



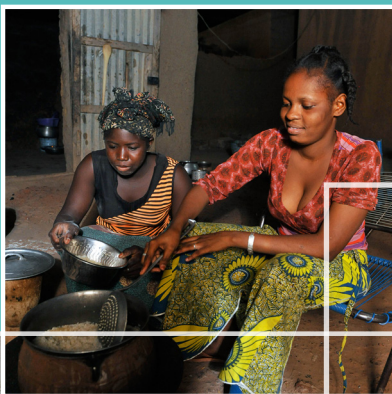
TOOLS FOR RESEARCHING DOMESTIC WORK



International
Labour
Office
Geneva

Qualitative research on employment relationship and working conditions

Preliminary guidelines



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1. INTRODUCTION

Reliable information on domestic work is required for meaningful social dialogue, awareness-raising campaigns and effective policy-making that aim at improving the lives of domestic workers. However, in many countries, data on the magnitude of the sector and prevailing employment conditions of domestic workers are sorely lacking.

To meet this knowledge gap, the ILO published in January 2013 new global and regional estimates of the number of domestic workers which are based, for the first time, on a replicable, verifiable methodology using national official statistics.¹ In order to further improve availability of data on magnitudes, the ILO developed and tested in 2012-13 a new national household survey methodology to identify and count domestic workers and employers of domestic workers. Guidelines for carrying out such a national survey have been prepared and are now available.²

Information gaps on working and living conditions of domestic workers and the state of employment relationships between domestic workers and their employers are even greater than data on magnitudes. Labour force surveys, at best, give data only on working hours and wages. Most empirical studies on conditions of domestic workers, with varying sample size and geographical coverage, which have been reviewed for this guide, provide data on payment, working hours and nature of contract; a few address occupational safety and health, and recruitment practices. Many present cases of abusive situations. None has looked at the whole scope of the employment relationship between the domestic worker and employer, which includes contractual arrangements, the organization and boundaries of tasks, interpersonal relations and attitudes of workers and employers towards each other. In addition, relatively much less attention has been given to employers' perspectives of the employment relationship.

1.1. What is this guide about?

This guide presents a qualitative research methodology for investigating the employment relationship between domestic worker and the employer-household, with special attention on employment practices and working conditions. There are various methods for investigating employment arrangements and working conditions in domestic work, and one could broadly categorize these into quantitative and qualitative approaches. Briefly, a quantitative approach collects data on the phenomenon under investigation in numerical form, often from a probability-based sample of the population, and analyses these data using statistical methods. In contrast, a qualitative approach collects non-numerical (narrative) data and searches for patterns and connections between various aspects of the

¹ ILO: *Domestic workers across the world. Global and regional statistics and the extent of legal protection* (Geneva, ILO, 2013).

² F. Mehran: *ILO survey of domestic workers: Preliminary guidelines* (Geneva, ILO, 2014). It is envisaged that this methodology will be used to generate national data on domestic workers and employers where these are lacking, while also creating more experiences and lessons that would further improve the methodology.

phenomenon. The decision to use qualitative research methods is determined by the research focus - the aims, the research questions and the nature of information sought. For reasons explained in the sections below, the qualitative research approach is deemed appropriate for the research questions outlined in subsection 1.3.

By drawing from the practical experience of researches carried out in three countries (Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines) in 2013, which tested a qualitative research design to address similar research questions, this guide suggests practical methods and tools for collecting and analysing data from domestic workers and employers of domestic workers about employment practices and arrangements and their opinions. It highlights challenges in carrying out this investigation, and shares strategies and lessons about tackling some of these difficulties.

The guidelines proposed in this publication are modestly tagged “preliminary”. Because these are based on only three country studies, more applications are necessary in order to produce definitive guidelines and lessons from more diverse contexts. Nonetheless, the guidelines here are useful starting points for designing qualitative studies on domestic work. Comments on the application of this guide can be sent to the secretariat of INWORK: inwork@ilo.org.

1.2. The guide’s research focus

This guide is centred on the employment relationship between the domestic worker and employer-household - the terms and conditions of this contractual relationship, how these conditions of employment were reached, and workers’ and employers’ views about these conditions; what are the perceived roles, rights and obligations of each party towards the other; what conditions motivate or push workers to engage in domestic work and employers to hire them; and how these dimensions are interconnected. These information reveal opportunities and challenges for improving employment relationships and working conditions in domestic work.

The employment relationship in domestic work is an important focus for research for three principal reasons. First, in many parts of the world, the relationship between domestic worker and the employer-household is largely regarded as belonging to the “private life” of households, even in countries where labour legislation regulates employment of domestic workers. For this reason, it is virtually invisible to the public eye, and employment arrangements tend to be informal and poorly regulated in many countries. Third, the employment relationship is easily concealed and disguised as kinship or reciprocity arrangement.

1.3. Research questions addressed

In specific terms, this guide is relevant for studies that address the following research questions:

Question 1: What are the actual patterns of working conditions and employment practices? This point encompasses:

- The terms and conditions of work and employment of domestic workers
- Living conditions of domestic workers who reside in the house of their employer
- Use of formal employment practices
- Recruitment and job search practices
- Common or usual subjects of problems, grievances and disputes between domestic workers and employers
- Whether domestic workers commonly experience abuse and harassment (physical, sexual, verbal)

Question 2: What is the nature of the employment relationship between domestic workers and their employers? This encompasses:

- Contractual practices
- Grievance and dispute settlement
- Harassment and abuse
- Underlying perceptions and beliefs about the employment relationship

Question 3: What are the motivations and preferences underlying the employers' demand for domestic workers, and those that underlie domestic workers' offer of their labour to private households? This point encompasses:

- The demand side: Employers' reasons, considerations and expectations in engaging a domestic worker
- The supply side: Workers' reasons, motivations and considerations for working in or for private households other than their own

Question 4: Do employment practices and working conditions differ among domestic workers and employers and where do the differences lie? How do factors such as motivations, preferences and perceptions and beliefs interconnect and shape actual working conditions and practices?

- Do working conditions, employment practices and patterns of employment relationship differ along the lines of:

- (i) whether domestic workers are in live-in or live-out arrangements;
- (ii) whether the domestic worker is related by kinship to the employer;
- (iii) age and sex of the domestic worker;
- (iv) socio-economic status and urbanization (i.e. city/urban area versus rural area) of employer households?
- How are perceptions and beliefs about the employment relationship associated with patterns of working conditions and employment practices?

1.4. Studies in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines

The researches on which this guide is based were carried out by national research teams in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines in 2013 with the support and guidance of the ILO (Box 1). These were carried out to respond to a specific demand from national constituents who wanted empirical data about the situation of domestic work in their respective countries on the basis of which they could hold meaningful discussions on policy issues regarding domestic workers as well as design effective policy measures and actions.

In Tanzania, the tripartite action plan, which was drawn up in 2012 by the Labour Ministry, the Trade Union Congress of Tanzania (TUCTA), the Confederation of Hotel, Domestic and Allied Workers Unions (CHODAWU) and the Association of Tanzanian Employers (ATE), required a comprehensive situational analysis of the domestic work sector in the country as one of the first steps to be taken. The new knowledge base was intended to assist the tripartite partners elaborate further specific measures to improve the protection and working conditions of domestic workers in the country. The comprehensive situational analysis was envisaged as consisting of three components: a law and practice review of the country with respect to Convention 189; a national household sample survey to estimate the number of domestic workers and employers of domestic workers; and a qualitative research on employment practices and working conditions. The law and practice review and national household survey on domestic workers and employers were carried out in 2012 before the qualitative research.

In Zambia, consultations by the ILO with the tripartite partners, namely the Labour Ministry, the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia, both of which had affiliated domestic workers' unions, and the Zambian Federation of Employers (ZFE), identified the need for in-depth information on the domestic work sector as a basis for identifying future priorities and actions. In addition, new data on domestic work would be useful in reviewing the Statutory Instrument No. 3, issued in January 2011, which set the minimum wage and other labour standards for domestic workers, and in mainstreaming domestic work issues into then ongoing labour law review process. As in Tanzania, the qualitative research was meant to complement a national household survey on domestic work which was carried out from December 2012 to February 2013.

As regards to the Philippines, after having ratified Convention 189 in September 2012 and enacted a new and comprehensive law (Batas Kasambahay) on domestic workers in January 2013, the bigger challenge for the Government and social partners was ensuring compliance with the new law and enabling employers and domestic workers improve their employment relationship and working conditions.³ For the Labour Department and the members of the tripartite-plus Technical Working Group on Domestic Workers, the qualitative research was expected to provide information that would allow them to design effective ways of enforcing and promoting compliance with the new labour standards, and to further assess the Implementing Rules and Regulations of the new law.

Through consultations with tripartite partners and domestic workers' organizations or their representatives, and pre-research focus group discussions (FGDs) with domestic workers and employers of domestic workers, the above-mentioned research questions (subsection 1.3) were reviewed and elaborated according to specific country needs and situations.

All three researches were guided by a basic research design that had been provided by the Inclusive Labour Markets, Labour Relations and Working Conditions Branch (INWORK) of the ILO. This design consisted of the following main elements: (i) a conceptual framework for the research focus; (ii) methods of qualitative data collection, namely, unstructured in-depth individual interviews and focus group discussions with domestic workers and employers of domestic workers; (iii) a generic topic guide for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions; and (iv) a non-probability targeted sampling strategy. These elements were adapted and elaborated according to country conditions and constraints jointly by ILO INWORK and the national researchers.

³ The new law, Batas Kasambahay, set a higher minimum wage, incorporated domestic work in the national minimum wage setting machinery, and provided other new minimum standards of working conditions. Implementing Rules and Regulations were issued by the Department of Labour and Employment in May 2013.

Box 1: Scope of three country studies

The qualitative study in Tanzania was carried out by a team of researchers from the University of Dar es Salaam during the period May to August 2013. A total of 103 domestic workers and 71 employers of domestic workers were interviewed, and 6 FGDs each with domestic workers and with employers were conducted in Dar es Salaam, Mainland Tanzania, and the Mjini and Kusini regions of Zanzibar. Research report: Dr Opportuna Kweka, Working Conditions of Domestic Workers in Tanzania, ILO Office Dar es Salaam, September 2013.

The study in Zambia was carried out by a team from Ipsos Zambia during the period September to December 2013. It involved 97 interviews with domestic workers and 71 with employers; and 9 FGDs with domestic workers and 8 FGDs with employers in the cities of Lusaka (Lusaka Province) and Kitwe (Copperbelt Province). Research report: Ipsos Public Affairs, Draft Report: Patterns of Employment Arrangements and Working Conditions for Domestic Work in Zambia, Ipsos, Lusaka, June 2014.

The qualitative study in the Philippines was carried out by CPDRI during the period October 2013 to January 2014. Focusing on the National Capital Region and CALABARZON region, a total of 113 domestic workers and 26 employers were interviewed, and 4 FGDs with domestic workers and 4 with employers were conducted. Research report: Clarita Carlos (Team Leader), Qualitative Research on Employment Arrangements, Practices and Working Conditions in Domestic Work in the Philippines, CPDRI, Quezon City, 15 April 2014.

The research reports are unpublished at the time of writing this guide. Copies may be requested from the relevant ILO Field Office or from the Secretariat of INWORK: inwork@ilo.org

2. CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

2.1. Domestic work

The Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189) provides a fundamental guidance for research on domestic work. It defines domestic work as “work performed in or for a household or households” (Art. 1). Therefore, domestic work may involve a wide range of tasks, including but not limited to cooking, cleaning the house, washing and ironing the laundry, general household work, looking after children, the elderly and persons with disabilities, as well as maintaining the garden, guarding the house premises, and driving the family car.

A domestic worker is defined as “any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship” (Art. 1). Domestic workers therefore include those working on part-time basis (e.g. working a few hours or few days per week or month for an employer-household; working less than 20 hours per week or on irregular basis as a domestic worker) and those working with multiple employers; those in live-in and live-out living arrangements; nationals and non-nationals, migrants and non-migrants.

Based on the above definition, the employer may be a member of the household for which work is performed or it may be an agency or enterprise that employs domestic workers and makes them available to households.

2.2. Employment relationship

An employment relationship is a relationship of subordination and economic dependence between the worker and employer, in contrast to self-employment or own-account work. Countries use various ways and indicators for determining the existence of an employment relationship. The Employment Relationship Recommendation, 2006 (No. 198) suggests that:

- “For the purposes of the national policy of protection for workers in an employment relationship, the determination of the existence of such a relationship should be guided primarily by the facts relating to the performance of work and the remuneration of the worker, notwithstanding how the relationship is characterized in any contrary arrangement, contractual or otherwise, that may have been agreed between the parties” (paragraph 9).
- Specific indicators of the existence of an employment relationship might include:
 - “(a) the fact that the work: is carried out according to the instructions and under the control of another party; involves the integration of the worker in the organization of the enterprise; is performed solely or mainly for the benefit of another person; must be carried out personally by the worker; is carried out within specific working hours or at a workplace specified or agreed by the party requesting the work; is of

a particular duration and has a certain continuity; requires the worker's availability; or involves the provision of tools, materials and machinery by the party requesting the work;

- (b) periodic payment of remuneration to the worker; the fact that such remuneration constitutes the worker's sole or principal source of income; provision of payment in kind, such as food, lodging or transport; recognition of entitlements such as weekly rest and annual holidays; payment by the party requesting the work for travel undertaken by the worker in order to carry out the work; or absence of financial risk for the worker" (paragraph 13).

2.3. Problem of concealed employment relationship

An employment relationship may not be explicit and easily identifiable. The Employment Relationship Recommendation also recognizes this: "Considering the difficulties of establishing whether or not an employment relationship exists in situations where the respective rights and obligations of the parties concerned are not clear, where there has been an attempt to disguise the employment relationship, or where inadequacies or limitations exist in the legal framework, or in its interpretation or application".

In the particular case of domestic work, there are factors that could conceal, blur or disguise the employment relationship. One factor is the exclusion of domestic workers from the coverage of labour legislation. In the Asian and Arab regions, very few countries have labour legislation that covers domestic workers.⁴ In some places, the contract between a private household and a domestic worker might be covered by private contract law. Even in places where labour legislation does not exclude domestic workers, implementing regulations might be lacking in clarity on this point or there might be little public knowledge about the law. As a result, the dominant public perception may be that households that employ domestic workers are not employers, and domestic workers are not employees.

This legal lacuna is often reinforced by social norms and customary practices that regard domestic workers as "only a helper", assisting the household head and spouse undertake the daily upkeep of the household while also receiving a form of assistance, and/or "a member of the family" under the care and protection of the household head. According to available literature, traditional arrangements of support, reciprocity and interdependence between relatives, friends and members of the same community is increasingly being used by urban households to obtain the service

⁴ ILO: *Domestic workers across the world: Global and regional statistics and the extent of legal protection* (Geneva, ILO, 2012).

of domestic workers from poorer communities and families.⁵ Within these traditions, food and accommodation, payment of school fees, or financial assistance to the parents or family of the worker, which are provided by the household in exchange for domestic services received, are regarded as a form of assistance or reciprocity, not remuneration.

Live-out domestic workers, especially those working for multiple households, might be regarded as “own-account” workers rather than employees, in customary practice and/or in law, by the households who pay for their services and by domestic workers themselves.

Employment may be deliberately concealed from the public and/or authorities by the employer, worker or both for any of several reasons, such as the lack of proper residence and work permits in the case of migrant workers, undeclared job, non-registration with social security, non-compliance with national labour regulations, etc. Child domestic workers living in the homes of the employer are among groups of working children who are generally hidden from the public and are most difficult to locate and research.⁶

It is thus important to dig deep through layers of what is visible, and look at objective indicators of a dependent and subordinate relationship. Periodic and regular payment of cash remuneration is just one indicator. A few other points may be considered to interrogate the actual situation:

- Whether the person was brought to the household expressly to perform housework, care for children, etc. Does she perform these tasks as a regular function in the household? If she wishes, could she stop doing these tasks, without fear of negative consequences on herself (deprived room and board in the city, or school fees; subjected to verbal and physical abuse) or on her own family (e.g. her parents would not receive financial aid)?
- Extent to which the household head and/or spouse (and often other members of the household) determine when and how the work should be performed, including instructions on how and where to work, working hours and other conditions of work
- Whether the worker is subjected to a form of disciplinary action for poor performance and failure to carry out tasks
- Whether the worker has to justify any absence from work

⁵ Many children carry out housework and other duties for households that are not their own, for shelter, a meal or some cash. An example of this is child fostering, or otherwise known as “confiage” in West Africa and “vidomegon” in Benin, whereby children from rural areas are taken in by family members in the cities. In Tanzania, urban middle-class women have drawn on the tradition of “undugu” (a Swahili term meaning “kinship”) as a means of obtaining the labour of “house-girls” from rural areas, while fulfilling their moral obligations to care of the extended family. See A. Kiaga: *The Undugu Conundrum: Can a formal employment relationship save domestic work in Tanzania?* (Dar es Salaam, ILO, 2012); A. Kiaga and V. Kanyoka: *Decent work for domestic workers: Opportunities and challenges for East Africa* (Dar es Salaam, ILO, 2011); Human Rights Watch: *Bottom of the ladder: Exploitation and abuse of girl domestic workers in Guinea* (New York, 2007), Vol. 19, No. 8(A); Human Rights Watch: *Inside the Home, Outside the Law; Abuse of child domestic workers in Morocco* (New York, 2005), Vol. 17, No. 12(E).

⁶ ILO and UNICEF: *Manual on child labour rapid assessment methodology* (Geneva, ILO, 2005), p. 9.

- Whether an agreement (generally oral, informal) established an obligation of results rather than of tasks performed
- Whether the worker provides his/her own tools and equipment, or it is the employer-household that provides these items

From a purely legalistic perspective, an employment relationship is a legal contractual relationship, with mutual rights and obligations for the parties concerned established by the applicable legal system. However, from a holistic and sociological perspective, an employment relationship is also a personal, moral and social process by which the domestic worker, the employer (which may be a private household, an agency or both) and intermediaries and other parties (e.g. worker's parents or guardian; an informal recruiter) negotiate, define, organize, control and value the tasks and services to be rendered by the domestic worker, and the conditions under which these tasks are performed and would be remunerated.

2.4. Employment practices and working conditions

For this research guide, employment practices refer specifically to employers' practices regarding recruitment of domestic workers, probation, provision of training, separation from employment, remuneration arrangements including forms and frequency of payment, types of monetary and non-monetary benefits given to employees on top of the wage, and documentation of the employment contract such as through written contract, payslips and working time record.

Working conditions refer to a wide range of conditions under which a domestic worker is employed: remuneration, working time including time for rest and leaves, the definition and organization of tasks to be performed, sanitary facilities, job security and conditions regarding separation from employment, social security benefits including maternity protection, exposure to and protection from risks to the worker's health and safety, and exposure to moral, physical and sexual harassment and violence. For domestic workers who reside in the house of their employer (i.e. live-in domestic workers), relevant aspects include the conditions in which they sleep, bathe and eat, conditions that protect or endanger the worker's privacy and personal security, worker's access to means to communicate with family, friends, authorities and others outside the household, and freedom of communication and movement to leave her/his place of work.

2.5. Perceptions, beliefs

The employment relationship manifests itself in the pattern of supervision and control over tasks and work performance, forms of remuneration in exchange for work rendered, the actual terms of and conditions of employment, and nature of grievances and disputes. Underneath these outcomes and overt behaviours, the worker's and employer's perceptions and beliefs regarding each other's rights and obligations vis-à-vis the other (in spite of what the law says, if one regulating domestic work exists; or whether the parties know about the law or not) are an integral part

of the relationship between employer and domestic worker, and shape their behaviour towards each other. This research guide therefore includes investigation into these factors. Perceptions are defined as the way one thinks about, or understands, something or someone. Beliefs are firmly held convictions that something is true or real. A person's opinion or judgement about a particular issue or topic reflects his / her belief or way of thinking.

2.6. Demand and supply behaviour

In order to better understand the employment practices and working conditions between the private household and the domestic worker, this research guide also looks at the underlying motivations of employers' demand for domestic workers, and the underlying motivations of domestic workers' provision of their labour to private households other than their own.

Why do households employ domestic workers and what are their preferences and why? Do these motivations and preferences differ between income class? Would they hire domestic workers at any cost? Will minimum standards on wages and benefits change these motivations and preferences, e.g., will households stop hiring domestic workers if minimum wages are increased or social security registration is imposed by law? Why are domestic workers generally recruited from rural areas, poorer regions, poorer countries, or socially marginalised populations? Why do households employ children or young girls in spite of their lack in skills and maturity?

What (and who) motivates or pushes women, children and men into engaging in domestic work, in spite of low wages, poor working conditions, risks to personal safety and health and social stigma? Under what conditions will a worker withdraw or refuse her labour?

3. WHY USE A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH?

This research guide adopts a qualitative approach to the investigation of employment practices and working conditions in domestic work. Before presenting the specific methods of data collection in detail (found in section 4), it is important to understand what is a qualitative research approach, when this approach is appropriate to use, and why this was chosen for the studies in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines.

Qualitative research is essentially interested in gaining insight into, and understanding a phenomenon – what is going on, why this is happening, and what events, processes, actions and situations mean to the persons experiencing the phenomenon. On the other hand, quantitative research is concerned with quantities (magnitude, incidence, rate) of a phenomenon or its outcomes. For example, a labour force survey will ask the domestic worker to state her wage rate (hourly, daily or monthly) for work done during the past reference week of the survey. A qualitative study would seek information about how this wage rate was reached, who decided or was involved in negotiation, and what criteria or considerations did the parties take into account.

One set of qualitative methods investigate the phenomenon in its natural setting, such as participant observation and analysis of actual discourse (e.g. speeches; advertisements; job vacancy announcements). Another set of methods rely on persons to talk about their experiences, perceptions, beliefs, feelings, etc. through life stories, individual interviews, interviews by pairs or by threes, and focus group discussions.⁷ These are open and flexible methods of data collection. The data collected are non-numeric; the analysis is narrative and non-statistical. The choice of specific qualitative methods to use depends on the research questions, the subject under study and intended sources of data.

Because these methods are quite time-intensive, qualitative studies often rely on relatively small samples of the population or phenomenon under investigation. These small samples are not based on probability sampling and thus do not produce estimates or results that can be generalised to the universal population. However, this is not the aim of qualitative research; its aim is to determine and establish patterns that exist within the population under investigation. These are valuable information in themselves. A challenge for a qualitative study is to apply a sampling design that would minimize the patterns that it fails to capture.

In contrast, quantitative research generates numerical data, generally from structured, pre-coded survey questionnaires, and analyses these data using formal statistical methods. Its aim is to generate statistical estimates about the universal population; for this, it requires a probability-based,

⁷ For example, the ILO's rapid assessments of child labour often use a combination of methods to generate data, including key informants, case studies, desk reviews, and focus group discussions (ILO and UNICEF, *ibid.*). For expanded discussion on qualitative research methods, see J. Ritchie and J. Lewis: *Qualitative research practice. A guide for social science students and researchers* (Los Angeles, Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 34-38.

statistically representative sample of the universal population.

The qualitative approach is suitable to investigations on difficult and sensitive issues that require the trust of persons directly experiencing these issues, and on populations who are socially marginalised and hard to find and reach. It can reveal unanticipated aspects of the phenomena. For this reason, qualitative studies provide a rich groundwork for subsequent quantitative research, guiding the precise formulation of survey questions and response categories.

By choosing to provide a qualitative research approach, this guide does not in any way argue that this is better than quantitative methods. Each approach has its respective strengths and limitations (see Box 2).

Box 2: Comparative strengths of qualitative and quantitative research approaches	
Qualitative Approach	Quantitative Approach
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open-ended questioning reveals new or unanticipated phenomena • Provides a rich picture of social phenomena in their specific contexts – reveals critical incidents • Provides a holistic interpretation of the detailed processes that have and are shaping people's lives • Provides insights into intra-household relations and processes • Provides deeper insights into causes and directions of causal processes • Permits researchers to access data on 'difficult issues', e.g. domestic violence • Uses methods that can collect data on marginal and elusive groups, which surveys often have difficulty locating, e.g. irregular migrants, the homeless, child-headed households • Encourages creativity and innovative explanatory frameworks • Data analyst is usually heavily involved in data collection and knows its strengths and weaknesses • Participatory methodologies empower, rather than objectify, respondents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Results from sample surveys can be generalised to entire population • Survey can cover huge sample • Results can be aggregated; and are comparable across population groups • Reliability of data and findings (based on sampling data and statistical equations) provides powerful indicators to guide policy • Replicability – structured questionnaire can be published • Transferability of dataset to other analysts - dataset (coded, stored using statistical software) can be shared; analysis is not dependent on a particular individual; this permits scrutiny of findings • Precise professional or disciplinary minimum standards exist for much survey work

Source: D. Hulme: *Integrating quantitative and qualitative research for country case studies of development*, GPRG-WPS-063 (Global Poverty Research Group, Economic and Social Research Council, 2007).

Whether or not to use a qualitative research approach is determined by the focus of the research, i.e., its aims, the specific questions that need to be answered, and the nature of information sought. The research focus of this guide (see section 1) calls for a qualitative approach for three principal reasons:

- First, perceptions, beliefs and experiences of domestic workers and employers regarding their employment relationship are qualitative, non-numerical information, and are difficult to capture in pre-structured questions.⁸ While many studies have used structured questionnaires and quantitative data analysis to describe working conditions (e.g. wage rates, number of working hours, social security membership) and some aspects of contractual arrangements (e.g. written or oral contract), these do not illuminate the causes and motivations that underlie these conditions.
- Second, beliefs and feelings about domestic work and domestic workers are deeply set within a person's consciousness, and some may be sensitive and distressing (e.g. feeling of exploitation; experience of physical and sexual abuse). These require delicate and responsive questioning.
- Finally, in many countries, there is little empirical knowledge about employment relationships, social arrangements and practices in the domestic work sector. One would thus have to rely on one's own personal experiences and pre-conceived notions about domestic work to design a survey questionnaire, for example. A qualitative research is thus a useful first step before embarking on a larger quantitative survey.

One should not necessarily choose one approach in exclusion of the other. There are merits to harnessing the strengths of qualitative and quantitative researches. A combination of evidence generated through both approaches is bound to be a powerful resource to inform policy and practice. Box 3 illustrates the comparative contributions of a qualitative and a quantitative approach to understanding the phenomenon of employment in domestic work.⁹

⁸ Although one might try to transcribe some of these data into numerical form (e.g. scores on multiple choices; attitude tests), sufficient qualitative data and pilot tests would be required as a basis for designing an instrument to measure attitudes.

⁹ The comparative framework using four functions of research is taken from J. Ritchie and J. Lewis, *ibid.*, p. 39.

Box 3: Study on employment and working conditions of domestic workers		
Functions of research	Qualitative methods explore and understand	Quantitative methods determine
Contextual	The nature and patterns of employment relationships experienced by different categories of domestic workers	<p>Number of domestic workers</p> <p>Categories of domestic workers (e.g. rural/urban; live-in/ live-out)</p> <p>Characteristics of domestic workers (sex, age, educational attainment, ethnic origin)</p>
Explanatory	<p>Motivations and reasons for entry into domestic work, for continuing to work as a domestic worker</p> <p>Employment trajectory through domestic work</p>	Variables (e.g. sex, age, education, years of work experience) that are correlated with being a domestic worker; with differences in wage rates among domestic workers
Evaluative	Workers' and employers' perceptions and opinions regarding national labour standards such as Minimum Wage, weekly rest period, limits on normal working hours, social security coverage, etc. – costs and benefits; (non) desirability and reasons behind non-compliance.	<p>Extent of compliance with national standards: wage rate received compared to Minimum Wage; average working hours compared to working time standards; payment into a social security scheme or not</p> <p>Comparison to workers in other sectors or to the national average; correlations with age, sex, education, ethnicity</p>
Generative	Recommendations for strategies that improve working conditions of domestic workers	Projection of future levels of employment in domestic work

4. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

This research guide presents two methods of data collection that are proposed for a qualitative research on employment practices and working conditions, namely, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with two key actors in the employment relationship, i.e. domestic workers and employers of domestic workers. These are the methods that were applied in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines, and thus for which this guide provides practical suggestions.¹⁰

The Tanzanian, Zambian and Philippine studies used individual in-depth interviews principally to determine factual information about employment practices and working conditions, and used focus group discussions principally to elicit perceptions, beliefs and opinions about domestic work, particular employment practices, aspects of working conditions and selected issues relating to their employment relationship.

4.1. In-depth interviews

An individual interview allows for in-depth focus and detailed investigation on the individual participant, on his/her experience and thoughts.

Individual in-depth interviews are optimal for collecting factual information about each individual's experiences and conditions. By collecting information from several or more individuals, the experiences of these various individuals can be analysed to identify common patterns and to compare patterns between different sub-groups.

4.2. Focus group discussions

A focus group discussion allows group participants to ask questions of the each other, respond, comment and clarify on each other's questions and views. This group interaction is expected to prompt participants to articulate and reveal more insights and views (much like a "group interview").¹¹

FGDs are appropriate for eliciting beliefs, perceptions and feelings held by domestic workers and employers of domestic workers. By facilitating the group participants to discuss issues and situations that are not about them personally, they are more likely to express their opinions and beliefs spontaneously. Individual opinions may be influenced by others, but a well facilitated small group discussion should be able to draw active participation and elicit the main threads of views. It

¹⁰ A research on domestic work could complement the interviews and FGDs with other methods such as key informants and life histories. For example, the ILO child labour rapid assessments often use a combination of data collection methods. See ILO and UNICEF, *ibid*.

¹¹ For detailed discussion on function and methodology of focus group discussions, see R. A. Krueger and M. A. Casey: *Focus groups. A practical guide for applied research* (Los Angeles, Sage Publications, 2009).

is not advisable to use focus groups to obtain individual-specific experiences because this exercise would be time-consuming and unwieldy, and the presence of others may inhibit the participant from giving information about herself/himself. One could, however, obtain a small set of socio-demographic data about each participant.

4.3. Flexible and open-ended methods

In-depth interviews and FGDs are flexible methods of data collection. Structured, pre-coded questionnaires are not used. The role of the researcher is to encourage, through probing questions, the interview respondent or group participants to provide in-depth and qualitative information. Although the researcher is required to steer the interview or group discussion in order to meet the research objectives, the respondent and group participant have the space to talk about the research issues spontaneously and in variable sequence. They can raise new issues or questions as the interview/discussion evolves, and the researcher is expected to be open to these new issues and explore their relevance to the research objectives.

4.4. Balance between flexibility and structure

It is possible to put some degree of structure to the interviews and FGDs while giving the participants the space to raise and explore other topics. This is done through the use of interview and FGD topic guides (discussed in Section 5 below). In the real world, researchers will need to find the appropriate balance between completely unstructured, open and flexible interviews of pure qualitative methods on one end, and completely structured formats of statistical surveys on the other. In the Tanzanian, Zambian and Philippine researches, interview and FGD topic guides were used to standardise the core content of interviews and FGDs. This degree of structure was adopted for four reasons:

- The research objectives required information on patterns of working conditions and employment practices. This meant covering specific aspects of work.
- The research objectives covered a wide range of substantive topics. Without a logical and thematic structure, there was a risk that discussions could go in too many diverse directions while leaving key information gaps.
- Different categories of domestic workers and employers of domestic workers were targeted by the studies with the aim of comparing working conditions, practices, perceptions and views between these categories. Thus, the same topics and subtopics had to be probed; and concepts had to be explained in a similar way.
- Because each country had 3 to 5 researchers assigned to conduct the interviews and FGDs, it was necessary to ensure consistency in data collection. National languages were used, so it was also important that researchers used the same local translation of technical terms and concepts (e.g. for cash wage, sick leave, probation).

5. KEY INSTRUMENTS: TOPIC GUIDES FOR INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

A topic guide sets the agenda (topics and sub-topics) for the interview or FGD. It has two main purposes: (1) helps ensure a level of consistency across interviews, FGDs and researchers; and (2) helps researchers steer the interviews or FGDs along the various topics in a systematic, logical manner, while allowing participants the space to discuss spontaneously and touch other concerns outside the topic guide.¹²

How are topic guides prepared? This begins with identifying the subjects to be covered by data collection, which emanate from the research questions and from existing knowledge and literature. Further ideas about the subjects that should be covered may be generated through discussions with the target and potential users of the research, researchers and experts.

5.1. Generic topic guide

Box 4 presents a “generic” topic guide for use in qualitative studies on employment practices and working conditions. This topic guide was drawn up by ILO INWORK on the basis of the subjects addressed by the Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189) and the deliberations of the Committee on Domestic Work of the International Labour Conference in 2010 and 2011, and a considerable review of recent literature, including empirical studies, on the situation domestic workers.¹³ The References section of this guide provides titles and weblinks of key ILO references on domestic work which are useful for future researches.

¹² For more information, see J. Ritchie and J. Lewis, *ibid.*, pp. 115-126.

¹³ The ILO law and practice report of 2010, which preceded the international labour standard-setting process of 2010-2011, Domestic Work Policy Briefs and regional knowledge-sharing forums on domestic work in 2012-2013 also illuminate the main issues concerning employment relationships and working conditions in the sector. See ILO website on domestic work for more information: www.ilo.org/domesticworkers

Box 4: Generic topic guide: Main topics, sub-topics and issues covered

Research Question (Main Topic)	Sub-Topic	Issues
1. Actual patterns of working conditions and employment practices	1.1. The terms and conditions of work and employment of domestic workers	Remuneration; working hours, rest periods, weekly rest, and leaves and holidays; tasks and how these are organized; access to sanitary facilities; social security benefits including maternity protection, health insurance and medical care; arrangements to adapt working life to the demands of life outside work, exposure to and protection from risks to health and safety; and conditions of termination of employment
	1.2. Living conditions of domestic workers who reside in the house of their employer (i.e. live-in domestic workers)	Sleeping and bathing facilities, meals, conditions regarding privacy and personal security, access to family, friends, services and authorities outside the household through access to communication facilities and freedom of movement
	1.3. Formal employment practices being applied	Written employment contract; payslip; defined working hours and limits to working time; payment of overtime; registered with public authorities; registered with a social security system
	1.4. Recruitment and job search practices	Formal and informal channels used by employers and domestic workers; entities involved; practices (e.g. fees)
	1.5. Common or usual subjects of problems, grievances and disputes between domestic workers and employers	Whether domestic workers commonly experience abuse and harassment (physical, sexual, verbal)

Box 4: Generic topic guide: Main topics, sub-topics and issues covered

2. The nature of the employment relationship between domestic workers and their employers	2.1. Contractual practices	How employers and workers reach an agreement on the terms of employment; how tasks and working hours are defined, delimited and organized; how changes, new demands or conflicts over these conditions are addressed and resolved; who has a say over these matters; whether the domestic worker was part of the process or had prior knowledge of the terms of employment; views about the usefulness of a written contract
	2.2. Grievance and dispute settlement	How domestic workers and employers deal with grievances, disputes, conflicts
	2.3. Harassment and abuse	How domestic workers deal with, and perceive, their own and other's experiences; what employers think about domestic workers' experiences and employers who perpetuate these abuses
	2.4. Underlying perceptions and beliefs about the employment relationship	Workers' and employers' views about their rights and obligations; whether domestic workers regard themselves as "employee" and the employer as "employer", and whether employers regard themselves as "employer" and the worker as "employee"; meanings given to the notion that the domestic worker is, or should be treated, "like a member of the family"

Box 4: Generic topic guide: Main topics, sub-topics and issues covered

3. Motivations and preferences underlying the “labour demand and supply” behaviour of employers and domestic workers	3.1. The supply side	Reasons and motivations for entering domestic work, and for continuing to work as a domestic worker; origins in child or young domestic work; considerations and preferences regarding live-in and live-out arrangements; considerations regarding choice of specific employer; reasons for leaving an employer; reasons why domestic workers continue with an employer in spite of delayed wages, non-payment of benefits & other violations of agreed terms; reasons behind “unpaid” domestic workers
	3.2. The demand side	Employers’ reasons for engaging a domestic worker; considerations and preferences in selecting a particular worker; importance given to a “skilled” domestic worker or to training a domestic worker; monetary value to services given by domestic workers (or cost of not having a domestic worker) – willingness to pay; readiness to hire or stop employing a domestic worker given a minimum wage and other legislated benefits (when is a domestic worker “too costly” to hire?); perceived advantages and disadvantages of live-in and live-out arrangements

The “generic topic guide” needs to be validated and adapted or revised to address country-specific issues and questions. In the case of the three country examples in this guide, pre-research focus group discussions with domestic workers and with employers of domestic workers (in Tanzania and in the Philippines), and consultations with the target users of the research (the members of the tripartite-plus Technical Working Group on Domestic workers in the Philippines, and representatives of tripartite partners in Zambia) were conducted to identify principal issues and questions that the qualitative research should address and investigate.

Country-specific topic guides for in-depth interviews and FGDs were drafted, translated into national languages, and then further revised based on the results of pilot-test interviews with domestic workers and employers of domestic workers in each of the three countries. The pilot-tests were meant to determine (i) whether the topics, issues and concepts covered were relevant and meaningful and to which category of worker or employer, (ii) the amount of probing and facilitating required, (iii) length of interviews and FGDs, (vi) whether new issues emerged, and (v) other potential negative feedbacks and constraints. The interview topic guides of Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines generally covered similar topics and differed from the generic topic guide on a few specific issues within the topical areas.

5.2. Topic guide for in-depth interviews

In Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines, detailed topic guides for individual interviews with domestic workers, employers of domestic workers and, in Zambia, also with operators-managers of “maids centres”¹⁴, were prepared to guide the researchers. See Example Interview Topic Guides (English version) for Domestic Workers (pp. 30-38) and for Employers of Domestic Workers (pp. 39-46) used in Tanzania. Interview topic guides were structured into main topics and sub-topics. To ensure similar understanding of the scope of each sub-topic among the researchers/interviewers, and consistency in data collection, key issues under each sub-topic were listed and presented in the form of sample probing questions. These detailed topic guides were not shown to the interview respondents so as not to disrupt the natural flow of the conversation. Interviewers had to be well-prepared and versed in the content of the topic guides prior to embarking on the field research; this also improved with practice. It is highly recommended that a portable version of the topic guide, which uses keywords to represent topics and key issues, be devised for use in the fieldwork. Although the topic guide follows a logical topic sequence, the actual interviews could take different routes to the topics. It was not uncommon for domestic workers to recount stories about their current and past employers, good and bad experiences.

5.3. Topic guide for focus group discussions

The FGD topic guide is designed to assist the researcher-moderator steer the group discussion. This may consist of a list of topics, sub-topics and possible probing questions, not unlike a topic

¹⁴ This is the term used in Zambia for centres that recruit, train and place domestic workers.

guide for individual interviews. To stimulate group discussion and elicit participants' views, one could also use a hypothetical event or situation. Talking hypothetically about what one would do in a situation might be easier than talking about one's own personal experience.

In the Tanzanian, Zambian and the Philippine studies, the FGDs were designed to elicit perceptions, beliefs and opinions regarding behaviours of domestic workers and employers, and to focus only on three to four priority themes. These were identified by the ILO and national researchers on the basis of pre-research discussions with workers and employers, and consultations with tripartite partners.

For example, Tanzania's FGD topic guide had an opening theme, which was used to stimulate and warm up the discussion and to put the participants at ease, and three substantive themes. See Example Topic Guide (English version) for FGDs used in Tanzania (pp. 47-51). Real case scenarios were used to stimulate the group discussion. These were either read by the researcher-moderator or by one of the participants. The scope of each theme was elaborated through a listing of sub-topics and key issues, phrased in question format. Although the issues under each topic were phrased in question format for greater clarity, the researcher was free to phrase the questions as she/he thought best.

Tanzanian Example - Topic Guide on Working Conditions and Employment Practices for Interviews with Domestic Workers

I. PROFILE

1. Socio-demographic profile

- Age, sex, marital status
- Birth place
- Ethnicity: Where were your parents born? Where do your guardians and your relatives currently live?
- Do you have any dependents? Do you support your family with the income obtained here?
 - Are you the only one they depend on for survival?
- Years living in current area: In which year did you arrive in the current area?
- What reasons made you migrate to the current area?
- What is the highest level of education that you have achieved?
- Do you have any other skill? Explain.
- What was your previous occupation?
- How did you begin working as a Domestic Worker (DW)?
- What made you decide to work as DW?

2. Paid DW: Live-in or Live-out status

- Do you live in the place where you work or go home?
- Do you go home daily, weekly, or monthly?
- Where is home for you?
- How long have you stayed with your current Employer?
- Do you work only for this one Employer or do you have multiple Employers?
 - How many?
 - Please explain how your time is divided between these Employers.

3. Paid DW: Employment history as a DW

- How long have you been employed as a DW?
- How many Employers / households have employed you / how many households have you worked for over this period?
- So the current Employer is your nth_____ Employer?
- How long have you been employed by your current Employer(s)?

4. What is the composition of the current Employer's household?

5. Foster children "helping" in housework and other household tasks

- At what age did you enter the current household?
 - What reasons made you come to stay with the Employer or made your parents place you with this household?
 - How long have you stayed with the current household?
 - How long are you expected to stay?
 - What are the arrangements between your parents/guardians and the current household?
- (Note: This refers to mutual obligations or exchange of benefits if any - what the parents, guardians

and/or child received or will receive in return for the services to be rendered to the household. The payment of a debt may also be involved in the exchange.)

II. RECRUITMENT, PLACEMENT PRACTICES

1. Overview – routes and parties involved in entering domestic work job

- How did you find this job?

2. Training (Note: this refers to in-service or pre-service training)

- Did you receive any training before being employed in this household?
- Or any in-service training?
- Given by whom, paid by whom, and in what skills?

3. Recruitment practices involving a third party (if DW recruited through a third party)

- Were you placed by an agency (registered/don't know) or recruiter (who, how have you met him/her)?
- What is the agreement with the agency? Do you pay any fees/obligations to the agency?
- What happens if the Employer terminates the Worker?
- What happens if the Employer complains about the Worker?
- What happens if the Worker wants to leave the Employer?
- What happens in case of abuse, non-payment of wages or other complaints?
- Did you sign the contract or did the agency do this on your behalf?

III. CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS & EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

1. Existence and nature of agreement

(Note: A contract may be interpreted as automatically being a written one. But also an agreement, even an oral one, is a form of contract. The Interviewer should probably pose the questions in a different way that tries to bring out the actual contractual situation.)

- Basic terms of employment: Do you have a written agreement with the Household / Employer as regards to your wage or payment, what tasks you are expected to do, how many hours and days you are working, how many rest days you have, when you can take a vacation to see your family, etc.?

If the DW has a written agreement:

- Are these agreements written down and signed by you and your Employer?
- Was this signed at the start of your job with this Employer?
- Do you have a copy of the agreement? (Try to see it.)
- Do you know the content of the contract?
- How did you reach this written agreement? – Did you and your Employer discuss or negotiate; or did someone else discuss on your behalf, and if so who?
- Have there been changes in this contract since you started with this Employer?
- Have the agreed terms of employment been followed by you and / or by your Employer? If not, what has been violated?
- Can this contract be terminated at any time? Can the content be changed at any time? By whom and on what basis?

If the DW has no written contract:

- Before starting employment, did you and your Employer discuss or negotiate, and agree on payment, working hours, tasks and responsibilities, and other terms of employment?
 - If yes, what did you agree upon?
 - If no, who talked with your Employer about the terms and conditions of your employment? How did you know what tasks you will do, how many hours you will work, how long you will work in this house, etc.? Do you trust that person? Do you accept that the terms are reasonable and fair? Would you have wanted to be consulted?
- Are there certain agreed conditions that the Employer has not complied with?
- Can the Employer or you seek any change in conditions (e.g. wage, tasks, hours, benefits) of employment?
- Did you ever have an Employer with whom you had a written contract?
- Do you prefer to have a written contract or oral agreement?
- What are the advantages or disadvantages of a written contract versus an oral agreement?

2. Change and termination of contract/of employment

- Do you know what the conditions for ending the contract are?
- Could your Employer dismiss you anytime?
- Could you decide to leave the job anytime?
- What are the Worker's and Employer's expectations, obligations and rights?

3. Personal relationships with the Employer and the Employer's household/family

- Please describe your relationship with the Employer.
- Please describe your relation with other members in the household.
- Are there times that you do not get along very well with your Employer or anyone in the household? Can you give examples?
- Do you think the relations you have with them has any implication in the benefits you can get? Please explain.

4. Relative preference and perception of live-in or live-out arrangements

For live-in DWs:

- Why have you chosen to live in the house of your Employer?
 - Is this your preference?
 - Or is living in the Employer's house part of the agreement arranged by your parents, guardians and/or recruiter?
 - Or is it because this is the only job available?
- Would you prefer to live in your own house if you had the choice?

For live-out DWs:

- Some DWs live in the house of their Employer. Why have you chosen to live out and travel to your Employer's house every day?
- Would you work as a live-in DW if you had the chance and choice?

For both live-in and live-out DWs:

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of living in the house of the Employer and of living outside of it?

IV. REMUNERATION

1. General practices – cash and in-kind

- How are you paid? Cash, in-kind or both?

(Note: The DW might know only about the cash payment she receives; and a live-in DW might not have considered food and accommodation as a form of “in-kind payment”, even if she might have accepted a low wage as “enough” in view of the fact that she gets meals and shelter.)

The interviewer could ask live-in DWs:

- What is your current wage? (Note: In Tanzania, the notion of wage is cash wage.)
- Do you consider meals and lodging a form of payment?
- Do you think the cash wage you receive is reasonable because you get meals and lodging here anyway?

The interviewer could ask live-in and live-out DWs:

- Has your Employer or the household head / spouse given you things and deducted them from your wage?

2. Cash wage payment

- How much are you paid in cash wage? (Specify basis - hourly, daily, monthly, per piece?)
- Is this fixed or variable?
 - If variable: In what way and how often does the cash wage vary?
- How are you paid direct cash? Through a bank, directly to your parents or through an agent?
- When do you normally receive your wage? (every week, every 2 weeks, every month)

3. In-kind payment (Note: If the responses to above questions indicated in-kind payment)

- What form has the in-kind payment?
- Do you think in-kind payment is reasonable as a form of payment?
- What is the equivalent cash amount you would give to (state the different items given to the DW as form of payment, e.g. clothes, food for parents, transport home,...)?

Ask a live-in DW:

- If you were not sleeping and eating in this house, do you think your cash wage should be more? If you could, how much more would you ask?

4. Wage protection issues

- Are there any times when you were not paid on time, or not at all? Has this happened frequently or how often has this happened? What action did you take?
- Do you experience deductions in your salary? Do you know what the deductions are for? What are the reasons? What is the amount of the deductions? How often does it happen?
- Do you get any pay slip or any record of receipt of payment?

5. Comparative views

- What do you think is the reasonable cash wage based on the work you are doing? If you were to pay a DW like yourself for the work you do for this Employer, how much would you pay in cash?
- Is your current wage higher or lower than what you were paid (by the same Employer or another Employer) a year ago?
- To your knowledge, how do the wage of other DWs you know who are doing the same job as you compare with your wage: Are their wages the same level, lower, higher, or don't you know?

6. Knowledge and perception of Minimum Wage

(Note: The DW might not even have a notion or understanding of a legislated "minimum wage".)

- Have you heard about the national law about Minimum Wage for DWs in Tanzania (Mainland / Zanzibar)?
- Have you heard about the national regulation about in-kind payment?
- The interviewer should mention the recent adjusted level of minimum wage for domestic workers (40,000 for live-in and 60,000 for live-out) in Tanzania and ask: Do you think this amount is reasonable and is it acceptable to you? Would you accept a domestic work job for this amount or is it too low? Do you think this is unrealistically too high?

V. SCOPE OF WORK

1. Tasks

- List the tasks you have to do during the day and during the week: What are you regularly expected to do, what are occasional and unexpected tasks?
- Do you work in a single household of the Employer? Have you ever been instructed to perform domestic work in other (additional) households of the Employer's family or of other families? Did you expect this as part of your tasks or were you told that your work would have this scope when you were employed?
- Have you been asked to do other tasks that are not household tasks or services to family needs, for example, assisting in the Employer's trade or business, minding the store?
- Are there tasks you have to do that are not within your agreement with the Employer?

2. Control over work

- Who assigns you tasks? Can anyone in the household tell you to do a task? Who do you consider as the person who has principal control and decision over your time and tasks?
- Are there occasions when you are told to do several tasks at the same time, or when several members of the household tell you to do a task at the same time? Does this happen often or rarely? Is this a problem for you or not?
- What happens when you cannot finish tasks for day? Or if the Employer thinks the task was not done properly? (Punished, scolded, others?)

3. Workload

- How do you assess your workload during the day – is it relatively too much or relatively easy and light? Do you think you have enough time, more than enough time, or not enough time during the day to complete the tasks you are told to do?
- Are there tasks you are expected to do which are physically difficult? Are there tasks that pose risks to your health and safety (fatigue, sickness, effects on your body)?
- Are there tasks that you think you are not capable to do? In what way?

VI. WORKING TIME

1. Working hours

- Is the working time fixed hours? Are they regularly observed or are they variable and flexible hours?
- What are the average working hours per day / per week?
- For live-in DWs: What is the usual time that you are expected to wake up and be ready to begin the first task?
- For live-out DWs: What is the usual time that you are expected to arrive for work?
- For live-in DWs: What is the usual time that you retire for the night?
- For live-out DWs: What is the usual time you leave the Employer's house?
- For live-in DWs: Are there circumstances when you are made to work longer at night or wake up earlier?
- For live-out DWs: Are there circumstances when you (are made to) stay longer in the Employer's house?
 - How often does this happen?
 - How do you feel about this? Is it reasonable, acceptable? Do you accept it?
 - Are you compensated for extra hours that you work or stay in the Employer's house? How much? Is there any basis to determine the compensation?

For live-in DWs:

- Are you expected to wake up during the night when service is required?
- What is your usual sleep time? Are there any incidences where your sleep is interrupted?
- Are there fixed times for meals or is it flexible?
- Do you think the time given for meals is enough? If no, why not?
- Is there a fixed time for rest / pauses during the day? Is it flexible? What do you think of this?

For live-out DWs with multiple Employers:

- How many hours during working day or working week are allocated for each Employer?

2. Rest days

- How many days off do you get per week? Is it fixed or flexible?
- Have you been asked to forego your day-off? If so, does this happen often or rarely, and are you compensated for working on your day-off?

For live-in DWs:

- Can you go out of the house on your day-off? How many hours are you allowed to spend outside of the Employer's house?

3. Vacation, leaves and public holidays

- Do you work on public holidays? Is that work paid separately?
- Do you get annual vacation days? If yes, how many days? Are you paid when you take these vacation days?
- Do you get sick leave? (Note: This concept may have to be explained to the DW).
 - Is it paid and if so, how many paid sick leave days are you entitled to (every month or every year)?
 - Or if you are sick and unable to work, do you not get paid or is an amount deducted from your pay?
- If you become pregnant, do you think your Employer will let you take some weeks off from work in this household in order to deliver the baby and take care of the baby, and then come back to this same job?
 - If so, how many days or weeks will you be allowed to take off?
 - Will you continue to receive your wage during that period? If yes, will you receive the full 100% or just part of it?
 - Have you ever talked to your Employer about this possibility?

VII. LIVING CONDITIONS (LIVE-IN DWS)

1. Privacy and quality of living conditions of where you work

- How is your sleeping area?
 - Where is it?
 - Do you have a separate, private room or do you share a room?
 - Whom do you share with?
 - Space in a part of the house?
- How comfortable are you in the house / apartment? Is it clean, safe? Compared to other members of the household?
- How is the bathing area?
 - Do you share it or do you have a separate one?
 - How is it compared to the rest of the family members?
- How are the toilet facilities?
 - Do you share or do you have a separate toilet?
 - How is it compared to other family members?
- Do you have a place for your clothes and personal belongings?
 - Is it a place where you can keep and safeguard your personal belongings?
- Do you have the freedom to enter every corner of the house like other members of the household? why?
- Do you eat with the other members of household or later?
 - Do you eat the same food?
 - Is the food adequate / inadequate?

2. Communication to outside

- Can you use the home telephone and / or a mobile phone?

For live-in DWs:

- Do you have the freedom to go out, to visit friends and / or family?

VIII. HEALTH CARE & INSURANCES

1. Health insurance

- Do you have a health insurance?
 - Is the health insurance covered by your Employer or not?
 - Do you contribute or get deductions from your wage for health insurance?
 - Are contributions recorded?
 - Are you informed about the benefits of the health insurance?
 - Have you ever used health insurance?

2. Medical care

- Have you ever been sick?
- In case of sickness – who covers the cost of medicine and / or a visit to the doctor?
- Have you lost a job due to sickness? Please explain.

3. Maternity benefits

- Have you ever become pregnant?
- In case of pregnancy, who pays for the cost of prenatal care?
- Will you leave from work?
- Who will pay for the cost of childbirth?
- What about taking care of a DW baby?
- Have you lost a job due to pregnancy? Please explain.

4. Occupational accident insurance and medical benefits

- Have you ever had an accident?
- In case of accident, who covers the cost of medical care?
- If you can't work due to the accident will you still be paid?
- Have you lost a job due to the accident? Please explain.

5. Knowledge and perception of national social security systems

- Do you know the NHIF, NSSF?
- Have you registered?
- Do you have an ID card?

IX. DWS' ORGANIZATION

1. Awareness

- Do you know of, or have you heard of, any DWS' organization?
 - Which and how did you hear / know about this organization?
 - What do you think of this organization?

2. Perception:

- Do you see a benefit in joining an organization of DWS, and if yes, what benefits? Would you join an organization of DWS?

X. DISPUTES, GRIEVANCES, PROBLEMS

1. Nature of grievances and problems

- Do you have any grievances about or problems with your employment or Employer?

2. Dispute-handling

- In case of disputes and conflicts with your Employer or any member of the household / family of your Employer, please explain what steps you have taken and what the results were.

3. Harassment and abuse

(Note: This can be a sensitive subject and a DWS often does not easily reveal information about extreme forms of harassment and abuse, and about sexual abuse.)

- Have you experienced any harassment or abuse by your Employer or any member of his / her household? If yes, how have you dealt with this?
- Do you know other DWS who have suffered physical and sexual harassment and abuse? How did they deal with it?
- To your knowledge, is this a problem that faces many domestic workers?
- What could a DW do to protect her-/himself and to seek a solution? Who could help them?

Tanzanian Example - Topic Guide on Working Conditions and Employment Practices for Employers of Domestic Workers

I. PROFILE

1. Socio-economic profile of the household (HH)

- Respondent - What is your occupation?
- Respondent - What is your relation to the household head?
- What is the principal occupation of the HH head and other employed members in the HH?
- What is your income (household income per month)?
- What is your family size?
- Please name all other members of your household, their activities and their income
- Note how many household members are children and what their age is.
- How many elderly or physically dependent adults are in the HH?
- What is your ethnic group?
- What is your region of origin?

2. Domestic worker (DW) employees

- Do you have any DWs?
 - If yes, how many?
If many: What is the role of each DW?
 - (List all of them, including their age, gender and role, i.e. all-around houseworker, cook, nanny, guard, gardener, driver).
 - Why do you employ many DWs?
- Does he / she (do they) live in your house or in their own or someone else's residence?
 - For those with live-in DW: Why do you have live-in and not live-out DWs?
 - For those with live-out DW: Why do you have live-out and not live-in DWs?
- When were they employed? (List the years employed for all DWs)
- Are all of your DWs paid?
- Who does household tasks and chores in your household (apart from paid DW(s) / apart from the respondent)?

3. For those with an unpaid DW – relative or foster child “helping” with the housework

- Note the sex and age of the “unpaid DW”.
- What is the relationship between the unpaid DW and the household head and / or the spouse?
- What is the reason for having the unpaid DW?
- What are the obligations of the Employer towards the unpaid DW and / or his / her parents / guardian / relative / child?
- In exchange for doing housework and other expected tasks, what does the DW and / or her family get from the Employer?
- If the foster child is 15 years old or less: Is the child going to school?
- If the foster child is older than 15 but less than 18 years old: Has the child attended and completed compulsory school? Has the child been enrolled by the Employer in any training course?
- How long has the unpaid worker stayed in the Employer's household?

- How long is the unpaid DW expected to stay in the household?

II. RECRUITMENT, PLACEMENT PRACTICES (PAID DOMESTIC WORKERS)

1. Overview

- Please explain how you found and came to hire your DW(s) (if many list how each was recruited) and why?

2. If hired directly or recommended by a friend

- Have you ever considered recruitment through agencies?
- Why not?
- What do you think of the agencies?

3. If recruited through a third party

- Was the DW placed by an agency, friend or another recruiter?
- How have you met the recruiter?
- What is the agreement with the agency? Are there any fees and / or obligations to the agency?
- What happens if the Employer terminates employment with the Worker?
- What happens if the Employer has complaints about the Worker?
- What happens if the Worker wants to leave the Employer?
- What happens in case of abuse of the Worker, non-payment of wages or other complaints?
- If there is a written contract with the Employer, is it signed by the worker or the agency or both?

4. Training

- Did you give the DW any training?
 - If yes, what type of training? (Cooking, washing, children care, cleaning, ...)
- In your opinion, should DWs be trained before being employed, or receive in-service training? Why / why not?
- If pre-service training:
 - Who should provide pre-service training?
 - Would you pay your DW a higher wage than you are paying now if she/he had undergone training, and in which skills?

III. CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS & EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

1. Existence and nature of agreement

- What type of agreement do you have with your DW(s)?
 - Do you have a written agreement with your worker or any of your workers regarding terms and conditions of employment?
 - Or do you have only an oral agreement but nothing in writing?
- Why do you think a written contract is useful? In what ways? In what ways is a written contract not useful?

2. Written agreement – If the Employer has a written contract:

- Can I see the contract or make a copy of it? (Ensure the Employer that the names will be hidden.) Or could I get a blank copy of a written contract?

(If the Employer has a written contract and does not allow a copy, check for content and mark them (multiple checklist), language, duration of contract).

- Does the DW have a copy of the contract?
- If the Employer has a written contract with one of the DWs but not with another, ask: Why do you have a written contract with one and not the other? Under what conditions do you sign a contract or not?
- Can the agreement/contract be changed and/or terminated? Under what conditions, by whom and when?

3. No written agreement – If the Employer does not have a written contract with one or more of his / her DWs

- Before the DW started employment, did you agree on the terms and conditions of employment? If yes, what did you agree on?
- How did you reach this agreement? Did you discuss the terms of employment before the employment started? Was there any negotiation?
- If yes, what was negotiated over? Who were the parties involved? Was the DW involved? Did she / he have a say?
- Can the terms agreed upon be changed? If yes, how and under what conditions?
- If there was no negotiation involved, was the DW informed about the agreement before starting work? Who gave him / her the information, and what information?

4. Termination of agreement or of employment

- Can the worker decide to leave the employment anytime?
- Can you dismiss or send home the DW anytime? Explain the circumstances under which this can happen.

5. Perception of employment relationship

- In your view, what are the obligations of the DW towards the Employer and what are their rights?
- What are the rights and obligations of the Employer towards the DW?

IV. PRACTICES REGARDING REMUNERATION

1. General practice

- In what form are you paying your DW? (cash, in-kind, both)

2. Cash wage payment

- How much are you paying your DW(s)?
- What is the unit of payment? (hourly, daily, monthly, per piece)
- Is the payment fixed or variable?
- What channel of payment do you use? (direct cash, bank, parents, etc.)
- What basis / criteria / reasons do you use to set the cash wage at a certain level?

- Do you give or have you given any wage increase? If yes, what criteria are used?
- Are the amount you pay and your payment practices similar to that of other Employers you know?

For live out DWs

- Do you give transport allowance? If yes, how much?
- Do you give meals allowance? If yes, how much?
- How do you determine the amount of these allowances?

3. For those paying in-kind

- What is the nature of in-kind payment?
- If you were to give a monetary value to the item / items you give to the DW as part payment, what would this monetary value be (ask for each item mentioned)?
- Do other Employers you know also give the same in-kind payment?
- For those with live-in DWs: Do you count meals (if yes, how many?) and accommodation as in-kind payment to the DW? How much in TZA shillings would this cost per day or per month?

4. Wage protection issues

- How frequently is the payment done? Are there cases when the payment is delayed? What are the reasons for that?
- Are there any deductions in wages? What are the reasons for that and what amount is deducted? How often do you deduct wages? Is the worker informed about deductions in advance?
- Do you have any pay slip or any record of receipt of payment?

5. Knowledge and perception of national law on minimum wage

- Have you heard about the national law about Minimum Wage for DWs in Tanzania (Mainland/ Zanzibar) or about the national regulation about in-kind payment? If yes, explain what you know. (Note: The Employer might not even have a notion or understanding of a legislated "minimum wage" – the Interviewer should take note of this fact.)
- The interviewer should mention the recent adjusted level of minimum wage for DWs in Tanzania and ask: Do you think this amount is reasonable? If the minimum wage is higher than what the Employer is currently paying: Would you pay a DW this amount? Would you continue to employ the DW(s) you have now at this legislated wage?

V. SCOPE OF WORK

1. Tasks, limits

- What tasks are done by the DW?
- List the tasks for the day / week.
- Which ones are expected to be done regularly, which ones occasionally? Which ones are not expected tasks?
- Does your DW work in one HH or more than one? Please explain.
- Do you sometimes do some of the tasks that your DW does, or do some tasks together? If yes, when do you do this and what tasks do you help with? Why do you do these tasks while paying a DW at the same time?

2. Control over work

- Who assigns tasks to the DW and who supervises him / her? Can more than one person assign tasks?
- What happens when the DW cannot finish tasks for the day?
- What do you do when the task was not done properly? Is there any punishment? Do you scold her? What other ways of punishment do you use?

3. Workload

- What do you think of the amount of work your DW does? (Too little work for the period or day that you pay her / him for; just enough work to be completed during the period that you pay for; too much work?)
- Do you think some of the tasks she / he has to do are physically difficult or involve risks to safety and to health?

VI. WORKING TIME

1. Working hours

1.1. Overview

- How many hours does your DW work per day, per week? (Note: Try to get the usual average per day and per week.)
- Are her / his / their working hours fixed? Are they regularly observed? Or do they vary / are flexible and in what way and in what situations?

1.2. For live-in DWs

- What is the usual time that you expect the DW to wake up and be ready to begin the first task?
- What is the usual time the DW retires for night? What is the average time they have for night sleep?
- Do you expect the DW to wake up during the night when her / his service is required?
- Are there circumstances when you require the DW to work longer at night or to wake up earlier? Does she / he comply easily to work longer hours?
- Do you compensate the DW for extra hours made to work? If yes, how much?
- How much time do you give the DW to take meals? Is it fixed or flexible? Is it enough? If no, why not?
- Do you give the DW rest periods / pauses during the day? Is it fixed or flexible? (Do you think it is enough? If no, why not?)

1.3. For live-out DWs

- What is the usual time you expect the DW to arrive for work?
- What is the usual time you expect the DW to leave your house?
- Are there times when you expect the DW to stay over at night and to wake up during the night when his / her service is required?
- What are the circumstances when you ask your DW to stay longer in your house to work? Do you expect the DW to stay longer when you ask? How frequent is this?
- Does the DW accept when you ask, easily and readily?
- Do you compensate the DW for extra hours that you require her / him to stay longer? How much?
- Does the DW take some meals in your house? If yes, which meal and how much time do you

give the DW to take her / his meal?

- Do you give the DW rest / pauses during the day? Is this fixed or flexible? Do you think it is enough? If no, why not?

2. Rest days

- Do you give the DW a day-off per week? Is this a fixed day or is this flexible? Are there times when you ask her / him to forego the day-off? If so, do you compensate her / him for the foregone day-off?
- For live-in DWs: Can the DW leave the house on his / her day-off? How many hours do you allow her / him to stay outside of the house?

3. Vacation, leaves, public holidays

3.1. Public holidays

- Do you require the DW to work on public holidays? Do you pay for work on these days separately from the salary?

3.2. Annual vacation

- Do you give the DW annual vacation days? If yes, how many days? Are these days paid vacation?

3.3. Sick leave

- Do you give the DW sick leave days? How many of these days can a DW have? Are these days paid?

3.4. Maternity leave benefits

- In case of pregnancy and maternity (either based on past experience or in a future event): Have you given / would you give the DW maternity leave days – e.g. time to get prenatal care, to deliver and/or take care of the newborn? Do you allow the DW to take a certain number of these days with pay? Is the benefit given only to certain DWs? If yes, which and why?
- Do you think DWs should be given paid maternity leave? If yes, how many days?
- Would you terminate the employment of the DW once she becomes pregnant or leaves to deliver her baby? If yes, why?

VII. LIVING CONDITIONS – PRIVACY AND TREATMENT

1. Privacy and quality of living conditions - Describe the living conditions of your live-in employee(s)

- Where is their sleeping area? Is it a separate, private room or a shared room? Is it a space in a part of the house?
- How would you assess comfort, cleanliness, hygiene and safety of the DW's area as compared to other members of the household?
- How is the DW's bathing area?
- Does the DW have a place to keep and safeguard clothes and personal belongings?

2. For live-in and live-out DWs

- What toilet facilities do the DWs use?
- Do they have the same food for meals as other members of the family?

3. Communication to outside

- Can the DWs use the home telephone or mobile phone?
- For live-in DWs: Do they have freedom to go out, to visit friends, visit family, boyfriend / girlfriend?

VIII. HEALTH CARE & INSURANCES

1. Medical care and health insurance

1.1. Medical care

- Has any of your DWs fallen ill or seriously ill?
- In previous occasions when your DW has fallen ill, what did you do? Did you take her / him to the doctor? Did you cover the cost of medicine, doctor's fees, hospitalization? If you incurred the cost, did you deduct the cost you incurred from her / his wages?
- In the future event that your DW falls seriously ill and requires medical attention, what would you do? Would you take her / him to the doctor? Would you cover the cost of medicine, doctor's fees, hospital care, etc.? Will you deduct this from her / his wages?

1.2. Health insurance coverage

- Have you registered your DW with a health insurance?
- If yes, which one? Do you and the DW pay contributions? Do you keep a record of your and the DWs contributions? Does the DW know about this? Has she / he used it?
- Is your DW covered by health insurance that is not provided by you? What is it?

2. Maternity protection benefit (related to the question on maternity leave)

2.1. Has your employee ever become pregnant while she was employed by you?

- If yes, what did you do? Did she stay with you until delivery? Did you cover the costs of pre-natal care and / or delivery? Did you allow her to take leave for a few weeks or months and then come back to work?

2.2. In case your DW becomes pregnant, what would you do?

- Will you cover the costs of prenatal care and / or delivery?
- Will you let the DW stay in your house until she delivers?
- Can she keep her baby with her in your house? Will you help her to take care of the baby?
- Or do you expect the DW to leave baby with her parents / relatives / family if she wants to continue working in your house?

3. Accident insurance, medical benefit

- Has your DW ever had an accident? If yes, what medical care did you provide?
- In case of accident, will you cover the cost of medical care? If the DW had an accident would he / she still have to work? If they do not work, will you deduct their wage?

4. Knowledge of national social security systems

- Do you know about NHIF or NSSF?
- Have you registered your DW with any of these schemes?
- The interviewer should explain what it is: Are you willing to register your DW? Are you willing to pay the premium?

IX. DOMESTIC WORKERS AND EMPLOYER ORGANIZATION

1. Domestic workers organization

- Awareness: Do you know of, or have you heard of, any domestic workers organizations? If yes, which ones and how did you hear / know about this organization?
- Perception: What do you think of domestic workers organizations? Would you allow your DW to join and participate in activities of an organization of DWs? Why / why not?

2. Employer organization

- Awareness: Do you know of, or have you heard of, any organization of Employers of DWs? Which and how did you hear/know about this organization?
- Perception: Do you see any need for, and benefits in, joining an organization of Employers of DWs? Would you join one?

X. DISPUTES, GRIEVANCES, PROBLEMS, RELATIONS

1. Can you explain what problems / challenges you face with your DWs?

2. What action do you take?

3. Describe your relation with your employee

- Do you regard her / him as a sister, a daughter or member of your family, a friend or an employee? Why?
- If the Employer says “sister, daughter or member of family”, ask: Why not “employee”?
- Is your employee free to tell you anything? Give an example.
- Describe the relationship between your employee and the rest of your family members (wife, husband, children, other relatives). Is she getting along well with anyone in the house? If not: What is the source of conflicts? What is the misunderstanding and what do you do about it?

Tanzanian Example - Detailed Topic Guide for Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

The Focus Group Discussion is an interaction among members of the group. It provides a venue and time for participants to ask questions to each other, and respond, clarify and comment to each other's questions and views. This group interaction is expected to prompt participants to articulate and reveal more insights and views (much like a "group interview"). The researcher acts as a facilitator-moderator.

This Detailed Topic Guide for FGDs lists the main themes and topics under each theme to be discussed. It further specifies key issues (phrased in question format) that are important to be explored by the FGD under each topic. Two themes use real case scenarios in order to stimulate the thematic discussion. The issues under each topic are phrased in question format for clarity; the researcher is free to phrase the questions as she / he thinks best.

1. Opening topic

(Note: The objective of this topic is to warm up the group interaction, encourage participants to open up and express their views, and to interact with one another, rather than with the researcher.)

- Do more and more households employ domestic workers (DWs) – why?
- Are there more and more people who work as DWs – why?
- Do some prefer live-in or live-out DWs? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

2. Defining the boundaries of work; “valuation” of domestic work; remuneration

K works as a live-in domestic worker. Every day she wakes up at 5am and starts her day by preparing breakfast for her employers who leave home to work at 6am. From there she starts waking up the children and prepares them for school; takes them to school and comes back by 9am; then she cleans the house and does the laundry which she finishes by 1pm. Then she prepares lunch for the children whom she picks from school at 3pm. After making sure they are clean, have eaten and gone to sleep, she washes their clothes; by the time she is through her employers are back home and it is time to start cooking dinner. She will then iron their clothes for the next day, go shopping for needed items and do all other tasks as they assign to her. K does not have time to rest. Most of the time she sleeps by midnight. The salary she is paid is very minimal, and not enough for those who depend on her. Her employer provides food and accommodation. K thinks it is a good thing to work as a live-out domestic worker because then you can go home when times come and do not have to do the extra activities, if only it was well paying.

ISSUES TO BE PROBED AND DISCUSSED:

2.1. Desirability and feasibility of setting boundaries or limits to the job (tasks and hours) of a DW

- What are the tasks and responsibilities of the DW?
- Is there complete flexibility when it comes to the tasks, is it demand-driven (that means driven by the Employer household's demands)?
- Should there not be a limit to what tasks DWs are required to do and the hours they are expected to work? A beginning and an end?
- Can the DW be told to also work in households of the Employer's daughter, son or extended family?
- Is it feasible to define and limit tasks, demands and working time in the case of live-in DWs?
- Is it easier to define tasks and set a limit to working hours in the case of live-out Workers?
- What are the potential problems and abuses (on the part of Employer and on part of Worker) when tasks and work hours are not defined?
- Should the Employer and DW agree on a "job description" (list of responsibilities) and a schedule of work and rest periods?

2.2. The “value” of domestic work to Employer and to Workers

a) To Employers Group

- What are the usual reasons why households employ a live-in DW or a live-out DW? What are the reasons why they employ several DWs?
- If you could not have found (or had been unable to hire) the DW(s) you are now employing, what would be the consequences for you and / or your family / household? Who would do the work she / he is (they are) currently doing?
- What is the going weekly / monthly rate for live-in DWs in Dar / Zanzibar / in your neighborhood? In your opinion, does this amount reasonably correspond to the amount of work and responsibilities performed by an average live-in DW? Would you pay more? Could you pay more?

b) To Workers Group

- Why do girls and women work as live-in DWs if the workload is so heavy and working hours are so long?
- Would you work as a DW if you had other alternatives? What alternatives are there? What alternative jobs are worth considering?
- What is the going weekly or monthly salary of a live-in DW in Dar / Zanzibar / in your neighborhood? In your opinion, does this match the amount of work and responsibilities that live-in DWs usually do? Would you ask for more? Could you obtain more?

2.3. Perceptions and opinions about “in-kind payment”

- Food and lodging are usually (or always?) counted as in-kind payment to live-in DWs. Do you think that the quality of food and lodging of live-in DWs varies a lot from household to household? If yes, what would be the differences?
- What value in TZA shillings would you assign to food and lodging of a live-in DW in Dar / Zanzibar / in your neighborhood?
- In some countries, the law limits the amount that can be assigned to food and lodging of live-in DWs; for example, only a maximum of 20% could be deducted from the minimum wage of a live-in DW. In other countries, food and lodging cannot be deducted at all from the minimum wage of a live-in DW because the law considers that the Employer is benefiting from the presence and availability of the DW in the household, which often translates into long hours and on-call service. What are your opinions about these practices?
- Are there other forms of in-kind payment that are used in Dar / in your neighborhood? Do you agree with these?
- Some people say that DWs also have their own families who depend on them for income support. Hence they need a minimum level of cash income and in-kind payment must be limited. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why?

2.4. Grounds/criteria for setting wage rate/salary

a) To Employers Group

- How do you decide what wage rate or salary to offer to a live-in DW? Do you raise the wage, and if so, under what conditions do you give a DW a raise?
 - How about with a live-out DW?
- Are you open to negotiate with the DW? Why or why not? Under what conditions would you negotiate?

b) To Workers Group (live-in and live-out workers)

- How do you decide what wage rate or salary to accept? Do you expect and ask for a wage raise and under what conditions?
- Have you had the chance to negotiate with Employers over your wage? How did you negotiate and what were the favorable conditions?

2.5. Perception of Minimum Wage

- The Government recently set a minimum wage. It used to be TZA shillings____; this was raised to TZA shilling_____ a month ago.
 - Is this too high or too low? Why?
- To Employers: Do you think households like yours would hire DWs at this new level? Why or why not? Could households “afford” to pay this new level of minimum wage? If not, what would households do? Would they stop hiring DWs? Would they just not comply?
- To Workers: Can households afford to pay this amount? Do you think you could find a household that will pay at this minimum wage? Why or why not? Which households would pay the minimum wage?

2.6. Transportation allowance, meal allowance

- Should Employer-households provide live-out DW with transportation allowance? Why yes or why not?
- Should Employer-households provide live-out DW with meal allowance? Why yes or why not?

3. Employment relationship in a highly personalized work context

J had one female employer who did not want her to look like her. Whenever the family goes out with J, they tell her to dress well so that they give the impression to people that they treat J well. But when J goes out alone, she is asked by her employer not to wear nice clothes so she does not look like her female employer. J recalls another employer who was doing the same. When J dresses nicely, her employer would ask her, “Did you get that from Mitumbani”? J feels that the female employer did not want her living in her house. But she does not understand this because the female employer was the one who asked J’s aunt for J to come and work as domestic worker in her house. But the employer did not want J to wear nice clothes like her children. J also thinks that the male employer is better because he even buys clothes for her when he buys them for his children and he treats her like his children, and sometimes more or less like his wife because J does a lot of what the wife (female employer) is required to do. This does not make the female employer happy either. J has her own room but her employers can come in any time either checking for cleanliness or their children who sleep in the room. The room is also sometimes used as storage for some extra things so they come to get them and they do not care about knocking. They sometimes go through J’s stuff because they do not trust her that much. She is not allowed to enter any room in the house as she wants.

ISSUES TO BE PROBED AND DISCUSSED:

3.1. The fictive or imaginary kinship relationship in domestic work: good or bad?

Some Employers (Household Head; Spouse) say they treat their domestic worker “like a daughter” or “like a sister”.

a) To Employers Group

- What does this mean - in what way is this the same as one would treat her / his real / actual daughter and sister? What kind of emotional / personal bond is developed between DW and Employer?
- In this situation, what are the Employer’s obligations? What are the Worker’s obligations?

- Is treating a DW like a sister or a daughter better than treating one's DW as an employee? If yes, why? Does this mean that abuses against DWs are not possible?
- What do you do if the DW does not do a job right, or if you have a problem with the Worker? What if the DW has a grievance or problem with you, your spouse or your family – how do you encourage complain and settlement?
- In your opinion, what are the rights and obligations of the DW towards the household-Employer? What are the rights and obligations of the household-Employer towards the Worker?

b) To Workers Group

- What does this mean - in what way is this the same as being treated like their real / actual daughter and sister? Does the Worker develop an emotional, personal bond with the Employer family?
- Is being treated like a sister or daughter of the Employer better than being treated as an employed DW? Is it possible for Employer or Worker to abuse this relationship? What kinds of abuse are possible?
- In such a close personal situation, what could a DW do in order to solve a problem or grievance against the Employer?
- In your opinion, what are the rights and obligations of the DW towards the Employer? What are the rights and obligations of the Employer towards the DW?

3.2. Real kinship relationships

Many DWs are actually relatives of the Household Head or Spouse of the household in which the DW works.

- In these cases, what are the obligations of the household head / spouse / family to the DW? What are the obligations of the DW towards the household in which she / he works?
- Should these DWs be entitled to wage, fixed hours of work or other benefits? If no, why not?
- What are the potential abuses that might be committed by household head / spouse / family or by the Worker?
- How about young children who do the domestic work and household tasks in the house of their relatives? What are the obligations of the household head / spouse / family towards the young DW?
- Should children be allowed to work as DWs for other households / families? Why yes or why not? Under what conditions?
- What are the risks of abuse? What should be done to prevent abuse of young children in domestic work?

3.3. Sense of personal security, safety, privacy and freedom

a) Especially to live-in Workers and fulltime, live-out Workers

- How do you assess the level of personal security and privacy of DWs in private households? Are DWs generally safe and secure? What are the usual dangers and risks? Are these frequently occurring? Why? What can be done to prevent and protect?
- Do DWs enjoy a freedom to communicate with and visit family and friends? Is it common practice among Employer-households to restrict communication of Workers to the outside world? Is it common practice to restrict movement of women DWs? Are these justified and acceptable?

b) To Employers

- How do you assess the level of personal security and privacy of DWs in private households?

Are DWs generally safe and secure? What are the usual dangers and risks and do these occur frequently, and why? What can be done to prevent these dangers and protect DWs?

- Do DWs enjoy a freedom to communicate and visit with family and friends? Is it common practice among Employers to restrict communication or to restrict movement of women DWs? Are these justified and acceptable?

3.4. General sources of tensions, conflicts

- What are the major sources of tensions and disagreements between DWs and their Employers in Tanzania?

3.5. Role of law in highly personalised employment

- Under the TZA law, Workers have labour rights, such as minimum wage, limits to working hours, the right to organize (see Tulia report). In personalised and familial relationships between DW and Employer-household, can these rights be promoted and respected?

3.6. Written agreements

- Do you think written agreements are necessary to protect the rights and obligations of DWs and the Employer? Can written agreements be promoted?

4. Maternity and other social and health protection

The majority of domestic workers are in peak reproductive age – teenagers and young women. There are chances that some will become pregnant, and will want to continue working to support their child and their family back home. Some will marry and will want to raise a family, but want to continue to work. However, many employers do not take them as mature women but as “girls” who do not have social needs. So when they become pregnant most of them end up losing their jobs. There are however some who have been able to go home to deliver their baby, and then come back and continue with their work if employers agree. Most of them do not get health benefits as they are not enrolled in health insurance and most women who get pregnant lose their job and do not get any other benefits as the employers do not pay for their social security.

ISSUES TO BE PROBED AND DISCUSSED:

4.1. A live-in DW becomes pregnant

- What should the Employer do? What should the DW do?
- Some Employers try to control or limit sexual relationships of adult DWs (female, male?). Do you agree or disagree with this practice?
- Many Employers dismiss a DW as soon as she becomes pregnant. Do you agree or disagree with this practice?

4.2. A DW comes back with a little baby: What should the Employer do? What should the DW do?

4.3. A married DW becomes pregnant, and eventually delivers the baby: What should the Employer do? What should the DW do?

6. SAMPLING STRATEGY: CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS

Qualitative research is fundamentally oriented towards understanding a social phenomenon – what are its facets, processes and dynamics, and what is its social context? A study may look into only one instance, case or example of the phenomenon, a few examples or many examples. By investigating several examples, one could compare similarities as well as differences across them for a better understanding of the phenomenon. How should one select these cases or examples (the “sample”) and how many cases should be selected? These are important methodological questions.

A robust sampling strategy is as important in qualitative research as it is in quantitative surveys. The sampling strategy is determined by, first, the research focus and questions, which determine the base population of the focus of investigation, and, second, by practical and logistical considerations, including available resources and time.

This section provides an overview of the main challenges of sampling domestic workers and employers of domestic workers, and the alternative sampling methods for these populations for which sampling frames are generally non-existent and which are not usually easy to locate or reach. The subsequent section (Section 7) presents the sampling strategy applied in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines, the practical methods used, and lessons learned.

A robust sampling strategy is as important in qualitative research as it is in quantitative surveys. Unlike quantitative surveys however, probability sampling is not appropriate in qualitative studies for two main reasons: first, a reliable sampling frame, which is necessary to determine the probability of selecting cases, is generally non-existent; and second, the qualitative study does not aim to draw statistical inferences about the base population but rather to understand a social phenomenon.

6.1. Challenges of sampling domestic workers and employers

The lack of sampling frame

For an investigation into domestic work, the first challenge is that a sampling frame – that is, a complete and up-to-date list of all domestic workers in the country or an area from which a random sample could be drawn - is generally not available. Some countries might have registries of domestic workers and/or their employers, for example, through the social security system (e.g. France and Brazil; a few states in India which implement welfare schemes for domestic workers), through the system of service vouchers (e.g. Belgium where users of domestic services register and pay domestic workers with vouchers), or with the agency that regulates the entry and hiring of migrant domestic workers (e.g. in the Middle East, Singapore or Malaysia). These registries may be incomplete due to non-compliance and undeclared jobs.

Household sampling frames (such as those used for labour force surveys) cannot be used as

sampling frames for domestic workers or employers because the presence of live-in and/or live-out domestic workers is not evenly distributed across households (i.e., some households employ more than one domestic worker, and many workers may be employed in more than one household), because employers may be agencies, and because domestic workers may represent a tiny portion of the total population.

Hard-to-reach groups

Some groups of domestic workers are hard to locate, such as migrants in irregular status and live-in domestic workers who cannot leave the house of their employer freely. Child domestic workers below the legal minimum employable age may be “hidden” from authorities and the public. Some domestic workers might refuse to be interviewed for various reasons – because they do not possess the proper work permit; the social stigma attached to doing domestic work; fear of reprisal by their employer.

A considerable proportion of employers of domestic workers might also not want to be identified as employers or to participate in the study for several possible reasons – to protect their privacy; and to conceal unlawful behaviour such as the employment of a child or a trafficked person, and noncompliance with minimum wages, social security registration and other labour standards.

6.2. Sampling methods for hard-to-reach populations

How then should the sample of domestic workers and employers of domestic workers be drawn to ensure that it is as “representative” and as reliable as possible in spite of the absence of a sampling frame? Although the literature on qualitative research methods provides guidelines, advice and examples on sampling, there are no hard and fast rules that are similar to the established statistical methods of determining representative samples for quantitative surveys. The objective of a sampling strategy in qualitative studies is to reduce the chances of “discovery failure”, that is, that the study would fail to discover a perception, a case or an experience that one would have wanted to know.¹⁵ A combination of methods and measures is often necessary.

Snowball (or chain-referral) sampling is a method that has been in use for a long time in situations where probability sampling is not possible, impractical or unaffordable. Basically, an initial set of members of the population is asked to identify other members of the population, and those so identified are asked to identify others. Snowball sampling thus draws from the immediate social networks of selected individuals. But it is vulnerable to biases. The initial contacts may be chosen purely by convenience means. If the initial contacts were selected because they were the easiest to identify and find, then the networks reached at later stages of sampling would likely be severely limited especially in respect of hidden and marginal groups of the population. Those with

¹⁵ P. de Paulo: “Sample size for qualitative research. The risk of missing something important”, in *QUIRKS Marketing Review* (December 2000).

large social networks will tend to be oversampled while those who are relatively isolated would be excluded. The sample could be biased towards cooperative subjects. Contacts might not refer their friends and some members of the population to protect their privacy.

For these reasons, there are **variants of snowball sampling** which try to reduce pure convenience sampling and inject some degree of rigor into the sample. One variant is Goodman's "s stage k name snowball sampling", which consists of following a number of "links" from each participant (k) and fixing the number of waves or stages of sample (s) emanating from each of these links.¹⁶ Another chain-referral method is Heckathorn's "respondent-driven sampling" which begins with a convenience sample of individuals known to the researchers, and relies on respondents at the initial and succeeding sampling waves of the chain to stimulate the next wave through the distribution of coupons.¹⁷

A measure that could reduce convenience in snowball sampling is **spatial sampling**, which is randomly selecting geographical locations as the entry points - the initial set of contacts - to the target population rather than selecting individuals.¹⁸ Snowball sampling of individuals could then proceed within the randomly selected locations. For spatial sampling, one requires the existence of a spatial sampling frame, for example, a list of locations where the target population is known to be present.

Still another measure to limit snowball sampling is **targeted sampling**. This consists of two steps: first, in an area covered by the study, field researchers map the target population to the extent that they succeed in penetrating the local community to find potential respondents (referred to as "ethnographic mapping"); second, researchers invite or recruit a pre-specified number of respondents who had been identified by the initial mapping.¹⁹ The aim of the initial mapping is to ensure that subjects from different areas and sub-groups will appear in the final sample. Its accuracy and comprehensiveness determine the adequacy of targeted sampling method. However, perfect mapping is difficult to achieve, and pockets and sub-groups of the target population, especially

16 M.S. Handcock and K.J. Gile: "Comment: On the concept of snowball sampling", in *Sociological Methodology* (2011), Vol. 41, pp. 367-371.

17 Developed by Heckathorn to study injection drug users; also have been used in other studies of sex workers, men having sex with men, unregulated workers. Each respondent is given a fixed small number of coupons to distribute among members of their network in the target population; each successive wave of respondents, who had received coupons from the previous wave, return their coupons to the survey centre. A respondent typically received compensation for each successful recruitment (evidenced by a return); and asked to report the number of their contacts within the target population. Passing of coupons is meant to reduce confidentiality concerns and encourage recruitment and participation, and data on contacts are meant to be used to determine the size of social networks. Based on applications, Heckathorn argued that the method promoted a much wider coverage and social network beyond the initial set of contacts (D.D. Heckathorn: "Respondent-driven sampling: A new approach to the study of hidden populations", in *Social Problems* (1997), Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 174-199. However, according to Gile and Handcock, the result is not as glowing as this. See K.J. Gile and M.S. Handcock: "Respondent-driven sampling: An assessment of current methodology", in *Sociological Methodology* (2010), Vol. 40, pp. 285-327.

18 Handcock and Gile, *ibid.*, p. 3.

19 Heckathorn, *ibid.*

those who are well concealed (e.g. irregular migrant workers; domestic workers in forced labour situation) could easily be missed. In addition, researchers might concentrate on obvious locations, and not enter relatively dangerous areas.

6.3. The question of sample size – what is the right number?

As stated previously, the main objective of sampling is to reduce the likelihood of “discovery failure”. The sample size should be “large enough” for the research to find and identify the range of consistent patterns in the phenomenon under investigation, and to minimize the chances of excluding a pattern. The larger the sample, the less likely it is that one would miss a case or an experience. However, there are real logistical limits to how big a sample a qualitative study could handle properly. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions produce huge volumes of data which require long hours to transcribe and/or translate and analyse.

Researchers refer to a “saturation point”, i.e., the *n*th interview after which interviews do not lead to a new pattern or new issue, or the point at which the number of repetitions is convincing enough to establish a pattern. Thus, in principle, one should keep interviewing individuals as long as different answers are being generated. To determine the saturation point during field work, the researchers must process and analyse the data while they are being generated through the interviews and/or focus group discussions. While the idea of saturation point makes sense conceptually, it is not always easy to follow on a practical level, particularly when a study has to be organized and completed within a defined timeframe and budget before field work begins.

In many cases, research sponsors and organizers would want to agree on a target size range. The literature shows a wide variety in what is believed to be a good minimum sample size for qualitative studies, ranging from 15, 20-30, 5-25, 50, 60 to 70 individual interviews or “encounters” (incidents or cases, not persons) with the phenomenon.²⁰ There is no definitive answer.

The sample size is also determined by the degree of heterogeneity in the target sample, the population characteristics (e.g. sex, age, race, ethnicity, rural-urban residence) that would be used in selecting the sample, and whether or not the analysis needs to capture sub-groups in the target population. However, in general, a small sample (in contrast to large samples usually covered by quantitative surveys) cannot be expected to reflect the full range of diversity in the target population.

20 S.E. Baker and R. Edwards: *How many qualitative interviews is enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research* (National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper, unpublished, 2012); M. Mason: “Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews”, in *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (2010), Vol. 11, No. 3, Art. 8, September.

7. SAMPLING STRATEGY IN PRACTICE: THE 3 COUNTRIES

In the absence of national sampling frames for domestic workers and employers of domestic workers, the qualitative studies in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines applied non-probability sampling strategies. The studies used a combination of spatial sampling and targeted sampling in order to avoid convenience sampling and subjectivity in the selection of interview respondents and FGD participants, and enhance the reliability of the sample. Chain-referral was used to a small extent in some sampled locations in order to try to meet the target sample size.

7.1. Key considerations

First point: Key categories of the population

What specific key categories of the domestic work sector should be captured by the sampling design and the analysis? Two basic types of working arrangements were regarded as critical in understanding employment relationships and working conditions in the domestic work sector, and therefore had to be factored into the sampling design, namely: (i) a situation where the domestic worker resides in the house of the employer (live-in) and (ii) a situation where the domestic worker resides outside the employer's house and commutes to and from work (live-out). Working time, calculation of remuneration, access to food and shelter, privacy and control over one's time and mobility are some of the aspects where differences are expected to occur between live-in and live-out working arrangements. Differentiating between live-in and live-out domestic workers is common in studies of working and living conditions. The sample therefore had to be drawn from the following key sub-categories of the target population: among domestic workers, live-in domestic workers and live-out domestic workers; and among employers, those who employed at least one live-in domestic worker, and those who employed at least one live-out domestic worker.

Second point: Diversity characteristics

What diversity characteristics of the target population should be reflected in the sample and thus should guide selection? Any number of characteristics may be considered but there is a limit to how many could be handled by the study. The choice of which characteristics to use depends on the research questions, the local context, and time and resources available to the study.

In Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines, three characteristics were considered in selecting participants to the research: urban or rural location of the workplace, i.e. the household employing the domestic worker; sex of the domestic worker; and the employer's income level. Empirical data regarding the distribution of domestic workers by main geographical areas, urban-rural area, living arrangements, and sex and age were available for Tanzania and Zambia thanks to the national surveys on domestic work carried out by the ILO in 2012-13. As regards to the Philippines, the 2012 labour force survey did not provide data on urban-rural distribution because the national

statistical survey had stopped using this classification. Instead, the Philippine qualitative study used city in lieu of urban area and second class municipality as peri-urban area.²¹

Table 1 below presents the profile of domestic workers according to living arrangements, urban-rural location and sex.

Table 1: Basic profile of domestic workers in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines						
	Living arrangements		Urban-Rural		Sex of DWs	
	Live-in DWs	Live-out DWs	Urban	Rural	Women	Men
Tanzania (National DW survey 2012-13)	Main-land: 70%	Main-land: 30%	65%	35%	75%	25%
	Zan-zibar: 90%	Zan-zibar: 10%				
Zambia (National DW survey 2012-13)	58%	42%	67%	33%	56%	44%
Philippines (LFS 2010)	30%	70%	Rural-urban no longer used.	Rural-urban no longer used.	84%	16%

Rural-urban location of workplace: This difference may be an important source of diversity. The demand for services domestic workers is known to be much higher in cities and urban areas where women's employment rates are also higher and where women have less extended family relations to rely on. Urban-rural differences with respect to working conditions might also be expected due to differences in lifestyles and traditions. The national domestic work surveys in Tanzania and Zambia, whose sampling design included the rural-urban category, confirmed the strong urban bias in domestic work although the rural areas still accounted for a considerable share of domestic workers.

Sex of domestic worker: While domestic work tends to be women-dominated across the world, male domestic workers could have experiences that are quite different from that of women because

²¹ Provinces of the Philippines are divided into cities and municipalities, which in turn, are divided into barangays. Municipalities are also usually called towns; they are distinct from cities, which are a different category of local government unit under the Local Government Code of 1991. Municipalities are divided into five income classes according to their average annual income during the previous four calendar years.

of sex or specific tasks in which one sex might be over-concentrated. In the case of Zambia, according to the domestic work survey results, men account for more than 40 per cent of domestic workers.

Employer's household income: It is generally argued that an employer's household income determines the capacity to pay relatively higher wages and provide better working conditions. Income diversity among employers of domestic workers should thus be reflected in the sample of employers. In the Philippines, the latest Family Income and Expenditure Survey (2009) shows that 61 per cent of all households that employed the services of domestic workers were in the top 10th percentile of income distribution, and 20 per cent were in the 9th income decile; and 67 per cent of households with live-in domestic workers were in the top 10th decile. Gated residential areas and high-rise condominiums were identified as residential places for high-income employers; and non-gated neighbourhoods for middle-income employers. In Tanzania, three types of employers had to be reflected in the sample, namely, expatriates, government officials and employers not belonging to any of these two categories. The Tanzanian law stipulated different minimum wage rates for domestic workers for these different types of employer: expatriates had to pay the highest minimum wage while the common employer, the lowest.

Age was considered, specifically in view of the particular vulnerabilities of child (age less than 15 years old) and young domestic workers (aged 15 to less than 18 years old) but it was decided in all three countries that locating and interviewing child and very young workers would require a different, more careful approach. It was thus agreed to interview domestic workers of any age as long as they have been employed in domestic work for at least six months, and if sampled domestic workers had begun working as a child or at a very young age, to elicit their employment experiences as child workers. Based on the literature and pre-research consultations, many would have entered domestic workers in their young teens or earlier.

Race and ethnicity were not regarded as key factors for sampling workers or employers. The national domestic work surveys in Tanzania and Zambia showed the predominance of domestic workers in the capital who came from one or two regions, or spoke a certain language. While these may be considerations in the choice of worker or employer, ethnicity was not regarded critical enough to further stratify the sample.

Domestic workers who had worked as a domestic worker for at least 6 months were eligible to be interviewed and to participate in FGDs; and employers who employed at the time of the study at least one live-in or at least one live-out domestic worker were eligible.

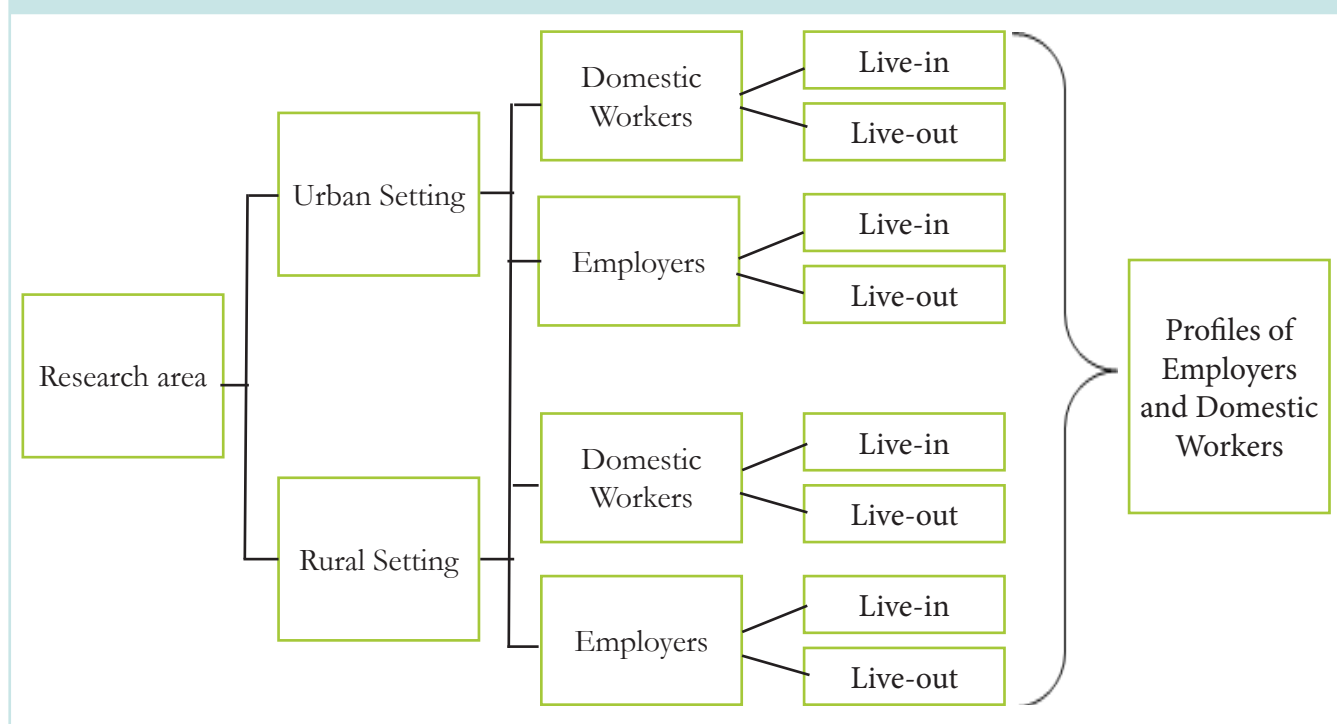
In Zambia, the study included a sample of operators or managers of “maids’ centres” (a term used in Zambia to refer to centres that recruit and place women and men as domestic workers) due to the considerable presence of these centres in the cities and the role these play in setting working conditions (through standard employment contracts) and mediating the employment relationship

between the worker and employer.

7.2. Sampling framework

The sampling framework adopted in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines is presented in Box 5 below. In brief, within the research area, which is further divided into urban and rural areas, the sampling strategy aimed to achieve a sample which consisted of a pre-determined number (target quota) of domestic workers and of employers of domestic workers in two types of living arrangements, i.e. live-in and live-out arrangements.

Box 5: Targeted sampling framework adopted in Tanzania, Philippines and Zambia



This framework and the sampling methods were chosen based on available national data about the distribution of domestic workers and employers, the specific local contexts in the three countries, and timeframe and financial resources within which the studies had to be completed.

7.3. Limits on the scope and size of sample

In view of financial and time constraints, the geographical scope of the studies was limited to two regions with highest concentrations of domestic workers per country and target sample quotas were set for each sub-category of domestic workers and of employers of domestic workers.

Geographical scope: The geographical scope was limited to two areas which had the highest concentration of domestic workers on the basis of national data. These were: Dar es Salaam Region in Mainland Tanzania and Mjini Magharibi (or Zanzibar Urban West) region and Kusini

Unguja region in Zanzibar of the United Republic of Tanzania²²; Lusaka Province and Copperbelt Province in Zambia²³; and the National Capital Region and CALABARZON Region in the Philippines.²⁴ By investigating areas where the great majority of worker and employer experiences of domestic work occurred, the studies were expected to reveal the most prevalent patterns and processes in the countries.

Sample quotas: A pre-determined target number was set for interview respondents from each category of the target population (live-in and live-out domestic workers and employers of live-in and/or live-out domestic workers in urban and rural areas), and for participants in the focus group discussions from each category of the target population. In the case of the Philippines, a single quota was fixed for live-in/live-out sub-categories of employers combined because of the small sample size and financial and time limitations.

The principle of interviewing up to the “saturation point” was not applied because ILO contracts with the national research teams had to specify their deliverables. The quota was set at a level that was believed to be large enough to generate sufficient information on existing patterns and differences between live-in and live-out domestic work arrangements; but also feasible within the available timeframe and financial resources for the research and manageable in terms of the volume of data that would be generated. In principle, the target sample for in-depth interviews was 20-30 domestic workers and 20-30 employers, and, for FGDs, at least two FGDs having each at least 6-8 participants, for each category of living arrangements (live-in and live-out). In practice, the sample quota served as a target; in some cases, depending on actual constraints, the research teams were not able to reach the target or surpassed it.

²² Tanzania is divided into 30 regions. Dar es Salaam City is in the Dar es Salaam Region and Zanzibar City is in the Mjini Magharibi Region.

²³ Zambia has 10 provinces, among which are the Lusaka and Copperbelt regions.

²⁴ The Philippines is currently divided into 17 regions, which are administrative divisions that serve primarily to organize the provinces of the country for administrative convenience. The regions do not possess a separate local government, with the exception of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. The National Capital Region (NCR) is the seat of government and the most populous region and metropolitan area of the country which is composed of 16 cities and one municipality; CALABARZON consists of 5 provinces and one city independent from any province; it is located directly south of NCR.

Tanzanian Example - Sampling Design

Target (Planned) Sample for In-depth Interviews			
	Urban	Rural	Total
Mainland DWs			
Live-in	25	15	
Live-out	10	10	
Total	35	25	60
Mainland EDWs			
Live-in	20	15	
Live-out	10	10	
Total	30	25	55
Island DWs			
Live-in	15	5	
Live-out	10	5	
Total	25	10	35
Island EDWs			
Live-in	10	5	
Live-out	10	5	
Total	20	10	30
TOTAL			180

Actual Sample of In-depth Interviews			
	Urban	Rural	Total
Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar			
Dar es Salaam (Mainland)			
DW Live-in	24	16	40
DW Live-out	10	7	17
Total	34	23	57
Employer (Live-in DWs)	20	13	33
Employer (Live-out DWs)	9	2	11
Total	29	15	44
Zanzibar			
DW Live-in	22	2	24
DW Live-out	12	10	22
Total	34	12	46
Employer (Live-in DWs)	10	2	12
Employer (Live-out DWs)	10	5	15
Total	20	7	27
Total DWs and EDWs	117	56	174

Target (Planned) Number of FGDs			
			Total
Mainland (Dar es Salaam)			
	DWs	Live-in	2
		Live-out	2
		members of CHODAWU	1
		members of KIWOHEDE	1
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	2
		of Live-out DWs	2
		UN agencies, bilateral donors and expatriates	1
		Government officials	1
Total			12
Zanzibar			
	DWs	Live-in	2
		Live-out	2
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	1
		of Live-out DWs	0
Total			5

Actual Number of FGDs conducted					
			Urban area	Rural area	Total
Mainland (Dar es Salaam)					
	DWs	Live-in	1	1	2
		Live-out	1		1
		members of CHODAWU	1		1
		members of KIWOHEDE			
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	1	1	2
		of Live-out DWs	1		1
		UN agencies, bilateral donors and expatriates	1		1
		Government officials	1		1
Total					9
Zanzibar					
	DWs	Live-in	1		1
		Live-out	1		1
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	1		1
		of Live-out DWs			
Total					3

Zambian Example - Sampling Design

Target (Planned) Sample for In-depth Interviews					
			Urban area	Rural area	Total
Lusaka					
	DWs	Live-in	19	8	27
		Live-out	26	12	38
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	15	8	23
		of Live-out DWs	22	12	34
	"maids centres "		6	0	6
Total			88	40	128
Kitwe					
	DWs	Live-in	8	4	12
		Live-out	12	8	20
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	5	3	8
		of Live-out DWs	11	7	18
	"maids centres"		3	0	3
Total			39	22	61

Actual Number of Interviews Conducted					
			Urban area	Rural area	Total
Lusaka					
	DWs	Live-in	19	8	27
		Live-out	26	12	38
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	10	8	18
		of Live-out DWs	15	12	27
	"maids centres"		4	0	4
Total			74	40	114
Kitwe					
	DWs	Live-in	8	4	12
		Live-out	12	8	20
	Employers	of Live-in DWs	5	3	8
		of Live-out DWs	11	7	18
			3	0	3
Total			39	22	61

Target (Planned) Number of FGDs								
			Urban area		Rural area		Total	
			FGD	Partici- pants	FGD	Partici- pants	FGD	Partici- pants
Lusaka								
	DWs	Live-in	2	20	1	10	3	30
		Live-out	2	20	1	10	3	30
	Employ- ers	of Live- in DWs	2	20	1	10	3	30
		of Live- out DWs	2	20	1	10	3	30
Total			8	80	4	40	12	120
Kitwe								
	DWs	Live-in	1	10	0	0	1	10
		Live-out	2	20	0	0	2	20
	Employ- ers	of Live- in DWs	1	10	0	0	1	10
		of Live- out DWs	1	10	0	0	1	10
Total			5	50	0	0	5	50

Actual Number of FGDs Conducted								
			Urban area		Rural area		Total	
			FGD	Partici- pants	FGD	Partici- pants	FGD	Partici- pants
Lusaka								
	DWs	Live-in	2	20	1	10	3	30
		Live-out	2	20	1	10	3	30
	Employ- ers	of Live- in DWs	2	20	1	10	3	30
		of Live- out DWs	2	20	1	10	3	30
Total			8	80	4	40	12	120
Kitwe								
	DWs	Live-in	1	10	0	0	1	10
		Live-out	2	20	0	0	2	20
	Employ- ers	of Live- in DWs	1	7	0	0	1	7
		of Live- out DWs	1	7	0	0	1	7
Total			5	50	0	0	5	44

7.4. Finding and reaching domestic workers and employers

Where to begin?

Having decided on the geographical coverage of the studies and the sample composition and size, the next decision point for the studies was where to begin locating and sampling domestic workers and employers of domestic workers.

One of the alternatives considered was to obtain the assistance of organizations, which have direct contact with domestic workers or employers, such as trade unions, domestic workers' organizations and NGOs, to identify and recruit participants to the research or launch a chain of referrals. Organizations dealing with domestic workers and, to a much lesser extent, with employers of domestic workers, were present in all three countries. In Tanzania, the Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers' Union (CHODAWU) counted domestic workers among its members, and was undertaking campaigns to promote domestic workers' rights in the country. KIWOHEDE, a non-governmental organization in Tanzania had been implementing programmes for child domestic workers, among others. Zambia had two domestic workers' unions (with the same name, the United House of Domestic Workers' Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ), one affiliated with the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and another affiliated with the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia (FFTUZ). As to the Philippines, there was a national association of domestic workers (Samahan at Ugnayan ng mga Manggagawang Pantahanan sa Pilipinas – SUMAPI) which was quite young but had groups in several regions of the country; three national trade unions centres (Federation of Free Workers, Association of Progressive Labour, and Trade Union Congress of the Philippines) that had begun organizing domestic workers; the Employers' Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP) that had held local consultations with employers of domestic workers; and Visayan Forum, a NGO that was implementing programmes to assist trafficked domestic workers. While these organizations could have recruited research participants, the representativeness of the sample generated would have been suspect because the membership and reach of the organizations were limited or only of a particular segment or profile of the population.

Another possible way of recruiting domestic workers, which has been used in some studies, was to look for them in places where they usually congregated during their rest days or on weekends (e.g. parks, playgrounds where nannies bring children under their care, market places, churches); or to catch them in transit points (e.g. bus stops) on their way to or from work. However, this method would catch only live-out workers and live-in domestic workers who had regular rest periods or who enjoyed a degree of unrestricted mobility in public places. In Tanzania, for example, some observed that live-in domestic workers in Zanzibar were hardly allowed by their employers to go out on their own. In the Philippines as elsewhere, local domestic workers would be very difficult to distinguish from the rest of the population in public places. With this method, it would be quite hard to meet the target sample of domestic workers.

As regards employers of domestic workers, a suggestion from consultations in Tanzania was to seek the help of contact persons for known (i.e. based on data and general knowledge) categories of employers of domestic workers, namely, UN officials and staff, the expatriate community, government officials and staff, and professional organizations of teachers, doctors, nurses, etc. This method, however, would not be sufficient to locate other types of employers, such as those in other professions, or in non-professional, non-managerial occupations.

Pure snowball sampling, beginning with any set of initial contacts, was thus found to be inadequate to meet the target sample composition of the studies in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines.

Chosen method: Spatial and targeted sampling

In view of the above concerns and in order to limit subjective selection in sampling, the three country studies applied a spatial and targeted sampling method rather than simple snowball sampling. Geographical locations, not individual domestic workers or employers who were known to the research teams or to organizations close to the target groups, were sampled and used as the principal entry points to the target populations of the studies.

Spatial sampling was done in two stages to identify the entry points. In the first stage, within the selected research areas (See point 7.3 above: two regions in Tanzania; two provinces in Zambia; two regions in the Philippines), districts in the case of Tanzania²⁵ and Zambia²⁶, and cities and municipalities in the case of the Philippines, were sampled. For Tanzania and Zambia, the spatial sampling was targeted - districts selected were those that had high concentrations of domestic workers based on the results of the national domestic work surveys. As for the Philippines, which did not have Labour Force Survey data on the number of domestic workers disaggregated by city and municipality, one city and one “second class” municipality in each covered region were randomly selected from the regional list of cities and towns.

In the second stage, the smallest administrative unit was sampled: in Tanzania and Zambia, wards (or shehias in Tanzania); in the Philippines, *barangays*.²⁷ The selection of wards or barangays was targeted, aimed specifically at reaching locations (rural and urban) that would most likely have live-in and live-out domestic workers, employers of live-in and live-out workers, and employer-households with low, average and high income, in order to meet the sampling quotas. This second

25 Each region of Tanzania is subdivided into districts, which are subdivided into divisions and further into local wards. Wards are further subdivided for management purposes: for urban wards into streets and for rural wards into villages. A ward or shehia is the lowest government administrative structure at the community level.

26 Provinces in Zambia are further divided into districts. Lusaka Province has 8 districts; Copperbelt Province has 10 districts. A district is further divided into constituencies, which are further divided into wards.

27 Barangay, formerly called barrio, is the smallest administrative division in the Philippines; it is the native Filipino term for a village, district or ward.

stage required information about the areas. The Tanzanian and Zambian studies relied on data from the national domestic work surveys and on key local informants. The Philippine research, which did not have the benefit of a domestic work survey, relied on information from local government officials, local associations and other key informants.

Tanzania –

- First-stage areas: The domestic work survey covered a sample of enumeration areas (classified as urban and rural) that had been drawn randomly from the 2012 Census enumeration areas. The results of the national survey showed which districts and wards in Dar es Salaam and in Zanzibar had concentrations of domestic workers and employers. From the list, the research team selected the districts of Ilala, Temeke and Kinondoni of Dar es Salaam region, and Mjini and Magharibi districts of Mjini Magharibi region and Kusini district of Kusini Unguja Region of Zanzibar.
- Second-stage areas: In each selected district, wards or shehias were selected according to the following criteria: whether the ward was urban or rural; whether it was largely populated by low- or high-income households; whether it would yield primarily live-in or live-out domestic workers.

Zambia –

- First-stage areas: The Zambian domestic work survey covered a sample of enumeration areas drawn randomly from a master sampling frame (labour force survey 2012) provided by the Central Statistics Office. Based on the results of the domestic work survey, the districts of Lusaka (urban) and Chongwe (rural) of Lusaka province and Kitwe (with both urban and rural wards) of Copperbelt Province, which had high shares of domestic workers, were selected for the qualitative research.
- Second-stage areas: Within each district (Lusaka, Chongwe and Kitwe), wards, which had been covered by the national domestic work survey, were selected to meet urban-rural and socio-economic diversity: in Lusaka, two high-, two middle- and two low-income areas; in Kitwe, one rural ward, and one high-income and one low-income urban wards; in Chongwe, the rural district, one low-, one medium- and one high-income wards. Wards selected were those that had, based on the national domestic work survey, a large number of domestic workers.

Philippines –

- First-stage areas: One city, to represent a highly urbanised area, and one second class municipality, to represent a peri-urban area, were randomly selected from the list of cities and municipalities per region: Quezon City and town of Pateros in the National Capital Region, and Lipa City and town of Rodriguez in CALABARZON.

- Second-stage areas: Barangays within the selected city or municipality were classified and sampled according to the following criteria: locations of low-income, middle-income and upper-income households; small-size, medium-size and large-size barangays; medium-congested to highly-congested areas. Within selected barangays, the following types of residential areas were identified and used to indicate locations where the different income classes of employers were most likely to be found: gated subdivisions (high-income), condominium (high-income, likely employers of live-out domestic workers), apartments (middle to high income), and regular barangays and tight-knit communities for average and low-income employers and live-out domestic workers.

Box 6: Main lessons on sampling from Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines

- Domestic workers and their employers comprise, without doubt, hard-to-reach populations. Not only because national sampling frames for these populations generally do not exist, but because there are various reasons why employers of domestic workers and domestic workers will not want to be identified or to be interviewed.
- There appears to be a greater tendency among employers of domestic workers than among domestic workers to refuse to participate in a study about working conditions and employment practices for several possible reasons. The most common reasons were suspicion that the study was government's way of monitoring compliance with national regulations such as the minimum wage; and lack of time. In contrast, domestic workers tend to be more willing to tell their story but they face other constraints, namely, a heavy workload and unpredictability or irregularity of working hours, and, for live-in domestic workers, lack of private, safe place in the employer's residence and disapproval by employer.
- National data and statistics that provide the geographical distribution and demographic characteristics of the target population are useful in informing the sampling design, and locating target populations.
- Spatial sampling and targeted sampling, i.e., selecting areas that have, or most likely have, populations of domestic workers and employers of domestic workers, are practical methods to reach these generally hard-to-identify and hard-to-reach target populations. To identify and invite individuals to participate in the research, these will have to be complemented by local mapping and direct invitations, and/or third-party recruitment and snowball sampling methods, depending on the size and density of the area, social practices and attitudes towards the research.

7.5. Identifying and recruiting participants to research

After choosing the specific locations and communities where domestic workers and employers were most likely to be found, the next phase of sampling was identifying and recruiting interview respondents and FGD participants. This phase of the sampling involved three methods: (i) researchers went directly to private households, which had been identified by local informants as most likely being employers of domestic workers or as households of live-out domestic workers, and invited those who met the criteria of target groups; (ii) those who had been interviewed were asked to recommend others within the selected areas who possessed the sample criteria; and (iii) local organizations, institutions and key informants recommended and invited employers or domestic workers within the selected locations to participate in the research.

Recruiting interview respondents

In Zambia, interviewers went door to door in the selected locations to find potential respondents for the in-depth interviews. The assistance of local contact persons was not sought. Domestic workers who were found were informed about the objectives of the study and confidentiality issues, and were asked if they would like to participate. Many were willing to take part in the research. Those who were ready to participate and had privacy in the employer's house were interviewed straight away. Some domestic workers were not comfortable being interviewed in the home of their employer; in these cases, appointments were made for the interviewer to meet the domestic worker outside their place of work, either at the domestic worker's home for live-out workers, or somewhere else convenient for the respondents. A major difficulty was locating male domestic workers as they rarely lived in the residence of the employer. Only a very small number of domestic workers refused to be interviewed, and the reason given was lack of time due to workload. Employers (most often wives/mothers; rarely husbands) who were found were also informed about the study. Some were willing to do the interview while others were not, much more frequently than among domestic workers. Although the confidentiality of the survey had been stressed, a large proportion of employers was afraid that they were being monitored by authorities and some were particularly anxious about non-compliance with regulations on working conditions including the minimum wage. Lack of time was also given as an excuse by other employers. Time was a main challenge in interviewing employers - they were rarely home during the week and most were normally home after 6:00 in the evening; most preferred to be interviewed only during the weekend. At times when the employer was not available or was busy, appointments were made to meet the employer at a later date.

In Tanzania, the research team relied on the help of ward and street leaders in identifying and approaching households that employed, or were most likely to employ, domestic workers, and in identifying live-out domestic workers. Ward and street leaders also introduced the researchers to the local residents because households were known to be generally suspicious of strangers and studies that did not have endorsement by local officials. There were refusals by employers and domestic

workers but relatively few (employers of three households in Zanzibar and four households in Dar es Salaam refused to be interviewed and to allow their domestic workers to be interviewed). Most interviews of domestic workers took place in the residential premises of the employer as live-in domestic workers were hardly allowed to go far from their place of work. This presented major challenges for the interviews. Some domestic workers were not at ease as their employer could pass by or arrive at any moment. A few employers tried to eavesdrop on the interview. One employer used a CCTV to monitor the interview, another stopped the interview midway – these interviews were discarded.

In the Philippines, like in Tanzania, the research team obtained the assistance of local contacts in all areas to help them identify and invite workers and employers to participate in the study, and to directly approach households. Quezon City, a huge and highly populated city, presented the greatest difficulty in reaching and inviting target participants. Many more employers in this city than in other sampled areas refused to participate in the research. Multiple and diverse local contacts (barangay officials, an educational institution that was engaged in community work, local residents) across socio-economic strata helped find and/or recommend potential participants. In contrast, in the smaller city of Lipa and towns of Rodriguez and Pateros, only one principal local resident who knew the area and was well connected with local leaders and local associations assisted the team. Refusals by employers to be interviewed or to allow their domestic workers to take part in the study were traced primarily to suspicion that the study was government-supported and wariness over the new national law on domestic worker; and, for some, lack of time. Refusals by domestic workers were traced to disapproval by their employers, and irregular working hours.

Selecting and recruiting FGD participants

In addition to meeting the criteria of target FGD participants (i.e. live-in or live-out domestic worker with at least 6 months of work experience; employer of at least one live-in worker or one live-out worker; in the case of Tanzania, government officials or expatriates), two rules guided the composition of a focus group. First, the group had to be relatively homogeneous in terms of socio-economic and political strata. Important differences in financial means might prevent employers from being open about issues that might reflect their lifestyles. Participants might defer to a government official or someone high in the organizational hierarchy. Second, participants had to come from various neighbourhoods because they might be less open in front of neighbours who might judge them differently after the FGD. This rule was not followed in the case of one FGD for government officials, who were labour ministry employees, and for expatriates, who were residents of one high-income neighbourhood in Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania.

In Zambia, participants were invited by a specialised team of “recruiters” who went to different areas in Lusaka and Kitwe with a recruitment questionnaire, which aimed to identify specific profiles for the study (e.g. live-in/live-out domestic workers). Respondents who agreed were told the day, time and location for the discussion, which were held at Ipsos offices in Lusaka or in a lodge

in central Kitwe. This method turned out to be a good practice: it did not impose additional time burden on the same participants; it relieved the interview team of this additional task; and a different team could search widely in the sample area while the interviews were being conducted. In Tanzania and the Philippines, some FGD participants were invited from among the interview respondents but many refused because of the huge amount of time this would involve. More efforts were made to find other workers or employers who were willing to allocate time to attend the FGD. Mounting an FGD with at least 6 participants, who came from various parts of the research area and were available at the same time and willing to travel, proved to be difficult especially among employers. Due to these constraints, Tanzania was not able to achieve the target number of FGDs.

Compensating participants or not

Whether or not to compensate participants was an issue that was considered by the research teams. Due to limited resources, a system of compensating interviewees was not set up in the countries. Nonetheless, the time involved in in-depth interviews was sometime considerable, some lasting up to 2 or 2.5 hours. In the Philippines some domestic workers and employers asked about monetary compensation or something in return for their participation, in some cases expressed at the time of invitation. In one research area, snacks and drinks were provided to interviewees during the interview as a token of appreciation. For all FGDs however, participants' travel costs were covered, and snacks were provided during the meetings.

Box 7: Lessons on recruiting participants from among domestic workers and employers

- Scanning local areas where the target populations are most likely to be found and mapping households where domestic workers are employed and/or reside are effective ways of launching a non-probability sampling of domestic workers and employers. This will require the help of local contacts and key informants. For a city or densely populated area, diverse range of contacts as well as more time should be anticipated.
- There are varied ways of recruiting participants to the research, apart from snowballing: directly approaching private households based on the results of a social mapping of the local population; approaching private households based on referrals by local contacts; and knocking from house to house in localities that are known to have the target population.
- Recruitment of participants can be done by a team that is specifically tasked with this function. It can be a time efficient way of recruiting FGD participants. If a “recruitment team” is sent out to find and invite respondents to interviews and FGDs, it is important that accurate information about the study is conveyed. The following information should be clear and best written: purpose of the interview or FGD; who is funding the research; who

will obtain the information; how will these information be used, for what, for whom; why is this important, to whom; why is the particular person being invited; in what way will the study benefit the person being invited; any form of “compensation” for participating (e.g. transportation allowance for FGD participants); and date and venue of the FGD or interview.

- Recruiting and interviewing domestic workers at the residence of their employer involves potential problems: (i) the employer could refuse the researcher from meeting the worker and/or could prevent or threaten the worker from accepting; (ii) the worker could refuse simply because the employer knows; (iii) the worker might not be at ease during the interview due to fear of being overheard, interrupted anytime; (iv) the worker may not have time during her working hours. Ideally, domestic workers should not be interviewed when the employer or members of her/his household is present. The research should prepare alternative venues (not far from where the potential respondents live) where interviews could be done in private and at times convenient to the interviewees.
- Time is a major constraint for employers and domestic workers. The research team will have to be flexible and prepared to accommodate different schedules that are convenient to the potential participants, and to allot a longer timeframe for completing sample targets.
- The use of incentive payments to participants is said to be common in qualitative research due to the intensity of time involved in interviews and FGDs and intrusive nature of in-depth interviews. Future studies may wish to consider the relative merits of this measure.

8. FIELD RESEARCH OPERATIONS

Social research manuals provide comprehensive guidelines on how to organize and conduct field surveys, interviews and focus group discussions. This guide does not intend (nor could it) duplicate these guidelines, which may be found in the manuals listed in the section “Suggested readings”. This Section presents some helpful pointers from the experience of the studies in Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines.

8.1. Ethical considerations

- Upholding the research participants’ rights to confidentiality and privacy is a central tenet. These are particularly critical in a study involving domestic workers and their employers because of the sensitivity of the research questions, which could put the worker’s job security (if not the personal security) and relationship with his/her employer at risk, and which could elicit distressing experiences.
- Participants should be fully informed about how their data will be used, what will be done with case materials, photos and audio and video recordings. Their consent should be secured. These records should be secured and stripped of identifying information. Anonymity should be protected in case of future sharing of data with others.
- Some questions, for example, when exploring experiences of physical and sexual violence, are sensitive and difficult. Care must be taken by interviewers and moderators in phrasing these questions. Because of these questions and others, the choice of male or female interviewer-moderator is critical. In most cases, the studies used pairs of male and female researchers.
- The researcher should not give legal advice or information (even if he / she is familiar with the law) or to correct the respondent’s understanding of the law. This is not the role of the research. If the respondent is asked for advice or for help, the role of the researcher is to provide the respondent with the contact details of the office or organization that has the mandate to assist and advice the worker or employer.

8.2. Orientation and training of researchers

- Field researchers tasked with carrying out in-depth, unstructured interviews or moderating and facilitating focus group discussions should possess the required skills and disposition to do these functions. If necessary, adequate time should be devoted to training and practice before fieldwork.
- Researchers require basic knowledge on the subject matter and understanding of the concepts and definitions covered by the research questions and topic guides. In all three countries, the researchers received basic orientation on Convention 189 and the ILO perspective on domestic work, and the relevant national legislation on domestic work. Their

meetings with the tripartite partners (before and after the pre-test of the topic guides) and pre-research focus group discussions with domestic workers and employers also helped to broaden their understanding of the research focus.

- Researchers most likely have their own personal experiences and views regarding domestic workers; many may belong to households that employ domestic workers. It is important that the orientation-training for researchers address this subject, make the team identify their own personal biases and opinions, and agree on steps to ensure that these do not influence the research.
- Interviewers and FGD moderators-facilitators should know the subject matter and the topic guides by heart. Training the interviewers and FGD moderators-facilitators in the topic guides is indispensable. This should include role-playing interviews and FGD discussions.

8.3. Conducting interviews and FGDs

- The research team should be prepared to adopt flexible or various schedules for interviews and FGDs in order to accommodate different situations of potential participants. Employers may not be available during the day or on weekdays, and could be reached only in the evenings or on weekends. Live-in domestic workers may have a heavy workload; and live-out domestic workers may have irregular working hours. Domestic workers might not have time to be interviewed at their workplace or may prefer to be interviewed only in the absence of the employer, during their rest day, or in another place or in their own residence. Because of work and family schedules, finding a common time for FGD participants is not easy. They might have irregular working hours.
- Interviews should be conducted where interviewees feel safe and comfortable enough to provide private and sensitive information. Ideally, domestic workers should not be interviewed at their workplace if the employer or member of his/her household is present within the premises and could interrupt the interview at any time.
- Researchers work best in pairs – a principal researcher who steers the interview or FGD, and an assistant researcher who operates the recording machine, and jots down factual data about the interview, the profile or respondent or FGD members, key numerical data such as wage rates, context of the interview or FGD. Both can take down brief notations that would help them understand the record of the interviews later on. Where the respondent refuses to be recorded on tape/disk, the assistant researcher will have to take precise notes capturing all possible relevant information, what was said and why.

8.4. Checklist of preparations for field operations

Field research manuals provide many pointers on this topic. For the three countries, the following were commonly important:

- Necessary permits from public authorities to conduct the research, e.g. from national statistics office and/or local authority.
- Letters of introduction from national, regional, provincial, and / or city / town authorities that endorse or certify the identity of the researcher and research organization if relevant, and the purpose of the research. This is usually helpful in obtaining assistance of local or village leaders, and gaining access to local communities and private households.
- Identity card with the photo of the researcher, also clearly stating that the researcher is part of a “neutral institution” (e.g. not enforcement agency, the village or local government, trade union, employer organization).
- Local contacts in the sample areas.
- Pre-arranged venues where interviews with domestic workers could be conducted safely if the house where they work or live does not provide sufficient privacy and anonymity.
- Pre-arranged venue and time for focus group discussions.
- Compensation or incentive for respondents and FGD participants.
- Researchers should have at least two recording devices in case one fails. Mobile phones are not reliable audio recording devices for field research.

9. DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

Analysis of qualitative data from interviews and FGDs is a process that involves several stages, from the time the recording of the interview or FGD is prepared and processed for analysis (i.e. verified, translated if necessary, transcribed if necessary), coded and then analysed. The size of the sample and breadth of the themes covered by the in-depth interviews and FGDs determine the complexity and required time of data preparation and data analysis. For the studies in Tanzania, the Philippines and Zambia, the considerable size of the samples and the wide scope of the research questions made data analysis a very challenging task for all the research teams.

9.1. Audio recording

All interviews and FGDs in the three countries were digitally recorded. As a rule, audio recordings should be reviewed not long after the event, preferably within the same day, in order to verify the quality of the recording and to follow up the interview if necessary. However, this was not always possible in the three countries given time constraints. In Zambia for example, some interviews were found to have been poorly recorded and had to be redone. In a few other cases, the interviews were found to be lacking depth of information and had to be discarded and replaced.

9.2. Transcription

In all countries, the audio recordings of interviews and FGDs were transcribed before data analysis. Transcription is a long process; for example in Tanzania, about 6 hours per interview and 18 hours per FGD. If written transcriptions are required, the researcher who conducted the interview or FGD should, ideally, be the one to transcribe it. This was not always possible however due to the large number of interviews and FGDs that had to be done within a timeframe. In Zambia, transcription was assigned to another team. Ideally, the concerned researcher should review the transcription and ensure that nothing was missed or misunderstood. Brief notes taken during an interview and FGD by the researcher are especially helpful in verifying recordings and transcriptions. In Zambia, a “quality checking” officer was assigned to review the transcripts and refer vague statements to the researchers concerned. In Tanzania and the Philippines, the principal researchers reviewed transcriptions and clarified texts with the researchers concerned.

9.3. Translation

In Zambia, where most of interviews and FGDs were done in Nyanja or Bemba (two of many Zambian languages), audio recordings were directly translated into English while being transcribed by persons who were proficient in one of these languages. The translations were then reviewed by a “quality checking” officer who listened to random parts the audio recording and checked these against the translations.

In Tanzania and the Philippines, the interview and FGD narratives were retained and analysed in their original language, i.e. Swahili and Filipino, respectively, or English.

Care is required when translating narratives before these are analysed. Word-for-word translation can miss true meanings. Not all local concepts and terms have equivalents in English (or another language). Ideally, the researcher who conducted the interview or FGD should review the translation to ensure that narratives were not misinterpreted and to explain the terms and ideas expressed by respondents/participants.²⁸ Sometimes, concepts in their local terms are better retained with English translation in brackets.

9.4. Data coding

Coding is a tool for managing, accessing, sorting and classifying, and interrogating pieces of data that are embedded in the narratives of interviews and FGDs. It is meant to facilitate textual analysis. There are many approaches to and forms of coding, which are treated comprehensively by manuals on qualitative research methods.²⁹

Briefly, a few points are worth mentioning here:

- A code is a label given to a passage of data in the interview and narrative. The label or code may be topical or issue-oriented (e.g. a problem area, e.g. sexual harassment; an aspect of working conditions e.g. wage), descriptive (a type of event, e.g. first job, recruited from rural village to city) or conceptual (e.g. paternalism).
- Coding is a way of indexing passages of data; it is a tool for keeping track of the data. When coded, passages of data can easily be found and retrieved; these passages of data can be connected with other passages and can be compared between different groups within the sample.
- Coming up with the list of labels to code the data is not a one-time process. One could create labels and properly document them, as one reads through the narratives of interviews and FGDs, beginning with a small number of data sources, and building up the labels as one codes the texts. One could use a predetermined list of codes to start with, which could then be modified along the way. In the case of the three country studies, the main themes and sub-themes of the research (see Generic Topic Guide; example of Interview Topic Guide) served as guide for the initial coding frame. It was possible to add new themes that may emerge but the topic guide turned out to be quite comprehensive.
- There are risks of over-labelling the data or coming up with labels in myriad directions. The research objectives and research questions should focus the coding of data. When coding

²⁸ See more on the issue of multilingual studies and translation in P. Bazeley: *Qualitative data analysis. Practical strategies* (London, Sage Publications, 2013), pp. 77-78.

²⁹ See practical guidelines by P. Bazeley, *ibid.*, pp. 125-222.

is done by a team, it is essential to ensure that all members apply codes in a similar way, for which a “codebook” would be useful.³⁰

- Each data source should be labelled with a source ID (e.g. interview, live-in domestic worker, Dar es Salaam, urban) and paragraph number and page (particularly if one is coding and sorting manually). It is also advisable to code key demographic characteristics or classifying information about each unit of analysis. This is useful for producing the sample profile as well as for comparisons.
- Software tools are available to support qualitative data analysis; they facilitate coding, indexing, sorting and connecting data with greater flexibility and speed. These are especially helpful when dealing with a big volume of data. Qualitative software allows importing data sources to be coded and creating coding categories before or during coding, which can then be changed or reorganised at any time. The studies in Tanzania and the Philippines made use of Nvivo, and Zambia used ATLAS ti.

9.5. Data analysis

The analysis of interview and FGD narratives may be facilitated by coding the data, but the heart of analysis rests with the researcher’s reading and explorations of the data, and the reflections and questions that follow to capture and investigate the stories and meanings from the data.

With qualitative research, it is important, first of all, to read through whole transcripts of interviews and group discussions, and be familiar with the content and scope of the data sources. One should not jump to analysing only passages of data without having seen and reflected upon whole picture of each case or unit of analysis, and without having identified the key experiences and issues, and explored the storylines emerging from the narratives. This initial phase also helps review and refine labels for coding data, and can be done as data sources are coming in.

Doing a preliminary analysis of a small set of the data sources may be useful – it allows one to use and test labels (codes) and to experiment on the alternative ways and procedure for analysing the data.

Description is the essential first step in qualitative analysis. One can describe the socio-demographic profile of the sample and the context of the study; and describe what participants or a group of participants said (or not) about a specific theme.³¹ All three country research teams began with this stage.

30 P. Bazeley (*ibid.*, pp. 139-140), recommends that it would be useful to have two forms of a codebook for team coding: a full reference version with detailed descriptions of each code and where and how each has been used; and a handy brief summary containing labels one is using for each code with a very brief definition.

31 The labels (codes) used to index passages of data would have been organized around main themes or higher-order conceptual categories.

In the case of qualitative studies on employment relationship and working conditions, the descriptive analysis would consist of drawing up the characteristics of each dimension of working conditions, for example, the forms and arrangements of remuneration. It would also describe what workers and employers say about their employment relationship (e.g. sources of conflict) and what their views and perceptions are about one's domestic worker or one's employer. These descriptions are best done for each category of domestic workers and of employers.

After these simple, straightforward descriptions, the analysis could move on to more complex steps:

- Draw and define patterns in the conditions of work and employment within each of the categories of workers and employers.
- Compare these patterns between categories of workers; between categories of employers; between workers and employers.
- Look for associations between aspects of working conditions and an employment practice (e.g. having a written contract), an aspect of the employment relationship (kinship relationship), and whether a domestic worker is a young worker (less than 18 years old).
- Look for associations between the perceptions and views as regards issues under the four FGD themes.
- Compare domestic workers' assessment of their conditions of work and employment with employers' assessment.
- Look for associations between certain perceptions and statements about situations of relationships with particular conditions of work and employment practices.

Finding patterns and connections between themes within cases, and comparing cases and categories of cases are an iterative process of advancing the analysis. Within the given time frame of the studies in Tanzania, the Philippines and Zambia, the analyses were mainly descriptions of patterns of working conditions, employment practices, perceptions and social issues in respect of the employment relationship, and comparison or differentiation of these patterns between categories of domestic workers and employers' income levels. Further analysis of the datasets will be useful to investigate other issues and deeper aspects of the employment relationship in domestic work, such as connections between certain perceptions and actual working conditions and practices.

10. CONCLUSIONS

For the purpose of this guide, two sets of conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the three country studies: first, as regards the research methodology; and second, as regards the knowledge gains from applying this methodology.

10.1. As regards the research methodology

The three country studies demonstrated practical methods and tools for collecting data through a qualitative research approach, and generated lessons about real challenges and constraints, and possible ways of tackling some of these difficulties. On the basis of these experiences, there are four aspects which present important challenges and which require particular attention when designing and carrying out a qualitative research on domestic work:

- *Sampling domestic workers and employers of domestic workers* - The spatial and targeted sampling strategy proved to be a systematic, logical way of generating a sample from these populations for which sampling frames do not exist. At the lowest area unit of selection, local mapping or scanning of the target populations plays a critical role in identifying where they are and best ways to reach them. This stage requires time and, very often, the assistance of members of the local community and key informants. Depending on the target sample size, the geographical units covered may be expanded.
- *Recruiting domestic workers and employers of domestic workers to participate in the research* – This could present the biggest constraints. Innovative and creative methods will need to be devised, tried, assessed and fine-tuned according to particular local situations. The country studies used various methods (door-to-door, specific referrals by local contacts, dedicated recruitment team, and area-specific snowball) and showed their successes and gaps.
- *Interview and focus group discussions* - Topic guides are useful as aide memoire for interviewers and discussion moderators. However, it is the researcher's interviewing, probing and moderating skills which will be critical in eliciting in-depth, quality information. Adequate time should thus be devoted to ensuring that field researchers possess these competencies.
- *Analysis of qualitative data* – Without boxes and codes to tick and count, qualitative data analysis is not as straightforward as running a statistical software. To facilitate qualitative analysis, this should begin during fieldwork, where themes, issues and interesting patterns are identified by the research team as data from interviews and focus group discussions are generated. New and unexpected themes and issues should be taken note of for further investigation in succeeding interviews and FGDs and for later analysis. A big volume of qualitative data, such as that generated by the three studies, is very challenging. It is thus easier to begin analysis with a small number of cases (or interviews) with which one could test thematic codes and ways of exploring connections between themes or aspects of the social phenomenon before moving on to the whole sample of cases.

10.2. As regards knowledge gains

Although more challenging than structured questionnaire surveys, the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions in the three countries have shown the strength and advantages of qualitative methods in generating knowledge about domestic work that would have been difficult, if not impossible, to elicit through structured interviews. This is especially true in regards to the nature of the employment relationship, and the notions and attitudes held by employers and domestic workers about it and their respective roles. For example, the studies allowed an in-depth exploration of the nuances and contradictions within the widely held social conception that domestic workers are “like members (like sisters, like daughters) of the family” (ergo, for which rules regulating the relationship seem irrelevant or unnecessary). In the Philippines, Tanzania or Zambia, there were employers who took pride in having this attitude towards their domestic worker; it was synonymous to treating domestic workers well, like equals. There were many domestic workers who also took pride in this; it gave them a sense of value and a higher social status than being a hired worker. In some cases, this was associated with positively rated work life – satisfactory working conditions, being trusted, harmonious relationship with the employer (with the occasional misunderstandings), no discrimination in meals and access to household amenities, freedom of communication and movement. But in many cases too, it was associated with very low wages or no wages at all except for meals and shelter, long delays in payment of wages, and working hours on demand – deficiencies that some domestic workers found less important than being treated and trusted like a “family member”; that others found acceptable and pardonable if the employer faced economic constraints; or that others were unhappy about but could not complain in their status as “family members”. But apart from the “imaginary” kinship relationship, the situation of domestic workers (often young and child workers) employed by relatives is part of the reality in the domestic work sector. What is interesting is that there are cases where these workers were recognized and paid as employees; but in many others, the arrangement was treated as a private social transaction. Imaginary and real kinship relationships seemed to explain a lot of unpaid domestic work, and both low-income and high-income employers were involved.

Another knowledge gain from the qualitative studies is the information on the multiple variations in contractual, remuneration and working time arrangements that prevail in domestic work within a country but which many are not aware of. For example, in the Philippines, the predominant view of live-out domestic workers was that of “lavanderas” and “planchadoras” who worked, for a few hours or days per week or month, for multiple employers. Some regarded them as own-account workers who were free to choose their clients; they were viewed as less “vulnerable” to exploitation and abuse than live-in domestic workers. Yet, the Philippine study showed the growing pattern of live-out workers who worked for a single employer on full-time or part-time basis, some for specialised tasks and others for all-around housework; they were vulnerable to low pay, delayed payment, long hours and unpaid overtime, and tasks beyond those not agreed upon. The existence of these multiple contractual patterns has important implications for the design and application of labour laws regulating domestic work, for example as regards the minimum wage, rest days and

social security contributions.

The above are just a few examples of the richness of information that can be generated by qualitative research methods applied in the three countries. These results are valuable for designing quantitative, structured surveys on domestic work. For example, it was clear that payment of a wage or salary was not a sufficient indicator of an employment relationship in domestic work, at least in the three countries if not the regions they represent. Moreover, the conventional labour force survey questions are evidently not adequate to capture the diverse forms and patterns of remuneration and working time in the sector.

Finally, the qualitative studies are useful in informing policy dialogues and national initiatives. In Tanzania, Zambia and the Philippines, tripartite partners have already begun to make use of the results of the studies, for example, to elaborate national action plans or identify priorities and next steps in 2014-15.

11. SUGGESTED READINGS

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