

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW AND QUALITATIVE METANALYSIS ON PAID HOUSEWORK AND GENDER¹

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ABSTRACT. This study analyzes Brazilian scientific production on paid domestic work and gender. To this end, a systematic review of the literature was conducted from five databases. The initial electronic search resulted in 1,127 articles and, after applying the inclusion criteria and excluding the replicates, 16 articles were selected. With the judges' evaluation, 13 articles were considered eligible for the scientometric and categorical content analysis. The results show that the theme is of interest to several areas of knowledge, especially the social sciences, and the authorship is predominantly female. The productions are mostly theoretical; moreover, they approach the relationship between paid domestic work and gender from several themes, such as collective and union organization, health risks, migrations, among others. The gender category is addressed as an analytical condition for understanding the socioeconomic organization of paid domestic work and the daily work and life of women in this occupation. In addition, most of the studies tend toward an intersectional perspective on the gender issues that cut across this know-how. Among them, the importance of considering the entanglements between gender, race/ethnicity, and social class is emphasized, mainly because it deals with the national context. We verified the need for more empirical studies that also contemplate the realities of the North and Northeast regions and the (inter)subjective aspects. We hope that new reviews can overcome the limitations of this study.

Keywords: Housework; remuneration; gender.

REVISÃO SISTEMÁTICA E METANÁLISE QUALITATIVA SOBRE TRABALHO DOMÉSTICO REMUNERADO E GÊNERO

RESUMO. O presente estudo analisa a produção científica brasileira sobre trabalho doméstico remunerado e gênero. Para isso, foi realizada uma revisão sistemática da literatura a partir de cinco bases de dados. A busca eletrônica inicial resultou em 1.127 artigos, e, após a aplicação dos critérios de inclusão e a exclusão dos replicados, 16 artigos foram selecionados. Com a avaliação dos juízes, 13 artigos foram considerados elegíveis para a análise cientométrica e de conteúdo categorial. Os resultados demonstram que a temática é de interesse de diversas áreas do conhecimento, sobretudo das Ciências Sociais, e a autoria é predominantemente feminina. As produções são majoritariamente

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teóricas, ademais, abordam a relação trabalho doméstico remunerado e gênero a partir de diversos temas, como organização coletiva e sindical, riscos à saúde, migrações, entre outros. A categoria gênero é abordada enquanto condição analítica para a compreensão da organização socioeconômica do trabalho doméstico remunerado e do cotidiano de trabalho e de vida das mulheres que exercem essa ocupação. Além disso, na maioria dos estudos, encontramos uma tendência à perspectiva interseccional acerca das questões de gênero que atravessam esse saber-fazer. Entre eles, é ressaltada a importância de considerar os enovelamentos entre gênero, raça/etnia e classe social, principalmente, por se tratar do contexto nacional. Verificamos a necessidade de mais estudos empíricos que, inclusive, contemplem as realidades da região Norte e Nordeste e os aspectos (inter)subjetivos. Esperamos que novas revisões possam suprir as limitações deste estudo.

Palavras-chave: Trabalho doméstico; remuneração; gênero.

REVISIÓN SISTEMÁTICA Y METANÁLISIS CUALITATIVO SOBRE TRABAJO DOMÉSTICO REMUNERADO Y GÉNERO

RESUMEN. Este estudio analiza la producción científica brasileña sobre el trabajo doméstico remunerado y el género. Para ello, se realizó una revisión bibliográfica sistemática a partir de cinco bases de datos. La búsqueda electrónica inicial dio como resultado 1.127 artículos y, tras aplicar los criterios de inclusión y excluir las réplicas, se seleccionaron 16 artículos. Con la evaluación de los jueces, se consideraron 13 artículos elegibles para el análisis de contenido cuantitativo y categorico. Los resultados demuestran que el tema es de interés en diversas áreas del conocimiento, sobre todo en las ciencias sociales, y la autoría es predominantemente femenina. Las producciones son en su mayoría teóricas, y abordan la relación entre el trabajo doméstico remunerado y el género desde varios temas, como la organización colectiva y sindical, los riesgos para la salud, las migraciones, entre otros. La categoría de género se aborda como condición analítica para comprender la organización socioeconómica del trabajo doméstico remunerado y el trabajo y la vida cotidiana de las mujeres en esta ocupación. Además, la mayoría de los estudios tienden a una perspectiva interseccional de las cuestiones de género que atraviesan estos conocimientos. Entre ellos, se destaca la importancia de considerar los enredos entre el género, la raza/etnia y la clase social, principalmente porque se trata del contexto nacional. Comprobamos la necesidad de más estudios empíricos que contemplen también las realidades de las regiones del Norte y del Nordeste y los aspectos (inter)subjetivos. Esperamos que las nuevas revisiones puedan superar las limitaciones de este estudio.

Palabras clave: Trabajo doméstico; remuneración; género.

Introduction

Despite the growth in women's participation in the labor market, in general, female labor continues to be directed to certain occupations/professions, tasks, and places in production, considered less important or secondary (Rocha & Pinto, 2018). One of the representatives of this situation is paid domestic work (PDW). According to data from the Continuous National Household Sample Survey (continuous PNAD), carried out by the

Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2019) in the fourth quarter of 2018, domestic services were mostly carried out by women, namely around 94.1 %.

Furthermore, in Brazil, according to Almeida (2010), although domestic work is an activity strongly permeated by gender discrimination, it dates back to the slavery period and, therefore, carries in its history the imbrications of gender, race, and class. Thus, it became an occupation mostly carried out by black and poor women and marked by extreme precariousness: poor pay, informality, devaluation, and subalternization.

Interest in the study of domestic work appeared in the academic world in the 1960s and 1970s, whether due to feminist criticism or the high demand for these services due to the precarious working conditions of domestic workers. Since then, academic production on the topic has grown in different areas of knowledge (Rial, Lago, & Grossi, 2005). In the Psychology of Work, this topic has gained space in discussions and productions, due to the rapprochement of this subdiscipline with work environments other than the factory or formal organizations and the adoption of a more critical view of the phenomena of the world of work (Gondim, Borges -Andrade, & Bastos, 2010; Sato, 2013).

Domestic workers have achieved equality in terms of rights with other professional categories, through the regulation of the Proposed Amendment to the Constitution 478/2010 (PEC of domestic workers) through the sanction of the Complementary Law 150, of June 1, 2015 (Silva, Araújo, Moreira, & Bastos, 2017). However, the change in legislation, although important, is not enough to guarantee a structural change in the working conditions of these workers. Currently, in the country, there is an intensification and diversification of the informality of this occupation, through the phenomenon of diarization of PDW (Costa, 2017; Silva et al., 2017).

In 2018, day laborers already represented 44% of the 6.2 million domestic workers (Institute of Applied Economic Research [Ipea], 2018 as cited in Pinheiro, Lira, Rezende, & Fontoura, 2019, p. 21). For Moticelli and Tamani (2013), the increasing hiring of these workers is established in a scenario of productive restructuring, which has substantially favored the precariousness of formal work, successive economic crises, and cyclical unemployment, a situation that forges new contractual practices in a context of structural inequalities, such as gender.

Given this scenario and intending to deepen the discussion on the topic, we conducted a systematic review of the Brazilian scientific production over the last twenty years regarding the relationship between paid domestic work and gender, seeking a more in-depth reflection on the findings from a qualitative meta-analysis. The review did not include publications made during the COVID-19 pandemic period, as the search in the databases took place in previous months.

Furthermore, this study was carried out with the support of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel – Brazil (CAPES, Process 88882.440918/2019-01) – funding code 001.

Method

The design of this study is configured as a survey of secondary bibliographic data for a systematic review of the national scientific literature. The search for productions was carried out in five national electronic databases: SciELO Brasil (Scientific Electronic Library Online), CAPES Periodical Portal, LILACS (Latin American and Caribbean Health Sciences Literature), PePSIC (Electronic Psychology Journals), IndexPsi Journals/BVS-Psi (Virtual Health Library - Psychology Brazil). These virtual databases are considered references for national publications. The descriptors used were: “domestic work”, and “gender” and to

combine them, we used the logical operator “AND”. The inclusion criteria were a) complete scientific articles in Portuguese, published between 2000 and 2020 in national journals and with open access; b) the presence of descriptors in the title, abstract, or subject; c) articles that addressed the relationship between paid domestic work and gender. The survey and systematization of this study took place between February and October 2020.

According to the characteristics of each database, some refinements were applied to meet the survey criteria, such as type of resource/type of literature – article; Portuguese language; publication date/publication year range – 2000 to 2020, on the SciELO, LILACS and CAPES Periodical Portal, with the latter adding peer-reviewed journals as another filter for refinement. After, 1,127 articles were found; however, the descriptors were identified in only 123. Then, 107 articles were excluded, 48 because they were duplicates, and 59 because they did not meet the research criteria, leaving 16 articles initially considered eligible for the study.

Given the diversity of themes regarding the issue in question and to add more transparency and robustness to the systematic nature of the research, the list of articles was sent to three judges to evaluate: (1) whether the article, in fact, discussed the relationship paid domestic work and gender; (2) whether the article actually met all eligibility criteria. After these analyses, the publication was definitively included if there was consensus from at least two judges. That said, we classified 13 articles with the theme of paid domestic work and gender.

Bibliographic information about the articles was organized in a spreadsheet. For the scientometric analysis, we chose to first highlight the characteristics of the authors: (1) gender, (2) area of training, and (3) region of affiliated institutions. Subsequently, the articles were characterized for (1) the number of authors per article, (2) methodological focus, (3) CAPES Qualis, and (4) annual frequency.

After this initial treatment, the articles were subjected to Laurence Bardin's (1977/2011) categorical content analysis technique to formulate an interpretation of the findings, discussions, and research paths on the topic of PDW and gender. The content analysis process takes place around three poles: (1) pre-analysis – objectives, operations, organization, and demarcation of the material to be analyzed; (2) exploration of the material – coding, decomposition, or enumeration according to previously formulated rules or operations; (3) treatment of results – inference and interpretation (Bardin, 1977/2011).

Here, the questions that guided the investigation of the material were: (a) how does the gender category contribute to the investigation of PDW? (b) what are the main changes that have occurred in the last twenty years? c) what is the research agenda that emerges from the findings?

Results

The results obtained are arranged in two parts. Initially, the scientometric data from the systematic literature review are presented to later highlight the results of the categorical content analysis.

(1) Characterization of the authors

Regarding the interest in answering who studies, researches, and writes about this topic, the information collected shows that women are predominant, as they represent 68.5% (N=13) of researchers/scholars committed to building knowledge about the relationship between paid domestic work and gender. Furthermore, we observed a heterogeneity of authorship. The 13 articles analyzed were written by 19 different authors,

of which only one has more than one publication (N=2) among the studies analyzed. In these publications, the author Bernardino-Costa is cited in four of the thirteen articles and has, as the first author, the largest number of publications (N=5) on the topic.

As for the academic background of the authors, the studies were developed in different areas of knowledge: Psychology, Social Work, Public Health, Economics, Social Communication, Literature, and Tourism; however, most authors work in the field of social sciences—Sociology and Anthropology (N=7). Only one study belongs to the field of knowledge of psychology and the subarea of social psychology. Furthermore, 68.5% (N=13) have doctorates. Considering the location of the institutions to which the authors are affiliated, we observed a concentration of studies (46.1%) in the Southern region of the country (N=6); then the Central-West (N=3) and Southeast (N=2) regions; finally the North (N=1) and Northeast (N=1) regions.

(2) Characterization of the articles

On the number of people in authorship, we identified that 53.8% of the articles (N=7) were individually authored; then, the authorship of up to two people stands out, representing 23.8% of the articles (N=3). As for the type of article, 84.6% of the articles are theoretical (N=11), four of which are literature reviews, one is a literary analysis and six are theoretical essays, only 15.4% (N=2) are empirical articles. Having said this, the methodological paths adopted by the two empirical studies are qualitative, respectively, with the use of biographical reports (life stories) with interviews and thematic workshops with interviews, in addition to the use of content analysis, but there is no specification. The theoretical studies did not clearly present information about the methodology used.

Furthermore, in general, studies based their reflections and investigations on domestic workers (monthly workers, day laborers), only Cardoso and Guimarães (2018) specifically investigated the working reality of day laborers. We observed a diversity of themes related to the issue of interest in the objectives of the articles: (a) metamorphoses of paid domestic work; (b) collective and union organization; (c) informality and health risks; (d) changes in the profile of domestic workers and representations; (e) legislative changes and their impacts; (f) internationalization of PDW and feminization of migration; (g) public actions and the role of the media.

Regarding the Qualis-Journal classification strata (CAPES Qualis, quadrennium 2013-2016), the articles obey the following distribution: A1 (N=2), A2 (N=1), B1 (N=3), B2 (N= two), B4 (N=2), and S/Qualis (N=3). In addition, the studies analyzed were published between 2004 and 2019, and most (N= 9) were distributed in the period from 2015 to 2019.

(3) Content Analysis

Based on the categorical content analysis, the results can be grouped into three categories: (1) gender, socioeconomic organization and/or vulnerabilities of paid domestic work (Bernardino-Costa, 2013, 2015; Cal, 2015; Cardoso & Guimarães, 2018; Grecco, 2018; Hamann, Barcinski, & Pizzinato, 2018; Lisboa, 2006; Lima & Prates, 2019; Meneghel, 2004; Nogueira, 2017; Rodrigues, Alfonso, & Rieth, 2017; Sanches, 2009; Silva & Queiroz, 2018); (2) continuities and transformations in the condition of domestic workers (Bernardino-Costa, 2015; Cardoso & Guimarães, 2018; Hamann et al., 2018; Lima & Prates, 2019; Rodrigues et al., 2017; Sanches, 2009; Silva & Queiroz, 2018); (3) methodological and study paths for investigating the topic (Bernardino-Costa, 2015; Cal, 2015; Cardoso & Guimarães, 2019; Grecco, 2018; Hamann et al., 2018; Lisboa, 2006; Lima & Prates, 2019; Nogueira, 2017; Rodrigues et al., 2017).

3.1 Gender, socioeconomic organization, and/or vulnerabilities of paid domestic work

This category brings together arguments found in studies on the importance of the gender dimension for understanding the socioeconomic organization of PDW and/or the vulnerabilities that domestic workers are susceptible to. We highlight that this discussion is present in all the articles analyzed, which was somewhat expected, given that the review focuses on the relationship between paid domestic work and gender. Studies consider that the social devaluation and invisibility of PDW is a reflection of gender issues, that is, the social division of roles, behaviors, tasks, and places attributed to men and women so that this division penalizes in different ways the feminine and reveals the hierarchical and power relationship between sexes/genders.

The historical predominance of women in this type of activity, for example, is supported by the imposition of gender, as the work itself and the place where this work takes place are understood as their own or expression of the feminine. From an early age, women are taught in their homes, schools, and communities to take responsibility for the domestic environment and service, so that the skills and competencies acquired are naturalized. Thus, when it comes to paid work, this naturalization of the skills and competencies necessary for this type of occupation is reflected in working conditions, as is the case with low pay and little or no social recognition (Lima & Prates, 2019).

Parallel or in line with the process of feminization and naturalization of PDW, the discussion around the place or environment where this activity is carried out also appears in the narratives of studies as an element of understanding for the invisibility of this work and, consequently, of the workers. Paid domestic work occurs in homes, in the private environment, in the so-called reproductive sphere, which is considered as not producing surplus value, that is, which does not produce value of exchange, only of use, understood as a place of affection and not politics, vocation and not work. Cleaning, ironing, cooking, and organizing other people's homes is not considered a productive or profitable activity, from the point of view of capital. Based on this conception, it receives little importance or is discredited in the socio-occupational structure (Nogueira, 2017).

Bearing in mind that the reproductive sphere is a space historically designated to women and delimited by female labor, the aforementioned idea embeds an association between female activity with non-work or of lesser value and male activity with commercial value, since socially, the productive sphere is still considered a place for men. Therefore, the work carried out by women and, in particular, those more committed to traditional conceptions of the feminine, as is the case of PDW, has been underestimated, made invisible, and devalued as a result of a social and unequal sexual division of labor (Hamann et al., 2018).

According to the findings, this naturalization and marginalization of the reproductive sphere and, consequently, of the feminine benefits the economic overexploitation of feminized jobs. PDW is learning and, in itself, does not carry a negative value, the opposite of which is due to social constructions around the social function and the people who carry out this work (Meneghel 2004; Grecco, 2018). In particular, Rodrigues et al. (2017) provide a clear idea of the relativity of the socioeconomic value that domestic work can assume depending on who carries out this activity. The authors point out that, although domestic work is typically an occupation mostly carried out by women, this does not mean that no men are carrying out this type of work, especially nowadays, but, when this happens, men generally receive larger remuneration. This situation can only be understood as gender discrimination or violence since they have the same function.

In this sense, the articles show that the social memory of domestic work, as inferior and trivialized work, is closely related to how this activity and the subjects who carry it out are constituted in social relations. In this sense, the productions of Bernardino-Costa (2013, 2015) state that the history of this activity in Brazil demonstrates that gender interpretations are an analytical condition of patterns of domination and exploitation, which have kept this work on the margins of society and prejudices that permeates it, although they are not the only ones or sufficient to explain the social reality of PDW, as it is necessary to consider other social markers, such as class and race/ethnicity in the historical process of building the symbolic and functional links that cross this occupation in the country since it dates back to the colonial slave period.

Except for the work of Meneghel (2004), this reservation is present in the other articles analyzed. Most studies adopt the gender dimension, considering its imbrications with class and race/ethnicity, demonstrating a tendency to adopt a dynamic and intersectional analysis of the problem, although it is observed that some articles focus on the imbrications of gender and race/ethnicity (Bernardino, 2013, 2015; Nogueira, 2017) and others on gender and class (Cal, 2015; Grecco, 2018; Hamann et al., 2018; Lisboa 2006). This occurs because there is a consensus that gender, even though it is essential for analyzing the insertion and permanence of women in the world of work, is not sufficient to explain the realities of all women, as the axes of power and differentiation are multiple and in concrete reality they are interrelated.

In the wake of this discussion, the studies' narratives revealed how gender and its imbrications with class and race/ethnicity regulate work relations. Regarding the relationship between domestic workers and their contractors, the findings demonstrate a relationship marked by informality, sponsorship, and the logic of serving. Furthermore, taking into account that in the vast majority of cases, hiring and supervising domestic work is done by another woman, this brings to light how the social condition of class and race/ethnicity mediate this encounter, granting different social roles and positions to these women. However, it also reveals the gender-based violence suffered by both, because, as the mistress validates the servitude or naturalization that permeates this work, she reinforces the idea that the domestic environment, socially attributed to the feminine, is devalued and subordinate (Hamann et al., 2018; Lima & Prates, 2019).

Moreover, the images and roles attributed to the feminine in patriarchal society, which associate women and their bodies with subordination, devotion, and care, under the veil of social naturalization, appear in studies as conditions or determinants of risk and vulnerability situations in the daily lives of paid domestic workers. These workers are more susceptible to physical and sexual violence, as seigniorial relations and the sexualization of their bodies, a legacy of the colonial slavery period, become favorable conditions for sexual harassment at work, an example of the imbrication of social markers of gender, race/ethnicity and class. However, they can also occur during the daily route to reach the residence(s) (Cardoso & Guimarães, 2018).

The unequal division of domestic/family work present in a sexist society, that is, family support and taking care of the home and children are still generally the responsibility of the women in the family. For domestic workers, this situation translates into an overload of work and infinite repetitions of gestures, since there is a similarity between the paid activity and that carried out in their homes, so this circumstance must be taken into account as a factor of risk, especially for the development of musculoskeletal diseases. In fact, it is of these workers that the precariousness of public equipment will take its toll, as they are the ones who face greater difficulties in providing care for their children, having to pay another woman

(young or adult), which is very expensive for them, leave them alone, or take them to work and, in more extreme cases, hand them over to relatives and/or neighbors (Cardoso & Guimarães, 2018).

Furthermore, these and other structural gender violence (conjugal violence, child sexual abuse, and lack of access to schooling) are cited in the articles as a conjuncture for the process of feminization of migration. In the labor market, PDW stands out as an occupation in which there are many migrant women (internal and external migration); this is due to the imposition of gender that permeates this work associated with the growing demand, mainly in European countries, for household and care services. The migration process exposes or configures extreme situations for these workers; when migrating from one region to another or from one country to another, domestic workers distance themselves from their families and communities, becoming very dependent on their contractors, and most of the time, having no formal employment record, in addition to being victims of discrimination due to cultural, racial/ethnic and language differences that are overvalued (Lisboa, 2006).

In this way, the interpretations of gender and its correspondents (class and race/ethnicity) are highlighted in the articles analyzed as analytical tools to break with the naturalization of injustices and abuses. This is by revealing the precariousness and subalternization present in the life/work stories of these workers, as well as recognizing them as participants in this process, capable of resisting and generating individual/collective mobilizations, thus moving away from a unilateral, colonizing, or reinforcing perspective of images of passivity regarding the female gender.

3.2 Continuities and transformations of the condition of domestic workers

In this category, the continuities and transformations in the condition of paid domestic workers are presented. In the articles analyzed, this discussion occurs about the profile of workers, legislation, configurations, and working conditions. Most productions reveal that the profile of domestic workers has not undergone major changes, maintaining a job predominantly carried out by black, poor, and low-educated women, although they recognize some nuances in the age composition and level of education of the category. Regarding these last two aspects, there was a reduction in the participation of younger women (10 to 19 and 20 to 29 years old) in this occupation, as well as an increase in education levels, but not significantly enough to change the general situation of very low education (Bernardino-Costa, 2015; Lima & Prates, 2019; Silva & Queiroz, 2018).

In summary, the discussion present in the articles on the profile of domestic workers takes place around the historical and social cleavages arising from gender, class, and race/ethnicity, which have conferred the common individual/collective attributes of those who are more likely to enter this occupation at the national level. Thus, the findings suggest a certain homogeneity of the category. Nevertheless, for Lima and Prates (2019), census aspects, such as age, region, and education combined with the analysis of the already mentioned general cleavages, are responsible for intra-group heterogeneity, resulting in different work realities within the category.

The informal nature of PDW is another high point in the narratives of studies about the continuities that cross this activity. Despite the changes that have occurred in this work, there is an increase in the number of day laborers in the country and this type of PDW is associated with the high rates of informality observed in this occupation. Furthermore, it configures new work situations concerning the organization and working conditions for the category (Sanches, 2009; Rodrigues et al., 2017; Cardoso & Guimarães, 2018).

The study by Cardoso and Guimarães (2018) shows that the practice of domestic work for daily payments does not meet the law's criteria for recognizing an employment relationship (carrying out the activity twice or more per week). The informality of labor relations means, for day laborers, a lack of legal protection, as these workers are deprived of social security benefits, health protection measures, and against abuses such as sexual harassment at work. Furthermore, the daily work reveals other particularities, such as the intensification of work, since they only have one day to carry out the same amount of work; the need to travel different routes and distances during the week; the time taken to carry out tasks is quite variable, as it depends on the demand of each residence; and the absence or difficulty in establishing a time for rest or meal.

3.3 Methodological and study paths for investigating the topic

This category provides an overview of the new research paths present in the articles analyzed. Of the thirteen studies, it was possible to identify, in nine, suggestions and notes for new research. In addition, we also highlight that the findings point not only to new objects of study but also to types of research. In the majority of articles containing such recommendations, there is a concern that research on the subject privileges the space for speech and participation of domestic workers in the construction of knowledge about their occupation.

Such studies start from the perspective that, when workers are called to reflect on themselves, on the work and community universe, this movement contributes to the deconstruction of the naturalness that permeates their daily work and living conditions, giving them a space to think critically, in addition to moving away from a colonizing discourse and way of doing science, which only considers the researcher's perspective or theories (Bernardino-Costa, 20013, 2015; Rodrigues et al., 2017, Cardoso & Guimarães, 2018).

As for suggestions of themes and objects for new studies, we find in Bernardino-Costa (2015), the recommendation to investigations into the political mobilization of domestic workers, as, according to the author, it is still low the number of participation of these workers in unions and associations. Grecco (2018) refers to the urgency in thinking about PDW transformations, as is the case with the internationalization of occupation, based on the links between production and reproduction, thus allowing us to break with the false duality and renew studies on work.

The different realities of domestic workers also emerge as a topic for investigation. Lima and Prates (2019) argue that recognizing intra-group heterogeneity can boost research that considers general and local/regional aspects in the production of working conditions. Furthermore, they point to the urgency of research into the impacts of austerity policies (public spending freezes) and changes in labor regulation (outsourcing law and pension reform) on the category and the recent gains in terms of rights for formal workers.

We also highlight that, although discussions appear around the impacts of paid domestic work, the stigmas and prejudices that permeate it in the construction of identity(ies) and the mental health of workers (Lisboa, 2006; Nogueira, 2017; Cardoso & Guimarães, 2018; Lima & Prates, 2019), these questions do not appear as suggestions for research.

Discussion

The scientometric analysis evidenced structure and constituent elements of Brazilian scientific productions on PDW and gender. We found that the topic is of interest to different areas of knowledge, with women predominating in authorship. In this regard, we understand this is a trend in the history of mobilization and construction of knowledge about gender, as

women are the main ones interested in revealing inequalities and fighting for equity at work (Rial et al., 2005). Furthermore, it expresses better female participation in scientific publications.

The productions are mostly theoretical and among the existing empirical studies, there is a qualitative methodological approach. Concerning the institutional affiliations of the authors, productions are concentrated in the South, Southeast, and Central-West regions, which leads us to think about the need for research promotion programs in the North and Northeast regions, thus stimulating studies on the problem in these regions.

Considering the time frame and the five databases researched, the number of publications is not very significant given the importance the topic has for the country, despite observing that, in the last five years (2015-2019), there has been an intensification of publications. With respect to this situation, we believe it is associated with the changes that have occurred in this occupation, mainly concerning legislation, which has sparked debate around this activity. Furthermore, when we take into account the field of psychology, the situation becomes even more restricted and, it seems, when dealing with the subdiscipline of the psychology of work, it is still a peripheral or absent theme.

Thus, the absence or non-representation of the psychology of work among the areas of knowledge interested in investigating the relationship between PDW and gender can be considered from three aspects: (i) the fact that, in Brazil, there is an association of research lines in the psychology of work and organizations with graduate programs with a concentration in the area of social psychology (Gondim et al., 2010); (ii) the recent recognition and interest of social work psychology in other work realities, beyond the factory and employment context (Sato, 2013); (iii) the production in the social psychology of work or the psychopathology of work, sexual/gender identities still do not enjoy a real right to appear in the investigation and conceptualization of work phenomena (Hirata, 2002). In fact, we defend that, productions, when considering the gender dimension, place it as an analytical condition and not just as a descriptive or differentiating approach.

Based on the content analysis carried out, the results were grouped into three categories: (1) gender, socioeconomic organization, and/or vulnerabilities of paid domestic work; (2) continuities and transformations in the condition of paid domestic workers; (3) methodological and study paths for investigating the topic.

Gender is portrayed in the articles analyzed as an analytical condition for investigating and understanding the social organization of PDW and the daily lives of female workers, as the social division of roles, behaviors, tasks and places attributed to men and women penalizes the feminine in different ways and reveals the hierarchical and power relationship between sexes/genders. About paid domestic workers, this situation supports the invisibility and social devaluation of the work provided, in addition to configuring situations of discrimination, imposition, violence, insecurity, and suffering in the life/work trajectory of these women.

Hirata (2002) states that unequal social-gender relations subsidize and permeate the places occupied and activities carried out by women in society. This has the effect of theoretical renewal, as any analysis of work or the labor market now requires considering gender/sex identities to think about work situations, even if they are apparently the same, the working-class is gendered.

Furthermore, we found in publications a tendency to recognize the overlap between gender, class, and race/ethnicity in the analysis of this activity, which is quite understandable, particularly in Brazil.

Based on the aforementioned findings, we understand that it is heuristically useful to understand psychosocial phenomena in terms of social relationships. The perspective of imbrications with gender, class, and race/ethnicity allows us to get closer to the dynamic and complex social reality, as well as recognizing that there is no primordial social relationship. Also, there are heterogeneities within the women's intragroup, but there are methodological and knowledgeable about the investigation of social practices, as the social relations from which they arise are mobile, historical, and have margins of uncertainty, therefore, impossible to be apprehended completely and in an integral way. Thus, adopting the triple dimension (gender, class, and race/ethnicity) in the analysis of the social division of labor does not mean having to take a tour of all social relations, but seeing their intersections and imbrications in the processes (Kergoat, 2010)

Regarding the condition of domestic workers, studies show that there have been no major changes and it continues to be an undervalued job, marked by informality, carried out mostly by poor black women, in addition to containing terrible working conditions. Despite the transformations, the aging of the category appears with the decrease in the number of young women participating, the increase in education levels, the achievement of rights for formalized workers, and the increase in the number of day laborers, the so-called phenomenon of diarization of PDW, identified as the main responsible for the continued high rates of informality in this occupation.

Although, in the narratives of the studies, the analysis of data on the age composition and educational levels of the category is limited to 2014, the aging and increase in the educational level of paid domestic workers is a highlight of a study published by Ipea. According to the research, the age profile of domestic workers changed: 80% were over 30 years old in 2018, while 13% were up to 29 years old. The research attributes these changes to the expansion of educational policies for access to basic and higher education (Pinheiro et al., 2019).

The diarization of PDW is a reality that needs to be better understood, because, as the publication by Cardoso and Guimarães (2018) shows, there are important distinctions in payments, working conditions, and recognition that will configure different situations of work between day laborers and monthly (formalized) domestic workers. Further, it is an important way to understand how the scenario of job degradation has impacted the participation of female labor in the job market.

Based on the findings of the review and their discussion, we present a research agenda: (1) studies with participatory designs; (2) collective and union organization; (3) production and reproduction in work analysis; (4) PDW heterogeneity; (5) impacts of austerity policies and changes in work regulations in this occupation; (6) expansion of empirical studies, especially in the psychology of work and organizations; (7) consequences of the pandemic context (Covid-19) on this work and workers.

We could not fail to consider the historical context of the pandemic, as, according to a report by the Inter-Union Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (DIEESE, 2020), domestic workers are among the categories that were most impacted by the pandemic context. In addition to or in line with the history of lack of protection and marginalization that permeates this occupation, the pandemic implied new additions to the condition of vulnerability: it brought an increase in unemployment and, for those who continued working, it brought the risk of contracting the disease, work overload, and experience of abusive practices, as is the case of workers who had to remain at home at the request of their contractors. Given this, we consider it important to broaden our understanding of this situation.

Judging from the findings and discussions in the publications analyzed, the work and life situations of paid domestic workers demonstrate how the condition of working women still constitutes an experience crossed by disparities, circumstances of exploitation and subordination, barriers and difficulties, whose genesis is in an androcentric, racist, and class social organization. Therefore, the fight for the valorization of female labor is believed to essentially involve valuing this work, which, in Brazil, for example, is the third most occupied occupation by women (IBGE, 2019).

Final considerations

Taking into account the time frame adopted and the databases researched, there was a small number of publications given the importance of the theme for the Brazilian context and the need to provide visibility to gender social relations and their intersectionalities with other social relations, that support the exercise of PDW and permeate the daily lives of the workers. Furthermore, the underrepresentation of Psychology in the areas of knowledge interested in the problem is emphasized. Thus, a research agenda can be envisioned. Regarding this, we highlight the demand for empirical studies, including the northern and northeastern reality(ies).

The articles analyzed through content analysis point out the functional and symbolic links of PDW with social constructions of gender, as well as its intersectionalities with those of race/ethnicity and class. There is a consensus among them on the importance of a gender or feminist perspective, which considers the impossibility of reification and hierarchization of social relations, for the analysis of PDW and the terrible working/living conditions of paid female domestic workers. Because we understand there are methodological and cognitive limits in the scientific productions examined, it is understandable that studies, even in the face of this trend, have focused on gender issues and their imbrications with race/ethnicity or social class.

In this sense, PDW cannot be ignored when we seek to understand the complexity and dynamics of gender inequalities in the world of work, as well as when we allude to building fairer and more equal living and working conditions, also within women groups.

One limitation of the present study is the choice to restrict the search in national databases and the non-use of descriptors such as “race”, “ethnicity”, and “class”, among others, although partially justified by the research objectives and by understanding gender as a historical, relational and interdisciplinary category. Thus, other reviews on the issue are expected to include, in their search process, international bases, which may favor comparative analyses between the realities of Brazilian and international scientific productions, as well as other descriptors, to expand the findings and discussions, mainly, about the relationship between the conditions of paid female domestic workers and the (new) forms of colonialism in modernity or post-modernity.

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