Introduction

The theme of this book is Filipina[1] migrants employed in providing care to the elderly and doing domestic work in Israel. Given the double meaning of 'care', these women, predominantly devoted Christians claiming that they love Israel and the Jewish people, are in their own words the ones who really care for the 'Holy Land'.

My aim in this book is threefold. First, I investigate 'care' ethnographically as, on one hand, a form of affective labour, which includes forms of the commodification of social interactions, and, on the other – and somewhat in opposition to this – as an outcome of moral claims and constructions of gendered subjectivities that complicate the understanding of migrant domestic care work as a form of commodification. The commodification of care and the intimacy related to this deeply affective form of labour, as Constable convincingly argues, 'is not an analytical end in itself, but instead offers a valuable starting point for analyses of gendered social relations, cultural meanings, social inequalities and capitalist transformations' (Constable 2009: 55). The second and closely related point is that I want to move beyond a description of Filipina care workers as the mere victims of 'globalization', while also taking care not to celebrate their agency as creative transnationals unhindered by structural constraints. As I argue in this book, the fact that contemporary migration flows are social formations that take place in a global economy based on an ever shifting international division of labour has to be conceptualized and understood with regard to its consequences for the creation of new subjectivities of globally mobile and feminized workers.

Finally, taking the transnational approach to migration as a starting point, I hope to contribute to a deeper understanding of contemporary migration processes and the practices and meanings of lived citizenship. I shall show that migrants' practices and orientations – the intimacy with persons of the here, the there and the elsewhere – change throughout the migration process, as do the coordinates of the relevant migration regimes. In spite of their precarious legal, social and economic positions as care and domestic workers in Israel, Filipina migrants have appropriated spaces, created socialities and

adopted strategies and discourses that ultimately transform the coordinates of belonging and citizenship of the place where they reside, even if they are forced to leave. Citizenship is understood here not merely in a legal sense, but as a negotiated relationship, a collective struggle for participation. These struggles take place not in a single transnational political or social field, as suggested in much of the literature on transnationality; rather, they are diverse, place-specific and deeply contingent on changing patterns of migration as well as emerging social networks.

The female migrants whose subjective practices, life stories and narratives will be the major theme of this book are part of an ever increasing flow of female migrants from poor countries to the centres of global capitalism. Filipina migrants undertake these journeys – which entail numerous risks, hardships and, according to the dominant emic discourse, sacrifices – in order to acquire a form of citizenship that transcends national borders and consists of economic security, political rights and social participation in a more encompassing way. This book will illustrate that Filipino women recruited to work in Israel as caregivers do not simply arrive from home and return there after 'finishing' their work contracts abroad. Their projects of migration, I argue, are heterogenous, engaged in an ongoing process of becoming, be it as Christians on pilgrimage in the 'Holy Land', young women who fall in love or give birth to children in Israel, or 'global women' who travel and come to participate in a global consumer culture with the dollars they earn.

By employing the notion of a migration 'regime' (rather than a 'law' or a 'system'), my intention is to stress the changing nature of the political, social and economic structuring of migration, depending on the practices of policy-makers as well as migrants, each embedded in multiple webs of power and agency. When in 2002 a change in the political climate in Israel led to the adoption of an extensive campaign to deport migrants who had become 'illegals', tens of thousands of Filipinos were forced to leave the country within a short period of time. Against the background of this change, migration to Israel for Filipinos became a different thing, based on different localizing strategies and altered hopes and orientations. In order to denaturalize migrant illegality and to emphasize the transformative nature of the production of illegality imposed by state law and practices, I suggest instead that we speak of processes of 'illegalization' and 'illegalized' rather than illegal, irregular or undocumented migrants.

The ethnographic material presented in this book will show that for predominantly Christian Filipina migrants, the concept of Israel as a 'Holy Land' functions as a stimulus for migration. Nevertheless, many of those I interviewed for this book decided to move on after the above mentioned policy change. They attempted to move within a global hierarchy of desirable destination countries, ranked according to the great differences between nation states with regard to salaries and the legal entitlements migrants can claim, the costs and risks they are faced with in order to enter, and their overall subjective and imaginative attractiveness. Within this global hierarchy, Israel now holds a

middle position, above most Asian and Middle Eastern destination countries, where many women were employed before coming to Israel, but clearly below Western Europe and Northern America, to which many dream of going. Their dreams and desires hence clearly go beyond Israel; their global trajectories and imaginations are deeply implicated in the global capitalist economy and its promises of modernity, liberty, wealth or even glamour.

Migrants who move back and forth between their countries of origin and destination have by now become a fairly common theme in anthropological studies on migration. In contrast, migrants who move on and on rather than back and forth – like numerous Filipina domestic workers I have interviewed for this book – have so far received far less attention in the literature on transnational migration. Rather than celebrating things for being in flux – as is the dominant tone of much of the literature on the topic – I intend to demonstrate the ruptures, structural violence and social dramas implied in transnationalism as the produced outcome of contemporary migration regimes. On the other hand, although I do not wish to overemphasize or romanticize their subversive potential, I shall demonstrate that in their everyday practices and narratives and as part of the collective undertaking of migration, Filipina migrant women maintain an autonomy of migration that creates its own subjectivities.

The transmigrant as an epistemological figure seems to evoke unhindered, quasi-borderless flows. As socially produced and politically contested terms, 'transmigrants' and 'migrants' respectively are interpretative subjects. As such, they often seem to invoke descriptions and analyses that tend to understate or neglect the embodied effects, that is, the horror, tragedies, violence and frequent deaths entailed in global movement. In contrast to this, my use of the term 'Filipina transmigrant' points not to the uncritical usage of an essentialized subject within a world of cultural flows, but to a historically specific subject formation within a capitalist regime of global migration.[2] Critical theorists of space (Harvey 1989; Foucault 1979; Lefebvre 2007; Mitchell 2003) have shown that the problem of space is ultimately a problem of power. As Saskia Sassen has argued, 'international migrations are produced, they are patterned, and they are embedded in specific historical phases' (1993: 97). It is the structuring of global power relations that brings Filipina women as care and domestic workers to Israel and beyond. It is by using these women's subjective experiences, practices and desires that I intend to shed light on the question of how global capitalism is being experienced and dreamt about and how it functions on the ground. By contextualizing Filipina migrants' practices and narratives in Israel; by showing how they are being produced; by documenting how migrants' moves and struggles succeed in changing migration policies and regimes on a daily basis; and thus by providing an ethnographic account of the desire, pain, violence and structural inequalities involved, I intend to contribute to an analysis dedicated to overcoming the predicaments of the present.

In accordance with much of the research conducted within the Transit Migration project,[3] Mezzadra (2007) argues for the concept of an 'autonomy of migration', to be used methodologically as an analysis of migration within a global capitalist regime.[4] Such a perspective conceptualizes (transnational) migration as a social movement that has its own knowledge, follows its own rules and organizes its own practice collectively. Within this perspective, the social movement or project of migration can be understood as an ongoing struggle for rights within those formations that attempt to regulate and control it. In her anthropological analysis of the transnational practices and multiple citizenships of Chinese elite 'transmigrants', Ong (1999) utilizes a similar viewpoint. Drawing on both Foucault's concept of governmentality and Marx's critique of political economy, Ong develops an ethnographic analysis of (Chinese) transnational practices and relations, suggesting that 'only by weaving the analysis of cultural politics and political economy into a single framework can we hope to provide a nuanced delineation of the complex relations between transnational phenomena, national regimes and cultural practices in late modernity' (1999: 16). From this viewpoint, a migration regime is a conflict-laden field in which the social movement of persons crossing nation-state borders and the social order are engaged in power struggles within a capitalist field of 'zones of graduated sovereignty' (Ong 1999: 21). Such a perspective offers a great deal of scope for an ethnographic analysis of the creation of Filipina migrant, domestic workers' subjectivities.[5]

Similar to the Chinese businessmen (and women) described by Ong, who practice an 'Asian capitalism' and also collect multiple passports to be on the safe side, Filipina domestic workers – so I shall argue – develop flexible imaginations of their spatial and social positionings as female, Filipino and working-class subjects, while collectively learning to adjust to an increasingly flexible flow of capital, and a strategically selective exclusion from 'Western' citizenship. If, following Stasiulis and Bakan (1997, 2005), we conceptualize citizenship as a negotiated relationship rather than merely a legal juridical status, it becomes possible to understand Filipina migrants' practices as struggles for citizenship in spite of these exclusions.

The fact that Filipina women are, as it were, classic transmigrants is due not least to the fact that in the Philippines an enormous number of state and non-state institutions have come into existence in order to control, manage and generally promote out-migration, while also encouraging migrants' ongoing engagement with the home country. Women have played a major role in this state-sponsored migration regime from the beginning. Apart from the fact that they became the major breadwinners of a country that depends on the remittances of millions of its transborder citizens, through their out-migration in such large numbers they have created new social formations whose effects on dominant gender roles over an extended period of time have not yet been analysed. Not least, Filipina migrants have fuelled both the image and the imagination of the nation. As the apparently weak and helpless bodies representing and embodying an equally vulnerable postcolonial nation, the

female Overseas Filipino Workers have been termed, treated and exploited as the 'martyrs' and 'heroines' of the nation. The structural vulnerability, exploitation and suffering of Filipina migrants as migrant domestic workers all around the globe have been well documented, and in academic literature too they have frequently been portrayed as the prototypical victims of the triple oppression of race, class and gender. Such a perspective, I argue, ultimately serves to victimize them.

Moreover, the anti-imperialist claim that Filipina and other migrant women's (and men's) service labour in the centres of a gendered global economy is similar to the resource extraction of earlier colonial goods such as gold, ivory or rubber (cf. Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003) crudely simplifies a complex story of domination, resistance and immaterial labour, which is increasingly hegemonic in contemporary capitalism. This claim encompasses peoples' practices, dreams and choices within the notion of commodification, but halts at a point where the truly interesting questions arise: how did international divisions of labour and the global care chain, in which some women of the so-called global South liberate some women of the global North from a lot of reproductive work, come into being? What are the zones of friction entailed in this process, and what the desires and struggles of those involved? What effects do the constantly changing coordinates of national and international migration regimes have on their daily lives? Do these processes indeed bring with them the commodification of 'love' and 'care', and of the carers themselves?

In order to move beyond an over-simplified reading of contemporary global capitalism, we have to pay attention to the subjectivities that are being forged in the local and at the same time global 'zones of friction' (Tsing 2005). Accordingly, I understand my research as a documentation of Filipina subjectivities, in which those involved maintain a (relative) autonomy of migration. They do so from a marginal position within a global arena that is clearly beyond their control, yet one in which, to follow Anna Tsing's (2005) rich metaphor, 'the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference' (ibid.: 4) produce friction. In an era often described as one of global motion, this friction inflects motion, slowing it down, but at the same time keeping it going in a socially meaningful way.

The Feminization of Migration and Female Domestic Workers in the Global Economy

The presence of Filipina workers in Israel reflects the ever-increasing proportion of women in global migration flows. More specifically, these women belong to a growing number of female migrants who are moving from the so-called Third World to the centres of global capitalism in order to take up low-wage jobs as service or domestic workers within a highly gendered economy. In an attempt to understand the implications of Filipina care work

in Israel as a gendered and racialized niche within the global economy, these paths of belonging shall be contextualized in the following.

Statistics show that women have been playing an ever-increasing part in international migration flows since at least the 1960s, currently comprising approximately half of migrants worldwide.[6] This phenomenon is commonly termed the feminization of migration, and is highly relevant to countries of the so-called Third World like the Philippines. The increasingly female face of cheap, flexible and therefore often migratory labour not only has multiple implications for contemporary men's and women's lives and gender roles respectively, but also poses severe challenges to existing theories of migration. The need to theorize these changes, rather than take them as statistical givens, has only recently been recognized and addressed. Taking the feminization of migration moves as a methodological tool, I argue that Filipina care and domestic workers must be studied within the framework of a 'gendered global economy' (Mills 2003).

Women who move were only rarely the subject of sociological or anthropological research, let alone migration theory, until the 1980s. Feminist critics have analysed this as reflecting a male bias in migration research where the male migrant 'has so long served as a prototype for all migrants' (Brettell 2003: 195). Within these models, the state policies of migration, the capitalist transformation of agriculture and industry, and increasing global inequalities seemed to affect men and women in the same ways. In contrast, anthropological research on migrant women and gender has highlighted the substantial differences between the causes, experiences and trajectories of male and female migrants respectively. It showed that factors such as marital violence or ideologies of reproduction and marriage often stimulate female migration (cf. Moore 1988: 95f.). In much early research on female migration, female migrants were treated as being motivated by social reasons, while men were analysed and portrayed as being politically and/or economically motivated in migrating. Apart from the fact that this view was based on hegemonic gender ideologies – according to which women are predominantly 'social' beings, responsible for the moral and emotional integrity of the family, whereas men are its breadwinners, adventurous individuals who like to travel – it hardly corresponded, nor corresponds now, to reality. In contrast, ethnographies showed that economic rather than social factors may be at the forefront of women's decisions to leave.

Subsequently, a more critical feminist anthropology made clear that while women share many problems with men leading to migration, these are nevertheless still gendered in themselves (Kofman et al. 2000; Moore 1988; Parreñas 2001a, 2005; Willis and Yeoh 2000). Research has shown that the decision to migrate is not made on an individual basis, but is the outcome of complex sets of subjective images, rationales and strategies by collectivities such as families and households (cf. Grasmuck and Pessar 1991).

Furthermore, concepts like the 'feminization of poverty' (cf. Moore 1988: 74ff.) have contributed greatly to the understanding of the causes of

women's migration, by arguing that men and women in rural societies which are undergoing capitalist transformation are affected by structural changes in different ways. Following this analysis it was shown that capitalist transformations of agriculture often result in a rural exodus of women seeking work in nearby urban centres. In order to do this, women often have to overcome great difficulties. In an overview of the relevant literature, Moore (ibid.: 95f.) concludes that male resistance towards the migration of women is widespread, due to an association of female migration with prostitution or morally and sexually lax behaviour and – closely tied to this – the fear of losing control over ('one's own') women. This ideological resistance to female migration extends well beyond the subjective level: until well after the Second World War, dominant gender ideologies often led state (including colonial) actors to restrict female migration in many regions of the world through legal regulations and sanctions. Nevertheless, and contrary to most representations of migration, in many places and time periods, women were (and are) frequently the first household or family members to migrate (see e.g. Morokvasic 1984).

As of today, many of these early female migrants have found jobs as domestic workers in private urban households (cf. Momsen 1999; Moore 1988: 82ff.). Domestic work typically involves reproductive tasks and takes place within the private confines of the household. Both spheres, the household and domestic work, have been constructed as universally female within dominant gender ideologies. Domestic work is in general socially devalued, is considered non-professional and is frequently un- or underpaid. While paid domestic labour declined in the West after the Second World War, sociologists today have noted the return of paid nannies, house-cleaners and maids into privileged private households (e.g. Anderson 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Rerrich 2006). Contemporary paid domestic work is typically performed by (international) migrants constructed as culturally different (cf. Momsen 1999). Moreover, Ehrenreich and Hochschild argue that female migrants today overwhelmingly take up work in domestic service (2003: 6). Accordingly, a highly feminized and racialized international market for carers and domestic workers in private households has developed, which has been described ethnographically with respect to Latina domésticas in the United States (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001), Sri Lankan maids in Saudi Arabia (Gamburd 2000a, 2000b), Moroccan, Polish, Filipina and Latin American domestic workers in Western Europe (Anderson 2000; Rerrich 2006) and Filipina domestic workers in Los Angeles and Rome (Parreñas 2001a), Hong Kong (Constable 1997; McKay 2007a, 2007b), Singapore (Yeoh and Huang 1998) and Malaysia (Chin 1997), among others.

Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) analyses three major aspects of increasing global inequality in relation to domestic work. First of all, 'paid domestic work is increasingly performed by women who leave their own nations, their communities, and often their families of origin to do it' (2001: 19). Secondly, this movement includes not only women from the lowest socio-economic classes, but also women of relatively high status within their country of

origin. Finally, 'the development of service-based economies in postindustrial nations favours the international migration of women laborers' (ibid.). It is this last aspect which needs further attention at this point.

Reports and statistics suggest that there is a constant decline in the employment of male labourers in certain sectors and a new female global proletariat in the making. As Patricia Pessar and Sarah Mahler put it, 'the new class subject of global capitalism tends to be female, a person of color, and a resident in the Third World' (2003: 837). Thus, aside from domestic work, more and more women are coming to work in the factories of export-oriented industries like the garment or electronic industries (cf. Ching 1998; Ong 1987). As ethnographies of female factory workers have pointed out, women are often preferred because they are regarded as more docile than men, used to doing boring and repetitive work (due to their apparently natural role in reproduction) and well-suited for fiddly jobs due to their apparently nimble fingers. Furthermore, because it is assumed that women only need to earn supplementary incomes to add to those of their breadwinning men, they are not paid 'family wages' which would suffice to cover their households' or even their own expenses, but so-called 'lipstick money' instead (Ching 1998; Ong 1987; cf. Moore 1988: 101). Accordingly, women are generally cheaper to employ than men. As Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini point out, it seems that predominantly 'women, particularly young women, have become the largest section of local populations to be drafted as temporary, contingent, and part-time laborers for industrial subcontractors and other firms using the forms of labor regulation characterizing flexible accumulation' (1997: 10).

Several concepts have been developed to explain what this (new) international division of labour means with regard to migration and gender. In *Servants of Globalisation*, Rhazel Salazar Parreñas (2001a) links globalization and the feminization of wage labour and analyses an international division of reproductive labour in which women from the global South are taking over apparently female tasks of social reproduction such as caring for children and the elderly, cleaning, cooking etc., from women of the global North. In a very similar way, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Hochschild (2003) speak of the female underside of globalization, in which female migrants from poor countries find jobs as nannies, maids and sex workers in rich ones. Doreen Massey (1993) has observed that time-space compression has its own 'power-geometry' in that it affects persons and groups – among them women – unequally. Drawing on this idea, Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar have developed their own concept of 'gendered geographies of power' (2001; revised Pessar and Mahler 2003). Made out of three building blocks, namely gendered 'geographies', 'social locations' and 'power geometries', the concept aims at taking into account both structural and subjective factors of the causes, practices and experiences of gender-specific migration. Perhaps most forcefully with regard to Filipina migrants, in *Fantasy Production* Neferti Xina Tadiar (2004) describes such women as 'new-industrial slaves' in more than a merely metaphorical way. She is thus clearly following a Marxist

tradition, in which women have long been treated as the global reserve army of capitalism (cf. Moore 1988: 112ff.).

Perhaps most convincingly, Mary Beth Mills (2003) speaks of a 'gendered global economy'. As she points out, the recruitment of women as a flexible, cheap and apparently easily disciplined labour force is not a new phenomenon, but one that can be traced back to the early industrial revolution and is particularly linked with colonial labour regimes (ibid.: 42). Mills points out that the feminization of global (migrant) labour is not limited to women alone, a fact that other concepts have hardly addressed. Instead, 'transnational migrants, both women and men, represent a pool of vulnerable, feminized labor in the lowest wage sectors of the world's wealthiest economies' (Mills 2003: 45). As feminist scholars have pointed out, gender is not synonymous with sex, but has to be viewed as constructed in a process of 'gender work' (Ortner 1996) or 'gender performance' (Butler 1988) within institutionalized social relationships, to which persons are enculturated to regard biological distinctions as natural and immutable.

As feminist and queer theory have shown, gender ideologies function to legitimize gender-specific and hierarchically structured divisions of labour. In the contemporary global economy, international structural adjustment policies and neo-liberal economic programmes based on 'Western' gender ideologies have functioned to support and further strengthen inequalities between gendered social and economic positions. This process is closely related to an emergent hegemony of highly gendered 'emotional' (Hochschild 2003: 9ff.), 'immaterial' (Hardt and Negri 2004) or 'affective' labour (Clough and Halley 2007) in contemporary global capitalism. Struggles within the global economy therefore need to consider the dominant normativity as well as the subjectivities and performances of gender. This leads us to one of the central questions debated by researchers of migration and gender: does increasing (female) migration within contemporary global capitalism transform gender roles and ideologies?

Research on gender within the transnational approach to migration has shown that gender ideologies play a major role throughout the migration process (Pessar and Mahler 2003): for example, jealousy and the attempt to discipline or control one's spouse overseas or back home is a recurrent and dominant theme in transnational communication between spouses (cf. Gamburd 2000b; Pessar and Mahler 2003: 824f.; Pingol 2001). Moreover, and perhaps surprisingly, women were found to be more reluctant than men to return 'home' (Glick-Schiller and Fouron 2001; Goldring 1996; cf. Pessar and Mahler 2003: 826f.). This is due to the fact that women often feel that their social status improves with migration, while men experience the opposite emotion. Likewise, the reimposition or reinforcement of dominant gender ideologies after the return of both male and female migrants is a recurrent theme in the literature. Women often take up wage labour abroad, but may be asked to (or prefer to) stay at home once they have returned in order to maintain the honour or social status of the family, or out of respect for local gender ideologies

opposed to female wage labour (Goldring 1996; Guarnizo 1997; cf. Pessar and Mahler 2003: 828). While gender norms and relations have to be analysed in their specific, historical and cultural machinations, anthropological research has shown that by becoming main breadwinners of the family or household, women bring into question gender norms in many contexts.

Hania Zlotnick has argued that in crossing territorial borders, women move from one 'system of gender stratification' into another (1990: 372). Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila speak of a 'radical, gender-transformative odyssey' (1997: 25) in which women engage as they enter and take up work in another country. As they show, in contrast to Mexican men – who leave their families in order to work in the U.S., thus fulfilling masculine obligations as the breadwinners for the family – Mexican women who come to the U.S. not only have to cope with the difficulties entailed in the migratory move, but also with 'stigma, guilt, and others' criticism', especially for leaving their families behind (ibid.). In their research on what they call 'transnational mothering', Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) show that Latina women who leave their children behind in order to engage in domestic work in the U.S. reconstitute and rearrange their motherhood to accommodate the temporal and spatial separation from their children that is forced on them through restrictive immigration laws, the U.S. labour market and the broader migration regime.

Parreñas (2001a, 2005) has challenged this view, and she offers an ethnographic account of Filipina domestic workers and their families in the Philippines, Los Angeles and Rome. Contrary to the assumption that the migration of women necessitates a questioning of gender conventions, Parreñas (2005) contends that not only does this not occur, but that gender conventions are even reinforced through the migration of Filipina mothers: 'This process of gender reinforcement contradicts the gender reconstitution initiated by women's migration. This contradiction sets up a gender paradox: the reorganization of households into transnational structures questions the ideology of women's domesticity but the caring practices in these families maintain this view' (2005: 92). Within a cultural and political context that regards migrating mothers as 'bad mothers' and expects women to provide radiance and care rather than material needs for the family, Filipina women become 'reluctant breadwinners' (Parreñas 2005: 63). As such, they narrate themselves as martyrs in relation to other members of their family – most especially children – to assure them that they suffer from rather than enjoy being away, and they also strive to fulfil conventional notions of mothering in spite of their physical remoteness. By taking the stigma, guilt and others' criticism analysed by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) very seriously, Filipina migrating mothers often do what Parreñas – drawing on Judith Butler's notion of 'performing gender' – calls an over-performance of female roles (2005: 92ff.). While Parreñas, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila have provided much insight into the dilemmas and gender performances of migrant mothers, ethnographic research on female migrants who have

no children or who practice their motherhood differently from expected mothering roles still remains to be carried out. I intend to contribute to this debate with my own ethnographic material.

As noted above, female migrant domestic workers have frequently been described as affected by the triple oppression of race, class and gender (cf. Anderson 2000; Anthias and Lazaridis 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003). Yet, as I argue, concepts of female migration must go beyond the notion that women are the victims of a triple oppression. Ethnographic research points to the fact that while female migrant domestic workers are often subject to rigorous disciplinary regimes, they do not necessarily internalize triple oppression, but often engage in political action to better their situations and openly challenge ideologies that help to oppress them (Anderson 2000, 2001; Constable 1997: 155ff.; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001: 210ff.). Furthermore, this view has rightfully been analysed as a form of victimization (Andrijašević 2007; Constable 2009; Ogaya 2004: 382). When even institutions like the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), which are much better known for their restrictive control of global migration than their feminist policies, have come to acknowledge the fact that 'migration is different for men and women' – in their words because 'migration holds more dangers for women than men. They are more vulnerable to physical, sexual and verbal abuse when travelling. And they are more likely to fall prey to human traffickers for the sex industry'[7] – the critical potential of an analysis of migrant women as victims demands consideration. The problematic nature of a view of female migrants as victims stands out perhaps most clearly in the discourse on the trafficking of female migrant sex workers. In order to 'protect' female migrants, the IOM has launched large-scale campaigns against trafficking in women, aimed especially at women from Eastern Europe. As Andrijašević (2007) shows in her research on what she calls the 'regime of representation' of trafficking in female sex workers, these campaigns stereotypically portray migrant women as the prey and victims of (male) perpetrators. According to her, this binary logic not only downplays women's agency, but also fails to analyse reality in all its complexity. As she also shows, these campaigns function to reproduce gender stereotypes and voyeuristic representations which strengthen the image of women as passive and helpless, thus supporting traditional gender roles rather than empowering those whom they declare they are protecting.

Consequently, I shall analyse Filipina domestic workers within national and global migration regimes by also taking into account their subjective narratives and practices. Rather than 'prey' or 'victims', migrant women will be described as actively negotiating and challenging dominant positions of gender, class and racialization. As a process of ongoing struggle and negotiation, empowerment is deeply embodied and, to a certain extent, contingent. Finally, Filipina women's out-migration is decisively structured by the demands and desires not only of the Israeli labour market or the global economy, but of the Philippine state, as the following will make clear.

The Philippine Migration Regime and the Making of Filipina Migrants

The Philippines count as one of the world's largest exporters of temporary contract labour. According to some estimates, up to eight million Filipinos are living and/or working outside the country in more than 160 countries of the world, now forming – together with Mexican citizens – the largest group of international migrant workers in the global economy.[8] With a population of approximately eighty million and numerous family members in the Philippines who depend heavily on emigrants' remittances, a large part of the Philippine population is deeply affected by these migration movements, both economically and socially. Beginning with colonial domination, and following the restructuring of the Philippine economy and politics during the Marcos regime, Filipino labour migration now makes up a considerable part of the migrant labour force throughout the wealthier part of the world. Similarly to other migrant-sending, nation-state economies (Mexico, Sri Lanka, Morocco etc.), overseas employment has become a cornerstone of the Philippine economy.[9] When during the 1970s, global migration flows became increasingly 'feminized', more and more Filipina women – who had long migrated domestically to find employment in the cities (Eviota 1992) – left the country to work abroad. Within culturally infused public discourses, they became both the nation state's 'new national heroines' and – especially after the highly publicized case of the execution of Flor Contemplaciòn, a Filipina domestic worker in Singapore – its 'martyrs'. In the following, I intend to investigate how female migration has been regarded as both threatening and strengthening for Filipino women and the Philippine nation.

As set out in a publication by the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR 1987), the history of Philippine migration is often linked to domestic poverty and colonial domination. Accordingly, for Gonzales the history of Filipinos' out-migration begins with American colonization of the Philippines in 1898, preceded by a 'prehistory' of Filipinos' employment in the Spanish galleon trade (1998: 26). In agreement with many representations of the history of Philippine migration, Gonzales analyses three periods of Filipinos' out-migration: a first wave of migration to the U.S. during the colonial period (1898–1946); a second, more complex but mainly male worker wave to the Western world in the post-war period (1946 until about 1972); and a third period of an increasingly vast, female and global emigration flow after Marcos' declaration of martial law in 1972, characterized by the adoption of a state, labour-export policy (1998: 26ff.; see also CIIR 1987; Tyner 2004: 29ff.).

Catherine Ceniza Choy (2003) tells the history of how the U.S. colonial system laid the foundations for a Philippine *Empire of Care*. Based on a colonial ideology, which racialized Filipinas as 'caring' and 'subservient', Choy shows that Filipinas' emigration to the U.S. during colonial times was in large part produced by the creation of an Americanized hospital training system in the Philippines in the early twentieth century. By creating such

an empire of care, the U.S. labour market was for decades provided with hundreds of thousands of Filipinas to be employed as cheap care workers in the United States. This regime continues to operate on a more global level today, as young Filipinos (both male and female) take up training opportunities in the medical and care professions in very high numbers by international standards in order to fill their national niche within an international division of labour in a global market. As Parreñas argues, 'it is the export of care that sustains the economy' (2005: 24).

In *Made in the Philippines*, James Tyner traces the making of Filipina migrants and of the large, state migratory apparatus which came into being under Marcos's labour-export policy. According to Tyner, Filipina migrants were actively produced by state institutions as a means of furthering capital accumulation (2004: 19). Suffering from a balance of payments deficit and vast external debts, the Philippine state and economy were in a state of 'permanent crisis' in which both the government-turned-dictatorship in 1972 and external institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were increasingly able to push forward export-led industrialization and, from 1980, repeated so-called structural adjustment programmes that sustained rather than removed the crisis (Bello 2004). In this context, out-migration was recognized by the state, and – even though at first not openly encouraged – thought of as a temporary solution situated within a national 'development diplomacy' (Tyner 2004: 32; Bello 2004: 11). 'For us, overseas employment addresses two major problems: unemployment and the balance-of-payments positions', President Marcos stated in 1982, thus bluntly summarizing the state's interest in emigration (quoted from Gonzales 1998: 57).

Accordingly, numerous state bodies were created to process the handling of migrants, who at first were forced and since are still encouraged to remit a portion of their salaries and to take up contract labour, thus becoming state-sanctioned Overseas Contract Workers (OCW), later renamed Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) (cf. Tyner 2004: 32). Originally planned as a temporary measure, the Philippine labour-export policy turned into a permanent national development strategy throughout the global economic recession after 1980, a process which led to the creation of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) in 1982 (ibid.: 36). Filipino citizens were now marketed as an internationally attractive global labour force by Philippine government institutions, as in the POEA brochure quoted by Tyner: 'They are properly educated and well trained, proficient in English and of sound temperament' (2004: 67).

With the Philippines being the only Southeast Asian country where internal migration has been dominated by women since at least the 1960s, Filipina women have a long-standing history of migration (cf. Gonzales 1998: 43; Palma-Beltran and de Dios 1992). With rising demands in the service sectors throughout the Western world, many of them moved on in search of work as nurses, factory workers, performing artists or domestic workers, first in Asian metropolises such as Singapore or Hong Kong, and later throughout

the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Dubai, Israel etc.), as well as in North America and Western Europe (Gonzales 1998; Parreñas 2001a; Ogaya 2004; Tadiar 2004; Tyner 2004). A factor only rarely mentioned with regard to female out-migration from the Philippines is the large number of marriage migrations. As Lauser (2004) has pointed out with regard to the marriage migration of Filipinas to Germany, this phenomenon also has to be seen in the context of transnational migration flows. While in 1975 over seventy per cent of Filipino OCWs were male, the male–female ratio changed in the late 1980s. Ever since – and very much in accordance with the global feminization of migration – at least half of Filipino emigrants are female, even according to official statistics.[10]

Therefore, Filipino migration had already taken on a female profile when, in 1995, two incidents marked what is considered as a critical turning point in Philippine migration policies in much of the literature: the highly publicized trials of Flor Contemplaciòn and Sarah Balabagan (cf. Gonzales 1998: 1f.; Hilsdon 2000; Tyner 2004: 41ff.). Flor Contemplaciòn, the married mother of four children in the Philippines, was a Filipina domestic worker in Singapore. She was executed on 17 March 1995, convicted by a Singaporean court of double murder, which 'many still claim she did not commit' (Hilsdon 2000: 172). The emotional outcry after her hanging not only made more than 25,000 people join her funeral in the Philippines several days afterwards, it also triggered a heated public debate about the situation of the 'Overseas' and the state's migration policies. The mass mobilization of Philippine migrant organizations, international lobbying and a bomb attack in Manila showed widespread disappointment with and resistance to the state's labour-export policy (Gonzales 1998: 6; Hilsdon 2000: 176f.).

As a reaction, the so-called Magna Carta of overseas employment (Republic Act 8042) was issued by President Ramos on 7 June 1995. In it, the former migration policy was literally turned into its opposite, as the state committed itself 'not [to] promote overseas employment as a means to sustain economic growth and achieve national development' (POEA 1996: 2, quoted from Tyner 2004: 47). This change in the official discourse signifies not only a giving way to pressure from the streets, it can also be interpreted as an application of the neoliberal arguments that were being promoted successfully on the global level, namely the discourse on human rights and the 'management' of migration.[11] Several months later, the national migration regime had the chance to prove its different approach when, in the United Arab Emirates, Sarah Balabagan, a fifteen-year-old Filipina domestic worker, was sentenced to death for killing her employer after he allegedly raped her. Not least because of the damaging effects of the Contemplaciòn case, this time President Ramos made Balabagan's case a national priority, and indeed succeeded in having her released (cf. Hilsdon 2000: 179; Tyner 2004: 41f.). Both Flor Contemplaciòn and Sarah Balabagan, as highly politicized public figures, had a major impact on the image of Philippine female migrants and on what constitutes a 'good Filipina' abroad. Filipina migrants, as both the

martyrs and the heroines of the nation, may play varying roles in national discourses on migration, but they always do so within a national landscape.

The discourse on Filipina migrant workers as national heroines was coined in particular by President Corazòn Aquino in 1988. Speaking to a crowd of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong, she called the OCW (the OFW of today) the 'new heroes' of the nation.[12] In doing so, she put women of lower- or middle-class status, who performed the highly feminized as well as dirty, difficult, and dangerous low-wage jobs of the OCW, at the heart of the nation state. For Rafael, this move signifies that, as 'tragic figures subject to alien powers' (2000: 211), the (female) overseas came to symbolize the postcolonial nation. By being employed as apparently vulnerable and caring domestic workers and by remitting their earned dollars home, they embody the ethos of mutual caring and pity, as well as the sharing of obligations linked to Filipino nationalism (ibid.).

When Contemplaciòn became 'the Filipino everyman', Rafael goes on to argue, this signified 'a feminisation of the national image' (2000: 213). Thus, for Rafael, the discourse of the martyr is inherent in that of the heroine. Likewise, Tadiar argues that the image of Filipina migrants as heroines entails the image of the martyr, since 'the hero is the inversion of the slave. The slave becomes the object of sacrifice – the martyr – enabling the heroization of the nation' (Tadiar 2004: 147). These discourses are historically shaped representations of gender that precede female migration in large numbers and can also be linked to the Philippines' anti-colonial struggles (Blanc-Szanton 1990; Errington 1990; Hilsdon 1995).

Not surprisingly, the out-migration of women thereafter was rendered increasingly problematic within the Philippine public discourse. When, during the first decades after independence, Filipino fathers left the country in increasingly large numbers to seek employment abroad, it was assumed that the mothers were still around to pull the Filipino family together. Likewise, fathers leaving to work abroad were considered above all to be fulfilling their culturally infused gender role as the providers of the family. Even though the migration of fathers violated the cultural norm of the cohabitation of families, it was not until the feminization of Filipino out-migration that the problem of so-called broken homes began to provoke greater alarm (Parreñas 2005: 38), which took on more concrete forms in the post-Contemplaciòn era. As Rafael (1995) points out, migrant women now appeared to 'debase' the nation's women in general and, in possibly being either sex workers or sexually molested and maltreated domestic helpers, they served to embarrass the nation globally.

Accordingly, throughout the Philippine media and a large portion of its social science literature, the families of migrating women – in contrast to those of migrating men – were now described as 'broken homes' (cf. Parreñas 2003: 39f.). Married women with children in particular, who had allegedly abandoned their families in order to seek employment abroad, therefore signified the 'destruction of the moral fabric' of Philippine society (ibid.). In compliance with the post-Contemplaciòn discourse on Filipina migrants, the

role of Filipina mothers was in the domestic sphere of their own, not foreign homes. This becomes clear from reports such as *Hearts Apart*, published by two Philippine Catholic welfare and research institutions and the state body OWWA. In it, the authors wonder how within families of migrating mothers, the 'children [can] be raised without the "light of the home" [that is, the mother, Tagalog *ilaw ng tahanan*]' (ECPCMIP/ASM, SMC and OWWA 2004: 3) and attribute a multitude of social problems, such as gambling, excessive drinking of alcohol, drug abuse, failing in school and adultery to the families of migrant mothers.

In consequence, migration was increasingly framed as an individual act and responsibility, which the state only reluctantly facilitated (Tyner 2004). In the course of this process, leaving the country for employment has nonetheless become highly regulated for prospective migrants. To become an OFW, for whom state bodies assume responsibility and offer protection, Filipinos have to register and process their 'papers' in the POEA, apply for a job through a licensed recruitment agency and undergo a week-long, pre-departure seminar, among other things.[13] Nevertheless, as the high and apparently rising number of undocumented Filipino migrants worldwide indicates (Lao 1995), not to mention numerous ethnographic accounts of Filipino migrants abroad, including my own, the state's monopoly over Filipinos' overseas employment was never fully achieved. As the Philippines continues to be characterized by a political economy of permanent crisis, and almost every Filipino seems to wish to achieve the status of *naka-pag* abroad, one who has gone abroad, an ever increasing number are succeeding in doing so.

Research Process and Methods

Between August 2003 and June 2006, I spent sixteen non-consecutive months of field research in Israel (fifteen months) and the Philippines (one month), the main period lasting from November 2004 to September 2005. My field research was based on a multi-level approach and used a variety of ethnographic methods, of which ethnographic interviewing and participant observation were the most important. Within field research, I conducted a total of 101 interviews, of which 76 were recorded and largely transcribed. Interviews were conducted with three major groups, namely Filipino (domestic) workers (49, including three male interviewees), Israeli and Filipino officials or 'experts' on or practitioners in the field of migration policies (34) and several non-Filipino domestic workers, among them leaders of migrant organizations. The experts/practitioners whom I interviewed included employees and volunteers of Israeli NGOs and Tel Aviv municipal institutions, shopkeepers and house-owners in the southern Tel Aviv neighbourhood of Neveh Sha'anan, owners of several employment agencies who were recruiting and employing Filipino domestic workers, two members of the Philippines Embassy in Tel Aviv and an official of the Israeli labour union, Histadrut.

I kept in touch with most of the Filipina domestic workers I interviewed over an extended period of time and in the course of my field research met many of their Israeli employers. During subsequent visits to the Philippines, I met many of their family members or – as in the case of interview partners who had been deported prior to my visit – met former interviewees again. Some of my interview partners have in the meantime found their way to Italy, the UK, the United States or Canada, where I managed to visit some and from where others keep in touch through e-mail, telephone or text messages.

Interviews were conducted in English and in the case of Israeli interviewees, Hebrew. Even though English was not my mother tongue any more than it was for most of my interviewees, I felt that its use did not hinder the research. Throughout my field research I became familiar with some Tagalog/Filipino, a fact that often triggered amusement, but I also sensed that it helped me be taken increasingly seriously. In general, informal conversations and interviews, as well as spontaneous story-telling sessions in shared flats, during barbecues or on excursions, produced deeper and more intimate knowledge than 'artificial' interview situations with technical equipment lying on the table. The sample of my interviewees is by no means representative. In order to complement the data generated by interviews, I conducted a questionnaire survey among Filipino participants in the course of an excursion and relied on the statistical data collected on 328 Filipinos by the Philippine OWWA office in Israel.

During the first months of field research, participant observation was conducted mainly within NGO settings. Apart from the migrant workers' centre established by the non-profit organization Kav LaOved (KLO) mentioned above, I participated in the activities of an anti-deportation network and later NGO, the Hotline for Migrant Workers (HMW), whom I joined on visits to several detention facilities, as well as of a municipal social centre for migrants, and I regularly visited the Physicians for Human Rights' (PHR) open clinic. I participated in and observed numerous events related to 'foreign workers' issues, such as discussion panels, workshops, demonstrations, film screenings and celebrations organized by both migrants' self-organizations and Israeli culture producers and political activists in Tel Aviv. In the Israeli parliament, I attended several meetings of the parliamentary commission on the 'Problem of Foreign Workers'. Within the neighbourhood of Neveh Sha'anan, I regularly met up with interview partners and Filipino acquaintances in migrants' shared flats, shops, and – in its midst both geographically and mentally – the new Tel Aviv Central Bus Station. On weekends, I repeatedly joined excursions and church services alongside Filipino interviewees. Through them, I gained access to the homes of some Israeli employers, learnt to enjoy basketball, and was made to sing karaoke and dance Igorot 'tribal dances'.

My study is rooted in ethnography and social anthropology, but is also informed by the contributions of scholars from numerous other disciplines, including gender studies, geography, sociology and political science. Studying

migration in the twenty-first century has to be an interdisciplinary enterprise (Brettell and Hollifield 2000; Massey et al. 1993).

Structure of the Book

This book is arranged into six chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter describes the so-called foreign worker regime in Israel and Filipinos' positioning within it. It also gives an account of how migration and citizenship have been conceptualized and are governed in Israel, drawing attention to the fact that Jewish migration ('return') has been at the centre of Israel's ideological and bio-political self-definition, while non-Jewish migration was neither intended nor provided for. It will become clear that Israel, in many ways a prototypical immigration country in terms of Jewish migration, has experienced a major influx of non-Jewish Asian, African and Latin American labour migrants since the 1980s in a process closely related to the ousting of Palestinian workers from the Israeli labour market. As has happened in other Western societies, these migrants soon formed their own ethnoclass within Israel's highly segmented labour market and were separated from Israeli society by restrictive citizenship laws and policies based on the temporalization and illegalization of migrants. Nevertheless, non-Jewish migrants' everyday practices and struggles, as this chapter shows, put national migration policies increasingly into question.

In the second chapter, drawing on the work of Rhazel Salazar Parreñas (2001, 2003, 2005) on Philippine transnational families, and inspired by Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton's (1992) notion of transnational social fields, I investigate Filipina migrants' social networks, affective obligations and gendered roles and practices. By describing the life stories of three migrant women, I intend to point to the complexities of their reasons for migration and transformative experiences of travel. The transnationality implied in contemporary projects of migration for Filipina domestic workers, highlighted in Chapter 2, signifies subjective suffering and rupture on one hand, whilst on the other it creates and informs new forms of sociality, desire and subjectivity.

In Chapter 3 I focus on paid domestic work, most especially care-giving, the employment sector ascribed to Filipinos in Israel by the migration regime. Given the double meaning of 'care' as having a practical as well as an emotional dimension, Filipinos – or so the predominantly devoted Christian migrants narrated their stay in Israel – are those who both physically and emotionally care for the 'Holy Land'. As carers, housekeepers, nannies and cleaners, Filipinos' domestic work realities are extremely complex, often implying deeply affective and intimate social ties between employer and employee. This chapter illustrates that Filipina domestics in Israel, through their work in Israeli homes, come to know 'Israel backstage' and sometimes even manage to translate their employers' status into their own, at least – but not only – for themselves.

Filipino domestic workers typically come together in large numbers at weekends, which are characterized by collective undertakings and intimate

sociality. Drawing on early migrants' stories, in Chapter 4 I shall outline the processes of making and unmaking a Filipino 'community' in Israel, starting in the 1980s and changing fundamentally with the number of Filipino migrants mushrooming after the official recruitment of Filipino caregivers to Israel in 1995. As well as simply growing in numbers, Filipinos have since also managed to create and maintain spaces and institutions of their own, including numerous religious groups, a workers' union, regional associations and local magazines. When these self-organized structures came increasingly under pressure and partly dissolved in the wake of a deportation campaign from Israel, the Philippines Embassy organized community structures from above. As part of a large, working-class diaspora, Filipina migrants in Israel practice a transborder citizenship based on highly localized, yet interconnected struggles, which necessarily exceed a state-informed nationalism. Filipina migrants' politics in Israel, I shall argue, are informed by the knowledge of their precarious position in Israel, and draw much from the collective remembrance of an imagined community forged in past struggles against inequality and injustice.

If there is one single place that Filipinos in Israel narrated as 'theirs', it is the Central Bus Station and its adjacent neighbourhood in southern Tel Aviv. Chapter 5 will show how Filipinos succeeded in asserting their 'right to the city' (Mitchell 2003) within this urban space. Yet, they did so within a neighbourhood which is itself socially excluded from the so-called White City Tel Aviv (cf. Rotbard 2005). In spite of the shabbiness of both the southern neighbourhoods and the Central Bus Station, both are narrated as 'truly Filipino' spaces by migrants, an ambivalent 'home' within the unhomely. It is within this space of communal gathering and consumption that the tragic moments of Filipinos' migration to Israel stand out most clearly: against the background of the mass arrests of illegalized migrants, for Filipinos this urban area signifies vulnerability and exclusion as well as *kababayan* (Tagalog 'fellow national') solidarity. Consequently, their search for the modernity, liberty and riches of abroad makes them look onward, towards the 'greener pastures' of yet another destination country.

These are the topic of the final ethnographic chapter. Entitled 'Global Dreaming', Chapter 6 argues that imaginative factors play a crucial role in Filipinos' migration to Israel and beyond. As an intrinsic part of the political economy of the postcolonial nation state, it is Filipinos' collective dreaming of Western lifestyles that encourages them to leave for Israel, often narrating this move as a form of travel. In Israel, the 'Holy Land' for Christians worldwide, the dream of travel is turned into reality by weekend tours throughout the country, often to Christian holy sites. By travelling the 'Holy Land' in large groups, Filipinos collectively relate to, act within, and claim the land. During these tours, Filipinos experience their being in the 'Holy Land' as both a touristic and religious experience, narrated as a privilege, pilgrimage or mission. As such it entails affective practices, social obligations and embodied transformations. By becoming pilgrims and tourists, Filipino travellers at least temporarily transcend their position as presumably poor 'foreign workers' in Israel.

Nevertheless, being engaged in a journey towards a better life, many Filipina women come to Israel from other destination countries and decide to move on as soon as they realize that their stay there is limited. The ethnographic outline shows that this on-migration implies considerable knowledge, strategic and at times intergenerational life planning, immense costs, painful decisions and a great deal of precious time on the part of Filipina migrants. As 'working-class cosmopolitans' (Werbner 1999), the Filipina migrants described in this book transcend the divide that is typically drawn in the literature between parochial migrants and bourgeois cosmopolitans. Most of all, in an attempt to keep their options open in a global gendered economy, new transnational subjectivities are being forged as migrants negotiate and struggle for what I shall term a global form of lived citizenship.

Notes

1. In this book, I use the term 'Filipina' as a noun (plural: Filipinas) to refer to a woman who lives in or originates from the Philippines. In several cases, I use 'Filipina' instead of the gender-neutral adjective 'Filipino' in order to stress the female-gendered aspect of this study.

2. While Mezzadra (2007: 186) speaks of the migrant as a 'cancelled subject' (that is, a '~~subject~~'), following Lacan's notion of a *sujet barré*, Tyner speaks in this context of the 'death' of the migrant (2004: 58), following both Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault.

3. Cf. Bojadžijev (2008), Karakayali (2008), Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe (2007).

4. In recent years, the notion of 'regime' has frequently (and fruitfully) been employed in migration research. It has been applied with regard to national citizenship regimes (Brubaker 1992), welfare regimes (Rosenhek 2000) and incorporation regimes (Soysal 1994), among others. In contrast to 'systems', regimes are generally understood as conflictive spaces of complex sets of explicit or implicit principles, norms and rules, which include multiple actors whose practices are mutually dependent but unordered by systematic logic. This is the way I shall apply the notion in the present book.

5. The difference between the concept of 'individual' and 'subject' is substantial. As Tyner (2004: 18f.) has pointed out by drawing on Foucault, the notion of a 'subject' suggests a constant struggle between the two aspects of the term, the power of the subjugated and the subjected. It means that a person is subject to structural forces without being denied an agency of his or her own. Accordingly, the term 'subject' will be preferred here to 'individual'.

6. See the United Nations' publication, 'Trends in Total Migrant Stock', retrieved 14 November 2009 from http://esa.un.org/migration. According to UN figures, women accounted for 49.2 per cent of all migrants worldwide in 2005.

7. Quoted from the IOM fact sheet on 'Gender and Migration', retrieved 5 August 2007 from www.iom.int.

8. Cf. Weekley (2003: 3). Exact figures on Filipino citizens abroad are lacking. The Philippine government estimates the number of 'Overseas Filipinos' at 6.5-7.5

million (cf. http://www.poea.gov.ph/html/statistics.html; retrieved 22 November 2009), whereas NGOs generally speak of eight million (see, for example the website of Migrante International, retrieved 22 November 2009 from http://migrante.tripod.com/). For the latest official figures for world migrants, see http://esa.un.org/migration; retrieved 14 November 2009.

9. The central importance of remittances for domestic consumption and the Philippine currency is generally recognized (Mellyn 2003). Accordingly, the official remittances of Overseas Filipinos amounted to $3.5 billion in the first quarter of 2007 (see Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas Media Release on 15 May 2007, retrieved 22 November 2009 from http://www.bsp.gov.ph/publications/media.asp?id=1574).

10. Cf. Gonzales 1998: 42f.; for more recent data, see the statistics of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration at http://www.poea.gov.ph/html/statistics.html (retrieved 22 November 2009).

11. Cf. Tyner 2004: 47; Hilsdon 2000: 179. As Hilsdon (ibid.) states, the content of the Magna Carta 'aligns well' with the UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, which was drawn up in 1990 but has not been enacted since because major receiving countries did not ratify it. Furthermore, the POEA's slogan that 'Labor Migration is a global phenomenon that should be managed' (see the institution's website at www.poea.gov.ph; retrieved 22 November 2009) resembles the slogan launched by the IOM to 'manage migration for the benefits of all' (see www.iom.int; retrieved 22 November 2009).

12. The one sentence most often quoted from this speech is '*Kayo po ang mga bagong bayani*' (Tagalog, 'You are the new heroes'; quoted from Rafael 2000: 211).

13. See POEA website at www.poea.gov.ph (retrieved 5 August 2007) for the state-sanctioned employment regulations and process. See Asis (2005) for empirical research on Filipinos' experiences prior to their employment as OFWs.