



Multinational Maids

Multinational Maids offers an in-depth investigation into the international migrations of Filipino and Indonesian migrant domestic workers. The author taps on her rigorous study of more than 1,200 subjects' migration trajectories to reveal how these migrants work in a series of overseas countries to improve their lives and, in some cases, seek permanent residence in another country. Challenging the portrayal of Asian migrant domestic workers as victims of globalization, *Multinational Maids* reveals migrants' agency and strategic thinking under conditions of constraint. At the market level, the establishment of guestworker programs for migrant domestic workers in multiple countries has created a global labor market. A transnational diaspora shapes migrants' evolving destination imaginaries, while manpower recruitment and placement agencies create transnational mobility structures. In addition, differing destination hierarchies and degrees of access to resources lead to the adoption of divergent stepwise trajectories. Written in an accessible manner, *Multinational Maids* appeals to migration scholars, policymakers, activists, and students.

ANJU MARY PAUL is Associate Professor of Sociology and Public Policy at Yale-NUS College in Singapore. She is an international migration scholar with a research focus on migration to, from, and within Asia, and is especially interested in how gender, labor, race, and ethnicity, as well as class intersect at the moment of migration and the post-migration experience. Her research spans the migrations of low-wage Asian migrant domestic workers and high-skilled Asian-born, Western-trained bioscientists. She has published sole-authored articles in the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, *Migration Studies*, and the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. She has also edited a volume of essays on spaces of globalization in Singapore, *Local Encounters in a Global City: Singapore Stories* (2017).

Multinational Maids

Stepwise Migration in a Global
Labor Market

ANJU MARY PAUL
Yale-NUS College, Singapore



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19089-4 – Multinational Maids
Anju Mary Paul
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107190894

DOI: 10.1017/9781108120357

© Anju Mary Paul 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-19089-4 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19089-4 – Multinational Maids
Anju Mary Paul
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

To Eduardo, my rock in stormy waters

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxv
<i>Map of Southeast Asia</i>	xxix
1 Introduction	1
Part I The Context	
2 Key Concepts in Stepwise International Labor Migration	33
3 Origin Stories	53
4 Global but Uneven: The Market for Migrant Domestic Workers	85
Part II The Actors	
5 Stepwise Journeys, Compared and Contrasted	129
6 The World According to Migrant Domestic Workers	153
7 Inside the Stepwise Migrant's Suitcase	185
8 The Agents of Stepwise Migration	221
Part III The Aftermath	
9 The End of the Road	247
10 Conclusion	275
	vii

<i>Appendix I: Data Table</i>	295
<i>Appendix II: A Methodological Note</i>	297
<i>Appendix III: Index of Interviewees</i>	313
<i>Glossary</i>	331
<i>Bibliography</i>	333
<i>Index</i>	365

Figures

3.1 Job vacancies advertised outside a recruitment agency on Mabini Street, Metro Manila	page 69
3.2 A bulletin board outside a recruitment agency on Mabini Street, Metro Manila	70
4.1 Indonesian domestic workers praying in the open area of Victoria Park in Causeway Bay, Hong Kong one rainy Sunday afternoon	98
4.2 Filipino domestic workers picnic on the sidewalk outside Lucky Plaza shopping mall in Singapore on a Sunday morning	105
8.1 Agency advertisement in <i>The Migrants</i> newspaper in Taiwan (November 2013 issue)	235
8.2 The side display of a Singapore placement agency in Lucky Plaza shopping mall	236

Tables

3.1 Countries with largest stock of overseas Filipinos (as of 2013)	<i>page</i> 60
3.2 Top ten countries by Indonesian migrant stock (as of 2015)	65
5.1 Percentage of onward migrants, by survey location and nationality	131
5.2 Top three prior destinations among onward migrants, by survey location and nationality (% of total)	133
5.3 Future plans, by survey location and nationality	134
5.4 Intended next destination, by survey location and nationality	135
10.1 Domestic worker profiles on netmaid.com.sg with prior overseas work experience (not including Singapore), by nationality	278
A1.1 Descriptive statistics from 2014 and 2015 surveys, by survey location and nationality	295

Preface

I wish I could write that I came up with the idea of stepwise international labor migration on my own and then launched myself into the field to systematically test my hypotheses about this emergent migration pattern. In reality, it was more of an accident. A happy accident, but an accident nonetheless. In the summer of 2008, I traveled from the United States to Asia intent on studying the destination decision-making processes of Filipino migrant domestic workers for my doctoral dissertation. I had chosen this particular topic and this population for a variety of reasons. Though I was born in India and hold Indian citizenship, I had previously lived more than 10 years in Singapore, first as a student, then as an employed adult. During this time, I became familiar with the ubiquitous presence of foreign domestic workers in Singapore homes. On weekdays, I would see them going about their daily chores: washing their employer's car, walking their employer's children to and from school, purchasing groceries, and the like. On Sundays, I would see them going to church or picnicking in local parks and other public areas around the island.

When I began my doctoral studies in sociology at the University of Michigan, I already knew that I wanted to focus on international migration for my dissertation but I had no idea that I would end up studying Filipino migrant domestic workers. My focus returned to this migrant population in my second year at Michigan when I took a course on migration policy. For my final class assignment for that course, I decided to write about Singapore's guestworker program that allows migrant domestic workers into the country on temporary work visas. Throughout my years in Singapore, I had felt outside the mainstream of Singaporean society and, perhaps because of that internalized sense of otherness, I felt an affinity with the low-wage migrant workers who were also *in* but not *of* Singapore. Given that the Philippines had been the primary source of migrant domestic workers for Singapore in the

1990s when I lived in the city-state, I started to delve into the literature on Philippine labor migration. I was stunned by the wide variety of countries, in addition to Singapore, where Filipino domestic workers can be found, and became fascinated by the question of how Filipino migrant domestic workers (and labor migrants more generally) choose between their various destination options. But I could not find any study that addressed their destination decision-making processes. There are a steadily increasing number of ethnographies written about Asian migrant domestic workers of various nationalities, but most of these projects focus on domestic workers in a single destination.¹ And while there are plentiful theories attempting to explain the migration decision, less attention has been paid to the single (or multiple) destination decisions of international labor migrants. I saw an opportunity to build new theory by attempting to explain the destination decisions of Filipino migrant domestic workers.

In April 2008, I left the United States for Asia with a plan to conduct interviews in Singapore, the Philippines, and Hong Kong, in order to gain a better understanding of how migrants chose between Hong Kong and Singapore. (At the time, I did not imagine that there was any flow of labor migrants between these two markets.) My first interview was conducted in the waiting area of a “maid agency”² in the Lucky Plaza shopping mall in Singapore’s downtown shopping district. Inside the placement agency’s waiting area were two Filipinas – an older woman in her late forties and a twenty-something woman – chatting on a sofa. After receiving permission from the agency manager, I approached the

¹ Rhacel Parreñas’s (2015 [2001]) book, *Servants of Globalization*, which compares Filipino domestic workers in Italy and the United States, was a rare exception when it was first published in 2001.

² In Singapore and many other parts of the world, domestic workers are called “maids” or “helpers,” which obfuscates their status as workers. Wherever possible, I use the term “domestic worker” to describe people engaged in paid domestic service. Meanwhile, in describing the overseas, for-profit organizations that place these workers with employers, a common term that is used is “maid agency.” I instead use the term “placement agency.” I use the term “recruitment agency” to describe the companies in origin countries that source and send suitable domestic workers and assist with processing any paperwork on the sending government end. In this book, I show how overseas placement agencies are increasingly doubling up as recruitment agencies, sourcing migrant domestic workers who are already employed in one overseas market and finding work for them in another overseas market, thereby encouraging the adoption of stepwise international labor migration.

two women and asked if they would be willing to be interviewed by me for my research. The middle-aged woman, who had a confident, upbeat air about her, quickly agreed. With little prompting, Winola³ started to talk about the years she had spent in Saudi Arabia working as a private, live-in tutor for a well-to-do Saudi family, her return to the Philippines, and her subsequent failed attempt to find a job as a live-in caregiver in Canada. Winola's search for a job in Canada had been unsuccessful because her Philippines-based agent had absconded with the deposit she had paid for her placement fee. After that setback, Winola contacted a Singapore placement agency – where we were now sitting – and this agency had offered her a job as a live-in domestic worker in Cambodia. Winola had accepted the offer, traveling to Singapore on a tourist visa to complete her paperwork for Cambodia. But then the same agency proposed an alternative: a job as a live-in domestic worker for a Saudi family in Italy. (The agency manager thought Winola's prior work experience in Saudi Arabia made her a good fit for the Saudi family in Italy.) Winola accepted the job in Italy, which she saw as more attractive than the one in Cambodia and, by the time I met her, she was waiting for her Italian visa application – submitted through the Italian embassy in Singapore – to be approved before flying to Rome to start work.

As I listened to Winola chart out the countries where she had worked in the past, the countries she had attempted to gain access to, and the country she was planning to work in, I experienced a *eureka* moment. Until then, it had never occurred to me that migrant domestic workers might be employed in more than one overseas destination over the course of their migratory lifetimes, or that their work experience in one destination could assist in the process of getting a job in a second, preferred destination. It seems obvious in retrospect but I had never before considered the implications of having multiple overseas markets mounting guestworker programs for migrant domestic workers. After that first interview with Winola, however, I made sure to ask all my subsequent interviewees if they had worked or would like to work in more than one country, the process by which they had made *each* of their destination decisions, and the mechanics of each of their migrations. What I learned upturned my preconceived notions about

³ All names of migrant domestic workers mentioned in this book are pseudonyms, used to protect the identity of the men and women I interviewed.

migrant domestic workers' destination aspirations and their ability to fulfill them.

Over the course of the next 3 years, I conducted 160 interviews with Filipino domestic workers in Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and later in Canada and the United States for my doctoral dissertation. Altogether, 82 percent of my interviewees in Canada, 50 percent in Hong Kong, and 42 percent in Singapore had worked as domestic workers in at least two overseas markets by the time of their interview with me.⁴ For the vast majority of these women, there was a clear logic to the sequence of markets they had worked in, ordered according to a subjective and evolving destination hierarchy they carried around in their heads. I labeled this hierarchical migration pattern “stepwise international labor migration,” and made it the focus of my research.

After finishing my doctorate, I moved back to Singapore and, over the next 3 years, with the help of my students, conducted two large-scale surveys of migrant domestic workers in Singapore and Hong Kong, collecting data from more than 1,200 Filipino and Indonesian migrant domestic workers, just over 30 Sri Lankan domestic workers, as well as a handful of Indian and Myanmar domestic workers. Alongside these surveys, I conducted scores of additional interviews. My goal was not only to collect a larger dataset to test my earlier findings, but also to expand my nationality pool beyond Filipino migrants. This was critical in order to determine if other nationalities of Asian migrant domestic worker were also engaging in stepwise international labor migration.

For this book, I focus on the data I collected from Filipino and Indonesian migrant domestic workers because these two nationalities serve as important counterpoints to each other. The Philippines and Indonesia are now two of the largest source countries of migrant workers (of all types) in Asia and the Middle East. Filipinos have received the most academic attention, but there is increasing interest in studying Indonesian domestic workers, as they have been encroaching into the Filipino share of the paid domestic work market in Southeast and East Asia, as well as in the Middle East. There are distinct differences

⁴ These percentages are based on the number of interviewees who were no longer on their first overseas contract. This is necessary since, by definition, those migrant domestic workers who were still on their first overseas contract would have not yet had the opportunity to work in more than one overseas location.

between the two groups in terms of their average educational attainment levels, wage levels, and the size and diversity of their overseas networks before and after migration. It is worth asking if stepwise international labor migration is exclusively observed among Filipino migrant domestic workers or if it is adopted by various nationalities of migrant domestic worker in Asia.

Among my survey respondents in Hong Kong and Singapore, I found that a significant number of Filipino and Indonesian domestic workers had worked in at least one other overseas market, showing that stepwise international labor migration was not unique to better-educated and better-connected Filipino migrants. The prevalence rate of stepwise international labor migration among Indonesian migrant domestic workers was lower than that for Filipino domestic workers, but it was still significant, especially in Hong Kong. There were clear overlaps in the stepwise trajectories adopted by these two sets of migrant domestic workers, but also clear points of divergence. The differences between Indonesian and Filipino stepwise trajectories were, in some ways, more exciting as they highlighted the differing motivations and destination dreams that can drive the adoption of stepwise international labor migration. Just over 30 percent of the Sri Lankan domestic workers my students and I surveyed in Singapore had also worked in at least one other overseas market (most often in the Middle East) before their arrival in Singapore. In other words, Filipinos are by no means unique in their adoption of stepwise international labor migration.

The title of this book – *Multinational Maids* – seemed like the perfect choice as I met more and more globetrotting women migrants responding to the growing transnational demand for carework and using the mobility structures embedded within this globalizing industry to better their work situations and improve their long-term life outcomes. This is globalization happening simultaneously from above and below, and on a geographical scale that previous scholars of migrant domestic work have rarely examined in a single manuscript. My hope is that, through this book, readers begin to appreciate the individual-level destination imaginaries and aspirations, the multi-nodal migrant networks, the transnational industry actors, and the broader social forces behind the adoption of stepwise international labor migration by Asian migrant domestic workers. At the same time, by highlighting the nuances within each stepwise migration trajectory,

I want readers to come away with a sense of the complexities embedded within these journeys and the ongoing constraints on the socioeconomic mobility options of even these “cosmopolitan working-class” (Werbner 1999) migrants.

To that end, I have written this book in as accessible a manner as possible, cutting down on theoretical jargon and keeping my language direct and concise. I have also included the stories of more than 80 women whom I met during my fieldwork. My objective for including these stories is to give readers a sense of the connecting threads running through many of these women’s stepwise migration journeys. My hope is that, as a result, not only academics, policymakers, activists, and students will learn from what I have written, but that migrant domestic workers with some high school or tertiary education will also be able to read this book and determine for themselves if it accurately portrays their experiences with and aspirations behind stepwise international labor migration.

Acknowledgments

With a book project 8 years in the making, and one that involves research in so many countries, there is no easy way to catalog all of the people and organizations that helped me along the way, and the likelihood is that I will have forgotten to thank some of the people who helped make this book a reality. My apologies to whomever I accidentally leave off this list.

If I start at the beginning, Ann Lin at the University of Michigan's Ford School of Public Policy is the reason I started researching Filipino migrant domestic workers as a second-year doctoral student. Karin Martin, Dean Yang, and my dissertation committee members – Mary Corcoran, Fatma Müge Göçek, Karyn Lacy, and Anthony Chen – were steadfast in their belief that I was on to a good idea with this project, and were always incisive, generous, and thoughtful with their feedback.

The National Science Foundation is one of several institutions that helped fund the research that went into this book. I also received various fellowships, scholarships, and grants through the Rackham Graduate School and the Center for the Education of Women at Michigan. From both the Department of Sociology and the Ford School of Public Policy, I received block grants and fellowships to cover select years in my PhD program and to meet various research and travel expenses. One of my most critical but indirect sources of research support came from the University of Michigan's Office of Financial Aid's childcare subsidy for graduate students. Once I graduated from Michigan and moved to Singapore to start work at Yale-NUS College, my generous start-up grant and travel funds ensured that I could continue conducting field research, hire student research assistants, and expand my focus of inquiry to include Indonesian domestic workers. The Centre for International and Professional Experience (CIPE) at Yale-NUS College provided me with a leadership grant that allowed

me to take a team of students to Hong Kong to conduct additional fieldwork and gather more data for the book. My heartfelt gratitude goes out to Fiona Kanagasingam and Nhaca Schulze at CIPE for their support of this trip. I also spent a writing semester at the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore (NUS) where I was able to mingle with other migration scholars who were always generous with their time and advice. Brenda Yeoh was instrumental in creating that opportunity for me and she has been a source of inspiration throughout my time at NUS.

In each of the locations where I conducted field research, I was welcomed and assisted by many individuals and organizations. In Singapore, my old friends, Mark Puhaindran and Khor Hui Boon, the teachers at the Bayanihan Center, the staff and volunteers at the Humanitarian Organisation for Migration Economics (HOME) shelter and agency, Transient Workers Count Too (TWC2), the Archdiocesan Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants & Itinerant People (ACMI), the Migrant Workers Centre, the Centre for Domestic Employees, the Indonesian Development Program (MTM), and the leaders of various Filipino and Indonesian grassroots organizations, all helped in myriad ways. Special thanks must be given to John Gee and John Devasayaham at TWC2, Jolovan Wham at HOME, and Eberta⁵ at the Philippine consulate in Singapore, Eddy Widjaja and Theresa Kurniawan at MTM, and Erica Low at ACMI. My gratitude also goes out to the staff at the planning division of the Ministry of Manpower who answered my questions about Singapore's evolving policies on temporary migrant workers.

In Hong Kong, staff and volunteers at the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants, Abra Tinggian Ilocano Society (ATIS-HK), the Bethune House shelter, Migrante International, the Asian Migrant Centre, the Helpers for Domestic Helpers, and the Catholic Center were crucial in the success of my initial recruitment and interviewing efforts. I also received incredible support from the leaders and staff of Pathfinders and the Hong Kong Federation of Asian Domestic Worker Unions (HKFADWU). In particular, Vanessa at the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants, Joseph Lourdes at the Mission for Filipino Migrant Workers, Gena from ATIS-HK, Leo Tang from HKFADWU, Holly Allan from

⁵ The individuals listed only by a first name in the Acknowledgments are also in my interview sample. The names listed are pseudonyms.

Acknowledgments

xxi

Helpers for Domestic Helpers, and Carmen Lam and Luna Chan from Pathfinders deserve special thanks.

In the Philippines, the staff at the non-profit PGX Global Exchange in Quezon City, the Scalabrini Migration Center, the Kalungan Migration Center, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), the Center for Migrant Advocacy, and the Azizah International Manpower Services recruitment agency were also kind and generous with both their time and knowledge. My special thanks go out to Fabio Baggio from the Scalabrini Migration Center, Imelda Rebate at the Kanlungan Center for Migrant Workers, Bernice Roldan at Unlad Kabayan, and Madam Azizah from the Azizah International Manpower Services agency. My deepest gratitude is reserved for Marla Asis from the Scalabrini Migration Center who read earlier versions of my manuscript and gave generous feedback.

In Indonesia, I am grateful to the assistance of Avyanthi Azis at the University of Indonesia, and the staff and volunteers at Migrant Care in Jakarta.

In Canada, NGO activists and lawyers from the Migrante International office in Toronto, Virginie Francoeur from the West Coast Domestic Workers' Association, and Rafael Fabregas from Mamann, Sandaluk Immigration Lawyers were always patient while answering my questions. Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada also shared data on Canada's previous live-in caregiver program with me.

In the United States, I received help from Filipino organizations on both coasts. In New York City, I am deeply grateful to the staff and volunteers of Kabalikat, Damayan, the National Domestic Workers Alliance and FiRENYC. Officials at the US Department of Homeland Security and the State Department were also helpful in answering my requests for immigration statistics. On the West Coast, I received support from Roberto Q. De Lara at the Philippine Center Management Board in San Francisco, Alberto Donato Duero at the Philippine consulate in Los Angeles, Ester Aure-Novero and Luisa Balatbat from the West Bay Pilipino Multiservice Center, and Mara Ibarra at the Filipino Community Center. The West Coast organizations I am particularly indebted to include the Filipino Community Center, Filipino Advocates for Justice, the West Bay Pilipino Multiservice Center, and the Philippine Forum. For my interviews and surveys with Filipino nurses in the United States, I am grateful to several individuals: Carlos Espinosa at Trinity College, Mikhael H. Borgonos and his extended

family, and Michael Villacarlos and his family, the office bearers of the Philippines Nurses Association (PNA) of Northern California, the PNA Greater Sacramento Area Chapter, and the PNA New Jersey Chapter who helped to advertise my study and give me some personal background to the history of Filipino nurses in the United States.

When it came to the writing of this book, I benefited from conversations (long and short) with an international community of migration scholars. Jørgen Carling, Steven J. Gold, David McKenzie, Nicholas Van Hear, Matthew Sullivan, Hein De Haas, Rhacel Parreñas, Rachel Silvey, Denise Spitzer, Nicole Constable, Nicholas Harrigan, and Yasmin Ortega, all gave suggestions and feedback on different pieces of my writing that fed into the final manuscript. The Metropolis panel and Oxford University (COMPAS) workshop on onward migration organized by Ayumi Takenaka introduced me to other scholars working in this space. Ayumi and also Jill Ahrens, Melissa Kelly, Pablo Mateos, Saara Koikkalainen, Maria Karaulova, and Marie-Laurence Flahaux were instrumental in expanding my thinking on the generalizability of stepwise migration. At the International Migration Institute at Oxford University, I also benefited from the intellectual engagement and support of Sorana Toma, Agnieszka Kubal, Mathias Czaika, and, most importantly, Hein de Haas. After moving to Singapore, the migration research cluster at the Asia Research Institute became a constant source of support, and I presented drafts of several papers/chapters at their workshops and seminars. Brenda Yeoh, Shirlena Huang, Maria Platt, Malini Sur, Elaine Yeoh, Michiel Bass, Kellynn Wee, and Khoo Choon Yen have been generous with their time and kind in their feedback. At Yale-NUS, I found a set of colleagues who became close friends even as we built a college together. Jane Jacobs, Nicole Constable, Michael Maniates, and the late Barney Bate were constant mentors, while Risa Toha, Guillem Riambau, Rene Saran, Chin-Hao Huang, Parashar Kulkarni, Rochisha Narayan, and Julien Labonne became a tight circle of friends. I worked with several students – Nanlan Li, Maggie Schumann, Clarissa Leong, and Victoria Long – as my research assistants, and they continue to be a source of boundless energy for me. I am also grateful to all the students who volunteered as surveyors either in Singapore or in Hong Kong. Special thanks to Sujathe Samarakkody and Ericssen Wen for all their help with surveys and interviews of Sri Lankan and Indonesian domestic workers, respectively.

Acknowledgments

xxiii

Joe Ng, my editor at Cambridge, has set the bar so high with his steady support and trustworthiness. The rest of the team at Cambridge, particularly Sarah Starkey, Karen Oakes, Abirami Ulaganathan, and Matthew Seal, have been wonderful and attentive to every detail. The indomitable Pearlyn Neo, my research assistant, read through many chapter drafts and provided both gentle feedback and adroit editing.

I must also thank my family: my parents whose steadfast commitment to their own research and life of public service unknowingly shaped my own career; my loving husband, Eduardo, who supported me throughout this arduous journey and created space for me to write; and my two wonderful, inquisitive children, Sebastian and Paloma, who want to “write books like mummy.”

Finally, my deepest and most sincere thanks go to the countless domestic workers from Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India, and Myanmar, who shared their life stories and dreams with me. I hope this book does justice to your struggles and determination.

Abbreviations

AED	United Arab Emirati dirhams*
ATIS-HK	Abra Tinggian Ilocano Society-Hong Kong, a Hong Kong-based migrant association for Filipino migrants from the Abra province in the north of the Philippines
BNP2TKI	Badan Nasional Penempatan Dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, the Indonesian government agency responsible for regulating all labor migration flows out of the country
CAD	Canadian dollars*
CGFNS	Commission on Graduates of Foreign Nursing Schools
DH	Domestic Helper, a common term for migrant domestic workers in Singapore
EU	European Union
EUR	Euros*
EVP	Exchange Visitor Program
FDM	Foreign Domestic Worker Movement Program, the precursor to the Live-in Caregiver Program in Canada
HKD	Hong Kong dollars*
HOME	Humanitarian Organisation for Migration Economics, a Singapore-based NGO
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IND	Indonesian rupiah*
ITE	Institute of Technical Education
LCP	Live-in Caregiver Program
LMIA	Labor Market Impact Assessment, the application a prospective employer of a foreign worker needs to submit to

	the Canadian government to demonstrate that they have first attempted to hire a Canadian citizen or permanent resident for the position
MYR	Malaysian ringgit*
NCLEX	National Council Licensure Examination, the licensing examination that all registered and practical nurses must pass before being granted a license to work in the United States
NCR	National Capital Region
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUS	National University of Singapore
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OWWA	Overseas Workers Welfare Administration
PAP	Pembekalan Akhir Pemberangkatan or Final Pre-Departure Briefing, which the Indonesian government requires all prospective migrant workers to complete before their departure from Indonesia
PDOS	Pre-Departure Orientation Session, the mandatory classes a newly hired migrant worker in the Philippines must complete before they are allowed to leave the country to work overseas
PHP	Philippine pesos*
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
PR	Permanent Residence/Residency
QAR	Qatari riyals*
RN	Registered Nurse
RPN	Registered Practical Nurse
SAR	Saudi Arabian riyals*
SGD	Singapore dollars*
TWC2	Transient Workers Count Too, a Singapore-based NGO
UAE	United Arab Emirates

Abbreviations

xxvii

UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USD	United States dollars*
WES	World Education Services
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

* I do not use fixed exchange rates as there were significant fluctuations in some currency values over the time period during which the migration stories featured here occurred. Instead, I use the annual exchange rate with US dollars in the particular year the payment occurred.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19089-4 – Multinational Maids
Anju Mary Paul
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

