

Master Thesis

Politicizing Transnational Care Migration

*-A discourse analysis of policy representations of
Filipino migrant women in domestic work*

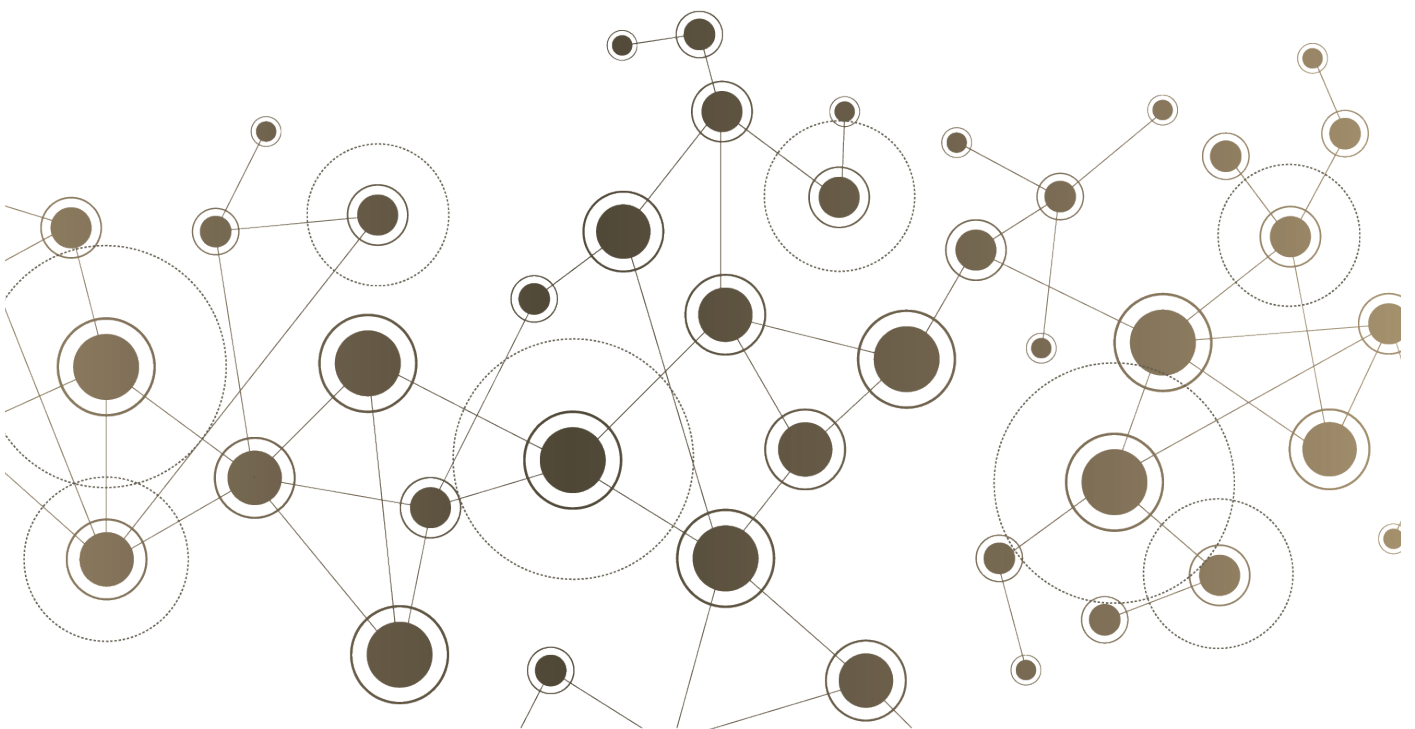
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Summary

Within the past two decades, a renewed political and academic interest concerning the movements of migrant women has surfaced within the international development policy debate. And since the 1990s, the Philippines have become one of the world's major exporters of feminised labour into the traditionally devaluated work sphere of domestic work. In this regard, the particular form of domestic work as represented in the au pair scheme, have become increasingly popular among migrant women in the global South, as the demand for feminised labour is increasing throughout the global North, as a consequence of demographic changes, welfare reforms and economic globalisation.

Against this background, the present thesis 1) investigates how the transnational movements of migrant women into domestic spheres of work are discursively framed as a political 'problem' at both the sending and receiving ends of the global care chain, as well as 2) evaluates the role of transnational civil society in terms securing migrants' - and in particular migrant women's - labour and human rights. I have done so by applying the 'What's the Problem Represented to Be?' approach to policy analysis, promoted by political scientist Carol Lee Bacchi and building on the notion of governmentality by Michel Foucault. In this way my analysis is positioned within social constructivism and the post-structural paradigm. However, this perspective is supplemented with a global perspective on migration that discards methodological individualism and methodological nationalism in order to examine the transnational spaces of power within which migrants and transnational connections occur in specific localities.

First, I analyse the Philippine labour migration regime and the production of the gendered migration flows mentioned above, by identifying policy representations in order to trace the logics and assumptions, on which the very same discursive representations rest. Secondly, I move on to examine the political representations of 'domestic work' and its relation to representations of the 'au pair scheme' within the particular transnational policy space concerning Filipino au pair migration within Europe, especially in Denmark – the top destination for Filipino au pairs in the EU.

Here, I identify two distinct forms of representations of au pair migration across the selected EU, Philippine and Danish policy documents. The first views the au pair arrangement as a 'family model', and the second as a 'work model'. Thirdly, I will discuss the role of transnational Filipino civil society networks, as well as international and Danish trade unions, in the discursive representation of domestic work and au pairing, in order to evaluate 1) the effects of the current au pair management regime and 2) the existence of a space for re-problematisation of the au pair scheme.

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1. General Overview of the Study

1.1 Introduction

In the past few decades, the notion of a “feminization of migration” has arisen on the international policy agenda as well as within academia. According to UN estimates, the number of international female migrants has increased from 74,8 millions in 1990 to 117,6 millions in 2015 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015: table 1). Up by 41 per cent since 2000, the number of international migrants reached 244 millions in 2015 with women constituting nearly half (48,2 %) of the total international migrant stock (United Nations Department of Economic and Social affairs, 2015; IOM GMDAC, 2015:5). The reasons for this development are various: demographic changes both in North and South, expansion of global capitalism, climate change, social and economic inequalities, and conflict. However, recent research also emphasises the gendered dimensions of the migration process. Piper (2008a, 2009) and Sassen (2002) have both directed attention to how economic restructuring and unfortunate development planning in East and Southeast Asia fundamentally have had consequences for the livelihoods of women, making labour migration an increasingly popular way to make to make a living, as well as an equally profitable way for governments in developing countries to bring in revenue in the form of financial remittances. And while women in the core of the global capitalist economy have become more affluent or no longer willing to maintain certain household tasks, millions of women from the periphery have migrated to fulfil a demand of care workers such as nannies, maids and sex workers, creating what some scholars term “global care chains” (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002:2; Lutz, 2011:19). To this end, when migrant women are channelled into devaluated spheres of work, such as service, entertainment and care, they are made vulnerable to labour exploitation and gender-based violence as a result of the intimate, informal and often precarious nature of the work in these spheres (Ymanaka & Piper, 2005:16f). The increasing movement of women across the globe denotes a globalised pattern of female migration that reflects what some might call “a world-wide gender revolution” (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002:3), while others will argue that the restructuring of reproductive work in the global economy does not present a clear-cut liberation for women (Federici, 2014:101) and that we are witnessing is a global “care crisis” (Isaksen, Devi & Hochschild, 2008:76; Yeates, 2012:147). Also, dominating the

international agenda, among development policy makers and agencies as well as academics, is the infatuating idea that migration induces development, also known as the migration-development nexus. This is made evident by the numerous international institutions, reports and conferences¹ that have been promoted to shift the view of migration as a problem for the development of countries of origin, to a view of migration as a possibility for and alternative to national development strategies. Both the discovery of a “feminization of migration” and the widespread interest in promoting migration-led development, makes clear a discursive pattern, where migrant women as a category are represented in a specific social process, where they are positioned as either an economic agent fighting economic and gender disadvantages, or a victim exposed to precarious working conditions, criminal networks and gender based violence (Razavi & Miller, 1995:295; Dannecker & Sieveking, 2009:5; Jensen, 2016:41).

It is against this background, I find myself curious in regards of policy representations of female labour migration for spheres of domestic work, as it seems to me that the mobility of women and nonetheless, the management thereof, have been increasingly politicised by the media, international institutions, civil society organisations and national governments in both the global North and the global South². This is notably illustrated in the case of the Philippines, where a feminization of migration is an important characteristic of the outward migration regime that has proliferated over the last 40 years. At the other end of the chain, and often characterised by an inward migration regime, states and middleclass families within the European Union have come to profoundly rely on the migration of female care workers from Asia, Latin America, Africa and the former communist states in Eastern Europe (Lutz, 2008:1f; Ozyegin & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008:196). A certain form of migration for domestic work can be identified in the so-called au pair scheme, which has expanded and undergone significant changes, since the first legal attempt to define au pair

¹ The International Organisation for Migration, 2006; Katseli et.al., 2006; Castles & Wise, 2008; The

² Since the mid-1990s, several media stories concerning the working conditions, exploitation, abuse and even murder of migrant women have put migrant women in domestic work on the agenda in sending and receiving countries (Vines, 1995; Kelly & Thompson, 2015; Whiting, 2016), as well as on the international policy agenda in the form of UN conventions and programs designed to protect the human rights of migrants and set standard for decent work (the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (2003), the program of UN Women Promoting and Protecting Women Migrant Workers’ labour and human rights (2016)

arrangements in 1969 by the Council of Europe. In this regard, my thesis is concerned with how the global chain is managed at both sending and receiving ends. I will thus answer questions such as a) how is the movement of thousands of migrant women domestic workers every year from the Philippines to the European Union discursively managed through policy representations by state and transnational civil society institutions and actors, and consequently b) to what extent can the power relations inherited in the same political representations be said to be open to change through the transnational spaces presented by civil society networks. To this end, a critical and social constructionist perspective concerned with how social relations and identities are constructed through discursive representations can provide an understanding of how power relations and certain forms of knowledge affect the ways in which the global phenomenon of Filipino migration for domestic work is managed as a political ‘problem’. I will argue that the particular feminised and globalised pattern of migration for domestic work and the widespread notion in development discourse, promoted by states and international institutions and often concerned with the positive aspects of migration such as remittances³, represents both challenges to and spaces of possibility for the empowerment of migrant women in domestic work. In continuation, I will argue that transnational civil society organisations and networks are important resources in the international, regional and national problematisation of migrant domestic workers rights.

Consequently, the problem formulation that will guide my analysis is expressed as follows:

1.2 Problem Formulation and Research Questions

How are the transnational movements of female migrant domestic workers discursively framed as a political ‘problem’ in both Northern and Southern contexts, and to what extent does transnational civil society organisations represent a space for discursive change in terms of securing domestic workers’ labour and human rights?

³ Remittances can be conceptualised as both financial and social remittances. Financial remittances pertain to the monetary transfers of migrants directed to sending communities (IOM, 2017:1). Social remittances can be understood as “the ideas, behaviours, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending communities” (Levitt, 2001:10)

In order to address the problem formulation, the following *research questions* will form the structure of my thesis.

1. How is labour migration for domestic work discursively represented in Philippine state policies, and what are the underpinning logics and knowledges in the identified policy discourses?
2. What is the genealogy, historical discursive and non-discursive developments, behind the ‘problem’ representations identified in question 1?
3. How are ‘domestic work’ and ‘the au pair scheme’ problematized as a political issues in a European context; and in particular how is the au pair scheme discursively framed in the case of Denmark?
4. To what extent does civil society organisations, such as grassroots, trade unions and transnational migrants associations, present a space for discursive re-problematisation of the governing discourses on the management of female migration for domestic work?

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This section presents an overview of the structure and design of the thesis. In chapter 1 you are introduced to the field of investigation of my thesis, including central themes and objectives, as well as meta-theoretical reflections in regards of my own positioning. The next chapter aims at establishing the overall empirical and theoretical context through a historical review of existing literature concerning 1) international institutions and the management of female migration for domestic work, 2) the political and academic underpinnings of the discovery of a feminisation of migration as well as 3) the proliferation of the neoliberal development paradigm and the migration-development nexus. Chapter 3 presents the methodology applied throughout the study. It introduces reflections on selection of data material and the applied analytical approach, as well as a discussion of these in relation to other methodologies. In chapter 4, I present the theoretical framework of my study on policy discourses, hereunder the “What’s the problem represented to be?” approach

(Bacchi 2009), building on Foucauldian conceptions of “governmentality” (1991), as well as the notion of a “global perspective on migration” (Schiller, 2009; Faist, 2010), and “global care chains” (Yeates, 2012). From this point, the following two chapters of the thesis (5 and 6) entail my analytical response to the abovementioned research questions. And finally, chapter 7 presents you with my concluding remarks and recommendations for further research.

1.4 Objectives of the Thesis

The globalised and highly gendered phenomenon of female migration for domestic work has changed through the last decades (Piper, 2008; Isaksen, 2010), and this development underscores the need for context-specific and transdisciplinary analyses. Within international development studies, academic discourses on development and underdevelopment have been contested and transformed over time (Escobar, 1991; Corbridge, 2007), and issues of gender as well as migration have to varying degrees only recently been incorporated into studies concerning economic development (financial remittances), and human development and transnational mobility (social remittances and human rights) (Levitt; 2001; Yamanaka & Piper, 2005). Against this background, my intention is to contribute to the growing knowledge production concerning migrant women in domestic work, and their ascribed role as potential agents of economic and social change within global care chains, through an analysis of the particular discursive policy representations of migration for domestic work in both sending and receiving contexts, exemplified by the cases of the Philippines and the European Union. This is done to bring forward a critical understanding of how political discourses, and the power relations they produce, shape the mobility of women from the global South employed in domestic work in the global North. This may also present useful information for policy makers, social workers, employers of migrant workers, and civil society organisations concerned with the human and labour rights of migrants.

1.5 Position of the Researcher

My analysis is positioned within the paradigms of post-structuralism and social constructivism. These traditions of academic thinking rest on the idea that social relations, and the diversity of meanings attached to them in the organisation of the

social world, are products of social constructs (Rasborg, 2007:351f). In this way I inscribe my analysis in an anti-essentialist tradition and make way for an understanding of social truths as nothing but just a perspective. Correspondingly, these perspectives call for self-reflection and foreshadow that the researcher makes clear her/his own positionings and problematisations in order to consider his/her own co-constructing of the discursive reality (Bacchi, 2009:19; Marttila, 2010:92f). In order to flesh out the context of my interpretive starting point, I present you here with a short reflection. In the past years, I have become increasingly involved in issues of gender, migration and development. I have been involved in several research projects during my education concerned with topics such as sex trafficking networks in Eastern Europe, microfinance programs for women in Africa and South America, and development planning and its implications for the sex industry in Thailand. Personally, I have been working voluntarily with several NGOs concerned with development, women's empowerment and human rights, and victims of human trafficking. My background have inevitably played into my problematisations and reasons of interest in designing the present thesis, as I have wondered and are still curious about how female mobility into often devaluated spheres of work, and the management schemes proposed to control it, continue to shape the opportunity structures of migrant women working - either legally or illegally - in the global North on a daily basis. How does different policy concerns play into the management of international migration? Is it mainly to be governed as a security issue, a labour issue or a human rights issue – maybe even as an issue of gender equality and empowerment? Is migration in general to be controlled along the lines of national borders and interests? Or is it much more an instrument for securing economic growth or a project of people's right to movement and decent work? And furthermore, how do the global neoliberal development agenda and the renewed interest in the economic benefits of migration affect the migration patterns of women from the Global South? All of these questions illuminate the multifaceted nature of international migration. Consequently I am aware that the phenomenon of female migration for domestic work transcends social, economic and security policy fields and is highly politicised and surrounded by many different narratives, which in turn highlights the importance of a critical lens. Intersections of migration, development and gender representations in international policy will be considered further in the following section, where I introduce a literature review and discussion on existing

empirical and theoretical conceptualisations in the field of international migration management.

2. Gender, Migration and Development

This chapter presents a literature review, where I explicate the political and academic discourses related to the management of international migration, development planning and female mobility in order to trace and discuss some of the logics and assumptions that underpin the global management regime of female migration for domestic work. It will also serve as basis for developing my argument regarding the need for a transnational perspective when analysing gendered migration processes and the ways proposed to control them.

2.1 International Migration and the Neoliberal Development Agenda

“In migrants’ countries of origin, the impacts of movement are felt in higher incomes and consumption, better education and improved health, as well as at a broader cultural and social level. Moving generally brings benefits, most directly in the form of remittances sent to immediate family members. However, the benefits are also spread more broadly as remittances are spent—thereby generating jobs for local workers—and as behaviour changes in response to ideas from abroad. Women, in particular, may be liberated from traditional roles.”

(United Nations Development Report, 2009:3)

The quote above is derived from the 2009 report “Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development” and illustrates the enthusiasm related to migration-led development, which in recent decades have come to dominate the international development agenda. Existing research on the intersecting benefits of migration and development also helps to underscore the proliferation of the so-called migration-development nexus as an academic and political buzzword (Piper, 2009: 93f; Preibisch et. al., 2014:4; Sinatti & Horst, 2015:138). While the policy debate has shifted back and forth between pessimism and optimism since the 1950s, optimism has dominated the international development-policy agenda since the late 1990s (De Haas, 2010). Some scholars, however, have argued that the international policy debate have been overwhelmingly dominated by Northern interests, making countries in the South merely partners in implementation (Schiller & Faist, 2010:8). The growing focus among key development policy makers on the role of transnational diasporas as

agents in the field of development was particularly noticeable in the beginning of the new millennium (Katseli et. al, 2006:14; Sinatti & Horst, 2015:135). The shift came at a time when aid effectiveness was highly discussed and a growing interest in “new development actors” had arisen on the agenda.

The 1994 UN Conference on Population and Development in Cairo illustrated controversies between member states on the issue of migration, and it was suggested that the UN should take initiative to organize a conference on the subject (Pécoud & de Guchteneire, 2007:116). However, this was considered and later rejected. It was not until the organisation of the 2006 UN High-Level Dialogue on International Migration, a less ambitious initiative, that the issue of migration was incorporated as a distinctive feature in the international development discourse. The outcome was the establishment of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), which is to be organized by states and act as a venue of exchange of policy concerns (Pécoud & de Guchteneire, 2007:117). Also, the governments of Sweden and Switzerland introduced the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) in 2003, which is composed by 19 experts and intended to promote a comprehensive policy debate through meetings and hearings among governments and development policy actors (Pécoud & de Guchteneire, 2007:117). The GCIM called for the establishment of an inter-agency of global migration facility and for a high-level institutional group that could pave the way for such a facility. To this end, The Global Migration Group (GMG) was created and comprises of the UN agencies active in the field of migration as well as of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (Ibid.). Additionally, the publication of the 2003 Global Financial Report by the World Bank further strengthened the shift in development discussions, regarding the potential of new development actors, by stimulating emerging diaspora investments trends (Raghuram, 2009:104). And it is now widely recognized that migrants make considerable contributions to the development of their home countries through transnational activities, such as the sending of financial remittances and the temporary return migration by which social remittances may be transferred (Levitt, 2001; Nyberg-Sørensen et. al, 2002; De Haas, 2010; Van Naerssen et al., 2011).

Another UN High-Level Dialogue was held in 2013, resulting in a Declaration that formulated a goal to work:

”... towards an effective and inclusive agenda on international migration that integrates development and respects human rights by improving the performance of existing institutions and frameworks, as well as partnering more effectively with all stakeholders involved in international migration and development at the regional and global levels” (Declaration of the High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, 2013)

The Declaration illustrates the time in the international policy debate, where the migration-development nexus is positioned as an issue needing governance at various administrative levels. Heads of States and High Representatives followed this up, when they adopted a new political declaration at the High-level meeting at the Summit for Refugees and Migrants in 2016. The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants makes clear the intention of the international society to manage and control international migration, as the ‘newly discovered’ global phenomenon of large movements of people is seen to have *“political, economic, social, developmental, humanitarian and human rights ramification, which cross borders”* (New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, 2016:2). The document represents the issue of global migration as a political problem requiring cross-border approaches and cooperation between states of origin, transit and destination in South and North, as well as between private sector and civil society actors. Moreover, migration is closely linked to the implementation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda (Ibid.:16), underscoring the notion of migration as an instrument for development. In regards of ‘migrants’ as a category, they are represented as rights-bearers and thereby human rights protection is made a fundamental element in the global management of migration. However, the implementation and enforcement of human rights are not explicitly addressed. Not only are migrants seen to be rights-holders and agents of economic change, they are also portrayed as a group in danger of becoming *“victims of trafficking”* or facing *“precarious working conditions”* (Ibid.:3). In this context the concept of gender is introduced, when migrant women are particularly assumed to be in a vulnerable position and exposed to harming situations while migrating:

”We recognize the need to address the special situation and vulnerability of migrant women and girls by, inter alia, incorporating a gender perspective into migration

policies and strengthening national laws, institutions and programmes to combat gender-based violence, including trafficking in persons and discrimination against women and girls.” (Ibid.:12)

In this way, migrant women and girls are created as a subjects in need of help and rescue, which in turn supports the production of institutional arrangements, policy and law to control, and in some cases criminalize, the movement of women across the globe⁴. Gender mainstreaming is also another popular political and academic buzzword, which may bring forward an increased awareness on gender relations within development policy and planning. However, it may also serve as a silencing mechanism for gender issues concerning migrant men and other non-hetero normative genders on the move. To sum up, within the global management regime of international migration, migrant women are not only represented as potential victims, but also as agents of development and heroines of social change (Jensen, 2016:41).

The increasing popularity of highlighting the positive agency of migrants, and thereby the framing of migration as a tool for development in both sending and receiving countries, is build on a notion of migration framed within a neoliberal development discourse (Schiller & Faist, 2010:2f; Canterbury, 2010:6). As Canterbury states:

”The development impact of migration espoused by neoliberal theorists means only one thing – the use of managed or controlled migration to secure migrant labour for exploitation in the process of capitalist commodity production for market exchange in the furtherance of capitalist development” (Canterbury, 2010:8)

Thus, the proliferation of the migration-development nexus is closely connected to the unleashing of neoliberal market forces and the growth in social and economic disparities around the globe. According to Schiller and Faist, the neoliberal perception of development, as meaning capitalist development, does not so much provide a framework for structural change as much as it provides “*development with ‘a human*

⁴ Examples of such policy arrangements can include: The 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; The 2000 Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children (supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime); and the 2011 Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence.

face' "(Schiller & Faist, 2010:2). This is related to the fact that the neoliberal development discourse and its framing of the relationship between migration and development rests on an ontology that represents the individual (migrant) as the responsible, active and investment-willing development agent. However, others have argued that the neoliberal discourse, on which most public policy is based, distorts the notion of development and masks the root causes of contemporary labour migration patterns (Wise & Marquez, 2007), and that the increasing interest of states in migration has much more to do with economic and demographic changes in both North and South, as well as with the fact that migrants are perceived as threats to security and stability in the North (Castles & Wise, 2008). Within development thinking other theoretical paradigms offer alternative understandings of the migration-development nexus. In contrast to the neoliberal discourse, a historical-structural view inspired by Marxism and the World System approach can be conceptualized as the:

"...capitalist penetration of the periphery encourages migration, destroys traditional communities, undermines their economic development, uproots their populations, increases their dependence on global capitalism, and is the cause of the development of underdevelopment" (Canterbury, 2010:14)

It is evident that this view builds on a critique of earlier developmentalist thinking and in this way also contrasts the neoliberal discourse by suggesting that migration leads to underdevelopment, increased economic dependency and loss of human capital in the South. In this regard, some scholars have directed attention to the shift in both policy and academic discourse, which in recent years has changed from a focus on the consequences and causes of development to one on migrants and the forms of migration that will induce development (Schiller & Faist, 2010:6). Since the 1970s anthropologists and geographers have applied livelihood approaches to conduct micro-level studies of migrant households in countries of origin. As critiques of modernization and dependency paradigms, such studies have suggested that:

"migration is a household response to income risks since migrant remittances serve as income insurance for households of origin"(Canterbury, 2010:15). Other

perspectives, such as a Human Development approach or a Gender and Development perspective also invite to alternative analyses by drawing attention to the well-being, capabilities and freedoms of migrants (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993), and by proposing the

application of a gender perspective in order to address issues of women's labour and human rights within the governance regime of international migration (Schech & Haggis, 2007:95f). Also, a post-colonial and post-developmental perspective would suggest an understanding of the migration-development nexus and the implications this may cause for individual migrants, local communities, business sectors and government policy, as discursive products resulting from struggles over knowledge and power within the same discourses (Escobar, 1995:53; Corbridge, 2007:185; Ferguson, 2009:170).

The non-fixed nature of the phenomenon of international migration and its relation to development also becomes apparent when historical theoretical frameworks and political positions are taken into consideration. For instance, at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution it was common for states to restrict the movement of its labour force across national borders (Schiller & Faist, 2010:3). In this view, the hindering of would-be migrants in leaving their home country was seen as a way of securing economic development. The modern European welfare states have also been dependent on migratory and enslaved labour in other regions of the world in order to sustain profits and power, although this is rarely acknowledged in European discourses on migration. By the end of the 19th century, as academic disciplines became more distinct, the field of migration studies emerged within geography. Migration was initially approached without emphasis on national borders, as attention was primarily given to the investigation of movements of people and resource distribution (Ibid.:4). Soon F. Ratzel developed a political geography of migration focusing on the organic, cultural and economic development and expansion of nation states (Schiller, 2009:18), while E.G. Ravenstein formulated laws of migration (Grigg, 1977:42f). At the time, the fact that migrants came and went, and send money back home to support families and initiate business was seen as a natural and normal aspect at the time. However, the mobility of people was still studied as a single phenomenon and informed by methodological nationalism. Furthermore, at this stage of globalization and imperial expansion the European welfare states abolished passports and visa systems, while the United States did not even restrict the movement of people from Europe (Schiller, 2009:18f). The transnational character of migration was not until the 1920s introduced by the works of Thomas and Znaniecki (Schiller & Faist, 2010:5). However, the transnational perspective was soon

abandoned as World War II broke out. And it was not until the incorporation of the transnationalism paradigm within development studies, in order to denote that transnational ties inevitably produce “win-win” situations for both sending and receiving countries, that it was reinstated in migration discourse (Schiller & Faist, 2010:5). Within modernization theory migration has been conceptualized on a push-pull and *homo economicus* basis, while the paradigm of transnationalism, which has been further incorporated into development studies since the 1990s, presents explanations reaching far beyond push-pull factors by suggesting the choices for migrating are made in terms of more than one state at the same time with factors such as nationalism and racism contributing to the multiple connections and choices of migrants (Isotalo, 2009:62; Schiller & Faist, 2010:14). To this end, Isotalo have argued that discourses on development and security tend to promote a methodological individualism, which in turn reproduces migrants as objects of scrutiny, security and remittances, placing questions of neoliberal marketization outside the analytical frame (Isotalo, 2009:79). Finally, Schiller and Faist have reasoned that today’s discussion only differs in the ever-increasing centrality of financial remittances and the focus on circular migration. There is something in it for every actor supporting the mantra. The World Bank focuses explicitly on individual remittances and thus defines remittances as transfers by individuals, whereas development organisations tend to look at the collective remittances by migrants associations (Schiller & Faist, 2010:10).

This far we can identify a variety of narratives, assumptions and logics concerning the migration-development nexus. However, the international policy debate continues to be centered on the neoliberal logic that migration induces capitalist development, as well as on the corresponding idea that the movement of people represents social and economic risks. The next section will further elaborate how the mobility of women has been “discovered” as an independent field of study within development thinking, as well as how the transnationalisation of global care work continues to shape the opportunity structures of migrant women from the South. The examination serves to further strengthen my argument regarding the relevance of a transnational and gender-sensitive perspective.

2.2 The Feminisation of Migration and Transnationalisation of Care

Today, the idea of women as potential agents of economic development and social change is a popular notion in the international development policy debate. UN Women and IOM have recently illustrated this in a statement leading up to the 2016 UN Summit on Refugees and Migrants:

“Migration can be an empowering process if the human and labour rights of migrants are protected. Safe, orderly and regular migration can allow women and men to develop new skills, earn higher wages than in their countries of origin, flourish as entrepreneurs, and contribute importantly to the growth of their home economies when they remit their earnings back. Similarly, migration can increase their access to education and economic opportunities, disrupt harmful gender norms and expectations, and improve their social and political status.”

(UN Women & IOM, 2016)

The representation of women as potential agents of development and social change can be traced back to the 1970s. At the time the UN Decade for Women, the women’s movement in the Northern countries as well as the liberal feminists in the US, had a major influence on the instalment of the discourse on equal opportunities in employment. Development actors, NGOs and colonial authorities had until this point in time viewed women solely as mothers and wives. Attention was given to women’s productive labour and thereby not to the reproductive labour of women and the power relations between men and women. The Women in Development (WID) paradigm thus attempted to unite issues of equity and economic efficiency by making the category of women relevant to development studies and practitioners (Razavi & Miller, 1995:272f). However, in the late 1970s advocates working in the field of development contested the notion of women as merely objects of production (Ibid.:281). Also known as the Gender and Development paradigm, a shift in development thinking at this time, can be traced to changing notions in the social sciences proposing the inclusion of conflict, power and gender relations in the analysis of women as development agents. This has been followed up by the institutionalisation of strategies such as gender mainstreaming, human development and empowerment. The changing position of women within development discourse

illustrates the un-fixed character of the frameworks by which policy makers and development practitioners may shape the positioning of women and in particular of migrant women. However, the self-appointment of the UN as the global agency in charge of “*promoting women’s rights enabled it to channel the politics of women’s liberation within a frame compatible with the needs and plans of international capital and the developing neo-liberal agenda*” (Federici, 2014:91). To this end, Dannecker and Sieveking have argued that the construction of migrant women as either winners or victims makes visible as discursive arrangement, where:

“ The term feminization is used to indicate the ‘discovery’ of women as being part of a particular social process. An increased interest in the respective ‘new’ phenomenon follows, producing a specific kind of knowledge that becomes translated into political strategies and projects targeting (most often exclusively) women.”
(Dannecker & Sieveking, 2009:5).

However, the movement of women on a global scale for domestic service is not a new phenomenon. In fact, the routinely enslavement of women from defeated populations was common practice in ancient Middle East, as well was the transfer of African women to serve as domestic slaves in North America from the 16th through 19th centuries. At the beginning of the 20th century, the movements of women was highly politicised under the narratives of ‘white slavery’ encouraged by abolitionist and regulationist movements in Europe and the US in an attempt to control the mobility of white, young, and often single, women on the move from Eastern and Southern Europe to the US and Latin America (Doezema, 2002:22; Baumbach, 2008:7). According to Doezema, discourses on ‘white slavery’ and ‘trafficking in women’ represent a cultural myth manifested in a collective experience, which expresses deep societal fears and anxieties regarding immigration, race, industrialisation and women’s increasing independence (Doezema, 2002:25f). The myth however placed women and migration at the international agenda in the years to come, which resulted in the production of a whole new set of international regulations to control the ‘trade’,

which in turn institutionalised the abolitionist notion of women on the move as objects of control and their sexuality as a moral concern⁵.

The renewed idea of ‘a feminization of migration’ should be seen as a result of increasing academic and political interest in female migration patterns since the 1980s. According to Piper this process is connected to at least five phenomena: 1) improved statistical visibility caused by new considerations of female labour migration as equal to that of men; 2) increasing participation of women in almost all migration flows; 3) the decreasing ability of men to find regular employment in countries of origin; 4) growing demand for female labour in destination countries; and finally 5) increasing informalisation, casualization and precariousness of work, resulting in the feminization of labour and poverty (Piper, 2008b:3f). In this regard it is important to stress that women, to a greater extent than men, are represented in the informal sector working under unregulated conditions, and in some cases involved in criminalised activities such as prostitution, which may challenge their statistical visibility. Thus, an analysis of gender and migration patterns should not so much focus on statistics, but rather take into account the social factors that shape the roles of men and women and their access to resources and services (Ibid.:6f). Additionally, Sassen do not limit the placement of responsibility on female migrants for the economic and material survival solely to the families left behind. Rather, she argues that economic globalisation have affected developing and middle income states to such an extent that not only individuals and households, but also local communities, governments and informal industries have become dependent on the labour migration of women for their survival (Sassen, 2002:265). Sassen and Piper have both emphasised that the organised migration of women and the earnings they remit back home contributes to the production of institutionalised relations of dependency, which in turn support the migration of women and the need for remittances (Ibid.:271). Others have stressed the positive agency of the men and women, who chose to migrate. Guest has argued that migration represents a survival mechanism providing

⁵ Arrangements such as the Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade (1904); the Convention for the Suppression of White Slave Trade (1910); the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children (1921); and the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949). Neo-abolitionist positions on the free movement of women working in the sex industry are also visible in a modern day context, such as in the anti-trafficking movement led forward by notably the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women.

the individual migrant with economic opportunities and migrant women, to a limited extent, with possibilities for social change, while emphasising the structural relations of global capitalism as merely an explanatory force (Guest, 2007:1f). In an attempt to critique both Marxist and neo-liberal approaches Federici provides a contrasting notion. Since the 1970s, feminist and Third World-ist critiques of Marx have both marked a theoretical shift towards the recognition of the importance of reproduction and women's domestic labour for capital accumulation, which have paved the way for new understandings of gender, development and class struggle (Federici, 2014:90). Federici argues that domestic work, unlike productive work, has not been significantly affected, improved or reduced by technology. Instead it has been globalised, marketised and redistributed to the shoulders of migrant women from the South and celebrated by national governments as a 'global care regime' that enables them to reduce investment in reproduction (Ibid.:100f). In this view, migration for domestic work also reflects an on-going violence against women, as the process of economic globalisation have caused a larger crisis in family and communal support for members, who are seen as no longer productive, which in turn have led to an increase in violence against women (Ibid.:103). Accordingly, migration represents a manifestation of the globalised devaluation of reproductive work and the subjects (women), who undertake it. Migration can be seen as a struggle for increased autonomy and economic gain, however this position will argue that it cannot obliterate the fact that the restructuring of global capital subjects the reproductive labour force to exploitation and violence.

At the turn of the century, the transnationalisation of care and the increasing flows of female domestic workers from the global South to the global North became more influential in academic and policy debates on migration, development and modern welfare states in Western Europe and the United States. For instance, the UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990) and the ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers (2011) have both been important normative instruments in international law, which have made it possible to address, promote and protect the rights of migrant domestic workers. Several member states have yet to ratify one or both conventions, and those who have show an overrepresentation of sending and transit countries. However, within academia and building on a historical-structural perspective, the

concept of “global care chains” has made its way into migration and development discourse by explaining the global transfer of services associated to women’s traditional roles (Ehrenreich, 2000; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002; Parreñas, 2002; Yeates, 2009), i.e. care work such as cooking, caring and cleaning as well as emotional work (Anderson, 2002; Lutz, 2011). In a simplified manner one could state that imperial powers in the centre of the global economy - historically and to a large extent still - extracts natural resources and agricultural products from the colonised periphery, while today a demand for caring, emotional and sexual resources has been added to the list. Furthermore, the withdrawal of “care capital” from countries of origin has led to what some term as a “care drain” and paved the way for studies on transnational motherhood (Parreñas, 2005). In this way, examinations of global care chains are concerned with how economic and sociocultural structures push and pull women from poor regions of the world to richer ones. Others have directed attention to the action perspectives of migrants, rather than to globalised disparities or immigration policies of states, by suggesting that the developments we are witnessing may be regarded as “bottom-up transnationalism” or “settledness in mobility” (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998; Morokvasic-Müller, 2003). These approaches make it possible to emphasise the experiences and contributions of individual migrants and position them as something more than mere puppets of economies, states and international institutions. Lutz has also demonstrated how different migration, welfare and gender regimes intersect and organise the outsourcing of domestic work by middle class women in the North, while creating asymmetrical relationships in regards to gender, ethnicity, nationality, age, and religion, as well as how these shape the individual experience, remittances and access to transnational networks of female migrant domestic workers based in Europe (Lutz, 2011: 24ff).

To sum up, an analysis of female migration for domestic work needs to navigate between the extremes that dominate political and academic discourses. These can be identified as concerning, on the one hand, an arrangement of global relations of exchange between North and South leading to exploitation and violence, which will impede equality in every form and, on the other hand, the idea that growing demand for migrants in the service sector inevitably will be matched by the supply of a globalised labour market. This understanding is further enhanced by discourses within development thinking on labour migrants as being either empowered agents of

economic change or victims of exploitation. The commodification and transnationalisation of care, and the institutional arrangements proposed to manage international migration, are thus underpinned by powerful discourses concerning the relations between migration, development and gender.

3. Methodology

3.1 Analytical Approach

My approach to the study of female migration for domestic work is placed within the paradigm of critical discourse analysis as promoted by Michel Foucault. In order to investigate the discursive process surrounding the global phenomena of female migration for domestic work, I have chosen to emphasise the genealogy or “roots” of the increasing movement of women from the Philippines within global care chains, as well as to analyse the policy representations connected to the regulation of this gendered migration process from a transnational perspective.

In the recent past the increasing use of discourse analysis in the social sciences, as well as within the sub field of International Development Studies (IDS), has explicated a debate concerning 1) the weaknesses and strengths of applying discourse analysis, and 2) the definition of this strategy, respectively as a theoretical model and as a methodology. In order to methodologize discourse analysis within the framework of my thesis, even though it may appear counterproductive considering the character of post-structural and post-modernist social science, I use as point of entry the notion of *constrained constructivism* as promoted by Tomas Marttila (2011)⁶.

Drawing on the French epistemological traditions of Louis Althusser, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, the notion of constrained constructivism challenges the trivialization of discourse analysis and sets itself apart from the ‘anything goes’ kind of methodological pragmatism, which in some ways have come to dominate the post-structural paradigm within social science (Marttila, 2011:91ff). Discourse analysis has to do with two distinct forms of phenomena: discursive being and natural existence. The notion of constrained constructivism reverses the dependency between being and existence, as it rests on the assumption that we never encounter the real existence of ‘objects’ but only their represented being (Ibid.:94). In accordance with Foucault it therefore becomes necessary to “*give up hope of ever acceding to a point of view that*

⁶ Others, who have proposed the application of constrained constructivism: Hayles, Katherine (1995): “Searching for Common Ground”, in Soule, M., E. & Lease, G. (eds.): *Reinventing Nature? Responses to Postmodern Deconstruction*; and Stavrakakis, Yannis (2007): “The Ethical and Political Challenge of Constructionism in Risk Societies”.

could give us access to any complete and definitive knowledge of what may constitute our historical limits” (Foucault, 1984:47). The object of analysis has already been constructed before any initial analysis, and in this view discourse analysis presents an opportunity for empirical re-construction of an a priori theoretical object. So, when conducting a discourse analysis one must acknowledge its inherited epistemological possibilities and limits, as well as subscribe to a theoretical ontology, where the social world is maintained and transformed through discursive mechanisms and practices (Marttila, 2011:95). Marttila defines the methodological position of constrained constructivism with reference to three inter-related epistemological conditions. First, the limits of cognition, which pertain to the issue of scientific knowledge and how scientific practice always is paraphrased in historical and context-specific conditions of possibility. Against this background constrained constructivism must give up any idea of pure and undistorted representation, as Marttila argues that any form of enlightened social practice should be aware of the recurrent logic of scientific inquiry, as any analysis will be a product of *“imposed structuredness, of norms, of standards of objectivity, of standards determining the epistemological value of an observation”* (Ibid.:98). It is therefore of central importance to secure the quality of scientific knowledge by making explicit the preceding discursive reasoning process. In regards of relativism, the problem is not the inescapability of relativist truth claims, but rather the failure to recognise their conditions of possibility. From the position of French epistemology, the most rational way to approach relativism is to be aware of its presence and the epistemological limits and possibilities it may present (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2006:99). Secondly, Marttila argues, with reference to Canguilhem and Bourdieu, that methodological holism is essential for the internalization of the limits of possibility. In this view, the encounter with reality should be *“intermediated by means of abstract-concrete concepts, which, on the one hand, derive their meaning from a position within a model of representation, and which, on the other hand, possess delineated points of empirical reference”* (Marttila, 2011:100). The holistic stance acknowledges that there is no such thing as an immediate understanding of ‘the object’. Therefore the inclusion of current theoretical models of representation makes it possible to re-trace empirical observations to delineated models of representation (Ibid.:102). Finally, constrained constructivism rests on the concept of reflexivity, as promoted by Bourdieu, which denotes an awareness and sensitivity to the influence of scientific practice on the object of analysis (Ibid.:104).

In this way, the methodological approach of constrained constructivism is different from other methodological approaches proposing inductive and deductive reasoning, as the main way of reasoning in this case is abductive, which requires a constant movement back and forth between theoretical representations and empirical observations - in other words, “*we deal with bottom-up and top-down approaches at the same time*” (Wodak, 2007:188). I will therefore reflect upon my findings as they present themselves along the way, in order to continually development new questions and links between the selected theory and empirical data. Moreover, the approach is essentially qualitative, so I will not attempt to set forth conceptual generalisations on discourses related to transnational female migration for domestic work, rather I set out to describe, interpret and reflect upon the ways in which the very same discourses are constituted and problematized.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

This section introduces the theoretical framework that will be elaborated in chapter 4 and serve as reference point in the following analysis, cf. chapter 5 and 6. In accordance with my methodological standpoint, I will apply the theory of policy problem representations, as proposed by Carol Lee Bacchi (2009), as well as the Foucauldian conceptualisation of governmentality (1991).

Bacchi introduces a strategy of analysis to policy problem representations in her ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ approach (WPR) by suggesting a way to investigate how policy problem representations are discursively (re)produced and thereby fixes social problems in certain ways. The approach builds on social constructionist and post-structuralist traditions. Firstly, by challenging the presumption that governments or policy actors react to policy problems, as if they exist on their own and separate from they ways in which ‘problems’ are considered. In WPR governments, professionals, academics, etc. are rather understood to be actively producing ‘policy problems’ (Bacchi, 2009:26). However, governments are given a privileged role as their problematisations of reality often stick, since they are constituted in legislation, reports and technologies used to govern (Ibid.:33). Secondly, WPR does not suggest that manipulation is the case in policy production, but rather that policy problems are constituted in simple act of making policy. The

interest in the political dimension of policy construction as well as in “*the textually-unstable and always contestable nature of social reality*” (Bacchi, 2009:34), positions the approach within the paradigm of post-structuralism. Thirdly, the WPR approach has a specific normative agenda, as it acknowledges that certain representations give privilege to members of some groups on behalf of members of others (Ibid.:16). And finally, the methodological position of WPR is informed by Foucauldian archaeology and genealogy and in doing so it not only brings presumptions, logics and thinking, but also practices and processes, into the analytical frame (Lindgren, 2007:343f; Bacchi, 2009:48f). Consequently, Bacchi has built her methodology and theory on the concept of governmentality by Foucault. A concept concerned with how social relations are governed and how certain forms of governmentality, and the relating forms of rationalities and mentalities, affect different people, notably those positioned outside citizenship (Bacchi, 2009:26). The theoretical underpinnings of WPR, namely the concepts of governmentality, discourse, power and knowledge, as suggested by Foucault, will be explicated in the next chapter, cf. section 4.1.

Finally, I am aware that both the WPR approach and the works of Foucault are primarily concerned with state policies, however I do believe that it can be positioned within a transnational framework by incorporating the notion of methodological transnationalism. By subscribing neither to methodological nationalism nor to methodological individualism it becomes possible to address the global reach of powerful states, institutional structures and international organizations (Isotalo, 2009:80). In accordance, Yeates has advocated for an analytical framework moving beyond methodological nationalism in her discussion of global care chains, where she states that studies on gender and care migration stand much to gain from engaging with “... *the socio-spatial dynamics of multiple, interlocking social divisions and with methodological transnational analyses.*” (Yeates, 2002:146). In correspondence with the WPR approach, a transnational methodology thus brings state and non-state actors at both local and global levels into the analytical frame. Therefore, in conclusion of chapter 4, I introduce the notion of a *global perspective on migration* promoted by Schiller (2009) and Faist (2010), as well as relate this perspective to the concept of *global care chains*, cf. 4.2. This is done in order to re-trace my empirical observations in the analysis of policy representations on female migration for domestic work, cf.

chapter 5, but equally so to further strengthen the holistic perspective in the final discussion, cf. chapter 6.

3.3 Empirical Data

The selected empirical material of the thesis is based on an extensive literature review and consists of both secondary and primary qualitative sources of data. The following contains a presentation and discussion of the selected data material in order to make explicit the criteria, steps and choices I have made underway, and furthermore to secure reliability by making my findings repeatable.

First, I would like to comment on the use of qualitative sources without the researcher having been an active part in the collection process. In this regard, Bryman have argued that such data present certain challenges not shared by secondary use of quantitative data, while the grounds for conducting analysis are more or less the same. The difficulties, associated with the re-use of qualitative data, may be making people and settings anonymous, which in turn raises ethical issues of confidentiality, or the lack of an insider's understanding of the social context within which the data were produced (Bryman, 2008:561). However, this seems to be more of an issue with the use of ethnographic field notes than with interview transcripts and official state documents. In the context of secondary analysis of qualitative data, Bryman further states that it offers rich opportunities, as it allows the researcher to examine aspects not included in the primary investigation and thereby to make way for new interpretations (Ibid.). In order to investigate the discursive constitution and the historical processes behind the increasing movements of Filipino migrant women for domestic work in Europe, I have selected secondary qualitative material in the form of scientific journal articles, reports and books. My selection of data relates to the social organisation of discourses on migration, development and gender, including historical economic and political developments, practices and theoretical accounts. Additionally, the selected material has been chosen to secure the incorporation of a transnational perspective on global migration, i.e. they present research findings and theoretical concepts that both encompass a perspective from the bottom and from the top of the transnational policy field constituting the migration of female care workers from the global South to the global North.

The primary qualitative sources of data consist of selected documents. These will be drawn into a document analysis, which in broad terms presents a systematic procedure for reviewing and evaluating documents – both in printed and electronic form. The approach will be elaborated in the next section, cf. 3.4. Scott (1990) has made an important distinction between personal and official documents, with the latter denoting both private and state documents. Also, the form of documents span widely from diaries, letters, maps, charts, advertisements, newspaper articles to manuals, background papers, books, reports, survey data and various public records (Bowen, 2009:27f; Bryman, 2008:515). They contain text and images that have been recorded without intervention of the researcher and, according to Atkinson and Coffey, they may be referred to as “social facts”, which are produced and applied in socially organised ways (in Bowen, 2009:27). In order to analyse historical and current policy representations of the Philippine labour migration regime and of female migration for domestic, as well as discuss the role of transnational civil society actors in the problematisation of domestic work as well as the ‘au pair scheme’, I have selected a range of official private and state documents, which I from now on will refer to as my “practical texts”. The notion of “practical texts” is developed by Bacchi, based on the concept of “prescriptive texts” by Foucault, and denotes the fact that all policies are normative (Bacchi, 2009:34).

Predominant official, private documents in the present analysis represents the positions of international policy actors, namely central UN agencies, such as UN Women (2015) and the International Labour Organisation (2011), as well as EU agencies, such as recommendations from the Council of Europe (2004) and the European Parliament (2011). The statements included in the analysis have all been derived from official reports, position papers and press releases. Central regulative documents in the form of UN and ILO Conventions will also be included. Moreover, I have selected documents that will be included in the discussion on the role of transnational network organisations, in the form of statements from press releases, official webpages and reports of the following organisations: the International Trade Union Confederation, Babaylan Denmark - Philippines Women’s Network in Europe, and the Philippines Migrants’ Rights Watch. In regards of official state documents, I have selected practical texts in the form of national pieces of law, public policy statements, official informational material and implementation papers.

This has been done to place the analysis of discursive problematisations within the national contexts of, on the one hand, the Philippines as a major country of origin for many migrant domestic workers, and on the other hand, the European Union and Denmark, as important places of destination for many Filipino au pair migrant women. The selected policy actors will include The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), a government agency under the Office of the President of the Philippines. Secondly, my analysis incorporates texts derived from national authorities in charge of the implementation of policy relating to immigration and care work, as well as regulations in the form of pieces of law from both the Philippines (MCW, 2009; CFO 2010, 2012) Denmark (DIRI, 2017) and the EU (1969).

So, in order to analyse how the ‘social facts’ are being applied and to bring out new interpretations in regards of the social organisation of female migration for domestic work and Filipino au pair migration in particular, I have combined different sources of empirical data, primary and secondary qualitative materials. These practical texts will be interpreted through a document analysis, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.4 Document Analysis

When analysing documents it is important to reflect upon their ontological status, as this can be viewed in two ways: as a window into the social reality of a specific field, or in contrast as a distinct level of ‘reality’ in its own right (Bryman, 2008:526). The latter perspective builds on an important notion, promoted by Atkinson and Coffey through their studies on culture and organisations, which suggest that documents need to be recognised for what they are, namely texts written with distinctive purposes in mind, and thus not simply reflecting an already existing reality (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004:58). Scott has usefully characterised four distinct criteria for assessing the quality of documents, pertaining to 1) the *authenticity* of evidence, i.e. is it of unquestionable and undisputed origin; 2) the *credibility* of documents, i.e. is the material free from error and distortion; 3) the *representativeness* of evidence, i.e. is it typical for its kind and if not has the untypicality been made know; and finally 4) the *meaning* of documents, i.e. is the meaning clear and comprehensible (Scott, 1990:6). Official documents, such as legislation and government agency reports, working

papers and statements, can surely be seen as authentic and as having meaning in terms of Scott's four criteria. However, the two other aspects require greater consideration. The issue of credibility pertains to whether or not the source is biased, and, as Bryman have argued, documentary sources "*can be interesting precisely because of the biases they reveal*" (Bryman, 2008:521). Documents cannot be regarded as providing objective accounts of a state of affairs; instead they have to be examined in the context of other sources of data. The different positions taken up by different authors of documents can serve as a platform for developing insights into the processes that lie behind divergences (Ibid.:522f). The considerations above underscores the necessity of not treating documentary sources as reflections of reality, but equally so the potential as a data source, as documents of this kind are unique, because their official character makes them interesting in their own right. With this in mind, I must question the credibility of the selected official, private and state documents, as these types of political texts, almost by definition, entails visions of a certain social reality and in this way always will be of biased character. In regards of representativeness, it is important for me to make clear the limits to the conclusions that I will be able to draw based on the selected practical texts. I will argue, with reference to the many inter-textual references I have found in existing literature, that my conclusions are representative in relation to the historical analysis of the international policy debate and the various theoretical conceptualisations concerning the relations between migration, development and gender. Moreover, differences in the discursive formation and social organisation of female migration for domestic work must be expected to vary greatly across national contexts. The conclusions of the thesis are therefore limited to the context of the discursive framing of female migration from the Philippines for domestic work in the specific localities of Denmark and Germany. By combining different forms of official documents with the selected secondary sources of data, such as interview material and existing scholarly literature, it is my intention to 1) bring together and analyse the various ways in which female migration for domestic work is discursively framed by a multiplicity of policy actors, and to 2) develop new insights into the power relations and possibilities for discursive change within this transnational policy field.

In terms of advantages and limitations, I will argue that document analysis has proven to be an efficient way of collecting a broad range of policy documents, as there is a

large availability of public (private and state) documents – notably since the introduction of the Internet. In accordance Bowen have argued that documents have a broad coverage, as they cover a long span of time, events and settings, and that they are non-obtrusive and non-reactive, and in this way counters concerns related to reflexivity – or the lack of it – within qualitative research (Bowen, 2009:31). This makes documents a stable source suitable for repeated reviews, which in turn strengthens the reliability of findings. In regards of the limitations of document analysis, Bowen further argues that they may be problematic, as they are produced independent of some research agenda, and that they also risk being subject to biased selectivity (Bowen, 2009:32). My basis for selecting the practical texts as well as the secondary qualitative material has been grounded in an extensive literature review as well as in the knowledge base I have obtained through my earlier studies on international development, gender and migration. And the clarification of my own positioning and central themes in the introduction of this paper has been incorporated in order to respond to the issue of biased selectivity. Finally, document analysis is an iterative process, involving three steps: skimming, read-through and interpretation. In terms of the latter, applying discourse analysis to documentary material differs from other approaches, such as hermeneutics, semiotics, and content analysis, as they are applied to document analysis respectively to bring out meanings from the perspective of the subject; to identify signs and; to locate themes (Bryman, 2008:529-33). The theoretical underpinnings of the present discourse analysis will be introduced in the following chapter.

4. Policy Discourses and Global Care Migration

In this section I introduce the conceptual framework on which my discourse analysis is based.

4.1 The WPR approach and Governmentality

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the WPR approach builds on the concept of *governmentality*, which denotes:

”The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target, population... This type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savoirs” (Foucault, 1991:102f)

In this form, the notion of governmentality clarifies the relation between governance and thinking, and makes way for examinations of a certain form of power over and thinking about populations in modern societies. Michel Foucault’s concept of power entails three central aspects. Firstly, societal institutions are not holders of or identical with power, rather they are to be viewed as operational bodies that incorporate and reproduce existing power relations. Secondly, a central premise is the interdependence between knowledge and power, which draws the researcher to reflect upon how modern knowledges create ‘social truths’ and establish certain forms of thinking about the population, e.g. sexuality, gender, ethnicity, religion etc. Thirdly, the individual is both the object and subject of knowledge production (Lindgren, 2007:335). According to Carol Lee Bacchi, this form of power is exercised through the means of social and economic policy to maintain security and order (Bacchi, 2009:27). The concept of discourse also needs clarification, as it takes on different meanings in different analytic traditions. The WPR approach builds on the notion of discourse suggested by Foucault in the sense that it does not merely refer to the use of language, but rather views discourses as socially produced forms of knowledge that set the limits for what it is possible to say or think about a given object or practice (Ibid.:35). In this way, a discourse is not necessarily perceived as a negative force, but

rather as having a productive character and functioning not only in contexts of power, and neither as a tool of power, as it in itself is power. The goal of the WPR approach is thus to identify how meaning is created through these powerful fictions of what it is possible to think, say and do within certain policy fields. While governmentality relates to how we are governed through policy, Bacchi makes the case that we are governed through problematisations, as government by its nature is a problematizing activity. In this way she shifts the focus from ‘problems’ to problematisations and the representations they contain, and makes way for a broader field in which to analyse how rule takes place (Bacchi, 2009:31). While Foucault would argue that for certain problems to enter the field of thought, they have to be provoked by a set of difficulties resulting from economic, social or political processes, the WPR approach have no assumption that some set of difficulties triggers a response from governments (Ibid.). Policy responses also tend to be associated with specific policy areas, such as economic or social policy, but the purpose of WPR is to challenge such boundaries and to question the way some ‘problems’ are made to appear as discrete and self-evident (Ibid.54). In a WPR analysis it is thus of importance to include reflections on the links between policy issues and the way they function across policy areas as well as keep in mind related international or national, economic and political developments (Ibid.:55).

With the WPR approach Bacchi suggest six steps for analysing policy representations. Before introducing the analytical steps, I would like to make clear that I will not be applying them systematically; rather I set out to produce a more integrated analysis. One could say that the first four steps are represented in research question 1 and 2, and the last two in research question 3 and 4, cf. 1.2. However, some elements will be reflected upon across of chapters 5 and 6. This is done in order to avoid repetition, but also to emphasise the elements of discursive representations and the genealogy of political discourses surrounding Filipino migrant women in domestic work. The *first step* entails identification of the implied problem representations in specific policy papers by working backwards. The selected practical texts form the basis of analysis at this point, and Bacchi stresses the need to be aware of the complexity of policy documents, as there might be more than one problem representation to identify within them (Ibid.:3ff). Once the dominant representations are identified, the *second step* concerns identification of the epistemological and ontological presumptions that

reinforce certain problem representations. This step thus brings into question what is taken for granted and assumed, as well as what is not questioned. By applying Foucauldian archaeology, Bacchi suggests, “*we can identify the conceptual premises (conceptual logics) that underpin specific problem representations*”(Bacchi, 2009:5). In this regard, the WPR approach is not concerned with what is in people’s heads or the beliefs of policy makers, rather the task is to identify assumptions that *lodge* within problem representations (Ibid.:6). The interest of the WPR approach is thus to investigate the shape of arguments and the forms of knowledge they rest upon, and by applying the term governmentality it brings into play the underlying political rationalities behind different forms of rule, which refers to the thinking behind particular modes of government (Ibid.). Therefore, discourses are more than language as they represent systems of meaning encompassing assumptions, values, and accompanying signs, which forms the conceptual logics that lay the ground for production of knowledge about the social world (Ibid.:35). In the process of analysing these powerful discourses, it is important to be aware of key concepts, categories and binaries, and their function in the social construction of the ‘problem’ (Ibid.:58). The *third step* draws on Foucauldian genealogy in order to identify the historical, discursive processes and non-discursive practices behind the identified problem representation. The central question is here: how has this representation of the problem come about? Guiding this step is the notion that policy problems are not products of a natural evolution; instead they are products of historical, discursive processes. The task becomes to identify points in time, where key decisions were made and key developments took place to bring the problematisation in a particular direction (Ibid.:10). In this way, the genealogy has a destabilising effect on problem representations, as they are not perceived to be fixed in time and space. This is followed up by the *fourth step*, which concerns what is left unproblematic and invites to reflection on which issues are left silenced within the identified problem representations and if there is possibilities to think and speak differently about the ‘problem’ (Ibid.:66). The task here is to draw on the identified conceptual logics and rationalities from step two in order to evaluate if there is a space for alternative representations of the ‘problem’. A central assumption of the WPR approach is that “*some problem representations create difficulties (forms of harm) for members of some social groups more so than for members of other groups*” (Ibid.:15). In order to conduct a critical analysis at this point, Bacchi states that it is important to

acknowledge that these difficulties rarely stand out clearly, and therefore WPR considers effects to be subtle and discrete. (Bacchi, 2009:69). It is against the background of the first four steps, I have set out to 1) identify implied problem representations in current Philippine policy on migration, development and domestic work, 2) examine and bring forth the underlying conceptual logics and political rationalities behind the identified problematisations; and 3) to trace the historical ‘roots’ of the Philippine labour migration regime and the gendered flows of Filipino domestic workers, cf. chapter 5. But also in following analysis in chapter 5, where I identify the discursive framing of Filipino au pair migration to Europe. *Step five* directs attention to the effects of problem representations. In this regard Bacchi makes a significant distinction between conventional policy analysis, which measures ‘outcomes’, and the WPR approach, which in contrast seeks to critically assess three overlapping effects: discursive effects, subjectification effects and lived effects (Ibid.:15f). The first relates to effects that follow from limits imposed on what can be thought and said; the second to the ways in which subjects are created in discourse; and the third to the material impacts in the real (Bacchi, 2009:16ff). In this thesis however, I will only assess the first two types of effects. Evaluating discursive effects, Bacchi states, have clear links with steps two, three and four, as the “*identified problem representations and the discourses which frame them make it difficult to think differently, limiting the kinds of social analysis that can be produced. In a WPR approach this form of silencing is an effect that needs to be closely monitored*” (Ibid.:16). And as noted earlier, social relations are set up within discourse making certain subject positions available, and it is exactly this making of subject positions that needs to be scrutinized at this point in the analysis. Policies often set up groups in opposition to one another, and this particular subjectification reflects a dynamic, which Foucault has termed “*dividing practices*” (in *ibid.*:30). Finally, the *sixth step* encourages a reflection on processes and practices in an attempt to assess possibilities for change. At this point of analysis, discourses are viewed as potential sources for re-problematisation, and the task then becomes to reflect upon the means that make it possible for some representations to reach their audience and gain legitimacy (Ibid.:19). In the final part of analysis, I incorporate the insights from the last two steps in order to evaluate the relations set up in policy discourses on au pair migration and domestic work. This is followed by a discussion on the role of transnational civil

society organisations in relation to identify a space for discursive change, cf. section 6.2.

4.2 A Global Perspective on Care Migration

Nina Glick Schiller and Thomas Faist define migration as an integral part of social transformation and presents what they term *a global perspective on migration* by offering a transnational framework that includes inequalities between the global North and the global South and sees migrants as major forces in social and political formations (Schiller & Faist, 2012:12). By discarding methodological nationalism and World Systems approaches, they argue, scholars in migration and development studies will be able to examine differences of power within and between states and regions around the globe; the uneven patterns of internal and international migration; class formation, knowledge, flows of capital and infrastructure development. This is not to say that it is a borderless perspective, rather it focuses on the very constitution of borders and their effect on the creation of inequalities between categories of people within transnational process of the production of wealth and power (Schiller & Faist, 2012:5f). The intention is to motivate migration scholars to move beyond investigations of the role of migration in development and social cohesion in specific nation states, by addressing the contradictory narratives that view migrants as positive agents of development and as threats to the security and prosperity of nation states (Ibid.:12). The global perspective does not deny the role of states of different degree of power in constituting a global regime of regulation and surveillance that disciplines and subordinates people, who try to move in and between states, but it allows the analytical space to examine the relations between states and globe-spanning networks of corporate and institutional power (Ibid.). In this way, a global perspective on migration enables us to examine transnational spaces of power within which migrants and transnational connections occur in specific localities. Moreover, possibilities and limitations of migrant agency are placed within a transnational perspective on social formations. This is done to suggest that newly discovered discourses on the relations between state, market and civil society, as well as changing geo-political power structures, affect the ways in which migrants are positioned in transnational spaces of power (Ibid.:14). However, it is necessary to clarify the concept of a transnational social space. Many scholars tend to use phrases, such as ‘transnational space’,

‘transnational field’, and ‘transnational community’ within international migration systems, synonymously. To this end, Faist have argued that transnational spaces are distinct and encompass a combination of ties, positions in networks, organisations and institutions, and networks of organisations that reach across the borders of multiple states, denoting a dynamic social process, not static notions of ties and positions (Faist, 2000:190). Faist further states that there is a crucial difference between notions of globalization and transnational spaces, as “*transnationalization overlaps globalization but typically has a more limited purview. Whereas global processes are largely decentred from specific nation-state territories and take place in a world context above and below states, transnational processes are anchored in and span two or more nation-states, involving actors from the spheres of both state and civil society*” (Ibid.:192). The important considerations above have been incorporated in the present thesis in order to open up the field of analysis, in accordance with the WPR approach, by expanding units of analysis to include states, civil society organizations and academics. This makes possible a reflection on the ways in which migration for domestic work is governed through transnational institutions and regulations.

In terms of the transnationalisation of care migration, Than-Dam Truong have summarized what was missing from the growing body of globalization literature when she argued that “... *no production system operates without a reproduction system and it should not be surprising that the globalization of production is accompanied by its intimate ‘Other’ i.e. reproduction*” (Truong, 1996:47). Supporting this was the noteworthy evidence of the presence of migrant women in the expanding domestic and sexual service economies in Asia and Europe throughout the 1990s. Truong has further argued that the organization of these newly developed service economies take place on a transnational scale, rather than on a purely national one, and that research needs to be directed accordingly (in Yeates, 2012:135). This was followed by the creation of a new international research agenda concerned with mapping the causes, dynamics and consequences of globalization on paid and unpaid reproductive work. According to Nicola Yeates, at the core of this agenda lies a focus on care, a key dimension of reproductive labour, that “*occupies an important position in social policy because of what its social organization reveals about the nature of social relations and practices as well as of welfare formations more widely*” (Yeates,

2012:136). As a result the global care chain (GCC) analytical framework has arisen on the centre stage in efforts to document and understand the global relations of care and welfare (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002; Parreñas, 2002; Sassen, 2002; Isaksen, 2010; Lutz, 2011; Yeates, 2012). The concept of GCC has drawn loosely on the framework of global commodity chains, which grounds the concept within a network methodology with its focus on social interactions between various actors within the chain and their structural outcomes (Yeates, 2012:137). Studies in GCC's have since been modified to emphasise transnational labour networks, rather than inter-firm relations, recognising both the physical (caring for) and emotional (caring about) dimensions of care work, as the outcomes of care often are relational and intangible (Ibid.:138f). Moreover, Yeates states that in the continuum of care migration there tends to be extreme divisions in terms of regulation, labour intensity, skill requirements and whether or not the trade is atomised or corporatized. The different organisational features of the care sector have implications for how the transnationalisation of care takes place, in terms of “...*recruitment to and regulation of access to the sector, the conditions under which care work is carried out, the nature of labour and wider social rights including the extent to which they are enforced*” (Yeates, 2012:140). In furtherance, migrants are far from a homogeneous group, as some migrate on their own, some have children, some will bring their spouses if reunification is possible, some are not married, but may have obligations to other family members (Ibid.:141). In this way, a broad conception of GCC's makes way for recognition of the diversity of the care sector, migrants' motivations and experiences, and the heterogeneity of transnational families, while presenting an analytical framework that acknowledges a multiplicity of actors in the construction of a global care regime. It is against this background I will argue that methodological transnationalism and an emphasis on policy representations can help to bring forward an understanding of the positioning of migrant women and domestic work within the current transnational governance regime of global chains.

5. Governing the Movements of Filipino Migrant Women

The next sections present the first part of my analysis. I begin with an identification of implied problem representations in current Philippine policy on migration and domestic work. This is followed by an examination of the underlying conceptual logics and political rationalities. Then, I move on to trace the genealogy of the feminised Philippine labour migration regime by identifying historical discursive and non-discursive processes that brought policy representations on the issue in certain directions.

5.1 Politicising Migrant Labour and the Flows of Filipino Migrant Women for Domestic Work

The examination of policy representations takes as starting point the selected practical text: the “Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995” (RA 8042), which was adopted by the Philippine government under President Ramos⁷. This piece of law was initiated to install policies concerning the overseas employment of country-nationals, as well as to promote and establish higher standards of protection and promotion of the labour and human rights migrant (RA 8042: 1, 4).

The adoption of the law happened largely in response to the controversial case of Flor Contemplacion, a Filipino domestic worker based in Singapore, who was executed the same year for killing another Filipino domestic worker and the child of the latter’s employer. The story went through both national and international media, and directed attention to the hardships encountered by many Filipino migrant workers, resulting in a massive public outcry among Filipino NGOs and citizens at home and abroad (Yamanaka & Piper, 2005:30). To calm the public outcry, Ramos ratified the “1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families” (ICRMW), and passed the domestic law (RA 8042) in order to implement the ICRMW. Thereby the Philippines became the first of all signatories to the ICRMW to pass such a law, and the government likewise submitted its second report to the United Nations Committee of the ICRMW in 2014.

⁷ Link to the Republic Act No. 8042 (Philippine Immigration Authorities’ webpage): http://www.immigration.gov.ph/images/ImmigrationLaw/2017_Feb/8_RA_8042.pdf

With the RA 8042 the objective of the Philippine state is made clear, when it is stated that:

“In the pursuit of an independent foreign policy and while considering national sovereignty, territorial integrity, national interest and the right to self-determination paramount in its relations with other states, the State shall, at all times, uphold the dignity of its citizens whether in country or overseas, in general, and Filipino migrant workers, in particular” (RA 8042, Section 2a)

By applying the first step of the WPR approach, we can identify that the law represents the policy problem of migrant protection as an issue in need of governance by the state - both within and beyond its territory – and hereby promotes a transnationalization of Philippine nationality. This is to be done by securing equal employment opportunities and full protection of the civil, economic and social rights of migrants (Ibid., Section 2b), which further represents migrants as holders of rights and as objects of regulation. The individual migrant worker is defined as a “*a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a legal resident...*” (Ibid., Section 3a). Here, the policy representation concentrates on migrants involved in paid activities outside the Philippines and thereby does not include family migrants or internal migrants. This is further underscored in Section 23 of the Act, concerning the role of government agencies, where it is stated that such actors are to emphasize assistance to particularly migrant workers, and only as far as possible to overseas Filipinos, which are defined as “*dependents of migrant workers and other Filipino nationals abroad who are in distress*” (Ibid., Section 3c). In representing employed migrants, on the one hand, as potentially profitable objects contributing to society, and as, likely suffering, dependents on the other, two distinct categories emerge that also play into the assumption of migrant as object of control.

With the adoption of the law, the existing governmental institutional framework for Philippine labour migration management was clarified and strengthened. The following departments were positioned to promote and protect the rights and welfare of overseas migrants: the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE), Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

(POEA) and Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) (RA 8042: Section 23). Furthermore, supplementary bodies were included in the establishment of an inter-agency information sharing system. Illustrating the cross-sectorial nature of the migration management regime, it includes: the Commission of Filipino Overseas (CFO), a agency under the DFA since 1980, as well as departments of Tourism, Immigration, Justice and Statistics (Ibid.: Section 20). In this way, the overseas migration of Filipino nationals is represented as policy ‘problem’ that is to be controlled and made measurable. This brought about the creation of a large body of statistically based knowledge on the age, sex, skill and destinations of overseas migrant workers. Additionally, the annual “Migrant Workers Day”⁸ was instated by the law (Ibid., Section 39). This has since contributed to the social construction of Filipino overseas migrant workers as honorable, responsible, flexible and docile workers. Other initiatives such as the removal of travel taxes and airport fees for POEA-registered Filipino overseas (Ibid., Section 35), have positioned emigration as cheaper and more attractive for officially documented migrants. The establishment of new institutions also underscores the representation of a particular concern evident throughout the Act, relating to the skills of migrant workers and the ways to control and harvest the benefits of transfers of their skills – in other words brain drain and brain gain implications. This is exemplified in the formation of the Migrant Workers Scholarship Fund in order to stimulate young migrants or their immediate descendants under 21 years of age to undertake studies within the fields of science and technology (Ibid., Section 37); as well as the founding of the Replacement and Monitoring Center under the DOLE, which shall provide migrants with *“a mechanism for their reintegration into the Philippine society, serve as a promotion house for their local employment, and tap their skills and potentials for national development”* (Ibid., Section 17). The representation of certain skills as favorable to others brings into question the issue of skilled and un-skilled labour. Positioning the professionally skilled migrant with technological qualifications as something to be financially and politically promoted, leads one to assume that foreign and labour policy concerns, regarding global economic restructuring of industries, such as electronics

⁸ ”POEA Celebrates Migrant Workers Day with Week-long Activities”, 31.05.2017: http://www.poea.gov.ph/news/2017/PR_May%202017_mwd2017.pdf

manufacturing within global commodity chains⁹, and national economic development, are lodging within this very policy representation. In relation to the objective of the present analysis, it becomes the more important to stress way in which the representation of migrants, as sources of local economic - and to some extent social – development in Philippine society, also places certain obligations on the shoulders of individual migrants in return of their rights. In regards of the low-skilled and often de-skilled cases of domestic workers, these are represented as a group in need of training, as the Act suggests that government agencies, and training facilities in particular, must give “*priority to return migrants who had been employed as domestic helpers and entertainers*” (RA 8042, Section 17). In this way, domestic work is vaguely represented as both a form of employment and something different from regular work. The representation of domestic work, as something indefinite, and skilled work, as something that should be further stimulated, contributes to the social construction of a binary relation between the paid and unpaid work of migrants, with the latter primarily characterized by traditionally feminized and devaluated work spheres, cf. 2.2. Ultimately, this plays into the general construction of a binary between on the one side, ‘the skilled, formally employed, flexible, income-generating and potential national hero’-migrant, and on the other, the ‘un-skilled, informally and/or illegally employed, passive and helpless’-migrant.

Additionally, civil society actors are represented as “*legitimate partners of the Philippine state in the protection of Filipino migrant workers and the promotion of their welfare*” (Ibid., Section 2h). A further emphasis is put on local service contractors and recruitment agencies, which are too represented as actors that need to be encouraged and strengthened. The construction of civil society and local private actors as important allies in the Philippine management regime of migration represents the ‘problem’ of migrant protection, as an activity moving both beyond borders and across institutional sectors. This particular representation is underpinned by the conceptual logics produced in neoliberal policy and academic discourses, using popular buzzwords such as “public-private partnerships” and “new public management”. In this regard, the framing of migration management within a

⁹ The global electronics industry has grown to be one of largest industrial sectors in the global economy, generating more revenue than any other goods-producing sector. Source: ILO, 2014: “*Ups and downs in the electronics industry: Fluctuating production and the use of temporary and other forms of employment*”, p. iii

neoliberal discourse denotes control and regulation of individual migrants, as well as promotion of the same migrants as positive agents of capitalist development, cf. section 2.1, and constitutes what Foucault would term a distinct ‘political rationality’, cf. 4.1. Moreover, the human rights of Filipino overseas migrants are represented as integral parts in securing migrant dignity throughout the document. However, the emphasis is not focused on formal political rights per se, as the only issue relating to this matter is the appointment by the President of two migrant worker representatives in Congress – one of which should be a woman (RA 8042, Section 34). In terms of women as a group, they are represented as playing a “*significant role... in nation-building*” and as having “*particular vulnerabilities*” (Ibid., Section 2d). However, these particular vulnerabilities are not specified in relation to neither men, women nor children further than to the extent of risk for exploitation by corrupt recruitment agencies and to the lack of enforcement of migrants’ rights by receiving states. Hereby, it is assumed that the national state does not represent a site for exploitation. The dominant representations of women in the Act concerns firstly, their role as potential development agents and national heroines, and secondly, their role as potential victims in need of rescuing and protection. Furthermore, the category of migrant women is represented as having certain needs by defining gender sensitivity as an independent issue of concern. Gender sensitivity refers to the “*cognizance of the inequalities and inequities prevalent in society between women and men*” (Ibid., Sections 3), and the law further commits the state to incorporate “*gender sensitive criteria*” in policy programs and implementation (Ibid., Section 2d). However, the gendered inequalities are not explicitly addressed in the document, particularly not in relation to domestic work, which in turn serves to silence issues of the often low-paid, informal and unorganized migrant women employed in spheres of domestic work. The same goes for migrant men employed in for example exterior ‘housework’. Finally, the Philippine state seeks to oblige all agencies, representatives and employees of the DFA, as well as all receiving states, to adhere to international and regional human rights systems (Section 22), resulting in a transnationalisation of the protection and enforcement of the human and labour rights of Filipino migrant workers. By partnering this array of actors, the particular representation of ‘human rights protection’ inscribes itself in the global human rights regime concerned with promoting freedoms, although often accused of being biased by Western interests. The human rights discourse has been promoted as a normative instrument since the

creation of the UN in 1945, and has then been applied more instrumentally since the proliferation of the Human Development paradigm within development discourse in the 1990s, directing attention the freedoms enjoyed by citizens, cf. 2.1.

If we take into account discursive problematisations within related Philippine policies, we can identify a reproduction of some of the dominant assumptions and logics concerning migrant women and their perceived vulnerabilities, as well as the development potential of the individual migrant. The latter is expressed in the “Handbook for Filipinos Overseas” (HFO), which outlines migrants’ rights and privileges as workers overseas and in the Philippines. The 2010 edition recognizes Filipinos overseas as “*a major source of contributions and assistance*” through activities such as transfers of “*remittances, investments and other forms of contributions*” (CFO, 2010:11). This view reinforces the underpinning neoliberal logic, connected to the representation of (rational) individual migrants as sources of global and national economic development. Along similar lines, this representation is supported, after the implementation of the Tax Reform Act in 1997. From that point onwards, overseas migrants have been provided with tax exemption on their foreign earnings (Ibid.:38). The HFO no longer directs substantial emphasis to the nationality, flexibility or strong tax obligations of individual migrants, but have done so in earlier editions, as stated in a previous study by Rodriguez (2002). In this way, the representation of migrant workers as group of resourceful development agents is reproduced. Secondly, in relation to the problematisation of female migrant workers as an independent group of policy concern, this was manifested in the approval by the Philippine government of the Magna Carta of Women (MCW) in 2009. The adoption of the MCW should be seen as part of the Philippines’ commitment to implement the principles of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Aside from defining ‘discrimination against women’ within a legal framework, the MCW also gives provisions for how to manage women migrant workers. According to the MCW, the state shall “*provide women with the opportunities to enhance and develop their skills, acquire productive employment and contribute to their families and communities to the fullest of their capabilities*” (MCW, section 2: 3). This underscores the assumptions identified above of firstly, migrant women as being in need of control and training, and secondly, as having particular responsibilities for the economic and material survival of families and local

communities in the Philippines. Moreover, the CFO announced in 2012 that the Philippine government would ratify the 2011 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers (CDWDW), which have provided the government with an important normative instrument to protect the right of migrant domestic workers to decent work. As a result the RA 10361 “Domestic Workers Act” was implemented in 2013. As senator Loren Legarda stated the *“time has come for all of us to acknowledge the contributions of our household heroes into the global workforce, no longer as invisible hands but as domestic workers, equipped with the rights and benefits accorded others”* (Senate of the Philippines, 2012). In contrast to the vaguely defined form of domestic work in RA 8042, within this statement, as well as within the text of the CDWDW, is present the substantially different representation of domestic work as *real* work equal to that of any other profession in terms of rights to minimum wage, healthy and safe working conditions, overtime compensation, weekly and annually resting periods etc.

To summarize, so far I have identified the dominant policy representations implied in the Philippine migration Act. I have also pointed out the taken-for-granted assumptions and certain forms of knowledge that underpin the arguments on which the identified representations rest and traced the very same conceptual underpinning to more recent policy document. The next section takes on the analytical step of analyzing how these powerful representations have come about.

5.2 The Genealogy of the Feminised Philippine Labour Migration Regime

In the following section set out to trace the historical ‘roots’ of the Philippine labour migration regime as well as the gendering of the migration out-flows of domestic workers, with an emphasis on legal and institutional arrangements; political and economic developments and discourses on migration and development; and feminisation of migrant labour flows into the global care industry and the role of women as development agents in state policies.

Just within the last century, the island state of the Republic of the Philippines has undergone considerable economic and political developments, resulting in a society that to a large extent have become dependent on migrant labour export. The Philippine society has particularly been formed by two colonial periods, under first

Spanish rule from 1521 to 1898, which was then replaced by American rule until 1946. As a result of the Japanese invasion under World War II, the country attained independence and experienced significant economic growth the following years, which is exemplified in an average annual growth in GNP of 17,2 % in the years from 1946 to 1950. This development should be seen as related to the massive reconstruction of the country after the war and the continuing close economic cooperation between the Philippines and the USA (Boyce, 1993:7). During the authoritarian rule of President Marcos (1965-86), the Philippines became highly dependent on loans from foreign, official and private lenders, resulting in an economic crisis brought forward by growing debt and recession, which in turn led to the adoption of stabilization programs and structural adjustment programs, promoted by respectively the International Monetary Foundation and the World Bank in the early 1970s (Boyce, 1993:8; Floro & Schaefer, 1998:75f). These programs induced structural changes entailing among others, currency devaluation; export orientation; elimination of import control; price decontrol of agricultural output and inputs; opening up the market for foreign investments; and minimizing the public sector (Floro & Schaefer, 1998:77ff). Marcos' economic programs were to help the Philippine economy 'take off' to an advanced state of economic development. However, struggling with balancing payment requirements and rising unemployment, Marcos introduced a new policy of labour export with the Presidential Decree 442 in 1974, creating government agencies charged with deploying Filipino workers overseas (Rodriguez, 2002: 346). The official agency, the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), has since 1980 been in charge of managing employment contracts for Filipino workers in the US, Europe and the Persian Gulf. However, even during the 1950s to the 1970s, private employment agencies had played an important role in promoting bilateral agreements with states, such as the US and China. In the 1980s, it was primarily men who emigrated as construction workers to Saudi Arabia or the US, while women to a higher degree emigrated as nurses, domestic workers and hostesses in the entertainment industry in Europe, the US and Asia (Aguilar, 1987:513f). While the strategy of labour export was supposed to have been a temporary solution to the economic and political crises at the time, it is evident today that the labour export strategy became a more permanent solution.

In 1973, the Marcos administration also attempted to reincorporate Filipino immigrants into the Philippine economy by introducing the 'Balikbayan', also known as the Nation Returnee Program. As an extension to the government's tourist campaign, this was to attract Filipino immigrants back to the Philippines as basically glorified tourists, by providing them with tax exemptions and local festivals (Rodriguez, 2002:346). The 'Balikbayan' exemplifies the government's first attempt to discipline the 'nation' overseas and explicitly introduces a link between temporary migration and economic development in a country of origin. With the fall of the Marcos regime in 1986, the Philippine economy began to recover, and by the early 1990s, globalisation was well underway in the Philippines, with the lifting of most restrictions of foreign capital and the ease of foreign bank entry. Inflation declined and investments increased, and the GDP growth reached a steady level of 4,4 % in 1994. However, under the rule of Marcos, the country had witnessed a rising polarisation of power and wealth, and despite the adoption of the abovementioned programs, the people in Philippines did not experience significant redistribution of capital and goods (Boyce, 1993:27). As a likely consequence of the export-orientation of the economy, families, who were desperate to solve their financial troubles, became increasingly aware of both goods and people as exports.

Explanations as to why an increasing part of particularly Filipino women were, and to a large extent continue to be, 'pushed' to emigrate for domestic work should be found in both the export-orientation of the economy and the gender ideological construction of women as responsible for the household. The latter is closely linked to colonialism, since women prior to Spanish rule had enjoyed a higher social status within Philippine society. They had access to the same rights as their male counterparts, such as landowner rights, inheritance and education, and were generally regarded as equal to men (Parreñas, 2007:38f). The introduction of Roman Catholicism and massive privatizations of land, positioned women at this time to a large extent as the property of men and as a mother figure in the private sphere of the household (Rodriguez, 1990:18). In the period during American rule, women enjoyed greater freedoms in terms of education, and the gradually expanding export-orientation of the economy, producing a relation of dependency between local and global economies, created a massive need for women to enter the labour market to fulfill functions in the increasing export industry (Ibid.:19ff). However, the increasing labour market

participation of women did not result in women's emancipation, as the Philippine labour market is highly gender segregated. Notwithstanding the increasing contribution of women to the Philippine economy, most women performed tasks that could be characterized as extensions of their motherly responsibilities within the household, such as teaching, nursing and tasks within sectors of sales and service (Ibid.:22). After the Marcos era, democratic elections have been held, making way more political stability and a relatively high voter participation among both men and women. Despite official protection of the civil rights of women, and increasing political participation as well as representation, Filipino women are faced with different conditions on the labour market. Here, a significant gender pay gap can be identified, where women on average earn 39 centavos for each peso earned by their male counterparts. Several women's Committees have furthermore been initiated, yet Philippine trade unions continue to be male-dominated (Parreñas, 2007:40ff). The social construction of feminized work, the difficulties women are confronted with on the local labour market, as well as the expanding migrant labour export regime since the 1990s, may all have served to push women into the global care economy. Much of the growth in migrant employment has taken place in the globalized service sector (Tyner, 1999:683; Yamanaka & Piper, 2005:2), and statistics from the POEA (1995/2010) show almost a doubling of numbers of deployed domestic workers between from 1995 to 2010, with women constituting a vast majority. It is important however to stress that these numbers are not representative of the actual amount of Filipino migrant women domestic workers. If we take into account the uncertain numbers of undocumented migrants deployed through informal social and/or criminal networks, the scope may actually be much wider. According to UN Women, Filipino women today compose not only the majority of permanent settlers as part of family migration, but are as prominent as men in labour migration. Since 1992, women have generally outnumbered men among the newly hired land-based workers legally deployed every year. This illustrates that women are no longer merely dependents in migratory processes, but are to higher degrees migrating on their own through both permanent and temporary migration schemes (UN Women, 2015:7). Today it has also become evident that it is quite qualified labour that leaves the Philippines to perform household and care work in the Global North. Existing research on Filipino migrant women domestic workers shows that they predominantly have had vocational training prior to migration and migrated as a cause of the low wages and troublesome, local

working conditions (Parreñas, 2007:43). Furthermore, Filipino women, who migrate within the global care industry, are typically between 25-34 years of age, from urban areas and have as minimum finished high school. However, for the most part they have a college degree and work experience (Sayres, 2007:10; UN Women, 2015:26). One could principally argue that this constitutes a ‘brain drain’, however in most cases it seems to represent more of ‘care drain’, as many leave their homes to perform tasks that are difficult to specify or qualify, as they take place in the non-public domain of the private household. The general effect of the above historical developments is that Filipino women have come to dominate the two industries that generate the most foreign capital for the Philippine economy. Namely, manufacturing of exports, such as clothes and electronics, and deployment of migrant workers (Migration Policy Institute, 2004; UN Women, 2015:11). Also, if we look at the Philippines’ public debt and the failure of the government to create inclusive and gender sensitive economic growth, these might be indications of the continuing dependence between the Philippine state and the financial remittances send back by particularly migrant women, as this relation has not changed. One could make the claim that the Philippine economy has become dependent on the positioning of women within domestic work to survive in the global economy. From a global care chain perspective, I will argue that the gender ideology in this regard serves to create a certain form of labour that permit the Philippine state to adjust to a growing demand for low-paid, informalised and often devaluated labour in more affluent countries in the global North.

5.3 Conclusion

By applying the WPR approach in the previous sections, my analysis of the Philippine labour migration regime and the gendered outflows of migrant women domestic workers, have shown how the neoliberal development discourse serves as a certain mode of problematisation, denoting a particular way of thinking about migration management, the role of the individual migrant and the value of skilled and un-skilled labour. This form of *governmentality* plays into the general construction of a binary between on the one side, ‘the skilled, formally employed, flexible, income-generating and potential national hero’-migrant, and on the other, the ‘un-skilled, informally and/or illegally employed, passive and helpless’-migrant. Representations of migrant women are furthermore identified to categorize women, either as significant nation-

builders, placing the responsibility of the survival of not only immediate family members, but of whole local communities, businesses and governments on their shoulders, or as distressed and vulnerable to exploitation and therefore in the need of control and training. Finally I traced some of the historical, discursive and non-discursive developments that have contributed to bring about the identified policy discourses and the feminized flows of Filipino migrant women into domestic work. I argued that modernization policies, such as structural adjustment programs and uncontrolled labour export, can be extremely destabilising for populations, and that the choices of migrant women are shaped by social gender norms that place the sole responsibility to secure and protect the private household on the shoulders of women. Historically gendered responsibilities and vulnerabilities, as well as the heavily gender segregated Philippine labour market, have also encouraged women to sell their care services.

Against the background of the promotion of temporary migration schemes by the Philippine state, as well as by international institutions such as UN Women (2015) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (in Katseli, Lucas & Xenogiani, 2006:14), the next part of analysis will narrow its scope to focus on Filipino au pair migration and how this particular phenomena have been discursively framed in the context of the global North.

6. Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers Going Abroad

The second part of analysis introduces a further investigation into the policy representations of Filipino migrant women in domestic work and takes as its starting point the case of au pair migrants. First, I examine the ways, in which the au pair scheme is represented as a policy ‘problem’ in a transnational context, emphasising problematisations from the Philippines, Denmark and the European Union (EU). Then, I evaluate the effects that are produced as a result of the identified problem representations, and move on to finally present you with a discussion on the role of transnational civil society actors, such as migrants’ rights organisations, trade unions, and Philippine women’s networks, as spaces of discursive and social change.

6.1 Politicising the Transnational Flows of Filipino Au Pairs

6.1.1 Representations on Domestic Work and the Au Pair Scheme within the EU

The first steps towards a legal construction of the au pair scheme was initiated in Europe in 1969, as the Council of Europe (CE) had identified increasing movements of young Europeans, who left their homes to acquire both cultural and linguistic skills abroad since the end of WWII. The notion of ‘au pair’ is derived from French and refers to ‘being on equal terms’, and it can be traced back to the beginning of the 18th century, where young English women increasingly went to France to learn the French language. In the European Agreement on Au Pair Placement (EAAPP) the CE defines the au pair scheme as:

“... the temporary reception by families, in exchange for certain services, of young foreigners who come to improve their linguistic and possibly professional knowledge as well as their general culture by acquiring a better knowledge of the country where they are received” (European Agreement on “au pair” Placement and Protocol hereto, 1969:2)

The au pair must be between 17 and 30 years of age and is presented with the opportunity to be part of a host family for a temporary period of maximum two years, in exchange for certain services, which are not explicitly defined further than as to “day-to-day family duties”, which may not exceed five hours per day. In return, the au pair shall receive lodging (own room if possible) and pocket money, as well as the

rights to one full day of rest per week, freedom to practice religious beliefs and time to attend language courses in order to improve cultural and professional competencies (European Agreement on “au pair” Placement and Protocol hereto, 1969:2f). It is evident throughout the document that the au pair scheme shall not be defined as an employer-employee relationship. Rather it resembles more of a sponsorship-relation, but yet not quite, as the au pair is expected to be on equal terms and at the same time a form of live-in guest. No clarifications are expressed regarding the relationship between host family and the au pair, other than presumably expectations of mutual interest and part taking in each other’s daily lives. However, only six Member states have ratified the au pair directive, and the CE have since 1998 not followed up on the implementation. Only in 2004, where the CE directed attention to the issue of domestic work, and the conditions under which this activity was performed, in its Recommendation “Domestic Slavery: servitude, au pairs and ”mail order brides”” at the Parliamentary Assembly (Council of Europe, 2004), advising Member states to take measures. Evident in this policy document is the notion of modern day slavery, which predominantly is represented to concern women in domestic servitude, such as mail order brides, domestic workers and au pairs. The CE calls for new measures to be taken in alignment with the UN anti-trafficking agenda in order to protect the human rights of migrant domestic workers. In this regard, domestic work is represented, as “*real work*” that needs to be regulated and monitored according to generally, but at the time not yet, defined standards, while au pairing is not defined in the same terms. ‘Au pairs’ are rather represented as having a “*distinctive status*”, being neither students nor workers. The main concern however in relation to au pairs seems to be put on “*the placement industry*”, as the CE suggested the establishment of a system of accreditation that could regulate and control recruitment agencies. In terms of gender, the recommendation explicitly represents women in domestic servitude as potential “*victims*” of trafficking or “*modern slaves*” in need of strategic assistance and protection of their human rights, while employers, “*consumer husbands*” and recruitment agencies are represented as potentially criminal perpetrators, which should be controlled by use of legal techniques, reaching beyond the borders of individual member states, i.e. international instruments such as the 2000 Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children (PPSPTPEWC), supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (CTOC). In this way, the object of control is

constructed as respectively a feminized victim, who likely are unaware of and exposed to ‘dangers’, opposed to a masculinized offender, who know exactly what he is doing. This particular binary and gendered representation rest on the conceptual logics promoted by the abolitionist and regulationist campaigns at the start of the last century, cf. section 2.2. At that time, the concern was directed toward the protection and control of white, young, single women, migrating *within the centre* of the global economy, whereas today, I will argue, the protection regime is explicitly directed towards the transnational movements of young women of colour, migrating *from the periphery* to the global North. Some scholars, however, have directed attention towards the “*rescue industry*” (Augustin, 2007), which positions women, who have been defined as victims of trafficking, as helpless and powerless and in need of education from those, who are better educated, more powerful and assumed to be more enlightened (Liempt, 2011).

It was not until the 2011 resolution by the European Parliament (EP) of the ILO CDWDW that au pairs were incorporated in EU policy as:

“... a group of domestic workers, who are often not regarded as regular workers; whereas numerous reports indicate that this can lead to abuse by, for example, forcing au pairs to work excessive hours; whereas au pairs must receive protection equal to other domestic workers” (European Parliament, 2011)

This illustrates a discursive shift within European policy discourse, trying to promote ‘a work model’ entailing labour rights of au pairs and their social inclusion into the host society, through a “*campaign for a step-by-step transformation of precarious workers into regular workers*” (Ibid.). However, this should be understood in light of the new momentum at the time in discussions on decent work and formalisation of informal employment within the international development community (ILO, 2007:1). Notwithstanding the objectives of the EP and EC to harmonize immigration policies, a vast majority of Member states continues to relinquish the Europeanization of immigration policies, and, in terms of existing policy, there is a tendency to only promote the migration of skilled labour, while deterring immigration of low-skilled workers (Cyros, 2008: 181; Center for Migration Advocacy-Philippines, 2014:10). Additionally, only seven Member states have ratified the ILO CDWDW, including

Germany, Switzerland and Italy, while countries such as Denmark, Norway and France have not.

6.1.2 Filipino Au Pair Migration - The Case of Denmark

The Philippines have a rich history of au pair migration to Europe, and since the beginning of the 1990s numerous Filipinos have arrived, notably in the Netherlands and the Nordic countries. After several media stories related to the poor working conditions and abuse of Filipino au pair migrants with host families in Europe, the Philippine government imposed a ban on au pair migration in 1998 and instead encouraged the European countries to negotiate bilateral agreements on migrant domestic work. The same year, Denmark introduced the au pair scheme. Despite the ban, Filipino migrant domestic workers continued to be the majority among third country au pairs throughout Europe, as several countries, except Switzerland and Sweden, continued to issue visas for Filipino au pairs, making their status essentially illegal and resorting au pairs to make use of unsafe migration facilities and networks (Stenum, 2011:33f; Center for Migration Advocacy-Philippines, 2014:4f). The ban was later lifted for Norway, Switzerland and Denmark in 2010, and for the rest of Europe in 2012. After the lifting of the ban, the Philippine DFA was made responsible for the implementation of new guidelines for au pairs going to Europe¹⁰. With the new guidelines the administration and management of au pair migration of Filipino nationals was no longer to be assigned to the POEA, but to be placed under the mandate of the CFO. According to the Philippine Immigration Commissioner, Ricardo David Jr., *“au pairs are no longer required to get visa permits from POEA, since they are not considered overseas workers”* (Macairan, 2012). This marks a shift in thinking about au pair migration in Philippine policy, to one that represents au pair migration as a scheme of cultural exchange, rather than one of employment. The new guidelines are described by the CFO (2012) and build on the identified definition in the previous section, while also expanding requirements compared to the EAAPP (1969). Correspondingly, the au pair must from that time onwards be unmarried and without children and placed under a cultural exchange program with a European or American host family for a maximum stay of two years. Prior to departure, the au pair must register with local authorities and present a contract of engagement, and also

¹⁰ ”Guidelines on the Departure of Filipino Au Pairs to Europe”, Commission of Filipinos Overseas: http://www.cfo.gov.ph/~comfil/images/stories/pdf/aupair_guidelines.pdf

participate in a Country Familiarisation Seminar (CFS). Existing research on Filipino au pairs in Denmark, and one of many European Filipino Au Pair Networks, have argued that the CFS is not helpful to au pairs, as it promotes the idea of domestic work, not of au pairing, and furthermore the general opinion among NGO's and the media in the Philippines is that au pairs are basically nannies or domestic servants (Stenum, 2011:59; Filipina Au Pair Network, 2012). According to the CFO, the au pair is intended to:

“... become a member of the family in the host country for cultural exchange to improve their linguistic and cultural knowledge which they can obtain better in the country where they are received... Thus, an Au Pair will learn a new language and culture by living with a family in exchange for light household chores” (CFO, 2012)

Here, the au pair scheme is discursively framed within a ‘family model’, where the trade offs are cultural learning and household help. The new guidelines also place a greater financial responsibility on the host family, so they now should shoulder all travel expenses, including visas, CFS fee and air fares, as well as the responsibility to take on insurance in case of the death or illness of an au pair. According to the Danish Department for International Recruitment and Integration (DIRI), the new guidelines for Filipino au pairs are further complemented by general requirements in the Danish au pair scheme. Even if not married, au pairs may not be, or ever have been, in a permanent relationship or registered partnership prior to departure; au pairs shall have finished what counts as 9 years of schooling; may not previously have resided as an au pair in Denmark or two times or more in another EU-country or Switzerland; and finally, au pairs may not have the same nationality as - or be related to - one or more members of the host family (DIRI, 2017). The representation of the Danish au pair scheme is ambiguous, as rather than defining what the au pair scheme is, it is to a large extent defined by what it is not. According to the DIRI, the au pair:

“... shall take on a familiar role in the host family. This means that the duties of the au pair shall relate to the daily housekeeping of the host family, typically childcare, cleaning and laundry. Thus the au pair may not undertake duties related to the personal care or nursing of adult members of the host family.”

(My translation, DIRI, 2017)

Within the ‘family model’, which is illustrated here, au pairs are represented as young persons, who are expected to do housework in the home of their host family, such as cooking, cleaning and caring for children. However, the DIRI also defines the time spent on chores as “*working hours*”, which are set to a minimum three hours and a maximum of five hours per day. And besides, financing three insurances (workers compensation, leisure and accident insurance, and home transportation in case of an accident), and the airfares back and forth for the au pair, the DIRI also imposes the host family to pay DKK 5170 to co-finance the expenses of the state to Danish language courses for au pairs. Furthermore, the au pair shall as a minimum receive DKK 4.150 a month in pocket money in addition to diet and lodging (DIRI, 2017). Finally, the relation between the au pair and the host family is regarded as an employer-employee relationship in terms of taxes and holiday pay, obliging the au pair to pay Danish taxes of her pocket money and granting the entitlement to holiday pay according to Danish law. However, existing Danish labour law does not grant the au pair with the same social rights as regular workers, and in turn, au pair placement and the conditions under which it takes place are regulated by the state, not by the parties of the labour market. In this way the au pair scheme is vaguely represented in terms of the status of the relationship between the au pair, the host family and the Danish state. And ultimately, a structural unequal power relation is produced between the host family and the au pair, as the residence permit of the au pair, which does not include a working permit, is bound to the au pair stay and thereby to the host family. So if the au pair wishes to change host family, he/she must apply for a new residence permit. As a consequence the au pair may be placed in a difficult situation when negotiating with both the old and new host family, where the au pair is entitled to stay, at the latter, as a guest. In an attempt to move beyond the victimization of labour diasporas, Dalgas (2015) have analysed the role of Filipino au pair migration as a pathway to self-determination and adulthood in her paper “Becoming independent through au pair migration: self-making and social re-positioning among young Filipinas in Denmark”. She argues that the formative dimension of international and national youth migration is viewed as key in the attainment of adulthood in the Philippines (Dalgas, 2015:335). Therefore, she argues that the economic incentives does not preclude young Filipinos and their home communities from viewing au pair migration, as well as any form of migration, as a formative journey. Au pair migration is thus “*as an attractive pathway towards personal development for young women*”

(Dalgas, 2015:345). In contrast, others have argued that the au pair scheme simply is a domestic work scheme for third country nationals, which circumvents the Danish immigration ban on domestic workers by representing au pairs as a form of temporary, foreign students (Stenum, 2011), and that au pair placement in practice takes various forms depending on the expectations of the host families in terms of clarification, planning and workload of household chores, as well as relating to the balance between leisure and work time (Stenum, 2008). Stenum explains that in some au pair placements, the au pair is granted a relatively high salary; feels included and respected, where the conditions are far better than is prescribed in the au pair contract; receives assistance in the Danish educational system or in the Danish labour market; is given paid Christmas leave in the Philippines; have her own residence; and in general enjoys many privileges as a result of principles and economic capability of the host family. Nevertheless, as a result of the intimate and often invisible character of the au pair scheme, Stenum also identifies au pair placements characterized by unfair and exploitative working conditions, mentally poor working environments; lack of leisure/work balance; unfair restrictions of the private life of the au pair; missing holidays and holiday pay, and retention of pay wage/pocket money (Stenum, 2008:59). Regarding au pair recruitment, working conditions and risks of abuse and exploitation, Korsby have examined the relation between the au pair scheme and the risk of human trafficking of particularly Filipino au pairs, and she did not find evidence for defining the au pair scheme as a form of human trafficking, emphasizing the element of coercing (Korsby, 2010, 72). Rather she finds that au pairs often are exposed to harmful situations, where people in vulnerable positions risk abuse and exploitation - and according to Korsby, Filipino au pairs often are.

In the next section, I take on the issue of evaluating the effects produced within the identified policy representations above in order to examine if there is a space for alternative representations of the Filipino care migration, and in particular the au pair scheme.

6.2 Discursive Effects and Possibilities for Change

6.2.1 Filipino Au Pair Migration: A Grey Area

The WPR-approach suggests us to reflect upon how policy representations constitute different forms of political subjects, which may have political consequences in terms of exclusions of some groups on behalf of others, cf. section 4.1. The identified problem representations in previous sections present a certain narrative of migration for domestic work that rests upon the conceptual logics identified within the neoliberal development paradigm, as well as within feminist thinking on development and the transnational mobility of women, cf. chapter 5. These particular modes of problematisation create a binary between ‘skilled, formally employed, flexible and active potential national hero’-migrants, and ‘un-skilled, low-paid, informally and/or illegally employed, passive and helpless’-migrants. Moreover, a discourse on women as either being socially emancipated nation-builders opposed to vulnerable and distressed victims of exploitation, builds on the knowledge produced by feminist movements and academia, since the first policy restricted women’s movements in the beginning of the last century, making the mobility of women an independent policy concern on the international development agenda. In this way, both binaries are deeply connected to the discourse of ‘migration management’, which have been identified as a central turning point in the selected practical texts, as migrants, positioned as both active and passive, male or female, skilled or un-skilled, are made objects of control and training in order to maximize their development potential. The embedded dichotomies are expressions of power, which in Foucauldian terms constitutes a “*dividing practice*”. In terms of the au pair scheme, such dividing practices can also be identified, as a binary is created between ‘real, skilled, formally paid domestic workers’, e.g. nurses, and ‘informal, unskilled, informally or unpaid domestic workers’, e.g. au pairs, nannies and sex workers. Furthermore, the construction of au pairing as a grey area within existing policies, although attempts have been made to make it seem more standardised, produces specific subjectification effects, as predominantly Filipino migrant women, being mostly au pairs or marriage migrants, are positioned as ‘young, dependent and temporary students’ under a form of sponsorship with the host family. In this regard, power may blur itself in silencing techniques, as something always is placed ‘outside’ the discourse in order to create the very same discourse. Such a technique can be identified in the au pair policy

regime, since au pairs are neither defined as workers nor as students. I presume that this makes it difficult to secure the well-being, freedoms and rights of Filipino au pair migrant women with reference to the studies by Stenum (2008, 2011). Furthermore, existing data on the educational background of Filipino au pairs show that au pairs are much more well-educated than in 1969, when young European girls travelled abroad as au pairs (cf. section 5.2; CFO, 2015:56). Also, the renewed interest in the ‘protection and rescue’ of migrant women in domestic servitude at the beginning of the 2000s have discursively framed issues of domestic work and au pairing, as not only an immigration concern, but equally so, if not a dominating, as a criminal concern. This may silence issues of social protection in terms of the human and labour rights of migrant domestic workers and au pairs, thus characterising a discursive effect. In continuation hereof, I move on to discuss possibilities for change in the form of discursive re-problematisations in relation to transnational civil society.

6.2.1 Transnational Civil Society: An Enabler of Re-Problematisation?

The ‘import’ and ‘export’ of increasing numbers of foreign workers, and the feminisation of care migration in particular, has created many challenges that require attention from both governments, trade unions and NGOs in origin as well as destination countries. The major challenges arise notably in contexts of high informalisation, temporariness and/or illegality where migrants, as a result, are not organised politically (Piper, 2008:247). Both academics and policy makers have recognised that migrant associations, trade unions and other civil society institutions have an important role to play in the empowerment of migrants, especially female migrants (Ford & Piper, 2006; IPU, ILO & UNHCR, 2015). The discourse of empowerment are here understood as incorporation of the perspective of the disempowered, and relates to the provision of agency, understood as the opportunity and capability to make choices of one’s own life and act upon them. The latter can be exercised individually and collectively. Individual agency can be viewed as related to rights (Briones, 2009), and collective agency involves the setting up of a formal agency that act on behalf of a group (Piper, 2008:251). The NGO environment has often brought the process of empowering migrant workers, and women in specific, forward. Moreover, power is explicitly recognised in the notion of empowerment, as empowerment entails “*the process of changing power relations in favour of those at the lower levels of a hierarchy*” (Presser and Sen, 2001:17). In terms of migrant

workers' rights, Piper have shown how migrant worker organisations and NGOs working on migrant issues have taken on an important role in filling the gap within traditional trade unionism in relation to the difficulties of labour movements to organise and represent migrant workers, as it historically has been rather anti-immigrant (Piper, 2008:248).

According to Yamanaka and Piper (2005) and Parreñas (2007), the ratification of the United Nations' ICRMW and the following passing of the RA 8042 in 1995 by the Philippine government could not have been brought about without Filipinos' extensive transnational networks that connect supportive efforts worldwide on behalf of more than 5 million Filipino overseas workers. In this regard, Ong (1991) have shown that Filipino women, as well as men, effectively can engage in political resistance, and thus contrasting how women's activism may have been portrayed elsewhere as unproductive and invisible. The Philippines have a long tradition for political activism and feminist movements, and Filipino civil society movements have fought for the protection of the environment and for the human rights of indigenous and poor people. The culmination of such grassroots activism was the 1986 "Peoples Power" revolution, which overthrew the Marcos regime. The migrant worker activism we are witnessing today has grown out of these grassroots movements, as Philippine NGOs have been heavily involved in public debate and campaigns, since the creation of the Philippine labour export regime in 1974 (Yamanaka & Piper, 2005:29). In response to strong pushes from NGOs in the mid 1990s, the Philippine government has become, among all labour exporting countries, the most active protector of its migrant nationals (Ibid.30). However, in the submission of information on behalf of Philippines NGOs and trade unions in the second periodic report to the UN Committee on Migrant Workers, the Philippine Migrants Rights Watch (PMRW)¹¹ directed attention to the "*lack of coordination in migration governance*" as migration policies are implemented at different institutional levels within the administration, rather than by a Single Department – the latter being what the civil society recommends (PNTUSI, 2014:3). Furthermore, the PMRW states that international migration remains in the domain of the national government and civil society, and

¹¹ The PMRW is a civil society network, with 14 member organisations from Europe and Asia, encouraging the fulfilment and protection of migrants' rights in the Philippines and abroad (<http://www.pmrw.org.ph>).

that the relation between the two have improved since 2009, however leaving out inclusion of local governments in the implementation of protection of migrants' rights and leaving the initiatives to originate from civil society actors (PNTUSI, 2014:7).

In 2014, in the Asia-Pacific Decent Work Decade (2006-2015), the PMRW in collaboration with the ILO issued the document "The rights of domestic workers. Primer on ILO Convention No. 189 and RA 10361 Domestic Workers Act"¹². The document was issued as a tool of empowerment and has been distributed widely among member organisations of the ILO and PMRW. It recognises explicitly domestic work as "*valuable*" to individual families and to the functioning of economies, and directs attention to the unrecognised and informal nature of the phenomena. POEA Administrator, Hans Leo J. Cacdac, argued at the 2013 High-Level Dialogue on Migration: "*Because of domestic workers, employers fulfill their basic civic responsibility to have proper homes and raise good families*" (in Primer, 2014:1). The representation of reproductive work as valuable is too evident in this quote, however a dichotomy is also evident between the feminised responsibility of the family in the private sphere, and the masculinised, firm manager's responsibilities in the public sphere. The embedded gendered binary between paid and unpaid domestic work makes it difficult to talk about for instance migrant men in domestic work, such as gardening and other exterior housework.

From an international perspective, the International Trade Union Confederation General Secretary, Sharan Burrow, have stated that: "*We stand united with all domestic workers who are determined to fight until all domestic workers are free from exploitation and forced labour and enjoy rights and protections – in law and practice – like any other workers*" (ITUC, 2015). Since the promotion of the ILO CDWDW, the growing movement of domestic workers have succeeded in securing labour rights, such as minimum wage, social protection, regulation of working time and the rights to one day off a week (Ibid.). In this way, the CDWDW can be viewed as a significant means of re-problematisation, as it have put "domestic work" on the international policy agenda. The opening up of the discursive field in recognizing domestic work as real work, have made issues, which were previously invisible, detectable and subject

¹² Link to document via: http://www.reimaginerpe.org/files/Convention%20189%20wcms_334260.pdf

to public discussion. However, this is merely the case when talking about *fully recognized* forms of domestic work. The au pair scheme represents an ambiguity in terms of definition of the form as identified in the previous section, cf. section 6.1. Against this background, au pairs have been less visible in public discourse concerning migration for domestic work, making it the more difficult to politicize au pairing as ‘real work’, because of their unclear legal status. Nonetheless, the UN CDWDW has been an important instrument also in relation to au pair, as it has provided the possibility for inclusion of au pairs. However, the majority of national governments in receiving countries have yet to ratify the convention, cf. section 2.2. Reasons as to why so many countries still have not ratified the CDWDW, I presume, can be related to the lack of political will in the global human rights protection regime. In this regard, Pécoud and de Guchteneire (2007) have argued that one important argument against the CDWDW, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is that securing the rights of irregular migrants will stimulate additional clandestine migration and undermine the sovereignty of member states. So, despite initiatives to incorporate human rights in the governance of international migration in general, and for domestic work in particular, the discourse of ‘securing migrants’ human rights’ still needs acceptance and political support in countries at the receiving end of global care chains. This may very well be an explanation as to why the political pressure on the labour rights of au pairs has been rather symbolic.

In the case of au pairing in Denmark, the Danish labour market is highly regulated, in comparison to most other countries, through agreements between employers’ organisations and trade unions. Most workers are trade union members, however trade union memberships among migrant domestic workers are rare (Hansen, 2010: 217). FOA, a Danish trade union, recognises the ambiguous legal status of au pairs and does not view the scheme as a cultural exchange program, but rather as an employer-employee relationship. In turn, FOA offers au pairs a union membership at a reduced monthly price of DKK 25, and in return the au pair receives a magazine eight times a year, free counselling, invitations to social events and networks with other au pairs, and the monthly newsletter “Au Pair Speaks”. Furthermore, the Chairman of FOA, Dennis Kristensen, have criticised the au pair scheme for not granting au pairs the same rights, as other people are covered by in Danish labour laws. He states that, “*If the scheme is to live up to regular Danish decency, the work of au pairs must be*

recognised exactly as what it is: Work. This must be reflected in both wages and other conditions” (My translation, FOA, 2017). Stenum argues in her study on domestic work in Europe, in which she conducted interviews with government officials, researchers and representatives from civil society organisations, that the issue of au pairing to Europe was widely perceived of as a kind of domestic work, and au pairs were throughout the interviews often compared to domestic workers going to the Middle East (Stenum, 2011:36). Moreover, au pairing is widely represented in Danish media, as work or a “helping hand” in the hustle and bustle of everyday life, and equally so viewed as a site of abuse, since attention often is directed to stories of exploitation (Stenum, 2008; Jensen, 2013). However, the spokesperson on family matters from one of the ruling parties, the Liberal Party of Denmark, Louise Schack Elholm have argued, that the party does not intend to change the existing au pair scheme, as *“it in some cases seems like cultural exchange, and I do not believe that we should ditch the au pair scheme, because it does not work in other cases”* (My translation, JP, 2013). Since Filipino women make up the vast majority of au pairs in Denmark, to be exactly 4015 in the year 2012-2015 (CFO, 2015:59), grassroots activism in Denmark concerning au pair migrants’ rights has predominantly been reserved to Filipino diaspora networks. The NGO Babaylan Denmark – Philippine Women’s Network (BDPWN) welcomed the lifting of the au pair ban and the new guidelines, notably the insurance of repatriation of au pairs in case of injuries or death. The BDPWN emphasises the cultural aspects of the au pair scheme, and seeks to support Filipino women, particularly au pairs, and to promote Philippine culture, for instance through cultural events, which also are open to host families (Liversage et.al, 2013:268). Moreover, the BDPWN¹³ aims at changing notions of Filipina au pairs as domestic workers and nannies in Philippine and Danish media. The network also supports the prohibition of recruitment agencies, which are seen as promoters of the idea of au pairs being domestic workers, in turn creating expectations among host families to the au pair being a domestic worker – instead the BDPWN favours direct contact through the Internet or NGOs, denoting the cultural aspects of the scheme. Against this background, a pattern emerges with the Danish government and the BDPWN framing au pair migration as a cultural exchange program, while FOA, and to some extent academia, represents the au pair scheme as an employment

¹³ Babaylan Denmark - The Philippine Women’s Network: www.babaylan.dk

relationship. While FOA, along with opposition parties to the liberal government, have succeeded in promoting some social security for Filipino au pairs. Danish state and government officials are assigned a certain role within the WPR-approach, as Bacchi have argued that their specific policy problematisations tend to stick, cf. section 4.1. In this view, one could argue that au pair scheme serves as a means of de-politicising a full recognition of the labour rights of foreign migrant women.

6.3 Conclusion

Conclusively, I have identified two forms of representation of au pair migration across the EU, Philippine and Danish policy documents in section 6.1. The first surrounds a ‘family model’, where the au pair is defined as part of the host family, emphasising the cultural aspects and unpaid work of the scheme, building on the EAAPP from 1969. In contrast, the second representation has been promoted since the start of the 2010s and concerns a ‘work model’, in which au pairing is defined as paid domestic work, entitling the au pair to certain labour rights. The creation of political subjects, within the selected practical texts, has political consequences in the form of social exclusions. This dynamic, also defined as dividing practices, has been made evident in the binary created between the ‘active, skilled, flexible, and investment-willing’ migrant and the ‘passive, un-skilled, low-paid, and helpless’ migrant. Also, migrant women as a categorised respectively as ‘potential heroines fighting gender disadvantages and building nations’ or as ‘victims vulnerable to exploitation by (male) employers or criminal networks’. These dichotomies are connected to the popular ‘migration management’ discourse, creating migrants as object of control, and rests on the certain forms of knowledge promoted by the neoliberal development discourse and feminist discourses on development and female mobility, cf. sections 2.1 and 5.1. In terms of the au pair scheme, such dividing practices can also be identified, as a binary is created between the ‘real, skilled, formally paid domestic workers’ and the ‘informal, unskilled, informally or unpaid domestic workers’, with Filipino au pair migrants being mainly identified in relation to the latter. The construction of au pairing as a grey area within existing policies, although attempts have been made to make it seem more standardised, produces specific subjectification effects, as au pair migrant women, who predominantly are Filipinas, are positioned as ‘young, dependent and temporary students’ and as part of

the host family. However, existing research shows that Filipino au pair migrant women often are highly educated, with a majority having finished a college degree. In this regard, power is discretely functioning as a silencing technique of issues such as the de-skilling of third country immigrants in Europe. Since au pairs are vaguely identified as being neither students nor workers within the current au pair policy regime, I presume that this makes it difficult to secure the well-being, freedoms and human and social rights of Filipino au pair migrant women. In accordance, the renewed interest in the ‘protection and rescue’ of migrant women in domestic ‘slavery’ at the beginning of the 2000s have discursively framed issues of domestic work and au pairing, as not only an immigration concern, but equally so, if not predominantly, as a criminal concern. This dividing practice serves to silence issues of social protection in terms of the human and labour rights, as well experiences of active agency, of female migrant domestic workers and au pairs, thus characterising a discursive effect. Additionally, the ‘import’ and ‘export’ of increasing numbers of migrant workers, and the feminisation of migration for domestic work in particular, has created many challenges that require attention from both governments, trade unions and NGOs in origin as well as destination countries. Both academics and policy makers have recognised that migrant associations, trade unions and other civil society institutions have an important role to play in the empowerment of migrants, especially female migrants. In regards to promotion and implementation of the ILO CDWD, the role of transnational Philippine advocacy networks has been significant, as it has engaged the growing movement of domestic workers, which have succeeded in securing the recognition of domestic work as ‘real’ work and in turn – to some extents - the labour rights of domestic workers. In this way, the CDWDW can be viewed as a substantial means of re-problematisation, as it have put “domestic work” on international and national policy agendas. The opening of the discursive field has made issues that were previously invisible, detectable and subject to public discussion. However, this is only the case when concerned with *fully recognized* forms of domestic work. In terms of the unclear legal representations of the au pair scheme, au pairs have been less visible in public discourse concerning migration for domestic work, making it the more difficult to politicize au pairing as ‘real work’. Nevertheless, the UN CDWDW has been an important instrument in relation to au pair migration, as it has provided NGOs, trade unions and policy makers the possibility for social inclusion of au pairs. However, the majority of national

governments in receiving countries have yet to ratify the CDWDW. So, despite initiatives to incorporate human rights in the governance of international migration in general, and for domestic work in particular, the discourse of ‘securing migrants’ human and labour rights’ still needs acceptance and political support in countries at the receiving end of global care chains.

7. Final Conclusion

7.1 Concluding remarks

At the beginning of my thesis, I sat out to investigate how the transnational movements of female migrants into domestic work are discursively framed as a political ‘problem’ at both the sending and receiving ends of the global care chain, as well as to evaluate the role of transnational civil society in terms securing migrants’, and in particular women’s, labour and human rights. I have done so by applying the WPR approach to policy analysis, building on the notion of governmentality by Foucault, supplemented with a global perspective on migration that discards methodological individualism and methodological nationalism in order to examine transnational spaces of power within which migrants and transnational connections occur in specific localities. In applying the WPR approach, I have identified how labour migration for domestic work and the feminised outflows of migrant women in the Philippines are discursively represented within policy documents, such as labour and migration legislation, government agency guidelines and implementation material. Moreover, I have identified the conceptual logics and political rationalities that lodge within the identified policy representations by applying the term of governmentality, showing how the neoliberal development discourse serves as a certain mode of problematisation, denoting a particular way of thinking about migration management, the role of the individual migrant and the value of skilled and un-skilled labour. This form of governmentality plays into the general construction of a binary between on the one side, ‘the formally employed, flexible, income-generating and potential national hero’-migrant, and on the other, the ‘informally and/or illegally employed, passive and helpless’-migrant, the latter being primarily characterized by traditionally feminized and devaluated work spheres.

Representations of migrant women are furthermore identified to categorize women, either as significant nation-builders, placing the responsibility of the survival of not only immediate family members, but of whole local communities, businesses and governments on their shoulders, or as distressed and vulnerable to exploitation and therefore in the need of control and training. Then, I moved on to trace the genealogy or historical ‘roots’ of the identified Philippine labour migration regime and the gendering of the migration out-flows of domestic workers, with an emphasis on legal and institutional arrangements; political and economic developments and discourses

on migration and development; and feminisation of migrant labour flows into the global care industry and the role of women as development agents in state policies. I argued that modernization policies, such as structural adjustment programs and uncontrolled labour export, could be extremely destabilising for whole populations, but especially for women and the structures of possibility available to them. Then, I reasoned that the choices of migrant women to a large extent are shaped by sociocultural gender norms that place the sole responsibility to secure and protect the private household on the shoulders of individual women. Historically gendered responsibilities and vulnerabilities, as well as the heavily gender-segregated labour market in the Philippines, have also encouraged women to sell their care services on the global market. From this point of analysis, I emphasised the political representations of ‘domestic work’ and its relation to the representation of the ‘au pair scheme’ within the particular transnational policy space concerning Filipino au pair migration to Europe and especially Denmark. I identified two distinct forms of representations of au pair migration across the selected EU, Philippine and Danish policy documents. The first views the au pair arrangement as a ‘family model’, where the au pair is defined as part of the host family, emphasising the cultural aspects and unpaid work of the scheme, building on the EAAPP from 1969. In contrast, the second representation has been promoted since the start of the 2010s and concerns a ‘work model’, in which au pairing is defined as paid domestic work, entitling the au pair to certain labour rights. The discursive production of political subjects has political consequences in the form of dividing practices, which denotes socio-political exclusionary dynamics. These dividing practices are identified in the analysis as contributing to the binary created between the ‘active, formally employed and skilled’ migrant, and the ‘un-skilled, informally and/or illegally employed helpless’-migrant. Furthermore, migrant women are categorised respectively as ‘potential heroines fighting gender disadvantages and building nations’ or as ‘victims vulnerable to exploitation by (male) employers or criminal networks’. These dichotomies are connected to the popular ‘migration management’ discourse, creating migrants as object of control, and rests on the certain forms of knowledge promoted by the neoliberal development discourse and feminist discourses on development and female mobility. In terms of the au pair scheme, such dividing practices can also be identified, as a binary is created between the ‘real, skilled, formally paid domestic workers’ and the ‘unskilled, informally or unpaid domestic workers’, with Filipino au

pair migrants being mainly identified in relation to the latter. The construction of au pairing as a grey area within existing policies, although attempts have been made to make it seem more standardised, produces specific subjectification effects, as au pair migrant women, who predominantly are Filipinas, are positioned as ‘young, dependent and temporary students’ and as part of the host family. However, existing research shows that Filipino au pair migrant women often are highly educated, with a majority having finished a college degree. In this regard, power is discretely functioning as a silencing technique of issues such as the de-skilling of third country immigrants in Europe. Since au pairs are vaguely identified as being neither students nor workers within the current au pair policy regime, I presume that this makes it difficult to secure the well-being, freedoms and human and social rights of Filipino au pair migrant women. In accordance, the renewed interest in the ‘protection and rescue’ of migrant women in domestic ‘slavery’ at the beginning of the 2000s have discursively framed issues of domestic work and au pairing, as not only an immigration concern, but equally so, if not predominantly, as a criminal concern. This dividing practice serves to silence issues of social protection in terms of the human and labour rights, as well experiences of active agency, of female migrant domestic workers and au pairs, thus also characterising a discursive effect. Finally, I moved on to discuss the role of transnational Filipino civil society network organisations, as well as of international and Danish trade unions, in the discursive representation of domestic work and au pairing. This was done in order to evaluate the existence of a space for re-problematism of the au pair scheme. Additionally, the ‘import’ and ‘export’ of increasing numbers of migrant domestic workers, and the feminisation of migration for domestic work in particular, has created many challenges that require attention from both governments, trade unions and NGOs in origin as well as destination countries. Both academics and policy makers have recognised that migrant associations, trade unions and other civil society institutions have an important role to play in the empowerment of migrants, especially female migrants. In regards to promotion and implementation of the ILO CDWD, the role of transnational Philippine advocacy networks has been noteworthy, as it has engaged the growing movement of domestic workers, which have succeeded in securing the discursive recognition of domestic work as ‘real’ work and in turn – to some extents - the labour rights of domestic workers. In this way, the CDWDW can be viewed as a significant means of re-problematism, as it have put “domestic work” on international policy agendas.

The opening of the discursive field has made issues that were previously invisible, detectable and subject to public discussion. However, this is only the case in relation to *fully recognized* forms of domestic work. In terms of the vague legal representations of the au pair scheme, au pairs have been less visible in public discourse concerning migration for domestic work, making it the more difficult to politicize au pairing as ‘real work’. Still, the CDWDW has been an important instrument in relation to au pair migration, as it has provided NGOs, trade unions and policy makers the possibility for social inclusion of au pairs. However, the majority of national governments in receiving countries have yet to ratify the convention. As I have shown in the cases of the Philippine-Danish au pair guidelines, and in the policy of the Danish government, the au pair scheme so far continues to be represented as a cultural exchange arrangement. This also represents what Bacchi argues in relation to the role of the state, when it comes to problematisations, as the state’s problematisations often tend to stick, thus making it the more difficult to challenge.

So, despite initiatives to incorporate human rights in the governance of international migration in general, and for domestic work in particular, the discourse of ‘securing migrants’ human and labour rights’ still needs acceptance and political support in countries at the receiving end of global care chains. However, the lack of political will, I estimate to have to do with increasing anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe, and the concern of receiving states in general that full recognition of migrant workers’ rights inevitably will mean increased pressure on national welfare systems.

7.2 Recommendations for further research

If I am to look forward and expand on an area of scientific inquiry that need to be further scrutinised, I have become aware of a gender bias that figure in some existing studies on the migration trajectories and experiences of individual migrants within global care chains. Often the standpoint of migrant women, and the consequences of transnational migration on the individual migrant household, is given more attention, than for instance investigations into the male experiences in migrant domestic work.

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