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Introduction

Isabel Shutes and Bridget Anderson

Across the world, the provision of care faces mounting challenges – what has been widely referred to as a 'crisis of care' (Hochschild, 1995; Zimmerman et al., 2006). In the global North, international migrants have increasingly supplemented the unpaid or low-paid care labour provided by non-migrant women – as domestic workers, nannies, care assistants and nurses – in the private sphere of the home and in publicly and privately funded care services. This volume brings together international scholars of migration and care to examine the global construction of migrant care labour and how it manifests itself in different contexts.[1] With a growing body of research developing over the past decade in this field, the aims of the volume are to make connections across theory, policy and politics with respect to care, work and migration; the inequalities of gender, race/ethnicity, class, nationality and immigration status that migrant care labour embodies; the inequalities between the global North and South, different regions and countries, countries of origin and destination in the migration process and the chains of care labour between them; the different institutional contexts of care labour that cut across the public and the private, encompassing different roles and relations between the state, market and family; and the different sites of political mobilization and governance that have developed with respect to migrant care labour.

Care has become a site of 'crisis', as discussed by Williams in the opening chapter, with the increasing participation of women in the public sphere of waged work, demographic shifts with regard to families and ageing populations, increasing international migration, the restructuring of welfare states and the marketization of care. All of these have implications for the social relations that care is shaped by and shapes. In this volume, different forms of *care* and *care work* are brought together

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as the focus of analysis. Much of the literature on migrant care work has focused on private households, where migrant domestic workers are employed in meeting the care needs of 'adult-worker' households (see Lutz, 2008). More recently, empirical research has looked at the employment of migrant workers by (largely private sector) residential and home care service providers, as nurses and care assistants (see Shutes and Walsh, 2012). At the same time, the familial/unpaid care labour of migrants has been the focus of analyses of transnational family relations, drawing attention to how migrant women and men care for family members 'from afar' and how care relations in families and communities in countries of origin are affected (see Parrenas, 2005). Williams (Chapter 1) argues that it is necessary to connect the different institutional contexts in which migrant care labour is located to understand the ways in which the crisis of care manifests itself at the micro, meso and macro levels. Such an approach connects care work in private households to care work in formal or institutional care services; care, migration and employment policies and their impact on care labour markets; state policies at the national and transnational level.

International migration, particularly of women, from the so-called global South to North, but also intra-regionally, between Central and Eastern European and Western European countries, and between countries in East and South East Asia, has been an integral part of the restructuring of care in different national contexts. In the context of Spain (see Chapter 6), with increasing migration since the 1990s and increasing demand for care, migrant women have constituted the primary source of labour in the expansion of care work in private households. However, to talk of *migrant care workers* requires us to think carefully about what we mean by 'migrant' and 'care work'. While professionalized care work such as nursing in an institutional context can be separated from the provision of clean sheets or food, in many instances it can be very difficult to separate 'care work' from non-care work. In the private household, caring can require clothes washing, shopping and cleaning and so on, as well as the physically intimate labour of care. In this volume, we have attempted to reflect a broad conception of care work and not narrowly confine it to a particular set of tasks or particular type of institution. As for 'migration', domestic labour – including the provision of care – has historically been associated with what would now be categorized as 'internal' migration, and rural-urban mobility continues to be an important source of household labour in countries across the world. We have limited our focus to an examination of the role of international migration in care provision. This allows an examination

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of the different ways in which care, migration and employment policies and migratory processes intersect in constructing different types of care workers.

Immigration controls have played a clear role in constituting a particular legal status for particular types of care workers, such as au pairs and domestic workers (see Chapters 2 and 3). But migrants have equally entered care work in countries of destination post migration. In the context of care for older people in the UK, the recruitment of migrant care workers involves asylum seekers, students and EU nationals, among others, who have entered jobs in a low-paid and 'easy to enter' sector of the labour market post migration (Chapter 5). In Austria, certain types of care work supported by care policies have been predominantly constituted by migrant labour (Chapter 4). At the same time, state policies in the global South, for example the Philippines, have actively promoted the 'export' of migrant labour as a high-value commodity in global care labour markets (as discussed by Guevarra in Chapter 7).

Understanding why it is that migrant care labour has become central to the provision of care in different contexts is thus a question of interrogating the social construction of 'migrants' and 'migrant care workers' through state policies across care, migration and employment (Williams, 2012) at the national and also transnational and international levels (Chapter 10), and through the relations between employers, care users and care workers. Who counts as a 'migrant' in quantitative and qualitative data reflects those processes (Anderson, 2013). Migrants may be defined in quantitative data sources by country of birth (foreign born), by nationality (foreign nationals/non-citizens) or by length of residence, but among any of those groups there is considerable diversity with regard to nationality and immigration status (the latter is often not identified by national datasets) and the rights and entitlements accorded to legal status, alongside divisions of race/ethnicity, gender and class. Moreover, as qualitative research conveys, who is defined as a 'migrant care worker' – by care users, their families, the managers of care homes – is inextricably linked with those wider social divisions, which likewise shape preferences for who provides care (Chapter 2; Shutes and Walsh, 2012).

The book is structured in three parts. Part I focuses on theoretical approaches to the analysis of migration and care labour. Part II, building on those approaches, provides empirical case studies of different institutional contexts of migrant care labour, drawing on research carried out in Europe, North America, Asia and Africa. Those contexts cross different types of care labour, in private households (for example, see

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Chapter 4; Chapter 6), residential and home care services (Chapter 5), and through the formation of transnational families (Chapter 8). They connect state policies in care, migration and employment (Chapters 4 and 6); different types of migrant care workers (Chapter 5; Chapter 7); countries of origin and destination of migrant workers (Chapters 7 and 8). Part III connects theory and policy to emerging forms of political mobilization at the local level (Chapter 9) and the international governance of migrant care labour (Chapter 10).

With a view to unpacking the social divisions of care labour today, as reflected in migrant care work, the first chapter by Williams considers a continuum of care work that extends from home-based domestic and care work to institution-based care – different forms and sites of migrant care work that the subsequent chapters in turn examine. Williams sets out an analytical framework that connects, at the macro level, the crisis of care to other manifestations of the global crises of contemporary capitalism, relating these macro dynamics to national and supranational state social policies and how they contribute to the care crisis and to the increase in migrant care labour. The chapter considers the implications of the analysis of migrant care labour for an understanding of global social justice with respect to migration and care.

Chapters 2 and 3 show how the gendered and racialized ideologies of work, family and nation underpin the legal and social construction of migrant care workers in the private sphere of the household. Chapter 2 by Anderson focuses on the ways in which immigration policies with respect to care work do not simply serve a market function in meeting demand for care in private households by supplying migrant workers. Through the construction of particular types of migrant care workers – Anderson examines the historical development of the legal status of au pairs and domestic workers in the UK – immigration policies contend with and reproduce ideas about the nation, family and work. As Anderson conveys, the construction of these categories of migrant care workers reveals much about the tensions between waged work and unwaged care. Chapter 3 by Parreñas, which examines the legal status of domestic workers cross-nationally, considers the ways in which the 'partial citizenship' of these workers results from the simultaneous marketization and familialization of domestic work. While states are implicated in the marketization of care in private households by establishing the legal status of migrant domestic workers, at the same time the lack of employment rights accorded to domestic workers positions them as 'one of the family', dependent on the family as employer. State policies towards the paid care work of migrants, as these chapters argue,

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thus need to be linked analytically to the unpaid care labour of women in the private sphere of the home.

In Part II, Chapters 4 to 8 provide empirical case studies of different institutional contexts in which migrant care labour is located. Chapter 4 by Bauer, Haidinger and Österle examines the different regulatory contexts of migrant care work in private households, focusing on Austria. By comparing different types of home-based care work (domestic work, childcare and care for older people), it considers how the regulation of care, employment and migration impacts on migrant labour in these care settings. Paradoxically, the chapter indicates that attempts to strengthen the private household as an employer of care labour through regulation have resulted in regulated yet still precarious care work in private households. Chapter 5 by Shutes, in turn, compares different types of migrant care workers in care for older people, employed in private residential and home care services, and in private households. Drawing on the findings of interviews with migrant care workers of different nationalities and immigration statuses, the chapter examines how immigration controls shape the divisions of care labour between citizens and non-citizens, but also between different categories of non-citizens. As the chapter indicates, the organization of care, and the social divisions that it embodies, poses both theoretical and political opportunities for making connections between citizens and non-citizens with respect to the social rights of care workers and those in need of care.

Chapter 6 by Ibáñez and León examines the connections between the economic crisis and the crisis of care (to which the chapter by Williams refers) in the context of Spain. Here, attempts to address the care crisis have resulted in the expansion of the direct employment of care workers in private households, overwhelmingly migrant women. While the impact of the economic crisis on other sectors of the labour market in Spain has brought about increasing levels of unemployment for citizen workers and male non-citizen workers, migrant women working in private households have not been so affected by unemployment. Recent reforms have improved the rights of care workers in the private, informal sphere of the household, yet, as the chapter argues, home-based care work continues to be difficult to regulate.

Chapters 7 and 8 shift the focus to the countries of origin of migrant labour, emphasizing the importance of a transnational perspective to an understanding of the relationship between care and migration. In connection with the focus of Part I on the racialized ideologies of work and nation (Chapter 2), Chapter 7 by Guevarra examines the ways in which the state and private recruitment agencies in the Philippines

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engage in the 'racial branding' of Filipinos as the ideal global care labour. Dynamics of race and gender, Guevarra argues, are central to the ways in which migrant workers in this context are marketed as domestic workers, nurses and care assistants for 'export'. As Guevarra conveys, these practices, while forming a strategy for promoting the competitive advantage of Filipino labour and of the Philippines in the global economy, at the same time reinforce divisions between Filipino and other non-citizen workers in the global care market. Chapter 8 by van Walsum and Alpes draws attention to the connections between migrant care work in the global North and familial care in the global South. Drawing on research with migrant domestic workers in the Netherlands and with the families of workers in their countries of origin – Ghana and the Philippines – they explore migrants' cross-border arrangements of care for family members in their countries of origin as well as their own care needs upon retirement.

The employment of migrant workers in care-related work has entailed new forms of political mobilization with respect to the inequalities that this labour entails. Part III considers the different contexts in which claims-making regarding the rights of migrant care workers is taking place, and the potential of these processes with respect to issues of social justice at the local and international levels. In Chapter 9, Cranfield considers the ways in which claims-making for flexible care in meeting the care needs of care users is connected with insecurity for migrant care workers in terms of low wages and poor employment conditions. Drawing on two case studies of home care service provision in Los Angeles (USA) and Toronto (Canada), the chapter examines how, by building alliances between care users and care workers, trade unions at the local level have sought to challenge insecurity while still supporting flexibility in the provision of care. Chapter 10 by Mundlak and Shamir, focusing on the emerging governance of migrant care labour, examines the development of an international legal framework on domestic work. The chapter considers the potential for the international arena to counter state-level interests to contain the private and public costs of domestic work at the expense of migrant domestic workers themselves, and thereby the potential of international governance with respect to the rights of migrant workers.

Drawing on the previous chapters, the concluding chapter maps out some of the connections that we think merit further exploration, connections across and within theory, policy and politics. Central to the analysis of care, and the gender relations that underpin the provision of care, is an understanding of the relationship between productive

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and reproductive labour, between waged work and unwaged care, and between public and private responsibilities for care. We return to those dynamics and the ways in which they remain central to understanding why it is that migrant workers are integral to the provision of care across different countries, and the conditions under which migrant care labour is provided. Research on care and migration, as the analysis in this volume conveys, must make connections, between the multiple sites of care, between paid and unpaid care, between different types of care labour, but also between different academic disciplines and between theory, policy and politics.

Notes

1. The book was initiated through an international conference 'Making Connections: Migration, Gender and Care Labour in Transnational Context' (2011), organized by the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society at the University of Oxford and the Centre for International Research on Care, Labour and Equalities at the University of Leeds, in which the contributors to this volume participated.

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