UCL Migration Research Unit

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Feminised Labour Migration and the International Division of Reproductive Labour: The case of Filipina Domestic Workers in London

Experiences of Filipina domestic workers in London as a case study of the increasing trends of feminised labour migration into care work, from poorer countries to richer countries.

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Feminised Labour Migration and the International Division of Reproductive Labour: The case of Filipina Domestic Workers in London

By

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Abstract

This dissertation explores experiences of Filipina domestic workers in London as a case study of the increasing trends of feminised labour migration into care work, from poorer countries to richer countries. In doing so, it examines how gender ideologies that cause women's migration as carers are understood, and how gender inequalities and ideological roles of women, as carers in sending and receiving countries are negotiated, perpetuated and complicated through the labour migration of women. The research is based on five months of ethnographic research and in-depth interviews. In focusing on a particular case of Filipino women working as housekeepers, cleaners, cooks and carers in private households in London, this study demonstrates that labour migration of Filipino women to the British domestic service industry is influenced by gender ideologies linked with women's reproductive labour both in the UK and the Philippines. Moreover, labour migration of Filipina domestic workers reproduces and perpetuates inequalities among class-privileged women of the receiving society, migrant domestic workers from the poorer country, and domestic workers in the sending society. By examining the difficulties faced by Filipina domestic workers, relating to factors such as migration status and family background, this dissertation also illustrates that inequalities are reproduced among them upon migration, and these inequalities are products of multiple forms of oppression of gender, class, race and citizenships. This dissertation also shows that social networks play important roles in the different processes of labour migration, especially in achieving low cost and low risk migration, and coping with difficulties. The ethnographic research within a church based community demonstrates potential roles of religious institutions and local communities in protecting the most vulnerable groups of migrant workers. (Number of words: 15,314)

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

This dissertation reports on a study of the increasing trend of feminised labour migration into care work, from poorer to richer countries, conducted through a case study of Filipino women's migration into the British domestic service sector, specifically in the capital London. The study is based on five months ethnographic research of a church based Filipino community in London, as well as in-depth interviews with London based migrant Filipina domestic workers, and a few other key state informants. This introductory chapter presents the background of the study, research questions, explanations of its significance, and a brief summary of the methodologies used, as well as an outline of the dissertation.

The migration of women is not a modern day phenomenon and historically women have migrated as wives and daughters of male migrant workers, however what is new today is the increasing number of women becoming independent labour migrants (Kofman et al. 2000; Parreñas 2008). The feminisation of labour migration is one of the most significant trends of global migration today, and is a response to the increasing demand for cheap labour and docile labour power of women, due to the growing forces of economic globalisation (Oishi 2005:2). Gender ideologies that link women with caring are emphasised during their migration as the majority of migrant women, especially those migrating from poorer to richer societies, move in search of employment in the informal welfare sector, specifically domestic work and care work (Kofman et al. 2000:2). Parreñas (2008:3) calls this phenomenon 'the globalisation of care' where migrant women fill the demand for care work, which raises questions concerning gender relations within the context of economic globalisation. How do we understand gender ideologies that cause women to migrate as carers or purchase the labour of migrant carers? How are gender inequalities arbitrated, maintained or entangled through the labour migration of women?

This dissertation draws on the case study of Filipino women employed as housekeepers,

cleaners, cooks and carers within private households in London, in order to reflect on these questions. The Philippines is the one of the largest labour sending countries in the world toady,[1] with two thirds of Filipino migrants abroad believed to be women (Commission of Filipinos Overseas 2011).[2] Yet the majority of these women are concentrated in domestic work and nursing, as is distinctly the case in Britain (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration: 2011).[3] Although nurses are a vital component of the 'globalisation of care', they are excluded from this study because their education and financial backgrounds, as well as migration and social status can differ significantly from those of many domestic workers. By focusing on Filipina domestic workers in London and exploring their migration experiences, I sought to answer the following questions: To what extent do gender ideologies of women in the Philippines and in Britain influence migration of Filipina domestic workers? How does the labour migration of Filipina domestic workers reproduce inequalities? What difficulties do Filipina domestic workers encounter through their migration? How do they negotiate those difficulties?

This study reflects 'real-life' experiences of Filipinas working as domestic workers in London. Existing literature tends to focus on migrant domestic workers in Britain or the migration of Filipino women, yet overlooks nationality and occupation specific groups of migrant women, in this case Filipinas in the British domestic service sector. By specifying the research subjects, this study avoids generalisation of migrant domestic workers or Filipina migrant workers, and highlights highly complex social inequalities. Also, by conducting ethnographic research and in-depth interviews, the study illustrates their experiences as both migrant domestic workers and members of Filipino community living in London. Moreover,

[1] As of 2000, the Philippines was the second largest labour exporting country in the world (Asian Migrant Centre 2000 cited in Lan 2003:190).
[2] CFO 2011 statistics; 'Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Sex: 1981-2010' http://www.cfo.gov.ph/images/stories/pdf/by_sex.pdf [accessed on 5th May 2011]
[3] POEA, 'Deployment per Country per Skills per Sex – Newly hired for the year 2010' available online at http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/2010%20Deployment%20by%20Destination,%20Occupation%20and%20Sex%202010%20-%20New%20hires.pdf [accessed on 15th August 2011]

the ethnographic research based within a church shows the potential of religious spaces and local communities to protect the most vulnerable groups of migrant workers such as domestic workers.

The church based Filipino community in northeast London, on which this ethnography is based, comprises mainly of an ethnic group called Igorot, from the northern part of the Philippines. While the church's Filipino congregation and members of the Filipino community included men and women of other occupations, the objective of my ethnographic research was to observe the experiences of Filipina domestic workers, outside the work place and within their ethnicity based local communities to study roles of their social networks. Seventeen Filipina domestic workers from both within and outside the church community were interviewed, along with four key state informants to investigate background information regarding these workers. The exact methods used in this research and data analysis, characteristics of samples and the research perspectives are fully explained in the 'Methodologies' chapter.

This dissertation is organised into eight chapters including this introductory chapter. The second chapter is a review of relevant literature, and draws on existing literature to further explore the backgrounds of Filipino migration and migrant domestic workers in Britain. Furthermore, it discusses the politics of reproductive work to examine how paid domestic work reflects on and reproduces inequalities, and also presents migration theories of social networks and transnationalism. Chapter three explains the methodologies used in this study including the backgrounds and profiles of participants. Chapter four illustrates how the migration of Filipina domestic workers often involves the decline of social status and reproduction of unequal relationships across gender, class and citizenship. It also illustrates Filipina domestic workers' migration as the movement from one patriarchal society to another, whereby domestic work is passed from class-privileged women to less privileged women, both in the UK and the Philippines. Chapter five focuses on the formation of transnational families

as a result of labour migration and examines how Filipina domestic workers, as wives and mothers of transnational families, cope with family separation. The sixth chapter examines the roles of social networks that facilitate the migration of Filipina domestic workers, by examining two different migration routes used by these migrant workers. Chapter seven discusses the impacts of migration status on Filipina domestic workers' vulnerability, and ability to cope with difficulties and complex relationships among member of the Filipino communities. Finally in the concluding chapter, I summarise findings of the study and argue that the migration of Filipina domestic workers does not break down gender inequalities and gender ideologies around women's reproductive labour, but rather complicates them by reproducing inequalities of not only gender, but also class, race and citizenships. This final chapter also presents the implication of this study and proposes suggestions for further study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Contemporary Migration and Gender in the Philippines

This dissertation uses the case of Filipina domestic workers in London to examine labour migration experiences of women performing care work abroad. There are an estimated five million Filipinos employed in over 190 countries and regions with approximately one million newly employed abroad every year (Tyner 2009:xiii). The Philippines is highly dependent on the income of its overseas workers and according to the 2011 statistical data of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), Filipino contract migrant workers remitted almost US $18 billion into the Philippine economy in 2010.[4] Since this only reflects remittances of registered contract migrant workers, and not those of other types of migrant workers such as undocumented and settled migrants, the total value of remittances is considered much greater. This dependence on remittances is seen at the household level as well as the national level. In fact, approximately 11 percent of households in the capital, Manila, rely on foreign remittances as their main income source, (Tyner 2009:4) with between 34 and 53 percent of the Philippines' total population directly dependent on migrant workers' income (Mission 1998 cited in Parreñas 2008:27).

Parreñas (2008:27-28) argues that the high deployment of Filipino workers overseas is partly a result of the Philippine state's dependence on them as a source of foreign currency, to pay off its large foreign debts from international institutions such as the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In order to pay off these debts, the IMF has recommended the Philippines implement an export-oriented industrialisation policy, indicating a need for labour migration (Parreñas 2008:28). In fact, POEA was established in 1982 as a Philippine government agency, to promote and monitor overseas employment of Filipinos, and

[4] POEA 2011 statistics; 'OFW Remittances: 2010' http://www.bsp.gov.ph/statistics/keystat/ofw.htm [accessed on 5th July 2011]

is used as a job-searching site by many nationals (POEA 2011)[5]. Through the promotion of overseas employment, Filipino migrant workers are often represented as '*bayani ng bayan*', national heroes and heroines (Pratt 2004:40; Oishi 2005; Tyner 2004; Tyner 2009).

Feminised labour migration is one of the most prominent trends of the contemporary migration of Filipinos. According to the Commission of Filipinos Overseas (CFO) (2011), the representation of registered Filipino emigrants has been female dominated for over three decades,[6] and 72 percent of Filipino overseas contract workers in 2007 were female (Tyner 2009:38). However, 2010 statistical data of the POEA shows that Filipina workers abroad are highly concentrated in particular service occupations (i.e. carers and domestic workers), and the health care sector.[7] Between 1992 and 2005, 98.8 percent of all Filipino overseas entertainers, a group predominantly composed of females performing at nightclubs and bars, worked in Japan (Tyner 2009:39).[8] Parreñas (2008:27-8) therefore argues that the Philippine government relies on the growing demand in richer countries for the cheap labour of women who constitute most of the land-base migrant workers from the Philippines.

Along with the state's promotion of overseas employment, Parreñas (2008:29-31) argues that the Philippines' highly patriarchy society is another important push factor of Filipino women's labour migration. She suggests, for example, that women experience a high degree of gender discrimination in the Philippine labour market. Employment opportunities for women are far fewer than those of men, and they are required to achieve higher qualifications than men in order to gain comparable positions. Moreover, there are stereotypical beliefs among employers and managers that only young, single and attractive women are desirable for administration and clerical jobs (Eviota 1992:126-127). Therefore employed women are

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5 POEA 2011 'About us' http://www.poea.gov.ph/html/aboutus.html [accessed on 5th July]

6 CFO 2011 statistics; 'Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Sex: 1981-2010' http://www.cfo.gov.ph/images/stories/pdf/by_sex.pdf [accessed on 5th May 2011]

7 POEA 2010 statistics; 'FOW Deployment per Skill and Sex – New hires for the year 2009' http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/Skills/Skill_Sex/Deployment%20per%20Skill%20and%20Sex%202009.pdf [accessed on 5th May 2011]

8 Since Japanese migration policies changed in March 2005 due to Japan's compliance with the US anti-trafficking campaign, the number of Filipino entertainers to enter Japan has dropped from almost eighty thousands in 2004 to about eight thousands by the end of 2006 (Parreñas 2008:17).

concentrated in a certain few industries, such as service, sales and manufacturing, and the informal sector, such as prostitution (Eviota 1992:98). Moreover, women's wages severely lag behind those of men in every sector of the Philippine labour market (Eviota 1992:89). For example, women earn 46 percent of men's wages in professional and technical occupations, dropping to between 35 to 36 percent in agriculture and sales occupations (National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women 1995 cited in Parreñas 2008:30). The devaluation of women's labour is influenced by ideological beliefs about men and women's physical capabilities, and gendered social and economic roles (Eviota 1992:89).

The Philippine state and society promote and depend on women's overseas employment, while simultaneously keeping Filipinas tied to the ideology of women's domesticity in response to the demand for cheap labour of women. Parreñas (2008:23-25) emphasises that Philippine law such as the 1987 Family Code of the Republic of the Philippines constructs Filipinas' good citizenship as being good mothers and wives. Moreover, as Lan's (2003) study of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong shows, migrant Filipinas' domesticity continues throughout their labour migration process in performing paid domestic work, practicing transnational motherhood, and seeking international marriage to achieve social mobility. Therefore most Filipinas who opt for labour migration leave their homes to continue their gendered role of feeding, cleaning and caring within receiving societies. Like many other migrant women from third world countries, Filipina migrants are trapped in what Parreñas (2008:9) calls 'the force of domesticity', or the continuous gender ideology of women's domesticity.

Migrant Domestic Workers in the UK

Like many other highly industrialised countries, the demand for paid domestic labour in the UK has grown substantially over recent decades, with the dramatic increase in women's

employment in so-called 'professional' occupations (Cox 1999:134; Lalani 2011:10). The privatisation of care and aging population are also linked to the growing demand for paid carers (Lalani 2011:10), and the amount spent on domestic helpers increased rapidly from £1.1bilion to £4.6billion between 1987 and 1996 (Anderson 2000:86-87). As highlighted by one of the bestselling women's magazines *Good Housekeeping*, the idea that housework is a woman's responsibility still widely exists in contemporary Britain. Advertisements for paid domestic workers placed in those women's magazines show how the employment of domestic workers has been the only strategy for many women to negotiate dual responsibilities at work and home.

Because many domestic workers are employed informally, little is known about this employment sector (Cox 1999:134). However, like other low-wage sectors in the British labour market, the popularity of migrant workers in the domestic service sector is remarkable due to their cheap labour and flexibility. A 2006 survey conducted on domestic recruitment agencies, estimated that non-EEA nationals meet up to 70 percent of the demand for domestic workers (Lalani 2011:10).[9] Migrant domestic workers are highly concentrated in London, a global city with vast income inequalities (Cox 1999:137). Migrant domestic workers of colour, however, remain at the bottom of the reproductive labour racial hierarchy. For example, young women of 'white' Commonwealth nationality, who are allowed to live in the UK as temporary workers under the Working Holiday scheme,[10] and EU nationals often work as au pairs, whereas migrant women from Third World countries are more concentrated in positions such as housekeepers and cleaners (Cox 1999).

Today, many non-European migrant domestic workers enter the UK accompanying wealthy employers on Overseas Domestic Workers (ODW) visas. This visa was first introduced as a British immigration policy in September 2002, resulting from a ten-year campaign by

[9] Harris, J., The Housekeeper Company, Survey of domestic market in 2006

[10] It is called 'Tier 5 - Youth Mobility scheme', allowing 18-31 years olds from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Monaco and Japan to live and work up to two years. UK Border Agency http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/tier5/youthmobilityscheme/ [accessed on 1st August 2011]

Kalayaan, a London based organisation for migrant domestic workers, in order to free migrant domestic workers tied to abusive employers and trapped in exploitation (Lalani 2011:14-15). Under this policy, migrant domestic workers are given rights to change their employers and receive free health care from the National Health Service (NHS) (Lalani 2011:14-15).[11]

According to a Kalayaan report, despite the positive impact of ODW visas on migrant domestic workers' working conditions, abuses and exploitation still persist. For example, 67 percent of migrant domestic workers interviewed by Kalayaan in 2010 were denied time off, 54 percent experienced psychological abuse, and 18 percent were victims of physical abuse (Lalani 2011:15).

Politics of Domestic Work

Reproductive Labour and Feminism

In order to explore experiences of migrant Filipina domestic workers, at a theoretical level, I address literature on politics of domestic work to describe how gender, class and race reproduce inequalities surrounding domestic work. By drawing on literature on various feminist views of domestic work, I demonstrate the complex hierarchal system of domestic labour.

The ideological differentiation between men's productive labour and women's unpaid domestic labour evolved along with the industrial revolution (Glenn 1992:4). In 1972, Marxist feminists Maria Rosa Dallacosta and Salma James (cited in Ehrenreich 2003:86) introduced the idea that the home is an economically productive workplace, since domestic labour reproduces labour power, often of men. Since then in order to centralise domestic labour, regarded as unproductive work due to its informality and invisibility, feminists have argued its necessity in the reproduction of productive labour power, which is central to capitalism

[11] Rights to change employers are not given to migrant domestic workers who work in diplomatic households (Lalani 2011:34).

(Anderson 2000:12). However, domestic work has no clear definitions in terms of tasks performed because it engages not only with physical work, but also with emotional work such as caring. It also engages with not only the reproduction of labour units, but also the social and cultural reproduction of human beings through caring for children, and maintaining kin and community ties, ideologically regarded as women's tasks (Anderson 2000:11-14; Glenn 1992:1). According to England and Folbre (1999 cited in Lan 2003:189), unpaid or low-wage reproductive labour is devalued because it is linked with the social belief that love and care should not be commodified. Neoclassical economists share such beliefs and argue that labour of domestic workers is economically devalued because they receive emotional compensation as reward for their labour (Lan 2003:189).

Marxist feminists recognise the sexual division of reproductive labour and locate it at the centre of women's oppression. However such theory is criticised by scholars of standpoint feminism such as Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1992) for its recognition of reproductive labour as a universal experience shared by all women. They argue that in many Western societies, domestic work has historically been relegated to women of colour and lower-class, who performed reproductive labour as servants of upper- and middle-class households, and therefore the politics of domestic work is not just of gender, but also race and class (Anderson 2000; Bakan and Stasiulis 1995; Ehrehreich 2003; Glenn 1992; Parreñas 2001; Pratt 2004; McClintock 1995).

Therefore, we must recognise differences between women when we discuss the politics of domestic work instead of arguing that domestic work is a shared experience of women's oppression. bell hooks recognises that the mainstream theory of American feminists universalises white middle-class experiences, which is also applicable to the European context:

> 'In America, white racist ideology has always allowed white women to assume that the word women is synonymous with white women, for women of other races are

always perceived as Others, as de-humanised beings who do not fall under the heading Women (hooks 1982:138).'

The erasure of experiences of women of colour from a gender ideology is exclusion and privilege rather than unity of women, yet Anderson (2000:6) argues this has also led to failures in the study of women's oppression and struggles. As Mirza (1997:4) emphasises, the invisibility of women of colour reveals the separate constructions of gender, race and class. As Pratt states;

'(white) middle-class women were produced not only through discourse of gender difference that domesticated middle class women through surveillance of their fertility and psychological fragility – a standard feminist narrative – but in relation to their female counterpart, the racialised servant (Pratt 2004:31-32).'

In focusing on the economic and political struggles around reproductive labour, which is resolved for some privileged women by employing domestic workers, I demonstrate that there are unequal relations between not only men and women, but also women of different groups, which is one of the main focuses of this dissertation.

Migrant Women and Paid Domestic Labour

This dissertation illustrates migrant women's lives in the politics of reproductive labour by examining their experiences of labour migration into the domestic service industry. This industry is one of the fastest growing sectors in the labour markets of highly industrialised countries, such as the US and the UK (The Economist 1998), and has transformed the home into an economically productive workplace of non-family members, often women of colour and migrant women (Ehrenreich 2003). A disproportionately large number of women of marginalised groups perform paid domestic labour, and to omit paid domestic labour from the politics of domestic work is to therefore overlook the division of race and class in reproductive labour (Anderson 2000:1).

Domestic work is divided unequally among different social groups, and creates an unequal human relationship. As discussed above, neoclassical economists suggest that domestic labour is devaluated due to its emotional rewards. In addition, Anderson (2000:142-143) stresses that the devaluation of domestic labour is associated with its dishonourable nature, often linked with dirt of bodily functions. Dirtiness associated with domestic labour appears to be attached to whoever performs the work (Ehrenreich 2003:102), and by employing a domestic worker, the female employer gets rid of dirt and gains the status of a clean, middle-class woman (Anderson 2000:2). Therefore, reproductive labour is further devalued as it passes 'across class, race, ethnic or migration lines from women who choose not to do it to other women who perform it in employers' households' (Colen 1990 cited in Bakan and Stasiulis 1995:331).

The working conditions and relationships with employers of today's domestic workers are frequently compared with those of black slaves in the nineteenth century, and are in some cases recognised as parallel experiences (Anderson 2000, 2003; Ehrenreich 2003; Zarembka 2003). The narratives of employers' use of physical, verbal, psychological and sexual abuse, and poor working conditions are common among migrant domestic workers around the world, who often engage with around-the-clock duties for little or no wages. Moreover as many studies show, the most common complaints made by migrant domestic workers are that they are treated like a commodity owned by employers, their access to social lives outside the work place is restricted, and they are given little or no time off (Anderson 2000, 2003; Ehrenreich 2003; Lalani 2011; Parreñas 2001; Zarembka 2003). Foreign domestic workers are often more sought after not only because of their cheap labour, but also because they are already apart from their families and thus more likely to commit themselves to the duties (Bakan and Stasiulis 1995). Moreover, because migrant domestic workers are often unfamiliar with the language and law of the host country, they are less likely to report inadequate working conditions (Zarembka 2003).

In the discussion of reproductive labour, 'race' plays a pivotal role. Anderson (200:147)

suggests that the employer may not consciously choose to employ a worker of racialised groups, but she reflects on 'social consciousness' (Thompson 1978 cited in Anderson 200:147), which is a significant factor behind the racialisation of paid domestic work. Bakan and Stasiulis's (1995)'s study shows how the racialisation of domestic workers creates not only the unity of women of colour but also the racial hierarchy of domestic workers based on their ethnicity, skin colour, religion and nationality, which may also be reflected in their different wages. The discourse of 'race' intersects with nationality and citizenship, and it is useful to examine classical notions of slavery in relation to foreignness and racism (Anderson 2000:147). Many domestic workers coming from Third World countries often lack citizenship rights and face strict immigration policies, often with racist implications (Bakan and Stasiulis 1995; Padilla 2007; Zarembka 2003). Furthermore, because domestic workers engage with employers' private lives, religion, language and culture, as well as 'race' and nationality distinguish desirability, as shown by some cases of agencies claiming Muslim women are difficult to place in Western households (Anderson 2000; Bakan and Stasiulis 1995).

The division of reproductive labour and differences between women are therefore highly complex. In addition to 'racial division of reproductive labour' (Glenn 1992), which refers to racially divided reproductive labour, Parreñas (2001) draws attention to these complex dynamics of reproductive labour migration from poorer to richer countries and argues that today's commodified reproductive labour is situated in a globalised singular market economy triggered by globalisation. This is to say, reproductive labour in one part of the world is tied to reproductive labour in another part of the world. Therefore migration of women into the overseas domestic service industry is linked with gender politics both in sending and receiving societies. This occurs, she stresses, in the formation of 'international division of reproductive labour' (Parreñas 2001:72), which is a transnational division of labour shaped by global capitalism and unequal gender ideology in both sending and receiving countries. This notion of the international division of reproductive labour, therefore describes a 'three-tier transfer of

reproductive labour' among women; class-privileged women in receiving countries, migrant domestic workers, and women who perform domestic labour in sending countries (*ibid*). Politics of domestic labour is therefore not only seen in richer countries that receive domestic workers from poorer countries, but also in sending countries where migrant workers need to purchase domestic labour in order to enable their labour migration.

Social Networks and Transnationalism

Part of this dissertation, on an empirical level, draws on ethnographical research within a Filipino community in London to demonstrate how social networks facilitate various process of labour migration. In order to explore social networks that Filipina domestic workers engage in, it is crucial to simultaneously focus on the concept of 'transnationalism'.

The social networks theory was developed as a microstructure of migration system theory, which focuses on regional linkages between two or more countries involved in the exchange of migrants. The migration system theory was developed as a critique of neoclassical economics 'push-pull' theory, which understands migration as movement from one place to another in search of better economic welfare, based on an individual's rational decision, and failed to explain certain patterns of migration (Castle and Miller 2009:22-27). Many scholars suggest that the social networks approach holds its importance in the roles of 'cultural capital' and 'social capital', which include information and knowledge about destinations and migration processes, means to organise migration, accessibility to financial, housing and employment support, and support with adapting to new environments (Bashi 2007; Castle and Miller 2009:28; Elrick and Ciobanu 2009:101-102). Prospective migrants' decisions over their destination and means by which they migrate and settle in receiving societies are therefore often based on social networks, such as kinship, friendship and local communities. Importantly, as Wilson (1994 cited in Castle and Miller 2009:124) suggests, social networks

are a means, which facilitate and develop rather than generalise migratory movements. Moreover, migrants not only use existing social networks, but also each step of migratory movement itself forms part of the social system, which facilitates migration. That is, every new migrant develops and expands communities across national borders (Massey et al. 1993 cited in Brettell 2008:124). It is also important to point out 'network mediated migration' does not necessarily imply prospective migrants have limited few choices in their destination (Wilson 1994 cited in Brettell 2008:124). In fact, a greater number of migrants have recently sought economic opportunities in more than one place where they can access friends' and family members' support. In other words, their decision to migrate is often a combination of choices based on economic and social networks.

Transnationalism, a new theory, has emerged along with globalisation whereby advanced communication technologies and transportation systems allow migrants to easily maintain close linkages with friends and family members throughout the world, and social distances between them across national borders have shortened (Brettell 2008:120; Castle and Miller 2009:30). Transnationalism, as Vertovec (1999:447) defines, describes a situation whereby 'despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common – however virtual – arena of activity'. The transnational approach enables us to recognise that migrants can move back and forth across numerous national borders, physically as well as socially or culturally, rather than being 'rooted' in one place (Brettell 2008:120). The transnational theory accordingly transcends classical anthropological analysis and understandings of migration, based on micro-level and localised face-to-face networks (Brettell 2008:121; Castle and Miller 2009:30-31). The transnational approach therefore challenges critiques of the social networks theory, for example, as argued by Lamela et al. (2009) that the social networks approach over simplifies communities as nationally and locally

fixed entities, and still continues to focus on social networks that have been transforming globally.

Conclusion

Referring to relevant literature, this chapter has demonstrated gender ideologies of reproductive labour both in Philippines and the UK, and how paid labour of migrant domestic workers reproduces inequalities among different groups of women. Despite the number of studies on migrant domestic workers in the UK, as well as Filipina migrant workers abroad, this dissertation focuses specifically on the case of Filipina domestic workers in London, which has been overlooked by academic research. Moreover, by studying a Filipino migrant community in London, this dissertation also analyses experiences of Filipina domestic workers by using social networks and transnationalism approaches. Reflecting on existing literature and theoretical frameworks discussed in this chapter, this dissertation establishes the migration of Filipina domestic workers into the British domestic service industry as a reflection of gender ideologies both in the Philippines and the UK. It also illustrates inequalities that Filipina domestic workers encounter in London are products of the multiple forms of oppression of gender, class, race and citizenships, and that social networks are a significant means for Filipina domestic workers in London to negotiate difficulties they experience upon migration.

Chapter Three: Methodologies

This dissertation focuses on experiences of Filipina domestic workers in London. According to statistical data of CFO, there are over 200,000 Filipino workers in the UK including an estimated 10,000 undocumented workers,[12] more than eight times as many as in 1986 (Philippine Embassy, London: 2011). London was chosen as the site of research due to the high concentration of migrant domestic workers and large Filipino community within the Greater London area, which hosts approximately 70 percent of Filipinos living in the UK (*ibid*).

This research is based on data collected through the use of ethnography and in-depth interviews carried out between February 2011 and August 2011. The ethnography is based within an Anglican church in Walthamstow, northeast London, which represents itself as a 'multicultural church' due to its congregation of various cultural backgrounds. Filipinos constitute a large part of the congregation, most of them belonging to an ethnic group called Igorot, from the Cordillera region of northern Philippines. I attended Sunday masses and shared refreshments with the congregation afterwards, and I occasionally attended irregular meetings held at the church. Some anthropologists criticise ethnographic methods, which involve the researcher travelling to see participants rather than actually living with them, because they lack the classical practice of 'intensive co-residence' that provides in-depth understandings of the subjects (Clifford 1997: 55-6). However, participant observation should come in different forms based on the research agenda (Bennett 2002: 139-40). For this particular research, visiting the church weekly was the best option, as some participants were live-in domestic workers, and did not live nearby during weekdays, but gathered only at weekends.

[12] CFO, 2009 'Stock estimate of overseas Filipinos' available online at http://www.cfo.gov.ph/pdf/statistics/Stock%202009.pdf [accessed 15th June 2011]. The Philippine embassy in London estimates that there are 250,000 Filipinos in UK.

I began participant observation about four months prior to most of the in-depth interviews. Many of the non-Filipino church members first believed I was a Filipina due to my Japanese background, yet to Filipino members I was an 'outsider' with a different social, cultural and economic background. Therefore it was very important to see potential interviewees on a regular basis, in order to build relationships, gain their trust and encourage them to share their experiences. Seeing them regularly allowed me to gain an insight into the community, and have informal conversations with them about their work experiences, families in the Philippines and so on. In fact many felt more comfortable sharing their thoughts through informal conversation than through formal interviews, where their voices were recorded and notes were taken. However, as it was important to keep record of those informal dialogues, I took notes while in the field, and wrote them in detail once I was home. For these reasons, ethnography was a very effective approach for this research. As a result of building relationships with church members and networking with the wider Filipino community, I was able to collect a sample of interviewees both from within and outside the church community, using chain and snowball referrals, and I also gained the opportunity of accompanying a group of Filipina nannies at work while they took children out to play.

I conducted in-depth interviews with seventeen Filipina domestic workers based in London and four other key informants; a priest of the church in Walthamstow, a former volunteer English teacher of Kalayaan, a Filipino solicitor who provided legal assistance to many Filipino domestic workers, and an employer of a Filipina domestic worker.[13] In order to recruit participants outside the church community, I enlisted help from two Filipino organisations as gatekeepers. One is Kanlungan, a charitable organisation working for the welfare of the Filipino community in London, and another is Philippine Generation, a non-profit organisation raising awareness and promoting Philippine culture in Britain. Among the seventeen Filipina domestic workers I interviewed, eight were regular attendees of the

[13] See appendix 1 – 5 for interview schedules.

church and nine were from outside the church community, living and working in various locations within London.

The interviews were conducted in English and ranged from fifteen minutes to one hour in length. The dialogues were digitally recorded with the exception of four interviews with Filipina domestic workers who requested not to be. All participants were aware of my research, and signed consent forms acknowledging their right to skip answering questions or withdraw from interviews.[14] Considering some of the informants were undocumented workers, I never requested their full names and assured them their identities would be undisclosed in this dissertation; therefore all names of individuals in this dissertation have been changed. The audio data of the interviews and relevant following conversations are fully transcribed, and the transcriptions were coded manually[15] rather than with computer software so as to familiarise myself with findings, by repeatedly reading transcripts and listening to the audio data, and to recognise the broader contexts in which useful quotes were made.

The backgrounds of the participant domestic workers vary from place of origin, type of domestic work, age, marital status, family members, length of stay in UK, migration status and so forth. They were aged between thirty-two and sixty-one years old, and length of stay in the UK ranged from two to twenty-one years, however for those who worked in other countries before moving to the UK, the length of time they have been away from the Philippines is even longer. Although descriptions of types of domestic work differed depending on individuals, the women I interviewed perform mainly housekeeping and/or caring for children, the elderly and the disabled. Among those seventeen women, seven were 'live-in' workers and nine were in 'live-out' positions, of which two were working as part-time workers, on top of study and other jobs. Eight of them stated they were married, of which only one had her husband in London, five were separated from their husbands, one was widowed, three were single, and thirteen of them had all or some of their children back in the Philippines. Their migration

[14] See appendix 6 for a sample of informed consent.
[15] See appendix 7 for a sample of code analysis.

status was also diverse; eleven of them had legal rights to stay in the UK, five had overstayed, and one was in the process of appealing her declined visa extension application.

Chapter Four: Gender, Labour Migration and Domestic Work

This chapter illustrates the migration of Filipinas into Britain's domestic service industry as the movement from one patriarchal society to another, accompanied by numerous difficulties including unfavourable employment conditions and the decline of their social status. Consequently, I argue that Filipina domestic workers' labour migration not only involves the continuous struggle of women in ideological roles of reproductive labour within the patriarchal system of both British and the Philippine societies, but also reproduces inequalities among women of different class, race and citizenships in both the UK and the Philippines.

From a Patriarchal Society to Another

According to POEA statistics, there were 57,000 Filipino service workers (i.e. domestic workers and carers) newly hired in the UK in 2010, 53,000 of whom were females.[16] Filipina migrant domestic workers leave the patriarchal Philippine society and enter patriarchal societies in receiving countries (Parreñas 2008:87). As discussed in the above literature review, studies show women in the Philippines experience gender segregation and unequal opportunities in the jobs market, and this highly patriarchal system encourages Filipinas to seek employment abroad (Eviota 1992; Lan 2003; Parreñas 2008). Moreover for many women in the UK, employing migrant domestic workers has been their only option for coping with commitments at work and home. Figure 4.1 shows the comments of Alisa, a Filipino domestic worker's employer, which highlights this dilemma facing many women in the UK.

[16] POEA, 'Deployment per Country per Skills per Sex – Newly hired for the year 2010' available online at http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/2010%20Deployment%20by%20Destination,%20Occupation%20and%20Sex%202010%20-%20New%20hires.pdf [accessed on 15th August 2011]

Figure 4.1

> I was going back to work after giving a birth to my first child and I was looking into childcare options, and I was first looking at a day centre, but hours they did, because I was working in a hospital then, they weren't always straight forward. If you were late back, what would you do? If you didn't finish work before they close? Things like that. It was very tricky. […] Traditional nannies were extraordinary expensive, by the time I paid tax and national insurance on a proper qualified nanny's wage, there was nothing left for my wage, so that didn't make sense. And also they would say they wouldn't do things like cleaning in a house or washing, then I was thinking "Well babies sleep half of the time, so I'm paying you to do what?" A huge amount of money…, so I thought "No". (Alisa, an employer, a member of staff at a London university and a married mother of three children)

After searching for a solution to her childcare needs, Alisa finally employed a Filipina domestic worker, who ended up working for her as a housekeeper and children carer for ten years. She described this employment as "a fabulous arrangement […] allowed me to go back to work and to work properly". In addition to Alisa's employee, many Filipina domestic workers enable so-called professional women in the UK to manage their responsibilities at work and home.

Filipinas' labour migration is not only encouraged by the patriarchal logic of Philippine society but also by demands for their labour as domestic workers in receiving countries including the UK. The feminised trend of labour migration from the Philippines is often explained as a result of the shift in demands of host countries. During and after the Gulf War, demand for male-oriented construction and manufacturing workers in the Middle East has declined in contrast to the increasing demands for domestic workers in many industrialised countries (Tarcoll 1996 cited in Lan 2003:192). Therefore women often have an advantage over their husbands in finding overseas employment, particularly as most employers do not require domestic workers to have professional or academic qualifications. Tina is a 47-year-old Filipina who had spent twenty-four years away from the Philippines working as a domestic worker. She left the Philippines to become her family's breadwinner because she had

more opportunities of overseas employment than her husband: “For men it’s quite difficult to find a job [abroad].” She continued; “It was more flexible for me to find a job abroad [than my husband], it was easier because housekeepers are everywhere!”

Filipina domestic workers in London come from various social and economic backgrounds. Six of the seventeen domestic workers interviewed did not have waged jobs in the Philippines but did housekeeping for their own families prior to migration, and three were self-employed or worked for family businesses. Many of them described their paid domestic work to be the only job they were capable of due to their lack of education and qualifications. On the other hand, seven interviewees had so-called ‘professional’ jobs which included teaching, nursing, office work, and working as a government officer in the Philippines prior to migration. When asked about their reasons for becoming domestic workers, the common answer was “because it was the only offered job”. Their academic qualifications and professional skills gained in the Philippines tend to be devalued or unrecognised in the UK, and many of them found it almost impossible to work in their professions since leaving the Philippines. For example, Tracy and Amelia were previously nurses in the Philippines, however, for them to work as registered nurses in the British NHS, they must study to gain National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ), which would cost several thousands pounds. Tracy, a 34-year-old single Filipina actually worked part-time as a housekeeper/carer three days a week in order to fund her NVQ course. However, Amelia, a 36-year-old who came to the UK to support her family financially and fund her two children’s education had no choice but to give up her profession and work full-time as a live-in housekeeper/carer.

For those ex-professional domestic workers, migration into the British domestic service industry meant deskilling and the decline of their social status. Jane, a 61-year-old Filipina, became a housekeeper in London after spending a few decades as a college teacher in the Philippines. In Figure 4.2, she expressed grief over the decline in her social status from highly

educated professional to part-time housekeeper:

Figure 4.2

> There are lots of domestic workers who used to be professionals in the Philippines but that's really unfair, you know. Look at Anne. She only went to a secondary school whereas I went to a university and even more, I went to postgraduate. But once we are here, we do same kind of job and Anne actually gets paid more than me. Some of the students who I used to teach in the Philippines are working here, I used to teach them at college, and now they get paid more than me. Every time we talk about this, we joke about it, but it's not really fair.

Jane explained that her undocumented status was making it harder to find well-paid employment compared to her friends who worked in London legally, however she still achieved significantly higher income compared to her college teacher salary in the Philippines: "My pay for three or four days here is the same as my monthly salary when I was teaching in the Philippines." Many others also stated their earnings in London as domestic workers were up to ten times more than what they could have earned in the Philippines. Jane also expressed an acceptance of the decline in her social status upon migration: "I came to like it (working as a domestic worker), I accepted that as it is." She continued; "I was also a housekeeper at the same time back home anyway." Jane was not the only former professional who recognised domestic work as her second occupation at home. Cathy, a 39-year-old former schoolteacher, also described domestic work and childcare as "commonsense of mothers". Regardless of their occupation prior to migration, Filipina domestic workers regard domestic work as something they are expected to do as women. Their unpaid labour as wives and mothers in their private contexts has become a way of earning money and supporting their families financially in the global economic context.

With the exception of two single Filipinas who had no dependants, all informants stated that their decision to migrate was made in order to provide financial support for their families. All thirteen who have children mentioned that in addition to their families' living costs in the

Philippines, a large part of their earnings is for their children's school fees. Ellen, a 56-year-old housekeeper/nanny, was single without any children of her own, but was providing financial support for her siblings' families in order to help them send her eighteen nieces and nephews to school. Many argued that the cost of living in the Philippines is too high for most Filipinos no matter how good their jobs, especially when having to pay for children's school or university fees, or medication to treat long-term ill family members.

The pressure of financial hardship and uncertainty over their families' financial security is even greater for single mothers. The absence of divorce law and the patriarchal system of the Philippines' labour market leave single mothers with the responsibility of bringing up their children alone after separation from their husbands. Left with these difficulties, many Filipinas have no choice but to migrate abroad and work as domestic workers despite the decline in their social status.

In the Middle of Hierarchy Systems

Despite the financial difficulties they experience in the Philippines, Filipina domestic workers in London do not seem to be coming from the poorest backgrounds in their homeland. They have the means to migrate such as financial capital, human capital and social networks to enable them to move to other countries and find employment (Portes and Pumbaut 1996 cited in Parreñas 2008:1). Although the following chapter discusses their middle-class status in the Philippines in more detail, migrant Filipina domestic workers' families in the Philippines often achieve class mobility or maintain their middle-class status due to the remittances they receive, which are significantly higher than incomes of most highly paid professional workers in the Philippines. To highlight this, I discovered a few of the participants employed their own domestic workers to take care of housekeeping and childcare for their families back in the Philippines while they are away. This shows that Filipina domestic workers in the UK are

positioned in the middle of the 'international division of reproductive labour' (Parreñas 2001). Claudia, a 47-year-old housekeeper/nanny, also employed a domestic worker for housekeeping and taking care of her children since she left to work as a domestic worker in London. She conceded that she did not want people in the Philippines to know she performs similar labour to her own domestic worker: "When I'm in the Philippines, I don't want to say people that I'm a domestic worker. So when someone asks me what I do in England, I say 'I'm a house manager. Not a domestic worker' because I manage house, you know [laugh]."

Claudia's reluctance to tell people in the Philippines that she is a domestic worker shows her association of this role with less privileged women in the Philippines who work as domestic workers for migrant women like her. In performing domestic work for class-privileged women in Britain and purchasing the reproductive labour of less privileged women in the Philippines, Filipina domestic workers like Claudia are situated in the middle of the international hierarchy of domestic labour.

Filipina domestic workers are positioned not only in the middle of the 'international division of reproductive labour' (Parreñas 2001), but also in the middle of the 'racial division of reproductive labour' (Glenn 1992) in London. As Cox's (1999) study shows they often receive lower salaries than qualified British nannies or nannies from European countries and 'white' commonwealth countries such as Australia and New Zealand. However, there is a stereotypical recognition among both Filipinas and their employers that Filipinas make better domestic workers than women of some other nationalities, as Claudia's statement in Figure 4.3 shows.

Figure 4.3

Claudia: Did you know that Filipina domestic workers are paid more than other nationals? If you are a Filipina, you can demand for £10 an hour but Chinese or Brazilians, they are £7 or £6, maybe less.

Author: Why is that?

Claudia: Well according to a survey, I read this in papers, Filipinas are loyal, the expectation of work is high, you can expect their work to be done well. And even if you leave money on the table and go out, when you come back, your money is still there. We don't steal. And when I finish all tasks and have more spare time, I will find something else to do. If it's Brazilian, she will only do work that she is told to do. […] It's our culture. They say having a Filipino domestic worker is a symbol of status of the employer. That's why there are many Filipinas working in rich areas, like Chelsea and Kensington. I don't know, but that's what they say.

Many other informants commented that they had heard similar stories about Filipina's desirability as domestic workers. One informant suggested that becoming a domestic worker is the best way for a Filipina in London to find employment quickly because there are many employers looking for Filipina domestic workers in particular. Moreover, Alisa, the employer, stated that due to her satisfaction with her Filipina domestic worker, she would like to hire a Filipina again when her current worker retires. As Bush (1990 cited in Bakan and Stasiulis 1995:317) suggests, 'a stereotype is a composite picture of an individual which, while reflecting an element of reality, distorts it.' Stereotypes also produce ideological legitimation of ethnic boundaries, which supports and strengthens a hierarchy system (Eriksen 2001:265-266). The popularity of Filipinas and the perception of their suitability as domestic workers, which reinforces the hierarchy system of reproductive labour, are often explained by their usually good command of English language, as well as their stereotypical characteristics such as being hard working, loyal and passive.

It is true that Filipina domestic workers in London, while situated in the middle of a hierarchy system of reproductive labour, are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse like many other domestic workers. In particular, many live-in domestic workers often experience end-less demands from employers, psychological and physical abuse, and extremely long working hours. Although most informants of this study state they have relatively good relationships with their current employers and have adequate time-off, some claimed to have experienced mistreatment or to have had abusive employers in the past. The levels of exploitation they experienced vary from one individual to another, however their migration status appears to have a large impact on their exploitability. Valencia, a 45-yea-old live-in housekeeper/nanny, did not have legitimate right to live and work in the UK having arrived as a tourist in 2007 and overstayed her visa. She was a member of the Walthamstow church and as I got to know her better she began revealing her troubles with her employer to me. Her complaints include not being allowed to use hot water to wash dishes or clean, being on call around the clock and having to sleep on the floor when her room was used for guests. Having left this employer on a previous occasion due to being severely underpaid, she returned under the same unfavourable conditions, as her fear of being reported hindered her chances of finding new employment.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted experiences of Filipinas migrating into the domestic service industry in Britain in response to the patriarchy societies both in the UK and the Philippines where gender ideologies exist, linking women with reproductive labour duties. Middle-class women in receiving societies are not the only group who purchase other women's reproductive labour to allow them to achieve productive work outside their homes, but also breadwinning women who migrate to perform paid reproductive labour also rely on other women to perform domestic work in their home. It has also demonstrated that Filipina domestic workers

internalise these gender ideologies of women's domesticity by showing that ex-professional domestic workers see domestic work as their given tasks as women in order to cope with the decline of social status. Their position in the middle of the hierarchal system of domestic work and exploitability as undocumented workers also showed the migration process reproduces and reinforces inequalities among women of different race, class, and citizenship over their reproductive labour both in the UK and the Philippines.

Chapter Five: The Production and Reproduction of the Transnational Family

"There is no such a day I don't think of my family back home."

(Jane, 61-year-old housekeeper)

Of all the difficulties experienced by informants since leaving home in the Philippines, family separation was the most common. In particular, those informants who had migrated to earn better wages to raise their children and provide them with an education struggled with transnational motherhood. This chapter focuses on the production and reproduction of the transnational family, and on migrant Filipina domestic workers' experiences as transnational wives and mothers, while performing domestic work as economically productive labour, as well as how they overcome the emotional difficulties of family separation. In doing so, it also analyses social expectation on gendered roles of mothers within the social construction of a family unit and how it reinforces struggles of Filipina domestic workers abroad.

Breadwinning Mothers

Some scholars argue that in Asia, where family ties are regarded as more important than individual lives, labour migration is a family based decision rather than individual choice (Castle and Miller 2009:28-29), and a large number of women in particular migrate as a family survival strategy (Kaur 2007:paragraph 11). Most informants in this study however stated that the decision to migrate was their own, rather than that of family members, however the decision was made in order to raise their family's living standards in the Philippines by providing financial support (see figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1

My main reason, I came here to work was to support, I came here to earn money to support them for their education because what I was earning before is only enough for their [basic] needs. And my eldest was only grade 6 or first year of high school. Then I was thinking that in four more years, he will be going to college and I don't want him to stop. I want him to go to school and finish his education. That's why I have to go out of the country. (Claudia 47-year-old housekeeper/nanny, separated mother of two children)

Many Filipino families, face financial difficulties when it comes to providing their children with quality education, and mothers often have little choice but to leave their children and work abroad as domestic workers. However, the price of providing this financial and material support to their families is the emotional pain of family separation. The informants might long to return home, but their families' dependence on their earnings often prevents them from doing so permanently. Anne, a 41 year-old-housekeeper/carer and a mother of four children stated; "Sometimes I'm thinking I have to go home, but on the other hand I'm thinking what life could be [if I go home]. And then my husband said; 'Okay it's up to you. It's all your decision. So it's up to you if it's better for you to go home.' But you see how our life style will be because my husband, if he works, it's not enough [money] also. My children cannot go to the university."

Tina had repeated her labour migration as a domestic worker for thirteen years in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Hong Kong before coming to the UK in 2000. She left the Philippines for the first time and went to the UAE when her oldest child was 2 years old and the second child was only 11 months old, leaving them in the care of her husband, mother and sisters. Since then she has hardly spent time in the Philippines apart from when she gave birth to her youngest child. In figure 5.2, she described her feeling of uncertainty on her return to the Philippines, which made her migrate again.

Figure 5.2

When you are young, that's it, just like 'I have to go home because I miss my family, I miss my husband, I miss my babies', that's it. But once you are there again facing the same problems, you are thinking of 'Hmm I have to go [abroad] and do something again otherwise there's no future for my kids. If I'm just staying here and then spending my little salary, then you end up insecure because it's just temporary jobs. Every time you apply [for jobs in the Philippines], it's just temporary for three months, or six months. It can't go on like this', so you know that pushes you to go and find greener pasture.

Furthermore, for Filipina nannies, looking after someone else's children while leaving their own children behind can cause overwhelming emotional pain. Erica is a 38 year old, working as a housekeeper/nanny for a family with three children after leaving her own three children behind in the Philippines. She stated; "It's very difficult. At the first time I was crying because looking after them (employer's children). Every time, every minute, then I need to be careful with them. I'm doing this *for* my children, but on the other side I cannot do this *to* my children… It's really difficult, being a nanny in the other country."

Caring for Transnational Families

Family separation resulting from migration can have negative impacts on domestic workers' family relationships. Although most Filipina domestic workers interviewed stated that they were able to maintain good relationships with their families in the Philippines, all the key state informants mentioned the breakdown of families as a serious social problem in the Philippines caused by the overwhelming phenomenon of labour migration. Because Filipina domestic workers are often away from home for many years, even though some might visit their family regularly, the breakdown of marriages is common and children grow up feeling abandoned. Tina reflected on her relationship with her children who grew up without her for most of their lives; "They tend to forget you or you feel there is a barrier. There is this doubt; 'if you are my

mum then why will you leave us?'" In Figure 5.3, Amelia expressed anxiety over her relationship with her husband, whom she has been apart from for three years.

Figure 5.3

I worry sometimes about my husband, because I haven't seen him last three years, it was the last time I saw him when I went back three years ago. You know, some Filipinas here have this problem because they haven't seen their husbands for a long time. Sometimes they find another woman. It's sad to hear those stories. But I try to believe in him. We talk almost every day, so I know it should be fine. But sometimes, only sometimes I think about it.

Several Filipinas interviewed, who had separated from their husbands prior to their migration or as a result of migration, had new partners in London. They were reluctant to talk about their relationships in details and only commented that they still have good relationships with their families back in the Philippines, however judging from their responses to questions regarding their families in the Philippines, I suspected there was a certain degree of complexity in their family relationships, which they did not want to share with me.

Undoubtedly separation from family is a major hardship of migrant life, highlighting the difficulty of transnational motherhood and maintaining trust and relationships with geographically distant families. Some might achieve family reunification by bringing family members to the UK as dependants, however this option is unavailable to most Filipinas whose financial circumstances and migration status prevent them from doing so. I found that Filipina domestic workers use three main strategies to cope with the difficulties of family separation; justifying their migration as the best and only choice for their families' benefit, communicating with their families via technologies such as telephone and internet, and providing their families with as much financial and material support as possible. Although most Filipina domestic workers used all three strategies, their accessibility to communication technologies and ability to afford financial and material support varied from one individual to

another. They highlighted their families' financial gains as justification for their decision to migrate. As Anne stated; 'Because at least I am here now, my daughter is going to the university. If I'm not here, no. It's very difficult. Even we work hard [in the Philippines] we cannot get that much money'. Thinking about their families' dependency on their earnings also helped them to overcome difficulties they faced and encouraged them to continue working abroad (See figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4

> If I'm at the very bottom, it's easy for me to say 'Okay that's it. I've had enough, I'm going home.' But every time I have a conversation with my children and my family, [I think] 'Oh they are all depending on me.' […] Our plan goes to nothing if I won't be firm enough and have the enough courage to continue and find ways to solve the problem. So I did realise actually, it came to my mind, it lifts me up. It's because of my family back home, so I decided to say 'Okay let me try it again one more time and see if I can make it' (Tina, 47 year-old-housekeeper/cook, married mother of three)

Many Filipina domestic workers are absent during their children's childhoods, and are torn between their responsibilities of providing emotional maternal care and providing financial support, which may lead to them experiencing feelings of guilt over leaving their children behind (see figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5

> Before, it was very hard for them. Very hard for them. I tell them I have no choice, and that's why I felt very guilty when I lost my son (in an accident), because I did not ask them. I did not ask them if they want me to leave. It's only my decision. There's no consultation with the children. And my youngest always says; 'Mum, you come home and stay'. And I always ask him; 'How about your schooling, when you go to college? You are only in high school. How much are you spending? How much will you need? We cannot afford, if I will come home and how am I going to support you? … I have no choice.' So what I do now is to communicate with them, I have to call them once a week. Sometimes if I don't have money I just top up £5 in order to call the Philippines. Maybe it will last 45 minutes to call, but I have to spend something to communicate with them because I need to listen if they have a problem, if they need something. (Claudia, 47-year-old housekeeper/nanny, separated mother of two)

Most of the Filipina domestic workers stated that they communicate with their families in the Philippines as frequently as possible in order to overcome their homesickness and maintain good relationships with their families. Borrowing the words of Mirca Madianou and Daniel Miller (2011), they practice 'mobile phone parenting' as a means to perform their motherhood by providing emotional care to their children over the phone. They use not only mobile phones to communicate with their families but also other forms of communication technologies including online video and voice call services such as Skype, and social networking websites such as Facebook. They enjoyed video calls with their families, sending messages, and viewing family photographs posted online. However not all had access to these forms of communication and some had to ask friends or employers to let them use their computers and Internet.

Moreover, in order to fill the emotional void left by their absence and to show their parental love, they provided material goods as a substitute for daily maternal contact with their children. Several informants specifically said "I try to provide as much as possible to my children". Most of them stated that in addition to their regular family remittances, they also sent extra money whenever their children had urgent needs. They spent money on high quality clothes, shows, even housing and cars for their families, especially their children, and often sent their children to expensive private schools, which is a 'marker of material security for migrant parents' (Parreñas 2001:123). During an informal conversation with a journalist of ABS-CBN Corporation, a Filipino media institution, she explained; "there are two kinds of students in most expensive private schools in the Philippines; children of upper-class families and children of migrant workers. In these kinds of schools, you see children whose parents are not so educated or qualified but they have money because they work abroad, and those children are seen as trouble makers because they grow up without their parents around."

Spending as much as possible on their children and other members of families means Filipina domestic workers face financial difficulties in their everyday lives in the UK. Many

informants said that they wanted to return to the Philippines as soon as they saved enough money, but were unable to save because they sent most of their earnings home to the Philippines. Anne said; "I have no money left for me. I have to send all to them!"

Filipino Families Without Mothers?

According to Parreñas (2003:40), the negative impacts of parents' labour migration on their children have become one of the largest social problems in the Philippines, described as a 'crisis of care'. The Philippine government and media accuse migrant mothers of causing the breakdown of marriages and abandoning children, and imply that only single women without children should consider labour migration. In fact, in 1995 the Philippine president Fidel Ramos called for migrant mothers to return: 'We are not against overseas employment of Filipino women. We are against overseas employment at the cost of family solidarity' (Agence France-Press 1995 cited in Parreñas 2003:40).[17] Therefore Filipina mothers abroad also face the stigma of damaging family relations through their migration, which does not normally apply to fathers as shown in figure 5.6, a conversation with a Filipino solicitor, who provides Filipina domestic workers in London with legal support.

Figure 5.6

Author:	I realised that mothers are often accused for leaving their children behind, but does it apply to fathers as well?
Solicitor:	Not really to fathers because the family unit in Asia, its predominance, it's common that as a mother you should be at home. You should provide comfort to your children but they don't expect a father to do that, so there is that kind of double standard. […] It's very difficult for women because you have that kind of expectations, because they don't expect fathers to fill in that role. You know that mother's instinct, that's mother's care.

[17] Agence France-Press, 'Ramos: Overseas Employment a Threat to Filipino Families', *Philippine Inquirer*, May 26, 1995, pp.11

The accusations of family abandonment aimed at Filipina domestic workers come not only from non-migrants and authorities in the Philippines, but also from other migrant Filipinas. Rosa was a Filipina member of the church in Walthamstow who had initially migrated to the UK as a nurse and had brought her husband and children to live with her in London. During an informal conversation with her at the church, she expressed her views about Filipina mothers' who leave their children behind (see figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7

> People here say that they are here for financial reasons, but that's not always true. They are quite well off in the Philippines, they have good jobs or own business. […] They say they need money for their kids, but I think they only want more extra money. People have different views but I don't personally agree with them, who leave children behind. If they need money, then it should be fathers who go abroad to work, but not mothers. Being looked after by auntie and grandma is different from being looked after by their own mother, and those kids are the ones who make troubles. You know teachers complain that children of migrant workers are not doing well and not studying hard enough at school because they are spoiled with lots of money and toys given by mothers who are abroad. I don't agree with them. They shouldn't leave their children behind. (Rosa, settled Filipina migrant, church member)

Filipino mothers abroad are also blamed for the misbehaviour of their children, as a direct result of their absence and excessive material giving. Fathers, on the other hand, tend not to experience this type of accusation and are even encouraged to work abroad if their families are experiencing financial difficulties.

It is important to note that many informants stated their children had become more understanding of their parental dilemma, as they grew to be adults. Vanessa, a 43-year-old housekeeper/nanny and married mother of four, told me her eldest daughter, who had just finished her nursing school education paid for through Vanessa's earnings, had told her mother that it was her turn to migrate to support the family so that Vanessa could finally return home. Although Vanessa expressed her delight with her daughter's gratitude, she stated that

she did not want her daughter to experience the hardships of working abroad and the pain of family separation. The insecurity caused by strained family relationships continues despite family members showing greater understanding of the decision to migrate.

Conclusion

While enabling Filipina domestic workers to provide material support for their families and gain financial security in the Philippines through their economically productive domestic labour, migration is accompanied by the emotional pain of family separation. As transnational wives and mothers, these women risk the stability of their family relationships. They strategically use means of communication and material support to overcome their homesickness and physical absence in their family's lives, and they justify their labour migration as the best way of improving their families' welfare. Unfortunately these strategies may help only in the short term, and in many cases they face the continuous hardship of family separation. Moreover, even though they gain the understanding and support of family members, the instability brought upon family relationships continues after financial security is achieved. They also face the accusation of abandoning their children, which clearly comes from the patriarchal social expectation on women to stay at home and care for their families. This accusation is also made by those physically close to them such as members of migrant communities and may reproduce complexities within the community, which I discuss in the following chapters. In sum, this chapter shows that despite the strategies used by migrant Filipina domestic workers to cope with the hardship of family separation, their emotional struggles still continue.

Chapter Six: Filipina Domestic Workers and Social Networks

Although labour migration is an economically motivated decision, the existence of social networks plays an important role in the migration process of Filipina domestic workers. These social networks include kinships, friendships, local communities, nationality based networks, and occupation based networks. In this study, I found two main routes through which Filipina domestic workers came to London. The first route was direct migration from their hometowns in the Philippines to London. The second was where they initially migrated to relatively closer destinations in Asia such as Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia as domestic workers and were brought to the UK by their employers. Some of these employees were brought to London directly and others were taken to other parts of the country before they left employment and moved to London. Although there are differences between these two routes, in both cases Filipina domestic workers use social networks as tools for facilitating their labour migration. For example, as discussed in chapter five, in most cases their migration is a strategy for family survival and class mobility, and is enabled by the support of family members, especially females such as sisters and mothers who take care of children while they are away. Moreover, friendships in destination countries help them to settle in those new environments. This chapter explores in more detail the roles played by social networks in the labour migration of Filipina domestic workers, and by examining both routes through which labour migration occurs; the direct labour migration from the Philippines to London and the labour migration from the Philippines to London via other countries. The former is examined through my ethnographic research within the context of the church in Walthamstow, and the latter is examined using data gathered from the wider Filipino community in London.

Direct Migration from the Philippines: Church based Igorot community

The field of the ethnography is an Anglican church in Walthamstow, which hosts a Filipino community from the Cordillera region in northern Philippines, as part of its 'multicultural' congregation. The Cordillera region consists of six provinces; Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Kalinga, Ifugao and Mountain Province as well as the lone city of Baguio (see Map 1). This

region is

Map 1: The Cordillera Region (Source: Finin 2005:5)

home to a number of indigenous tribes and people from this region are collectively called Igorot. A large number of this Filipino community in Walthamstow are Igorots who come from Benguet and Mountain Province. The integration of the church with Igorot migrants started as long ago as thirty years, when several families from the predominantly Anglican region of Cordillera, as opposed to the Roman Catholic majority of the Philippines, settled in the community and began attending the church. Since then Igorot migrants in Walthamstow have developed their own migrant networks, where people can provide various forms of support with migration to each other, engage in cultural activities, and organise formal and informal gatherings. As the Igorot community grew in the area, Igorot UK was founded in 1995, as an official organisation for Igorot people throughout the country and this church became home to this organisation. Under this formal organisation there are smaller and more informal groups, which are organised as hometown associations.

The Filipina domestic workers I met at this church also migrated to London through support from this Igorot migrant community. Indeed, with the exception of one, all informants from the church migrated directly to London from the Philippines, although two of them had previously worked in Hong Kong as domestic workers, before returning home to the Philippines after that employment ended. They mentioned that while in the Philippines, they knew several people who were either members of this community in Walthamstow or had spent time within it before returning to the Philippines, and these included close friends and family members. Their decision to migrate directly to London was partly due to the existence of this network and many of them were encouraged to migrate or invited to join this community in Walthamstow by existing members. Receiving support from settled migrants in London meant that they were able to find employment without paying fees to use overseas employment agencies, and members of the community provided them with temporary accommodation upon their arrival.

The information gathered through wider migrant social networks in the Philippines also explains part of the reason for migrating directly to London. For example, in figure 6.1, Vanessa explained how she decided to come to London directly from her hometown in Mountain Province.

Figure 6.1

> I didn't want to spend a huge amount of money on agencies [in the Philippines], and jobs they offer are most of the time in the Middle East or sometimes Hong Kong. I didn't really want to go to those countries, especially Middle East, because I heard a lot of stories about people are abused badly and don't get paid as much, and I know some people like that myself. So I was bit scared something might happen to me. I knew people in Europe know more about human rights, so I wanted to come here. My friend here told me that I can move here first and stay with her until I find a job. So I did. I just moved without having job here.

After staying with her friend for three months, she found her first employment, which another Filipina friend passed her on to. Vanessa was one of five informants who found their employment through informal social networks despite having no legal right to work in the UK due to having short stay visas without work permits, or expired visas. This demonstrates the strategic use of social networks to avoid some of the costs of migration, such as overseas employment agency fees, and to reduce the risks of working in inadequate conditions. Well-developed migrant social networks even enable irregular migration and undocumented employment. Moreover, many informants suggested that having close friends and family members in the destination provides emotional support and helps them to settle quickly. Anne stated; "Since I came here, we are all together. And [through them] I meet more friends who are here also! […] I enjoy my good friends here on weekends even though I am very stressed during the weekdays."

Including Anne, some Filipina members of the church had live-in employment as domestic workers in other areas of London, but spent weekends in Walthamstow with close friends and attended church together. Of course, not all church members are Filipina domestic workers,

and many other nationalities are represented, as well as Filipinos of other occupations, however during Sunday mass Filipino members tended to sit together at the back of the church. Filipina domestic workers, especially those who were apart from their own children, adored young second-generation Filipino children of the community and enjoyed their company. They would normally stay in the church after mass to share refreshments and chat or occasionally hold formal gatherings, and sometimes they would go out for meals or play sports together. Because many of the Filipina domestic workers have only Sunday as their day off, the church has become their regular meeting space.

The migrant social networks are established and developed not only by migrants themselves but also by the wider church community. Since taking over at the church, the parish priest started providing more support to migrant workers mainly of the Filipino community in response to needs of the congregation, and to organise a church community. He revealed that the church provides three levels of support for its migrant members; organising a supportive church community that gives people self-respect and self-esteem; providing them with space for gathering, especially for the organisation Igorot UK; and providing practical support including immigration advice and campaigning work as a member institution of the community organising alliance, London Citizens. During my ethnographic research, the church organised occasional meetings, where people shared their migration experiences and attended workshops on relationship building as well as one-to-one sessions with a social worker. The priest had also visited churches and communities in the Cordillera region to learn about the backgrounds of his Filipino congregation in order to create an atmosphere of imagined home for them back at the church. These kinds of active support within the church community are likely to attract more prospective migrants from the Cordillera region of the Philippines, including Filipina domestic workers, to this particular area of London.

Step Migration via Third Countries

The six informants who were brought to the UK by their employers after September 2002 entered on ODW visas, which allow them to change employers without breaching the conditions of their immigration status. At the time of the interviews, all of the six informants were employed by different employers. The countries they came from included Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. Some of those who were brought to London decided to remain when their employers returned to their home countries, due to the higher wages available in London. Those who were brought to other parts of the UK stated that they left their employers to be close to London's large Filipino community. Tina, for example, was brought to Oxfordshire by former employers, who she had been worked for in Hong Kong. She continued to work for them upon arrival in the UK but decided to leave for London. In figure 6.2, Tina explains her strategic decision to move to London to be closer to friends and relatives, in order to overcome her homesickness and loneliness.

Figure 6.2

Tina:	When I started actually coming to here in London and meeting all my friends and my relatives, I find that I feel so lonely there [in Oxfordshire] and I feel so happy here [in London]. Every time that I came down, my emotion changed so drastically. Happiness is here, and loneliness is there. It's just because of I'm missing my family, that's just because I don't have quite a lot of people in there (Oxfordshire).
Author:	So is that why you came to London?
Tina:	Yes, I found someone here in London who continue to support my visa and that's why they (former employers) released me.

In the case of Erica, a 43-year-old housekeeper/nanny, her former abusive employers brought her to London from Saudi Arabia three years ago. The abuse she experienced included physical violence and she eventually decided to run away. She sought help at a church after running away and there she met another Filipina who helped her find shelter and introduced

her to a local Filipino community, which helped her find new employment with a British family. Claudia, on the other hand, helped her friend run away from an abusive employer. “I have a friend, also a Filipina, who came from Dubai with her employer. Before she decided to escape, she called me. I was the one who helped her, she stayed with me. I was the one found her a new employer.” Social networks are therefore also a useful means for Filipina domestic workers who entered UK with their employers to cope with difficulties such as homesickness and to escape from inadequate employment conditions.

We first met Erica, a participant in this research, with her employers’ children at St. Johns’ Wood Church Garden in northwest London, where I accompanied Cathy and her Filipina friends working as nannies, as they took their employers’ children out to play. They introduced themselves to each other and exchanged phone numbers. Erica appeared to know the best places where Filipina domestic workers socialised and she advised me that I could meet more Filipina nannies if I went to Regents Park in west London. For these Filipina nannies, networking with other Filipinas is vital and increases their sense of security in the foreign land. Cathy stated; “others will not support you because you are a foreigner!”

Filipina domestic workers, who entered the UK through both routes discussed above, also used formal and informal social networks to update each other about relevant changes of immigration policies and to inform newly arrived workers about their rights as migrant workers in the UK. Furthermore, social networks were a particularly important means for them to find employment as the majority of informants found their employers through recommendations of Filipina friends. In some cases they found employment through former employers’ recommendations. For both employers and Filipina domestic workers, employment through informal recommendations can be more viable because it means avoiding costs associated with placement agencies, and workers may be able to avoid paying tax and national insurance. Therefore, in this study, both employers and domestic workers often rely

on informal social networks to find employment.

Conclusion

This chapter showed how social networks can facilitate Filipina domestic workers' labour migration. By examining this role of social networks, I would challenge the critical argument made by Lamela et al. (2009) that the migration of mothers, especially single mothers, is not network-mediated, as their decisions are made as life projects influenced by socio-economic and family circumstances. However, I argue that despite these circumstances surrounding their migration, social networks are strategically used to facilitate the labour migration of Filipina domestic workers, and social networks also have impacts on their choice of the destination, in this case London. Moreover, although Anderson's (2001) study on migrant domestic workers in London suggests that they mainly participate in occupation based communities, due to fear of being treated with disrespect because of their migration or employment status, this study shows that they do actively engage with and make use of ethnicity and nationality based networks.

Although this chapter showed how social networks are a useful means for the labour migration of Filipina domestic workers, as I spent time with them I came to notice the complex dynamics of the community. Some church members told me they had experienced discrimination within the Filipino community, which was often based on their migration status. The next chapter discusses the impacts of migration status on inequalities reproduced upon labour migration of Filipina domestic workers.

Chapter Eight: Citizenships and Migration Status

As shown in previous chapters, the migration status of the Filipina domestic workers had impacts on every aspect of their labour migration discussed in this dissertation. This chapter looks at the extent to which different migration and citizenship status reproduce inequalities between employers and Filipina domestic workers as well as among Filipina domestic workers. While their British employers enjoy full citizenship, even the non-British employers who are settled residents or what the government calls 'high-value migrants' (UK Border Agency 2011a)[18] have far more rights than the undocumented Filipina domestic workers or those on temporary visas. Legal frameworks of labour migration created by states determine whether migrant workers enter, reside or are employed in ways that fall within the law (Ruhs and Anderson 2010:197). However, among the seventeen Filipina domestic workers, those who classed themselves as 'undocumented' were the ones who resided in the UK illegally, in other words they had overstayed, and they were very conscious of their irregular status. Those living in the UK legally but working in breach of their visa conditions, especially those on student visa and working more hours than allowed, seemed to consider themselves as 'documented' migrants, and were less anxious about their employment conditions especially because their domestic work jobs were 'cash-in-hand' or/and 'part-time'. Acknowledging the different levels of legality of employment in this study, the term 'undocumented' is used to describe those who have no rights to reside and work in the UK since it was the term used by the overstaying Filipina domestic workers themselves.

Living in Fear

The Filipina domestic workers who had overstayed in the UK were living everyday in fear of

[18] UK Border Agency (UKBA 2011a) categorises exceptionally talented and highly skilled workers, investors and entrepreneurs as high-value migrants

detention and deportation. At a church meeting, where members of the church and community organisers discussed issues and experiences of migration, undocumented workers shared their anxieties over detention and deportation, with rumours circulating of people being detained after random stop and searches by police officers, and rewards being offered to people who reported undocumented migrants to the Home Office. It was suggested that some Filipino migrant workers did not attend these meetings because they were afraid of discussing their undocumented status to strangers.

Undocumented domestic workers can be more exploitable, as their fear of being reported by prospective employers prevents them from seeking new employment and causes them to remain in inadequate working environments. As mentioned earlier, Valencia, who entered the UK as a short-term tourist in 2007 was working in inadequate conditions, but although she left her employer once, she ended up returning to them, because she had difficulty finding new employment. Being undocumented makes domestic workers more vulnerable and they experience greater hardships when leaving one employment to seek another because it means they risk revealing their undocumented status to people who might report them. On the other hand, those with the right to work in the UK have more means to protect themselves from abusive employers including leaving their employers without fear of deportation, and actively seeking new employment through placement agencies who offer more protection to staff.

Fear of being discovered by the authorities can even affect the health and social well being of undocumented workers, as many claimed they had never used the NHS even when they were unwell, because they were reluctant to show their passports with expired visas in order to register with general practitioners. Valencia explained that she chose to do domestic work because she would spend most of her time indoors and therefore avoid contact with government authorities outside. As I got to know her, I noticed she hardly joined the other Filipinas' on outings or attended Filipino community gatherings held outside the church. She explained it was due to her busy work schedule, however I also suspected she was avoiding

public places as much as possible. The undocumented workers, despite being aware of my research and having known me for several months, all sought my assurance during interviews that their personal details would remain confidential, and that I had nothing to do with the Home Office. Most documented informants on the other hand were happy to talk openly about themselves.

Another major struggle undocumented Filipina domestic workers face is the inability to reunite with their families, whereas documented Filipinas are entitled to bring their husbands and children under the age of eighteen to live in the UK as spouses and dependants, and are also able to travel back to the Philippines on holidays. Undocumented workers, are not only unable to bring their family members over, but are also unable to visit the Philippines, as it would be almost impossible to return to the UK after leaving. Vanessa had not been back to the Philippines since moving to London in 2004, and was not planning to return until her four children finished their education, and she had saved enough money to continue paying for her husband's long term medication. She stated; "if I go home, that's when I go back for good because once I go home I cannot come back to work."

Additionally, the majority of undocumented Filipina domestic workers expressed their dependency on their faith in God when they faced difficulties, rather than seeking practical solutions. This shows that undocumented status leaves them with almost nothing but religion to rely on because they accept that their residence and employment in the UK are breaking laws.

Settled Status Strategy

Apart from one Filipina who was in the process of appealing her failed application for a Skilled Worker Visa or Tier 2 category, the Filipina domestic workers in this study, who had legal residency rights and worked full-time were on ODW visas or had settled status called

'indefinite leave to remain'. As mentioned earlier, ODW visas are given workers who were brought to the UK by their employers after 2002, and they were given the right to change employers without breaching the conditions attached to their migration status. As shown by Kalayaan's report, this visa had a great impact on reducing the abuse and exploitation of migrant domestic workers, although other issues still persist, such as that of domestic workers working for diplomatic households having no right to change employers (Lalani 2011). For the Filipina domestic workers in this study, this migration policy allowed them to leave unfavourable employment or escape from inadequate working conditions, which included abuse and exploitation. However, if they wish to apply for visa extensions, they must be employed as domestic workers of a single household at the time of the application (UK Border Agency 2011b). Therefore, under this category of visa, they are tied with domestic labour and must ensure they are employed at the time of their annual visa extension.

As of August 2011, after working legally in the UK for five years, domestic workers are entitled to settle in the UK by obtaining indefinite leave to remain. Although all of the informants expressed the intention to return to the Philippines permanently in the future, five of them already had settled status, and all the documented workers intended to apply for settled status once eligible to do so. During this research I found that Filipina domestic workers obtain settled status to negotiate the difficulties they encounter upon their labour migration. The informants with settled status and those intending to obtain settled status explained that indefinite leave to remain would mean no restrictions on the length of their stay in the UK, and therefore no further need to apply for visa extensions, saving them a lot of money, and also giving them the certainty of knowing they can remain as long as they wish. Indefinite leave to remain is invalidated if a person resides outside the UK for more than two years (UK Border Agency 2011c), however for many Filipina domestic workers it meant that they could go back to the Philippines and live with their families for up to two years then return to work again, giving them greater flexibility in their transnational lives. Most

importantly, under this status, they are not only free to change employers, but are also free to change career. Among the informants of this study, a couple of Filipinas with settled status told me they were considering leaving domestic work in the future. Claudia's employer suggested that he would help her open a business when his son, whom she was looking after, goes to boarding school and no longer needs her help as much. She said; "I'm still thinking about that since then. […] If I'm going to open a business as an employment agency, cleaning agency, then it will be help to other [domestic workers]." In another case, as shown in figure 7.1, Tina was thinking of further study in order to achieve social mobility once she finished paying for her children's education.

Figure 7.1

> I wish my children were already finished [universities] and then I could study more and upgrade because I just graduated from a junior secretary in the Philippines. So I'm thinking of upgrading, but it is not good timing because they're still studying and my time and finance doesn't permit. Otherwise I could like what my other friends do, they study further and upgrade their studies. […] That's possible enough because I already have a couple of friends who did it, and now they are working in an office, and then some are working in the hospitals by their own degrees, so it's possible.

Settlement in the UK, for Filipina domestic workers is used as a strategy to save on the cost of visa applications and family reunification, as well as changing career rather than simply settling down in the UK. This is explained by the finding that all informants who had settled status or were intending to apply for it stated they were considering returning to the Philippines at some point in the future, although many of them had no precise plans to leave the UK permanently yet. In fact there was more interest among the Filipina domestic workers in gaining indefinite leave to remain than there was in naturalisation or gaining British citizenship. Tina was the only informant to reveal that she planned to apply for British citizenship with her husband, who was already with her in the UK on a spouse visa, in order to obtain full citizenship rights and "secure" their future in the UK.

Moreover, migration status can produce complex relationships among members of Filipino communities. I heard some Filipina domestic workers of the church community say; “You can’t avoid people who gossip. Distractive ones.” (Jane, visa overstayer) “If there’s a problem that I’ve encountered, it’s actually within the Filipino community. You have these gossips and intrigues.” (Vanessa, visa overstayer) The priest suggested there is occasionally a sense of discrimination among the Filipino community, where those with settled status or British citizenship treat undocumented workers with disrespect. Indeed, when I met a Filipina member of the church with British citizenship, she stated, as part of her self-introduction; “I’m from Benguet. My place is different from most of them here. Most of them are from Sagada, Mountain Province, those who are here without documents. You know those who leave their children and work here illegally.”

Conclusion

In sum, migration status therefore not only produces inequalities between Filipina domestic workers and employers but also divides Filipina domestic workers in terms of their vulnerability and ability to negotiate difficulties. Undocumented workers are the most vulnerable because their fear of deportation ties them with inadequate working conditions unlike documented workers who are more flexible to seek better employment. Those with temporary residency and work permits seek to obtain indefinite leave to remain to gain flexibility with their employment and residency, and save money rather than to remain in the UK permanently. Furthermore, although I acknowledge that elements such as region of origin, occupation and class influence discriminations among the Filipino community, migration status plays a crucial role in reproducing inequalities.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This final chapter of the dissertation restates the research problems and summarises the findings of the study. It also identifies and discusses limitations and implications of the study.

This dissertation explored experiences of Filipina domestic workers in London as a case study of the increasing trends of feminised labour migration from poorer countries to the welfare sector in richer countries. In doing so, it looked into how gender inequalities and ideological roles of women, as carers in sending and receiving countries are negotiated, perpetuated and complicated through the labour migration of women. In focusing on a particular case of Filipina domestic workers in London, this research has questioned; how gender ideologies linked with reproductive labour both in the UK and the Philippines influence their migration into the British domestic service industry; how their labour migration reproduces inequalities; what difficulties they face upon their migration; and how they negotiate those difficulties. As explained in chapter three, this study sought answers to these questions based on data gathered in the ethnographic research and in-depth interviews carried out in London.

In this dissertation, I illustrated that experiences of Filipina domestic workers in London reflect women's continuous struggle over unequal gender ideologies linked with reproductive labour both in the UK and the Philippines, and the international division of reproductive labour produces the complex inequalities among different gender, class, race and citizenships. In order to demonstrate this, chapter four showed that purchasing other women's reproductive labour is the only option for many women in the UK faced with dual responsibilities at work and home, and Filipino domestic workers fill the role of housekeeping and caring for children and elderly. Filipina domestic workers' migration is therefore the movement from the patriarchal Philippine society into the patriarchal British society. The chapter also highlighted that by hiring their own domestic workers to care for their families in the Philippines, and by

being one of the most desirable groups of domestic workers in the British domestic labour market, migrant Filipina domestic workers are situated in the middle of the hierarchy system of domestic work. Moreover, the gender ideologies that link women with domestic work are internalised by many Filipinas, who chose to migrate as domestic workers and accept the decline in their social status upon their migration.

Chapter five illustrated the experiences of family separation, the most common difficulty experienced by Filipina domestic workers, and analysed their struggles, as mothers, wives and family breadwinners, to preserve socially constructed family units and motherhood. In order to overcome the emotional pain of family separation and to maintain good relationships with their family members, Filipina domestic workers used three strategies; communication with their families via communication technologies; providing their families with as much financial and material support as possible; and using their families' financial gains as justification for their decision to migrate. These strategies may help overcome homesickness and loneliness in the short term, however the emotional pain of family separation is ongoing, and the ability to use these strategies differed according to each individual's financial circumstances, working and living conditions, and migration status. Additionally, Filipina domestic workers are heavily frowned upon by Philippine society for abandoning their families, especially children. This stigma is a product of the ideological social expectation that wives and mothers should stay home to care for their families, which is embodied in some members of Filipino migrant communities in London, reproducing complex relationships between them.

The discussion on social networks offered an approach to the migration of Filipina domestic workers, who chose to migrate under the socio-economic circumstances, yet rely on social networks to assist with low cost and low risk migration, a smooth settlement process and the overcoming of hardship in the destination. Social networks, moreover, even enable undocumented employment. By examining two different routes taken by Filipina domestic workers migrating to London from their Philippine hometowns, chapter six demonstrated the

importance of social networks in facilitating economically driven migration. The expansion of social networks among Filipina domestic workers in London was also a strategy to protect themselves from inadequate employment conditions, and to share updated information regarding evolving immigration policies.

Finally, migration status plays a crucial role in reproducing inequalities, not only between migrant domestic workers and employers, but also among Filipina domestic workers themselves, as well as among members of the Filipino migrant community in London. Clearly undocumented domestic workers are the most vulnerable group of women, because their fear of detention and deportation prevents them from leaving unfavourable employment conditions, which can involve abusive and exploitative employers. Moreover they have little or no ability to achieve family reunification, such as visiting home in the Philippines or bringing family members to live in London, unlike those who are working legally in the UK. Chapter seven also showed that Filipina domestic workers might seek to obtain settled status, not because they wish to settle permanently in the UK, but because it provides them with greater flexibility to change employers, and to travel back and forth to the Philippines. This compares favourably with ODW visas or other forms of work permits, which restrict employment, or length of stay in the UK. Most importantly, once they are settled residences, they are no longer tied with domestic labour and can change careers if they wish to. Chapter seven also suggested that inequalities reproduced among Filipina domestic workers of different migrant status could lead to discrimination within the Filipino community, with undocumented workers facing disrespect and exclusion.

Many class-privileged women employ Filipina domestic workers to allow them to negotiate the responsibilities of domestic labour, which are assigned to them through gender inequalities. However, Filipinas' migration as domestic workers does not break down such gender inequalities and ideologies of women's reproductive role, but only reinforces and entangles them, because domestic work is just passed from the more privileged women to the

less privilege ones; from upper- and middle-class women in the receiving country to migrant domestic workers; and from migrant domestic workers to poorer women in the sending country. This international division of reproductive labour is further complicated as inequalities reproduced within this system are products of multiple oppression of gender, class, race and citizenships, as reflected by the difficulties that Filipina domestic workers face upon migration, and their strategies to negotiate those difficulties still operate within these inequalities.

I acknowledge that although this study discusses the patriarchal society in the Philippines and Filipina domestic workers' relationships with their families, it only draws on perspectives of migrant mothers and wives in London. There is a need for further study to examine the perspectives of their family members and Philippine society, in order to improve understandings of complex family relationships caused by their labour migration, the social construction of family, and social expectation on women in the Philippines and how it affects Filipina domestic workers' migration.

Although this study illustrates real-life experiences of Filipina domestic workers' migration and their everyday lives in London, the experiences of seventeen Filipina domestic workers reflect just the tip of iceberg. This specific case study, however, contributes to fill a gap in the literature on migrant domestic workers. The ethnographic research within the church-based community also demonstrated the potential role of religious institutions and local communities, providing support to the vulnerable group of women. In this study, because Sundays were the only rest days for many domestic workers who spent most of their time in employers' houses, the church became their haven, a place they could be free from everyday hardships at work, socialise with people, and even feel at home. Since some Filipina domestic workers felt isolated or disrespected by other members of the Filipino community, the church based local community provided them opportunities to form friendships with not only Filipinos, but also others in the local area who could provide them with emotional or even

practical support. One informant told me after her interview, “Thank you very much. It was actually very good to talk about my problems, feels like relieved a little. I think it’s good to put things outside of me sometimes. I really needed it. Thank you for sharing my experience.”

Appendix 1: In-depth Interview Schedule (Filipina domestic workers)

(The followings are the key questions of semi-structured/in-depth interviews conducted with 17 Filipina domestic workers in the research.)

Where about in the Philippines are you from?
- Which province?

How long have you been in the UK?

How old were you when you arrived in the UK?

What is your work position?
- What tasks do you perform?
- Do you work part-time/ full-time?
- Do you live-in/ live-out?
- Are you registered with an agency?

Can you tell me your family members in the Philippines?
- Are you married?
- How many children do you have and how old are they?
- Who looks(ed) after your children in the Philippines while you are away?

What did you do before you left the Philippines?

What is the main reason for your decision to migrate to UK as a domestic worker?
- Who do you sent your money to and how often?
- Why did you choose domestic work?
- Why was it you to migrate (, not your husband)?

How did you find your first job and accommodation?

What are the difficulties you have experienced through your migration?
- How is your relationship(s) with your employer(s)?
- Have you had any problems with your visa?

How do you overcome those difficulties?

What do you think your family members feel about you working in the UK?
- How is your relationship(s) with them?

What are your plans for the future?

Appendix 2: In-depth Interview Schedule (Priest)

(The followings are the key questions of semi-structured/in-depth interviews conducted with the priest of the church in the research.)

Can you tell me stories behind of the church's support for migrants?

What activities are you involved with to support migrants?

What kind of support does the church provide migrant workers and how?

Can you tell me about links between the church and Igrot UK?

Do the Church members (Filipinas domestic workers) tell you about their experiences and issues of migration?

What are the common issues and/or the most impressive story you've heard from them? (Gender/ occupations/ migration status/ racial or cultural discriminations?)

How are relationships between church members (among Filipinos and non-Filipinos)?

What were the purposes of your recent visit to the Philippines?

How does the church community facilitate as a safe space for vulnerable migrants?

What are you hopes for the church's future, in terms of supporting migrants within the church community?

Appendix 3: In-depth Interview Schedule (Kalayaan volunteer teacher)

(The followings are the key questions of semi-structured/in-depth interviews conducted with the former volunteer teacher of Kalayaan in the research.)

What was your engagement with Kalayaan?

Position and duration?

Can you tell me about backgrounds of domestic workers you engaged with?

Nationalities?

Gender ratio?

What are the common nationalities of employers?

Migration status?

From your engagement with the organisation and your observations, how do you find situations surrounding migrant domestic workers you came across?

And what are the common issues of migrant domestic workers you encountered?

How are domestic workers who you encountered aware of their rights as migrant domestic workers and British laws (minimum wages/ working hours/ payslips and contracts)?

What kinds of support does Kalayaan provide?

What do they do when abusive employers are reported?

Do they provide shelters for abused workers?

How do they make themselves better known among migrant domestic workers?

As yourself come from the Philippines, can you tell me about labour migration from the Philippines including domestic workers?

What do you think are reasons for feminised migration of Filipinos?

Are there any issues particularly common among Filipina domestic workers?

How labour migration of Filipinos are considered in the Philippines?

Appendix 4: In-depth Interview Schedule (Solicitor)

(The followings are the key questions of semi-structured/in-depth interviews conducted with the Filipino solicitor in the research.)

What is your engagement with particularly with Filipina domestic workers?

- What kinds of legal assistance do you provide Filipina domestic workers?
- What are the common issues you deal with for them?
- Have you dealt with cases that made employment tribunal claims?
- Can you tell me a bout the case?

How are Filipina domestic workers aware of their rights and the British employment laws?

How affectively do you think ODW visa protects migrant domestic workers?

Do many of your clients want to settle in the UK and why?

How possible is it to legalise workers who are overstaying or have no rights to work in the UK?

How can the absence of divorce law in the Philippines be part of push factors of Filipino women's migration?

- Are there cases where women decide to migrate partly because they want to escape from broken marriage, domestic violence etc?
- Are there any public aids for separated couples with children/ single mothers?

What are the impacts of migrant Filipina workers on their families in the Philippines?

- Are migrant fathers accused for leaving their families behind like migrant mothers?

Appendix 5: In-depth Interview Schedule (Employer)

(The followings are the key questions of semi-structured/in-depth interviews conducted with the employer of a Filipina domestic worker in the research.)

Your family members?

Your husbands' and your occupations?

What was the reason for you decision to employ a domestic helper at the first place?

How did you happen to employ your current Filipino worker?

What are the tasks your employee performs?
- Who performed those tasks before you employer her?
- How often does she work for you?
- Live-in or live-out (why)?

Have you had employed any other workers before?
- If yes, how many?
- What nationality?
- How do you compare them with your current worker?

Do you know her background?

How is your relationship with your employee?
- How was it with other employees?
- Negotiation payment/ time off etc?
- How does she treat your children?

Have you helped her with her visa extensions?

Are you the one in charge of your employee?
- Do your husband and children ask her to do things for them too?

How have your life style changed since you employed the domestic helper?

Appendix 6: Informed Concent

This is a consent form for a research project on Filipina migrant care workers in London carried out by the MSc student, Mariko Hayashi, from University College London. The interviewer (the researcher) should have the interviewee read this form carefully and ask any questions the interviewee may have. Before the interview can start, the researcher and the interviewee should sign two copies of this form. The interviewee will be given one copy of the signed form.

Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Mariko Hayashi from University College London. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about experiences of Filipina migrant care workers. I will be one of approximately 15 people being interviewed for this research.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

2. I understand that I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview whenever I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session.

3. I acknowledge that the interview session lasts approximately 20-30 minutes and notes will be written during the interview. The interview and subsequent dialogue may be recorded electronically with my permission.

4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

5. I fully understand the explanation provided to me regarding the purpose and objects of the research. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

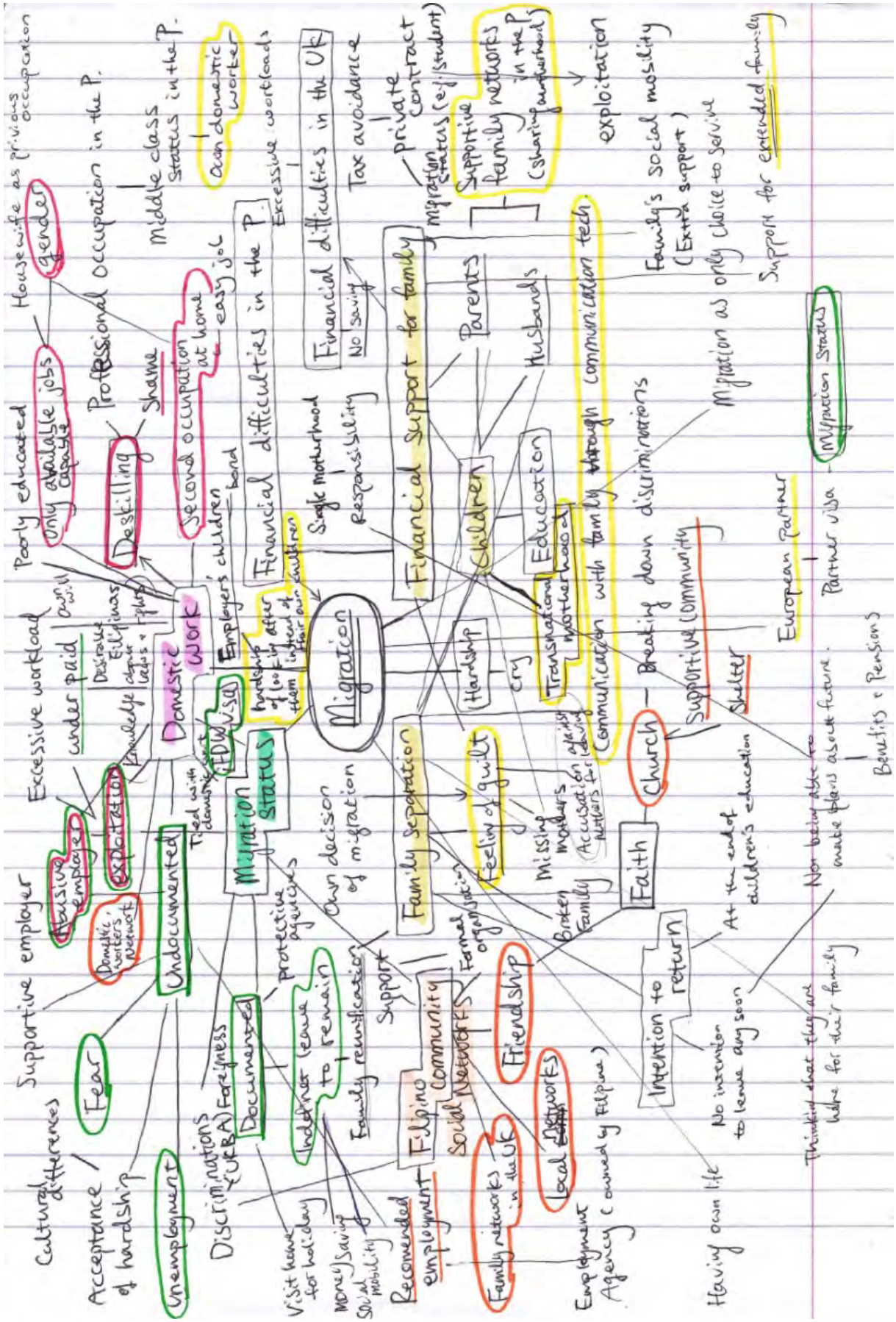
8. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Participant signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher signature: _____ Date : _____

Researcher: Mariko Hayashi
MSc Global Migration, Department of Geography, University College London
mariko.hayashi.10@ucl.ac.uk

Appendix 7: Sample of code analysis



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Initial Proposal

Provisional Title

'Globalisation of care and feminised labour migration: Gender ideologies and the negotiation of inequality in the case of Filipino care workers in London'

Aims and Objectives

In this research project, I am going to explore the increasing pattern of feminised labour migration from the poorer countries to richer country with a case study of women's migration from the Philippines to the UK. I will focus on shifting gender ideologies as important dynamics of Filipino women's movement to seek jobs in the care sector, such as domestic workers, nannies and nurses. I am also going to explore Filipina care workers experiences of migration, relating to their vulnerability due to their migrant status, gender, ethnicity and culture, and how they deal with their new lives and inequalities abroad. I will also look into how social networks (within the Philippines, within the UK, between the Philippines and the UK) influence and facilitate Filipino women's migratory movements as well as settlement in London.

Research Questions

Is globalisation of the labour market of welfare sectors simply the economic modernisation?

To what extent do the processes of labour migratory movements of women engender relationship of inequality between women across differences of race, class and citizenship?

To what extent are gender ideologies of Filipino women practiced both in the Philippines and in the UK and how do women negotiate the gender constraints they experience through migration?

Literature

Although women historically have migrated as wives and daughters or dependents of men, more and more women today migrate independently for many reasons (Parreñas 2008; Kofman, Phizacklea, Reghuram and Sales 2000). According to Parreñas (2008), more than two thirds of Filipino emigrants are women and this trend is understood as a response to the increasing demand for foreign care workers in richer countries. She argues that what she calls 'the globalisation of care' – global migration of women to fill the demand of care work in richer countries - invites a close interrogation of 'the gendered process underlying economic globalisation' (Parreñas 2008: 3). Kofman, Phizacklea, Reghuram and Sales (2000:2) argue that more and more women move to Europe to seek jobs in the casualised welfare sector, particularly domestic work, and caring for and feeding children, elderly, disabled, and sick. The majority of Filipino women in London work in this sector, which reproduces other societies (Parreñas 2008). The trend of Filipino women's migration as care workers shows that

more and more Filipinas are now working outside the home, yet their paid labour often maintains the belief that women belong inside the home for reproductive labour. Parreñas (2008) suggests that the labour market of Filipino women shows a clash in gender ideologies and the continuous relegation of reproductive labour to women or the persistence of the ideology of women's domestic labour - 'the force of domesticity', through which we can recognise inequality emerges among women across differences of race, class and citizenship.

Data Collections and Analysis

The research questions will be explored through experiences of Filipina migrants who work as care workers in London and those who support them. According to the Filipino embassy, there were about 250,000 Filipinos living and working in the UK and about 70% of this number live in Greater London Area. For this reason, my research will be based in London and I will use interviewing and participant observation methods as my main strategies.

I have gained contacts with St. Barnabas Church in Walthamstow, which has been the spiritual home of the Igorot (people from the Cordillera region of the northern Philipines) in the UK and some of its members are working in the care sector in London. This church takes part in London Citizen's 'Strangers into Citizens Campaign' and provides migrant members with a safe place for networking and sharing experiences and information. Kanlungan is a charity consisting of five Filipino community organisations and some of its members also belong to the Igorot community of the church. Kanlungan has been working on a campaign for rights of migrant social and health care workers. They have archival research records and reports, which I may use as secondary data.

St. Barnabas Church and Kanlungan will be my main gatekeepers and I will carry out semi-structured interviews with Filipina care workers as well as participant observations combined with informal interviews at community meetings. The interviews may be electronically recorded (depending on informants' agreements) and transcribed. Field notes will be taken during observations and later analysed in order to establish some preliminary concepts that makes analytic sense of the context.

Potential Outcomes

I would argue that women's labour migration is not simply about economic modernisation and new opportunities opened up for women, but the case of Filipino care workers in London also imply the gender ideologies of women's domesticity and female reproductive labour exported from the third country in order to replace the female tasks in the richer country. These processes of Filipina labour migration will show unequal relationships not only between men and women but also among women of different race, class and citizenship or residential status. I will also show that social networks and relationships of extended family members play important roles in the processes of women's migratory movements from the decision making to the settlement and/or the returning process, and religious institution like churches could facilitate as home of migrant communities.

Timetable

March: Literature research / Interview sampling

Easter break: Interview sampling / Literature review and methodologies first draft

Term 3: Interview sampling / Designing interviews / Presentation/ Interviews

Mid June – Mid July: Interviews / analysis of data

Mid July – Mid August: writing up final draft

Mid August – September 12th: Editing and completing the paper

Preferred Supervisor

Dr. Claire Dwyer

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Auto-critique

At the complement of the dissertation, I review my research and reflect on how and why it has changed from the initial proposal, recognise strengths and weaknesses of the dissertation, and how it has emerged differently from what I initially proposed.

First of all, the title of the dissertation was changed from initially proposed 'Globalisation of Care and Feminised Labour Migration: Gender ideologies and the negotiation of inequality in the case of Filipino care workers in London' to 'Feminised Labour Migration and the International Division of Reproductive Labour: The case of Filipina domestic workers in London'. This change was made in order to clarify the main focus of the dissertation, which is inequality reproduced upon labour migration of female domestic workers. The subject of the case study in the initial proposal also needed defined clearly and was changed from the vague description of 'Filipino care workers' to 'Filipina domestic workers', more specifically Filipino women working as housekeeper, cleaner, cook and caretaker of children and the elderly in private households as defined in the introductory chapter of the main text. Research questions are also modified to clearer ones to address influences of gender ideologies on labour migration of Filipina domestic workers, reproduction of inequalities upon their migration, and reflection of their experience. Clearer questions enable to challenge more general questions considering gender ideologies that cause feminised labour migration into care work, and how gender inequalities are negotiated, maintained and entangled through migration of female carers from poorer to richer countries. The change made in methodologies of the research was that four key state informants (the priest of the church where I conducted the ethnographic research, Filipino solicitor, a former volunteer teacher of Kalayaan, and an employer of a Filipina domestic worker) were added to interviewees other than seventeen Filipina domestic workers in order to gain background information about them.

One of the strengths of this research is its use of methodologies. Combining in-depth interviews with five months ethnographic research provided rich primary data including

insights of the Filipino community in London. Moreover, this dissertation fills a gap of existing literature, as there are no published studies that address the specific case study of Filipina domestic workers in the UK or in London. The weakness of this research is that it has been done from the perspectives of Filipina domestic workers but not of their family members in the Philippines although the dissertation addresses issues around their relationships affected due to labour migration of mothers and wives.

I envisaged that the most common difficulties Filipina domestic workers face would be work-related, such as exploitation and mistreatment of employers, however I found out that family reparation and relationships with family members are also the most common concerns among Filipina domestic workers. I also expected that migration status would affect their exploitability, however I also found that it affects their ability to cope with difficulties such as to reunite with family members. Their use of indefinite leave to remain as a strategy for more flexible transnational lives, and for social mobility rather than simply for settling down in the UK permanently was unexpected yet very important outcome.