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**Title:**

A short report from fieldwork in Italy.  
Deliverable D4.2 within the MAJORdom project<sup>1</sup>

**Introduction**

This is a short report with preliminary findings from the fieldwork in Italy in the course of 2021, as part of the MAJORdom project. Based on the data gathered, several important points can be made about the care and domestic sector in Italy, especially in Veneto and in Venice in particular, about the role of Italian workers in this sector and about the impact of the pandemic. The findings are exploratory and more research is needed.

Italy is the Europe's oldest society, a Mediterranean welfare state with a "migrant-in-the-family" care model and a fundamental role of the family in care provision (Da Roit 2021). According to the most recent statistical data, 848,987 domestic workers are employed regularly, 70.3% of which are migrants, while an estimated additional 1.2 million are employed irregularly (Zini 2020, Dossier statistico 2020). The care and domestic sector workers come principally from Romania, Ukraine, Philippines, and Moldova<sup>2</sup>; the migratory projects are rather longer, and circular care migration is not dominant (Redini et al. 2020, Cojocaru 2020, Kordasiewicz 2014).

The role of Italian workers has been growing consistently in the sector since the 2007 economic crisis (Pasquinelli e Rusmini, 2013). In Italy, as in other countries, we witnessed an influx of local labor force into care work previously dominated by migrant workers in the aftermath of the crisis (Di Bartolomeo, Marchetti 2016, Farris, Ranci 2007, Farris 2015, Hellgren, Serrano 2018). Between the years 2012 and 2019, the ratio of

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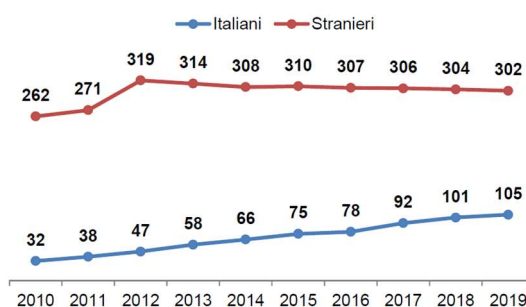
<sup>1</sup> This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 799195. The title of the project was 'MAJORdom. Intersections of class and ethnicity in paid domestic and care work', it was a European Commission Global Fellowship within the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Action Project ID: 799195, August 2018 – July 2021, at the Department of Sociology and Center for Women and Work, the University of Massachusetts Lowell, supervisor prof. Mignon Duffy, and at the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, supervisor prof. Sabrina Marchetti.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.osservatoriolavorodomestico.it/la-presenza-dei-lavoratori-domestici-stranieri-in-italia>



Italian workers among regular domestic worker grew from 18.9% to 29.7%, especially among the personal care workers (*badanti*) (DOMINA 2020). Among the growing in-home personal care sector, the numbers of Italian workers tripled in the course of 10 years while the numbers of foreigners have been slowly but steadily falling since 2012 (DOMINA 2020):

Fig 3.7 Serie storica degli assistenti familiari (*badanti*) per nazionalità (dati in migliaia)



Elaborazioni DOMINA e Fondazione Leone Moressa su dati INPS

In Italy, the unionization of domestic workers has been high, with the main unions being ACLI-COLF, CGIL, and CISL. However, the political position of said organizations is not very strong overall at present (Marchetti et al. 2021); other institutional actors also promote rights in the care sector, including employers' organizations such as DOMINA. Moreover, there are relevant popular and active social media groups (for example, *Badanti in famiglia*, *Badanti\_colf*).

## The fieldwork

I was supposed to carry out the incoming Italian part of the Fellowship from August 2020 to July 2021. Due to the pandemic, I arrived in Italy only in May 2021, and switching to part time mode allowed me to continue the project throughout 2021 until February 2022. The online modality of the research was the only path to follow especially before physically coming to Venice. In the outgoing phase, in the US, where the pandemic interrupted my fieldwork in March 2020, moving the research online was relatively easy because I could build on my previous relationships in the field, with organizations and workers. However, when I arrived in Venice I was starting from the scratch, having no in-person relationships or networks to build upon, contrary to what my American experience has been.

In recruiting participants for my first interviews, I relied heavily on the university contacts, and subsequently, I was asking the participants to put me in touch with their friends who were doing similar work. This way I managed to reach out to 5 workers and 1 employer, that I interview in period 29.01.21-22.03.21 using WhatsApp with audio or video connection. Visiting Venice in March I spotted announcements of



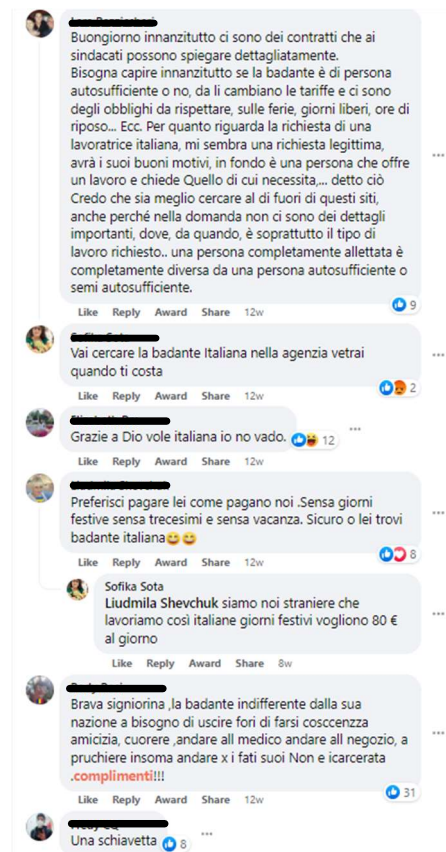
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babysitters, but also cleaners and elder care workers that became the second avenue for the recruitment that seemed very promising at the start, because the flyers were abundant (see below the content analysis section). However, the people I contacted following the job ads were very reluctant to participate and from 14 contacts that I had gathered this way, I was able to carry out only two recorded interviews with a babysitter and a personal care worker, and 1 informal interview with a housecleaner. Another worker at this stage was a follow up contact from 1 of the interviews. In period 21.06.21-09.09.21, I carried out only 4 interviews altogether, another one in the Bergamo province with a representative of local government responsible for providing in-home care services to elderly people.

Following the approach I took in the US, I adapted and translated the online survey that was live in the period between December 2020 and June 2021. I was actively looking for participants for both interviews and the online survey, spreading the word among my slowly developing social network in Venice, among neighbors, companions from the trips to the mountains or people involved in the rowing classes; and through online groups of workers, such as *Badanti in famiglia*<sup>3</sup> or Facebook profile of Domina<sup>4</sup>.



<sup>3</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/badanti/permalink/3666919106729795/>,

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/AssociazioneDOMINA/photos/a.528487970539703/3772986702756464/>



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In the spirit of online ethnography (Pink et al. 2016, Caliendo 2018), continuing the approach I started in the United States (see Rosinska, Pellerito 2022), I also followed all the relevant events, presentations of the new data and reports on domestic workers in Italy and the discussions on workers' groups. The Italian-language group *Badanti in famiglia*, that gathers more 24 thousand members, among whom there are both migrant as well as Italian workers, has seen one discussion that was particularly interesting<sup>5</sup>. The initial post that sparked the discussion was by an Italian woman employer requesting a 24h care from preferably Italian woman with one day off per week. It was met with incredulity and was found outrageous as in direct violation of labor laws. Many members expressed their opinions in more than 130 comments. I used this post as an opportunity to promote my research, I also messaged several workers who self-declared as Italians but this yielded no results. However, the discussion itself was interesting (see below).

### **The collected data**

The database from the Italian phase of the research is composed of qualitative interviews, notes from unrecorded interviews, pictures of the announcements, responses to the online survey and written forms collected through an online action research workshop for workers in Warsaw and Chicago.

Among the qualitative interviews there are 10 recorded interviews in period January-September 2021; 8 with nannies or babysitters, some of whom also had elder care experience, 1 with employer, 1 with expert. 6 interviews were online, 4 interviews were in person with social distancing when outdoors and facemasks when indoors. The recorded interviews have been added to the analytical project in the Maxqda software and annotated. Among the informal interviews: one was with a house cleaner from Sant'Erasmo, one with a family care giver from Bergamo province, another one with a team of 3 Italian cleaners working for Airbnbs in Venice, and also one with a Moldovan cleaner in Castello neighborhood.

The Italian version of the online survey, available in Italian, English and Polish, was carried out in period December 2020-June 2021. It yielded 12 complete responses (5 nannies, 2 cleaners, 3 unemployed, 2 personal care workers), and another 19 incomplete responses.

When it comes to the action research with Chicago-Warsaw, which was part of the dissemination strategy in partnership with Arise Chicago and "You can count on me" group from Warsaw, as well as "Our Choice" foundation<sup>6</sup>, I carried out participatory observation online and offline. The workshop "Caring across

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/badanti/permalink/4637985039623192>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.transformingsociety.co.uk/2021/11/16/mutual-support-across-the-ocean-domestic-workers-share-their-struggles-and-successes/>



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the ocean” on 22.01.2212 for workers-activists gathered 8 Ukrainian domestic workers from Warsaw and 4 Polish workers from Chicago and as part of it I collected written answers about work experience and the impact of the pandemic.

### Content analysis of the announcements

Before sharing the preliminary findings from the interviews and the survey, I wanted to highlight some of the features of the common announcement of people seeking jobs as babysitters (also home teachers, or pet sitters), nannies, house cleaners and elder care workers in Venice. First, there are many announcements of people specifically saying they are Italians or Venetians:

SIGNORA ITALIANA REFERENZIATA  
DISPONIBILE ASSISTENZA ANZIANI  
E PULIZIE  
CELL. [REDACTED]

Signora italiana cerca lavoro  
come pulizia case o stiraggio  
[REDACTED]

Salve a tutti, mi chiamo Meggie Zanet.  
Sono una ragazza veneziana di 27 anni e  
sto cercando lavoro come babysitter,  
dogsitter, barista e banconiera.  
Sono disponibile da subito e ho esperienza  
in questi settori.  
Se avete bisogno di altre informazioni,  
potete contattarmi ai seguenti numeri o  
alla mia e-mail.  
[REDACTED]  
maggiezanet

VENEZIANA  
CERCA LAVORO COME BABY SITTER, DOG SITTER  
ASSISTENZA ANZIANI DIURNO/NOTTURNO  
PULIZIE APPARTAMENTI E CHECK-IN  
PER EVENTUALE RICHIESTA  
CHIAMARE AL NUMERO  
NON PERDI TEMPO!  
[REDACTED]

It is an interesting strategy to underline the nationality or even being Venetian native – these workers probably see it as an asset on the local labor market. Some of them advertise just one type of household service, for example cleaning or elder care, others are more versatile and include wide arrays of household jobs, including dog sitting, but also jobs beyond domestic work such as *barista* and *banconiera* (a kind of waitress at a bar). As we may notice, some of the announcements are more professional, written on a computer and printed, some are handwritten and photocopied. Sometimes there are references to the age of the worker: *ragazza*, girl, indicating a younger person, or *signora*, as per lady or Ms., indicating an older person. This already points to the fact that domestic sector attracts not only the young women and goes beyond students or life-stage occupation of young people.



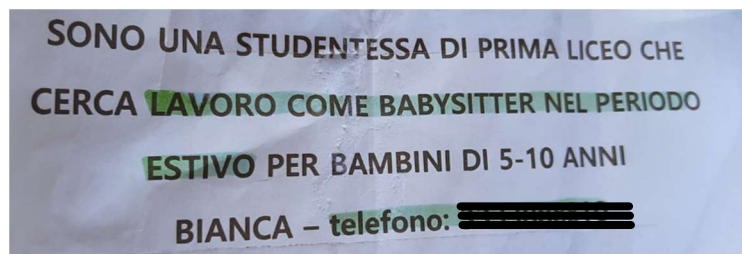


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In several other announcements it is either implied or easy to understand that the person is Italian, by their name, by their educational trajectory, or by the fact that they are Italian native speakers, for example:



Many of these are from young people (even of high school age) that offer child minding combined with home teaching assistance. Ones that are more elaborate offer musical education or services in Spanish language. Some of the announcements include references to the pandemic situation: offering support with the online education (*didattica a distanza*), and promising to respect the safety measures.

### Qualitative interviews

Among the 10 interviews carried out in period January-July 2021 there were 8 with nannies or babysitters some of whom also had experience with elder care, 1 with employer, 1 with expert; 6 workers were Italians, two were foreign students at the University of Venice. On top of the recorded interviews, I carried out informal interviews: with a house cleaner from Sant'Erasmo island, with a family care giver from Bergamo province, with a team of 3 Italian cleaners working for Airbnbs in Venice, and with one Moldovan cleaner.

Venice has a peculiar demographic situation that affects the demand for household services. Venice as a borough (so including Mestre) had around 255,000 inhabitants at the end of 2021<sup>7</sup>. It is one of the fastest aging cities in Italy<sup>8</sup>. The inhabitants of the old town are around only 1/5 of the boroughs population, probably

<sup>7</sup> <https://demo.istat.it/bilmens/query.php?lingua=ita&Rip=S2&Reg=R05&Pro=P027&Com=42&anno=2021&submit=Tavola>

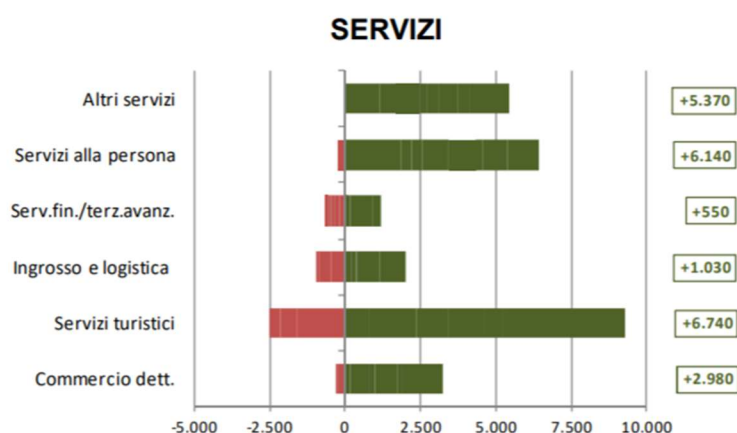
<sup>8</sup> [https://www.comune.venezia.it/sites/comune.venezia.it/files/immagini/statistica/Demografia\\_Venezia\\_2017\\_new.pdf](https://www.comune.venezia.it/sites/comune.venezia.it/files/immagini/statistica/Demografia_Venezia_2017_new.pdf)



around 50,000, as in the 2018 they were around 53,000, and they are the oldest in the lagoon. Despite being so small in population and modest in the area, Venice has the second largest annual influx of tourists in Italy, after Rome, and only slightly bigger than Milan, with 12 million tourists yearly in 2018, with a 3.7% increase from the 2017 (ISTAT 2020<sup>9</sup>). The “overtourism” and depopulation of Venice due to increasing costs of leaving are of major concerns for the city<sup>10</sup>.

Because of the particular demographic, ecological and architectural characteristics, Venice as a city has a very particular labor market, driven in recent decades by mass or overtourism and huge art-related endeavors such as Biennale exhibitions and Mostra del Cinema (see Iannuzzi 2021). Aging population and tourist industry alike require increases in the service sector jobs (data for 2017)<sup>11</sup>:

**VENEZIA. Posizioni di lavoro dipendente\* per comparto.  
Variazioni cumulate, giugno 2008 = 0**



Hence, many of the participants in my study over the years have combined household-related jobs with other kinds of work: in tourism, gastronomy, and at the Biennale. The pandemic put a huge halt on the touristic industry with yet unknown impact on the local labor market<sup>12</sup>.

Among the participants in my study, I identified several types of workers, according to their life-cycle stage, the role of household job in their professional activity and their socioeconomic background. According to common opinion among Italians that found out about my research, Italians, predominantly Italian women, are present in the sector especially in the role of part-time babysitters when they are students. This was

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.istat.it/it/files//2019/12/C19.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> Present on the agenda of the students' collective Li.S.C, for example, <https://www.facebook.com/Lisc.Venezia/posts/4148286675230151>

<sup>11</sup> Bertazzon 2017.

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.vicenzareport.it/2021/08/venezia-dati-sul-mercato-del-lavoro-veneto-luglio-2021/>, <https://www.cntraveler.com/story/how-venice-is-retackling-overtourism-after-a-year-without-visitors>

certainly one of the types identified, but beyond that, there are other categories of Italian workers present in the sector, including more mature workers and also workers in elder care and house cleaning. According to the general Italian data, the regular workers registered at INPS have aged, so now the biggest group is the category over 50 year old (52.4%) while it used to be the 30-49 years old category in 2012, amounting to 54%. In addition, the youngest category of workers, under 29, shrank radically, from 14.5% al 5.3% (DOMINA 2020). The INPS statistics only takes into account cleaners and care workers, not babysitter or nannies, however, combined with the influx of Italians into the sector we can assume it is not the youngest Italians that are starting to work as elder care workers in the past couple of years, examples of which I found in my sample.

### **1. Part time domestic workers – students-babysitters entering the labor market**

In my sample, there were several students who were doing babysitting part time; alongside other part time jobs, including working at the Biennale seasonally over the years (participant [2]), and in hotel and gastronomy services (participant [1]), which is a characteristic feature of Venice as a major touristic destination. Among this category, there are more and less precarious workers. For the Italian workers, domestic work continues to be a backup plan, in case they lose other types of employment. In case of two foreign Ca' Foscari students in the sample (a French [9] and a Turkish [7] woman) who were babysitting part time during their studies or nannying after graduation, it turned out a temporary stage and in one case even a springboard to the next job acquired thanks to the connections of the family for whom she provided live-in nanny services.

Participant [1] is a 26-year-old university graduate, who throughout her studies in Venice has worked as a part-time babysitter, hardly making ends meet and struggling to find families with regular working hours. All of her babysitting jobs were informal. On top of that, she worked at an ice-cream parlor (a job she lost in the beginning of the pandemic) and during the pandemic did a dig for the University (200h hours recruiting foreign students) trying to find ways to be inserted in a more formal labor market. According to her, however, economically it makes more sense to work informally as a babysitter than to try to find regular job. However, during the pandemic she lost her babysitting jobs, as parents working from home did not need her services and the night babysitting stopped because of the lockdown and curfews. Her economic situation was bad because she also could not access the universal basic income (*reddito di cittadinanza*)<sup>13</sup> or the *bonus baby*

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<sup>13</sup> Also known as “a minimum income for jobless and unemployed Italians” <https://www.bollettinoadapt.it/appunti-per-un-glossario-ita-eng-17-reddito-di-cittadinanza-e-guaranteed-minimum-income/>



sitter<sup>14</sup>, because her residence address was out of Venice. At the time of the interview, in January 2021, she was doing an intensive job search while struggling to pay the high rent in Venice and considering moving back in with her parents in Trieste. She is very bitter for not having ever worked formally and for the lack of prospects on the labor market for young people. It is difficult to say what her prospects are, but her intent was for babysitting to be a part-time life-stage job.

## 2. Full time care and domestic workers – professional Italian nannies and personal care workers

In some cases, people who started out as part-time life-stage babysitters while they were at school or studying, and might have had other plans, actually, continued to work in home childcare or elder care after graduation. If the person stays in the sector well into her 30 and 40, they tend to formalize their arrangement, and either become professional full time nannies, like participant [4], gain a permanent employment contract as a personal care workers [participant 6], or they stay in the sector but move beyond private households into care institutions [participant 10]. People in this category typically have either higher education degree, or another kind of educational background in early education or similar fields.

A representative of this category is the nanny from Padua [4]. She is a 40-year-old woman who had initial experience with informal babysitting when growing up but who after graduating high school (with a focus on pedagogy, the so called *ex-magistrale*), took up an office job for 7 years, until the crisis of 2007. She then lost her job and returned to babysitting, gradually filling her schedule with working hours, until 6 years ago she found a family for which she is now working full-time. In her case, there is a mixture of babysitting as a stepping stone occupation, the influence of the external factor (the economic crisis) and then domestic work again as a fallback plan. However, according to her words, she had wanted, in fact, to continue working with children, according to the profile of her education, so in her case the household occupation seems to be a mixture of choice and constraint. Her job is fully formal. According to her, there are other Italian women in her area, working as full time nannies (*le tate*) rather than providing babysitting services. This professional figure resembles more that of a professional nanny I found in the United States, who make home-based child care into a lifelong career.

A borderline member of this category is the participant [10], who is a 40-year-old woman who after graduating in early education, migrated from Campania around 10 years ago and at first, together with her sister, was a live-in personal care worker for an elderly couple. Gradually, her sister moved out of the household work into more formal care sector as an intermediate care technician or a member of socio-

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.inps.it/news/bonus-baby-sitting-istruzioni-per-la-domanda>.

medical staff (*OSS, operatore socio-sanitario*)<sup>15</sup> and works at a hospital, while the participant herself moved through babysitting into more formal care work at a nursery run by the Venice borough (*comune di Venezia*). While both sisters moved to formal jobs in institutions, they remained within the care sector. On the one hand, they pursue a career within the sector, in case of the participant, congruent with her area of study, and in case of her sister, in line with the professional training as the *OSS*. On the other, their positions are precarious, with no job stability in sight, which locates them between this type and the protracting 1<sup>st</sup> type. In case of the participant, in fact, the pandemic expanded her access to the formal labor market as the institutions were looking for substitute workers in the light of regular workers falling sick with COVID-19. Nevertheless, it is not clear if she manages to stay on this more stable path of formal employment, which is her plan.

Another interesting borderline case is the participant [6], a woman aged 36, who has background in the history of art (studied in Rome and in Venice) and who was involved for years in temporary-seasonal jobs at the Biennale, in the meantime doing also cleaning and check-in services for Airbnbs. Another of her activities has been home teacher/social worker for disadvantaged children, paid by public money through a cooperative. Actually, for her, the first experience of stability at the labor market was on the elder care job, where since the day one she was given a permanent (*a tempo indeterminato*) full-time employment contract. For a couple of years, she would provide personal care, cleaning services and run errands for a local aging artist. When he died in 2020, she could not find another stable job. In her case, it seems that the elderly care could be a steady source of income and a career but because of the pandemic it was not clear in what direction the sector was going, so she found herself unemployed. At the time of the interview (March 2021) she was waiting for another round of temporary seasonal employment for the Biennale to start in May later that year.

### **3. Part-time domestic jobs – middle-aged workers re-entering the labor market**

Based on the announcements present in the streets on Venice, and on the informal interview I carried out, there appears an interesting category of middle-aged women who at some point in their lives find themselves wither without a job (in the case of participant [11] due to the pandemic) or in need of a job after years of homemaking. It seems typical for these workers to have rather a working class background and no university education. This category of workers was especially difficult to involve in a more formal research, so I will use

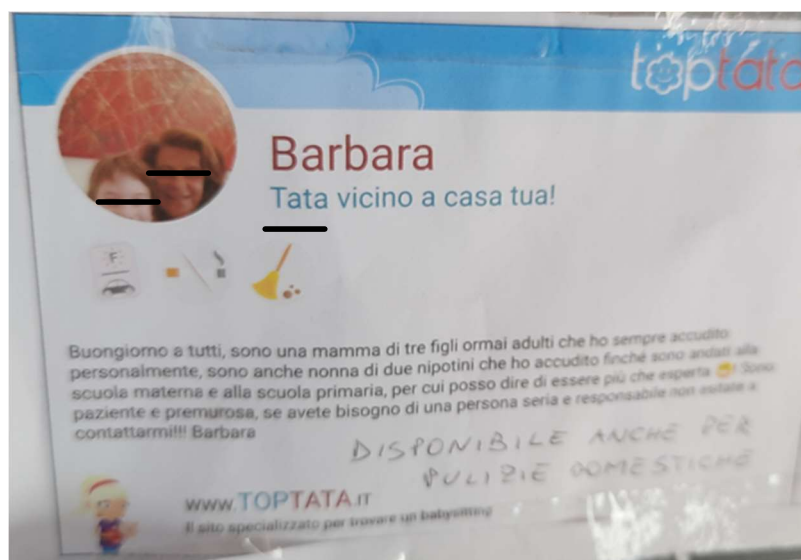
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<sup>15</sup> <https://www.regione.veneto.it/web/rete-degli-urp-del-veneto/operatore-socio-sanitario1>



the example of one of the announcements and the case from an informal interview. Among all the types identified, this category requires a lot more research.

In the neighborhood where I was living in Venice since May 2021, a historically working class area (*popolare*), at my local baker I spotted an announcement of a person seeking nanny job:



In this announcement a mature woman, advertises through a printout from the online service connecting providers and receivers of in-home childcare<sup>16</sup>. Her care qualifications stem from her personal experience with child and grandchild rearing. What is important, there is a handwritten addition: “available also for house cleaning” that according to the owner of the local bakery in Castello, who knows the person personally, was added during the pandemic, as the person could not find a job as a nanny. Despite efforts to contact her, I did not manage to recruit her for my study.

In turn, the informal interviewee [11] is a woman in her late 50 living in Sant’ Erasmo island, relatively remote from the city center (1-2h with a waterbus depending on a connection), who before the pandemic had a steady full-time job as a hotel housekeeper. She started working in this role back in the 80. and until 2019 was working as a floor manager for one of big hotels in the very touristic Rialto area. She found herself out of work due to the pandemic when the hotel has shut down and laid her off. She applied for the *reddito di cittadinanza* and was desperate for income, in her own words. She decided to advertise her cleaning and ironing services, and I spotted her announcements on the island of Murano.

It seems that in case of the workers in this category, the household work plays a similar role that in case of students but it is at a different life-stage and for people of different socioeconomic background. Some other announcements I saw in Venice were of women who offered to provide elder care work, on top of

<sup>16</sup> [www.toptata.it](http://www.toptata.it), in January 2022 this service had more than 900 advertisements of babysitters for Venice.

cleaning and other domestic services, possibly also as emergency jobs during the pandemic when they lost other their regular jobs.

### **The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic (survey and interviews)**

The online survey in Italy (December 2020-June 2021) yielded 12 complete responses (5 nannies, 2 cleaners, 3 unemployed, 2 personal care workers) (31 responses in total). Because of low numbers, these data cannot be treated quantitatively, while, because the participants provided extensive answers to the open questions, they offer a qualitative glimpse into the experience of the pandemic. I want to highlight the cases of 3 Italian women in Veneto, two nannies and one elder care workers ([3] Italian woman aged 35-40, Veneto, nanny, [48] Italian woman aged 35-40, unemployed care worker, Veneto, [63] Italian woman, 30-35 years old, Veneto, nanny). They all shared comments on how the pandemic affected them.

As in the US-based research in which I identified negative impacts both for domestic workers who lost and who kept their jobs (Rosinska 2021), the participants in the interviews and survey respondents elaborated on the various ways in which the pandemic affected them. According to the Assindatcolf estimates, around 13 000 regular jobs in the domestic sector have been lost during the pandemic (Zini 2020 Dossier statistic 2020, soon the new data for the 2020 year will be available). At the same time, some participants said that the *bonus babysitter* was the first opportunity for them to emerge officially on the labor market (according to the interviewee [1]).

However, the lockdown measures, and many changing regulations when it comes to curfew and orange or red zones affected the jobs negatively. For example, while people were allowed to commute to their jobs at times, in case the work was informal, the workers could not continue to provide it:

*Essendo assunta in nero non potevo andare a lavorare [survey 57] Italian woman, 20-25, Emilia Romagna, babysitter*

Some workers decreased the number of service receivers to manage the risk of contagion, however, the other side was that they were making less money and on top of the health stress, there was economic stress, like in the case of this Veneto-based babysitter:

*Ridurre il numero di famiglie per cui lavorare e di conseguenza percepire meno stipendio del solito. Il rischio di non arrivare a fine mese e la "paura" di non essere tutelata abbastanza dal punto di vista sanitario. Ho ridotto il numero di persone per cui lavoravo per evitare di entrare in contatto con troppi nuclei familiari diversi e rischiare quindi di compromettere la mia salute e quella degli altri. Il fatto di non avere dei contratti di lavoro con orari definiti non mi ha purtroppo permesso di richiedere e*



*usufruire di alcun tipo di supporto di cui avrei avuto bisogno. In caso di necessità sapevo però di avere la mia famiglia su cui poter contare. [63] Italian woman, 30-35 years old, Veneto, babysitter*

Those workers who kept their jobs in the entirety were facing numerous challenges, as is illustrated by interviewee 4, who continued to work as a full time nanny for a family in Padua:

*In realtà il lavoro per me è aumentato, babysitter credo in generale, perché i bambini comunque sono rimasti a casa nel periodo della pandemia, all'inizio dell'anno scorso che hanno fatto il lockdown, che c'erano anche le scuole chiuse, noi dovevamo stare a casa tutti praticamente [sorriso], convivere tutti in casa e bisognava stare attenti che i bambini non urlassero troppo perché appunto il papà lavora dallo studio e dovevi stare a casa, non potevi uscire, non potevi andare al parco giochi, non puoi fare comunque troppi contatti con gli altri bambini, ce, quindi quello, insomma è stato un periodo pesante e infatti per quello temiamo tutti un po' il lockdown nuovamente [interview in March 2021] perché, insomma, è pesante per tutti, ovviamente anche per chi lavora, per carità, baciamoci le mani che abbiamo il lavoro, però insomma ovviamente le cose sono cambiate rispetto a prima, sei meno spensierato. [4]*

This worker reported having more work because of all three kids being simultaneously at home, the dad working from home while mom who was a medical doctor started to work more hours both outside and from home. All this while there were less things to do and the social distancing rules needed to be kept. Similarly, the Italian nanny aged 35-40 in Veneto said:

*L'obbligo di tenere i bambini rinchiusi in casa e di gestire la loro paura della morte. Nella mia vita personale lo stress psicologico legato alla mole di lavoro, all'assenza di sfoghi e alla gestione dello stress mentale dei bimbi. La tensione e la gestione della paura della pandemia nei bambini. [3] Italian woman aged 35-40, Veneto, nanny*

This respondent stressed the need to manage both herself and the children emotionally, especially early in the pandemic, which was one of the new dimensions of the emotional labor of nannies present also in the interviews with American nannies (Rosinska draft 2021). The unemployed elderly care worker in Veneto who found herself out of work during the pandemic due to the death of her charge, described her struggles in following words:

*Si può dire i breve che ho cambiato completamente stile di vita. Ho cominciato a risparmiare su tutto, ho preso almeno due iniziative lavorative (una nell'artigianato e una nella ristorazione) che il prolungamento delle misure hanno reso impossibile svolgere in seguito. Le prospettive sono sempre più ridotte. Se prima avevo qualche minimo risparmio che mi permetteva di andare avanti nei due-tre mesi nei quali potevo essere inoccupata in attesa del prossimo periodo lavorativo, adesso le seppur estese ad ogni ambito sembrano non portare a nessuna occasione lavorativa concreta da troppo tempo. Le prospettive sono sempre più ridotte. Se prima avevo qualche minimo risparmio che mi permetteva di andare avanti nei due-tre mesi nei quali potevo essere inoccupata in attesa del*





*prossimo periodo lavorativo, adesso le ricerche seppur estese ad ogni ambito sembrano non portare a nessuna occasione lavorativa concreta da troppo tempo. [48] Italian woman aged 35-40, unemployed care worker, Veneto*

Having lost the stability offered by the elder care services and unable to find a new job in this sector, she found herself thrown again into the precariousness of temporary jobs that were further jeopardized by changing pandemic situation and the safety measures implemented.

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