

**Asia Research Institute
Working Paper Series No. 162**

**The Price Children Pay:
Exploring the Impact of Globalisation and
Migration for Domestic Work on
Both the Left-Behind and Cared-for Children**

Miriam Ee
University of Melbourne, Australia

miriam.ee@gmail.com

August 2011



The **ARI Working Paper Series** is published electronically by the Asia Research Institute of the National University of Singapore.

© Copyright is held by the author or authors of each Working Paper.

ARI Working Papers cannot be republished, reprinted, or reproduced in any format without the permission of the paper's author or authors.

Note: The views expressed in each paper are those of the author or authors of the paper. They do not necessarily represent or reflect the views of the Asia Research Institute, its Editorial Committee or of the National University of Singapore.

Citations of this electronic publication should be made in the following manner: Author, "Title," ARI Working Paper, No. #, Date, www.nus.ari.edu.sg/pub/wps.htm. For instance, Smith, John, "Ethnic Relations in Singapore," ARI Working Paper, No. 1, June 2003, www.ari.nus.edu.sg/pub/wps.htm.

Asia Research Institute Editorial Committee

Michelle Miller - Chair

Gregory Clancey

Jeremy Kingsley

Jonathan Benney

Liang Yongjia

Peter Marolt

Tim Bunnell

Valerie Yeo

Asia Research Institute

National University of Singapore

469A Tower Block #10-01,

Bukit Timah Road,

Singapore 259770

Tel: (65) 6516 3810

Fax: (65) 6779 1428

Website: www.ari.nus.edu.sg

Email: arisec@nus.edu.sg

The Asia Research Institute (ARI) was established as a university-level institute in July 2001 as one of the strategic initiatives of the National University of Singapore (NUS). The mission of the Institute is to provide a world-class focus and resource for research on the Asian region, located at one of its communications hubs. ARI engages the social sciences broadly defined, and especially interdisciplinary frontiers between and beyond disciplines. Through frequent provision of short-term research appointments it seeks to be a place of encounters between the region and the world. Within NUS it works particularly with the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Business, Law and Design, to support conferences, lectures, and graduate study at the highest level.

The Price Children Pay: Exploring the Impact of Globalisation and Migration for Domestic Work on Both the Left-Behind and Cared-for Children

INTRODUCTION

Earlier this year, photographs of a young Singaporean soldier in full army uniform with his maid trailing behind him and carrying his backpack circulated online and generated much debate on whether cared-for children are too ‘soft’ and ‘spoilt’ because they have grown up with maids at their beck and call (Lim 2011; Stomp 2011). The online criticisms of the young soldier were so strong that the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) launched into an investigation to identify and ‘counsel’ him. What exactly was he ‘counselled’, was not disclosed by the Ministry of Defence except that ‘the SAF has reminded all servicemen to be mindful of their conduct in public’ (Lim 2011). Tellingly, the ‘conduct’ of cared-for children was what the institutional and public discourse generated by the photograph was centred on.

In Singapore, the employment of maids is commonplace. At least one in eight households employ a foreign domestic worker to help with reproductive work, such as childcare (Wong cited in Yeoh & Huang 2000: 416). Most of these women come from the Philippines, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, with the Filipinas being the largest and most sought after group of domestic workers in Singapore for reasons, such as their proficiency in English (Yeoh & Huang 2000: 416). Employed primarily for economic reasons – to relief Singaporean women of domestic burden so that they can take on wage work and bolster the economy – any impact of leaving children in the care of foreigners was deemed secondary. That is, until recently, when the soldier’s photograph surfaced contentions about the ‘spoilt’ and ‘soft’ conduct of cared-for children. Likewise, the decision of women to migrate for domestic work is also primarily driven by economics and any adverse impact on their left-behind children is deemed inevitable and secondary.

The decision to migrate for domestic work and the decision to employ foreign domestic workers are two sides of the same coin – the former is a supply of care and the latter a demand for care; and easily left out of the decision process are the children of these women. In this essay, I draw upon existing literature to explore the impact of migration for domestic work on two categories of children. The first category is of Filipino children who have been ‘left-behind’ by mothers, who migrate overseas to undertake paid domestic work. The second category is of children whose mothers employ foreign domestic workers to care for them since early childhood because they themselves are employed in demanding jobs. Certainly, there are domestic workers who are employed to assist mothers who are full-time housewives, but the focus of this essay is to explore the case of left-behind children and compare them with that of the cared-for children, whose mothers are also engaged in demanding full-time employment that keep them away from their traditional mothering responsibilities.

In the light of the debate sparked by the photographs of a maid carrying the Singaporean soldier’s backpack, I consider the case of cared-for children in Singapore. I acknowledge that while there is much literature on the impact of migrant domestic workers’ geographical separation from home on their left-behind children (see for example, Hochschild 2000; Parreñas 2001; Yeoh & Lam 2006), significantly less well-known and less common, are studies on the impact of migrant domestic workers as primary carers on the children they are employed to care for (see for example, Roumani 2005; Yeoh, Huang & Gonzalez 1999).

Hence, I supplement the limited literature on cared-for children with an examination of state policies, discourses and media reports in Singapore. I argue that both the left-behind children in the Philippines and the cared-for children in Singapore pay a significant emotional price as a result of globalisation and their mothers' decision to engage in paid labour, and it is not clear that the cared-for children are indeed better off than left-behind children because they are on the receiving end of commodified care.

The structure of this essay is as follows. In the first section, I explore the relationship between globalisation, the changing notion of what it means to be a 'good mother' and the commodification of childcare. I highlight how state policies and state and public discourses in Singapore contribute to the rise of the two groups of children examined in this essay – the left-behind and the cared-for children – by encouraging mothers to work and employ foreign domestic workers. In the second section, I explore the impact of mothers' migration for overseas domestic work on their left-behind children in the Philippines. In the third section, I explore the impact of maids as carers on cared-for children in Singapore. Finally, I compare the case of both groups of children and point out that more scholarly research on the impact of maids as carers on cared-for children is needed.

GLOBALISATION, THE CHANGING NOTION OF THE 'GOOD MOTHER' AND THE COMMODIFICATION OF CHILDCARE

Many scholars have explored the relationship between globalisation and the changing notion of the 'good mother' (see for example, Devasahayam & Yeoh 2007; Hochschild 2003; McDowell 2007; Stivens 2007). The broad thrust of the changing notion is described as such: prior to women's increased participation in the labour market, the 'good mother' was depicted as one who stayed at home, while her husband engaged in paid work; but the modern 'good mother', as McDowell (2007: 132) notes, is among other things, one who enters the 'labo[u]r market to raise her income and skills levels for the benefit of her children, [and] who no longer occupies the home as a continuous presence'. Thus, the modern woman is portrayed as energetic and industrious – someone who pursues a career and at the same time, nurtures a warm family (Stivens 2007).

Certainly, this image of the 'good mother' is portrayed in Singapore. As a small city-state with high growth aspirations, Singapore requires a labour force that exceeds its population size, and one means of bolstering the labour force is to encourage mothers to remain in paid employment (Lam, Yeoh & Huang 2006). This is achieved through a mixture of state policies and discourses.

Firstly, state discourse facilitates the construction of an idealised Singapore family as one comprising a 'relatively young... heterosexual, married couple', both of whom are 'educated and *formally employed*', with 'three, or more, [children] if they can afford it' (Teo 2010: 338, emphasis added). Through 'campaigns, policies and everyday statements by national leaders', the line between state discourse and public discourse is blurred and often, Singaporean mothers themselves desire to return to work after childbirth (Teo 2010: 338).

This blurring of lines can be seen from a two-hour session in which Singapore's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence, Teo Chee Hean, met over 80 women. In a video clip of the session posted on The Straits Times website, the key 'pressing issues' raised were over how to balance family and career (The Straits Times 2010). That mothers would return

to work after childbirth was assumed and even desired by them. As one woman, drawing a comparison between herself and her grandmother said,

today, I am an educated woman and if you don't go to work, somehow society says, "wah [sic], you know you go [to] university [to] study Masters [and] then what [sic], stay at home?"

Her comments reflect popular sentiment that a woman's tertiary education would be 'wasted' if she only stayed at home to do care work. The modern Singaporean mother is thus, not only expected to be formally employed, but she herself also desires to work. This point is congruous with Hochschild's observation that the modern woman desires to work outside the home for the 'money security, challenge, community and 'identity provided by a job' (Hochschild 2003: 219).

In addition to state discourse and public sentiment, the imagery of the working mother is repeatedly emphasised through the local media as well. For example, the Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation (OCBC Bank), a Singapore corporation, portrays the same image of the family in its advertisements for banking products and services targeted at families, showing the 'happy family' as comprising a couple, who are young and engaged in professional jobs, with at least two young children (see OCBC Bank 2011).

Secondly, state policies are formulated to encourage mothers to continue in formal employment by promoting alternative sources of childcare, such as grandparents, foreign maids and childcare facilities (Stivens 2007). The commodification of childcare is achieved through a combination of immigration laws that allow for the easy entry of foreign domestic workers and tax relief policies to benefit the working mother (Yeoh & Huang 2000). For example, working mothers in Singapore are entitled to claim 'foreign maid levy relief' and 'working mother's child relief'. The levy relief allows the working mother to claim twice the levy paid on one foreign maid, providing a strong incentive for working mothers to employ a maid as a child caregiver, for unlike childcare facilities, the maid lives together with the family and is available around the clock (Yeoh & Huang 1999). Further, she can double up as a helper around the house with other household chores. The 'working mother's child relief' is given in addition to the standard child relief, which can be claimed by either parent.

The intent of these tax incentives, which is to encourage mothers to work, is also made explicit: as stated on the Inland Revenue Authority of Singapore (IRAS) website, the 'foreign maid levy relief' is to 'encourage *married women* to remain in the workforce and to encourage procreation' (Inland Revenue Authority of Singapore 2011a, emphasis in original). Similarly, the 'working mother's child relief' is to 'encourage *married women* to remain in the workforce after having children' (Inland Revenue Authority of Singapore 2011b, emphasis in original).

The above described discourses and state policies appear to have succeeded in encouraging mothers to remain in the labour force, for female labour force participation has risen steadily from 48.8 per cent in 1990 to 56.6 per cent in 2010 (Department of Statistics Singapore 2011). Singlehood is increasingly an option these working women choose, but among those who still choose to be mothers, their movement from the private sphere to the public sphere takes them away from their traditional mothering duties and creates a demand for alternative sources of childcare, to which 'women from the Philippines have responded in force' (Parreñas 2003: 39). From 40,000 domestic workers in 1988, there are now over 100,000 domestic workers in

Singapore and three-quarters of which are Filipinas (The Straits Times cited in Yeoh, Huang & Gonzalez 1999: 117). Currently, at least one in eight households employ a foreign domestic worker (Wong cited in Yeoh & Huang 2000: 416).

By encouraging mothers to work and employ foreign domestic workers to care for their children, state policies and discourses in Singapore have contributed to the rise of two groups of children, who are not cared for primarily by their own mothers, namely: the left-behind and the cared-for children. The following two sections in this essay explore the consequences these children face for their mothers' decision to engage in demanding full-time employment.

THE PRICE THAT LEFT-BEHIND CHILDREN PAY

When foreign domestic workers migrate to fill the childcare void left by women from more affluent countries, they in turn create a childcare void in their own homes, which is then filled by poorer local women or other relatives (Lan 2003). Numerous studies have been conducted on the left-behind children in the Philippines and other countries, but perhaps given the sheer number of studies conducted in the Philippines, the findings are varied and inconclusive (Yeoh & Lam 2006). One reason being that the circumstances surrounding the left-behind children of the female domestic worker are 'highly variable' (Yeoh & Lam 2006: 124). Firstly, alternative care arrangements may differ – some are looked after by the left-behind father, others by relatives and still others by hired local women (Lan 2003). Secondly, the ages at which the children get left-behind also differ, varying the type and intensity of impact of migration.

The impact described in the literature may be classified into four broad categories. Firstly, in terms of health, Yeoh and Lam (2006: 127) find evidence from a 2003 Children and Families Survey conducted in the Philippines (hereafter, the '2003 Philippines study'), that left-behind children were generally taller, heavier and fell ill less frequently than children whose parents were still with them. However, this positive finding is not without contradiction. For example, and as Yeoh and Lam (2006) also point out, an early study by Battistella and Conaco (1998) showed that left-behind children experienced greater anxiety and loneliness. Further, Battistella and Conaco (1998) also found that children left behind by their mothers appear to have more problems than those left behind by fathers. This finding is particularly significant because of the feminisation of migration for domestic work.

Secondly, in terms of emotional and social well-being, the children left-behind by the foreign domestic worker 'suffer the loss of her affection' and she suffers with them too (Hochschild 2003: 193). Instead of caring for her own, the maid is employed to care for another woman's children, while her left-behind children suffer emotional stresses such as feelings of jealousy, yearning and pain. As Ellen, who was only ten years old when her mother left for New York, shared her feelings of yearning and pain in an interview with Parreñas (2003: 42):

There are times when you want to talk to her, but she is not there. That is really hard, very difficult... The only thing I can do is write to her... and sometimes I just want to cry on her shoulder.

Ellen also shared her feelings of jealousy in the same interview with Parreñas:

I am very, very jealous. There was even a time when she told the children she was caring for that they are very lucky that she was taking care of them, while her children back in the Philippines don't even have a mom to take care of them... We were left alone by ourselves and we had to be responsible at a very young age without a mother. Can you imagine?

The physical distance also tends to create an emotional distance over time, potentially leading to estrangement between mother and child. For example, Evelyn, a single mother who spoke with Lan (2003: 196), shared that after many years of working overseas she no longer knows what is happening in her children's lives:

I feel very upset about my children. They don't talk to me. This one... I left her studying in college, but now she got married and has a son already... She never told me she got a [boy]friend! She never told me.

Despite the negative emotional and social impacts documented, Parreñas (2003: 41) finds, through interviews with thirty children who had migrant mothers, that the emotional hardships may be lessened when there is support from the extended family, 'open communication' between the migrant mother and the left-behind children, and when the children understand the financial constraints that necessitated their mothers' decision to migrate.

Thirdly, in terms of education, left-behind children tend to enjoy better education (which in the Philippines often refers to private schooling), especially if their migrant parents are working in the West, where salaries are higher (Battistella & Conaco 1998: 232). However, enrolment in better schools does not necessarily imply that the children will perform better in terms of school grades. In fact, Battistella and Conaco (1998: 233) find that elementary school children without mothers experienced greater difficulty with homework. Yeoh and Lam (2006: 130) find similar evidence from the 2003 Philippines study, that children with migrant mothers tend to experience greater difficulties with study. The impact of mother's migration on left-behind children's education is thus inconclusive because although they may be enrolled in better schools, they tend to fare more poorly due to their mother's absence (Yeoh & Lam 2006: 130).

Finally, left-behind children may be better off in terms of commodities. As the migrant mother is unable to provide her children with 'daily acts of caregiving', she may rely on material gifts instead to convey her love and ease her maternal guilt (Parreñas 2001: 372). Such sentiment was expressed by Ruby Mercado, who was interviewed by Parreñas (2001: 372). She said,

I feel guilty because as a mother I have not been able to care for their [her children] daily needs. So, because I am lacking in giving them maternal love, I fill that gap with many material goods.

However to the children, commodities are often insufficient 'markers of love' and many are not convinced that the financial stability gained from their mother's migration is worth the emotional hardships (Parreñas 2001: 375-6). Lan (2003: 195) shares a similar opinion and notes that 'the monetary gains... acquired by migrant mothers [do not cancel] out their emotional costs in family separation'.

While current research shows inconclusive and often contrary findings, it is clear that the left-behind children are no better off, at least in terms of emotional and social well-being, although they may be better off in terms of quality of education received, health status and material possessions. Thus, the left-behind children pay a significant emotional price as a result of their mother's decision to take on paid domestic work overseas – which is a decision they did not make, but one which consequences they have to bear in the name of a better future for themselves.

THE PRICE THAT CARED-FOR CHILDREN PAY

While Filipino children experience a geographical separation from their mothers who venture overseas for domestic work, cared-for Singaporean children experience a different type of separation from their career pursuing mothers. Women who want to succeed in their careers face strong pressures at work as most jobs in the more developed world are still moulded after the 'old male model', which requires putting in long hours and the subordination of family time to work demands (Hochschild 2003: 189). Hochschild (2003: 188) notes:

[m]ost career are still based on a well-known (male) pattern: doing professional work, competing with fellow professionals, getting credit for work, building a reputation, doing it while you are young, hoarding scarce time, and minimi[s]ing family work by finding someone else to do it.

Therefore, the career-pursuing mother has less time and energy to demonstrate her affection and care for her child(ren). Instead, she passes the burden of childcare to a 'someone else' mentioned in the above quote from Hochschild, and in the Singapore context, this 'someone else' is usually a foreign domestic worker.

In short, to borrow Hochschild's (2003: 194) words, 'love and care [have] become the "new gold"', which the First World extracts from the Third World in order to enrich itself. But do foreign domestic workers' love and care really enrich cared-for children in Singapore? Scholars writing about left-behind children tend to propound the view that it does because the cared-for child is at the receiving end of the migrant woman's care. For example, Hochschild (2000: 142) wrote, '[t]hough it is by no means always the case, the poor maid's child may be getting less motherly care than the First World child' (see also, Hochschild 2003; Parreñas 2003). However, I argue here that it does not necessarily do so because a maid's love is not the same as a mother's love for at least three reasons. In addition, as Roumani (2005) shows, cared-for children may develop certain behavioural disorders.

Firstly, unlike a mother, the foreign domestic worker's care is discontinuous (Roumani 2005). She is employed on a contract basis and if that contract is not renewed upon expiry, she returns to her home country and the cared-for children suffers her loss. Further, the impact of such transient care, is exacerbated when there are frequent changes in maids.

Secondly, the foreign domestic worker lacks a mother's autonomy to discipline the child (Roumani 2005). Instead, as Roumani (2005) suggests, many resort to pacifying the child, in effort to silence their tantrums, for fear of dismissal or in order to get on with other household chores.

Thirdly, her love is ‘assembled’ here in the foreign land with elements that reflect her own parenting style and culture, and elements that reflect her perception of the foreign culture (Hochschild 2003: 192). This ‘assembled’ love differs from a mother’s love. For example, unlike a mother, the foreign domestic worker is free from the pressures of ensuring that the cared-for child performs well in school, or anxieties over whether the child develops holistically. Further, studies also suggest that the foreign domestic worker projects her intense yearning for her own children onto the children she is employed to care for. For example, María Gutierrez, who cares for an eight-month-old baby, shared with Hochschild (2003: 192) that she is more patient and lenient with her employer’s child:

I’m more patient, more relaxed. I put the child first. My kids, I treated them the way my mother treated me [which is, with less sentimentality and more discipline].

The differences, highlighted above, suggest that young children who are cared-for primarily by foreign domestic workers will experience a different type of upbringing compared to children who are cared-for by their mothers. While the supposed negative impacts on cared-for children is the subject of public discourse in countries, such as Singapore and Kuwait, where the employment of maids for childcare is regarded as ‘standard practice’ (cf. Yeoh, Huang & Gonzalez 1999), a search of the existing literature reveals that little research has been conducted to understand the actual impacts. Apart from Yeoh et al.’s (1999) examination the impact of maids on a broad range of issues and Roumani’s (2005) study on cared-for children in Arabia, the impact of maids as carers on children is not explicitly examined in most studies on foreign domestic workers. Therefore, in addition to scholarly literature, this section’s analysis of cared-for children in Singapore also draws upon public discourses in Singapore as reflected in media reports.

In one such study of the impact of maids on very young cared-for children in Kuwait and Dubai, Roumani (2005: 163) finds at least four possible social and emotional development impacts – namely: attachment disorders, separation anxiety and social phobia, personality disorders and social attitude disorders – which may arise due to the differences between a mother’s love and a maid’s love. Further, Roumani (2005) suggests that young children observe and imitate their parent’s attitude towards the maid. If parents demonstrate a strong master-servant attitude, then the cared-for child may expect others to be there at his beck and call and develop a tendency towards abusiveness or aggression (Roumani 2005: 163).

Roumani’s findings are similar to the public discourse in Singapore that is reflected in the media – that the impact of maids on cared-for children is largely negative and such children tend to be ‘soft’ and ‘spoilt’ because they are used to having maids at their beck and call (Lim 2011; Spillius 2002). The debate sparked by the photograph of a maid carrying a young soldier’s backpack revealed common perceptions and concerns about Singapore’s ‘maid dependency syndrome’ – a term coined to describe the impact on cared-for children who grew up ‘having a [foreign] domestic worker around to pick up after them’ (Huang, Yeoh & Asis 2003: 17). For example, one concerned member of the public wrote in to the Stomp, a local online news portal, after witnessing a girl scold her foreign domestic carer for failing to pick out all the bean sprouts from a bowl of noodles for her. He wrote:

[i]s this how we want our children to grow up, thinking that our maids/domestic helpers are there to serve on them hand and foot and do everything for them? (Stomp 2010)

Such fears that cared-for children may develop social attitude disorders or tendencies towards abusiveness are not uncommon. Indeed, as highlighted by Yeoh et al. (1999: 126), ‘fears relating to the negative social impacts that employing foreign maids may have on... the young in particular have become a common refrain in public discourse’ in Singapore. A survey conducted by the National University of Singapore found that 52.5 per cent of 199 households, which employed at least one foreign domestic worker, engaged her for the primary task of childcare (Lam, Yeoh & Huang 2006: 485). Even so, despite the prevalence of maids as carers and public fears over their supposed negative impacts on cared-for children, little research has been conducted to understand the actual impacts.

This lack of understanding is apparent in the responses of some mothers. For example, while many Singaporean mothers view the foreign domestic worker as ‘essential in attaining and maintaining a middle-class lifestyle’, those with young children ‘also worry about the long-term influences of foreign domestic workers on their children’s value systems’ (Yeoh & Huang cited in Lam, Yeoh & Huang 2006: 485). In response to these anxieties, some mothers, especially those with young children, resort to ‘electronic systems of surveillance and control’ of their foreign domestic workers (McDowell 2007: 140). However, such a response does not address the underlying differences between a maid’s care and a mother’s care – for one, the maid continues to lack a mother’s autonomy to discipline the cared-for child. Instead, I urge that a better understanding of the impacts on cared-for children could better inform parental responses.

Although cared-for children may be better off in terms of the quality of education received and material possessions because their mothers earn an income, it is not clear that they are better off in terms of emotional development and support. Instead, as public discourse and current research (albeit limited) suggests, cared-for children may develop attachment disorders, separation anxiety and social phobia, personality disorders, social attitude disorders or tendencies towards aggression and abusiveness. Arguably, the loss of their mothers’ time and affection cannot be replaced by alternative means of caregiving and/or material possessions.

CONCLUSION: THERE ARE NO CLEAR WINNERS BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS OF CHILDREN

Two women working for pay is a good idea. But two working mothers giving their all to work is a good idea gone haywire. In the end, both First and Third World women are small players in a larger economic game whose rules they have not written. (Hochschild 2003: 189)

I agree with the above quote and add that in celebrating women’s increased labour participation, we must not forget to consider the cost that children bear as a result of missing mothers too. In this way, the position of cared-for children is similar to that of the left-behind children – that although they may each be better off in terms of the goods and services they can consume because their mothers work, they both suffer the loss of their mother’s affection and time; and their mothers experience guilt for not spending enough time with them (Hochschild 2003: 193). To borrow Hochschild’s words, this emotional price paid by mothers and children is indeed ‘globali[s]ation’s pound of flesh’ (2003: 193).

It appears therefore, that there are no clear winners between the two groups of children, whose mothers decide to engage in paid employment, whether they be from poorer or richer countries (that is, whether they be from the Philippines or Singapore). I submit that both the left-behind children and cared-for children, indeed pay a significant emotional price as a result of globalisation and their mothers' participation in the labour force, which is a decision they did not make, but one which consequences they have to bear. However, given that the available literature on the impact of maids on their cared-for children is scant, I concede that the argument submitted in this essay, is at best a preliminary conclusion, which could certainly be better informed and benefit from more scholarly research on cared-for children.

REFERENCES

- Battistella, G & Conaco, MCG 1998, 'The Impact of Labour Migration on the Children Left Behind: A Study of Elementary School Children in the Philippines', *SOJOURN*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 220-41.
- Department of Statistics Singapore 2011, *Time Series on Labour Force Participation Rate (As at June)*, viewed 27 May 2011, <<http://www.singstat.gov.sg/stats/themes/economy/hist/labour.html%3E>.
- Devasahayam, TW & Yeoh, BSA 2007, 'Asian Women Negotiating Work Challenges and Family Commitments', in TW Devasahayam & BSA Yeoh (eds), *Working and Mothering in Asia: Images, Ideologies and Identities*, NUS Press, Singapore, pp. 3-26.
- Hochschild, AR 2000, 'Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value', in W Hutton & A Giddens (eds), *Global Capitalism*, The New Press, New York, pp. 130-46.
- 2003, *The Commercialization of Intimate Life: Notes from Home and Work*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Huang, S, Yeoh, BSA & Asis, MMB 2003, 'Filipino Domestic Workers in Singapore: Impacts on Family Well-being and Gender Relations', paper presented to Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Migration and Development, Bangkok, 27-29 August 2003.
- Inland Revenue Authority of Singapore 2011a, *Foreign Maid Levy Relief*, viewed 20 May 2011, <http://www.iras.gov.sg/irasHome/page04_ektid202.aspx%3E.
- 2011b, *Working Mother's Child Relief*, viewed 28 May 2011, <<http://www.iras.gov.sg/irasHome/page04.aspx?id=220%3E>.
- Lam, T, Yeoh, BSA & Huang, S 2006, 'Global Householding in a City-State: Emerging Trends in Singapore', *International Development Planning Review*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 475-97.
- Lan, P-C 2003, 'Maid or Madam? Filipina Migrant Workers and the Continuity of Domestic Labor', *Gender & Society*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 187-208.
- Lim, A 2011, *NSF in photo has been counselled: Mindef*, viewed 25 May 2011, <<http://sg.news.yahoo.com/blogs/singaporescene/nsman-maid-carrying-backpack-sparks-debate-20110328-044525-041.html%3E>.
- McDowell, L 2007, 'Spaces of the Home: Absence, Presence, New Connections and New Anxieties', *Home Cultures*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 129-46.
- OCBC Bank 2011, *Family Banking*, viewed 27 May 2011, <<http://www.ocbc.com.sg/personal-banking/family/index.shtm%3E>.
- Parreñas, RS 2001, 'Mothering from a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Intergenerational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families', *Feminist Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 361-90.

- 2003, 'The Care Crisis in the Philippines: Children and Transnational Families in the New Global Economy', in B Ehrenreich & AR Hochschild (eds), *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, Metropolitan Books, New York, pp. 39-55.
- Roumani, HB 2005, 'Maids in Arabia: the Impact of Maids as Carers on Children's Social and Emotional Development', *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 149-67.
- Spillius, A 2002, 'Spoilt children to learn domestic skills', *The Telegraph*, 25 June 2002, viewed 31 May 2011, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/singapore/1398374/Spoilt-children-to-learn-domestic-skills.html%3E>.
- Stivens, M 2007, 'Post-modern Motherhoods and Cultural Contest in Malaysia and Singapore', in TW Devasahayam & BSA Yeoh (eds), *Working and Mothering in Asia: Images, Ideologies and Identities*, NUS Press, Singapore, pp. 29-50.
- Stomp 2010, *Spoilt 'teen princess' makes maid remove tow gay from bowl of noodles*, viewed 2 June 2011, <http://getai.stomp.com.sg/stomp/sgseen/what_bugs_me/402726/spoilt_princess_makes_maid_pick_out_bean_sprouts_from_noodles.html%3E.
- 2011, *Nsmen trained to be fit, strong soldiers - yet this one makes maid carry backpack*, The Straits Times, viewed 25 May 2011, <http://singaporeseen.stomp.com.sg/stomp/sgseen/caught_in_the_act/588060/nsmen_trained_to_be_fit_strong_soldiers_yet_this_one_makes_maid.html%3E.
- Teo, Y 2010, 'Shaping the Singapore Family, Producing the State and Society', *Economy and Society*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 337-59.
- The Straits Times 2010, 'Challenges Modern Singapore Women Face', 15 September 2010, viewed 2 April 2011, <http://www.straitstimes.com/BreakingNews/Singapore/Story/STIStory_578746.html%3E.
- Yeoh, BSA & Huang, S 1999, 'Singapore Women and Foreign Domestic Workers: Negotiating Domestic Work and Motherhood', in JH Momsen (ed.), *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service*, Routledge, New York, pp. 273-95.
- 2000, '"Home" and "Away": Foreign Domestic Workers and Negotiations of Diasporic Identity in Singapore', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 413-29.
- Yeoh, BSA, Huang, S & Gonzalez, J 1999, 'Migrant Female Domestic Workers: Debating the Economic, Social and Political Impacts in Singapore', *International Migration Review*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 114-36.

Yeoh, BSA & Lam, T 2006, 'The Costs of (Im)mobility: Children Left Behind and Children Who Migrate With a Parent', in *Regional Seminar on Strengthening the Capacity of National Machineries for Gender Equality to Shape Migration Policies and Protect Migrant Women*, Bangkok, 22-24 November 2006, pp. 120-49.