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“Strength in Unity”

The Role of Resources of the Advocacy Coalition of Undocumented Migrant Domestic Workers
in the Policy Process on the Position of Migrant Domestic Workers in The Netherlands



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ABSTRACT

By means of a qualitative approach, this study examined the accessibility of the resources outlined in the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory to the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands and the way their use of these resources shaped Dutch policy regarding the recognition of the group's position. By combining theoretical elements from both sociology and public administration, this research aimed to contribute to the currently meager body of academic literature on the topic, as well as to provide for a theoretical base which could be used for various purposes, including the advocacy for recognition by the migrant domestic workers. This study started with mapping out the specific regulatory environment regarding domestic work and migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, and the relatively recent ILO C189 convention. Subsequently, ten face-to-face interviews have been conducted with migrant domestic workers who are residing and working in The Netherlands irregularly. From this study, it can be concluded that the various resources are not to the same extent available to the coalition, and that especially the resources 'public opinion' and 'mobilizable troops' have proven to be particularly valuable in the coalition's advocacy, whereas the formal resources have been inaccessible due to the irregular status of the coalition's members. While a positive trend came to light regarding the feeling of power of the respondents, national policy has not changed over the past years and therefore the advocacy activities have up until now not shaped Dutch policy. Still, the paradox between living and working in the shadow on the one hand, and the need to step out of this to advocate for an improvement of their position on the other hand highlights the necessity for proper legislation and further research on the topic. Furthermore, this study proposed that further research could map out the rest of the advocacy coalitions, both in favor and against regulation, as well as that the future debate should keep the human aspect of the discussion into consideration.

KEY WORDS: Undocumented Migrant Domestic Workers; Resources; Advocacy Coalition Framework; Social Movement Theory; ILO C189

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACF	Advocacy Coalitions Framework
CBS	Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (Statistics Netherlands)
C189	Convention 189: Convention concerning decent work for domestic workers - Convention adopted by the International Labor Organization in 2011
FNV	Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (Federation of Dutch Trade Unions)
IDWF	International Domestic Workers Federation
ILO	International Labor Organization
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
MDW	Migrant Domestic Workers
SCP	Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research)
SER	Sociaal-Economische Raad (Social and Economic Council)

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands belongs to the top 15 of richest countries in the world in terms of its GDP per capita (The World Bank Group, 2018), its unemployment rates are low, and although it is hard to measure because of its informal character, the informal sector is relatively small. The most recent estimate by the Dutch Statistics Bureau on the scale of the informal sector estimated an added value of 2,7 billion euros to the Gross Domestic Product, but since this sector operates under the radar of official government organs, it is likely that this number only represents a tip of the iceberg (Schinkel, 2017). According to the vice president of the Dutch trade union FNV, approximately 400.000 people are daily performing their job in the homes of Dutch households (Mooring, 2017).

In June 2011, during the 100th anniversary of the International Labor Organization, the ILO Convention no. 189 Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers and a supplementing Recommendation were adopted. This internationally binding treaty and its recommendation grant the same rights to domestic workers as are granted to regular employees (Mooring, 2017) and it is “the first time that the [ILO] has formulated international labor standards dedicated to this particular group of workers” (International Labor Organization, 2011b, 2). While The Netherlands was one of the countries which signed the Convention, it has not (yet) ratified it. In fact, the convention has only been ratified by 25 member states worldwide, of which only 7 are European countries: Belgium, Germany, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Switzerland (International Labor Organization, 2017).

The Netherlands has a policy called ‘Regeling Dienstverlening aan Huis’ (Regulation for Domestic Services), which lessens the obligations for the employers and as a result the social security rights of the employee (Advies commissie Dienstverlening aan huis, 2014). This regulation is in conflict with the ILO C189 convention, which holds that social security should be equally available to domestic workers as it is to any other employee. However, a special advisory commission in The Netherlands justifies this disagreement between the ILO Convention and Dutch legislation by the fact that C189 is primarily aimed at fighting cases of abuse and exploitation, and that these situations hardly occur in The Netherlands (Advies commissie Dienstverlening aan huis, 2014).

While there has been and still is a remarkable silence in The Netherlands with regard to the position of migrant domestic workers, the migrant domestic workers themselves “are becoming increasingly vocal in The Netherlands, campaigning for a better legal position” (Van Walsum, 2013, 161). Since 2006, labor unions have been opening their doors for domestic workers, regardless of their legal status (Van Walsum, 2013, 161). The FNV trade union is inclusive as to who it accepts as members, since formal documents are no requirement for membership and also undocumented workers can join (Kraamwinkel, 2016, 535). This is remarkable because historically labor unions had been very reluctant to migrant workers, let alone to welcome them as members of their network, because they feared “that Dutch labor will lose its bargaining power should employers acquire freer access to foreign labor” (Van Walsum, 2013, 161). A partnership between migrant domestic workers and a labor union can be very beneficial for the migrant laborers in the fight for their rights (Van Walsum, 2013, 161).

Despite the major importance of domestic workers, including migrant domestic workers, with regard to their position on the Dutch labor market and their contribution to the economy, the Dutch government does not recognize domestic work as ‘decent work’. The International Labor Organization describes decent work as “productive work for women and men in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity” (International Labor Organization, 2008, vi). However, the existence and position of migrant domestic workers is not only ignored by the government, the topic is also underrepresented in academia from The Netherlands. This thesis aims to contribute to both the underdeveloped body of academic literature on the topic as well as provide new information to the table which can be used by the undocumented migrant domestic workers in their struggle for recognition. In order to do so, the following research question will be investigated:

Which resources have undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands been using to shape Dutch policy regarding the recognition of their position?

By carrying out this study, the aim is to contribute both to the academic literature on the topic, as well as providing a theoretical base which can in turn be drawn upon by the undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands in their advocacy for recognition and regulation. By approaching the topic from an interdisciplinary perspective, insights from both public administration and sociology can be combined and used for the cause of the undocumented migrants currently employed in the domestic sector in The Netherlands.

1.2 ACADEMIC AND SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

By conducting this study, the body of academic literature on the topic of undocumented migrant domestic workers will be enlarged, which is necessary because the existing base of theoretical and empirical studies is very limited. Or, as Van Walsum (2013, 161) already signaled in her research, “Dutch mainstream and policy-oriented researchers on labor migration have systematically overlooked the fact that many migrants are (illegally) employed in Dutch homes, while the few quantitative researchers who have investigated the Dutch market in (undeclared) domestic services have remained equally silent on the role that migrants play in this sector”. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to quantitatively study the topic, it will add to the scientific body by doing a qualitative study in which interviews with ten undocumented migrant domestic workers will serve as the empirical basis. It should be noted that this is an exceptionally vulnerable and hard to reach group, especially because of their irregular status, and that the gathered data are thus a valuable addition to the literature.

Besides accumulating and organizing the existing knowledge on the topic of undocumented migrant domestic workers and the Dutch regulatory environment on this particular policy problem, and adding to this body of literature with this new qualitative study on the resources available to the coalition of undocumented MDWs in The Netherlands, this thesis also enriches the applicability of the renowned

Advocacy Coalition Framework theory. This theory can be regarded as a highly appropriate theoretical lens to examine the case study of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands because of the theory's emphasis on ideas as the glue of coalitions' interests and the fact that it considers the possession of particular resources by the coalitions of crucial importance to shape or impact the policy process. Yet, while the ACF is well designed to study formally organized coalitions, it is less applicable to groups which are organized in a less formal manner or which have an informal status. Therefore, this thesis will fill up this gap within the ACF theory by adding elements of the Social Movement Theory to the Advocacy Coalition Framework so that the newly proposed Advocacy Social Movement Coalition Framework theory can in future research be used to also examine the informal groups within formal coalitions or completely unconventional coalitions based on the criteria set out in the Advocacy Coalition Framework. This study will thus add to the already existing body of academic literature by enriching perspectives and theories from the field of public administration with sociological insights and additions. Furthermore, this study will provide an analysis of the resources deployed by the specific coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, and how the use of these had an influence on Dutch policy regarding their position, and through that gain more insight in the extent to which the coalition is successful in its advocacy. All in all, this study will thus contribute to the academic literature on the position of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands and the interest groups related to this issue, which has up to this point been a highly under-researched issue, especially in the field of public administration.

Next to its academic importance, this study also has a high societal relevance in terms of its awareness raising and information providing nature for the position of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. For the large numbers of undocumented migrant domestic workers, it would be important to have their work officially recognized, but a potential conflict can be identified with the wishes of the documented domestic workers. By closely examining an isolated coalition within the policy sub-system and identifying and analyzing the resources accessible to this group, as well as how they have used them to shape Dutch policy, this thesis aims to lay bare this particular actor in the policy process on the topic of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. Next to that, it also aspires to explain why, despite long process of generating attention and aiming to convince the authorities, there has not (yet) been drafted regulations in The Netherlands to acknowledge the existence of this particularly vulnerable group of workers and recognize their work as decent employment.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Before being able to analyze the labor market position of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands and the resources available to this particular coalition, the concepts and theories worked with throughout this thesis need to be clarified first. It is important to note that a deliberate choice has been made to make use of the definitions provided for by international organizations like the International Labor Organization rather than following definitions proposed by academics, for the reason being that the definitions of the international organizations are widely supported and accepted, for instance in national legislation which is in accordance with ILO C189, while an academically based definition may differ per study and hence include different elements. This may in turn have consequences for the generalizability of this study, and therefore various concepts are defined according to the definitions provided for in more practical documents. After potential unclarities and doubts have been clarified, explanations of the two main theories will follow. By explaining the Advocacy Coalition Framework Theory and the Social Movement Theory and already linking them to the case of MDW in The Netherlands, the theoretical path is paved for further in-depth elaboration and exploration of the topic.

2.1 DOMESTIC WORKERS

The Convention Concerning decent work for domestic workers, adopted in 2011 by the International Labor Organization has for the first time in its history drafted legislation concerning this particularly vulnerable group of domestic workers (International Labor Organization, 2011b, 2). In its first article, the convention already provides a working and legal definition of domestic work (International Labor Organization, 2011a, 2):

“(a) the term ‘domestic work’ means work performed in or for a household or households; (b) the term ‘domestic worker’ means any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship; (c) a person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis is not a domestic worker.”

For the purpose of this thesis, the ILO definition will be followed as a working definition every time the concept of domestic worker will be referred to.

2.2 MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS

In the second article of this same ILO convention is stated that the “Convention applies to all domestic workers” and thus also migrant domestic workers and undocumented household workers are granted exactly the same rights in case the country in which they work and reside have ratified the convention (International Labor Organization, 2011a, 2). This explicit statement on the overarching applicability is important in the sense that nation states should thus also take the responsibility for the workers who are illegally residing and working within their territory. Two of the twenty-seven articles in the Convention are specifically targeted at the migrant domestic workers group, but since The Netherlands did not ratify this convention, it is not legally obliged to follow the regulations outlined in this official ILO document.

Despite the Dutch non-ratification of the C189, domestic work is definitely not of no importance in The Netherlands. This sector is one of the “few areas in which (especially undocumented) migrant workers find employment” (Basten, 2015, 25). In general, so not limited to but also applicable to the case of The Netherlands, the informal character of domestic work is one of the very few options irregular migrants have to participate in a host country’s labor market. However, in contrast to what is often thought, Basten (2015) observed that working without legal documents is often not a free choice but rather a necessity because their migration status does not allow them to participate in the regular labor market. While domestic work thus offers irregular migrants the chance to make a living in their host country, they are “at an increased risk of exploitation and abuse in their employment and living situation” (Basten, 2015, 12).

Domestic work could be described as precarious occupation because of the risks involved, but in order to be able to analyze the situation of migrant domestic workers, the characteristics of insecure work need to be classified first. In the FNV’s Global Decent Work Program (Towards Decent Work and more secure jobs) (FNV Mondiaal, n.d., 1), the following characteristics are provided to describe insecure employment:

1. “No sustainable employment relationship;
2. No or insufficient protection by labor legislation and social protection;
3. Lack of effective institutions dealing with labor market issues (weak or side-lined departments of labor, lack of labor inspection, no effective mediation procedures, weak functioning of labor courts);
4. No or insufficient coverage by Collective Bargaining Agreements;
5. Level of organization in trade unions is low and often restricted by legislation.”

Domestic work, whether or not performed by migrants, can thus indeed be categorized as very insecure since it fulfills all the criteria.

2.3 DOCUMENTED VERSUS UNDOCUMENTED DOMESTIC WORKERS

Although domestic work in general can be classified as an insecure type of employment, there are various implications regarding the differences in legal status. In the situation in which someone is undocumented, they are informal and are therefore not covered by the labor protections outlined in the law.

As identified by Van Walsum (2013, 172), undocumented immigrants “face [problems] in accessing work, low-cost accommodation, and health care” but also they must “take care to avoid any contact with the police or other relevant authorities since this can result in detention and deportation”. Furthermore, the undocumented MDW often do not have the possibility to visit their relatives in their home countries because of registration at the airport and the resulting conclusion that they have been residing in the host country illegally, with a five year banishment as a consequence (Van Walsum, 2013, 172). This highlights an interesting paradox which will be further investigated in this thesis: on the one

hand the undocumented migrant domestic workers should largely stay under the radar because they are illegally residing in The Netherlands, but on the other hand the only way they can improve their situation and reduce the risk of exploitation is to step out of the shadows and raise awareness for their case to pressure the Dutch government to recognize their position.

For example in terms of access to health care services, undocumented migrants are generally worse off than documented domestic employees. The undocumented migrants working in the domestic sector have, at best, a very limited access to health care services (Triandafyllidou, 2013, 3). Also, they have less knowledge about who to approach to assist them in their search for medical help or any help in general (Triandafyllidou, 2013, 3).

The legal status as well as the nationality of the domestic workers has major implications for their desire to campaign for recognition or not. This thesis will focus on the undocumented migrant domestic workers since these are generally most eager to campaign for legislation. Informal native domestic workers often see their work as an extra income over which they do not have to pay income tax, and the formally employed domestic workers are already covered by the social security system. Therefore, it is expected that the documented domestic workers are less willing to participate in campaigning practices.

2.4 ADVOCACY COALITION FRAMEWORK

The Advocacy Coalition Framework, as initially proposed by Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith in 1988, was designed to describe and analyze policy processes and therefore it lends itself very well to analyze the policy process on the (non-)recognition of the position of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. Various changes and additions have been made to the original ACF as a result of the questions raised by other studies about particular aspects of the framework. Figure 1 portrays the 2005 version of the ACF diagram, which will be the working version for this thesis (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 202).

Ideas are crucial in this model since “the impact of ideas [are viewed] as the glue that brings together coalitions of interest” (Chandler, 2017, 120). Building on this, the main assumption of the ACF is that policymaking takes place in a so-called policy subsystem, “which is a policy area that is geographically bounded and encompasses policy participants from all levels of government, multiple interest groups, research institutions, and the media” (Weible & Sabatier, 2007, 124-125). Within this subsystem, various coalitions can be found, as well as policy brokers who try to get the distinct coalitions on one line of thought. As mentioned in figure 1, each coalition has its own policy beliefs and resources, on which they base their eventual strategies to influence the policy process for their purpose.

Within the policy beliefs, a distinction can be made between three hierarchical levels of ideas: the deep core beliefs, the policy core beliefs, and the secondary beliefs (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 194-195). The most resistant beliefs are the deep core beliefs, which can be defined as normative and fundamental assumptions that traverse various policy subsystems (Weible & Sabatier, 2007, 127). On

the level below are the policy core beliefs, which are less resistant to change than the deep core beliefs, but which are still quite normative. These beliefs “span an entire policy subsystem” and “deal with fundamental policy choices” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 194-195). Lowest in the three-tiered hierarchy are the secondary beliefs, “which are empirical beliefs and policy preferences that relate to the subcomponent (either substantively or territorially) of a policy subsystem” (Weible & Sabatier, 2007, 128). Thus, a clear hierarchy is laid out within the beliefs of a policy subsystem and depending on the level of the belief, changes within a subsystem are more or less likely to occur.

Building on this division, the ACF hypothesizes that the various policy participants with similar policy core beliefs get together to form an advocacy coalition and by means of this coalition aggregate their resources, knowledge, and power, and together strive for their goal (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 196). The resources identified by Sabatier and Weible (2007, 201-203) include “formal legal authority to make policy decisions”, “public opinion”, “information”, “mobilize troops”, “financial resources”, and “skillful leadership” and when examining the advocacy coalition in favor of recognition of the situation of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, the mobilization of troops is of particular interest. For this reason, Social Movement Theory will also be elaborated later in this thesis.

The resources laid out in Sabatier and Weible (2007, 201-203) are partly borrowed from those presented by Kelman (1987) and Sewell (2005) (both quoted in Sabatier and Weible, 2007, 201), and include six important resources.

The first major resource of a coalition as identified by Sabatier and Weible (2007, 201-203) is the “[f]ormal legal authority to make policy decisions”. As claimed in their article, “[o]ne of the most important features of a dominant coalition is that it has more of its members in positions of formal authority than do minority coalitions” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). In order to gain more legal authority, coalitions often try to place “allies in positions of legal authority through elections or political appointments” or launch “lobbying campaigns to sway officials with legal authority” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). While a major player in the policy field on the position of migrant domestic workers, the undocumented migrant domestic workers themselves experience a double disadvantage. On the one hand they do not have legal status in The Netherlands, and thus officially they have no legal bargaining power nor access to legal support. On the other hand, they also do not occupy any high political nor judicial positions. Therefore, when taking these conditions into consideration, the first resource as identified by Sabatier & Weible (2007) is thus countering the advocacy coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands.

***Expectation 1:** If a coalition has an informal or undocumented status, it can be expected that the coalition has less access to formal resources.*

Next is the importance of public opinion. As explained by Sabatier and Weible (2007, 203), “[a] supportive public is more likely to elect coalition supporters to legislative and other positions of legal

authority and to help sway the decisions of elected officials”. While not necessarily done to have officials elected which are supportive of the beliefs of undocumented migrant domestic workers, it is an important task of the coalition to attract as much public attention as possible for their case. The coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers has sought public attention through multiple channels, for example participating in protest marches, publishing handouts, lobbying for the recognition of the C189 ILO Convention.

The third resource which can be used by participants to influence public policy is information, and more specifically “[i]nformation regarding the problem severity and causes and the costs and benefits of policy alternatives” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). While information is of particular importance in the undocumented MDWs fight for recognition, since many people are unfamiliar with their existence and hard situation, the role of research is limited. For the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers it is extremely important to generate attention for both the masses, potential supporters, and national and international politicians. Moreover, it is of utmost importance to provide information to a larger public, because not all Dutch citizens are familiar with the position of migrant domestic workers, and the fact that they are not included in the social security system, and can thus not make use of social benefits, nor of the usual labor agreements like paid holidays or maternity leave. This lack of social security is a direct result of their often irregular legal status, but also of the Dutch regulations concerning domestic work. Despite the societal and academic importance of knowledge towards migrant domestic workers, little research has been done about their situation. As explained by Van Walsum (2013, 161), “Dutch mainstream and policy-oriented researchers on labor migration have systematically overlooked the fact that many migrants are (illegally) employed in Dutch homes, while the few quantitative researchers who have investigated the Dutch market in (undeclared) domestic services have remained equally silent on the role that migrants play in this sector”. The underrepresentation in academic research leads to less knowledge and (media) attention, which in turn may lead to a smaller chance of being recognized as a meaningful point on the political agenda.

The fourth, and at first sight probably most relevant resource for the undocumented MDW advocacy coalition, is the resource related to the mobilization of troops. Since the migrant domestic workers are, as a direct result of their irregular status, not part of the policy elites, they may in fact be identified as “members of the attentive public” who the policy elites can use “to engage in various political activities including public demonstrations and electoral and fund-raising campaigns” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). Although the overall playing field on the issue of MDWs in The Netherlands includes many more actors both in favor and against the recognition of the position of undocumented domestics, and only the coalition in favor enhances multiple actors from various job positions, statuses, and backgrounds, the ‘masses’, in the form of the sub-coalition of undocumented MDWs, form the backbone of the awareness raising campaigns. As explained by Sabatier and Weible (2007, 203), “[c]oalitions with minimal financial resources often rely very heavily upon mobilizable troops as an inexpensive resource”, which is ultimately applicable to the workers in the cleaning sector.

***Expectation 2:** It is expected that in case minimal financial resources are available to a coalition, the coalition than more heavily relies on the resource ‘mobilizable troops’.*

The fifth resource refers to the financial resources of a coalition, which are essential since “[m]oney can be used to purchase other resources” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). Thus, in case a coalition would have ample financial resources, it can spend money on awareness raising campaigns, and advertisements of their policy beliefs, but also on contracting the right people in the right positions so that actual policies can be designed and the legal and political basis for these is laid beforehand. However, it is expected that partly as a result of their difficult and irregular situation in which they are also responsible for their extended families back home, the coalition of migrant domestic workers are not in the possession of large amounts of money. Also, because there is little attention for their case, it is expected that few investors will support their advocacy by providing them with the necessary financial resources for big campaigns.

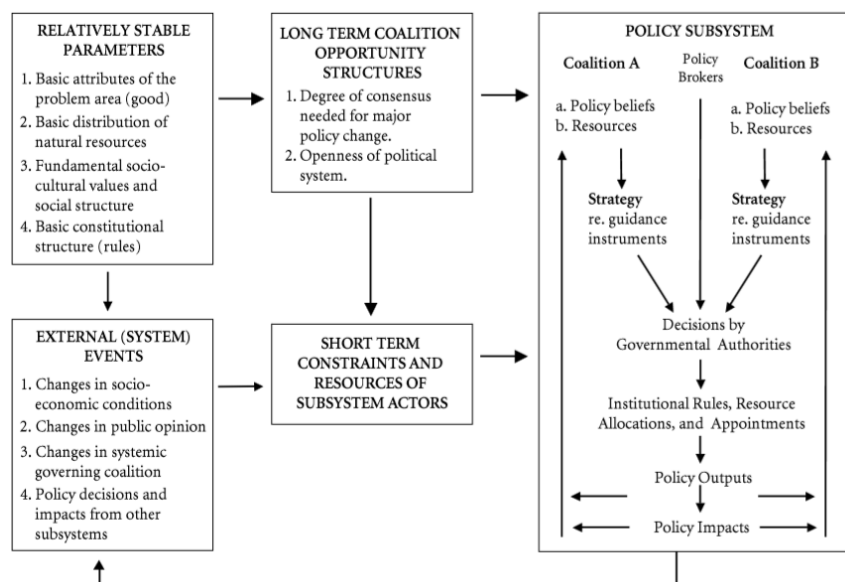
And the last resource upon which the success of a coalition is dependent according to Sabatier and Weible (2007, 203) is skillful leadership. Proficient leaders do not necessarily bring about policy change by themselves, but more they “can create an attractive vision for a coalition, strategically use resources efficiently, and attract new resources to a coalition” and through this thus initiate and guide policy change (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). In the case of migrant domestic workers, the existence of an actual coalition is remarkable because of the individual character of the job and the associated loose organization of workers among the ample workplaces. The organization of this hard to organize group can be attributed to the network of the workers themselves, but even more to the leaders of the coalition, since they organize joint activities and manifestations to enlarge the group’s publicity. They may convince the public and the unorganized migrant domestic workers that as a collective they can achieve more, but in order to do so, they also need to simultaneously lead the already organized group and their campaigns in an efficient and coherent manner.

Next to the resources, the long-term policy processes which are lingering for a decade or longer are of particular interest to the ACF. In the specific case of migrant domestic workers, the process of trying to influence politics and have legislation designed has been going on for many years. Already since 2006 undocumented migrant domestic workers are allowed to become a member of the FNV trade union (Van Walsum, 2013, 161), and after years of lobbying from various national and international organizations, the ILO Convention no. 189 Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers has been adopted in 2011 (International Labor Organization, 2011b). This policy subsystem can thus be identified as a “mature policy subsystem”, which is characterized by two main features: it consist of “a set of participants who regard themselves as a semi-autonomous community who share an expertise in a policy domain and who have sought to influence public policy in that domain for an extended period”, and

furthermore it contains “agencies, interest groups, and research institutions that have sub-units specializing in that topic for an extended period” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 196).

In terms of the role of interest groups, the ACF holds that their leaders are, together with the legislators and agency officials, part of the ‘iron triangle’, but that participation in a policy subsystem is not limited to these actors and that other actors like journalists and researchers are also of major importance in policy processes (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 192). It is expected that multiple actors with distinct interests are involved in the advocacy coalitions in favor and against the recognition of the labor market position of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, and because the ACF takes policy participants as its independent variable around which the framework is build, the Advocacy Coalition Framework will, among other theories, be used to identify and analyze the past developments and current situation. Furthermore, the ACF formulated one hypothesis concerning advocacy coalitions which specifically hypothesizes the role of interest groups, namely that “[w]ithin a coalition, administrative agencies will usually advocate more moderate positions than their interest group allies” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 220). However, because this study only examines a small sub-part of the coalition in favor of recognition, and consequently does not take the other actors involved in the policy process into consideration, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to test this particular ACF hypothesis.

Figure 1: Diagram representing the 2005 version of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 202)



Expectation 3: From the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory it is expected that a set of multiple resources should be possessed by a coalition in order to be able to shape policy.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework theory can be regarded as a highly appropriate theoretical lens to examine the case study of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands for several reasons. First of all, ideas are viewed as the glue of a coalition's interests, which definitely holds for the coalition of undocumented MDWs who all strive for recognition and regulation of their position and work. Moreover, the ACF considers the possession of particular resources by the coalitions of crucial importance to shape or impact the policy process. Also, the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory takes policy participants as its independent variable, which makes it eminently applicable to this research's case study in which the undocumented workers are one of the driving forces behind campaigns for policy change.

However, while the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory provides a highly relevant theoretical lens for analyzing the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers, and more specifically the resources accessible to this coalition, it also comes with some limitations. The coalition would already start with a backlog in this analysis because of the problems posed by their irregular status. It is expected that the first resource identified by Sabatier and Weible (2007, 201-203), namely the 'formal legal authority to make policy decisions' is completely unavailable to the undocumented domestic workers exactly because of their status. Moreover, besides the collaborations between people from different groups and various backgrounds, the migrant domestic workers also strongly organize themselves with people in the same situation and therefore it could be argued that the empirical field of this particular study lies in the Social Movement Theory. In order to overcome the limitations caused by the ACF, sociological insights will be added by implementing elements from the Social Movement Theory to the existing ACF theory. For that reason, this study treats the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers as a social movement rather than an actual coalition as defined by the ACF, but still the theory of the ACF is applied to the so-called coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers. In fact, this research is thus based on the newly proposed 'Advocacy Social Movement Coalition Framework'. By proposing this newly combined theoretical perspective, the ASMCF theory, researchers will in the future be better equipped for analyzing informal groups within formal coalitions, or examining coalitions which are not conventional in for example their status. In the next section, the Social Movement Theory will be explained in further detail and also it will be explained how and why the coalition can be categorized as a social movement.

2.5 SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Whereas the Advocacy Coalition Framework seeks to explain policy change by identifying the belief systems and resources of various advocacy coalitions in a subsystem, Social Movement Theory will for the purpose of this thesis be used to provide an additional perspective from the sociology domain on the labor market position of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, and more specifically the organization of the migrant domestic workers themselves in their fight for recognition of their work.

Although the ACF does provide a framework in which the formation of advocacy coalitions can be analyzed, it does not offer the possibility to gain insight in the mobilization of informal networks of society's more vulnerable people. Deploying the literature on social movements may help to gain understanding in this more complicated issue and adds to the existing literature by combining a public administration explanation with a sociological perspective.

Goodwin and Jasper define a "social movement is a collective, organized, sustained, and noninstitutional challenge to authorities, powerholders, or cultural beliefs and practices" (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009, 4). In this sense, the network of migrant domestic workers worldwide, and more specifically in The Netherlands, can be categorized as a social movement because they fully comply with these characteristics of being a collective, organized, sustained and non-institutional network which challenges the authorities by trying to press for the recognition of their labor market situation and existence in The Netherlands.

As outlined in McCarthy and Zald (1987, 16-17) there are three dominant theories concerning social movements, and although Gurr's (1970), Turner and Killian's (1972), and Smelser's (1963) theories differ on various aspects, they all share the assumption that "shared grievances and generalized beliefs (loose ideologies) about the causes and possible means of reducing grievances are important preconditions for the emergence of a social movement in a collectivity" (McCarthy & Zald, 1987, 16-17). In the importance attached to the concept of beliefs, Social Movement Theory is quite similar to the Advocacy Coalition Framework.

It is acknowledged that a social movement will always have to deal with many powerful institutions, including the state and the media, and the political process school in particular focuses on the influence a state can have on the formation, continuation, and actions of a social movement (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009, 313).

One of the characteristics of a social movement, namely the objective of gaining a lot of media attention and/or news coverage (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009, 314), should be nuanced in the case of migrant domestic workers and their campaigns to raise awareness. The paradox which is highlighted here is that even though awareness raising for their cause is a goal in itself, the legal status of migrant domestic workers is in most cases irregular and thus they should be cautious when stepping out of the shadows.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, the research design of this thesis will be outlined and explained. Based on a qualitative research design, this study will follow multiple phases. Initially, the study will start rather descriptive by outlining the current situation of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, and the most important developments that have taken place over the past two decades concerning their position. By providing this additional background information, the results and conclusions of this study can be better understood and interpreted in the light of the recent developments and current (legislative) situation. This additional information can be found in the following chapter (4) and precedes the findings and analysis of the data gathered to answer this study's research question. Next to primary and secondary literature, interviews with different members of the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers will be conducted. Based on the theories outlined in the theoretical framework, the interviews with the respondents will be analyzed, and subsequently conclusions on the resources used and the influence they had on Dutch policy will be drawn, followed by policy-, research-, and societal recommendations.

Now that the design of this study has been laid out, the research questions will first be examined in closer detail. After that, the method section in this chapter will elaborate on the methods deployed for both data collection and data analysis. Then, having operationalized the variables around which this research is centered, the validity and reliability are discussed. Moreover, this chapter will include an explanation for the cases selected, the formulated expectations based on the theoretical framework outlined above, the eventual aim of the study, and following the ethical considerations, the actual plan for the implementation of this research will be provided.

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

The main objective of this study is to answer the following research question: *Which resources have undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands been using to shape Dutch policy regarding the recognition of their position?*

In order to touch upon all facets of this question, the main research question has been divided into various sub-questions, so that all necessary aspects will be investigated in more detail. The main research question has been broken down into the following sub-questions, which will be examined throughout this thesis:

- *Which resources have undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands been using?*
- *To what extent have they shaped Dutch policy regarding the recognition of their position?*

3.2 METHODS (DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS)

This study is entirely based on qualitative research, and the data gathered during the interviews has been collected for the purpose of a qualitative analysis on the importance of resources to the advocacy coalition of undocumented MDWs in The Netherlands.

In order to gain insight in the current situation on the labor market position of migrant domestic workers, and the actors involved in the discussion on recognition or non-recognition, a context chapter has been created. This mainly involved reports from the Social and Economic Council of The Netherlands (SER), the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), and the International Labor Organization (ILO), but materials provided to the researcher by the FNV and the network of undocumented migrant domestic workers have also been included. Moreover, academic articles and books published on the matter have been used to gain insight in the already existing academic body of literature on the subject.

However, the main object of analysis has been the potential influence of the undocumented migrant domestic workers on the policy process and not the actual policies which are already in place or may be designed in the future. Thus, after insight has been gained by means of a study of the literature, interviews with multiple undocumented migrant domestic workers will be conducted. When a joint lecture was given on the topic at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, contact details and the willingness to cooperate were expressed by the spokespersons of both the Network of Migrant Domestic Workers and the FNV trade union. The sample of this study's respondents is thus gathered through their contacts and via their networks. Two people fulfilled a key role in bridging between the researcher and the undocumented migrant domestic workers, and in persuading the latter to participate in the interviews. One is native Dutch and employed with the FNV, while the other one is an undocumented migrant domestic worker who is, next to his work as a domestic worker and co-founder of the Filipino migrant organization Filmis, actively engaged with activities to raise awareness for their cause. Once the first participants were found within the network of the contact persons, the aim had been to get access to other actors through the process of snowball sampling. As explained in Bryman (2012, 424) snowball sampling is recommended "when trying to sample hard-to-reach populations because of the absence of a sampling frame". Following from this, snowball sampling is eminently suitable to this research since it is very hard to reach out to people who generally do not want to be found because of their irregular status and illegal participation on the labor market.

A collaboration with the Dutch trade union FNV and the network of migrant domestic workers has helped the researcher to gain access to the undocumented laborers which are otherwise very hard to reach. The researcher is aware of the potential bias of this form of snowball sampling, but due to time limitations and the irregular status of the respondents, it is still considered to be the most effective and appropriate form of gathering data. For this study, ten interviews with different migrant domestic workers who are illegally residing in The Netherlands have been conducted. This number provides enough basis to draw detailed conclusions from, and to filter out potential errors in the data, but the

amount is not too large that qualitatively examining the interviews in much detail becomes impossible in the limited amount of time.

All the interviews have been conducted in a face-to-face manner in a public space. The place of the interview was decided upon based on the preferences of the respondents, which usually meant that they were held in a public space like the public library or a restaurant in the city where the migrant domestic worker is living and/or working. In principle, the interviews were held individually, but in an exceptional case and only on request, the interviews could be done in couples. The reason that this is allowed by the researcher is in order to be as inclusive as possible and to give everyone who is willing to participate the chance to do so.

In order to have the most inclusive sample as possible, the contact persons were asked to bring any undocumented person who works in the domestic sector to the attention of the researcher, regardless their age, gender, and nationality. By having a diverse sample, the conclusions drawn from the analysis are more widely applicable. Thus, the only criteria for participating in this research are that the respondents are a migrant, residing in The Netherlands irregularly, working in the domestic sector, and having concerns about the current situation of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands and that one is willing to voice one's concerns.

On the researcher's request, the researcher's contact details have been published in the Whatsapp group of undocumented migrant domestic workers who are collaborating with, and a member, of the FNV trade union. Furthermore, the contact person within the Network of Migrant Domestic Workers has been asking around in its own network and among its friends and colleagues about if someone would be interested to participate in this research. There was thus a dependency on their contacts and the willingness of the potential respondents to get into contact with the researcher. Also for the rest of the interviews, patience had to be held, since all respondents who knew a potential respondent first wanted to get into contact with that person before providing their contact details to the researcher.

The interviews have been transcribed manually immediately after they had been conducted, and next to the answers literally said, side notes on important gestures have been added, as well as of the general setting in which the interview takes place. As elaborated on in the section on ethical considerations (3.7), all the interviews have been anonymized and used for the purpose of this study only.

During the interviews, the answers to the questions have been briefly summarized and written down immediately so that they could serve as a back-up in case of technical problems with the recordings. Next to this back up function, these notes also served as the first basis on which a preliminary analysis have been made, still before all the interviews had been transcribed. After all the transcripts were finished, they have been analyzed through the computer program ATLAS.TI. In this program, the interviews have been coded so that the answers from the various respondents could be efficiently compared. A request for access to the transcripts of the interviews can be forwarded to the researcher.

3.3 CONCEPTUALIZATION

In order to avoid unclarity, the main concepts often referred to in this thesis will be conceptualized. This is necessary because academic research does not exactly describe what is meant by a certain term, and while using similar wordings, various studies may in fact refer to different phenomena or concepts. A deliberate choice has been made to make use of the definitions provided for by international organizations like the International Labor Organization rather than following definitions proposed by academics, for the reason being that the definitions of the international organizations are widely supported and accepted, for instance in national legislation which is in accordance with ILO C189, while an academically based definitions may differ from researcher to researcher. Because this may in turn have consequences for the generalizability of this study, the conceptualization of most concepts is thus grounded in more practical documents.

For the purpose of this thesis, the working and legal definitions of both the term ‘domestic work’ and ‘domestic worker’ as provided by the ILO in Convention C189 will be adopted. In this Convention, “(a) the term ‘domestic work’ means work performed in or for a household or households” and “(b) the term ‘domestic worker’ means any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship; (c) a person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis is not a domestic worker.” (International Labor Organization, 2011a, 2).

When speaking of the division between formal and informal employment within the domestic work sector, the implications for this distinction should be taken into consideration, even when they are not explicitly expressed. The majority of the workers employed in the ‘subsidized sphere’ are still primarily from a Dutch ethnic background. The ‘subsidized sphere’ here can be described as “those forms of childcare and home-based care for the elderly and the infirm that are either provided via state-financed health care or by independent service providers, and are often mediated through agencies, with the possibility of state funded compensation of costs or tax exemption” (Van Walsum, 2013, 162). A necessity for this group is that incomes must be declared to the Dutch tax institution, and thus that the employee should have residence papers (Van Walsum, 2013, 162). Thus, the formal market is the regulated part of the sector which is organized by companies and institutions (FNV Bondgenoten & ABVAKABO FNV, 2012, 6). This also forms the bottleneck for irregular migrants. Because of their informal status, they cannot declare their income to the tax authorities nor work on the formal labor market. The undeclared domestic work is not limited to, but most common, in the cities, and in general these domestics are immigrants, often undocumented. This makes undocumented domestic work an overly metropolitan phenomenon (Botman, 2011, 75).

3.4 OPERATIONALIZATION

In order answer the research question and the various sub-questions outlined in the previous section in its entirety, multiple variables have been formulated. Each of these sub-questions will be approached and measured in a different manner.

Also of interest to this study is what recognition would mean to the MDW themselves. In order to operationalize this, a sample of migrant domestic workers both within and outside the FNV network have been interviewed and asked questions on how they perceive their rights and situation on a daily basis.

In order to measure the likeliness of policy change brought about by the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers, the six resources identified in Sabatier and Weible (2007, 201-203) will be drawn upon. The operationalization of these variables, as well as the interview questions designed to properly test the indicators, can be seen in table 1.

Table 1: Operationalization of the Six Resources which Reinforce the Likelihood of Policy Change, as Identified in Sabatier and Weible (2007)

Element of the Theory	Definition	Indicators	Interview Questions
Formal Legal Authority to Make Policy Decisions	Having members of the coalition in positions of formal authority	Educational Background	What is the highest study you have completed? Do you have working experience in that field?
		Job Position	What kind of work did you do in your home country? Was your payment below, on, or above the average wage level?
		Level of Language Proficiency	Do you read and speak Dutch? If yes, to what extend?
		Status (Legal)	What is your legal status here in The Netherlands?
		(Feeling of) Power	Do you feel like you have leverage power in that you have the feeling you can change something? Is this on the personal, coalition, or national scale?
			For the MDW personally, i.e. housing, living quality, working conditions, etc.
			For the (extended) family back home, i.e. in terms of remittances
			For the MDW coalition, i.e. by fulfilling certain tasks
		For national policies concerning the MDW position	
Public Opinion	“an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community” (Phillips Davidson, 2018)	Influence of Public Opinion on Activities of MDW Coalition	Are the activities organized by the MDW coalition determined or guided by public opinion?
			If media attention is attracted for your case, do you organize extra/other activities to remain in this media attention?
		Importance of the Opinion of the General Dutch Population for the Image of MDW Coalition	Do you deem the opinion of the general public important for the MDW coalition?
			How do you reach other people than your own group?
		Influence of MDW Coalition on Public Opinion	What do you hope to achieve when reaching out to the public?
			To what extend are the actions of the MDW coalition intending to change public opinion? And do you think the coalition succeeds?
			In what ways do you try to attract attention for the case of the MDWs in The Netherlands? This can be both active participation in group activities or passively by for example informing your employers
		Importance of Media for MDW Coalition	Do you reach out to media channels to get attention for your case? If so, which ones and why?

Information	“Knowledge acquired by learning or research” (Chandler & Munday, 2011)	Existence of academic research on the topic	Do you ever make use of academic research to stress your point? Why?
		Knowledge of Average Dutch Citizen about the Situation of MDWs in The Netherlands	Do you try to inform the public about your situation? If so, how?
			Do you ever have conversations with your employers or anyone else in your environment about the non-regulation of your work?
			Why, do you think, are most Dutch citizens unfamiliar with the bad regulations on the position of domestic workers in general, and undocumented migrant domestic workers in particular?
Mobilizable Troops	“members of the attentive public who share [the] beliefs [of the policy elites] to engage in various political activities” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203)	Level of Engagement in the Coalition	How and why did you become engaged in the network of organized MDW’s?
		Amount of Time Dedicated to Advocacy	How much time do you on average spend per month on your ‘membership of the MDW coalition’?
		Advocacy Activities Participated in	Do you actively participate in activities organized to raise awareness (such as public demonstrations, fund-raising campaigns, media attention-raising campaigns, etc)?
			And in which activities do you participate and in which ones do you choose not to? Why?
Financial Resources	Money	Financial Resources of MDW Coalition	Do you know if the MDW coalition possesses financial resources?
		Number of Financial Sponsors and Investors	Where do they get this money from?
			Are there any investors and/or financial sponsors of the case of the recognition of the position of MDW?
		Personal Investment in Advocacy (i.e. Travel Expenses to Headquarters, Meetings, Demonstrations, Etc.)	Do you make any personal financial investments in the fight for recognition (i.e. travel expenses to the meetings/headquarter/demonstrations, is there a fee to ‘membership’ of the coalition?, etc)?
		Expenses of MDW Coalition (i.e. Awareness-Raising Campaigns, Advertisements, Travel Costs, Rent for a Place to Meet)	What is the money spend on (i.e. awareness raising campaigns, advertisements, travel costs, rent for a place to meet)?
		Existence of a Treasurer within Coalition	Does the MDW network have a treasurer? If so, how is decided who this is?
Skillful Leadership	The process of efficiently organizing the coalition and managing the available resources	Manager of the Membership File	Is there a certain person in the coalition who administers the membership file?
		Contact Person	Who is the contact person for MDW’s? And what can he/she be contacted for?
			Is there a mediator in case there is a conflict within the coalition?
		Planner and Organizer	Who organizes the meetings and takes care of the planning?

			Is there a coalition member who organizes the activities and manifestations you can participate in?
		Agenda-Setter	Who sets the agenda for the meetings?
		Spokesperson	Who informs the ‘members’ of the coalition that an activity will take place?
		Recruiter	Do you actively recruit new members?
			And is this done within the private networks of the individual members, or is there a particular member who is responsible for that?

3.4.1 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

This study will follow a qualitative research structure and therefore the validity and reliability of research will be outlined according to the criteria set out by Bryman (2012, 391) .

External reliability is defined by “the degree to which a study can be replicated” (Bryman, 2012, 391). Because of the qualitative nature of this study and the consequential dependence on particular social settings and contexts, its external reliability cannot be classified as very high. Especially because the study is based on interviews and is therefore highly context-dependent, it would be hard to replicate this study in the future.

The internal validity of this study can in contrast be characterized as high, since the selected theories and variables match the case study of interest groups concerned with the position of MDW. Moreover, a large variety of sources from various authors, disciplines, and times, as well as from both academic literature, news items, and internal documents and sources from the FNV will be drawn upon. The large variety in sources increases the internal validity of this research.

Like external reliability, external validity also poses a problem to this research because the findings of a qualitative study are often hard to generalize (Bryman, 2012, 391). For the purpose of this study, the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers has been isolated from the other potential members of the pro-recognition coalition, in order to have a stronger focus and clearly defined sample. However, as a result this qualitative research is based on a relatively small sample, which also makes it more difficult to generalize. All in all, the results are not generalizable to other groups in The Netherlands, which can be directly ascribed to the sample group’s specific status and lack of access to official channels and services. However, similar studies within the same theoretical framework could be conducted in other migrant receiving countries who are also dealing with the policy dilemma of undocumented migrant domestic workers, because the characteristics of the sample group remain mostly equal. However, the specific policy contexts within the countries should be taken into consideration and therefore, the results are not one on one generalizable.

3.5 CASE SELECTION

For this research, the members of the advocacy coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands specifically will serve as the main subject of research. In order to answer the research questions mentioned above, this particular coalition involved in the policy subsystem as well as their interests need to be identified, and based on the answers provided during the face-to-face interviews, the resources used by the coalition in their advocacy for recognition will be analyzed.

3.5.1 SELECTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

The personal characteristics of the individual respondents who participated in this study are summarized in table 2 and will be further elaborated on below.

Table 2: Characteristics of the Respondents in this Study

	Gender	Age	Country of Origin	Current Place of Residence	Time in The Netherlands (in Years)	Number of Households	Preference for Regular Labor Market	Highest Education	Job Position in Home Country	Affiliation with a Collective
R1	Male	-	Philippines	Den Haag	8	11	Yes	- BA Political Science, - Master in Business Management	College teacher Elected councilor	Filmis, FNV
R2	Female	49	Philippines	Rotterdam	15	6	Yes	- Started BSc in Phil (not finished), - BA Global Studies (NL)	Restaurant manager	Filmis, Leadership in Social Entrepreneurship, FNV, Filipino Catholic Church
R3	Female	45	Philippines	Den Haag	13	12-13	Yes	- Computer Secretariat (Phil), - BA Global Studies (NL)	Clerical job	Filmis, FNV
R4	Female	66	Philippines	Den Haag	16	10	Yes	- BSc Business Administration	Office work	Filmis, FNV, English International Church
R5	Female	28	Ghana	Almere	5,5	10	Yes	- Sociology and Social Work (Ghana), - BA Global Studies (NL)	Media broadcaster	FNV
R6	Male	39	Indonesia	Amsterdam	10	15	Yes	- Senior highschool	Shop owner	IMWU, Wereldhuis, Dokters van de Wereld, FNV
R7	Female	59	Philippines	Amsterdam	12	4	Yes	- College undergraduate in Commerce	Manager	Pinay, MKSP, FNV, Catholic Church
R8	Male	38	Philippines	Den Haag	3	20-23	Yes	- 3 years of college (not finished), - Vocational training IT	Journalist	MCVO, FNV
R9	Male	61	Philippines	Den Haag	10	12	Yes	- BSc Commerce	Business owner in processed foods	Filmis, MCVO, Migrante, FNV
R10	Female	40	Philippines	Amsterdam	6	2	Yes	- College graduate in Special Education	Language trainer	Kabalikat, FNV

The respondents of this study come from a multitude of different countries, although the Filipino MDW group in The Netherlands is overrepresented in the data. This can be ascribed to the effect of snowball sampling, and the fact that the main contact person R1 is from Filipino origin himself. While ten interviews have been conducted for the purpose of this study, only nine interviews have provided valuable data because due to technical problems no recording was available of one of the interviews (R2). However, because the researcher took notes during the interview, the gathered data can still be used for analyzing the indicators, although no direct quotations will be used from the interview for the reason being that the notes are mostly a summary of the respondent's answer more than a direct quote of her wordings. Of the ten respondents, eight are from the Philippines, one came from Ghana, and one was from Indonesian descent. In terms of gender, contrary to what is often mentioned in the literature, this sample of respondents consisted of a fairly equal male-female division with four men compared to

six women. Also in terms of age, a diverse age range has been covered, with all respondents aged between 28 and 66 years old. Although all irregularly in The Netherlands, this does not indicate anything about the time they are already residing here: 3 years was the minimum and the majority already lives in The Netherlands for over a decade. Interesting to note is the fact that all respondents are currently living within the Randstad region (Den Haag, Almere, Amsterdam, Rotterdam), and that R3 used to live in a middle-sized town in the south of the country but that she left this because of the high level of discrimination and lack of work in this city. All respondents are domestic workers, working full-time or close to full-time, working either as a cleaner or as a babysitter. Even though the workload is about equal in all cases in terms of employment in hours per week, the number of households varies between two and twenty. This can be ascribed to the necessity of the domestics on a daily basis, or only once every month.

Although all individuals have a unique history, a trend in the reason to leave their home countries becomes visible. Only respondent 5 provided a purely family-related reason to come to leave her home country and come to The Netherlands specifically. All the other reasons answered on this question relate completely or partly to an economic motive.

Also, a pattern can be found in the reasons to come specifically to The Netherlands and not any other country. 80 percent already had a family member or relative living in The Netherlands and were thus to a larger or lesser extent already familiar with the situation in the country. In the majority of cases, it was also through this relative that the respondents got engaged in the irregular labor market as a domestic worker. Other reasons to come to The Netherlands in particular were because of the fact that the population speaks English in a reasonable to high level, or simply by coincidence.

Besides family being the main reason to come to The Netherlands specifically, family is also in the majority of cases the reason to go abroad to earn money. In almost all cases, money is remitted to the relatives. The majority of the respondents have not seen their families since they moved abroad, except for R8 and R9, who are living here with their partners, who are also residing here irregularly.

Because of the fact that all respondents are active in one or more coalitions to advocate for the recognition of their position, it is remarkable to report that not all respondents are unhappy with their current employment on the irregular labor market. Although all participants answered that in case their situation would be regularized tomorrow they would prefer to work on the regular labor market, between the lines of some of the interviews could be read that they are okay with the situation as it is now. However, this may have been said more out of realistic considerations rather than delight about the situation. Yet, many respondents reported to absolutely prefer to be regularized and pay all the taxes required from them, in some cases particularly in order to be able to practice their original profession.

Next to the potential preference for the regular labor market, the interview also investigated the respondents' opinions on the current situation of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. In this case it was remarkable that answers in the range between anger, acceptance, feeling of unfairness, and relative satisfaction were given. Whereas some stressed the hardship (R6) they had to deal with, others

had a different perception and instead noticed that when comparing the Dutch situation to the situation in other countries, either by personal experience (R8) or from what they heard (R3), “the situation is good for now” because “they treat you as same, as human beings” (R8).

Also when discussing the elements the respondents would want to see changed in The Netherlands some answers came up multiple times. Especially the call for a permit to stay or a permit to work came up various times, soon followed by the recognition of domestic work as decent work and the same privileges as other workers. R1 effectively summarized the collective thought behind most answers: “we need a specific law that regulates, that protects, that provides social rights, social security for domestic workers in The Netherlands. That is what we are fighting for”.

In order to advocate for these shortcomings, all respondents except for R8 are a member of the Dutch trade union FNV, and even the respondent who was not a member, said that he was planning to become a member soon. This makes the FNV the best represented and largest coalition, thereby immediately giving it the largest potential to pursue policy change. An interesting finding is that except for R5, all respondents were affiliated with more than one coalition and that they were all affiliated with at least one nationality-related migrant organization. The motivations for joining the various coalitions differed from person to person and from organization to organization, but in general the promotion of one’s culture and advocating for better labor rights in The Netherlands can be regarded as the main criteria for selecting an organization. Notably, six respondents founded their own migrant organization because they felt that the existing organizations did not fulfill the criteria they had for an organization. In this sample study, all four founders of Filmis (Filipino Migrants in Solidarity) are covered, as well as the initiator of IMWU (Indonesian Migrant Workers Union), and the founder of MCVO (Media Correspondent and Volunteers Organizations, also based in the Philippines). Next to the FNV and the nationality-related migrant organizations, two respondents are actively contributing to the church community. Furthermore, many are making use of the services of Wereldhuis and Dokters van de Wereld, both non-governmental organizations which are serving the undocumented with respectively education and counselling, and medical assistance.

3.6 EXPECTATIONS & AIM OF THE STUDY

By conducting this study, the aim is to contribute both to the academic literature on the topic, as well as providing a theoretical base which can in turn be drawn upon by the undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands in their struggle for recognition. By approaching the topic from an interdisciplinary perspective, insights from both public administration and sociology can be combined and used for the cause of the undocumented migrants currently employed in the domestic sector in The Netherlands.

Following from the theoretical insights presented in the theoretical framework (2), a number of expectations have been formulated to add a more specific focus to this study:

Expectation 1: *If a coalition has an informal or undocumented status, it can be expected that the coalition has less access to formal resources.*

Expectation 2: *It is expected that in case minimal financial resources are available to a coalition, the coalition than more heavily relies on the resource ‘mobilizable troops’.*

Expectation 3: *From the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory it is expected that a set of multiple resources should be possessed by a coalition in order to be able to shape policy.*

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As a part of this thesis project, the researcher will be engaged in a partnership with the trade union FNV and one of the co-founders of migrant organization Filmis. This will be very helpful with regard to gathering insight information and having the chance to speak to the MDWs who are residing and working in The Netherlands without a legal permission to do so. However, a close cooperation could potentially cause the problem of ‘going native’. The researcher is completely aware of this potential danger and will try her best to guard a professional and academic independence and take the necessary distance to conduct this study.

For the purpose of this research, ten interviews with undocumented migrant domestic workers have been conducted, as well as an informal and therefore not documented background interview with an activist employed with the FNV trade union to learn about their opinions on the potential formalization of the work of migrant domestic workers. The sample of migrant domestic workers will be selected from the contacts of FNV Cleaners and the network of undocumented migrant domestic workers on the basis of who feels comfortable to speak about their personal situation and the situation of migrant domestic workers in general. Of course, all the conducted interviews will be used anonymously and with consent of the interviewees. No compensation will be offered to the interviewees. The interviews will be conducted on a professional and individual basis, and all the information provided to the researcher will be handled with absolute care in terms of confidentiality and anonymity. In one exceptional case, a duo interview has been conducted because the respondents explicitly expressed their willingness to participate only under these conditions.

3.8 PLAN FOR IMPLEMENTATION RESEARCH

In the process of writing this thesis, the researcher will be in a partnership with the largest Dutch trade union FNV, who is in turn cooperating with many other actors in the field, as well as with the network of undocumented migrant domestic workers. FNV has granted access to all necessary data available and through their contacts multiple migrant domestic workers expressed their willingness to participate in an interview. Moreover, a partnership with one of the co-founders of Filipino migrant organization Filmis has given access to many other participants of this study. These two contact persons, whom the researcher got into contact with via a university lecture at the International Institute of Social Studies, have proven to be extremely valuable for laying the foundations for entering the domain of

undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. This study's participants have been interviewed on their experiences in The Netherlands, as well as asked questions on the indicators through which the resources of the coalition have been examined. Next, these interviews have been transcribed and analyzed in the computer program Atlas.ti, after which the theories laid out in the theoretical framework have been applied to the data and results gathered from the interviews.

4. CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

In order to be able to better understand the data presented in the subsequent chapters, and interpret the results and conclusions in its context, this chapter provides a concise description of the current situation and recent developments regarding the situation of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, and the Dutch regulatory environment concerning this.

According to the Trade Union of Domestic Workers and Domestic Workers Netherlands, there are a total of 150.000 domestic workers employed in The Netherlands (FNV Bondgenoten & ABVAKABO FNV, 2012, 4). However, as already identified in the introduction of this research, the informal nature of the sector allows for major discrepancies between various estimates. While the data are much less recent since they stem from 2004, a survey conducted by the research bureau SEOR illustrates that the domestic work sector is much more extensive (Van Nes, Gravesteijn-Ligthelm, & Van den Boom, 2004, v). Table 3 demonstrates that in total 1.2 million households outsource their domestic work to a domestic worker, of which the large majority of 872.000 households do so on the informal market (Van Nes et al., 2004, v).

Table 3: Size of the Markets for Personal Services, Divided into Formal and Informal, Number of Households that Outsource the Service (Effectuated Demand) (Van Nes et al., 2004, v)

Sub-Market	Formal (via companies and institutions)	Informal (via family, friends, acquaintances, neighbors, etc.)	Total
Domestic worker	340.000 (28%)*	872.000 (72%)	1.200.000 (100%)
Child care 0-3 years old	230.000 (60%)	155.000 (40%)	385.000 (100%)
Child care 4-12 years old	90.000 (30%)	208.000 (70%)	298.000 (100%)
Tasks in and around the house	1.100.000 (56%)	900.000 (44%)	2.000.000 (100%)

* Including domestic work which is completely or in part paid for by the home care (AWBZ) or the municipality.

Source: SEOR questionnaire on personal services amongst households, May/June 2004 (quoted in Van Nes et al., 2004, v).

As identified by Van Nes et al. (2004, iii), three main types of personal services can be distinguished, namely domestic help, childcare and jobs in and around the house. However, there are major differences between these types, especially with regard to the employers' willingness to pay higher loans. Because of their dependency on the more specialized services like child care, employers are more willing to pay higher fees for these services. On the other hand, the relatively easy nature of domestic work and jobs in and around the home, which can also be done by the employers themselves or postponed in times of time scarcity, and less willing to pay high prices for domestic work (Van Nes et al., 2004, iii).

4.1 PROFILE OF MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Domestic workers in The Netherlands are a multilayered and complex group, but in order to properly examine their case, the group needs to be classified. There is very little prior research available to the different groups of domestic workers, so for now the available material will be elaborated on in this section. In order to add to the literature, the specific case of this research and the corresponding demographics of the respondents have been elaborated on in the Research Design (3) under ‘Selection of Respondents’ (3.5.1), and particular parts will be further examined in the Findings (5) and Analysis (6) chapters of this thesis.

At first, a distinction can be made between the migrant domestic workers and the native Dutch domestic workers. In general, the native Dutch group consists of mostly lower-educated autochthonous women, usually with children, who work in the domestic sector for only a few hours per week in order to earn some extra money (Botman, 2011, 74). This kind of work allows them to combine the flexibility of working hours with the care of their children (Botman, 2011, 74). On the other hand, there is the group of migrant domestic workers, who are often young and female migrants from non-European countries (Botman, 2011,74). For them, the economic situation in their home country is often the main reason for their migration (Botman, 2011,74). They often had a decent education in their country of origin, where they mostly also had a proper job (Botman, 2011,74).

The ILO Convention C189 acknowledges the invisible and undervalued character of domestic work, and next to that explains that it “is mainly carried out by women and girls, many of whom are migrants or members of disadvantaged communities and who are particularly vulnerable to discrimination in respect of conditions of employment and work, and to other abuses of human rights” (International Labor Organization, 2011a, 1). This illustrates the gendered nature of domestic work worldwide. Traditionally, employment in the domestic sector had been organized mostly along the gendered fault line. More recently, this division has become increasingly complex, which does not only have implications “for regulation but also for advocacy” and should thus be taken into consideration in the campaigns (Van Walsum, 2013, 162). While the share of male domestic workers has been increasing, it is still a predominantly female profession, and in Van Walsum’s qualitative study (2013, 171), all employee respondents “agreed that Dutch employers generally saw domestic work as women’s work and tended to prefer women”.

4.2 REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF DOMESTIC WORKERS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Since the 1990s regulations regarding undocumented immigrants have become stricter, for example by making it impossible for this group to apply for a SOFI number, or by issuing a fine of €4000 for all private and €8000 for all private employers who hire an undocumented migrant (Van Walsum, 2013, 172). Moreover, in 1998 the Linkage Act (Koppelingswet in Dutch) was officially implemented and this regulation, based on the linkage principle, no longer granted the requests for benefits and provisions, in short collective provisions, to people residing in The Netherlands without the right legal documents

(Rijksoverheid, 1998). Concretely, this means that undocumented migrants could from this date onwards no longer access the Dutch health care system nor the social housing system (Van Walsum, 2013, 172).

Next to the Linkage Act which concerns undocumented migrants in general, there is a small but limited body of legislation concerning migrant domestic workers, and thus there is some form of legal basis on which new regulations can be build (FNV Bondgenoten & ABVAKABO FNV, 2012, 13). The main piece of regular dedicated to domestic work is the 'Regeling Dienstverlening aan Huis', which has been in place in The Netherlands since 2007. It targets the group of employees who perform services in the domestic sphere for an employee less than four days per week, and the regulation's ultimate goal is to stimulate the market for domestic work by lessening the obligations on behalf of the employers (Rijksoverheid, 2015, 1). Next to this most important piece of formal legislation, there are some other laws which are also applicable to the domestic sector, among which the Working Hours Act, the Working Conditions Act, and the Minimum Wage and Minimum Holiday Allowance Act (FNV Bondgenoten & ABVAKABO FNV, 2012, 13). However, it turns out to be difficult to check for compliance with these laws, and former Minister of Social Affairs and Employment Henk Kamp even acknowledges that there is too little public awareness of this regulation (FNV Bondgenoten & ABVAKABO FNV, 2012, 13).

In 2014, an evaluative study of the Regulation Dienstverlening aan Huis has been conducted by the Commissie Dienstverlening aan huis (commissie-Kalsbeek). In the report published, the commission describes that this particular market has some special characteristics as a result of the private sphere in which the work is done. They explicitly mention that even though this irregular sector provides undocumented migrants possibility to make a living, the report is not taking this irregular group into consideration (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, i). However, the commission does point towards the fact that a formal regulation of this sector will impede undocumented migrants to find work in this sector (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, i). What should be noted however, is that the report of the Kalsbeek Commission evaluates the current regulation on domestic work in The Netherlands, but that undocumented migrants are not taken into consideration. The report claims that their research has shown that there is little to no exploitation within this sector and that therefore the ratification of the ILO C189 Convention would not really make a difference in The Netherlands (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, ii). However, they have not reviewed the potential exploitation of undocumented domestic workers, while this group is covered by the C189 convention. Therefore, this advice by the Kalsbeek Commission does not provide the complete picture of domestic work in The Netherlands.

In summary, the Regeling Dienstverlening aan Huis is aiming to give an impulse to the domestic work sector. While this sounds positive for the Dutch economy and employment possibilities, the manner in which the promotion of this sector is effectuated may harm the working conditions of the domestic workers. For this exact reason, but not for this case specifically, the International Labor Organization adopted Convention number 189 to protect domestic workers from exploitation and abuse.

The Netherlands did support the creation of such an internationally binding treaty, but up to date they have not yet ratified it.

The key message of the ILO Convention 189, which was adopted in 2012, is that the rights of domestic workers may no longer be different from the rights of people employed in other sectors. These include “reasonable hours of work, weekly rest of at least 24 consecutive hours, a limit on in-kind payment, clear information on terms and conditions of employment, as well as respect for fundamental principles and rights at work including freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining” (International Labor Organization, 2011c).

As described before, the Kalsbeek Commission does not take the group of undocumented employees of the domestic sector into consideration, and on that basis they conclude that there is little or no exploitation in The Netherlands (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, ii). Consequently, the significance of a ratified C189 would remain very limited (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, ii). Next to that, the fact that the internationally binding treaty of the ILO is in contradiction to the Dutch regulation *Regeling Dienstverlening aan Huis*, results in the current state of non-ratification. Once ratified, C189 would have to be followed and because the *Regeling Dienstverlening aan Huis* is continued, these two regulations are in conflict with each other (Rijksoverheid, 2014).

4.3 NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES IN CASE DOMESTIC WORK WOULD BE REGULATED

While at first sight, regulation of their position is mostly positive for the undocumented migrant domestic workers since only then they are fully recognized. However, some less desired consequences may appear in case the position of migrant domestic workers would be recognized and regulated. One is the disadvantage for groups which are now relatively well off because of their good reputation as domestic workers. For example the Filipino community is often preferred over their other undocumented colleagues from other nationalities, and they have a stronger position and thus bargaining power when negotiating their working conditions and hourly wages with their employers (Van Walsum, 2013, 171). They have branded themselves as trustworthy and hardworking domestic workers, but “they might experience difficulties in gaining access to other segments of the Dutch labor market that are not ethnically marked to their advantage” (Van Walsum, 2013, 171).

5. FINDINGS

In this chapter, an in-depth portrayal of the participants' answers on the interview's questions will be provided, grouped along the lines of the various indicators to measure the elements of the theory. Because all the results and findings are directly based on the information provided to the researcher during the interviews, the researcher cannot be held accountable for potential mistakes in the information, for example when a position within the organization does not exist or is linked to the wrong tasks.

5.1 FORMAL LEGAL AUTHORITY TO MAKE POLICY DECISIONS

5.1.1 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

There is a discrepancy between the capabilities and knowledge of the domestic workers, and the employment they are currently practicing. The large majority has completed at least an undergraduate study, and one even obtained a master's degree. Three respondents even completed their Bachelor of Arts in The Netherlands, via a special initiative to enable undocumented migrants to continue their educational development. However, all respondents are currently employed in the domestic sector, fulfilling low-skilled jobs. One respondent sighed when the question about his education was asked and answered: "I finished BSc Bachelor of Science in Commerce, I major in marketing, but unfortunately I am cleaning" (R9), which perfectly illustrates his discontent about the loss of his human capital.

5.1.2 JOB POSITION

Next to the relatively high level of education, the sample also includes many people who fulfilled a satisfying and high-skilled job in their home countries, which is often paid above the country's average wage level. However, now that the respondents are irregularly residing in The Netherlands they are all domestic workers, earning their living by cleaning or babysitting. R10 properly explained this by saying that "when you are in irregular status, you can only do two major things, to be a schoonmaker or an oppas".

5.1.3 LEVEL OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

While it could be expected that because of the high educational background their level of Dutch is also decent, this is by no means the case. Despite their long stays in The Netherlands already, many only recently enrolled in the free Dutch courses provided for by the FNV and master only a very basic level of Dutch. There are basically four exceptions to this rule, one who does not speak Dutch and also does not have the intention to take Dutch classes, one who is already taking classes for a longer time and thus masters the B1 (pre-intermediate) level of writing, and two respondents who are able to have full conversations in Dutch. The latter participated in the language courses provided for by the Wereldhuis. Often, the question was received with laughter, and R8 started counting "een, twee, twee", while R9

said “I am learning beetje, beetje, misschien, misschien” in order to illustrate their below basic level of proficiency in Dutch.

5.1.4 STATUS (LEGAL)

The entire group of respondents of this study are residing and working illegally in The Netherlands without any permit to protect them. The grand majority entered the country in a legal manner, but decided to stay, either planned or spontaneously, after their tourist visas expired. Only one respondent reported an illegal entrance into the country, making her an exceptional case. After flying to Italy, she passed through France and Belgium to eventually arrive in The Netherlands: “if you are smart, then that is not a problem, but if you don’t know how to carry yourself, then maybe you are not...” (R4).

5.1.5 (FEELING OF) POWER

More complex and multi-faceted are the answers to the question about the (feeling of) power, in part also because of the discrepancy between feeling of power and the actual power one possesses. The general question covered all forms of power and allowed the respondents to fill in what power meant to them personally. However, it is remarkable that while it was not taken into consideration in the sub-questions, many respondents answered that power for them mostly came to the expression at the moments they could help their fellow human beings, be it either co-nationals, refugees, or humanity in general. An example which has been put forward four times is the fact that the respondents provide help to refugees by bringing them food and winter clothes. Through this they tried to contribute to the Dutch society in a positive manner. One respondent (R8) even mentioned that he hoped that by doing good, the government would see that and give him amnesty in return. In relation to that, for many respondents the principles respect, dignity, honesty, and freedom made up their largest source of power.

However, while the respondents lived up to these principles, they were in turn often not treated with respect and dignity. The fact that their work is performed within the private sphere of the homes of their employers puts them at a higher risk of exploitation and abuse. Throughout the interviews no deliberate questions were asked about discrimination or exploitation, but still many respondents reported cases of both. When walking back to the train station after the interview together, R5 explained that especially African domestic workers are at an increased risk of exploitation and discrimination, particularly in the availability of jobs and the hourly wages earned. Whereas Asian domestics like Filipinos can demand an hourly wage of €10-€15 and still have the luxury of only taking on the jobs with the highest wage and best circumstances, African domestic workers should already be happy if they are offered enough work, according to R5. Moreover, their hourly wages are generally far below the Filipino average wage because they are generally fixed around €8-€10. However, discrimination is definitely not limited to African domestic workers. Also the Filipino MDWs reported instances of discrimination and exploitation. One respondent (R3) even moved to a different city to move away from the discriminatory environment in the southern town of Tiel, while R9 together with his wife left their

first domestic job in the residence of the Italian ambassador because of the increased work load for the same wage and the stress this caused. However, the disadvantages encountered by the respondents were not limited to discrimination alone. In particular but not solely R3 has indeed reported to have major problems with accessing affordable housing and new domestic jobs, especially during the initial phase of her stay. Because finding accommodation happens via via and not through the official housing corporations which are normally responsible for allocating housing to the people with lower incomes, there is an increased risk of exploitation by the house-owners. A risk factor is for example that the MDWs cannot report any maltreatment to the police, both because of their irregular status and because of the limited other options available to them. Multiple respondents have reported a dependency on non-governmental and non-profit initiatives for accessing health care, for example through the Kruisbus and Dokters van de Wereld. Moreover, many participants informed the researcher about their fear for the police and other official authorities. In order to avoid contact with the police R3 for instance evades places where there are many inspections and controls, and in FNV demonstrations the documented and undocumented participants are strategically separated.

Despite the instances of discrimination and exploitation, the majority still reported to possess power or at least have the feeling to have power. However, depending on how they interpreted 'power', their answers differed. R2 for example reported to have much power, while R3 only smiled shyly when the researcher in the end concluded that she had a lot of power. For R5, willpower allows one to change anything in the world, as long as one believes in it. It was also mentioned several times that in a coalition, one has more power because together one can more strongly advocate his ideals and voice certain concerns. In fact, the only exception can be found with R4. As a direct answer to the question if she has the feeling that she has a leverage power in The Netherlands, she answers whole-heartedly with no. There is acceptance and resignation in her answers when she says that even if she joins any organization, "we cannot do it, we cannot do anything about it". As a reason for this she blames the refugees and especially the declining levels of trust their arrival has caused. As a consequence to the arrival of these refugees, she answers that her power has lessened over the years.

When asked about the (feeling of) power regarding their personal situation, the majority reports an improvement in their situation since they first arrived in The Netherlands. Upon arrival, the MDWs did not know anyone and they were unfamiliar with The Netherlands in general, including culture, regulations, and matters on how to access housing and find new jobs. Over the years, this often improved. For example for R6, who said that at first he was a nobody in this country and now many people know him, "not only from the government, also the police knowing me. Sometimes they invite me to talk" and when the police inform him about a new regulation, "I present the new law to the people, the Indonesian people" (R6). Next to that, the respondents' incomes have increased, as was mentioned explicitly by R8, whose income rose from 20.000 pesos per month to around 60.000-70.000 pesos per month. Also for R9, his situation improved in terms of money and more generally his living conditions, but as a side note he mentions that since the beginning he came here his freedom declined compared to

life in the Philippines as a result of his irregular status and consequent fear for the police. In fact, only R1 explained that his personal situation was not on his mind.

Also in terms of improving the situation of one's family, none of the respondents answered with a no, although it should be noted that improving the situation of his family was also not on the mind of R1, who had other goals and priorities with his stay in The Netherlands. However, while perhaps not answered explicitly in reaction to the question of power, all respondents said to remit money to their family back home. The interviewees who did particularly answer this question all reported major improvements for their family's situation. Especially the educational prospects of the respondents' children advanced (R3; R4; R7), but also more basic needs like food and shelter were more accessible for their families (R6).

Power or the feeling thereof could also come to expression through for example fulfilling certain tasks within the coalition one is engaged with. Together with the organizations the respondents are affiliated with, many activities and events are organized and participated in, and through this some sort of power expressed. The majority of the respondents reported to help co-nationals or other people in need, for example refugees in The Netherlands. R1 is dedicated to helping fellow Filipinos and fellow migrant domestic workers who have to live in loneliness in order to make money for their families and a better future, while R5 reported that she "also tr[ies] to raise social awareness on issues affecting migrants, not just migrants but also all human beings.". R3 contributes in a different manner, namely by informing fellow migrant domestic workers and organizing forums with Filmis to educate people in a similar situation as she was before.

National policy may be of a different caliber than the previous scenarios, but still the majority of the respondents expressed either a feeling of power in that they had the feeling that they could actually change national policy (R1; R2; R6; R9; R10), or that they had good hopes that national policy could in the future be altered because they are currently already fighting for these changes (R3; R5; R7; R8). Only R4 reported that it was not possible to change national policy. For the first group who had the feeling that they could somehow change national policy, it should be noted that almost all stressed the need for cooperating with others and uniting in coalitions. R9 summarized this when telling that the reason he joined the various advocacy coalitions and organizations, is because he believes that he can change national policy.

In summary, the formal legal authority to make policy decisions remains low because of the coalition's illegal status, but for the rest the respondents do have the potential to change matters. This can be ascribed to the fact that the majority has completed a high education, performed satisfying employment in their countries of origin, and all reported to have the feeling that they have (some) leverage power. Yet, Dutch language proficiency could be improved, and of course their illegal status poses an insurmountable problem because their advocacy would be stronger in case their status would be legal, while that is also what they are advocating for. Thus, there is a discrepancy between the coalition's

potential from the perspective of their formal legal authority, and their potential when examined without taking their illegal status into consideration.

5.2 PUBLIC OPINION

5.2.1 INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON ACTIVITIES OF MDW COALITION

Six out of ten respondents report that their activities are not influenced by the opinion of the public. In contrast, the four respondents who did report to be influenced by public opinion had a much more extensive explanation of the reasons how and why, namely to get the public's attention (R1) and because "of course we have to feel the polls, right? So that from there we could create framework that would guide us on how to come up with solution and how to come up with a procedure to pursue the advocacy" (R10).

5.2.2 IMPORTANCE OF THE OPINION OF THE GENERAL DUTCH POPULATION FOR THE IMAGE OF THE MDW COALITION

While thus often not influenced by public opinion, the opinion of the general Dutch population is contrastingly considered to be very important for the image of the MDW coalition. All respondents agree with this statement, although R10 corrects the word 'opinion' to 'support' because "what matters to me more is their support. Well, opinion is just like when you are sitting there and you just complain and do nothing". However, the general train of thought is well summarized by the citation of R1 when he says that "we believe that public opinion is powerful because it can influence the decision of people in power. Because these people in power, if they know that this is what the public wants, then being elected they should follow", thereby also stressing the role of elected government officials who represent the people in the Dutch parliamentary democracy system.

5.2.3 INFLUENCE OF MDW ORGANIZATION ON PUBLIC OPINION

By reaching out to the public, the migrant domestic workers hope to gain awareness and through that try to influence government officials. The ultimate goal is the ratification of ILO C189, the issuing of a working permit, or being recognized as a legal. Moreover, the cry for understanding was expressed multiple times. These MDWs had their hopes for the public to understand the situations of the MDWs and to give them a chance to live both normally and regularly because there is still abuse and exploitation amongst the undocumented workers (R3). Next to awareness raising and the call for recognition of their status, R6 wants the public to know that these undocumented people also have a talent, and that they can work and thus not want to be a burden to The Netherlands. Moreover, there has also been a call for reaching out to the needy people within the Dutch society, not so much to influence public opinion, but rather to contribute positively to society. Only as a side effect it could be hoped for to try to convince the government officials and the general public that they really want to work here and only do good. Of all respondents, only one interviewee reported that by reaching out to

the public, she hopes to learn Dutch and through that integrate in society and mingle with the Dutch population (R7).

By organizing forums, rallies, and demonstrations, there is indeed an intention to influence the opinion of the Dutch population. However, the coalitions also try to influence the public in more subtle ways, for example by ‘doing good’ in the form of helping refugees, or informing their employers about their situation. By disseminating information to a few people, they hope to spread the word and their call for attention. One example provided for by R10 is the pilot project of a voucher system to manage domestic work which is currently being rolled out via FNV in Amsterdam. R10 got approached by FNV to ask her employers if they would be willing to participate in this. The idea of the pilot project is to wait for the results, and then once they are positive, show them to the government that this is a feasible option to regulate the situation of the domestic workers in The Netherlands and through that counter instances of exploitation. In that sense, the program functions as an initial step and the potentially positive results could be used to convince the public. While both actively and passively trying to change the opinion of the public, the thoughts on whether or not the coalition succeeds in influencing public opinion are less positive. Only two respondents reported that the coalition succeeded and one that they almost succeeded in altering public opinion.

When asked if they were more trying to attract attention for the case of MDWs in The Netherlands in an active or a passive way, so either through actively coming out of the shadows to participate in rallies, demonstrations, forums, and conferences, or more passively by trying to influence the opinion of their employers, answers were mixed. Only one person answered to fight passively due to a lack of time for participating in public events, and two reported to advocate just in an active manner. The rest of the respondents engaged in both active and passive attention-attracting activities.

5.2.4 IMPORTANCE OF MEDIA FOR THE MDW NETWORK

In general, the MDW coalitions also make much use of many different media to spread their ideas, although not all MDWs dare to get in the media themselves, in part because of fear for being caught. This mostly happens via social media, although the more traditional media are also turned to at times, for example through being hosted at a late night talk show on the public channel, or through interviews published in the newspapers. Moreover, the screening of a television documentary, the use of photographers by FNV, websites of the organizations, a self-made printed magazine by the African group, and the use of local Den Haag based Filipino deejays have been reported as the various means to reach out to numerous media channels.

In conclusion, public opinion was highly valued by the respondents and really something they were taking into consideration and trying to alter in their advocacy. However, it turned out not to be the case that the advocacy activities were determined by public opinion. Media was also deemed important,

although not many respondents actively engaged with this form of attention. All in all, the resource public opinion highlights the main paradox the coalition has to cope with, namely that in order to stand a chance to alter their position, the public and through them the government need to be convinced. On the other hand, the fact this group is residing and working here illegal makes them vulnerable to the authorities and in that sense they would need to keep away from public attention.

5.3 INFORMATION

5.3.1 EXISTENCE OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON THE TOPIC

With regard to the usage of academic research, the answers can be divided into three main categories. The respondents either used academic studies both to enlighten themselves and to provide a scientific basis for their arguments. One respondent specifically mentioned their partnership with the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) related to Erasmus University Rotterdam, while others claimed to use research in general and to cooperate with different researchers and to participate in various interviews. R1 admits that time is often lacking, but that still he participates in various studies because “it does not only enlighten us, but also we can prove our point through scientific basis, that we are right”, thereby acknowledging the importance of academically grounded arguments. Next, there has been a group which said to make use of the information provided to them by the FNV. This involved mainly information regarding the current economic and political situation in The Netherlands and thus relates to their specific case. There is no proof that the FNV information is academically grounded, but at least the respondents reported some engagement with the use of information to strengthen their point. Lastly, four respondents can be grouped into the category of complete ignorance of academic research.

5.3.2 KNOWLEDGE OF THE AVERAGE DUTCH CITIZEN ABOUT THE SITUATION OF MDWs IN THE NETHERLANDS

Also in relation to the knowledge of Dutch citizens a division can be made in the answers given. The large majority of six interviewees report to always tell their employers about their irregular status so that both parties are aware of the situation. Trust is mostly put forward as the main reason for this, but R7 says that she by talking to her employers she hopes to convince them to raise their voices for the benefit of the MDW cause. Furthermore, one respondent reports to talk to some of her employers about her situation, but only if there is a personal bond between them. There have also been two respondents who reported to never tell their employers about their situation nor their irregular status and one added to that that also very few people in the same situation as she do so for fear of the authorities and to protect their employers. Interestingly, the two reported that they believe that the Dutch people are aware of their situation but that they just do not consider domestic work as work. Next to the employers, the majority of the respondents have conversations about their situation with both researchers who want to conduct interviews, and their friends, both in the same irregular situation as they are, and their Dutch friends.

When asking the respondents why they think most Dutch citizens are unfamiliar with the situation of undocumented migrant domestic workers, some interviewees got really agitated because

they believed that everyone is familiar but that they are either ignorant or do not care about it enough, or that they hold negative opinions on MDWs. Five respondents explicitly shared this believe, while three noted that it is a matter of socialization and that if you do not encounter any undocumented migrant domestic worker, you cannot know about their existence nor situation.

From the interviews it became clear that the use of academic research to substantiate their arguments is not common for all respondents, although the majority makes use of information provided to them, either via researchers they have been engaged with or via the FNV network. Furthermore, the data showed that not all respondents are convinced of the naivety of the Dutch population and instead many agitatedly reported that they did not believe that the people did not know of their existence nor of the hardship of their situation. However, it is remarkable to note that while some respondents did not believe in the naivety of the Dutch population, two respondents (R2; R5) additionally reported that they never tell their employers about the fact that they have an irregular status. To the contrary, some explained that if people are not told about the situation or have never gotten in contact with any undocumented migrant domestic worker, they simply cannot know.

5.4 MOBILIZABLE TROOPS

5.4.1 LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT IN THE COALITION

The level of engagement in the coalition has been measured twofold, by asking both how and why the respondents got engaged in the (various) advocacy coalitions they are involved with. All people with at least a double affiliation first got involved in the nationality-based migrant organization, and through that organization got acquainted with the FNV. Six of the ten respondents founded their own migrant organization because they could not completely identify with the ones already existing. Both IMWU, MCVO, and Filmis were founded on this basis. The founder of IMWU, R6, was surprised by the ‘how’ question and explained “How? I think we make that organized migrant domestic workers, not how. [...] So it is not how, but who.”. In case the organization was not founded by the respondent itself, they got introduced to it via friends who either directly introduced them within the organization, or took them to an event of that organization. In relation to the migrant organizations, the main reason to join is the feeling of belonging among a group of co-nationals in the same position and to compensate for missing their families, as well as to promote one’s own culture. The migrant organization does thus not only fulfill an advocacy role, but also a social role. However, as an advocacy coalition, the migrant organizations were joined to collectively improve the MDW situation, and to help fellow undocumented people. Two respondents explained that they had already been involved in advocacy work in their countries of origin and were thus familiar with advocating their cause. The reasons reported for joining the FNV were slightly different and next to collectively advocating the status of domestic work, it included knowing what one’s labor rights are in The Netherlands (R5), and to better integrate in Dutch

society via the FNV. Moreover, it should be noted that FNV is the only trade union in The Netherlands which accepts all workers as members, regardless of their legal status.

5.4.2 AMOUNT OF TIME DEDICATED TO ADVOCACY

Also necessary to demarcate the level of engagement in the advocacy coalition is the time spent on average per month on advocacy activities. However, it proved to be extremely hard to measure engagement in time, especially because the advocacy was present as a red threat through the lives of many respondents and thus varied from time to time. Interesting to note is that the respondents who founded an organization by themselves felt a much larger responsibility to be available and to attend activities. R6 even reported to be available 24/7 because he could always be contacted in case there was an emergency with one of his members who for example needed to be escorted to the doctor. The majority could not pin down the time they devoted to advocacy works, but from the four who could, one said to devote around 8 hours per month to her advocacy, one reported around 10 hours per month, while the others were hailing towards more than 20 hours per month. The only benchmarks the interviewees had were the monthly meetings with FNV, which last around 3 hours, and the monthly meetings with Filmis, which take about 4 to 5 hours. In any case, emails and social media like WhatsApp and Fiber enter their lives on a daily basis and thus the fight for recognition is an ever-present subject.

5.4.3 ADVOCACY ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN

All interviewees responded unanimously positive to the question if they actively participate in the activities organized by the coalitions. These activities vary from fun events like barbeques, day trips, and parties, to the more serious awareness-raising campaigns, rallies, fund-raising campaigns, and demonstrations like the 1 May Labor Day demonstration, anti-racism demonstration, and the international women's day protest. Next to that, R3 answered that her migrant organization sometimes makes announcements after the masses in a church. Moreover, one respondent remembered a campaign at a large train station in which passersby were given a flyer to inform that everyone could join FNV, even without a legal residence permit. Also, it came up that FNV is active in pursuing media campaigns, but within this sample none of the respondents participated in those.

In conclusion to the findings on mobilizable troops, the respondents reported to actively participate in (almost) all activities organized to promote their advocacy. All respondents with more than one affiliation first got engaged with the nationality-based migrant organization and via that organization eventually with the FNV, for the most common reason that FNV has the largest resource base to draw upon in order to most efficiently voice the concerns of this coalition. It proved hard to pin down an exact amount of time dedicated to the advocacy, but in general it was an ever-present theme in the participants' lives.

5.5 FINANCIAL RESOURCES

5.5.1 FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF MDW COALITION

Small organizations like the various migrant organizations only have limited funds, mostly obtained via fund-raising activities like the organization of a party or the selling of raffle tickets and food. The IMWU organization reported to have no financial resources at all because their initial sponsor Mamacash stopped to provide money to them. However, now they are supported financially by the individual members and in other means by various NGOs who for example provide them with information and knowledge, as well as a place to meet. Filmis reported to have very limited financial resources, which are filled with membership fees and sometimes the money raised during a fund-raising campaign. The same applies to Kabalikat. The Filipino women's organization Pinay does have some financial resources, although R7 explicitly mentioned that it does not have any financial gains. To the contrary, large organizations like FNV possess much more financial resources and for many small organizations that is the reason to join this trade union. In fact, FNV and the migrant organizations are mutually dependent because the migrant organizations have the man power, especially when cumulating all the smaller coalitions, and FNV has the financial and human resources to organize and coordinate advocacy activities like demonstrations.

5.5.2 NUMBER OF FINANCIAL SPONSORS AND INVESTORS

Except for Filmis, all organizations get at least part of their funds from membership fees, and the majority of the respondents reported that their organization obtain money from fund-raising activities. These activities vary from selling raffle tickets, to organizing (day) trips. The rest of the activities are funded by the members themselves. When asked if there are any other financial investors or sponsors of the case of the recognition of the position of MDWs, only three respondents answered that there are no additional sponsors, and the rest honestly said that they either do not know or that they are unaware of it. With regard to the membership fees, FNV is the highest of €96 per year and IMWU the lowest with €10 per year, although Filmis does not have any membership fee. The members of the Pinay have to pay a yearly contribution of €5 and next to that there is a monthly due of €2,50. The fees for MCVO are collected on a monthly basis for which the members pay €5 per month.

5.5.3 PERSONAL INVESTMENT IN ADVOCACY

From the interviews it becomes clear that most organizations are funded by and build on the personal financial investments from its members. Or, as R10 effectively described "I mean, if that would be your advocacy, it does not matter if you are getting the money back or not. Most of us, we are just getting that out from our pockets and we just join.". Next to the membership fees all respondents reported to pay, the members of the organizations of shoulder the expenses together in case one member falls ill or can no longer work as a result of an accident, the so-called emergency funds. Within Kabalikat it sometimes occurs that one member has to leave his or her home because of police controls, and then

this member is sheltered with one of the other members, who pay for the expenses of for example extra food themselves. Moreover, especially the founders of the various organizations mention to often advance money for the organization so that after an event has been organized and the coalition has complemented its funds, they receive the money they owed. FNV often reimburses money the members spend to join an FNV activity, but in case the migrant organizations organize an activity themselves to which the members have to travel to, for example fare expenses are paid from the pockets of the individual members. Then the possible losses of not being able to work are also not covered. The respondent from IMWU particularly reported that in order to keep the costs low for the organization, the individual members are always bringing their own food to an event, and thus this can also be regarded as a (small) personal investment in the fight for recognition. R8 and R9 from the MCVO answer to not invest in the organization, because they interpreted invest in terms of getting a return on their investments. However, they do also not put extra money in the organization except for the emergency funds because they fear questions, either from the other members of MVCO or from the government that they are obliged to pay taxes.

5.5.4 EXPENSES OF MDW COALITION

Even though FNV has a lot of financial resources, they also spend a lot on the MDW case. For example, they have facilitated Dutch language courses for the migrant organizations and they pay both the course and in some cases they also compensate for the loss of income of the MDWs. Moreover, in case there is an activity organized by FNV in which the members of the different migrant organizations participate, all the expenses made are reimbursed to the members. With regard to the various migrant organizations, most of the funds are spend on helping its members and organizing activities to 'do good'. One respondent reported that Filmis one time invested in a frying pan to make food, and a music installation for the parties of the organization (R4), but that cultural promotions are also paid for by the organization (R3). The interviewed members from Filmis reported that this organization has three types of projects, namely those relating to human rights, those promoting culture, and those advancing education. Wereldhuis only spends its money on helping people according to the respondent (R6), for example by organizing open meals. Both MCVO and Filmis spend part of their funds on charity and beneficiaries in the Philippines, and Kabalikat mostly spends its funds on aiding its members with for example their medical expenses.

5.5.5 EXISTENCE OF A TREASURER WITHIN COALITION

In all organizations there is a treasurer who manages the funds of the organization. This has thus proven to be regardless of the fact whether or not they possess financial resources, or how large the organization is.

Thus, while the migrant organizations reported to have little to no financial resources by themselves, FNV in contrast possessed large financial funds to finance the activities organized to for example raise awareness among the population. Almost all interviewees reported to make much personal investments, for instance in the form of financing their own transport to an event, or by helping friends from the same organization in case they needed help. Moreover, all respondents paid a membership fee, which is also the largest source of income for the organizations. In any case, all organizations were equipped with a treasurer to manage the financial funds. Interestingly, size of the organizations and status of its members thus seems to be the main cause for possessing or not possessing financial resources, with FNV being legal, nationally organized, with a large membership file, and much financial resources, and the migrant organizations being irregular, notably smaller, and without large financial funds.

5.6 SKILLFUL LEADERSHIP

In order to examine the element of the theory called 'skillful leadership' several important tasks within an organization have been asked for to see if the organizations have a position for that task, and in some cases to see what the position entails. However, because of the large number of different organizations this sample of respondents is affiliated with it has proven to be difficult to organize. All respondents have been asked to answer for all their coalitions, but this has not been done in all cases. Also interesting is to see that not all respondents know the answers to all questions, especially in relation to the more complex structure of the FNV. Moreover, even within one organization some respondents provided different answers, but for the sake of completeness, all answers given are stated here. Except for Pinay, all organizations have a special position to fulfill the tasks asked about in this interview. The table first provides a clear overview of the answers, categorized by the various organizations, and in the following paragraphs the answers will be discussed grouped along the lines of the individual indicators and elements.

Table 4: Answers Skillful Leadership, Grouped Along the Lines of the Different Organizations

	Filmis	MCVO	Kabalikat	IMWU	Pinav	FNV
Manager of the Membership File	- General Assembly Representative - Secretary	- President - Secretary	- President + Finance Officer (Treasurer)	- Secretary of the Coordinators	Don't know	- Coordinator + Assistant Coordinator - Organizers + Voorzitter - 2x don't know
Contact Person	Public Relations Officer + President + Secretary → contacted for any kind of contact: information, want to join, need help, if hospitalized, need lawyers, updates, etc.	Founder + President	Yes → contacted for membership matters, activities are going to be launched	Founder + Financial Officer + Secretary General	Secretary General → contacted for inquiries, events, and especially problems	- Leaders of Different Organizations + Board Members + Coordinators + Assistant Coordinators + Regering Member
Mediator	Vice president heads the Grievance Committee	President + Founder	President or External Vice President (not happened yet)	No conflict (talk with each other)	No conflict	- No conflict - Bestuurder - Don't know
Planner and Organizer	<u>Meetings:</u> President <u>Activities:</u> External Vice President + Public Relations Officer	<u>Meetings:</u> President + Secretary <u>Activities:</u> Event Organizer	<u>Meetings:</u> President + General Assembly <u>Activities:</u> - Officers (within the organization) - Coalition Of Multiple Organizations (transcending)	<u>Meetings:</u> Coordinators from each City <u>Activities:</u> All Members Together	<u>Meetings:</u> President <u>Activities:</u> No answer	<u>Meetings:</u> - Leaders - Bestuurder + Organizer <u>Activities:</u> - Dont know - Leader of each Organization
Agenda-Setter	President	All Officers: President, Founder, Treasurer, Secretary, Auditor	President + Vice-President	Secretary General	No answer	- Chairman - R7: the different committees organized by subject (e.g. health group, information and dissemination group, etc) bring in their own agenda items, which are compiled by the bestuurder
Spokesperson	Secretary	Secretary (informs via group chat)	Press Release Officer	Coordinators from each City	Secretary, sometimes President + Public Relations Officer	Everyone Updates Everyone (via Whatsapp group chat)
Recruiter	Everyone, through private network and on activities	Yes, private network	Yes, private network	Yes, every coordinator from each city + chief of the coordinators	Yes, private network	Everyone, responsibility of parliament

5.6.1 MANAGER OF THE MEMBERSHIP FILE

With regard to who manages the membership file within the different organizations, there is not one answer to give since all organizations have their own position who takes responsibility for this task. For Filmis, different answers were given by distinct respondents, but for the sake of completeness it was reported that the membership file is managed by the general assembly representative or by the secretary. For MCVO, the president and the secretary took up responsibility for this, and also for Kabalikat it was managed by the president, although it should be noted that this was done together with the finance officer. For IMWU, the secretaries of the coordinators were in charge of properly managing the membership file. R7 reported that she did not know who was responsible for this within Pinav, and for the FNV different answers were provided to the same question, leaving the truth somewhere in the middle. The different answers included: coordinator together with the assistant coordinator, or the organizers together with the voorzitter. Two respondents explained that they did not know who was responsible for this within FNV.

5.6.2 CONTACT PERSON

Also concerning the contact person within the various organizations, diverging answers were provided. Within Filmis, the public relations officer, the president, and the secretary could be approached for any kind of contact varying from specific information, wanting to join the organization, requests for help, or updates. The vice president, who is heading a special grievance committee, is in this case responsible for mediating any kind of conflicts within the organization. Within MCVO both

the president and the founder ought to be contacted either in case of questions or any other kind of desired contact, as well as for mediating a conflict. R10 reported that Kabalikat has a 'contact person' position who can be contacted for membership matters or activities the organization is going to launch. Although the president or the external vice president can be contacted as mediator, it has never happened yet that a conflict needed to be mediated in this manner. Within IMWU, the founder, together with the financial officer and the secretary general, is the contact person within the organization. In case there would be a conflict, which has never occurred yet, the members are supposed to solve it together, and no special position is issued for this. Also for Pinay it is reported that no conflicts have ever occurred and therefore R7 did not provide a position within Pinay. The secretary general can be contacted for inquiries, events, and especially problems. For FNV, there was no consensus among the answers of the respondents. Any of the following positions were said to fulfill the role of contact person: leaders of different organizations, board members, coordinators and assistant coordinators, and regering members. Also with regard to whom to contact in case of conflicts, many respondents either did not know, or reported that no conflict ever occurred. Only respondent (R5) explained that the bestuurder generally mediates conflicts.

5.6.3 PLANNER AND ORGANIZER

In almost all cases, the president of the different organizations was responsible for organizing the meetings. However, this is not to say that the president was in charge of this alone. This holds only true for Filmis and Pinay. Within MCVO, the president shared this task with the secretary, and within Kabalikat it was a shared responsibility with the general assembly. For IMWU it was reported that the coordinators from each of the different cities organized the meetings, while for FNV the leaders (bestuurder) together with the organizers plan the meetings. In all cases, the activities were organized by different people than the meetings. For Filmis, the external vice president organized these together with the public relations officer, within MCVO there is a special event organizer for this, and within IMWU all the members organize the activities and manifestations together. The answer reported for Kabalikat was two-fold since R10 made a distinction between the organization transcending activities, which were organized by a coalition of multiple organizations, and the activities held within the organization, which the officers were in charge for. For the FNV, not all respondents knew who was responsible for this, but else the leader of each organization was named to be responsible for organizing the activities and manifestations participated in.

5.6.4 AGENDA-SETTER

With regard to who sets the agenda, the president is often reported to have a (shared) responsibility for this, namely within Filmis, MCVO, and Kabalikat. Within MCVO however, this responsibility is shared with all the officers of the organization, which include the president, founder, treasurer, secretary, and the auditor. For Kabalikat, the president sets the agenda together with the vice

president. In IMWU, the secretary general has taken up the duty of setting the agenda. R7 could not provide an answer for Pinay but she did give an exceptional answer in relation to FNV. She explained as the first and only respondent that within FNV there are several different committees, including a committee for health, and an information and dissemination group, and that each of these committees makes its own agenda items, which are in turn compiled by the bestuurder. Another respondent made the chairman responsible for setting the agenda within FNV.

5.6.5 SPOKESPERSON

In all migrant organization, the task of spokesperson was taken up by a specific position, varying from secretary (Filmis, MCVO, and Pinay), press release officer (Kabalikat), and for IMWU the coordinators from the different cities were tasked with informing the members and announcing activities. However, within FNV everyone is responsible for sharing this with the group, since all members update each other in a special WhatsApp group. Also MCVO makes use of this social medium to inform the members, but in contrast to FNV, only one person is charged with this task.

5.6.6 RECRUITER

By almost all respondents, recruitment is acknowledged to be crucial for the organizations they are affiliated with. Therefore, all members actively recruit new members for their cause, and it is reported that this mostly happens within the private networks of the individual members. However, in the case of Filmis, it is added that next to the private networks, activities are also the place to recruit new members. Within FNV, it is next to every members' duty also the special responsibility of the parliament. For IMWU, the exception to the rule, the coordinators from each city together with the chief of the coordinators are the only ones responsible for recruiting new members. However, all respondents have reported the recruitment of new members to be crucial for their organization. Or, as R8 and R9 explain:

“we have to recruit as man as we can because the bigger the better” (R9)

“Yes, the more you have, the more you gain” (R8)

“The more members, the more fund, so that...” (R9)

“...the more you help” (R8)

“...the more money we can give, we can share” (R9)

In sum, from the data can be concluded that in almost all organizations there are positions in order to fulfill the crucial tasks within an organization, varying from administering the membership file to informing the organization's members that an event will take place. Relatively often it is reported that no (internal) conflicts occur and that therefore no mediator is needed. It is questionable whether really nothing ever happens or if the respondents did not want to soil their own organization, but when purely looking at the data, this cannot be determined.

6. ANALYSIS

In order to be able to eventually answer this thesis' main research question in the conclusion chapter (7), first the results of the study will be examined based on the formulated sub-research questions. Thereby, first all the operationalized elements of the theory will be consistently considered (sub-research question 1), and next it will be outlined to what extent the undocumented migrant domestic workers interviewed for this thesis have the feeling that they have actually been shaping Dutch policy concerning their case (sub-research question 2).

6.1 RESOURCES OF THE COALITION OF UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN THE NETHERLANDS

When examining the resources put forward by and explained in the Advocacy Framework Theory, a remarkable and yet expected difference in availability of resources to the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers can be detected. The theory holds that the more resources one has access to, the larger the change that a coalition can actually change national policy. However, the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers cannot be classified as a typical coalition, already starting with the fact that they are all illegally residing in The Netherlands and thus cannot make any claims to help from the government. In the following paragraphs, the availability of the multiple resources to the coalition of undocumented MDWs will be examined in close detail, and thereby the following sub-research question will be analyzed:

Which resources have undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands been using?

6.1.1 FORMAL LEGAL AUTHORITY TO MAKE POLICY DECISIONS

First of all, the respondents of this study have all proven to comply with the definition of domestic worker, since they all reported to have a full-time or close to full-time job within the households of people they are engaged with in an employment relationship. Moreover, Basten (2015, 25) his statement that the domestic sector is one of the “few areas in which (especially undocumented) migrant workers find employment” can be confirmed based on the data of this study, because all respondents in fact have more human capital than they would need for simply performing domestic work and the majority also has working experience in different sectors which more status and higher wages (for the standard of their home countries). The fact that one can only be a domestic worker in The Netherlands as a result of their status, is by R10 valued as that “it really delimits my skills and the things that I could possibly do to earn more and to help other people as well”. Next to domestic work being the only possibility to make a living here, Basten (2015) also observed that working without legal documents is not a free choice but rather a necessity, which is confirmed in nearly all interviews. All respondents expressed a preference for working on the regular labor market in case their situation would be legalized, and it seemed almost

a policy core belief that they were more than willing to pay tax as long as their position would be recognized.

Thus, despite the relatively high levels of education as well as the good job positions the majority of the respondents had in their home countries, the majority of the sample has an extremely low proficiency in the Dutch language. However, all interviewees had a decent level of English and are therefore able to communicate properly in The Netherlands. In potential, the migrant domestic workers could thus have the ability to occupy a position of authority, but because of their informal status, this will never occur anywhere else but in the country where they have the legal permission to stay. Therefore, the element ‘Formal legal authority to make policy decisions’, as outlined in the Advocacy Coalition Framework, could thus never be fulfilled by the undocumented migrant domestic workers who in The Netherlands try to advocate the recognition of their working position. When purely examining this element of the theory, the Advocacy Coalition Framework is thus not applicable to the case of undocumented migrant domestic workers since they do not, and never will, possess the legal authority to change anything, unless their situation is legalized and permits are provided to this group. In that sense, it is more helpful to regard this particular part of the coalition as a social movement, because then the other ACF resources can be examined for their case without giving them a disadvantage from the start as one out of six resources is already not applicable. However, although the coalition does not have the legal capability to change anything, they often do have the feeling that they possess some power to alter their situation. While this does not solely apply to changing the national context, it does illustrate that the hopes are high and that potentially, in case the undocumented migrant domestic workers unite to advocate their case, the situation may in the future be changed to the benefit of this group.

All in all, while the coalition of undocumented may not have any formal and/or legal authority to alter the situation nor do they have any member in “positions of formal authority”, they have given their own interpretation to the Sabatier and Weible’s condition of “launching lobbying campaigns to sway officials with legal authority” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203), and therefore still have some access to the first ACF resource, although it the power of this resources is limited in this particular case.

6.1.2 PUBLIC OPINION

More relevant to the case of the organized undocumented domestics in The Netherlands is public opinion, both in the sense of public opinion impacting the coalition and vice versa. Unlike what would be in the line of expectations as all interviewees are participating in initiatives to improve their situation, the majority of the respondents reports that public opinion does not impact the activities organized by the coalitions. However, to the contrary it has been reported that the opinion of the Dutch population is deemed extremely important for the image of the MDW coalition. Thus, public opinion is important, but not to the extent that the actions and manifestations initiated to advocate the MDW case are adapted to the will of the public. While not driven by public opinion, it is regarded as extremely necessary to speak to the minds of the Dutch population because through the public, the MDW coalition hopes to

raise awareness and ultimately alter the opinion of government officials so that beneficial regulations will be passed for the undocumented MDWs. However, it was not solely legal acceptance that was provided as the ultimate goal of the advocacy. Especially recognition and understanding for their situation were expressed multiple times, because that is currently not the case, neither for the government, nor for the employers, nor for the overall Dutch population. In order to change this, the interviewed MDWs try to alter the situation by both actively advocacy like participating in demonstrations, or in a more passive way by speaking to and informing their employers. Thereby, the coalition in fact deploys a typical strategy outlined in the ACF theory because they “spend a lot of time trying to garner public support” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203).

Another aspect outlined in the ACF theory is the fact that “[a] supportive public is more likely to elect coalition supporters to legislative and other positions of legal authority and to help sway the decisions of elected officials” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). This has been perfectly understood by one of the respondents of this study, although it should be noted that this respondent in particular was acquainted with the academic theories in political science since he both completed this study and later made teaching these subjects his profession. At least within his own migrant organization *Filmis*, and probably also within the *FNV* movement, R1 can spread the words: “We believe that public opinion is powerful because it can influence the decision of people in power. Because these people in power, if they know that this is what the public wants, then being elected they should follow.”

By constantly being in cooperation with the public to try to gain attention and raise awareness, this resource has proven to be extremely valuable as well as accessible to the MDW coalition. However, it should be noted that the paradox between wanting to step out of the shadows to advocate their cause and remaining in the shadows to be able to make a living and not be caught by the authorities, still remains a big issue for this group of advocates. However, at the moment the urgency for advocating their arguments seems higher than the protestors’ fear for being arrested by the official authorities. Interesting to note here is also the knowledge of the *FNV* network about the current situation so that during a public demonstration, the undocumented and the documented participants are deliberately separated into two different groups, so that in case media got involved, they could not determine nor “emphasize which are the undocumented migrants and which are the cleaners [so the documented domestic workers]” (R3). Thus, the resource ‘public opinion’ is both widely available to the MDW coalition but also they are very actively trying to make use of this resource to press for a change in Dutch policy regarding their position.

6.1.3 INFORMATION

In terms of the information resource, about one third of the respondents reported that academic studies were important for them to strengthen their arguments. However, information is not only limited to academically grounded information and for example information provided to the coalition by the *FNV* about the current political and economic situation in general, as well as on the developments and

situation of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands may also be of major importance in the coalition's pursuit of recognition. In particular, the respondents' willingness to talk to journalists and to participate in this research and share their complete story with the researcher illustrate their awareness of the importance of having their stories heard. In this manner, the coalition members want to spread the word about the severity of the problem and convince the Dutch government and public of the urgency of the need for change.

However, while the information resource in general thus seems to be largely applicable to the MDW coalition, the part of this resource relating to the political battles which are to be won from political opponents is not relevant for this particular case, especially because the members of the coalition of the undocumented MDWs are by no means directly engaged with official authorities, let alone participate in political battles. All in all, the information resource is thus fully available to the MDW coalition although not all aspects of the use of the resource completely apply to the theory described by Sabatier and Weible (2007, 203).

6.1.4 MOBILIZABLE TROOPS

When speaking of mobilizable troops, the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in this case fulfills the role of the attentive public who are willing to "engage in various political activities including public demonstrations and electoral and fund-raising campaigns" (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). In fact, all respondents reported to participate to a larger or lesser extent in the activities organized by the coalitions and these activities indeed ranged from public demonstrations to talking on conferences, and from organizing a raffle event to helping the refugees with winter clothes and food. The only activity which was not reported, and which is specifically mentioned in the ACF theory are electoral activities, but this can be explained by the fact that the undocumented people do not want to be nor are allowed to be engaged with this type of activities.

Almost all respondents were involved with more than one advocacy group, most of the time a nationality-based migrant organization and the trade union FNV. A general trend is that all people with at least a double affiliation first got involved in the nationality-based migrant organization, and through that organization got acquainted with the FNV.

All interviewees proved to be very active in the organizations they were affiliated with, which they joined for both social and advocacy purposes. While it has been hard to pinpoint an exact amount of time dedicated to one's advocacy activities, all respondents attended at least one or two monthly meetings and adding the extra activities like participation in demonstrations etcetera, a minimum of ten hours per month can be set as lowest time investment. Interesting to note is that the time investment of the founders of the various organizations is much higher than that of the other respondents, in particular because these founders reported to have a 24/7 availability for emergencies (R6) or to invest all spare time next to working in the fight for recognition (R1). Modern technologies are also frequently used by all coalitions and thus all members are expected to update others and be updated about developments

and newly organized events at any time of the day, all days of the week, depending on when the notice is spread and how many people respond to that. Thus, social media have made the coalition more connected and its members more informed of the internal affairs, but also it put a larger burden on the free time of the group members because a continuous stream of information is fired to them.

In summary, the mobilization of troops in the pursuit of policy change has proven to be extremely important since the coalition of the undocumented migrant domestic workers functions as the backbone of the entire campaign for recognition. Without their efforts and investment, both in time and also in money (as will be discussed in the next section), there would be no body to the campaign since these people are both the subject of the policy problem and the ones trying to alter the situation.

6.1.5 FINANCIAL RESOURCES

In general, the undocumented migrant domestic workers united in both small, in this sample only nationality-based, migrant organizations and the large Dutch trade union FNV. In terms of characteristics, both in relation to their membership characteristics, structure of the organization, atmosphere among the members, and the availability of financial and social capital, the two categories differ immensely. Especially interesting to note is that the majority of the respondents got involved with FNV via their nationality-based migrant organization because FNV had better resources to advocate for their cause. R1 reported about this that in case the migrant organizations want to hold an activity to raise awareness for the undocumented MDWs, for example to inform them that they do have access to health care “we can ask the FNV to hold this activity or forum [...] so instead of the finances of Filmis to be used for that, the FNV would be the one to finance the forum, This is, I think, helpful for migrant organizations like us because we have very very limited funds.”. The relatively small migrant organizations fill their funds from membership fees, which are generally very low, and the money raised during special fund-raising activities, but in general these organizations have very limited financial resources. FNV in contrast has much larger financial reserves, firstly already because of their much bigger membership file and higher membership fee. The general trend is thus that the more expensive activities, which cannot be funded by the pockets from its own members, are organized by the overarching FNV coalition and that the migrant organizations provide the men power and body to these activities because they join these activities. In any case it should be noted that all organizations, regardless of their size or number of members or funds, had a treasurer who managed the funds of the organization. In sum, the resource ‘financial resources’ is thus only in part applicable to the coalition of the undocumented. On the one hand, their own organizations have very limited resources and almost all activities are (partly) funded from the pockets of the members rather than from the funds of the organization. However, on the other hand, in case the coalition decides that a specific kind of activity is needed for example to raise extra awareness, they can approach FNV to organize it for them and in this manner the activity comes about without exhausting the funds of the migrant organizations. In this sense, there is a remarkable deviation from the ACF theory, which holds that “money can be used to purchase

other resources” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). Indeed, the financial resources of the FNV are used to purchase other resources, but the smaller migrant organizations lack the financial power to do so and still they are able to effectively advocate their cause. One could argue that the human capital of the undocumented migrant domestic workers, and their willingness to participate as well as their sheer numbers, are their main manner to ‘purchase’ other resources.

6.1.6 SKILLFUL LEADERSHIP

When comparing the theory of the ACF regarding skillful leadership with the reality of the various coalitions the undocumented participate in, it can be concluded that this resource is highly valuable for the coalition. The Advocacy Coalition Framework holds that “skillful leadership can create an attractive vision for a coalition, strategically use resources efficiently, and attract new resources to a coalition” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203). All organizations mentioned above seem to be very well organized at first sight, with a certain person or multiple people responsible for each crucial task in almost all organizations. The members know whom to approach for which issue or question. Moreover, the organizations all have a clear goal and vision of what they want to achieve. In all cases this is raising awareness for the case of undocumented migrant domestic workers and their precarious position in The Netherlands, and in some cases the migrant organizations also aim to promote their own culture through for example cultural festivities. Also remarkable is that during the interviews some answers were independently and individually given multiple times. One clear example is that the MDWs wanted to ‘do good’ and help society, and many were strongly oriented towards humanitarian activities like providing winter clothes and food to refugees. But also it was answered various times that the respondents wanted to be recognized as a human being and as a worker. In fact, this can be labeled as one of the policy core beliefs of this particular coalition. Next to the promotion of one clear vision for all members, the so-called skillful leaders of the migrant organizations also “strategically use[d] resources efficiently” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203) by both organizing fund-raising activities tailored to their target group population, and by joining FNV. One respondent affiliated with the Filipino organization *Filmis* for example reported to organize parties and raise money with that, because “Filipino loves party” (R3). Also, new resources are attracted to the various coalitions (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203), which is applicable to both FNV who try to attract more (undocumented) members to join their advocacy, as well as to the different migrant organizations, who also actively try to recruit new members. Thus, also on this point this particular case of undocumented migrant domestic workers can be applied to the theory of the ACF.

Thus, it can be concluded that the resources relating to skillful leadership is also extremely important for the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers, since competent leaders and a well-functioning board can lead the members and their joint fight for recognition in the right direction, thereby always seeking for new members and financial resources to advocate their cause as well as possible.

All in all, it can thus be concluded that the availability of the various resources indeed differs for the specific case of the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. Whereas the resources ‘formal legal authority to make policy decisions’ and ‘financial resources’ are largely unavailable to the coalitions, the other resources are well accessible to this particular group. The resources ‘public opinion’ and ‘mobilizable troops’ have proven to be extremely important in the coalitions’ pursuit of policy change. In fact, there is an awareness that (a) the MDWs themselves are the backbone of any campaign since there is unity in strength (R1) and “there is power in number” (R10), and (b) that by trying to influence public opinion and change it in their benefit, the coalition may eventually be able to shape the opinion of the government officials and ultimately legislation.

6.2 INFLUENCE ON DUTCH POLICY

Thus, while the resources available to a coalition can make or break its advocacy success, the accessibility of the resources in itself does not tell anything about how the use of these has really shaped Dutch policy regarding the position of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. In order to examine this, the following sub-question will be investigated:

To what extent have they shaped Dutch policy regarding the recognition of their position?

6.2.1 LEGAL CONTEXT IN THE NETHERLANDS

In order to be able to answer this sub-question, it first needs to be clarified that the Dutch government does not recognize domestic work as decent work, and that only very limited regulations have been issued on the topic. Moreover, the government has chosen to not ratify the ILO C189 convention which protects domestic workers in general, so also including the undocumented, for the reason being that C189 aims to prevent exploitation of this vulnerable group, but that research has shown that in The Netherlands there is little to no exploitation within this sector (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, ii). Therefore, ratification of this internationally binding treaty would not make a difference in The Netherlands according to this commission (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, ii). However, the report explicitly mentions that undocumented domestic workers are not covered in the report (Advies commissie dienstverlening aan huis, 2014, i). Therefore, no proper conclusions can be drawn from the study, nor can appropriate recommendations be issued by the commission to the Dutch government, because a considerable share of the domestic work is fulfilled by undocumented migrant domestic workers. In this sense, the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers has not made any impact on the report by the advisory commission to the government, because they were simply not taken into consideration within the study.

Also more generally, people residing in The Netherlands without a permit are not targeted by the various policies designed and implemented by the government. Therefore, these people are more vulnerable to exploitation, especially because there is no control by the official authorities. But also,

social security nor the regular health care system are available to this group, increasing the risk of poverty and health problems. Next to the fact that they are not protected by national legislation, they also do not have obligations towards the state in the sense that they for example cannot pay taxes. However, this current state of exclusion from formal regulations is not something new, and therefore the attempts of the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in particular has not been able to shape Dutch policy regarding the recognition of their position.

Thus, national legislation on the issue is at best limited and therefore it is hard to examine the influence the advocacy of the coalition of undocumented MDWs has had on the matter. Therefore, in order to elaborate on the extent to which the advocacy has shaped Dutch policy, the opinions of the interviewees on how successful they have perceived their activities and coalition in general will be mostly studied.

6.2.2 RESPONDENTS' OPINION ON CURRENT SITUATION AND ON SUCCESS OF COALITION'S ACTIONS

During the study, the respondents were asked about their personal opinion on current situation of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. Remarkably, the answers varied from discontent about the government not acknowledging domestic work as decent work (R5), to fear for controls and instability (R7), to being fairly happy with the situation, because “if compared to other countries, other European countries, as what I heard it is better here. Higher salary, even undocumented. And also I like the way they give het basic rights for when it comes to health. They were good with it.” (R3). In all cases, the interviewees desired to change (some part of) the situation so from that it can be concluded that even though their current situation may or may not be good, it could always be better. Especially the call for permits, amnesty, and recognition resonated among all interviews.

For the exact reason that things need to change, the majority of the respondents decided to unite and form a coalition to stand stronger together. Or, as R9 effectively described the situation:

“if you are alone the government ‘ah just one man, that can go to the Philippines’. But when you are in the coalition or organization, then at least it is the group. They are the voice that then speak the government or whatever, they will see they can be... yeah, that is it! Maybe it helps, through that organization.”.

Also R1 understood the need for a coalition: “I believe that individually, or our organization, is incapable to do some changes. We need networks, we need allies, supporters, and of course people who also have powers, like politicians”. However, when asked about the respondents’ feeling of power of having the ability to change national policy, the answers varied a lot. Some reported that altering national policy is completely unrealistic and unfeasible for them, while others claimed that together and in cooperation with powerful actors they might be able to influence the government to regulate the situation.

Also when informing about the opinion of the MDWs about their coalitions’ successes to influence public opinion, opinions are divided. While R4 from the bottom of her heart exclaims that ‘Nee, never never ever succeed! Nee! No!’, R3 thinks they did succeed and R6 that they almost succeed

in doing so. R8 and R9 have a more nuanced yet negative opinion in that they do not think their coalition has succeeded in changing public opinion for now, but that they hope it will succeed in the future. Thereby they in fact perfectly summarize the current situation of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands in reflection to the absence of recent policy changes, but also they express hope for having the power to in the future be shape Dutch policy regarding their position.

In sum, a carefully positive trend came to light with regard to the opinion on the extent to which the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers have shaped Dutch policy regarding their position. The majority of the respondents reported to have a relatively large feeling of power and that they had in fact also changed the lives of many people. This varied from their own lives since the beginning of their stay, to the conditions of their families back home, the co-nationals and colleague migrant domestic workers in the same situation here, Dutch society and humanity in general, and lastly even national policy. However, it should also be taken into account that national policy has not changed over the past years and thereupon it could be argued that no policy is also a deliberate policy choice. Based on that assumption, the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers has not (yet) made any progress in shaping the Dutch policy process, since still no adaptations are made to the situation. However, positive impressions for the future resonated among one share of the group of respondents, since many expressed their hopes for being able to change legislation regarding their positions, especially when uniting in a coalition and through this increase their capacity to shape government's decisions.

7. CONCLUSIONS

All in all, this thesis has aimed to provide a comprehensive overview of the current coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, who, while cooperating with many other actors who advocate for the same cause, also try to press for change and recognition by themselves despite their precarious and unrecognized situation. By mapping out the current regulatory environment in The Netherlands concerning the case of the MDWs, and by conducting ten face-to-face interviews with people who have for multiple years been residing irregularly in The Netherlands and working black in the uncontrolled domestic sphere, this study aimed to provide an answer to the research question: *Which resources have undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands been using to shape Dutch policy regarding the recognition of their position?*. With the provision of an extensive report of the findings and the consecutive analysis of the data, a start has been made to formulate a conclusion. The main research question has been divided into two sub-research questions in order to make it more manageable to answer.

First of all, the resources used by the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands have been examined. From this analysis, it can be concluded that not all six resources as outlined in the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory are evenly well accessible to this particular coalition. Especially the resources ‘formal legal authority to make policy decisions’ and ‘financial resources’ have been limitedly available, whereas the other resources are more accessible to this group. From the analysis it became clear that the resources relating to public opinion and the mobilization of troops are very important to this coalition, and therefore the second expectation formulated earlier in this thesis can be proven correctly based on these data. The expectation held that in case minimal financial resources are available to a coalition, the coalition in that case more heavily relies on mobilization of troops resource. Also in this particular case study that is the case since the undocumented migrant domestic workers formed the backbone of the campaigns and multiple respondents explained the importance of numbers and unity. To the contrary, limited financial resources were available to the various migrant organizations in their advocacy so in order to be able to organize any events, they either needed to be paid from the pockets of the individual members, or a partnership with the FNV needed to be established to jointly organize such an activity. When oversimplifying the situation, it could thus be argued that the FNV had the money and financial resources, while the migrant organizations had the men power and sheer numbers to make the events a success.

Secondly, the extent to which the coalition has shaped Dutch policy regarding their position has been investigated. Because national policy has hardly changed over the past years, no such thing as an actual policy change can be examined and thus it is impossible to objectively test the impact of the MDW coalition on this hypothetical change. However, when assuming that no policy is also a form of policy, the impact of the MDW coalition can be labeled as limited, since the ‘no policy’ situation continues to exist and has thus not been shaped by the coalition’s advocacy for change. Instead, what has been done in this study is to examine the opinions of the interviewees on how successful they

perceived their activities and coalition in general, and the extent to which they believe they have contributed to actual changes. Although not shared by all individual respondents, the majority of the interviewees reported a positive judgment on the changes they and their coalitions had caused. And in general, a plurality also said to have a feeling of power in that they could actually change the lives of themselves and other people around them, either in their own family spheres or more all-encompassing by also having contributed to the lives of strangers, including refugees in The Netherlands, their employers, and society in general.

As examined before, the resources as proposed by Sabatier and Weible's Advocacy Coalition Framework are to a larger or lesser extent available to this remarkable coalition of people who on the one hand try to stay away from any attention and officials for fear of being caught and deported, and on the other hand move out of the shadows to actively advocate for their rights and desired recognition. The interesting paradox which arises here illustrates multiple matters, including this group's vulnerability, the urgency for their struggle for recognition, and the high necessity for regulation of the position of the workers who irregularly reside in The Netherlands and work in the uncontrolled spheres of the private homes of their employers.

The expectation that a set of multiple resources should be possessed by a coalition in order to be able to shape policy is in part confirmed and partly disconfirmed by the data because the answer is not that straightforward. On the one hand it is true that the more resources one possesses, the larger the reach and the more people can be motivated and mobilized to advocate the same goal and to jointly pursue policy change. However, as is proven by the data on this coalition of people with an irregular status, not necessarily all resources need to be present to be able to alter national policy. At least one resource is completely unavailable to this particular coalition and yet they have the feeling that they have positively contributed to making a change. However, it should be noted that it is highly unlikely that in case only one resource would have been possessed, for example only 'mobilizable troops', that an organized whole would even have existed, let alone that they would have been able to advocate together for change. In that sense, also this third expectation can be proven correctly.

When not taking the other actors who also advocate in favor of the MDW cause into consideration, as well as parking all the other stakeholders who in contrast do not want the situation of MDWs to be regulated, it can be concluded that the first resource of having the formal legal authority to change policy is indeed the crucial missing link for the organized undocumented MDWs themselves to alter their situation. Or, as R1 effectively summarized this point: "I believe that individually, or our organization, is incapable to do some changes. We need networks, we need allies, supporters, and of course people who also have powers, like politicians". This proves the earlier formulated expectation that in case a coalition has an informal or undocumented status, the coalition has less access to formal resources. The undocumented people by themselves are not recognized by the government and therefore it is unlikely that they will still be able to get involved in the actual policy making process themselves. Also, it is unthinkable that the organizations of the undocumented will be provided with a subsidy by

the government for example, which puts them at a disadvantage compared to other legal and regulated coalitions.

By applying the theory of the Advocacy Coalition Framework to this unusual coalition of undocumented migrants who are illegally employed on the black market, a contribution can be made to the original theory of the ACF. This study has shown that groups which are generally considered to be without a say in society, because of their irregular position and thus inaccessibility to formal resources and social services, certainly do participate in the process of trying to influence national policy. Moreover, especially but not solely the first resources of the ACF theory can be described as very rigid, and perhaps too black and white, because this research has concluded that the coalition of MDWs still possesses much potential to alter the situation to their benefit. At first sight it may seem that one does not stand a change in case one's position is irregular, but this group has shown that they also stand up for their recognition, despite or perhaps because of their illegal and unrecognized position. In particular, this study has combined the Advocacy Coalition Framework with elements of the sociological Social Movement Theory, thereby in fact proposing the use of a so-called Advocacy Social Movement Coalition Framework for the specific cases like the undocumented MDW coalition which do not fulfill the formal legal authority resource because of their unrecognized existence and status. In short, this redefined theoretical lens entails that the elements of the ACF are tested on a coalition which can be better defined as a social movement rather than an 'official coalition'.

To conclude, not all resources outlined by Sabatier and Weible's Advocacy Coalition Framework (2007, 201-203) have been present to the same extent for the particular case of the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. However, also with the limited resources available to a group of illegal residents and workers, changes have been made to the benefit of their own situation. Yet, national policy remained unchanged over the past years and thus no research could have been conducted on the objective influence of the coalition on the new policies, because they simply do not exist. However, the deliberate choice of the Dutch government to not implement policies concerning this particular policy dilemma could also in a way be regarded as policy-making, since no policy is in fact also a policy. Therefore, based on this assumption, it can be concluded that even though a set of multiple resources has been accessible to the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers, they have not (yet) succeeded in influencing the policy process to the extent that changes have been made to the benefit of the coalition. Nonetheless, this thesis did not evaluate a finished phenomenon and the advocacy for recognition will continue after the publication of this study, so no claims or expectations can be made about future developments or achievements. Still, up until the present, the resources have been used efficiently by the various organizations involved in the advocacy coalition and especially the mobilizable troops and skillful leadership of the groups have proven to be their strong points. This conclusion makes it indeed possible to end with two quotes from two of the individual respondents in the study, namely that "there is power in number" (R10) and that "in unity there is strength" (R1).

8. DISCUSSION

Now that this study's research questions have been answered and its expectations been tested, it is time to reflect on the limitations particular choices have brought about and what the consequences of these were on the research. It should be stressed that in all cases, a deliberate choice has been made for choosing a certain option over its alternative, and that compromises had to be made, in part as a result of the vulnerability of the subjects of this study and the hard-to-reach nature of this irregular group. With regard to the operationalization table, some minor changes have been made to the order of two of the indicators (so when the questions were asked), and in the names of the indicators in order to enhance the readability. Yet, all questions remained the same since the start of the field work, and in essence the indicators have also not been altered. Furthermore, recommendations will be made for future policy-making, as well as for the coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers themselves, which they may be able to deploy in their continuing fight for recognition and overall advocacy for an improvement of their situation. Also, suggestions for further research on the topic will be proposed.

8.1 LIMITATIONS

Although this thesis' research design has been planned with utmost carefulness, and its findings and analyses have been carried out with similar attention for details, there are still some limitations to this research. However, this does not mean that these limitations were not expected up front. Rather, they are compromises in order to be able to carry out this study to its best possible standard.

Because of the respondents' irregular status in The Netherlands, and the fear of being caught this brings about for them, undocumented migrant domestic workers are really hard to get into contact with. The researcher is aware of the limited number of initial contact persons and the challenges this poses to the diversity of the sample, but as a consequence of the limited amount of time and the difficulty to reach out to this particular group which largely hides in the shadows of the irregular economy, this was the best and most diverse group of respondents available for this research. Although the respondents of this sample fulfill all the criteria as outlined in the research design, there is an overrepresentation of Filipino respondents in this study as a consequence of the snowball sampling.

All the interviews have been conducted in English, but because this is not the mother tongue of any of the undocumented migrant domestic workers, nor of the interviewer, there is a chance that some questions have been differently interpreted by the interviewee than intended by the interviewer. Moreover, the language problem may also have led to some inaccuracies in the transcripts of the interviews, because not all words were pronounced clearly. Consequently, the misinterpretations from both sides may have caused some discrepancies between the data from the various interviews, with one respondent in fact answering a different question than another interviewee.

Also related to the instruction language of the interviews is the fact that some potential respondents of this study decided to not participate because they felt uncomfortable with their English or because they simply did not have any proficiency in this language. The fact that the respondents all

spoke English, shows some bias in their educational level since the ones who had never had any education could still do domestic work, but not participate in this study. In fact, some of the respondents reported that some of their friends, who were also undocumented migrant domestic workers and thus also eligible for an interview, did not want to participate because they were too unconfident about their level of English. A natural selection based on the potential respondents' level of proficiency in the English language thus happened. Resultingly, this study is based on the data extracted from people who are generally relatively highly educated, and thus the results should be interpreted accordingly.

Next to the potential bias due to language and selection problems, there is also a fair risk of receiving biased answers from the respondents. Even though the interview questions were designed with the aim to be as objective as possible, it cannot be controlled for that the respondents deliberately chose to hold back parts of the story or slightly deviate from the truth. When asked about their achievements for example, it is highly unlikely that they would have bluntly said that they had not achieved anything because then they would have undermined their own advocacy. Therefore, it should be taken into consideration that a part of the answers is somewhat colored to the benefit of the respondent.

Lastly, the original Advocacy Coalition Framework theory aims to explain policy change by identifying and analyzing all the coalitions in a particular field. Restricted by time, thesis length, and available connections, it has been impossible for this particular study to identify all potential actors in the field. Therefore, the deliberate choice has been made to solely focus on a sub-part of one side of a potential coalition, thereby closely examining the group of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. This means that for example the domestic workers who are either native Dutch or migrants with a residence permit have not been included in the study. As identified by one of the respondents during one of the interviews, the fact that there is this division between documented and undocumented domestic workers does influence the perception of the general public on jobs in the domestic sector. Besides the domestic workers on the irregular market, there is also a group of domestic workers employed on the regular labor market, although also for them, legislation is different from their colleagues in other sectors. For future research, it could thus be interesting to also take these groups into consideration.

8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

8.2.1 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

First of all, the situation of migrants entering The Netherlands and residing here irregularly poses major challenges to the Dutch government. However, because the existence of these people is not recognized in The Netherlands, they cannot make use of any social services nor benefits, which forces them to make a living for themselves. The only option then is to work on the black market where there are no controls and no tax has to be declared to the government officials. Therefore, many undocumented migrant workers can be found in the domestic sector, posing an additional challenge to the government, who does not have any regulations targeted at this particular group of employers. Still, it is very important to

continue to see the human aspect of this Dutch policy dilemma and not forget that these people have often escaped hopeless situations with poverty or (physical) violence and hoped to build a new, often temporary, life abroad. The aspect of temporality has proven to be of major importance because all participants in this research have stressed their desire to return to their country of origin. While the motivations for moving abroad were at times personal, the economical motive dominated. In today's globalized world, in which the economical rule of supply and demand predominate, it turns out there is a massive demand for domestic workers. Many respondents report that the majority of their employers simply do not care about the legal status of their domestics. The aim of the migrant domestic workers is in almost all cases to earn money abroad and then return to their family in their countries of origin. Although this group stays here illegally, it is very unconstructive to ignore their existence. Various respondents report that instances of abuse and exploitation still frequently occur in their daily lives. However, also for the participants for whom this is not the case because they are treated well by their employers, there are still plenty of problems which they encounter in their daily lives. For example think of the fact that these people cannot access the complete Dutch health care system, but also that they are not being able to open a bank account in The Netherlands, and are therefore unable to travel by public transport. Another problem that has been mentioned multiple times is the feeling that they do not exist in The Netherlands. In addition to the constant fear of police checks, these people have no Dutch papers and they nor their employment are recognized by the Dutch government. For the government, domestic work is not a decent work. Still, the most common answer to the question "Do you have the feeling that you have some leverage power in The Netherlands?" was that the feeling of trust and dignity gave them the greatest feeling of power. Respondent 5 put it nicely when she said: "So many Dutch people believe in us, why the government does not believe in us?". Therefore, the human aspect of the policy dilemma should also be taken into consideration.

8.3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COALITION OF UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS

With regard to the resources used by the coalition, it would be suggested to build on the information provided in this study and try to improve access to the resources which are currently less or completely not available. Although it is understandable that the formal resources are as a result of the coalition's status not accessible to the group, one could try to establish stronger ties with the few politicians currently engaged with and through their network try to influence more people in power. Furthermore, it would be highly recommended to improve all members proficiency in Dutch, although having one fluent member would already help. Despite the temporary stays of the majority of migrant domestic workers, learning Dutch would advance the access to formal policy processes. If one is able to understand and communicate in Dutch, a broader public could be reached and informed about the coalition's arguments, and people are more likely to take the coalition more seriously if addressed in their own language. Next to that, if one's level of Dutch is improved, official documents, (government) meetings, and Dutch media could be understood and used for the benefit of the coalition.

Moreover, majority of the respondents reported to hardly use academically grounded research, while this could strengthen the arguments put forward by the coalition. Perhaps approaching other universities and research institutes besides the International Institute of Social Studies could be helpful to attract more academic attention to the case of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, because it has proven to be a fairly under-researched subject in academia. As a result, once more research becomes available, the chances of gaining media attention also increase, and with this potentially even media attention could be attracted. As such, the process of raising awareness would be reinforcing until eventually government officials may be influenced as well.

8.3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this particular study on the resources of coalitions in the fight for recognition the focus has been on the undocumented migrant domestic workers themselves, on how they organize themselves, make use of a multitude of different resources, and how they value their current situation as an undocumented domestic in The Netherlands. However, as came out of this study, most migrant domestic workers without a permit are a member of the Dutch trade union FNV, making this a very powerful coalition within the policy sub-system. For future research it could be interesting to lay bare the structure of FNV, including the actors within this organization and what the organization is doing in terms of lobbying to pursue policy change, so that another major player in the Advocacy Coalition is investigated.

However, it is still likely that the FNV as a collective is in favor of the implementation of new laws to regulate the position of domestic workers in general, even though there may be individual actors in the organization who are against new regulations. Next to that, there are many more actors involved in the sub-system who are either advocating in favor of or against regulation of the position of (migrant) domestic workers. Thus, in order to gain more insight in the complete picture of actors arguing in favor or against the recognition of domestic work as work, a more comprehensive study needs to be conducted in which also the actors against are investigated and in which the entire political arena is taken into consideration. This would provide a more all-encompassing picture of the current situation of domestic workers in The Netherlands, or more specifically of the existence of undocumented migrant domestic workers who come to The Netherlands to serve the demands for reliable and hardworking domestic workers.

Lastly, it would also be suggested to further examine the larger Advocacy Coalition Framework theory, and then especially the parts which have been beyond the scope of this thesis. Possibly, one could examine the positions taken by the administrative agencies and compare them to their interest group allies in order to study if there is a difference in the positions advocated, being either more moderate or rather strong.

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10. APPENDICES

10.1 QUESTIONS INTERVIEWS MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS

First of all I would like to thank you for your willingness to participate in this interview and through this help me with my research on the position of migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands. Everything you will say during this interview will be handled with absolute care in terms of confidentiality and anonymity, and only be used for the purpose of my thesis on Migrant Domestic Workers in The Netherlands. This thesis is the final project for my studies Governance of Migration and Diversity at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. The main focus of my research is the so-called coalition of undocumented migrant domestic workers in The Netherlands, and in particular the resources available to this group in their fight for recognition. This interview will start with more general questions about your past and current situation, and continue with questions more related to my research.

General information:

Date interview:

Location interview:

Background questions:

1. Male/female	
2. Age	
3. In which country were you born?	
4. Where do you live now?	
5. For how long have you been in The Netherlands?	
6. Why did you chose to leave your home country?	
7. Was there a specific reason to come to The Netherlands?	
8. Do you have a family or children? Do they reside in your home country of with you here in The Netherlands?	
9. Do you support your family or extended family in your home country? How do you do this?	
10. You are now working in the irregular economy, but would you prefer to participate on the regular labor market?	
11. With how many households are you currently employed?	
12. Are you affiliated with a collective, for example the trade union (FNV), a church, a migrant organization, and/or a network of MDWs? It does not necessarily have to be formally organized, a group of friends and/or colleagues who keep an eye on each other and help where possible/necessary is also allowed.	
13. What do you think of the current situation of the position of MDWs in The Netherlands?	
14. What is the most important aspect of that situation which you would like to change?	

Element of the Theory	Definition	Indicators	Interview Questions
Formal Legal Authority to Make Policy Decisions	Having members of the coalition in positions of formal authority	Educational Background	What is the highest study you have completed? Do you have working experience in that field?
		Job Position	What kind of work did you do in your home country? Was your payment below, on, or above the average wage level?
		Level of Language Proficiency	Do you read and speak Dutch? If yes, to what extend?
		Status (Legal)	What is your legal status here in The Netherlands?
		(Feeling of) Power	Do you feel like you have leverage power in that you have the feeling you can change something? Is this on the personal, coalition, or national scale?
			For the MDW personally, i.e. housing, living quality, working conditions, etc.
			For the (extended) family back home, i.e. in terms of remittances
			For the MDW coalition, i.e. by fulfilling certain tasks For national policies concerning the MDW position
Public Opinion	“an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community” (Phillips Davidson, 2018)	Influence of Public Opinion on Activities of MDW Coalition	Are the activities organized by the MDW coalition determined or guided by public opinion?
			If media attention is attracted for your case, do you organize extra/other activities to remain in this media attention?
		Importance of the Opinion of the General Dutch Population for the Image of MDW Coalition	Do you deem the opinion of the general public important for the MDW coalition?
			How do you reach other people than your own group?
		Influence of MDW Coalition on Public Opinion	What do you hope to achieve when reaching out to the public?
			To what extend are the actions of the MDW coalition intending to change public opinion? And do you think the coalition succeeds?
			In what ways do you try to attract attention for the case of the MDWs in The Netherlands? This can be both active participation in group activities or passively by for example informing your employers
		Importance of Media for MDW Coalition	Do you reach out to media channels to get attention for your case? If so, which ones and why?
Information	“Knowledge acquired by learning or research”	Existence of academic research on the topic	Do you ever make use of academic research to stress your point? Why?
		Knowledge of Average Dutch Citizen about the	Do you try to inform the public about your situation? If so, how?

	(Chandler & Munday, 2011)	Situation of MDWs in The Netherlands	Do you ever have conversations with your employers or anyone else in your environment about the non-regulation of your work? Why, do you think, are most Dutch citizens unfamiliar with the bad regulations on the position of domestic workers in general, and undocumented migrant domestic workers in particular?
Mobilizable Troops	“members of the attentive public who share [the] beliefs [of the policy elites] to engage in various political activities” (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, 203)	Level of Engagement in the Coalition	How and why did you become engaged in the network of organized MDW’s?
		Amount of Time Dedicated to Advocacy	How much time do you on average spend per month on your ‘membership of the MDW coalition’?
		Advocacy Activities Participated in	Do you actively participate in activities organized to raise awareness (such as public demonstrations, fund-raising campaigns, media attention-raising campaigns, etc)? And in which activities do you participate and in which ones do you choose not to? Why?
Financial Resources	Money	Financial Resources of MDW Coalition	Do you know if the MDW coalition possesses financial resources? Where do they get this money from?
		Number of Financial Sponsors and Investors	Are there any investors and/or financial sponsors of the case of the recognition of the position of MDW?
		Personal Investment in Advocacy (i.e. Travel Expenses to Headquarters, Meetings, Demonstrations, Etc.)	Do you make any personal financial investments in the fight for recognition (i.e. travel expenses to the meetings/headquarter/demonstrations, is there a fee to ‘membership’ of the coalition?, etc)?
		Expenses of MDW Coalition (i.e. Awareness-Raising Campaigns, Advertisements, Travel Costs, Rent for a Place to Meet)	What is the money spend on (i.e. awareness raising campaigns, advertisements, travel costs, rent for a place to meet)?
		Existence of a Treasurer within Coalition	Does the MDW network have a treasurer? If so, how is decided who this is?
Skillful Leadership	The process of efficiently organizing the coalition and managing the available resources	Manager of the Membership File	Is there a certain person in the coalition who administers the membership file?
		Contact Person	Who is the contact person for MDW’s? And what can he/she be contacted for?
			Is there a mediator in case there is a conflict within the coalition?
		Planner and Organizer	Who organizes the meetings and takes care of the planning?
			Is there a coalition member who organizes the activities and manifestations you can participate in?
Agenda-Setter	Who sets the agenda for the meetings?		

		Spokesperson	Who informs the 'members' of the coalition that an activity will take place?
		Recruiter	Do you actively recruit new members?
			And is this done within the private networks of the individual members, or is there a particular member who is responsible for that?

Last question: is there anything else you would like me to know and which I forgot to ask for during the interview?

Thank you for your participation in this interview and your openness and honesty. As said previously, your answers will only be used for the purpose of this thesis.