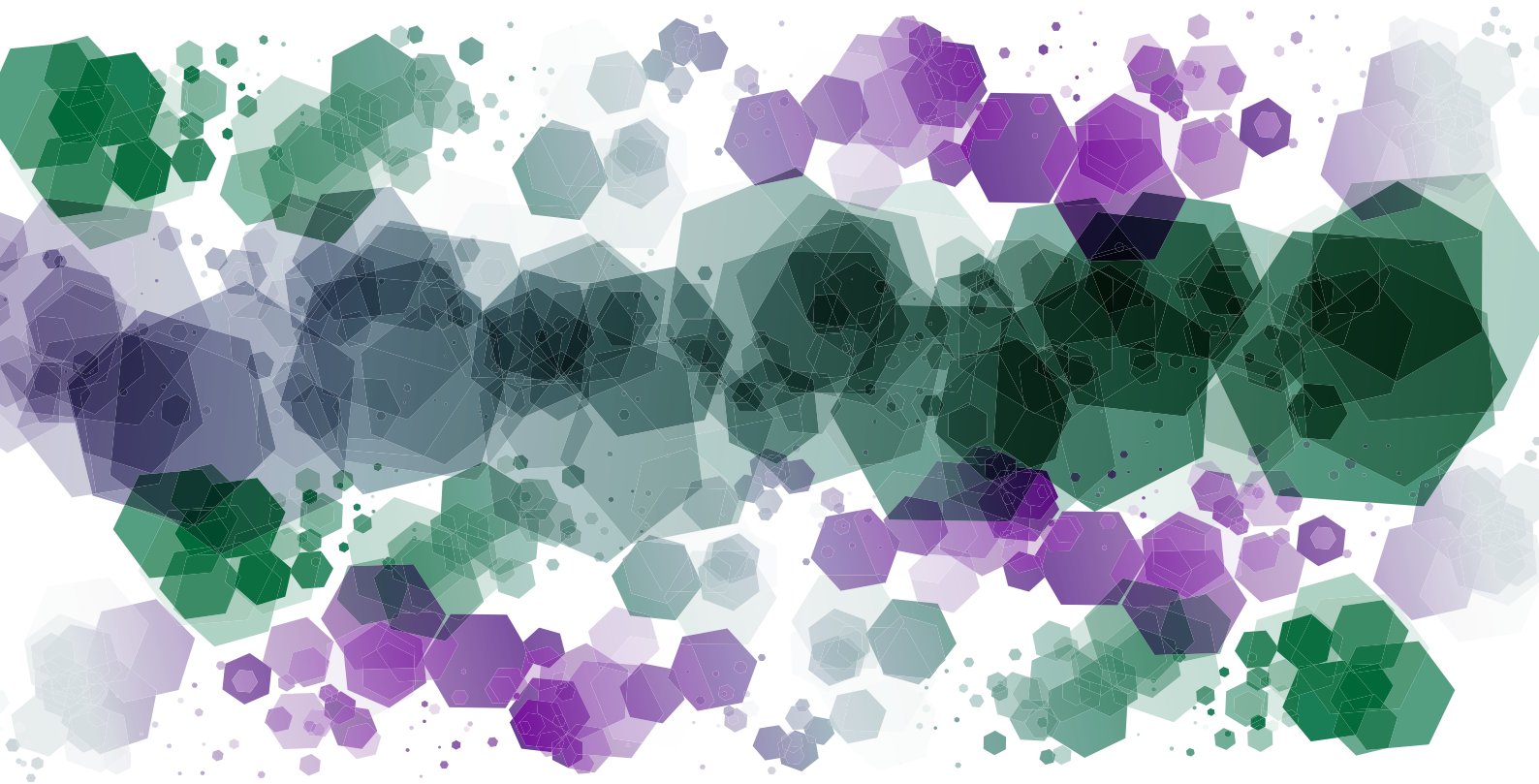




Rebuilding care in a  
post-pandemic world



**US TEAM**

**WORKING PAPER SERIES**



# 2

## **Protections for Paid In-Home/Domestic Workers: A Country-Specific Template**

Heidi Gottfried and Eileen Boris



**Working Paper Series Organizer: Heidi Gottfried**

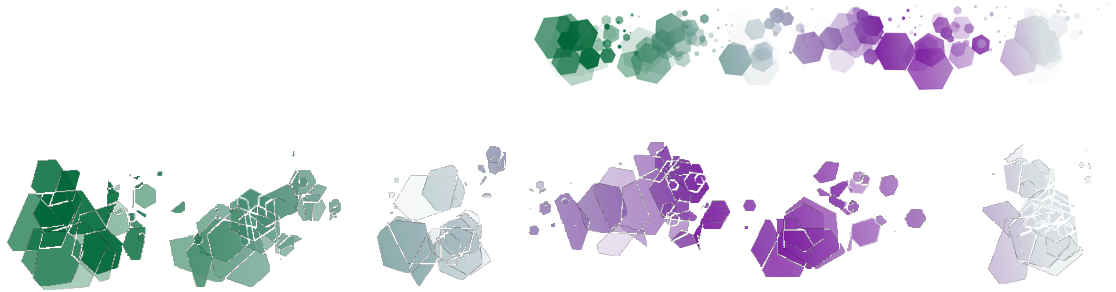
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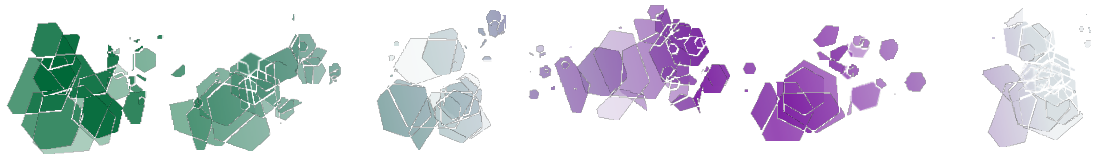
## PREFACE

Heidi Gottfried and Eileen Boris

*This is the second working paper in a series on care work and the COVID-19 pandemic sponsored by the Trans-Atlantic Platform (T-AP), with NSF as the funder of the U.S. component. The T-AP project brings together inter-disciplinary teams from six transatlantic countries across three world regions: Canada and the United States in North America; Brazil and Colombia in Latin America; and France and the United Kingdom in Europe. The T-AP project will advance our understanding of the organization and conditions of care work in rapidly aging societies within the context of a growing deficit of inclusive social policies and effective regulations. Adequate data on, and an accurate picture of policy gaps, is necessary in order to build a more resilient, just, equitable and sustainable long-term care infrastructure. The findings will inform recommendations for the formulation of interventions addressing inequalities and vulnerabilities aimed at creating systemic resilience that can withstand future pandemics and public health and care crises. This project will contribute to the development of public policies on care work aimed at bringing them in line with decent work standards.*



# Protections for Paid In-Home/Domestic Workers: A Country-Specific Template



**Heidi Gottfried**  
**Eileen Boris**



**T-AP Axis 3**

**Axis 3:** Situate care as a strategic dimension and pillar for public policies on social infrastructure rebuilding by comparing national and urban experiences [Coord.: USA]

- Purpose of this working paper is to lay out a common agenda for analyzing policy for domestic workers both pre-pandemic and during the pandemic.
- Identify the steps for producing our common agenda as outlined in Axis 3.
- Formulate a Timeline for accomplishing these steps.
- Create a Working Paper Series (Country-Specific reports and Comparative cross-national report).
- Publication agenda: working papers posted on T-AP website; an edited collection, either in a journal on policy or in a book; and policy white papers.

	<b>DATE</b>	<b>OUTCOME</b>
<b>I</b>	September 5, 2023	First Workshop (Cards on the Table): Anju Mary Paul on the Global Care Policy Index
<b>II</b>	October 9, 2023 January 2024 Jan 26, Mar 2024 May 2024	Project meeting with Anju Mary Paul Circulate Template for working paper Policy Group Meetings Circulate drafts for discussion at Workshop.
<b>III</b>	June 2024	Preliminary Papers for Colloquium II in Montreal
	August <del>December 2024</del>	Chapters for review
	January 2024	Submit Book Manuscript
<b>IV</b>	May 2025	Dissemination and Publication of results, both country-specific case studies and comparative (T-AP website, in an edited volume in Brill series and/or a journal special issue)



## 1.0 Introduction: Protections for In-Home/Paid Domestic Workers Working Paper Series

The T-AP project brings together inter-disciplinary teams from six transatlantic countries across three world regions: Canada and the United States in North America; Brazil and Colombia in Latin America; and France and the United Kingdom in Europe. Despite the vast literature on domestic and in-home work, there is a dearth of scholarship that systematically analyzes the treatment of care in law and policies across regions in the global North and South. Countries in Latin America, North America and Europe with different welfare regimes, level of inequalities, and social organization of care and health systems manifested varieties of state responses and capacities to cope with COVID-19. Through detailed country-specific reports, supplemented by cross-national and transregional analyses, the project seeks to document and explain the factors driving similarities and differences, and convergences and divergences in the coverage of protections for paid domestic workers.

This is the second working paper based on a review of literature collected and deposited in a common repository created by the T-AP consortium. The report coordinates and organizes previous research to build an agenda for analyzing protections for paid domestic workers in each country and in cross-national and transregional comparison of our six country cases. We chose to focus on the in-home care sector because care work in private homes, outside of public view and isolated from other workers, leaves workers in “situations of vulnerability” (Walby and Shire 2024) subject to abuse and less covered by social protections.

Country-specific working papers will trace the genealogy of the category of domestic work in policy and regulations through excavation of legislative and other legal texts, tracing of institutional names and configurations, and track changes in the definition and grammars of care over time and by sources. From the resulting glossary, the consortium will assess qualitative differences in modes and modalities of regulations framing protections for paid domestic workers within and across countries. Country teams will build on and augment the Global Care Policy Index, and then audit COVID-19 responses. The compendium of country-specific working papers will contribute the “raw” dataset to be used in subsequent comparative analysis.

## 2.0. Glossary of Terms

Labor laws and policies draw boundaries around what constitutes work and who is a worker worthy of rights and social protections. Discourse and definitions have material consequences, justifying dissimilar rights and protections across occupational categories through exclusion, exemptions, or differential coverage. Particularly impacted are waged forms of reproductive labor responsible for maintaining households and caring for dependents, work devalued as unskilled, feminized, and servile from its associations with unpaid labor of wives, mothers, and unfree persons. Paid domestic work, even more than other care sectors, has lacked regulatory oversight and protections.

As an occupational category, domestic work generally stands apart from other kinds of work for being ambiguously defined and often ignored in law and social policy--when not explicitly excluded from rights, rewards, and entitlements. Legacies of disparate treatment rooted in histories



of domestic servitude inform the construction of operational definitions found in labor codes, legislation, national classification systems, and international datasets. Operational definitions emphasize the divergent dimensions of paid domestic work from standard employment relations. The home location has emerged as a barrier to regulation of jobs located in spaces considered intimate, private, or familial, while emotional, bodily, and affective capacities and tacit skills have become unmeasurable and invisibilized as labor. Definitions and boundaries of paid domestic work were never “natural,” but rather a product of struggle among employers and workers, governments, and scholars over naming and the very allocation of resources for reproductive labor and its regulation.

Generating a glossary of terms associated with the occupation over time and space can facilitate country and comparative analysis. Even the same word or occupational title may denote a different set of labor activities and employment relations. In the US, terms have included domestic servant, household worker, visiting housekeeper, home attendant, personal attendant, home aide, nursing home aide or worker, and memory center aide or worker, depending on private household or institutional setting.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the four languages represented in this project (English, French, Spanish and Portuguese) require an alchemical act of translation to find the closest approximations from one language to another and for cross-national comparisons; for example, the word “care” is not used in the French policy lexicon, complicating translation of words such as *politiques de la petite enfance* as childcare in English (Eydoux 2023).

To untangle each thread, country working papers will trace the lineage of paid domestic work in policy, labor codes and regulation in each national context. The teams will explore when the category of “domestic work” entered the policy/legal lexicon and excavate the genealogy of specific words, types, and categories. Each country team will assemble a glossary of terms to preserve contextual meanings and usages. By creating an omnibus glossary juxtaposing these definitions compiled from the country case studies, we can better interpret data across time, space, and sources (i.e., legal, cultural, and economic).

### 3.0 Policy Matrix and Audit

The project seeks to specify the modalities of care provision that is all too often fragmented and uncoordinated, and the overlapping, inconsistent and at times competing policies and regulations shaping care work and its provision at different levels of governance and by different institutions. To do so we plan on examining policies at the national and selected state/provincial and municipal levels. This project introduces the concept of policy matrix and the methodology of policy audit to examine the content of and relationships between policies often treated separately by scholars specializing in one area of policy or law. Jurisdictional tensions across the matrix of policies and regulations also affect the quality-of-care provision (Fudge 2011).

#### 3.1 Constructing a Policy Matrix and Conducting an Audit

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<sup>1</sup> Domestic servants were the first legally recognized category of worker in English common law; their paid service to another distinguished their dependent employment relation from their contemporaries toiling as pre-industrial serfs or engaged as either artisans, merchants, or masters (Buck 2023, 276-7).





The complexity and underspecified contours of the care infrastructure have complicated assessments of the efficacy of policy interventions. Further complicating the delivery of quality care are the multiple jurisdictions covering different aspects of care across the policy matrix. These jurisdictions can create “different bundles of rights and responsibilities for similar activities,” in part because the status of the worker or the labor activity can cross “a number of jurisdictional boundaries between nation states, different areas of law and different levels [and agencies] of government within a nation” (Fudge 2011, 237). Various state agencies (e.g., welfare, immigration) issue their own “labor rules” that apply different labor standards based on the classification of the work and workers (Hatton 2014); for example, in the US, workfare rules derive from welfare agencies, which often provide social assistance to low-income users of care, and guest workers come under the jurisdiction of immigration laws. Each agency determines labor rules and associated rights: for example, who and what types of work are worthy of protection; what claims can be made and by whom; and which labor activities are deserving of legal recognition.

Determining which area of the law, which government agency, and which level of the government(s) (municipal, state, federal, national) oversees the governance of a worker and the enforcement of her rights also can cause what Judy Fudge calls “jurisdictional conundrums” (2011, 243–44). Such conundrums can arise when domestic workers’ employment “transgresses” jurisdictional boundaries. For example, migrants’ status as temporary workers and as non-citizens complicates jurisdictional boundaries for claiming and exercising rights accorded by law and exempts them from an array of labor (working time) and gender regulations (such as childcare subsidies, maternity leave, varying by country jurisdictions). Fudge (2011, 243) shows that “the objects of governance—what is to be regulated— whether domestic work is a matter of family law or employment law or whether migrant workers fall within immigration or labor law—are associated with governance technologies (how the object should be governed). Jurisdictional conundrums describe conflicts and tensions over institutional responsibilities for legal governance, arising out of separate legislative and regulatory channels that complicate regulatory enforcement.

We will construct a policy matrix and conduct a policy audit to identify biases, gaps across policy domains and jurisdictional conundrums. To detail the policy matrix regarding protections for paid domestic workers, we will identify pre-pandemic policies drawing on and augmenting the Global Care Policy Index, and regulations as well as emergency measures put in place during the pandemic. The policy audit will document the presence (or absence) of rights and protections against risks established by legislation, including policies not specifically directed at spheres of care because they affect the provision of care (Guimaraes and Hirata 2021). Our assessment also will go beyond a simple binary of presence and absence and recording strength or strictness of protections to understand the functioning of employment law and social policy in making and shaping care labor markets (Dingeldey and Muckenberger 2022; Ledoux et al. 2021).

### 3.2 Time-Horizon of COVID-19 Responses

The T-AP project team will examine a range of relevant policies (labor regulations and laws; health & safety polices; immigration laws; tax codes) pre-, during and post pandemic. The time-horizon of the T-AP multi-year project has the benefit of studying three significant time periods of policy reforms, encompassing pre-pandemic, pandemic, and post-pandemic developments. We will systematically document pre-pandemic policies by augmenting the Global Care Policy Index as well as assessing emergency measures during the pandemic. The initial scan of policies will be



augmented over the duration of the three-year project to capture new policy initiatives in the post-pandemic period. This post-pandemic time horizon assesses whether governments' emergency measure interventions, what has been dubbed, "emergency Keynesianism," has translated into new policy reforms of the policy matrix (Leisering, 2021, cited in Dorlach 2023, 95).

#### **4.0 Policy Analysis and Audit of Pre- and COVID Policies: Next Steps**

Our next steps will explore convergences and diversities observed between countries in and across the global North and South by comparing protections for paid domestic workers in Brazil, Colombia, France, Canada, the UK, and the US during the pandemic. The audit of COVID policies builds on the audit of pre-pandemic policies, as discussed above. We ask, what policy tools, instruments, and measures were mobilized in response to the pandemic, what priorities and principles were used in the allocation of resources, and what factors account for the type of policies enacted?

#### **4.1 COVID Policies: A Review**

The pandemic spawned a proliferation of real-time studies analyzing policy responses to COVID-19. Analysis of this literature on COVID-19 emergency measures, available in English, surfaced publications ranging from broad scans of policy responses by international teams of scholars or international organizations (ILO, World Bank, UNDP, OECD, EUROFOUND; Bremen Global Dynamics of Social Policy, CRC 1342; Gentilini et al. 2021) to in-depth country-specific policy responses in the global North (Daly, 2020, 2021, 2023 on the UK; Peng, 2023 on Canada and East Asia; Boris 2023; Rosińska 2021a,b; James et al. 2022; Capano et al. 2020; Kinder et al. 2020; PHI 2022; Redbird et al. 2022; Echave et al. 2023 on the US; and Anne Eydoux 2023 on France), and in the global South (Da Fonseca et al. 2020 on Brazil; Orozco et al. 2022 on Colombia) to a limited number of cross-national comparisons of countries in the global North (Beland et al. 2021a).<sup>2</sup> Casting a wide net, Capano et al. (2020) inventoried the wide variation in timing and policy responses adopted and diffused by US states at the outset of the pandemic in 2020 (also see PHI 2022; Echave 2023; Kinder et al. 2020; Kashen et al. 2022; Kashen et al. 2023; Waxman et al. 2023). One exceptional meta-analysis examined social policy responses from 36 countries in the global South (Dorlach 2023) and policy responses in Latin America (Poblete, 2023; Velásquez 2021).<sup>3</sup> Only a few studies compare COVID-19 policy responses between countries in the global North and South (Lavinás 2021, comparing the US, UK and Brazil; and Stevano and Jamieson 2021 comparing a number of countries including Brazil, England and Canada; and Duffy et al. 2023a, b offering case studies across world regions). Such an impressive up-to-the-moment scholarship excelled in monitoring enactment of emergency policy measures in real-time. Yet, comparative analysis of the variation between countries lagged behind this prodigious output of descriptive studies.

<sup>2</sup> See the special issue on social policy responses to COVID-19 in *Social Policy & Administration* (2021) 55, 2; and the special issue on COVID emergency measures in *Policy & Society* (2020) 39, 3.

<sup>3</sup> These articles are in Spanish.



Country-specific reports will draw on this literature and on international sources, particularly the ILO and the World Bank. One of the most comprehensive COVID-policy scans was conducted by teams of scholars and compiled by the World Bank. The resulting report identifies relief measures divided into three main policy areas: social assistance, social insurance, and labor market program, further broken down by four types of reforms (see Table 1). Short descriptions annotate each policy (see Table 2a and 2b for the example of the US).

The pandemic was itself subject to overlapping periods, with their own separate timescales, which varied depending on the context: the periods of bonuses, social assistance, and/or wage increases (Daly 2021, 2023). Each team will construct a country-specific timeline for tracking the passage of pandemic measures, corresponding to the first wave of the pandemic in March 2020 to March 2023 (see Table 3).

## 4.2 Framing Questions

The analysis seeks to document COVID-19 policy responses in relationship to paid domestic work and workers, exploring such questions as follows:

- What was the design and scope of the emergency policies?
- To what extent did COVID policy responses depart from regular ones, that is, were these path-dependent or path-departing (Beland et al. 2021, 256)?
- Were policies subsequently changed as a result?
- To what extent did national legacies inform the framing and formulation of COVID policies (Beland et al. 2021a, Dorlach 2021, 250)?
- What were the priorities of pandemic policies (replacement of income for workers and/or businesses, employment and/or economic growth)?
- Were domestic/in-home workers included and/or specifically named in pandemic policies?<sup>4</sup>
- Correspondingly, how were different in-home occupational groups (visiting nurses, childcare, cleaners, personal home aides) addressed by policy responses?
- How inclusive were measures, in the content of legislation and its implementation?
- What resources (monetary such as hazard pay, sick leave) and what principles were used to allocate resources or benefits?
- What was the nature of the response: An integrated/wholistic response, piecemeal or fragmented? (See Daly 2021 on the UK; Eydoux 2023 on France)?
- What can we learn about the drivers of policy change from the comparative analysis?
- What accounts for differences in the responses to the uncertainty linked to in-home care working and employment relations across countries?<sup>5</sup>
- Were (un)authorized migrant (*sans papiers*) domestic workers eligible for assistance?
- Does the variation of policy adoption and diffusion reflect state (in)capacities for responding to the pandemic (Capano et al. 2020; James et al. 2022)?
- To what extent did government ideology, political cleavages (right/left) and/or fiscal capacities condition pandemic responses (Dorlach 2023, 94)?

<sup>4</sup> A content analysis of national policies found that paid domestic and homecare workers were not designated as essential workers for the purpose of receiving specific benefits in Brazil, Canada, and England (Stevano and Jamieson 2021). The other countries in our study were not included in their dataset.

<sup>5</sup> Comparative studies of social policy increasingly recognize transnational dynamics and interdependencies influencing policy developments in the global North and South (Kuhlman and Brink 2021; Gottfried 2023).



### 4.3 Methods for Documenting COVID-Policies in the US

The US team has documented the policy landscape of COVID-19 emergency measures by conducting a search of government websites, contemporaneous publications (see Working Paper #1) and reviewing two daily newspapers of record, *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.<sup>6</sup> The collection from the onset of the pandemic to March 2023 enables us to capture new and/or revised policies enacted during the multiple waves of the pandemic and cutting across changing government administrations. Our search seeks to generate a full list of policies formulated in response to COVID-19 at the federal and state levels.

A template was created to catalogue COVID-19 emergency measures. For each policy, we recorded the name, type of program, date enacted, any changes made, original expiration, extensions, a short description, program cost, and authorization agency. The template identified the scope and priorities, the targeted population/beneficiaries, the eligibility requirements, and the principles of distribution (universal, means-tested, targeted based on vulnerabilities by age, class, and occupations), and the mechanism of distribution (tax credits, moratoriums, cash transfers, loans, labor market interventions, and furloughs). In each case, we noted restrictions, and/or exemptions (citizenship status and employment status such as informal, part-time, self-employed, independent contractor). We documented special relief measures designed to include categories of workers usually excluded from coverage (unauthorized immigrant workers, self-employed/independent contractors; part-time workers, and gig workers). Though not enunciated, race and often gender were implicit in many policies in so far as the population involved (or left out) consisted of specific groups like pregnant persons or occupations dominated by particular demographics (like women, Black women, and immigrant men, for example). Class and geography (rural, urban, and region) were also factors rarely articulated in policies.

In addition to brief descriptions of each policy, we made note of the absence and presence of specific features and compared domestic workers' protections relative to workers in general (unemployment, cash transfer, loans, hazard pay, sick leave). We sought to determine whether paid domestic workers were covered by equivalent protections or denied protections. Degrees of inclusion and exclusion was determined by reference to the workforce in general.<sup>7</sup>

The real-time documentation of the fast-paced changing policy matrix offers a useful guide for evaluating the efficacy of policies aimed at emergency protection of paid domestic workers during the pandemic and its aftermath.

### 5.0 Work Agenda for Policy Analysis

Policy analysis will proceed in three main steps: Step 1 entails revising and augmenting the Global Care Policy Index as detailed in Working Paper #2. Brazil and France will score pre-pandemic

<sup>6</sup> We started collecting information in June 2022 to August 2022, following the NSF's approval of the US portion of the T-AP project in May 2022.

<sup>7</sup> We draw on Romer et al.'s (2021, 4) logic informing their operationalization of immigrant welfare rights in their technical report.



policies using the GCPI method provided by the GCPI project. Our second step is dedicated to cataloguing COVID-19 policies seeking to qualitatively assess the design and scope of emergency measures: identifying the targeted population/beneficiaries (by age, institutions, essential workers), eligibility and principles of distribution (universal, means-tested, targeted based on vulnerabilities by age, class, occupation), and the mechanism of distribution (tax credits, moratoriums, cash transfers, loans, labor market interventions). Thirdly, the consortium will audit the policy matrix to determine whether domestic/in-home workers (both live-in and live-out) are covered by social protections and labor laws, under what conditions, and what benefits and entitlements are accorded to them.

Country-specific working papers will historicize the design and scope of policy and its institutional architecture and regulatory framework to show whether and to what extent, and when, rights and protections were expanded, and how they were enhanced. To assess the rights and social protections for paid domestic workers, the working papers construct historical narratives based on primary and secondary sources complemented by process tracing of social policy reforms (care, employment, immigration, health and safety, tax) at the national scale and selected jurisdictions at the subnational scale (see Working Paper #1). Historical narratives contextualize the institutional framework of specific care arrangements in the care economy to better determine the factors explaining patterns of protections for paid domestic workers within and across countries over time.

The Table of Contents below outlines the component parts of the country-specific working papers to ensure a common structure of the reports on protections for paid domestic workers. A series of tables present exemplary indicators and data representing the US. These tables will be replicated in each country report.



## Country-Specific Working Papers on Protections for Domestic Workers

### Table of Contents

#### **Introduction: Overview**

- a. Characterization of Care System in light of social protection and welfare provisions or lack of such (see Table 4)
- b. Characteristics of the Paid Domestic labor force by the numbers (see Tables 5 - 8)

#### **Pre-pandemic policy**

- a. Descriptive history (augment the GCPI)
- b. Global Care Policy Index (GCPI)
  - (1) review country report card
    - note omissions/additions/revisions.
    - metric, note biases.
  - (2) review technical reports
  - (3) Country GCPI Table 9)
- c. Glossary of terms

#### **Pandemic Emergency Measures (March 2020-March 2023)**

- a. Documentation
  - (1) Review literature
    - Country case studies (supplement articles in Dropbox)
    - UNDP, ILO, World Bank (data bases are in Dropbox)
  - (2) Use our template (see Table 7 below) to document emergency measures.
    - Description
    - Type of policy (social assistance, social insurance, labor market), or a different taxonomy?
    - Eligibility and inclusion/exclusion of domestic workers, restrictions
  - (3) Note the absence and presence of specific features
    - assess domestic workers' protections relative to workers in general (unemployment, cash transfer, loans, maternity leave, and parental leave, sick leave)
  - (4) Highlight COVID-19 Emergency measures at State/Provincial and/or Municipal levels
    - (a) The US analyzed state enacted COVID policies
- b. Create a Timeline of policies
  - (1) Date of enactment and duration (including extensions)
  - (2) March 2020-March 2023, by months (see Table 8).





**Pandemic Permanent measures**

- a. New policies in response to the pandemic

**New Policy Horizons**

- a. Policy Practice Gaps
- b. Recommendations



**Table 1. Pandemic Policies, March 2020-May 2021**

Country	Social Assistance				Social Insurance				Labor Market			
	Cash transfers	Public Works	Social pensions	Utility waivers	Paid sick Leave	Health Insurance	Soc Sec contribution	Unemploy benefits	Activation	Labor Regulations	Wage Subsidies	Reduced Work Week
<b>Brazil</b>	x	0	x	x	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	x
<b>Columbia</b>	x	0	x	x	0	0	x	x	0	x	x	x
<b>Canada</b>	x	0	x	x	x	0	0	x	x	x	x	x
<b>UK</b>	x	0	0	x	x	0	x	0	x	0	x	0
<b>US</b>	x	0	0	x	x	0	x	x	0	0	0	0
<b>France</b>	x	0	0	0	x	0	x	0	x	x	x	x

\*Modified table Rosińska (2022), Source: World Bank, <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/129431621025702954/global-database-on-social-protection-and-jobs-responses-to-covid-19>





**Table 2a. US SOCIAL ASSISTANCE COVID-19 RESPONSES, MARCH 2020-MARCH 2021**

PROGRAM	<i>Cash-Based Transfers</i>
<p><b>CARES Act MARCH 2020 Stimulus 1</b></p>	<p>In March 2020, the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act authorized the first round of stimulus relief aid. The IRS issued 162 million payments that totaled \$271 billion. The initial payments issued \$1,200 per person, or \$2,400 for those filing jointly, plus \$500 per qualifying child. The maximum income levels to receive a payment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• \$99,000 for single taxpayers</li> <li>• \$136,500 for taxpayers filing as head of household.</li> <li>• \$198,000 for married couples filing jointly.</li> </ul>
<p>Stimulus 2</p>	<p>The second round of stimulus payments were authorized on <b>December 27, 2020</b>, as part of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021. Those payments typically totaled \$600 per person, or \$1,200 for married individuals, plus \$600 for each qualifying child. Taxpayers were ineligible for any payment, unless they had a qualifying child, above the following income levels:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• \$87,000 for single taxpayers</li> <li>• \$124,500 for taxpayers filing as head of household.</li> <li>• \$174,000 for married couples filing jointly.</li> </ul> <p>As of March 5, 2021, about \$135 billion of the second round of payments have been sent out according to the Congressional Budget Office.</p>
<p><b>AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN MARCH 2021</b></p>	<p>The third round of checks were included in the American Rescue Plan Act of March 11, 2021. Eligible individuals received a payment of \$1,400 (\$2,800 for married couples), plus an additional \$1,400 per eligible child. Taxpayers would be ineligible for any payment, unless they have a qualifying child, above the following income levels:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• \$80,000 for single taxpayers</li> <li>• \$120,000 for taxpayers filing as head of household.</li> <li>• \$160,000 for married couples filing jointly.</li> </ul> <p>Overall, such payments were expected to cost \$411 billion.</p> <p>The American Rescue Plan expands and increases the Child Tax Credit, the Earned Income Tax Credit, the Employee Retention Credit, among other programs. (\$176 billions). For the Child Tax Credit, and according to the IRS, those families who are eligible through the program began receiving payments in July 2021. A monthly advance credit of up to \$300 were paid for each child 5 years of age and younger, and a \$250 credit for each child between the ages of 6 and 17.</p>
<p><b>FAMILIES FIRST CORONAVIRUS RESPONSE ACT MARCH 2020</b></p>	
<p><b>Pandemic Electronic Benefit Transfer (P-EBT) School Food Assistance</b></p>	<p>In March 2020, the Families First Coronavirus Response Act empowers the US Department of Agriculture to approve state government plans to provide emergency food stamp assistance to households with school-aged children who would be benefiting from free or reduced-priced meals had there not been school closures. Authorized extension, Sept. 2020; Dec. 2021 and May 2022.<sup>8</sup> P-EBT is available regardless of immigration status. Households do not have to be enrolled in SNAP in order to be eligible.</p>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/state-guidance-coronavirus-pandemic-ebt-pebt#:~:text=Children%20who%20would%20have%20received,to%20receive%20P%20EBT%20benefits;>  
<https://www.fns.usda.gov/SNAP/pandemic-ebt-summer-2022-memo>



PROGRAM	<i>Utility Waivers,</i>
<b>Installment Agreement</b>	For taxpayers under an existing Installment Agreement, payments due between April 1 and July 15, 2020, are suspended. Taxpayers who are currently unable to comply with the terms of an Installment Payment Agreement, including a Direct Debit Installment Agreement, may suspend payments during this period if they prefer. Furthermore, the IRS will not default any Installment Agreements during this period. By law, interest will continue to accrue on any unpaid balances. (CARES ACT): A number of tax benefits, such as deferring payroll taxes will be provided. (total \$300 billion)
Moratorium on Foreclosures and Evictions	A moratorium on mortgage foreclosure and tenant evictions. <sup>9</sup> The expiration date was extended numerous times. On August 26, 2021, the Supreme Court rejected the latest extension requested by the CDC. The Biden Administration made available assistance through the Treasury Emergency Rental Assistance Program. <sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> <https://home.treasury.gov/policy-issues/coronavirus/about-the-cares-act>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.investopedia.com/coronavirus-aid-relief-and-economic-security-cares-act-4800707>


**Table 2b. US SOCIAL INSURANCE COVID-19, MARCH 2020-MARCH 2021**

PROGRAM	<i>Paid sick leave</i>
<b>FAMILIES FIRST CORONAVIRUS RESPONSE ACT (FFCRA) March 2020</b>	This program allows parents caring for children whose schools have closed to take a maximum of 12 weeks of paid family leave, including two weeks of paid sick leave at 100% of the person's normal salary, and up to \$511 per day. Additionally, this provided up to 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave at 67 percent of the person's normal pay, up to \$200 per day. Gig and self-employed workers received these benefits in the form of a tax credit.
PROGRAM	<i>Unemployment benefits</i>
<b>CARES ACT</b>	
<b>AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN</b>	Expansion of the unemployment benefits with \$203 billion by extending unemployment programs, such as enhanced weekly benefit of \$300, through Sept 6th, 2021
<b>Consolidated Appropriations Act</b>	Increased unemployment benefits (\$119 billion). The earlier relief legislation provided several enhancements to unemployment insurance benefits that were ultimately allowed to expire. This package restored those enhancements, albeit at more modest levels. It added \$300 per week to unemployment benefits, continued “gig” worker eligibility for unemployment benefits, and lengthened the maximum period that a worker could collect unemployment to 50 weeks
PROGRAM	<i>Social security contributions</i>
<b>CARES Act</b>	Included penalty-free coronavirus-related distributions. The 10% early withdrawal penalty under Internal Revenue Code (Code) Section 72(t) is waived for “coronavirus-related distributions” of up to \$100,000. In addition, the 20% withholding requirement on these distributions does not apply. A coronavirus-related distribution is a distribution made in 2020 from a qualified retirement plan (including a 401(k) plan, 403(b) plan, 457(b) plan, individual retirement account, or individual retirement annuity) to a “qualified individual”

Source: World Bank, <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/129431621025702954/global-database-on-social-protection-and-jobs-responses-to-covid-19>



**Table 3. Timeline of Federal COVID-19 Policies, March 2020 to March 2023**

<p><b>Families First Coronavirus Response Act (FFCRA)</b> March 18, 2020</p>	<p><b>Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act. (CARES) Amended FFCRA</b> MARCH 27, 2020</p>	<p><b>CARES Paycheck Protection Program (PPP)</b> MARCH 25, 2020</p>	<p><b>CARES Federal Pandemic Unemployment Compensation (FPUC)</b></p>	<p><b>CARES Federal Pandemic Unemployment Compensation (FPUC) ENDS</b> JULY 21, 2020</p>	<p><b>American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA) MARCH 10, 2021</b> Section 9817 APRIL 1, 2021</p>	<p><b>FEDERAL PANDEMIC UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FPUC</b> Enhanced Federal UI expires JULY, 2021</p>	<p><b>ARPA Section 9817 For Home and Community Based Services expires on</b> MARCH 31, 2022<sup>11</sup></p>	<p><b>CONSOLIDATED APPROPRIATIONS ACT 2022</b> Congress delinked continuous enrollment provision from the public health DEC. 29, 2022</p>	<p><b>CONSOLIDATED APPROPRIATIONS ACT 2023</b> Ended Federal Continuous Medicaid enrollment MARCH 21, 2023</p>
↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕	↕
<p><b>Statewide Stay-at-Home Orders</b> March 19-April 3, 2020</p>	<p><b>Pandemic EBT, Food assistance</b> March 2020. extended in August and September 2020.</p>	<p><b>Pandemic EBT, extended</b> DECEMBER 2021</p>		<p><b>PPP ended</b> MAY 31, 2021</p>	<p>States begin rolling back COVID-19 Benefits in JUNE, 2021</p>	<p>Lifting of Moratorium on foreclosures and evictions Aug. 26, 2021</p>		<p><b>Pandemic EBT, extended</b> MAY 9, 2022</p>	<p><b>ARPA Section 9817 Funds Expended until</b> MARCH 31, 2025</p>

<sup>11</sup> Funds must be expended by March 31, 2025, <https://www.medicaid.gov/medicaid/home-community-based-services/guidance-additional-resources/strengthening-and-investing-home-and-community-based-services-for-medicaid-beneficiaries-american-rescue-plan-act-of-2021-section-9817/index.html>



**Table 4. Landscapes of Care in Colombia, Canada, the US and UK**

	<b>Colombia</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>
<b>National governance</b>	Unitary, decentralized Republic, autonomy to territorial entities.	Centralized, Provincial	De-centralized, Federal	Constitutional Monarchy, Devolved powers to the 4 nations
<b>Type of government during covid</b>	Center/right Iván Duque Márquez Left Gustavo Petro (2022)	Center/liberal Justin Trudeau (re-elected, 2021)	Far right Donald Trump, Center/liberal Joe Biden (2021)	Right/conservative, Boris Johnson, (resigned 2022), Liz Truss (resigned), Rishi Sunak (2022)
<b>Welfare regime</b>	Familialist Weak social protection	Liberal-Market	Neo-Liberal-Market	Liberal-Market
<b>Health-care system</b>	Mix-system: contributory (salaried) and subsidized (non-salaried and poor)	Provincial, municipal	Private Insurance and means-tested Medicaid and age-tested Medicare	National Health Service (NHS), free at the point of use; Second largest single-payer health system; marginal private system
<b>Jurisdiction over health policy</b>	Public regulation and market system. Limited territorial autonomy	Provincial, municipal	Split state (Medicaid, means-tested) and Federal (Medicare, universal), municipalities	National public regulation, autonomy to the 4 nations
<b>Existence of home health-care aid policies</b>	Many, but limited, not very effective and contradictory.	Yes, and government wants to improve in this area	No; excluded from OSHA, ADA, Civil Rights Act, FMLA, Fair Labor Standards uneven protection	Framework for enhanced health in care homes (NHS, 2020)
<b>Special policies first wave of COVID</b>	Limited to Covid-19 tests and some services for special people such as people with disabilities.	Suspension of holidays, labor shortages. Call back to work retired workers (voluntary basis)	<b>CARES Act</b> (2020) unemployment extension excludes many care workers; cash payout (round 1: \$1200/adult, \$500/child; round 2: \$600/adult; \$600/child-2020), <b>American Rescue Plan</b> cash (\$1400/adult; \$1400/child – 2021); TANF (no extra benefits) both programs exclude non-taxpayers.	Schools and nurseries open for nurses and care workers; Furlough most employees, 80% of salary to £2,500/month by government; PPEs for healthcare professionals; extra support for low-income workers with Covid-19; Statutory Sick Pay extended to individuals with Covid-19.



**Table 5. Selected Political Economic and Social Welfare Indicators for the US<sup>12</sup>**

Population (millions)	% Population over 65	Female Labor Force Participation %	HDI	Gini Coefficient	Social spending %GDP <sup>13</sup>	Public Spending Labor Market % GDP <sup>14</sup>	ILO <sup>15</sup> ratification	Sub-index B	Labor Rights Index <sup>16</sup>
331	16	57	0.926	41.4	22.7	0.250	10/14	3.44	63.5

**Table 6. Occupational Distribution of Domestic Workers in the US**

# Employment	Home cleaners	Childcare	Home Aides Agency	Home Aides non-agency
2,200,000	353,527	225,933	1,257,878	141,400

Source: US Domestic Workers 2019 (based on Current Population Survey, cited in Milkman 2023)

<sup>12</sup> Paul et al. 2022.

<sup>13</sup> For 2021.

<sup>14</sup> Public spending on labor market programs includes public employment services, training, hiring subsidies and direct job creations in the public sector, as well as unemployment benefits. 2018 data, (OECD 2022).

<sup>15</sup> Number of ILO conventions in force out of the number ratified.

<sup>16</sup> The Labor Rights Index is a composite of ten labor rights regulations (fair wages, decent working hours, employment security, family responsibilities, maternity at work, safe work, social security, fair treatment, child and forced labor and trade union) scored from 0 to 100, creating six bands to measure decent work.



**Table 7. Domestic Workers in the U.S. by Citizenship Status and Race, 2017-2019  
(In percent)**

	<i>Non-Domestic Workers</i>	<i>Domestic Workers</i>	<i>House Cleaners</i>	<i>Nannies</i>	<i>Home Daycare</i>	<i>Health Aides (Non-Agency)</i>	<i>Health Aides (Agency)</i>
<b>Nativity</b>							
U.S. born	82.8	64.5	30.6	71.6	69.9	74.1	69.9
U.S. naturalized	8.5	15.0	18.4	10.9	12.6	10.9	15.6
Immigrant not naturalized	8.8	20.5	51.0	17.6	17.6	14.9	14.5
<b>Race/ethnicity</b>							
White	63.0	40.8	28.0	63.7	52.9	49.8	37.3
Black	11.3	21.5	6.3	7.5	13.1	19.7	29.3
Hispanic	17.1	29.1	61.7	24.1	29.5	20.2	22.5
Asian	6.2	5.9	2.0	2.9	3.1	5.5	7.8
Other	2.4	2.7	2.0	1.9	1.4	4.8	3.1

Source: Elaine Zundl and Yana Rodgers, 2021, 30.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For more information about the US occupational distribution of domestic workers see: <https://www.epi.org/publication/domestic-workers-chartbook-a-comprehensive-look-at-the-demographics-wages-benefits-and-poverty-rates-of-the-professionals-who-care-for-our-family-members-and-clean-our-homes/>



**Table 8. Median Hourly Wages for Domestic Workers in the US, 2021**

<b>Worker by occupation</b>	<b>Median Wage</b>
<b>Domestic Workers</b>	\$13.79
<b>All other Workers</b>	\$21.76
<b>House Cleaners</b>	\$13.04
<b>Nannies</b>	\$13.53
<b>Home care (non-agency)</b>	\$13.85
<b>Home care (agency)</b>	\$14.00

Notes: Wages include overtime, tips, and commissions and are computed from pooled 2019–2021 microdata to ensure sufficient sample size. Data are in 2021 dollars. Since the best wage measure in the Current Population Survey is unavailable for self-employed workers, wages of workers who provide childcare in their own homes are not included.

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group microdata, EPI Current Population Survey Extracts, Version 1.0.32 (2022), <https://microdata.epi.org>. (Banerjee et al. 2022).





**Table 9. Protection for Paid Domestic Workers in the US**

<b>Protection for Paid Domestic Workers</b>	<b>Scores</b>
	<b>3.44</b>
<b>B1. Coverage under National Labor Laws</b> Whether the country’s legal architecture is designed to extend rights to domestic workers with the same rights as other workers (2 questions)	1.75
<b>B2. Fair Employment Process</b> Protections of domestic workers during the employment process. Measures whether domestic workers provided sufficient and accurate information about their employment and if government can regulate the process (8 questions)	0.57
B2.1 Standard Terms of Employment	0.80
B2.2 Regulations for recruitment and employment process	0.33
<b>B3. Decent Working and Living Conditions</b> Legal provisions that provide workers with decent working and living conditions, including working hours and environment, rest and leave, wages, social security, and living conditions for live-in domestic workers (32 questions)	2.93
B3.1 Working Hours and Environment	2.70
B3.2 Rest and Leave	0.20
B3.3 Wages	3.75
B3.4 Social Security	4.58
B3.5 Living Conditions for Live-in Workers	3.44
<b>B4. Labor Rights and Protections</b> Whether domestic workers guaranteed sufficient labor rights to prevent or provide remedies to abuses against them (8 questions)	4.17
B4.1 Freedom of Association and Access to Collective Bargaining	0.00
B4.2 Access to Complaint Mechanisms	7.50
B4.3 Enforcement and Protection Mechanisms	5.99
<b>B5. Protections for Forced/Under-age Domestic Workers</b> Whether extra protections provided to two vulnerable groups (8 questions)	6.00
B5.1 Protections against Forced/Compulsory Labor	10.00
B5.2 Protections for Under-age Laborers	2.00
<b>B6. Protections for Migrant Domestic Workers</b> Whether extra protections provided to migrant workers, subject to vulnerability specific to migrants. Scored if overall migrant domestic workers at least 10% of overall domestic worker population in a country (7 questions)	5.25
B6.1 Employment Support	5.00
B6.2 Support After Termination of Employment	5.50

Source: Global Care Policy Index, 2022 Country Report: United States Federal, (Qui and Paul 2022)

The Global Care Policy Index (GCPI) is a composite index that provides a single numerical assessment of a country’s support for and protection of home-based caregivers and paid care workers.<sup>18</sup> Each question in the index is scored on a scale of 0 to 1. Each sub-category score is calculated by summing the equally weighted scores of all the questions in the sub-category and then converting that to a 0-to-10 scale. Sub-Index B assesses a country’s policy protections for paid domestic workers who engage in care-work in a private home setting but within an employment relationship. Table 5 reproduces the table appearing on the frontpage of the GCPI US country profile. Sub-index B is divided into six policy areas and further broken down by subcategories. The US earns a low overall score rooted in weak labor standards and one of the “least inclusive labor market institutions” among advanced capitalist countries (Rhomberg 2021; Milkman 2023).

<sup>18</sup> An elaboration of the index calculation method for each country and technical reports are available from the GCPI project.



**Table 10. Template for Documentation of Pandemic Policy**

Name	
Type of Program	
Enacted/Duration	
Pre-Pandemic Era	
Short Description	
Benefit	
Eligibility Criteria	
Cost of Program	
Authorization Agency	
Pandemic Era	
Date Changed	
Changes Summary	
Benefits Change	
Eligibility Change	
Additional Costs	
Endnotes	



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