

Summaries

Gül Özyegin, Kin Networks, Patronage, and Class Guilt: Employer-Employee Relationships in Domestic Service in Turkey

Özyegin views domestic service as an area of social and cultural interaction in which two types of women representing different worlds are involved. Using data from interviews with 160 domestic workers in Ankara from 1989 to 1990, as well as participant observation, and focus group interviews with employers, she differentiates between live-in employees with caretaker functions and those who live apart from their employer families in squatter areas in the outlying city areas. She focuses her discussion on: the question of identity and status that domestic employees have within their own families and within their migrant communities; the power relationships existing between employer and employee; the usefulness of the concept of resistance as an analytical tool within an actor-oriented perspective; various forms of patronage and their influence; and the reciprocal, interactive construction of relationships between two women through their own common creation of intimacy and their mutual "class work".

Barbara Thiessen, The Personal Stays Political - The New Division of Work in Private Households

As seen from two life-stories, one from a German employer and that of her Polish maid, the two conflicting demands of individualisation on the one hand, and reproductive work on the other, are described against the background of migration experience in order to portray the precarious situation in the private sphere. The increasing qualifications of middle-class West German women do not free them from their family responsibilities and, within the framework of the redistribution process, women who have been "freed" from their responsibilities through migration are recruited to work in West German households. Thiessen focuses on four aspects: the downgrading of daily routine housework, the lack of clarity on the role of housekeeping as a profession ("cleaning isn't a profession"), the fear of trespassing on private boundaries in the workplace of the private home, and the working relationships between women in the roles of employer-employee. Her appeal is for a revision of the Law on Foreigners with regards to an independent right of residence, as well as the recognition of degrees and skills obtained abroad.

Barbara Henkes, Docility and Treason, Images of German Domestic Servants in the Netherlands

Henkes analyses how the collective image of German servants in the Netherlands changed from the very positive to the very negative as a result of the start of the Second World War, as well as how this compares to the individual memories of former German household helpers and their Dutch colleagues. Subjective experiences of discrimination based on unjustified suspicions of espionage activities are recounted.

Carmen Gregorio Gil, Yolanda Herranz Gómez, Women from the Dominican Republic as Household Helpers in Madrid, The New Servants of Capital and Patriarchy

The authors set out to review the historical development of domestic service in Madrid, beginning from the city's importance as the country's capital since 1561, thus making it a center for nobility and the upper classes with their need for household help on a representative scale. In keeping with the norm, industrialisation changed the character of domestic service, where it became more specialized, taking on the nature of employment rather than of service. The increasing employment of women outside the home, as well as the rapid increase of the elderly in Madrid's population coupled with insufficient socialized care has led to an increase of migrant women, 60.7% from Latin America, working as household helpers in private homes in the city. The authors recount the discrimination and racism these women encounter, which have arisen throughout centuries of historical, political, and economic ties between Spain and the Southern American continent.

Celina Kwiatek-Mack, The Polish Domestic Servant Yesterday and Today

Kwiatek-Mack starts off with the historical development of maidservants, nannies, and "respect-women" in sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century Poland and progresses towards the beginning of the industrial era in the nineteenth century, where the increasingly peripheral position of Poland vis-à-vis its neighboring countries brought about the labor export of women working in households. Theoretically, the profession ended with the socialist state, though in practice, it remained a source of unofficial secondary income. Today, the number of Polish women working abroad as maids has risen sharply due to high unemployment, though lack of empirical research to date on the topic precludes discussion of their working conditions.

Kerstin G. Schimmel, Domestic Employees in Bolivia

The author begins with an estimate of circa 10 million women working as maids in the whole of Latin America; in Bolivia alone about 300,000 females under the age of 18, comprising more than 20% of female youth in the country, are in domestic service. Out-migration from rural areas into the cities lays the basis for the process in which middle-men recruit young women directly from their villages, misusing promises of good treatment as members of the receiving family. This however, is seldom the case and the "close" relationship serves often to disguise a situation where exploitation takes place, after all: family members do not have to be paid. The distinction is made between *internas* and *externas*, i.e. respectively, servants working and living within the house and those working within but living outside. *Internas* are deemed to experience worse working conditions than *externas*, a fact which is graphically illustrated in a portrait of an employee called Sabina.

Maria da Guia Santos Gareis, Domestic Employees in Brasil

Three million women in Brasil work in domestic service, and to the extent to which they have become an integral part of daily life, this fact is mirrored in the architecture of middle and upper-class homes, where parts of the houses are reserved for household work with one or two rooms planned for servants. This practice dates back to colonial times, when slavery existed and when masters lived in the "casa grande" and the slaves in the "senzala", which to this day has survived as the term for servants' quarters. The majority of domestic employees are blacks or *mestizas*, who are subject to discrimination and unenforced laws regulating working conditions such as length of working time. The trend is however, towards external domestic service where the employees themselves have more control of their working times than those who must live within the homes.

Emma Fabian Est, Farewell to Esperanza

This is the story of a Filipina maid dating back from her life in the Philippines and tracing the stages of her working life in foreign countries before her employment as a nanny in Dubai. Her employer family brings her to Germany where the children are brought for medical treatment and where she is raped by her employer. She is able to escape and find shelter at a counselling office where the author worked for a time. With the help of this office, she files a case against her employer, is given a temporary right to stay to pursue her case, which is summarily interrupted when he is relea-

sed on bail and flees the country. With this development, her only recourse is to return to the Philippines leaving us to wonder how this could be allowed to happen in Germany.

Elvira Niessner, Employed Without Rights - Filipinas in the Informal Labor Sector in the Federal Republic of Germany

Unofficial estimates set the number of Filipinas working illegally in Germany at 12,000 women. The author describes the living and working conditions as experienced by these women using data gathered in a series of interviews. She focuses on the following aspects: the lack of recognition despite the hard work; the strain of constant readiness to be "on call"; the material insecurity and vulnerability to the arbitrariness of social life in illegality; the bad health conditions resulting from the combination of hard, physical work and enormous psychological pressure; the invisibility in terms of legal and social conditions of life; and the defensive, mistrusting attitude towards countrywomen that they are forced to adopt.

Agnes Calda-Ranzinger, Helma Lutz, Marissa Pablo, The DH-Phenomenon and Political Responsibility

Initially conceived as a discussion over the phenomenon of domestic service in the Philippines, and the export thereof, and the possibilities of dealing with the problems that arise specifically in Europe, this article was meant to experiment with a form of "cross-fermentation". Lutz starts off with the query as to why in techno-age Europe, household helpers are still present in the same numbers as they were a hundred years ago. The restructuring of the labor market to include women in large numbers has not led to a corresponding restructuring of what is still the patriarchal nature of the basic pattern of the German welfare state. Within this framework, two structurally-induced situations of plight among very different women are brought together to create a scenario where new patterns of social inequality are reproduced. Concomitantly, Lutz emphasizes the status of women as actors and co-creators and not just victims of circumstance in this process. She ends her contribution with the question as to whether Filipina domestic helpers may be seen as the new "nomads", i.e. forerunners of a new, cross-national life-style that is characterized by the migration process. Pablo and Calda-Ranzinger give a background of more recent labor migration trends in the Philippines, particularly in Europe, and the latter differentiates the life-goals and living conditions of traditional nomads from the Filipina migrants of today.

Marissa Pablo