



# **European Centre of Expertise (ECE) in the field of labour law, employment and labour market policy**

Labour Market Policy Thematic Review 2018: An  
analysis of Personal and Household Services to  
support work life balance for working parents and  
carers

Italy



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## **1 Introduction**

In 2016 more than 800 000 individuals were regularly employed as domestic workers. According to the National Social Security Institute (*Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS*), domestic workers are those employed by private households as domestic workers, caregivers or babysitters, housekeepers, waiters, cooks, etc. Therefore, in this definition both domestic and care activities are mixed and blurred and this overlapping is current also at a functional level.

In Italy, the development of a Personal and Household Services sector has been mostly uncontrolled and without a coherent institutional design. Over the past ten years, private personal and household employment has grown exponentially and today it can be considered one of the main pillars of the Italian welfare state. It was in the late 1990s that the number of such workers has started to grow exponentially and most of them are migrant women. The reasons for this growth are well known in the literature, namely an increasing demand for assistance, the shrinking of family ties and the very limited public provision. All these factors have resulted in a gradual importance of the so called "migrant in the family" in the Italian welfare system as a practical solution to urgent care needs (Bettio et al, 2006). However according to some recent estimates, about 55 % of personal and household workers are regularly employed without a contract (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015).

The emergence of a regular and qualified personal and household sector is not an easy task. The irregular submerged market thrives in a dense network of mutual convenience for the household, the worker and the state. It is still an uncontrolled market where the risk of exploitation is very high and public control does not practically exist. A market where demand and supply are rarely matched, resulting in endless problems as the home space tends to amplify the difficulties. The large share of undeclared work is associated with an absence of safeguards, the indeterminacy of the employment duration, job insecurity, resulting in poor motivation for the professional investment. This has obvious consequences on the quality of personal and household services sector, which suffers from organisational discontinuities, lack of technical expertise, little chance of connection with public services.

In 2013 Italy ratified ILO Convention n.189, but the country is still characterised by institutional inertia in the field of policies aimed at fostering regular employment in the personal and household sector and this stagnation has also persisted during the fiscal and economic crisis. The unregulated private market remains the best mechanism to control cost and to boost employment. However, at institutional level, some important steps forward were made with the Job Act in 2015 and the Stability Law in 2016 to improve instruments for a better working life balance; still, the reforms were mainly based on parental leave and only marginally tailored to the development of a regular and professionalised personal and household sector. In 2018 a new law reforming the voucher system has come into force setting up two contractual arrangements for occasional work, namely the occasional contract and the Family Booklet.

The current review on the Italian Personal and Household Services to support work life balance for working parents and carers has been carried out by analysing the available literature and official documentation, using different data sources of the Italian National Institute of Statistics (*Istituto Nazionale di Statistica – ISTAT*), carrying out some interviews with trade unions' representatives and academic researchers.

## **2 Description of the main measures put in place to support the Personal and Household Services sector in Italy**

### **Description of the main measures put in place to support**

According to a recent study conducted by one of the most important Italian employer associations called Assindatcolf, in 2014 there were 2 143 000 families (8.3 % of total) who spent about EUR 19.3 billion for private personal and household services and this value grew by 22 % in the last 15 years (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015). The strong demand for personal and household services place Italian families among one of the strongest "employers" in the Italian economy. Indeed, the system of private personal and household services is able to generate important economic returns and to boost employment also during the periods of economic crisis. In light of that, the sector has also attracted Italian workers, a segment only marginally present until few years ago.

Although the demand is expected to rise sharply in the next future, the private market of personal and household services remains unregulated for a number of cultural and institutional reasons. According to the above mentioned research, almost the majority of the Italian families (91.6 %) do not receive any kind of support, neither directly nor indirectly: only 4.8 % of the total population benefit from the attendance allowance (*indennità di accompagnamento*) and 3.6 % from fiscal incentives (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015). According to this survey, no vouchers are provided nationally or locally by municipalities, regions or provinces to purchase services (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015).

The attendance allowance is an untied cash benefit tailored to disabled people and provided by the National Social Security Institute (INPS) and can be spent in any way chosen by the recipient. It is not tied to the employment of a care worker at home, although in practice it is often used to this end. The allowance is not means-tested and it is paid to the dependent person who can freely spend the amount without having to pay VAT. The attendance allowance remains the most significant support for the purchase of personal assistance but it does not foster the emergence of forms of black or grey employment, unfortunately rather common in this area, nor it is capable of ensuring additional tax revenues through the regularisation of undeclared workers. In order to transform irregular work into regular work, the research suggests that an effective solution would be a total tax deduction, as the current limited fiscal incentives have been less successful than expected. The almost total lack of support for families results in complicating the framework in which they are engaged and in finding legal solutions (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015).

The consequence is that many families are today squeezed between incompressible care needs and budget constraints. In relation to the level of family income, it is also clear that there are some families for which the incidence of care expenditure is growing considerably and difficult to sustain. This is the case, for example, of 10.1 % of households that spend a share equal to the 30 % or more of their income for home care services (Figure 1).

### **The attendance allowance**

In Italy, the universal attendance allowance is the most important policy instrument provided to frail elderly and disabled people (Picchi, 2016). The attendance allowance is a national untied cash benefit provided by the National Social Security Institute (INPS) tailored to people completely unable to perform basic daily life activities (Picchi, 2016). This benefit is not means-tested but only conditional on severe

disability established by the local health authorities. Beneficiaries are free to spend the money as they choose, and there is no need to agree on any care or assistance plan. The monthly amount in 2017 was EUR 515.43 and it can be freely spent.

In 2015, 11.5 % of the elderly population benefited from the attendance allowance, for a total public expenditure of about EUR 10.4 billion, decreased by 1.4 % with respect to previous year (NNA, 2017). Despite the lack of in-kind services (0.26 % of GDP for home-care services and 0.25 % for residential services, totalling 0.51 % of GDP), this allowance (0.49 % of GDP) still represents the most important public intervention aimed at sustaining people who are financially dependent and elderly (Ragioneria Generale dello Stato 2018; Picchi, 2016).

The Italian welfare system has traditionally made up for the shortcomings in the provision of direct services with monetary mechanisms. The cost of these transfers, in particular for the attendance allowance, grew rapidly over time, reflecting the evolution of the population's needs and different cultural and organisational factors. However, it is not surprising that the steady growth of the attendance allowance has been uneven between regions and it has not always been possible to observe a relationship between disability rates (indicators of need and of probable existence of entitlement) and the use of this support measure (Chiatti et al., 2011).

Although the attendance allowance is implemented on the basis of national legal provisions, regional rates of coverage reveal a territorial imbalance that deserves to be described. The incidence of recipients of the attendance allowance reaches about 11.5 % of the elderly population at national level (Table 1). The value is higher than the national average in different regions of the South, such as Calabria, Campania, Sardinia and Umbria. Conversely, in most regions of the North, and in particular in Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, Aosta Valley, Piedmont, Lombardy and Veneto, the proportion of those entitled to receive it is half that observed in the Centre-South (Table 1).

### **Tied care allowances and vouchers provided at regional level**

Following the law 328/2000, a number of Italian regions introduced various schemes of cash allowances tailored to older people in need of care<sup>1</sup>. Regional care allowances and vouchers are generally means-tested and granted by local authorities - usually the municipalities - to elderly people at risk of institutionalisation, partly in an attempt to induce family carers to continue taking care of their elderly relatives when their conditions start to deteriorate. According to Simonazzi & Picchi (2013) "[i]n spite of the huge differences between regions in relation to amount and access criteria, some of them have specifically tied the provision of these regional cash allowances to the legal/regular employment of a family assistant, providing a subsidy just enough to pay for social contributions". However, the amount of subsidy granted is generally still far below what is required to fill the gap between the cost of a regular versus irregular worker. Although the amount and coverage vary greatly by municipality and region, the care allowance is both less widespread and typically lower than the attendance allowance (Bettio et al. 2006).

In Italy, the coverage of regional care allowances and vouchers is very limited: nationally only 0.5 % of the elderly population was covered in 2014 (last data

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<sup>1</sup> In 2000, Law n. 328 was initially introduced to establish a minimum level of social care services throughout the country and to provide additional resources to support the development of domiciliary care, both health social and social services.

available), with high peaks only in the Northeast and practically no coverage at all in the South and Islands. These latter and Central regions are characterised by a model of intervention based on the centrality of conventional monetary schemes, namely the attendance allowance. Conversely, Northern and central-northern regions, despite relevant differences, have much more supported this type of intervention.

In Italy, after the 2005 constitutional reform on devolution, local authorities have the main responsibility to provide care services (residential and domiciliary care) and monetary transfers, such as voucher and care allowances. Therefore, there is a great variation in coverage rates. Moreover, since 2010 with the beginning of the austerity measures, regional governments have limited the budget for this type of measures (NNA, 2015). Figure 3 reports the percentage variations of recipients of care allowances and vouchers in Italian regions between 2014 and 2016. At national level, there is a slight reduction of beneficiaries (-8.1 %). A very significant decrease is registered in Trentino Alto Adige and Lombardy, respectively 64.6 % and 59 %, while no variation can be observed in Central regions. Four Southern regions show important reductions, while the islands display some important improvement, 94.1 % in Sicily and +64.7 % in Sardinia.

### **Fiscal incentives**

The Italian financial law offers the same tax credit system for expenditures on domestic services bought from family assistants on the regular market (Picchi and Simonazzi, 2014). Therefore, for employers with an income above EUR 40 000, it is available a tax benefit ranging from a minimum of EUR 356 (for an income tax rate of 23 %) to a maximum of EUR 666 (for the top Income Tax Rate of 43 %) exists (Picchi and Simonazzi, 2014). For the employers with an income up to EUR 40 000, there is a deduction of 19 % of the cost on taxable income for a maximum of EUR 2100 (namely a tax benefit worth up to EUR 399). In particular, the deduction of 19 % is available only for expenses related to the purchase of care services for dependent people who need assistance for the activities of daily living. The deduction can be spent for the private care assistant as well as for services provided by a residential institution, a cooperative or a temporary agency worker. The maximum amount of EUR 2100 is referred to the single tax payer regardless of the number of employees. In addition, if multiple contributors have claimed expenses for a care worker or other providers for the assistance of a family member, the amount of the deduction must be distributed among those who bear the expenses.

The fiscal incentives remain in the form of a tax credit. Hence, the distributional implication of fiscal policies with a social content needs to be carefully considered, particularly in a context of an economic crisis (Picchi, 2016). Picchi (2016) points out that “[i]t is usually emphasised that in France the tax reduction mechanism favours high-income families, while very low-income families benefit from exemption from co-payments, leaving middle-income families to bear a comparatively larger share of the financial burden of care provision (Carbonnier et al., 2015; Cour de Comptes, 2014)”, and that at a lower level, a distributive effect is observable also for Italy. Figure 2 (see Annex) presents the number of beneficiaries of tax deductions and tax credits in Italy in 2016 by income ventile<sup>2</sup>. According to Picchi (2016), “[t]hose who benefit the most from a deduction are [...] higher income classes, while the beneficiaries of deductions show a more bell-shaped distribution. It should be noted that lower income classes are not particularly affected by either measure”. Moreover, poorer individuals, such as

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<sup>2</sup> Ventile: a frequency distribution divided into twenty groups of equal size.



elderly people, cannot benefit from the tax deduction as they do not have a taxable income (Picchi, 2016).

### **Voucher scheme**

In Italy service vouchers have been repealed in 2017 after an intense debate at institutional level. Since 2008, the voucher scheme has been very much expanded and become almost completely liberalised, in terms of workers and productive sectors alike. The Jobs Act intervened marginally in 2015, incorporating the regulations of the previous years and raising the maximum (net) amount that each worker may earn through vouchers in one year from EUR 5 000 to EUR 7 000 (even if received from different employers). Thus, the economic limit remained the only restriction for the use of the vouchers, since over time restrictions regarding the intermittent and occasional nature of the service disappeared<sup>3</sup>. In Italy, the use of the voucher has remained tailored only to domestic activities (with the exclusion of care work), representing always a small proportion of the total vouchers released (4 % in 2016 – Table 2).

The voucher scheme and its reform was the centre of an intense dispute about the effects of a system criticised for generating different forms of abuse. Consequently, there has been continuous and significant pressure to change the scheme. In 2013, for example, a bill proposing the enactment of a universal voucher scheme for personal and household services was discussed by the Italian Parliament in order to maximize the effectiveness of spending on social care policies with a measure of fiscal equity that would have made possible a partial but significant deduction of the social charges incurred and to transform irregular work into regular one and the creation of jobs in the PHS sector (Ministero del Lavoro, 2013). According to this proposal, the voucher would be purchased by families, private companies, banks and regional authorities and tailored to care and domestic activities. Families, for example, could deduct 33 % of expenditure against tax, with a ceiling ranging from EUR 5 000 to 8 000 in relation to the intensity of care. Some experts have identified a problematic aspect of the proposal (Granaglia, 2014). The fiscal advantages related to the voucher could be enjoyed only by those who have a taxable income. Considering the evolution of income distribution and employment in Italy, the risk was a “universal” voucher purchased only by a limited number of subjects (Granaglia, 2014). Certainly, regions and local authorities could purchase vouchers for those who did not have sufficient resources but the proposal did not include this possibility (Granaglia, 2014). At the end, with the fall of the government, the proposal was no longer discussed.

In 2017, one of the most important trade unions in Italy, the Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL), has proposed two referendums in order to cancel the voucher system successively approved by the Constitutional Court. At the end of the same year, the voucher scheme was repealed with the Law 96/2017 and since 2018, it is possible to use two new instruments to hire occasional workers: i) the occasional contract and ii) the Family Booklet (FB). Basically, the two new contractual forms differ according to the category of clients. The occasional contract is tailored to “other

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<sup>3</sup> Established in the 1990s, the voucher was initially tailored only to certain activities defined as “occasional work”, namely agricultural work, sporadic domestic activities, housework, gardening, cleaning and maintenance of buildings, roads, parks and monuments, as well as sporting events (also in favour of government entities) and door-to-door and street vending of newspapers and magazines. Such types of restriction was removed by the 2012 Labour Law Reform and the voucher is used for each activity requiring one hour of work.

clients” such as professionals, self-employed workers, companies, associations and private companies, NGOs, and public administrations. The FB can only be used by private users who do not have a business and who are not freelancers, such as households that need to buy occasional personal and household services. FB have replaced the previous voucher scheme, also those for babysitting activities provided alternatively to paid parental leave.<sup>4</sup>

In particular, the FB can be used to get professional services in relation to housework and care, including gardening, cleaning or maintenance, home care for children, elderly, sick and disabled people and private teaching. It consists of a payment instrument with a nominal value of EUR 10, to be used for activities lasting up to one working hour. The net remuneration is equal to EUR 8; EUR 1.65 and EUR 0.25 are borne by the customer, respectively for the contribution for the special fund for self-employed workers and for the insurance against accidents at work; EUR 0.10 is allocated to funding management charges. Under the old system, the voucher cost was EUR 10 each and the worker received a net wage of EUR 7.5 with EUR 2.5 for social and pension contributions.

To ensure traceability of the provision of the service, customers must provide the National Security Institute with all information related to the worker and the service provision through an online procedure. The customer will receive a text message at the same time of that communication. As well as for the occasional contract, there is a economic limit of EUR 5 000 per year to be spent by the customer and a maximum annual income for the employee of EUR 5 000 (rising to EUR 7 500 for pensioners, students aged up to 25 years old and unemployed). Each worker can receive, however, a number of FB for a value equal to EUR 2500 from the same employer. Lastly, FB is exempt from taxation and it does not change the unemployment status nor it cannot be accounted to determine the income necessary to get or renew the visa<sup>5</sup>.

### **3 Importance of the undeclared economy for PHS activities**

In Italy social charges for domestic workers do not correspond to the activity actually done, but they are established by law according the working schedule. Therefore those who work less than 25 hours per week range from EUR 1,41 to EUR 1,95; while for those who work more than 25 hours per week the total social charges are equal to EUR 1,03. Italian households do not have the possibility to reduce the price of the services directly, but they can deduct it annually from taxable income. In any case, it is very difficult to give an idea of the cost of a domestic and care worker in the black grey market because many factors determine it, namely the geographical area, the type of activity, the citizenship status and so on. According a research conducted by Confcooperative (2018), irregular domestic workers are 6 out of 10, a figure that increased by 3.7% between 2012 and 2015.

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<sup>4</sup> Considered a successful experiment in the period 2013-15 and extended in 2016, the babysitting voucher has been confirmed also for the period 2017-18, with EUR 40 million earmarked yearly for female employees and EUR 10 million for autonomous female workers, previously excluded from such benefit. This entailed the possibility for a working mother to request – at the end of the period of compulsory maternity leave – vouchers to purchase public or private accredited childcare facilities. These vouchers were paid by the Social Security Institute or through trade union offices, upon delivery of the income declaration and it consists of a lump sum of EUR 600 per six months.

<sup>5</sup> In Italy, in order to receive unemployment benefits, claimants must submit an employment status provided by employment centres.

According to recent research on care workers, they earn EUR 800 per month on average, resulting in an hourly wage of EUR 4 (Alemani et al., 2016). Notwithstanding, there are significant differences at regional level: in the Centre-North the average hourly wage is EUR 4.20, whereas it reaches EUR 2.70 in the South (Alemani et al., 2016). Considering that the care workers interviewed in this research work 54 hours per week, there is a remarkable pay gap: over EUR 900 for those who work in the Centre North of Italy and EUR 540 in the South, resulting in a difference of 40 % (Alemani et al., 2016).

This research report also provides interesting information on the conditions of work in the irregular care market. The care workers interviewed work on average nine hours a day for six days a week. There are also workers who claim to work seven days a week (11.8 %) and 34.4 % claim to work 60 hours or more per week. A relevant share (64.6 %) work more than the maximum number of hours envisaged by a regular contract (54 hours per week for a worker hired full time): in practice, two out of three workers work more than the maximum weekly working time (Alemani et al., 2016).

The care workers interviewed assist dependents mostly from a physical and mental standpoint (42.4 %) and only 19.1 % of them work for completely self-sufficient people (Alemani et al., 2016). Support from other professional figures such as doctors, nurses and social workers is also mentioned in the report but 60 % of care workers claim to deal with the care receiver completely alone (Alemani et al., 2016). The scenario described in this research has obviously some worrying implications, which impact on the health conditions of the care workers: 39.4 % of them suffer from insomnia, while 33.9 % claims to suffer from anxiety or depression (Alemani et al., 2016). Moreover, in 2015 one care worker out of three has never gone to a doctor to check his/her health status and the ratio rises to 44.2 % among those aged under 35 years old (Alemani et al., 2016).

The cost of a regular domestic worker is very high. To give an example, a co-habiting care worker cost is about EUR 1 307 per month. This price includes: the net salary of about EUR 965 per month, social security contributions of about EUR 182, plus leave worth EUR 80 and the thirteenth salary of about EUR 80<sup>6</sup>. In addition to these costs, the severance indemnity must also be considered which amounts to about a month's salary per year (about EUR 900) for the entire duration of the employment relationship. According to an estimate conducted by DOMINA (another employer association), only 8 % of elderly people can afford such expenses (DOMINA & Fondazione Leone Moressa, 2017).

The financial burden of regular employment is even harder in a period of economic crisis. In the absence of public support, according to the abovementioned research conducted by Assindatcolf, 45.8 % of families employing domestic workers had economic difficulties in covering such cost (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015). Figure 3 reports the distribution of families that have dented consumption and savings to cover the cost of the services by family type and region. The North West and the South register major problems (respectively 57.9 % and 50 %); and the same can be observed for singles (55.6 %) and couples with only one child (62.5 %) (Figure 4).

In the same survey, respondents were asked what type of strategies they had adopted in order to cope with the financial burden related to the purchase of personal and household services: 34.9 % of families declared that they reduced other expenses

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<sup>6</sup> The thirteenth salary is a salary paid for a 13th month - it can be used as a year-end bonus/Christmas salary.

(Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015). Although most families are still able to cover the expense for care services (54.2 %), those who were not able to sustain these charges eroded their savings (8.5 %) or even contracted debt (2.4 %) (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015).

## **4 Statistical information**

The main source of information on the regular employment in the personal and household sector is the survey provided by the National Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS). In 2016, regular care and domestic workers numbered 866 747, a decrease of -3.1 % (-27 366 in absolute value) on 2015; a larger decrease occurred in 2013–14 (-5.0 %) and in 2012-13 (-5.3 %) after a sharp increase in the number of workers due to the regularisation of migrant workers (Decree No. 109 of 16 July 2012) (Figure 5).

The composition by sex shows a clear predominance of females, which reached in 2016 the maximum value of the last six years, accounting for 88.1 %. It is noted that the phenomenon of male workers increases with foreign workers' regularisation. (Figure 6).

The territorial distribution of regular care and domestic workers reveals that the Northwest is the geographical area with the highest number of workers (29.9 %), followed by the Centre and the Northeast, respectively with 28.6 % and 19.8 %, then the South with 12.6 % and the Islands with the 9.1 %.

The Italian region that records the largest number of regular care and domestic workers for both males and females is Lombardy, with 18.2 % of the total, being equal to 157 465 workers, followed by Lazio (15.0 %), Emilia Romagna (8.9 %) and Tuscany (8.6 %). More than half of regular care and domestic workers are concentrated in these four regions. The breakdown of employees by nationality shows a high prevalence of foreign workers or 75.0 % of the total in 2016. With regard to regional distribution by nationality, the majority of migrant domestic workers reside in Lombardy, with 131 198 employees (20.2 %), followed by Lazio (17.1 %) and Emilia Romagna (10.1 %). Conversely Italian workers register the highest concentration in Sardinia (16.2 %), Lombardy (12.1 %) and Lazio (8.9 %).

Against the decreasing trend in the number of migrants working as regular care and domestic workers in the period 2014-16, Italian workers have shown a growing trend, equivalent to 1.0 % in the year 2015-16. At regional level in the same period, the highest reduction can be observed in Calabria (-8.1 %) and the highest increase in Friuli Venezia Giulia (+ 5.1 %). Foreign workers, however, follow a decreasing trend between 2014 and 2016 (-4.3 %), greater than the national average with a slight increase in Trentino Alto Adige and Friuli Venezia Giulia (+ 0.4 %) and the highest decreased in Calabria (-10.1 %) - Figure 3.

In 2016 Eastern Europe is the geographical area from which nearly half of migrant care and domestic workers come, accounting for 45.2 % (equal to 391 800 individuals).

Analysing the data of domestic workers by type of working relationship and geographical area of origin, it is clear the prevalence of domestic workers makes up about 56 % of the total employment. Care work prevails amongst both Italian workers and almost all foreign workers, except those who come from Eastern Europe, Asia and Middle East. In 2016 the number of family assistants, compared with the previous year, registered a slight decrease (-0.1 %), but with a substantial increase of Italian

care workers (+ 4.4 %). The number of domestic workers, however, showed a decrease of 5.3 %, influenced by the overall decrease of Eastern Europe and East Asian workers; also the Italian domestic workers showed the slightest decrease (- 0.7 %).

The greatest frequency of regular care and domestic workers is found in the 45-49 year age bracket, accounting for 16.9 %, while 12.4 % are aged 60 years old and only 2.1 % are under the age of 25 years old (Figure 8).

In the year 2016 the modal class average weekly hours is "25-29 hours", both for care and domestic workers, accounting for 33.0 %. However, it can be observed that more than 50 % of care workers are regularly employed on average more than 30 hours a week and 48.3 % of domestic workers are concentrated in classes that precede the modal class, working on average less than 25 hours per week (Table 3)

In 2016, the annual wage class of between EUR 1000 -1999.99 is the class with the greatest frequency among regular care and domestic workers, with 85 961 individuals, accounting for 9.9 % (Table 4). The same modal class occurs both for females (9.7 %) and males (11.5 %) workers, although females on average register a higher salary than males, 31.0 % of male workers have a wage lower than EUR 3000 per year, compared with 25.6 % of female workers. In detail, domestic workers have a similar distribution for classes of annual wage between males and females, in which the modal class is EUR 1000-1999.99. For care workers, the class with the highest frequency is EUR 13000 and over for female workers and EUR 1000-1999.99 for male workers: indeed, almost 32.0 % of women had a salary equal to or greater than 10 000 per year compared with 24.4 % of men (Table 4).

Another important source of information is the Italian National Labour Force Survey (IT-LFS), which is a survey carried out on a quarterly basis by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica – ISTAT). It is interesting to compare domestic workers registered with the code 822 in the ISCO2011 classification, with their broader occupational category, namely the elementary occupation in the period 2012-16 (table 5)<sup>7</sup>. Occupations classified with code 822 keep the home in order and cleaned, wash and iron for households, do the shopping, cook and serve meals. This group includes namely domestic and care workers and those who are privately employed for laundry, ironing and cooking services<sup>8</sup>.

Table 6 reports the composition of some individual characteristics and working conditions of the groups of private domestic workers and those employed in elementary occupations. In similar ways, domestic workers are composed almost totally by female employees, whereas women represent less than half of the total for elementary occupations. Another characteristic that domestic workers share with personal care workers is racial segregation. Migrant domestic workers represented 65.7 % of the total in 2012 and 68.3 % in 2016, while only one in four workers are

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<sup>7</sup> The National Occupational classification is reviewed every ten years following the international standards provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO). Therefore, the Italian versions (CP 1991 and CP2011) are based on respectively ISCO88 and ISCO08. The international classification of occupations reflects the expansion of the service sector, the reduction in agricultural professions and the diffusion of intellectual professions. Internationally occupations are coded on the basis of the concept of skill, intended as the ability to perform the tasks of a given profession according to the required skill level, education and experience.

<sup>8</sup> Internet: <http://professioni.istat.it/cp2011/>

foreign in the broader professional category. With respect to the age groups, most domestic workers are middle aged; in 2012, those aged between 35 and 54 represented 64.1 %, and 68 % in 2016. Conversely, elementary occupations account for larger proportions of individuals in the extreme age groups.

Between 2012 and 2016, the composition of private domestic workers by level of education remained almost unchanged for those employed in elementary occupations, whereas the share of elementary workers belonging to the lowest category dropped by 5 percentage points and the share of those belonging to the medium educational level increased by about 10 percentage points. Finally, private domestic workers, who generally work few hours per day, are characterised by a higher share of part-time contracts, specifically 72.3 % in both years (table 7).

It is well known that wage and hours of work in the case of domestic workers are lower with respect to similar categories and the sample considered in this analysis confirms this fact. With respect to elementary occupations, domestic workers earned on average EUR 302.65 less in 2012 and EUR 359.42 less in 2016 (Table 7). Considering that in elementary occupations remunerations are even lower (EUR 922.82 EUR in 2012 and EUR 990.46 in 2016) with respect to the rest of employment (for which the average wage is EUR 1 200 in 2012 and EUR 1 300 in 2016), it can be said that, on average, domestic workers' wage is low. One of the reasons for the low pay is related to the hours of work. In 2012, on average domestic workers did not reach 23 hours of work per week (i.e. less than the number of hours normally included in a part-time contract). On the contrary, those employed in elementary occupations worked on average 34 hours per week both in 2012 and 2016.

Finally, the code 97 NACE identifies the activities of households as employers of domestic personnel. According to the data provided by Eurostat, there were 405 700 in 2008 (of which 362 000 women and 43 600 men) and 729 900 in 2017 (of which 637 400 were women and 92 500 were men). Despite the economic crisis, the number of those recruited to perform domestic activities has grown by 324 200 between 2008 and 2017 (of which 275 400 were women and 48 900 were men) Nevertheless, it should be also considered that two regularisation programs of migrant domestic workers have been introduced in 2009 and in 2012<sup>9</sup>. The code 88 NACE detects social work activities without accommodation for the elderly and disabled. According Eurostat figures, they were 196 000 in 2008 (of which 177 000 women and 19 000 men) and 228 000 in 2017 (of which 195 000 women and 32 000 men).

## **5 Collection of information concerning the difficulties faced by families on work-life balance**

The rules governing the labour market and the structure of society have changed considerably in recent decades, yet the labour market and, even more importantly, the welfare system are still centred around the male breadwinner, working full-time throughout working age. Italian women still face great difficulties first in entering employment, then in balancing family responsibilities with paid work (Picchi and Simonazzi, 2014). The low female employment rate in Italy, both in absolute terms and in comparison with the other European countries, reflects this situation.

Indeed, data collected on the Italian context show that traditional structural problems continue to affect inequalities between women and men which still persist in the labour market: a slow, difficult and inefficient transition from school to work; low

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<sup>9</sup> For the effect of the 2009 and 2012 Regularisation see

participation by women in the labour market; the widespread nature of the "underground" economy, which affects Italy more than other European countries; and very serious geographical imbalances.

In 2014 Istat published the last series of data about time use: 76.2 % of the work within families is still borne by women, a value slightly lower compared to 2009 (76.2 %) (Istat, 2016). Strong inequalities persist in the division of workload among partners but there is also some evidence of positive changes. With respect to the 2009 time use survey, the amount of family time spent by men has increased by 12 minute per day. It can be considered a limited acceleration compared to past trends: previously, the male contribution had increased by only 17 minutes in 20 years (Istat, 2014). For adult women, in contrast, it declines passing from 5 minutes 21 seconds in 2009 to 5 minutes 13 seconds in 2014. For the first time, the drops also concern the "young female elderly" (65-74 years) that get some extra time off and spend 10 minutes less working at home (Istat, 2016).

Positive signals for gender equality were recorded particularly among the couples where both parents are occupied (with the mother aged between 25 and 44 years old), who generally encounter more difficulties in balancing work and life. The index of asymmetry of working couples falls under 70 % for the first time in 2014; 67.3 % from 71.9 % in 2009 (Istat, 2016). At the regional level, while North and Central fall below the threshold of 70 % (65.1 % and 66.6 % respectively), once again the index remains more asymmetrical for working couples residing in Southern Italy (74.0 %). Here there still exists a traditional pattern of division of labour in which the woman has more responsibility for the family and the man has greater responsibility as the main income earner, even though the situation has improved slightly (it was 75.8 % in 2009). For working couples, the greatest asymmetry remains in domestic work, 74.0 % is carried out by women. Childcare activities are shared fairly among young parents: 61.2 % was carried out by their mothers (Istat, 2016). On the other hand, of the 17 additional minutes dedicated by fathers to family time, 12 minutes are spent in childcare. In fact, even the young mothers, for whom the family time remains stable compared to 2009, the time spent in childcare increases (+8 minutes), continuing the strategy already adopted by the previous generations that preceded, namely replacing domestic work with childcare (Istat, 2016).

Although working life balance policies are theoretically tailored to all citizens, in Italy they remain primarily addressed to women. Only recently some measures have been adopted in favour of male working parents in order to tackle the problem of low female employment rate. From tax relief for working women to flexible work schedules for working parents, work-life balance policies include a number of strategies aimed at preventing women from being forced to choose between having children or having a job.

In June 2015 the Italian Government adopted a package of policy reforms - as a component of the Jobs Act - aimed at improving maternity protection and the sharing of care responsibilities between women and men. The new regulations concerning reconciliation of work and family life focus on leave, which are now extended to all types of workers. Maternity leave has been made more flexible in order to facilitate the request in particular cases such as premature birth or the new-born hospitalisation. On the other hand, the possibility of benefiting from facultative or parental leave - entitling to 30 % of the daily retribution - has been extended from 3 to 6 years of children's age, further extendable up to 8 years for less well-off families. Unpaid leave - envisaging work suspension and keeping the job open for the

mother/father - can be requested until the child is 12 years old, while paternal leave can be requested by all types of worker's categories.

Finally, it is important to mention the fact that from now on self-employed workers and freelance professionals will be receiving maternity allowances even when employers did not pay contributions associated with their work (which would not allow them to access social security benefits), finally establishing the principle of "automaticity" of benefits also for self-employed workers. Job Act reforms included a bundle of other work-life balance measures: the provision of maternity benefits even when employers did not contribute to social security; the option of part-time work with reversibility to replace parental leave; financial incentives for measures that help reconcile work with family responsibilities including telework and an investment of EUR 100 million in the creation of childcare services.

New regulation in work life balancing was introduced in 2016 and 2017 Stability Laws in order to extend the possibility to benefit from production bonuses and to boost corporate welfare for employees in the private sector. The Stability Law introduced the possibility for employees to receive production bonuses or alternatively corporate welfare, such as support in education, social care and health, childcare, scholarship and for the first time also elderly care and dependency. Besides corporate welfare measures, the Stability Law also envisages various measures that facilitate work – life balancing: i) a financial benefit for new mothers called "Mother Tomorrow": a benefit provided at the birth or the adoption of a child worth EUR 800; ii) vouchers for nursery: for those born from 1 January 2016 amounting to EUR 1 000 per year, based on 11 months for both public and private school; iii) parental leave for a father employee: introduced experimentally in 2013, increased from 2 days in 2017 to 4 days in 2018, iv) vouchers for baby-sitting already described and v) the "Birth support fund" aimed at promoting access to credit for families with one or more children.

## **6 Involvement of employers in helping their workers financially to obtain PHS with or without the support of public authorities**

The 2016 and 2017 Stability Laws provided new tools aimed at supporting private companies in introducing welfare measures and benefits for employees' working life balance needs. In particular, the most important changes were: the introduction of vouchers for personal and household services, the bargaining at company level for the all package of services, and the possibility for the employee to receive the productivity bonus in cash or in services.

Research conducted by Doxa about the effect of the 2016 Stability Law pointed out that companies surveyed prefer the voucher as a tool for getting personal and household services (caregivers, maid service, babysitter) to the traditional instruments of corporate welfare, such as shopping voucher, fuel bonus, the refund of schoolbooks (Di Nardo, 2016). In particular, 45 % of companies surveyed indicated the voucher for personal and household services as the most useful tool. The choice for the employee to receive the productivity bonus in cash or in services has been considered as useful from 35 % of companies surveyed. Minor appreciation was given to the possibility of secondary bargaining agreements on all services of the basket welfare, perceived as useful only by 15 % of the companies (Di Nardo, 2016).

According to the Doxa research, bargaining at company level has registered significant steps forward in recent years. In 2013, 55 % of firms declared that they did not have any form of bargaining, whereas the percentage dropped to 40 % in 2016. The 40 %



of the companies surveyed in the Doxa research figure out that they would resort to company level bargaining in order to take advantage of tax benefits and social contributions exemption, while 41 % believed this opportunity was only a possibility and the 18 % expressed a negative opinion (Di Nardo, 2016). The highest percentages of preference in the new tools set up after the Stability Laws were found in companies over 250 employees with 67 %, followed by medium-sized companies with 50 % and small with 23 %. As regards the most affected sectors, 51 % of companies in the industrial sector relied on company level bargaining mechanisms, followed by services with 39 % and trade and commerce with 35 % (Di Nardo, 2016).

A recent survey reveals that corporate welfare systems still remained concentrated in more traditional areas already covered by collective bargaining (training and supplementary healthcare), and less widespread in other areas such as work-life balance, income support, complementary pension provision and long-term care insurance (Maino & Rizza, 2017). This research also confirms that companies are more willing to pool resources and open up to innovative solutions in welfare services.

As already argued, the voucher system implemented in 2016-17 was interrupted after the referendum promoted by CGIL because it was criticised as a way to avoid benefits from collective bargaining and to foster precarious jobs. As a result, the 2017 Stability Law has confirmed only the financial contribution for mothers employed, self-employed or entrepreneurs, to be used in place of parental leave, alternately for the babysitting service and for contribution to bear the costs of the public or private accredited childcare services. Then, the regulation of occasional employment was reintroduced with the Decree Law 50/2017 and it came into force in 2018.

## **7 Emergence of new actors and issues**

The new regulation set up by the 2016 Stability Law also had the effect to foster the emergence of new private providers of personal and household services as well as of general services of corporate welfare. Private providers are companies that offer individual welfare packages tailored to the needs of the enterprise and to the available budget, featuring a large collection of services broken down by areas of practice and, usually, easily accessible to all workers through online portals. Selected providers agreed with the enterprise with respect to the service delivered and the fees, while enterprise spending varies by business investment. Increasingly, private provider companies do not just propose personal and household activities, but they also deal with the organisation and the set-up of services, such as consulting, the creation and the management of the portal and requests, communication, and so on.

Regarding provision, in some cases the employee can benefit from a "welfare fund" to spend or he/she can request a full or partial reimbursement of the costs incurred. Especially after the 2016 Stability Law, the use of vouchers to purchase services from accredited private providers was increasingly common. Indeed, some providers may rely on a network of partners for service delivery. In some cases, the same employee may recommend structures and associations which are not yet affiliated with the provider and ask for the inclusion in the network of partners. There are also some private providers that have focused more (or exclusively) on the direct delivery of personal and household services rather than through external suppliers.

Based on the results of recent research, one of the most important areas of intervention is health services (Santoni V. 2017). Then, the area for childcare and education is also widespread, in particular the reimbursement of school expenses (textbooks, cafeteria, lines for nurseries, etc.). A new emerging element is about

supplementary pensions but workers are reluctant because pensions are interpreted as a policy exclusively (or almost) borne by the public (Santoni V. 2017). Despite the new rules and private providers, the area of services directed to elderly care or dependency is still marginal (Santoni V. 2017). This trend is explained at least in part by the fact that many families choose not to regulate employment relationships with workers dealing with care for the elderly and people with disabilities. For many of them irregular employment is still cheap as compared to the benefits coming from the networks of private providers of corporate welfare (Santoni V. 2017).

## **8 Name and address of main representative organisations active in this field**

Filcams Cgil, Via Leopoldo Serra, 31, 00153 Rome;

Assindatcolf, Via Principessa Clotilde, 2, 00196 Rome;

Sapienza University of Rome Via del Castro Laurenziano, 9, 00161 Rome;

Ca' Foscary University Malcanton Marcorà, Dorsoduro 3484/D - 30123 Venice.

## **9 Conclusion**

In Italy, the low level of fiscal incentives and the unconditional cash-for-care schemes have partly encouraged the growth of a large black and grey market in the personal and household service sector. The voucher system has not been able to tackle this issue. Some very modest efforts have been made at regional level with the introduction of care allowances and vouchers linked to the regular hiring of a personal assistant. However, the economic and financial crisis has strongly squeezed the still limited public provision. Therefore, traditional untied cash-for-care scheme, particularly the attendance allowance, remain indirectly the main source of funding but available only for elderly and dependent people.

On the contrary, the dimension of the private market for personal and household services should deserve greater attention from policy makers in order to enable mechanisms for redistribution and job creation. Since the personal and household sector is demand-driven, special attention should be put on providing PHS in order to support families for several reasons:

- it is part of significant change in the structure, composition and behaviour of society, because of a progressive ageing process, multiple needs, greater attention to the quality of life in old age;
- it has uncompressible care needs also in a context of economic crisis, which has increased inequalities between different components and impacted on family budgets and choices as the consequence of an objective reduction of disposable income;
- it is a generator of economic value, with major effects on the development of regular employment in a sector expected to grow exponentially in the near future;
- it is an important source of funding for public finances.

The voucher system has been at the centre of an intense debate in recent years, particularly with respect to the risk of creating a pool of unskilled labour. Particularly in the case of care services, it would be appropriate to undertake training or education that takes into account the needs of all stakeholders, namely household and workers. In light of this, universities could be an actor suited to the institutional promotion of

specific training for care workers as it already does for social workers. Having qualified care workers should be considered a general advantage, but in Italy the idea that a “feminine” attitude is sufficient for this type of job still persists.

The qualification process of family carers should also be accompanied by public actions to facilitate the demand, such as tax exemption or deduction of social charges. Since 2007, trade unions and employers associations are asking for a total deduction of the expenses incurred by families with little success. The economic crisis has inevitably halted any initiative in this field and the institutional inertia is now justified by the current economic constraints, without any concern about the future ageing projections and the social changes afoot. Indeed, the main political problem is that a regular and qualified personal and household sector is not considered a social investment.

The voucher system could allow to overcome some limitations posed by existing national public instruments, such as the disability pension and the attendance allowance. Indeed, these aforementioned instruments do not require restrictions and, consequently, families often use them to support their income or the cost of the irregular care worker. In light of that, the use of vouchers could be positive for the transformation of irregular work into regular work only if combined with important tax incentives. However, these tools are not effective unless supported by a widespread information and communication.

Another related problem with vouchers is the accreditation system, which should be carefully analysed and controlled. For example, private providers of personal and household services often hire domestic and care workers as self-employed or with precarious contracts when she/he is an employee *de facto*. Until now many accredited institutions have received public funding, but controls are not widespread and accurate at all. Accreditation criteria should be uniform throughout the country to ensure high quality and standardisation of service provision. Thus, uniform criteria should be established at national level and complied with locally.

As regards migrant domestic and care workers, the need to reform the Immigration Law and the quota system needs to be considered. The current immigration system is still based on formal hiring from abroad, which is clearly not respected in reality particularly in the field of personal and household services. This leads to a somewhat absurd situation for which a family is not allowed to regularise a worker who doesn't have a visa but is residing in Italy.

An important but still ignored proposal was raised by the employer association Assindatcolf, which suggests the introduction of a system of total tax deduction of the costs borne by families and related to such services with direct and indirect consequences on at least three areas: employment, with the transformation of irregular employment into regular employment and the creation of new employment; public finance, with the effect on tax revenues; the welfare system, through a different organisation, for example yielding a lower incidence of costs of hospitalisation. In line with this idea, it should be mentioned the research conducted in 2015 for which 65.5 % of families would “strongly agree on the possibility of deducting tax for some expenses for care and assistance, incurred directly or out of pocket” (Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015).

In summary, according to the Assindatcolf & Censis prediction, the introduction of a total deduction of expenses borne by households (contributions and taxes) would lead to:

- the emergence of 340 000 irregular workers;

- the creation of new 140 000 jobs;
- the direct effect of EUR 675 million as net effect between cost and benefit related to job creation and the emergence of the irregular employment;
- indirect effect of new 80 000 jobs in other sectors and VAT receipts generated by the availability of income connected to total deduction;
- the final public cost, between direct and indirect effect, would be EUR 72 million.

To sum up, a total deduction of the social protection charges for personal and household services is then connected to the incentive of a series of effects which will have a positive impact both in terms of employment, through the emergence of undeclared work and the availability of new jobs, and of the expansion of the demand. Public expenses in this field should be interpreted as a social investment, a concern that nowadays would yield general benefits for the entire economic system.

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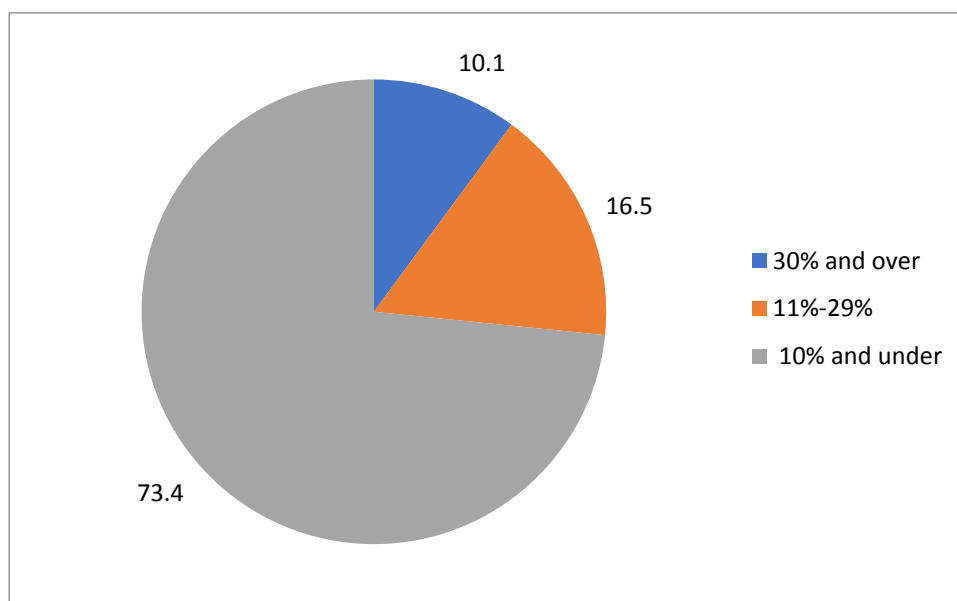
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## Annex 1

Figure 1. Proportion of monthly income spent on private home care services 2015 (%).



Source: Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015

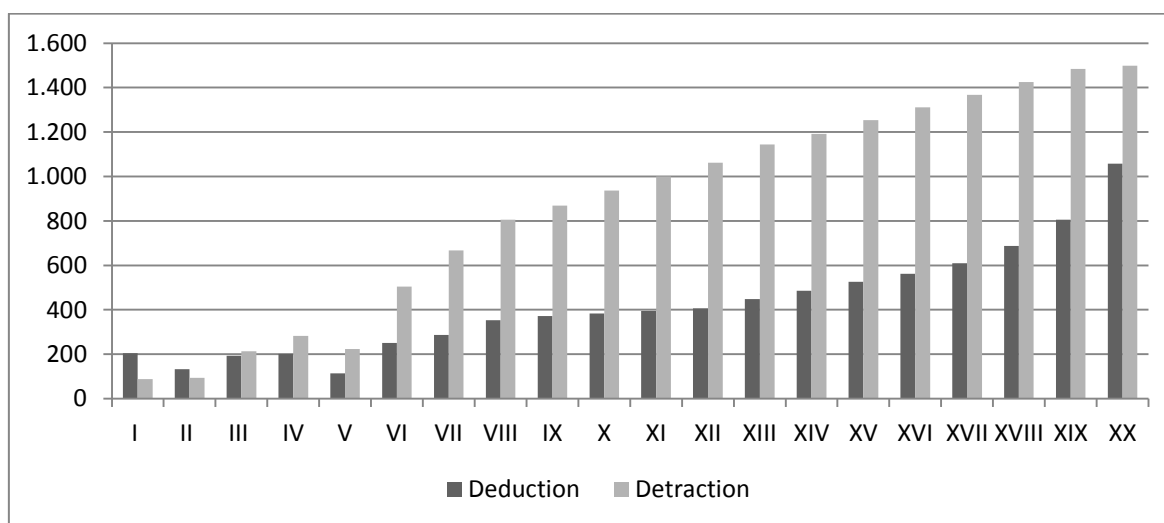
Table 1. Beneficiaries of attendance allowance, %

	2015	2010 - 2015
Italy	11.5	-1.2
Piemonte	8.6	-0.9
Valle d'Aosta	9.2	-0.8
Liguria	9.5	-1.3
Lombardia	9.5	-0.5
Trentino Alto Adige	5.9	-2.5
Veneto	10	-0.8
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	9.9	-1.6
Emilia-Romagna	9.3	-1.6
Toscana	9.7	-1.6
Umbria	16.1	-3.5
Marche	12.9	-1.1
Lazio	13.1	-0.9
Abruzzo	13	-1.9
Molise	11.5	-1
Campania	14.9	-2.5

Puglia	14.5	-0.9
Basilicata	12	-1.7
Calabria	17.1	-0.8
Sicilia	13.7	-0.8
Sardegna	15	-1.1

Source: Autosufficienza, N. N. (2017)

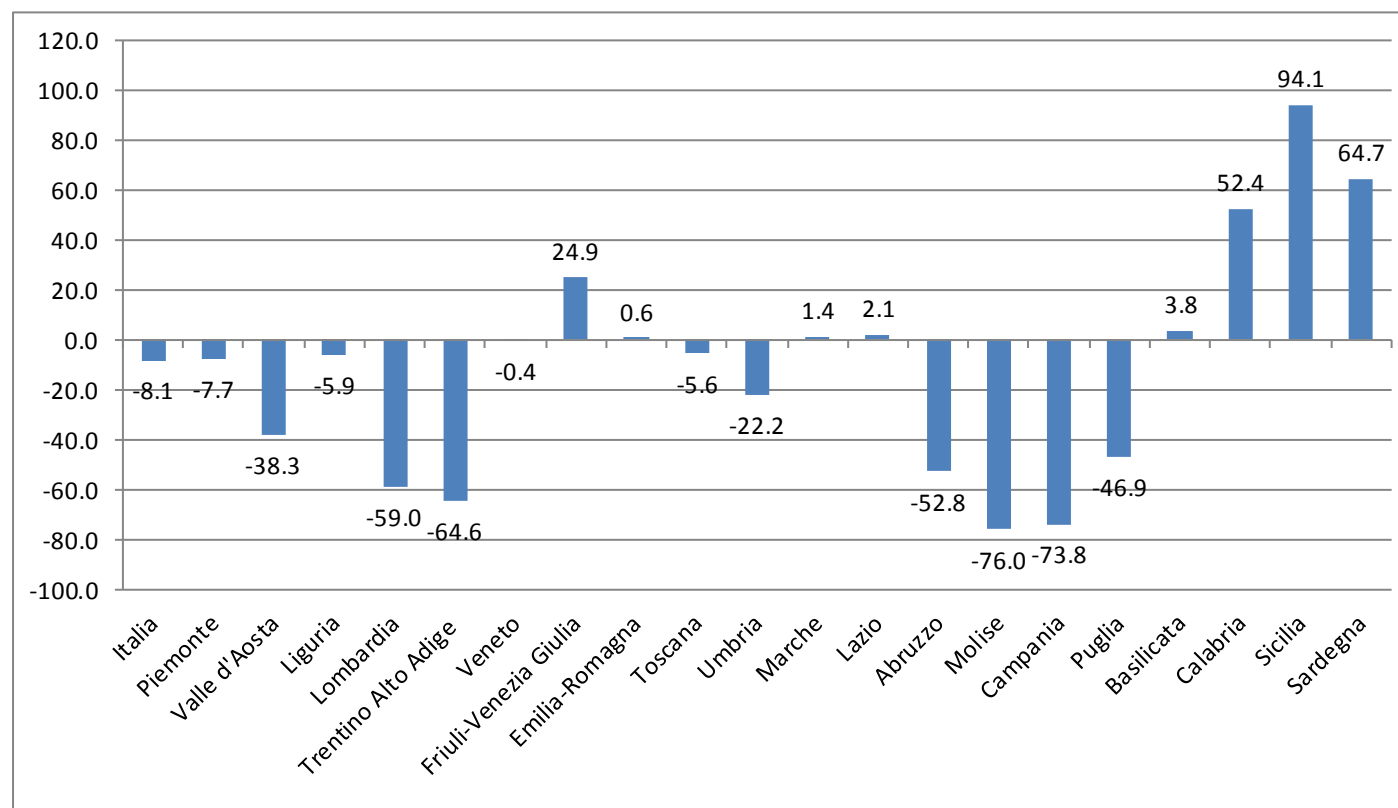
*Figure 2. Beneficiaries of tax deduction and tax credits for domestic and care work by income ventile, Italy, 2016*



Source: Ministry of the Economy and Finance



Figure 3. Percentage variation of care allowances and voucher by region, 2013 - 14



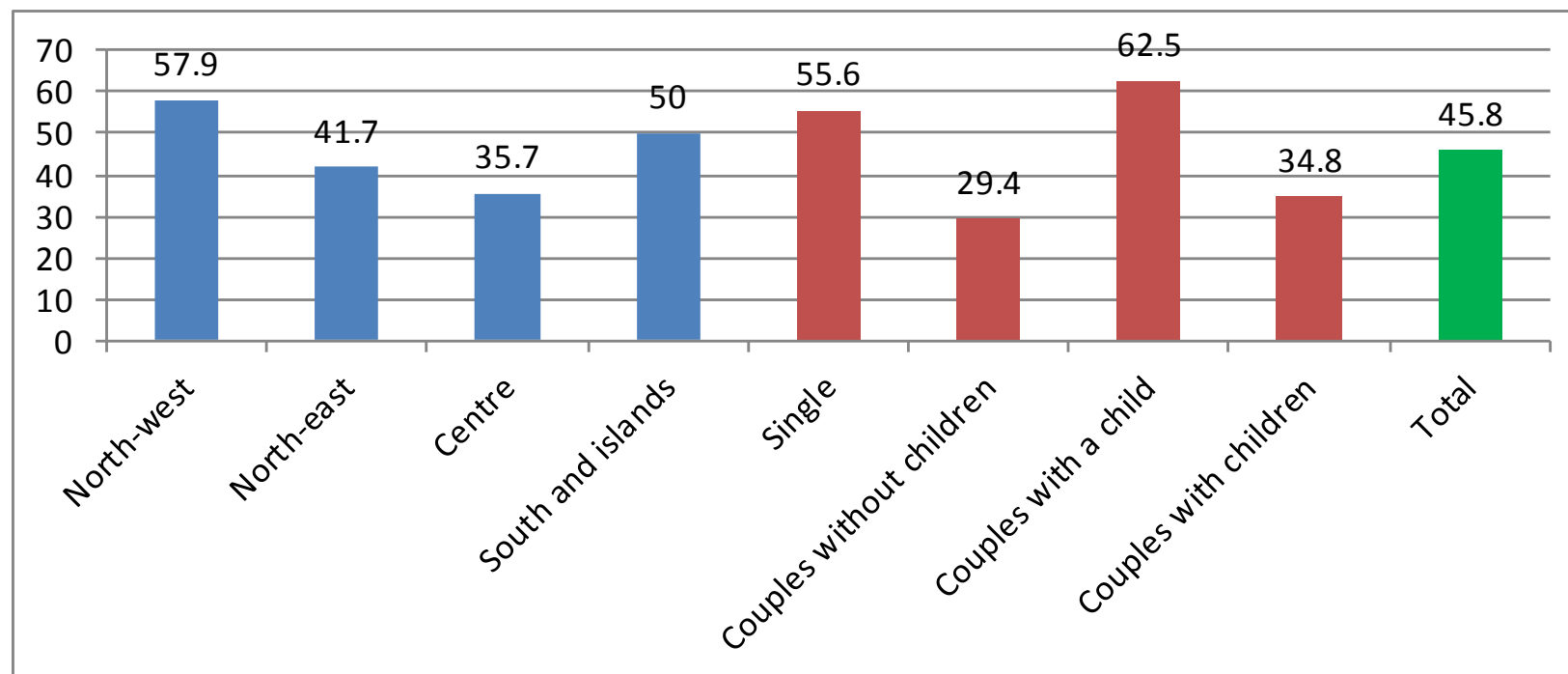
Source: Own calculations based on Istat

Table 2. Number of vouchers issued, by economic sector 2008-16

	Agriculture	Commerce	Gardening and maintenance	Domestic work	Culture and sport	Service	Tourism	Other	Total
2008	535 314	401	85	.	67	60	40	18	535.985
2009	1 239 473	253 380	99 358	14 336	454 214	229 193	193 362	264 181	2 747 497
2010	1 686 842	1 184 102	902 960	218 899	1 706 548	1 144 709	632 140	2 172 110	9 648 310
2011	2 013 504	2 026 876	1 675 672	368 968	2 228 687	1 996 742	1 080 733	3 895 285	15 286 467
2012	2 208 084	3 723 301	2 574 166	602 035	2 936 199	3 071 877	1 836 917	6 069 009	23 021 588
2013	2 166 841	7 921 677	2 951 765	1 167 814	3 296 736	5 865 105	4 978 329	10 191 296	38 539 563
2014	2 037 014	14 664 756	4 244 001	1 828 932	4 122 709	10 566 941	11 407 710	19 460 335	68 332 398
2015	2 239 644	18 904 036	4 990 177	4 911 003	4 461 639	14 029 245	17 816 625	40 759 007	108 111 376
2016	2 210 440	21 050 202	6 137 669	4 967 202	6 023 399	15 963 754	22 442 520	55 270 350	134 065 536

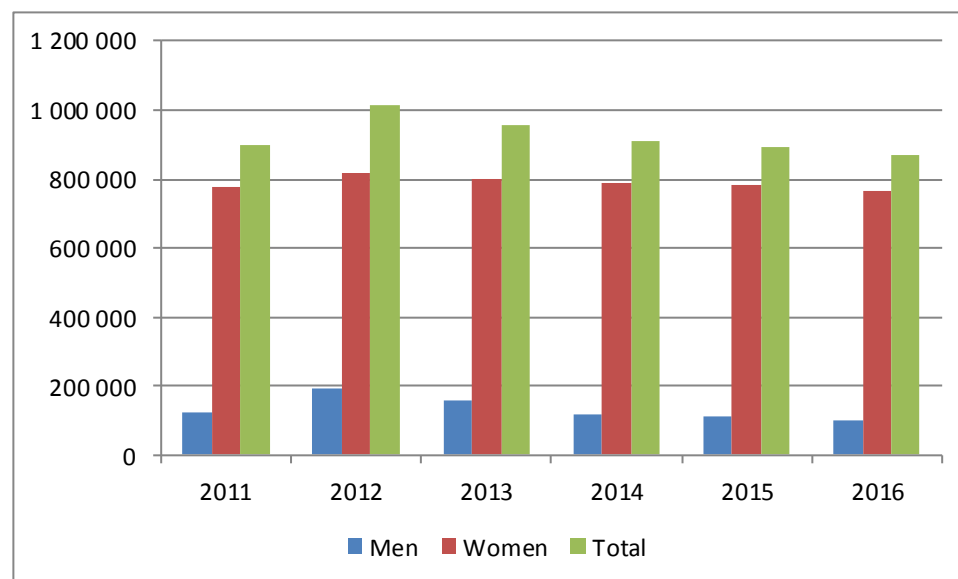
Source: National Social Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS),

Figure 4. Families who have contracted debt or used savings for difficulties in meeting the cost of the service, by geographical area and family type, 2015.



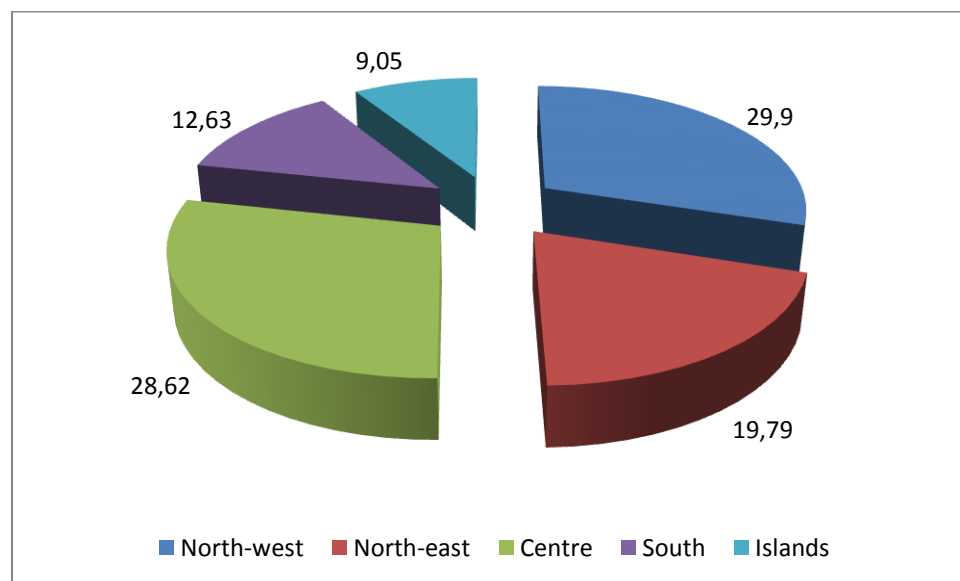
Source: Assindatcolf & Censis, 2015

Figure 5. Number of regular domestic workers by year and sex, 2016.



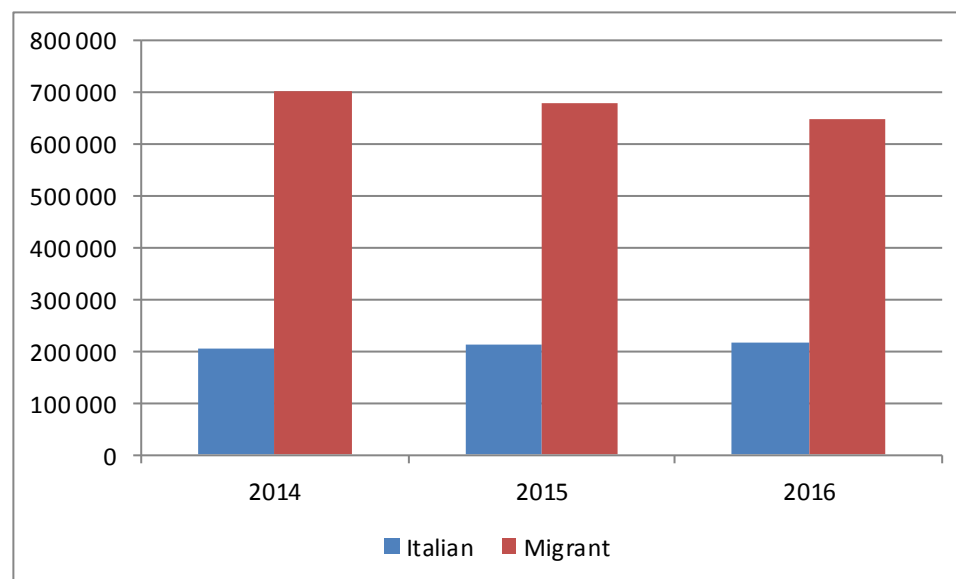
Source: National Social Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS)

Figure 6. Percentage distribution of regular domestic workers by geographical area, 2016



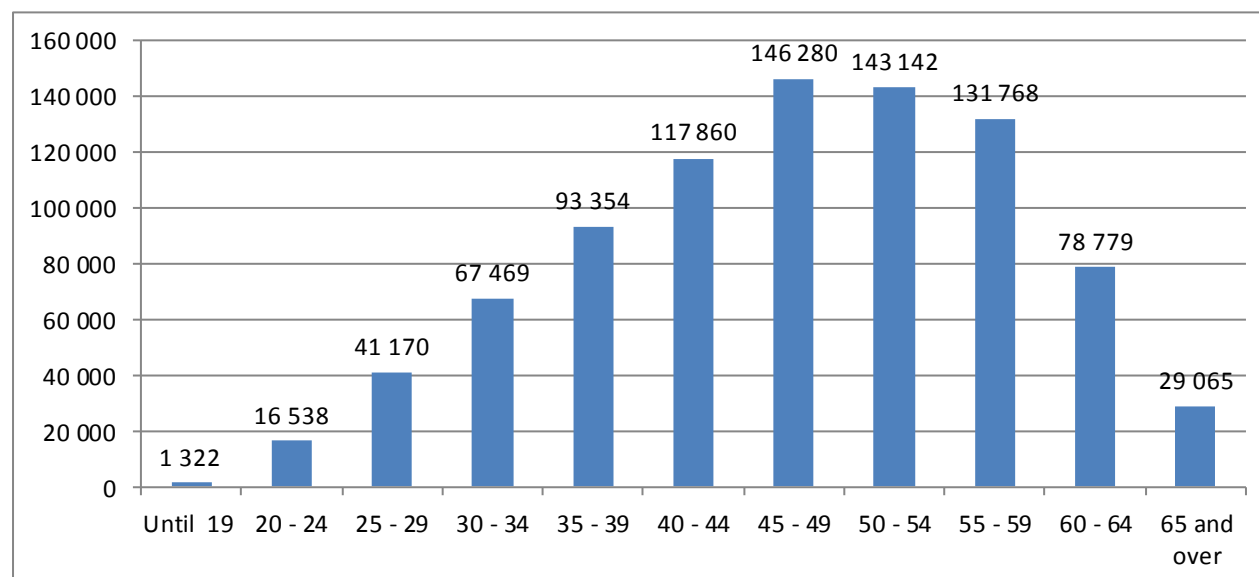
Source: National Social Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS)

Figure 7. Number of regular domestic worker by nationality



Source: National Social Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS)

Figure 8. Number of domestic workers by class of age, 2016



Source: National Social Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS)

Table 3. Number of regular domestic workers by class of working hours

2016	Table 1			
	Care worker	Domestic worker	Without indication	Total
Until 4	6 551	35 274	12	41 837
From 5 to 9	13 466	72 608	37	86 111
From 10 to 14	13 127	52 395	26	65 548
From 15 to 19	15 980	38 190	27	54 197
From 20 to 24	20 431	36 766	25	57 222
From 25 to 29	112 912	173 356	123	286 391
From 30 to 34	54 009	32 836	50	86 895
From 35 to 39	24 598	12 159	17	36 774
From 40 to 44	45 105	22 085	33	67 223
From 45 to 49	8 971	3 195	17	12 183
From 50 to 59	62 429	8 029	59	70 517
60 and over	1 467	379	3	1 849
Total	379 046	487 272	429	866 747

Source: National Social Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS)



Table 4. Number of regular domestic workers by social contribution class, 2016

<b>2016</b>				
	<b>Care worker</b>	<b>Domestic worker</b>	<b>Class unknown</b>	<b>Total</b>
Until 999,99	24 400	40 239	45	64 684
From 1000 to 1999.99	32 264	53 629	68	85 961
From 2000 to 2999.99	29 075	47 663	53	76 791
From 3000 to 3999.99	25 282	39 549	33	64 864
From 4000 to 4999.99	23 127	36 071	21	59 219
From 5000 to 5999.99	22 499	35 449	22	57 970
From 6000 to 6999.99	23 411	37 653	20	61 084
From 7000 to 7999.99	27 855	42 977	31	70 863
From 8000 to 8999.99	25 166	38 580	26	63 772
From 9000 to 9999.99	28 122	30 927	24	59 073
From 10000 to 10999.99	22 910	24 145	23	47 078
From 11000 to 11999.99	21 618	17 247	15	38 880
From 12000 to 12999.99	22 986	12 310	18	35 314
13000 and over	50 331	30 833	30	81 194
<b>Total</b>	<b>379 046</b>	<b>487 272</b>	<b>429</b>	<b>866 747</b>

Source: National Social Security Institute (Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale – INPS)

Table 5. ISCO code and definitions of the references groups.

Group 2	Domestic workers	Elementary occupations
ISCO code	822	8
Description	Occupations classified in this class keep the home in order and cleaned, wash and iron for households, make a daily spend, cook and serve meals	This group includes occupations that require simple and repetitive tasks, for which it is not necessary to achieve a particular educational level and that may involve the use of physical force and a limited autonomy of judgement and initiative.

Table 6. Descriptive statistics. Private domestic workers and Elementary occupations, 2012 and 2016

	Domestic workers				Elementary occupations			
	2012		2016		2012		2016	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<b>Female</b>	849	90.3	566	91,4	1 588	42,2	1 020	41,2
<b>Migrant</b>	618	65.7	662	68,3	787	20,8	548	22,1
<b>Age groups</b>								
<34	192	20.4	79	12.8	799	21.2	453	18.3
35 – 44	317	33.7	195	31.5	1 039	26.6	606	24.5
45 – 54	286	30.4	226	36.5	1 264	33.5	848	34.2
>55	145	15.4	119	19.2	665	17.6	571	23.2
<b>Education</b>								

<i>Low</i>	476	50.6	320	51.7	2 606	69.2	1 591	64.2
<i>Medium</i>	392	41.7	251	40.6	1 108	24.4	843	34.5
<i>High</i>	72	7.7	48	7.7	53	1.4	44	1.3
<b>Part time</b>	648	68.9	448	72.3	1 053	27.9	766	30.9
<b>Fixed term contract</b>	878	93.4	584	94.3	2 876	76.3	1 971	79.5

*Source: Own calculations based on Labour Force Survey (LFS) – ISTAT*

Table 7. Wage and hours of work for private domestic workers, 2012 and 2016

	2012		2016	
	Domestic workers	Elementary occupations	Domestic workers	Elementary occupations
Wage				
Mean	629.50	922.82	631.24	990.66
SD	290.55	358.63	290.42	378.78
Median	600	980	600	1 020
Number of observations	940	3 767	619	2 478
Hours of work per week				
Mean	24.26	34.05	23.61	33.58
SD	12.35	10.05	12.49	10.93
Median	24	36	24	36
Number of observations	978	4 089	603	2 435

Source: Own calculations based on Labour Force Survey (LFS) - ISTAT

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