99,5 percent in 2019 (WIEGO 2023) represented by 90% houseworkers and care workers (Garavito 2018).

In a mode of a conclusion, comparatively, in the end of the 2010s the live-in employments were estimated to 45,2 percent, and the live-out employments to 54,8 percent, in 2017 (Bastidas 2012 in Pérez and Llanos 2017:558, Figure 1.) These figures tend to remain constant until the outburst of the COVID-19 pandemic on the 6th of March 2020 (see also 4.1 and 5.1 above). In 2023 the labor market is hardly recovering from the repercussions after the COVID-19 pandemic (March 2020–March 2022). In 2023, ECLAC/ILO’s recent report on the employment
situation in the Latin American and the Caribbean region argues for that some countries not yet have entered the post-pandemic era. Relatively speaking, the growing number of the live-outside independent working women, this ‘new’ situation was already visible on the urban domestic labor market in Lima in the end of the last decade, in the 2010s. In 2017 Pérez and Llanos point towards a national trend in their intersectional analyze on the feminized domestic work (see 2.3.1 above).

6. Results and conclusions

The results of my thesis are based on the findings in the three parts of analyze on the working women’s lived experiences closely related to the occurrence of the two modalities of employment, firstly, the live-inside employment in the 1970s, secondly the live-outside employment with focus on the 2010s, and finally, the women’s work and life situation in the 2020s (so far…). In addition, the independent part-time employment overlaps the second form of the independent worker employment. During the work process with this thesis in my research on the changes on the urban domestic labor market over the last decades in the 21st C. it is notable how the changes in the labor process are closely related to a great number of agents in their role as service providers in terms of house services and care work in the urban domestic sector in Lima. In guidance of the theoretical frameworks and conceptualization led me to formulate and reformulate my research questions. The mixed methodology of qualitative and quantitative methods led me to widen my critical analyze of the factual informal working conditions. The quantitative statistics have deepened my qualitative and interpretative analyzes of the women’s lived experiences in their stories and testimonies, and why informality is of such great importance to understand the reasons behind the widespread informality in the urban domestic sector and care economy and its strong impact on the female domestic workers in the urban zones in Lima over time. In view of the high rate of informal employments has remained constant since the 1970s led me to investigate the reasons behind the informal working conditions and to build the critical case of informality at the center of my study.

6.1 Results

The findings supported by the research question can be presented as follows:
Firstly, with reference to the first research question: who are the working women and how do they describe their work and life situation? In the 1970s, the five young maids live inside upper-class and middle-class households in the center of Lima. The young women with origin in the Andean rural culture consent to talk about their feelings. The isolated work situation has a strong psychological effect on their life situation. Most of them are or have been ill-treated in the private household. The vulnerability and the precariousness being a contemporary domestic worker the discrimination and the hierarchic differentiation is still a problem. In the 2010s, we can observe certain benefits of being a live-outside-worker. Working as a maid in the big city, the vulnerability and the precariousness in the female urban domestic workers’ work and life situation illustrate a stigmatization of gender, ethnicity, and class, a characteristic feature in the Peruvian society in its patriarchal power system. This gives the working woman a deep sense of social insecurity that has to do with the factual absence of social protection and economic stability without a possibility for childcare for her own children, and for being an unqualified low-wage domestic worker with low social status. Compared with the live-inside employment, the independent workers are not reduced to be isolated in the private household working from outside. The independent employment may still be a case of authoritarian dependence. But living outside the household the worker’s life situation is not entirely dependent on the good will of private household. An interesting case would be to take part of the part-time independent workers who are employed by an external service provider.

Secondly, what are the benefits and the disadvantages in the adjustments of employment, the live-inside and the live-outside employment, respectively? Talking benefits and disadvantages we can see that the living-out employment is not dependent on the good will of the private household in comparison with the live-inside maids.

Thirdly, with reference to the third research question how the working conditions are related to informality and to legislation the preferences or the facts behind the persisting informality in the domestic labor sector, de Soto’s critical theory of informality can be understood as an exclusion of the women domestic work as collective and a socio-economic marginalized group. Constantly, domestic working women have been excluded from their formal rights that were implemented by law. In the 1970s the domestic workers, men and women, were not recognized by law. In 2003 the first law was constituted in favor of the domestic workers that indicated a need of formalization for the basic labor rights. Law no. 27986 for all Peruvian domestic workers. The implementation of this law was sustained by agents with a financial interest in the urban domestic sector that goes back to the neoliberal
politics and economic growth in the 1990s. Over the two last decades the growing number private agencies of employment can be explained as a significant reason behind the implementation of the National Law of Domestic Work, No. 27986 in 2003, and later by the International Labour Organization’s Convention No, 189, in 2019. The political ignorance and the informality in care economy can be seen as an exclusion of the urban domestic workforce as socioeconomic social group that goes in line with de Soto’s critical analyze of the underground society. de Soto argues for how the poor in the public sectors had a strong ambition of entrepreneurship, and trading. They were productive but put aside by the governments.

Fourth, what are facts and the preferences of the persisting informality in the domestic labor sector that still have a great impact on their work situation? In fact, Bourdieu’s reasoning on social and symbolic the exclusion of the female urban workforce can be seen as a social, a cultural and an economic differentiation. The devaluation of domestic work and the discrimination of the woman worker is a result of a gender-, race- and class-based stigmatization. But first and foremost, in its not solely an inquiry of a rigid dichotomy between to be excluded or not to be included rather it is a question of embracement and to outdistance the real dominators. Talking preferences, is to talk about the subjectification of the domestic workers as individuals but also how her work is objectified. This argues for women’s right to a fully occupational citizenship, autonomy, and economic independence on decent terms. With no exception, loving and caring is an essential part in a regulated formalized care work. The demand on reasonable working conditions for the many working women in Peru are lively debated in the feminist discourse on domestic work and it is well-documented in the Peruvian scholars’ research, by sociologists and economists.

Fifth, how can we explain the increasement of independent domestic workers in relation to the changes on the urban labor market? As the part-time employment is of more frequent use, it can be compared with explosion of private agencies of employment since the domestic workers were recognized by Law 27986 in 2003. In five years, in the period of 2007–2011, the number of inspected employments agencies in Lima increased with significantly. and (OIT Peru, 2013, see 5.1 Table 3 above). Even if it is not the purpose to examine the occurrence of the profit-making domestic service providers the growing number of part-time independent workers should be taken into consideration. IPROFOTH, the Institute of Promotion and Formation for the domestic workers is beside the non-profit and non-governmental national organizations, supporting women in their work and life situation working for formality, decent working conditions and well-functioning relationships between employees and employers.
6.2 Conclusions

In a mode of conclusion, de Soto’s critical theory of informality can be understood as an exclusion from decent labor rights. The female urban domestic workers have been excluded from their formal rights implemented by law. The political ignorance can be seen as an exclusion of the urban domestic workforce as socioeconomic social group is in line with de Soto’s critical analyze of the underground society (1989/2008) and Bourdieu’s reasoning on social and symbolic spaces. Though, it can also be seen as a differentiation of the female domestic workers (1998) and the feminized domestic work of housework and care work. It is rather a question of integration, to embrace and to outdistance the real dominators. The question is if the resistance of a non-acceptance to include the domestic workers and their housework such as cooking, cleaning and so-forth into business activity is all bad. The domestic sector is already included in the national economics. For instance, the questioned Marxist idea on a surplus value is regulated of a value-added taxation (with precaution for the wide-spread informality in care economy). 90% of the paid domestic work refers to the daily housework such as cleaning, cooking, laundry and care for children and elder persons. At an increased rate of independent live-outside domestic workers, the part time employment and the boom private agencies of employment housework and care work is described as ‘house services’ and ‘domestic work’ in English. In Spanish the terms ‘trabajo doméstico’ or ‘trabajo del hogar’ are of frequent use. On the one hand, this can be a confusion of languages or of definitions, respectively. On the other hand, we can observe how the ‘hiring system’ of house services is well-established in the urban domestic market in accordance with the benefits, taxation, employment contracts and the employers’ labor obligations in line with the new Law No. 31047. An almost uncountable number of temporary agencies of employment is flourishing in the urban labor market in search for the demand and the supply of domestic services for women as care worker and houseworkers and for medical assistance and nursing. In this study we have focused the feminized housework and lighter care work. Nursing and medical assistance and childcare require to a larger extent formal education.

The cooperation between the International Labour Organization affiliation in Peru and the Peruvian in in the domestic labor market and its market-oriented approach of business and to please the consumers’ desires and necessities creating products are salient concurrent factors and agents involved with a strong interest in the supply and demand of domestic work. This is turn may have an impact on the shift between modalities of employments (OIT 2013). The decrease of the live-inside maids, the increase of the part-time live-outside employment
responds to the growth of private employment temporary agencies of employment’s hunger for profit with interest in the urban domestic labor sector. One could that the vocabulary and the business of the domestic feminized work has become a state of liquidity.

In terms of exclusion and integration of the female urban workforce in the urban zones of Lima we can consider IPROFOTH’s market-oriented approach and de Soto’s illustrative example of the people in the public sectors, now and then. Already in the 1970s, they claimed for their rights as the new class of entrepreneurs. de Soto’s statement still has a genuine ring; “the case of social and political peace will not be possible until all of those who know that they are excluded feel they have a fair chance to achieve the standards of the West” (de Soto 1989/2008: xxi). ILO’s standard for fair labor rights and IPROFOTH’s contribution are Western ideas with aims to give the women domestic workers a fair chance to fair working conditions and a decent work and life situation. The development of a so-called feminist care economy the challenges are mainly financial to provide the households with all categories which requires further considerations. In the development of a ‘new business model, IPROFOTH explores new business models to request funds from other sources.

I am firmly convinced that history should not be repeated, although we can learn from history. Listening to the voices of today, we can hear the voices in the past. In the women’s stories we can feel their sense of alienation due to a harsh gender-and ethnic-based class differentiation. The efforts that have been made to ensure a future change of their precarious working conditions constitute per se a recognition of the women’s claims over the two last decades, already aroused in the 1970. It remains to see if these improvements will be fulfilled in practice, and whether legislation will guarantee the women economic independence and a raised standard of living. Having in mind de Soto’s foresights we can now see massive and social economic upheavals in Peru and the Latin American and Caribbean region. The question is if market capitalism is all bad and if the domestic working women will be included. The feminized domestic work and informality is a global concern, thus as we can see there are certain improvements. The Peruvian Ombudsmanship, in agreement with the Peru the National Household Survey (ENAHO) in 2020, 244 726 domestic workers, both men and women, can be counted in the domestic labor force wherein 95,6 % are women. According to the statistics of Ministry of Labour and Promotion of Employment (MPTE) on March the 23rd, 2023 there are 109 930 contracts with women domestic workers registered, all included in the social insurance system SUNAT.
Finally, I argue for a continuation of what is left behind in this work of the critical analyze of informality in the domestic urban sector in Lima. On a macro-socioeconomic national and a regional level, the urban domestic women’s daily work and life situation in Lima is shared by the working women in the whole region under similar insufficient conditions. We can see how the national basis of division requires a broader perspective on the regional heterogeneity on a geographic and national basis of division of the countries in the Latin American and the Caribbean region. Insufficient working conditions are global concerns shared by the working women Latin American and the Caribbean region. According to the International Labour Organization the extensive inequalities on the worldwide domestic labor market constitutes the reality of 75.6 million domestic workers (women and men) around the world within 75.2 percent are women. (ILO 2021, WIEGO 2023). As a possible future hypothesis, nationality does not exclude regionality, neither can regionality be excluded from globality. Internationally it has become a demand and deliberated effort to make the female domestic workers vulnerability visible, as well as a great deal of attention has been drawn to the paid, and unpaid, domestic work in academic research by scholars in and outside the region since the 1970s.
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BNP Svenska
https://www.ui.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/sydamerika/peru/oversikt/

APPENDIX

This appendix consists of the transcriptions of the samples in the second and the third part of analyzes in the fifth part of this thesis based on an endnote system.

2.2.2 DESCO’s report 1976

The dialog between Mafalda and Susanita in the cartoon Snoopy (DESCO, Rodríguez, Riofrío and Welsh (1976:). Original text in Spanish:

–A mí me lastima el alma ver gente, pobre, ¡Créeme!
–Por eso cuando seamos señoritas nos asociaremos a una fundación de ayuda al desvalido.
–¡Y organizamos banquetes en los que habrá pollo y pavo y lechón y todo eso!... Así recaudaremos fondos.
–... para poder comprar a los pobres harina y sémola y fideos y esas porquerías que comen ellos. (24).

5.3.1 Work as a maid from outside in the big city

Rosa is married with three children and lives in a small house in the edge of the city. Rosa migrated from the country to the city 10 years ago looking for work. Rosa is a domestic worker, but like many women in Latin America she is also the one who carries out the housework in her own home. Rosa cooks, cleans, washes, cares for the children and sometimes the elderly. Rosa gets up at 5 every morning to make breakfast and lunch for the day. She leaves to go to work at 7 am and returns home late at night. When she gets home, she keeps working, cleaning, cooking, looking after the children. Finally going to bed before leaving everything ready for the following day. There are no public or affordable childcare centers so often Rosa’s daughter has to (sic!) miss school in order to look after her little brother. Rosa earns less than the minimum salary, doesn’t have social security paid, nor vacations and sometimes she’s obliged to work a 12-hour day. She suffers discrimination and mistreatment from her employers. ...including sexual abuse. Rosa always finishes the day tired because she has a doble workload. This means she has less time for education, rest, political participation or to get a job that pays fairly. In Latin America and the Caribbean there are between 17 and people working in homes. Ninety five percent are women. And it’s no coincidence that woman are also the ones doing the majority of housework even though they represent a large portion of the workforce. The work that Rosa does for her employ and for her own family – is a pillar of wellbeing for human beings. Thanks to her we can grow, study, work and live well. However, because it takes place within the home it is invisible. Due to the low salaries and informality around domestic work in Latin America many middle-
class and upper-class families have the capacity to employ Rosa to bare this load. As a result, they have more time to work and earn more money. This is how Rosa subsidizes the incomes of middle class and upper-class families, she helps to reduce the wage costs of companies paying employee and reduce public spending in the provision of social service. Rosa does not only carry the weight of her own family but also that of other families and the national economy. CARE believes that Rosa’s work, paid and unpaid, belongs on the national and the international political agenda. Paid domestic work is real work and deserves the same rights as any other work. Rosa’s employers should respect these rights. The State should finance public services that relieve Rosa’s workload – such as childcare centers, retirement homes and safe water access. And men should also do their fair part of unpaid care work. Private companies could set up childcare facilities to mind Rosa’s kids when she works. Domestic work makes all other work possible. We have all the right to decent work and rest. Together with domestic workers organization. (Written on the last slide: CARE is working to achieve the ratification and implementation of Convention 189 of the International Labor Organization with the aim of promoting decent work for domestic workers in Latin America.

iii 5.3.2 A real case: an independent Afro Peruvian domestic worker living in a public sector

Get to know the history of Ernestina, an Afro-Peruvian woman and an activist, Villa el Salvador, Lima (Original title in Spanish, Conoce la historia de Ernestina, mujer afroperuana y activista, Ernesta Ochoa Luján)

Accessible at: Source Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddTXTH1E30g&t=4s

The subtext in English is written according to the current rules for spelling and punctuation. The differences in mediation are mine.

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In English: My name is Ernestina Ochoa Luján. I am domestic worker. I am an Afro-Peruvian woman. I am a mother. I am also a grandmother. And I am also an activist. I’ve worked since I was eleven. I’ve always felt enslaved. I suffered a lot of racism, being discriminated, and I’ve carried these chains all my life. I keep fighting but I often need strength because this racial violence and discrimination that we afro women go through never stops. My struggle grew stronger when I went through that myself... I suffered racism from a police officer at a bustop. The policeman turned around and said: “hey you, black piece of shit what do you want to steal”. It was very tough. And to see that the people who were there... being women, would say nothing. But the complaint was at the police
station. I thought that that was going to get somewhere... But nothing. It led to nothing. So we suffer because we are women, because we are Black. Because we are hard workers. We suffer a lot. The violence towards afro women is not being seen. Because I am black.

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In Spanish: Soy Ernestina Ochoa Luján. Soy una mujer Afro-Peruana. Soy madre. Soy abuela también. Y también soy una activista. Soy trabajadora de hogar. Soy una mujer Afroperuana. Soy madre. Soy abuela también. Y también soy una activista. Yo he trabajado desde los 11 años. Siempre me he sentido esclavizada. He sufrido mucho racismo, discriminación y toda esta vida me he cargado con estas cadenas. Sigo luchando pero muchas veces necesito la fuerza porque la violencia racial y esta discriminación que pasamos las mujeres afro nunca acaba. Y esa lucha se hace más fuerte cuando más en yo misma y he sufrido racismo. Un policía en xxxx voltea y me dice “Negra de mierda que has robado”. Fue muy duro y ver que las personas que estaban ahí se voltea y no dicen nada ... la denuncia porque estaba la denuncia en la comisaría pensé que eso iba a progresar pero, y nada. Que fue nada. .... Porque soy Negra.

iv 5.3.3 Working conditions: demands and female empowerment

Female domestic workers in search for respect and their rights
(Original title in Spanish) Trabajadoras del hogar y la búsqueda del respeto a sus Derechos
Video and article, El Comercio 01/03/2019, Ana Monzón, El Comercio, Lima Peru
Accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/@DiarioElComercio
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=adecH51iiZg

Transcription in Spanish
Introduction to the video:

Según el INEI (2017) se calcula que aproximadamente 395 mil personas se desempeñan como trabajadores del hogar. Organizaciones como Flora Tristan calculan que solo el 20% trabaja en condiciones formales.

[Música]

Ernesta Ochoa (trabajadora doméstica de origen en Chincha)
Mi vida como trabajadora del hogar ha comenzado a los 11 años.

Ofelia Vilca (trabajadora doméstica de origen en Puno)
Y yo trabajo desde los 7 años pero en mi tierra.

Alicia López (trabajadora doméstica de origen en Trujillo)
Yo empecé a trabajar cuando ya tenía 14 y prácticamente me daba una propina.
Bettina Valdez (investigadora PUCP, autora del libro Revelando el secreto)

Anthuané Salvador (abogada y representante del Centro del Mujer Flora Tristán en Lima)

Ofelia (trabajadora)
Me pagaban poquito... tres soles algo así.

(Ernesta trabajadora)
Nosotras trabajamos o como se dice gratis.

[Música]

(Bettina Valdez, investigadora)
La sociedad peruana ha heredado de la servidumbre, heredada de la esclavitud la forma en cómo tratan actualmente las trabajadoras del hogar. Hay un tema de racismo, hay un tema de clase, hay un tema de género. Entonces hay mucha subvaloración.

Anthuané (abogada CMP Flora Tristán)
El discriminarlas, decepcionarlas. El marcar la diferencia sin haciéndoles sentir que pertenecen a una categoría diferente. Sí, significa una, una violencia muy fuerte, ¿no?, y que está..., que es permanente.

Ernesta (trabajadora)
Yo no sabía que era descansar los días domingo. Y yo pensé que yo no nomás me pasaba a mí y a mí no me pagaban gratificación y que a mí ..., así era el mundo del trabajo que no tenía derecho solamente yo trabajaba y punto.

Bettina (investigadora)
Antes te níamos a una trabajadora del hogar mucho más sumisa, mucho más subvalorada, y entonces con menos oportunidades menos información. Ahora sí hay más posibilidades de que una trabajadora del hogar deje de serlo o que luche por el reconocimiento en sus derechos. Hay que destacar que la remuneración de una trabajadora del hogar, en promedio son 500 600 soles.

[Música]

Ofelia (trabajadora)
Por donde trabajo yo en Pueblo Libre a veces le pregunto a las amiguitas que trabajan por ahí muy por ellos en 50 soles de gratificación le dieron en Navidad, 28 de Julio. [no] depende de nosotras. A mí me ayudó a lograr mis derechos. Yo solita. Los empleadores felices, no les interesa, feliz. Si no le dan su gratificación es igualito para ellos y si no reclamas no van a ceder

Bettina (investigadora)
Es que los derechos no son reconocidos de primera línea por la empleadora, sino que tienen que ser exigidos por la trabajadora del hogar. Siempre es una lucha.

Anthuané (abogada)
Por ejemplo, no les pagan su gratificación, no les dan permiso, no les daban sus vacaciones, muchas veces ellas querían regresar a su ciudad natal. Ellas iban al ministerio de trabajo que ya sabían que
tenían ese derecho y iban a exigirlo, a preguntar cómo se podían ejercer y cuando regresaban las despedían.

[Música]

Alicia (trabajadora)
Era [sea] una discriminación hacia nosotras, como personas, como trabajadoras del hogar, nos trataban [como digamos, discúlpame la palabra] como esclavas, porque a veces te maltrataban psicológicamente, verbalmente y físicamente

Ernesta (trabajadora)
[Aquí este], hay mucha discriminación con las trabajadoras del hogar, mucha explotación. Nosotras cuidamos a sus niños que es lo más preciado que tienen, cuidamos a sus padres o a sus madres que están enfermos para, para que, para facilitarle la vida y que puedan ir a trabajar tranquilos. ¿no? Vienen y está su ropa limpia, su ropa planchada, zapatos lustrados. Todo. Entonces, por eso queremos valoración al trabajo.

Anthuané (abogada)
Reconocer el valor que tiene el trabajo, el trabajo del hogar realizado por este sector de la población que tiene un impacto importante no solamente en la economía sino también en el desarrollo de las familias.

Bettina (investigadora)
Al no reconocerle sus derechos, al no pagarle lo que merece, al no valorar el trabajo que esta trabajadora del hogar está realizando por su familia de la empleadora también está subvalorando el propio trabajo que ella estuviera haciendo si no la hubiera contratado. [Música]

Bettina (investigadora)
No vas a un nido y le preguntas a un niño o una niña que quiere ser de grande. Nadie te va a decir trabajadora del hogar. Nadie. Porque ese es el, el, digamos, el ejemplo más claro de que es totalmente subvalorado, pero ven que una niña o un niño te ... Ay, yo quiero ser trabajador(a) del hogar. Esa respuesta va a significar que esa sociedad valora el trabajo doméstico. Que le paga lo que le corresponde, que reconocen los derechos que merece, Entonces, porque, entonces es un trabajo como cualquier otra [Música]

5.2.3 First part translation in English
The video is translated from Spanish to English (my translation and interpretation). Spanish original spoken text in Italic.

Introduction to the video:

English: In 1917, according to the national statics in Peru (INEI) there are approximately 395 000 domestic female and male workers in Peru. The national non-govermental organization Flora Tristan estimates that 20% are informal workers.

Spanish: Según el INEI (2017) se calcula que aproximadamente 395 mil personas se desempeñan como trabajadores del hogar. Organizaciones como Flora Tristan calculan que solo el 20% trabaja en condiciones formales.
a. Ernesta (1)
   English: I began to work as a domestic worker at the age of eleven.
   Spanish: Mi vida como trabajadora del hogar ha comenzado a los 11 años.

Ofelia (2)
   English: I have been working since I was seven in where I grew up.
   Spanish: Y yo trabajo desde los 7 años pero en mi tierra.

Alicia (3)
   English: I started to work at the age of fourteen, but I was not paid more than the tip my employer gave me.
   Spanish: Yo empecé a trabajar cuando ya tenía 14 y prácticamente me daba una propina.

b. Ofelia (2b.)
   English: They didn’t pay me much... three soles or something like that.
   Spanish: Me pagaban poquito... tres soles algo así.

c. Ernesta (1c.)
   English: We could say that we worked for free.
   Spanish: Nosotras trabajamos o como se dice gratis

d. Bettina (4d)
   English: Domestic service in the contemporary Peruvian society is originated in slavery and the heritage from colonial history. Still, the working women are being treated as slaves. And it is a question of racism, class and gender. Domestic work is deeply devaluated in Peru today.
   Spanish: La sociedad peruana ha heredado de la servidumbre, heredada de la esclavitud la forma en cómo tratan actualmente las trabajadoras del hogar. Hay un tema de racismo, hay un tema de clase, hay un tema de género. Entonces hay mucha subvaloración.

e. Anthuané (5e)
   English: The discrimination, the oppression is depressing. They make difference in a sense that you belong to a different category of persons. And yes it a harsh violence, isn’t? And it is permanent/never ending.
   Spanish: El discriminarlas, decepcionarlas. El marcar la diferencia sin haciéndoles sentir que pertenecen a una categoría diferente. Sí, significa una, una violencia muy fuerte, ¿no?, y que está..., que es permanente.
f.
Ernesta (1f.)
English: I didn't know that I had the right to rest on Sundays. And I was not the only one for not being compensated. It was at it should be. There were no rights and I just worked.
Spanish: Yo no sabía que era descansar los días domingo. Y yo pensé que yo no nomás me pasaba a mí y a mí no me pagaban gratificación y que a mí ..., así era el mundo del trabajo que no tenía derecho solamente yo trabajaba y punto.

g.
Bettina (4g.)
English: Once, there was a woman at the center. She was a very resigned (quiet) and obedient domestic worker. The devaluation of her work was shown in how the employers took advantage of her humility, and how information about her rights were kept away by the employers (though, she didn’t ask for it). Today there are other possibilities to make one’s claims for the rights in the struggle for recognition of women’s paid domestic work as a decent work. It is important to show that the average pay for a female domestic worker in 500-600 soles.
Spanish: Antes teníamos a una trabajadora del hogar mucho más sumisa, mucho más subvalorada, y entonces con menos oportunidades menos información. Ahora sí hay más posibilidades de que una trabajadora del hogar deje de serlo o que luche por el reconocimiento en sus derechos. Hay que destacar que la remuneración de una trabajadora del hogar, en promedio son 500 600 soles.

h.
Ofelia (2h.)
English: Where I work in Pueblo Libre, I usually ask my friends if they have been compensated for holiday as I was paid 50 soles in compensation for Christmas and the National Day the 28th of July. It is not much we can do about it. I have alone struggled for my rights. The employers do not care, they are not interested whether you are compensated or not. It is all the same to them, they are happy anyway. And if do not claim for your rights you will not have them.
Spanish: Por donde trabajo yo en Pueblo Libre a veces le pregunto a las amiguitas que trabajan por ahí muy por ellos en 50 soles de gratificación le dieron en Navidad, 28 de Julio. [no] depende de nosotras. A mí me ayudó a lograr mis derechos. Yo solita. Los empleadores felices, no les interesa, feliz. Si no le dan su gratificación es igualito para ellos y si no reclamas no van a ceder

i.
Bettina (4i.)
English: Most and for all, the rights are not recognized by the housewife as the employer but the woman as a domestic worker must claim for her rights. The struggle is never-ending.
Spanish: Es que los derechos no son reconocidos de primera línea por la empleadora, sino que tienen que ser exigidos por la trabajadora del hogar. Siempre es una lucha.

j.
Anthuané (5j.)
English: For instance, if the employers are unwilling to for the compensation they will not give permission for holiday so the women can go back home to visit their families. Since they are informed about their rights, they went to the Department of Labor to claim their rights for paid holiday, and to ask how to proceed. When they returned to their work in the households they were fired.

Spanish: Por ejemplo, no les pagan su gratificación, no les dan permiso, no les daban sus vacaciones, muchas veces ellas querían regresar a su ciudad natal. Ellas iban al ministerio de trabajo que ya sabían que tenían ese derecho y iban a exigirlo, a preguntar cómo se podían ejercer y cuando regresaban las despedían.

J.
Alicia (3j)

English: They discriminated us personally and as domestic workers, and I am sorry to say, that they treat us as salves. Sometimes, we are exposed to mental and physic maltreatment but also verbal or mental harassment by our employers.

Spanish: Era [sea] una discriminación hacia nosotras, como personas, como trabajadoras del hogar, nos trataban [como digamos, discúlpame la palabra] como esclavas, porque a veces te maltrataban psicológicamente, verbalmente y físicamente

k.
Ernesta (1k.)

English: There is much discrimination and exploitation of the female domestic workers. We take care of their children the most loved in life, we care for their sick parents. We make life easier for them so they can go to work quietly. Don’t we? When they come home the laundry is done, their clothes are ironed and the shoes shine. Therefore, this is why we want our work to be valued and estimated.

Spanish: Aquí está, hay mucha discriminación con las trabajadoras del hogar, mucha explotación. Nosotras cuidamos a sus niños que es lo más preciado que tienen, cuidamos a sus padres o a sus madres que están enfermos para, para que, para facilitarle la vida y que puedan ir a trabajar tranquilos. ¿no? Vienen y está su ropa limpia, su ropa planchada, zapatos lustrados. Todo. Entonces, por eso queremos valoración al trabajo.

l.
Anthuané (5l.)

English: To recognize the value of domestic work, a work to favor a certain group of people who has a great impact, not only on economy, but also for the development of human capital within interest of families.

Spanish: Reconocer el valor que tiene el trabajo, el trabajo del hogar realizado por este sector de la población que tiene un impacto importante no solamente en la economía sino también en el desarrollo del capital humano de las familias.

m.
Bettina (4m.)

English: For not recognizing her rights, for not paying her the value of the she is doing and for not valuate this work, it is the woman as a domestic worker who do this work in favor of the housewife
and her family. In her role as the employer, she underestimates the value of the housework and the care work which is done in her household. A work that she would have done by herself it wasn’t for her female employee, the woman as a domestic worker.

Spanish: *Al no reconocerle sus derechos, al no pagarle lo que merece, al no valorar el trabajo que esta trabajadora del hogar está realizando por su familia de la empleadora también está subvalorando el propio trabajo que ella estuviera haciendo si no la hubiera contratado.*

n.

Bettina (4n.)

English: You may not ask little boy a girl what they want to be when they grow up. No one would say a domestic worker. No one. Because, this would be the most obvious example of a devaluation, but if they would answer…. Oh, I want to be a domestic worker in its positive form, we can see in answer that domestic work now is valuated. It has to be well paid off and the rights must be recognized, because it is a work just like any other job.

Spanish: *No vas a un nido y le preguntas a un niño o una niña que quiere ser de grande. Nadie te va a decir trabajadora del hogar. Nadie. Porque ese es el, el, digamos, el ejemplo más claro de que es totalmente subvalorado, pero ven que una niña o un niño te ... Ay, yo quiero ser trabajador(a) del hogar. Esa respuesta va a significar que esa sociedad valora el trabajo doméstico. Que le paga lo que le corresponde, que reconocen los derechos que merece, Entonces, porque, entonces es un trabajo como cualquier otra [Música]*