

Orly Benjamin

Gendering Israel's Outsourcing

The Erasure of Employees' Caring Skills



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Orly Benjamin
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Bar-Ilan University
Ramat Gan, Tel Aviv, Israel

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In loving Memory of my Grandmother Fanny Pinku and my Mother Yeti Pinku, strong immigrant women struggling to provide and care for their families.

PREFACE

Employees in service and care occupations' work is identified with both slavery and expert knowledge. Women and men are employed in service and care occupations (SACO) in a range of positions where hard work is sometimes appropriately recognized and remunerated but often is not. The value of the work, and how skilled it is, remain ideologically contested. Those who believe that SACO employees possess valuable skills that are based on their occupational training, and that they should benefit from the continuous development of workers as citizens, support claims for recognition made by SACO employees themselves. In contrast, those who want to pay SACO employees less (or not pay them at all) promote ideologies and policy practices that undervalue SACO employees' work and deskill them. When the latter ideologies and policy practices dominate, they attempt to erase all historical feminist achievements that have already received a significant amount of recognition. In the context of welfare regimes that embrace the domination of the "cheap services" doctrine, the historical struggles to prove the value and skill in SACO work has to begin almost from scratch.

Hester Eisenstein and Nancy Fraser indirectly blame middle-class feminists for the recent erasure of the value and skill of care work and argue that feminist emancipatory politics has legitimized neo-liberal policies, including the defeat of the family wage. However, for this to be accurate, an enormous amount of feminist endeavor in favor of SACO employees would have to be disregarded. This includes feminists engaged in the political struggle to value and recognize SACO in various settings: unions, local and transnational activism, professionals within public administrations, as well as in social movements, and as service deliverers, service

users, citizens and scholars. At times this activism is led by feminists who are themselves in SACO, while at other times they work with them on the basis of political solidarity.

This book aims to unravel the disparity between the plethora of literature, social change protest and actions that support SACO employees' definition of themselves as skilled and doing valuable work, and the institutional indifference to these claims. This indifference, justified by "best value" and "low public expenditures" arguments, commodifies SACO work, and the research described here deals with some of the ramifications of the commodification process for employees and more generally for the professionalization projects in the social services.

Anyone who has ever read about the working conditions of women employed in the many export processing zones in the Global South (sometimes called "free trade zones") knows that their employment is a form of slavery and that neo liberals do not have any moral issues with that. As long as slavery is good for profits, it can be legitimized as paid work and pursued with equanimity. For instance, the 1964 International Labor Organization (ILO) convention, which states that workers' human dignity as well as their rights to develop their skills and other human virtues have to be protected, has tended to be silenced in public discourses globally in recent years. One of my objectives in writing this book was to elaborate on the notion of Southernization introduced by Edna Bonacich and her colleagues maintaining that the elimination of ILO conventions on workers' rights has not been limited to the global south. Israel, a country with well-developed labor laws, has been a pioneer in the southernization project of applying the blurred boundaries between slavery and work, locally. To illustrate, Israel probably has the best occupational health and safety law worldwide, but in January 2016 alone, eight employees of construction contractors were killed in accidents. The official in charge of law enforcement in this area says the employment conditions of the regulators are so bad that she cannot fill the vacancies. Intense protest has been organized in this area by a coalition, but the government has further reduced the budget for inspectors.

During the past decade, I taught a course for graduate sociology students at Bar Ilan University titled *The Personal and Political of Job Insecurity*. Over the years, an increasing number of students experienced the course as a rare moment in which the academic world touched their own world and gave them voice. I therefore aimed here at disproving the common belief that southernization applies solely to the social Other, e.g., labor migrants, refugees, Palestinians, Israeli-Palestinians, immigrants and

so on. I wanted to expose the institutional mechanisms that allow southernization to be incrementally applied to SACO employees who in fact are the traditional core of the Israeli collective, namely certified and uncertified social workers, nurses and teachers as well as child-care and elderly-care employees. Further, by splitting the issue of value and skill recognition into remuneration and direct participation in which the employees' views are taken into account, I show that southernization also affects administrators at the education, health and welfare ministries, in charge of many SACO services. Thus, these administrators are included in the very broad category of SACO used here.

I believe that the institutional treatment of SACO employees is a feminist issue even though many of these workers are men. In so doing I associate myself with a long tradition of feminists who believe that women depend on SACO not just as employees but also as service users caring for others in their families, and as reformists leading the ongoing politics of needs interpretation. At the same time, I follow Tronto's recent conceptualization of a caring democracy, namely that everybody who wants to live in a democratic state/globe depends on SACO and their democratic social organization. In fact, women are the cornerstone of SACO, but it is important to see that SACO are devalued by the idea that service and care work is based on intuition rather than occupational training. For this reason, it is preferable to avoid equating SACO and women. Rather, it serves the politics of skill recognition better to depict the current diversity that is continuously becoming more visible with men who belong to racial/national/religious/ethnic/immigration minorities, and are almost as dependent on SACO jobs as their female counterparts.

Throughout this book I argue that the historical specificity of Israel, where SACO employees were unionized and had quality jobs (even though the salaries were low), a condition that in some years was even true for cleaning women and the cart ladies who distributed tea and sandwiches (a typical feature of Israeli bureaucracy until the 1970s), is a feminist achievement. Why do I say that it is a feminist achievement? Were there any specific feminist leaders in the area of social work, health and education that called for professionalization and job quality in these areas? Have feminist leaders set up the university departments awarding credentials in these areas, as they have elsewhere in the world? Notwithstanding the work of many other feminists, as the specific local answer I go back to the amazing life endeavor of Henrietta Szold (1860–1945), who visited Palestine in 1909 and shouldered the development of the healthcare,

welfare and education services. In 1912, the year in which the Levinsky teachers' college for women was founded by an Eastern European Zionist organization with the goal of teaching Hebrew rather than women's professionalization, she founded and directed Hadassah, the Jewish women's organization that would fund her projects. In 1918 Hadassah opened its first nursing school, and in 1920 Henrietta Szold immigrated and took charge of the health and education department in the national leadership. In 1931 she was elected the women's organization representative to the national elected assembly and became the head of the national social work service. This position enabled her to create social welfare units in all city councils and to oversee professionalization issues. Hence the origins of the social services in Israel are feminist, with Henrietta Szold and her colleagues having adopted a welfare universalist approach, even though, as many scholars have shown, it was also an approach that was Eurocentric and exclusionary in many ways. Later historical advances were somewhat less feminist in that education and social work became male dominated administrations. The hierarchy between male managers and female front line employees was supported by an ideology of semi-professions in which these three occupations were considered to be the domain of women and therefore could not be assumed to have a specific knowledge base. However, by defining the quality jobs women held in many of the public social services in the pre-state era and today as feminist achievements, I also draw attention to the feminist efforts of women who were part of the Socialist-Zionist movement, who insisted on equality for women and an equal say in all institutions. Their efforts are described in several historical accounts documenting this spirit, but rarely are these efforts referred to as relevant to the SACO struggles or to feminists today. Although I purposely deal with health, education and welfare together to expose the neo-liberal, New Public Management (NPM) zeal to undermine achievements of all SACO, each of these fields of course has its own history and its own configuration. However, I focus solely on the exceptional case that Israel manifests being a country in which (many) women's paid work has always been legitimated and supported by stable jobs in education, health-care and welfare services. The state's "overly high" public expenditures on relatively good services enabled many immigrant families and quite a few Israeli-Palestinian families to gain access to the social rights of citizenship, including housing and education.

This past cannot be seen as entirely feminist, since discrimination against women took many forms and ethno-national exclusions were dominant

characteristics of the welfare regime of the time. At the same time, however, the feminist aspect of it must be cherished and further pursued and elaborated. That is particularly true because, in 1977, with the rise of the economic right, the local alliance between capitalism and patriarchy became much more powerful and exclusionary. Once public expenditures had to be cut, women in cleaning and pink collar occupations were the first to be excluded. I encourage anyone committed to action against this alliance to join a transnational care movement that challenges the rationalizations of “crisis”, “austerity” and “inflation” as false as long as tax shelters are protected. I hope my call will be heard so that the many organizations and movements currently engaged in local struggles will form an umbrella organization that can work towards a caring democratic globe. I believe that is the main feminist endeavor of our time and I hope many others who share my beliefs will see the urgency of transnational action.

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Gendering Outsourcing

INTRODUCTION: CARING SKILLS, EMOTIONS AND BUDGETS

For the last thirteen years, Olla V. has been working as a care assistant in after-school clubs for children aged 3–9. She serves lunch and involves the children in educational activities that maintain the children's interest. Her skills, knowledge and experience are necessary: if she is skilled enough, the children will willingly stay in the after-school care service until 4:00 p.m. when they will be fetched home. If she is unable to generate interest, the children will refuse to stay and their parents will be left with no child-care services between the end of the school day and the end of their work day.

Until the Israeli government responded to the 2011 cost of living protests, Olla V. was employed by a division of the city council as part of a system that charged parents more for after-school care services than they pay currently. It was a system that made her feel that her educational skills as a care assistant were recognized, since the city council rewarded staff who attracted parents. They were not paid per capita but they were made to feel part of the service's success. The 2011 reform responded to the parents' protest movement against the high expenses of child-care services by externalizing the after-school service. The municipal response meant that costs to parents could be reduced. Outsourcing enabled the elimination of the child-care assistants' rights to the city council's employment conventions that took their number of years of experience into account. Thus, their income was flattened: the payment scale disappeared and was

replaced by fixed-term employment and minimum wage hourly payment. This made Olla V. extremely frustrated. All her years of experience, all the training courses she had taken and her status as a senior child-care assistant, got erased. She understands the economic rationale for this erasure: "Under this new system, it doesn't make sense for them to employ us; we're no longer part of their economic considerations."

Olla V. used to take pride in the recognition she received, both professionally and personally, as part of the council unit's team. She was entitled to various forms of occupational training, and was invited to customary wine toasts before holidays. These small gestures could be experienced as ceremonies of recognition and appreciation for her valuable contribution that validated her occupational pride as well as her sense of belonging. The option of moving up the payment ladder didn't mean that her salary was much higher, but it meant that her experience was recognized. The most important thing was the fact that direct employment by the city council meant that she continued to receive her salary during the holidays, when the after-school caring service was closed. The reform resulted in painful exclusion:

Our employment conditions are much worse than they used to be and show no respect for us. Under these conditions, no experienced child-care assistant is willing to stay, and the turnover is so high that sometimes children do not know the name of the child-care assistant ... we feel they cheated us ... they handed us the contract right before the beginning of the school year so that we couldn't prepare our rebuttal ... we couldn't challenge it ... The most insulting part is how they smashed the payment ladder into three categories regardless of the training courses you took; they now consider you a new employee of the new employer, which means most of us have lost our rank from our years of experience. Suddenly, our pay checks tell us we have no experience and that is just so insulting. Because they changed our employer, they consider all of us to have no experience as if there aren't any differences between us ... Nobody at the city council protected our interests when they planned this reform, and nobody is there if something goes wrong. The coordinators never have the time for you, and will tell you they're sorry but they can't help you with your problems. Many of us do not even know who our employer is ... let alone go to see them to find out why your pay check was calculated the way it was. Many child-care assistants were fired right before the summer, and they made no attempt to find alternative employment for us during the summer vacation, as was always the case in the old system. They don't care about us ... they can get rid of us whenever they want.

After years of occupational pride, Olla V. is now exposed to what can be called “a ceremony of degradation”: her contribution, so valuable in her eyes, so often praised in the past, has practically been erased, treated as non-existent. The frustration and resentment manifest in the way she describes the process of erasure she has experienced suggest that her pride has been replaced by insult and humiliation. This humiliation emerges not just on an abstract level but in specific situations as well. Because reaching the office is almost impossible, in real terms outsourcing means that she cannot go to the office to claim any payment entitlement that has not been respected in the preparation of her pay check. Further, outsourcing in her daily experience means that the coordinator, the certified occupational expert, the person she could potentially turn to with caring-related questions, is not there to respond to her needs. Outsourcing emerges as a mode of operating an after-school caring service in ways that erase caring skills in two ways: first, if the child-care assistants had years of experience and training, these are not recognized; and second, the person whose occupational skills are recognized faces such intensified workload expectations that she cannot practically provide occupational advice when required because she is too busy with other issues. The certified employee cannot provide occupational guidance despite the assumption made in the contract on the basis of which the service is operated, that certified employees will supervise the service. These are common features of contracted-out caring services where cost considerations marginalize considerations related to the quality of the service. As Epstein (2013) noted, public sector agencies have no incentive to protect service quality when it comes to populations too weak to lobby for quality services. However, the emotional experiences of the employees expose another facet of the process.

Care and service jobs constitute a major component of the opportunity structure open to women and it is particularly significant for women who haven't managed to attain higher education or an occupational certificate. When outsourcing becomes a predominant preference for administrators in the delivery of services, for many women and the men who enter these fields, insult becomes a repeated experience. Women's feelings of insult over work left invisible, of skills going unrecognized, of valuable work being appropriated so that others are praised, are age-old. As an occupational experience, however, this insult is locally new: Olla V.'s pride could be developed and sustained by a history of professionalization and unionization. Their fading status is new. Shame, humiliation and insecurity in response to employment practices tended to be relegated to women who

were excluded from these positive trends, often those in organizational cleaning or other menial jobs. Public sector reforms and more specifically the introduction of outsourcing to the delivery of welfare, education and health services have gradually made feelings such as Olla V.'s common to increasing numbers of employees in service and care occupations (SACO)¹ in their encounters with myriad forms of exclusion, introduced despite better conventions already having been established. The insult and humiliation are signifiers of a triple exclusion: from the locally accepted form of citizenship; from unions, women's organizations and occupational associations, each too isolated to protect them; and from regulatory bodies monitoring the quality of services. This triple exclusion can easily go unnoticed. How has the public discourse treated employees' exclusions and feelings of insult and humiliation? Well, primarily by silencing them. Silencing has made it possible for the gendered nature of many of the public sector reforms, in Israel and elsewhere, to be disguised. To expose this gendered nature, it is important to unsilence these emotions by exposing the justification structures administratively used in their silencing while listening to how feelings of insult and humiliation have come to color experiences of working in outsourced caring services.

In neo-liberal times, occupation-related negative emotions such as insult and humiliation are not often expressed. As Richard Sennett showed in *The Corrosion of Character* (1998), they are seen as an admission of failure when faced with job insecurity. People experiencing job insecurity are expected to quickly adjust and move on to other jobs where they will be able to regain their pride and success. However, once precarious forms of employment generate job insecurity among education, health and welfare employees who cannot get jobs outside the services in these areas, they are exposed to the shame of dependence on their "bad jobs." I therefore depart from Sennett's claim that the most important outcome of the social process prompting negative occupational emotions is the isolation that "erodes mutual trust and commitment" (141). When it comes to the "bad jobs" created in education, health and welfare services, the most important outcome signified by negative emotions is a reverse movement in the historical pendulum of gender relations. In the world of SACO employees, outsourcing re-established the assumption that women's caring hard work and caring skills should remain unpaid or deserving of pin money alone. Policy-makers' tendency to treat care employees in this manner is particularly visible in the case of child-care work, where occupational skills are still associated with mothering skills. Not recognizing these skills as

“learned and valuable” (Findlay et al. 2009: 423) insults women who are proud of the skills they have acquired through years of experience.

Job quality is assumed to be associated with employees’ level of skill and the time invested to develop that skill (Findlay et al. 2009). It is commonly evaluated by the distinction between extrinsic dimensions primarily related to material remuneration and intrinsic dimensions primarily related to workers’ occupational identity and satisfaction. Skill recognition also has these two dimensions: the first is manifested through material remuneration related to skill development, payment scale and promotion. The second is “direct participation,” manifested when employees’ opinions on occupational matters are taken into account. When the various dimensions of job quality are high, employment secures social citizenship, i.e., access to basic economic welfare and to the basic standards of living prevailing in a society.

However, in SACO what can be considered a skill, and how long it takes to develop it, is a question of political stance. It is political in the sense of commitment to recognizing service and caring work as valuable. It is also the political commitment involved in providing those served and taken care of with best practice care (Tronto 1993). Recognition of skill is essential for enhanced job quality and service quality (Howes et al. 2012). To secure quality jobs and quality services, feminists have engaged in the project of professionalization in SACO since women began to enter higher education (Dahle 2012). Once policy-makers aim at reduced service costs, sometimes phrased as “best value for money,” the feminist project of professionalization is attacked, resulting in reduced quality of services associated with low-quality jobs and high overload. The questioning of professionalization is implicit for certified SACO and explicit for uncertified SACO and occurs in the institutional sites where standards of quality of services are negotiated and decisions concerning public funding are made. These emerging institutional spaces are the procedures of contract design taking place in the Ministries in charge of operating the service. Outsourcing intensified the decision-making in the contract design procedure and made it a requirement of any contracted service, both the first time and at the end of each contract period. These emerging institutions have become the new “modernized” loci for political action, conflict and power relations. These institutional spaces and the negotiations they embed may be more important for understanding job quality in SACO and employees’ experiences than their workplaces themselves. If the contract between a public agency and a service deliverer dictates, for instance, the job size and hence the workload of a social worker, the contract must be studied to understand

how policy-makers treat this individual's occupational knowledge, skills, experience and rights. In the following chapters I present my study of the institutional space taking feelings as my vantage point.

Women's feelings in this context have not received the attention they deserve and their political significance has not been explored. Systematic attention to women's feelings, or the unsilencing of women's feelings, could however shed light on a fascinating political process taking place globally, that will be examined here in the context of the Israeli outsourcing of services. These feelings are relevant to increasingly more SACO employees whose skills are now undervalued, whose wages are flattened in various ways, and whose jobs are of low quality and insecure. These feelings emerge in a process in which entitlement to skill recognition and appropriate remuneration is defeated by policy-makers and budgeting administrators. Outsourcing as a policy is based on ignoring women's feelings, which become a historical resonant of the feelings experienced by caring women throughout history. Because the value of caring work has generally been ignored in numerous settings, the feelings of humiliation triggered by the invisibility of caring work constitute the ultimate feminine subject. It is a feminine subjectivity based on devotion that is often accompanied by a clear moral commitment to best practices of caring for others and that takes pride in such practices. The coexistence of pride in delivering high-quality caring standards, and of humiliation triggered by invisibility, ignoring and devaluing, has a political potential but also the potential to become a resource for the self. If acted upon collectively, so that humiliation and pride can be turned toward initiatives demanding changes in social policy and more generally in the social organization of care, its political potential can take the fore. If not acted upon, if such feelings remain on the level of the individual, their potential to become a resource for the self remains limited and privatized.

By focusing on these feelings, and on the emotional ambivalence of pride and humiliation, a specific gender/class position can be delineated, raising Crompton and Scott's question of what claims of recognition can become persistent. Emotional politics, the perspective offered by Skeggs (1997) for an understanding of gender/class positions by looking at how the feeling structure that allocates shame, humiliation and uncertainty to working-class women is refuted, sheds light on the emerging potential of claims for recognition.

Outsourcing, with its preference for unpaid care, validates claims of recognition that are anchored in feminine performativity, namely producing and validating the feminine self by connecting to the historically,

often silenced, feminine position of doing work that is not recognized. Femininity, in this gender/class position, is seen as valuable and accountable even if the valuing aspect has no translation in terms of job security, employment conditions or income. These more material features remain sources of insult and constitute a continuous form of uncertainty in SACO employees' negotiations with others: will others validate their value on the basis of their skill, knowledge and experience or will others accept the institutional erasure of these occupational assets? And, if the latter, will it be possible to explicitly claim recognition in this situation (Crompton and Scott 2005)? The analysis below indicates that when the emotional politics extracts pride through collective efforts, claims for recognition are more likely to become public, but extensive political and feminist support is required for these claims to become effective.

In this book I expose the ways in which erasure has become the dominant form of Israeli social policy downgrading SACO employees. I take the erasure of their occupational knowledge as a point of departure to show that when it comes to the caring occupations, the process of contract design has a violent aspect to it: the contract between the procuring public agency and the potential service deliverer may treat occupational knowledge accumulated by employees as non-existent. Indeed, occupational knowledge in these contracts tends to be erased; namely, the budgeting of the contracts does not cover the expense of skilled work, and appropriate assessments of workloads and needs are not included. I argue that these two forms of erasure of occupational knowledge are echoed in additional forms of erasure of women's caring knowledge: even when relevant knowledge to the quality of services, is accumulated in academia and in practice, it is erased rather than taken into account for funding purposes.

Acker's (2006a) notion of "gendering" accurately represents the process of erasure. She asks feminists to uncover covert social processes that re-establish hierarchical gender relations as relevant, and erasure is the social process that positions those in SACO in ancient gendered positions of unpaid care. Further, erasure, as an implicit gendering process, constitutes SACO-related knowledge as marginal to the extent that it prevents the possibility of taking it into account.

By unveiling the practices of erasure, I have three theoretical objectives. The first is gendering the power relations between managerialism and occupational professionalism (Evetts 2009); the second is exposing the conditions in which feminine performativity becomes a resource of SACO employees; and the third is an analytical objective, aiming at

conceptualizing whether this process institutes disentanglement as part of a broader picture of eroded social citizenship.

I also have a bridging objective where I present the basic guidelines for a transnational care movement in the form of a coalition of social forces to lead the struggle against the current mode of service delivery. I argue that professionalization has to be a main pillar in its agenda while promoting a mode of service delivery that is more dialogic and based on the valuing of care work and of the knowledge, skills and experiences embedded in it. Recognizing that past service delivery modes allowed SACO employees to sometimes abuse their power positions (Abbott and Meerabeau 1999), the proposed mode of service delivery is based on a reflexive dialogue with critical voices, on public participation next to occupational regulation. For the pursuit of my bridging objective, I follow a political ethics of care promoting the right to care.

The “political ethics of care” was introduced by Williams (2001) as a framework for reconciling the ethics of care with the ethics of work. She conceives of an ethics of care that remains sensitive to the broad range of tensions and power relations documented by feminist scholars that must inform social policy. This can create caring services that aim to minimize “inequalities in care giving and care receiving” (487). When an ethics of care informs the delivery of services, caring relations and actions are funded in such a way that sufficient time is allocated to caring procedures, and skilled caring work is accomplished. Williams emphasizes the importance of a mode of service delivery that allows for choice. At the same time, service delivery must not compromise quality, affordability, accessibility, flexibility or control. An ethics of care is based on valuing both paid and unpaid care. It adheres to the policy orientation that promotes high standards of care as a principle that governs the recruitment, pay, conditions and training of care workers (*ibid.*). Below I discuss the right to care as the right to be part of a mode of service delivery that adheres to Williams’ principles.

The “right to care” implies that SACO employees are properly paid for the care work they undertake. Historically, this right has been marginalized in policy-making and public discourses despite numerous scholarly works indicating how crucial it is to hold it as a criterion for the quality of services. Research in the area of the “right to care” has primarily dealt with three themes: (1) arguing for skill recognition, even for those in menial and reproductive SACO (Duffy 2011); (2) emphasizing the worth of care work as a social value and as an ethical commitment (Folbre and Wright 2012); and (3) condemnation of discrimination and inequality that conceptualizes the social value of work and highlights the “caring penalty”

created by pay gaps between income in care occupations and masculine occupations of comparable worth (England 1992). The material/socialist feminist approach I utilize here also includes a fourth theme: challenging the erasure of caring knowledge, skills and experience in the outsourcing mode of government service delivery. But what allows me to use such a harsh concept as erasure for a complex and delicate reality?

By employing the concept of erasure, I undertake to unveil policies that silence SACO employees' emotions and contributions to policies that silence welfare recipients, particularly those participating in "welfare to work" programs (Maskovsky 2001). Studies have shown that the erasure of welfare recipients' agency and contribution occurs in welfare to work programs and policies where maternal work, among other forms of women's agency, is seen as valueless. Here, I use the notion of erasure to name the devaluation of the emotions, skills and knowledge of SACO employees—the marginalization of knowledge and information held by occupational standards administrators (hereafter OS admins) in the contract design negotiation. My aim is to offer a conceptualization of the bridge between these forms of erasure and that which takes place when scholarly work on the value of care work and on the ethics of care is ignored. I see all of these as parallel facets of the codependency between capitalism and patriarchy and therefore as demanding a bridging politics. This bridging emphasizes the political potential of women's feelings by translating them into a coalition based on the spirit of women (and men) working together towards increased recognition of the value of their service, care work and knowledge.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THIS BOOK

In the remainder of this introductory chapter I set forth some basic information related to my research questions particularly concerning outsourcing, outsourcing outside Israel and the Israeli-specific context. In Chapter 2 I focus on the emotional politics manifested by SACO employees in contracted-out services. The analysis of their narratives shows how they insist on claiming recognition for their occupational skills. It also portrays their realization that these skills are dismissed by policy-makers. Chapter 3 examines the Israeli context of welfare restructuring, and explores how a sense of entitlement that has been cultivated by an institutional context based on social citizenship has responded to the transition. I link this analysis to gender performativity as an emerging resource for the self, given the analyzed transition in service delivery. Chapter 4 presents budgeting administrators'

views of unions and contrasts them with unionized employees' claims for skill recognition that have emerged as part of actual negotiations with the administration around them. Particularly intriguing is their insistence on direct participation, namely that their occupational experiential knowledge is valuable and should be taken into account. Chapter 5 introduces the voice of the administrators and reveals the rhetoric of dialogue and consensus they use, contrasting it with the voice of OS admins and their point of view on the process. In Chapter 6 I return to Julia O'Connor's notion of a political opportunity structure to substantiate a visionary alternative aimed at promoting a femocratic service delivery mode that is consistent with what Hester Eisenstein (2010) calls a *parental state*, and Joan Tronto (2013) calls a *caring democracy*. I introduce six social categories as potential allies which together could campaign for a dialogic social organization of government services. In Chapter 7, the general discussion, I return to the theoretical framework and probe the three theoretical questions raised above. My discussion focuses on the part emotions could play in generating disorientation to social citizenship, even though this process is still held back; on processes magnifying feminine performativity and on the marginalizing of material remuneration. I also offer a perspective on the role of emotions in promoting social change and the recovery of a mode of service delivery based on a political ethics of care. Let me begin here with a methodological note.

A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Institutional ethnography is a feminist research method developed by Dorothy Smith (2005). It is a set of methods that allow for the systematic examination of work processes and study of the texts and discourses that underlie the coordination between them. In the process of analyzing data by this method, the aim is to understand the work that is done in a given setting and to distinguish between activities that are recognized and valued institutionally and those that are left silenced on the margins. One major assumption is that "social control is increasingly and pervasively textual and discursive" and the work therefore focuses on the discursive forms that become part of the mapped power positions and procedures. Institutional ethnography aims at accumulating sociological knowledge that is based on the points of view of people and their experience of it, but most importantly it explores the institutional order, what Dorothy Smith calls "the ruling relations," as people experience it.

From my own point of view, institutional ethnography seems particularly suitable for studying the world that SACO employees, employed in

outsourced services, encounter in their attempts to demand recognition for their knowledge, experience and skill. It is a world of power relations that is relatively secretive: very little is known about how the funding for SACO jobs in outsourced services is determined, or what institutional order SACO employees encounter once they individually or collectively attempt to challenge the terms and conditions of their jobs. In the case of outsourcing employment relations, SACO employees, like service users, have to find for themselves the texts, laws and procedures that shape their experience, in a process of continuous learning.

Institutional ethnography allowed me to contribute somewhat to this learning. I identified the political processes that shape procedures and practices relevant to the quality of jobs of SACO employees, as well as how cost saving is enacted and turned into a force that shapes SACO employees' experiences. Despite the fact that the processes involved different actors employed by different ministries, local authorities and third sector organizations, I defined the contracting process at the ministries as the institution under investigation. To understand the negotiation and budgeting processes that take place in the defined institution, I conducted an institutional ethnography between 2011 and 2013, focusing on the gap between levels of skill recognition held by the different actors. The data enabled me to pursue my objective of gendering Israel's outsourcing through several distinct analytical paths. On the basis of interviews with administrators, gendering emerged as the need to understand how professionalization in SACO jobs is constituted as "too expensive" to the extent that the feminist enterprise it embeds is significantly endangered. Interviews with SACO employees enabled me to understand gendering outsourcing as their continuous encounter with the under-valuation of their work and their treatment as disposable. Moreover, interviews with SACO employees also revealed that gendering outsourcing requires also the identification of the process by which femininity as an alleged set of intuitions and interpersonal skills is both relied upon by employees and is the basis for the institutional reduction of their remuneration. Interviews with those involved in SACO unionization and unionized struggle revealed another meaning of gendering outsourcing, namely the institutional attempt to constitute unions as irrelevant to SACO employees next to the institutional attempt to dismiss any occupational knowledge held by unionized SACO employees. Finally, gendering outsourcing emerged also as the struggle of activists and SACO employees demanding to become part of a unified employment relations system that responds to their claims for recognition both in term of material rewards and in terms of taking their knowledge into account.

As my entry point into the institutional ethnography, employees in various SACO were interviewed: uncertified nurses employed in the vaccination project that replaced traditional school nurses, social workers employed in welfare projects for youth, teachers employed by a second opportunity project for dropouts, child-care assistants and elderly-care providers. In the next step, gradually learning how the contracts are designed, thirty-five structured interviews were conducted with people involved in tenders controlled by the Health, Education and Welfare Ministries in Israel. Among the interviewees, six were budgeting administrators, one was a representative of the firm that prepares the tender contract, twelve were OS admins, four were public sector administrators in charge of long-term contract management and specifically dealt with evaluating service deliverers' performance, four were representatives of service delivery organizations, and eight were union representatives and members. The interviewees were identified through an institutional ethnography method (Smith 2005) where researchers follow procedures aimed at exposing the stages and the routes by which information is transferred between administrators and positions. Interviewees were asked to indicate the people who worked with them, and they provided the names of additional interviewees. However, relatively few administrators were willing to be interviewed, possibly because of the sensitivity of the issue. The duration of the interviews was about one hour. The interviewer, a research assistant who was familiar with certain tender processes because of his activism in the area of compulsory tendering of cleaning services, took notes during the interviews, and transcribed the notes immediately after the interview.

The analysis of the material collected in an institutional ethnography study has two goals: learning about the interviewees' routine procedures and their moral justifications for their routine, and their contributions to these routines. Thus, the analysis is rarely focused on the subjective meanings in the interviewees' world, as it is in Grounded Theory, for example. Instead, the analysis of institutional ethnography materials is closer to critical discourse analysis that focuses on exposing power relations, power positions and power legitimization mechanisms. These aspects are all embedded in Smith's definition of ruling relations. In my analyses of the empirical material I felt that these aspects could be better revealed in fewer and longer quotes such as are used in discourse analysis. At the same time, the quotes taken from interviews with administrators in the ministries cannot be related to specific job profiles, as such disclosure would immediately violate the anonymity of those who participated in the study.

According to Smith (2005), understanding the power relations in a specific institutional space requires, in addition to interviews, the examination of texts prepared in it. Thus, in my institutional ethnography study, I not only carried out interviews but also analyzed the ways in which job quality is shaped by the contracts/tender texts. As these have already been published elsewhere (Benjamin, 2015), I have not included them in the analyses presented in the chapters that follow.

SERVICE AND CARE OCCUPATIONS IN TIMES OF GLOBALIZATION

Research confirming the relative stability of the gender income gap has repeatedly drawn attention to the importance of horizontal occupational segregation. Specifically, SACO tend to have a larger proportion of female employees than the general population. In 2014, the gender gap in average earnings of full-time employees (OECD, employment database 2014) in the liberal market economies stood at approximately 19 percents (UK, 17.5 %; US, 17.9 %; Canada, 19.0 %; Australia, 18.0 %; and Israel, 21.8 %). At the same time, in service and caring occupations, where many earn flattened minimum wages, there may be no wage gaps at all. Caring occupations such as health services and social work are among the occupations with the smallest wage gaps (Baxter 2015). In Israel about 70% of all women in the labor market are employed in caring and service occupations. This segregation means that women depend on the welfare state's administration and services for their employment opportunities. This is particularly true for women trained or experienced in services such as cleaning and pink collar office work,² and those in caring occupations in the areas of welfare, education and health.

Outsourcing covers all forms of service delivery that are based on a contract of some form, and enable the government to reduce its responsibility for the quality of the service or the quality of the jobs performed. When the government reduces its responsibility for the quality of services, the effectiveness of those services is assessed in production units (e.g. number of appointments) rather than based on the extent to which specific skills, knowledge and appropriate responses are or should be provided within the allocated time for any specific service. When the government reduces its responsibility for the quality of jobs, unionization, representation, payment scales, experience-relevant remuneration, job size, workload, on-the-job training, promotion opportunities and

work-life balance, the (feminist) set of job quality indicators (Davoine et al. 2008) is not ensured. Thus, outsourcing here is used as a general category that includes all forms of mixed welfare (Bode 2006), public-private partnerships, civil society organizations delivery, commissioning and so on. Several studies have documented the rapid deterioration of employment conditions, income and job quality in the context of outsourcing in Anglo-Saxon countries and in Israel (e.g., Cunningham et al. 2014; Ravenswood and Kaine 2015; Benjamin 2011; Escott and Whitefield 1995; Dantico and Jurik 1986). These studies make it clear that outsourcing contributes enormously to SACO employees' in-employment poverty, i.e., poverty (and/or dependency) that persists during periods of labor market participation.

Depending on public policy and budgeting, the SACO, particularly those regulated by outsourcing or commissioning, become the "back door" of contemporary women's employment opportunities. This is one issue that is rarely discussed in the public discourse, and usually not discussed in terms of gender discrimination. The "front door," by contrast, consists of women employed in previously all-masculine occupations. A range of legislation and reforms have aimed at reducing gender discrimination by protecting women in these front door areas, such as laws dealing with equality between men and women in terms of workplace promotion and equal income for equal work. Consequently, reports of gender wage gaps in front door jobs show a decline to less than 20 percents. The possibility that women's job quality is deteriorating in back door jobs that are based on forced and triangular personal contracts (Neuman 2014) was recently empirically validated. On the basis of data collected in 2005 from thirty-one countries, Stier and Yaish (2014) found that emotional stress along with lower salaries, fewer opportunities for advancement, lower job security and less time autonomy, are typical of occupations with high proportions of women. If men enter SACO, their job quality declines to end up on a par with that of women in these occupations. Further, the same study showed that these findings are true for SACO employees with a college education as well. This creates a paradox in which a battle is waged against front door gender discrimination while a large proportion of the discrimination in the labor market is created by the under-valuation of women's work in SACO, particularly employees who are slow to unionize. The ways in which outsourcing and the contracting-out procedures involved in it help institute the under-valuation of SACO employees' work

are investigated in the following chapters. I focus primarily on justification structures that allow budgeting administrators to ignore SACO employees' caring skills in order to maintain low payment levels.

In 1990, Esping-Andersen underscored the magnitude of the principle of public sector responsibility for women's employment. Some countries such as Sweden in the early 1990s shouldered the responsibility for women's employment and invested considerably in many services, thus providing women with a wide range of jobs that were stable and of high quality. In contrast, countries such as the United States that cut budgets for services provided fewer jobs with less diversity and of low quality. This means that employment, primarily quality employment, is embedded in local welfare regimes and its deterioration must be examined as an outcome of policy. At the same time, as convergence seems to operate in caring services across countries, it seems worthwhile to examine this 'closing doors' effect as one of the gendering consequences of economic globalization (Acker 2006b).

In Israel, 85% of the labor force had the benefit of union coverage in 1980, but in 2014 the coverage rate had dropped to below 30%. These figures reflect the transition between a split corporatism-based welfare model in which the state was the largest employer of women,³ offering jobs to over 70 % of female labor market participants, and a mixed welfare extreme model,⁴ where the state offers jobs to only about 17 % of all employed women in 2013. This drop, *inter alia*, is explained by the fact that in 1979, the public sectors in Israel and Anglo-Saxon countries began to pursue reforms. These reforms transformed public sectors from predominant employers of women in SACO, to clients involved in the procurement of services on the basis of contracts with service deliverers. These service deliverers, in the form of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), both non-profit and for-profit, became significant actors in allegedly decentralized systems of service delivery. This incremental transformation of public sectors is defined as the outsourcing of the delivery of government services, and in the late 1990s outsourcing became the dominant mode of service delivery, increasingly applied to more services.

One of the implications of this transformation for the local ethno-national hierarchy between women was recently pointed out by Shalev and Lazaros (2012). They found that Israeli-Palestinian women are the first to lose job opportunities when the state downsizes its labor force. This

exclusionary nature of outsourcing can be seen as an aspect of a “human resource architecture” (Lepak and Snell 1999) that allocates differential employment arrangements in the delivery of services. It has split SACO employees into at least four categories: certified employees employed by the state, certified employees in casual employment offered by service deliverers, uncertified employees employed by the state and uncertified employees in precarious employment offered by service deliverers. Different types of union protection are associated with this architecture and have led to unequal skill recognition, unequal opportunities to further develop occupational skills and inequality in remuneration of existing skills.

Why were the 1979 reforms initiated? Legal measures in the form of government procurement laws were utilized by economic globalization organizations such as the world trade organization (WTO) that operated in its early days as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the European Union (EU) to introduce incremental changes in policy that impacted the local organization of service delivery. These local laws followed the guidelines of the 1979 global code on government procurement concerning the extent to which government and public sector agencies remain responsible for services. These government procurement policies, which were initially delegitimized when they took the form of compulsory tendering, gradually became “more legitimate” when commissioning could be presented as increasing client choice and quality of services. Between 1979 and the present, governments’ purchase of produce and governments’ purchase of services in general, and social services in particular, has increasingly become an arena for competition between potential service deliverers. The pace of the process has remained country specific. At the same time, government procurement introduced an internationalization process in which the historical political nature of any specific country is overshadowed. A similar pattern has emerged in different locations identified by Pavolini (2015: 10) as composed of three basic measures: decentralization of responsibility for national and local services; the reinforcement of managerialization, including the strengthening of managerial professionalism over occupational professionalism; and privatization and outsourcing. These three measures gradually introduce a focus on administrative procedures that create workloads that marginalize the utilization of professional skills. At the same time, these trends are involved in the constant distancing of service delivery decision-making processes from the specific workplaces where care and services are provided. In other words, SACO employees in many countries, in

different time spans, are practically, if not formally, deprived of their right to voice their informed opinion on how skill recognition and service delivery should be organized. This is also true for uncertified and certified employees who have remained protected by collective bargaining. One of the implications of these changes is that certified SACO employees whose daily routines make them the best sources of information of what's wrong, have limited ability to funnel this information higher up. In this way, an important dimension of the contribution of direct participation to job quality, consultative participation, is diminished. According to Gallie (2013), employees' psychological well-being is positively influenced by their ability to be part of problem-solving groups that empower employees by allowing them to influence organizational issues through direct communication with management. In the current design of the outsourcing of services, this advantage is lost.

Olla V., whose story began this introduction, lives in Israel. A systematic comparison (Mahon et al. 2012) suggests that in the Nordic welfare states, child-care assistants employed in child-care services are better protected. Even within Israel Olla's story is not applicable to the whole range of assistants employed in child-care services, since their different employers, with different funding contracts with city councils and governmental agencies, have different employment arrangements. In addition, definitions of skill recognition differ by employer, and levels of turnover vary accordingly (Holler and Gal 2011).

The fragmented nature of child-care services as workplaces that emerged locally after the upsurge in contracting out since the mid-1990s echoes other processes that have taken place elsewhere in the world. In the USA, the UK and several other countries, child-care services are a topic of heated debate. A number of researchers have noted that as long as child-care service employees are seen as providing care that does not involve "particular artefacts, special words and appropriate modes of behaviour" (795), their work is interpreted as maternal care (O'Connell 2011). The label "maternal care" leaves public sector administrators reluctant to recognize their skill and therefore satisfied with their level of minimal earning, defined by Diane Perrons (2007) as "pin money." Recognition only occurs when employees are perceived as educators, as reflected in Mahon et al.'s (2012) review of the way new-liberal reforms in the area of child-care services were introduced in Australia, Canada, Finland and Sweden. They show how "education" replaced "care." A similar shift was indicated by Moshel (2014) for the UK and Israel.

There has been a historical swing of the pendulum in each country. Child-care service employees are initially assumed to be doing a menial job unrelated to education or to a caring relationship. After a political struggle for skill recognition, a certain amount of recognition is granted in training programs and employment conditions. Duffy (2011) rightly points out that even when skills are recognized, distinctions will always be made, such that what is viewed as a menial category will be left behind. As Olla V.'s case shows, her skills had previously been recognized. Administrators' attempts to undermine this recognition is part of a historical swing backward. Israeli data provides a unique opportunity to see the big picture. This is because of Israel's famous historical and exceptionally well-developed child-care services created by women's organization assuming mothers' employment as early as the first half of the twentieth century (Israeli 1992). The local pendulum, like historical trends, can be seen as specific to the Israeli historical feminist struggle but given marketization policies elsewhere, it may not be that unique. It seems more plausible to argue that the Israeli case is simply an extreme example of a systematic move that applies to all women in countries whose administration is informed by the marketization rhetoric, and by the new public management (NPM) administrators who use it.

Countries whose political policy has given the NPM a strong foothold, and in which the forces challenging it have remained only partially successful, generally undermine SACO employees' entitlement to skill recognition more quickly. The zero-hours contract, where employees are asked to come in for a shift under no commitment that they will actually be given the shift work, has recently allowed service employers in the USA to dehumanize employees in terms of both their skills and their fundamental workers' rights. In the area of elderly care, American employees are also exposed to various disciplining sanctions that are contrary to their workers' rights. Thus, the social organization of SACO constitutes an empirical arena where policy-making administrators' views can be analyzed in detail, both on issues related specifically to skill recognition and the budgeting of occupational training, along with other facets of best practices embedded in the political ethics of care. Beyond the alignment of NPM administrators' views with current policies and practices in SACO, their views and beliefs shed light on a specific pillar of gender relations: the extent to which women's work is valued or dismissed. Historically, the struggle to insist on recognition of the value of women's service and caring work resulted in achievements such as payment ladders in several countries. Policies that negate that recognition, such as outsourcing, constitute important steps

backward in gender relations. Attempts to undermine hard-won achievements in the historical battle for the recognition of care as a set of skills that should be appropriately rewarded, should be seen as red flags for anyone concerned with gender equality.

Olla V.'s story clearly illustrates what happens when administrators pretend that care employees have no occupational experience, and design policies that ignore payment ladders so that there is constant turnover. In other words, the administrative project currently engages in erasing caring skills. Further, this erasure implies another erasure: that of the knowledge accumulated by public policy scholars such as Fiona Williams in the UK, Rianne Mahon and Tammy Findley in Canada, and Mignon Duffy and Fiona Robinson in the USA. All these authors and many others have highlighted the necessity of organizing service delivery around the political ethics of care. It is well known that the skills of nannies involved in the upbringing of children in upper class families have been ignored by policy-makers throughout history. Currently, budgeting administrators, and the legal consultants they employ, also appear to be solely focused on developing ways to ignore them. How is it possible that men and women, in their role as budgeting administrators informed by the marketization rhetoric, see the reduction in cost of care as a professional achievement? There are three key factors that help answer this question. The first is that there has been a return to the days before the women's movement managed to establish child-care and other caring services as a government responsibility both for users and for employees. This requires an empirical examination of how administrators present their beliefs on the quality of services and the level of the required labor force. The second involves the low level of political opposition that has arisen against attempts to minimize SACO employees' income. Given that nursing assistants in hospitals and long-term elderly-care employees join child-care assistants to constitute a large category of women who universally suffer from in-work poverty, it is surprising that only few unions and women's organizations around the world undertake to combat the identification of these categories with immigration or try to protect them. This requires an empirical focus on the ability of unions to operate on behalf of these employees. The third involves the political efforts on the part of SACO employees and women's organizations to re-establish the valuing of women's work and skill recognition. This requires the study of the potential for a political opposition to be set up to limit the possibility that services cost reduction would be seen as an occupational achievement for budgeting administrators.

The reforms of the 1990s sparked scholarly debates on their gendered nature and the job insecurity they generated. This debate is empirically complex, since women make their livings and accrue occupational prestige on both sides of the fence: the Ministries' and city councils' administrators who implement measures against skill recognition can often be female economists, lawyers, chartered accountants and other professionals. SACO employees and union leaders struggling for skill recognition are often women, even though there have been frequent reports of growing numbers of men in SACO. Below, I show that the gendered nature of job insecurity is not clearly determined. This analysis underpins my argument that job insecurity in SACO is indeed gendered in nature, because it erases care-related occupational knowledge, even though the actual demographic composition in these areas is undergoing a change. One key reason for considering SACO employees as primarily women is that the lower echelons in these fields are immediate sources of job possibilities for women who are particularly exposed to the intersection of gender/class/ethno-national-race/immigration and citizenship status. Job insecurity for these women reflects their continuous poverty while holding part-time or full-time jobs as well as during periods of unemployment. Thus, if job insecurity becomes a constant experience in SACO, it is conducive for the analysis of gender relations, and should be acknowledged as an issue of particular pertinence to women.

GENDERING JOB INSECURITY CREATED BY OUTSOURCING

The fact that potential service deliverers compete for contracts with the government, hospitals, universities, city councils and other public sector agencies, instills two sources of continuous job insecurity in SACO employees' lives. First, most service deliverers are small in size, which would tend to preclude unionization. Alternatively, fragmentation of services can result in a multiplicity of service deliverers, thus making unionization very difficult. If unionization occurs after the contract and prices are already set (see Chap. 4 for a discussion of these issues), the related struggle may remain limited in its effects. Further, unionization, even when it occurs, may be viewed as a negative factor for bidders, to the extent of risking the contract itself. In terms of job insecurity, jobs are lost when a service deliverer loses the contract either before or at the time of contract termination. The second form of job insecurity is rooted in the employer–employee relationship in that any employee can easily be made redundant. Job insecurity,

however, is also delimited by bad employment conditions, such that potential replacements for employees who quit are not easy to find.

Job insecurity in women's lives is closely related to skill recognition. The politics of skill recognition in SACO exposes women who make their living in these occupations to a specific type of job insecurity, namely a lack of occupational alternatives. As Olla V. above said, skilled after-school child-care assistants would rather look for alternatives rather than stick to an insulting arrangement. But who has an alternative? In the area of care services, an alternative that would suit a working mother's life and would offer better employment arrangements is often difficult to find. Thus the politics of skill recognition unfold in the context of polarized power relations between two parties: those controlling budgets and fund allocations for government services, on the one hand, and those employed in them under conditions of job insecurity in the form of dependency on a bad job, on the other hand. Who among SACO employees are dependent on bad jobs? While it is true that skills developed in SACO are not easily translated into other areas of the labor market, dependency should be examined more precisely in the way in-work poverty was examined by Peña-Casas and Ghailani (2011). They showed that crucial to dependency on a bad job are the impact of parenthood (availability of quality child-care services) and the number of earners in the household. Additional issues are area of residence and its job opportunities structure (particularly long-term structural unemployment), transportation and access to occupational training outside SACO. In addition, policy-level aspects shape dependency on bad jobs by welfare reforms through cuts in allowances. All these factors mean that women in SACO whose income is necessary for their breadwinning obligations are forced to hold on to their jobs even if those jobs generate ambivalent or hostile emotional experiences. For other women with relatively steady work histories, job insecurity is grounded in the deteriorating quality of the jobs offered to certified employees.

Feminist scholarship in the area of the labor market has not ignored the double bind of trapping SACO employees between the rock of economic insecurity and the hard place of job insecurity in the sense that there are no occupational alternatives to the bad jobs offered to them. However, some of the best scholarship on how women's employment has been shaped by globalization draws on the premise that "some win, some lose," which neutralizes the gendered nature of the process. Even research that specifically aims at understanding the gender of job insecurity continues to interpret gender as "family duties," refraining from looking at

gendered positions in the labor market (Pugh 2015). One example of a researcher who chose not to see job insecurity as a gendered policy related to in-service outsourcing is Kate Purcell (2000), who began to look at the concept two decades ago.

On the basis of several chapters that appeared in a volume she co-edited (1996), Purcell published a chapter (2000) mapping the issue of gender and job insecurity. She portrayed a picture that was later termed by Leah Vosko and her colleagues (2009) “the gender contours” of precarious employment. It revealed the major drivers exposing women in the UK to precarious employment.⁵ She listed: employers targeting numerical flexibility; employers targeting savings on training and development costs; public sector management targeting reduced expenses by casualization of the labor force, including involuntary part-time employment, temporary employment, part-time jobs that are temporary, casual employment (via temp agencies), seasonal employment, fixed-term contractual work, specific sectors (e.g., secretarial, personal and protective services, where women make up 80% of the employees); particularly lower-level service occupations relying on part-timers; job opportunities (which seem suitable for mothers) rather than careers (which seem suitable for married women who can rely on paid help and caring services); an over-qualified (often male) labor force seeking employment and willing to work around the clock; variable weekly hours ranging between less than five to over thirty-two; employers demanding continued availability for work even when one is not paid; low wage levels to the extent of exclusion from National Insurance (even when women in part-time jobs are highly qualified, the jobs they are offered are often on the lowest echelons and in the least secure occupational niches of their occupations); restructured retail managerial jobs (in Israel, Booksbaum et al. (2009) found that the wage levels of women employed in retail chain managerial jobs are lower than shop assistants because of unpaid extra hours); informal forms of payment that allegedly help employees to maintain eligibility for state support; organizations’ downsizing; contracts lost to competitors; and finally, economic dependency reinforced by social security legislation. These features grew in significance during the 1990s, and since then the trend has further reinforced these new forms of employment, which can be seen as persistent exclusions of SACO employees from standard employment. This led Purcell to the conclusion that there will be a pension gap where many women will be excluded from non-state retirement income.

Purcell notes that job insecurity is gendered: “women [are] somewhat more likely to be in the ... more casual categories” (2000: 122), but still, she does not consider these developments to be indicators of a change in gender relations. By contrast, Leah Vosko (2006) conceptualizes precarious employment as an expression of the growing power gap between employers and employees. Vosko sheds light on the more general process by which care and caring services become valuable or are devalued as a political power struggle. Within a perspective that aims at unveiling the power struggle, any justifications for exclusionary forms of employment are seen as basically rhetorical.

Purcell also emphasizes women’s dependency and vulnerability but does not elaborate on the possibility that this dependency could mean an employee could not sue her employer in court even when her rights as a worker are explicitly violated. In conditions of job insecurity, it may also mean not being able to turn to one’s union. Beyond the utilization of job insecurity by a social policy aiming at marginalizing employees’ voices and their complaints over violations of workers’ rights and the quality of services, job insecurity also facilitates the silencing of women’s issues, namely poverty, dependency, oppression and the right to care.

Purcell warns anybody working in this area to be cautious, since not all subcontracted organizations should necessarily be considered temporary. Purcell explains that because employees are directly hired by temporary help agencies, no operational definition can encompass all contingent and vulnerable employees. Her account indicates that public sector compulsory competitive tendering has restructured predominantly female areas of the labor market such as health and social work.⁶ Purcell’s analysis of data from 1996 showed that men are twice as likely as women to be on fixed-term contracts in these fields. Yet another obstacle to Purcell’s view of outsourcing as a power issue is the finding that temporary employment has been increasing more consistently for male employees in computing and business services. Obviously, because these sectors have emerged relatively recently and lack a history of unionization, precarious forms of employment prevail. However, the meaning of temporary employment in these sectors is often different from its meaning in predominantly female areas of service and care. As shown recently by Bukodi and Dex (2010), for men a bad first job may well lead to a better quality second job, which is not the case for women. Purcell continues to present evidence that women are increasingly exposed to temporary employment in agriculture and fishing, energy and water, minerals and ores, metal goods, other manufacturing,

transportation, banking and other services. However, Purcell does not present these findings as evidence of the power aspect of job insecurity; rather, she takes it to reflect radical technological, organizational and product market changes. Some concluding remarks in her chapter, however, do define job insecurity as a gendered issue:

... the majority, particularly in the case of women, remains at the lower-skill-low-paid end of the spectrum. Employer-led flexible employment thus applies mostly to lower-paid women and increases their labor market vulnerability and economic dependency. Where highly qualified women work part-time, the net effect is broadly similar, although they are less immediately precarious ... Males in secretarial and clerical employment (a relatively small group) and in other occupations (that is, unskilled work) are the only men to be more likely than their female workmates to be employed on a temporary basis. (2000: 126)

Thus, more than just being an issue of frequency and horizontal gender segregation of the labor market, job insecurity becomes gendered in that employers identify certain occupations as suitable for intensive precarious employment when these jobs tend to employ a high proportion of women.

Most importantly, Purcell's chapter does not end with this point, but focuses instead on the possibility that for some women job insecurity is reduced. For this purpose, she examines sectors other than SACO and details employers' initiatives and investments in the female workforce. She makes a convincing argument that current policies benefit women, but then concludes the chapter by showing the vast limitations of these voluntary firm-level policies, which were recently confirmed by Healy et al. (2011) and more clearly by Conley and Page (2014). Healy et al. showed how workplace policies are unable to circumvent intersectional exclusionary practices, whereas Conley and Page showed that many workplace initiatives promoting gender equality are dismissed once austerity measures are introduced. Despite this consistent evidence, Purcell depicts a dual movement where globalization, like Janus, has two faces, one of progress and action and one of regression and exclusion.

The reluctance to see outsourcing as an exclusionary policy towards women who depend on SACO has now been compensated for by studies on its effects on gender equality (Conley et al. 2011). More specifically, Ravenswood and Kaine (2015) used the case of residential elderly care in New Zealand and Australia to pinpoint just how outsourcing operates

in supply chains to reduce employment conditions for SACO employees. They show that despite their enormous consumption power in the area of social services, public sector agencies, being probably the main if not the only client, do not use this predominant power position to protect employees' labor conditions. Moreover, because outsourcing, in its various forms, is not seen as gendered, there is little political response to outsourcing or its detrimental effects on skill recognition. Not seeing outsourcing as gendered, however, only partially answers why women's organizations have mostly avoided its critique and marginalized it on their agendas. Services for girls, female adolescents, young adults and women who have suffered the trauma of male violence and patriarchal traditions maintain a special relationship with government outsourcing: thanks to persistent feminist struggles, public sectors around the world have recognized the specific sensitivities and knowledge that feminists bring to these services. This recognition has had two consequences: first, women's organizations have been able to benefit from public sector funding, even if always by clear under-funding. Second, proponents of NPM have been able to reinforce in this way the idea that professionals in the public sector do not know how to run social services. Fraser's (2013) contention of an alliance between feminism and neo-liberalism is powerfully illustrated in this relationship, as the feminist owning of care knowledge was deployed to attribute "knowledge" to a range of civil society organizations, some for-profit. Mixed welfare, then, turned feminist organizations in a diversity of areas into employers of SACO who do not have enough funding to recognize their skills in full-time, well-paid jobs. A multiplicity of divides emerged among women in SACO that have prevented employers, public sector professionals and employees from maintaining feminist solidarity. In this context, state feminism, a form of gender politics, has made an impact on policy-makers, but not in criticizing outsourcing.

State feminism (Mazur 2001) is a form of feminist political action that has negotiated the promotion of policies to protect women employees with state administrators since the 1980s. State feminism has contributed to the extensive introduction of equality and anti-discrimination legislation across Europe, including in some countries where there were never comparable laws (Krizsan et al. 2012). In Israel, for example, between the mid-1980s and 2000, the years in which outsourcing excluded increasingly more minority women, a proliferation of gender equality legislation was passed (Benjamin 2011). This trend, sometimes called "institutionalizing intersectionality," refers to a range of equality-promoting policies adopted by EU

member states. Based on Kimberle Crenshaw's (1989) distinction between political and structural approaches to intersectionality, Krizsan and her colleagues (2012) analyzed the multiple inequalities found in EU countries. Intersectionality, in its political sense, means that policies do not address structural issues such as training and employment opportunities, employment arrangements, job quality or the public sector as the main women's employer (Rubery 2013). The form of intersectionality that is integrated under the EU equality duties legitimizes any practice that is not discriminatory. In this way it permits an almost universal convergence of income flattening mechanisms for cleaning personnel; child-care services employees; nursing, teaching and social work assistants; and long-term care employees, who have not been affected by any of these policies directed at the elimination of multiple inequalities. Thus, the battle for skill recognition in these occupational fields and women's right to be properly paid for caring and service work is, to date, an under-pursued battle. In other words, equality- and diversity-oriented policies often target the issues of entry into the labor market in a way that reinforces the dichotomy between women's participation and women's traditional devotion to family obligations. Hence issues of job quality, including skills and skill development, job security, income and entitlement, remain outside feminist agendas.

Numerous articles have been published since 1996 on welfare to work programs that indicate the ways in which women's active struggle to devote themselves to appropriate maternal care has been erased. At the same time, only a few of these articles have examined the types of jobs offered by these programs. One exception is Solomon (2008), who discussed the ramifications for participants' families. Those in the program who took jobs as nursing assistants found themselves in the midst of a range of family crises. No equality- or diversity-oriented legislation can protect welfare to work participants who become nursing assistants from poverty and from the prices paid by their families due to their employment. These sets of policies cannot protect SACO employees from the erasure of their skills, experience and knowledge. If men are employed alongside women, they too will usually be exposed to similar wage flattening mechanisms. In addition, it can be argued that these equality duties-based improvements in women's lives can be viewed as applicable primarily to women whose situation in life allows them to take a case to court, with or without the support of feminist lawyers. For my purpose here, what is more fascinating, however, is the possibility that this state feminism-informed surge of equality duties legislation has attracted much attention to the front door.

This has occurred at a time in which women struggling at the back door, i.e., women in bad jobs provided by SACO, have been left on their own to face a reluctance to recognize their skills. Thus, a silencing mechanism emerges, similar to the ones exposed by Hester Eisenstein (2010) and Patricia Hill-Collins (2005). The transformation of the public sector and the disappearance of the quality jobs that used to be offered in SACO even to uncertified employees are issues that have been silenced by the emergence of women as citizens who can sue an employer who discriminates against them as individuals in court.

To conclude, the relationship between the front door and the back door can best be understood within the framework put forward by Eisenstein (2010). It seems plausible to argue that the gender equality duties that have been applied in some workplaces hark back to forms of feminist political argument that were appropriated without their radical aspects (Lazar 2005), e.g., equality interpreted as equal pay for equal work rather than the radical meaning of equal opportunity to pursue work that is recognized as of equal worth. This partial appropriation of feminism has facilitated the silencing of processes that occurred during the same period at the back door, including the “closing doors” and job insecurity-enhancing policies. Silencing, in its turn, has legitimized the neglect of the political ethics of care and its exclusion from feminist agendas for too long. A bridging feminist action, one that will advocate an alternative mode of service delivery, excluding for-profit organizations, is required to correct this historical backsliding and enable the rehabilitation of feminist solidarity across distinct positions.

THE THEORETICAL OBJECTIVES

Fraser’s notion of a fragmented state is particularly applicable to the relationship between the state of Israel and women, because of the fragmentation that appears when the social citizenship of women of various ethno/national/space locations are compared. Moreover, the fragmented character of the state appears in the contradiction between the state’s legal treatment of “gender equality” and the state’s indifference to poverty generated through gendered exclusions. As was shown by Korteweg (2003) on the basis of comparing the responses to welfare to work programs of American mothers and Dutch mothers, restructuring is better resisted when past entitlements have shaped experiences. Thus entitlement cannot be separated from local conventions of citizenship,

particularly social citizenship. At times of restructuring, local conventions of citizenship become even more fragmented than they already were, since the boundaries separating those who are entitled and those who are excluded and disentitled keep moving (Vosko 2010). Yesterday's entitlements, still applicable to one's colleagues, are no longer today's defining criteria for "deserving." This changing nature of the interaction between women and the state implies that we need to deepen our understanding both of past forms of citizenship and of their current forms. In Israel, citizenship for women employed by the public sector included the entitlement of skill recognition as reflected in years of experience that used to be reflected in one's pay check. The withdrawal of this aspect of citizenship with the outsourcing organization of employment might have modified the sense of entitlement. My first objective is to pursue the theoretical association of a privatized entitlement and social citizenship as well as the reclaiming of entitlement through bridging. Claims of recognition, in the 'bridging' I conceptualize here, are not class based. Instead, they are based on mutual recognition of the experience of one's care related knowledge, skills and experience, being erased.

The prevalence of job insecurity reflects two historical struggles for and against the professionalization of care work and for and against unionization. The two pillars of the politics of skill recognition, de-unionization and deprofessionalization, have enabled four forms of deskilling of care jobs, three of which are more commonly associated with outsourcing. The first is the under-valuation of care work as an expertise, and the second is the downplaying of the knowledge related to caring skills and experience. The third is the refusal to fund sufficient certified and trained care employees by generating intensified work routines. Many studies have focused on this third form, i.e., the deskilling of front-line employees through Taylorization in which care work is fragmented into measureable tasks (e.g., Theobald 2012; Armstrong 2013). In practical terms, Taylorization means that the meaning of care as work based on a relationship is ignored. Deskilling of this type also occurs when SACO employees in the public sector suffer from intensified workloads and a significant increase in required administrative work, as described by Pavolini (2015) for welfare professionals in Europe. Such an administrative burden means that the utilization of professional skills is confined to small portions of the work day.

However, a fourth form of deskilling deserves attention as it perhaps has the most crucial impact. It involves the deskilling experienced by occupational standards' administrators (OS admins). These are the administrators in charge of occupational standards guiding public sector contracts. When

the standards they believe are occupationally necessary are ignored, they are practically subjected to deskilling even if the process does not affect their stable employment arrangement. My second theoretical objective is the conceptualization of political significance of this fourth form of deskilling. Furthermore, the power position of the OS admins, particularly as reflected in direct participation, i.e., the extent to which their professional voice is taken into account, provides a rare opportunity to examine an under-studied aspect of the relationship between the women's movement and the state, named the "politics of need interpretation" by Nancy Fraser (1987). Decision-making that concerns funding exposes two aspects of the politics of need interpretation: that which involves funding for needs taken care of by projects that were already recognized as state/public responsibility and that which involves funding for needs that were not yet publicly embraced. To understand how the local service delivery silences debates over 'need interpretation' more should be said about the local reforms.

The Israeli version of public sector reforms of service delivery has been particularly extreme in comparison to other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Whereas the EU permits its member states to exempt their social services from compulsory reforms in their mode of delivery, in Israel compulsory tendering among other routine forms of privatization has not met such policy-level shielding. The weakening of public sector unions both facilitated the process and was reinforced by it. In addition, ethno-national exclusions and waves of immigration left significant social categories outside normative social citizenship,⁷ with little entitlement to employment protection or appropriate services. Researchers who specialize in the neo-liberalization of Israel have noted that since 1977, economic administrators have embraced the U.S. Department of Treasury's principles of viewing public costs as a risk to economic growth (Maman and Rosenhek 2007).

The contract between public agencies and service deliverers which is predominantly used as part of a set of market-based solutions to public and social services delivery has already attracted the attention of legal scholars. If the contract shapes employees' employment conditions, it has been suggested that the skill levels, workloads and related payments included in the contract should incorporate all the legal requirements for protecting women including "equality duties" (e.g., Conley and Wright 2015) and "social objectives" (Sarter 2015). These ways of potentially improving contracts have not, however, received the approval of legal scholars who see the contract itself as the problem. Epstein (2013) suggested that the contract itself embeds two biases that impose low quality of service on

service users. The first was already mentioned above—the low incentive on the part of the public agency to spend more money on quality of services that target populations with little political power. The second is the dependency of the public agency on a handful of service deliverers, particularly when the “market is shallow” (5) and higher-level goals cannot be enforced. The contract, its design and the budgeting considerations it embeds, all emerge as a crucial institutional space shaping SACO employees’ right to work as well as their right to care in appropriate services. My proposed path for gendering the contract embeds my third theoretical objective and is grounded in the understanding of the budgeting considerations as reproducing the Historical meaning of caring work. Namely, it’s meaning as unpaid “love’s labor”, concurrently, undermining the feminist achievements of its recognition as deserving appropriate remuneration.

NOTES

1. SACO is used throughout this book as an abbreviation for service and care occupations. I use it as a category that includes all the services that have historically primarily employed women and are socially constructed as feminine, including those considered menial and those considered professional (Duffy 2011). It includes both men and women and all the levels of administrative services involved in their operation.
2. Harry Braverman (1974) coined the term “pink collar” occupations to note the similarity between “blue collar” employees and women employed in administrative office jobs whose autonomy is limited by diverse forms of control over their work processes and assessment of their productivity.
3. Israel’s historical split corporatism conceptualizes the structure of a corporatist system for Jewish employees whose collective contracts are negotiated and funded by the state and the exclusionary nature of the Israeli-Palestinian citizens’ employment (Grinberg 1991).
4. Mixed welfare is a welfare regime where the state withdraws its provision of services by letting other religious, ideological, national and other civil society organizations become involved in service delivery (Bode 2006).
5. Purcell, like the vast majority of scholars in this area, discusses job insecurity without attributing its surge to economic globalization or to the persistent action of the EU in this area. Any insertion of procurement policies into legal systems remains mostly outside the field. See Benjamin (2014) for my interpretation of the origins of this mechanism as global and judicial.
6. Competitive tendering admittedly has been less explicitly used in recent years, replaced to a certain extent by what is called private–public partnerships—see Grimshaw et al. (2005) for a thorough analysis of the relations between these two forms of contracting out services.

7. Ethno-national exclusions refer to barriers to higher education and quality jobs that are socially organized around hierarchies in Israel: between Jews and Israeli-Arabs, between Jews of European decent and Jews of Middle Eastern and North African decent, and between those born in Israel and immigrants who have come to the country since 1985, primarily from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia.

The Emotional Politics of Skill Recognition

Two very hungry teenage sons keep reminding Nelly M., 43, that the refrigerator is empty, regardless of how expensive were the groceries that she bought only yesterday. Her income cannot cover the rent plus the amount of food they need. Her boss, a cleaning subcontractor whose contract with the hospital where she works has been stable for the last seven years, told her that his sons were also at this age of insatiable appetite. Recently she has started to feel a little more hopeful, because she and her colleagues have been trying to set up a union to negotiate their income with the supervisor and the hospital. But this feeling of togetherness and her enjoyment of time spent with her workplace colleagues cannot increase her income immediately. However, the positive emotions and sense of worth she gets from this process of unionization help compensate when the hospital hierarchy gets too painful:

When they call you “cleaner,” it hurts you. The doctors won’t even say good morning to us. If they don’t see us for five minutes, they begin searching for us. Where are we? As if we’re not working! Everyone wants to criticize you. If I talk on the phone at work, it’s wrong. If I put my headphones on and listen to music, that’s wrong too. Everyone wants to feel good about their job, but the cleaner gets no respect. I don’t get any respect in my environment, and it’s important to me; the respect that I should get but don’t...

Nelly M.’s emotions substantiate Davies’ (1996) contention that women are the social “other” in the world of work and employment. She

is the other, whose feelings of humiliation and hurt are ignored. She must bear the humiliation of strict control and continuous suspicion at her workplace, because of a specific and under-discussed form of job insecurity brought about by the new economy: the lack of occupational alternatives. This lack of alternatives means that Nelly M.'s ability to fill up the fridge for her sons depends on her bad and humiliating job. Cheap services, in which payment is on an hourly basis, are agreed upon as legitimate and moral. The profitability of organizational cleaning companies and the need to cut costs in public or semi-public organizations legitimize them. In Nelly's experience, however, the humiliation of poverty converges with the humiliation of working in the presence of other staff members who dehumanize her. They are privileged enough to benefit from their hierarchical position, and they assume that the "Others" doing the organizational cleaning won't be humiliated, even when they treat them in humiliating ways. Thus, the people around her can ignore her humiliation without disturbing their "moral identities" (Schwalbe et al. 2000). At Nelly's workplace she is suspected of not working hard enough or not being devoted enough to her work. The assumption is that she attempts to exploit her employer, and in the context of this assumption she has to position herself as respectable. The feeling of humiliation is anchored in her sense of entitlement: she deserves different treatment. "Everyone wants to feel good about their job" suggests a basic claim for respect for an employee. Not a matter of rank or income—just a human need. Her claim for recognition as a devoted employee who performs her work wholeheartedly manifests an ambivalent emotional position: the gaze of others is humiliating, but her definition of herself as a devoted employee and of others as lacking in morals and manners generates pride. Her attempt to unionize, together with her workmates, suggests that her sense of entitlement involves material aspects of her employment conditions, even if that will not improve others' bad manners. She is certain that as an employed organizational cleaning person, she should not have to experience an empty fridge. Her sense of entitlement is well anchored in historical times when organizational cleaning, particularly in hospitals, was not excluded and both the interpersonal and material dimensions were more decent.

As Sennett and Cobb (1972) noted just under half a century ago, a person's dignity is violated by an insidious type of oppressive humbling that denies them the basic right to live daily life with basic "societal respect" (249). They analyzed employees' humiliation by examining how they responded to the greater valuing of others in other occupations around

them. Here, by contrast, I analyze the humiliation generated by a social comparison to an imagined other employee in the same occupation. This other employee is appropriately employed and valued for their knowledge, skills, experience and devotion—the same characteristics she brings to her workplace. The humiliation that results from this implicit social comparison can become a source of empirical data on an individual's sense of entitlement. In this chapter, listening to women's emotions is used as an analytical device to better understand the nature of their job insecurity. This would be used to assess women's sense of entitlement stemming from contractual withdrawals from relatively high levels of entitlement in the past, and sometimes in the present, collective contracts and employment conditions.

In this chapter my analysis of data aims at clarifying the relationship between Hochschild's notion of emotional labor and Skeggs' notion of emotional politics in order to set forth my proposed way of working with both. The chapter begins with a review of the literature associating emotions, gender, outsourcing and job insecurity. I propose to apply Hochschild's notion of emotional labor not as serving an ideological environment created by employers, but as serving the emotional politics in which shame and humiliation are resisted and SACO employees insist on pride. I then unsilence three forms of women's feelings of job insecurity and come back to the issue of the relationship between emotion work and emotional politics locating them in Barbalet's conceptualization of emotions and social change.

Each of the emerging processes captures a different form of emotional politics served by emotional labor that SACO employees implement to escape the shame and humiliation of their employment conditions and transform it into pride. In the first, I focus on the social process by which a sense of belonging becomes a resource that supports women's emotional labor so that they are able to transform the shame/humiliation they experience in their jobs into a more ambivalent emotional position in which pride is also present. The second social process suggests that the same emotional politics relies on a different resource: that of imagined alternatives. I learned about this type of emotional labor from the cleaning employees I studied with Motzaffi-Haller and Bernstein (Benjamin et al., 2010, Bernstein et al., 2011). Some of the cleaning employees had invested huge amounts of money in acrylic nail building kits, believing it would be a future job opportunity. Even though increasing their income by doing nails was almost impossible given local competition, the imagined alternative still played a supportive role. To articulate the third process, I apply

Patricia Hill-Collins' (1990) notion of the "power of self-definition." In this form of emotional labor SACO employees struggle to put forward claims for skill recognition. The power of self-definition enables these workers to insist that their skills are valuable in the face of administrators' efforts to deskill them. This type of emotional labor, where some of the shame/humiliation enables pride, is the most political of the three and is a major resource for building an alternative (see Chap. 6). Finally, in the discussion I utilize Barbalet's perspective on emotion and social change to explore the specific conditions under which SACO employees' emotions can be translated into political action.

EMOTION AND THE GENDERED NATURE OF JOB INSECURITY

The emotions of employees working in SACO have attracted the attention of researchers around the world. Hochschild (1983) defined emotional labor as the commercialization of the human virtues of kindness, warmth and friendliness where a smile (for example on a waitress' face) becomes a required occupational skill. SACO employees' emotional labor has been the focus of 506 articles out of 10,000 academic articles mentioning the concept (Grandey et al. 2013). At the same time, this academic interest in SACO employees' emotions has mostly been unrelated to Nelly M.'s feelings of humiliation because humiliation is not an element of the work process. It is not required by her employers as are forms of "acting" on the job, and is simply an unintended, human consequence of her employment conditions and treatment at work. This distinction is crucial to the empirical analysis presented below. Here, listening to women's emotions does not refer to whether they are able to become the ideal service employee their employers want. Instead, the analysis focuses on the negative emotions of shame, humiliation, disappointment, anger and rage, and aims to map the gender/class positions of SACO employees and, following Barbalet (2001), examine these emotions as indicators of social change.

Pride shows how important work is for women, both as a source of provision and as an occupational identity (Christopher 2012), and how committed women are to their paid and unpaid caring jobs. Romero (1992) noted how crucial ambivalence is for the politics of skill recognition: domestic employees are proud of their skilled work and its often invaluable worth in others' lives, but they have to face a derogatory shaming societal gaze that undermines their skills and devalues their work.

Pride therefore almost never appears on its own. Because pride evolves in a class context that generates powerful negative emotions, it tends to be accompanied by other emotions. These can be socially expected feelings such as shame and insecurity, or “outlaw emotions” (Jaggar 1989) such as rage, envy and a longing for revenge. However, emotional ambivalence, rather than outlaw emotions, have appeared in previous research. A good example comes from Hochschild (2004), who defined the feelings of love and care as the gold that career-oriented families with long working hours extract from immigrants from the global south. The emotional ambivalence of both pride and humiliation appears with the combination of being able to provide for one’s family and give valuable care, while being humiliated because living apart from one’s children often involves enslaving conditions.

Even if not originally designed to examine emotional ambivalence, Hochschild’s notion of emotional labor (1983) highlights the work women do to correct their emotions so that they fit within specific sets of social expectations reflecting an ideological environment. In other words, listening to women’s emotions is an opportunity to trace ideological environments as well as the processes through which they transform. Notwithstanding the importance of emotional labor for mapping changing ideological environments, the notion of emotional politics offered by Skeggs (1997) challenges emotional labor. It contrasts the expectation that the working class feminine subject will make an effort to shoulder the specific feeling rules of a specific ideological environment. Working class women, says Skeggs, extract their respectability by rejecting the expected emotional labor. Consistent with Barbalet’s (2001) notion of an “unmanaged heart,” Skeggs (1997) contended that working class femininity, especially in SACO, can be seen as doing almost the opposite of emotional labor. “Emotion politics” is the refusal to succumb to emotional structures that instill shame and humiliation in working class women. By connecting to various manifestations of respectability, working class women can connect to pride rather than to the shame and insecurity expected of them. Skeggs’ interpretation of emotional politics suggests that pride is the refusal to adopt socially expected emotions.

The study of women’s employment-related emotions primarily shows how tremendously important the workplace is in women’s lives and identities. Research on job insecurity that has examined the sense of loss of control and financial stress (for a review see Gaunt and Benjamin 2007) has shown a strong association between job insecurity and negative emotions

such as frustration, anger and even rage. However, a common tendency in this field is to assume that women do not experience job insecurity, since it is traditionally “not their role” to provide for their families. This ignores differences between women of different class positions, different positions regarding breadwinning and different gender ideologies. Ignoring these differences effectively silences the emotions of those women who do experience job insecurity.

The silencing of women’s emotions related to job insecurity does in fact emerge in the research literature alongside the application of gender role theory in this field (Mauno and Kinnunen 1999, 2002; Rosenblatt et al. 1999). This literature associates job insecurity with the “good provider role” (Bernard 1981), which promotes the view that women are not emotionally dependent on their jobs. While researchers are willing to recognize differences among women in their perceptions of their provisioning position, they do find clear evidence for the set of emotions that men experience in job insecurity.

My own studies in this area, both quantitative (Gaunt and Benjamin 2007) and qualitative (Benjamin and Haelyon 2004), have demonstrated that the subjective experience of job insecurity is determined by the interaction between gender and gender ideology. Whereas traditional men experience greater job insecurity than traditional women, men and women having an egalitarian gender ideology exhibit similar degrees of job insecurity. Traditional men and egalitarian men and women were all found to respond to job insecurity in emotionally significant ways. The hypothesis derived from gender role theory regarding the protective effect of the centrality of family roles for women applies only to traditional women, whereas those who see themselves as breadwinners are vulnerable to job insecurity-related stress to the same degree as men. Generally, introducing gender ideology into the discussion of job insecurity as an experience has been found to have an important clarifying effect. Women who develop an egalitarian gender ideology and who regard their job as an important source of worth and livelihood in their lives do not benefit from any form of traditional protection applicable to women whose identities are anchored in being a mother, a housewife and/or a wife. These results show that it is no longer possible to attribute a home orientation to women as a monolithic category (cf. Greenstein 1995, 2000). More recently, the salience of employment identities has been validated through an examination of mothers’ views of their attachment to their jobs (Christopher 2012). A strong attachment to one’s job, as a source of worth, as an identity and/or

as a source of breadwinning, enhances women's vulnerability to stresses at work and the emotions of job insecurity.

During times of individualization and strong identification of self-worth connected to employment and income success, unsilencing women's job insecurity-related emotions is not straightforward. Dan Jacobson (1991), in the early days of empirical research in this area, noted how emotions relating to a sense of failure are treated as a personal secret. From his perspective, which somewhat resembles Sennett's analysis of occupational failure (1998), unemployment is an easier experience than job insecurity. This is because job insecurity, which is primarily about the failure to secure future income, uncertainty and lack of control over the ability to hold on to a job, is experienced as a threat to social value that must therefore be kept secret. Its status as a secret preserves self-worth, but it also means these women are prevented from seeking any support that may help them out of this situation. Several ideological trends facilitate the silencing of job insecurity, including individualization, the upsurge of the therapeutic discourse claiming that people should not be overly pessimistic and New Age culture (Simchai 2014). These trends promote identity management regimes that prohibit the disclosure of job insecurity so that the risk revealing one's dependency on others is avoided. When the power of these regimes is manifested in individuals' talk about themselves, as reported by Padavic (2005) for people living with the uncertainties of service work, it may seem that a specific type of emotional labor is implied in which shame is cognitively transformed into pride. The shame/humiliation of the bad job becomes the pride of self-fulfillment, and a bad job becomes an opportunity to keep a job that perfectly fits one's mental inability to maintain a work routine for too long. Hence, fulfilling the "true" authentic nature of the employee (Burkit 1997).

EMOTIONAL POLITICS: A SENSE OF BELONGING AS A RESOURCE

A powerful sense of duty shapes the work of Anna K., a young social worker on a project for at-risk young adults. She knows she's doing the right thing, and she has no occupational doubts. She deeply believes that the therapeutic sessions that she provides to the young people who approach her are genuinely helpful for them. She has no doubts about the occupational skills she brings to work, and the fact that she was elected to represent social workers in her field has convinced her that her colleagues and supervisors also recognize her occupational skills. However, Anna K.

is not employed by the city council, but by a subsidiary firm used by the city council for the outsourcing of the employment itself. By this (locally common among most public sector organizations) form of outsourcing her employment becomes cheaper as it excludes Anna K. from the collective contract protecting those directly employed by the city council. The significance of this form of outsourcing is that she earns 1000 NIS less than social workers who are doing the same work but are employed by city councils. Furthermore, Anna K. does not get the wage increments that her colleagues receive in the form of various benefits. She has very negative feelings about working so hard for a project that the city council takes pride in, where she is not being recognized as deserving of employment by the city council. During a public debate in which she represented social workers who oppose the legitimacy of non-governmental employment in social services, she made the following comments:

A few months ago, a young man came to my office [...] He didn't have anywhere to stay, no home to go back to. Together with several other people at the center, we found a housing arrangement that suited his needs for the short term. I helped him find a job; I found a slot on an occupational training course where he could develop his capabilities and have some hope for the future. Throughout our sessions he repeatedly expressed his surprise that I wanted to help him, and wanted to know why I did, and, I ... I answered ... I said without blinking that the city council cares about him. That we, at the city council, and I emphasize, "we," see human capital as having great potential for developing trade and culture in our city, and that his success is our success and that the city council cares about its citizens; and what about me? Well, I'm just a second class employee.¹

Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) suggested the notion of "moral exigencies," echoing Anna's justification for her actions through her use of local, nationalistic, citizenship-centered rhetoric. She makes an enormous effort to attach importance to what she believes is the occupational normativity of providing significant help and restoring a sense of trust in society among those in need. By using this rhetoric Anna K. positions herself as part of a "we," a "community of practice" to which she wants to belong. She even reiterates that she "emphasized" the "we" in her speech. The moral exigency here is directed both at the admiring young adult who receives her assistance, and at the audience. She contrasts her dual positions. To the outsider, the young adult she helped, she expresses her identity as part of the city council, but to her audience she emphasizes her exclusion, and

they are told that she is made to feel second class. This contrast enables her to express her emotionality and in particular the deep insult caused by the disparity between her devotion to the city and the city council's reluctance to employ her. This insult suggests that as a young adult herself, who has earned a degree in social work in neo-liberal times, she adheres to the ideals of responsibility and accountability. She is fully immersed in the knowledge that as a hard-working individual who excels in all her occupational tasks, she should have been part of the "we." The fact that she has not been included is incomprehensible to her, and heightens her frustration and rage to the extent that she leaves her job. Anna K.'s confidence and fluency in using the "we" category reflects the inner struggle described in Skeggs' (1997) notion of emotional politics, namely women's reluctance to accept the negative emotionality instilled in them towards themselves. This can be seen as a struggle between the humiliation of the exclusionary employment arrangement, and the positive emotion of pride she feels while presenting herself as part of the city council, despite her exclusion. Thus, the struggle becomes a form of emotional labor, which transforms the shame of the exclusion into the pride of representing an authoritative body even when not formally being a part of it. At the same time, although this type of emotional labor enabled Anna K. to temporarily refute her feelings of job insecurity, the effort was too much and in fact she quit her job.

The claim for recognition put forward by Anna K. and the ambivalent emotional position she speaks from, drawing on both the humiliation of being a second class employee and the pride of her successful, highly skilled performance, I suggest, resemble those expressed by Nelly M., the organizational cleaning employee discussed above. Both experience an exclusionary gender/class position that exposes them to the erasure of their agency: their knowledge, skills and experience are considered non-existent to the extent that losing them as an employee, once an alternative can be found, is not considered a problem. In other words, the emerging claim for recognition serves as a bridge between their distinct occupational positions, a certified social worker and an immigrant organizational cleaner, to generate a gender/class unified position—that of the erased. Beyond the differences there is the common ground of the administrative policy-level insistence on their exclusion.

Rebecca L. is employed by a temporary agency as a dancing instructor for primary schools. What she finds most difficult to accept is that instructors like her are employed all over the country, some by the Ministry of Education, and some by city councils. Any interaction she has with her

friends in the same job reveals that she earns less and does not get as many entitlements as they do. She is highly irritated by the fact that she is not entitled to the same retirement package others benefit from.

I feel so irritated about the retirement package realizing that I'm going to be in such a devastating position. I envy the teachers I meet everywhere who have a retirement plan, they are secured and can do whatever they feel like ... Well, one shouldn't envy others, and indeed I've got my husband who tells me I should be happy with what I have, and my daughter in-law says: but we all envy you, see how you look at your age, they all say I have nothing to complain about, but still, I feel that proud as I am about this beautiful family of mine, I deserve some economic security as well. Remember that I have been employed since the age of 18. Why should I retire with nothing, why? Why can't they employ a person with due respect? Why employ me in such distorted conditions?

Rebecca's cry for a form of employment that is respectful is not assuaged by her family's pride in her. Thus, fractures are apparent in Rebecca L.'s emotional labor performed in an effort to turn the shame of her lack of a retirement package into pride in belonging to a successful family. Even though she is willing to accept that her family is a worthy source of pride, and that her appearance generates envy among other women in her family, her claim for recognition cannot be pacified. She is reluctant to give up her clear sense of entitlement that is anchored in her long working life as a skilled instructor for primary school children. It is also powerfully derived from her daily social comparison with others in her occupation who remain employed by public sector agencies. These fractures are analytically useful in two ways. First, they reflect the powerful social requirement to silence the negative emotionality of precarious employment: those who suffer must not share their negative response but rather should "be happy." In other words, the social support offered to them is one that is based on navigating their thoughts away from material employment conditions, into comforting circles of belonging. Second, these fractures reflect the ever-powerful social grip of gender role theory. People in Rebecca's social sphere expect her identity to be anchored in her family's achievements. They do not accept that her identity is anchored in her employment and that material job entitlements, in her world, outweigh New Age-type encouragement to accept life as it is and reduce expectations. She compares herself to colleagues who have similar work histories, and she cannot accept the exclusionary treatment she has received as reasonable in any way. Rebecca L.'s feelings and sense of entitlement were shaped in the ideological environment maintained by an education system in which women's caring work

was recognized and established as a skill that deserves recognition. This recognition was translated into a level of income that was always lower than the average income in the Israeli labor market, but fringe benefits and a retirement package secured material respectability. In addition to exposing the social expectation that women will accept dependency on other providers, Rebecca's ambivalent emotional position, in which rage and resentment are still powerfully felt along with the pride of belonging, exposes the irrelevance of current struggles for gender equality and the related legislative achievements. Resembling other SACO employees and particularly the nursing assistants discussed elsewhere (Benjamin 2013), gender equality would not improve their job quality. Rebecca's employment conditions could equally apply to a man in her field, and men are not exempt from the type of exclusionary employment she experiences and the low quality of her job. Gender equality is not part of her subjective occupational world, but the quality of her job definitely is.

Other employees who suffer similar exclusionary practices are in a worse position, since unlike Rebecca L., their work and their private lives are not as easily separated. Their work is more akin to a gesture of love, and for this reason it is more effective for them to use belonging to turn humiliation into pride. Henya A. is clearly very proud of her job. Her emotional labor comes so close to deep acting,² no humiliation or shame can be even remotely perceived:

I know what my job is and, I also know what I'm expected to do and so forth. But when I enter a family, and I work for years with the same people, I develop a sense of belonging, and I love them as though they were my own family. I become immersed in their problems and their needs so that I end up doing far more than what [employment agency] requires me to do. I help them as much as I can. These people need help. Not every elderly person has children, and there are those whose children are abroad, perhaps in Canada or in Russia, and they might visit once every two years or so. So these people have no one around to take care of them. And sometimes, those who are around do not have the time to take care of them. And these elderly people look at me with admiration, as if I were their daughter, their rescuer. I go to their homes, and I'm there not just as a carer, but also as a type of a social worker and a psychotherapist. Everything. I have to placate their worries so they are more relaxed, and I have to help them. I'm not fussy, and I simply do anything that is needed. I work to give them as much as possible, do you understand me?

Henya A. is an immigrant from the former Soviet Union, and her ethnicity is similar to that of the elderly families she works for. Because of

this, her sense of ethnic belonging is intertwined with familial belonging with the strangers she cares for. She is very proud of her ability to broaden the set of tasks she does for them, and is even more proud to describe the meaningful position she has in these elderly people's worlds. When directly asked about her employment conditions, she is obviously tremendously disappointed that her skillful care is not recognized as a basis for appropriate pay, but in her presentation of herself, all these negative emotions are quickly transformed and silenced.

The emerging process of silencing the emotions related to job insecurity consists of a specific type of emotional labor—one that transforms shame and humiliation into the pride of belonging: belonging to a soon-to-be-organized union for Nelly M.; belonging to the “we” of the state and the public sector for Anna K.; belonging to her family for Rebecca L.; and finally belonging to the families she cares for, as though they were her own, for Henry A. All these forms of belonging have, to some extent, the soothing power of a remedy for these contemporary wounds of gender/class. These are not the wounds of colleagues' loyalty as analyzed in Sennett and Cobb (1972), but the wounds of coercive exclusion that lead to compensatory inclusion, however painful and ambivalent. Even if, at some historical point, the search for “merit civil servants” justified the introduction of the exclusionary employment arrangements that now affect these four skilled women, the risk they now shoulder seems disproportionate. Furthermore, instead of securing “merit public servants,”³ these employment arrangements have become an effective incentive for anyone who has an occupational opportunity to turn her back on public services. These women, according to the occupational feedback and approval that they have been given, certainly meet the highest standards of skilled, competent and devoted care. Nonetheless, they still express their need to anchor their sense of belonging in a community of practice that is appreciative of their skills and willing to see that they deserve to be employed by the public sector and benefit from the history of skill recognition embedded in such employment. The type of emotional labor they manifest shows that their personal wounds can be interpreted as political guidelines for action. Chapter 6 attempts to explore this potential.

The next section deals with the sense of pride arising from a different type of emotional labor that accompanies the silencing of the shame and humiliation of job insecurity: the pride of celebrating choice and alternatives. It describes how hurt and humiliation are transformed into pride derived from imagined alternatives in a reality that lacks actual alternatives.

EMOTIONAL POLITICS: FROM HUMILIATION TO THE PRIDE OF ALTERNATIVES

Once her prolonged maternity leave was over, Iris C. expected to go back to the school in which she was employed as a pedagogic guidance counselor before leaving the labor market. But when she returned, nothing was like it used to be. Most significantly, her employment was externalized. She had to be employed through a temporary help agency, but only as far as her payment and pay check were concerned. Despite the change in her contract, her supervisor remained an administrator at the city council, as before. Iris C. couldn't believe that this could happen to her and she insisted on creating an alternative.

Q: How long did it take you to get this permanent job back?

A: Two years, from the time I returned from my maternity leave until I got it. I actually see myself as a fighter, fighting over getting this permanent job and adding working hours for myself. And it is a type of a personal war, as though it only concerned me and my supervisor, and only me and the lawyer of the temp agency I was employed by. I can see that it works that way, and at the same time I see that I couldn't do anything collectively for the other girls, because each of us has her own situation ... only me and another pedagogic guidance counselor got tenure. That's it; it's something they gave us that they don't give anymore. Lately I have begun to fight for some more hours to extend my job, and very recently I got the approval for more hours after the next holiday.

Q: How did you fight for your permanent employment?

A: Letters, phone calls, appointments. I went to talk with them all the time. In fact, I just nagged them ... I guess I did what I had to do. I just had to wake these people up and make them do it, that's the sense I get ... It's this feeling that you get when you ask for something and you get it and you feel, I mean, as if, wow, I asked for it and I got it! Even though there was a process involved there, and you feel that something is basically wrong there. Why, why did I have to ask for it? Why wasn't it like that from the beginning? I don't know ... How the system works? I don't know.

Q: How did they respond when you asked for a tenured position?

A: It wasn't simple at all. To begin with they told me they had no positions, and they said they had no budget for any additional hours, all these typical answers ... I insisted, and each time I tried to approach another administrator, the HR department, or budgeting administrators. Each time I tried, while talking with them, to connect the different people involved, so that my request ... well, I wanted everybody to discuss my request, and it

is possible that it finally happened because my supervisor at the city council realized she had to put my demand on her agenda at a management meeting she went to. I guess it's the process that did the work.

Q: And how has the job changed for you since you got the tenured position?

A: Well, people think that a person in a tenured position is completely protected ... I think that increasingly people understand that there isn't really a difference between permanent and temporary. There isn't. At least that's how it was in my case, that's how I've experienced it ... it took a long time before I realized that to get an increase in my income, I've got to go on these training courses ... You meet many women there in situations similar to yours, and you learn a lot about your entitlements

After returning from her maternity leave, Iris C. was astonished to discover her exclusionary form of employment. She expresses her shame when she says "but you feel, you feel that something is basically wrong there, why, why did I have to ask for it, why wasn't it like that from the beginning, I don't know ... How the system works? I don't know." Clearly, the perma-temp position offered to her did not seem appropriate, and the size of the mini-job she got did not enable her to provide for her family. She did not voice her shame or hurt as these were transformed into the pride of being the exceptional case for whom an alternative does exist. She assumes that she is a special case, and that some mistake was made regarding her status. Her understanding of herself as exceptional shows a powerful sense of entitlement that is well anchored in past historical periods (Korteweg 2003) of public sector unionization. She takes this sense of entitlement as a starting point for her enormous efforts and insists on deriving pride from the fact that there was an alternative for her. Entitlement and pride enable her to embark on the struggle which requires her to put all her energy into creating the alternative that she believes exists. The emotional labor of going from shame to pride echoes Skeggs' (1997) suggestion of the emotional politics typical to her gender/class position: she deserves to experience herself as respectable regardless of the structure of class feeling that instills shame. The struggle for respectability appears to be instrumental for her emotional state. The real world validates her sense of entitlement and the response to her continuous struggle takes the form of a tenured position at the city council. At the time of the interview her mini-job was still very small in terms of hours, but she believed they would be extended soon.

Analytically, it is intriguing to ask why she says that permanent and temporary employees are both unprotected. One possible answer is that

despite some additional benefits, the permanent job that she got was yet another form of “new employment,” a part-time job of low quality. Entitlements vary, and she is entitled to rewards for attending training courses, but she is not entitled to the city council employees’ pension. Working for two years to create an alternative had a greater emotional than material effect: distancing her from the shame of exclusion has not alleviated the exclusionary nature of her employment, as she is still not entitled to the benefits of public sector unionized jobs. Can her experience be compared to the “aggrieved entitlement” attributed to working class men by Kalish and Kimmel (2010)? Given the local history this could be the case, although hegemonic discourses have not supported women’s entitlement to quality jobs as they have in the case of US men.

In Israel, Stier and Levin-Epstein (1999) reported that public sector part-time jobs for women are of the same quality (stability, unionization, benefits) as full-time jobs. Namely, entitlement to job quality was well institutionalized for three decades, and for some even longer. According to Iris A.’s experience, this description relates to the period before enabling flexibility was subjected to reforms that modified it into “restrictive flexibility” (Zeytinoglu and Muteshi 2000).

This mechanism of extracting pride by insisting on alternatives answers a question that has been raised by other scholars. Padavic (2005) asked how women can find value for their identity in their work when they are employed in bad jobs, and Skeggs (1997) asked how women can find respectability under conditions of a visibly bad job. The answer that emerges here reflects a class/gendered dimension that is unique to the nature of job insecurity in the context of social services. It is shaped by the combined effect of structural conditions in which there are no occupational alternatives for those employed in social services, and the ideological conditions of individualist action towards creating one’s own job. The latter is consistent with Sennett’s (1998) description of the current expectations of employees. He used the metaphor of the gardener who, over time, grows her own job. In this sense Iris C. can be seen as following an individualistic code of action. At the same time, she can be seen as promoting a class action anchored in a claim for recognition. Indeed, she explained why it was impossible for her to act in favor of her colleagues whose employment is fragmented in various ways. To interpret her individual-level action as a class action, we need to accept that class identities are not merely “reflections of positions” (Crompton and Scott 2005) on the stratification ladder but also, or mainly, claims for recognition, whose manifestation on an

individual level can lead, under specific circumstances, to operating on a more collective level.

In the case of long-term elderly care, carving out an alternative can sometimes be a necessary response to abuse. For Alina T., carving out an alternative was necessary to enable her identity to recover from humiliation that also meant facing loss. However, she defines the loss as worth it under the circumstances.

For example, I had an elderly woman for whom I worked for three years. She was an amazing person who suddenly got Alzheimer's ... a very frightening illness. I used to work for her, and I gave her my soul. She would phone me, outside work hours, fifty times a day, but I accepted it with love, because that is my nature. At one point her son moved in with her. He took all her money and lived off her. In addition, he would harass me and treat me in brutal ways ... he would give me orders, as if I was his employee and he was my boss. Once I dared tell him that his mother needed help, and that he had to put her in a home where people could look after her. He answered violently: "it's none of your business and don't you dare interfere with my life, she's my mother, and I'll decide where she'll be." I was very hurt, because I gave this woman everything. I left her, and then other carers began coming and going on an unprecedented scale ... they had four carers in one month. So her son came to the firm and asked for me to go back to take care of his mother, but I didn't want to go back because of him. So he stopped using this firm transferred his mother's file to another firm. You can see that he really appreciated me, but he also lost me. How could anyone dare to spit in my face after I had given my soul to his mother? That was completely unfair. This story is like a scar for me ... I was glad that he realized what kind of person he had lost, or rather, his mother had lost. I used to bring her food from home, prepare the dishes she liked best, clean her house, and he just spat in my face.

Humiliation surfaces when the effort to construct the caring relationship as a family relationship is defeated. In describing the situation, Alina T. is careful to describe the relationship she had with her client as worthy of far more trust than the relationship between this woman and her son. Throughout her story she contrasts her own devoted caring relationship with the biological intergenerational relationship that amounted to economic abuse. His "taking" from, and exploitation of, his mother sheds light on the type of skilled care she does. As a member of the family, a status consciously created so that the caring job becomes significant beyond her working obligations, she feels she has the grounds to voice her opinion

on the elderly person's condition. Once the experience, knowledge and skills embedded in her opinion are erased, she can no longer imagine a caring relationship. The family relationship she thought she had built up over three years is undermined, which leaves her with a huge sense of humiliation. This humiliation is quickly transformed into the pride of an alternative: Alina T. begins to take care of other elderly people despite the loss of the first relationship. She shows her pride by describing how glad she was once her unique approach to the woman she cared for was recognized, but she will not go back to a place that subjected her to humiliation and shame. The alternative is primarily emotional, since materially nothing changed by losing the person she became close to. Whereas the case of Iris C. illustrates the resource of soft skills, including communication skills and assertive negotiation, in generating an alternative, the case of Alina T. demonstrates the strength of spatial resources by moving into a different space, regardless of the loss incurred. Both manifest Hebson's (2009) perspective that "the workplace remains a key site in which classed experiences becomes a process" whereby "class processes are socially and culturally negotiated and reproduced" (41).

The story related below, that of a teacher struggling to carve out an alternative for herself illustrates the significance of temporal resources. Defining a bad job and the insecurity it involves as temporary protects one's identity from the shame and humiliation generated by the job. Zoey D. is a teacher whose working life was disrupted by the convergence between her personal divorce crisis and the political and structural changes in the ways schools are budgeted. This is how she describes her situation:

For several years now, we have had a situation in which we have one additional teacher who is not assigned to a class, and the school cannot find a place for her. So last year, around this time of the year, this question came up again and I said, the truth is that I cannot take a class. This seemed to solve the problem both for the school and for me, but they said I could go on early retirement. I investigated and realized I was going to lose money in a way that would hurt my pension. So I refused, and after the summer, a solution was found for one year: the school got some additional budget money for a project and they had money to pay me for several hours in the library, several hours as a teacher assistant, and a few hours on the project. Unfortunately, this solution will not work for next year, and to tell you the truth, I'm terrified. I cannot stop thinking about it. And I keep dwelling on my alternatives—should I continue taking for a class—but I can't really be there for that—so it won't be good, and I'll get sacked ... Is it better for me

to just retire without the stress, and without the conflicts? It's so humiliating that a person like me, who has so much to give, and over this year the school benefitted from having me, and everybody recognized the benefits ... But this cannot work out without the project money. So I'm in a terribly stressful position. I began this economic empowerment course where they promise to support you forming a business of your own. This will allow me to drop the teaching altogether and hopefully run my own bakery business. I feel this is a dream that probably won't come true, but at the moment it's a sweet dream. It's something that I have always hoped for. Even since when I was still married, because my husband always adored my cakes.

The possibility of an upcoming business opportunity diminishes the feeling of humiliation, so that economic dependency on a bad job that no longer values the skills, experience and contributions of a woman who spent fifteen years as a teacher is seen as short-term. Unlike the employees studied by Vicky Smith (2001), whose job insecurity pushed them into rescuing their employers by giving up their rights and remuneration, Zoey D. directs her attention to her next step. She reduces her sense of insecurity by cherishing an alternative that helps her transform her humiliation into a future sense of pride, although the pride is somewhat impaired by the alternative realistic prospects. She realizes the difficulties, but she takes pride in identifying herself as having a talent, and as having an alternative.

THE PRIDE OF SKILLED WORK

In an examination of the impact of racism, Patricia Hill-Collins defined the power of self-definition (1990) as the only resource available to women experiencing stigmatization and worthlessness that leaves them generally excluded and disempowered. Does the power of self-definition extend to the newer forms of exclusion? This option is supported by the notion of "racialization" developed by Edna Bonacich and her colleagues (2008), who argued that the new economy develops forms of exploitation that treat the women of rich countries in ways that resemble the forms of exploitation inflicted on women in poor countries. To pursue this option, I assume that the many faces of deskilling that have already been documented (Baines 2004; Duffy 2011; Armstrong 2013) are basically forms of exclusion for which Patricia Hill-Collins' (1990) resource of resistance emerges as a strong contender. The power of self-definition is the organizing principle of a third form of emotional labor performed by women

in bad jobs as a way of dealing with their employment-related shame and humiliation. Instead of cooperating with practices of deskilling and undervaluation, they hold on to the self-definition of their work as skilled and generally valuable, based on expert knowledge. By doing this type of emotional labor, they can experience their working lives as sources of self-worth and can benefit from the opportunity to experience pride in their skills and occupational experience.

In the current trend of mini-jobs allocated to social workers, several aspects of the work process reflect deskilling and virtually constitute a structural guideline for social workers to avoid using their occupational skills. This message was conveyed to Jasmine R., a social worker who has two mini-jobs and is studying for her Master's degree in social work. Her second employer, described below, is a non-profit NGO conducting a program for immigrant families in several locales around the country:

Now, the NGO operates in [city name], they have their head office here, they employ us via some kind of fund, and I am employed through this fund. But my supervisor is separate from the NGO that employs me and provides my training. It's funny, isn't it; everybody wants to manage you, but basically no one actually does. Then if you need support, you've got no one to talk to, but they are all my managers, you see ...

When I began working there, I was employed 21 hours a week, but now they have reduced it to just 18 hours a week. This means that my income has been reduced, but I can't really find another position to make up for the missing hours. I have my routine there, and they do not interfere with my work generally, but at times I get complaints from the NGO, which isn't really an organization that has anything to do with caring services or social services, and they don't understand. Both of my supervisors know nothing about immigrants. They don't really care, and they have no commitment to this population. Practically there is no long term thinking about the community and what should be done, as their obligation. You don't have the atmosphere of "let's see what their situation is like, and how they are, and try to understand where they are coming from." Nothing. Just nothing of this sort. But they want me to get them numbers, so that they can show numbers. It basically turns out that as an employee, as a social worker, I care more than they do for the immigrants, and I do not believe in these numbers. Do you see the absurdity in the way things are organized? I have to ask them to get me the equipment and materials for the children I see. Of course it should be the other way round: my managers should be interested in organizing the equipment needed for my work. I feel that they're only

after the numbers of sessions I had, and the numbers of children I have seen, and nobody ever cares what actually happened during these sessions. So they can say “we conducted an X number of interventions in Y number of families.” They aren’t interested in bringing about change. Nobody wants to change anything ...

In both her jobs Jasmine R. was, at the time of the interview, making slightly more than the minimum wage. At times she needs to travel an hour or an hour and a half between her two jobs. Nobody pays her for this time (Caragata 2003). Her description of the job process indicates that the managers or other parties involved in operating the project take no interest in the clients. Jasmine R. sees herself as the only one committed to the families she tries to help. The shame of the lack of influence she has on her work process in terms of how much time she spends with a family, where she meets them and what type of resources she is able to make accessible to them, is transformed into the pride of an occupational moral voice, the voice of the expert who knows how things should be done if the actual social service was of interest to any of the other parties. Her proud moral voice enables her to ridicule the operators of the project by depicting them as solely interested in reporting on numbers (production units), and as operators who tend to stay mentally detached from the quality of social services in the field of immigrant families. The conditions under which she is employed, and in particular the mini-job, makes the interactive processes she believes in redundant. There is not enough time to attend to each family and listen to its members with their diverse needs. This form of deskilling, analyzed by Armstrong (2013), positions employees in the caring services in a daily routine in which they realize that their occupational skills are marginalized. The lack of time to do the right type of work, together with flattened pay that gives no recognition to her degree or her various training courses, could have convinced Jasmine R. that within the institution in which she operates, her skills must be ignored. Instead, she insists on preserving her own definition of herself as a skilled expert on how things should be. Clearly, this form of emotional labor does not save her from frustration, but it does enable her to carve out a sense of worth for herself and the way she does her work.

By insisting on her self-definition as a skilled social worker, Jasmine R. taps the professionalization processes that have taken place for social workers. Duffy (2011) noted that these processes have bypassed caring work that is not perceived as therapeutic or “feminine.” For women

employed in long-term elderly care, the struggle to define themselves as skilled requires that they stress the therapeutic side of their jobs. Asia G. described her struggle to see her job as a form of skilled caring in the following words:

It's the type of work a psychotherapist would do, really. I'm not a robot you see; I talk to them, make them feel looked after, answer their questions and worries. I want them to be happy when they see me. I am not some kind of object, [as if] I came over, did my work, this that or the other, and disappeared. At times I invest even more than the allocated time to treat an elderly person's emotional and mental issues. I have to give him the feeling that I'm a member of his family. A feeling of warmth and love. He has to feel that someone loves him and looks after him kindly so that his life has some meaning and zest. I have an elderly woman whose two children do not live in the country. Her third child lives one street over but won't visit her ever. It breaks your heart to see that. I don't push my nose into their business, but it really hurts that a human being feels that she is no longer wanted. So I'm trying to give her a feeling of being a loved person and a wanted one. I take her for a walk, make her laugh, talk to her, and even I even do her nails, although of course I don't have to do all that, but I'm doing it as my own gesture.

Talking to elderly people becomes a symbol for the therapeutic skills required in elderly care, like in occupations that are recognized as feminine. This talking is given two meanings in Asia G.'s accounts: first, the interaction is presented as skilled, the kind of work a psychotherapist would do, and is important to her definition of her work. Second, the interaction is presented as a way of preserving her autonomy over the work process, a personal decision to do the job in ways that are not predefined by her supervisors. Asia G. refuses to accept the institutional definition of her work as a form of cleaning. If she accepted that, she would have to accept the derogatory social position of cleaning and the shame that goes with it in many social contexts. She refuses to accept this derogatory treatment, and transforms the humiliating stigma of long-term elderly care embedded in her employment conditions into the pride of presenting herself as a skilled caring employee.

Similarly, Gina P. considers her caring work for dropout youth who want to get their high school diplomas as very important. She stresses how much individual attention these pupils need, and describes the intensity of the work involved in the project that employs her. She believes that her

work makes a difference for teenagers who could not handle the regular school system and that the people she has helped have improved their chances for better future employability. Getting closer to an adolescent's world is a mission for Gina P. that is significant beyond teaching math or any other subject. She sees the adolescents she works with as dependent on her, even for things like getting up in the morning, and when some of them call to say "thank you, I passed the exams," it is a major source of pride for her. She also gives herself an additional therapeutic role, over and beyond the teaching she is paid for: she considers students' behavioral problems and describes her ability to understand each of them uniquely, and to find a way to touch their hearts. Her satisfaction with her relatively secure part-time job is clear:

I love my independence at work, and that I've got my own territory and my own time organization. Because I used to work at a ministry of education school, I know what it's like there. There, teachers are put under all sorts of demands and requirements ... And, ok, yes you would want to get the kind of payment that they get there for training courses. I mean, they get paid for nineteen training courses, while we are only entitled to one. That is really one place where the system shows its contempt for our work. Anyway, here the head teacher gives me a free hand in selecting which units I want to teach, how many subjects, how I want the students to study the material. They don't trespass on your territory too much. It is true that we don't have the tenure that they have in state schools, but because of my subject, well, they always need my Geography, so I know that I'll be coming back to teach next year. There has never been a question about that. They even asked if I'd be interested in teaching outside my town, but I didn't want to because it isn't close enough to where I live. This year, with the new [for profit] contractor, they also began paying (following a union struggle) for classes when students don't show up which wasn't the case until last year. Because of the better pay I was able to give up teaching a diploma class at a private night school. Now that I'm being paid during holidays and breaks, I don't need additional income, so I don't have to work elsewhere for four months the way I used to when I was only paid for actual classes. Our working conditions have gotten a lot better since we won the union fight so that I don't need this second workplace, and I can stay at home with my daughters rather than go out to do more teaching.

Caring work, when done in conditions women experience as fair and appropriate, fills them with enormous satisfaction and pride. When stable part-time jobs acknowledge teachers' time constraints, they are able to

benefit from the ability to balance maternal obligations and making a living. Nevertheless, the recently unionized teachers still experience a major gap between themselves and the teachers employed at state schools in that their skills and years of experience only count partially, and only one training course is paid for, in comparison to the nineteen courses that state teachers get. This contempt humiliates Gina P. when she realizes that the project directors do not value her work as highly as she herself does. However, her clear confidence in her skills transforms her experience into one of pride and satisfaction, even if she has to silence her negative emotions.

As many analysts of temporary non-standard employment have shown, temporary workers are far behind public sector unionized workers in terms of money and hours. Nevertheless, Gina P., probably like many other mothers, focuses on one very significant improvement over the pre-collective agreement period: her ability to spend time with her children is a source of positive feelings that outweighs any other comparison. These feelings were far more negative among UK teachers who were employed by a for-profit teacher supply agency (Marchington et al. 2005) because they had absolutely no opportunity to develop a caring relationship with students at the schools they were sent to. Instead of experiencing their work as a value-laden mission, they were left with frustration towards their agency as well as humiliation caused by the schools' lack of appreciation of their skills in forming a teaching relationship. The other parties did not entertain the possibility that a teaching skill would require time and a specific environment to develop.

EMOTION AND THE POLITICS OF SKILL RECOGNITION

Research into the intersection of gender and class has tended to emphasize women's dependency on private (e.g., male breadwinners) and public (e.g., state allowance) sources of income (Hernes 1987; Walby 2007). For many SACO employees, being a breadwinner as well as a caregiver intensifies their dependency on stable, high-quality, part-time and full-time jobs (Rubery 2013). When outsourcing and "closing doors" policies fragment SACO workplaces, negotiation with the potential feelings of frustration, disappointment, shame and humiliation is routinized. For many, their precarious financial situation makes it impossible to escape the low-quality service and low-quality jobs they are offered. However, the emotional politics through which these negative emotions are transformed into pride

(Benjamin et al. 2010) provides empirical evidence for two aspects of out-sourcing: first, there exists a significant gap in skill recognition, and SACO employees refuse to accept the administrative definition of their work as unskilled. Second, SACO employees refuse to cooperate with the feeling structure in which a middle-class gaze aims at instilling in them feelings of shame and humiliation.

Listening to women's emotions, I argue, is an opportunity to trace ideological environments as well as the processes through which they transform. Thus, the ambivalence that emerged in the analysis above can be seen as echoing the transition between sets of social/ideological/cultural expectations or welfare regimes. The obedient caring subject, one who allows changing work conditions to shape her emotions, does not appear in the interview material for more than fleeting moments. Rather, women's claims for recognition and insistence on pride reflected women's refusal to allow humiliation to control their workplace experiences.

While interpreting emotional politics as substituting for emotional labor is plausible, my analysis of interviews revealed their concurrent relevance: emotional politics does not replace emotional labor but works with it. I would argue that emotional labor, the hard work of connecting to the "right" feeling, assists emotional politics rather than replaces it. Emotion work supports the emotional politics through 'self-management' regimes that deprive the neo-liberal subject of negative emotions and require independence and positivity. Thus, the shame and humiliation do not disappear from the picture while some significant work is involved in connecting them to pride. In this case the emotional labor is not done for employers in the context of organizational ideologies, but for the self, in the context of class-specific claims for recognition.

Working together with both Hochschild's notion of emotional labor and Skeggs' (1997) notion of emotional politics enabled me to identify three emotional processes in SACO employees' accounts of their employment experiences. These emerging processes highlighted the various resources of the self that are available to individuals to help them escape the negative feelings imposed by their specific employment circumstances. In the first process, a sense of belonging is the resource. In situations where there is a lack of stability, high levels of uncertainty, and a realization of the disparity between levels of invested time and rewards, women are able to continue to struggle in their roles as providers for their families by strengthening their dimension of belonging in their identity. This can translate as belonging to the public sector or belonging to one's family.

This sense of belonging, which shields women from negative emotions and enables them to reclaim respectability and pride, is, however, fragile. As a protective resource, the social circles of belonging may recede and be replaced by a sense of isolation. In a study on cleaning employees (Benjamin et al. 2010), belonging to a community embedded controlling practices that could enhance shame rather than substantiate pride. The respectability acquired through improved job quality is needed to preserve these supportive social circles. Its absence is destructive in at least two additional ways. The first, which has been repeatedly mentioned in the literature (e.g., Craft-Morgan et al. 2013), is the high turnover of workers and the loss of merit public sector employees who could contribute to its enhanced effectiveness and productivity. The second has to do with community life: without the validation of their occupational skills, and without sufficient workplace respectability, sources of pride that derive from the community are bound to weaken and be replaced by isolation. In this way, caring and service employees who could become particularly resourceful for their families and communities may be defeated by shame and weakening social ties.

In the second process, women use imagined occupational alternatives to maintain their pride. When they realize that they cannot develop or increase their income in their current jobs, they ascribe alternative occupational paths to themselves. In the third process, women emphasize their levels of skill, expertise and resourcefulness in their caring practices. Their identity as expert employees engenders pride, which in turn soothes the shame and humiliation they experience in their caring jobs.

These three processes that women implement to stress their entitlement to skill recognition reflect the isolation process discussed by Barbalet (2001) and Sennett (1998)— isolation in the sense of few interactions validating one's positive value leaving one's contribution silenced in a hostile ideological environment that threatens their human dignity. Utilizing the positivity they extract from these processes allow SACO employees to maintain a sense of self-worth regardless of their bad jobs and without interpreting their bad jobs as reflecting deficient personalities (Padavic 2005). Nevertheless, outside of supportive social environments, the resource of self-definition becomes an isolating force.

These three processes of emotional labor reflect the ways in which individuals access the resources that give them pride and anchor it to their occupational identities and skills. For SACO employees, the multifaceted experience of job insecurity creates a secondary privatization process in

which identities cannot be supported by workplace interaction but rather only by private resources defined by the self or the family and community. Women in SACO, who are often members of stigmatized and marginalized communities, are forced to rely on their non-occupational resources as defined by their class/ethno-national-racial/gender position. These resources provide the most accessible shield to protect them from the deteriorating quality of their jobs.

CLAIMS FOR RECOGNITION: INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE OR COLLECTIVE POTENTIAL?

The women's claims for recognition were voiced within a relatively dense mixture of job insecurity, economic insecurity and emotional ambivalence. The SACO employees interviewed here faced enormous barriers on their way to experiencing their workplaces as forms of "negotiated order." Iris C., the school counselor cited above, insisted on her right to be part of a negotiated order and successfully pursued a long-term struggle. For the others, despite similar levels of frustration and disappointment, no such struggle was possible. As SACO employees are deprived of all forms of visible honor, and their employers refuse to validate the value of their sense of devotion or the value of their skills, their ability to see themselves as entitled to commensurate remuneration remains mostly individualized and private. This reflects the impact of what can be termed "a ceremony of degradation." In this ceremony their devoted and skilled work is constituted as a contribution to the self, and perhaps a voluntary contribution that is institutionally recognized as "sacred work" but not as entitlement. The missing discourse of entitlement leaves employees to bear their "aggrieved entitlement" alone. This outcome is further investigated in the next chapter. Here, I focus on pride, a manifestation of claims for recognition, and clarify its potential for a collective political endeavor or an individual resource. Barbalet's macro-social account helps sets the stage for an analysis.

Barbalet (2001) analyzes emotions, specifically resentment and shame, as structural processes, and views class-specific emotional politics as concurrently private and public, interpersonal and structural, experiential and contextual. Corresponding with the theory of relative deprivation, he argues that resentment is an active expression on the part of persons who have lost their rights and are struggling to restore them. In the interviews I analyzed to map the class/gender position of SACO employees, shame appeared to be an important affective device, probably more powerful

than undertones of resentment, anger and rage. As an emotional experience, shame also acts as a political phenomenon, both by holding back social action and by preventing resistance (Scheff 2003). Here Barbalet and Skeggs seem to agree that the overwhelming experiences of fear, desire, resentment and humiliation are difficult to challenge, because of the ways in which criteria for self-worth (Skeggs 2011) are embedded in a person's sense of belonging to a specific social category. In the absence of, or in cases of limited accessibility to, an oppositional discourse within which the class position of those experiencing these emotions can be articulated as a positive identity, shame, together with any possible resentment, tend to remain silenced and privatized: the employee owning the negative emotions can hardly share them or the responsibility for having to deal with them. This has a theoretical implication for the politics of skill recognition, namely the crucial issue of oppositional discourse. In other words, the validation of one's skill and its appraisal can serve as a source of pride, even if provided by, say, a union or a women's organization. If these potential producers of oppositional discourses remain silent when the discourse of employers and the general public defeats SACO employees through negative representations, the path to respectability is virtually blocked. Isolation replaces human dignity under such conditions.

At the same time, the systematic institutional attempt to question entitlement, as clarified by Barbalet's (2001) theoretical account of shame, cannot be prevented through individual-level resources. In contrast, enhanced shame, possibly produced through the mechanism of social comparison with those who still benefit from stable and quality employment in the public sector, is often successful in producing privatized entitlement regardless of the strength of previous rights regimes. One form of production of privatized entitlement is described by Kalish and Kimmel's (2010) notion of "aggrieved entitlement." In their case, American men, still feeling entitled to the respectability of an appropriate job that nicely reciprocates hard work, face a public discourse that emphasizes the entitlements of a range of other social categories while silencing theirs. The resulting aggrieved entitlement is fed by powerful shame, a feeling easily transformed into suicidal violence. In the case of Asia G., the long-term elderly-care worker, her description of her work as "the type of work a psychotherapist would do" demonstrates that she feels entitled. At the same time, she keeps her thoughts about her entitlement to herself. There is no social forum in which she can negotiate her employment conditions. In her interview she described a face-to-face interaction she had with her supervisor concerning a wage raise in which she encountered dismissal and

insult: she was told she could leave if she didn't like the terms. The gap between her perception of herself as a skilled, experienced and devoted employee and her supervisor's perception of her as disposable was exposed and triggered insult and more isolation. In this sense, a weakening skill recognition becomes a way to constitute silencing as an organizing principle of the (non-) negotiated order. Those who aim at promoting skill recognition are silenced, and their silencing is secured by shame in the form of a preference to avoid negotiation.

What makes Barbalet's (2001) account of shame so applicable to experiences related to the politics of skill recognition is his utilization of a terminology that is consistent with Sennett's (1998) view of the prevalent sense of failure related to lack of occupational success. Barbalet's (2001) terminology echoes the class structure, and in this sense is consistent with Skeggs' analysis of working class women's longing for respectability. What Skeggs (1997) sees as the emotional politics women engage in to refute the negative emotions instilled in them towards themselves, is the struggle Barbalet (2001) defined in the following question: in a specific situation, say a workplace situation, where women derive a sense of self-worth from being recognized as skilled and as having autonomy and discretion over their work process, even if they are not being paid for it, are they able to stand up to the workplace's social rules or norms of behavior so that they are prevented from having "an ascription of excess status"? If they fail to stand up for themselves, they are likely to experience what he calls "situational shame" (123). This specific situational shame highlights the mechanism by which the self is made to feel as though the claim for recognition, as a skilled employee, is a false pretense. And SACO employees, like many others, must be very confident in their position and alternatives to stand this form of contravention of a social convention or norm. Barbalet construes situational shame as reflecting the state of mind of a good person doing a bad thing and, therefore, feeling that they have failed to live up to their ideals (2001: 123). The political nature of the process that triggers shame is apparent: a management system that defines a woman's skill as non-existent or under-valued or not required or redundant can instill shame unless employees have alternative sources of discursive knowledge that enable them to somehow escape this political reaction. Without a political alternative, SACO employees may be left with embarrassment and humiliation which, Barbalet argues, are likely to impact social conformity. In particular, they can lead to "an acceptance of lower status in recognition of the transgression, or to an attempt at

restitution, in order to regain status” (ibid.). What is critical to clarifying the significance of the emotional politics described here for a potential collective struggle is the idea that after years of institutionalization of the current (non-) negotiated order, the trend towards isolation and individualization of claims for recognition is powerful. To counter this trend and extract the political potential of individual claims for recognition, a political force involving women whose status and contribution are less questioned is necessary. To examine how precisely these claims for recognition are defeated without a supporting oppositional discourse and how they proliferate when the ideological environment is modified, the next chapter examines the emergence of the self-exploitative self. By presenting a “doing gender” perspective, I examine the possibility that privatized entitlement is instituted but remains less dominant while privatized entitlement overwhelms it.

NOTES

1. Seen from July 9, 2014 on.
2. Surface acting involves a “faking” process through which outward expressions are altered, but internal feelings are left intact. Conversely, deep acting is a process through which employees change their internal feelings to align with organizational expectations, producing more natural and genuine emotional displays (Grandey et al. 2013).
3. A “merit public servant” is the term used in the preliminary texts aimed at reforming the public sectors sponsored by the Rand Institute in 1971 just before it was adopted by the OECD. It reflects the idea that tenure in the public sector has led to the employment of many who do not deserve to serve the public.

Back to Doing Gender?

Nora K. is employed by a Jerusalem hostel that provides temporary accommodation (three to six months) for 12–18 year olds in emergency situations. She has been employed there as a night care worker for six months. Previously she worked as a waitress and was looking for a job that was more suitable for a student when she heard from her Facebook friends about the opportunity to do something she had enjoyed as an adolescent—working with children and teenagers. Her description of her job suggests that intrinsic rewards are important resources for the self, beyond material remuneration. An ambivalence mixing a sense of entitlement with preliminary signs of dis-entitlement seems to emerge:

We work on our own: two care workers without senior members of the team and without the manager of the place, from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. During the day we have a fixed schedule. There is a five o'clock meeting when we see who is with us for the night, go through the plans for the day, and the kids can see who the care worker is for that night and so on. We then have our duties: each of us has to clean part of the facility. We then prepare supper together and those that are present that evening have some kind of an activity: somebody will come to give a talk, a music or art session and so on. Around 10:00 p.m. there's another talk and then they get ready for bed. My work is to wander around their rooms to make sure that they take their showers, and talk with them during the night. Sometimes a real relationship develops during these talks, particularly with those who stay for longer periods. There are many brief conversations so that the youngsters feel secure. We do make an effort to give them attention before bed time, because that's

something very familial, something that parents would do in a functioning family. So, on the one hand I'm in charge of making sure that the schedule is maintained, but on the other hand there are personal issues and if a girl is undergoing one thing or another ... We had a case of a girl with an eating disorder and deep depression ... I was just focusing on getting through the night without her collapsing on me; basically a lot of the time I use my intuition ...

Q: How are you employed?

I work one shift a week between 4:00 p.m. and 9:00 a.m. in the morning and once a month I'm here for the weekend; i.e. between 1:00 p.m. on a Friday and 9:00 a.m. on a Sunday. Our income is divided: up to 10:00 p.m. we earn 5 shekels on top of the minimum hourly wage, between 10:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., we earn the minimum hourly wage and on the weekend we earn 175 % of each of these rates. I don't think the conditions are very good.

Q: Why?

Because we get the minimum wage during the nights which assumes that we can sleep during these hours but that is never the case...often we work harder during the night and I don't understand why the pay is less; and even the minimum plus 5 shekels for a day hour is a very low rate in my mind ... perhaps I'm too greedy ... at the same time I don't see our employer as negative as a temp agency; I regret we're so marginal in the labor market and that the kids are not seen as deserving more but, you see, the people who come to work here are good people, they believe in the work, they are not here for the money and so they are not going to negotiate their income.

"Often we work harder" suggest a sense of entitlement while "perhaps I'm too greedy" hints a possible 'disentitlement'. Conveying such ambivalence, Nora K. is doing gender in the sense of performing a femininity. One that resonates with the "good-doers," historical (nineteenth-century) compassionate middle-class women and nuns who dispensed "love" to those in need. Nora K.'s emphasis on being one of the "good people" who believe in the work, sets the stage for her performativity, which is anchored in her understanding of intuition as a natural feminine virtue that is worth listening to. She takes pride in her ability to assist a teenage girl through a night-time crisis despite knowing that she does not have psychological training or any other relevant occupational knowledge. At the same time, her frustration and humiliation are manifested in her outcry against the management's assumption that there is no care work at night. Her claim for recognition is clear: she knows she does valuable work during the night and that it is wrong that her skilled work in the night-time hours is erased so that these hours are only paid the minimum wage. This chapter begins with a discussion of

the tension that exists between a sense of entitlement experienced by SACO employees, manifested in particular in their claims for recognition, and the sense of disentanglement experienced by SACO employees who are relegated into the historical feminine position of “good-doers,” for whom the intrinsic rewards consist of satisfying their incentive to pursue a caring job. “Back to Doing Gender” is the ultimate fulfillment of an institutional system that aims at replacing the past local sense of entitlement for material rewards by a positive-value femininity. Thus, a political bridging project enhancing the political potential of claims for recognition needs to “undo gender” by connecting to the status of a breadwinner. The remainder of the chapter explains how outsourcing as a mode of service delivery that profits when SACO employees “do gender” infiltrated Israel, and how the current local version of service delivery has rendered the overly expensive components of regulation and contract management redundant.

DOING VS. UNDOING GENDER

The convergence of West and Zimmerman’s (1987) notion of “doing gender” with Butler’s (1990) performativity perspective has prompted researchers to theorize local specific meanings of gender as something that is “said and done” (Martin 2003). Gender is grounded in specific contexts, processes and relations such that gender identity is shaped in the dynamics of daily lives rather than in previous experiences. Gender identities are constituted through gendered practices that echo local cultural gendered meanings. At the same time, gender practices such as behaviors or ways of talking can be stable when they echo traditional meanings of gender, or unstable when they echo broader repertoires that are less easily recognized as either feminine or masculine (Nentwich and Kelan 2014). My own application of this perspective posits that cases of “doing gender” or “undoing gender” can be found empirically through SACO employees’ sense of entitlement or its questioning/weakening in the context of outsourcing. I base my assumption on the idea that “breadwinning” is one of the stable masculine forms of doing gender, as shown by Potuchek (1997). By contrast, volunteering, or doing skilled work for pay that corresponds to unskilled work, is assumed to be one of the stable feminine forms of doing gender. For a woman to connect to herself as a breadwinner who is entitled to have her skills recognized by material remuneration and payment ladders, she has to “undo gender”. Obviously, local histories matter, and specific ideological environments make specific practices gendered.

Researchers tend to agree that gendered occupational stereotypes and cultures cultivate specific gendered performance and that in cases of a mismatch employees engage in the undoing of gender (Hall et al. 2007). Both female combat soldiers and male nurses have to engage in practices that tend to be attributed to the opposite sex and in this sense undo gender even if concurrently they also engage, in other spaces, in gendered practices that are seen as consistent with their socially validated identity. In the same way, one can examine employees' responses to the quality of their jobs. Thus focusing on the intrinsic dimensions of job quality such as interpersonal satisfaction constitutes a performance of femininity that disconnects women from their position as breadwinners. Potuchek (1997) described how American women are doing gender by marginalizing their contribution as breadwinners regardless of their respectable income. Concentrating on the intrinsic dimensions of job quality is consistent with the idea of feminine "doing gender" in the workplace (West and Fenstermaker 1993), even if research shows that women undo gender when they hope to integrate into masculine organizational cultures (Pullen and Knights 2007). The performance of femininity is particularly encouraged when the idea that caring work is intuitive and does not necessarily require skill is made prevalent. One of the outcomes of this presumption is the gendered self-exploitative norm often found in caring services (Baines et al. 2014b), which is a more extreme form of doing gender. It requires SACO employees to sacrifice their time, money and energy for employers or those they care for. This norm develops when women derive a positive self-value from clients' tendency to turn to female employees for empathy and emotional support regardless of their certification and assume that women can provide a sympathetic ear even in complex and violent situations (Baines 2006).

In contrast, the process of distancing from intrinsic rewards may require ideological support for "undoing gender" (Risman 2009), particularly in the drive for recognition (Butler 2004). For Butler, "the norm governs intelligibility" (2004: 42) and being outside the norm is "being defined still in relation to it" (ibid.). In other words, female uncertified caring employees may need to be supported by some source of emerging norms in their self-definition of their work as skilled and deserving of financial remuneration before they claim recognition for what, over recent years, has become outside the norm—demanding more material rewards. When does such a process of "undoing gender" occur? Unionization may have a role in the process.

Laura S. has been employed for the last five years by a project that provides a second opportunity for youth who have dropped out of high school. The project is run in units spread all across the country. The project provides its participants with a therapeutic relationship with a social worker who supports them throughout the process of completing their high school diploma. They do not attend school and many are already in paid employment. She says:

As a job it's fascinating, diverse and intriguing and one in which I have to teach them a lot of material in a very short period of time ... It's quite rare that they pass their matriculation exam but we consider the student's sense of learning efficacy as more important than the diploma. I really love my work; these are unusual adolescents, it involves working in small learning groups and it allows you to create a deep relationship with them. I have learning groups of between two and ten. Students have real difficulty coming to the class and sometimes getting there is more challenging than studying.

Q: How did you get this job?

I was working elsewhere and I thought I'd take it as an extra job; I wanted to get some experience in teaching. I thought it was going to be something temporary and I was caught up in it although my first experiences made me feel uneasy and I felt the work was more than challenging. I didn't get any training; I didn't have a teaching certificate then. They gave me a student who could hardly read and wanted to take the exam to get a high school diploma. At that time, I had no specific training, just my intuition and freedom. There were quite a few people to turn to for therapeutic advice but no one to discuss pedagogical issues with.

Q: Could you tell me a bit about the employment conditions?

Up until the most recent tender we were not paid for training courses and we only received hourly wages for hours when we actually taught. The hourly wage meant that if a class was cancelled because of one thing or another (often students just don't come), I didn't get paid even though I spent my time trying to convince students to come, preparing, waiting, traveling. We never got any payment during the holidays or during the summer vacation. After a union battle and our collective contract, the tender contract was improved, and according to the new tender, one training course is recognized and 70 % of the hours in the program are considered to be a part-time position. I get paid for the training course and for these hours during vacations and when students cancel. Regular school teachers can accumulate payment for nineteen training courses. However, the older arrangement of actual teaching hours was only maintained for 30 % of my teaching hours. I don't get any payment during vacations for this part of

the job. In other words, in April, July and August my salary is significantly lower. This is when the center is closed and a third of my wage is deducted. At other schools, effective hours are hours which they devote to improving students' achievement in an area, so they tell the teacher: we'll pay you an "effective hour," which is basically an hourly payment for an hour without any fringe benefits. Here, there is only a regular hour of the curriculum, in which I teach another group ... The unionization improved our employment conditions but because of the 30 % effective hours, we can never really tell how much we will earn.

This teaching assistant's narrative is one of great achievement: unionization managed to circumvent the contracting-out mechanisms commodifying their work. Along with a detailed description of how deeply challenging and satisfying the job is for her, she is able to articulate the problems associated with the employment conditions before and after the collective agreement. Unionization is fully present in her language, and shapes her ability to discuss material features. It informs her knowledge in terms of the way her wage is calculated and the way the calculation differs from that of certified teachers employed in regular schools. A particular form of job insecurity is embedded in her employment: her monthly income keeps changing to the extent that she does not know how much her pay check will be for. The attempt to evaluate intrinsic job quality in terms of time indicates that she cannot teach the number of hours that each student requires. Elsewhere in the interview she explained that individual hours were cut in favor of more hours with larger groups. If she responds to a participant's need for more hours, this may turn out to be a volunteer hour, as she does not have the right to participate in the decision over the number of hours that students need, in contrast to the original design of the project. In terms of interaction time with more experienced or certified teachers, the situation is ambivalent: she explains that she has many people she can turn to for emotional/behavioral issues but almost no one when it comes to pedagogical issues. Thus, certified teachers are not available for her to observe or consult. Furthermore, no certified teachers are there to provide feedback on her actual teaching, or her way of gaining students' trust and encouraging their learning.

An important dimension in evaluating intrinsic job quality is the extent to which maternal obligations can be taken into account and can be treated respectfully so that mothers can devote themselves to their children's issues while holding on to their jobs. The job described by Laura S. is one that is particularly suitable for mothers; hence she, a mother of two toddlers,

and many of her colleagues, prefer the job to teaching in regular schools. She is well aware of the fact that she does not get paid for time she devotes to students beyond her part-time position and the specific allocated division of 70 % and 30 % effective hours, and she does not describe herself as currently devoting more hours. This awareness developed gradually alongside the unionization process, which interfered with the ideological context emphasizing her satisfaction with the job as sufficient reward. The “doing gender” performed through shouldering the responsibility for her students’ academic achievements coexists in her narrative with her claim for material remuneration. The renewal of collective bargaining made her realize the ways in which the project operator utilizes her own income to fund certain aspects of the service. This realization helps fuel her need to “undo gender”, which is more fully aligned with the refusal to accept her specific job insecurity as legitimate. In the beginning stages “doing gender” allowed her to cultivate pride in herself and became a resource, an inner force acting against professionalization for SACO, convincing her that valuable care work can be pursued without following its strict implications. Laura S. benefitted from deprofessionalization and had her feminine caring self to fall back on. Resembling Armenia’s (2015) child-care workers, who insisted that their own motherhood was a good enough knowledge base for their occupational performance (“Mothers have been raising children for years,” 247), devotion and intuition worked for her even before she attained her teaching certificate. By the same token, she needed the training and wants access to better material remuneration and job stability. A theoretical need emerges to explore two aspects of this dilemma: first, to understand the disparity between women who would benefit from professionalization and those who would benefit from deprofessionalization; and second, to understand how ideological environments emphasizing the benefits of deprofessionalization constitute the feminine caring self while at the same time expose SACO employees to exploitation and job insecurity.

CHANGING IDEOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Nurses’ unions are known to be powerful in quite a few countries (Briskin 2011), as is also the case for teachers’ unions (Strank and Grissom 2010) and social workers’ unions (Scanlon and Harding 2005). Although a teachers’ union has existed in Israel since the very early days of Jewish immigration, unionization for nurses and social workers was introduced

more formally in the 1970s. In 1970, a collective agreement was signed with the teachers' union; in 1973, a collective agreement was signed with the social workers' union and in 1979 with the nurses' union. Even though the payment ladders established by these contracts were relatively low, they secured job stability and a variety of employment benefits including a civil service pension that seemed costly to the state. These unions engaged in two areas of professionalization: the consolidation of workload norms and occupational standards, and the development and protection of payment scales and collective agreements for certified employees in their respective fields. For certified employees in public sector standard employment, these collective agreements protected levels of remuneration and standards of professionalization. Abbott and Wallace (1990), like Cobble (1993), emphasize the important feminist impact made by these unions in rescuing women's work from its historical position as love rather than work that deserves to be paid for. More recently Duffy (2015) associated unionization with professionalization still further: the actual occupational standards in the sense of what is considered care have been radically transformed by advances in occupational knowledge in all areas of care, and these occupational standards have become milestones in the social organization of care work, particularly in unionized spaces. However, alongside the historical professionalization process embedded in unionization, reforms based on marketization, privatization and outsourcing have downsized the number of SACO employees able to benefit from the professionalization process. For instance, in the UK teachers began to be employed through temporary help agencies (Grimshaw and Hebson 2005), nurses began to be defined as not registered (Lethbridge 2005) and so on. In Israel this process excluded employees in all SACO: the process began with extensive utilization of temporary help agencies instrumental for the outsourcing of payment itself and for excluding employees from collective agreements together with the persistent pace of outsourcing. When public criticism of long-term employment through temp agencies established legal barriers, non-profit and for-profit service delivery organizations became major actors in SACO (Benjamin 2011). As a result, in Israel as in the Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly, in jobs provided by non-profit service deliverers (Baines et. al. 2014a), there has been a casualization of certified employees in the sense that fixed-term part-time contracts entered many women's working lives (Perrons 2007b). At the same time, uncertified employees have entered these fields as assistants and in other capacities and tend to be entrusted with tasks that were previously within the exclusive domain of certified

employees. These two processes of deprofessionalization have triggered diverse reactions from unions in the OECD countries, to the extent that in several countries the process has been slowed (Baines 2010; Cunningham and James 2010). Nonetheless, both forms of deprofessionalization have reduced levels of remuneration in comparison to unionized employees in standard employment in these areas (Cunningham et al. 2015). Thus, while professionalization has continued to develop through demands for higher levels of training and involvement in procedures routinely performed by professionals and experts for certified employees, deprofessionalization has also accelerated. The main outcome of the process has been distinct levels of union protection shaping unequal skill recognition, unequal opportunities to further develop occupational skills and inequality in remuneration for existing skills. Here is how the occupational standards administrator in charge of the service employing Nora K. views the process of deprofessionalization in the service:

The guides are often young students. Because they interact with youth with diverse difficulties and issues, they experience burnout and their jobs are essentially temporary. They tend to remain in their positions for about a year and a half, which is basically too short a period. Our experience is that it is better if employees stay on their jobs for over three years. That's because the relationships they build with the adolescents are crucial to their becoming significant sources of support for them, thereby contributing to their rehabilitation. If the guides can stay for three years or more, they become role models for these teens, they become more professional through their years of experience, and this in turn empowers the young people. However, it's very hard work and it's difficult to locate guides who are willing to work for that long for low pay. So, the employment model that we have now solved the problem of the burnout, but it means that we have services with too high a turnover.

Basically, the speaker knows that the service does not adhere to the principles of occupational knowledge he describes, in which guides need to remain in their roles for three years to be effective in their caring relationships. Elsewhere in the interview, he explains that low wages have undermined the quality of the service since employees do not stay long enough to allow for the caring relations to consolidate in ways that were considered necessary in the past. Thus he finds himself in charge of a service in which he himself is undergoing deprofessionalization. What is the ideological environment in which deprofessionalization of the emerging type can be seen as legitimate?

Deprofessionalization tends to emerge in the presence of country-specific and region-specific configurations of union power. Andrews and Waerness (2011), for instance, found that public health nurses in Norway, who are predominantly female, no longer perform certain key tasks, and that the occupation has lost its former status and power. A similar process has been reported for social work and teaching. Bach (2011) documented the expansion of a labor force of “assistants.” Teachers’ aides in the UK, for example, are now commonly present in primary schools. At times this has increased the teachers’ workload since they must train their novice assistants rather than just cope with their routine tasks. Nevertheless, Bach (2011) emphasizes the positive aspect of a widening opportunity structure for SACO employees who haven’t had a chance to enroll in occupational training. In other words, the managerial interest in deskilling, as a form of lowering costs (Appelbaum and Schmitt 2009), is concurrently harming employees who have benefitted from the professionalization process and enabling employees who benefit from the offered Taylorized fragments of tasks that allow them—and volunteers (Baines 2004; Theobald 2012)—to enter more satisfying jobs. Intersectionality of gender/class/ethno-national-racial social inequalities and differential access to the resource of higher education is reflected in this disparity of interests, as professionalization has the unintended consequence of exclusion.

Professionalization and exclusion, however, are more enmeshed when the ideological environment, and more so the structural policy environment, prevent access to professional credentials on the grounds of time and money. When professionalization excludes those living in the periphery of the country who have little access to educational attainment, training-related labor market social policy could reduce such exclusion (Mazur 2001). In the absence of a policy to fund access to professional credentials, SACO employees are pushed to rely on their experience as mothers and as caring members of their communities, going back to the pride of “doing gender.” Individual-level solutions in the form of deprofessionalization can be experienced as rewarding (Bach et al. 2007; Bach 2011; Nagar-Ron 2014) when professionalization in the form of occupational training is not accessible. Armenia (2015) reports that even the child-care employees who resisted state regulation benefitted from occupational training when it became available, as well as from the socializing opportunity in the relevant professional associations.

Uncertified employees who benefit from the opportunity structure created by deskilling and deprofessionalization well illustrate the historical

power struggle between two norms. The first, and the one that is more consistent with doing femininity in traditional ways, is that women's caring work is a form of love that can be extracted from women for nothing because it is consistent with their natural caring intuitions and requires natural caring skills (Duffy 2011). The second is the feminist view of caring work as an ethical stance based on credentials, skills, training, experience and informed relationship building as part of the caring process. The preference for an uncertified labor force, together with the scarcity of public resources allocated for training and certification, reinforces the first of the two norms at the expense of the second.

In Israel, the lack of coherent and systematic social policy in the area of occupational training, together with the proliferation of "bad jobs" even for those who undertake training, has created an ideological environment in which individuals have to make the most of the resources available to them. Thus, certified employees sometimes say they appreciate the support, which they really need given their current workload; uncertified employees enjoy the opportunity to engage in less mundane tasks where they can exercise enhanced autonomy and discretion, even if their remuneration does not reflect the additional responsibility (Bach 2011). Above, I connected this benefit to employees' gender performativity, which requires them to sideline the material aspects of their employment. Here, however, I direct attention to the administrative ideological transformation that assumes that the elimination of payment scales is a legitimate policy, beyond the issue of employees' responses.

One very clear indicator of the administrative ideological transformation was revealed in a study (Benjamin and Goclaw 2005) in which twenty-four Israeli human resources managers (HRMs) in government ministries and city councils, among other public sector bodies, described their power positions as the power to use what they called "managerial flexibility" to circumvent unions' power to protect employees. What emerged from that study as the ultimate characteristic of the ideological transformation was that the narrative that acknowledges workers' rights to skill recognition and payment scales has not disappeared. Quite a few HRMs reiterated these principles of public sector employment relations. However, the workers' rights narrative was subjugated to the managerial flexibility narrative through a "no choice" justification structure relegated to budget constraints. The following section describes the structural reforms that have taken place in the Israeli public sector by framing and facilitating the emergence of the managerial flexibility narrative.

THE POWER OF ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION IN THE ISRAELI CASE

In this section I describe the historical process that systematically transformed public sectors around the world, but which took an extreme form in Israel. In 1944, two important international declarations were signed in the United States. One was the Philadelphia ILO Declaration of Workers' Rights for the Protection of Human Dignity. The other was the Bretton Woods conference in which the finance ministries of the USA and the UK, among others, decided on forms of economic cooperation and development including the founding of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was one of the first outcomes of the Bretton Woods conference. The GATT rounds established reductions in tariff protection of country-located workers and jobs and gradually exposed unionized employees to competition with non-unionized employees,¹ thus contributing to the systematic weakening of the power of industrial unions. Importantly, the same year that the ILO articulated a declaration of workers' rights, the process of undermining the unions' ability to protect workers' rights began. Women laborers suffered from this intensified competition, but the more gendered aspects of the process only emerged once economic globalization targeted public sector unionization.

To weaken public sector unionization, public sector reforms had to be launched, and these have been so powerful and systematic that I see them as an attack. The economic globalization attack on public sector unions was twofold and involved the marketization of public services and downsizing: "Between 1987 and 1996 the World Bank supported downsizing programs in no less than sixty-eight developing and transitional countries in the context of its ubiquitous 'structural adjustment' loans" (Nunberg 1995; cf. McCourt 2008). But how were these measures gendered? Even Mark Thatcher's (2007) description of the process of internationalization for the privatization of European public services, including the telecommunication and postal services, does not mention the gendered implications of the attack on the public sector or the social services.

In order to expose the gender face of the attack, the role of the welfare state as a very significant employer for women that allows them to have unionized quality jobs that protect skill recognition, payment ladders and work-life balance (Rubery 2013) must be taken as the point of departure. Thus the focus of attention has to turn to the policies reforming the

role of the welfare state as the employer to expose the measures by which the OECD and other economic globalization organizations changed the nature of public sector services. As already mentioned, the 1970s were the years of public sector collective agreements for teachers, nurses and social workers, and these were also the years when plans for reform began to be developed.

The OECD was set up in 1948, originally as the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), by sixteen European countries led by the UK, for the promotion of “market economies backed by democratic institutions.” From its early days, the OECD maintained a duality in its texts and recommendations. On the one hand, it stated its full commitment to equality, particularly gender equality. On the other hand, it consistently operated to reduce state funding of quality tenured unionized jobs for women in the public and social services, which it claimed were inefficient and too expensive. Further, these jobs allegedly blocked management since managers were afraid to sanction them. To grasp the darker side of the OECD’s concern with gender equality, the principles enunciated as early as 1980 in its report “Strategies for Change and Reform in Public Management” deserve scrutiny. This report, which called for “major surgery” on welfare state administrations, was already focused on privatization, contracting out and competition. Importantly, this report was virtually identical to an earlier one written by Yehezkel Dror, an Israeli public administration professor, who was a member of the Rand think tank in 1970. His report was called “Strategies for Administrative Reform.” This Israeli scholar was invited (Pal 2012: 42) to work as an expert on the OECD’s public management directorate during the early 1970s, which at that time was called the TECO (Technical Economic Co-Operation). The main principle promoted by Dror abroad and among his Israeli followers within the local public administration was the “merit public servants” principle, which holds that those currently employed in the public services have little if any occupational merit. In other words, the merit of the many women employed as nurses, social workers, teachers and administrative staff was challenged, and it was insinuated that they were not worth the investment. This report initiated a process of intensified interest in reforming public administration, which was articulated by Cui as follows: “From 1971, TECO began to work in the field of international public administration, to build networks and partnerships, and to provide information about public administration. Throughout the 1980s, TECO worked on both technical assistance and public management research. In 1990,

TECO was officially renamed PUMA (Public Management) and started to work on international public management formally [...]. In 2002, PUMA changed its name to GOV. Although it still worked on international public management, the focus was officially changed: from public management reform to public governance" (Cui 2005, pp. 7f.). To disseminate the ideas developed by PUMA, the OECD developed an instrument that gradually acquired the judicial power to change countries' legal systems: according to Pomeranz (1982), since 1961, one of the major endeavors of the OECD has been reviewing government procurement policies to give prominence to the outsourcing of services: "In late 1967, the OECD Secretariat was requested to prepare a text of 'guidelines' on government procurement" (137). The European Free Trade Association ministries in the European Community prepared working papers on this topic, and in 1969, the United States submitted a draft for government procurement guideline text to the working committee (*ibid.*: 140). Debates on the proposed tendering regulations were then moved to the multinational trade negotiation at the GATT meetings in Tokyo and later in Uruguay. Finally, in 1979 they were turned into a code that had to be locally legalized. That is, the participation of corporations from each member state of the GATT in bids for government procurement was contingent upon broad legal changes in these countries' local legislation, which forced public sector agencies to adhere to the government's procurement code. The new legal requirement for competitive tendering reinforced the acceptance of the NPM principles and the emergence of marketization as a major factor in public service delivery.

When Pal (2012) argued that the OECD had been the major driver of the NPM, he was focusing primarily on the way in which TECO influenced the GATT negotiation when the government procurement code was defined, as early as 1979. The first signatories of the government procurement code then signed a version that resulted from intense work at the OECD. This version included strategies for reforming the public sectors (downsizing, flexibilization) through the regulation of government procurement in the form of outsourcing and competitive tendering. Israel, eager to support the export of weapons, military equipment and security services, enabled exporters in this area to obtain procurement contracts around the world by signing the procurement code in 1983. Israel's continuous support of its exporters was behind the drive to translate the code into the compulsory tender law in 1992. It was in this context that the Israeli public administration began applying the local

version of NPM. The analysis I have presented elsewhere (2013) shows that the parts of the reforms that were successful were those related to the weak labor force, namely women in labor-intensive jobs such as cleaning and women in pink collar occupations (Benjamin 2011). In 1996, only one year after the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) came into effect, 90 % of its welfare services were already in some form of mixed delivery. When the procurement of government services became the predominant form of service delivery, and outsourcing the major form for the delivery of government services, the determination to weaken unions through outsourcing took on a different but equally important meaning. It meant that many of those involved in writing service contracts and the actual contracting were administrators for whom the principles of NPM became the core of the ideological environment they were now part of. Furthermore, to an ever-increasing extent, the principles of exclusionary forms of employment dominated what they believed in. The related issue of governmentality and service regulation will be discussed below, following the section dealing with unions and unionization responses.

UNION AND UNIONIZATION RESPONSES

In the 1990s, the increase in precarious forms of employment in public sector services, particularly for female employees, was met by several forms of protest—but not from the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor, the Israeli traditional federation of unions). One argument to account for its absence was put forward by a prominent Israeli scholar in the area of labor law, Frances Raday, who as early as 1998 had written a report on non-standard employment. She focused on the fact that long-term public sector employees whose salaries were paid by temporary help agencies found themselves with no protection against actions by their employers (Raday 1998). She discussed the fact that the dominant public sector practice at the time was an exploitative arrangement enabled by the government, temporary help agencies and the Histadrut. Raday's report made explicit what many activists already knew: the unions excluded those employed by temporary help agencies and even acted against them, thus blocking collective agreements so that wage agreements would remain the privilege of limited categories of workers. In addition, a legal symbolic structure forced those in non-standard employment to pay taxes to the unions although the former were not entitled to union protection (Rubinstein et al. 2008). The gendered nature of this exclusionary practice was later

confirmed by Nadiv (2005), who showed that women were among the majority of those with over eight years of temporary employment in different agencies.

When leftist activists realized the extent to which non-unionized employees were exposed to violations of their rights as workers, they founded a non-governmental organization called Kav La'Oved, or Workers' Hotline, in 1991. In its early years, this NGO channeled most of its resources into support for Palestinians, Israeli-Palestinians and migrant workers. In 1998 its leader, Hana Zohar, liaised with Orly Arye, who was leading a group of women employed by temporary help agencies in government ministries, and began working with them to set up an alternative union for those employed by such agencies, as well as by other subcontractors and service subcontractors. They began gathering data about their experiences. They documented how temporary help agencies systematically made arbitrary deductions from their salaries, how they lost money and rights each time a contract was signed with a different agency, and how they were deprived of twenty-four types of benefits to which directly employed women were entitled. This alternative union survived briefly until some of its members lost their jobs. In an earlier attempt, between 1997 and 2002, 240 protocol typists at the courts led by Hani Avni-Cohen demanded to be recognized as civil servants and partially succeeded. Those with over five years of experience were integrated into the collective agreement, but the others were given a special status disentitling them to diverse benefits. Between 2007 and 2008, ten years later, the post office keyboard typists led by Ariela Sa'ar protested against their intensified exploitation: their employer was paid 45 shekels for each working hour, whereas they were paid less than 20 shekels in addition to being subjected to a range of enslaving practices (e.g., being paid per key stroke depriving them of payment during technical problems). This movement made some inroads but failed to integrate these workers into the collective agreement and failed to obtain compensation in any way for the prolonged deprivation of their workers' rights.

A number of academics also voiced protest. In 1999, the late Prof. Dafna Izraeli, one of the leading feminist sociologists of the time, was able to table a question to the Parliamentary Committee on Women's Status. A series of meetings was conducted with representatives of women's organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Finance (MOF) between 1999 and 2000. These meetings facilitated the 2002 legislation that prohibited long-term employment through a temporary help agency, but it did not become legally enforceable until 2008.

During this same period, law schools at two Israeli universities began to operate workers' rights clinics. Several additional NGOs entered the field of protecting non-unionized employees and employed lawyers on their behalf. Three of these cases became notorious when the labor court judges criticized the government for its illegal and dishonest dealings with people employed through temporary help agencies. One of the key issues in this context was the government's continuous denial to workers of an employer–employee relationship in order to avoid paying the costs of workers' legal entitlements. Public reactions to the reality of poverty-inducing employment accumulated enough clout on various levels to attract some media attention. In 2003, the leading women's organization (the women's lobby—Shdula) published a report on women employed in non-standard employment written by the law sociologist Dafna Rubinstein. In her efforts to prevent the report from being shelved, she instigated a legal initiative to change the compulsory tender law.

With the help of various activists and NGOs in the field, Rubinstein's legal initiative received considerable attention. A symposium involving Israeli Parliament (Knesset) members, activists and labor relations scholars was organized, a debate was held in the Knesset's health and welfare committee, and several meetings took place at the Ministry of Justice in an attempt to turn this legal initiative into a bill. More reports were prepared and published, and a documentary film about the lack of protection for employees of subcontractors was produced.² Of exceptional significance was the 2010 report by Kian, an Israeli-Palestinian women's organization, which showed how outsourcing as a mode of employment produces the worst outcomes for Israeli-Palestinian women, who are forced to give back money they have received through formal, legally legitimate pay checks. Their employers, who pursue them in their homes, convince them that otherwise the employer will not be able to survive and the women's jobs will be lost.

The public discourse was further shaped by several TV documentaries on cleaning personnel that made the topic of the exploitation and helplessness of temporary and subcontractor workers more visible. Several public and private organizations began to search for ways to distance themselves from accusations that they had violated the rights of defenseless workers. Some modified the cleaning firm contracts, thus showing their willingness to respect higher costs, while others started preparing the pay checks for subcontractors' employees. In two universities, faculty members began demanding that subcontracting practices be controlled. These initiatives had some impact on several cleaning firms and prompted several members

of the Knesset (MKs) to promote public resistance on two levels.³ The Knesset approved the first reading of a bill that made the organization that signed a contract with a subcontractor responsible for violations of workers' rights by that subcontractor. When the scope of this bill was analyzed, it was found that firms rarely allow the information they collect about their cleaning and maintenance subcontractors to affect their decision-making on future contracts (Benjamin et al. 2015).

Second, certain MKs convinced the Accountant General in the Finance Ministry to publicly acknowledge the direct relationship between tender practices and the violations of workers' rights. Importantly, the Employment, Trade and Industry Ministry, which was frequently attacked for not enforcing labor laws, sent representatives to a range of meetings and discussions. This led to increased public pressure for somewhat better enforcement and, more importantly, a change in the Accountant General's guidelines prohibiting the practice of opting for the lowest bid. The guidelines were modified in March 2007 so that bids could not be submitted under a certain minimum price or without a certificate from a chartered accountant stating that no proven violations of workers' rights were involved in the bid. This change generated a certain amount of confusion among state agencies. Because budgets had been stable, and calculated on the basis of low cleaning and security expenses, any change in policy within these agencies impacted other expenses. This left those ministries and local authorities that are the most highly dependent on budgets from the MOF least able to embrace the new guidelines.

What changed labor relations for SACO employees dramatically was the establishment in 2007 of a new union, Koach La'Ovdim (Power to the Workers). One of their most important initiatives was the active unionization of organizational cleaning employees at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, their success in organizing 900 home day-care providers, as well as lectures on precarious contracts at the Open University. They continue to be active in unionizing social workers in privatized services, counseling guides in privatized youth projects, child-care assistants in various services and so on. As a member of the coalition for direct and fair employment, they are at times supported by women's organizations that also belong to this coalition but generally receive little support from local women's groups.

This description of union and unionization responses sheds light on the weakness of the internal forces in Israeli society in resisting the application of marketization principles to the country's mode of service delivery. Mendelkern and Shalev (2010) argued that economic neo-liberal reforms

ended the historical window of opportunity when the Histadrut could act as effective opposition. To complicate matters further, the Labor Party became dependent on the political right for its legitimacy, leaving the economic leadership's call for a responsible government immune to opposition in the sense that no objections could be voiced. Economic issues were shifted to outside the political sphere, and neo-liberal solutions were framed as part of what Maman and Rosenhek (2010) called "a political discourse of inevitability" which stated that "we have no choice" if we want to rescue the Israeli economy. Maman and Rosenhek noted that the neo-liberal "... institutional arrangements and policies are forcefully dictated by the imperatives of globalization. This strategy proved to be highly effective, as it served the central bank as a basic asset in its endeavor to position itself as a key autonomous actor within the state apparatus and in the political economy in general, with the capacity to further advance neoliberal practices" (335). The next section examines the ways in which this discourse of inevitability began to spread among administrators and managers in government ministries and city councils and the concomitant issues of governmentality and regulation.

THE EMERGING FORM OF GOVERNMENTALITY

Governmentality can be seen as a complex form of power reproduced and exerted by an "ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses" operating through "the reflections, the calculation and tactics" (Foucault [1978], 1991: 102) that promote a regime of normal and acceptable practices. The modern meaning of "economy," Foucault says, defines the essence of government as "the art of exercising power in the form of economy" (ibid.: 92). To better clarify the type of social service regulation that accompanies outsourcing, I introduce governmentality as the power of budget and budgeting processes. Budgeting, the allocation of resources, is a reality, an institution, or in Foucault's (ibid.) terms, "a field of intervention, through a series of complex processes" (93). The budgeting of services is a form of "negotiated order" (Strauss 1978) that reflects the power positions of actors within ministries, city councils and other governing bodies. Institutional negotiation, which under specific power relations may become non-negotiation, emerges through the combined actions of institutional procedures and ideological beliefs. Institutional power in the negotiation process is in the hands of the negotiating parties—those who have the power to approve levels of expense. This includes budgeting administrators

and those who have the courage/mission/role to demand the coverage of expenses, namely, occupational standards administrators. Government actions are concerned with both these categories of administrators "in their relations, their links, their imbrication with those other things which are wealth, resources, means of subsistence" (Foucault 1991: 93).

The government procurement of services suggests that agencies and local governments know the detailed characteristics of a purchased service. Thus, occupational standards administrators with prior knowledge of the regulation and evaluation of services are needed. They assess the job profiles required for the service, workloads, the required level of certification, the required training and so forth. In other words, they become the proponents of conventions drawn up since WWII in the care service occupations before the reforms. Because these administrators were involved in forms of service in their fields that are now contracted out, they are able to evaluate the impact of the caring relationship on the caring service, as well as the invisible aspects of care work. Their knowledge, and more importantly the issue of whether it is embraced by budgeting administrators or not, is crucial to shaping women's jobs in contracted-out care service occupations.

A major issue in Foucault's discussion of governmentality (*ibid.*) is the idea that it leads to "a convenient end" that can be presented as "the common welfare and the salvation of all" (*ibid.*: 94). The common welfare from the perspective of budgeting involves shielding it from irresponsible demands and requirements. Budgeting calls for care and responsibility for the budget in the same way that care and responsibility are required for those in need. The organizing principle of the budgeting governmentality is that the budget should be cared for and that its needs must concern those who are truly responsive to the common welfare or the common good. If budgeting is not careful, the task of attaining "what is of public utility" (*ibid.*: 94) will not be achieved. Foucault saw an "essential circularity" (*ibid.*: 95) in governmentality in which the act of controlling, such as in the case of social services, is contingent upon controlling the budget. This exposes the underlying assumption of operating with minimal regulation, since the main regulation takes place by the mere controlling of the budget. Any additional regulation may undermine budget control because it may require violating budget constraints. Furthermore, budgeting consists of the opportunity to pursue the "perfection and intensification" (*ibid.*: 95) of the processes of regulating through a range of "multiform tactics" (*ibid.*) that are not force based ("does not have a sting," 96) but rather are consensus based. The negotiated order of institutional budgeting cannot use forceful practices but has to be based on dialogue and

conviction. These practices lead to “the objectives that can and should be attained” (ibid.: 96) when social services operate smoothly.

This theoretical interpretation of governmentality as a form of power operating through budgets can be illustrated by the following characteristics of the local outsourcing system reported by Paz-Fuchs and Leshem (2011):

- 1) In many Western countries the evaluation of privatization policy has resulted in a reconsideration of privatization. In Israel, such a re-evaluation and reconsideration have been marginalized and practically silenced.
- 2) One of the key justifications for privatization is the assumption that the process will be accompanied by effective control and regulation. However, in Israel, no resources have been allocated for this purpose and therefore privatization cannot be justified. Further, regulation itself has been privatized.
- 3) The privatization procedures lack transparency and do not receive substantial public scrutiny. Thus, privatization and regulation often remain occult.
- 4) Contracting back-in is still marginal, which is surprising given the accumulated failure of specific privatization projects. No governmental mechanism currently exists to enable the state of Israel to regain responsibility for failed privatization projects.
- 5) The reinforced efficiency assumption that underpins privatization is currently assumed rather than investigated.

These principles of the local form of governmentality, justified, as explained above, by the discourse of inevitability, are validated and reproduced by the combination of two characteristics of the local service delivery: (1) very limited public involvement in the services and the ways in which they are conducted (2) very limited administrative and politicians’ accountability for scandals and under performance of the services. The next section deal with one aspect of this combination: it’s disconnection to the ethics of care.

SERVICES REGULATION AND ETHICS OF CARE

In many countries the mixed delivery of services has meant reduced governmental responsibility for the quality of services and the quality of the jobs they offer. In Israel, as in the UK, this has been particularly apparent in the design of long-term elderly care (Ajzenstadt and Rosenhek 2000; see Hussein et al. 2010 for the UK). How has this reduced responsibility

impacted employees? Researchers have defined two basic characteristics of service or care employees today. The first, already mentioned in the previous chapter, was described by Irene Padavic (2005), who asked how those employed “under uncertainty” still manage to extract a sense of value from their work. She showed that employees found ways to position themselves as valuable individuals by narrating their jobs as perfectly suitable to their personalities, and suggesting that they would not be able to survive in a standard job. The second was articulated by an Israeli study of social workers. Paz-Fuchs and Shlusberg (2012) characterized employees of caring services as being in a continuous process in which they accumulate knowledge about how badly services are delivered. They remain frustrated, knowing that no policy-maker is interested in really learning from them and/or using their knowledge. In other words, they know that service funding violates the standards of the service. In addition, feminist scholars have shown how current norms of service regulation rarely rely on the ethics of care since current modes of service regulation do not secure the possibility of creating a relationship.

Staffing levels as well as staff training and education were presented by Mor (2014) as an inevitable aspect of any regulation system in the area of social services. Other criteria used for the evaluation and regulation of services in the areas of education, health and welfare consist of measuring outcomes at the level of patient/citizen/those who access the service and rely on it. These can involve counting the number of people receiving the service or care, or the extent to which the service is experienced as effective and worthwhile by those who benefit from it. Leone et al. (2014) surveyed national regulation systems and reported diverse levels of professionalization as a criterion for regulation, but the incorporation of the criterion of the political ethics of care (Williams 2001) was not reported in any country. The idea that care is primarily the generation of an interpersonal relationship based on long-term familiarity and trust, is not currently part of regulation systems. Further, reflecting the distancing from caring relationships, Pavolini (2015) suggested that marketization-based regulating systems that require welfare professionals to fill in numerous evaluation forms do not allow them enough time for the actual caring work. A real caring relationship is impeded by either high turnover or high workload (Armstrong 2013). Marketization informs regulation systems so that an emphasis is put on reports of quantities/units performed. This in turn causes regulators to evaluate performance in ways that can be considered cost-effective only if they stand up to various productivity measures.

This type of regulation has been directly implicated in numerous accidents and caring scandals in liberal market economies because it marginalizes interpersonal relationships. Some of the most traumatic incidents have clearly occurred due to failures on the part of service providers to hire requisite numbers of caring employees, or to provide staff with the necessary training and education. In one particularly violent UK case known as the “caring dangerously” scandal, employees abused elderly people in their care. The service providers in this case had installed CCTV systems avoiding the need for more staff and more supervisors.

Have such scandals undermined the legitimacy of marketization-based systems of service regulation? To what extent can such accidents and scandals be justified in terms of cost effectiveness? Although the justification of “cheap services” is often voiced, an insidious fact is that better services are always available for those who can pay for private schooling, health services and welfare. In Israel, the services provided by the government to the general public increase the social inequalities between those who can afford more expensive alternatives and those who cannot.

Howes et al. (2012) present another perspective based on the quality of employment of caring employees, and as such differ considerably in focus from Leone and her colleagues’ (2014) account of regulating services. Howes et al. (2012) argue that regulating the standard of a caring service is inseparable from regulating the standard of jobs. Their point of departure is that public spending is directly responsible for SACO who are still employed by the public sector, which they estimate accounts for roughly one-third of all US SACO. In their view, public spending is indirectly responsible for the remaining two-thirds who are employed by private for-profit or non-profit service deliverers since public spending, more than policy that funds services, dictates the quality standards of these services. In other words, the extent to which employees are able to care for the well-being of others. However, quality of service as shaped by the quality of SACO jobs is neither evaluated nor regulated. This argument echoes Epstein’s claim (2013) that governments have little incentive to regulate the quality of services targeting non-paying citizens.

Tronto (1993) defined the ability to care for the well-being of others on four dimensions: attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness. These four dimensions can only be fully developed over time. As Armstrong (2013) and other researchers (Baines 2004) have shown, time is crucial both for the development of caring skills through learning from working together with more experienced staff, and for creating a caring

relationship based on seeing the individual as a whole person in a specific situation. Another crucial condition is the development of communication skills, which can come close to counseling skills based on listening and empathy and a willingness to incorporate knowledge gained from the persons cared for or their families and significant others. Rather than assuming that communication skills are intuitive (for female employees), occupational training as a form of systematic development of communication skills is mandatory for quality services. Because new knowledge is constantly available, the development of Tronto's dimensions depends on continuous training. In addition, given that interpersonal relationships, conflicts and tensions tend to develop in caring environments particularly because of disagreements over which caring practice is better, time needs to be allotted for discussion sessions. Caring employees who must deal with violent or otherwise problematic clients may need therapeutic support. Thus time and training shape the quality of services.

Clearly, the extrinsic and material aspects of the quality of SACO jobs shape employees' abilities to develop workplace identities. Employees who do not have the opportunity to accumulate experience because they are overwhelmed by their own struggles to survive and poverty-related family issues that often lead to periods of unemployment (Lavee and Benjamin 2015) may have difficulties developing the required sensitivities and levels of devotion.

These interrelated features of job quality and the quality of service can inform public decision-making and funding. If funding is based on the assumption that caring and service employees receive enough interpersonal training even though they cannot develop these dimensions and do not have the time to practically engage in them, the quality of the service will be compromised.

This type of compromise turns a caring service into lip service; i.e., it operates and patients are admitted, but the caring service remains of low quality despite quantitative indicators of productivity. Individuals with any experience of the education, health and welfare systems are often disappointed and do not trust these systems because they can see that employees are not allocated the time to develop a caring relationship with them. But beyond the allocation of time, Howes and her colleagues (2012) report that unless caring employees are members of particularly powerful unions, they tend to pay high caring penalties. For example, their income compared to others with the same levels of education, experience, seniority and job size is 5–6 % lower per hour. Most caring employees are willing to accept these low levels of income because they are dependent

on the flexibility of the caring job to handle their family commitments. Nevertheless, this balancing act between home and family means that many caring employees' ability to provide for their families is weak. Howes and her colleagues (2012) argue that working with others requires energy, enthusiasm and motivation, which are shaped by the autonomy and collaboration enabled by the workplace environment. However, when pay levels are low, caring employees keep searching for alternative employment (Craft-Morgan et al. 2013). Low pay levels can reduce the quality of service because they are inconsistent with the development of a relationship between an available, responsive adult who has the required resources, and those in need. Low wages in the context of "non-negotiation" or little opportunity to participate in the organization of work contribute to high turnover rates (*ibid.*). Mini-jobs, which reflect the tendency to reduce job sizes and to reduce benefits for certified employees, are incompatible with the attachment needed to form a caring relationship. High turnover, which intensifies when such relationships are not developed, significantly reduces the quality of the service. As summed up by Howes et al. (2012), quoting the grass-roots rallying call: "parents can't afford to pay, teachers can't afford to stay, there's got to be a better way."

One implication in terms of the politics of skill recognition is that service regulation that ignores caring and quality of jobs ends up completely detached from actual encounters between the service provider and the population in need of the service. Skill recognition is thus shaped by a power struggle between two types of state administrators: the managerial-governmentality- and NPM-informed budgeting administrators, who have the ability to reform policies so that they reflect the need to reduce costs despite population growth and increased awareness of specific needs for specific categories; and OS admins, who have the power to inform regulation policies maintaining that without examining the job quality of the service delivery employees, particularly the direct participation dimension of job quality, little can be known about the quality of the service. In Israel, the deskilling policy imposed on OS admins is at the heart of this power struggle. Within the budgeting constraints, OS admins can only pursue service regulation informed by the ethics of care to a limited extent. Chapter 5 portrays the power struggle in which they engage in the contract design process, and Chapter 6 suggests an alternative form of service delivery to overcome these issues. In the concluding section below, I present my suggested argument concerning the material and discursive dimensions of the managerial-governmentality that take part in transforming employees' sense of entitlement into dis-entitlement.

SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP, DIS/ENTITLEMENT AND THE RISK OF DOING GENDER

The above analysis of managerial governmentality and its power to change the ideological environment suggests a transformation in entitlement. Unlike the depictions in the previous chapter of SACO employees who anchor their sense of entitlement in the previous mode of service delivery and skill recognition, at the beginning of this chapter, SACO employees' narratives reflect a focus on occupational satisfaction. Marketization has become both an ideological and a structural shaping force in SACO employees' workplaces, where pride is derived from femininity rather than from material remunerations. I further presented union responses and showed their relative weakness with respect to the governmentality that accompanies outsourcing, limiting the option of including appropriate mechanisms for regulation and evaluation. This suggests the possibility that the doing gender process is a form of depoliticization that endangers past feminist achievements.

Welfare states provide an institutional context for women's sense of entitlement to quality services, levels of income and employment conditions. When outsourcing becomes the dominant form of service delivery, the sense of entitlement embedded in the earlier welfare regime is challenged. Mothers, among other providers of unpaid care, have to accept reduced levels of services supporting their unpaid care. Concurrently, women, among other employees in the caring and service occupations, have to accept reduced levels of income for their work in addition to a worsening of their pension and fringe benefits. What shapes their sense of entitlement under this emerging economic order and its self-sufficiency rhetoric? Can disentitlement be produced within specific institutional contexts? Is it produced or do alternative sources continue to maintain a sense of entitlement challenging the emerging institutional context? The Israeli case is particularly appropriate for examining the possible transition to disentitlement. This can be argued in relative certainty on the basis of two concurrent characteristics of the local political configuration:

- 1) There is continuous support for social citizenship and entitlement for privileged ethnic categories despite the general process of neoliberalization and changing welfare regimes.
- 2) Outsourcing, as well as its counterpart practices of commissioning and public-private partnerships, exposes increasingly more citizens,

women in particular, to very low levels of income, low allowances and decommodification and, finally, low-quality services.

By showing that the state has different facets that may at times have contradictory effects, Nancy Fraser (1998) directed researchers' attention to the extent to which social citizenship is fragmented and the various ways people with different levels of social citizenship manifest levels of entitlement. From her point of view, multiple institutional arenas that shape levels of entitlement to recognition and resources must be investigated along with the specific discursive environment. However, when a silenced phenomenon such as outsourcing, or the politics of skill recognition embedded in it, is the topic, it may be difficult to pull empirical threads out of the discursive order (Hajer 1995)⁴ to characterize employees' entitlement to skill recognition and appropriate remuneration. Nevertheless, I begin with the resources dimension and proceed to the discursive environment.

Social citizenship is highly fragmented in many countries, Israel included, and divides the experiences of caring and service employees along the lines of geographic job opportunity structures, levels of poverty and legal entanglements, language skills, and certifications. The changing welfare regime transforms each of these in ways that may curtail social citizenship. This includes less public housing and the replacement of universal allowances with those based on assessment of need. For those whose social citizenship is severely curtailed, holding on to a job in the context of a myriad of household constraints is an achievement. However, the SACO employees that operate the youth projects discussed in this chapter did not live in poverty. They accepted their positions as provided for by other breadwinners in their families.

Fragmented social citizenship in the Israeli context has resulted in huge differences in social rights, services accessibility and active participation among women in particular between better educated Ashkenazi Jewish women and the social Others. Standards of living for Jewish Ashkenazi middle-class women living in privileged areas was never comparable to those experiencing diverse levels of excluded citizenship. Bedouins, the working class, Israeli-Palestinians and immigrants from North Africa, Ethiopia or the former Soviet Union, migrant workers and refugees are all more likely to raise their children in conditions of dire poverty. For these groups, the inability to make a significant contribution as a breadwinner because of various forms of deskilling contributes to economic dependency rather than entitlement. Thus, the continuous material deprivation encountered both at the workplace and at home, might cultivate disenfranchisement.

To unveil the discursive dimension of the attempt to generate disentanglement, I take Hajer's discourse interaction approach for the local discursive order. From Hajer's perspective, it is apparent that both the unionization discourse with its emphasis on material remuneration, and the professionalization discourse with its emphasis on skills, are subjugated by the historically dominant discourse organized around the premise that caring and service work does not require skill. Individual responsibility validates the assumption that to excel in these jobs, it is enough to be identified as a woman. Further, a "real" woman is happy to nurture others in her service or caring job. Women may experience a range of emotions when confronted with this stereotype, but will still engage in the emotional labor necessary to protect their resources in this situation. Adding to the complexity is Baines et al.'s (2014b) suggestion of gendered self-exploitative norms in the caring services that constitute valuable femininity through ancient criteria of devotion and self-sacrifice.

Connecting economic dependency to the resurgence of devoted femininity, the still present divides that professionalization introduced between entitled certified employees and disentitled uncertified ones colors the association between the two with the shade of disentanglement. Uncertified employees can hardly claim to be entitled if the absent certification justifies the assumption that the work they do is unskilled, while certified employees can hardly claim to be entitled if their exclusion from the unified public sector labor relations system justifies lack of control over their work. Under these conditions the transition process weakens entitlement but dis-entitlement is still held back. The next chapter maps the power struggle between SACO employees whose sense of entitlement was enhanced by unionization and NPM administrators who are determined to enforce the disentanglement of employees.

NOTES

1. Rounds aiming at tariffs concessions: 1947—Geneva (\$10b), 1949—Annecy (5,000 tariff concessions), 1950—Torquay (25 % reduction of 1948 tariffs levels), 1956—Geneva (\$2.5b), 1960—Dillon (\$4.9b), 1964—Kennedy (\$40b), 1973—Tokyo (\$300b). *Source*: Retrieved February 2016, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/General_Agreement_on_Tariffs_and_Trade.
2. *Zahav Lavan Avoda Shchora* (White Gold Black Work), a 2004 documentary on the subcontractor employees' struggle at the Dead Sea Salts and Chemicals factory.
3. MK stands for member of the Knesset, the Israeli parliament.
4. The discursive order (Hajer 1995) is the existence of power relations between discourses in the hegemonic power position and oppositional discourses that challenge them.

Unionized Claim for Skill Recognition

Moira H. prefaced her interview with biographical details that illustrate the historical process of loss of skill recognition. Her mother, previously a school nurse, is now employed by the privatized operators of a vaccination project. Moira H. described how humiliated her mother feels now that she is no longer a nurse with her own office on the school premises and is simply an employee giving injections. She used to be an integral part of the team in two schools where everybody appreciated her. Whole families knew her, because she kept in touch with the parents, talked to the students and so on. The caring skills of professional nurses used to be recognized by school administrators, who acknowledged that nurses need time to form relationships with the pupils and that nurses are part of a school's emotional support system. In this way school nurses' right to care was respected. In light of Reay's (2004) description of children's emotional capital as an asset to be cultivated if they are to succeed at school, this asset is now dependent solely on middle-class mothers, since without nurses there is no one on the school staff who will even recognize students' need for support.

Moira H. is employed by a non-profit NGO subcontractor of the Health Ministry that delivers service for a rehabilitation center for young adults aged 18–30 with mental health issues. The center helps them find housing, provides them with protected employment, and enables them to join social clubs where they can listen to music and take part in creative activities including theater. Moira H.'s job involves work in the protected

employment service, which deals primarily with finding workplaces that will accept these adults. Her job is to approach potential employers and ask them to create jobs. She is also responsible for the adults in her care, making sure they benefit from the rehabilitation program and assisting them in transitioning to jobs outside the protected environment.

She answered an ad on the NGO's job board and was hired despite having no specific qualifications. In the fourteen months she has been employed, her only form of training has been a monthly team meeting with her superior who runs the project and has a background in the area of mental disorders. He acts as her supervisor for both bureaucratic issues and professional problems, and in fact supervises all of the employees. Her part-time job is defined as 73 % of a position that pays for thirty-one hours a week, based on the monthly minimum wage. Her chances for an increase in her job size or a pay raise depend on the number of adults enrolled in the project. There is no union, but Moira H. does not feel that she would do better by being in the social workers' union.

Her job involves meeting with potential employers and filling out forms. These duties tend to limit the time she can devote to the individuals in her care. She admits that because of her determination not to do unpaid overtime she does not meet the young adults she cares for as frequently as she would like, and the sessions are shorter than they ought to be. She explains that according to her contract she should not work more than her paid hours without written approval from her boss. However, there is pressure to deal with issues on time, and to respond to situations that show her devotion to work. Nevertheless, she has learned to be strict with herself, and is proud to report that she always responds: "I don't have enough hours, and I don't have the time to answer that!" Clearly, because of her lack of qualifications, it would be difficult for her to find another job with similar personal rewards. Her job is not of high quality in terms of extrinsic dimensions, but it is certainly rich in intrinsic dimensions since she has the advantage of exercising a high level of discretion and experiencing her work as significant in the lives of those she cares for. In the excerpt below she complains about the Ministry's project evaluators' indifference to the nature of her job and highlights the faults in the system.

Q: Do the inspectors ask you about the employment conditions or any other questions to do with your work?

A: No, they don't ask for our opinion. They get data—what can they conclude from that? I don't know ... There are criteria for each position and all that is very detailed and clear—for x individuals in care, there must be x team

members and so on. That is what they verify. So what they do is find out whether we comply with the standards. So yes, they ask—How many individuals have you helped find employment? And then they see whether this is actually the situation. If there were any exceptional cases that fell between the cracks, then perhaps they would say something. If the inspection results were given to us I would know how I was rated but we never see them. However, you know how it is just before an inspection: It's all nicely organized so that they have nothing to complain about. You can easily manipulate factual data so that they believe we're doing all right. For instance, I could list thirty-two individuals as receiving assistance but in fact ten of them are already employed in a protected factory, so I don't really do much with them, but I come out on the report as meeting criteria ... these types of tricks ...

The social workers who work with us are a lot busier than we are, they are expected to take care of many more things. You can see how they talk ... They are not going to stay here ... they keep saying "when I start my own NGO/when I start a hostel ..." It's what is going to happen to the whole system, because nothing is organized the way they believe it should be.

I'm always afraid to "lose a client"; there is pressure on me from my employer not to lose clients since we are budgeted according to numbers ... there's competition in this area, so I can't afford to have any individual actually leave me and go elsewhere. From the point of view of the clients, that's good, it ensures they get to select their service provider. But for the workers it is not good. That's why I'm saying that there's something positive about competition.

What is fascinating about Moira H.'s experience is the unique combination between being fully trusted for cooperating with her employers' effort to maintain his contract for delivering the service, while at the same time, expected to accept the low quality of her job. As a talented young woman with diverse interpersonal communication soft skills of the type Grugulis and Vincent (2007) found to be the most attractive to employers, she would not find herself unemployed. These same soft feminine skills can be effectively used to secure employment. Having occupational alternatives does not protect her of holding on to a bad quality job. In this way she manifests a specific type of job insecurity. She acts as if she is dependent on a bad job - one that is defined as part time despite the need for a full-time one. No promotion, no payment for extra hours, no training or other occupational development is provided. The quality of service is based solely on her intuition, along with specific consultations for daily issues. Apparently no one has ever raised the possibility that she could harm those in need of support, emotionally or mentally. Her femininity, the assumed source of skills, is trusted and institutionally cherished. Her specific job insecurity is a result of the dominant commodifying

system based on head counts. In other words, the number of individuals who benefit from the service defines the amount of money received each month. This short-term budgeting method rejects the possibility that any caring skill was developed and should be maintained even during months of reduced numbers of service users. Moira H.'s job hours depend on remaining attractive to individuals in need, to the extent of assigning these young adults to employment opportunities they cannot handle so that they will return to the service. In addition to the contingent nature of her job size, her job as a whole is insecure in that it depends on the public sector contracts awarded to her employer.

The dumbing-down of teachers, social workers and nurses benefits Moira H. as an assistant social worker because she represents individuals with mental health issues to potential employers. As Bach (2011) pointed out, employing assistants for tasks with some caring responsibilities has been a major factor in the transformation of the public sector as the past provider of quality jobs for women. Deprofessionalization undercuts the bargaining power of unionized groups and lowers service operation costs. The women who benefit from this trend thus experience the dark side of these insecure low-quality jobs even while enjoying them.

She is on her own, and isolated in terms of protecting her job conditions. As a social work assistant her income, terms and conditions are not influenced by any union achievements for social workers. There is no union to see that she is paid correctly, and she is perceptive enough to observe that even the unionized social workers around her are rarely protected by their union, which does not get involved in the issues of job size and workload that make it almost impossible for them to use their professional skills. In comparison to those who invested in university degrees in social work, Moira H. is proud of her position. Nevertheless, like them, she continuously has to struggle to resist the routine pressure to put in more hours than she is being paid for. Could a union support her struggle to be protected from this continuous pressure? Could a union protect the stability of her job while securing a level of remuneration based on skill recognition? Could a union secure appropriate training for her and the associated rewards or promotion? Could a union protect her right to care properly, with the appropriate amount of time required for each facet of her work? The analysis presented in this chapter aims at answering these questions by following one union struggle within the context of an outsource social service.

The Power to the Workers (Koach La'Ovdim, KLO) group of unions described in Chapter 3 has increased unionization in several outsourced social services. Although in certain periods women have been on the fringes

of trade unionism, the unions emerging in this relatively recent renewal of trade unionism have often been led by women (Healy et al. 2006). Resembling the process described by Little (2015), these unions were set up on the basis of the belief that unions can have collective bargaining power even in the context of outsourcing. To understand such union efforts, they need to be set within the context of an institutional space where workers' rights are negotiated concurrently with two parties: the employer who is a service deliverer and is exposed to the constrained level of coverage of the service, and the budgeting administrators in the ministries who have a budget ceiling that, they believe, cannot be exceeded regardless of public pressure. In the American context, Little (2015) described three stages in the acquisition of bargaining power in outsourced caring services: (1) creating a collective identity, (2) integrating the caring self, and (3) linking quality jobs with quality care. The SACO employees' unions set up by the KLO have successfully pursued these three stages. However, unlike the unionization process described by Little (2015), they rarely operate as part of a coalition with service users or their families. The next section examines these unions' ability to promote skill recognition-based remuneration and to overcome reluctance for what, according to Little (2015), is external to the unionization process itself: "a demand for public funding for care work" (262). In the context of the current mode of service delivery, where budget ceilings are constituted as (non-) negotiable, observing the actions of unions clarifies the impossibility of achieving these goals without a broad political coalition of the type discussed in Chapter 6.

SACO EMPLOYEES' UNIONIZATION: OPPORTUNITY OR EXCLUSION

The emergence of a contingent workforce in SACO prompted a debate concerning who should be considered a subcontracted employee. The view, often put forward by parties interested in minimizing the numbers of subcontracted SACO, was that only mediated employment is applicable; i.e., subcontracted employees are only those people who provide a service for one organization, the workplace, while being employed by another employer, the payroll organization. A different view aiming at a better assessment of all subcontracted employees for whom unionization has become very difficult suggests otherwise. Subcontracted employees are those who hold jobs that are procured by the government or other public sector agencies based on the involvement of budgeting administrators that calculate the costs and can negotiate lower prices.

In some cases, the unions cannot demand that the direct employer—the service deliverer—increases remuneration, level of skill recognition or training, since these are defined as part of the contract, and can only be revised to a certain extent when the contract with the service provider is in its final stages of negotiation. Contentious funding areas in previous contracts can at times be renegotiated if the service deliverer manages to convince public sector representatives that skimpy fund coverage significantly impedes the service.

Strike action, once salient for a union's toolkit, may lose its effectiveness for contracted-out SACO that provide services to categories that are perceived as marginal by the population, e.g., school dropouts, juvenile youth, immigrant families.

When no production lines are shut down and no orders are left unmet there is not incentive to solve the conflict and end the industrial action. Instead, strikes become the manifestation of a moral joust between budgeting administrators who want to protect the budget and service deliverers who (when they are not profit-oriented) want to operate the service and uphold the moral obligation of fulfilling the contract for service deliverers, complying with a contract may also mean a greater likelihood of being awarded future contracts, whereas not providing a service does not necessarily involve risk, particularly in services where the service users cannot opt for another service deliverer. Thus, the moral issues embedded in a strike are rarely effective for improving the quality of the jobs or achieving a quality service. Moreover, if after a prolonged strike SACO employees achieve an increase in their income, then often, a reform, one which they fiercely objected, would be introduced as part of the new collective agreement.

These specific features of contracted-out service delivery make union actions consistent with international experiences in the area of public sector contingent workers (Engberg 1993). The point of departure for such initiatives is the employee fragmentation created by the disparity of interests and varieties of concerns. Certified employees worry about their retirement packages, their workloads and the size of their part-time jobs, whereas uncertified employees worry about the stability of their jobs, the level of skill recognition and the relative lack of training. Engberg (1993) described efforts by unions to provide union benefits even to part-time SACO employees. This type of international experience has not been the case in Israel, however, and struggles on the part of certified and uncertified employees have remained separate. Teachers, social workers and nurses in subcontracted employment have been involved in unionized struggles to improve the quality of their jobs, but they cannot be protected by the

stronger certified employees' unions from the relatively frequent violations of their rights and the reluctance of employers to recognize accumulated years of skill and experience.

The local effort made by the KLO, which was successful in obtaining specific advantages for specific categories of SACO employees, has been unable to secure the basic right to skill recognition. Unlike the persistent voice of Unison in the UK concerning the need to protect the employment conditions of all those transferred from public employment to privatized services (Cunningham and James 2009), in Israel, the union voice was late to emerge and was highly limited in scope. As described by Moira H., the administrators in charge of regulation, who are also at times the same people in charge of evaluating the service and managing the contract over time, are primarily interested in productivity indicators. The employment conditions of SACO employees are rarely attended to in the evaluation process. This suggests that even if activists' and unions' struggles to improve employment conditions are successful for specific categories, enforcement is weak. There are a number of historical and local reasons for this.

Unionization, and the legal status of a union, requires the signatures of a third of employees, but the high number of service deliverers in each field means that SACO employees find it difficult to set up a small union in the context of a single employer. In the USA, as Engberg (1993) noted, membership in a regional union is considered legitimate, as is a workplace union. Anyone with more than ten hours at an employing service can become a union member. The Israeli system of workplace-dependent unions means that unionization is hampered by high turnover.

Moreover, the new SACO organization is far too fragmented to enable significant broad-based achievements. For instance, in 2014 Unison in the UK was successful in protecting employees in long-term elderly care from zero-hours contracts practiced by two employers. This huge victory, which was so significant in the lives of women employed in this sector, has yet to have an impact on many other long-term elderly-care workers employed by other employers in the UK and around the globe. In the same way, fragmentation has limited unionization achievements in Ireland. In 2004, the Health Service Executive was still the direct employer of a majority of long-term care (LTC) employees. In addition, thirty-seven NGOs were also employing care workers on the basis of vastly inferior conditions. The Irish Service Industrial Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU) managed to organize both types of employees with the hope of providing them with decent and secure employment. Murphy and Turner (2015), who reported on this 2004 struggle, explained that despite the successful

negotiations between the union and the employer and the agreement that was achieved in 2004, the improved terms and conditions of employment were not honored until 2013 “when binding LC judgment ultimately secured victory for the union” (2015: 7). Thus, unions that have organized SACO women are of tremendous importance, as they have been throughout history. However, under the current conditions, the difficulties unions face suggest a need for additional political forces to stand by contracted out SACO employees.

There is a general consensus that unionization is the one mechanism that has at least partially defended women’s earnings, stable employment, payment ladders and benefits (Cobble 1993). At the same time, there is little doubt that public sector reforms and downsizing as well as the spread of non-standard employment in SACO have weakened union power, particularly for the powerful public sector unions, thus leaving many women exposed to the under-valuation of their contribution (Grimshaw and Rubery 2007; Perrons 2007a). These reforms have generated a unique challenge for unions ever since. Rather than collective bargaining over improving the pay and conditions of the “worst” care jobs with employers, the current challenge is the negotiation of increases in budget ceilings and cost coverage. These are new challenges that force unions to struggle against the firm ideological reluctance on the part of budgeting administrators, who can reflect an institutional inability to respond to unions’ demands when the Ministry of Finance (MOF) will not allocate more resources. Organizing an insecure workforce, particularly low-wage SACO, who are often defined as “atypical” and fall outside traditional labor laws, is the greatest barrier. Faced with job insecurity, employees may not share the understanding of care work of union Organizers. With the level of fragmentation in service delivery, a huge diversity of motivation exists which might in its turn create disparities. Union organizers need to devote much efforts to engage in employees’ ideological and political motivations and unique resources (Hammond 2015). Overall, this has raised new empirical questions regarding the ability of unions to protect SACO employees given women’s historical role as providers of unpaid care. Some of these questions concern differences in employees’ sense of entitlement to remuneration and issues of femininity including a reluctance to take a confrontational position. Further, these new challenges suggest that the historical role of unions and their relationship with the women’s movement need to be re-examined in a search for new forms of cooperation that will allow for tackling the ramifications of public sector reforms for achievements in the area of professionalization.

The current barriers to the effectiveness of union struggles in contracted-out SACO bears some resemblance to a related debate over the meaning of the family wage. According to MacLean (2002), economic globalization has undermined the working-class achievements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to obtain a family wage. The current minimum wage in Israel, and even the current median income in Israel, is hardly a family wage, and individuals struggle with diverse forms of poverty and/or dependence on allowances and other family members. The devaluing of the family wage means that a majority of SACO employees live in some form of in-employment poverty. This implies that, as explained by Vosko (2010), they are mostly excluded, as they always were, from the standard labor force. Historically, the family wage has delineated the boundary which ensured a basic standard of living to standard employees. SACO remained outside this protection and, are still considered undeserving of a family wage. Politicizing this continuous phenomenon, Eisenstein (2010) insists on the crucial role that family wages—achieved by unions—have played in women’s lives, both as wives and mothers and as employees. This prompted Eisenstein (2010) to argue that women’s entry to the labor force was exploited cynically: “The willingness of women to enter the workforce in massive numbers, drawn by the rapid growth of the service sector, served the interest of capital in holding wages down” (2010: 419). Eisenstein’s view implies that the union’s role should be extended so that unions’ struggles target more than just the job quality of each SACO employees’ category, but rather resist capitalistic interests. But can unions challenge the basically exclusionary treatment of SACO by unions that Vosko (2010) observed? Perhaps the combination of professionalization and unionization could posit such a challenge as it did for public-sector-employed teachers, social workers and nurses in Israel. Even if these categories still earn relatively low incomes, payment ladders have secured wages above the minimum wage and good employment terms and conditions.

This debate was recently reflected in Fraser’s (2013) suggestion that the women’s movement has neglected its historical alliance with social protectionism of the type offered by unions. Feminists who do not want to ignore the ways in which most feminist legal achievements have been dependent on union support (O’Connor 1998) would have to lead a change in feminist politics so that cooperation with unions defies historical exclusions. This doesn’t mean that either unions or the women’s movement would easily embrace such principles, but it means that Cobble (1993) was right in identifying these two immensely important democratizing social forces, and that the legacy of cooperation between them should be preserved in

dealing with outsourcing on a transnational level. In Israel at the moment there is very little such cooperation, weakening both these forces.

In their account of professionalization in social work and nursing, Abbott and Wallace (1990) described the persistent reluctance of managers and other professionals to accept the fact that a qualified labor force was required. The union-based relative success in these professionalization efforts was characterized by low salaries for women in public sector SACO. These salaries were so meager that women's position as secondary earners kept them dependent on their partners' income, especially when in part-time jobs. However, what made these jobs so dramatically important in women's lives was their high quality: they were stable, unionized, and quite a few employment benefits were always attached to them. This made it possible for women to get loans on very good terms, which enabled them to make significant material contributions to their families' well-being. Last but not least, women could take pride in belonging and in being employed, as well as in their promotion on payment scales. Thus, the combined operation of professionalization and unionization with the support of feminist reformers has historically promoted skill recognition in the area of caring work. In social work, nursing and teaching, as indicated by Duffy (2011), on the basis of academic credentials, unions have been able to separate nurturing care from other more menial/reproductive caring occupations. Importantly, this success was enabled because it was used to protect the professionalization of male doctors, psychotherapists and teachers. Consequently, some unionized SACO employees enjoy conditions in which they do not pay the price of poverty for the right to care. The feminist effect of the professionalization was immense, as occupational training has replaced intuition and the stereotype that femininity alone is sufficient for the development of caring skills.

Researchers have noted the importance of unions for more "gendered" aspects of workplaces and have suggested that in this context an active union is good for women and for family-friendly policies. Unionized workplaces emerge as better in providing parental leave, paid family leave, child care and job sharing policies (Budd and Mumford 2004). Despite these "gendered aspects" of collective contracts, little feminist attention has been paid to new unionism, and more basic aspects of job quality are rarely examined since they are assumed to be protected by institutional arrangements. Bradley and Healy (2008) and Kirton (2005), for example, have only examined the barriers to unionization faced by women, and Briskin (2011) similarly explored the importance of local leadership for women's unionization. In this way the extent to which unionization is relevant for protecting wages, employment ladders and employment

conditions for those employed in contracted-out health, welfare and education services remains an under-researched issue.

However, the NPM's extensive utilization of assistant jobs in the social services (Bach 2011) has led to several attempts at unionization, which can shed considerable light on the association between unionization and job quality in SACO. For instance, outside the social services, call centers' levels of unionization were found to have some effect on wage levels (Schönauer 2008) but little impact on job quality. When job quality is not supported by national policies, unionization in itself can hardly improve job quality (Doellgast et al. 2009). These authors looked at three dimensions of job quality: dismissal rates, use of high-involvement work practices and performance monitoring. However, they ignored a dimension that is integral to any gendered analysis of job quality, namely training and training-based remuneration. As pointed out by my analysis of the job insecurity experienced by Moira H., in the complete absence of training opportunities, her wage is flattened and is dependent on productivity alone.

The other key missing dimension of job quality is the tension between recommodification of women's work, where payment is calculated according to working hours alone, and explicit (other than the implicit decommodification embedded in institutional arrangements—see Matten and Moon (2008) for an exploration of this distinction) social policy guided by decommodification, where women become entitled to payment that protects their workers' rights, including sick days and other fringe benefits. This suggests that in countries where explicit social policy has reduced dramatically its support for employees, union achievements become more crucial and more difficult to attain. This is multiplied by the typical fragmentation in contracted-out social services, where a collective contract signed with one employer does not necessarily impact other employees in the same occupational niche employed by other employers. As shown below, fragmentation is particularly destructive when budgeting administrators trust the employment practices followed by non-governmental service deliverers.

NPM DISDAIN FOR PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS

The language of budgeting administrators is one anchored in a duality: on the one hand, it is anchored in standardization processes as well as in legal requirements. On the other hand, it is anchored in indifference towards SACO employees. The indifferent forms of speech used by HRMs in the public sector in their treatment of cleaning employees have already been analyzed (Nisim and Benjamin 2010). The similarity in the forms

of speech used towards cleaning employees and other SACO employees, suggests that budgeting administrators no longer follow the distinction which Duffy (2011) pinpointed between the derogatory social treatment of menial caring work and the respectful skill recognition for nurturing caring work. Budgeting administrator Leon T. explains how what he calls the 'strict standard' replaces skill recognition:

We prepare the labour force section of the tender contract according to the unified payment ladder that we have. Job sizes are also determined by a standardized table that is based on a criterion which we have decided on taking the service needs into account—we will determine things like one and a half position of a social worker; half a position for a manager. All this is standardized according to the Ministry's tables. But the ministry does not dictate to the service deliverers the specific job sizes, income etc. We give them full freedom of choice. The caring labour force that we give is under our control, that is, if we require four teaching assistants we are going to make sure that four full positions of teaching assistants are personalized and in good operation. We call that the strict standard. At the same time, we don't mind and we don't care about the specific job sizes in which these teaching assistants are employed and we don't know and we don't care about their exact income.

The ministry administrator emphasizes the extent to which he and his colleagues are indifferent to actual job sizes and actual income. His talk is positioned within an apparent justification regime: the service deliverer's manager must be given the basic conditions for managing the business. These conditions include full freedom of choice and the complete absence of the ministry's controlling gaze from the daily practicality according to which the service is organized. These conditions are secured despite clear awareness that the service deliverer might be interested in reducing the labor force, awareness that leads to the application of a strict standard. Further, the administrator expresses his view according to which regulation for workers' rights would interfere with the basic conditions of management, which, according to his neo-liberal credo, is somehow the exclusive capacity of NGOs inaccessible to government:

It is our policy not to examine what happens in the area of workers' income. In the past, there were those who thought we are wrong in taking this approach. We don't exert control over employees' income and that's because that is my credo. Also, it's because we don't know how, we are not good at managing services. If at one service the management believes they should pay the social worker less and the manager more, that's their right. I don't interfere with

their considerations. You've got to give the manager a space for discretion and independent decision making ... I mustn't intervene with his business.

Again, the basic conditions for managing a service emerge as the justification for complete indifference towards social workers' employment conditions. Employees' earnings are constituted as a private matter, and intervening in them would definitely be wrong as it would mean intervening in somebody else's private business. When asked whether the union is part of the process in which the basic standards and labor force sections of the tenders are set, he expresses his views regarding unions:

There aren't any union representatives on the tenders committees. No Dialogue. No communication. Nothing! We have no relationship with the unions. We don't communicate with them on any subject and in any way that would be related to determining tenders or tenders' models. The one occasion in which a union got involved was on the tender for [the name of a project where the employees have recently unionized]. The employees' delegates invited the union in. We didn't treat them and their rights as an issue but only used their input concerning the service and what we wanted it to include. They were an inciting provocative factor. We didn't have any negotiation with them. They were left in the background. The Minister at that time had a conciliatory approach but that was already a political matter.

Importing the American business sector anti-union spirit, NPM-informed budgeting administrators in the Welfare, Education and Health Ministries embraced the cluster of slogans organized around the principle that "unions interrupt management." In the excerpt above, this principle appeared as "taking care of workers' rights interrupts management." To utilize this rhetoric, interviewees had to manifest a level of trust towards NGOs contracted for service delivery in their employment practices as a premise for outsourcing:

There are market forces that play the game. I cannot interfere with what a service deliverer does; they know how to regulate their activities; that's why we turned to outsourcing in the first place. There are many who argue that we have to control workers' rights and they may be right. But we don't do that. There is a difference between cost calculation and forcing the service deliverer to pay a specific wage to a specific employee. There isn't anything that can be obligating like that. I calculate the cost but cannot determine how much the NGOs will pay. I cannot interfere with their expenses composition as this goes against the basic idea of outsourcing. Even the OS admins cannot determine the employees' income.

Trust, the belief that the service deliverer managers know what they are doing, has to be maintained against a stable stream of evidence to the contrary showing that money transferred on behalf of employment expenses is often used by service deliverers to cover other expenses. This occurs particularly, according to interviewees representing service delivery organizations, as ministries often only partially fund projects. When this is the case, the ministries demand matching funds or additional fundraising on the part of the tender winners, which can be very difficult (and has become even more difficult since the 2008 crisis in the fundraising world). The same abuse of the funds allocated to cover employment expenses is sometimes used to increase profitability in the case of for-profit NGOs, and to fund the high level of managers' wages in cases of non-profit NGOs. This type of problem obviously could have been solved had the policy been changed so that employees received their pay checks from the ministries and city councils, or alternatively these public sector bodies could have prepared the pay checks. However, such practices run what is seen as a major risk in the context of privatization, namely the risk of legally proved employer–employee relationships. To avoid this alleged risk, NGOs are trusted as legally operating employers. The high level of trust becomes clear when interviewees are asked about the longitudinal contract management, namely, the practices adopted for securing the quality operation of the service along the lines of the contract. As noted in the previous chapter, the Israeli version of applied NPM devotes little resources to long term contract management. Little control for gaps between actual practices and guidelines legally shouldered by the service deliverer in signing the contract compromises both the stated quality of jobs and the quality of service. Budgeting administrators and OS admins agreed on this point: The combination of the lack of a sufficient labor force for operating the detailed controls required to secure employees' payment, and the ideological belief that the public contracting bodies should not interfere with the employment practices of the service deliverers, implies that the employees are exposed to consistent violations of their due payments in ways that are known to all involved parties.

TRAINING AS A RISK

The funding of training is a crucial issue for the analysis of deprofessionalization. Professionalization implies that training must replace intuition and that occupational experience accumulated on the basis of training is valuable and worth remuneration. Training reflects assumptions related to regulation: regulation that is based on high professionalization standards

depends on higher levels of occupational supervision as well as on support and skill/awareness development for all levels of employees (Mor 2014). Minimal funding for training becomes an aspect of indirect regulation which intensifies deprofessionalization at all levels of the service.

In their analysis of organizations that operate as part of a network, Grimshaw and colleagues (2005) explain how more powerful organizations always attempt to shift the risk of expenses on to weaker organizations. In the organizational network relationship typical of the outsourcing of services, the state in its capacity as a client is both the powerful party and the weaker one. Its power position depends, as explained by these authors, on the specific stage of the contracting-out process. In the bidder selection stage, if there are actually several NGOs competing for a service, the state is the more powerful party since the NGOs depend on being awarded a tender for their economic survival. According to Kendall (2003), NGOs providing social services are more dependent on public funding than other NGOs because the operation of services constitutes the major part of their income. At the same time, the Education, Health and Welfare Ministries that fund social services depend on the participation of NGOs to provide the competition. Thus, in this early stage, if there are not enough NGOs interested in responding to the tender call the state becomes the weaker party, particularly if the service is seen as necessary. After a bidder is selected, the state becomes the weaker party to the negotiation and depends on the service operator to adhere to the contract because it is dependent on the service provider's sources of additional funding.

In the context of this power relationship, occupational training constitutes a risk in three ways. First, there is the risk of paying the service deliverer for training without knowing whether the training actually took place, its content or its relevance to the contracted service. In the area of long-term elderly care, reports have consistently shown that funds allocated for training were not used for that purpose. Second, training represents the risk of skill recognition. When training is financed, employees own a financial investment in ways that recognize their growing occupational worth, undermining the assumption that they are "disposable workers." Third, training constitutes a risk as it minimizes the possibility of using volunteers as replacements for staff. As long as staff are not trained, the difference remains minimal and volunteers can quickly enter the service (Baines 2004). A budgeting administrator presented his ideas concerning occupational training as follows:

Theoretically, the way we see it is that the service deliverers should make sure that the labor force they are using has already had its training and is

already skilled. It's not our role to train. In practice, here and there, we conduct specific forms of training but basically our expectation is that training will be the responsibility of the service deliverer because we are not responsible for that. In the field of the mentally challenged, for example, they have a specific fund to finance training. To encourage this pattern, service deliverers who conduct training courses get an incentive; in the future we intend to make sure that employees who underwent the training benefit from it and the service deliverer does not get anything beyond their rightful 4 %.

By shifting the risk to the service deliverers and demanding that they should recruit an already trained labor force, public sector administrators can maintain their belief that there is no harm in ignoring the nature of training in SACO as reflexive and continuously required (Armstrong 2013). At the same time, future intentions emerge here, reflecting an awareness of the value of training: employees are going to benefit from training courses they complete, and service deliverers who conduct training courses will accumulate 4 % to their advantage in comparison to other competitors. The future intentions serve rhetorically to maintain a rational appearance, while lack of funding for training is not addressed. The absence of training as a form of cost-cutting emerged in the UK too as part of the intensification of project managers' roles where training could not be funded (Cunningham and James 2009), suggesting similarities in the way NPM is interpreted in different places. Not only is formal training seen as avoidable within the NPM efficiency framework, but the informal training that takes place when SACO employees work as part of teams with more experienced employees is also assumed to be redundant by NPM-informed budgeting administrators (Armstrong 2013). The excerpt reflects the attitude to treat training as a risk: "basically our expectation is that training will be the responsibility of the service deliverer because we are not responsible for that." Responsibility is transferred on the rhetorical level regardless of existing information indicating that service deliverers should not be trusted to take on the responsibility for workers' rights generally or training in particular. They cannot be trusted to provide employees with training when the training is covered by the contract, let alone when the contract and percentage of coverage does not include training. As can be seen in the following analysis of an interview with a past union leader in one of the outsourced services, even when unionization is successful to the extent of forming a collective identity (Little 2015) followed by the two additional steps of "integrating the caring self" and "linking quality jobs to quality service," funding for training remains outside the budget.

Q: What triggered the unionization?

A: It's a good question. We were all new to the system then. The truth is that to begin with we were not particularly bothered by the low wages as we were so new at the job. But with time we gradually realized that the issue was the low wage and its consequences: primarily the fact that our employer could not locate workers and that the workers stayed for very short periods. The length of employment was dramatically reduced as the conditions deteriorated.¹ Gradually, with the consolidation of our demands the occupational component grew and we had more occupational concerns: (1) the basic principle that the devastating condition of our youth service is the outcome of low wages and in order to improve it, wages had to rise. (2) As the union leadership became more experienced we realized there was no occupational training that could be relevant to the guides.² If you ask managers to explain this complete lack of training, they will tell you that it's the result primarily of the historically blurred division of responsibility between the Ministry and the NGOs operating the services and all that but I believe that's bullshit. Yes, there are now a few more training courses than what we originally had but these are minimal.

Unionization in the context of an "at risk" youth hostel, caring for youth who already have had some contact with the local police, was a slow learning process in which the team gradually realized the implications of the administrative/managerial assumptions behind the skills required. When the process began it was energized by the rage triggered by the contrast between employees' emotionally consuming caring work, which they perceived as skilled, and the minimum hourly wages. Later the struggle for skill recognition and the right to be properly paid for skilled caring work dominated. The unionizing team came to believe in a causal relationship between skill recognition and development and the quality of the service. The belief in this causality shaped their additional demands:

Q: So you haven't demanded to change that?

A: It was going to be settled after I left but it never happened. Our demands included a range of occupational stuff and issues. We demanded a cluster of compulsory training courses to be taken by each counselling guide during the first year. At the moment there are hardly any training courses for them other than a course conducted by the ministry to which guides were not sent out for many years as no funding was allocated and those who attended it say it's a lousy course. Our perception was that the guide has to be trained on first aid for victims of sexual assault or abuse. Allow them to develop a skill not just the understanding of the implications. We're trying to actually develop the cluster of occupational skills that being a counselling guide in our hostel requires.

The unionization process developed into a scholarly process in which the quality of the service was not separated from the quality of the job. On the basis of their own experience and accumulated knowledge, this group of unionized SACO employees defined the skills needed to respond to the young people using the hostel. Once the caring team realized that occupational knowledge in the area of sexual abuse did not inform their work in effective ways, they pinpointed this area as one that should have been part of mandatory training for counselling guides practically employed as assistant social workers. At this stage it emerged that skill recognition was central to unionization—they refused to cooperate with the institutional assumption that their intuition was good enough and they insisted on their right to care in an informed way.

The unionized team members turned into self-defined experts on the quality of the service through a reflexive process of knowledge accumulation they initiated among themselves. They claimed to own an understanding of the actual demands of the service, defining themselves as more skilled than the managers at the service delivery NGO as well as more skilled than the OS admins at the ministry. The question was whether this self-definition could be validated in the context of outsourcing and whether the union could promote its validation. To begin with, the union leaders aimed at promoting such validation but, as an aspect of the emerging collective reflexivity and knowledgeability, distinctions between the diverse positions at the hostel emerged:

Q: And then you raised all that during the negotiation?

A: Yes. We had our economic demands, occupational demands and demands related to work procedures and relations. As part of the occupational demands we also included training hours for the team as a team. We had the idea of an hour-module that would be specifically allocated to the team, that must stand on its own, but, would be seen as important as all other training courses.

We organized our occupational demands so that we differentiated between the counselling guides and the team since the team has different needs. Once we had a problem of sexual abuse among our adolescent girls. So you must have the skill to deal with this. You need someone professional who can teach the guides how best to deal with it. We also asked for a regularly scheduled social workers' meeting with the coordinators.

With the emerging confidence of becoming experts on the topic of the service needs, the union members developed a detailed grasp of the economic,

occupational and relational facets that shaped work processes at the hostel. They insisted on their voice being heard during the negotiation. Their emerging pride is the pride of the knower who has systematically thought about the whole range of issues, including the emotional burnout that can play a role in the high turnover rate. However, another issue had to be dealt with to improve service quality:

Q: Was there a social worker who supervised your work?

A: Yes, there was always a social worker there. She was part of our employer NGO and did a very good job. An additional thing we demanded was subsidized psychotherapy for the guides. Now, I know how important that is. Indeed, the social worker used to give us some counselling but it's not therapy and because she's part of our employer NGO even if she'd talk to you, still she sits with your boss and so there are things which you are not going to reveal. That's why you need to have some additional emotional support. These were our various occupational demands.

Caring work, as Tronto (1993), Williams (2011) and many others have shown, is primarily an emotional relationship in which the needs of the individual being cared for reach the caregiver both professionally and emotionally, and vice versa, which introduces a range of emotional issues for caregivers. The union leadership was very clear about the consequences for the caring employees that would need to be properly dealt with were the preservation of their skill and experience seen as valuable. The emotional support they asked for was a part of their occupational demands, namely, an aspect of their skill recognition, training and development. In articulating their occupational demands, they constructed a justification regime that was well anchored within the political ethics of care where the quality of the service, the preservation of the caring labor force and occupational training are not separate dimensions but rather one consistent organizing principle. The union leader's account emphasized the pride embedded in the rise of a "knowing" collective identity:

Q: What did you base your occupational demands on?

A: We didn't have any particular source for our occupational demands, there wasn't any occupational book or known method but just what we thought was the right thing, or just what we felt was needed. For instance, we didn't know that before the privatization there used to be a college for guides working with "at risk" youth and we didn't have any successful models to follow. We had no communication with the experienced staff in the system so we based all of it on our personal experience.

The statement that there was no contact with experienced staff is surprising given that the OS admins we interviewed were often were precisely the experienced staff who could share their knowledge. Apparently, the work procedures didn't involve direct communication with them. However, the administrator in charge of this service told us that he did not believe in the union actions. In his interview he admitted that when there were better employment conditions employees held on to their jobs at the hostel for periods of over three years, which made their work more effective for the served youth. Nevertheless, even though the turnover is too rapid for effective outcomes, he does not support going back to previous employment patterns. Thus, the union leadership was left to develop its own knowledge base. Although the speaker above regrets the lack of dialogue with staff of previous years, he is proud of his ability to craft working knowledge. Unionization still poses problems:

Q: And did your demands prove to be effective during the negotiation?

A: Well, we did manage to get a raise. About 25 % increase which is still respectable ... what was not effective at all was the occupational demands related to training, they somehow misled us. They refused to accept our suggestions and at one point they just made us believe that they would set up a committee on the topic of occupational training which they never did and that's how all our work was lost.

In the spirit of current labor law courts in Israel that recognize only income-related issues as legitimate causes for strikes, in the negotiation with the ministry administrators, wages were increased. The elaborate body of knowledge developed by the union, together with the justification structure that associated the quality of the service to skill recognition and to the political ethics of care, was shelved. The union's power position was not forceful enough to break through the (non-) negotiable order of budgeting or to challenge the NPM-informed administrators' power position.

The budgeting administrators' reluctance to recognize a connection between employment conditions and the quality of the service has remained powerful, regardless of the collective knowledgeability developed in the context of unionization processes. Awareness to the consistency between the emerging body of knowledge and much feminist writing on caring services, could not stop what I called in previous chapters the 'erasure', i.e., the treatment of existing professional knowledge as not existing. The fight between the ministry and the NGOs operating the

services concerning responsibility for occupational training continued but the idea of associating the pay scale with training was ignored despite all the unionized efforts to promote alternative views of the service needs.

The budgeting administrators reflected the view that new unions face when representing assistant social workers and assistant teachers who want skill recognition. In this view, the union voice calling for training to enhance their income, the pay scale, the stability of their jobs and the recognition of their skills cannot be taken into account. Their demands are part of the (non-) negotiated order of contracting out services to the extent that training is not funded even when other demands for additional funding are met.

DISCUSSION

The new unions that operate as part of Koach La'Ovdim (KLO) to protect employees in contracted-out services have managed to gain sufficient power to force ministry managers and budgeting administrators to recognize the right to care for a respectable salary for specific employees. However, payment scales have not been developed. The union's power encountered three main barriers: (1) all their efforts to link training with pay scales failed. Budgeting administrators continue to consider training too costly and refuse to fund training-related expenses; (2) many among the assistant work force are employed during the school year only, do not have pay scales and cannot be promoted. Because they are basically uncertified, they cannot be included in any collective bargaining achievements gained by the union federation. The stability of these forms of exclusion suggests that in the tension between recommodification (performance-dependent payment) and decommodification (respecting human dignity even in circumstances that halt performance), often the former dominates; (3) when a new union protects the right to care of employees in one project, those employed in other projects cannot benefit from these achievements. Thus, in the context of contracting out of services, collective contracts are used to exclude many SACO employees from skill recognition by shifting the boundary between inclusion and exclusion (Vosko 2010), so that employees in weaker categories cannot get their caring skills recognized. The combined effect of these three forms of exclusion supports an interpretation of the Israeli-specific application of NPM principles to the outsourcing of social services as an operation against unionization and unionized employees as well as against service users. The idea of "merit public servants" that was mentioned earlier as one of the justifications for applying NPM

principles in the very early versions of the reform adopted by the OECD, was locally interpreted as a refusal to recognize caring employees' demands for appropriate payment. The goals of cost efficiency and better value for taxpayers' money appear to serve one agenda: that of erasing employees' agency both in their routine skilled care work and when they demand skill recognition, training and workers' rights.

The analysis of the unionization process and the negotiation procedures in the commissioning process revealed a (non-) negotiated order in which a continuous endeavor to claim skill recognition through collective bargaining is erased to the extent of ignoring it in most of the practicalities of funding. I showed how the institution of contracting is not only deleterious to SACO jobs, but extends this attitude to unionization and union collective bargaining. Union efforts have scarcely made a dent in the NPM preference for low job quality for a range of SACO employees. Unions set up by the most vulnerable employees, such as social workers, nurses and teachers employed by for-profit NGOs and the uncertified assistants operating these services, do not have the clout to influence the NPM-informed administrators. As long as struggles remain isolated and fail to recruit additional political support, unionization cannot challenge the basic budgeting principles currently dominant in the Israeli MOF and shaping other ministries' operations. Thus, the production of low-quality jobs based on the erasure of skills can continue to consolidate exclusionary practices, further decreasing SACO employees' chances of becoming part of the standard labor force (Vosko 2010).

Under-funding occupational training, which is central to gendered notions of job quality and skill recognition, exposes the extent to which the current mode of contracting out in Israel is based on restoring the assumption that women already have the essential skills for caring services and should therefore receive only minimal occupational training. While often women in uncertified SACO jobs may take pride in the opportunities that are available to them, analytically it is wrong to focus on this pride or related satisfaction without also recognizing the political erasure embedded in these jobs. In other words, in the form of service delivery which involves outsourcing, the most satisfying jobs, are primarily offered in exploitative and impoverishing conditions, erasing past achievements.

Davoine et al. (2008) identified four facets of job quality in their gender-sensitive model: decent wages, skill recognition, skill development opportunities and collective interest representation. In my analysis of the emerging collective bargaining process, these were revealed to be precisely what is at risk in the contracting out of caring services, particular

through the emergence of mini-jobs. There is a pressing need to develop mechanisms to secure job quality for SACO jobs in the context of the institution of contracting. One important such mechanism is upskilling based on continuous and reflexive occupational training accompanied by related payment scales. These mechanisms would reduce turnover by improving the extrinsic dimensions of job quality as well as improving other aspects of skill recognition, including direct participation.

The unions' power position must be supported by additional social forces since their isolation invalidates the enormous work invested in the development of a collective identity. It seems appropriate to inquire whether other social forces have managed on their own to shape the quality of jobs for SACO employees. One relevant case is an action pursued in 2011 by women's organizations, and in fact a women's organization coalition. This coalition, led by Ronit Ehrenfreund-Cohen, chairman of the Association of Rape Crisis Centers, managed to convince the Welfare Ministry to stop applying the open tender requirement in the operation of battered women's shelters as well as the Rape Crisis Centers, preventing the entry of firms that do not have expertise in the area. These services are now defined as emergency services exempt from "competition" and are therefore operated by feminist organizations with the relevant expertise. The coalition defined this issue as a question of professionalization and its leader was quoted as saying: "we're not dealing with a money-making business but with professionals who have been working in this field for years." Nevertheless, this hard-won victory has not resulted in improved job quality. Although women employed by these services have not lost their jobs, their employment conditions remain dependent on under-coverage budgeting. Important as the achievement is, it exposes the need for broader political cooperation to defend SACO employees' job quality in general. This broader coalition, particularly the bridging between unions and women's organization activism, is discussed in Chapter 6.

NOTES

1. The interviewee differentiates between the time just after the privatization, when a great deal of funding was directed toward youth hostels, and the more recent budget cuts.
2. Guides here refer to social work assistants, the carers who are the ones in continuous contact with the adolescents at the hostel, those who interact with them daily.

Contracting as an Institution: Managerial Arm Wrestling

Having worked for ten years as a chartered accountant in the business sector, and since then spending the last three and a half years as a budgeting consultant in the public sector, Regina N. has a perfectly secure high-quality job. She is employed as a budgeting administrator in one of the ministries. As part of her job she is required to evaluate the financial implications and expenses proposed by occupational standards administrators in the unit where she works.¹ She is well trusted and her skills as an economist and chartered accountant are recognized and rarely questioned. Instead, her position gives her the discretion to question the skills and decision-making of others. Nevertheless, there are times when she feels frustration and anger. Sometimes her professional opinion is questioned by her superiors who regulate budgeting. There are cases where she believes an area of a caring service ought to be funded, but her opinion is not trusted. In these instances, her role as a budgeting administrator appears in its true light as bounded by the hierarchical structure of the relationship between the ministry she works for and the Ministry of Finance (MOF). If her reasoning does not fit in with that of higher-ranking budgeting administrators, she is forced to accept their opinion to preserve her superiors' trust in her. She describes her job as the ministry budgeting administrator in charge of calculating the costs of contracted-out services:

I often have meetings with the person in charge of occupational standards and tell her that the need she has brought up is incorrect.² That it is a mistake to include the need she has in mind in the financial calculation. The financial calculation is presented as the service cost for each care recipient.

Adding too many “needs” increases the sum in ways that we cannot accept. However, the final decision is not mine—the head of the unit makes it. For instance, we prepared a bid for the contracting of a hostel for individuals with combined hearing and sight deficits. So, the occupational standards people tell me precisely how many employees are required. Then we have to abide by the ministry income ladder for each of the occupations. So we begin with the calculations, and then we have a committee meeting with the representatives of the head of the unit. They can reject our requirements, and we then go back to the occupational standards people in charge of the service, and see whether they accept the changes. And then we go back to the costs committee, and they can either approve the calculation or reject it. I’ll tell you something ... I had an experience like that and ... Let me tell you ... when you encounter rejection you have to deal with your own views ... how you feel about it ... once the occupational standards people insisted that they needed a translator. That without a translator into sign language the occupational team would not be able to work with deaf children. So I was convinced that a translator was necessary. Despite the clear evidence which I had that the service wouldn’t be able to function properly without a translator, the budgeting people rejected the requirement ... well, they argued that they couldn’t operate a service with such high labor force expenses.

Regina N. is involved in constant arm wrestling. Normally, she wins because she represents the budgeting department that wants to reduce expenses by convincing the occupational standards people that their view of what is required for the service is inflated. She has a strong belief that her work has to do with promoting rational considerations and reducing unnecessary expenses. She thus echoes Bauman’s point (1991) about the perceived moral irrelevance of any specific fragment of a bureaucratic procedure, and she does not see the moral implications of her work. How does this permeate the contracting process? This chapter aims at mapping the negotiation over the contract design and budgeting which takes place in two main funding junctions: first, the translation of the occupational standards into funded coverage, and second, the regulation of the covered standard by funded positions of regulators.

THE CONTRACT PREPARATION PROCEDURE

The Education, Welfare and Health Ministries depend on the MOF. This is crucial to understanding how the New Public Management (NPM) marketization spirit has permeated contracting-out processes. According

to Asiskevitch (2010), in Israel, “due to weak democratic values, weak political leadership and decreasing popular support for central institutions such as parliament, government and political parties ... certain bureaucratic agencies, such as Ministry of Finance ... and Bank of Israel, can advance economic liberalization in order to secure their power and authority” (548); moreover, “the MOF has become the actor who most enjoys the new arrangements. The MOF is finally able to shape the ‘rules of the game’” (558). The disproportionate power accumulated by the MOF in its relationship with other state agencies has facilitated a centralized form of operation that legitimizes bad jobs as well as poor quality of service. In the context of the contracting-out procedures, this centralized operation dominates. Melvina N., a budgeting administrator, explains:

There are two types of tenders; the majority of services are already budgeted, so the competition is for quality only. Only a few tenders have a cost component that will enable potential service deliverers to compete over prices. The majority of services have their prices set in advance. These were set by an inter-ministerial costs committee. Members of this committee are the ministry representatives, local council’s representatives and delegates from the budgeting office of the finance ministry ...

(... excerpt to be continued below).

This description of the budgeting procedures is framed as if responding to the intense public criticism of the infamous preference for the lowest-price bid. This preference was revealed as dominant in contracting out (Rubinstein et al. 2008) in a way that was formally halted in 2008. Thus, the first rhetorical goal is clarifying that the preference for the lowest bid can no longer be part of the budgeting routines. She states that the only competition between potential service deliverers is over the quality of the service, not costs. This emphasis embeds the second rhetorical goal of negating public criticism of the MOF’s tendency to disregard the quality of services. Melvina N. claims this is still very important.

Once potential criticisms of costs have been refuted, she deals with the issue of avoiding cost competition. Her answer reveals a fascinating centralized practice: MOF delegates are made members of the inter-ministerial costs committee. However, clearly the MOF delegates on the committee are not equal members. They have the power to approve or reject proposed costs. Their presence also reveals a dominant justification structure.³ When responding to public criticism of how decisions

are made, the committee is presented as operating in a dialogic mode. Melvina N. believes that a dialogue actually takes place, even though she herself describes the committee as a hierarchical and centralized forum where the budgeting administrator accountants from the MOF enjoy a privileged position. They can approve or veto the requirements stipulated by the OS admins. These administrators are not part of the committee and their voices are not heard. Instead, they are represented by accountants, like Regina N. above, who work for the ministries but in fact represent the MOF's involvement in the daily work of the ministry.

The committee serves as a sphere in which the crucial issues of service budgets are set. It is legitimized by its alleged nature as a transparent sphere that invites the participation of social forces interested in protecting occupational professionalism and the quality of the service. Melvina N. continues to explain:

In order to submit the operation costs to the budgeting committee—we—the ministry budgeting people—meet with the managers of services who are interested in starting a new operation, and we ask them what labor force the new operation requires. We set the costs according to the required labor force. We have a cross-ministerial costs table. Most of the tenders go through the costs committee that approves the costs. The other types of tenders are those in which the cost component was not set in advance, and there we will often have a brain storming session with the OS admins to assess the level of expenses required. Sometimes we set the (financial) target first, and then shoot the arrow on the basis of the financial limitations,⁴ but in the majority of cases we work very closely with the payment scale table.

This so-called dialogue, in which the ministry budgeting administrator constitutes herself as a representative of the occupational standards for the inter-ministerial costs committee, is defined as central to the tendering process. "We meet with the service managers" reflects her view that a dialogue characterizes the process. In fact, the dialogue is presented as basically technical, leading to decision-making on budgeting for labor force requirements according to a standard payment scale table prepared in advance. But can the dialogue be technical when every line in the cost calculation is evaluated and examined by the MOF delegates? The role of the ministry accountant is to represent the MOF's expected considerations, ones they will be able to justify at the committee. In other words, Melvina N.'s account shows that the dialogue she believes takes place at the budgeting committee is skewed, since the proposed budgeting calculation is one in which the labor

force requirements have already been curtailed by the ministry accountants. Thus this dialogue is completely artificial in that the categories of the pre-prepared standard payment table are imposed on all labor force occupations and the MOF delegates are asked to simply approve or disapprove.

When budgeting administrator Abraham A. was asked why the lowest level in the Ministry's payment scale is used to calculate labor force costs, he repeated the same justification: "rank and the years of experience are defined by the occupational standards people at the Ministry. They make recommendations to the committee as regards the number of employees, and the inter-ministerial costs committee accepts or rejects their recommendation." This response once again shows that the dialogue is blocked by the fact that the OS admins' opinion is not heard, and the power to approve or disapprove is in the hands of the MOF delegates. Jacob B. then made this insightful comment:

In certain cases, if we realize that the cost of employing the comparable public sector employee is too high, because tenure costs are high and turnover is low, then we price the position from below, i.e. we price it according to a lower public sector rank and not an average employee cost. This enables us to reduce costs.

Public sector budgeting administrators explicitly state that cost reduction is the main factor affecting the payment scale. In general, they are proud of this, as budgeting administrator Jacob B. continues to explain:

When you look at the payment scale, you say to yourself, yes, perhaps, it's not something that you can run with to the bank all the time ... and indeed it's easy to criticize us, but we actually pay the lowest levels [on the scale] 20–30 % higher than the minimum wage which is more than the minimum wage paid by private sector organizations. Our managers do not earn a high salary and most services function beautifully with this table.

Jacob B. is well aware of the problematic nature of the salaries in the payment table, and he sees that some of the wages can cause in-employment poverty for many employees. He cynically uses the phrase "running all the way to the bank," echoing a local advert of running to the bank as a sign of abundance. He is willing to admit that the standardized payment scale lowers employees' job quality, but he insists that this table satisfies the service deliverers, even though by doing so he silences the voices of many unionized and non-unionized employees.

What is particularly interesting here is the justification of wages through their comparison with the private sector. Since 1977, the state has been inserting the private sector into education, health and welfare services in Israel, and the level of wages tends to deny skill recognition, training and social benefits (Ajzenstadt and Rosenhek 2000). The comparison with the private sector can therefore be seen as a narration of a self-attributed positivity: the speaker uses the image of high salaries in the private sector when in fact the historical transformation and the building up of the non-governmental sector in the area of social services has lowered the salaries of SACO employees considerably.

Nevertheless, what emerges is a utilization of the rhetoric of the payment scale to justify the budgeting procedure. A dialogue with individuals who understand the actual work involved and the relationships required for quality caring work only takes place in limited circumstances.

The payment scale is endowed with its neutral and non-negotiable status through its repeated use in the process of tender preparation. Standardization of payment and job size, which restricts any dialogue over these issues, emerges as a basis of pride for budgeting administrator Leon T.'s statement that was already analyzed in the previous chapter:

We prepare the labor force section of the tender contract according to a unified payment scale table. Job sizes are also determined by a standardized table that is based on a criterion which we decided on when taking the service needs into account ... we will decide things like a one and a half position of a social worker or half a position for a manager. All this is standardized according to the Ministry's tables. But the Ministry does not dictate to the service deliverers the specific job sizes or income etc. We give them full right to choose. However, the entire caring labor force is under our control, that is, if we require four teaching assistants, we are going to make sure that four full positions of teaching assistants are attributed. We call that the strict standard. At the same time, we don't know and we don't care about the specific job sizes for these teaching assistants, and we don't know and we don't care about their exact income.

The "strict standard" refers to the high level of centralization and the limited room for negotiation in the contracting-out procedures integral to the local outsourcing of services. The interviewee takes pride in this standardized way of dealing with professional standards administrators, who are unable to circumvent the standardization. He takes particular pride in the fact that the same standardization allows the service deliverer "full right to

choose.” In other words, the budgeting administrator takes pride in the complete lack of control he has over the service deliverer’s employment practices. This, alongside the standardized and flattened costs, sheds some light on the reasons why SACO employees have such low-quality jobs in the caring and service sectors when they are employed by service deliverers.

Occupational standards experts set the requirements for minimum service delivery from the provider who wins the tender. Staffing is part of this role, in terms of both the types of practitioners needed and the size and number of each role based on the number of service users. Once this stage has been completed, negotiations with the budgeting administrators begin. In the following excerpt budgeting administrator Joseph E. describes the procedure in terms of recognition of skills:

The tender determines how many social workers are required, how many doctors, what the required standards for the building are ... We prepare a complete tender.

Q: Who does that?

A: The occupational experts. The [occupational unit] sets the occupational standards. Then the occupational people meet with the budgeting representatives. They do the pricing together and decide how much the ministry is going to pay the operator/contractor. Each detail is supposed to be paid for, but it takes collective agreements into account.

The highest occupational standards are noted, and the payment is legally calculated. The speaker also explains that occupational professionalization is further enhanced by consulting with various rights activist associations in the field.

Several of the OS admins also report a strong sense of this ongoing dialogue as an integral part of the tender preparation procedure. Occupational standards administrator OS admin Jenya Z. explains::

I help with the occupational standards stuff—how many childcare assistants you need to have in that childcare service, over what sizes of position. It was on the basis of my own previous experience that we decided that for a certain type of service we need to have fewer children, and this was incorporated into the tender, although it increased the cost per child. But this can happen only after a decision has been made at the level of policy makers in the ongoing discussion. I cannot just come and ask the person who writes the tender to write X or Y. We have a discussion, and my role is to express my professional view on the occupational standards. I will not give my own opinion, but rather present the agreed upon opinion of all the occupational standards people.

There is a strong sense of occupational pride in this account, as well as pride in maintaining a dialogue. There is also pride in actually making an impact and managing to influence the final form of the tender.

However, once the highest occupational standards are defined and a draft is written, the second part of the procedure begins: the negotiations with the ministerial budgeting committee. The budgeting committee is led by MOF representatives, who are more interested in managerial professionalism than occupational professionalism (Evetts 2009). The section below discusses the moral justifications injected into the funding committee by a budgeting administrator.

“*LISTENING*” TO THE OCCUPATIONAL STANDARDS PEOPLE

Budgeting administrator Aron B. sheds light on the negotiation of skill recognition. He is a 37-year-old with a B.A. in economics. He has been involved in various aspects of budgeting and policy for the last three years. He is a member of the budgeting committee. Budgeting administrator Aron B. says:

I believe in the outsourcing of social services for several reasons. First of all, you have to provide a good service throughout the spectrum, it is the same goal finding the most effective way to achieve the best service ...

The speaker believes in the moral value of outsourcing as a way of improving social services. He is morally committed to effectiveness and quality services. In his statement he places great importance on listening to the occupational standards people and learning from them. He considers their input crucial for quality services, but at the same time he aims to introduce budgeting considerations as an inevitable factor in quality services. Budgeting administrator Aron B. continues:

I always try to understand the occupational considerations. Budgeting consideration is not a dirty word and it clearly influences those in need of the service ... We almost always approve the cost requirements as presented by the occupational standard people. It's the same ministry, isn't it? They ask for something reasonable. These are not two separate bodies ... a good ministry knows what's accepted and what is purely a gesture towards the stated policy. It's not an arm wrestling relationship, but building something within known limitations. I know that I cannot have a home that doesn't work 24/7, I know that I cannot reduce the labor force below a certain level, etc. And they know that in the building they ask us to finance the rent, they cannot have a room for each patient.

The budgeting administrator presents the dialogue in the budgeting committee as a consensual, conflict-free process that is based on a shared understanding. He implies that this shared understanding was gradually created/developed within the ministry, and that the occupational standards people are basically cooperative and sensible. However, his attribution of cooperation and sensibility is contingent upon his understanding of what is necessary and what cannot be reduced. He easily states that “we almost always approve” their requirements, but how was this situation achieved? How did the OS admins learn to silence their resistance, their alternative views and staffing models? Thus an entire world of negotiation and power practices may be hidden in the use of the word “almost.” The power practices are not revealed or dealt with on any public stage. This pacified presentation of the procedure is enabled by silencing several features: (1) the process by which the occupational standards administrators gradually came to realize what is reasonable and what is not; (2) the shame instilled in them as a result of this process; (3) the emotions of those employed on any specific project generated by the encounter with under-staffing and deskilling; and, finally, (4) the emotions and well-being of those in need of the service.

The silencing of these factors is facilitated by the justification structure that defines commitment, responsibility and obligation towards the budget as more important than people’s emotions. Within this moral framework, budgetary considerations are an equally legitimate concern, regardless of the price in terms of the quality of the services or the quality of the jobs on which the quality of the services depend. Moreover, budgetary considerations do not contradict the positions presented by the occupational standards people, as these considerations allegedly operate in favor of those in need of the service. Protecting the budget is presented by budgeting administrator Aron B. as a way of protecting the interests of those in need. Moreover, stating that “we almost always approve” suggests that previous processes have created a consensus that can now be assumed. Budgeting administrator Leon T. was asked:

Q: So the cost is planned? through discussion?

Leon T.: No. The occupational standards people present it to us, and we approve or ask that they return it to us with corrections. It’s a simple body of knowledge: there are payment ladders that relate to all the positions involved in operating the services; there are the fixed costs for the logistics. The occupational standards people define how much they need for the specific project they present.

Apparently, a range of factors were defined, standardized and introduced during previous years of the NPM reform. These include what are potentially the most contentious issues of wages and workload. Because of this, the negotiations at the budgeting committee cannot include them and they now have to be treated as givens by the occupational standards people. This standardization is presented by the speaker as “a very simple body of knowledge.” Although payment ladders only exist for employees with specific credentials and diplomas and are not applicable to those who are defined as the unskilled labor force, the lowest level of payment is presented as moral and part of an appropriate payment ladder. There is no opportunity to question the reward for any specific skill, or to question the size of the position. The one interviewee who reported any success in changing the job size for a social worker was a service delivery representative: as the manager of a civil society organization he was able to use the threat of not participating in the following year’s tender unless the need for more social worker hours was met.

The OS admins cannot challenge these issues. They can, however, be asked to determine whether they are certain that employees with a specific level of certification are required for the service. The required certainty has to be substantiated either on the basis of research or on the basis of comparison with comparable services. The OS admins are not just trusted in stating a required level of certification or other labor force requirement. At times even ministry-level budgeting administrators cannot be trusted—recall that this was the situation faced by Regina N., the budgeting administrator introduced at the beginning of the chapter. She had failed to represent the budgeting consideration in her acceptance of the OS admins’ request to fund the required translator. She was then asked to remove a translator position from the budgeting considerations altogether, although she was convinced of its importance. Her view that a translator was necessary for the service was erased, defined as a non-professional (irrational) weakness. Thus even if OS admins can “prove” the need and insist on a larger part-time position for a social worker, they have no leverage for the creation or elimination of a post. This is because what is perceived as “rational” by the committee has already been defined and standardized as what fits the patient to social work hours ratio as trivialized by routines. Given this institutional narrowing down of the possible topics for negotiation, what takes place at the budgeting committee? Budgeting administrator Joel M. summarizes the possibilities:

The members of the budgeting committee represent the different paying parties. The OS admins come in and present their aspirations, the initiative, or the maintenance or improvement of an existing service with the relevant pricing. It all goes into specific forms that are included in the future contracts, once they are signed. The needs are extremely diverse, and the OS admins present their occupational concept, and the occupational details—"I need another hour for a psychiatrist because I checked and found out that the expert at the specific unit said that that's what was required" and that had its cost-related implications. So then we find out whether the cost resembles other costs at the Ministry (i.e., the wage of a similar position in the Ministry is compared to the expected wage); we examine the logistics of hours per person in need. And then I examine the ramifications of this cost increase against the Ministry's other expenses. Because when you increase the cost of a position it violates the equality and creates pressures and as far as I'm concerned the Ministry exaggerates and crosses its own lines and specifically I'm concerned with effectiveness. That's more important to me than anything else, perhaps they could try and respond to the need in other, less costly, ways. Someone already inside the system could perhaps do the work ... I'm on the restraining side, in order for the other units not to be hurt and for the taxpayer to be protected ... I also try to determine whether the occupational demand violates the original governmental budget planning ... any detail can affect hundreds of millions.

The procedure seems less consensual when the budgeting administrator presents his moral motivations: he cannot permit an increase in any one service, because he assumes that such an increase will immediately be added to the expense of other services. Since he is professionally prohibited from negotiating the budget ceiling,⁵ a zero-sum game is necessarily created. Thus, the working assumption is that increasing the budget in one area may take funds from another area, which may violate the alleged rule of thumb according to which all the services have to be budgeted equitably. "Equality" in the administrative world relates to each and every potential service user, but it is clearly inconsistent with Israeli citizens' experiential knowledge since privatization has created a separate set of education, health and well-being support systems for those who are able to pay high prices for them. Nevertheless, the speaker argues that any increase in the financing of a skilled labor force for a project must be provided for all other projects, or else it violates equality. This form of speech reflects a rhetoric of equality that acts as yet another justification structure for cost-cutting. It could also be interpreted as corresponding to the reasoning behind the international procurement agreement code, concerned with

equality between potential service deliverers. Within this value system, increased costs allocated to SACO employees are defined as irresponsible and immoral. Greater effectiveness is seen as the need to locate alternative sources of funding in ways that do not affect the protected budget ceiling.

Joel M. believes that the OS admins are exaggerating, rather than being sensible. To him, they don't share his moral principles of protecting the budget, and in this sense they should not be trusted or perceived as loyal. Deskilling disguised as efficiency helps him justify why he refused an additional psychiatric position: as far as he is concerned, somebody (uncertified? overloaded?) already employed could do the work. Elsewhere in the interview he describes how he discovered that the OS admins requested that a certified employee position be funded in a way that would provide a quality of service that is higher than the standardization regulated by another ministry. He is determined to act against such risk and in his interview he uses this story as evidence of the danger of trusting OS admins. The candidate for the new position is not part of the debate, and in this case the OS personnel were unable to represent this person or defend the value of the position to the service. Here is what Izik P., another budgeting administrator, had to say about the way outsourcing erases the right to care:

I think you shouldn't deal with workers' rights, and workers' rights should not be part of the considerations. When you have some coffee you don't think about the employment conditions of the waitress; you want a good cup of coffee and you want it to be cheap. I believe that employment laws have to be complied with here. I don't see any justification for giving those employed in the handicapped homes benefits or rewards that you wouldn't give to anyone working in a hospital or to an MD intern. There shouldn't be any prioritization of one over another. I would rather have the employment law applied than have unions everywhere. I believe it defeats equality. I believe it violates the main cause, because our cause is not employing social workers or taking care of their profession, but giving better service to people who need care. Social workers are mixing them up, because this is in their interest. Employment conditions is a means to an end—it's about the quality service that the handicapped person gets; because you don't want them to get a different person around them every year; you use employment conditions to keep the caring person around them for another year. I focus on the person who needs care and not on the person who gives it. When you ask the manager of the unit in charge of the mentally challenged to regard both issues, you tie his hands, which you shouldn't do. Don't ask him to bother with that—you need to ask the state to bother with that.

Operating a social service is compared to purchasing coffee. The comparison is obviously specious, because the quality of the coffee does not depend on the waitress forming a caring relationship with the customer; the coffee is produced regardless of the waitress's working conditions. No weight is given to the idea that in caring services, the quality of the caring work depends on the caring relationship and the caring process. Ignoring the right to care, the budgeting administrator is unable to see the need for unions' presence and their concerns seem to him a disturbance that is mixed up with the "real issue." Moreover, he directly attacks professionalization, and specifically that in the area of social work, as a movement that risks his ability to focus on the service users and quality of the service. In other words, budgeting administrators would rather have professionalization of SACO erased rather than recognize the possibility that professionalization is relevant to the quality of the service.

Labor law is presented as the answer. This deliberately ignores the fact that labor law only protects the minimum wage and benefits and allows for the employment of SACO on the basis of flattened wages that generate poverty among working people. Labor law does not require a payment scale and flattens wages in caring occupations by considering training and experience irrelevant. Izik P.'s reference to employment law also dismisses the way in which collective agreements became part of employment laws in many countries, including Israel. He masters the vocabulary of anti-unionization to the extent that he argues that collective agreements are the source of inequality between various levels of the caring labor force. His moral call for fairness among employees implies that promoting equality is about flattening all caring employees' salaries to the minimum wage. He thus openly erases the historical struggle towards professionalization in the field of social work, and is only willing to recognize workers' skills if they are shown to be necessary to reduce turnover. This reveals the power position of NPM-informed budgeting administrators as grounded in a moral language and a set of principles designed to defend the destruction of unions' and feminists' past achievements.

Another way to generate what is presented as a cooperation-based dialogue or a conflict-free discussion was described by budgeting administrator Regina N.:

Sometimes we state our view and we say "A service that is based on skilled workers alone is very expensive, that's unrealistic"... When this happens, we ask the OS admins to justify why their requirements are so high ... I have

become very experienced in this; I look at their requirements and immediately see all these exaggerations. There's the financial aspect as well—if you want to have crazy labor force requirements, then this is very expensive and you must say that. We try to introduce our approach—listen, we don't have that kind of money so please consider reducing your standards a bit, so it will become realistic and then we will be able to finance it. We only try to refrain from the destruction of services. We don't give a Mercedes; we give an old Mazda ... you have to achieve a balance between quality and quantity ... We have budget restrictions, so we must reduce the standards a bit. Sometimes we're dictators ... I try not to interfere too much with the occupational standard considerations, but I do comment when it is necessary.

This budgeting administrator, a female economist in her forties, maintains her occupational pride and boasts that she is well versed in identifying OS admins' exaggerations. Her comments reveal the educational process OS admins are expected to undergo: accept the reality of “we don't have that kind of money” and that “a service that is based on certified workers alone is very expensive.” Furthermore, they have to try to understand the differences between “crazy” labor force requirements and “justifiable” requirements, and accept the need for compromise, because the budget can only afford a used Mazda rather than a Mercedes. This last, somewhat masculine, metaphor suggests the extent to which the speaker has become politically committed to the morality of being effective, which leaves her with no voice for any care-related concerns.

Finally, negotiations in the budgeting committee end with the Ministry's formal decision as to what part of the costs it will pay to the operator of the social service. At this stage, OS admins need to deal with pricing calculations that involve changes in the initial cost distribution that can be modified as long as payment remains legal.

A DIALOGUE? DEPENDS ON WHOM YOU ASK

Legitimacy, worth and a sense of rational operation are all derived from the meticulous attention and respect given to the OS admins in the preliminary stages of the commissioning process. Because often the OS admins are women who have experience in various social services, and who struggle to defend skill recognition, their emotions are important to the analysis of the processes that shape the resulting contract.

One key emotion is their pride as professional women: their expertise is recognized to the extent that their voice is heard and can affect the

contract. They are proud to have achieved discretion and autonomy that they can harness in the context of their high-quality jobs.

Davina G. is a retired occupational standards administrator who was involved throughout her career in developing child-care services. In her interview she presented herself as deeply frustrated by the relationship between the Ministry and local governments on the one hand, and the private NGOs that fund and operate projects in the field of education on the other. Several times she mentioned the extent to which the public sector representatives are unable to regulate service deliverers since they “pour funds into” service. She was concerned that OS admins have lost their ability to impact the privatization process, and in particular the fact that the entry of operators cannot be regulated. She was angry about her inability to obtain the lists of those employed and information about their training. This is how she described the process in which the OS admins have lost their voice:

I participated in the commissioning process of [services]. I attended meetings with all the OS admins and the budgeting people. You have to remember that I used to be someone with significant influence on others in the field. To begin with, it felt as if they were listening to us and that we, the OS admins, actually would have a say. We were able to explicitly state how many [service users] could enroll in each [service unit], how many [uncertified assistants] and [certified employees] are required, the type of equipment needed, and so on and so forth. All this was clearly stated and accepted. Then, I got to know reality itself, the practical face of it all: the budgeting people, representing budgeting considerations [...] dismantled everything we had so carefully developed. What became clear is that they were not going to support any idea to do with maintaining the training courses we had developed over the years for [child-care assistants] and [other uncertified care employees]. While we believed that you need to train [uncertified care employees] ... this aspect came up as being too costly.

Davina G. could not influence the budgeting committee to act upon her view that SACO employees should be trained. Her concept of building up these SACO employees’ pride and devotion was ignored by the budgeting officials on the committee. Despite her previous experience with personnel in the field, she was left to her frustration and occupational indignity. Her shame derived from the realization that the child-care services did not include those factors she viewed as components of quality service. Particularly shaming is the gap between the starting point,

when occupational pride was encouraged, and “reality”—the committee decision in the form of powerful budgeting considerations. The historical pendulum becomes apparent in her narrative and illustrates the efforts that women made to introduce training into SACO and services, and the historical lack of recognition for such training, which is written off as too costly. A similar process is described in the next section.

THE DIALOGUE AND ITS REALPOLITIK

The occupational pride of OS admins tends to be reinforced when a new public sector function is outsourced, because their opinion is solicited in the early stages. However, according to Tatiana F., an OS admin, this dialogue is short-lived and she and her colleagues feel powerless when their voice is ignored.

Occupational standards committees define the occupational aspects of the service: They examine the service cluster, what each of the service recipients gets and who is going to provide it, the ages, the clarity of guidelines for the service deliverer, etc. We draw up a contract that defines the service cluster, the occupational materials.

Initially it operated on an agreement basis, but then we had to define our minimum requirements. There was a dimension of trust there where we looked into each other's eyes and clarified all the details. We defined the number of certified employees required, the type of work we wanted to achieve, the documentation, we wanted the files to be saved for future follow ups and we therefore included funds for an archive for the Ministry reports, the control of the center, the training standards for new employees; it was all there.

What happened then was that the service deliverer asked a lot of questions and got involved in the practical details of the procedure and that forced us to examine each point with a magnifying glass.

This started a duel with the budgeting people. They said, “We only have this budget! You cannot ignore it!” and we would say, “You must follow this. That's a sacred requirement!” and suddenly the finance people started speaking a language we'd never heard before. They began calculating the cost of each activity ... and then what generally happened was that everything had to be recalculated down to pennies.

But then the very long list of requirements, each one with its accurate cost, became intimidating, and the service deliverer said, “Look, I'm obligated to give the training, to provide the service, but nothing more than that.” Although we were aware of many more components ... we couldn't

... it became difficult to go back to our list of requirements. We didn't get anything beyond somebody coming in putting check marks next to the lists of activities.

Tatiana F.'s story charts the external pressure on the OS admins. The realpolitik of outsourcing shattered their hopes for a quality service. The service deliverer, whose business initiative set the process in motion as described by Tatiana F., rejected all the requirements put forth by the OS admins. Concern for the firm's profitability ended the discussion. However, before this shameful conclusion, an even more disgraceful process occurred. The budgeting administrators began a pricing process in which the OS admins were silenced despite their deep belief that occupational standards were sacred. The silencing took the form of "a language we'd never heard before" that eliminated the standards developed over years of providing SACO services with appropriately trained staff. Decades of women's work, their accumulated knowledge and experience, were erased while the OS admins became strangers in their own land.

OS ADMINS' RESISTANCE

A particularly painful manifestation of the conflict between the budgeting administrators and OS admins emerges when the commissioning process takes place at the Ministry, but the local government is considered to have responsibility for regulation, despite a lack of resource allocation. This is described in the following excerpt from an interview with two OS admins, Linda Q and Lydia C., employed by a local government:

Linda Q: ... we haven't received any authorization to sanction and regulate the service or any parts of it.

Lydia C.: Basically we are subject to Ministry guidelines.

Linda Q: The Ministry has the authority to regulate and control [...] we send the bids for approval at the Ministry; it's our responsibility to transfer to the Ministry any information concerning departures from the obligatory contracted guidelines on the part of the service deliverer ...

But it's basically an absurdity. In the past we believed that we had an advantage, because we know the field, but there isn't any clear policy at the Ministry ... On an official level, the Ministry people are responsible for the regulations, but they are unable to regulate such a huge quantity of services ... the supervisors are simply unable to manage these extensive regulations needs.

Lydia C.: Recently, the Ministry people argued that we're the ones responsible for regulation. At the same time, we don't have the power to sanction and no additional personnel were funded. No official positions were allocated. So we had to issue a harsh letter, explaining that unless we got the funding for positions and the ability to legally sanction the service deliverer, we were not going to initiate any further commissioning processes.

The OS admins have the knowledge and the professional skills to evaluate the service deliverers' performance. However, the relevant personnel cannot be hired, and the ministries maintain their power to enforce legal sanctions. The OS admins are perfectly aware of the disempowerment that curtails their ability to use their professional knowledge in unofficial ways. The only step they can take is to threaten not to cooperate with the commissioning process, but the local government cannot maintain this form of action for lengthy periods of time since these services are required. Clearly, even if a path of resistance is sought, the only available modes of action are effectively blocked. However, attributing responsibility to the Ministry people is merely a formality, because the shortage of personnel means that the problem will not be corrected.

Because of their limited ability to shape levels of remuneration during the commissioning process, the OS admins search for indirect ways to influence professionalization. For example, when they document employees' exploitation, they try to encourage systematic change to enhance the protection of employees' rights. Here's how OS admin Daniela I. describes her contribution despite the institutional expectation that she should control only for aspects that explicitly appear in the contract:

Employees complain to me, informally, on an interpersonal level. A [certified employee] came to me and told me that her conditions were unbearable. I couldn't help them other than by forwarding the information to the Ministry headquarters so that they would realize that they have to change the budgeting of the service. I'm not involved in that on a daily basis, but when I hear from several employees, I realize that there is a problem and then I present it to people higher up the hierarchy, and I talk about it in the monthly supervisors' meetings. I understand the source of the problem and I try to urge others to deal with it.

I can also act in an indirect way, for instance, [let's say] I see a place where the turnover of [certified employees] is very high, so I talk with the employees to see what's going on and try to understand the situation, and I can find out whether it is an interpersonal issue or something to do with

the employment conditions [...] I recently found a place where they didn't employ a [certified employee] at all, despite their clear obligation in the contract to employ one in each branch. So we introduced a clause in the contract whereby they cannot open a branch if they don't show that they have taken on a social worker.

When it comes to ensuring that the contract is followed by the service deliverer, it's relatively easy for the OS admin to improve the institutional procedure. Any other changes to the contract, are only possible on its renewal. Thus, waiting for the specific opportunity to amend the contract itself is an effective method particularly if it doesn't affect actual costs. For instance, improving the ability to sanction the service deliverer who has not adhered to the terms of the contract. Daniela I.'s account shows that the emerging social process operates on the basis of the assumption that the employment conditions of certified SACO employees as set forth in the contract are problem-free, and that certified employees' skills are properly recognized. When, however, a specific service deliverer fails to follow relevant employees' rights, the OS admins' constrained regulatory discretion is ineffective. In the long run, when her reports are expressed in future discussions, a power struggle will determine whether any action is taken.

One form of resistance manifested by OS admins seems particularly relevant to the extent to which their emerging emotions of anger, shame and frustration can be translated into any type of collective action for social change. This sort of resistance is based on incorporating the language of the MOF representatives so that the rationale for the occupational standards would not be questioned. This is what Marina J. did:

Q: How do you see the negotiation with the budgeting people?

Marina J: It's all our fault. They do not fund enough positions for [certified employees] and we still work. When we, at the Ministry, are stronger, we can negotiate better [...] They tell you, prove it! Prove you need more employees. You need to speak with the MOF people in their own language. We need to have a justifiable rationale for our demands. A rationale worded in their own language [...] It's a continuous process of industrial and management engineering in which you aim to have a clear justified calculation of the tasks, the time each takes and so on.

Q: How long did the calculation process which you led, take?

Marina J.: About five years.

Q: And after presenting the calculation, were more [certified employees] funded for the service?

Marina J.: Not yet. It's a struggle, you need to have a devoted Minister.

Marina J. is convinced that more certified employees are required for the service she is in charge of. She believes that 500 additional positions for full-time certified employees should be funded in order for the service to be effective. As an experienced negotiator in meetings with MOF representatives she is willing to become the rational administrator they expect her to be. Elsewhere in the interview she explained that she accepts the public's right to a detailed justification of all expenses and she does not expect the MOF representatives to trust her observations or knowledge. Thus, in order to become a rational administrator who speaks on the basis of empirical systematic analysis of the procedures, she engaged in a lengthy process of task assessment. She thus established her pride as the one who "knows" and she is ready for the fight. Unfortunately, she cannot pursue the struggle herself and she is well aware that her rational calculation is just a starting point rather than the leverage with which to achieve practical funding.

DISCUSSION: THE POWER OF MONEY

The empirical analysis presented above based on interviews with Welfare, Education and Health Ministry budgeting administrators and OS admins revealed two emotional processes centered on occupational pride. Budgeting administrators who consider themselves moral actors defending the budget ceiling and providing quality services within realistic limitations allow their cause to fill them with pride. In contradistinction, the OS admins' professional pride was justified through the value of their past expertise, their loyalty to quality services that respect the right to care and their clear perception that current services are not operating properly. The analysis showed how these two justification structures clash, creating a significant power divide between the two administrative categories: while for the former, pride was associated with confidence and action towards indoctrinating OS admins into the moral stance of "equality" and "low cost," for the latter, pride was associated with humiliation and shame next to a struggle to find ways of influencing the services.

In their interviews, the budgeting administrators used a language of dialogue to describe their interaction with the OS admins, but they described a centralized procedure that leaves very little room for actual negotiation or dialogue. They legitimized their operation by giving a local meaning to the terms 'income ladder' and 'training' ignoring their professionalization implications. They took pride in their standardized practices and paid little attention to the extent to which service deliverers adhered to the

employment practices expected of them. They also gave little consideration to the possibility that their standardized table of job sizes reflected very lean staffing models, which imply workloads that practically render the use of occupational skills impossible. They took pride in their utilization of uncertified employees as a good enough replacement for certified SACO employees, but were not bothered by the implications of the deskilling embedded in this practice as regards the quality of service.

The dialogue with the OS admins, which the budgeting administrators were proud of and which they presented as a rational and democratic practice, takes place in the context of two shielded non-negotiable imperatives. One is the realization that all agreed-upon labor force requirements for any prepared service must be approved by the delegates of the MOF on the inter-ministerial costs committee. The second is that the ministries that prepare contracts are forced to use two standardized tables that almost entirely marginalize the possibility of negotiation. One is the payment scale and the other is the table defining the size of jobs required for each number of service receivers.

The gender analysis of service delivery is extended by the analysis presented here beyond the issue of women's in-employment poverty. The gender of service delivery emerges as a political process, as a power struggle, in which I revealed another "ceremony of degradation". One in which OS admins, mostly females, found their knowledge, experience and concerns about service quality erased. Terming their experience "erasure," however, is not consistent with the diversity of their own perceptions of what happened to their voice. Some consciously worked towards preventing their voice from being erased. They did so by engaging in systematic assessment projects that they believed would cloak their demands in rationality. They saw themselves as part of a public struggle against the MOF admins but, at the time of the interview, still had no achievements to show for it. The fact that they came to experience themselves as resisting served the opposite objective to collective action: instead of perceiving themselves as acting together with other OS admins, they saw themselves as knowing better than the others.

Nevertheless, the erasure of occupational voices has emerged as a mechanism that effectively reproduces low-quality jobs and intensifies job insecurity for those in the caring and service occupations. In addition to the avoidance of actual control over service deliverers' employment practices, and on top of standardized tables that flatten rewards and trim job sizes, budgeting ceilings have also contributed to the deterioration in job

quality. It emerged that budgeting administrators were more interested in generating services on the level of lip service; namely, taking pride in having an operating service, rather than actually taking an interest in the interpersonal processes in these services. For this purpose, they adopted a didactic position towards their occupational standards colleagues to teach them to lower their expectations and be happy with a “used Mazda” level of service rather than expecting a “Mercedes.”

NOTES

1. Occupational standards administrators (abbreviated as OS admins) refer to people in each ministry who are recognized as experts in the area related to the service that is about to be contracted out and is therefore undergoing design and budgeting.
2. “Need” refers to an occupational position or routine within the planned/ designed service that is seen by the OS admins as necessary for the quality of the service in the sense that those targeted by the service can benefit from it.
3. A justification structure refers to the specific argument that is used rhetorically to ensure that an action’s moral value is apparent; this is what Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) termed moral exigency.
4. It is possible to interpret the metaphor of the target and arrow as referring to shaping the costs so that they can meet the target/sum that has been set in advance.
5. The budget ceiling is a commonly used metaphor for the maximum possible expense.

Bridging an Alternative

Orna A. is a social worker, lecturer and activist who founded and has led the national coalition for direct employment since 2010, after a local coalition successfully set up a union for cleaning employees at a southern university. Working together with various forces at the university, the local coalition significantly improved the employment conditions of the cleaning employees. She hoped that the national coalition for direct employment would repeat this local success. From her point of view, the diverse forms of exclusion caused by Israel's outsourcing are destructive for Israeli society as a whole, far beyond the violations of SACO employees' rights and services users' rights to quality services. In all the coalition campaigns she aims at delegitimizing outsourcing as a form of employment and service operation. She is currently working with independent volunteers, civil society organizations, women's organizations and unions to organize a leadership workshop for SACO employees in outsourced services. She wants to run these leadership workshops throughout the country so that mainstream activists will not undermine the right of SACO employees to lead their own struggles. This is how she describes the impact the coalition has had on the public discourse:

Since we began the struggle in 2007 we have developed and worked with the language of direct employment. It was always our policy to reject improvements in existing contracts as a solution. For us, the problem is the exclusions and the hierarchies between employees that are introduced by outsourcing. For us it's not about demanding more from the employer or

the state. It's about being part of a larger system of employment relations so that skills can be respected and further developed and the services can benefit. We refuse to accept the language of "temporary" employment as we know best that in most cases employees are not temporary. You will not find even one cleaning employer who will tell you that he has enough employees. He depends on his employees and knows very well that it is difficult to find employees who can be trusted and relied upon. So, we work with the language of direct employment and try to make the public realize the very high price Israel is paying for its extensive outsourcing. We have been working hard for the last several years to introduce this language into public discourse, the Knesset agenda,¹ committee discussions, and you can see that the language of direct employment has begun to permeate, to be embraced. It's the result of our efforts that employees of outsourced services were part of the recent negotiation between the Histadrut [the union federation] and the government that led to an agreement where 14,000 employees will be offered direct public sector employment. Yes, I know that this hasn't played out in the same way for everyone and that in quite a few ministries, employees have actually lost their jobs because positions were advertised as open. But, in terms of the big picture, this was our first success although we can't say that we were part of the negotiation itself. The beauty of our work in the coalition is that anyone who conveys our message is made to feel responsible, I learned to do this from my experience in community organizing.

Orna A. discusses the basic entitlement to inclusion and is outraged to encounter the various justifications for exclusions. Suspecting any such justifications as the prioritization of profit over workers' rights, she is determined to clarify the broader social costs of outsourcing as an exclusionary practice. She is an experienced activist and devotes a lot of time to thinking about how the coalition should be organized and operate. She gets very frustrated with member organizations who do not cooperate and do not take part in the frequent campaigns she organizes. At the time of the interview she was considering the possibility of separating the coalition from such member organizations. When Orna A. was asked about the role played by women's organizations in the coalition, she said:

Women's organizations do cooperate from time to time, depending on the individuals involved but basically, although they are supposed to be central partners in this process since so many women are exposed to exclusion, exploitation and poverty in this way, feminists do not see this as a feminist struggle. They don't see the connection between the economy, feminism and breadwinning. They focus on sexual harassment and representation.

Thus, from the point of view of an activist outside the sphere of feminist organizations, neither the “care penalty,” namely the loss of income born by SACO employees compared to non-SACO employees in occupations with similar levels of skill (England et al. 2002; Budig and Misra 2010; Cortis and Meagher 2012), nor the downplaying of occupational knowledge in terms of skill recognition are considered feminist issues in Israel. Indeed, many Israeli feminist organizations have conducted their activities in ways that are consistent with Fraser’s analysis of the women’s movement (2009), allowing its focus on emancipation to replace issues related to “social protection” and turn a cold shoulder to women’s material insecurities. The fact that SACO employees in bad jobs are excluded in various ways is not considered an issue of recognition or representation and remains therefore outside feminist agendas.

Elsewhere in the world, however, the care penalty has attracted more political attention, particularly from feminists seeking to relieve the pressure on families who have members who need care, SACO employees who provide their care, and the people who receive care. This perspective led Stone (2000) and Engster (2010) to call for a “care movement.” Others define the deterioration in social services, both as workplaces and in their ability to respond to users’ needs, as deficits in democracy and call for a change in the organization of our lives so that care is prioritized (Tronto 2013). At times, those focusing on care undertake the challenge of responding to Fraser’s criticism of emancipation-focused feminist politics and propose feminist democratic projects that attempt to better incorporate “social protectionism.” One example of such a project is presented by Findlay (2013), who sees social services as a “zone of political engagement.” Findlay introduces an analysis of policies within a framework of democratic governance committed to service users’ participation and designed around their needs and interests. In her application of Fraser’s critical theory, she introduces the idea of femocratic social services that are based on Fraser’s proposals regarding “post-neoliberalism anti-étatisme” and the “critical theory of recognition.”² Such social services, explains Findlay, are anchored in welfarist and feminist principles of universal citizenship, social entitlement and redistribution. At the same time, they distance themselves from welfare state hierarchy and paternalism, so that recognition of all social categories is consciously advanced. These services are built on a feminist-inspired ethos of participatory democracy, popular control and service user empowerment. Moreover, femocratic social services, explains Findlay, find a balance between Fraser’s étatisme—top-down

bureaucratic welfare state provision based on professional expertise—and contra étatism—bottom-up, citizen- or service user-induced community-based provision. SACO employees in the proposed femocratic social services benefit from publicly provided, quality, regulated, affordable and community-based social services with high levels of occupational training, in which they have a say in the organization and delivery of services, and where they have smaller workloads and quality jobs.

In this chapter I draw on international experience to relate the notion of a *political ethics of care* (Williams 2001; Tronto 2013) to the struggle to reduce the care penalty. I sketch out a political path for an organized “claim for recognition” for erased occupational skills through a bridging project. For each category I present a succinct analysis of emotions related to social change (Barbalet 2001) in order to indicate the extent to which individuals in each category are prone to engage in an erasure-based narrative that invites them to join a care movement. I then discuss possible strategies to enhance the prevalence of a femocratic perspective on social services as the basis for a bridging project grounded in the notion of quality jobs for quality services.

ORGANIZED CLAIM FOR RECOGNITION

The care penalty paid by local SACO employees has increased significantly since 1996 due to the Israeli MOF’s insistence on outsourcing services and its refusal to appropriately fund quality services based on quality jobs.³ A process of erasure has cultivated the increase in the care penalty by nullifying a range of feminist unionized occupational achievements including workloads, training and promotion among other forms of skill recognition. Care-centered occupational knowledge is routinely eliminated by withdrawing budgets, a process that takes three main forms. The first involves persistently reducing occupational standards by defining occupational requirements as too expensive. In the second form, even when there is institutional approval of funding for specific projects, the actual funding is delayed so long that service deliverers must draw on their independent resources. In its third form, low funding reduces the standards of care to below the minimum by making funding conditional on the number of users of the service per month.

This extreme Israeli reality has been echoed in the Anglo-Saxon countries, where coalition-based resistance has at times been successful in obtaining increased funding. One particularly significant success was recently reported in Queensland, Australia. Bailey et al. (2015) described a coalition

that involved a union, a public council, workplaces and activists who negotiated with employers in diverse areas of the social services. Importantly, the authors noted that even traditional industrial relations adversaries participated in coalition efforts to get more funding to avoid the typical outcome of making the service users pay for improvements. The Australian coalition had a specific feminist goal. This goal was not articulated in terms of the right to care, political ethics of care or erasure of occupational knowledge, but it was able to act upon a feminist achievement in the form of an equity pay act, making it relevant to low-income SACO employees employed by outsourced services. Their care penalty was somewhat reduced when the coalition managed to secure a larger budget. One of the elements that secured the success of the Australian coalition was its cross-sectional nature, which included middle and working-class individuals in a range of occupations and ranks who worked together thanks to what Rose (2000) called “bridge-builders,” i.e., individuals with a foot in each class or occupational position. Bailey et al. (2015) reported on their own work as bridge-builders who sustained the coalition’s ties through their networks both within their own occupational sector and among the organizations outside it. Any attempt at imitating their success elsewhere will depend, however, on such bridge-builders: individuals with positive networks in various caring occupations, unions, and feminist and civil society organizations.

Leadership by bridge-builders is particularly crucial for coalitions promoting quality services/quality jobs. The chances of such coalitions challenging NPM-informed forms of budgeting depend on these bridge-builders, since without them no cross-class, cross-occupation, cross-gender, cross-ethno/racial/national cooperation would have political clout. Engster (2010) applied the idea of coalitions to create the concept of “an umbrella care organization” to lead the care movement in promoting a political ethics of care as a guideline for policy. Located in the American context, the care movement he envisages has to deal with issues, such as parental leave, that in the Israeli context have been institutionalized and therefore taken for granted and have only recently been endangered by the Americanization of the local business environment. Nevertheless, some of his suggestions are relevant, including the need to position care concerns as consistent with business concerns, rather than in opposition to them. Engster (2010) has upped the ante even more by insisting that powerful business-based partners need to be included. In the case of outsourcing, where service deliverers, particularly non-profit ones, may be interested in a more appropriate service funding and delivery, inviting businesses in, is crucial. He further suggests that care-oriented

organizations should: “make more of an effort to position their initiatives as part of a general care movement” (298). Engster is concerned also with the possibility that a care movement could be portrayed as lacking resources and dangerously relying on middle- and upper-class resources and therefore demands that any initiative must be universal and include affluent social categories. In the same vein, he recommends that businesses not be expected to shoulder the costs of the required (femocratic) social services and that attention should be paid to employers’ concerns. Tronto (2013) conceptualizes this concern in her notion of “caring with,” which assumes the consolidation of solidarity between those who actually depend on SACO employees and their families and those who care about the democratic nature of their communities. The democratic nature of communities, according to Tronto, is reinforced through active citizenship. SACO employees can be the focus of a continuous community project that calls for a variety of modes of involvement. The power relations potentially embedded in care and in caring services when service users’ and citizens’ dependency is interpreted as weakness requires active citizenship and community organizing to secure a “caring with” perspective in which the democratic standard of the ethics of care is embraced: “Nothing about us without us” (Tronto 2013: 140).

On the basis of the analyses presented in the previous chapters, it is worth inquiring who owns the struggle for skill recognition and the protection of the right to care and how it should enter into the politics of skill recognition. My argument is anchored in the theory of “ethics of care” (Tronto 1993, 2013) as a moral economy. It is further associated with Hochschild’s (2004) comparison of the love of women of the global south in individual households in the global north to the new colonial extraction of gold. As has been shown in numerous articles and books, SACO employees provide this “gold” in conditions close to slavery (e.g., Perrons 2007b) regardless of their country of origin or their employers’ and service users’ citizenship. At present the politics of skill recognition is being won by forces that dismiss caring skills, resulting in a process of southernization. In this process, forms of social citizenship prevalent in the global south become legitimate for both immigrants and natives in previously “Western” countries. This takes place through the systematic exposure of SACO employees to exclusionary practices inflicted by neo-liberal austerity regimes. The over-emphasis on immigrants in this context legitimizes such practices as the sacrifice required from immigrants, allegedly parallel to the sacrifice made by previous generations at the early stages of their mobilization process.

Authors from all countries applying welfare to work programs consistently show the tremendous role played by bad jobs in SACO in generating poverty and distress for women and children. This scholarship has shown a process of erasure in which, mothers' unpaid caring work undergoes erasure (Pulkingham et al. 2010). Within the framework of activation, insisting on mothers' undertaking of paid employment, erases their agency as carers who work for children and others in their families and communities and care is not recognized as bearing any economic value. This process of erasure of agency, first documented by Jeff Maskovsky (2001), was proposed as relevant to feminist achievements more widely (McRobbie 2009). Erasure in the context of the "disarticulation" or dismantling of the feminist project is the result of the celebration of individualism in which women are assumed to be no longer oppressed but empowered and, argues McRobbie (2009), are practically isolated and defeated. The neo-liberal "gender aware governmentality" creates the false appearance of progress and equality, but it has destructive consequences for the women's movement and its potential constituency. Similarly, "erasure" describes the way SACO employees' work is blocked from shaping policy-making, since NPM-informed policy-makers do everything possible to revert to the era when women's work was not recognized as skill based and could be obtained for free (Folbre 2006a). Or, as Folbre put it elsewhere: "Restrictions on women's right were oppressive, but they lowered the cost of caring labor (2001: xiv; cf. Tronto 2013: 140).

The same concept of erasure can be applied to women's work in a range of other areas in which women are silenced so that their voices and their anger cannot be heard (Lorde 1984: 124). The previous chapters presented evidence of two other processes of erasure inflicted by policy-makers in Israel on women's work and particularly on the value of women's work. I showed the erasure of the input of caring experts and caring professionals employed in the public sector whose standards concerning caring services are ignored as "too expensive." Further, I showed the erasure of the situated knowledge of vast numbers of women employed in SACO who accumulate daily evidence of how the poor quality of their jobs harms the quality of services. These systematic forms of erasure echo a more general process of erasure that has not been discussed above: the erasure of the enormous scholarly work emphasizing the importance of the ethics of care for all service users and service givers and for democracy itself. Such erasure processes together with the forms of erasures already analyzed, lead primarily to the exclusion of SACO employees from social citizenship by severe poverty. In addition, such erasure promotes policies that defy empirical evidence regardless of policy makers' statements on

prioritizing evidence based policy. Furthermore, leaving all this knowledge on academic stages, discard the public right to benefit of this knowledge. To avoid these unintended consequences of outsourcing, past experience of feminist alliances has to be followed in the search for a powerful political response. One possible response to this erasure is a bridging political project that embraces the ethics of care as a major economic, political and moral guideline. By bridging class and ethnic/racial/national/religious gaps, it could revive a form of femocratic service delivery that is based on valuing women's work. Since such a bridging project aims at skill recognition it represents.

The struggle of all those in diverse social positions whose work is exposed to erasure and all those who believe that such erasure must be brought to an end. The struggle to end the erasure of the value of women's work can enter the politics of skill recognition. I turn below to explaining the notion of a bridging project.

BRIDGING: FEMINIST POLITICS THAT WORK

The notion of "racialization" introduced by Bonacich et al. (2008) is a useful starting point to search for ways to achieve an alternative organization of service delivery based on a political ethics of care and primarily on protecting the right to care. These authors courageously articulated the ways in which women's exploitation and in-employment poverty in the global south has been quickly imported by economic globalization and applied to women in the global north. Bonacich and her colleagues (2008) called for alternative forms of struggle that have already been proved effective in the global south.

A few years before Hester Eisenstein (2009) called for activism anchored in feminist responses to economic globalization, Naples and Desai (2002) proposed a bridging type of activism. They described forms of cooperation between women in the global south struggling for recognition of the value of their work and privileged women in the global north. Such bridging did not change the current nature of capitalism, but for quite a few women of the global south it had effective results. Both Naples and Desai's contributions and those of Bickham-Mendez (2002) clearly indicate that creating alternatives from a gender perspective requires boundary crossing and bridging organizing. Similarly, Esbenshade (2004) insisted that new ways of working together need to be established between women of different power positions in society in order to gain effective results. Further

supporting the framing of a transnational struggle, Tattersall (2010) argued that given the current deterioration in union achievements, coalitions supporting unions need to implement four principles: (1) operating through processes that strengthen participants' organizational capacity; (2) including fewer member organizations to allow for decision-making in small teams; (3) providing fewer controlling positions for unions in the sense of allowing other member organizations to take on leadership; and (4) conveying positive messages.

Thus, given the recent description of the limited ability of the ILO to protect women excluded from standard contracts (Vosko 2010), the alternative of building a transnational care movement based on a bridging project that brings together the efforts of diverse social forces appears to be necessary. Such a bridging endeavor would have to be based on coalitions in the forms described by O'Connor in her attempt to apply Tarrow's (1983, 1994) notion of "political opportunity structure" to feminist politics (1996, 1998). What is a "political opportunity structure"?

It is a political opportunity to promote a policy on the basis of an alliance between social forces each too weak to act effectively on its own. Meyer and Minkoff (2004) presented an in-depth review of attempts to apply Tarrow's (1983, 1994) notion of political opportunity structure, which has been embraced by scholars of feminism and the state (e.g., O'Connor 1996, 1998; Randall 1998; Sperling 1998). They differentiate between applications by asking: *political opportunity for what?* I argue that the current extent of transnational erasure exerted on SACO knowledge, skills, experience by economic globalization organizations can become an opportunity. An opportunity to challenge the dominant position of the 'cheap services' arguments. An alternative to the 'cheap services' form of budgeting has to be based on alliances with organizations already leading critical projects against current budgeting. One example is the JITSIC Network. This network, Joint International Tax Shelter Information and Collaboration, has recently managed to promote in several countries a "Diverted Profit Tax" bill that magnifies public demand that transnational corporations pay their taxes. A care movement that would turn corporations' appropriate tax payments into a goal for a political opportunity structure in order to fund two basic principles of the political ethics of care: (1) SACO jobs cannot be Taylorized, isolated and excluded and must always be unionized, quality jobs that allow for appropriate training and occupational development; (2) SACO services cannot be hierarchical, profit-oriented or partial and must always be quality services grounded in

community participation and caring employees' experiences, knowledge and emotions.

Meyer and Minkoff (2004) also argued that the opening and closing of the political opportunity structure should not be seen as subject to external forces alone, but rather should be shaped in the nexus between opportunity, mobilization and political influence. These three dimensions need to be applied to separate the struggle for funding quality services that are based on quality jobs from other forms of social protest:

Opportunity: Feminist economists and legal experts on economic globalization must seize the moment of the current deterioration in the neo-liberal convincing power and lead the campaign to delegitimize competition, profitability, management and efficiency as principles relevant to SACO jobs and service delivery.

Mobilization: Bridge-builders are needed with the ability to connect diverse social forces within an umbrella care organization to shape the transnational characteristics of the movement by connecting with care-oriented organizations and struggles around the globe. Bridge-builders would have to frame the political right to care in the sense of the right to appropriately provide for one's dependents. For this purpose, bridge builders will have to invite in organizations and struggles outside the area of SACO as well.

Political Influence: Such influence depends on the participation of powerful political partners from around the globe who are willing to recognize the extent to which the current service delivery had deteriorated the quality of services. The defeat of SACO employees and the way it has created poverty among women and children around the world may generate an interest in collaboration among partners committed to appropriate funding and realistic budget ceilings.

When O'Connor et al. (1999: 202–203) investigated changes in the political arena in a bid to encourage feminist politicians to explore political opportunity structures, they presented an analytical framework conceptualizing five dimensions of the political map: feminist mobilization, anti-feminist mobilization, party configuration, social forces understood as political allies with the women's movement (traditionally, unions) and the institutional context. A political structure of opportunity can be said to operate once "social forces understood as political allies to the women's movement" are more powerful than the other dimensions. Hence, given the current dominance of politicians and budgeting administrators promoting austerity measures that undermine feminist and other past

progressive achievements in the field of skill recognition, who are the potential allies? And, how best to recruit their participation in the battle for skill recognition in caring and service occupations and for an ethics of care-informed service delivery policy? These two questions are dealt with in the following two sections.

POTENTIAL POLITICAL ALLIES

Mapping potential social political allies for “caring with” employees in SACO in their claims for skill recognition requires a preliminary conceptual distinction between various forces as a function of their view of gender discrimination. A care movement promoting (femocratic) quality jobs/quality services requires that discrimination is understood as any assault on the political ethics of care and the right to care. Discrimination for such a movement, is the depriving of a person “in need” of the right to receive “appropriate care,” given that “in need” and “appropriate care” are based on reflexive community processes. Further, discrimination is the depriving of a SACO employee of recognition of the value of their work and the relevant remuneration.

Other definitions of discrimination, including vertical gender segregation in organizations, namely, the focus on women’s rewards of payment and promotion in comparison to men, cannot serve as a good basis for participating in the care movement bridging project. A comparative basis of discrimination comes close to the definition of “political inequality” used by the EU in most forms of institutionalization of intersectionality-related legislation. As can be expected, Krizsan and her colleagues (2012) showed that such initiatives were basically paralyzed by the inability to prove them in court. Comparisons do not allow for the prioritization of the political ethics of care and are therefore basically exclusionary.

More effective for a care movement would be England’s (1992) suggested form of discrimination. She argued for “comparable worth” comparisons, which give rise to Tronto’s (2013) and Fraser’s (2013) understanding of worth through the lens of a society’s dependency on those who provide care. This understanding of worth implies that the exclusionary rewards currently earned by SACO employees those who haven’t become part of the ‘technological aristocracy’ (Sennett, 1998), constitute a form of discrimination. England’s argument is part of a more general view of horizontal gender segregation as the most powerful variable in explaining women’s earning and the gender wage gap. When we

ask how positions likely to be held by women are treated, we define discrimination as relating to the flattened rewards typical in feminine areas of the labor market such as SACO. Political allies should be those who accept the worth-based definition of discrimination organized around the political ethics of care seen as the right to receive quality care and the right to give care within a quality job. The allies are those who value the interpersonal dimension of service and caring-related skills and reject cheap services. As the political debate over quality jobs in SACO is at the same time a struggle against in-employment poverty, polarized intersectional social inequalities and bad labor standards, it is potentially a battle that can attract a diversity of organizations and individuals. I turn now to discussing six such potential political allies.

Building Alternative Unions

Traditionally, SACO unions have fought for enhanced remuneration even for employees institutionally defined as manual workers. The analysis presented above revealed an important process that is currently taking place and requires alternative forms of unionization. I found that SACO employees, either in their capacity as those who engage in practical interpersonal service and care or in their capacity as OS admins who are involved in the design of the services, currently undergo ceremonies of degradation, namely, the insult, frustration and resentment resulting in their encounter with the gap between their own claims for recognition of their knowledge and the reluctance of those around them to validate their claims.

The ceremonies of degradation experienced by SACO employees emerge most powerfully when their own sense of themselves as skilled and as owning valuable experience encounters disdain. This comes in the form of reflecting back to them their status as disposable employees: “they told us we can leave if we don’t like our conditions.” The ceremony of degradation experienced by OS admins emerges most powerfully when their own sense of themselves as professionals and as owning valuable professional knowledge, which they can substantiate during the first stages of the outsourcing of a service, is shuttered by the budgeting administrators: “and suddenly the finance people began speaking in a language that we’d never spoken before.” In both social locations, SACO employees experience themselves as “strangers in their own land”: their convenience zones become hostile zones where humiliation becomes the name of the game. In Chap. 2, forms of emotional labor and emotional politics were shown

to enable women to escape the daily shame and humiliation of these ceremonies of degradation. In Chap. 3, doing gender and the validation of one's feminine, intuitive, self-sacrificing self allowed SACO employees to escape humiliation, but unionization was also there to back up their sense of occupational worth.

Humiliation and other negative emotions, argued Barbalet (2001), could have become an important motivator for action had confidence in their entitlement to better treatment been accessible. Alternative unionization, feminist unions, for whom the understanding of this gap is a major point of departure, should attend to these emotions and provide those experiencing them spaces of support that will allow them to translate these emotions into political action (Barbalet 2001). But an alternative feminist union cannot focus on local provision of support and the ongoing emphasis on occupational worth and professionalization alone. It would have to cross time and space boundaries in connecting to a transnational professionalization-based care movement insisting on the delegitimation of cheap services in economic globalization organizations. After years in which unionization has been employed as a form of negotiation with employers, this tradition must be replaced by negotiation with transnational policy organizations. Such negotiation would allow the care movement unions to promote distinction between state expenses: supporting assumptions about the negativity of state expenses on specific problematic issues, while defeating the working assumption about state expenses devoted to health, education and welfare services as a negative economic indicator. These working assumptions of neo-liberal economists, which serve as the engine of outsourcing, must be replaced by a requirement for appropriate budgeting.

However, the care movement would not be able to rely on feminist alternative unions alone and would have to recruit traditional unions. To become the political allies of women in SACO more generally, existing unions need to engage in a triple form of action: (1) continue to focus on efforts to mobilize employees against specific employers who reject the ethics of care and right to care; (2) participate in building up a care movement that can tackle budgeting issues, including quality services and quality jobs on the basis of professionalization, occupational training and skill recognition; and (3) parallel to the umbrella care movement, create and promote relevant legislation that determines the state employer status obliging it to negotiate with an umbrella union for all SACO as a negotiating party regardless of the workplace-specific proportion of union membership.

Feminist Service Deliverers

Next to feminist reformers promoting professionalization through credentials, specialization and pay ladders, the women's movement has persistently criticized education and health welfare services for their conservative controlling roles. Feminists, primarily as critical scholars in each of the relevant academic fields, have portrayed traditional services as significantly ignoring women's specific needs, in particular those of stigmatized minority women, girls and young adults. For instance, in the area of welfare services, feminist organizations were quicker in realizing the needs of victims of domestic violence and sexual assault than were the public services. The setting up of shelters and centers for rape victims among other services turned women's organizations into experts in these fields, leaving public sector social workers far behind. However, according to Fraser (2009), instead of using this accumulated knowledge to expand and improve existing services, the feminist critique has been used to substantiate the theme according to which the public services "cannot manage" and "do not know." Further, this critique was unfairly exploited by NPM-informed reformers as a justification for deprofessionalization and the denigration of social services. Indeed, outsourcing had enabled this feminist critique of the public services to become an important force. It allowed for demands of funding for social services serving more categories in the population, developing feminist traditions of care for unique populations and in partnering public agencies for feminist projects including battered women's shelters, hotlines for victims of sexual assault, services supporting dropouts/runaway female teenagers and so on. Women's organizations have become service deliverers, and at times have not needed to compete with other NGOs for the delivery of services, but this process has had its price. Rauhaus (2015) suggested that despite the features that have enabled women's organizations to deliver services on the basis of representation and sensitivity to women of diverse ethno-racial backgrounds, this advantage has been lost in the context of outsourcing. In her research, the pressure of competition is a partial explanation. Another way to explain this loss is the fact that in the USA, there is no requirement for representation at each provided service. Namely, there is no requirement that the local population will find in the service care providers that come from a similar ethno-racial background and speak their language. Thus, even if an originally feminist service is funded, lack of attention to issues of representation and language can adversely affect the quality of the service.

Nevertheless, the political orientation of feminist organizations cannot be taken for granted, and several authors have shown that feminist service deliverers can be as individualistic in their treatment of their employees and as demanding that low-income mothers shoulder paid work as are other service deliverers (e.g., Gengler 2012; Mink 1999). In contrast, a recent study showed that when a neo-liberal service is delivered by a feminist organization, there is more recognition of the structural forces behind domestic violence and the need for child-care services (Herbst and Benjamin 2015). The implication of this range of feminist service deliverers is that commitment to SACO employees and to a transnational care movement cannot be considered a given, and needs to be enlisted according to the guidelines set down by Little (2015): a collective identity, a caring self and quality services equated with quality jobs. These guidelines suggest the need for some reflexive work within current feminist service deliverers in these directions. The willingness to do this inward work would be important when the women's organizations that currently operate child-care services in Israel on the basis of very low wages for child-care assistants would be invited to the transnational movement to join the struggle for more realistic funding ceilings. Likewise, feminists who direct services in Israel with or without a feminist organization backing them up, and who are exposed to the various forms of under-budgeting by budgeting administrators, are expected to become devoted partners, participants and even leaders of a care movement. Struggles against under-budgeting are currently almost always isolated and very little information about the way to go about such struggles is shared. Still, their commitment to the women, teens, female young adults and LGBT on the fringes makes them a major force in the bridging project discussed here.

Women's Organizations that Lead Alternative Politics

It is rare to find women's organizations that make the care penalty part of their agenda. Since this notion was coined by England et al. (2002) and was substantiated by empirical findings in the USA and echoed in recent empirical studies in Australia, Canada, Israel and the UK, women's organizations have tended to ignore it. Historically speaking, women's organizations have continued to assume that unions care about SACO employees and have rarely engaged in any attempts to protect them. As Hochschild (2004) suggested, the focus on women's employment was separated from the concerns of those providing the services that allow them to undertake employment.

In Israel, solidarity with the SACO struggle had weakened so badly that mothers and many other citizens became hostile towards such strikes.

This can be explained in two ways. Duffy argued recently (2011) that the care penalty is mainly applicable to women employed in menial “reproductive” care, e.g., cleaning, laundry, cooking, all of which are occupations that are more physical less identified with femininity as manifested in language skills. The second has to do with the social distance between most women’s organizations and SACO employees in stigmatized ethno-racial social locations. Thus, whether women’s organizations can be part of a bridging project constituting a care movement depends on connecting their leaders to three issues of concern to the care movement: (1) sources of funding grounded in economic globalization—such funding is necessary in order to protect household budgets from the costs of expensive quality services; (2) professionalization and the protection of SACO employees’ right to remain sources of authority and regulation when it comes to public provision of quality services; and (3) bridge-building when it comes to connecting the local care movement to its international counterparts. As members of women’s organizations have had the chance to accumulate international social networks, bridge-building may become an attractive area for feminist action.

A fourth topic that is likely to be embraced by the women’s movement is the “motherhood penalty” (Budig et al. 2012) because of its more powerful connection to work-related family policies such as parental leave and child care. The motherhood penalty derives its meaning from the persistent finding that mothers’ wages lag behind fathers’ wages even at similar occupational skill levels. More telling is the finding that mothers’ wages lag behind those of childless women. This finding is also based on earlier accounts and particularly the work of Budig and England (2001). Budig and Misra (2010) inquired how specific policies shape the motherhood penalty, and found significant motherhood penalties in many countries, particularly those in which child-care services are limited (Austria, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, UK and USA). This further supports the known dependency of women’s labor market participation on child-care provisions (Pettit and Hook 2005), which are also the best way to alleviate poverty (Misra et al. 2007).

The successful recruitment of women’s organizations into the transnational care movement would provide another advantage: the transformation of the nature of the gender mainstreaming framework used by the EU, as well as the gender budgeting platform, to accommodate care-related

concerns. Such concerns would replace the current comparisons between women and men to allow for the identification of quality services based on quality jobs with any feminist democratic initiative. This move already has firm roots in current scholarship criticizing the comparative discrimination approach as reinforcing the patriarchal stereotyping of women as a monolithic category in ways that ignore class differences among women (e.g., Verloo 2006). In analyzing gender mainstreaming policies in EU member states, Rees (2010: 564) considered gender monitoring, disaggregated statistics, equality indicators, budgeting, impact assessment, proofing, women's studies and visioning to be the principles of gender mainstreaming. If women's organizations were to include quality services and quality SACO jobs on their agendas, these tools would reinforce the new meaning of gender mainstreaming as the promotion of a caring democracy. In this way the commitment to women's rights based on a dichotomy between labor market participation and unemployment could be replaced by issues of quality of employment, skill recognition and related level of income. Gender budgeting would then facilitate the demand for more and better caring services for women as consumers who benefit from such services. The fact that women employed by caring services are affected by budgets will be featured at center stage by this renewed framing of gender mainstreaming. In this way Rees' (2010) argument for the transformative potential of the mainstreaming framework can be cemented.

In contrast to the generalization made at times suggesting that feminists are caught up in a division of labor separating issues dealt with by unions and those dealt with by women's organizations, Newman (2014) introduced a far more complex picture in which feminists find that their language has been institutionally adopted, thus leaving them without a terminology. She claimed that feminist struggles that are considered "successful" are incomplete and force activists to engage in developing new rhetoric each time their efforts appear to bear fruit. What is important to Newman (2014) is the continuous recognition of feminists' efforts as the only remedy against the tendency toward erasure that swiftly takes place when achievements are not attributed to feminist organizations. Recognition of past achievements is therefore a necessary condition in convincing women's organizations that becoming part of a transnational care movement is essential for their own survival and relevance.

Several types of organizations have already engaged in issues related to labor market opportunities, occupational training, activation, single mothers/parents, anti-racism and so on. These organizations have

worked to enhance their members' awareness of the chauvinist nature of the NPM. Many members realize that the social organization of SACO exploits women. These organizations can become allies in the bridging project to establish quality services/quality jobs by politicizing all those in professional associations and academic departments historically engaged with professionalization.

In Israel, one of the most powerful professional bureau positions is that of women employed as senior child protection workers in charge of separating children from families assessed as abusive. These women have been accused of distorted professional views, racism and corruption and sometimes even of cooperating with one side in a divorce case against the other. In a very different type of job, nurses employed in an institute for the mentally challenged have been found, in Israel, to act in brutal ways, for example raping victims suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). These powerful positions, among numerous others in other services, require that SACO employees undergo significant reflexive processes through which their practices can better fit with the principles of ethics of care and particularly that of "care with" (Tronto 2013). Solidarity and sensitivity would have to become important guidelines for service operations as part of the agenda of a transnational care movement that would be able to define the conditions under which they could be developed and applied. Women's organizations could become important in facilitating these required modifications in SACO employees' training, both before and at the job.

One unique type of feminist work is done in the academic world and it is therefore very important to include it in the category of feminist organization leading alternative politics despite the fact that they do not have an organization as such. Ethics of care scholars suggest an important path to enable a criticism of welfare, education and healthcare services without undermining professionalization. Instead, they highlight the importance of not relying on intuition, but rather developing occupational caring knowledge that is based on training. The importance of the work pursued by scholars engaged in conceptualizing the ethics of care is related to the careful way in which standards of ethical care are separated from the feminine body. In fact, the assumption itself that the feminine body embeds professional standards of ethics of care is unacceptable. As long as the assumption connecting femininity with caring qualities is preserved, caring work can continue to be perceived as unskilled and therefore properly unpaid or badly paid. If, instead, an ethics of care replaces this assumption

so that a set of occupational requirements are considered a precondition for service and caring work, the focus can shift to the appraisal of skill, experience, knowledge and ethical standards.

An ethics of care calling for the recognition of care work beyond the private sphere and of the right to training and development for any SACO employee was introduced by the philosopher Joan Tronto and had an enormous impact on feminist authors. Google Scholar counts 3346 citations. Likewise, her more recent book, *Caring Democracy*, where the ethics of care is introduced as the appropriate principle for organizing politics in any democratic society, has been cited 148 times. Social policy experts, political scientists and international relations scholars have also made major contributions to spreading awareness of the political significance of the ethics of care perspective. Fiona Williams suggested in 2001 that a political ethics of care should become the alternative to current policy-making. It should recognize the political significance of caring work and the importance of a commitment to the right to care without the gendered price of dependency and poverty. According to Google Scholar, this article has been cited 336 times, while 428 citations were counted for a 2000 article co-authored by the American economist Nancy Folbre calling for a social policy that values both paid and unpaid care work. Another 300 citations were tabulated for Fiona Robinson's book on globalizing care (1999) calling for an ethics of care-informed international ethics. These are just a few examples of scholarly calls for an ethics of care-informed policy. As policy-makers have not managed to hear, let alone follow, this scholarship, I argue that what we see is a form of erasure. This erasure is so blatant that despite clear-cut arguments concerning the inability of a legal contract to ensure quality service (Epstein 2013), UK policy-makers turned to individual commissioning of services regardless of their awareness of a range of associated problems (Needham and Duffy 2012). Books, articles, chapters, speeches, lectures, talks by thousands of feminist scholars around the world calling for the valuing of caring work have been put forward, but not one country can take pride in having refuted the NPM enslavement of migrant workers in elderly care.

A bridging project would have to rely on the moral authority of these scholars and invite ethics of care scholars to an international council to lead the transnational care movement. Such a council would work with international bodies, including the OECD and the EU, to create a different mode of operating caring services and the employment of SACO employees around the world. This model would be based on the right to

care and would be informed both by current spirits of professionalization in all SACO and by ideas of active citizenship and community organizing. The visibility of such a supra-national council would be a crucial milestone in any attempt to limit the erasure caused by economic globalization. Moreover, these scholars, if organized in a formal international council, would benefit from the authority to represent guidelines for an ethics of care in all services and in forums such as national banks and finance ministries, turning their council into the engine for the development of caring democracies. To use Patricia Hill-Collins' (2012) phrase on intellectual activism, ethics of care scholars have the power to speak the truth to power, and this power has to be organized as a feminist, intersectionality-based political force.

Activists Who Insist on Alternatives

One of the most powerful social forces, more so outside Israel, to have engaged with what Fraser (1987) called the "politics of need interpretation" is the people with disabilities movement. Kelly (2013) recently portrayed a project of cooperation between this movement and the women's movement in a transnational endeavor based on the ethics of care. I follow the four bridging points Kelly set forth and argue that the umbrella care movement would benefit greatly from the experience and commitment of the scholars and activists involved in the people with disabilities movement. According to Kelly (2013), the transnational nature of the project is particularly salient as it has to focus concurrently on the needs of those requiring care and their families as well as those who come from the developed world to provide that care. On the basis of Kelly's perspective, I argue that a range of human rights organizations engaged with the rights of migrant workers will become important allies in the bridging project suggested here.

Moreover, students and members of leftist organizations play a crucial role in the search for alternatives to neo-liberalism and may well be inclined towards the alternative that a transnational care movement posits. Students and activists from a range of political movements may be interested in the transnational project of becoming political allies of employees who suffer from the lack of skill recognition. With many among these employees being exposed to intensified job insecurity and economic insecurity, their ability to sustain prolonged struggles is limited. Activist movements, such as the American Students Against Sweatshops (SAS),

have contributed enormously to awareness of the issue of exploitation of labor in the global apparel industry. Pike (2014) described how this group worked within the Maquila Solidarity Network against the GAP apparel chain's exploitative practices. Esbenshade (2004) depicted the crucial role of students and activists in the Anti-Sweatshops Movement in both SAS and SweatFree Communities. The students who led the 2011 protest wave were able to maintain it over lengthy periods of time as well as use their bodies innovatively to generate visibility (Juris 2012). The protest is not necessarily separated from activists' cause and personal future. At a time of high unemployment rates across the globe among young adults, both graduates and less educated, quality services that are based on quality jobs can be seen by many as a relevant policy. It is, however, important to distinguish between two types of activists. Students who are about to enter the caring and service occupations are a particularly reliable group since they are aware of the ways in which their future positions are continuously threatened by cost cuts and NPM-informed administration. Nevertheless, students in other fields, often art students, tend to be more radical in their views and more interested in combatting hegemonic power and language. The awareness of the exploitative nature of economic globalization has been a powerful driver in students' participation. It is important to expose the role that economic globalization has played in developing and supporting NPM-informed public sector administrations. Esbenshade (2004) also noted that students and activists are committed to dialogic forms of state action and to workers' empowerment to the extent of actual entry into a dialogue rather than just securing core labor standards. Job quality that emerges from a continuous dialogue would be an attractive achievement for these activists.

Citizens' Entitlement to Alternatives

Women as mothers and as unpaid caretakers have always been dependent on the quality of social services and have been involved in demanding access to social services and protesting against low-quality social services. With the gradual process of change in managing family obligations (Finch and Mason 1993), increasingly more men are engaged in pursuing family caring obligations for young, older and dependent members of families and communities. Thus political alliances can cross social boundaries to recruit men involved in caring obligations as well as those committed to extensive fatherhood. Furthermore, men in other caring services, and

more generally as citizens who are dependent on social services, are also part of what Nancy Folbre (2006b) termed “high-pay/high-quality or ‘high-road’ outcome” (12), namely, women and men members of consumers’ and citizens’ organizations who consider quality services to be an essential part of their social citizenship. Locally, parents’ identity as consumers and citizens entitled to services has recently developed along the lines of solidarity with women employed in child-care services. This process emerged as part of the struggle against the reforms in after-school services that were introduced in Jerusalem. Fathers concerned both with the price of the service and with its quality became very involved in negotiations with the city council. In the same vein, men are gradually taking on responsibility for elderly parents and shouldering various aspects of their care. This emerging, more masculine care is primarily concerned with the financial aspects of caring arrangements, but nonetheless, practical care is involved too. Thus, the recruitment of parents and family members as citizens consuming services on their own behalf or on their dependents’ behalf might entail working towards a political and ideological rejection of cheap services, as was the case for struggles for fair trade and corporate social responsibility. This part of the project requires both the organization and radicalization of citizens’ demands. Nevertheless, because this category is probably the one that is most aware of the close interdependence between service quality and job quality, and the most interested in increasing service quality, a powerful care movement engaged in the politics of skill recognition may provide many caring citizens with the right platform for political activity.

*Alternative Politicians: Administrative Resistance to “Cheap”
Services*

O’Connor (1998) developed her notion of political opportunity structure at a time when, politically, it was still possible to assume that social-democratic parties were basically more committed to women’s issues than were right-wing parties or politicians. Recent systematic studies of feminist political achievements (Haussman and Sauer, 2007; McBride and Mazur, 2012) have shown that this can no longer be assumed to be true. Potential political alliances exist among all political parties, and an alliance of left- and right-wing politicians may well translate feminists’ initiatives into policy.

Particularly important alliances can be formed with ministers of health, education and welfare who struggle against the continuous demands by the MOF for more cuts in their budgets. Ministers as potential allies could be recruited by bridge-builders who would connect them to the OS admins in their ministries. As the latter power position was shown to be particularly undermined in the continuous arm wrestling “game” against budgeting administrators, connecting ministers to the OS admins in their ministries would enable a direct transmission of information. OS admins would be able to inform ministers first-hand about (1) issues of regulation minimizing service provision-related scandals; (2) the points at which budgeting considerations render quality of service so low that the service loses its significance; (3) the involvement of service delivery bodies that have been proven in the past to be problematic, either in terms of quality of service or quality of employment; (4) situations in which budgeting procedures, such as postponing the transfer of money, impair a service delivery to the extent that the service collapses.

More generally, I argue that the transnational care movement, and any politicians who were recruited and who embraced its agenda, would need to promote skill recognition by strategically negotiating with OS admins and empowering them in their daily struggle with budgeting administrators. This view requires a good grasp of how relatively powerless actors within organizations, in this case within public sector organizations, can acquire a power position. It seems that consumers’ demands would be crucial for changing OS admins’ power position. At the same time, only a vocal transnational care movement would ensure that their reinforced power position is used properly. Namely, allows them to insist on the validity, rationality and responsibility embedded in quality services that are based on quality jobs and SACO employees trained to operate along the guidelines of a political ethics of care. It is important to note that OS admins, who do not suffer from job insecurity, are still required to remain loyal to their minister and ministry and their contribution is thus contingent upon their ability to work with their minister and politicians who support him or her.

In this sense the potential political alliance that can be established with OS admins is a complex one. In order to recruit these administrators, their delicate position within their ministries has to be recognized along with the fact that quite a few have already embraced the ideology of outsourcing services while reducing costs. Thus, a key to their

recruitment is the acknowledgment that they can harness their position of authority and use their power of persuasion in the ministry, and that it is in the interest of the care movement to maintain their position as rational insider actors.

On the other hand, as shown in Chap. 5, OS admins serve the ministries' social order by maintaining the fiction of an actual negotiation and an actual dialogue about the needs of tendered or commissioned social services. Budgeting administrators' attempts to maintain a semblance of dialogue represents an important potential source of power: whether or not OS admins contribute to this sham dialogue. Three conditions will be required for OS admins to act on this source of power and condition their participation in dialogue with the ministry: (1) an alternative public discourse that refutes and delegitimizes the outsourcing of public services; (2) media visibility of their past and present efforts to maintain job quality and recognition of skills for quality service; and (3) the provision of implementable solutions for quality employment and skill recognition based on detailed evaluations of employers' practices along with detailed qualitative (rather than quantified measuring) evaluation of best practices in SACO. These three conditions will enable OS admins to insist on continuous evaluation of service deliverers and include employment conditions in the long-term management of contracts with them. Politicians and party parliamentary representatives who are aware of the power struggle within the ministries over the quality of services and the quality of employment can facilitate the impact of these three conditions.

THE CASE FOR QUALITY SERVICES

A transnational care movement is potentially important in generating an alternative to current neo-liberal policy making. In a recent account of five possible pathways out of neo-liberalism, Thatcher and Schmidt (2013) state: "Which other paradigm might emerge is unknown and probably unpredictable..." (422). The paradigm of a caring democracy based on femocratic services has been suggested as an effective alternative. It is the paradigm that is most consistent with bell hooks' call for feminists to "reach out and join the global struggle to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (2000: 47). Thus, the point of view from which feminists examine anomalies and unsustainable contradictions is clear. One major contradiction that is exposed from the perspective of femocratic services is that between the stated neo-liberal principle of the "limited state", on

the one hand, and, on the other hand, the practices of the “strong state” that impoverish women in “cheap services” and maintain huge tax shelters. This tension is exposed best in the “strong state” commitment to “enhance” markets in the area of social services, while taking the position of a “weak state” when it comes to fulfilling basic commitments to citizens to regulate services for both their quality and the quality of the jobs they offer. Another important tension is revealed when the “strong state” declares its commitment to ensuring rights and equality for different groups on grounds of gender, sexuality and ethno-racial origins, while the “weak state” discards labor market policies to the extent that precarious employment and job insecurity are reinforced, particularly for those employed by healthcare, education and welfare services. The second pathway out of neo-liberalism explained by Thatcher and Schmidt (2013) is the gap between the rhetoric of “limited public spending,” which legitimizes the fundamental search for best value cheap services, and the practices of “privatizing gains and socializing losses” (424). In explaining their third pathway out, Thatcher and Schmidt imply that a transnational care movement that presents an alternative mode of services operation may be able to reframe the policy debates by placing the caring politics before economics, so that a more positive view of the state and its role is facilitated. Fraser’s (2009) effort to expose the way feminist emancipatory politics have cooperated with neo-liberalism may be of practical help. It can indicate the option of an alternative politics that would incorporate femocratic services as a major form of emancipatory practice that is not consistent with neo-liberalism. Thatcher and Schmidt (2013) see the potential alternative embedded in such incorporation as the type of ideas that will be required to enable a philosophical turn, namely, a return to the possibility of markets subject to state action to secure the “general good” that extends beyond promoting competition (425). A fourth pathway out of neo-liberalism suggested by Thatcher and Schmidt (2013) is the possibility that with increasing unemployment, particularly among young adults, slow growth, extreme inequalities and rising poverty, “new coalitions may form that challenge and win against the neo-liberal status quo” (427). Finally, because their fifth pathway is the need for new institutions, a suggestion made by many others before them (e.g., Rubery 2008), I take the final section of this chapter as an opportunity to propose a structure of new institutions that would allow for the effective spread of the ideas of femocratic services and a caring democracy. Above I have already suggested an alternative transnational council of care experts that

would negotiate the alternative with transnational economic globalization bodies. Here, I focus on the community organization level.

The new, service-specific institutions suggested below are proposed on the basis of clear economic arguments for a political ethics of care based on skill recognition and on the right to be properly paid in SACO. The first is the fact that without a strong grounding in a political ethics of care, services defeat their purpose and cannot be assumed to remain consistent with policy goals. One important illustration of this principle comes from the UK.

In 2013 the UK media revealed frightening figures, including the fact that at Stafford Hospital hundreds of patients had died as a result of neglect and abuse between 2005 and 2008. Reports indicated that health-care assistants had almost no training (in some places they were apparently asked to watch a video as their total training). The union representative asked to comment said that healthcare assistants are treated like a cheap labor force; the budgeting manager at the Health Ministry who was asked to comment said that regulation would cause a “bureaucratic quagmire”; and representatives of feminist organizations were not asked to comment at all. This scandal conveyed an important message to budgeting administrators that “best value” justifications cannot be assumed to work in caring and service occupations if best value is interpreted as the refusal to recognize the value of skill. Further, best value, which was based on the hope that women’s work in service and caring occupations could be extracted for free like domestic work (Folbre 2006a; Acker 2006b), ends up generating very low-quality services. The second principle for new institutions is also supported by this illustration, namely that they should be based on the right of service users to reliable services. The third is the long-term expenditure, which could be greatly reduced if services functioned better. Gordon and Nandy (2012) were able to show that, financially speaking, the best way to go about saving government money is by investing money in reducing child poverty. Quality services that provide mothers with an appropriate level of income can be one major way of reducing child poverty. However, a UK study (Grimshaw et al. 2005) focusing on public–private partnerships found that outsourcing serves to perpetuate employees’ poverty in three ways: (1) the public agency contracting out the service tends to exert limited control over the private partner once the contract is signed (Grimshaw and Hebson 2005). By doing so, the public partner tends to avoid monitoring employees’ incomes and rights; (2) the private partner often aims at deskilling and limiting employees’ discretion

and autonomy as part of processes in which the service becomes measurable and costs are reduced (Grugulis and Vincent 2007); and (3) expenses are further reduced by the extensive introduction of performance-related payment (Rubery 2008).

The fourth principle for the new institutions is the definition of job quality as based on three dimensions: the recognition of skills, reduced intensification and active participation by employees in work design. The recognition of skills embeds the meaning of continuous occupational training and appropriate payment scales. It does not, however, include the component of tenure, and that is because in previously well-unionized countries it is difficult to advance an argument for job quality based on stability and tenure. After years in which tenure has been negatively associated with the inefficiency of public services whereas, promoters of outsourcing have managed to sustain an image of tenured employees as both low performers and poorly motivated, it would be easier. In this context it seems more effective to argue for regulated quality jobs where evaluation remains an important aspect of reflexive occupational training.

The proposed new institutions basically consist of public councils devoted to each social service. These public councils would publicly sanction unrealistic funding ceilings. They would be based on the active participation of union representatives and public representatives in the process of the design of each service. These unions would be of the new feminist type described above and would all belong to the same umbrella union negotiating the employment conditions of all SACO employees. This active participation would increase the transparency of the underlying assumptions and delegitimize any attempts to make higher profits through deskilling. These service-specific public councils would operate on the basis of active dialogue, taking part in any contract design and long-term regulation and management. Information related to service quality, at the service delivery body and its (chain) subcontractors as well, would be easily and routinely transferred and examined publicly.

Members of the new service-specific institutions would have to be trained in and develop a philosophy grounded in the political ethics of care and femocratic services. Similar training would become part of the occupational training of all SACO employees. The councils' requirements for transparency (as an alternative to corrupt public administration practices) concerning service practices and employment issues would secure long-term development of reflexive procedures that would turn these new institutions into less cumbersome forums. A transnational care movement

that would identify itself with these active participation based institutions in which service delivery and employment practices are reflexively examined, has the potential of leading the next wave of feminism.

NOTES

1. The Knesset is Israel's parliament.
2. "Femocratic" for Findlay means "centered on women's interest"; "femocratic institutions" might be staffed largely by women or represent women's interests and advance feminist causes.
3. Graduates starting out in the areas of business and economics earn 1000 NIS more than what teachers, nurses and social workers earn after five years of experience. For many SACO employees, when not unionized, the minimum wage is the maximum wage regardless of experience.

The Power of Professionalization

In Israel, social policy, economic theories, public administration professional codes and discourses of rationality all support the argument that social expenditures is a burden that must be reduced. However, scholarly criticism, protests and unionization have challenged the legitimacy of reducing social expenditures in general and the wages of SACO employees specifically. As is the case elsewhere in the world, there have been temporary local victories, but the social organization of service delivery has not returned to the level that existed in the early 1970s. Obviously, the many voices making up this opposition would not want a return to the exclusionary features of services in the past in terms of either employment criteria or the availability to the public of these services. Indeed, The NPM doctrine has exploited public criticism of previous modes of services to introduce its outsourcing reforms. These reforms had exposed SACO employees to a gap between their claims of recognition and the lack of validation of these claims, a gap that adds emotions of humiliation, shame and uncertainty on top of experiences of job insecurity and, often, poverty.

The key argument throughout this book is that SACO employees' emotions are a unique source of information about both the personal and the political dimensions of outsourcing in the social services and the unique gendered experience of job insecurity that it produces. Outsourcing is increasingly affecting more SACO employees, occupational standards administrators, NGOs leaders and service deliverers, as well as unionists and activists attempting to promote the principle of quality services depend

on quality jobs, as well as ethics of care scholars. Outsourcing erases workers' knowledge, skills and experience that are embodied in their contribution to services as long as the operation of services remains distanced from transparency, reflexivity and public participation. Erasure takes place in ways that are specific to each category of SACO employees, and so emotional responses were analyzed throughout this book to systematically expose two gendered disparities: that between an institutional stated commitment to gender equality and the institutional practices of erasure of care-related knowledge; and, that between SACO employees' claims of recognition and the institutional refusal to validate this recognition.

The analysis of emotions revealed the coexistence of pride in delivering high-quality caring standards and the humiliation triggered by invisibility, ignoring and devaluing. I showed that this ambivalence has emerged in a variety of ways. Three patterns of emotional labor emerged in Chap. 2 from employees' experiences of job insecurity. These processes enabled SACO employees to connect to pride first of all through a sense of belonging, which supported women's insistence on their right to occupational pride. Given the lack of stability, high levels of uncertainty, and their awareness of the differences between their investment and their financial rewards, their pride is anchored in their roles as providers for their families. This sense of belonging to their families shields women from negative emotions and enables them to reclaim their respectability. Women also connected to pride by imagining an occupational alternative. Employees derived pride from their future alternative occupational paths, effective in implying that their current form of employment is temporary. The temporary status of their job achieved in this way cleared the associated shame and humiliation even though the alternatives were hardly realistic. Finally, women emphasized their levels of skill, expertise and resourcefulness in their caring practices. Their identities as expert employees substantiated their self-worth in a way grounded in a self-definition which exists without external validation. This self-definition reduced the shame and humiliation they experience while working in their caring jobs and functioned as a source of pride.

Chapter 4 discussed the three ways in which pride and the sense of skill recognition provided by the unionization process are thwarted when union achievements are undermined. This occurs when (1) unions fail to convince administrators that training should influence the payment scale or that more training should be introduced; (2) Managers do not respond to collective claims and do not change performance-related payment leaving payment scales irrelevant for those employees defined as uncertified

such that-re-commodification remains even when the union manages to facilitate the contracting back in of a project; (3) fragmentation cannot be challenged and when a new union protects the right to care of employees in one project, those employed by other projects or by other service deliverers cannot benefit from these achievements.

Finally, Chap. 5 discussed two justification structures that allow budgeting administrators and OS admins to define themselves as contributing to a broader valuable mission or cause. The analysis revealed the clash between two oppositional sources of occupational pride. The budgeting administrators were proud of their ability to protect the budget from expenses defined as not absolutely necessary. This justification structure was grounded in an 'equality' language where any excess expense in one service might deprive users of other services. The OS admins were proud of their expertise, their loyalty to the real services and their clear perception that the current services are failing to operate correctly. The analysis showed how these two justification structures clash.

The analysis of SACO workers' ambivalent feeling of pride in their work coupled with their having to struggle with a social gaze that exposes the self to ceremonies of degradation and erasure led to a conceptualization of a specific gender/class position. This conceptualization connects to the feminine self, historically associated with silenced and invisible caring work, namely, work that is not recognized. At the same time, the feminine self is associated with the refusal to return to this position. To explore these issues more systematically, this chapter brings together theoretical issues left undealt with throughout this volume and each of the following sections addresses each of the three research questions raised in the introduction: (1) How do the power relations between managerial professionalism and occupational professionalism, originally traced by Evetts (2009), reflect a gendered power struggle for and against the right to care? (2) How does the caring-self constituted within the outsourcing of social services enter the historical struggle for and against appropriate remuneration for skilled work, in particular when meanings related to 'doing gender' downplay the political nature of caring voices? (3) How do claims for recognition raised by those involved in SACO enter the struggle over (non-gendered) social citizenship based on entitlement for both redistribution, recognition and representation? The third question can be also framed as how should entitlement be analyzed in transitional times, or how is dis/entitlement shaped in the context of a welfare transition from a model that is well grounded in skill recognition for teachers, nurses, social workers

and other employees of social services to a model that fundamentally fights to keep state expenses for social services at a minimum.

A GENDERED POWER STRUGGLE FOR AND AGAINST THE RIGHT TO CARE

In his analysis of the ways in which the workplace has changed since the late 1980s, Richard Sennett (1998) directed attention to a dimension of flexibility that he termed “discontinuous reinvention.” This refers to the dominance of the principle of “reinventing institutions decisively and irrevocably so that the present becomes discontinuous from the past” (p. 48). From a feminist political economy perspective, this principle suggests that discontinuous reinvention enables the disruption of the traditional gender hierarchies. However, it does not apply to women’s work in SACO jobs that continues to be devalued in very persistent ways (Duffy 2011). Further, given the weak influence of critical social work, nursing and pedagogy in public systems (Gardener et al. 2006), discontinuous reinvention does not apply to practices that continue to reinforce the oppression of those in need in the caring occupations (Abbott and Meerabeau 1999). The one case where this principle indeed applies is related to the disruption of the feminist achievements of the 1970s and 1980s that enabled unions and professional associations to protect the value of skill in SACO (Armstrong 2013). Hugman’s (1999) analysis of the ways in which managerialism has consistently contributed to de-professionalization indicates that discontinuous reinvention may thus be an important feature of a feminist political economy in this sense. Thus, to answer the question of how power relations between managerial professionalism and occupational professionalism reflect a gendered power struggle I consider Sennett’s notions of “discontinuous reinvention” and “the concentration of power without centralization” to be valid prisms. These concepts allow me to elaborate on Sennett’s remark (1998) that “to the economics of inequality the new order thus adds new forms of unequal, arbitrary power within the organization” (p. 55).

According to Sennett, character is the ethical value we find in our work, the pride we can take in working properly; it is grounded in an individual’s connection to others, and consists of a long-term facet of the workplace-related emotional experience. Corrosion of character is the process in which shame gradually replaces pride—not merely the shame of not being able to work in ways one believes one should, but also the shame of being emotionally dependent on how the work is done and on the others doing

it. The experiences of job insecurity and the emotional responses of SACO employees are generally consistent with Sennett's analysis of the "corrosion of character" process, although they emerged here as more ambivalent and complex than Sennett (1998) considered them to be. Such corrosion processes included occupational pride derived through complex forms of emotional politics but detached from recognition, workplaces that scarcely provide a sense of belonging, very little trust in administrators, and service deliverers, many of whom are committed in name only to the quality of the service as understood by SACO employees. All these forms of corrosion isolate and deprive employees of assets that were previously accessible to their counterparts. On the basis of the persistent finding that women make up the majority of SACO employees across ranks and among those actually in touch with service users, these consequences of outsourcing-related policies are particularly applicable to women (Conley et al. 2011; Benjamin 2011) and therefore gendered in nature. But this systematic violation of women's right to care while being protected from economic dependency and poverty, and the corrosion of character which it entails, is only one gendered facet of outsourcing. Another gendered facet is clarified by the application of Sennett's notions to institutional-level procedures—namely, how women's jobs are institutionally shaped by procedures involving contract-based forms of service delivery such as contracting-out, outsourcing, commissioning, acquisition, purchasing and public-private partnerships. In other words, a major gendered dimension of outsourcing is completely detached from the numbers of men and women composing SACO and focuses instead on occupational standards-related knowledge that informs the definition of the number and level of jobs required for the operation of each service.

Because the government procurement of services suggests that agencies and local governments are not necessarily aware of the profile of the service they purchase, OS admins previously involved in the regulation and evaluation of services become involved in defining the aspects of the service which the purchasing agency, that is, the Ministry, intends to fund. They are enlisted to contribute their knowledge about the jobs required for the service, workloads, the required level of certification, required training, and so forth. Thus they become the proponents of conventions established since World War II in SACO before the reforms. Moreover, because they were involved in earlier forms of service delivery in their fields that are now contracted out, they are able to evaluate the significance of the caring relationship to the caring service, along with the additional invisible aspects

of the caring work. Their knowledge, and more importantly the question of whether or not it is embraced by budgeting administrators, is crucial in shaping women's jobs in contracted-out SACO services.

OS admins' professional knowledge should be seen in the context of the process described by Abbott and Meerabeau (1999), who showed how allegedly rigid public sector bureaucracies supported professionalization and protection for certified women employed in SACO. While these authors remained critical of some of the consequences, as was Duffy (2011), they cited the advantages of these professionalization achievements over care service jobs that have not managed to guarantee skill protection for those employed in childcare (e.g., Findlay et al. 2009) or in elder care (Lewis and West 2014). These advantages were so significant that public sector reforms became powerful measures for their circumvention. In order to clarify the gendered nature of this circumvention I return to Sennett's observations.

As workplace culture becomes one of self-sufficiency and self-control, the realization of one's dependency on the work and on others leads to a sense of failure and distrust. Sennett views this process as destructive not only to the self: "Shame about dependence has a practical consequence. It erodes mutual trust and commitment, and the lack of these social bonds threatens the workings of any collective enterprise" (p. 141). The collective enterprise at stake here was that of professionalization: the development of social services and their standards of operation and regulation in ways that enabled occupation-specific knowledge to become the basis for their operation. However, as Abbott and Meerabeau (1999) explained, the status of this knowledge remained fragile, especially as it embedded debates on the effectiveness of caring practices. These debates over various aspects of service quality and specific political configurations resulted in country-specific interpretations of professionalization and modes of regulation (Mor 2014).

Furthermore, the collective enterprise of professionalization has been a gendered one, replacing the assumptions that care is intuitive, care is love rather than work, and that care work can be elicited from women for free or for pin money (Folbre 2006a). As Duffy (2011) argued, these assumptions are still applied to individuals who are perceived as performing menial care work. In specific political configurations that undermine occupational experts' power positions, these assumptions can extend to other caring occupations, even those that are far from menial. Now that "best value" is the dominant principle in the delivery of services (Grimshaw et al. 2005), the collective enterprise of protecting the valuation and skill recognition of

SACO employees has become increasingly difficult. In Sennett's language, this became the case because discontinuous reinvention, the understanding of past knowledge as fixated and fixating, undermined public servants' knowledge through a reluctance to pursue substantial evaluation and regulation of existing services. Further, it is because of flexible specialization, namely the constant pressure towards new models of service operations accompanied by a constant insinuation, that public servants retain too much information and authority, thereby blocking the knowledge of the "real" NGO experts. In this way, unionized public sector employees were constituted as blocking knowledge rather than owning it. Ununionized NGO employees, on the other hand, were constituted as owning expert knowledge. And "concentration without centralization" weakened OS admins' knowledge by imposing contradictory demands on operating in public-private partnerships on the basis of both trust and lack of trust: trust service operators that they legally manage employment conditions for their employees but do not trust them for standing the contract and not using money allocated to cover the service, for their profits or other services. These conflicting demands have both personal and political implications. The personal aspect is related to OS admins' shame, humiliation and frustration at the way their knowledge is treated in specific contracting-out procedures when they are asked to raise the standard of the service and then have their input ridiculed and ignored. The political aspect is related to the immense loss of power of OS admins when their grasp of the basic guidelines becomes irrelevant since some NGOs, often feminist, service operators are considered to know better. In this way outsourcing has pushed SACO employees in NGOs into a fight over budgets, knowledge and prestige, with SACO employees employed by the state as OS admins.

Sennett's contention that the concentration of power in current workplaces occurs without centralization is consistent with the findings throughout this book that contracting out institutional space through bureaucratic budgeting procedures is extremely concentrated and unified whereas decentralization in terms of service deliverers is still maintained.

My analysis partially justified Sennett's theoretical insights. In the interviewees' experiences, discontinuous reinvention and the concentration of power without centralization were not separate; rather, these two dimensions converged in face of the basic institutional certainty that keeping costs down is more important than occupational training or remuneration that would reduce turnover. The shift between maximum honoring of occupational knowledge and its dismissal exposes the interviewees to an

emotional state of shame, humiliation and frustration. That explains why I termed their experiences “ceremonies of degradation” where nothing they do or believe in is validated as important in the contracting-out procedure.

This corrosion of character on the individual level constitutes a genuine threat to the feminist collective enterprise of professionalization as a route towards defending the quality of services based on quality of jobs for SACO employees. Sennett is right that the defeat of historical achievements takes place on an individual level, in an institutional space that allegedly remains gender blind. All the interviewees confide with a colleague or two about their frustration, but basically dealt with the corrosion of their occupational knowledge alone.

I argue that feminist achievements in the form of gender equality and recruitment to senior positions are used to legitimize current policies without improving women’s opportunity structures in a practical sense. This manipulation is illustrated particularly well by the first of the two stages of the deskilling process that emphasizes skill and encourages occupational standards administrators to raise their standards of quality of the service being provided. As the budgeting decision-making almost completely ignores the reports of the first stage, it can be said to be cynically used to extract legitimacy for the process by maintaining the veneer of quality improvement.

My findings also show how a gender perspective and a focus on caring occupations extend Sennett’s theory. Because SACO are still rich in intrinsic forms of rewards, particularly when relationships with those cared for are enabled, corrosion of character does not occur in the way it does in service occupations of the type described by Sennett. Instead, it takes place through the fragmentation and isolation engendered in contracts with service deliverers and the forceful sidelining of occupational knowledge that is institutionalized in them. Evetts’s (2009) positioning of a power struggle between managerial professionalism and occupational professionalism becomes a feminist evaluation of the defeat of an important feminist project.

Thus, a gender perspective on corrosion of character maps the loci where corrosion of character takes specific forms, and continuously evaluates each such form in light of the power position assumed by the commitment to recognize women’s knowledge, experience and skills. Mapping the implicit dynamics of these power positions demonstrates the reproduction of gender inequality when equality is taken for granted (Acker 2006a). Of particular interest here is the aspect of regulation of commissioned social services where OS admins act to implement their knowledge in regulation,

since they have the experience necessary to shape its appropriate form and the personnel required. Deskillling them by silencing their arguments with budget-related justifications suggests that defeating the feminist struggle for professionalizing care is the key to understanding many of the irregularities exposed by the media in recent years in a range of social services.

“*DOING GENDER*” AS DOWNPLAYING THE POLITICAL NATURE OF CARING VOICES

Throughout this book I have tried to portray a political power struggle. In the previous section the opposing stances were managerial professionalism and occupational professionalism, the latter representing the feminist achievements of caring skill recognition and the establishment of the right to care. There, the hegemonic power position of the belief that “caring work is love rather than work and that it can therefore be extracted for pin money” was shown to restore its hegemonic position in the sense of the institutional embracing of the practice of using outsourcing on the basis of a range of deskillling practices.

The power relations I portray here echo the struggle over professionalization while distancing from the institutional/structural level and embed a move towards agency. Here the power struggle is over the contested site of self-definition constituting SACO employees’ ability to frame their self-definition as skilled, experienced and as holding valuable knowledge. The first stance views caring skills, experience and knowledge as aspects of a “caring self” organized around the readiness to sacrifice one’s own resources as part of one’s engagement in the production of a worthy and accountable feminine identity, part of the “doing gender” pursuit; the second stance views caring skills, experience and knowledge as resources or assets whose value has to be recognized. For the confidence in their entitlement to be established, SACO employees have to become engaged in “undoing gender”, a task dependent on belonging to communities where the undoing of gender can become legible (Butler 1990). Undoing gender is a precondition for claims for recognition. This power struggle needs to be carefully examined as collective identity is contingent upon it. That is, if the hegemonic framing of “doing gender” is not challenged and claims for recognition are not taken to mean “undoing gender,” SACO employees will remain isolated in their own exploitation and often poverty. Isolation, as we saw above, has been emphasized as one of the consequences of the process (Sennett 1998). Furthermore, outside access to

a framing that legitimizes (political) claims for recognition constituting them as legible sources of self-worth, demands for appropriate remunerations are exposed to the danger of being constituted as an admission of a shaming occupational failure. Thus, for quite a few SACO employees, emotional politics anchored in the current gendered discursive order, that which extracts pride from traditional gender performativity, is still reactionary. For others, who can already undo gender and connect to challenging the discursive order, emotional politics can assist in transforming shame into the pride of resistance. Importantly, this option was rare and singled out in the findings.

The process of gender/class formation that is reflected in the power relation between “doing gender” and “claims for recognition” is played out through the particular institutional form of social services outsourcing, echoing Skeggs’s (2005) findings in another context. As SACO employees cannot, by any means, be constituted as “lacking moral value,” or, as Skeggs (2005) suggested for the working class in general, be attributed negative value, my empirical findings pinpoint a distinct class position. In SACO employees’ class/gender position, their subjectivity is produced by a pendulum motion between these two mutually contested sources of worth and morality: the feminine caring, self-sacrificing and the deserving skilled employee that ‘knows’ the required work. In mapping the motions of the pendulum between moral sources, ambivalence arises as a major characteristic of both the ways in which SACO employees speak and their emotional responses are framed. What emerged in Chap. 3 was a very proud self, insisting on the right to care without any training while evaluating this care as valuable and worthy. The ambivalence emerged vis-à-vis the lack of appropriate remuneration that generated feelings of anger and frustration but nevertheless were contained within the experience of pride and deep satisfaction. However, the hegemonic discourse emerged as more powerful in interviewees’ subjectivities praising their caring virtues and their intuitions. Uncertified employees were very proud of their feminine capabilities and were clearly not disturbed by the possibility that their interpersonal skills and intuition were institutionally assumed to be as good as any occupational training. They considered their abilities or talents to work with individuals with mental issues, school dropouts or runaways to be good regardless of the fact that their skills were developed without professional guidance. This clear finding that SACO employees themselves do not challenge the “good feminine intuition” assumption demystifies the gender-neutral cloak of outsourcing. Even if shame, anger

and resentment were relegated to the level of remuneration and remained detached from their routine practices, the interviewees were proud of their occupational contributions. The pendulum of moving between “doing gender” and “claim for recognition” is maintained in the emotional ambivalence without solving it in one way or another.

The emerging gender/class position of SACO employees, is obviously not monolithic. Some SACO employees are clearly middle-class, highly educated members of the local elites. Others belong to the far social margins: migrant workers, immigrant from Ethiopia and from the former Soviet Union, Israeli-Palestinians, Mizrahi employees in the periphery of the country, and so on. Can these deep social divides become one gender/class position? Yes! under the conditions that class is taken as a relationship and process embedded in the struggle to experience the feminine caring self as salient to the knowing, entitled skilled self who deserve appropriate recognition, remuneration and representation. Such an understanding of gender/class is important in defeating the potential of isolation which experiences of fear, desire, resentment and humiliation, hold.

The resource of awareness to the characteristics of the SACO gender/class position is a key in turning the claims of recognition into an available discourse within which the SACO class position can be articulated as a positive identity. What we have seen above is that the process of unionization, even if clearly limited in its achievements when dealing with outsourcing, provides social encounters guided by alternative meaning frameworks and therefore facilitates the transformation of emotional responses, or more specifically, the transformation of shame. Jaggar (1989) coined the term “outlaw emotion” to refer to emotional experiences that deviate from normative patriarchal imperatives and resist them, enabling a feminine, positively valued, point of view. What the findings throughout this book show is that outlaw emotions are prevalent in SACO employees’ experiences, as long as they remain limited to their personal level. Outlaw emotion has rarely materialized to replace shame with resistance. Anger and frustration were found to be anchored in relationships with an abstract administrative system represented by decisions, rules and sanctions that can be rarely renegotiated and not face-to-face. These outlaw emotions could feed in a discourse of SACO gender/class position that would nurture resistance but in its absence they faded away, defined as useless by friends and families.

Doing femininity in traditional ways receives in my data an additional political weight: this process not only leaves SACO employees in their

traditional roles and positions struggling to value their feminine paid and unpaid contributions; but, significantly, also leaves them on their own, each isolated in attending to her own wounds of class. If women's caring work remains a form of love that can be extracted from women for nothing because it is consistent with their natural caring intuitions and requires natural caring skills (Duffy 2011), then women are still constituted as the "Other" of the labor market (Davies 1996). Feminist work, within a transnational care movement, has to create an ideological environment in which "doing gender" can resonate with alternative meanings of paid and unpaid care work. That would include the taking of caring work as an ethical stance based on credentials, skills, training, experience, and reflexive relationship-building as part of the caring process. Importantly, the SACO employees whose interviews were analyzed as part of this project had no access to framing or meanings that would in any way unveil the problematic nature of taking pride in intuitive interpersonal skills and intuition. Yes, these women were right to positively respond to the employment opportunities that were opened up for them and were right to take pride in the value of their work. However, a politicized view of the process in which their work is being commodified would enable them a way out of isolation and a coherent struggle for services in which their work is recognized as skilled. The path towards a gender/class position for SACO employees is also a path towards better remuneration and a connection to historical feminist traditions of professionalization.

CLAIMS FOR RECOGNITION, ENTITLEMENT AND (NON-GENDERED) CITIZENSHIP

Israel illustrates a case of a clear gap between civil citizenship, namely entitlement to civil rights associated with the right to carry an Israeli passport—and differential social citizenship. This is manifested in disparities in entitlements of different ethno-national/geographical/class/gender intersections. Although enormous inequalities have been created by this differential entitlement to social citizenship, and even more so since the restructuring of the Israeli welfare state, concerns over social citizenship remain in the margins with little influence for rights discourses (Herbst 2012). While this has been true since the founding of the Israeli State in general, claims for entitlement by Jewish male citizens are justified on the grounds of army service, and claims for entitlement presented by Jewish female citizens are justified on the grounds of motherhood. Furthermore, citizenship for women in Israel is known to be contingent

upon motherhood. Berkovitch (1999) articulated this observation, on the basis, among other things, of the repeated collective claims conveyed by statements of early as well as more recent Zionist leaders who defined motherhood as a Zionist act (Herbst and Benjamin 2015). Izraeli (1992) showed that citizenship and its entitlements were not contingent on motherhood alone but on combining employment within what she termed the “mommy track.” That is, the constitution of women who belong to the Zionist collective as those who combine employment as secondary to their maternal obligations. Izraeli (1992) could make such a generalization taking pride in the leading position Israel had, at the time, in the area of child care services. But which women had access to child care services? Access to child care services has always been better for Jewish women in the center of the country. Palestinian women living in Israel have only recently begun to have accessible child care services. The differential social citizenship, is reflected in differential positions when it comes to benefiting of public sector jobs and the loss which welfare restructuring had created in this area.

Given this dual character of Israel in its early decades, both socialist and exclusionary, the entry of neo-liberalism in 1977 and the economic reform of 1985 created social transitions, particularly in labor market policies, that impacted female citizenship and social entitlements. Because social citizenship was differentially accessible to various categories even before the neo-liberal transition, it is difficult to determine how the outsourcing of services has modified social citizenship and entitlement as the pre-transition point of departure is unclear. Nevertheless, in this final section, I discuss empirical findings to show how outsourcing had changed social citizenship and entitlements.

I begin by returning to reasoning presented by a labor law expert (Ben-Israel 1999) that outsourcing as a form of employment relations—and more specifically the legal dilemma concerning who is the employer—reduces social solidarity, undermines its dimension of social citizenship and employees’ sense of entitlement. If Ben-Israel is right, there should be empirical indicators of low social solidarity and of entitlement for skill recognition among SACO workers in contracted out services, and low entitlement to remuneration that reflect such recognition. Because all the SACO employees and OS admins interviewed in this book introduced themselves as skilled and devoted employees with occupational knowledge and valuable skills, mostly, a sense of entitlement to remuneration could be attributed. This finding could easily serve to reject Ben-Israel’s argument and to conclude that there has been no reshaping of their sense of entitlement and social citizenship. This conclusion would support Korteweg’s (2003) suggestion

that regardless of ideological and institutional restructuring, the older welfare regime still impacts SACO employees' sense of entitlement. According to such a line of argument, many things have institutionally changed but none have destroyed SACO employees' basic sense of citizenship.

But how does the study of SACO employees' emotions feed into such a possible conclusion? Is it perhaps the case that a deeper level of the transitory social process is hidden in these emotions? I return to Barbalet (2001) in order to seek advice concerning how the emotions which were mapped here should be interpreted in ways that are relevant to SACO employees' sense of entitlement. If the analysis of the mapped emotions would indicate the possibility that the sense of entitlement has been privatized by undergoing isolation and silencing, then Ben-Israel's argument concerning reduced solidarity would be in fact, confirmed.

In his macro-sociological account of emotions, their part in the social order and the contribution of emotional processes to social change, Barbalet (2001) criticized Hochschild's social constructionist theory of emotions. From his point of view, her focus on "managing" one's own emotions so that an appearance can be marketed is overly conformist and neglects the potential of what Jagger termed outlaw emotions. Thus, for a feminist perspective to social change, his alternative analysis and the focus on the potential that outlaw emotions will emerge is more than relevant.

However, Barbalet ignores the fact that later studies failed to support Hochschild's interpretation according to which the required emotional labor in workplaces embeds forms of alienation and exploitation (Wharton 2009). Instead, such studies have found no evidence for an alienated self but, rather, an even more conformist view than that described by Hochschild. In her terms, "deep acting" enables SACO employees to take genuine satisfaction in caring gestures particularly when their professional status is protected (Sherman 2015). Deep acting suggests that employees tend to identify themselves with their SACO jobs, and take occupational pride in belonging to their workplaces and their success in it. Nevertheless, the type of emotional labor that Hochschild identified was supported by the rise of assertiveness as a workplace requirement. Assertiveness-related interpersonal soft skills became necessary qualities for reducing workplace conflict and changed the world of work so that it became a space where employees' worth is achieved through restraining outlaw emotions such as shame, anger and rage. However, Barbalet insists that an approach that does not pay attention to these emotions, and primarily their inter-relations, is bound to miss out on the potential of emotions for social change and that perhaps what Hochschild sees as a managed emotion is not actually emotion.

The main emotion to focus on in the attempt to apply Barbalet's perspective on the potential for social change is that of resentment. Resentment is an emotion triggered by the realization that others benefit from an unfair advantage. When resentment is accompanied by a sense of confidence about how things should have been, for example, confidence about entitlement, resentment becomes a resource, and action directed toward social change can be expected. Thus, resentment arises in response to economic fluctuation and can be directed not only towards those higher up on the class ladder but also towards those who have acquired resources without any sacrifice or suffering. Further, resentment is crucial as it is easily translated into protest among other challenging actions, if a resource a person deserves is blocked in the existing social order.

In Barbalet's terms, the ceremonies of degradation which were elicited from the analyses above—the processes that take place when one's sense of being skilled and knowing is not institutionally validated and instead skills are erased—are expected to cultivate quite negative emotions including humiliation and shame. In the analyses it was shown that the ceremonies of degradation do trigger quite high levels of resentment. This became apparent in the descriptions of the concurrent experience of blocked access to resources (both employment conditions and terms and direct participation) that were achieved in the past, and unfair advantages still allocated to people not employed within the outsourcing of services or not in charge of the design of outsourced services. Resentment can be empirically found and reflect a sense of entitlement to both skill recognition and remuneration. The question is how the presence of resentment and the entitlement it reflects was handled.

A fascinating dual operation of the resentment appeared. Some SACO employees pacify their resentment privately by a range of mechanisms, and, as could be expected from Hochschild's managed heart point of view, they managed their emotions. Other SACO employees found ways to unionize and connect with others in their service to a collective identity. Some social change was facilitated by the emerging collective identity. Public and political demands for legal and policy change, unionized struggles, the campaigns of the coalition for direct employment and reforms negotiated by the local federation of unions (Histadrut), have changed the meaning of outsourcing for some SACO employees and to some, direct employment was offered. At the same time, outsourcing has continued to rise and the institutional zeal for "cheap services" is left in place.

Moreover, the unionization action and the achievements gained by the various forms of collective identity can be seen as a privatized response.

They remained private, almost like the struggle led by the SACO employee in Chap. 2, who managed to gain for herself the advantage of direct employment. As in her case, most other employees of the same service could not benefit from their achievements and, no other employees joined their struggle. Each unionization act remained almost isolated. Very few individuals, outside each struggling SACO service, joined the struggle or validated employees' sense of entitlement to skill recognition and remuneration. A pattern of privatized entitlement emerges in which the resentment often remains a personal experience and even collective action is rarely successful in allowing it to expand to a collective level.

The privatized outcomes of resentment are instructive in two ways. The first has to do with the relationship between Hochschild's and Barbalet's work. Even if resentment comes with a substantial amount of confidence in one's worth and the value of work, it is not necessarily shielded from management or restraint. Moreover, Hochschild's and Barbalet's approaches to emotions do not appear to be mutually exclusive as both are able to shed light on processes related to the emotional ambivalence traced in the analyses in this book. Emotional ambivalence suggests that resentment was as powerful as pride and other emotions but the impact of such ambivalence on social change is less clear. Further, it is possible that job insecurity reinforces the ambivalence by introducing fear. Although SACO employees demand recognition of their skills and appropriate remunerations, they are not motivated by the resentment of relative deprivation where one is losing what they just became entitled to, but rather they are activated by the structural unemployment and large numbers of people outside the labor market facilitating the realization that as long as they hold on to their job, their resentment has to stay marginal. Hence job insecurity has enormous personal and political implications. Under job insecurity, in its specific meaning typical to many SACO employees—dependency on a bad job—emotion management is required even more powerfully than otherwise.

The second lesson to be learned from the privatized effect of the resentment concerns the sense of entitlement. A sense of entitlement cannot be grounded in a self-definition that its sole justifications are past arrangements. During repeated ceremonies of degradation, the public moments in which SACO employees encounter people of authority who are engaged in the rhetorical and practical erasure of their skill, resentment is toned down and the sense of confidence in how things should have been is undermined. Entitlement is exposed by this process to two types of pressure: the first is the pressure created by lack of validation from others since discursive resources constituting SACO employees' entitlement

as legitimate rather than ‘too expensive’, remain rare. The second pressure weakening entitlement is the realistic need to adjust struggles targeting achievable goals e.g. not struggling against outsourcing but for specific aspects of remuneration. These two types of pressures allow for a sense of entitlement to be maintained only as privatized. Almost a secret. Further, these two types of pressure appear to curtail the action orientation of entitlement and the resentment that is triggered by its institutional denial. The curtailed action orientation still cultivates the search for collective identity but, with time, as the caring self is more marginal to available collective identities and the equation of quality services as contingent upon quality jobs, is marginalized as not realistic, fewer endeavors criticize outsourcing itself.

Going back to the argument made by Ben Israel (1999) concerning reduced social solidarity, the findings can now be interpreted as supporting it. Social citizenship and entitlement to both skill recognition and the right to have one’s caring knowledge taken into account are modified by outsourcing in this slow incremental process through which NPM principles permeate into the social circles which SACO employees belong to. Both those employed by service deliverers and those employed by the Ministries as OS admins are gradually being re-educated in the direction of a sense of entitlement that has to stay mostly silenced and which struggles to resist the symbolic violence it encounters with institutional practices.

CONCLUSION: HOW ARE THE THREE THEORETICAL ACCOUNTS INTER-RELATED?

The institutional, the agency and the emotional levels are inter-related. The institutional level is where occupational professionalism is defeated, erasing the feminist collective enterprise of professionalization, demanding that caring work is appropriately paid. The agency level is where “doing gender” becomes more powerful than any claims for skill recognition. And, the emotional level is where the resentment is tamed by job insecurity, reflecting the shrinking of entitlement and social citizenship. Professionalization is the main pillar around which these inter-relations are organized. When professionalization is not institutionally validated, SACO employees have to rely on doing gender as an available resource. When doing gender remains the only possible knowledge base, it cannot validate claims for recognition and entitlement for social citizenship since intuition is commonly understood as opposite to skill.

The process of instituting disentanglement emerges as distinctly different from the “aggrieved entitlement” identified by Kalish and Kimmel (2010). Working-class men, hit by job insecurity and unemployment, respond in the context of the hegemonic discourse that continues to identify worthy masculinity with breadwinning. Women, the Israeli SACO employees in the current research, hit by the outsourcing of services, respond in the context of the hegemonic discourse that continues to identify worthy femininity with self-sacrifice and “giving for nothing” (Baines 2004). The historical achievement of professionalization and skill recognition supporting entitlement is easily erased within the gendered discursive order in which a more ancient historical discursive layers resonate with women’s disentanglement. Nevertheless, disentanglement is still held back by the transitional state of privatized entitlement.

Beyond the emergence of professionalization as key, the three processes together imply that individual action, unionization and emotion cannot be relied upon for the historical task of restoring past feminist achievements of quality jobs in the social services. While many SACO employees still benefit from these achievements, it is important to reverse the process of skill erasure that I have exposed in this book. Two sets of practical conclusions can be drawn from my findings. The first relates specifically to the issue of funding which emerged as the main measure in the impairment of SACO’s professionalization. The second relates more generally to the struggle of enhanced professionalization.

My conclusions in the area of funding primarily relate to the need to make four aspects of funding decision-making far more transparent. These aspects are:

1. More transparency is required for the model for the service operation that is actually funded. The gap between the original model recommended by the OS admins and the model actually funded must also be revealed.
2. More transparency is required for the decision concerning the number of regulating administrators with sanctioning power involved in the contract management controlling for both the quality of the service and the quality of the jobs.
3. More transparency is required for the decision concerning the coverage percentage, namely, what percentage of the costs required for the service operations will be covered by the state.
4. Most important, more transparency is required for the decision concerning the budget ceiling—how is it calculated and determined.

Concerning each of these decision-making aspects, OS admins' voices should be publicly heard.

My conclusions in the area of professionalization more generally call for a feminist approach to professionalization. Findlay (2013) proposes a feminist legacy that may help stop skill erasure and restore past achievements. She suggests that on the basis of the Canadian feminist political economy a model of social services governance can be envisioned: it would be one that balance central authority and universalist regulation with popular power based on activists' participation in the interest of women. Femocratic services that are both public and participatory, both recognize SACO employees' right to care and SACO service users' right to engage in a reflexive dialogue, consist of such governance. On the basis of my findings I add to her model the salience of professionalization for all parties involved.

I therefore propose that to reverse the erasure, the many groups, unions, coalitions and movements currently engaged in challenging and resisting the NPM assumption of cheap services have to develop their current agendas in five directions of professionalization: (1) indicating and exposing sources of public funding that could potentially be used for the professionalization process, including tax shelters and tax reductions; (2) securing broad access to occupational training in all SACO jobs, including cleaning—training that is both occupationally specific and general, unfolding the principles of an ethics of care and their crucial role in democracy; (3) developing ways to enable public visibility and transparency of systematic regulation focused primarily on levels of occupational training and workloads; (4) promoting professionalization in the form of opportunity for promotion and payment ladders that are based on levels of occupational training and experience; (5) defining team work as necessary for reflexive care promoting 'training on the job' through reflexive discussions. By pursuing professionalization through these five aspects, collectives around the globe, currently involved in the struggle for skill recognition demanding both material remuneration and direct participation, may achieve a joint agenda. One that is informed by Williams's (2001) political ethics of care that is based on the right to care as much as it would be informed by Findlay's (2013) notion of femocratic services or Tronto's (2013) notion of "caring with" in a caring democracy. A joint agenda along these lines would allow local struggles to become increasingly more transnational in nature so that the feminist project of professionalization could be maintained and become even more persistent. Unless a care movement develops on the basis of professionalization, the waves of loss will become higher and their resultant gender/class wounds will be more painful.

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