

Employment, Family and Community activities: A new balance for women and men

The Netherlands

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EUROPEAN FOUNDATION
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Foreword

This study seeks (1) to analyse the reasons why jobs are created by the transformation of unpaid into paid work, and (2) to examine the effects of this job creation as regards terms of employment, hours worked and involvement in family and community activities by persons working in these new forms of employment.

The study used a variety of methods. It is based in part on previous research, and in part on interviews conducted in Purmerend and Zaanstad. We drew heavily on data from Statistics Netherlands (CBS), which had detailed information on employment. From the Netherlands Institute for Scientific Information Services (NIWI), an institute which collects survey data, we obtained data sets from a national survey and a survey conducted in one of the two towns. Material was also collected from the Internet.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The study

This report forms the Dutch part of the research project "Employment, Family and Community Activities: a new balance for women and men". The project was commissioned by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions in Dublin, Ireland (Project N° 0202/1) and is being carried out as part of its four-year programme 1997-2000, specifically the section on equal opportunities for women and men. The project covers ten countries of the European Union. In each country the following issues are examined:

- What is the nature and scale of employment in household services, doing work previously done in the home without payment?
- What are the characteristics and working conditions of persons performing these household services?
- What are the implications of employment in household services for the distribution of family and community activities, specifically from the perspective of equal opportunities for women and men?
- What measures can be taken in the labour organisations and by policy-makers to ensure that this employment can be combined more easily with family and community activities?

There is concern in Europe over the quality of the work and the terms of employment of persons working in household services¹. The main concerns are lack of occupational status, career development and security of employment. There is a lot of 'informal' and 'undeclared' work, especially in the cleaning sector and perhaps amongst ethnic minority workers too. The general perception is that participation in the informal economy is financially motivated. Whilst it is assumed that working in the informal economy enables people to earn higher hourly wages, because they pay no tax or social security, an equally important consideration is that this work is work which commands low hourly rates. The European Commission has initiated a debate aimed at eliminating undeclared work, because the Member States lose a considerable amount of taxation and social security income in this way². This report too looks at 'informal' and 'undeclared' work. These forms of work are regularly encountered in household services.

The Commission believes that the causes and scale of the problem must be ascertained and that measures to combat undeclared work must be regarded as part of the overall employment strategy.

Household services defined

The English term 'household services' has been rendered in Dutch here as '*huishoudelijke diensten*', for lack of a better translation. In English the term has a more definite, clearer significance. In Dutch the term does not refer to a specific empirical phenomenon, because

¹ Cf. European Foundation: Employment, family and community activities: a new balance for women and men - national report. Project outline. Dublin, 02.07.99

² Communication from the Commission on undeclared work, COM (1998) final, Luxembourg, 1998

household services are less developed in the Dutch economy than they are in the Anglo-Saxon world. The meaning of the term 'household services' is somewhat unclear in Dutch. The remit for this study understands the term as meaning paid services previously performed unwaged within the family. To start with this covered four areas: (i) childcare, (ii) care of the elderly, (iii) preparation, production and provision of food and meals and (iv) cleaning of the home (Yeandle, Gore & Herrington, 1998). Quantifying the creation of jobs under point (iii) proved difficult. As the project proceeded we thus selected another area, namely gardening.

In this way the European Foundation identified four areas of household services on which the study projects in the ten countries are focusing. These four services are summarised in the table below. In so far as we can tell for the Netherlands, the table also shows the groups of consumers who generate demand for these services and the businesses, establishments or persons who supply them. The rest of this report concentrates on the four services and their sources of supply and demand, as shown in the table below. Production of ready-to-eat meals and house maintenance, including plumbers, electricians, heating engineers and the like are not covered by the survey:

Household service	Demand for services from	Supply of services by
Childcare	Parents for childcare facilities	Childcare establishments, child minders, baby-sitters, au pairs
Care of the elderly	Elderly people or their relatives for services such as domestic work or meals-on-wheels	Nursing homes Domiciliary care
Domestic work	Elderly people, single-income households or two-income households for all or part of their domestic work to be done by third parties	Domestic helps Domiciliary care
Gardening	Adults to have all or part of their gardening work done by third parties	Professional gardening firms Self-employed gardeners

Characteristics of household services

The concept of household services is somewhat vague and so we shall endeavour here to define it rather more clearly. Household services comprise the provision of services on the free market; they are services previously performed unwaged in the home. The word 'previously' needs some clarification here. Up to a hundred years ago, after all, household production was significantly larger than production for the market (Hagenaars & Wunderik van Veen, 1990). However, it is not easy to identify new services previously performed by households, since virtually all household services we can identify now were already on offer on the market in one form or another at the beginning of this century.

The term is often associated with private firms, but in this study services in the public sector and the 'third sector' are also counted as household services. The term 'third sector' requires clarification. The term is much used in Germany and refers to initiatives by consumers to set up their own household services, with or without the assistance of local employment initiatives. These include for example crèches run by parents, where most of the work is also done by the parents, perhaps with a few additional paid workers, whose jobs may or may not be subsidised. This enables the cost of the goods or services in question to be lower than in

the private market. In the Netherlands we encountered a number of examples of this kind of 'third sector' activity. See Chapter 2 for details.

This Dutch study offered a further argument why the household services examined should not be limited to those in the private sector. In the Netherlands it is difficult to apply the criteria of subsidised versus commercial employment, because the difference is not always clear. There are, for example, subsidised places in commercial crèches. Domiciliary care organisations ('Thuiszorg'), traditionally subsidised and regulated by government, are developing commercial activities. The motive here is by no means always to supply the growing demand for household services, but more often to remunerate workers outside the framework of a collective agreement.

This study looked at repeated reports in the media of "convenience services" There seems to be an emerging market for private firms, such as Superserver, an Amsterdam-based two-man company which takes clothes to the dry cleaners for office workers³. Clothes are collected from the office and delivered back two days later. The firm had established that fewer than five of the 90 dry cleaners in Amsterdam are open after 6 o'clock. The big dry cleaning firms see a new market here too, of course - a branch of one of the big national dry cleaners has now opened in one of the main Amsterdam stations. The papers report numerous instances of new businesses like this, but probably their significance in terms of new jobs is very small. Big companies also respond to new client requirements, as is shown above and later on in this report. It is primarily smaller firms which cannot meet the new requirements of clients, a development also observed when shop opening times were extended. Although these convenience services can be adjudged to be household services, they were disregarded in this study because for the moment they create very little employment, because we encountered hardly any such firms in the two towns studied, Purmerend en Zaanstad, and because it is almost certain that existing large companies will move into this new market. This latest phenomenon is mentioned a number of times in our report.

Study methods

Employment in household services in the Netherlands may be classified on one of two different bases, occupations and economic sectors. For the former, Statistics Netherlands (CBS) uses a classification of occupations. There is only one way to record employment by occupational group and that is by actually asking people what their occupation is. CBS does that *inter alia* in the Working Population Survey. In the second case, CBS uses the Standard Classification of Economic Activities (SBI). There are two ways of recording employment by economic sector, namely by asking people in which economic sector they are employed, and by surveying businesses. In the latter case use may be made of various commercial registers, including those held by the chambers of commerce. For its surveys of businesses, CBS maintains its own register of enterprises, which includes government, educational, health care and welfare establishments. Commercial enterprises and establishments are surveyed in a range of CBS surveys, including the Survey on Employment and Wages and Production Statistics for various economic sectors. They are questioned among other things about turnover, profits, payroll size, hours of work, wages and salaries and the like, but hardly at all about the actual occupations of workers employed by the company in question.

³ 'Spectacular rise in number of two income households', Volkskrant, 99-03-16

Household services studied

In this study we did not use occupationally-based recording, even though new household services are often expressed in terms of occupations, such as domestic helps, cleaners, child minders and so on. Our study for the most part used national and regional statistics on sectors of the economy⁴.

- Childcare,
SBI code 8532.1, covering crèches, toddler groups, lunch-time care centres and out-of-school care; medical crèches are not included
- Care of the elderly,
SBI code 8531.7, covering old people's homes, nursing homes and sheltered housing with full care services; facilities for elderly people with mental problems are not included in this group,
SBI code 8532.6, covering domiciliary care, home helps, home help agencies and establishments
- Domestic work,
SBI code 7470.1, covering the cleaning and maintenance of buildings, etc.
SBI code 9301.1, covering laundries and linen hire (cleaning of clothes)
SBI code 9500, covering private households employing salaried staff
- Gardening
SBI code 0141.1, covering professional gardening firms and the like
SBI code 5249.1, covering gardening centres

The above economic sectors are not altogether synonymous with the concept of household services. A major feature of these services is that they supply private households. However, a number of the economic sectors covered below include both private households and businesses among their clients. We shall come back to this when discussing the sectors in question. Another important characteristic of these services is that they are different from the traditional, institutionally-based facilities. Nevertheless some of the economic sectors mentioned in the list include both institutionally-based facilities and private initiatives. This too will be addressed later.

⁴ Cf. Standard Classification of Economic Activities 1993, Voorburg/Heerlen, Statistics Netherlands (CBS).

Chapter 2: The national study, an overview

This chapter analyses the demand for household services; to that end the historical development has been traced of the number of households and the degree to which childcare, care of the elderly, domestic work and gardening have been done within the household or outside it. Employment in the four sectors is then measured. Lastly, we look at how far major political developments may have influenced employment trends in the four sectors. The main political developments in the four areas of household services are discussed under the relevant headings. We shall thus restrict ourselves here to employment policy, looking at Melkert jobs in general and Melkert jobs in childcare and domestic work in particular.

Introduction

The balance between household production and market production has shifted very markedly in the course of this century as a result of two opposing trends (Hagenaars & Wunderik-van Veen 1990). On the one hand capital goods for household production, such as washing machines, vacuum cleaners, gas cookers, tumble driers and microwave ovens, have become easily accessible for households. This is referred to as capital intensification or the monetarisation of household production. It allows households to produce their own services more efficiently. Gershuny (1977) described this as the move towards a 'self-service economy'. On the other hand, many activities from the domestic sector have moved across to the market sector, mainly food preparation and the production of household goods, clothing and footwear. This externalisation or contracting out of domestic work became possible as a result of economies of scale and capital intensification in the manufacturing sector, enabling food, clothing and footwear to be manufactured more cheaply in the market sector. In the current century, as a result of urbanisation, fewer and fewer households have enough space for a workshop, vegetable garden, apple orchard, cornfield or grazing land. The upshot of this capital intensification and externalisation is that households need to spend less of their working time on household production on their own account, but need more income in order to have this household production produced by others. At times of economic recession households will achieve higher household production, because they cannot contract the work out, than they do when the economy is prospering.

The degree to which households purchase goods or services depends on how keen they are to reduce the amount of working time they spend on household activities and how much of their income they are prepared to spend on this. This transformation of unpaid into paid work is part of a lengthy process of job creation. The transformation is apparent in the Netherlands too. In recent decades the amount of time spent working in the home has fallen substantially. This has given women the time to do paid work. In turn that has led to an increase in household incomes, allowing further capital intensification on the part of the household. In the 1950s virtually all married women in the Netherlands were 'non-working' housewives. They spent an average of 40-50 hours a week on domestic work, childcare and other household duties, whilst their spouses worked a 48-hour week outside the home. Now 47% of all women in the age group 15-64 do at least 12 hours of paid work per week.

When it comes to paid work, women's part-time work is far and away the leading strategy which households adopt in order to combine these duties. When it comes to work in the home, time-saving and recourse to outside help is a far commoner strategy than the redistribution of household tasks between partners. Despite the fact that the Equal Opportunities Council, the

women's movement, trade unions and government stress the importance of task redistribution time and time again, in practice this happens very little and where it does, it relates mostly to childcare. There is virtually no redistribution of other household tasks. Time-saving and contracting out are much commoner.

The historical overview is important largely because it presents two concepts for the analysis of possible time-saving in domestic work. The first concept is capital intensification: the acquisition of domestic appliances saves people time. The second is the delegation of activities from the domestic sector to the industrial sector - 'externalisation' - and the services sector - 'contracting out'. Under this second concept domestic work is replaced by work done by third parties, which may either be performed in the home, e.g. domestic help, or outside it, e.g. having bread baked by the baker or an industrial bakery. The historic overview also shows that a 'standard household production' is distinguishable in every era. In 1999, for example, buying jam at the shop is not seen as an externalisation of the activity of 'jam making', though fifty years ago it probably would have been. By today's standard of household production we classify jam buying as the norm. Externalisation is influenced by households less directly than contracting out.

Van Ours, Kunnen & De Voogd (1986) identify a number of activities which may be 'contracted out', including cleaning and window cleaning as part of domestic work, and minor repairs, painting and wallpapering as part of home maintenance, together with car repairs and repairs to domestic appliances. In a later report they identify three options: contracting out in the form of unpaid work by family, friends or acquaintances; contracting out in the informal sector by undeclared work or in the formal sector by subsidised work (Van Ours & Gerritsen 1988). Domestic work and childcare is done largely by households themselves, whilst repair work is mostly contracted out to the formal sector. By far the bulk of the work done in the informal sector is performed by cleaning ladies. When analysing the contracting out of household production it is thus important to distinguish too between the category of work concerned and the rate or price charged.

Historic developments and demand for household services

Households in the Netherlands

The Dutch population has more than trebled in the course of this century. In 1900 there were just 5.1 million inhabitants, but by 1998 the figure had risen to 15.6 million (CBS, 1989; CBS, 1999; cf. Tables 1 and 4). Up to the mid-1960s the population grew considerably, but the rate of growth then slowed. Initially it was thought that the Dutch population would reach 20 million before the end of the century, but that is not now expected to happen before the year 2050, and even then only if one takes the highest estimate. Together with longer life expectancy, the average number of children per woman is a major factor in the rate of population growth. Between 1900 and 1990 this fell from 4.4 children to 1.5. It rose in the post-war years but since the early 1960s the number of children per woman has steadily declined. In recent years the figure has stabilised at 1.5 children per woman.

During this century the number of Dutch households has increased more than sixfold (CBS, 1989; CBS, 1999). At the start of the century there were 1.1 million. Now, at the end of the century (1997), there are almost 6.7 million. Table 2 gives figures for the number of households between 1975 and 1995. In the last few decades there has been a significant increase in the number of one-person households. Now almost a third of households comprise only one person. The average size of a household has declined markedly, from 4.5 persons at

the start of the century to 2.3 in 1997. This means a considerably lower household production, thus requiring less working time. On the other hand, the smaller size of households is partly due to the fact that unmarried daughters, grandparents and live-in help no longer live in the home. Whereas household production could formerly be spread over a number of people, now there is just the 'woman of the house' left to generate this production.

The meaning of household production has changed greatly over the century. More household production is now contracted out to the service sector. Thus the seriously ill can be looked after by better health care provision outside the home. At the same time, however, deliveries to the home have fallen considerably, though on the other hand there are better transport facilities allowing people to shop for the whole week. Capital goods for household production have also become widely accessible to households, e.g. washing machines, vacuum cleaners, gas cookers, tumble driers, microwave ovens and the like. Table 3 shows the growth of ownership of these appliances by Dutch households. Between 1974 and 1990 there was a marked rise in ownership of consumer durables, namely deep-freezers, tumble driers and dishwashers. Whereas originally just 6% of households had a dishwasher, by 1990 the figure was 17% and it is now almost 30%.

The length of time worked in the home can also be influenced by the condition of the home and the availability of facilities. There was no meaningful improvement in either factor between 1974 and 1990, however. There has been little change in the percentage of households suffering from damp, leaks, cold or draughts, or in the level of facilities in the form of shops, schools and medical facilities available within walking distance. It is true that the percentage of households occupying a detached house has risen slightly and the percentage living in flats has fallen slightly. This may mean that the average length of time spent on domestic work has risen to some extent, since detached houses are usually bigger than flats and need more cleaning. The percentage of households living in their own homes rose sharply between 1974 and 1990, but it is difficult to know how far this may affect the length of time spent on domestic work.

Demand for childcare

The post-war ideal of the family, with a full-time housewife and her husband as breadwinner, was that mothers should be at home for their children all the time (Pott-Buter & Tjzens, 1998, Ch. 5). Governesses, nannies or crèches were thus rare in the 1950s. Childcare amounted to a few dozen nursery places, funded by charities and under the Poverty Act. They were meant for mothers unable to look after their children during the day, because they had to 'go out to work' or were 'disadvantaged'. In the 1960s the declining birth rate was matched by a change in educational thinking: toddlers were now seen as needing contact with children their own age. As a result of initiatives by women's organisations, home nursing organisations and welfare bodies, a large number of toddler groups were set up, receiving modest subsidies from local authorities. From the admissions policy and opening hours it is clear that these playgroups were not aimed at working mothers. From the 1970s onward a demand arose for childcare from mothers wanting to go on working after having their children. The government came under pressure to give subsidies too for children whose mothers were not disadvantaged. In 1982 numerous organisations, from the Equal Opportunities Council to the Family Council, urged the government to acknowledge childcare as a basic facility (Tjzens & Lieon, 1993). The government's view, however, was that childcare centres would be set up in the private market and it was only prepared to help by giving tax relief on childcare. It thought, as employers and unions thought too, that childcare was a parental responsibility. In the case of childcare, however, the free market did not work: waiting lists for subsidised

crèche places grew ever longer, the economic recession came and went, demand for labour increased and with it the demand for childcare. In 1987, for the first time, trade unions included childcare provision as one of their demands in collective bargaining. They were successful: more and more collective agreements include a requirement for the employer to contribute towards the cost of childcare for his workforce.

The alternative to organised childcare, namely several years of parental leave, has received scant consideration. In the second half of the 1980s businesses introduced a form of parental leave: women resigning to look after their children were for a number of years thereafter treated as in-house applicants if they wished to return to work. The period of continuous service entitling them to pension and other rights was suspended, however. Other forms of parental leave, especially paid leave, were virtually non-existent. Parents had a statutory right to work half-time for a maximum of six months. In a number of sectors, including government, part of this leave was paid. In most sectors it was not. As a result the demand for childcare provision in the Netherlands was relatively high and growing.

In 1989 the cabinet changed tack: subsidised childcare had to be expanded to enable more women to participate in the labour market. The Childcare Incentive was designed to create 49 000 extra places in addition to the existing 20 000 places (Van Doorne-Huiskes *et al.* 1996). The government expected parents and employers to contribute towards the cost. By 1993, the set objectives had all but been achieved. In the years which followed, the number of places continued to increase, but waiting lists increased even faster due to the sharp increase in the number of working women with young children. In 1998 the incoming cabinet agreed to double the number of child places to 150 000, at a cost of NLG 400 million. The aim of this was to get rid of waiting lists and move part of the informal circuit of child minding and baby-sitting done as informal or undeclared work across to the formal economy⁵. Plans were laid for a Basic Childcare Provision Act, giving any parent, irrespective of income, a statutory right to childcare and out-of-school care. In June 1999 the cabinet put forward a plan drawn up jointly by three ministries⁶. This would add 71 000 places, 60% of them for after-school care. At the same time, the ceiling for tax relief would be raised. This measure would make childcare cheaper for lower income groups, the self-employed and workers not covered by a collective agreement which included rules on childcare.

By far the majority of childcare continues to be done informally by parents, in-laws, other relatives or neighbours. It is thought that 500 000 children are looked after by grandmothers, neighbours or relatives⁷. Most parents would prefer formal childcare but are on a waiting list, cannot afford it, or think that the difference between what they earn and what they have to pay out for childcare is too small. Children are also being looked after increasingly by paid carers, child minders and the like. The size of this private care market is unknown.

There is a strong correlation between the use of formal childcare and a worker's educational level (Van den Brekel & Tjidsens, 1999). The more highly educated the worker is, the more use he/she makes of childcare. The explanation for this is that female workers with a high level of education are less likely to stop work when they have children than women with a low level of education. More highly educated women have more to lose in terms of future career and salary structure. Even though they have to pay more in parental contributions

⁵ 'Melkert seeks to broaden childcare provision', *Volkskrant*, 98-03-11

⁶ '80% increase in childcare facilities', *NRC*, 99-06-08

⁷ 'Toddlers on the waiting list mark time at the next-door neighbour's', *NRC*, 98-03-25

towards childcare, they are more willing to accept this cost than less well educated women. Not only is the difference between income and the cost of childcare smaller with less well educated women; they are also more likely to have jobs with a flatter income profile, offering fewer benefits in the future. Other research shows that only 37% of less well educated women go on working after the birth of their first child, compared with 46% of women with senior secondary education and 71% of women with a higher education (Van den Berg & Boelens, 1995).

Demand for care services for the elderly

At the beginning of this century 6% of the population were aged over 65. The majority lived in poverty and were dependent on church, private or local authority charities. After World War II the financial position of the elderly featured prominently on the political agenda. There was the phased introduction of benefit for all citizens aged 65 and over, to make them less dependent on family or charities. Old people's homes were built, initially to ease the post-war housing shortage, because the elderly left behind a dwelling, which could be used by young married couples, for example. It was not uncommon for young, healthy retired people to move into such homes. The first nursing homes were set up for elderly people who were chronically ill.

By the mid-1970s a record number of elderly people were living in old people's homes, and fewer and fewer parents were living with their children. Government thinking and policy changed when it became clear that the steep rise in the population of such homes was causing major financial problems. Reducing their capacity became a main priority: no more than 7% of those aged over 65 would be eligible for admission. In 1977 a rule was introduced whereby all those 'in need of care' were still eligible. In this way old people's homes changed from being a residential facility to being a care facility and were now referred to as nursing homes. The 7% target was not achieved until 1988. Nearly ten years on, in 1997, just 5.3% of the over 65s lived in a nursing home⁸.

The proportion of over 65s in the population has risen: from 10% in 1970 to 13.5%, or 2.1 million people, in 1998. This group includes an increasing proportion of healthy people. It is estimated that a good three-quarters of older people live independently and fewer than 10% of them live with their children. The social and political thinking on the elderly is that they should continue to live independently and look after themselves for as long as possible. Support must then be given when necessary. Demand for care of the elderly is shrinking in proportion to the numbers of elderly people, but this trend will probably be reversed as the number of older people increases.

The decline in nursing home capacity is offset by new residential facilities in which the elderly can be given a greater or lesser degree of help according to their needs: adapted housing, sheltered housing attached to old people's homes, service flats or day care centres. These older people can continue to live in their own surroundings thanks to subsidised domiciliary care and voluntary services. This care is provided by volunteers, including many women in the 45-65 age group, usually on an unpaid basis. An increasing percentage of nursing homes also offer extramural services including daytime care, help with bathing and showering, pedicures, connection to alarm systems or meals-on-wheels (CBS, 1998b). In 1996 retirement homes sent out an average of 52 000 meals a day. The meals-on-wheels service peaked in 1994 when it was offered by 82% of homes. Two years later this figure had

⁸ 'Fewer of the elderly going to nursing homes', NRC, 99-07-31

fallen to 70%. Presumably the meals-on-wheels service is increasingly being replaced by ready-to-eat meals and a microwave.

In the Netherlands care of the elderly is largely institutionalised. Voluntary work is very largely organised within these institutions. It is unclear whether demand for care services for the elderly will increase and, if it does, whether help will be expected from family members who do not really have time to provide it or are not physically able to do so. Will this then give rise to new household services? For the moment there is little to suggest that it will. It is striking that there has been virtually no development of commercial services specifically for the elderly. Businesses are very cautious when it comes to supplying products related to the elderly. It is true that there are some commercially run old people's homes, but there are historic reasons for these (Minkman & Van Asselt, 1997). They are primarily religious foundations.

Demand for domestic help

In post-war Dutch society housework was a time-consuming business. According to a 1956 survey, housewives spent 12 to 14 hours a day, i.e. more than 70 hours a week, on housework (Groot & Kunz, 1984, pp. 119-120). In the 1950s and 1960s, when the breadwinner model was at its height, housewives did virtually all their own housework. Nearly ten years later the housewife's working week was still 57 hours (Philips Nederland, 1996, pp. 16-17). A further ten years later women with children living at home still spent some 33 hours a week on household chores. Fifteen years on, in 1990, the figure was a little under 30 hours (Van der Lippe & Niphuis-Nell, 1994). In households without children living at home the time spent on housework was markedly less. In the Netherlands virtually all women with children living at home have a part-time job. In this way they combine paid work with household duties and childcare.

Only a minority of households have paid domestic help. In 1947 7% of households still had a maid, but in 1960 fewer than 4% did. These were mostly households where the home was also the place of work, for example doctors or farmers. Paid domestic help increasingly took the form of a cleaning lady or domestic help for a number of hours a week and no longer by a full-time maid. In 1990 7% of households had domestic help, primarily higher-income households where both partners worked. In 1995 8% of households had domestic help, three-quarters of them for fewer than 5 hours a week⁹. Particularly among dual earner households there was a great and unsatisfied demand for domestic help: one in three needed more help in the home, especially for cleaning, washing and ironing (Mot & Paape, 1995). They wanted about 4 hours a week and were prepared to pay NLG 12 per hour. This was slightly below the going rate, namely NLG 13 per hour.

Households spend 2.5% of their total budget on household services and cleaning (CBS, 1999). This category includes spending on domestic help. Demand for these services is proportionate to the family income. Differences in women's earnings are of decisive importance here, as Milkman, Reese & Roth (1998) demonstrated for the USA. Women who earn as much per hour as they have to pay for domestic help are more likely to decide to do fewer hours' paid work and do their own housework. As the proportion of women in senior and middle-ranking positions increases, demand for domestic help will increase too.

⁹ Figures from data supplied by the Social and Cultural Planning Bureau's General Survey of Facilities 1995 (Steinmetzarchief P1304)

Demand by households for domestic help does not appear to be stimulating the supply of domestic help. This will be confirmed later in our report (Chapter 3). Nor does a large measure of unsatisfied demand seem to be pushing prices up. This is probably because there are alternative solutions to housework. Either households may decide to sacrifice their leisure time and do the housework themselves. Or they may decide to lower their standards as regards cleaning the house. The third option is that household may go for greater efficiency, for example replacing carpets by wooden flooring, which is far quicker to clean, or buying domestic appliances such as a dishwasher. The survey shows, however, that - all other things being equal - the only way to save a substantial amount of time on domestic work is by having domestic help (Tijdens, 1995).

Demand for gardening services

In 1990 71% of all dwellings in the Netherlands were single family houses, 21% were flats and the rest consisted of farmhouses, boats, company flats, etc. (CBS, 1992). It is estimated that the overwhelming majority of single family houses come with a garden, the average size of which - again as estimated by the author - is 30-50 m². Virtually all the work entailed in looking after these gardens was done by households themselves. The amount of time spent on this was small. According to a 1988 time use survey, 6% of Dutch people aged over 18 spent time on their ornamental gardens and 2% on their kitchen gardens or vegetable plots¹⁰. In total they spent an average of 5.3 minutes and 2.2 minutes respectively on these activities per day. Gardening work is probably only a very small percentage of the work contracted out by households. A survey of patterns in work contracted out by households did not even consider this type of work (Van Ours, Kunnen & De Voogd, 1986; Van Ours & Gerritsen, 1988).

Gardening work is probably contracted out for the most part to professional gardening firms. These look after gardens, parks, sports fields and communal green areas, including roadside verges, fields and playing fields. The work may also be one-off contracts, for landscape gardening or ornamental paving, sinking of ponds, erection of fencing or pergolas, or the planting of trees and shrubs. Some of those commissioning the work will be private individuals, others will be local authorities, foundations and the like.

In 1990 there were some 2 000 professional gardening firms and the number was virtually unchanged in 1996¹¹. In that year the turnover of professional gardening firms was just over NLG 1 billion. Some professional gardening firms drew their income partly from looking after private gardens and partly from work such as ornamental paving and drainage work or from a garden centre. These garden centres, of which there are about 600 in the Netherlands, sell plants and seed materials for gardens, but do not usually do private gardening work (cf. also Table 6). As the market for private gardening services has grown, these professional gardening firms have presumably been able to absorb the demand without undue difficulty.

Jobs in household services

The Dutch labour market in a nutshell

The working population of the Netherlands has almost quadrupled in the course of this century. In 1899 it was just over 1.9 million, but by 1997 had grown to just over 6.8 million (CBS, 1989; CBS, 1999). The growth is attributable primarily to women. Whereas a hundred years ago only 431 600 women worked, the number now is more than 2.7 million. That is a

¹⁰ Use of leisure time, in Social and Cultural Reports 1993-1, CBS

¹¹ CBS Statline, Production Statistics Professional Gardening Firms

more than sixfold increase. The increase was particularly marked in the 1990s, from 2.2 million in 1990 to 2.7 million in 1997. The male working population has grown in the course of this century from 1.5 million to 4.1 million. The increase in the 1990s was minimal, from 3.9 million in 1990 to 4.1 million in 1997 (cf. Table 4).

In 1997 5.2% of the working population were unemployed (CBS, 1999). In April 1999 the figure had fallen to 3.6%, a record bettered by just one country of the European Union, Luxembourg. Strikingly, the rate of unemployment amongst the ethnic minorities is falling faster than in other population groups¹². Compared with many neighbouring countries, the Dutch economy is very healthy. In 1996 and 1997 economic growth was 3.25% a year. Growth of 3.75% is forecast for 1998. The Central Planning Bureau (CPB) predicts a slight slowdown for 1999, partly and indirectly due to the economic problems in Asia and Russia.

More than two-thirds of the female working population have a part-time job. This is a high percentage in comparison with other European countries. In contrast to the situation in some neighbouring countries, part-time jobs in the Netherlands are certainly not marginalised jobs with low wages and poor terms of employment. Women seek part-time jobs primarily because they want to combine their career and their domestic duties. The labour market behaviour of the overwhelming majority of women with children is dominated by the desire to combine paid work and domestic work (Tijdens, Maassen van den Brink, Groot & Noom, 1994). This has fostered a gradual process of job creation in the Netherlands.

Jobs in childcare

Employment in childcare consists of people working in childcare centres and people working as child minders, either in their own homes or those of their employers. The scale of employment in childcare centres is well documented. The same is not true of child minding, so it is difficult to estimate the scale of this. We shall confine ourselves here to jobs in childcare centres.

Between 1990 and 1996 jobs in childcare centres almost doubled, from 15 800 to 28 900. The proposed expansion of childcare provision will boost this number to 30 000 jobs¹³. Table 7 shows that on average a childcare centre employs 12 people. The principal job in childcare centres is that of nursery nurse. This is the job title of the overwhelming majority of those working in such centres (85%).

In the 1970s crèches were generally set up and run by parents¹⁴. Two decades later these have all but disappeared¹⁵. Utrecht still has five and Amsterdam has one. In Utrecht's 'De Krakeling' parents are required to help out for two sessions if their child attends the crèche for more than two and a half days¹⁶. One couple interviewed said that, firstly, they found an 'ordinary' crèche too expensive and, secondly, they wanted to be more actively involved in their children's upbringing¹⁷. No qualifications are required of parents because parents who can bring up a child at home can do it at a crèche too, so the reasoning goes. The

¹² 'Job prospects pick up for ethnic minorities', NRC, 99-07-07

¹³ '80% increase in childcare facilities', NRC, 99-06-08

¹⁴ An example of the 'third-sector economy', cf. Chapter 1

¹⁵ 'Rules prohibit crèches run by parents', Volkskrant, 99-01-09

¹⁶ 'Housework', Aaneen, 98-11-28

¹⁷ 'Housework', Aaneen, 98-11-28

municipality, which issues licences, is considering whether to drop the qualification requirement in such situations.

Jobs in care of the elderly

Employment in care of the elderly consists of people working in nursing home and domiciliary care. A small proportion of nursing homes are private institutions, but most of them are subsidised. Domiciliary care is largely funded under the Exceptional Medical Expenses Act (AWBZ). Employment in private-sector care of the elderly also includes staff who look after service flats, but they are probably a very small part of the sector. Domestic helps also do housework for the elderly, but this will be discussed in the next section. Here we are focusing on employment in nursing homes and domiciliary care.

In 1995 there were almost 84 000 people working in nursing homes (cf. Table 8). This number has fallen as a result of the measures mentioned earlier to reduce the proportion of over 65s in old people's homes. Whilst in 1990 employment amounted to nearly 55 000 full-time equivalents (fte), in 1996 the number was 53 000. This did not, however, mean a reduction in the number of persons employed; on the contrary, because of the increasing percentage of part-timers working in nursing homes, the number of persons employed rose from 82 000 to 83 700. Nursing homes also make use of volunteer workers. Their contribution increased between 1994 and 1996 by more than 20% to just over 5 million hours worked (CBS, 1998b). The 50 000 or so volunteers in nursing homes work an average of about 100 hours per year.

The main occupational groups in nursing homes are carers and nursing staff. 55% of personnel in these homes perform caring or nursing duties. For care staff there is training at VBO level (Preparatory Vocational Education) and MBO level (Senior Secondary Vocational Education). By the year 2002 it is anticipated that the employment prospects of those with VBO training for the care sector will be reasonable and that for those with MBO training for the care sector they will be moderate (Vlasblom, De Grip & Van Loo, 1997). Sensitivity to movements in the economy, that is to say the degree to which job opportunities depend on fluctuations in the economic cycle, is low in the case of jobs requiring VBO in the care sector and medium in the case of jobs requiring MBO in the care sector. The occupational range, that is to say the number of occupations which people with the right training can fill, is wide for those with VBO carer training and medium for those with MBO carer training. For girls from the ethnic minorities with no school-leaving qualifications and an inadequate command of Dutch there is 'Transitional Training in Care Provision'. Students are given crash courses in the language and prepared for training as carers.

Domiciliary care ('thuiszorg') came into being in the 1990s as the result of numerous mergers between establishments for family care, district nursing services, maternity care and neonatal care. Figures for employment in domiciliary care thus cover recent years only (cf. Table 6). In 1994 there were just over 49 000 full-time jobs in domiciliary care, the majority of them done by women (CBS, 1999). Two years the number had fallen somewhat to just under 48 900 jobs. Expressed in terms of persons employed, however, there was a rise from 100 500 in 1993 to 104 700 in 1996.

Jobs in domestic work

Employment in domestic work consists of domestic helps employed by private households and cleaners employed by cleaning firms who work for private households. Work for private households accounts for only 7% of the turnover of cleaning firms (CBS, 1993; CBS, 1994),

and that is the turnover from families and housing associations together, the latter presumably accounting for the greater share. Cleaning firms are certainly keen to venture further into the market for private house cleaning. The umbrella organisation for the sector, *Ondernemersorganisatie Schoonmaak- & Bedrijfsdiensten* (OSB), expects that more and more Dutch households will have their houses cleaned by a specialist cleaning firm and that this will generate several tens of thousands of jobs for the sector over the next ten years¹⁸. They will, however, have to compete with rates of pay on the informal market, which are significantly lower. We pursue this point further in Chapter 3.

Work as domestic helps or cleaners in private households is done almost entirely on an informal basis. A private household concludes a contract of employment - usually verbally - with an individual worker, agreeing the number of hours a week and the rate of pay. In most cases there is no question of social security contributions or entitlements to social security benefits such as sick pay, disability allowance or unemployment benefit. Even if they wanted to, households would probably be frightened off by the considerable red tape involved in declaring their domestic help. The social security administrations are very much geared to employers being registered businesses rather than private households. That is not to say, however, that the work done by these domestic helps is part of the black economy, where work is work done by someone who, in contravention of the law, fails to register it with the tax or social security authorities (CBS, 1998a). This is not the case with most cleaning ladies. Married women with a gainfully employed spouse can after all earn up to NLG 8 380 a year without needing to declare this for tax, and for social benefits they can make use of family schemes such as the Health Insurance Fund. (*Ziekenfonds*).

There is one source which sheds some light on the employment of domestic helps, namely the category 'persons employed by private households' used in the Employment Accounts (CBS, 1998a). We assume that this category comprises primarily domestic helps. Table 9 shows that the number of persons working in private households rose from 28 000 in 1987 to 37 000 in 1989, remained stable up to 1994 and then rose again to 42 000 in 1997. If one looks at the volume of work done by these people, however, the increase is small. Over a ten-year period it rose from 11 000 to 14 000 man years, which can be explained by the growth in the women's share in the market. In 1987 this was 92%, and ten years later it was 97%. We have more detailed figures for 1996. These show that of the 39 000 women employed in private households, 37 000 were working part time, 30 000 of them fewer than 20 hours a week. Flexi-time contracts are virtually unknown in private households, in that no formal contract of employment and no set hours of work are agreed¹⁹. There is also very little combining of jobs. 33 000 out of the 39 000 women have just the one job. For 4 000 women the job is a second one and for 2 000 women it is the main job, but they have another job too. In this respect women employed by private households are no different from working women in general.

The number of domestic helps shown in the Employment Accounts is probably a gross underestimate. An estimate based on research done by the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen puts the number at 250 000 domestic helps²⁰. If 8% of the 6.5 million households do indeed have paid domestic help however, as stated earlier, the number of domestic helps for 1995 should be approximately 520 000, not adjusted for multiple jobs. The estimate for 1990, based on 7%

¹⁸ 'Families contract their cleaning work out', *Volkskrant*, 98-04-14

¹⁹ Included here are dial-up and stand-in workers, together with temps and workers on short-term contracts of less than a year (CBS, Employment Accounts 1996-1997, Table DIV 1)

²⁰ 'The earnings of ... cleaning ladies', NRC, 98-11-07

of the 6.1 million households, is then 424 000. This would thus mean that there had been a marked increase in the number of domestic helps over this five-year period. These figures must be treated with the necessary caution, however. Despite the difference between the two estimates, they are both considerably higher than the 41 000 persons shown in the Employment Accounts.

Jobs in gardening

Employment in gardening covers people working in professional gardening firms and persons working directly for households. We only have figures for the former group (cf. 109). In 1990 some 10 000 persons were employed in professional gardening firms. In 1996 the figure was slightly lower. Professional gardening firms are largely family-run. A good 25% of these 10 000 persons are thus their own bosses or family members working in the business.

The main occupation in professional gardening firms is that of gardener. There are several types of gardening training that can be followed (*assistentenopleiding groene ruimte, basisberoepsopleiding groene ruimte, vakopleidingen groot en klein groen, vakopleiding land, water en milieu*), with the emphasis on different aspects of gardening as a whole. The occupation of gardener comes under the occupational group of 'junior general agrarian occupations', as classified by CBS²¹. The group also includes other occupations, primarily agrarian occupations in livestock farming and horticulture. Women account for 27% of the overall occupational group, but a significantly smaller proportion of gardeners, namely 9% (Table 6). There has been little change here in the last few years. There are a lot of ethnic minority workers in the occupational group and here too there has been no change in recent years. In terms of age structure, 41% are younger than 30 and 15% are aged 50 or over. Compared with other groups this is a very high proportion of younger people and a normal proportion of older ones. There has been no change in recent years in the proportion either of younger people or of older people. The proportion of flexi-time workers has risen sharply over the last few years. The proportion of part-time workers has also risen over the last few years, but is not higher than the average for the working population as a whole.

Informal and undeclared work

It is clear from this report that part of the work performed as household services is done on an informal basis. We apply the following definitions here:

- Undeclared work (working on the black) is work done by someone who, in contravention of the law, fails to register it with the tax or social security authorities
- 'Formal' work is work done in return for financial remuneration which is declared to the tax authorities
- 'Informal' work is work done unwaged or in return for income which is not taxable

Source: CBS, 1998a

No work has been done recently in the Netherlands to measure the scale of informal work. Using CBS's 1988 Time Use Survey, an estimate was made of the annual volume of informal work done by people aged 15 to 64 (CBS, 1991). For paid domestic work in other people's houses the figure was 42 000 man-years, compared with 48 200 man-years of domestic work performed in other people's households unwaged. The gender breakdown is significant.

²¹ Information from the Manpower Services Internet site

Women do 5 000 man-years of paid domestic work in other people's households, whereas men do 400. These estimates are considerably lower than we found earlier in this chapter from an overview of persons employed by private households (12 000 for 1988). It may be that some of these people should be classified as doing formal work, but the discrepancy appears to be quite considerable. This shows how difficult it is to quantify the scale of informal work.

Relevant political developments

Melkert jobs

In 1994 the Netherlands had almost half a million people out of work. About half of them had been jobless for more than a year and were thus classified as 'long-term unemployed'. Measures to combat unemployment were a high priority with the cabinet of the time. Given that unemployment was particularly high amongst the poorly educated, it was decided to ease the burdens by making simple work cheaper. The main objective was to create 40 000 jobs, the 'Melkert' jobs, named after the then Minister for Social Affairs and Employment. The aim was, within the immediate future, to help a large number of the long-term unemployed who were receiving benefit to find jobs in the public services sector. These jobs were in one of two groups: 14 000 jobs in the care sector and 26 000 jobs in public safety, surveillance and childcare. Then came the Melkert-2 plans to promote subsidised employment in industry and Melkert-3 to promote voluntary work schemes, where the worker could continue to receive benefit. By 1 January 1999 34 700 of the 40 000 Melkert jobs had been filled²², that is to say 87%.

The Melkert scheme is a national policy implemented by local employment offices. Under it, employers taking on someone who has been out of work for at least one year receive a maximum subsidy of NLG 18 000. Some local authorities add a further contribution. The scheme concentrates on unemployed people with lower-level qualifications and is meant as a stepping-stone to a permanent job. The subsidy is paid only for additional work, i.e. work which would not otherwise be done. Melkert jobs must not supplant regular jobs. Melkert workers do a maximum of 32 hours a week and receive 100-120% of the minimum wage. A Melkert worker gets a contract of employment which is fully governed by the laws on contracts of employment. The aim is that employers should in time convert Melkert jobs into permanent jobs. The government does not lay down strict rules and penalties on this.

In 1995 the Minister introduced a scheme for Melkert jobs in the care services. 14 000 structural Melkert jobs were to be created in this sector. The social partners then 'translated' the scheme to the situations obtaining in the various sectors, so that it could be implemented on a sectoral basis. By early 1998 about 60% of the jobs had been created. A sixth of the designated jobs have since been lost because they had remained vacant for too long (Bemmelen & Davelaar, 1998). Falling unemployment made it harder and harder to find candidates for the jobs. The employment offices, which play an important part in finding candidates, say that a lot of potential candidates prefer not to work in the care sector because they find it difficult to deal with clients or because of the poor image of the care sector - low wages, pressure of work, poor prospects of advancement and unattractive working hours. The care establishments in turn are critical of the potential employees. This 'inability to deal with clients' in particular is a frequent stumbling block. Care establishments themselves are not as efficient as they might be: there is by no means always a job description available for the job

²² 'Bulk of Melkert jobs now filled', *Financieele Dagblad*, 99-04-15

concerned, and in-house procedures are slow. The strict rules attaching to Melkert workers are also perceived as an obstacle. Our advice is thus to drop the residence requirement and to allow part-time work.

Melkert jobs in domiciliary care and childcare

The 40 000 Melkert jobs included jobs earmarked for domiciliary care. At the end of 1997, 955 of the 2 608 designated jobs had been filled (Fleuren & Van Wolferen, 1998). Jobs were created in two ways, firstly by creating new functions classified at a lower level than the lowest level functions under the old collective agreement for domiciliary care and, secondly, by opening up a number of existing functions to Melkert workers. These include home help jobs, helping with shopping and going to the market, simple gardening, small household jobs, domestic appliance repairs, painting and decorating, assistant concierge work and driving.

These jobs must not supplant other jobs, nor must they distort budgets. Existing jobs must not be filled by Melkert workers, unless they are jobs which disappeared more than three years ago as a result of cuts. In a situation where formal training in domiciliary care is in decline, it makes sense for this work to be done by Melkert workers. Research shows that in domiciliary care many Melkert jobs are indeed replacing regular work (Fleuren & Van Wolferen, 1998). Only a limited number of these jobs are ultimately converted into regular jobs. In domiciliary care many Melkert workers are brought in to fill staff shortages caused by cutbacks. In this way, regular staff do less overtime and waiting lists can be reduced.

The study also shows that it is particularly difficult to ascertain whether low-paid jobs are in fact Melkert jobs or supposedly regular jobs. The authors speak of a large grey area here (Fleuren & Van Wolferen, 1998: 59). Furthermore, many Melkert workers do the same work as their regular counterparts.

Melkert jobs in childcare were created rather later than in domiciliary care. In 1997 the ABVAKABO FNV board came up with a plan to use Melkert subsidies in childcare for nursery nurses, and not just the group helpers who assist them in carrying out household and care tasks²³. At the beginning of 1998 there were already 1 700 people doing Melkert jobs in childcare.

The 'declared' cleaning lady'

In 1996, as part of the Melkert scheme, the 'declared' cleaning ladies' plan was set up for poorly educated unemployed women. Under the plan, the wages of 'declared' cleaning ladies are subsidised to enable them to compete with 'informal' and 'undeclared' workers. There are also plans to introduce a certificate of qualification in domestic cleaning work. If this happens, higher prices for domestic cleaning will be warranted. The aim of the project is to organise the supply of 'declared' cleaning ladies locally, in conjunction with private firms. These may be cleaning firms, or firms specially set up for the purpose.

As with the Melkert plans, a subsidy of not more than NLG 19 000 is provided for long-term unemployed persons taken on by private cleaning firms (Salverda, 1998). The plan is that private individuals can hire a 'declared' cleaning lady for a maximum of NLG 17.50 an hour. Households not willing to pay these higher prices will have to recruit from the informal circuit. The 'declared' cleaning lady earns the same pay as in the informal circuit: NLG 15.70 gross per hour after the first six months. This compares with what cleaners working for firms

²³ 'Melkert subsidies for childcare: more jobs and more children', Aaneen, 97-12-20

earn and also with rates paid in the informal circuit, namely NLG 15.00 cash in hand. The difference between the cost of the 'declared' cleaning lady and a worker in the informal circuit is made up by the government. The employer can use this subsidy to pay social security contributions for his workers so that they have health insurance, holidays and a pension fund, while the government simply pays a subsidy rather than unemployment benefit.

In 1997 only 250 of the intended 5 000 jobs had been filled. In 1998 the scheme was changed and it is now working better²⁴. This new scheme, Private Household Cleaning Services (SVP) also involves cleaning firms represented by the sectoral organisation OSB. The cleaning sector is fiercely competitive and is thus on the lookout for new opportunities in the market for cleaning private households. At the beginning of 1998, 140 of the 5000 or so cleaning firms cleaned private households²⁵. The main concern of such firms is not finding clients but finding enough workers. The OSB has set up a committee to highlight points of difficulty over the SVP scheme and to lobby the Ministry for Social Affairs and Employment to get the scheme changed. In particular the requirement that an unemployed person should have been registered as looking for work for at least one year is a major obstacle to finding enough workers. The OSB thinks that a maximum of six months would be more appropriate²⁶.

Firms affiliated to the OSB can obtain a licence to employ SVP people. By the end of 1998 100 firms had a licence of this kind and had concluded 400 contracts with individuals. There were 265 'declared' cleaning ladies working under this scheme. In rural areas the supply of unemployed women is adequate, but demand for households services is low²⁷. In the cities, however, the demand for cleaning services is huge but there are not enough unemployed women registering for the project.

In 1997 the Finance Ministry broached the possibility of lowering the rate of VAT on labour-intensive services from 17.5% to 6%. The OSB urged the Minister to apply the reduced rate of VAT to labour-intensive cleaning services too. This, it was argued, would make them more competitive with the 'informal economy'. During the Dutch presidency of the European Union the Finance Minister gave the subject a prominent place on the agenda. At the end of 1997 the European Commission decided to allow experiments to lower the rate of VAT on labour-intensive services and in December 1998 the green light was given. Member States can register sectors which they would like to see qualify for the reduced rate. The Netherlands registered the cleaning sector with Brussels. This was approved on an experimental basis²⁸.

²⁴ 'Subsidised cleaning ladies operate in a growth market', *Volkskrant*, 98-12-30

²⁵ 'Families contract their cleaning work out', *Volkskrant*, 98-04-14

²⁶ OSB chairman's new year address, OSB press report 13 January 1999

²⁷ 'Declared cleaning ladies ready to take on small cleaning jobs', *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 98-10-23

²⁸ OSB chairman's new year address, OSB press report 13 January 1999

Chapter 3: Causes and effects of the growth in household services

This part of our study focuses on the situation at local level, but relates it to the situation at national level. We look at four household services; childcare, care of the elderly, domestic work and gardening. In order to study the causes and effects of measures to create jobs in household services at this local level, two towns were selected - Purmerend and Zaanstad. These two towns were chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, there are a substantial number of jobs in the sectors concerned. Secondly, both towns are lively communities. National employment policy is vigorously implemented, for example the Youth Employment Guarantee Plan, a plan to get unemployed young people and school leavers into jobs fast: there is a vocational school for women returning to work after having children (the Anna Polak School) and there are numerous associations which are run by volunteers. Lastly, the local authority in both towns conducts regular statistical surveys of the local population. Both towns have employment offices. The two are very different, however, as we show in the first two subsections of this chapter. We then look at the overall picture of activity and employment in Purmerend and Zaanstad, and consider in detail the supply of services in the four sectors studied. The next section looks at the jobs situation in the two towns and at demand for labour in the four sectors. Lastly, conclusions are drawn from the chapter and the implications are considered.

The two towns studied

Purmerend

Purmerend lies in the west of the country, twenty kilometres north of the capital Amsterdam. It grew up about 750 years ago on a narrow elevated spit of land between the three lakes Purmermeer, Beemstermeer and Wormermeer. Two centuries later, in 1484, a livestock market started up. During the 'Golden Age', the three lakes were drained. Agriculture and livestock farming in these new polders increased Purmerend's importance as a trading centre. Between 1750 and 1950 the population of the town grew steadily from 2 500 to 7 000.

In the early 1960s Purmerend was a small, entirely agricultural town. The Government then designated it as a dormitory town for the growing population of Amsterdam. The town expanded. One after another the new neighbourhoods of Overwhere, Wheermolen, Overwhere-II, de Gors, de Purmer-Zuid and de Purmer-Noord were built. The population grew dramatically. In 1990 the population was almost nine times its 1950 level, at almost 59 000 (cf. Table 10). During the 1990s the town continued to grow. In 1998 it had nearly 67 000 inhabitants, 14% more than in 1990. When the housing being built in the newest neighbourhood, Weidevenne, is finished, the town's population will have reached 80 000.

Purmerend has over 17 700 families (cf. Table 2). Of these, some 2 000 are single-parent families and about 15 600 are married or cohabiting adult couples. Of these families, 11 200 or so have children. There are also 14 000 residents who live alone.

Two thirds of the Purmerend population in the 15-64 age group are in paid work. These figures are shown in Table 4. The figure for women is lower than for men, 57% as against 76%. A fair proportion of the working population of Purmerend, 44%, work in Amsterdam and commute to the capital daily by car, train, bus or sometimes even bicycle or moped²⁹.

²⁹ 'More and more Purmerend people find work', Nieuwe Noordhollandse Courant, 98-10-17

Only 42% of the female working population of Purmerend and 24% of the male population work in Purmerend itself. Unemployment in the town is slightly lower than the national average. In the period 1992-1996 it was almost one percentage point lower. For many years unemployment in the west of the country has been lower than in the other regions. The 1996 figures for registered unemployment were 5% in Purmerend and 6% in the Netherlands as a whole.

Purmerend acts as the centre for a large surrounding area. Consequently, the service industry, health care and education are particularly important focuses of employment. The employment figures for the population of Purmerend have been taken from the Working Population Survey (EBB) of Statistics Netherlands (CBS). This is a person-based survey. Since Purmerend is primarily a commuter town, the employment figures for the population of Purmerend which have been quoted so far shed little light on activity and jobs in Purmerend itself. We do have data on these, however (cf. Table 11). This table gives a breakdown of jobs in Purmerend by sector. The figures are based on the CBS Survey of Employment and Earnings (EWG). This is a company-based survey, in this case a survey of businesses based in Purmerend. We shall discuss the results of this table further in the later sections of this chapter.

Zaanstad

Zaanstad, the town on the river Zaan, came into being in 1974. Seven municipalities in the Zaanstreek district were merged to form the municipality of Zaanstad: Assendelft, Koog aan de Zaan, Krommenie, Wormerveer, Westzaan, Zaandam and Zaandijk. These seven municipalities had existed for centuries. The river Zaan runs through the area, and industrial activity developed from the seventeenth century onwards. Zaanstad is the oldest industrial region in the world. Very early on, windmills were used in the cutting of timber and the manufacture of oils and dyestuffs, cereals and paper. In the last century, a large number of food manufacturing plants were founded. Albert Heijn (Royal Ahold) also started up in this area in 1887. Royal Ahold, one of the world's biggest food chains, still has its main offices, a large distribution centre and a number of manufacturing plants there. Zaanstad is also home to food and chemical manufacturing plants owned by Duyvis, Wessanen, Cacao de Zaan, Gerkens, Croklaan, Honig and ZBB.

Zaanstad is fifteen kilometres from the capital, Amsterdam, separated from it by the IJ and the North Sea Canal, a route which links Amsterdam with the North Sea and can take ocean-going ships. Zaanstad and Amsterdam are linked by the Coen Tunnel, a major road tunnel, and by the Hem Tunnel, an important rail tunnel. Schiphol, the national airport, is thirty kilometres away and is reached via these tunnels. Zaanstad's economy is based very much on industry and construction. Unlike Purmerend, Zaanstad is much less of a centre for the surrounding area. As a result the services sector in Zaanstad is relatively speaking less important than in Purmerend.

With a population of nearly 135 000, Zaanstad is the fifteenth largest town in the Netherlands and the third largest in the province of Noord-Holland. Through the 1990s its population has grown very little, to only 3% above the 1990 figure (Table 1). Because of this slow rate of growth Zaanstad has a relatively larger number of older people than Purmerend: 13.5% of its population are aged 65 or over as against 11.6% in Purmerend. This means above all that Zaanstad has fewer young people under 20. Purmerend has 25.4% and Zaanstad 23.3%. In 1995 the percentage of ethnic minorities living in Zaanstad was 14%. The ethnic minorities are concentrated for the most part in certain specific areas of the town. The largest percentage is in Poelenburg (45.9%). The percentage of ethnic minorities is far higher amongst

Zaanstad's young people than amongst its older people. In the under-20 age group more than one person in five is from an ethnic minority. The number of families in Zaanstad is just under 35 500 (cf. Table 2). These include 4 000 or so single-parent families and almost 31 500 married or cohabiting couples. Just over 22 000 of these families have children. There are 29 000 or so residents living alone.

Just over two thirds of the population of Zaanstad in the 15-64 age group are in paid employment, slightly more than in Purmerend. These figures are shown in Table 4. For women the figure is lower than for men, 55% as against 78%. Part of the working population works in Amsterdam, but there are also many jobs in Zaanstad itself, especially in industry. Unemployment in Zaanstad is below the national average. In the period 1992-1996 it was almost two percentage points lower. For 1996 the figures for registered unemployment were 5% in Zaanstad and 6% in the Netherlands as a whole.

As in the case of Purmerend, a distinction was made for Zaanstad between the jobs done by Zaanstad residents and jobs done in Zaanstad itself. 54% of Zaanstad residents who were salaried employees worked in Zaanstad itself; 63% of self-employed Zaanstad residents worked in the town³⁰. Regrettably, however, we do not know how many of the jobs in Zaanstad are done by residents of the town. Table 4 gives a breakdown of jobs in Zaanstad by sector. See the previous section for an explanation of the differences.

Activity and employment

To obtain a picture of activity in Purmerend and Zaanstad in relation to household services, we looked first at the Yellow Pages. We then added figures taken from CBS, especially the previously mentioned Survey of Employment and Earnings and other statistical collections. It should be noted that the figures here are for the number of jobs in firms and establishments based in Purmerend and Zaanstad (Table 11). Thus they are different figures from the ones on the jobs done by the population of Purmerend and Zaanstad (Table 4). Lastly, we conducted a number of telephone interviews with relevant firms in Purmerend and Zaanstad.

In Purmerend the number of recorded jobs in 1997 was 16 000. That is 14% more than in 1992. Almost half the jobs in Purmerend are in the commercial services sector. In the previous five years, the number of jobs in this sector grew at an even faster rate than the total number of jobs. Against that, the number of jobs in non-commercial services, also very important to the Purmerend jobs market, fell off in the same period. The employment picture in Zaanstad is very different. The total number of jobs there was 53 000 in 1997, 7% more than in 1993. As in Purmerend, most jobs in Zaanstad are also in the commercial services sector, and here too the importance of this sector for overall employment in Zaanstad is increasing. Unfortunately, CBS does not publish figures for the total number of jobs in industry. In 1993 the number of jobs was just under 12 000. Jobs in non-commercial services and trade numbered nearly 12 000 for the two towns in 1997. Sadly the figures for each municipality are not detailed enough to allow us to quantify jobs in the sectors selected in Chapter 1. We thus had to use the Yellow Pages.

Table 12 reproduces our findings from the Yellow Pages, the version available on the Internet on 10 May 1999. The table uses the same categories as those of the English survey of household services (Yeandle *et al.*, to be published). From this it emerges, if we define the term 'household services' broadly, that Purmerend has 173 relevant businesses and Zaanstad

³⁰ Data from the 1997 Zaanstad Omnibus Survey, municipality of Zaanstad (Steinmetzarchief P1359)

912. Zaanstad has significantly more businesses offering household services than Purmerend. Zaanstad has twice as many inhabitants as Purmerend but five times as many businesses. In both towns, businesses concerned with property maintenance are by far the largest category, 39% in Purmerend and 54% in Zaanstad. We excluded these firms from further analysis (see also the definition of the sectors studied in Chapter 1). The counts also differ slightly in the two versions of the Yellow Pages, since business sectors are described in greater detail in the Internet version than in the paper version and businesses also register under a larger number of sectors than in the paper version.

Supply of household services in the two towns

Supply of childcare

In the Netherlands there are just over 2 800 establishments offering childcare (Table 12). Of these, some 2 300 employ staff. The number of establishments increased up to 1992 but has fallen off in recent years because many establishments merged. On the other hand, the number of facilities increased considerably, by almost 58%, between 1990 and 1996. So the facilities offered are steadily increasing. The strong growth in the number of facilities is altogether as expected, since more and more collective agreements are being concluded which require employers to help fund the cost of childcare for their employees and because government is pursuing a policy of promoting greater childcare provision. More recent figures are not yet available, unfortunately, but they probably point towards further growth in facilities for childcare.

One of the biggest players in this market is the Dutch Childcare Foundation (SKON), set up in 1984. SKON has grown into one of the biggest private childcare organisations and has nearly 60 crèches and after-school care centres nationwide. It employs about 700 people and is the only childcare organisation to hold ISO 9002 certification. The standards, criteria and procedures applied in its crèches are clearly and unequivocally set out and are designed to ensure maximum satisfaction for children, parents and staff. There are ten other private organisations in the Netherlands offering childcare. However, most establishments are local authority facilities organised by social services, educational bodies or as parental initiatives.

We studied the range of childcare facilities available in Purmerend and Zaanstad in two ways, firstly using available CBS data, the latest of which are for 1995 (Table 13). These figures relate to the number of establishments. We then looked at the Internet version of the Yellow Pages (May 1999) and the 1997/98 paper version of the Yellow Pages. These figures relate to the number of facilities. A facility is a location with a telephone number, whilst an establishment is an umbrella organisation grouping one or more facilities. This analysis gives us a picture only of the range of childcare services which are *organised*; it does not cover services offered by individuals on a non-organised basis. Thus a woman who is paid to look after a couple of neighbour's children at home is excluded from the analysis. Supply of and demand for this informal type of childcare are considered in a later subsection.

The Yellow Pages lists 11 facilities in Purmerend and 37 in Zaanstad. Strikingly, the Yellow Pages of May 1999 list 6 more facilities for Zaanstad than the 1997/98 Yellow Pages (cf. Table 12 and table below), showing that facilities in Zaanstad have continued to expand, in contrast to Purmerend where the number of facilities has remained unchanged. In Purmerend and Zaanstad there are far more facilities for the care of small children under four than for out-of-school care for children of primary school age and there are fewer facilities still for child minding. Child minding services are provided through child minding bureaux or

agencies. In Purmerend this is handled by the regional domiciliary care office (Thuiszorg Zaanstreek/Waterland), and in Zaanstad it is done by a private agency. The Thuiszorg Child Minding Agency helps parents and companies find child minders in the municipalities of Amsterdam-North, Beemster, Edam-Volendam, Graft-de Rijk, Landsmeer, Purmerend, Waterland and Zeevang. Thuiszorg describes the placing of children with child minders as a system of flexible care for children aged up to 12 within a family situation. Care can also be arranged in the evenings and at weekends. If the child minder is ill or on holiday parents can call on a stand-in child minder.

Lastly, we found nothing to suggest that au pairs are used to any great extent for childcare. We found no au pair agencies in either town. In any case, the average living quarters of a family in Zaanstad or Purmerend are not big enough to include a spare room for an au pair.

Table 3.1: *Number of childcare facilities in Purmerend and Zaanstad*

Town	Childcare	Out-of-school care	Child minders	Total number facilities
Purmerend	9	1	1	11
Zaanstad	25	4	2	31

Source: 1997/98 *Yellow Pages Zaanstreek/Waterland*

Private crèches did not become a success in the Netherlands until well into the 1990s. This was the point at which, firstly, the demand for childcare spiralled and parents were prepared to pay more for it and, secondly, private crèches were also able to offer subsidised places. This is the case in the two towns we studied. Halfway through the 1990s a number of private crèches were started. Since then there have also been private initiatives which are not primarily geared to profit. A number of schools have plans to set up crèches, usually in combination with after-school care for older children. The Institute for Social and Cultural Development in Noord-Holland (IMCO), based in Purmerend, recently published a book on how to set up a crèche³¹.

In the 1997 Zaanstad Omnibus Survey, residents were asked how important they thought childcare facilities were in the context of the municipality's social welfare policy³². Respondents who considered these facilities to be very important were mostly in the following categories: female, aged 25-35, members of the Turkish population, single parent, no qualifications, self-employed, 12-19 hours' paid work a week and a net household income of NLG 1 350-1 900 per month. Presumably this group of residents is one which has little financial leeway because the employer does not contribute, or which has few care options because there is no partner or family available to take on some of the childcare.

To sum up, we see a marked growth in the range of childcare facilities available, both nationally and specifically in Purmerend and Zaanstad. Whilst early initiatives to set up facilities came primarily from government-associated bodies, they are now coming more and more from the private sector too. A number of large private establishments have existed for some time now, but in recent years private childcare facilities have also sprung up at local level, both for small children and children of primary school age.

³¹ 'Start-up requirements', NRC, 98-10-29

³² Percentages from data in the 1997 Zaanstad Omnibus Survey, municipality of Zaanstad (Steinmetzarchief P1359)

Supply of care services for the elderly

Care of the elderly is provided by old people's or nursing homes and domiciliary care services. In 1995 there were 1 425 nursing homes in the Netherlands. The number of these decreased in the 1990s (Table 14). Their total capacity also fell. This was consistent with the government policy described earlier of reducing the number of places for the elderly in nursing homes. The number of establishments providing domiciliary care has also declined. This is only partly due to cutbacks, because many establishments have also merged in recent years. The number of clients receiving domiciliary care has also fallen, however.

Table 14 shows that in Zaanstad too the number of nursing homes has fallen from 13 to 12. In Purmerend, however, the number has remained stable at 5. Information from the Yellow Pages (cf. table below) shows the number of nursing homes as remaining steady in both towns. Virtually all of them have been in existence for many years and are varyingly Christian or political foundations. Thus the St Joseph's home in Purmerend is a Roman Catholic foundation, and Avondzon is non-denominational. These historical origins go back to the 1950s and 1960s, and have ceased to be significant. Elderly people from other religious persuasions are accepted. Telephone inquiries also revealed that administration of nursing homes has recently been centralised. A number of facilities, such as meals-on-wheels, are as far as possible to be provided from a single new kitchen.

Table 3.2: *Number of facilities for care of the elderly in Purmerend and Zaanstad*

Town	Nursing home	Day care	Restaurant/ meals-on-wheels	Total number facilities
Purmerend	5	1	1	5
Zaanstad	12	5	5	12

Source: 1997/98 *Yellow Pages Zaanstreek/Waterland*

NB: One facility may perform more than one function

Day care is aimed at elderly people who are confused or physically handicapped. Often these elderly people are dependent on help from their partner, family or neighbours. Day care eases the burden of this responsibility. The elderly people spend the day, under supervision, in premises within a regional nursing home which are furnished to look like an ordinary room in a private house. Thus the Rosariumhorst care centre in Krommenie provides day care from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. for not less than two and not more than five days a week³³. The centre looks after elderly people who are lonely or have recently lost a partner.

No or virtually no new services have been added in recent years to the private care of the elderly market in Purmerend and Zaanstad. No new nursing homes have opened either. Service flats have recently been built in which senior citizens can buy apartments. These apartments are designed with an eye to the needs of pensioners with no children at home. They usually have a large living room, large bathroom and no children's bedrooms, at most a guestroom-cum-study. The apartments are designed and furnished to allow people in wheelchairs to move about easily. Most of the jobs created by these new forms of care for the elderly are in the construction industry.

Thuiszorg Zaanstreek/Waterland is a domiciliary care organisation born some years ago of a merger between the family care and home nursing services in Zaanstad and the Waterland region. Some 2 000 people work for it, looking after new parents, the handicapped, the elderly

³³ 'Looking after the elderly is a fine profession', De Zaankanter, 99-02-24

and the chronically sick in their own homes. Thuiszorg Zaanstreek/Waterland provides domestic help and care to people of all ages who, because of illness or other circumstances, are unable to do all or any of their housework themselves. This help is given during the day and is complementary to the work which the other members of the household can do themselves or can organise with the help of family, neighbours and so on. Some 4 000 households are cleaned by Thuiszorg³⁴. As of January 1999, all households have been cleaned using a uniform method. Care workers take their own (environmentally friendly) cleaning materials with them. Over the last five years they have been trained to develop a clear way of working. They have also learned special cleaning techniques which will minimise the likelihood of physical problems. Two experiments showed that clients and carers were satisfied. This method of working does not apply to home helps, who work directly for the client, and who are simply procured for the client by Thuiszorg.

In the 1997 Zaanstad Omnibus Survey, residents were asked how important they thought domiciliary care facilities were in the context of the municipality's social welfare policy³⁵. Respondents who considered these facilities to be very important were mostly in the following categories: female, aged 50 and over, members of the Dutch population group, single parent with children, no qualifications, working for the family, no paid work or fewer than 12 hours' paid work a week and a net household income of NLG 1 350-1 900 per month. Presumably this group of residents is one which has little financial leeway to pay for help but is in fact more likely to need it.

Supply of cleaning services

Cleaning firms experienced a boom in the 1970s and 1980s as government and industry increasingly 'contracted out' their cleaning work³⁶. They got rid of their own cleaning departments and farmed the work out to cleaning firms. A high percentage of cleaning work is contracted out in the Netherlands. Turnover in the cleaning sector in 1995 was NLG 4 463 million. There are 5 755 businesses operating in the sector (Table 15). A distinction is made between national firms (turnover of NLG 30 million and over), regional firms (turnover of NLG 3-30 million) and local firms (turnover up to NLG 3 million). About three-quarters of turnover in the sector comes from the cleaning of buildings. There are also cleaning firms which specialise in e.g. window cleaning, façade cleaning, industrial cleaning, etc. The 5 000 or so cleaning firms include 16 large ones with turnover of more than NLG 1 million.

Table 15 also shows, for information, the number of firms engaged in dry cleaning. In 1996 there were 1 380 of these. Compared with two years previously, the number of firms has fallen.

Competition in the sector is fierce, partly due to a steady stream of new firms putting pressure on labour costs. This means that firms sometimes circumvent the law, on the minimum wage for example, or do not pay taxes or contributions or skimp on things which are mandatory under the collective agreement. It used to be easy for new firms to set up in the sector, but as of 1 January 1996 cleaning firms are covered by the Business Establishment Act. Newcomers to the market must henceforth have completed entrepreneurial training. The cut-throat market is forcing cleaning firms to look for new markets. The market in cleaning private households is being embarked on with some hesitation, since prices there are considerably lower than on

³⁴ 'Cleaning with care', ThuisZorgPlus, a publication of Thuiszorg Zaanstreek/Waterland, winter 1998

³⁵ Percentages from the 1997 Zaanstad Omnibus Survey, municipality of Zaanstad (Steinmetzarchief P1359)

³⁶ Tijdens & Goedhard, 1996

the market for cleaning business premises. Cleaning firms are trying to penetrate this market via projects like that of the subsidised cleaning ladies in Melkert jobs (cf. previous chapter). Agreements have also been concluded for this in the collective labour agreement for the cleaning sector.

In Purmerend and Zaanstad most of the cleaning firms (28 and 41 respectively) established there are engaged in the cleaning of buildings, offices, hospitals, schools and so on. Some of the firms do specialist cleaning work such as façade cleaning, carpet cleaning, window cleaning, asbestos removal, marble floor maintenance or making good fire, water and smoke damage. There are also a number of cleaning firms retained by housing corporations or owner associations, which concentrate on the cleaning of stairways, balconies, drives, underground car parks or the pre-delivery cleaning of new houses. Hardly any firms advertise themselves in the Yellow Pages as serving private households. Purmerend also has 7 and Zaanstad 12 dry cleaners, laundrettes and laundries (cf. Table 3.3).

The main reason is that the hourly rates of these services are too high compared with those of 'informal' workers. A telephone interview with one company revealed that cleaning firms try to have one worker clean several houses in one day, but travel time between two houses cleaned counts as working time and so has to be paid for. This problem does not arise in the far smaller operation of the 'informal' worker. She is paid only for the hours she works and will thus try to find places of employment as close to home as possible.

Table 3.3: Number of firms cleaning buildings (cleaning firms) and clothing in Purmerend and Zaanstad

Town	Firms cleaning buildings	Firms cleaning clothing
Purmerend	28	7
Zaanstad	41	12

Source: 1997/98 *Yellow Pages Zaanstreek/Waterland*

Supply of gardening services

In 1996 there were 2157 professional gardening firms in the Netherlands. Table 16 shows that the number of firms rose slightly between 1993 and 1995 and then dipped again. These firms are small. Nearly 50% of them are actually one-man operations. This percentage has not changed in the four years for which figures are available. A further 39% of them have fewer than five employees. There used to be firms employing more than 100 people, but by 1996 that was no longer the case.

Professional gardening firms are for the most part family-run. In 1996, 1958 of the 2157 firms were family firms. The rest were limited companies or partnerships. The larger family firms are smaller in terms of turnover than the larger companies or partnerships. Just over half of these firms are based in the west of the country and in the province of Noord-Brabant³⁷.

There are 7 gardening firms serving Purmerend and 40 serving Zaanstad, all of them covering the surrounding municipalities as well as the two towns. In addition to doing gardening work for local authorities, water boards and similar authorities, some of them also undertake private gardening work. A number of telephone interviews with firms revealed that services to private households were mostly one-off activities; gardening firms were usually retained to lay out the gardens for new housing developments.

³⁷ Netherlands Statistics (CBS) press report, 26 February 1999

Regular repeat work looking after private gardens accounted for only a small proportion of turnover. There appeared to be hardly any new firms in Purmerend and Zaanstad. As described earlier, existing firms doing gardening work have seen a slight increase in the proportion of private gardening work they do.

It is not known how much gardening work is done on an informal basis. Whilst we found advertisements in the local daily and weekly press for domestic helps and child minders, we found no advertisements for gardening services. If informal work is in fact done, it appears often to be a one-off activity. Cutting down a tree, trimming a high hedge or clearing a ditch are examples of work which may be done on an informal basis. Presumably a lot of gardening work done for householders who cannot physically tend their own gardens is done on a voluntary basis by neighbours or family.

Thuiszorg Zaanstreek/Waterland joined forces with the firm Klussenier B.V. to set up an odd jobs and gardening service. The latter firm (the name means 'Odd Jobs Inc.')

stands for quality and a fast and professional service. It gives a warranty on the work it does. The service includes the following types of work: kitchen installation, locksmithing, house painting, plumbing, carpentry and joinery, gardening and odd jobs for private households. Anyone can use Klussenier. Members of Thuiszorg get 5% or 10% off the labour charge and the call-out charge for them is waived. A group of members can also receive a substantial reduction on four consecutive hours of gardening work.

Thuiszorg Zaanstreek/Waterland also operates a dog walking service for people who are temporarily incapacitated or who work during the day. The dog is collected in the morning and is let out for a run as part of a group in the woods or countryside. Thuiszorg acts as agent for this service and its members can use it at a discount. Associated businesses offer monthly or single-use rates. It is one of the few services offered by Thuiszorg which are aimed both at households in need of help and two-income households.

Obstacles and opportunities

Supply of informal labour for the four services in Purmerend and Zaanstad

Up to now we have looked at the supply of organised services. Information gathered from the Yellow Pages and from CBS shows the number of firms offering households services in the two towns. This sheds no light on the range of services offered by individuals in these four markets, however. They, after all, are not registered as businesses. For lack of a better method we used the 'situations wanted' advertisements in newspapers as a measure of the supply of this informal labour which was available. The employment situation in Purmerend and Zaanstad plays an important part in the scale of employment in household services. Supply and demand are to some extent publicised by word of mouth or by advertisements in local daily newspapers and free newsheets. For the purposes of this study, we collected six months' worth of advertisements from five local papers, dailies and weeklies³⁸. Provided they count as small ads, these are usually free of charge. Supermarket noticeboards, used in other countries for job ads, are in the Netherlands used almost exclusively for buying and selling goods. For the purposes of this study we analysed the advertisements placed in the free heading 'situations wanted/vacant'. We confined ourselves to advertisements for personnel in

³⁸ The papers concerned were: Noordhollands Dagblad, Nieuwe Noordhollandse Courant, Het Gezinsblad, Noordhollands Weekblad and De Zaankanter

the four relevant categories: childcare and care of the elderly, domestic work and gardening. The advertisements appeared in five local papers in the period November 1998 to February 1999 (cf. Tables 19 and 20). Nearly half the issues included advertisements for personnel. Most of these were for the provision of household services. Three of the 84 advertisements were repeat ads.

Demand for childcare personnel

Over half the advertisements were for childcare personnel (55%). They broke down into child minders looking after children in their own home (25%), child minders looking after children in the children's home (24%) and nursery nurses for crèches (6%). For the latter group, there are other recruitment channels in addition to advertisements (school leavers and employment offices). That is not the case with child minders. An advertisement is the obvious method of recruitment for such staff, after family and friends of course.

The advertisements show that there is no spontaneous supply of childcare personnel (cf. Table 20). In the period studied, nobody placed an advertisement looking for childcare work. Thus the demand for childcare personnel is considerably higher than supply of it, or so we conclude from the situations wanted columns. It is striking that only 16 of the 21 advertisements seeking an out-of-house child minder specified a fixed number of hours; the rest were happy to agree a fixed or flexible number of hours with the child minder. Where a fixed number of hours was required, this was on average 19 hours a week. Child minders working in the children's home did not always have a fixed number of hours either. Where they did, the average was 17 hours a week.

A glance at the national dailies reinforces our assumption that there is a large measure of unsatisfied demand for childcare; these too contain numerous advertisements for child minders. The biggest problem seems to be with the care of children over four. For them there is far too little out-of-school care. It thus seems appropriate that the government should have decided to concentrate primarily on promoting out-of-school care (cf. Chapter 2 of this report).

Demand for personnel in care services for the elderly

In care services to the elderly the greatest shortfall is in domiciliary care. It is striking that hardly any advertisements are seen for nursing home staff. There are vacancies there, but far fewer than in domiciliary care.

Thuiszorg Zaanstreek/Waterland does not recruit staff via the free situations vacant columns we analysed, but it did place large advertisements for personnel in local newspapers once or twice during the period studied. It also recruits via its Web site. Here it looks for staff for a variety of vacancies, mostly for domestic help. According to Thuiszorg, demand for personnel becomes particularly acute around the December holiday period. Hospitals discharge patients earlier and suspend admissions, whilst many Thuiszorg employees are keen to take time off during this period. To meet the need for new staff, the organisation regularly places large advertisements for personnel in local newspapers. Recruitment in autumn 1998 produced some 30 new staff, who subsequently obtained permanent employment³⁹. Most of these are women returning to work after having children, who are able to take up employment after further training.

³⁹ 'Thuiszorg struggles against staff shortages', Noord-Hollands Dagblad, 98-12-22

Even after the Christmas holiday period Thuiszorg continues to place advertisements for staff in local newspapers. Above all it seeks domestic helps to help elderly people with their housework for several mornings a week. The gross rate of pay is from NLG 15.09 minimum to NLG 20.00 maximum per hour. That is roughly the same as the rates of pay for domestic work.

Demand for domestic work personnel

Demand for non-subsidised domestic help in Purmerend and Zaanstad is considerable (cf. Tables 19 and 20). 40% of the advertisements analysed were looking for a domestic help or cleaning lady. In virtually every case private households were seeking a domestic help, and in just one case the home was also the householder's business premises.

It is clear from Table 19 that demand for domestic help considerably outstrips the supply of it. There were 32 requests for domestic help compared with just 2 offers of it. In 30 of the 32 advertisements for domestic help the number of hours per week was fixed. On average they were 6.1 hours a week. In no case was there any mention of a temporary worker or a flexible number of hours. Advertisers appear to know exactly what they want.

Demand for gardening personnel

Our assumption that the scale of gardening work done on an informal basis is small is borne out by the advertisements. There was not one advertisement seeking gardening personnel and there were two advertisements offering gardening services. Both advertisements were placed by the same gardener.

Local employment initiatives

Local employment initiatives are taken primarily by the employment offices. Those in Purmerend and Zaanstad recently merged and they now jointly cover the two municipalities and the entire surrounding area. The employment offices largely follow national policy on Melkert jobs. Efforts are made to place Melkert workers in jobs caring for the elderly and in domiciliary care, but as in the rest of the country there have been problems of late because there are not enough unemployed people. The employment offices are also actively involved in the Youth Employment Guarantee Plan (JWG), a plan to help school leavers with no prospects of finding work, and unemployed young people, to find jobs by subsidising wage costs. To this end traineeships are sought in businesses in Zaanstad and Purmerend, amongst them childcare facilities and establishments for care of the elderly. In this way most of these young people manage to find a job in due course.

There are no initiatives of the 'subsidised cleaning lady' type (cf. Chapter 2), because even without the market for cleaning private households, cleaning firms in the west of the country are already having to deal with staff shortages. Local institutions are thus not taking action on the informal domestic help market or on the informal child-minding market, even though the initiatives taken by e.g. Thuiszorg and private establishments to act as agents for such services are viewed with approval.

Obstacles

In addition to the various obstacles which prevent new firms from entering the market of childcare, care of the elderly, domestic cleaning and gardening, there is one other aspect which has not yet been considered. Under Dutch tax law, entrepreneurs can only qualify for self-employed and business start-up benefits if they work in their businesses for at least 1 225

hours per year. This can be an obstacle, particularly to women wishing to start up their own business.

Conclusions and implications

Conclusions

The main conclusion of this study is that new activity is being generated in only one of the areas studied. Only in childcare did we find the number of businesses to be expanding. In care of the elderly, domestic work and gardening no new businesses have been created in recent years. The fact that there have been no new businesses providing care of the elderly and gardening services must presumably be attributed primarily to the fact that demand for these services has risen hardly at all; and if it has, then it appears from our study that existing regular businesses and establishments are perfectly able to cope with any new demand. Our analysis of advertisements for personnel showed that there is a great unsatisfied demand for household services. Earlier nationwide studies have also pointed to this. We were not able, for lack of data, to determine whether that unsatisfied demand was growing. In the two towns studied, however, it is not generating new activity. The main reason for this is that cleaning services to private households are provided almost entirely by the informal market. The prices paid on this market are too low to entice cleaning firms into it.

Lastly, there is also a large unsatisfied demand for childcare. This demand is generating a measure of new activity. We saw that new crèches were being set up in Purmerend and Zaanstad, together with facilities for out-of-school care and child minding agencies.

Why are hardly any new businesses starting up?

As we have seen, hardly any new businesses are being created to provide household services. What possible explanation is there for this? One reason was given above: the prices paid on the private households market are too low to attract regular firms. Secondly, there is indeed an unsatisfied demand for services, but the low unemployment in Purmerend and Zaanstad means that there is no potential pool of labour to meet it. There is a great shortage of labour to do domestic work. In a situation like that, persons wanting to work just a few hours a week as a domestic help will prefer to work informally for one or more private clients. They can then agree hours of work and rates of pay directly with the client, without having to negotiate formally with an employer.

Thirdly, regular existing firms find it fairly easy to incorporate the new services into the range of services they provide. These firms are flexible enough to be able to accommodate new requirements from clients or new client groups. Thus the supermarket Albert Heijn has for some time now offered ready-to-eat meals, fresh every day, at affordable prices. All the client has to do is heat through the meals at home in the microwave for a few minutes. Virtually all the pizzerias have a delivery service. The big gardening firm Koelemeijer offers gardening services to private households. Nursing homes for the elderly are exhibiting similar behaviour. They too are meeting new demands for care, in the form of meals-on-wheels, for example. And lastly, regular contractors, construction firms and project developers are responding for the demand for service flats from more affluent elderly people.

Implications of the unsatisfied demand for domestic help and childcare

The large measure of unsatisfied demand for childcare probably causes major problems for households. The main implication is that in the absence of care facilities for their children women will probably decide to stop work or drastically reduce their working time. Shortages on this scale will also make the informal market more important, in this case paid child minders, but considerable use will also be made of family members, particularly mothers and mothers-in-law. In view of government policy and new activity on the childcare front, the level of unsatisfied demand is almost certain to fall over the next few years.

The great unsatisfied demand for domestic help may have three consequences, as we said in the previous chapter. Households may sacrifice their leisure time, they may lower their standards or they may exhibit changes in behaviour designed to save time. The same applies to gardening too. We see that people moving into housing in new neighbourhoods lay out gardens requiring little upkeep.

Chapter 4: Educational level of workers in domestic help and childcare

This chapter focuses on the educational level of workers: what are the characteristics and working conditions of those providing these household services and what are the implications of work in household services for the distribution of family and community activities, specifically from the perspective of equal opportunities for women and men? The question has been covered for two of the four types of household services, namely domestic helps and those working in childcare. Again the study is locally based, on Purmerend and Zaanstad. Where data are available, the situation in these two towns is compared with that for the country as a whole. The information in this chapter is drawn from interviews with domestic helps and persons working in childcare (cf. Tables 17 and 18). To that end a number of focus groups were held and face-to-face and telephone interviews conducted. Recruitment was by the snowball method and was thus in no way random.

Working as a domestic help

In this section we look at the characteristics of those who work as domestic helps or cleaning ladies. The terms 'domestic help' and 'cleaning lady' are regarded as synonymous here. We prefer to use the term 'domestic help'. As in Chapter 2, we look at two sectors: cleaning firms and persons working for private households. See Chapter 2 for details of how far these two sectors correspond with the occupational group of domestic helps in private households.

Supply and demand in domestic help

In 1996 nearly 127 000 people were employed in the cleaning sector (occupational category: cleaning of buildings). No more than a few percent of these worked on the cleaning of private households.

In 1997 the number of people employed by private households was just over 42 000. This figure is probably a gross underestimate of the numbers working as cleaners for private households. More precise estimates are not possible, however (cf. also Chapter 2).

In recent decades there has almost always been a shortage of domestic helps. Our analysis of advertisements for personnel revealed that this shortage persists. Earlier research has already identified a great unsatisfied demand for domestic work (Mot & Paape, 1995). Anyone wanting to work as a domestic help will easily find a job.

The interviews conducted for this study confirmed this picture:

'I could easily get more hours. Just recently Mrs X asked if I would like to work for a friend of hers, but for me things are fine as they are. I have two houses. I can keep on top of that.' (Respondent 3)

Personal characteristics of domestic helps

A good three-quarters of those working in the cleaning sector are women. There is a pronounced occupational segregation in the sector (Tijdens & Goedhard, 1996). Men are generally over-represented in occupations such as window cleaners and chimney sweeps. Women are over-represented as cleaners. Estimates of the number of ethnic minority workers range from 12-20%. Ethnic workers are concentrated in the urban agglomerations in the west of the Netherlands. Amongst personnel working for private households the percentage of

women is far higher, 97%, while the percentage of ethnic minority workers is no higher than average: 91% are not from ethnic minorities, compared with 92% of all working women.

Cleaning is an occupation dominated by women with children because the hours of work suit them. Hardly any girls work as domestic helps. The women we interviewed all had children and in all but one case the children had already left home. The average age of the women interviewed was 40 (Table 17).

Otherwise there are very few official data available on domestic helps. They work in one particular home for half a day or a whole day a week, according to a few magazine features⁴⁰. In the big cities they include foreign women. To begin with these were Spanish or Portuguese women who came to join their husbands who were here as foreign workers, but later on they were followed by women from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles.

In the cities, domestic helps are also often young women, particularly students, or divorcées or widows.

For our study we interviewed only women. We did not encounter any male domestic helps. Nor did any of our respondents belong to the ethnic minority working population. It may well be that domestic helps from the ethnic minorities are indeed heavily concentrated in the cities, so that we do not find them in Purmerend or Zaanstad, but it may also be that the snowball method is slower to turn up domestic helps from the ethnic minorities.

Qualifications of domestic helps

Cleaning is regarded as unskilled work. That is not to say that cleaning work does not require expertise and ability, but there is no specific training for the job. Domestic helps derive their expertise and skills from the work they do in their own homes. At the beginning of this century attempts were made by housewives' associations to make specialist training a condition of access to the occupation of cleaning lady or housemaid (Pott-Buter & Tijdens, 1998, Ch.10). We now see occasional efforts to achieve this in the cleaning sector, in the form of initiatives by both employers and workers. All such efforts have so far been unsuccessful. Clients do not ask to see diplomas. For poorly educated women in particular, cleaning is an attractive occupation because hardly any formal qualifications are required.

The educational level of workers in the cleaning sector is low (Tijdens & Goedhard, 1996). The largest group, roughly four in every ten workers, are educated to LBO level (junior secondary vocational education). Then there is a group, put at one or two in every ten workers, who have completed only primary education. The rest have a range of educational levels, which many of them have failed to complete.

The educational level of personnel working for private households is not very high either. Figures from CBS (1998a) show that women working for private households have a below-average level of education. Whilst 32% of all working women are educated to LO/MAVO/LBO level (primary education/junior general secondary education/junior secondary vocational education), this figure is more than 37% for women working in private households. On the other hand, there are virtually no women educated to HBO/WO level

⁴⁰ 'Cleaning ladies and their ambitions', by L. Austin, Opzij, 97-04, pp. 16-19; 'Cleaning ladies of Volendam, by A. Dekker, Vrij Nederland, 97-02-01

(higher vocational education/university education) working in private households, though these women account for 23% of all working women.

The women we interviewed were also poorly educated. Some of them cited circumstances like these:

'I would have liked to do my MULO (advanced elementary education) but my mother made me go to the domestic science college. I did a year there, and then I had to come home to help my mother.' (Respondent 9)

Hours worked by domestic helps

There is a lot of part-time working in both sectors. In the cleaning sector nearly two out of three workers did fewer than 15 hours a week. There are wide gender differences, with women in particular working fewer than 15 hours. In a survey of workers formerly employed by cleaning firms the respondents named part-time working as the main attraction of working in the cleaning sector (Simminga, 1991). The percentage of part-timers working directly for private households is very high too: 95% of these women work part-time. 77% actually work fewer than 20 hours a week. All the women we interviewed did just a few hours' work a week, averaging out at 4 hours (Table 17). Not one of the women wanted to work more hours. If they did wish to, it was often not a problem finding another house, as indicated at the beginning of the section.

Domestic help is primarily an occupation of women who have children, because the hours of work suit them. Domestic helps usually work in the morning when the children have gone to school. One morning a week, usually 2.5 or 3 hours, was the commonest pattern amongst the women we interviewed. Often the times and days when they worked were negotiable. The interviewees reported that it was nearly always easy to reach agreement with their clients on when and for how long they would work. The client said how many hours a week she wanted, and the domestic help usually told her on which days and at what times she would like to work.

Domestic helps can also work for Thuiszorg as domestic helps. In that case they work mostly for elderly or handicapped people. The working hours are comparable, though in this case the helps usually do rather more hours: at least 2 x 3 hours and at most 12 hours a week, usually in the mornings.

Working conditions of domestic helps

Working conditions are not a major factor because the hours worked are short. The main problem reported by the women interviewed was backache due to bending and lifting. One woman started by doing housework in a home, but when she started having back trouble the type of work she did was changed:

'I started by doing mostly housework, but when I began having back trouble we agreed that I should do less housework. I now work mostly as a baby-sitter when the children come home from school. I still do light work such as ironing or folding up the washing.' (Respondent 4)

Why work as a domestic help?

Most of the women interviewed previously worked in the care sector, some of them in care of the elderly. Some of them had worked in the retail trade. They worked as domestic helps now

because the hours were convenient and because the places of work were usually close to home. All the women we spoke to worked as domestic helps because of the money they could earn. One or two said they had been working for a household so long that they had become part of the family and had a real bond with them, but the opposite also occurred:

'I've been working for that family as a domestic help for over 15 years. The children have all left home now and I don't really do as many hours any more. They don't really need me any more, but they keep me on.' (Respondent 9)

Most of the women interviewed were well aware that domestic work is not a career with prospects. They work for the money, not so much with a future job in mind. The perceived alternative for these women is to work as a domestic help for Thuiszorg, but most women would rather work with a young family than an elderly or handicapped person. The latter also presupposes an emotional bond with the client, something most of the women interviewed were not too keen on:

'With Thuiszorg you are working more with elderly people. I prefer working with younger people really.' (Respondent 13)

A weekly magazine article on domestic helps show that hardly any girls work as domestic helps, unless they do so temporarily to earn a little extra cash⁴¹. Girls choose occupations which pay more, which offer better working conditions and better career prospects. Only women who have no other options, either because they have to look after their children and have limited time available for work, or because they do not know the language or have no formal education, continue to work for any length of time as domestic helps. These findings were borne out in our interviews.

Rates of pay for domestic helps

As reported in the weekly magazine article, our interviews confirmed that women were keen to earn extra money to supplement their husbands' income or their widow's pension. Most of them earned about NLG 15 an hour, and one or two earned NLG 14 or 13. These rates compare with those paid by Thuiszorg. Domestic helps are paid cash in hand. It must be borne in mind, however, that these women are not working black. The earnings of domestic helps are, after all, below the tax threshold of NLG 8 380 per year, so they do not have to pay income tax (cf. also Chapter 2). To earn more than that they would have to work at least 10 hours a week.

The client did not pay social security contributions or insurance for any of the women interviewed. That was not a problem to the women because they were covered by health insurance through their husbands, even if they were widows. Insurance against loss of earnings in the event of unemployment or incapacity for work was not thought necessary by the women because of the small number of hours they worked. Cleaning ladies viewed the absence of a contract of employment as meaning freedom not only for the client, but for them too. If they did not turn up one week, or were not wanted one week, that was not a problem⁴².

⁴¹ 'Cleaning ladies and their ambitions', by L. Austin, Opzij, 97-04, pp. 16-19

⁴² 'The earnings of ... cleaning ladies', NRC, 98-11-07

Family and community activities

The main benefit of domestic helps' work to their family life is that their income gives the family extra spending power. Also, the rest of the family hardly notices that the women work, because they themselves are at work or at school. As stated earlier, the hours of work are chosen in such a way that the job can be combined as conveniently as possible with the women's own household duties and family life.

Working in childcare

Supply and demand in childcare

There has been a great demand for childcare in the Netherlands for many years. The greatest problem is the funding of crèches. Now that there is more opportunity for private initiatives, supply will probably be adequate to meet demand within a few years' time. That is true at least of children younger than four. There are still great shortages in care facilities for older children.

The demand for nursery nurses is met largely by school leavers, and partly by adult women who have undergone further training. The recent expansion of childcare centres has led to shortages on the labour market, but these will probably be temporary. On the informal circuit there is great demand for child minders.

Personal characteristics of childcare workers

Our conclusion from the interviews we conducted was that there is a marked difference between those who work in crèches and those who work as child minders. The five women we interviewed in Purmerend were primarily child minders, who did the work partly for payment and partly within the family. In Zaanstad, however, we talked to small groups of workers, all of whom worked in a crèche. There were ten people involved, including the proprietors (a married couple), two cleaners and one trainee. The crèche was a private one, set up a few years ago.

The average age of those working in a crèche is considerably lower than that of child minders. Most nursery nurses are young and do not yet have children of their own. Child minders, on the other hand, are older women who do have children. Some of them still have one or more children at home, others do not.

The overview of jobs in crèches, toddler groups and the like (Table 6) revealed that over 90% of persons working there were female. In our crèche there were eight women and two men. One man owned the crèche, jointly with his wife. He mostly maintained the premises, did any driving, bought in supplies and looked after the administration. She oversaw the nursery nurses and made sure that the children were well looked after. They had two young children of their own who also attended the crèche. The other man we interviewed was a trainee under the Youth Employment Guarantee Plan (JWG). We subsequently heard that the crèche had not offered him a permanent job at the end of his traineeship.

The percentage of women who act as child minders is probably even higher. Our group of five interviewees was not big enough to prove this with any certainty, however. Nonetheless, in our search for child minders we did not come across any men.

Qualifications of childcare workers

There are two types of MBO-level training (senior secondary vocational education) which lead to jobs in childcare. In the two-year course of training as a nursery nurse (LKC), students are taught how to look after, supervise and occupy infants, toddlers, pre-school children and children of primary school age. They are taught not only how to help children feed and dress themselves and go to the lavatory, but also to organise activities such as cutting and sticking, drawing, dancing, music and reading. They are also taught to observe children's behaviour and how to talk to parents and experts. The three-year course in Social Education (SPW) is broader and also qualifies the trainee to work with the handicapped, young people or the elderly. The director or head of an after-school care facility is expected to have an HBO diploma (higher vocational education) from a college of higher social education.

Training as a nursery nurse is strictly regulated under the Adult and Vocational Education Act, which sets out the requirements for each type of training. Leidsche Onderwijsinstellingen (LOI), one of the biggest private organisations offering adult education and distance learning, had to wait years for its nursery nurse training to be recognised by employers' organisations and trade unions⁴³. To begin with the course was theoretical only, but after a period of supervised practical training was introduced, LOI met the requirements.

All the nursery nurses interviewed in Zaandam had been trained, some as LKCs, others in SPW. It was thought completely logical that workers should be trained in working with children. Working with children was, after all, a responsible job and children were a precious commodity. This view was not shared by child minders. They argued that since they had brought up their own children, why should they not be able to look after the neighbour's children, their own grandchildren or children living a couple of streets away? Moreover, in the informal childcare circuit, parents did not enquire about diplomas. According to one Purmerend child minder, they were more interested in whether the child minder's home looked clean, hygienic and tidy (Respondent 11).

The big employer SKON provided its own further training, periodic courses and workshops for its staff. These included a special child-related first aid course, a reading workshop, dealing with parents and so on. The small Zaanstad crèche did not send its nursery nurses on further training courses.

Hours worked in childcare

The collective agreement on welfare services stipulates a 36-hour working week. In the Zaanstad crèche most of the nursery nurses do indeed work 36 hours and some of them, including the trainee, work four days a week. Because the crèche is open 10 hours a day there is flexible rostering for the early and late shifts.

Child minders in Purmerend work an average of 8 hours a week, for the most part spread over several mornings or afternoons. Unlike domestic helps, they are not able to negotiate their hours with clients. Their hours are determined by when the parents are at work and when the children are at school.

Terms of employment in childcare

Terms of employment in childcare centres are tightly regulated. Employers in the childcare sector are organised under the umbrella of the Association of semi-public sector organisations

⁴³ 'LOI childcare course gains recognition', Aaneen 98-11-28

(VOG), whose members also include establishments engaged in social work, youth work and the like. The biggest trade union to which workers in this sector belong is ABVAKABO FNV. These are the parties which negotiate the collective agreement on welfare services, which also applies to crèches.

In 1995 eleven large private childcare providers formed the Sectoral Association of Childcare Providers. The Association is keen to conclude a collective agreement of its own, because it thinks the collective agreement on welfare services might possibly lead to problems, for example if opening hours had to be changed in response to changes in the hours of work of clients/parents⁴⁴. The Sectoral Association regards childcare as a business activity which is market-driven⁴⁵. A number of years later the Dutch Childcare Foundation (SKON), a major employer, endorsed this view⁴⁶.

The crèche we interviewed in Zaanstad operates in accordance with the collective agreement. There is no collective agreement applicable to the child minders in Purmerend.

The Order in Council concerning the General Welfare Act stipulates quality requirements⁴⁷. These are concerned with the design of the premises, hygiene, safety, group size and insurance. Crèches must meet these requirements in order to be licensed by the local authority. For the tax authorities, this licence is proof of a formal childcare arrangement and only then can parents and firms set the cost of childcare against tax. Because fiscal measures have gained in importance in recent years and there have been more and more private initiatives to set up crèches, the licensing system has become more important.

For years now group size has been a particular bone of contention. It is now regulated not only in the Order in Council but also, at the instigation of the unions, in the collective agreement on welfare services too. After all, agreements on the size of a group of children limit the workload of nursery nurses⁴⁸. Some employers, however, who are not part of the collective bargaining process but are bound by the agreement under a general declaration of compliance, think that rules on group size have no place in the collective agreement⁴⁹. These employers believe that childcare should be led entirely by market forces, should in principle be able to operate without subsidies and so without government-imposed rules on quality either⁵⁰. In 1999 a foundation was set up to issue quality marks. The foundation brings together employers, trade unions, parental interest groups and representatives of childcare establishments. They have set these quality requirements, starting from existing laws and regulations. Childcare facilities are free to decide whether to submit themselves for inspection to gain a quality certificate. The government also intends to regulate the quality of childcare in a new Childcare (Basic Provisions) Act.

⁴⁴ 'Making a mark on the market', Forum, 95-03-21

⁴⁵ Foundation for the Implementation of Childcare Regulations, 1995 annual report

⁴⁶ 'SKON seeks collective agreement for childcare', Avante, 99-04

⁴⁷ Cf. Invloed, Vol. 1, no 3; Vol. 2, no 2; Vol. 3, no 3

⁴⁸ 'Childcare employers keen to dodge the collective agreement on welfare services', Aaneen 99-02-13

⁴⁹ 'Childcare employers keen to dodge the collective agreement on welfare services', Aaneen 99-02-13

⁵⁰ 'Quality mark for childcare', Aaneen, 99-05-08

Working conditions in childcare

All those interviewed enjoyed working with children. They took pleasure in it and forged emotional bonds with the children. This was true of both nursery nurses and child minders. The job is intrinsically rewarding.

Any references to undesirable working conditions usually concerned pressure of work. Nursery nurses in the Zaanstad crèche particularly said that they were tired in the evening after a whole day of being surrounded by children with a lot of noise and a lot of pressure. This is felt far less by child minders. Not only do they have fewer children in their care on average; they also work far fewer hours and can more easily change their hours if it gets too much.

Lastly, one or two interviewees complained of back problems. Lifting the children can sometimes be a strain:

'Sometimes my back aches in the evening. I have a few big, chunky children in my group. And if you have to lift them out of their cots, and they don't cooperate, that is hard work.'
(Respondent 6)

Rates of pay in childcare

Childcare staff working in crèches are paid in accordance with the scales agreed in the collective agreement on welfare services. In June 1998, childcare staff went on strike with colleagues in other welfare institutions in favour of a better collective agreement. In childcare the targets are higher wages and a limit on group size⁵¹. In the next agreement childcare wages were indeed higher. The wages paid in the Zaanstad crèche are those laid down in the collective agreement.

Child minders in Purmerend are not governed by a collective agreement. Nor are their rates of pay fixed. The going rate was NLG 13 an hour cash in hand. The three child minders looking after their grandchildren do so partly unwaged, partly in return for benefits in kind:

'My daughter runs a hair dressing salon with another girl. On Mondays they are shut, but on other days they are open till 6 o'clock and 5 o'clock on Saturdays. She and her friend work in the business three days a week each. In the mornings her kiddie goes to the toddler group. I pick her up and take care of her for the rest of the day. I do that two afternoons a week. Her husband looks after the little one on the third day. I am very happy to look after her; they don't pay me, but once a month I go to the salon and my daughter gives me a free hair-do. A free perm, even.' (Respondent 13)

Why work in childcare?

The main reason the interviewees gave for looking after children was that they liked children. The nursery nurses working in the Zaanstad crèche had no doubts:

'I would far rather be working with children than sitting behind a supermarket till. That's why I decided to train for this. I enjoy the work and I hope to do it for a few more years yet. I think it is a job you can combine with having your own children. You can also work part-time in a crèche, and you can take your own child there. That is what the boss does.'
(Respondent 2)

⁵¹ 'You'll hear from us again in September', Aaneen, 99-07-18

Child minders in Purmerend feel much the same. Those who are not looking after their own grandchildren also do it for the money. This is where domestic work differs from childcare. In domestic work the financial motive is far more pronounced.

Family and community activities

For young nursery nurses in the crèche their work is a full-time career, as it is for others in their age group. They do not yet have children of their own and the ability to combine work and family responsibilities is for them a factor for the future, not now. Child minders, like domestic helps, have no problem combining work and family.

'I look after children two days a week. The mother brings the two children to me in the morning and the father, who is usually finished by half-past four, picks them up. My own children are already at primary school; it is just round the corner so they can go on their own. My children come home at lunch-time and we all eat together. It works very well.'
(Respondent 11)

Chapter 5: Conclusions and political implications

Conclusions

Job creation

This study identifies two areas of household services in which jobs are being created, namely childcare and to a lesser extent domestic help. No new jobs were found in care of the elderly and gardening.

The jobs being created in childcare are partly in the institutionalised market of crèches, where working conditions are strictly regulated, and partly in the informal child-minding circuit. The main reason for these new jobs is the sharply increasing demand from parents for childcare because rapidly increasing numbers of mothers of small children are participating in the labour market. Most of the new jobs are being created by existing crèches. Very few new businesses are being set up.

Almost all the new jobs created in the domestic help sector are jobs on an informal basis. So far, cleaning firms have not ventured very far into the market of cleaning private households because prices there are considerably lower than the prices paid for the cleaning of offices and other business premises. The main reason for these new jobs is the sharp rise in demand from two-income households and single people in full-time employment, who have no time to their own housework. No new jobs, or hardly any, are being created in the area of care services for the elderly. This is probably because demand for this care is fairly stable.

Nor is there any new job creation in gardening services. This is probably because the dynamics of employment in this sector depend on factors other than the - presumably - minimal demand for gardening services emanating from private households.

Working conditions and terms of employment

In the two sectors where new jobs are being created, childcare and domestic cleaning, we looked at the working conditions and terms of employment of the persons concerned. Jobs in childcare are in many respects governed by the standards applying to regular employment. There is a collective agreement, hours of work are regulated, there is a system of training, certification, reasonable rates of pay and so on. The sector is attractive to girls leaving school who are keen to work with children.

There is no collective agreement governing informal work by child minders. Usually there is just a verbal contract between the client and child minder. This work is mostly done by older housewives; sometimes the woman is a relative and she is not paid or is paid in kind. In just one case there was a system of exchange, with two or more households jointly deciding to share the work of childcare.

There is no collective agreement for domestic help provided on an informal basis either. As with child minders, there is just a verbal arrangement. Unlike child minders, domestic helps find it far easier to set their own hours. The work is done usually by housewives with small or slightly older children, keen to supplement the family income. They often do just a few hours a week.

Family and community activities

The new jobs arising in childcare and domestic work are almost exclusively women's jobs. The hours of work in both sectors are on weekdays and during the daytime. Women's decisions to work in these sectors are, in the case of women with children still at home, prompted by the fact that they can combine work and family life. In domestic work it is even very common for the domestic help to choose her own hours.

In the case of the household services we studied we can conclude that in the Netherlands, the family and community activities of those working in these services are not affected, or are affected very little, by their work.

Mechanisms for the removal of obstacles

In its report on local development and employment initiatives, the European Commission mentions a range of mechanisms whereby obstacles to the supply of household services may be overcome⁵²:

1. Financial mechanisms, including service vouchers and tax incentives;
2. Improvement of training, qualifications and certification;
3. Modification of the legal framework for developing public initiatives, to combine paid work with unemployment benefit, tax adjustments and concessions;
4. Administrative decentralisation, especially with respect to vocational training.

The Dutch study suggests the following conclusions with regard to these four mechanisms:

1. Financial mechanisms were encountered on various occasions, albeit mainly in the form of tax incentives and hardly ever in the form of service vouchers.
 - (A) A major mechanism in the Netherlands is that of making unskilled work cheaper by means of tax incentives. In the cleaning sector the rate of VAT was lowered. This measure may perhaps create more employment in the sector but for the time being this expansion is being inhibited by a shortage of labour. It is not clear whether this measure will result in informal work being replaced by 'subsidised' work; we found little sign of it.
 - (B) A multiannual and large-scale employment scheme to help unemployed people find work (the Melkert scheme) was conceived to subsidise additional work. This was work not previously done, but necessary. This plan has achieved its set objectives, although the jobs were created mainly in public-sector services which had shed a lot of jobs through cuts in the 1980s. The creation of jobs for the unemployed in the care sector proved to be more difficult than in public transport and municipal services. An attempt to create jobs of this kind in cleaning firms for the cleaning of private households was also proving difficult. These measures have had hardly any effect on employment in household services.
 - (C) The threshold above which entrepreneurs can qualify as self-employed is currently 1 225 hours per year; if this were lowered, more women might perhaps consider setting up in business on their own.

⁵² Cf. European Foundation: Employment, family and community activities: a new balance for women and men - national report. Project outline. Dublin, 02.07.99

2. Improvement of training, qualifications and certification.
 - (A) In childcare, systematic efforts have been made to introduce qualifications and certification for nursery nurses. Major factors in this were the quality requirements laid down by government for crèches and trade union pressure for decent wages for this sector. Within a fairly short period of time, training pathways have been developed, training requirements standardised, and the general public and parents especially have been made aware of the qualifications needed for jobs in crèches. This created problems for a number of crèches run by parents, but given that these are only a very small number of establishments, an exemption is being considered.
 - (B) No training pathways or certification have been developed for child minders. This is partly because child minders, baby-sitters, au pairs and unpaid family supervision constitute a cluster of informal labour which is provided in the private sphere. It is true that parents of children can only set the cost of care by child minders against tax if the child minders are provided by recognised agencies, but this recognition does not include certification.
 - (C) A variety of attempts have been made in the cleaning sector to develop training pathways, formulate training requirements and introduce certification, so far without success. The sector is not in a position to pay the higher wages which certification would warrant, and the shortages of cleaning staff are such that any potential worker is welcome, with or without a diploma.
3. Modification of the legal framework for developing public initiatives, to combine paid work with unemployment benefit, tax adjustments and concessions.
 - (A) In the debate on projects to combat unemployment (Melkert jobs) it has been suggested on several occasions that the rules should be relaxed to enable unemployed people to take part in the projects, for example the period during which a person had to be unemployed before qualifying for the project might be cut from a year to six months, or part-time jobs might be permitted instead of the current 32-hour working week.
4. Administrative decentralisation, especially with respect to vocational training.
 - (A) In the Netherlands it was decided a few years ago to set the diploma requirements for many types of vocational training centrally, in consultation with the training providers, so that employers can know what skills an applicant possesses. Decentralisation is therefore unlikely.

New jobs in household services?

In the 1999 employment directives approved on 14 October 1998 by the European Commission, three main points are emphasised⁵³. Firstly, the importance of a thorough investigation of the potential for jobs offered by the services sector; secondly, the need to give more attention to the importance of affordable and accessible care services of high quality, and to flexible terms of employment, in order to promote the combination of care and work;

⁵³ *Idem*

thirdly, the need to acknowledge the differences between men and women, particularly the under-representation of women and men in specific occupations and sectors.

In the Dutch study the general trend of an increasing number of jobs in household services was not overwhelmingly confirmed. Employment in childcare, both formal and informal, is certainly growing. Employment for domestic helps is also increasing. In gardening firms, however, there has been hardly any growth in the number of jobs since 1990. There has likewise been minimal growth in the number of jobs in care of the elderly.

Where the labour market is tight, as is currently the case in the Netherlands, there is no real need for measures to improve the employment position of those working in household services, or to encourage the creation of jobs in these services.

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Annex: Tables

Table 1: *Inhabitants, by sex and age, in the Netherlands, Purmerend, Zaanstad, 1990-1998*

	Population x 1 000		Population by age x 1 000		
	Total M+F	Women	0-19	20-64	65 and over
Netherlands					
1990	14893	7534	3822	3077	1906
1991	15010	7591	3786	3118	1933
1992	15129	7649	3762	3232	1959
1993	15239	7704	3746	3338	1985
1994	15342	7756	3751	3425	2008
1995	15424	7797	3760	3503	2034
1996	15494	7832	3772	3570	2060
1997	15567	7870	3787	3636	2083
1998	15650	7908			
Purmerend					
	Population		Population by age		
	Total M+F	Women	0-19	20-64	65 and over
1990	58718	29835	15284	37618	5816
1991	60876	30986	15713	39079	6084
1992	62504	31835	15988	40105	6411
1993	63752	32503	16223	40841	6688
1994	64506	32921	16490	41137	6879
1995	65029	33176	16595	41332	7102
1996	65604	33500	16689	41559	7356
1997	65856	33587	16756	41596	7504
1998	66922	34095	17007	42137	7778
Zaanstad					
1990	130007	65659	32347	80679	16981
1991	130705	66027	31860	81599	17246
1992	131273	66368	31397	82628	17248
1993	131785	66594	31121	83282	17382
1994	132508	66957	31058	83902	17548
1995	133504	67380	31233	84336	17935
1996	133817	67605	31104	84718	17995
1997	134397	67890	31327	85015	18055
1998	134627	68105	31401	85034	18192

Source: *CBS-statline: Mens en Maatschappij, Historische reeksen, en Bestand Nederlandse Gemeenten (People and Society, historical series and Dutch municipalities data)*

Table 2: *Households in the Netherlands, Purmerend, Zaanstad, 1975-1995*

	Households	Single person households		Multi-person households	With children	No of people per household
		Total	Women			
	x 1 000	x 1 000	x 1 000	x 1 000		Average
Netherlands						
1975	4 561	883	-	3 678		2.95
1980	5 006	1 085	-	3 921		2.78
1985	5 613	1 556	924	4 057		2.54
1990	6 061	1 813	1 060	4 249		2.42
1995	6 516	2 048	1 159	4 468		2.34
1998	-	-	-			-
Purmerend						
	Families	Single-parent families		Married and cohabiting couples	Families with children	No of people per family
		Total				Average
1992	16603	1825		14778	10770	2.99
1996	17425	1966		15459	11187	2.99
1997	17473	2047		15426	11182	2.98
1998	17732	2115		15617	11284	2.98
Zaanstad						
1992	34757	3516		31241	22214	3.01
1996	35311	3925		31386	22233	2.98
1997	35437	4040		31397	22172	2.97
1998	35492	4023		31469	22062	2.97

Source: *CBS-statline: Historische reeksen en Bestand Nederlandse Gemeenten*

NB: The definitions of family and household are not the same.

Table 3: *Percentage of households which own durable domestic appliances, by type of accommodation, and with facilities less than 15 minutes' walk from home, in the Netherlands, 1973-1990*

	1974	1983	1990	1996
Domestic appliances				
Electric sewing machine	58%	71%	74%	
Dishwasher	6%	12%	17%	
Tumble drier	9%	18%	33%	
Freezer	21%	53%	63%	
Type of accommodation				
Family house	65%	70%	71%	73%
Block of flats	29%	23%	21%	21%
Owner occupier	37%	49%	55%	57%
Damp/leaks	-	21%	26%	
Cold or draughty	-	30%	32%	
Facilities less than 15 minutes' walk from home				
Shop selling bread	-	90%	91%	
Shop selling vegetables	-	88%	90%	
General practitioner/medical centre	-	76%	83%	
Primary school	-	88%	92%	
Post office	-	79%	80%	

Source: *De leefsituatie van de Nederlandse bevolking 1990, CBS 1992 and De leefsituatie van de Nederlandse bevolking 1996, CBS 1997 (CBS surveys of living conditions among the Dutch population)*

Table 4: *Population aged 15-64, working population and unemployment in the Netherlands, Purmerend, Zaanstad, 1992-1996*

	Population, 15-64		Working population, 15-64		Registered unemployed	
	Tot. x 1 000	Women	Tot. x 1 000	Women	Tot. x 1 000	In %
Netherlands						
1991	10294	5075	6189	2277	334	5
1992	10349	5099	6297	2330	336	5
1993	10420	5125	6406	2407	415	6
1994	10473	5156	6466	2452	486	7
1995	10498	5169	6596	2529	464	7
1996	10529	5184	6681	2586	440	6
1997	10563	5209	6839	2696	375	5
Purmerend						
1992	43.9	22.2	28.8	11.8	1.2	4
1993	44.3	22.4	29.4	11.9	1.4	5
1994	44.5	22.5	29.7	12.0	1.8	6
1995	44.7	22.6	29.8	12.2	1.6	5
1996	44.9	22.7	29.8	12.9	1.5	5
Zaanstad						
1992	90.9	45.1	56.8	21.5	2.2	4
1993	91.2	45.2	57.1	21.8	2.7	5
1994	91.5	45.3	58.0	22.6	3.0	5
1995	91.8	45.4	59.6	24.2	3.0	5
1996	92.0	45.6	61.5	25.3	3.1	5

Source: CBS-statline: *Categorie Arbeid, inkomen en sociale zekerheid (Category of work, income and social security) (for the Netherlands); Bestand Nederlandse Gemeenten 1998 (for Purmerend and Zaanstad)*

Table 5: *People in work, by sex and sector in the Netherlands, 1981-1997*

	People in work x 1 000				Of which women			
	Total	Services	Domestic work	Other economic activities	Total	Services	Domestic work	Other economic activities
1981	4877	1070	9	254	1406	525	8	47
1983	4729	1133	5	279	1416	559	4	50
1985	4838	1170	6	306	1474	578	5	60
1987	5302	1374	12	344	1730	685	11	79
1988	5418	1465	7	301	1821	737	7	66
1989	5517	1515	7	290	1865	779	6	64
1990	5685	1546	7	332	1967	795	7	86
1991	5826	1668	6	289	2065	882	5	72
1992	5920	1690	7	345	2111	884	7	93
1993	5961	1739	9	347	2161	917	9	87
1994	5953	1734	10	328	2178	919	10	85
1995	6093	-	-	-	2254	-	-	-
1996	6218	-	-	-	2320	-	-	-
1997	6432	-	-	-	2455	-	-	-

Source: CBS-statline: *Arbeid, inkomen en sociale zekerheid, Historische reeksen*

Table 6: *Employment in certain sorts of household services in the Netherlands, 1993-1996*

	Jobs occupied by workers x 1.000	Of which women x 1.000	In %
Crèches. playgroups. etc.			
1993	17.0	15.8	92.94%
1994	21.2	19.3	91.04%
1995	23.5	21.3	90.64%
1996	26.3	24.2	92.02%
Old people's homes			
1993	88.2	77.6	87.98%
1994	88.8	77.3	87.05%
1995	90.5	78.1	86.30%
1996	94.7	81.8	86.38%
Domiciliary care			
1993	100.5	95.0	94.53%
1994	102.4	97.7	95.41%
1995	104.6	98.0	93.69%
1996	104.7	99.7	95.22%
Cleaning buildings			
1993	128.6	91.7	71.31%
1994	127.1	92.1	72.46%
1995	122.8	89.7	73.05%
1996	126.7	91.6	72.30%
Cleaning clothing and textiles			
1993	12.2	8.7	71.31%
1994	10.3	6.9	66.99%
1995	11.3	7.3	64.60%
1996	11.0	7.1	64.55%
Gardening firms			
1993	10.0	0.6	6.00%
1994	10.4	0.8	7.69%
1995	8.8	0.8	9.09%
1996	8.1	0.7	8.64%

Source: *CBS-statline: Banen van werknemers, gebaseerd op Enquête werkgelegenheid en lonen (EWL) van het CBS (Jobs occupied by workers, based on survey into employment and wages conducted by the CBS)*

NB: These figures differ to some extent from those in tables 7 to 10 because the occupational categories are not exactly the same.

Table 7: *Employment in crèches in the Netherlands, 1990-1995*

	Institutions with salaried employees	No of posts according to establishment plan	No of staff	Nursery nurses
1990	2 187	7 472	15 811	13 826
1991	2 565	10 039	20 505	17 538
1992	2 550	11 882	23 352	20 016
1993	2 495	13 643	26 422	22 469
1994	2 435	14 585	27 416	23 118
1995	2 336	14 967	28 049	23 741
1996	.	15 700	28 900	.
1997	.	.	.	.
1998	.	.	.	.

Source: *CBS-statline: Mens en maatschappij, Historische reeksen; for 1996, Statistisch Jaarboek 1999 (1999 statistical yearbook)*

Institutions: organisations or associations providing childcare. An organisation or association may provide different kinds of childcare and different facilities

Crèches: facilities providing supplementary care for young children by people other than their own parents or carers. These include crèches providing care for whole and/or half days, company crèches, toddlers' play groups and out-of-school care

Table 8: *Employment in nursing homes in the Netherlands, 1990-1995*

	Nursing homes	No of posts occupied according to establishment plan in FTE	Total number of people	No working part time	No with caring/nursing responsibilities		
					Total No	Working full time	Working part time
1990	1 514	54 980	81 961	56 032	44 184	14 288	29 896
1991	1 506	53 955	86 228	62 151	46 844	13 174	33 670
1992	1 498	54 980	83 079	60 802	45 351	11 931	33 420
1993	1 476	54 343	82 960	62 561	45 563	10 858	34 705
1994	1 446	53 233	82 807	64 413	45 568	9 573	35 995
1995	1 425	53 053	83 708	66 719	46 188	8 526	37 662
1996	1 404	52 500.	.	.	.	.	.
1997	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1998	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Source: *CBS-statline: Mens en maatschappij, Historische reeksen; for 1996, Statistisch Jaarboek 1999*
Nursing homes: permanent accommodation for people aged 65 or older

Table 9: *Employment for people working for private households in the Netherlands, 1987-1997*

	Volume of work in man-years (FTE) *1000	Jobs *1000	Jobs *1000	Main job *1000	Second job *1000
Year	F	M+F	F	F	F
1987	11	28	25	25	0
1988	12	32	30	28	2
1989	13	37	34	32	2
1990	13	36	34	32	2
1991	12	35	33	31	2
1992	12	35	34	32	2
1993	12	35	34	33	1
1994	12	40	39	36	3
1995	12	38	38	34	4
1996	12	41	39	35	4
1997	14	42	40	37	3

Source: CBS, 1998: *Arbeidsrekeningen 1996-1997 (Employment accounts)*

Table 10: *Employment in gardening firms in the Netherlands, 1990-1997*

	Number of firms	Number of employees	Man-year units, family work
1990	2 104	7 498	2 270
1993	2 182	6 190	2 359
1996	2 157	6 922	2 709

Source: CBS-statline: *Productiestatistiek hoveniersbedrijven (Production statistics for gardening firms)*
A man-year unit is defined as 2 000 hours of work per person per year. No more than 1 man-year unit is calculated for any single person.

Table 11: *Jobs by sector in Purmerend and Zaanstad, 1993-1997*

	Total	Comm. services	Non-comm. services	Industry	Const-ruktion	Trade	Hotels and catering	Trans- port and comm-unicat-ions	Finan- cial institu- tions	Business services	Public admin- istration	Educ- ation	Health care
Purmerend (x 1000)													
1993	14.81	6.09	6.4	x	0.64	3.44	0.3	0.79	0.28	1.28	1.05	0.99	3.84
1994	14.83	5.98	6.43	x	0.6	3.35	0.32	0.75	0.3	1.26	0.96	1.01	3.93
1995	15.06	6.52	6.16	1.72	0.55	3.42	0.38	0.69	0.31	1.72	0.93	1.02	3.72
1996	15.74	7.22	6.02	1.77	0.65	3.53	0.45	0.82	0.31	2.11	1	1.04	3.42
1997	16.09	7.51	6.02	1.84	0.66	3.88	0.4	0.73	0.32	2.18	0.91	1.06	3.5
Zaanstad (x 1000)													
1993	49.33	21.52	11.3	11.72	4.22	10.11	0.78	2.12	1.07	7.44	1.96	2.65	5.36
1994	48.38	21.92	11.37	10.57	3.94	10.32	0.78	2.09	1.23	7.51	1.98	2.71	5.22
1995	49.99	24.06	11.42	x	3.6	11.05	0.73	2.21	1.37	8.7	x	x	5.43
1996	51.63	25.14	11.73	x	3.63	11.34	0.81	2.28	1.43	9.28	x	x	5.93
1997	53.13	25.94	11.92	x	3.89	11.99	0.86	2.38	1.34	9.37	x	x	5.85

Source: *CBS-statline: Bestand Nederlandse Gemeenten 1998, based on the employment and wages survey*

NB: A number of sectors with nothing to do with household services and which provide very little employment have been omitted from the table

NB: x = figures not available

Table 12: Household services in Purmerend en Zaanstad, 1998

	Purmerend	Zaanstad
House and garden maintenance		
Maintenance and repairs, building contractors, plumbers, painters and decorators*	59	451
Garden construction and maintenance♣	7	40
Landscape gardening	1	4
Tree care	0	0
Total	(38.7%) 67	(54.3%) 495
Childcare		
Crèches*	11	37
Toddler playgroups*	12	57
Baby-sitting agencies	0	0
Total	(13.3%) 23	(10.3%) 94
Care of the elderly and the disabled		
Nursing homes	2	7
Associations and organisations ♦ *	15	62
Domiciliary care	3	7
Health centres	1	2
Healthcare (mental)	3	8
Information for disabled people	1	4
Total	(14.5%) 25	(9.9%) 90
Cleaning services		
Cleaning services *	21	91
Window cleaning *	13	38
Launderettes *	1	10
Carpet and upholstery cleaning	0	0
Total	(20.2%) 35	(15.2%) 139
Meals and catering		
Catering services ♠ *	5	25
Meals on wheels	2	4
Snack bars *	12	57
Takeaway meals	4	8
Total	(13.3%) 23	(10.3%) 94
Overall total	173	912

Source: Yellow pages consulted on the Internet on 10 May 1999

♣ For private individuals as well as for companies

♦ For young people as well as old people

Party catering

* Some companies were included more than once, where they had adverts under more than one heading.

Table 13: *Number of childcare institutions in the Netherlands, Purmerend and Zaanstad, 1990-1995*

Purmerend		Zaanstad		Netherlands					
						Incl. Toddler playgroups		Excl. toddler playgroups	
	Instit- utions	Instit- utions	Institutions	Facilities	Number of places	No of children	No of places	No of children	
1990	6	10	2547	4139	90185	224425	29070	50607	
1991	5	14	2948	5150	113461	259060	37678	63039	
1992	8	17	3010	5568	122897	266420	47076	75392	
1993	8	17	2949	6023	134853	290089	58245	92596	
1994	6	16	2884	6140	142939	308196	62701	107563	
1995	7	17	2806	6207	146842	318323	65215	119992	
1996			2734	6530	.	.			
1997			.	.	.	.	.
1998			.	.	.	.	.	.

Source: *CBS-statline: Mens en maatschappij, Historische reeksen, and Statistisch Bestand Nederlandse Gemeenten 1998.2; for 1996, Statistisch Jaarboek 1999*

Crèches run by institutions: facilities providing supplementary care for young children by people other than their own parents or carers. These include crèches providing care for whole and/or half days, company crèches, toddlers' playgroups and out-of-school care.

Table 14: *Number of old people's homes and other institutions for domiciliary care in the Netherlands, Purmerend and Zaanstad, 1990-1997*

	Old people's homes				Domiciliary care					
	Purmerend	Zaanstad	Netherlands		Netherlands					
	Number	Number	Number	Total capacity x 1000	Number of care places x 1000	Number of institutions	No of family care clients	No of district nursing clients	Intensive domiciliary care	Alpha care
1990	5	13	1 514	140.1	134.7	-	-	-	-	-
1991	5	13	1 506	138.3	133.4	-	-	-	-	-
1992	5	13	1 498	136.5	132.3	-	-	-	-	-
1993	5	13	1 476	134.5	130.8	176	229.4	173.3	.	.
1994	5	13	1 446	131.5	128.2	158	241.7	179.6	.	.
1995	5	12	1 425	128.0	125.5	148	236.6	163.0	7.4	72.1
1996			.	.	.	143	216.6	150.8	7.1	71.2
1997			.	.	.	132	202.8	95.1	4.7	81.0

Source: CBS-statline: Mens en maatschappij, Historische reeksen and Thuiszorg.

In accordance with the Residential Homes for the Elderly Act, a residential home for the elderly (old people's home) is an institution in which at least five elderly people are provided with permanent accommodation, and some or all care.

Total capacity: number of care places + geriatric beds + beds on non-recognised care wards.

Number of care places: intended for people whose physical and mental condition has been assessed by an assessment committee and who are entitled, on the grounds of the results of that examination, to a place in a nursing home.

Domiciliary care: the data relate to all institutions involved in domiciliary care, that is to say institutions whose main objective is to carry out one or more activities such as family care, home nursing, the care of new mothers, or patient administration, and which are recognised under the Exceptional Medical Expenses Act (AWBZ). The aim is to provide clients with assistance in their homes so that they do not need to be admitted to a hospital, nursing home, etc. Since 1993, the data have been collected from the institutions using a survey. Any activities in the general social work field carried out by the institutions are included in the figures.

Clients by category: the number of clients is broken down by use of the services which fall into one of the categories of domiciliary care. If a client requires district nursing services, he or she does not have to be a member of a district nursing association, but he or she will have to pay an annual contribution.

Family care: a family care assistant temporarily takes care of a family, for example if one of the parents is chronically ill. District nursing: shifts have occurred in the client categories since the introduction in 1997 of an hourly charge dependent on income. District nurses provide insured clients with any nursing, care, assistance and information they may need at home as a result of illness, rehabilitation, invalidity, old age or death. Intensive domiciliary care: care usually provided to people with terminal illnesses. Alpha care: private assistance with domestic duties, paid for directly by the household requiring assistance. The domiciliary care institutions mediate between the alpha care providers and those requesting help.

Table 15: *Number of building cleaning companies and dry-cleaners in the Netherlands, 1994-1996*

	Cleaning of buildings		Dry cleaners	
	Number of companies	Number of jobs in man-years	Number of companies	Number of jobs in man-years
1994	5 821	74 297.0	1 555	11 368.3
1995	5 646	61 205.7	1 448	10 411.2
1996	5 755	62 723.4	1 380	10 333.9

Source: *CBS-statline: number of companies taken from the "Branchekubus"*

The number of companies was found in the reporting year in the Algemeen Bedrijfsregister (ABR) (General company Register) of the CBS, adjusted for the number of companies that appeared not to engage in any economic activity in that year.

The number of employees on the payroll (excluding staff seconded elsewhere), including company directors and staff on secondment to the companies, in full-time equivalents (fte), as at the end of September.

Table 16: *Number of gardening firms and garden centres in the Netherlands, 1994-1996*

	Gardening firms							
	Number	By number of employees						
		None	1 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 50	50 to 100	>=100
1993	2 705	1 350	1 000	190	90	50	15	5
1994	2 805	1 385	1 075	180	90	50	20	5
1995	3 025	1 455	1 205	190	105	50	15	5
1996	2 920	1 455	1 140	165	95	45	20	0
	Garden centres							
	Number	Number of employees						
		None	1 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 50	50 to 100	>=100
1993	370	105	215	25	15	10	0	0
1994	465	110	255	55	30	15	0	0
1995	500	105	260	70	40	20	0	0
1996	565	105	285	100	40	30	0	0

Source: *CBS-statline: Bedrijfsleven (Industry)*

Gardening firms: this subcategory includes the construction and maintenance of gardens, flowerbeds and parks, construction and maintenance of sports fields, provision and maintenance of plants for interiors. It does not include designing gardens and sports facilities. Garden centres: this subcategory includes the retail trade in cut flowers, plants, seeds and garden requisites of a general nature.

Table 17: *Data from interviewees employed as domestic helps in Purmerend and Zaanstad, 1999*

No	Town	Gender	Age	Marital status	Child ren	No aged <=4	No aged 5-12	No aged >12	Hours p/w	No of houses
1	P	F	28	M	Y	1	0	0	2.5	1
2	P	F	42	M	Y	0	0	2	4	1
3	P	F	35	M	Y	0	2	0	6	2
4	P	F	45	M	Y	0	0	2	3	1
5	P	F	29	M	Y	1	1	0	2	1
6	P	F	34	M	Y	0	3	0	3	1
7	P	F	46	W	Y	0	0	3	6	2
8	P	F	47	M	Y	0	0	2	4	1
9	Z	F	52	W	Y	0	0	0	2.5	1
10	Z	F	51	M	Y	0	0	1	2.5	1
11	Z	F	47	M	Y	0	0	3	4	1
12	Z	F	32	M	Y	2	0	0	5	1
13	Z	F	34	M	Y	2	1	1	6	2
14	Z	F	45	M	Y	0	0	1	4	1
15	Z	F	38	M	Y	0	2	1	6	2
Av.			40.33						4.03	1.27

Source: *Interviews*

Note: Av.=Average, P=Purmerend, Z=Zaanstad, F=Female, M=Male, M=Married, W=Widowed, S=Single, Y=Yes, N=No

Table 18: *Data from interviewees employed in childcare in Purmerend and Zaanstad, 1999*

No	Town	Gender	Age	Marital status	Children	No aged <=4	No aged 5-12	No aged >12	Hours p/w	Job
1	Z	F	18	S	N	0	0	0	36	nursery nurse
2	Z	F	22	S	N	0	0	0	36	nursery nurse
3	Z	F	23	S	N	0	0	0	36	nursery nurse
4	Z	F	22	S	N	0	0	0	36	nursery nurse
5	Z	F	32	M	Y	2	0	0	36	owner
6	Z	F	24	S	N	0	0	0	28.8	nursery nurse
7	Z	F	45	M	Y	0	1	1	4	cleaner
8	Z	F	44	M	Y	0	2	1	6	cleaner
9	Z	M	34	M	Y	2	0	0	36	owner
10	Z	M	19	S	N	0	0	0	28.8	work experience placement
11	P	F	44	M	Y	0	2	0	16	child minder (own home)
12	P	F	54	W	Y	0	0	0	6	child minder (own home), grandchild
13	P	F	64	M	Y	0	0	0	10	child minder (own home), grandchild
14	P	F	33	M	Y	1	1	0	6	child minder (client's home)
15	P	F	59	M	Y	0	0	0	6	child minder (own home) grandchild
Av.			35.80						21.44	

Source: *Interviews*

Note: Av.=Average, P=Purmerend, Z=Zaanstad, F=Female, M=Male, M=Married, W=Widowed, S=Single, Y=Yes, N=No

Table 19: *Situations wanted and vacant in Purmerend and Zaanstad, 1999*

Post	Situation vacant	Situation wanted	Total	Percentage	Repeat advertisement
Domestic help/cleaner	32	2	34	40.5	1
Child minder	21	0	21	25.0	0
Nursery nurse	5	0	5	6.0	0
Child minder (client's home)	20	0	20	23.8	1
Gardener	0	2	2	2.4	1
Care of disabled person	2	0	2	2.4	0
Total	80	4	84		3
Percentage	95.2	4.8		100	

Source: *Situations wanted and vacant columns in five local daily and weekly newspapers; N=84*

Table 20: *Situations wanted and vacant by number of hours in Purmerend and Zaanstad, 1999*

	Fixed number of hours	To be called upon when needed	Flexible number of hours	To be agreed	Total
Domestic help/cleaner	30	0	0	4	34
Child minder	16	0	2	3	21
Nursery nurse	1	1	0	3	5
Child minder (client's home)	17	0	2	1	20
Gardner	0	0	0	2	2
Care of disabled person	2	0	0	0	2
Total	66	1	4	13	84
Percentage	78.6	1.2	4.8	15.5	

	Where hours were fixed. average number per week
Domestic help/cleaner	6.1
Child minder	19.0
Nursery nurse	28.0
Child minder (client's home)	16.9
Gardener	-
Care of disabled person	18.7

Source: *Situations wanted and vacant columns in five local daily and weekly newspapers; N=84*

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