

MAID OR MADAM? Filipina Migrant Workers and the Continuity of Domestic Labor

PEI-CHIA LAN
National Taiwan University

This article examines the complexity of feminized domestic labor in the context of global migration. I view unpaid household labor and paid domestic work not as dichotomous categories but as structural continuities across the public and private spheres. Based on a qualitative study of Filipina migrant domestic workers in Taiwan, I demonstrate how women travel through the maid/madam boundary—housewives in home countries become breadwinners by doing domestic work overseas, and foreign maids turn into foreign brides. While migrant women sell their domestic labor in the market, they remain burdened with gendered responsibilities in their own families. Their simultaneous occupancy of paid and unpaid domestic labor is segmented into distinct spatial settings. I underscore women's agency by presenting how they articulate their paid and unpaid domestic labor and bargain with the monetary and emotional value of their labor.

Keywords: *domestic labor; domestic work; migrant worker; migrant women; the Philippines*

Recently, feminist scholars have paid attention to the gendered division of housework and domestic employment across class and racial lines. Yet as Mary Romero (1992) has pointed out, these studies are still divided into two distinct groups: Most studies of unpaid housework address only white, middle-class women, whereas the literature on domestic service is generally about women of color. To separate these two topics ignores their articulation and embeddedness. The gender battle over housework at home is influenced by the availability of domestic service in the market; those who offer domestic service are often wives and mothers who take care of

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *An earlier version of this article won the 2001 Sally Hacker Graduate Student Paper Award given by the Sex and Gender Section of the American Sociological Association. This research was funded by a Dissertation Year Fellowship at Northwestern University, Chiang Ching-Kwo Foundation, and the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica. I am thankful for the comments of Christine Bose, Sharon Hays, Carol Heimer, Arlie Hochschild, Gary Alan Fine, Jacqueline Litt, Teri Silvio, Barrie Thorne, Mary Zimmerman, and three anonymous Gender & Society reviewers. My last but not the least gratitude goes to all the informants who shared their stories and lives with me.*

REPRINT REQUESTS: *Pei-Chia Lan, Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan; e-mail: pclan@ccms.ntu.edu.tw.*

GENDER & SOCIETY, Vol. 17 No. 2, April 2003 187-208
DOI: 10.1177/0891243202250730
© 2003 Sociologists for Women in Society

their own families and households as well. A flawed dichotomy between the terms "maid" and "madam"¹ blinds us to women's multiple roles and fluid trajectories. To explore women's agency in facing the complex organization of domestic labor, we need new ways of conceptualizing domestic labor that "transcend the constructed oppositions of public-private and labor-love" (Nakano Glenn 1994, 16).

To fill in this theoretical gap, I view unpaid household labor and paid domestic work not as separate entities in an exclusive dichotomy but as structural continuities across the public/private divide. I develop the concept of the continuity of domestic labor to describe the feminization of domestic labor as multiple forms of labor done by women in both the public and private spheres. These labor activities, situated in different circumstances, are associated with shifting meanings (money/love) and fluid boundaries (maid/madam). I will elaborate this concept using the life experiences of Filipina migrant domestic workers in Taiwan. Some of these workers are housewives in the Philippines, but they, as overseas maids, become breadwinners, transnational mothers, and even domestic employers; the others are single women, who turn into old maids or foreign brides. The gendered assignment of domestic labor has channeled these women's life chances in both the family and market and in the local as well as in the global context.

THE CONTINUITY OF DOMESTIC LABOR

Domestic labor, which refers to the labor activities that sustain the daily maintenance of a household, is accomplished by a variety of agents, with multiple formats, and in different settings. Family members, mostly women, carry out some household chores and caring labor themselves while transferring other parts of domestic labor to the market economy. For example, people purchase prepared-to-cook foods and mass-produced clothes, and they hire commercial services for duties like child care, cleaning, and gardening. These various arrangements of domestic labor are associated with different forms of compensation. Unpaid labor of female kin is considered a labor of love whose emotional value is related to the ideals of womanhood, such as the cult of domesticity and intensive motherhood among white middle-class Americans (Hays 1996; Palmer 1989). In contrast, the value of domestic service done by nonfamily workers, predominantly minority women, is redeemed through wages.

Women in distinct social locations possess uneven resources to organize their own household labor and the market form of domestic service. Women who can afford the purchase of goods and services outsource a significant portion of their domestic responsibility to the market. They deliberate about what labor is socially acceptable to transfer to commercial agents without diminishing their status as "the lady of the house" (Kaplan 1987). The transfer of mothering labor permits these socially privileged women to enjoy the emotional value of motherhood, elevated to the status of "mother-manager" (Katz Rothman 1989). Those women who contribute paid domestic service are, however, forced to neglect their own families.

Although receiving monetary rewards for their labor, these mother-domestics struggle to sustain family bonds and achieve motherhood with unpaid or underpaid assistance from their extended kin.

Despite the importance of identifying the opposition between maid and madam, in this article, I would like to modify such dichotomous categorization by articulating a fluid, dynamic conception of domestic labor. I suggest that we analyze unpaid household labor and waged domestic work as structural continuities² that characterize the feminization of domestic labor across the public and private spheres. When recruiting nannies or maids, employers often request information on their experiences of mothering or housekeeping for their own families as an assurance of their capability for paid domestic work. Conversely, a woman who has worked as a domestic worker is often considered by her mate to have better wifely and motherly potential. Individual women, during their life course, may engage in diverse forms of domestic labor that are nevertheless consistently constructed as women's work.

Domestic labor, both paid and unpaid, is entangled with an interchange between emotional value and monetary value. The economic devaluation of unpaid household labor is often rationalized by the compensation of its moral value (Folbre 1991). A similar equation between money and love is used to explain low wages among care workers. According to Paula England and Nancy Folbre (1999), not only are caring skills and functions culturally devalued due to gender bias, but their monetary value is also underestimated because of the social belief that love and care are demeaned by commodification. Such beliefs are shared by neoclassical economists who argue that care workers receive low wages because of their receipt of emotional compensation as an intrinsic reward of their jobs.

I develop the concept of the continuity of domestic labor to describe the affinity between unpaid household labor and waged domestic labor—both are feminized work attached with moral merits and yet undervalued in cash. This concept especially sheds light on the life experiences of migrant domestic workers, who are situated in multiple, sometimes contradictory, locations. For them, taking care of the employer's family and taking care of their own family are interdependent activities, and the boundary between madam and maid is fluctuating and permeable. Migrant women may cross the madam/maid line through sequential movements in two opposite directions: First, migrant women who are homemakers in their home countries become breadwinners performing overseas waged domestic work. Second, single migrant women may seek international marriages as a path of social mobility, changing status from a maid who offers waged service for her foreign employers to a wife who offers unpaid household labor for her foreign husband.

The other experience that penetrates the maid/madam distinction is the simultaneous occupancy of domestic and labor force roles. Migrant women sell their domestic labor in the market but remain burdened with the gendered responsibilities in their own families. Although they consistently serve as providers of caring labor to others (their family as well as the employer), these labor activities are nevertheless conducted in segmented spatial settings. In reality, they experience a relation of conflict or disarticulation between these two simultaneous roles. While

migrant women stay overseas to assist in the maintenance of another family, those who are mothers have to neglect their own children left behind, and those who are single sacrifice the prospect of starting their own families.

In this article, I illustrate the idea of the continuity of domestic labor with the case of Filipina migrant domestic workers in Taiwan. I divide my informants into two categories, migrant mothers and single migrants, who develop different experiences with motherhood and marriage, two major institutions that characterize the gendered division of domestic labor (Tung 1999). I ask the following questions: How does the structural continuity between unpaid domestic labor and paid domestic work affect the life trajectories of these women? How do they attempt to maintain or establish their own families while working overseas to take care of others' families? and How do they define their womanhood by negotiating the forms and meanings of their domestic labor?

DATA AND METHOD

Taiwan's government opened the gate to migrant domestic workers beginning in the early 1990s, and since then, it has become a major receiving country in Asia. The government's policy is presented as a solution to the growing demands for housekeeping and care services among the expanding nuclear households and aging population in contemporary Taiwan. Despite employer qualifications being highly regulated under a quota system, the number of Taiwanese households employing migrant domestic workers has rapidly increased within a decade. Currently, more than 110,000 foreigners are legally employed as domestic helpers or caretakers in this country. Ninety percent of them are women from the Philippines and Indonesia, and the rest are from Thailand and Vietnam (Council of Labor Affairs 2002).

My research focuses on migrant domestic workers from the Philippines, which is now the world's second largest labor-exporting country (Asian Migrant Centre 2000). Filipino migrants possess a competitive advantage in the global labor market due to their adequate education and English proficiency. Their predominant destinations have recently switched from North America and Europe to the Middle East and East Asia.³ Taiwan has now become the fourth major host country, after Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, and Japan. Domestic workers are a major part of the migrant labor force from the Philippines. Currently, more than half of Filipina overseas workers are placed in service occupations, mainly as cleaners, caretakers, and domestic helpers (National Statistics Office 2002).

This article is based on ethnographic data and in-depth interviews collected between July 1998 and July 1999. I did volunteer work in a church-based non-governmental organization in Taipei and frequently attended social outings with Filipina migrants on Sundays. I also conducted interviews with 56 Filipina domestic workers within and outside of this community. The interviews (conducted in English) ranged from 30 minutes to 2 hours in length. All informants were aware of

my research. As often as possible, I listened to their conversations (or asked them to translate for me if in Tagalog) and joined the dialogues. I recorded some of these conversations, but more often, I jotted notes and wrote them up in detail after I went home.⁴

To supplement my fieldwork in Taiwan, I made two trips to the Philippines, one in April 1999 and one in February 2002. I visited nine informants (all previously interviewed in Taiwan) who went home for vacation or had already finished their contracts in Taiwan. Through their referrals, I also interviewed some of their families and neighbors who worked overseas before. Unless special mention is made, all data quoted in this article were collected in Taiwan.

Among the 56 informants, 50 workers were documented, and 6 were undocumented. The majority (32) were in their 30s, while 15 were in their 20s and 9 were in their 40s. Their marriage status varied: 23 were single, 18 were married, and 15 were separated or widowed. One-third of my informants had college degrees, another third received some college education, and the rest were high school graduates. All interviews were done in English, and all the names used in this article are pseudonyms.

My analysis is divided into four sections that illustrate the experiences of migrant domestic workers in relation to the continuity of domestic labor. First, the feminization of domestic work allows Filipina housewives to have better opportunities than their husbands to land a job overseas and to become the primary breadwinner in the family. Second, migrant mothers play multiple roles to manage their paid and unpaid domestic labor at the same time. They are transnational mothers, substitute mothers, and even remote madams who hire maids in the Philippines. Third, single migrants experience the disarticulation of their paid and unpaid domestic labor—they face difficulties in building their own families when working overseas to maintain others' families. Last, some single migrants enter international marriages to escape the stigmatized status of (old) maid. The structural affinity between domestic work and household labor enhances their chances in the international marriage market.

FROM HOUSEWIFE TO BREADWINNER MAID

Despite the fact that a substantial number of married women hold waged jobs in the Philippines, the ideal Filipino family consists of a male breadwinner and a female housekeeper, and housework and child care are predominantly considered women's duties (Go 1993). The cultural heritages of the Spanish and American colonial regimes have inscribed male-centered gender relations that remain influential today (Illo 1995). Paradoxically, the patriarchal logic that governs an unequal division of household labor has created a niche for Filipina women in the global labor market. Women have even more advantages over their husbands in seeking jobs overseas. Most Filipino families in my study went through a similar migration pattern: During the 1980s, the husband left the wife and children at home to work in

the Middle East. In the 1990s, it became the wife's turn to work abroad, and the husband stayed in the Philippines with the children. This transition happened due to the decline of male-oriented construction and manufacturing jobs in the Middle East during and after the Gulf War, in contrast to the growing demands for domestic workers in other host countries (Tarcoll 1996).

Roland Tolentino (1996, 58) described this transition for Filipina domestic workers: "Unpaid home labor in the domestic sphere becomes paid labor in international spaces." When these women shift their status from housewives to domestic workers, they perform similar duties but in geographically distinct settings. Their domestic labor, which was compensated by nothing but emotional value, is now paid for in cash when working overseas. Anamaria, a homemaker in the Philippines, points out the similarity and difference between her former work and her new job of cleaning and cooking for a Taiwanese family: "Working here is the same as working in my house in the Philippines," followed by a naughty smile, "but I get paid here!"

It is true that many migrant domestics suffer from endless requests from employers and long working hours in a live-in employment situation. But for women who were full-time employees in the Philippines, the workload in an overseas domestic job may be less than their double shifts at home. Says Vanessa, a former bookstore supervisor:

In the Philippines, I am exhausted. I wake up early. I cook. I wash. When my children come home after school, I am still working. They heat the food I cook in the morning. Here, [the work is] easy. In the afternoon, I finish my work, I can just rest, watch HBO like this [crosses her legs and puts her feet on the table]. So look at me [points at her body], I have gained 10 pounds in the last six months!

Vanessa and many other Filipinas worked alone in Taiwan, separated from their husbands and children at home. Their migration pattern is different from the prevalent male-headed migration pattern, in which men's family authority and access to migrant network resources favor husbands' initial departure.⁵ Filipina workers in Taiwan and other Asian countries are independent migrants because contract-based employment excludes the options of permanent settlement and family reunification. Such a feminized migration pattern helps Filipina homemakers expand the scope of their lives and become the primary breadwinners in their families.

For example, Naomi and her husband, both in their mid-30s, own a chicken farm in the Philippines. The business is okay, but the household income seems modest considering their two-year-old son's future education. Hence, Naomi applied for jobs overseas, a decision made on her own: "I decided. My husband said OK. He will take care of our son with his parents. I have always wanted to work abroad when I was younger anyway." Naomi quit college and got married at the age of 18, and now she perceives working abroad as a belated chance for her to explore the world: "I want to see a different world. Before, I never had a chance to see different things. I got married too early."

Women's moves across borders and traditional gender roles result in drastic changes in their couple relations. Filipina migrants use the terms "houseband" or "huswife" to mock their "domesticated" husbands who stay home and perform most domestic tasks (Margold 1995). I frequently heard complaints that their husbands failed to adequately perform their new gender role, especially in the matter of household budgeting. Despite this, the shifting of social positions offers no guarantee that the husbands of migrant workers will take over domestic duties. Some of their husbands drink or gamble to excess when they are no longer in charge of the daily duty of breadwinning. In addition, another major concern troubles the minds of many Filipina migrants, as shown in this conversation I had with three Filipina migrants:

Helen: You remember Lisa? She went home for a vacation and came back again. She caught her husband with another wife. [Everybody sighs.]

Claudia: Many families are into troubles when one of them works abroad. Because the wife works abroad, she sends a lot of money to the husband. Every day is like his birthday. Then the man has a concubine, and the woman has a relationship abroad. Because they feel lonely!

Olivia: When the wife is not there, the husband finds himself so miserable, and he thinks, "I earn less than my wife," so he finds another woman!

The Philippine media coined the term "Saudi Syndrome" to describe the anxieties of Filipino workers who were employed in the Middle East and were worried about their wives' infidelity at home (Arcinas, Banzon-Bautista, and David 1986). Filipina migrants harbor similar worries about their husbands left in the Philippines. The likelihood that a migrant woman's husband will have affairs is considered even higher than that for a migrant's wife. The rationale is described by Olivia—the "domesticated" husband feels "inferior" and "miserable" because his masculinity is "endangered" by a wife who makes more money than he does.

I interviewed Linda and her husband in the Philippine province where they lived. The husband used to work in Hong Kong as a construction worker but had been unemployed since his return. Linda then went to Taiwan as a domestic worker for two years. At the time of interview, the family income was earned exclusively by Linda, who sold snacks at street corners. As Linda's savings were being rapidly dissipated by supporting three children enrolled in expensive private schools, one of the parents would soon have to work abroad again. Linda talked about how they considered possible arrangements for the future:

Author: Would you like to go to Taiwan again?

Linda: I don't know. He [my husband] said just stay home and sell *halo-halo* (a street dessert). He said he will go because Filipino men want to show they're macho macho [laughs]. I like life in Taiwan because so many money. Here? No! But here I can be with my children. This is the best.

Author: Who was taking care of your children?

Linda: My husband. He said, "[It is] very hard to be a father and a mother at the same time." That's why he doesn't want to stay behind again. I asked my children, "Do you

want me to work abroad again?" They said, "No, not you, papa." My husband didn't like me to go to Taiwan. He said, "It's not you, it's my responsibility to support the family." He feels ashamed.

Author: So you will not work abroad again?

Linda: Well, if my husband cannot find a job, I will be forced to leave again.

Linda's husband "feels ashamed" about his wife's working abroad to support him and the children. He seeks a job overseas not only to regain the ideal masculine role of breadwinner but also to escape domestic burdens ("[It is] very hard to be a father and a mother at the same time"). In contrast, migrant women like Linda have no choice but to fulfill the double obligations. They are torn by the emotional strain of leaving children behind and the financial pressure of being "forced to leave again." The structural continuity between paid and unpaid labor facilitates these women's obtaining overseas jobs and financial rewards, but in the meantime, they pay the emotional cost of leaving their husbands and children and are stigmatized for their deviation from the ideal of domesticity and motherhood.

REMOTE MADAM, SUBSTITUTE MOTHER

While Filipina migrant workers are mothering others' children overseas, who is taking care of their children? Many rely on grandmothers, aunts, sisters, and other female kin to be substitute mothers; in some cases, the husbands quit their jobs and become full-time homemakers. There are also quite a few migrant mothers who seek non-family members to care for their children. Some consider hired help a better solution than kin caretakers as they find it emotionally difficult to evaluate or criticize the labor performance of relatives. Moreover, kin caregivers are not necessarily cheaper than waged workers because migrant parents are obligated to provide relatives with financial return under the cultural norm of *utang na loob* (debts of gratitude). These migrant domestic workers then become remote madams who hire local women to take care of their families while they are maintaining other households overseas.

Domestic service is one of the largest categories of waged work for women in the Philippines; by 1975, one out of five employed women was in domestic service (Eviota 1992, 88). Many domestics are rural women recruited by employers or recruiters from the city, and domestic work offers them a way to escape poverty in the provinces and access urban middle-class lives. Better-off households in the Philippines usually hire several domestic workers assigned specialized jobs. In addition to *yayas* (nannies) and helpers⁶ (household workers), they also hire live-out workers such as cooks and laundry women. The average wage of a live-in helper or nanny in major cities is about Php1,500 to Php2,000 (U.S.\$30 to U.S.\$40 in 2002) per month. The wage rate is even lower in the provinces. For example, I met a Filipina domestic worker whose wage was a meager Php500 (U.S.\$17 in 1999) per

month. When I asked her if she ever thought of working abroad, she answered me in broken English: "Me? No money!"

During interviews, several Filipina migrant domestic workers said to me, in a proud or embarrassed tone, "You know, I have a maid in the Philippines!" One of them is Christina, a college graduate and a former teacher. She hired a live-in domestic to take care of her children while she was working in Taiwan. Despite holding a similar occupation now, Christina drew a clear distinction between herself and her maid: "My sister was laughing, 'You have a maid in the Philippines, but you are a maid in Taiwan!' I said, 'It's different. They are undereducated. Not everyone can work abroad. You have to be very serious, very determined.'"

Migrant domestic workers' ambivalent status, being an overseas maid yet a remote madam, indicates their intermediate status in the multitiered "international division of reproductive labor" (Salazar Parreñas 2001, 72). On the top tier are middle- and upper-class women in advanced economies who hire migrant workers to mother their children; on the bottom are local women who pick up domestic duties transferred from migrant workers in the middle tier. Other studies have confirmed that the migratory flows from the Philippines are selective: The very poor and chronically unemployed seldom emigrate. The transnational recruitment process has a preference for applicants with high education, skills, working experience, ambition, and economic capital (Alegado 1992). Local domestic helpers are the women who possess less economic and cultural capital; they either are not sufficiently qualified or cannot afford the costs of seeking employment outside of the Philippines.

Migrant mothers received enhanced monetary value for their labor due to higher wage levels in foreign countries; their pecuniary gains enable them to transfer their household labor to poorer women in the Philippines. Becoming a madam at home marks their upgraded social status among village fellows and also brings in psychological compensation for migrants who suffer from class downgrading while working overseas as a maid. To some degree, the feminization of domestic labor has created opportunities for migrant women to improve their life chances, but for local helpers, domestic work remains a dead-end job with little economic value and social recognition.

Still, neither the monetary gains nor the social mobility acquired by migrant mothers cancels out their emotional costs in family separation. Their concurrent duties of unpaid motherhood and surrogate motherhood are segmented by geographic borders. Given the physical distance that hinders migrant mothers from performing their labor of love for their children, migrant mothers now display their love with letters, phone calls, and the money they earn in overseas domestic work. Previous studies have portrayed transnational motherhood with practices like sending children to private schools, purchasing expensive gifts, and remitting generous allowances (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Salazar Parreñas 2001). Similarly, migrant mothers in Taiwan rely on the flow of remittances and packages to maintain emotional bonds on the basis of material dependency.

To equate love with money is fuzzy math, especially when one is faced with a shortage of cash. Evelyn, a single mother in her early 40s, has been doing part-time cleaning jobs after “running away”⁷ from her contract employer five years ago. Since then, she has not been able to visit her two children in the Philippines. Recently, she was diagnosed with a tumor but has no insurance to pay for further treatment. This physical condition has forced her to reduce her workload as well as the remittances sent to her children. Before I departed for my fieldtrip to the Philippines in 1999, Evelyn excitedly told me, “Maybe you can meet my children there!” During my stay in Manila, I did not get any messages from Evelyn’s children but received a phone call from Evelyn one night. She was weeping on the phone:

My children never called you, right? You know what day is today? It’s Mother’s Day! They don’t remember this day or even my birthday! I am very sad, so I called you in the Philippines. I am not going to send them any more money. I’ll see if they will think of me when they have no money.

Evelyn talked about her children in an earlier interview:

Evelyn: I feel very upset about my children. They don’t talk to me. This one . . . I left her studying in college, but now she got married and has a son already. . . . She never told me she got a [boy]friend! She never told me.

Author: Why don’t they talk to you anymore? Are they mad at you or something?

Evelyn: I don’t know. . . . Maybe because I don’t send them money anymore. . . . I am sacrificing my life for *them*! I never never get involved with a man. I need a companion also, but I never think of that. I think only of my family. I don’t want them to become like me. I am suffering for my marriage. But my children, they don’t understand me. Sometimes I have no job! I have no money to give to my landlord. Sometimes I am hungry. I have no food. . . . I never ask them for help.

As Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila (1997) have argued, migrant women, socially defined as primary caregivers, have to distinguish their transnational motherhood from an act of abandonment or disowning of their children. Deeply hurt by her children’s suspicion that she had abandoned the family to enjoy life overseas, Evelyn defended herself by underscoring her practices of virtuous womanhood (“I never get involved with a man”) and selfless motherhood (“I am sacrificing my life for them”). These practices accord with the cultural prescription of ideal womanhood in the Philippines—*mahinhin* (demure, virtuous, pious, or modest)—embodied by the Virgin Mary as well as the noble figures of Filipinas like the folklore character Maria Clara or the national mother Corazon Aquino (Siapno 1995). Despite Evelyn’s efforts to be a virtuous transnational mother, over time, the physical separation obstructed her emotional connections with her children, and her illness hampered her ability to mother them with flows of remittances.

As ties with their children back home are loosening, migrant mothers may find emotional rewards in the job of surrogate motherhood. Scholars have named this situation “diverted mothering” (Wong 1994) or “displaced mothering” (Salazar Parreñas 2000). Rutchelle, a Filipina mother of two in her 30s, has been working for

a Taiwanese household for more than two years. In the church, I frequently saw her along with two Taiwanese children, one girl of five and one boy of four. I assumed that their parents were busy at work, but Rutchelle corrected me: "No, the parents are at home. But the children want to be with me." I asked the boy, Tommy, what his parents were doing that day. He replied, "They're sleeping. Mommy was drinking last night." Rutchelle shook her head and said, "I don't understand why they sleep so much."

Migrant caregivers are often critical of what they perceive as their employers' neglectful and substandard parenting (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997, 565). Several Filipina workers told me, with pride or excitement, about their emotional closeness to the children under their care. They blame their Taiwanese employers for spoiling or neglecting their children: "Their parents are too busy. They don't have time to talk to the children." A Filipina worker quoted what the children said to her at the end of her contract: "We don't want to stay here. We want to go to the Philippines with you!" By "being motherly" to the employers' children, migrant caregivers gain self-esteem in negotiating their identities vis-à-vis their employers (Yeoh and Huang 1999, 297). Such evidence that their employers' children prefer them to their biological mothers confirms migrants' motherly capabilities despite the fact that they have left their own children to work as well.

Migrant caregivers are trapped in an emotional predicament at work: They have to assure their madams that their temporary presence will not shake the status of biological mothers, but they also feel traumatized if their emotional ties with the employers' children are only ephemeral. For instance, Rutchelle tried to comfort Tommy's mother, who sometimes feels jealous about the children's attachment to the migrant nanny: "I told her it's OK. I am only a housekeeper. I am here only temporary. The children have two Filipinas before. They forgot them. Helen, the last one, my boss showed him [Tommy] the picture. He doesn't know her." I checked with Tommy, asking, "Who is Helen?" Indeed, he shook his head. I joked with Tommy, "Helen would be upset if she knew you don't remember her." Rutchelle then grabbed the boy in her arms, saying with confidence, "But they will remember me forever!"

The establishment of emotional bonds with the children under their care is a double-edged sword for migrant caretakers. It provides them with some emotional rewards and social recognition for this undervalued carework, but it may also intensify their pain of separation from their own families and cause them additional emotional loss on termination of the job contract (Nelson 1990; Wrigley 1995). In addition, the emphasis on the emotional value in surrogate motherhood sometimes results in a reduction of monetary compensation received by careworkers. Some employers manipulate workers' attachment to the employers' children to extract additional unpaid labor, such as asking the workers to accompany the children on their days off or to give up annual vacations for the sake of the children.

This section has presented multiple roles taken by migrant mothers that cover a wide range of paid and unpaid domestic labor: They are remote madams who hire local helpers at home, they are transnational mothers who manage to deliver their

love through overseas remittances, and they are substitute mothers who connect to the employers' children with a cash nexus as well as emotional ties. In all these circumstances, migrant mothers are engaged in a continual bargaining for money and love associated with their paid and unpaid mothering work. They have to pay certain emotional and monetary costs to be a good mother, either a transnational or a substitute one.

SINGLE MAID, OLD MAID

Most existing studies have focused on migrant workers who are mothers themselves, ignoring another significant group of single migrant women.⁸ Although these women are not yet tied to their own nuclear families, they are burdened with cultural expectations imposed on single daughters by their original families. Single adult daughters are expected to provide financial assistance to extended family members; the most common form is to sponsor education of younger siblings (Medina 1991). This section examines how single domestic workers negotiate their gendered responsibility to their families of origin and the possibilities of establishing their own families.

Nora, single in her late 30s, has a nursing degree from one of the most prestigious universities in the Philippines. She has been working overseas as a caretaker or domestic, first in Saudi Arabia and then in Taiwan, since the age of 24. Her father died a long time ago, and she is the only one in her family who is working overseas. She remits more than half of her monthly wage to her mother and younger sisters in the Philippines. From time to time, she sends money to other relatives in response to their requests to purchase appliances or to renovate their houses. Nora is also paying her youngest sister's tuition and other expenses in college. She tries to satisfy the sister's financial requests to protect her from the hardship of working overseas, as indicated by one dialogue I had with her:

Author: Will you encourage your sister to work abroad?

Nora: No, the life working abroad is too hard. . . . And I know my sister, she cannot cook, cannot do any housework.

Author: Does she want to come?

Nora: Yes, she wants to. I told her, "If you have a job there, a family there, [stay there and] I can buy you what you need." I just bought her a motorcycle. I told her, "Don't work abroad. It's too hard."

Jovita is another single Filipina who is in her late 20s and has been working overseas as a domestic worker for almost six years. One Sunday, I met her after she had just received a letter from her family. She showed no excitement and seemed upset. Amy, Jovita's best friend, tapped on her shoulder and said, "Well, they must have written to ask you for more money." Jovita nodded and said, "My mother, my sisters, they always ask me to send more money. They ask me why I don't send all the money home. I send NT \$10,000 a month!⁹ I have to leave some for myself." After a

deep sigh, she continued, "I told myself I will just stay to finish this contract because I am already old, feeling tired."

In addition to financial demands from her family, another thing that worries Jovita is the uncertain future after her contract in Taiwan. She wonders if she will be satisfied with the poor wage level in the Philippines. Also, she is concerned that she will not be able to find someone to marry if she continues to work abroad. Similar anxieties are shared by other Filipina single migrants. Rosemary told me the story of her friend, Manny, who is single in her late 20s. Manny's Taiwanese employers are so occupied by their multinational business that they leave Manny and the newborn baby alone at home most of the time. Rosemary described what happened to Manny:

They [the employers] trust her very much. She's happy, because she loves the baby very much. It's like her own baby. When the mama comes home, the baby doesn't like her [the mama] and just cries. Manny's contract is going to finish soon, and the employer said, "We want you to stay forever." Manny said, "No! If I stay here forever, how can I get married and have my own baby?"

Manny's words indicate the conflict between assisting in the maintenance of the employer's family and the worker's desire to build a family of her own. Women's single status is usually associated with the social stigma of spinsterhood, whose equivalent term in Tagalog, *matandang dalaga*, figuratively means "womanhood partially fulfilled" (Hollnsteiner 1981). To ease the uncertainty regarding their marriage status, or the fulfillment of their womanhood, some Filipina single migrants imagine their future in the framework of the traditional ideals of housewifery and motherhood. For example, once Jovita told me, "I don't want to become my employer." When I asked what she meant, she answered, "They don't cook for their husbands. They don't take care of their own children. I don't want to become a wife like that. I want to cook a warm and nice dinner when he comes home after work." By criticizing her employer for failing to realize the domestic romance, Jovita establishes the moral superiority of traditional womanhood over her employer's career-oriented womanhood.

In fact, most migrant women are unable to achieve what Jovita perceives a good wife and a good mother should be. Some Filipina workers decide to remain single because of a perceived incompatibility between the life of working overseas and the traditional notion of family life. Fey has been working overseas for 11 years, since the age of 30. She talked about her perspective on marriage and her future plan:

I saw my friends who leave their family and children to work abroad. That's not good. If you are alone, nothing worries you. So single is better. I want to work as long as I can, until 60 years old maybe. I will save some money, and I will go back to the Philippines. I already bought a house there.

Some other Filipina workers refuse to enter a marriage for more radical reasons. Trina is a 38-year-old veteran domestic worker who has been in Singapore and

Taiwan for more than 10 years. When I asked her if she was interested in marriage, she shook her head and said in a determined voice,

No need [to get married]. I am a breadwinner now. I see my sister's life after getting married. I don't need that. She stays home, wasting her education. Her husband works oversea. She has to do cook, do wash, do everything! I don't want to marry, because after that you only stay home and cook food for her husband! Just like a maid! I am a maid. I know that! So why bother to marry!

Trina's remarks pinpoint the structural continuity between unpaid household labor and domestic work. She considers the social position of a housewife merely an unpaid version of maid, thus preferring her current economic independence and individual freedom as a single waged domestic worker. With the money earned overseas, she has purchased a piece of land on the outskirts of Manila and invested in a *sari-sari* (neighborhood grocery store) with sisters and cousins who are also single. Based on extended kin networks, these women create a community of mutual support, an alternative to the traditional nuclear family.

Migrant single daughters gain economic independence in overseas domestic employment but remain burdened with the financial responsibility to their original families. In addition, their temporary residency in foreign countries brings difficulty in settling down and building their own families, a situation that worries some women about their incomplete fulfillment of womanhood. Some single Filipinas seek international marriages to solve this predicament of the disarticulation between paid and unpaid domestic labor. The next section looks at this group of single Filipina migrants who alter their position from foreign maid to foreign bride.

FROM FOREIGN MAID TO FOREIGN BRIDE

After a Sunday mass, I found some Filipina workers in the backyard of the church secretly passing around a flyer, trying to avoid the attention of priests and nuns. The flyer, boldly titled "Heart of Asia: American and European Men Want To Write to You," started with this paragraph:

Our international pen pal club gives you the chance to correspond with American and European men. These men have good jobs, nice homes, and higher education. But they are missing something in their lives. . . . They are looking for someone who is loyal, sensitive, and caring; someone who shares their traditional values about home, family, and relationships. They are seeking someone to respect and appreciate. They are seeking YOU.

This international pen pal club and many other similar agencies are based in Hong Kong, the city with the largest population of Filipina domestic workers in the world. The mushrooming phenomenon of mail-order brides—international marriages arranged through commercial agencies—usually happens between men

from economically advanced countries and women from poorer countries. International marriage has a history in the Philippines due to the almost century-long U.S. army presence (Enloe 1989). Commercial agencies continue to target Filipina women who speak English and are familiar with Western lifestyles. The most popular destinations for Filipina brides are the United States, Australia, Germany, and England (Eviota 1992). Recently, the demand for female migrant spouses has come from men in wealthier Asian countries including Japan and Taiwan. A growing number of poor or widowed Taiwanese men have turned to Vietnam, Indonesia, China, and the Philippines for potential mates.¹⁰ The controversial nature and complex consequences of international marriages deserve in-depth analysis. My concern here is limited to the connection between overseas domestic employment and international marriages.

Previous studies have challenged a popular myth that most Filipina brides are poverty-stricken or sexy bar girls from Manila or the American base town of Angeles City. Fadzilah Cooke (1986) interviewed 104 Filipinas who married Australian men and found that more than half of the women were in professional or clerical occupations, the two dominant occupations being teaching and nursing. This profile is very similar to that of overseas migrant workers. The affinity between overseas employment and international marriage is no surprise because migrant women are more exposed to foreign culture and transnational connections than their counterparts in the Philippines. They have more opportunities to meet foreigners and greater accesses to international marriage services. In addition, migrant workers, after staying abroad for a long time, often find it difficult to readjust to the lifestyle and material conditions back home. The ambivalent sense of homelessness on their return also increases migrant workers' incentives to stay overseas permanently (Constable 1999; Yeoh and Huang 2000). The limited options available include applying for jobs in countries such as Canada that grant permanent residency to migrant workers and seeking international marriages.

In addition to seeking Western husbands through pen pal services, some Filipina migrants marry Taiwanese men they meet through personal networks.¹¹ Fey's sister worked in Taiwan as a domestic worker on a tourist visa in the 1980s. Through the referral of another Filipina bride, she later married a widowed Taiwanese man almost 20 years older than she. Fey commented on her sister's marriage:

Fey: This man told my sister, if you want to marry me, you can stay longer. I objected. I said, "You don't know what kind of person he is!" But my sister wanted to marry him because she wanted to stay in Taiwan.

Author: How's their marriage?

Fey: Not good! He keeps all the money. He has a pension from the government, but he only gives her a little allowance, so my sister has to do part-time [domestic] jobs. Now he's in the hospital. My sister is taking care of him. He has three children with the first wife. They seldom come to see him. But the father lets those children take care of his saving. My sister doesn't know how to read or write Chinese, so the children take all the money! So now, if he dies, my sister will have nothing!

Helen: [overhears and comments] This is a waste of love!

Fey: [shakes her head] No, this is not love, just help.

The widely accepted myth that marriage is grounded solely on romantic love leads to an accusation that foreign spouses maneuver marriages to obtain citizenship. In fact, marriage has always been a social arrangement for mutual dependence and social exchange between two parties. This is especially true for people with limited social resources, whose marriages are often “not love, just help.” Marriage in the Philippines is traditionally considered a path of social mobility for women; one of the measures of the desirability of the husband is the status upgrade he can offer (Medina 1991). Seen in this light, international marriage is a recent form of the old-fashioned tradition of “marrying up” (Cooke 1986). What is new is that the assurance of social mobility in an international marriage is grounded on the economic disparities between the countries of the groom and the bride.

In the eyes of Filipina migrants, Western and Taiwanese men become more desirable mates when compared to Filipino men who are trapped in the poor homeland and offer little promise of economic stability and social mobility. The latter even present the risk of becoming demasculinized and domesticated husbands who depend on their wives working abroad. For example, 38-year-old Luisa, who was an entertainer in Japan before working in Taiwan, explained to me why she preferred marrying a foreigner to a Filipino:

I don't want to marry a Filipino. They have no money, low salary. What if he says to me, “When will you go back to Taiwan? And send me money?” I will kill him! And it's not easy for me to find a Filipino. Because I have worked in Japan, in Taiwan, people think I am an urban, fashionable city girl. They think I must be materialistic, but I am not.

Filipina migrant workers, especially those who work as entertainers in Japan, become less desirable wives for Filipino men as well. After residing in metropolitan cities in foreign countries for years, these women are assumed to be too liberated and unlikely to conform to the rural lifestyle and traditional norms of femininity. Filipinas employed in Japan as hostesses, singers, and dancers in bars and hotels—so-called *Japayuki*—are commonly maligned as prostitutes in both Japan and the Philippines. The prostitute image of Filipinas is so pervasive that all overseas Filipinas become morally suspect for their potential association with the sex industry (Suzuki 2000).

International marriage indicates a crisis of masculinity not only for Filipinos but also for foreign grooms. These men, who are mostly widowed or divorced, lower class, and not preferred by women in their countries, attempt to regain their masculinity by rescuing Third World women from poverty. They fulfill their nostalgia for a prefeminist family romance by constructing an ideal domestic sphere sustained by the household labor of servile foreign wives (Tolentino 1996, 67-71). Unlike Taiwanese and Western women, who are liberated from the traditional gender roles, migrant women are considered better candidates for the ideal wife. The experience

of overseas domestic work even becomes a positive qualification for women applicants in the international marriage market. This point was made clearly to me at one field moment. A group of Filipina migrants were reading and discussing an application form for an international pen pal club. Helen found a question embarrassing to answer and asked those who had applied before, "How did you answer this? What's your *profession*?" Luisa bluntly answered, "It's OK to say caretaker or domestic helper. They like that because they are all old and they like people who can take care of them."

The structural affinity between paid domestic worker and unpaid housewife, both socially defined as women's appropriate positions, is part of the driving force that facilitates migrant domestic workers' entrance into international marriages. This continuity is most explicit in those cases when a migrant domestic worker is married to her boss. It is not uncommon for Taiwanese middle-aged, divorced, or widowed men to propose to their migrant workers, usually hired to take care of their old or ill mothers. Nora, the nursing graduate I introduced earlier, received a marriage proposal from her Taiwanese employer right before her contract was about to finish. After Nora rejected this proposal, she and another Filipina, Rosemary, chatted about the proposal:

Nora: He [the boss] said, "You can stay here because my mother likes you and you like my mother."

Rosemary: They want to marry her because his mother likes her working here. So I told her, "No, this is a lifetime."

Nora: Right, if you get married, they will say, "You stay home, you don't go out."

Rosemary: And you don't get paid! [all laugh]

Most Filipina domestic workers, like Nora, are keenly aware that if they accept an employer's proposal, they will continue to perform similar domestic labor, only in the name of family obligation rather than employment. The workload placed on a wife may even be intensified since the labor of love offered by a family member is supposed to be incommensurable (thus unpaid) and incessant (no days off). Whenever a Filipina worker mentioned that her employer's relative was asking her for a date, I often heard responses from other Filipinas like this: "You have to be careful! Maybe they just want a free domestic helper and caretaker!" Helen pursued correspondence with an American man and received his proposal in a few months. She took some time to consider and finally turned it down for this reason: "When you have a husband, you have to provide all the service, cooking, cleaning, massage . . . for free! Being a DH [domestic helper], at least you got paid!"

Despite its monetary gains, waged domestic work is generally stigmatized as being unskilled, demeaning, and not a real job—recall Helen's embarrassment regarding how to indicate her profession when joining an international pen pal club. By contrast, unpaid household labor is granted more moral value and social recognition. This is why some Filipina migrants find more nonmaterial benefits in an international marriage than in waged domestic work. Luisa's American pen pal

planned to visit Luisa and her family on her return to Manila for vacation, and they would discuss the possibility of marriage at that time. I told Luisa to be careful about marrying someone she barely knew. "I know," Luisa sighed deeply and said, "but I am tired of cleaning toilets!"

In fact, Luisa will not stop cleaning toilets after she gets married, but she will clean her own toilets instead of other people's toilets. Her housework will be socially labeled in the category of labor of love rather than that of waged labor; that is, she will lose monetary gains for her domestic labor but receive emotional value and social recognition instead. She will be able to detach herself from the stigma of maid and become a madam who can better approximate the dominant ideal of domesticity and motherhood. She enters an international marriage not only to seek social mobility in the uneven global village but also to pursue a romance with the elevated status of the lady of the house.

Mainstream discourses about foreign brides stigmatize them as either docile, subservient Oriental women or greedy criminals who deceive their foreign husbands for a passport to the promised lands (Holt 1996). The above analysis offers an alternative image in which these women are active agents managing to improve their well-being within structural and ideological constraints. My argument does not imply that the majority of Filipina domestic workers prefer foreign husbands but pinpoints the relationship between doing domestic work overseas and entering an international marriage. In fact, many female migrants who become spouses continue doing part-time domestic work because this informal job requires neither a mastery of local languages nor legitimate working documentation.¹² This, again, shows a structural continuity between unpaid household labor and paid domestic work that channels women's life trajectories into social positions that seem distinct but are in fact parallel and interchangeable.

CONCLUSION

In this article, I have sought to unravel the complexity of gendered domestic labor in the context of global migration. The feminization of domestic labor channels women's similar life chances in the family as well as the market. Individual women move across multiple positions involving different forms of domestic labor that are all defined as women's work. Taking on domestic work, a feminized occupation in both the local and global labor market, migrant women become transnational breadwinners but remain burdened by their gendered duties as mothers and wives back home. I underscore the continuity between household labor and waged domestic work to break down a dichotomous categorization between maid and madam. In actuality, women may shift between the status of maid and madam or occupy both positions at the same time.

My empirical analysis centers on Filipina migrant domestic workers. Their journeys of migration are facilitated by the structural continuity of domestic labor: Some housewives become breadwinners by entering the market sector of domestic

work in foreign countries; some migrant domestic workers seek social mobility through becoming unpaid housewives in international marriages. Their life experiences, however, disclose a disarticulation between paid and unpaid domestic labor—the difficulty in performing both at the same time and yet in different settings. While working overseas to maintain the families of others, migrant mothers have to leave their children behind under the care of local workers, and single women withhold the option of establishing their own families.

This study has presented a dynamic and complex picture in which migrant women actively negotiate their life chances structured by the continuity of domestic labor. They reconstitute the meanings of womanhood when occupying multiple positions or shifting between them, and they bargain with the interchange between monetary value and emotional value associated with their multiform labor. Transnational mothers send remittances and gifts to sustain family ties impaired by physical separation, while searching for emotional attachment and moral recognition in their paid mothering work. Some single migrants prefer being gainful domestic workers to being unpaid housewives, while others seek international marriages to escape the downgraded status of (old) maid. In this life journey, migrant domestic workers not only travel across national borders but also march through the public-private divide of domestic labor, struggling with the unsolvable equation of money and love.

NOTES

1. The term “madam,” a polite form of address to a woman, implies a proper notion of femininity with a certain class connotation. It is no coincidence that servants and maids usually call their female masters/employers “madam/mum.” In this article, I use the term “madam” to refer to housewives as well as domestic employers.

2. Here I am inspired by Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1992), who views servitude and service work as historical continuities that characterize the racial division of paid reproductive labor.

3. In 2001, 78 percent of overseas Filipino workers were placed in Asia, 10 percent in Europe, 8 percent in North and South America, and 4 percent in Australia, Africa, and other regions (National Statistics Office 2002).

4. For more methodological details, see Lan (2000).

5. For example, Vietnamese immigrant households in the United States (Kibria 1993) and Mexican immigrants in the United States (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994).

6. The term “helper” does not indicate an equal-footing relationship between the assister and the assisted but carries the connotation of dependency, junior status, and subordination to their masters (Dumont 2000).

7. Migrant workers in Taiwan are allowed to work only up to six years for the employer specified in the recruitment contract. Transfers of employers are only possible in exceptional conditions such as the death of care recipients. Both Taiwanese and migrants use the term “runaway” to describe those workers who disappear from their contract employers to work without legal documents.

8. A survey conducted by the Philippine government found that 80 percent of new hires to all destination countries were single (Palma-Beltran 1991). Yet the single proportion is often overestimated because many Filipina workers report single status when applying for a passport to avoid the paperwork required for married people.

9. The monthly wage of a migrant domestic worker in Taiwan is NT\$15,840 (approximately U.S.\$460).

10. In 2000, 1 out of every 8.5 marriages registered in Taiwan was an international marriage (not including those who marry a mainland Chinese spouse). Ninety percent of the international marriages were between Taiwanese men and female migrant partners (Wang and Chang forthcoming). The majority of these women were from Southeast Asian countries. The top three countries of origin in 1998 were Vietnam (29 percent), Indonesia (27 percent), and the Philippines (14 percent) (statistics available from <http://www.moi.gov.tw/W3/stat/topic/topic206.html>).

11. In general, Filipina migrant workers prefer Western pen pals to Taiwanese men as their potential mates. Those who immigrate to Taiwan on a work contract usually have higher education and a bit more economic resources than foreign brides who met their Taiwanese husbands through brokerage services.

12. To prevent labor trafficking through cross-border marriages, Taiwan's government used to prohibit foreign spouses from gainful employment before they acquired Taiwanese citizenship. This ban was lifted in 2002.

REFERENCES

- Alegado, Dean Tiburcio. 1992. The political economy of international labor migration from the Philippines. Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, Manoa.
- Arcinas, Fe R., Cynthia Banzon-Bautista, and Randolph S. David. 1986. *The odyssey of the Filipino migrant workers to the Gulf region*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Asian Migrant Centre. 2000. *Asian migrant yearbook: Migration facts, analysis and issues in 1999*. Hong Kong: Asian Migrant Centre Ltd.
- Constable, Nicole. 1999. At home but not at home: Filipina narratives of ambivalent returns. *Cultural Anthropology* 14 (2): 203-28.
- Cooke, Fadzilah M. 1986. *Australian-Filipino marriages in the 1980s: The myth and the reality*. Research paper no. 37. Brisbane, Australia: School of Modern Asian Studies Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University.
- Council of Labor Affairs. 2002. *Monthly bulletin of labor statistics*. March. Taipei, Taiwan: Executive Yuan, Republic of China.
- Dumont, Jean-Paul. 2000. Always home, never home: Visayan "helper" and identities. In *Home and hegemony: Domestic service and identity politics in South and Southeast Asia*, edited by Kathleen M. Adams and Sara Dickey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- England, Paula, and Nancy Folbre. 1999. The cost of caring. *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 561:39-51.
- Enloe, Cynthia. 1989. *Bananas, beaches, and bases*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Eviota, Elizabeth Uy. 1992. *The political economy and gender, women and the sexual division of labor in the Philippines*. London: Zed Books.
- Folbre, Nancy. 1991. The unproductive housewife: Her evolution in the 19th century economic thought. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 16 (3): 463-84.
- Go, Stella. 1993. *The Filipino family in the eighties*. Manila, Philippines: Social Development Research Center, De La Salle University.
- Hays, Sharon. 1996. *The cultural constructions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hollnsteiner, Mary R. 1981. The wife and the husband. In *Being Filipino*, edited by Gilda Fernando Cordero. Manila, Philippines: CCF Books.
- Holt, Elizabeth M. 1996. Writing Filipina-Australian bodies: The discourse on Filipina brides. *Philippine Sociological Review* 44:58-78.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1994. *Gendered transitions: Mexican experiences of migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette, and Ernestine Avila. 1997. "I am here, but I am there": The meanings of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender & Society* 11 (5): 548-71.
- Illo, Jean Frances. 1995. Redefining the Maybahay or housewife: Reflections on the nature of women's work in the Philippines. In *"Male" and "female" in developing Southeast Asia*, edited by Wazir Jahan Kavim. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Kaplan, Elaine. 1987. I don't do no windows: Competition between the domestic workers and the housewife. In *Competition: A feminist taboo?* edited by Valerie Miner and Helen E. Longino. New York: Feminist Press.
- Katz Rothman, Barbara. 1989. *Recreating motherhood: Ideology and technology in a patriarchal society*. New York: Norton.
- Kibria, Nazli. 1993. *Family tightrope: The changing lives of Vietnamese Americans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lan, Pei-Chia. 2000. Global divisions, local identities: Filipina migrant domestic workers and Taiwanese employers. Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.
- Margold, Jane A. 1995. Narratives of masculinity and transnational migration: Filipino workers in the Middle East. In *Bewitching women, pious men: Gender and body politics in Southeast Asia*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Medina, Belinda. 1991. *The Filipino family: A text with selected readings*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Nakano Glenn, Evelyn. 1992. From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labor. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18 (1): 1-43.
- . 1994. Social constructions of mothering: A thematic overview. In *Mothering: Ideology, experience, and agency*, edited by Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Chang, and Linda Rennie Forcey. New York: Routledge.
- National Statistics Office. 2002. Press release of the 2001 survey on overseas Filipinos (SOF). Manila: National Statistics Office, the Philippine Government. Retrieved 24 September 2002 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease>.
- Nelson, Margaret K. 1990. *Negotiated care: The experiences of family day care providers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Palma-Beltran, Ruby. 1991. Filipino women domestic helpers overseas: Profile and implications for policy. *Asian Migrant* 4 (2): 46-52.
- Palmer, Phyllis. 1989. *Domesticity and dirt: Housewives and domestic servants in the United States, 1920-1940s*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Romero, Mary. 1992. *Maid in the U.S.A.* New York: Routledge.
- Salazar Parreñas, Rhacel. 2000. Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor. *Gender & Society* 14 (4): 560-80.
- . 2001. *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Siapno, Jacqueline. 1995. Alternative Filipina heroines: Contested tropes in leftist feminisms. In *Bewitching women, pious men: Gender and body politics in Southeast Asia*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Suzuki, Nobue. 2000. Between two shores: Transnational projects and Filipina wives in/from Japan. *Women's Studies International Forum* 23 (4): 431-44.
- Tarcoll, Cecilia. 1996. Migrating "for the sake of the family?" Gender, life course and intra-household relations among Filipino migrants in Rome. *Philippine Sociological Review* 44 (1-4): 12-32.
- Tolentino, Roland B. 1996. Bodies, letters, catalogs: Filipinas in transnational space. *Social Text* 14 (3): 49-76.
- Tung, Charlene. 1999. The social reproductive labor of Filipina transmigrant workers in Southern California: Caring for those who provide elderly care. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine.
- Wang, Hong-Zen, and Shu-ming Chang. Forthcoming. The commodification of international marriages: Cross-border marriage business in Taiwan and Vietnam. *International Migration*.

- Wong, Sau-Ling. 1994. Diverted mothering: Representations of caregivers of color in the age of "multiculturalism." In *Mothering: Ideology, experience, and agency*, edited by Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Chang, and Linda Rennie Forcey. New York: Routledge.
- Wrigley, Julia. 1995. *Other people's children: An intimate account of the dilemmas facing middle-class parents and the women they hire to raise their children*. New York: Basic Books.
- Yeoh, Branda S., and Shirlena Huang. 1999. Singapore women and foreign domestic workers: Negotiating domestic work and motherhood. In *Gender, migration and domestic service*, edited by Janet Henshall Momsen. New York: Routledge.
- . 2000. "Home" and "away": Foreign domestic workers and negotiations of diasporic identity in Singapore. *Women's Studies International Forum* 23 (4): 413-29.

Pei-Chia Lan is an assistant professor of sociology at National Taiwan University and was a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley. She is working on a manuscript about the employment of Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers in Taiwan.