

# Chapter 4

## Entrapped as Domestic Workers? The Effect of Economic Context on Work Opportunities

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### Introduction

Like other countries in Southern Europe, Spain is characterized by a feminized, occupation-targeted migration, and women account for 50% of the foreign-born population. Latin-American women have been the primary contributors to female immigration as a whole and constitute the largest group of foreign-born women in the Spanish labor market. The number of employed women from Latin America increased from 106,863 in 1999 to 888,151 in 2008, according to data from the Spanish Labor Force Survey (SLFS). As a result, just before the beginning of the economic crisis, Latin-American women represented almost 60% of the immigrant female workers in Spain.

Why have female immigration flows become so high in Spain? Previous research primarily relates the phenomenon to a complementarity dynamic between foreigners and natives in the labor market. More specifically, an increase in the native female participation in the labor market generated an important and unfulfilled demand for domestic and care workers. Consequently, a large proportion of foreign women in Spain, like in other Southern European countries with traditional, family-based care models, gradually took over the housework and care work traditionally done by unpaid native women, resulting in the emergence of a new labor segmentation by gender and country of origin (Bettio et al. 2006). In other words, the existence of an important demand for those services is one of the most relevant

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explanations for the degree of feminization of immigrant flows and the high labor participation rates of women, especially Latin-American women.

The prominence of Latin-Americans in domestic and caring services in Spain is undeniable: at the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008, 27% of Spain's domestic workers were from Latin America (Vidal-Coso and Miret 2013). The overrepresentation of Latin-Americans in housework and care-related occupations is also influenced by a particular type of migration policy characterized by *ex post* regularizations in lieu of *ex ante* planning of flows (Bettio et al. 2006, p. 275; Venturini and Villosio 2008; Fullin and Reyneri 2011). In simpler words, migration policies allowed individuals to arrive in the country without work permits and to regularize their status afterwards. Due to the informality of the hiring process for domestic and care-related occupations, it is easy to wait for regularization while doing those types of jobs. Although this observation is valid for all non-EU female immigrants, a preference for Latin-Americans has been identified due to shared language and religion (Izquierdo 2004). This preference may explain why in Spain, Latin-Americans are the most numerous immigrant group working in domestic and care-related occupations.

Since 2008, Spain has been strongly affected by the global economic crisis, which began immediately after an important period of economic boom and employment growth, primarily in the services sector (Bernardi and Garrido 2008). However, according to SLFS data, job-losses in this sector were concentrated in hotels and restaurants, whereas domestic services have not been severely affected by the economic crisis (Vidal-Coso and Gil 2013). Despite the new economic environment, most native families continue to face the same challenges in balancing work and family, and the hiring of immigrant women remains one of the main solutions to balancing work and family.

Therefore, during the period 1999–2012, we can distinguish three interlinked processes: the initial boom in immigration flows, the process of successive extraordinary regularizations prior to 2005, and the changing economic context and labor market opportunities after 2008. The first period, 1999–2004, constitutes the first years of the massive immigration of pioneer women from Latin America, who had been attracted by the demand for labor in housework and care work and were in the process of regularizing their legal status. The second period, 2005–2007, is marked by the accentuation of the economic expansion and enlargement of labor opportunities for migrants, an increasing gender balance within the Latin-American population, and a growing presence of immigrants with regular status due to regularizations, which in turn enabled an increase in family reunifications. Finally, the third period is 2008–2012, the years of the economic crisis, rising levels of unemployment, and the deceleration of migratory Latin-American inflows.

Using data from the SLFS, this study addresses the likelihood of upward job mobility among female immigrants—particularly Latin-Americans—working in domestic and care-related occupations in Spain from 1999 to 2012. In this chapter, we aim to stress the consequences of the changing socioeconomic and migratory

context on women's occupational prospects. First, the chapter describes these women's distribution over time along the occupational scale, together with the trends related to their concentration in domestic and care-related occupations. Second, using the panel version of the SLFS, we elaborate random-intercept logistic regression models to longitudinally analyze the possibility of moving upward (on the Camsis scale of prestige) from domestic and care-related occupations. Our analysis compares Latin-Americans' chances of upward movement to those of non-EU women in Spain. Our primary hypothesis is that the economic crisis has diminished the prospects of occupational ascension for all women working as domestic assistants and caregivers, independent of nationality.

The primary contributions of our research are as follows. We focus specifically on Spain's changing socioeconomic environment as an important determinant of the occupational opportunities for foreign-born women. More concretely, we aim to analyze the role played by the deterioration of the labor market context in preventing women from ascending beyond housekeeping and care occupations. Our analysis covers the period of the current economic crisis that started in 2008 along with previous research on Latin-Americans' occupational upward mobility from those occupations. Moreover, the methodological novelty of this research lies in the use of the SLFS in its panel version to generate a longitudinal model of upward mobility trends.

## Theoretical Framework and Research Hypotheses

It has been found that compared to natives, immigrants in Spain suffer from a strong and persistent disadvantage in accessing skilled occupations even after controlling for sociodemographic characteristics (Cachón 2009; Bernardi et al. 2011). Most of the explanations for this disadvantage are in line with the structural or dual labor market theory, which identifies segmentation of the labor force by workers' migrant status, national origin or sex (Piore 1975, 1979; Thurow 1975; Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979). In this sense, Bernardi and Garrido (2008) stress the growing polarization of the Spanish occupational structure, along with the over-representation of immigrant workers in unskilled employment. Amuedo-Dorantes and De la Rica (2009) identify the existence of a labor complementarity process between native and immigrant populations. Moreover, Fullin and Reyneri (2011) note the leading roles of low-skilled labor demand and the underground economy in shaping immigrants' labor market integration, and Vidal-Coso et al. (2006) stress the gender divide of migrants' labor market insertion.

Many authors attribute female migration to Spain as a response to a specific demand for female labor caused by the internationalization of domestic work (Reyneri 1996, 2004; Anthias and Lazaridis 2000; King and Zontini 2000; Solé 2003; Cachón 2009; Fullin and Reyneri 2011). The origins of this labor demand are related to Spain's weak welfare state, along with changes in women's societal roles during the last decades of the twentieth century. In this context, immigrant domestic

house cleaners participate in a form of replacement mobility that allows female nationals with rising educational levels to pursue careers (Lim 1997). The existence of this labor demand in a segmented labor market explains, on the one hand, the pattern of females transitioning towards domestic services after migrating, and on the other hand, the downward occupational movement experienced by immigrant women upon their arrival in Spain<sup>1</sup> (Stanek and Veira 2009; Simón et al. 2011; Veira et al. 2011; Vono and Vidal-Coso 2012). The role that the demand for domestic and care services plays in drawing feminized migration flows from Latin America to Spain is widely recognized among researchers (Izquierdo 2003; Domingo and Esteve 2010; Vono 2010).

Following immigrants' arrival in Spain, their upward mobility is very limited and restricted to labor positions in the secondary segment (Aysa-Lastra and Cachon 2013; Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014). For those who succeed, individual characteristics seem to be important explanatory instruments. Caparrós and Navarro (2010) highlight the importance of human capital to explain labor mobility once an immigrant has arrived in Spain, and Sanromà et al. (2009) stress the importance of the education acquired at the destination for immigrants' ascending occupational movements. In turn, Vidal-Coso and Miret (2014) find that the primary factors of upward mobility are the length of residence in Spain and elements related to assimilation into Spanish society, such as a post-migration education, a Spanish-born partner, and legal status. These results refer to the 2007 National Immigrant survey data, which consider occupational characteristics at three critical moments (the job immediately before migration; the first job after migration to Spain; and the job at the time of data collection). Despite that survey's contribution to the analysis of the research on migrants' occupational mobility, it refers to a period of economic prosperity because the data were collected between November 2006 and February 2007.

In this chapter, we aim to stress the consequences of Spain's changing socio-economic and migratory context from 1999 to 2012 for Latin-American women's occupational prospects. During the first part of the period analyzed (1999–2004), we expect to find a high percentage of Latin-American women working in domestic and care-related occupations with few opportunities to move upwards to occupations that are more prestigious. As previously mentioned, these occupations have been considered one of the easiest positions to obtain after arriving in Spain, particularly among individuals without work permits. Conversely, we expect to find a lower concentration in these occupations and higher chances of upward movement during 2005–2007, when most of the regularizations had been completed and when favorable economic conditions were supposed to enlarge the labor opportunities for immigrant women, particularly in the touristic sector.

Finally, during the current economic crisis we expect a return to the starting point, with high concentrations in domestic and care-related occupations and lower opportunities to leave them. As previously mentioned, although unemployment levels have increased, most native families continue to face the same challenges

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<sup>1</sup> This research uses labor market information about migrants both in the country of origin and in Spain, which is provided by the 2007 National Immigrant Survey (ENI).

in balancing work and family, the primary solution to which is hiring immigrant women. This approach is partly attributed to the familial nature of Spain's welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999) and to the low levels of institutional support to reconcile work and family (González 2006). Therefore, we expect that the economic crisis has negatively affected the chances of occupational ascension among immigrant domestic assistants and caregivers.

In addition to the macro-economic context, other factors are expected to influence Latin-American women's labor transitions from domestic and care occupations to better positions. We are particularly interested in the role of families. Immigrants living with their children and/or partner in Spain either have formed a family or have completed (or at least begun) their family-reunification process, which may be interpreted as success in assimilating. According to previous research (Vono and Vidal-Coso 2012), our expectation is that cohabitation with a spouse is an efficient mechanism that contributes to immigrant women's upward labor mobility because their economic needs are less urgent. Conversely, Cobb-Clark and Kossoudji (2000) have argued that the presence of children may be associated with a greater difficulty in ascending occupational mobility because maintaining a job becomes imperative. Consequently, it is expected that women living with their children have fewer chances to improve their labor status.

According to the neoclassical perspective and its assumptions regarding the importance of the integration process in Spain, we expect a higher likelihood of movement from care and domestic occupations to better positions for more-educated women (McAllister 1995; Modood 1998; Weiss et al. 2003; Redstone 2006, 2008), especially those who have earned a diploma in Spain. Previous analyses have noted that a key factor in determining immigrants' labor performance is the extent to which their education, pre-migration labor market experience, and overseas training are valued in the destination country (Kee 1995; Friedberg 2000; Blackaby et al. 2002; Clark and Drinkwater 2008; Kanas and Van Tubergen 2009). Furthermore, we expect that time spent in Spain leads to an increased understanding of the host labor market, a general increase in institutional knowledge, and more expansive networks (Chiswick 1978; Chiswick et al. 2005; Akresh 2006, 2008). Years of residence in Spain would then contribute to a higher likelihood of abandoning domestic or care work. The influence of an immigrant's legal status in the host country is key to the probability of success in the host labor market (Powers and Seltzer 1998). In this sense, it is expected that holding Spanish nationality has a positive effect on the probability of upward mobility. Finally, Latin-Americans more than other immigrant women are expected to experience a lower likelihood of occupational ascending movement from domestic and care services despite the fact that they are linguistically and culturally closer to the native population. In accordance with Izquierdo (2004), we believe that this is caused by Spanish social and political preferences for Latin-American women domestic workers due to a shared language and religion. This argument contradicts the thesis of Redstone (2006), who postulates that cultural and linguistic proximity between origin and destination societies may explain immigrants' greater skill transferability and lower rates of downward mobility.

To assess the direction of labor mobility, we recognize that the structure of the labor market is unequal and ordered into differentiated labor positions. These positions are expressed as occupations, which may in turn be characterized according to their economic and social rewards (Blau and Duncan 1967; Hope 1972; Goldthorpe and Hope 1974; Parkin 1978; Goldthorpe 1980). Labor mobility, therefore, is determined by the opportunity to change one's relative position in a predetermined structure of inequality. We view domestic and care positions as situated at the bottom of the female occupational structure, although some may argue that domestic maids and caregivers share the same low status and salary as other workers within the secondary segment who are employed in entry-level occupations in agriculture, industry, or hotels and restaurants. However, the significant percentage of immigrant women in domestic and care services indicates that these occupations are an authentic labor market gateway in Spain, the primary 'starting point' for women in the destination labor market. In fact, informality and the role played by social networks in hiring is evidence that most female immigrants use domestic and care work in private households as a way to obtain legal residence in Spain and once that legal status has been obtained, they are ready to move into other occupations (Escrivà 2000; Oso 2003). Moreover, other characteristics of domestic work intensify its low status: the private and isolated nature of this type of job and the labor and social security legislation that recognizes fewer labor rights for domestic maids than for other workers (Parella 2009). Specifically, domestic workers were excluded from the general labor regulation until 2011, when the law was changed in an effort to formalize this occupational sector. However, it is uncertain to what extent the new regulation is actually being followed.

## Data and Methods

In this study, we use the panel version of the SLFS from 1999 to 2012. The survey is conducted by the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE), which administers quarterly interviews of a sample representative of the entire Spanish population. The sample consists of approximately 200,000 persons in 65,000 households. Using this data source for our analysis is the best option for our purposes for many reasons. First, it contains a great variety of individual-level information related to the population's sociodemographic and labor characteristics during the reference week (previous week), including sex, age, employment status, employment characteristics of the respondent's primary job, and previous work experience. Second, although the survey was designed to analyze the labor market from 1999 on, it is also a unique source for studying household composition and the characteristics of household members during the inter-census period (Garrido et al. 2000). Third, the SLFS also collects rich information about the immigrant population, including citizenship, country of birth and length of residence. Fourth, the quarterly frequency of the survey allows an analysis of trends in the characteristics of the individual labor market.

The SLFS sample is renewed every sixth trimester, allowing it to carry its analyses from a longitudinal perspective. Specifically, the survey is a rotated panel in which for each wave, 1/6 of the sample is substituted, with 5/6 of the sample remaining. Each wave is representative of any observed moment, but all of the waves considered together show a representative pattern for a specific individual. This characteristic gives us the ability to follow immigrant women over 18 consecutive months (six trimesters) to observe occupational transitions over time, especially among those who initially work as housekeepers and caregivers. We matched respondents in all observations by linking their household identifiers with their person line numbers. However, data characteristics such as sample attrition, household moves, and other data collection factors decreased the number of observations in the sample. Moreover, the SLFS does not track movers. Accordingly, our results can only be generalized to those who did not move (Mattingly and Smith 2010).

To test our hypothesis, two sets of random effects logistic regression models were implemented. We use as the dependent variable the prestige scale (Camsis), which has been merged with the data through the CNO-94 variable. Specifically, we analyze the probability of upward mobility among women employed in domestic service and care-related occupations in  $t-1$ . We consider as upward mobility any increase of 5 points or more in the prestige score<sup>2</sup> from  $t-1$  to  $t$ . The first set of models includes all non-EU immigrant women in Spain, whereas the second is restricted to the primary origins of Latin-American women in the country.

Independent variables include the region of birth (and country of birth in the second analysis), the period of the survey, the maximum educational level attained (compulsory education, secondary level and university level), the length of residence in Spain, Spanish nationality, age, age squared, marital status, the presence of children in the household, and the country where the maximum educational level was attained.

Some clarifications must be made on certain variables. First, in addition to the fixed characteristics of region/country of birth and survey period, all other independent variables are considered in  $t-1$ . Second, due to the high number of transnational families among immigrants and the short history of immigration in Spain, we have opted to build our family-related variables based on whether individuals share a household with their families. This is an important feature for our analytical purposes because household migration strategies seem to be related to immigrant women's labor position at the destination. In this regard, it has been shown that domestic work is predominant among pioneering migrant women because it is the easiest way to earn and save money (Oso 2003). Consequently, marital status is defined as a dummy variable measuring whether individuals live in unions, sharing a household with a partner. We performed sensitivity tests considering only legal marital status, and the results are consistent with our first choice. To create the variable for children in the household, we have linked individuals with all members of the household. Finally, the place where studies were completed has been created by subtracting the year of arrival in Spain from the year when the last educational degree was obtained.

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<sup>2</sup> Variations in this criterion did not substantially change our results.

## Descriptive Analysis

It is beyond doubt that with the arrival of the new millennium began one of the most interesting periods in Spain: the acceleration of migration inflows. Although it is true that residents of the EU and Africa had previously begun to arrive, since 2000 migrants from Latin-Americans have been the primary new migrants. Figure 4.1 shows that Latin-American women of working age increased from 244,593 in 2000 to 1,359,953 in 2009. Since then, numbers have decreased because of the economic turndown. Their presence in Spain is impressive not only in absolute terms but also in relative terms because they represent approximately 50% of the total female immigrant population.

These trends are also reflected in the labor market. In Fig. 4.2, we present the distribution of Latin American women by labor force status and their percentage among all employed women in Spain between 1999 and 2012. Regarding the share of Latin-Americans among all employed women, an important increase in percentages can be observed over the period, from 2% in 1999 to a peak of 10.6% in 2010. Post-2010, the share of Latin-Americans decreased until it reached 9.2% in 2012 because of upward trends in unemployment rates. It was not until 2009 that the effect of the economic crisis became visible in terms of increased unemployment among this group. In Fig. 4.3, more details on unemployment trends by country of birth are provided. As can be seen, unemployment rates were relatively stable until

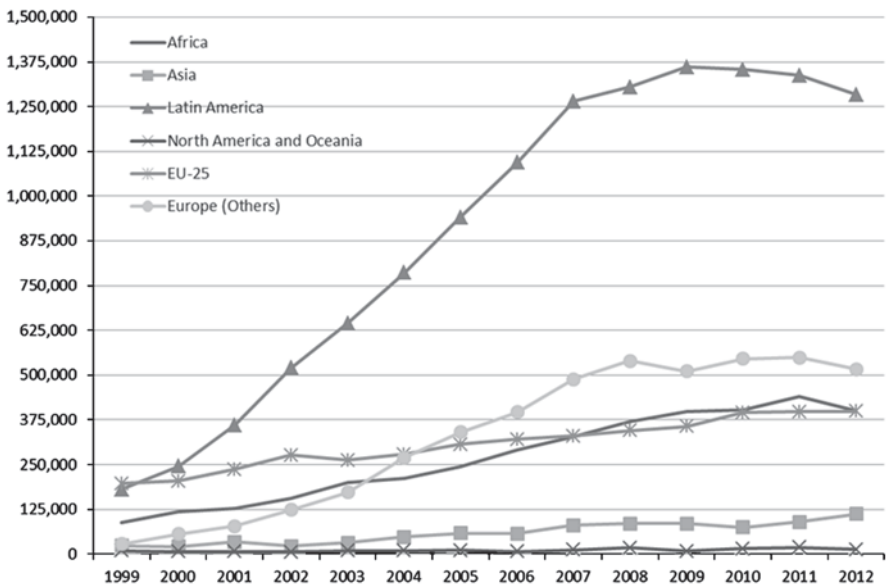


Fig. 4.1 Trends in the number of female immigrants to Spain aged 16–64, by birthplace, in absolute numbers. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))



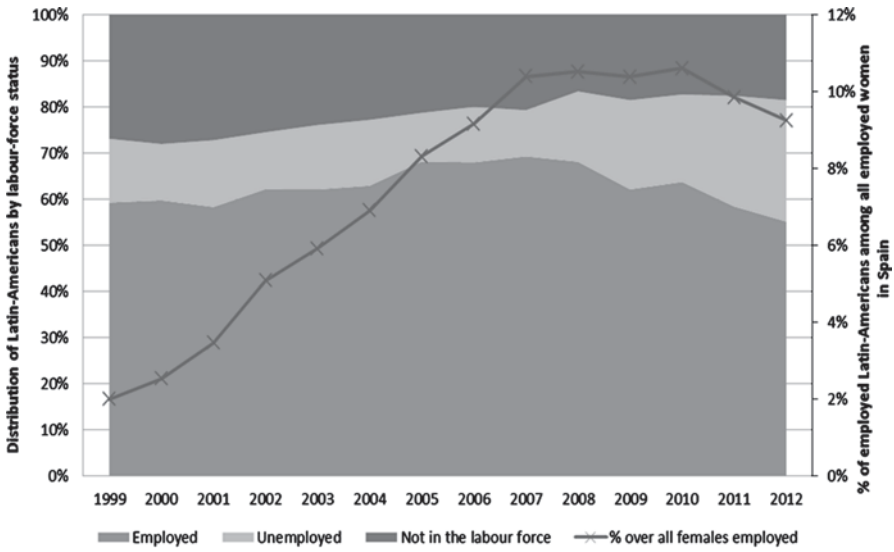


Fig. 4.2 Trends in the distribution of Latin-Americans by labor-force status and their share among all employed women in Spain (population between 16 and 64 years old). (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

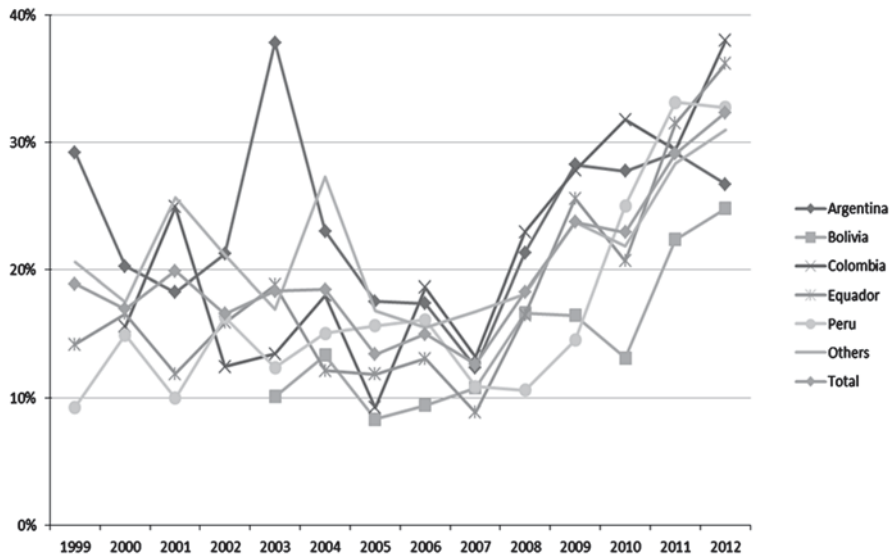


Fig. 4.3 Trends in female unemployment rates by country of birth (population between 16 and 64 years old). (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

2007, when the numbers substantially increased, to a greater or lesser extent, among different groups. Ecuadorians and Colombians were the most affected, followed by Peruvians. At the other extreme are Bolivians.

The increase in unemployed Latin-American women in Spain displayed in both figures is not solely attributable to employment losses post-2008. Previous research (Domingo and Vidal-Coso 2012; Vidal-Coso and Gil 2013; Vidal-Coso and Vono 2013) has shown that whereas the burden of job losses during Spain's current economic crisis has fallen on men because they were employed in the industries that were most affected by the financial collapse, particularly construction and related sectors, female occupation was not as strongly affected, at least during the first cycle of the crisis. Moreover, these authors attribute part of the increase in female unemployment to the growth in female immigrant participation in the labor force. This is due to the arrival of new immigration flows, young workers' entrance into the labor market, and strategic entrance into the labor force by many inactive women who have become family economic resources because of their husbands' job losses. This process of increasing female activity is observed for all women, regardless of birthplace. Therefore, the inflows of active Latin women may cause part of the increasing female unemployment described in Figs. 4.2 and 4.3.

In summary, the workforce trends set forth in the previous figures reflect an accelerated presence of Latin-American women in the Spanish market for female employment, a continued process that ended with the 2008 beginning of the economic crisis. Since then, some employed Latin-American women have lost their jobs and some of new Latin-American workers have not found jobs. The result is an increasing unemployment level for these women.

Figure 4.4 displays the occupational distribution of Latin-Americans throughout the period. That figure also shows that Latin-Americans' occupational profile has been characterized, at each of the three moments analyzed, by high concentration indexes in domestic and personal care occupations. In 2000, 41 % of employed Latin American women in Spain worked as domestic assistants and caregivers; in 2006, the figure was approximately the same at 40 %; in 2012, the figure was 44 %. If we add building cleaners, the concentrations increase to 48, 51 and 56 %, respectively. Therefore, the concentration of Latin-Americans in occupations related to private demand continued to be very high regardless of Spain's economic deterioration. In fact, although the share of individuals working in domestic occupations decreased in 2012, this decline is not observed for those employed as caregivers. We also must highlight the decreasing importance of employment in hotels and restaurants in 2012, which is precisely the industry in which most of Latin American women's job losses have been concentrated since the beginning of the economic crisis (Vidal-Coso and Gil 2013).

Trends for Eastern European women are different, reflecting the more recent acceleration of that flow. The contrasting occupational patterns between 2000 and 2006 reflect that the relatively smaller group that had arrived by 2000 was employed in different occupations than those who had arrived more recently. For instance, 22 % of women were concentrated in hotels and restaurants occupations

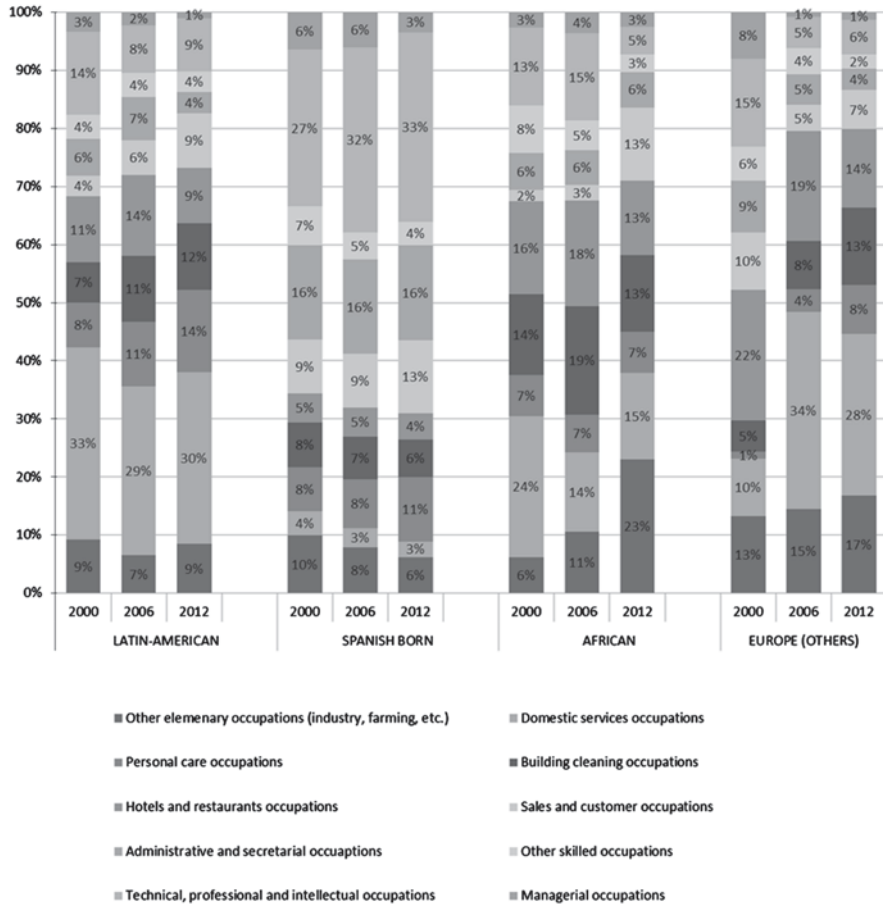
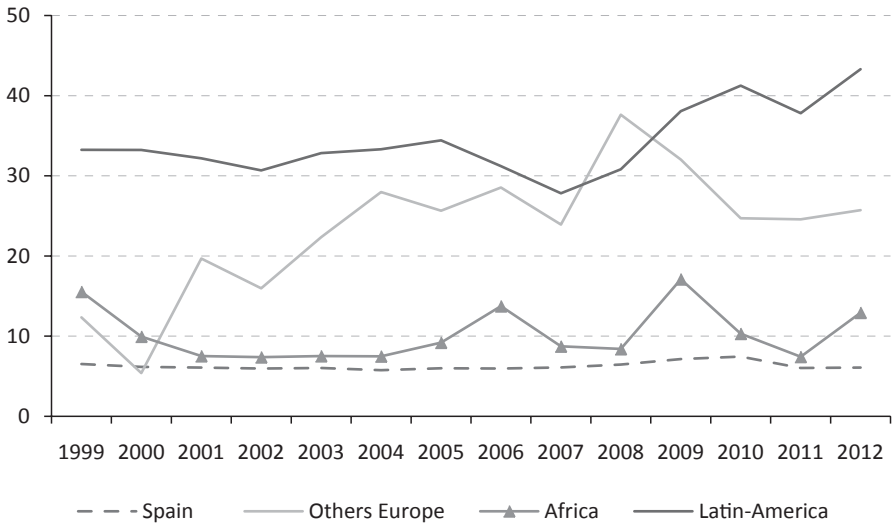


Fig. 4.4 Occupational concentration indexes by birthplace for employed women aged 16–64 in Spain: 2000, 2006 and 2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

in 2000 (with only 10% in domestic work and 1% in care work), and a prominent share worked in managerial (8%) or in technical, professional and intellectual occupations (15%). In 2006, the labor insertion of Eastern European women became more similar to the distribution of Latin-American women—i.e., highly concentrated in domestic and care services. African women, on the contrary, have been less clustered in domestic occupations since 2006. This does not mean that their occupational profile improved during the period because they remain highly concentrated at the bottom positions of the occupational structure. Finally, native’ occupational profile provides evidence of the complementarity between natives and immigrants within the female occupational structure in Spain. Native women are primarily concentrated in the most skilled occupations with greater human-capital requirements:



**Fig. 4.5** Standardized concentration rate in domestic and care-related occupations, by region of birth, 1999–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012 (3rd semester), Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

technical, professional and intellectual occupations; other skilled occupations; administrative and secretarial occupations; and sales and customer service occupations. By 2006, employed native women were slightly more qualified than in 2000, and the economic and labor crisis did not modify the occupational distribution of employed Spanish-born women in 2012.

Finally, we present the distribution of individuals in domestic and care-related occupations as defined in our dependent variable (Fig. 4.5). The values have been standardized using the unweighted average size of the population groups by origin as the standard, transforming the data to comparable scales. It is clear that during the first years of intense migration flows into Spain (1999–2002), the proportion of Latin-Americans working in domestic and care-related activities was substantially higher than those of other immigrant groups and natives. At that point, the majority of Latin-American domestic and care workers had been born in Peru, Ecuador or Colombia. From 2003 to 2008, two new patterns emerged. First, the proportion of Eastern European women working in domestic and care occupations increased rapidly, and their concentration rates were very similar to those of Latin-Americans. With the beginning of the economic crisis, although the proportion of Eastern Europeans in these activities decreased, for Latin-Americans the pattern was the opposite. Between 2011 and 2012, all groups employed in those fields experienced (to varying extents) an employment recovery.

## Multivariate Results

Our multivariate analyses examine the probability of moving upward on the CAMSIS scale of prestige from domestic or care-related occupations by at least 5 points from one wave ( $t-1$ ) to another ( $t$ ). In Table 4.1, we present the results of our set of models, which aim to test the effect of region of birth and of the economic crisis on the probability of leaving domestic and care-related occupations. In Model 1, the overall effect of country of birth can be observed: no significant effect is found apart from a higher chance of upward mobility among individuals born in Africa compared to Eastern Europeans. Non-significance aside, the size of the coefficients is very small for other regions. Therefore, contrary to our expectations, Latin-American women do not suffer a significant penalty related to their permanence as either house cleaners or caregivers, compared to workers of other origins.

In Model 2, we add the year of the survey. Here, coefficients are large and highly significant, and they confirm the trends already presented in the descriptive Figs. 4.4 and 4.5. Compared to the first years of immigration flows (1999–2004) and regardless of country of birth, women had much higher probabilities of leaving domestic and care-related occupations after 2005, with their chances peaking between 2005 and 2007, which corresponds to the period that immediately succeeded the massive regularizations, confirming our hypothesis. However, with the crisis, although the effect is half as big compared to the previous period, it remains much higher than the reference category. Our interpretation is that during the first years of female migrant inflows, most immigrant females in the labor force were informally working as maids and caregivers without permission, thus hindering their ability to change jobs (Shutes and Chiatti 2012). Afterwards, regularizations enabled access to work permits and increased the ability to move up to better labor positions. This mobility was boosted by the macro-economic context of expansion and growing labor demand. Since the arrival of the economic recession in 2008, growing unemployment rates have affected most industries in the Spanish labor market, and immigrants' opportunities to move to other occupations have been cut off.

Does this period effect disappear when immigrants' length of residence and their educational and age compositions are taken into account? Our third model (Model 3) shows that the period effect barely decreased with the inclusion of these three controls. In other words, Spain's macro-economic context in Spain is still a strong determinant of job mobility among immigrants and the effect of that context is not strongly affected by the previously mentioned variables. With respect to educational attainment, individuals with a secondary education are those who are most likely to leave domestic and care services. Age is non-significant. In terms of length of residence, the effect is what would be normally expected: the longer individuals live in the country of settlement, the better their chances of moving to a better job. Finally, Spanish nationality is a strong determinant of better chances of upward mobility. Here, it is important to mention that the access to Spanish nationality not only implies a higher degree of assimilation but also allows individuals to apply for public-sector jobs.

**Table 4.1** Random effects logistic regression on the probability of moving at least 5 points on the CAMSIS scale from domestic or care-related occupations among foreign-born, non-EU women in Spain. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<i>Country of birth: ref.cat. Eastern Europe</i>				
Africa	0.582** (0.228)	0.677*** (0.221)	0.629*** (0.226)	0.615*** (0.227)
Latin-America	0.039 (0.121)	0.101 (0.118)	0.076 (0.120)	0.111 (0.120)
Others	-0.060 (0.237)	0.084 (0.232)	-0.056 (0.241)	-0.169 (0.244)
<i>Period: ref.cat. 1999–2004</i>				
2005–2007		1.220*** (0.170)	1.132*** (0.170)	1.088*** (0.169)
2008–2012		0.697*** (0.171)	0.533*** (0.176)	0.510*** (0.175)
<i>Educational level: ref.cat. Compulsory</i>				
Secondary			0.218** (0.102)	0.184* (0.101)
University			0.150 (0.163)	0.115 (0.163)
<i>Length of residence in Spain: ref.cat. 0–3 years</i>				
4–6 years			0.358*** (0.114)	0.260** (0.114)
More than 6 years			0.327** (0.141)	0.186 (0.143)
Spanish nationality			0.601*** (0.181)	0.308* (0.187)
<i>Age</i>			-0.270 (0.209)	-0.256 (0.209)
<i>Age squared</i>			0.069 (0.155)	0.056 (0.154)
<i>Marital status: ref.cat. Not in union</i>				
In union				0.269** (0.105)
<i>Children in the household: ref.cat. No children</i>				
Children				0.318*** (0.105)
<i>Where studies were finished: Ref.cat. Spain</i>				
Country of origin				-0.624*** (0.165)
<i>Constant</i>	3.545*** (0.194)	-4.329*** (0.260)	-4.372*** (0.285)	-3.965*** (0.317)
<i>Number of observations</i>	12,463	12,463	12,463	12,463
<i>Number of individuals</i>	5,222	5,222	5,222	5,222

Standard errors in parentheses. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

In Model 4, we have additionally included family and other integration-related variables. The period effect slightly decreased but is still large and highly significant. In this sense, we can affirm that women's chances of moving from domestic and care-related occupations to better positions in Spain between 1999 and 2012 were largely determined by the macro-economic context. However, the effect of length of residence in Spain partially lost significance. The variable marital status shows that women who live with a partner (whether cohabiting or married) have better chances of upward mobility than those who do not live with a partner. Additionally, and contrary to our expectations, the presence of children in the household contributes to a higher probability of upward mobility. In this sense, it seems that having family members in Spain contributes to higher occupational attainment. Finally, a strong determinant of our analysis is whether an immigrant has completed studies in Spain, which may indicate that migrant women who obtained their education abroad may have found difficult to take their human capital and transfer it to or validate it in the host labor market.

In addition to the models presented, we tested the effect of partners' characteristics by restricting our sample to women in unions. However, the effects were barely significant and did not substantially affect our results.

We also wanted to test whether the dynamics presented in the analysis of all non-EU immigrants in Spain would vary when restricting the sample to Latin-Americans. As shown in Table 4.2, our results follow the exact same direction as in the first set of models, and the period effect again plays a major role in explaining differences in the probability of moving to a more prestigious occupation. However, some minor differences have been found in other explanatory variables. First, marital status is not significant, although the size of its effect is not small and still positive, indicating a higher probability of leaving domestic and care-related occupations among women living with their partners compared to those who live in different household arrangements, which is the case in the previous set of models (Model 4). Second, the length of residence in Spain remains significant in all categories when controlling for family characteristics (Model 4). Third, our baseline model (Model 1) shows that in comparison to the reference category "born in Argentina", on average all other origins have a lower probability of leaving domestic and care-related occupations. However, differences are significant for those born in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela in comparison to Argentineans. The size of the effects and their significance decrease when additional controls are included, and our final model shows that differences are only significant among those born in Argentina and Venezuela (Model 4).

## Conclusions

In Spain, the insider-outsider model of job relations prevails, which implies a low incidence of intersegmental job mobility in general among the population. Moreover, mechanisms of career progress are substantially different between so-called

**Table 4.2.** Random effects logistic regression on the probability of moving at least 5 points on the CAMSIS scale from domestic or care-related occupations among Latin-American women in Spain. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<i>Country of birth: Ref.cat. Argentina</i>				
Bolivia	-0.971*** (0.284)	-0.929*** (0.273)	-0.791*** (0.273)	-0.688** (0.268)
Brazil	-0.286 (0.351)	-0.220 (0.337)	-0.117 (0.335)	-0.137 (0.329)
Chile	-0.650 (0.483)	-0.524 (0.466)	-0.409 (0.464)	-0.364 (0.455)
Colombia	-0.574** (0.263)	-0.421* (0.251)	-0.418* (0.249)	-0.310 (0.245)
Cuba	-0.233 (0.470)	-0.096 (0.452)	-0.188 (0.450)	-0.066 (0.442)
Ecuador	-0.535** (0.254)	-0.431* (0.243)	-0.427* (0.241)	-0.367 (0.235)
Peru	-0.432 (0.312)	-0.291 (0.300)	-0.299 (0.297)	-0.165 (0.293)
Venezuela	-0.877 (0.597)	-0.823 (0.577)	-0.859 (0.576)	-1.046* (0.579)
<i>Period: ref.cat. 1999–2004</i>				
2005–2007		1.372*** (0.213)	1.226*** (0.214)	1.189*** (0.213)
2008–2012		0.901*** (0.221)	0.622*** (0.233)	0.589** (0.232)
<i>Educational level: ref.cat. compulsory</i>				
Secondary			0.274** (0.121)	0.237** (0.120)
University			0.171 (0.221)	0.126 (0.219)
<i>Length of residence in Spain: ref.cat. 0–3 years</i>				



Table 4.2. (continued)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
4–6 years			0.458*** (0.144)	0.357** (0.142)
More than 6 years			0.532*** (0.180)	0.373** (0.179)
Spanish nationality			0.601*** (0.226)	0.369 (0.228)
Age			-0.473* (0.265)	-0.470* (0.263)
Age squared			0.142 (0.196)	0.139 (0.195)
Marital status: ref.cat. Not in union				
In union				0.110 (0.126)
Children in the household: ref.cat. No children				
Children				0.411*** (0.129)
Where studies were finished. Ref.cat. Spain				
Country of origin				
Constant	-2.675*** (0.283)	-3.654*** (0.353)	-3.705*** (0.370)	-0.794*** (0.205)
Number of observations	7,139	7,139	7,139	7,139
Number of individuals	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000

Standard errors in parentheses. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

insiders and outsiders. For the former, who are individuals in stable job positions (typically mid-career employees either in standard employment in the public sector or holding indefinite contracts), human capital and seniority are often mentioned as the strongest elements that influence upward mobility. For the latter (individuals in precarious positions, mostly immigrants, young individuals and women), individual characteristics and labor trajectories seems to be less important: workers tend to occupy similar, precarious, positions over time (MacInnes 2009). Our study contributes new evidence to reinforce this general trend: immigrant women who work in domestic and care-related occupations have low probabilities of leaving those jobs, and the economic cycle, much more than immigrants' characteristics and trajectories in Spain, is the strongest determinant of the likelihood of upward mobility.

In this chapter, we first study the occupational trends of Latin-American workers in Spain during the period 1999–2012. Our descriptive analysis confirmed, on the one hand, a high level of concentration of Latin-Americans in domestic, cleaning and care services. Therefore, we observed during the entire period an occupational distribution closely tied to those highly feminized occupations. Although the percentage of other immigrant groups working as housekeepers, cleaners and caregivers is also relatively high, only the occupational distribution of Eastern Europeans in 2006 is close to the Latin-Americans' profile. On the other hand, the descriptive results also provide evidence that despite the growth of Latin-Americans' participation in the tourism sector, evident in the year in 2006, these better opportunities during the economic expansion did not imply a major dispersion throughout the occupational scale. Higher unemployment rates among Latin-American women from 2008 onwards also had little effect on their occupational distribution. The only change observed is a relative reduction of employment in tourism-related jobs and a return to the concentration levels in domestic and care services observed during the first years of the period analyzed.

Second, our investigation aimed to longitudinally analyze female transitions from domestic, cleaning and care occupations into more prestigious positions. Our results clearly pointed to the influence of economic cycles to explain such movements. Although the strong dependence of female Latin-American employment on the most feminized labor positions was described for the entire period, our models predicted that upward mobility was more likely to occur during economic expansion.

In addition to the economic environment, we found that other factors influenced workers' upward mobility. Women living in Spain with their families enjoyed higher probabilities of upward mobility, which is interpreted as a success in the assimilation process. Multivariate results also reinforced our initial assumptions regarding the importance of the integration process: the time spent in Spain or holding Spanish nationality contributes to a better chance of improving one's job position. Finally, models proved the neoclassical hypothesis regarding the importance of obtaining an education in the host country.

Finally, despite the economic crisis and high unemployment levels among immigrants, data do not show massive outflows of immigrants (Aysa-Lastra and Cachón 2012), and the stock of working-age Latin-American women has only decreased by 6% from 2009 to 2012. Therefore, because it appears that most Latin

American women have chosen to remain in Spain, they may strategically take refuge in their most secure occupational option, which would also partially explain the small probability of occupational transitions between 2008 and 2012.

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