SERVANTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Women, Migration and Domestic Work

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Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers in Rome and Los Angeles

Diwaliwan, a glossy monthly magazine published in Hong Kong, caters to Filipino/a migrant workers around the globe. While pictures of Philippine movie stars and "Ms. Diwaliwan" monthly beauty contest winners usually grace the front page of the magazine, the most striking image on the cover is the notation of the price in the Hong Kong dollar, Australian dollar, Canadian dollar, Japanese yen, Italian lire, Spanish peseta, and at least a dozen other currencies. While the widespread circulation of *Diwaliwan* points to the existence of the Filipino/a diaspora, the magazine's contents reveal some aspects of its readership.[1] This magazine periodically covers issues concerning overseas domestic work. This is because the majority of Filipina migrants scattered all over the globe are domestic workers.

The outflow of women from the Philippines and their entrance into domestic service in more than 130 countries represent one of the largest and widest flows of contemporary female migration (Tyner, 1999). Filipino women are the quintessential service workers of globalization. As Nigel Harris states, "Filipinas are everywhere, a genuine labor force—maids gossiping and smoking on their day off in downtown Hong Kong or Singapore, working Japanese farms, running the duty-free shops of Bahrain, cleaning most of the world's cities from London to São Paulo" (1995: 15). According to nongovernmental organizations in the Philippines, there are approximately 6.5 million Filipino migrants. Since the early 1990s, women have composed more than half of deployed Filipino migrant workers (Asis, 1992). Of these women, two-thirds are employed in domestic service (Tolentino, 1996). By definition, domestic workers are employees paid by individuals or families to provide elderly care, childcare, and/or housecleaning in private homes.

This study enters the world of migrant Filipina domestic workers by comparing their experiences of migration and settlement in the two cities with the largest populations of Filipino migrants in Italy and the United States: Rome and Los Angeles (King and Rybaczuk, 1993; U.S. Census, 1993). I focus my study on Italy and the United States first because they are the two most popular destinations of Filipino migrants in Western countries. Second, the Philippines has particular colonial ties to both countries. As suggested by migration systems theory, migration streams are not randomly selected but instead emerge from prior links established through colonialism or preexisting cultural and economic ties (Castles and Miller, 1998). While the United States maintains enormous economic dominance in relation to the Philippines, Italy indirectly enjoys cultural dominance through the institution of the Roman Catholic Church. Third, contemporary Filipino migration flows to these two countries did not originate in a formal recruitment policy as they did for most other destinations of Filipino overseas laborers (for example, Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia). The movements of domestic workers into these two countries are for the most part informal streams that are not monitored by the state. In Italy, migrant women from the Philippines, Cape Verde, and Peru are concentrated in domestic service (Andall, 1992). In the United States, domestic work has been an occupation historically relegated to women of color and immigrant women (Dill, 1994; Glenn, 1986; Rollins, 1985; Romero, 1992). Notably, however, Filipina migrants are not concentrated in domestic service in the United States labor market.

My study looks at the politics of incorporation of migrant Filipina domestic workers. It does not concentrate solely on domestic work as an occupational issue. Instead, I view the experiences of migrant Filipina domestic workers through the lens of four key institutions of migration—the nation-state, family, labor market, and the migrant community. Within each institution, I examine a particular process of migration. Accordingly, they are (1) the outflow of migration, (2) the formation of the migrant household, (3) the entrance into the labor market, and (4) the formation of the migrant community.

In conducting a cross-national study, I found that migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles encounter similar issues of migration within each of the institutional processes that I set out to analyze. They experience partial citizenship vis-à-vis the nation-state. In terms of the family, the majority of women in both cities maintain transnational households. As such, they share the pain of family separation. In both cities, many of

them perform domestic work with a college education in hand. From this they share the experience of contradictory class mobility or an inconsistent social status in the labor market. Finally, they encounter both social exclusion and feelings of nonbelonging in the formation of the migrant community, albeit from different sources—in Rome from the dominant society and in Los Angeles from middle-class members of the Filipino migrant community. Still, in both cities they face alienation from other migrants. My examination of institutional processes focuses on these four issues, which I refer to as *dislocations*, meaning the positions into which external forces in society constitute the subject of migrant Filipina domestic workers. My analysis of dislocations illustrates their process of constitution and the means by which migrant Filipina domestic workers resist (attempt to eliminate) or negotiate (attempt to mitigate) the effects of these dislocations in their everyday lives. From this perspective, the experience of migration is embodied in dislocations.

The formation of parallel dislocations among migrant Filipina domestic workers in different geographical settings came as a surprise. Because they face remarkably different "contexts of reception" in Rome and Los Angeles, I expected to find a larger degree of variation in their experiences. In *Immigrant America*, a pivotal overview of the politics of immigrant incorporation into the United States, Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut (1996) establish that experiences of migration shift and differ according to local "contexts of reception." The "context of reception" charts the migrant's path of incorporation well beyond his or her control. This context is shaped by a combination of various features, most important of which are government policies; labor market conditions, including patterns of "ethnic typification"; and the constitution of the ethnic community (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996: 86).

This study's underlying question asks, why do migrant Filipina domestic workers in cities with different "contexts of reception" encounter similar dislocations?[2] The answer lies mostly in their shared role as low-wage laborers in global capitalism. As such, this study provides a "cross-national comparison" to emphasize the similarities engendered by globalization among the low-wage migrant workers demanded in the economic centers of global capitalism (Portes, 1997). My discussion foregrounds the position and shared experiences of migrant Filipina domestic workers as the global servants of global capitalism. These shared experiences of dislocations are the tropes of alliance among them. That is, they may draw cross-national alliances on the basis of these dislocations and consequently perceive themselves as part of a global

community of workers dislocated into low-wage labor by the economic turmoil caused by global restructuring in the Philippines.

Filipino Migrants in Rome and Los Angeles

The "contexts of reception" for Filipino migrants in Rome and Los Angeles are distinct in many ways. First, the histories of Filipino migration into Rome and Los Angeles differ, with the former beginning not until the 1970s and the latter beginning as early as the 1900s with the arrival of highly selected government scholars (*pensionados*) soon after the colonization of the Philippines by the United States in 1898 (Espiritu, 1995). The different migration histories of these two host societies are not surprising considering that Italy has historically been a country of emigration. Only recently, in the 1970s, did it noticeably become a country of immigration. Thus, in contrast to the United States, which has had long-standing policies on migration, Italy did not implement a comprehensive migration policy until 1987 (Pugliese, 1996).

Second, the demographic characteristics of these Filipino migrant communities are remarkably different. For example, while 70 percent of Filipino migrants in Italy are women, their gender composition in the United States is more balanced. Third, the politics of immigrant incorporation are differentiated by the basis of citizenship in the United States and Italy. The jus soli (right by birth) is the basis of citizenship in the United States, while it is the jus sanguinis (right by descendence) in Italy. Consequently, migrants can be granted permanent residency in the United States but can only be temporary residents of Italy.

Finally, the ethnic typification of Filipinos in the labor markets of Rome and Los Angeles varies tremendously. In Rome, 98.5 percent of Filipinos are in domestic work (Venturini, 1991). In Los Angeles and the rest of the United States, contemporary Filipino migration can more or less be described as a professional stream (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). However, similarities in labor market conditions do exist between Rome and Los Angeles. Both labor markets demand a pool of cheap labor to fill the need for low-wage service jobs (Cohen, 1992; Sassen, 1988). In Rome, foreign diplomats, state officials, and the presence of Italian cinema increase the demand for low-wage service workers. In Los Angeles, low-wage migrant workers are needed to fill jobs in decentralized industries of electronics and garment and furniture manufacturing as well as the formal and informal service sectors that cater to highly

specialized business professionals in the city (Bozorgmehr et al., 1996; Sabagh, 1993). Despite the typification of migrant Filipinos as professionals in the United States, a sizable contingent of them can be found performing low-wage service jobs not only in private homes but also in hotels, airports, and other establishments.

ROME

While Filipino migration into Italy officially began in the 1970s, Filipino migrants did not become a visible presence in Rome until the 1980s. Accounting for the large informal stream of migrants, Filipino officials in Rome believe that by 1995 more than 200,000 Filipinos had settled in Italy, with slightly less than half of them in Rome. A fairly recent event, this migration stream has been distinguished by its unidirectional flow of labor market incorporation into the informal low-wage service sector. Hence, this ethnic community, one comprised mostly of women, inhabits a very constrained niche in the Italian labor market.

As a receiving state, Italy is far more restrictive than the United States. Yet it has granted amnesty to undocumented migrants more consistently and generously, for example, awarding it in 1987, 1990, and 1995. In Italy, legal migrants hold a *permesso di soggiorno* (permit to stay), which grants them temporary residency. With its length of stay extending to seven years, residence permits for most Filipino migrants are renewable contingent on the sponsorship of an employer, the regular employment of the migrant, and finally the continual filing of income tax by the employer/s. Though the residence permit, with very few exceptions, generally restricts the labor market activities of migrants to domestic work, it grants them access to social and health services and rights to family reunification with spouses and children under the age of eighteen (Campani, 1993a). Notably, these rights were not bestowed on migrants until the implementation of the 1989/90 Martelli Law (Soysal, 1994).[3]

Even though Italy has historically been a country that sent workers to industrial centers of Northern Europe, the recent wave of immigration did not result in compassionate understanding among Italians (Ancona, 1991; Bonifazi, 1992; Montanari and Cortese, 1993; Veugelers, 1994). Instead, it has led to increasing sentiments of nationalism and xenophobia. A 1991 survey conducted by the Institute for Statistical Research and Analysis of Public Opinion in Italy indicates that "61% of respondents think that immigration brings 'only or mainly disadvantages'" to Italian society (Bonifazi, 1992: 29). This

reflects an increase of almost 18 percent from a survey carried out in 1989. Immigration is in fact considered not only a social problem by most Italians but also an issue of political debate, as shown by the rise of the Northern League, whose campaign platform includes hostility against migrants (Ruzza and Schmidtke, 1996).

LOS ANGELES

In contrast to their counterparts in Italy, Filipino labor migrants settled in Los Angeles as early as the 1920s.[4] Prior to World War II, low-skilled male workers composed the majority of the relatively small number of Filipinos in the United States, which in 1965 only reached a population of 200,000 (Hing, 1998). Filipinos were mostly agricultural workers in rural areas, but a few settled in urban areas such as Los Angeles, where they provided low-wage service labor, for example, as cooks and domestic workers (Melendy, 1974).

The reconstitution of this community composed primarily of never-married single men came in 1965.[5] The 1965 Immigration Act drastically changed the composition of the Filipino population with the direct recruitment and immigration of skilled workers, specifically professionals and technicians demanded in the fields of science, engineering, and health, and their subsequent use of family reunification preference categories for the migration of kin (Reimers, 1985). Since 1970, the rate of Filipino migration has surpassed those of all other Asian ethnic groups. In fact, Filipino contemporary migration to the United States is second in size only to the Mexican migration flow (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

As the Filipino population throughout the United States diversified in terms of gender, region of origin, and level of education and grew in size exponentially, so did the Filipino community in Los Angeles. Filipinos now represent the second largest Asian American group in the country with a population exceeding 1.4 million (U.S. Census, 1993). They are the largest Asian American group in California and the second largest, next to the Chinese, in Los Angeles County. In 1990, there were 219,653 Filipinos living in Los Angeles County (Ong and Azores, 1994a: 104).[6] Like most other Asian ethnic groups in the United States, most Filipinos are immigrants. In 1990, 64 percent of Filipinos in the United States were born in the Philippines (U.S. Census, 1993). In Los Angeles, the foreign-born comprise 76 percent of the Filipino population (Ong and Azores, 1994a).

In contrast to Rome, where Filipino migrant workers are relegated to domestic work in a split labor market blatantly segmented by race and nationality, Filipinos in Los Angeles benefit from the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. They have more opportunities and occupy more varied positions in the labor market. Though often categorized as professionals, Filipino migrants do in fact also end up filling semi- and low-skilled occupations. A skilled worker may settle for semiskilled employment because of restrictive measures against foreign-trained professionals.[7] A survey of a random sample of persons issued visas from Korea and the Philippines in 1986 shows that 60 percent "of all professional and technical workers experienced downward mobility after entry" (Lowell, 1996: 360). While Koreans counteract this downward trend by turning to small-business entrepreneurship, Filipinos use their English-language skills and seek wage employment. Migrant Filipinos arguably fare worse. A turn to wage employment means that they do not develop an ethnic enclave that cushions newcomers in the community. The self-employment rate among Filipinos according to the 1990 federal census is only thirty-two per thousand, the lowest among all migrant ethnic groups (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). In contrast to Koreans, they neither benefit from an ethnic enclave that stimulates economic mobility in the community nor have a niche that offers jobs with skills acquisition in ethnic entrepreneurship. Instead, Filipinos are split between the haves and the have-nots in the wage labor market.

We can speculate that the large flow of medical professionals from the Philippines partially initiated the entrance of Filipina migrants into domestic work. Considering nursing home facilities as well as private homes, the Filipino Worker's Center of Los Angeles estimates that Filipinos comprise the largest number of providers of elderly care in Los Angeles. This is not surprising considering that the Philippines is one of the largest sources of medical workers in the United States (Ong and Azores, 1994b). With knowledge of available jobs saturating networks in the community, migrant Filipinos have developed an "immigrant niche" in nursing (Waldinger, 1996). Without doubt, Filipina migrants can be found in its various levels, from registered nurses to licensed vocational nurses and certified nursing aides. This niche funnels information regarding elderly care into the community.[8]

As in Italy, xenophobia mars the incorporation of migrants into the United States (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). This is perhaps most true in California, where in 1995 voters, fueled by the belief that immigrants burden the economy and drain government services, supported the state referendum Proposition 187, which bars undocumented immigrants from any tax-supported

benefits including education, health, and social services (Martin, 1995). Anti-immigrant sentiments in California are targeted primarily against Latino migrants. In Italy, the same can be said of African migrants.

In summary, Rome and Los Angeles offer migrant Filipinos starkly different "contexts of reception." The starkest difference comes in government policies—migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome are limited to temporary visas, but in Los Angeles they qualify for permanent residency. In fact, domestic workers qualify for the labor certification program that grants residency to migrants whose skills amend the labor shortage in the United States labor market. The demographic composition of the community is also strikingly different, with the one in Los Angeles occupying diverse sectors of the labor market and the other in Rome concentrated solely in domestic work.

Due to the greater integration of Filipino migrants in the United States, it is not surprising that fewer women enter domestic work in this country than in Italy. For this same reason, I anticipated greater differences between domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles. For example, I expected to find a greater number of women maintaining complete family units in Los Angeles and a lesser number of educated women in domestic work. The varying degrees of integration in these two countries led me to question why domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles share some experiences. What structural factors propel two distinct groups of Filipina low-wage workers into parallel trajectories? What does the emergence of similarities between them, in spite of their different contexts, imply about the process of globalization?

Why a Cross-National Perspective on Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers?

Despite their large number and wide dispersal, there is still very little academic discussion on the status of migrant Filipina domestic workers. With the exception of Philippine-based publications, existing works include the book-length studies of Nicole Constable (1997) and Abigail Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis (1997c) and articles by the aforementioned scholars as well as by Giovanna Campani (1993a, 1993b), Dan Gatmaytan (1997), Patricia Licuanan (1994), James Tyner (1994, 1999), and Brenda Yeoh et al. (1999).

In contrast to other studies, I present a comparative study of migrant Filipina domestic workers. The insights contained in other studies, however, allowed me to expand my methodological scope. Anthropologist Nicole Constable's (1997) study *Maid to Order in Hong Kong*, for example, offers an

exemplary reading of the contradictions in the daily lives of migrant Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong. Using a Foucauldian lens, Constable examines the dialectic relationship between discipline and resistance in the lives of migrant Filipina domestic workers, and she shows that their strategies of resistance at times involve conforming to the disciplining imposed upon them by the state, recruitment agencies, and employers. The collection of essays edited by Abigail Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis (1997c), *Not One of the Family*, reinforces the conclusion that the occupational issues of migrant domestic workers extend to the level of the nation-state. They demonstrate that political and social inequalities structure the incorporation of migrant domestic workers into Canada, where they are subject to restrictive temporary visas that require live-in employment and leave them vulnerable to unregulated employment standards.

A comparative study extends the discussions that have been initiated by these scholars. Heeding the call of Alejandro Portes (1997) for more "cross-national comparisons" in the analysis of international migration, a comparative study of migrant Filipina domestic workers contributes to a broader understanding of the significant variables molding their incorporation as migrant workers into the host society. Moreover, a comparative perspective is a tool for studying how similarities emerge in two different settings.[9] By limiting my comparison to domestic workers, I can achieve a feasible study that draws out similarities and differences in experiences across nations.

Another reason I chose to conduct a comparative study is to underscore the emergence of not just a labor migration outflow but a labor diaspora as the particular result of global restructuring vis-à-vis the Philippines. Migrant Filipina domestic workers are the servants of globalization. If, as Ulf Hannerz reminds us, "the contemporary work of globalization involves the globalization of work" (1996: 99), how is a localized occupation such as domestic work globalized? Global restructuring refers to the economic reconstitution triggered by transnational corporatism and postnational finance capitalism (Reich, 1991; Sassen, 1994, 1996b, 1996c). By resulting in a heightened demand for low-wage service labor in global cities, where there is a concentration of highly specialized professionals (for instance, accountants and business consultants), global restructuring engenders multiple migration flows of female workers entering domestic work and consequently results in the globalization of this occupation.

Calling forth a comparative study of migration, globalization requires a shift from a unilocal to multilocal perspective in the analysis of economic activities. A comparative study ensures that a focus on the local does not over-

look the global (Mufti and Shohat, 1997). With the relocation of production in globalization, the decline in manufacturing activities in Pittsburgh, for example, can no longer be understood without the simultaneous consideration of manufacturing activities in other localities, such as export processing in Mexico and informal manufacturing in New York. Though not constituting a traceable relocation such as production activities, low-wage service labor—such as domestic work—should also be understood in a multilocal perspective to emphasize the expansion of reserve armies of cheap labor with the formation of a (low-wage) labor diaspora and the demands for low-wage service workers by the economic bloc of postindustrial nations.

Hence, by showing the emergence of similarities among migrant Filipina domestic workers in different contexts, this study brings to the forefront the significance of their shared position in the global economy. Despite the differences in the particularities of their destinations, migrant Filipina domestic workers do fulfill a similar economic role in globalization. In both Rome and Los Angeles, they are part of the low-wage service workforce of the economic bloc of postindustrial nations. With this in mind, we can see more clearly that a cross-national perspective allows us to truly situate migration flows in globalization and its corresponding macrostructural trends.

Finally, I conduct a comparative study so as to situate the lives of Filipino Americans in a diasporic instead of a domestic perspective (Wong, 1995).[10] A turn toward a diasporic perspective follows the trajectory established by Lisa Lowe (1996) in *Immigrant Acts* of placing the analysis of Asian American experiences in an "international context," one that is mindful of the construction of Asian American subjects in the globalization of the economy, the foreign policies of the United States, and the resulting migration of Koreans, Southeast Asians, and Filipinos from the wars and foreign presence of the United States in Asia. Extending Lowe's contention that post-1965 Asian immigration to the United States is a result of colonization, I wish to point out that United States colonialism in the Philippines resulted not only in a migration flow to the United States but also in a labor diaspora that far transcends this country in its geographic scope. The economic turmoil caused by United States colonialism and the subsequent presence of institutions such as the World Bank in the Philippines have led to a migration flow the world over. Notably, the diaspora in which I categorically situate migrant Filipinos is not based on the notion of an essential allegiance among them but instead is based on their particular position as migrant workers in the global economy.

The large contingent of Filipino labor migrants to the United States is conceivably part of a larger outflow of a hierarchical labor diaspora from the Philippines. Professionals, semiprofessionals, and low-wage workers make up this diaspora. Moreover, the presence of Filipina domestic workers in the midst of the more visible professional migrants in the United States points to this country's inclusion in the Filipina domestic worker diaspora. Indeed, a large number of undocumented Filipina women in the United States end up in domestic work (Hogeland and Rosen, 1990). The case of the United States invites an assessment of the larger structural forces and migrant institutions that propel a distinct subgroup of Filipinas into domestic work. Thus, I situate the experiences of Filipina domestic workers in a diasporic terrain, one that cannot be understood without the simultaneous consideration of the experiences of their counterparts in other countries. The Filipino labor diaspora is conceivably composed of one labor force in the global economy. By making this point, I do not mean to imply that migrant Filipina domestic workers or Filipino labor migrants have the same experiences the world over. As I show in Chapter 2, the Filipino labor diaspora is segmented by gender and class. Despite my seemingly contradictory findings, I do maintain that experiences in this diaspora are differentiated by social, political, legal, historical, and economic contexts of incorporation. Yet by drawing out existing similarities in their experiences, I wish to move toward finding a cross-national coalitional ground for the Filipino diasporic subject.

Filipinos in Globalization: An Imagined Global Community of Filipina Domestic Workers

As political economist Saskia Sassen states, "International migrations are produced, they are patterned, and they are embedded in specific historical phases" (1993: 97). The contemporary outmigration of Filipinas and their entrance into domestic work is a product of globalization; it is patterned under the role of the Philippines as an export-based economy in globalization; and it is embedded in the specific historical phase of global restructuring. The global economy is the stage that migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles have entered in their pursuit of the accumulation of capital. Considering that they perform the same role on the same stage (but in different places) for the same purpose, the emergence of similarities between them becomes less surprising despite the different contexts of their destinations.

The existence of an "imagined (global) community," using Benedict An-

derson's conceptualization of the nation, reinforces the presence of similarities in their lives.[11] The imagined global community of Filipina migrants emerges, in part, from the simultaneity of their similar experiences as domestic workers across geographic territories. A Filipina domestic worker in Rome may "imagine" the similar conditions faced by domestic workers in Singapore, London, and Kuwait. Notably, they are only able to conceive of a global community because of the existence of shared interests and practices among them.[12]

The dislocations that are constituted in their labor migration are these shared experiences. As such, they are the premise of their community and from which they carve a symbolic transnational ethnic identity as Filipino diasporic subjects. Dislocations, or "narratives of displacement," as Stuart Hall refers to them, are the conjunctures or specific positionings of subjects in social processes (Hall, 1988, 1991a, 1991b). As mentioned, the dislocations of migrant Filipina domestic workers include partial citizenship, the pain of family separation, the experience of contradictory class mobility, and the feeling of social exclusion or nonbelonging in the migrant community.

In a series of essays on cultural identity, Stuart Hall formulates a notion of ethnic identity that is based on the process of subjectivity and the conjunctures that emerge from the subject's positioning in multiple axes of domination (Hall 1988, 1991a, 1991b). Dislocations represent conjunctures from which migrant Filipina domestic workers develop a cross-national allegiance. This conjuncture-based identity works against the notion of an essential unified self, in other words a Cartesian subject whose origin is its actual self (Hall, 1988). Instead, identity is an ongoing "process of identification" in the context of history and society (Hall, 1991a: 15). It is based on the effects of systems of inequality on the subject. Hence, dislocations are neither essential nor exclusive to migrant Filipina domestic workers but instead emerge from the specificities and conjunctures in their location in the political economy of globalization and its corresponding institutional processes. The sharing of these dislocations enables the formation of an imagined global community.

Yet this imagined global community does not emerge solely from the sharing of experiences but comes from, borrowing the words of social theorist Michel de Certeau, the creation of continuously traveled "bridges" across geographic territories ("frontiers") in migration. As Arjun Appadarai (1996) notes, imagination is not a fantasy that can be divorced from actions. This imagined global community is constituted by circuits like those identified by anthropologist Roger Rouse as tying together sending and receiving communities of migration into a singular community through the "continuous

circulation of people, money, goods, and information" (1991: 14) or what anthropologists Linda Basch, Nina Glick-Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc (1994) refer to as "transnational social fields" in their seminal study on transnationalism, *Nations Unbound*.[13]

Migrant Filipina domestic workers maintain transnational projects that connect the Philippines to various geographical locations. For example, ethnic goods circulate from the Philippines to the United States, other countries of Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. However, these webs are not restricted to a binary flow that is directed solely to and from the Philippines. Tangible and imagined links also weave the multiple migrant communities that make up the Filipino labor diaspora more closely together. Instead of just a transnational community, these links forge the creation of a global community.

In the case of the Filipino diaspora, circuits function multinationally. First, the circulation of goods occurs in a multinational terrain. In Europe, for instance, ethnic goods circulate to connect multiple Filipino migrant communities with their shipment from the Philippines to the United Kingdom and only then to other European nation-states. Moreover, multinational ethnic enclave businesses have sprouted with franchises of remittance agencies in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and North America. Philippine bank-sponsored remittance centers such as Far East Bank-SPEED and PCI Bank compete with carriers such as LBC across continents. Although money does not usually circulate between migrant communities, remittance agencies represent collective locations among geographically distanced migrant workers.

In addition, transnational family ties of migrants are not limited to the Philippines. Intimate decisions involved in family maintenance transcend multiple borders. The families of the following handful of women vividly show that migration creates multinational households in various forms, an observation previously made by Khandelwal (1996) regarding contemporary Indian migrant families. Vanessa Dulang, a single woman who followed two of her sisters to Rome in 1990, is the seventh of eleven siblings who decided to work abroad, as two of her sisters and brother live in Kentucky while an older brother navigates to different countries as a seaman. The youngest among her siblings, Ruth Mercado works in Rome while her oldest sister is a barmaid in Switzerland, her brother a tricycle driver in Manila, and her other sister cares for the elderly in Saudi Arabia. Her retired parents stay in the Philippines, where they depend on the remittances sent by their daughters from three different nations. A trained nurse, Gloria Diaz works as a domestic worker in Rome, while her oldest sister works as a nurse in the United States and another sister as a nurse in Manila. A domestic worker in Los An-

geles, Dorothy Espiritu had previously worked in Saudi Arabia, during which time her oldest daughter began working in Japan and another daughter in Saudi Arabia. Finally, there is the family of Libertad Sobredo, a domestic worker in Los Angeles. Her nine children are either working outside of the Philippines, in Saudi Arabia and Greece, or pursuing their college degrees in Manila. These families exemplify the formation of a multinational, and not just binational, household structure among Filipino labor migrants. The interdependency among members of multinational families results in the circulation of money from multiple countries to the Philippines, where economically dependent family members usually reside. Accentuating the experience of a multinational family, Libertad Sobredo, for example, usually deals with family crises occurring across the Pacific in the Philippines by making transatlantic phone calls to her eldest son in Greece.

Finally, magazines that cater to Filipino labor migrants provide additional solid evidence of a circuit that links the multiple migrant communities of Filipinos across the globe. The distribution of the monthly publications *Tinig Filipino* and the aforementioned *Diwaliwan* in more than a dozen countries signifies the presence of a diasporic community from which these magazines profit and which in turn is perpetuated by their circulation of information (to say the least) across geographic borders. As print language created the "imagined community" of the nation in the 1800s, it now provides a tangible link connecting geographically dispersed migrant Filipina domestic workers. A vehicle for creating the notion of a global community and instilling "in the minds of each . . . the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983: 6), *Tinig Filipino* aptly describes itself as the "Linking Force Around the World."

In contrast to its competitor *Diwaliwan*, which frequently covers "showbiz" news in the Philippines and mostly features short stories, *Tinig Filipino* offers its readers a forum for dialogue as overseas workers themselves write most of the articles published in the magazine. As such, this magazine is arguably a gateway to the world of its primary audience of migrant Filipina domestic workers. Titles of articles reflect some aspects of the social realities that these migrant workers face and at the same time reveal some of the dislocations that they encounter in migration. While the title "I Want to Go Home But Where Is Home?" suggests the jagged process of settlement in migration, the title "The American Dream" tells of the construction of the United States as the ideal destination of migrant Filipinos, a legacy of the colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines. Other titles address family and work related issues. For example, the title "Isang Kontrata Na Lang Anak" (One more contract, my child) insinuates the recurrence

of family separation in migration. Readers' high level of educational attainment is also revealed by the common use of the English language in writings by domestic workers and frequent references to canonical literary figures, such as William Shakespeare and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Imagine my surprise when I encountered a Shakespearean quote, "Our doubts are traitors and make us lose the good we oft might win, by fearing to attempt." Though first surprised, I soon realized that these quotes simply reflected the high level of education among migrant Filipina domestic workers. Thus, instead of being surprised, I was left to imagine that there are Filipina domestic workers all over the world relaxing from the physical challenges of their daily routines and relieving themselves of their mentally stifling duties by reading literary texts of the Western canon.

The significance of *Tinig Filipino* is that it enables workers—isolated domestic workers—to reach each other cross-nationally and cross-continentally. In *Tinig Filipino*, the global community comes together on the platforms of particular "narratives of displacement," neither essential nor exclusive narratives but narratives that are prominent within this historical moment. At the same time, it is the existence of narratives of displacement that gives *Tinig Filipino* an avid readership. These narratives are the basis of coalition and solidarity in the labor diaspora, a coalition that has great potential for extending to other groups of migrant workers.

This study centers on the narratives of displacement, or dislocations, of migrant Filipina domestic workers. I explain their experience of migration by mapping out the dislocations that they encounter in migration and that serve as the basis of their identity as Filipino diasporic subjects in this age of late capitalism and globalization. In the process, I also explain how these dislocations form and are contested. In doing so, I address the question of why migrant Filipina domestic workers in host societies with different "contexts of reception" have similar experiences. As I will show, the answer rests largely on their positioning in globalization as part of the secondary tier labor force of the economic bloc of postindustrial nations.

Methodology

My research is based primarily on tape-recorded and fully transcribed open-ended interviews that I collected with domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles for a period of ten months between June 1995 and August 1996. More than four months in Rome gave me ample time to collect forty-six in-

depth interviews with Filipina domestic workers. The interviews ranged from one-and-a-half to three hours in length. I also collected ten in-depth interviews with male domestic workers so as to examine the gendered determinants of migration and settlement in Italy. In addition, I conducted tape-recorded interviews with various community leaders and public figures (for example, Filipino religious clergy, elected officers of the Filipino feminist group and hometown associations, and the disc jockey of the Filipino radio show). I collected an unsystematic sample of research participants by using chain and snowball referrals, but I made sure to diversify my sample by soliciting research participants in numerous community sites such as churches, parks, and plazas.

In Rome, I enhanced the data provided by the in-depth interviews with a short survey of a nonrandom sample of 301 Filipino domestic workers—222 women and 79 men. Two young Filipina domestic workers whom I had befriended assisted in the collection of the survey data. The survey consisted of questions on biographical data, such as year of migration, legal status, and the frequency and amount of remittances. The surveys were conducted at three churches and three main public locations where Filipinos gather during their day off. These gathering sites are located in four different districts of Rome. The main reason I conducted the survey was to compensate for the absence of government statistics on Filipinos in Italy.

I also conducted participant-observation in the community, which entailed the following: regularly attending church services and after-church activities; attending informal get-togethers during days off in apartments, as well as more formal get-togethers like weddings, birthdays, and christenings; hanging out in plazas and parks with Filipinos on their day off; spending many hours at employers' homes with domestic workers and assisting them with their work; and, finally, observing and volunteering at Life-Asper, a community organization that legally assists Filipinos with labor contracts and obtaining legal documents.[14]

In Los Angeles, I collected a smaller sample of twenty-six in-depth interviews with Filipina domestic workers that also range from one-and-a-half to three hours in length. From various informants, I heard of only two Filipino men working as domestic workers and decided that their extremely small number made them negligible to my study. Tapping into the community began with the network of my mother's friends and relatives. To diversify my sample, I posted flyers in various businesses—restaurants and remittance centers in downtown Los Angeles. Two women who later referred me to many other women responded to the flyers. Interestingly, more women (twenty)

called not to be interviewed but to find jobs. Phone messages left on my machine were descriptions of the type of job that they preferred—usually the companionship of an elderly person. Utilizing networks of the domestic workers, the sample of interviewees was collected unsystematically through a snowball method, as I did in Italy. Nonparticipant-observation provided a gateway to the Filipino community of Los Angeles, as I attended meetings of community groups, the occasional parties given by community organizations, and the more frequent parties given by individual families, and I spent time with domestic workers at their own and their employers' homes.

In Los Angeles, five respondents who had agreed to be interviewed later backed out, telling me they did not have time because they were too busy with work or telling me that they just could not do it. Most of them felt guilty, I believe, as they all apologized profusely and offered to refer me to their friends. I suspect that their legal status had a lot to do with their decision to withdraw because a few of them repeatedly asked me to explain the purpose of my research and to verify that the research was truly confidential. In contrast, I could not accommodate all of the women and men who volunteered to be interviewed in Rome. This is not to say that I did not have to solicit research participants. In Rome, I struggled to represent as many community centers and locales in my sample of participants as possible.[15]

In Los Angeles, interviews were conducted in English or Tagalog with frequent interspersions of Tag-lish (Tagalog-English). In Rome, most of the interviews were conducted in Tagalog and then translated into English. Research participants themselves decided on which language to use in the interview. In Rome, I was soon informed of the protocol of language use that I needed to follow. I had to initiate conversations in Tagalog instead of English so as not to be mistaken for a snob who wanted to distinguish her higher-class status. At the same time, it was equally rude of me not to respond in English to those who chose to speak to me in this language. As a guest of the community, I learned that I had to wait for members to initiate the language in which I should converse with them.

My efforts to speak Tagalog were cause for amusement in Rome. While I grew up in Manila until the age of twelve, I no longer had a strong command of Tagalog after having spent years in the United States and never having returned to the Philippines. In Rome, I found myself once again familiarized with my native language. By the time I was ready to leave Rome, many of the people I had interviewed commented on how my Tagalog had improved dramatically from the choppy Tag-lish that they had heard during my first month in the field.

In contrast to my interviewees in Los Angeles, many of the women interviewed in Rome insisted that I use their real names, asserting that they were neither embarrassed about their personal lives nor their work as domestic helpers. Although they may feel betrayed that I have not complied with their request, I have decided to follow academic convention and use fictitious names for all of my interviewees for their and my own protection.[16]

In summary, the in-depth interviews consist of open-ended questions about the life history of subjects. The women tell their own stories about their migration, family, community relations, and work experiences. The interviews provide a rich source of data from which to understand the experiences of the women in the four key social processes of migration that I have set out to analyze.[17]

Characteristics of the Samples

In this section, I compare the characteristics of the samples collected in Rome and Los Angeles. The variables considered are type of domestic work, age, marital status, region of origin, legal status, duration of settlement, and educational attainment.[18]

The women whom I interviewed perform three types of domestic work: housecleaning, elderly care, and childcare, none of which emerged as a dominant job in either city. A more salient pattern did emerge among their living arrangements. In Los Angeles, most of them are "live-in" workers who stay with the employing family throughout the weekday and return to their own home only on the weekend. For instance, only four "live out" of the employing family's home.[19] This contradicts the trend toward day work found among Latina domestics in the United States (Romero, 1992). In contrast, the women in Rome can more or less be divided equally between live-in and "part-time" workers, which is the term that Filipino day workers use to describe themselves.[20] For the most part, providers of elderly care tend to be live-in workers.

As expected, differences exist between the two groups of women in this study. For example, the median age of domestics in Los Angeles is fifty-two, which is much greater than the median age of thirty-one for the women in Rome. They also come from different regions of the Philippines, with many women in Rome originating from Southern Luzon provinces and in Los Angeles from the Visayas. However, there are more similarities between them than differences. For instance, most are legal residents of their respective host societies. In Rome, thirty of forty-six interviewees have a renewable *permesso di soggiorno*, while fifteen of twenty-six interviewees in Los Angeles are permanent residents of the United States.[21] Many are also recent migrants who entered their respective destinations in the early 1990s (see Table 1).

In both cities, they are also mostly mothers with a fairly high level of educational attainment. Contrary to the popular belief that Filipina domestic workers are usually young and single (CIIR, 1987), my study shows a larger number of married women. In Los Angeles, only five of twenty-six interviewees are never-married single women, while in Rome, less than half of the women I interviewed (nineteen) are never-married single women. Women with children living in the Philippines constitute a greater portion of my sample in both Rome and Los Angeles: twenty-five of forty-six in Rome and fourteen of twenty-six in Los Angeles. Based on the women's median age, we can assume that in Rome the children are fairly young and those in Los Angeles are older.

Because they perform jobs that are considered "unskilled," domestic workers are often assumed to lack the training needed for higher-status jobs in the labor market. In the case of Filipina domestics in Italy and the United States, the prestige level of their current work does not in any way reveal their level of educational training (see Appendix A and Table 2). Most of my interviewees had acquired some years of postsecondary training in the Philippines. In Rome, my interviewees include twenty-three women with college degrees, twelve with some years of college or postsecondary vocational training, and seven who completed high school. In Los Angeles, my interviewees include eleven women with college diplomas, eight with some years of college or postsecondary vocational training, and five with high school diplomas.

Even with a high level of educational attainment, Filipino women migrate and enter domestic work because they still earn higher wages as domestic workers in postindustrial nations than as professional workers in the Philippines (see Appendix A and Table 3). In Rome, part-time workers receive an average monthly wage of 1,844,000 lira (U.S.$1229), live-in workers 1,083,000 lira (U.S.$722), and providers of elderly care 1,167,000 lira (U.S.$778).[22] After taking into account the additional cost of living for part-time workers, there is just a slight difference in salary between the three types of domestic workers. In Los Angeles, Filipina domestic workers receive a weekly instead of a monthly salary, which is an arrangement that they prefer as it results in higher earnings. Providers of elderly care receive on average a salary of $425 per week, and live-in housekeepers and childcare providers receive on average $350 per week. Wages of domestic workers in

Rome and Los Angeles are significantly higher than those that they had received in the Philippines. Among my interviewees, the average monthly salary of women who had worked in the Philippines during the 1990s was only U.S.$179.

The Organization of the Book

This book examines the experiences of migrant Filipina domestic workers through the lens of the dislocations that they confront in migration and settlement. As such, the book is organized around the institutional processes in which these dislocations form. In my discussion of each dislocation, I illustrate the process of its constitution, its impacts on the lives of migrant Filipina domestic workers, and how these women in turn resist and negotiate the dislocation.

Providing a theoretical overview, Chapter 1 explains the analytic approaches that I utilize to identify the dislocations of migration. I use three theoretical approaches, two of which are established approaches in migration studies: the macrostructural and intermediate level of analysis to the study of migratory processes. The third approach utilizes poststructural theories in the humanities and is what I call the analysis of migration from the level of the subject.

In Chapters 2 and 3, I analyze the social process of the outflow of migration. Chapter 2 examines the dislocation of partial citizenship, which is the subject positioning of migrant Filipina domestic workers vis-à-vis the nation-state at both ends of the migration spectrum. In Chapter 3, my query into the lives of migrant Filipina domestic workers moves to the question of why they migrate. While the political economy of global capitalism unquestionably dictates the flow of migration, it does not do so single-handedly. This chapter presents the process by which gender inequalities in both receiving and sending states also control the migration of Filipina domestic workers. My discussion shows that their migration constitutes an international division of reproductive labor, which refers to the three-tier transfer of reproductive labor among women in sending and receiving countries of migration.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the formation and maintenance of transnational families in global restructuring. Chapter 4 establishes the family to be a milieu of dislocation, specifically of the pain of family separation, and Chapter 5 examines how migrant Filipina domestic workers cope with this dislocation. Chapter 6 interrogates the social process of the entrance and performance of

domestic work and maps relations of power, both personal and nonpersonal aspects, between domestics and employers. The deconstruction of power relations reveals the dislocation of contradictory class mobility.

Chapter 7 examines the Filipino migrant communities of Rome and Los Angeles. This chapter shows that Filipina domestics in these two cities share the localized dislocation of nonbelonging. For women in Rome, nonbelonging results from their curbed integration in Italian society—socially, physically, and economically. For women in Los Angeles, nonbelonging is generated not by the host society but by the host community, as it results particularly from class disparities in the middle-class-centered Filipino migrant community of Los Angeles.

Returning to the initial research questions, the concluding chapter underscores the significance of macrostructural determinations of migration. In this final chapter, I explain why similarities exist between Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles.

community prevents them from truly succeeding, this negotiating strategy instills anomie and consequently aggravates the dislocation of nonbelonging. In Los Angeles, women turn against nonbelonging by further segregating themselves from the community. In the process, anomie remains a prominent characteristic of their community life.

CONCLUSION

Servants of Globalization: Different Settings, Parallel Lives

Migrant Filipina domestic workers are the global servants of late capitalism. Located in more than 130 countries, they work in the cities of Athens, Dhahran, Kuwait City, Rome, Milan, Madrid, Paris, London, Toronto, New York, Los Angeles, Hong Kong, and Singapore. To emphasize the extent of their geographic dispersal, I have framed the understanding of their experiences in the context of the global economy because the effects of global restructuring vis-à-vis the Philippines implicitly include the constitution of this female labor diaspora.

In recognition of this diaspora, I have compared the lives of the global servants in two destinations: Rome and Los Angeles. This study has set out to show the process of settlement undergone by two distinct groups of migrant women. By containing my analysis to women, I am able to consider multiple variables that control their experiences and in the process show the imbricated relationships between race, class, gender, and citizenship. These factors inform the process of subject formation and particularly the dislocations that migrant Filipina domestic workers encounter in migration and settlement. I have thus examined their experiences by tracing their subject formation in migration and by comparing their subject-positions in four key institutions of migration: nation-state, family, labor market, and migrant community.

I began this study with the assumption that women in Rome and Los Angeles would have different experiences of migration. Though the contemporary migration of Filipina domestic workers to Rome and Los Angeles is similarly rooted in globalization, I still expected to find significant differences between them, precisely because of the varying conditions of settlement in these two destinations. Different histories of migration, disparate policies of migration, and diverse social characteristics of the Filipino migrant commu-

nity distinguish one destination from another. I initially intended to control for the variables differentiating their experiences so as to contribute to a broader understanding of settlement, but once I realized that the experiences of these two groups of women were not as different as I had initially assumed, I had to redirect my analysis. Since I found striking similarities in their experiences, I needed to account for the emergence of parallel lives across different settings among migrant Filipina domestic workers.

Parallel Lives

What are the most striking parallel characteristics that I have identified among the women in my study? First, they share the experience of quasi-citizenship in relation to the nation-state at both ends of the migration spectrum. As the status of the Philippines as a sending nation of secondary-tier workers in globalization leaves its government too weak to ensure the protection of its nationals, the incorporation of migrant Filipinas into the host society depends mostly on the cooperation of the receiving state. Yet racial and other forms of segmentation stunt the rights accorded to them by the receiving state, albeit to a much greater degree in Italy where legal migrants from the Philippines are for the most part limited to domestic work.

The formation of transnational households and consequently the everyday experience of the pain of family separation represent another parallel characteristic among migrant Filipina domestic workers. The varying conditions of settlement in the United States and Italy have not led to different outcomes in household structure. While the right of family reunification had only been given to migrants in Rome in 1990, the citizens of California recently attempted to take it away from those in Los Angeles with the state referendum Proposition 187. This shows us that in Rome the recognition of human rights with family reunification has not strongly influenced the situation of migrants: the separation of families in the entire duration of settlement remains the norm. In Los Angeles, the attempt to deny their human rights simply perpetuates the separation of families with the maintenance of transnational household structures.

Another parallel characteristic that has emerged from my study is directly related to the experience of domestic work. The high level of educational attainment of migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles results in the dislocation of contradictory class mobility. For these groups of migrant women, domestic work involves a simultaneous increase and decrease

in labor market status. They gain by earning more than they ever would in the Philippines but concomitantly lose since they can only gain at the expense of experiencing downward mobility from their higher social status in the Philippines. The relatively comfortable class standing of migrants is to be expected in light of the resources needed for emigration from the Philippines. As many scholars have noted, migrants are hardly ever the poorest of the poor in sending nations (Portes, 1989). This suggests that many more migrant groups other than Filipina domestic workers share this particular dislocation. Also, relating to the experience of domestic work, women in Rome and Los Angeles identify resoundingly similar issues in the workplace that aggravate the dislocation of contradictory class mobility. Most of the women, for example, disdain the routinization of domestic labor and describe domestic work as *nakakabobo*—a process of slowly making them stupid. In addition, they both contend with the aggravation of their routinized labor by the greater authority of employers in the workplace.

The experience of alienation in the migrant community is another similarity that I identified. Though the composition of and shared modes of behavior in the Filipino migrant communities of Rome and Los Angeles are distinguished by the presence of middle-class Filipinos in Los Angeles, I found that amid these material distinctions are similar feelings of community life. Though coexisting with solidarity, anomie similarly plagues the experiences of domestic workers in the Filipino migrant communities of Rome and Los Angeles. Anomie results from the hypercapitalist state of the migrant community in Rome and from class segmentation in Los Angeles.

In addition to the four dislocations that I have examined, the penetration of global capitalism into the lives of migrant Filipina domestic workers demonstrates more subtle parallels between the two groups. In globalization, capitalism is heightened by its penetration into the intimacies of family life. Migrant Filipina domestic workers in both Rome and Los Angeles place the material gains of the family over its emotional needs. Time with children is less important than giving money to children. I have thus argued that the formation of transnational households cannot stem solely from economic restructuring in globalization but also relies on the conscious and unconscious reworking of priorities and values in the families of Filipina domestic workers. Capitalism's determination of personal relationships in the migrant community underscores another example of their similar experiences. In the case of Rome, I have argued that personal relationships are marred by their commercialization with the prevalence of capitalist activities. In Los Angeles, I have shown that migrant Filipina domestic workers base their worth in the

community primarily on their class position and determinedly reduce the basis of membership in the community to class.

Even though I have repeatedly stressed the similarities engendered by migration among Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles, I have not disregarded the differences between their experiences. Globalization is a highly uneven process, with varying local consequences. In recognition of this well-established view, I have looked at globalization from a very localized perspective and framework. Still, I found that migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles share certain dislocations. However, these dislocations neither manifest themselves in the same way nor are they materially constituted in like fashion. For instance, partial citizenship is differentiated by varying degrees and levels of exclusion in receiving nations, with some much more restrictive than others. Nonbelonging is also a shared dislocation, but it is one that emerges from different material configurations of a migrant community. Notably, the nuances that are brought out by interrogating these differences would not eliminate these shared dislocations.

Migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles also share similar experiences with their counterparts in other regions of the world. Based on writings of domestic workers in the multinational monthly magazine *Tinig Filipino*, Filipina domestic workers in most other countries maintain transnational household structures. I nonetheless want to emphasize that the conditions of settlement for women in Rome and Los Angeles are differentiated from other domestic workers in the diaspora by the fact that they are not restricted to short-term overseas labor contracts. Moreover, the more lax migration policies in Italy and the United States grant them greater freedom to choose employers. However, the similar confinement of migrant Filipina domestic workers within the walls of private homes results in characteristically similar vulnerabilities among these women throughout the world.

Why Parallel Lives?

My findings neither override nor create ambivalence over the important theoretical contributions of Portes and Rumbaut (1996), who argue that experiences of migrants shift according to different "contexts of reception." By illustrating the parallel lives of migrant Filipina domestic workers in host societies with different contexts of reception, I have only emphasized the fact that across their different contexts they do share a similar role in various local economies. Moreover, they share a similar position in the global economy as part of the secondary tier of migrant workers in the economic bloc of postindustrial nations. At most, this study confirms the view that the macroprocesses of globalization should be given greater consideration when accounting for the influences of different contexts of reception on settlement.

Macroprocesses of globalization stunt the integration of migrant Filipina domestic workers and consequently impose upon them social, economic, and political barriers that limit their ability to develop a sense of full membership in their host societies. To name one example, the opposite turns of the "denationalization of economies" and "renationalization of politics" result in their conflicted incorporation as desired workers and yet rejected citizens of receiving nation-states (Sassen, 1996b). With its examination of dislocations situated in such macroprocesses, this study has shown that the structural location of migrant Filipina domestic workers in global restructuring propels the emergence of similarities between them in Rome and Los Angeles. Globalization and its corresponding macroprocesses initiate the emergence of parallel lives in different settings. Macroprocesses do not have an umbrella-like impact, but they do impel the confrontation of similar issues of migration among workers in similar economic locations.

Parallels therefore do not emerge out of some ontological similarity in institutions globally. They emerge from a particular process of globalization—global restructuring and its corresponding macroprocesses, which include but are not limited to the formation of the economic bloc of postindustrial nations, the feminization of labor, the unequal development of regions, the heightening of commodification in late capitalism, and the opposite turns of nationalism. As Lisa Lowe states:

> Just as these new patterns allow capital to exploit discrete sectors of the labor force in distinct ways and according to different means, the "class subject" of transnationalism cannot be politically and ideologically unified in any simple way but may be "unified" according to a process based on strategic alliances between different sectors, not on their abstract identity. (1996: 172)

Parallels come from the constitution of labor migrants within localized institutional processes in globalization. As it happens, migrant Filipina domestic workers in "different sectors" can cross-nationally and cross-continentally identify with each other on the grounds of the similar effects of global processes in their lives. These similar impacts are what I have repeatedly referred to as dislocations. Dislocations are the tropes of alliance among mi-

grant Filipina domestic workers. In making this point, I want to emphasize that the search for dislocations fits the categorization posed by Grewal and Kaplan (1994) of transnational feminist projects. Such projects forge links on the basis of the similar impacts of particular global processes on the experiences of women across places affected by different domestic politics.

How do macroprocesses of globalization initiate the constitution of parallel lives? As I established earlier, the economic bloc of postindustrial nations more than ever demands low-wage migrant workers to expand their pool of cheap labor and particularly female migrant workers to perform low-wage service work in "global cities." Hence, low-wage migrant workers join the ranks of the working class and underclass of postindustrial host societies. Yet as the pool of cheap labor expands, the middle class of postindustrial nations correspondingly shrinks, with the formation of a two-tier labor force of highly paid professional workers and low-paid workers of routinized service and decentralized manufacturing labor. Migrants, who are easy targets because of their lesser access to the host polity of postindustrial nations, have consequently been labeled scapegoats of the turmoil caused by economic restructuring. With the rise of xenophobia, society promotes the temporary membership of migrants, their stunted incorporation into the nation-state, and the formation of transnational families. From these social realities arise numerous dislocations of migration, including migrants' status as quasi-citizens, the pain of family separation, and the feeling of nonbelonging in the migrant community. In globalization, the fact of the matter is that even though the "denationalized" economy demands the labor of migrants, the "renationalized" society neither wants the responsibility for the reproductive costs of these workers nor grants them the membership accorded by the contributions of their labor to the economic growth of postindustrial nations (Chavez, 1997).

The unequal development of regions in globalization also causes similarities between women in Rome and Los Angeles, in particular the formation of transnational households and similar experiences of domestic work. As I explained in the introduction and in Chapter 6, the unequal development of regions in the global economy means that the achievement of material security in the Philippines via overseas domestic work imposes a decline in social status. The lesser value of an educational degree from a developing country such as the Philippines translates to the relegation of developing countries as a greater source of low-wage workers rather than professional workers in the transnational workforce. This is not to say that migrants from the Philippines do not get to utilize their training in other countries. Many doubtlessly

contribute their skills more so than do migrants from other nations, considering that the Philippines has been one of the largest sources of trained medical workers in the United States. My study, however, shows that not all have successfully done so. The integration of professionals is a highly selective process that is determined by the demands of the labor market in the receiving society. The experience of migration in turn comes to involve the experience of contradictory class mobility for the dislocated middle-class women who can afford to flee the economic turmoil that the unequal development of regions has caused the Philippines but only land jobs as domestic workers.

As I have shown in Chapter 4, the formation of the transnational family also results from the unequal development of regions in the global economy. To sustain the family materially, migrants form transnational households by turning to the lower costs of reproduction in sending countries. This characteristic feature of migrant life is not particular to Filipina domestic workers; it is also shared by migrants from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and other traditional sending countries of migration. This underscores the fact that despite the different conditions of settlement in postindustrial countries such as the United States and Italy, the economic role of low-wage migrant workers promotes the similar structural constitutions of migrant households globally.

Commodification is the last key feature of globalization that I address to emphasize that macroprocesses of globalization do indeed promote the constitution of parallel characteristics among migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles. The heightening of commodification is keenly illustrated by the global commodification of caretaking, which is a process that refers to the hierarchical chain of reproductive labor in globalization. The underlying premise of the international transfer of caretaking is the commodification of the family in global restructuring, meaning the reduction of family ties to commodity-based relationships. The commodification of the family is exemplified by the practices of showing love with material goods. In transnational households, relationships in the families of migrant Filipina domestic workers are forcibly reduced to monthly remittances. Conversely, the families of their employers in Rome and Los Angeles still manage to maintain intimacy despite the commodification of reproduction. However, the privilege of maintaining some semblance of noncommodified family life for these families is at the expense of the reduction of intimacy for the families of migrant Filipina domestic workers.

From the heightening of commodification to the demand for low-wage workers in postindustrial nations, various structural and cultural features of

globalization lead to the formation of parallel lives among migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles. They themselves are aware of their parallel lives and as such use these shared interests as the basis of their "imagined (global) community." Globalization is why they have parallel lives, and their parallel lives prove that there is globalization. As such, the similar features of migrant life for women in Rome and Los Angeles signify the importance of situating them in the labor diaspora constituted by global restructuring.

The similar characteristics of migrant Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles also maintain the inequalities of globalization with the emergence of winners and losers. For example, there are winners and losers in the formation of transnational households. The losers are the family members who are denied intimacy, and the winners are the families of employers who gain intimacy at the cost of the formation of transnational households for their domestic workers. The winners also include the host societies of Italy and the United States as well as the sending country of the Philippines. While the Philippines is guaranteed its steady flow of monthly remittances by its construction as the rightful home of their less than fully incorporated migrant workers, the host societies of Italy and the United States are freed of the reproductive costs of a large segment of their productive labor force. The losers are the migrant workers who are denied the rights of membership granted to them by their economic contributions to the host society. However, the Philippines also loses along with its workers. The relegation of developing countries as a source of secondary-tier transnational workers perpetuates the status of these states as developing countries and maintains the inequalities that cause the outmigration and social decline of their educated workers.

Analyzing Migration from the Level of the Subject

By analyzing migration from the level of the subject, I have avoided giving an essential representation of the experiences of migrant Filipina domestic workers. Instead, I have described their shifting subject-positions in multiple migrant institutions in order to illustrate the process of their constitution as migrant subjects. I specifically looked at the social processes of migration from the point of view of the subject to identify the formations of subordinations, in other words, the dislocations, elicited within these processes and to examine the responses of, or as Butler has written "the turn taken by,"

women against these dislocations. Thus, I have not intended to provide a whole unitary picture of migrant Filipina domestic workers, one that would make it convenient to limit them to an essential experience. I have instead sought to explain their dislocations by illustrating their constitution as fragmented subjects. My objective is that readers come away from this study with a sense of the various fragmentations imposed by structural processes on subjects.

This theoretical undertaking, one that I call the analysis of migration from the level of the subject, differs from the intermediate level of analysis but at the same time shares with it the consideration of institutional processes. While the subject level of analysis proposes that dislocations are the determining features of the everyday experience of migration, this is not the case in the intermediate level of analysis. In other words, the dislocations elicited within the institutional processes of migration and not the institutional processes per se characterize the lived experience of migration and settlement. Another difference concerns their analysis of agency: the intermediate level of analysis seeks to establish the agency of the migrant, while the subject level of analysis already assumes the agency of the migrant. This latter approach instead seeks to examine the consequences, meaning the limits and possibilities, of agency.

In this study, I have shown that the key dislocations of migrant Filipina domestic workers are partial citizenship, the pain of family separation, contradictory class mobility, and nonbelonging in the migrant community. Dislocations emerge from the positioning of migrant Filipina domestic workers in institutional processes of global restructuring, including the outflow of labor, the formation of transnational households, the entrance of educated women into the secondary-tier transnational workforce, and the constitution of disenfranchised migrant communities.

As a constituted subject, the migrant Filipina bases "her ways of understanding her relations to the world" on her dislocations and not on the abstract systems that mold these dislocations (Weedon, 1997: 32). As an acting subject, she responds in various ways to these dislocations and the "conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions" that they elicit within her. These responses are acts of resistance against the dislocations engendered by her positioning in the social processes of migration and global restructuring. They are the "immediate struggles" that she deploys in her everyday practices (Foucault, 1983). She particularly responds not only to temper them but also to ensure that they do not interfere with her primary goal of capital accumulation. Additionally, her structural location in various axes of domi-

nation limits her resources and subsequently her possible responses. Thus, her responses cannot transcend the process of her constitution as a subject and the external forces molding her constitution.

As the everyday practices of migrant Filipina domestic workers include manifold acts of resistance against the dislocations of migration, I do not claim to identify all of them in this study. Instead, I have only identified the key actions that were revealed to me in my interviews and substantiated by my observations of domestic workers in the field. In response to their quasi-citizenship, I have shown that they turn to the construction of the Philippines as "home" so as to envision a place of rightful membership in the global labor market. In my discussion of the family, I have shown that parents respond to the formation of transnational households by suppressing the emotional needs of family members in the Philippines and prioritizing the material gains of the family. In response to the limited integration of settlement in Rome, migrant Filipina domestic workers, I found, create a base of solidarity in the community but also plague the community with anomie by turning to competition and the use of capitalist activities for expediting their departure. In Los Angeles, migrant Filipina domestic workers act defensively against the middle class by avoiding them and claming temporary membership in the community. In response to the aggravation of their decline in social status by the mechanisms of control in the workplace—for example, the myth of "like one of the family" and the script of deference and maternalism—migrant Filipinas manipulate these mechanisms through their performance. Performance, however, does not translate into compliance, as performance includes interventions. They manipulate the script tactically through occasional interjections of conscious emotional displays, for instance, interrupting smiling by occasionally frowning or crying. In this way, their unexpected behavior elicits emotions among employers (such as discomfort and guilt), which then make employers more cooperative.

These examples show that migrant Filipina domestic workers utilize the mechanisms of inequality that determine the process of their constitution when they take a turn against their subject formation. These direct reactions against their dislocations are nevertheless rendered political and contribute to the subjection of migrant Filipina domestic workers. They represent acts of resistance against their constitution as subjects. Though acting against their dislocations, migrant Filipina domestic workers do not eliminate these dislocations. Instead, they "recuperate" them.

One example of this recuperation is evident when they resist their partial citizenship by turning to the Philippines as "home," an act that denies them

the rightful membership that they have earned from their economic contribution to their host societies. The women's response to the pain of family separation, particularly the repression of emotions, exacerbates intergenerational conflicts. This repression is manifested in the infrequent visits of documented workers to the Philippines. In turn, parents delay ending the pain of family separation in order to avoid a problem that their actions ironically aggravate. Women also aggravate the experience of contradictory class mobility when manipulating emblems of inequality in domestic work, for example, embracing the racial bifurcation of domestics. Such forms of resistance do not confront the sources aggravating this dislocation. Similarly, their resistance against nonbelonging heightens the alienation of migrant Filipina domestic workers in the community. In Rome, microcapitalist ventures result in the commodification of relationships. In Los Angeles, acts of defensive posturing against the middle class do not generate solidarity but instead anomie in the community.

Notably, the actions of domestic workers involve the maintenance of inequalities, particularly the system of global restructuring in which their constitution as subjects is situated. For example, the construction of the Philippines as "home" supports their stunted incorporation into the host society and consequently their construction as "guests" in receiving nations. With the turn that they take against the pain of family separation, commodification rules the transnational family, as relationships are reduced to material goods. Capitalism is thus heightened by the actions of migrant Filipina domestic workers in regard to the dislocation imposed by the formation of the transnational household. Capitalism is further reconstituted in the relationships of domestic workers in the community with the emergence of the hyperreality of making money in Rome and the reduction of the basis of membership in the migrant community of Los Angeles to class. Finally, the mechanisms of control in domestic work, as they are neither eliminated nor reconstituted but instead only manipulated, are consequently maintained.

By analyzing migration from the level of the subject, I have illustrated that migrant Filipina domestic workers "resist" as they "recuperate" power (Butler 1997). This comes, however, not without any concrete benefits in their lives. The material rewards of domestic work are maximized with the formation of transnational families and the manipulation of mechanisms of control in the workplace. Moreover, the everyday practices that constitute their community life serve as immediate struggles against the discomfort that they feel in the host society (for women in Rome) or in the Filipino migrant community (for women in Los Angeles).

By tracing the subjection of migrant Filipina domestic workers, this study has not only established the existence of agency but has also illustrated the "bind of agency" (Butler 1997). In addition, this study has identified the key dislocations constituted within the social processes of migration and dislocations to which migrant Filipina domestic workers are compelled to respond in their everyday practices. At most, migrant Filipina domestic workers deploy tactics that are immediately made available to them in the process of their constitution, a process that they cannot escape but at the same time do not necessarily accept. In conclusion, this study has shown that labor organizers of migrant Filipina domestic workers are not faced with the challenge of compelling these migrant women to engage in political actions. They definitely attempt to do so in their everyday practices. Organizers are instead faced with the problem of transforming the various responses against the dislocations of migration of Filipina domestic workers to political actions, which constitute a lesser recuperation and a greater resistance to power.

APPENDIXES