

emphasized in setting the scene for the employment conditions and opportunities for women migrant workers. The Live-in Caregiver Programme, which can result in landed immigrant status if a caregiver works for two out of three years in Canada as a live-in caregiver, is heavily criticized for its lack of adequate protection for caregiving employees who are potentially highly exploitable in the homes where they work.

The book is important in its meticulous setting out of the contextualization of migrant women's experiences in global and local processes. This allows the authors to develop their argument that 'national citizenship is conditional, partial, particularistic and generates inequality' (p. 165). That the two groupings portrayed in the analysis are racialized women from countries whose economic development is closely tied to globalization and uneven development will be of no surprise to those who work in the field of migration studies. Similar scenarios are observed in other 'developed' countries in the global system. The authors remark on the women's display of 'tremendous courage in contesting the unjust laws and social arrangements that have threatened to imprison them' (p. 167). This comment sums up both the strengths and weaknesses of the book. Women are granted some agency, working collectively and through legal action to contest their conditional and precarious citizenship. Neither are they reduced to individual decision-makers but rather are located in the complex arena of political economies, state immigration policy practices, and local workplace politics. However, the survey methodology and its small numbers – for this type of research – limits the claims the authors can make. I am not arguing against the important message and theoretical contribution the authors offer, but I would have liked to know more about these women, their families, the households where they worked and ambiguities in their relationships with the state and employers. While deeply contextualized in the interweaving of global and local processes, I found the women's voices curiously absent. Its bleak view of the women's situations leaves no room for what is surely a more nuanced picture. Nevertheless, with this proviso, the book is a valuable addition to the growing collection of feminist scholarship addressing the notion of citizenship.

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**Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration, and Domestic Work.**

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas; Stanford University Press, 2001 Stanford, CA, £12.95 ISBN: 0-8047-3922-6; (pbk); £40.00 0-8047-3921-8 (hbk)

Feminist scholars have pointed out that the process of globalization has had varying impact on men and women in both developing and developed countries.

Gendering globalization thus provides a re-telling of stories deviating from the dominant narrative about global forces. Parreñas' *Servants of Globalization*, an interdisciplinary study on the Filipina female labour diaspora, joins these increasing alternative narratives on global restructuring and its disparate impact on women differentially situated along national and global hierarchies. Adding to the flourishing publication of feminist scholarship on the globalization of service work for the past several years, *Servants of Globalization* makes significant contributions to the field of globalization, transnationalism, international migration, gender, and domestic service.

As Parreñas rightly points out, gendering globalization cannot be based on an additive model and is not simply about adding gender to the discussion of globalization. Instead, gendering globalization is to understand the inherent gendered nature of global changes. Furthering Saskia Sassen's work on global cities, she examines the experience of Filipina migrant domestic workers in two global cities, that is, Rome and Los Angeles, and the formation of an 'imagined' global community among Filipina female labour in transnational contexts. Most current studies on the globalization of domestic service focus on the experience of migrant women within the boundary of one nation-state and explore the uniqueness of localized effects of global restructuring of care. Parreñas' research, based on extensive ethnographic work, explores the parallel lives of Filipina domestic workers through the lens of four key institutions, including nation-state, family, labour market, and the migrant community, in two different political economies. This cross-national comparative work shows that migrant women living and working in divergent nation-states do share certain comparable experiences even though the contexts of reception differ. As she argues, Filipina migrant domestic workers in both cities are confronted with four dislocations, including partial citizenship, the separation of family and the formation of transnational households, the contradictory class mobility, and the politics of non-belonging. Their similar experiences of dislocations cross-nationally and cross-continentially signify the shared structural location of Filipina domestics in global capitalism.

Integrating macro, intermediate, and subject levels of analysis, Parreñas brilliantly depicts the complexity of the migration process. *Servants of Globalization*, while examining how global restructuring has shaped the formation of the Filipina female labor diaspora and how social networks have maintained the continual flow of Filipino migration, it does not fall into the pitfall of structural determinism. Further, she examines how Filipina domestic workers, as subjects, simultaneously resist and reproduce myriad systems of power without falling into the trap of romanticizing agency. Theoretically sophisticated, *Servants of Globalization* captures the intricate interplay between the structure and the agency.

Extending Evelyn Nakano Glenn's concept of racial division of reproductive labour, Parreñas argues that the massive out-migration of Filipinas for service work, for

example, domestic service, denotes the international racial division of reproductive labour. As equally important as the international division of labour in production, the international division of reproductive labour connects women across the globe through local nodes of reproduction. The international division of reproductive labour has emerged as a result of structural forces of global capitalism, such as the widespread liberalization and privatization, the feminization of migration, the uneven development of regions and nations, and the particular location of the Philippines as an export-based developing nation in the global economy. The formation of the international racial division of reproductive labour reflects and reproduces national and global hierarchies of womanhood based on multiple forms of inequality, such as class, race, ethnicity, and citizenship, as well as systems of gender inequality in both labour receiving and sending nations. Most importantly, the international racial division of reproductive labour, continuing the legacy of colonialism and imperialism, depletes labour-sending nations of valuable labour resources. It provides labour-receiving nations with abundant cheap female labour while enabling them to evade the responsibility of reproducing migrant population and stunt their full integration into host societies as citizens with rights and entitlements.

Parreñas' comparative work raises some interesting issues concerning the direction of the feminist research on the globalization of service work. First, Parreñas focuses on the common experiences of Filipina migrant domestic workers under diverse contexts of reception and theorizes their shared dislocations. While her study might lose some of the nuances particular to local contexts, different studies' emphases on commonality as well as difference are equally important and complimentary to the field of the globalization of service work. Second, the comparative approach has gained increasing importance in the literature of the field, be it the comparison of different racial/ethnic groups' experiences within one nation-state or that of the same immigrant group in different nation-states. Sassen's construct of the global city is central to Parreñas' comparative study on the Filipina female labour diaspora. Yet, one also has to question if Sassen's construct of the global city, based on the development experiences of the West, can be applicable to non-Western contexts. Could the global city approach be applied to the study of labour migration in the Asian or Middle Eastern regions, which have emerged as major destinations for migrant labour in recent decades? In other words, if most theories on globalization are developed based on the experiences of the West, what alternative theoretical paradigms would be available for scholars who conduct research in non-Western contexts then?

Local studies on the effects of global restructuring contribute to our more nuanced understanding of the localization of globalization. Parreñas' cross-national comparative work answers the important question of how localized occupation becomes globalized and contributes to the general theorizing on the shared

experience of dislocations among Filipina female labour diaspora. This is an excellent book and I highly recommend it for courses on globalization, transnationalism, international migration, and gender.

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