Migrant Female Domestic Workers (MFDW) and Development: A Sri Lankan Case Study

Tomohito Nojiri

12 October, 2017

Submitted for the award of Master of International Development

College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences

Flinders University of South Australia

CONTENTS

SUMMARY

Since the early 2000s, the global policy arena, constituted by governments and international development institutions, has put a positive spin on the link between migration and development. The migration-and-development link is seen to be beneficial to labour-sending countries in terms of remittances, knowledge transfer, and reinvestment of human capital. In order to maximise the benefits from labour migration, the government of Sri Lanka designed the National Labour Migration Policy in 2008. A key aspect of the Policy is to reduce the number of the female departures for domestic work. The main aim of this thesis is to unpack underlying reasons for this state initiative, employing a critical discourse analysis to examine how the state values its female citizens in relation to the labour migration and development.

The thesis first argues that the meanings of development shape key actors and beneficiaries of migration. The mainstream view of the migration-and-development link in the policy arena emphasises national economic development. From this perspective, the labour-sending states need to ensure that the quality of migrants should be high. This is because highly skilled workers are perceived to send higher remittances and less likely to damage national images. A different view comes from a social development approach, which places the experiences of migration, and migratory impacts on migrants and their families, at the centre of debates. This perspective not only highlights the agency of migrants, but also recognises that the agency is constrained by structural factors such as gender inequality, neoliberal economics and national security.

Secondly, the thesis argues that the Sri Lankan state shapes the migration-and-development context, within which female migrants make a decision to migrate. Until the early 2000s, the state promoted female migration to gain remittances. Employment opportunities overseas have, for women and their families, been a solution to the problem of poverty. However, since the 1980s, female migration has been seen to be a cost to the state. This is due to international relations issues associated with women's vulnerability to exploitation, and abuse in the recruitment and employment process. Since the 2000s, the social costs of mother migration have also been acknowledged.

Thirdly, the thesis identifies two main responses by the state to the perceived problems of migrant female domestic workers. One is to emphasise skills development as a way to fulfil national economic development goals and protect the migrant female domestic workers. The Sri Lankan state has responded to its relatively weak labour-sending position, compared to labour-receiving countries, by empowering migrant domestic workers through capacity development. Its second response has been to tackle what it perceives as the social costs of migration and development by limiting the ability of women with young children to engage in paid domestic work overseas. In this

way, the social costs are reshaped and limited through government regulations that naturalise women’s responsibility for reproductive work in private households.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed.....

Date.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Susanne Schech, for the support and guidance provided throughout my thesis. I am so grateful to her for guiding me on the correct track with constructive critique. I am aware that without her support I could have never been able to complete my master degree. Her language, her ways of thinking about development, and her attitudes towards academia all helped me write the thesis as well as develop my capacity. For this I am truly thankful.

My special thanks goes to Dr Ben Smith for providing me editing support with the thesis.

I especially thank Dr Eshantha Ariyadasa for welcoming me to a Non-government Organisation, Sputnik Sri Lanka, and also helping me settle in Adelaide.

On a personal note, I am grateful to my family for providing emotional and financial support for whole my life. My interests in development studies have grown through my transnational experiences of traveling to Australia, Nepal, New Zealand, and Vietnam in my childhood. I would never been able to reach here if it were not for your help. For this, many thanks to my parents and siblings.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Since the early 2000s, the global policy arena constituted by governments and international development institutions has put a positive spin on the link between migration and development. Labour migration has become an important aspect of a national development strategy for developing countries. This is because labour migration is perceived to bring about benefits to labour-sending countries in terms of remittances, knowledge transfer, and reinvestment of human capital. In order to maximise the benefits from labour migration, the government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (Sri Lanka in short) formulated the National Labour Migration Policy in 2008. Since then, state policy has been implemented in ways to regulate and reduce the departure number of a particular type of migrants from Sri Lanka – migrant female domestic workers (MFDWs) to the Middle East. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the migration-and-development debates in both global and Sri Lankan policy arenas, and to present a brief synopsis of relevant literature. In doing so, this chapter articulates research questions and problems as well as the significance of the study, a theoretical approach, and the structure of the thesis.

1.2 The Migration-and-Development Link: Background and Context

1.2.1 Global initiatives of linking migration to development

According to International Labour Organization, 232 million migrants globally live outside their countries of birth (International Labour Organization 2015, p. xi). Out of that, 150.3 million migrants are categorised as migrant workers, defined as 'all international migrants who are currently employed or are unemployed and seeking employment in their present country of residence' (International Labour Organization 2015, p. xi). With regard to transnational migration flows, it is estimated that 84.3 million people moved, in the form of labour or others, from the Global South to North (World Bank 2016b, p. 11). For the purpose of my thesis, I include the high-income countries of the Middle East in the definition of the Global North.

The South-North labour migration has been recognised by governments and international development institutions as a tool for national development of both rich and poor countries in global policy arenas, particularly since the turn of the century. To provide a framework for formulating a coherent, comprehensive, and global response to international migration, the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) was established in 2003 by the then United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan. The GCIM is assumed to be the first articulator of the linkage of migration with development on the global stage (Piper 2009, p. 93; Skeldon 2008, p. 4). In its concluding report,

the Commission suggested that all relevant organisations should recognise migration as 'an integral part of national, regional and global strategies for economic growth, in both the developing and developed world' (Global Commission on International Migration 2005, p. 4). In particular, the GCIM recommends that states and private sectors introduce temporary migration programmes as 'a means of addressing the economic needs of both countries of origin and destination' (Global Commission on International Migration 2005, p. 4). The temporary migration scheme is referred to as 'migration for a specific motivation or purpose with the intention that, afterward, there will be a return to the country of origin or onward movement' (World Bank 2016a, p. 5). The temporary migration from the South to North brings about larger benefits for the origin country through the return of human, physical and social capital (Agunias 2006; De Haas 2005; World Bank 2016b, p. 16). Furthermore, migrants tend to send their earnings back to their countries of origin; these remittances amounted to US$223.8 billion in 2015 (World Bank 2016b, p. 11). In short, the labour migration from the South to North is believed to be beneficial to the labour-sending countries.

However, the migration-and-development link in terms of the national economy is much debated in scholarly arenas. Human geographers and development scholars have critiqued this optimistic view of temporary migration, arguing that it has overstated the case of migration-led development without reference to specific contexts (Gamlen 2014, p. 592). One of the significant contributors to the discussion is Piper (2009, p. 94) who criticised the global policy for stereotypically drawing a 'success story'. She argues that the migration-and-development link is implicitly derived from the experiences of highly skilled workers who migrated to the developed world, which ignores or marginalises specific issues related to other types of migrants such as low-skilled migrants and domestic workers. Compared to highly skilled workers, the marginalised group tends to bear the social, psychological and emotional costs of migration due to the lack of rights to residency, citizenship and family-reunification in the destination countries (Preibisch, Dodd & Su 2016; Torres & Carte 2016). Another point of critique is the meaning of development represented in the global debate. For those who emphasise social dimensions of development, the development approach taken in the global policy area is problematic because it views migration mainly as a strategy to accelerate national economic growth (Matsas 2008; Piper 2009). The two important issues emerging from these critiques are the need to articulate what development means, and how it is contextualised. This thesis aims to take these issues into account when analysing the migration-and-development link in the context of migrant female domestic workers from Sri Lanka to the Middle East.

1.2.2 Migrant domestic workers: global and Asian contexts

Among the 150.3 million migrant workers, an estimated 11.5 million are migrant domestic workers (MDWs) defined as 'international migrants who are engaged in their main job as domestic workers by households' (International Labour Organization 2015, p. 33). These figures are only

approximate as much domestic labour takes place outside of a formal employment system. This makes it difficult to accurately measure the extent of paid domestic labour and domestic labour migration. The nature of domestic work is wide-ranging, and workers are often required to cook, clean, and take care of children, the elderly, the disabled and domestic animals in private homes (International Labour Organization 2013, p. 69). The ILO statistics also reveals two patterns with regard to MDWs. First, 73.4% (or about 8.5 million) of all MDWs are women (International Labour Organization 2015, p. xiii). Second, nearly 80% of the total MDWs work for private households in 58 high-income countries. This includes the Middle Eastern countries such as Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (International Labour Organization 2015, p. xiv). These two indicators imply that migrant domestic work is associated with a gendered demand market structure in the high-income countries.

After the oil price rises of 1973, there was an upsurge in demand in the Middle Eastern countries for domestic workers with Indonesia and Sri Lanka as the main sources (Castles, De Haas & Miller 2014, p. 154). The major labour-receiving countries in the Middle East are the above six countries, along with upper-middle income countries of Jordan and Lebanon. Domestic work, one of the 'typically female' jobs in the Middle East, is often characterised as contract-based temporary labour migration and many women migrate via undocumented channels (UN Women 2013, p. 3).

Three major issues associated with migrant female domestic workers (MFDWs) are reported. First, they engage in low-wage and low-status jobs in an informal economy that is associated with patriarchal stereotypes of female docility, obedience and willingness to give personal service (Castles, De Haas & Miller 2014, p. 154). For example, it is reported that the approximate monthly salaries of the Sri Lankan migrants are US$125-140 in Bahrain and UAE (UN Women 2013, p. 17). The second issue is poor working conditions rooted in the Kafala (sponsorship) system in Middle Eastern countries. The strictly employer-tied temporary migration scheme gives employers substantial control over workers, and renders the migrants vulnerable to situations of trafficking, forced labour, and physical, psychological and sexual abuse. The MDWs are prohibited from changing jobs or leaving the country without their employer's permission. In addition, the care crisis in origin communities is an issue that is linked to married migrant women leaving their children in the care of others during prolonged absences (Castles, De Haas & Miller 2014, p. 154).

Simultaneously, however, the migration of female domestic workers has reportedly had 'positive impacts on the migrants in terms of "the empowerment effect" of increased self-confidence and self-reliance as well as the positive change in gender role in households at home' (UN Women 2013, p. 4). Although the issues vary depending on the context, the positive and negative aspects of migration in the form of paid reproductive work have also been highlighted in the case of Sri Lanka.

1.3 Research Problems: Sri Lankan Case of Female Domestic Labour Migration and Development

In 2008, the state of Sri Lanka designed the National Labour Migration Policy in order to promote the migration-and-development link in terms of remittances and skills transfer (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008). Since opening its economy to the global market in the late 1970s, the lower-middle income country has sent a large number of female domestic workers to higher income countries, particularly in the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, U.A.E, Qatar, Lebanon, Jordon, Oman, and Bahrain. It is recorded that every year, approximately 100,000 women depart for domestic work, and over 95% of them migrate to the Middle East (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2015). In 2007, it was estimated that the state's stock of domestic workers abroad exceeds 800,000 (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 41).

A large and growing body of literature has studied MFDWs with an emphasis on both the positive and negative impacts of labour migration. On one hand, studies assert that female migration is beneficial to the state, the migrants and their families. In terms of national economic development, it was estimated that half of US$3.2 billion in remittances was sent by MFDWs from the Middle East (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2009 cited in Hugo & Ukwatta 2010, p. 241). Furthermore, each migrant woman is reported to support an average of five family members, which means female migrants in total support an estimated 4 million people, or a little over 20% of the nation's population of 19.5 million (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2004 cited in Gamburd 2009). From the viewpoint of social development, previous studies highlighted the empowerment of women, and the positive shifts in household gender roles (Handapangoda 2014; Kottegoda, S et al. 2013; Pinnawala 2013). On the other hand, negative impacts have also been studied. Migrants often face exploitation and abuse in both recruitment and employment stages (Frantz 2008; Gamburd 2009; Jureidini & Moukarbel 2004). More recently, 'mother migration', the migration of women who have young children, is perceived to be problematic by producing social costs to the families left behind, such as family breakdown, child abuse, and neglect (Jayasuriya & Opeskin 2015; Ukwatta 2010).

As the synopsis of the literature reveals, previous studies and documents tend to stress and analyse the impact of the female domestic labour migration on the national economy, migrants and their families. Balancing the positive and negative aspects, many scholars (Jayasuriya & Opeskin 2015; Shaw 2010; Siriwardhana et al. 2015; Ukwatta 2010) conclude that by adopting proactive policies, the state can minimise family problems and migrants' vulnerabilities while maximising economic benefits to the state, the migrants and their families. This kind of balancing argument has a major problem, however. It fails to acknowledge the actual role of the state in defining the development context by selectively choosing migrants and enforcing its own views and

expectations of women and their behaviour. In fact, despite the evident contribution of the women to the Sri Lankan economy and their families' standard of living, the Sri Lankan government has taken initiatives to reduce the number of female departures for domestic work, and to increase that of male skilled workers. This correlates with a gradual decrease in the female departure number in governmental statistics, while increasing the male departure. Presumably, the state selects the male workers as the suitable migrants overseas. From the perspective of the state, this is mainly due to the specific issues related to MFDWs, including their low earning potential resulting in low remittances; vulnerability to exploitation and abuse by employers and recruitment agencies; and the social costs derived from mother migration (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. IV). Through an analysis of the Migration Policy, I argue that the policy demonstrates an emphasis on maximising remittances while at the same time being presented as a means to protect its female citizens from abuse overseas. I also argue that the way the government achieves these goals is by limiting the agency of female domestic workers through regulations that reinforce the domestic gender division of labour in which women are the natural care givers in their families.

1.4 Theoretical Approach

Rather than fitting neatly into any single theory, this thesis approaches the Sri Lankan state's selective action in relation to migration-and-development benefits by drawing on insights offered by critical development, gender, sociological and anthropological studies. The thesis is informed by Booth's (1994) suggestion that the study of social development should have three foci, namely diversity, relevance to the real world of development, and the relationship between social structures and the agency of individuals and groups. Foregrounding diversity and relevance means recognising that different things happen in different contexts. In the Sri Lankan case of the migration-and-development link, a social development approach encourages me to focus on female migrants who are predominantly domestic workers, and who constitute a significant part, or the majority, of Sri Lankan migrant workers. The notion of agency attributes to the individual actor 'the capacity to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life, even under the most extreme forms of coercion' (Long & Van der Ploeg 1994, p. 66). This concept becomes significant in identifying migrants' actions and achievements within a wider structural context such as the development divide between the Global North and South, and gender-related normative frames.

In development literature, increasing attention is paid to human development and social development, to conceptualise development in a way that goes beyond the economic growth model that denotes the nation-state as a unit of development. My position of development is

informed by critical development scholars, Kothari and Minogue (2002, p. 12), who define development as ‘an idea, an objective and an activity’. These three components are interrelated. By idea, it is meant that development is a matter of theory. States convert development theories into practice through policy formulations and implementations, to achieve a particular aim or effect described by the theory. Importantly, development thinking is pluralistic, meaning that some ideas and objectives will prevail over others in practice. In the context of the migration-and-development link, one must ask how migration is connected to each development idea; what is meant by development in connection with migration; and whose development is concerned. By thinking of development in these ways, we can establish a frame through which to analyse how the state bridges ideas and objectives with policy formulation and implementation.

The aim of the thesis is to analyse the National Labour Migration Policy drawing on critical discourse analysis. The term discourse refers to ‘ways of talking or thinking about particular subjects that are united by common assumptions’ (Giddens & Sutton 2013, p. 98). In the Policy, the Sri Lankan state has discussed the subject of its female citizens in the context of domestic labour migration. Therefore, I unpack how the state understands migrant domestic workers, and how this impacts on its understanding of female domestic labour migration. In short, one objective of the thesis is to uncover the ideas behind the migration-and-development link in the case of Sri Lanka.

1.5 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis comprises five chapters. Chapter One has provided the background, objectives, key questions, statement of the problem, and the significance of the research. It provided the general background to the research by summarising the discussion of the migration-and-development link in the global policy arena, and the Sri Lankan state’s initiatives in particular relation to female migrant domestic workers. By contextualising the key issues, this thesis will focus on unpacking the meaning of development with regard to Sri Lankan migration, and particularly female migration.

Chapter Two is a review of the existing literature on the migration-and-development link from the perspectives of national development and social development. It aims to develop a conceptual framework in discussing the Sri Lankan case of migration-development.

Chapter Three discusses the Sri Lankan migration-and-development link through reviewing previous studies on female migrant domestic workers, and on national development. In this chapter, I highlight specific issues surrounding migrant female domestic workers.

Chapter Four examines the National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka, drawing on a critical discourse analysis that reveals the state's approach to national development in relation to its female citizens' migration.

Chapter Five synthesises the previous chapters into a description of the key discussions and findings throughout the thesis. It concludes by suggesting further research topics.

CHAPTER 2 MIGRATION-AND-DEVELOPMENT LINK: NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ARGUMENTS

2.1 Introduction

The major aim of this chapter is to create a conceptual framework through which to discuss the Sri Lankan case of the migration-and-development link. This is done by reviewing international literature regarding migration from the Global South to North. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the academic debate over linking migration with development has centred on the meaning of development and the major actors and beneficiaries of migration. On the one hand, the nation-state as a unit of development in terms of economic growth is a mainstream idea of the migration-and-development link in the global policy arena. On the other hand, conceptualising development in people- and society-centred ways allows a profound understanding of the experiences of migration and benefits to migrants and their families. By asking how migration is related to development, and whose development is concerned, I argue that the answers depend on the definition of development, and the main agents and beneficiaries of development. I also point out that the social development approach is more appropriate than the national economic development approach. This is because the social development perspective sees migrants as knowledgeable and capable actors, despite the fact that their power is shaped and limited by wider structural constraints.

2.2 The Migration and National Development Argument: Benefits, Costs, and the Role of Developing Countries

2.2.1 Benefits to the labour-sending countries: remittances and return migration

The mainstream argument in the global policy arena claims that labour migration is an important aspect of a national development strategy for developing countries. One of the major benefits is remittances, which are ‘monies earned or acquired by non-nationals that are transferred back to their country of origin’ (International Organization for Migration 2017). In 2003, the World Bank, a key development knowledge architect, first articulated the value of remittances on developing countries (Raghuram 2009, p. 104). In its report *Global Development Finance*, the Bank presents the workers’ remittances as an important source of foreign exchange currency and development finance for many developing countries (World Bank 2003, p. 164). It claims that if remittances are invested by the recipient (usually families left behind in the origin country), they contribute to output growth. Furthermore, the Bank maintains they generate positive multiplier effects if they are

consumed (World Bank 2003, p. 164). The multiplier effects of remittances happen through the increased purchasing power of the recipients, which enhances the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (Gamlen 2014, p. 584). This is because recipients' investment could stimulate the demand for domestic products in local markets, create jobs and push up local wages (Taylor 1999). It is important to note that remittances are linked to the GDP. In 2015, the World Bank, for example, highlighted that in some 25 developing countries, remittances constituted more than 10% of GDP (World Bank 2016b, p. vii). GDP is often employed by analysts and development organisations to refer to national economic growth, which has long served as a surrogate term for development (Greig, Hulme & Turner 2007, p. 30). In this way, the labour-sending state can be seen as the beneficiary of labour migration.

Another important benefit is knowledge transfer and the reinvestment of human, physical, and social capital, particularly through return migration. Compared to permanent migration, which tends to yield higher benefits for individual migrants, temporary migration is perceived to lead to larger benefits for the origin country (World Bank 2016a, p. 16). Return migrants, for instance, are said to establish small businesses, engage in small-scale import-export activities through networks of contacts abroad, and return with new ideas that can spur entrepreneurial attitudes and activities (Koser 2012).

The benefits, including remittances and business-oriented return migrants, certainly promote a positive view of labour migration in developing countries. In order to maximise benefits, the labour-sending state should create a favourable environment in which the remittances are invested by the recipients. A key strategy is relevant private sector development, including organisation of remittance transfer services, micro-financial services, and the housing industry (Mohapatra, Ratha & Silwa 2010).

2.2.2 Costs to the labour-sending countries: brain drain and international relation issues

Despite the benefits described above, labour migration from the Global South may also have counter-effects on national development. Skilled and professional workers, such as nurses and doctors, emigrate from an already scarce labour force (Matsas 2008, p. 4). The so-called brain drain is associated with problems in both developing and developed countries. It is assumed that highly-skilled workers migrate from the Global South due to the lack of employment opportunities, the lack of decent education and health systems, and poor governance (Matsas 2008, p. 4). Therefore, the role of the governments is to address the development problems so that the state could benefit from return of migrants at some points (Matsas 2008, p. 4). At the same time, the governments are encouraged to play roles in ensuring that migrants maintain social and economic linkages with their countries of origin (Skeldon 2008, p. 2).

On the other hand, selective migration policies in the Global North influence the emigration of highly-skilled workers (Koser 2012, pp. 448-9). Destination countries often compete to attract skilled workers through privileged rules on entry and residence (Castles, De Haas & Miller 2014, p. 7). They often have rights to decent work with good salary, healthcare, education, public housing, and police protection. From the viewpoint of the labour-sending countries, selectivity creates additional costs. In destination countries, while skilled workers are relatively secure in terms of economic and social rights, low-skilled and domestic workers are less likely to be provided these rights (Preibisch, Dodd & Su 2016). These labourers are perceived to cause tension between the developing countries and developed countries (Thimothy & Sasikumar 2012). To minimise the costs, an important way to ensure protection is migration preparation programmes such as skills acquisition (Gamlen 2014, p. 585).

In short, in order to maximise the benefits and minimise the negative impacts, labour-sending countries need to ensure that the labour is high quality. The benefits of high quality labour to the state is not only for the higher earning potential, higher remittances, and higher employability, but also the reduced vulnerability of migrant workers in destination countries. Labour-sending states are encouraged to engage in selective labour migration with due consideration of global market demand and potential international relations issues. In this sense, the national development approach enables the labour-sending states to be a main actor and the beneficiary of the migration.

2.3 The Migration-and-Social Development Approach: Labour Migration Between Structure and Agency

2.3.1 Social dimension of migration-and-development

The debate above has focused on the benefits and costs of labour migration for national development in labour-sending countries. A broader definition of development shifts attention from national development to social development. As noted by Piper (2009, p. 96), the social dimension of the migration-and-development link can be broadly defined as ‘the well-being and personal security of migrants, the effects of migration on the social fabric of origin and destination countries, and the link between migration policy and social policy’. In other words, the social development perspective on migration highlights people’s experiences of migration, and both positive and negative impacts of labour migration on migrants and their families. In addition, the approach acknowledges migrants and their families as knowledgeable and capable actors who exercise power in making their decision to migrate within a wider structural context. It also acknowledges the limitation of this power (Long & Van der Ploeg 1994, pp. 66-7).

2.3.2 Poverty, neoliberalism, and migrants' decision-making

Some scholars emphasise migration's positive influence on the well-being of migrants and their families, in the sense that it can secure livelihoods in the absence of jobs in the country of origin. Income is a means to achieve living standards that migrants and their families aspire to, or value (Sen 2000, pp. 72-5). By obtaining jobs abroad and remitting back to their own families, migrants are able to help improve their families' living standards by supporting everyday expenses, providing their children with access to better education, land purchase, and house building (Alvarez & Sliwa 2016; Babić 2013; Mazzucato 2011; Torres & Carte 2016; Zapata 2013).

By putting people at the centre of the discussion, some scholars ask why people from the Global South migrate in order to achieve their own development goals. Much literature emphasises the point that migrants' choices are shaped by neoliberal economic policy. Neoliberalism is line with the national development argument in the sense that it posits economic growth as the central objective of development and puts the (global) market at the centre of development agency (Nederveen Pieterse 2010, p. 7). The economic ideology has influenced hegemonic political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s (Harvey 2005, pp. 2-3). In the Global South, the neoliberal development approach was introduced as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s that denoted deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation. The aims were to reduce government spending, state budgets and subsidies, and simultaneously to introduce transnational movements of goods, capital and people (Harmes 2012, pp. 64-9; Nederveen Pieterse 2010, p. 7). Neoliberalism's effects on the decision-making of the poor in developing countries is discussed by Torres and Carte (2016, p. 401). Regarding migration from Mexico to the U.S.A, they argue that economic reform destabilised rural agricultural livelihoods through competition between undercapitalised small farmers and the cheap imports from U.S. growers, as well as with modern, large-scale, well-capitalised domestic producers. Furthermore, scholars maintain that private sector job creation in many countries has not caught up with the numbers rendered unemployed by downsizing governments (Akanbi 2017, p. 693; Walmsley, Aguiar & Ahmed 2017). This, some argue, reduces decent employment opportunities, and perpetuates the large wage-gap between labour-sending and labour-receiving countries (Akanbi 2017, p. 693; Walmsley, Aguiar & Ahmed 2017). The discussion also addresses social policies. Some scholars mention that SAPs in the South led to reductions in government spending in social welfare services such as education and healthcare (Akanbi 2017, p. 693; Piper 2009). In this way, many developing countries experienced the onset of new patterns of migration as a livelihood strategy of the poor.

2.3.3 Women's empowerment and gender inequality

In the case of female migration, some studies identified that labour migration has an empowering effects (Dannecker 2009; Deere & Alvarado 2016). A study by Deere and Alvarado (2016) reveals that the Ecuadorian women, whose gender roles use to include free reproductive work in private

spheres, became family breadwinners and exerted considerable power in decision-making regarding the use of remittances in the households. However, empowerment goes beyond economic terms. Dannecker (2009) finds that labour migration helped Muslim Bangladeshi to fulfil their own development visions, such as transforming gender relations and demanding the right to engage in productive work. However, and importantly, she also finds that the women's views are not articulated and negotiated in local, regional, or national contexts. This is because their visions are not reconcilable with the normative frame of 'ideal Muslim women' that is shared among other actors such as the state, the NGOs and the locals (Dannecker 2009, p. 124). This highlights the point that the power of female migrants is limited by wider structural aspects of society (in this case, gender ideology). Therefore, the social development approach addresses not only the women's agency and voices but also other stakeholders, including policymakers, who shape the development context and may have different development ideas.

2.3.4 Family separation, migrants' insecurity and the national securities

International labour migration is seen to also have negative social impacts on the migrants and their families; family separation across national borders is one such impact. Under the strict immigration policies framed by the labour receiving countries, low-skilled temporary migrant workers are often prohibited from bringing their family members to the destination countries. In the context of Mexican male migration to the United States of America, Torres and Carte (2016) explore the left-behind family members including women, children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled. They find a wide range of the social costs, including weakened families ties that could result in low remittance flows; emotional/psychological problems; increased health problems; and left-behind children's juvenile delinquency, drug use, emotional problems, educational deficiencies, and high school drop-out rates. Torres and Carte (2016) argue that the social costs tend to be ignored or marginalised in mainstream arguments regarding the migration-and-development link.

Once they have emigrated, low-skilled temporary migrants often face exploitation and abuse by employers (Preibisch, Dodd & Su 2016). Most migrants from the Global South lack proper legal status in destination countries, and their rights are often bound to employment and residence with a single employer. Their limited status often acts as extra-economic coercion to acquiesce to substandard and often unsafe working conditions, illegal salary deductions, and long or variable working hours (Preibisch, Dodd & Su 2016, p. 2119).

Limited entitlements are discussed in the context of national security arguments. Sørensen (2012), for example, highlights that international migration is often perceived by the Global North to be a threat to territorial integrity, political independence, peace, cultural identity, and social stability and coherence. This perception leads Northern countries to adopt restrictive immigration policies. Labour-sending countries are unable to challenge them because their economic and political

power is relatively low. The major implication of discussion in this area is that the migrants' human insecurity is partially shaped by national interests.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the major actors and beneficiaries of migration vary depending on the definition of development. In terms of national development, labour-sending states benefits from their citizens' labour migration in terms of remittances, knowledge transfer and reinvestment of human, physical and social capital. Simultaneously, emigration is perceived to have negative impacts on national development, which is associated with brain drain and international relations issues. Thus some labour-sending states select high quality labourers who produce larger benefits and fewer problems, instead of low-skilled workers.

The economic view is different from the social development approach. This perspective acknowledges benefits and costs to migrants and their families, but also structural aspects such as the historical causes of migration, gender equality, and migration controls in destination countries. For migrants, migration is a means to achieve goals that they and their families value. Women are also empowered, able to access economic resources and make decisions on how to use the money. However, migration often produces social costs to the left-behind families and personal insecurity in destinations. Migrants' decisions and their social impacts are embedded in a wider structural aspect of migration that is established by both labour-sending and receiving governments' economic and political interests.

In view of this, one may ask whether international discussions are applicable to Sri Lankan migrant female domestic workers. This is important, because along with the meaning of development, development critics highlight the importance of context specificity. As the social development approach focuses on migrants' experiences and the state's role in creating the migration and development context, this perspective will be adopted in the thesis to discuss the specific issues raised in the case of Sri Lankan migrant female domestic workers.

CHAPTER 3 SRI LANKAN FEMALE DOMESTIC LABOUR MIGRATION BETWEEN STRUCTURE AND AGENCY

3.1 Introduction

Since the implementation of neoliberal reform in 1977, labour migration has been considered beneficial to national economic development by reducing pressure on the domestic labour market, formulating human capital and providing remittances (Azam 2015; Jayaweera, Dias & Wanasundera 2002; Siddique, Selvanathan & Selvanathan 2012; Sriskandarajah 2002; Stahl & Habib 1991). The World Bank suggests reinforcing the migration-and-development link by creating formal financial institutions, and enhancing the capacity of the state and private bank network to channel remittances to development-related activities by migrant family recipients (Hulugalle, Lasagabaster & Maimbo 2005). Another suggestion was to provide migrants with incentives, such as scholarships to the left-behind children, and loan schemes for purchasing land and building houses. The national development argument is similar to the international literature on labour-sending countries.

The social development approach offers a different perspective, focusing on the experiences of migration and the impacts of benefits to migrants and their families. As pointed out in Chapter 1, Sri Lankan female migrant domestic workers help improve their families' living standards. Furthermore, migration has social impacts for female empowerment and gender equality. On the other hand, they often work in unfavourable, insecure conditions, and may produce social costs to the left-behind families. Both positive and negative representations of labour migration in Sri Lanka echo the arguments in international literature discussed in the previous chapter. However, it does not necessarily mean that migrant female domestic workers experience migration in the same way as other groups of international migrants. This is another important point submitted by critical migration scholars who underscore context specificities in the case of the migration-and-development link. This chapter, therefore, discusses specific issues raised in Sri Lankan literature on migrant female domestic workers (MFDWs). This will be done with emphasis on the structural aspects of domestic labour migration that shape and limit migrants' decision-making to migrate and their actions in the process of recruitment and employment. The literature review also explores how these specific issues are related to state policies.

3.2 Poverty, Limited Economic Opportunities, and Migrants' Decision-Making

Many published studies describe poverty and limited economic opportunities as the factors contributing to migrants' decision to migrate. A study of 50 households in the Kandy district of Sri Lanka identified that 75% lived below the standard income poverty line of US$2 per day (Handapangoda 2012). Similarly, Shaw (2010) examined the income level of 67 households in the Kurunegala district, revealing that 75% of them lived below the national poverty line. Such economic difficulty is reported in ethnographic surveys, with an emphasis on both husbands' and women's economic activity in the pre-departure stage. Some studies identified that migrant women previously relied on their male partners' informal economic activities with low, unstable incomes. These included occupations such as taxi drivers, masons, carpenters, and farmers working on their own land or on land owned by others (Handapangoda 2014; Kottegoda, S et al. 2013). When it comes to women's economic activity in the pre-migration period, most women had either engaged in casual work or were unemployed (Handapangoda 2014; Ukwatta 2010).

For those who live under the threat of poverty, working abroad can ensure everyday survival and a brighter future for their families. MFDWs earn between US$125-150 per month on average, which can be between two and five times what they could earn working in Sri Lanka (Gamburd 2008, p. 11; UN Women 2013, p. 17). Higher earnings, and thus remittances, contribute to lifting poor families out of poverty. De and Ratha (2012) used the Sri Lanka Integrated Survey 1999-2000, including interviews of 7,500 households with migrants, and divided all the families into 10 income deciles according to their pre-remittance income. They identified that remittance income largely accrues in families within the bottom quintiles, concluding that migration helps families to move up the income ladder. In the same vein, Shaw (2010) studied the shift in the income levels of 67 households that received remittances from MFDWs. He identified that 52% of them fall below the national poverty line in pre-remittance status, but the percentage declines to 15% when the remittance income is added.

While the literature above has mainly focused on income poverty, other scholars examine the underlying reasons for deprivation. Analysing the Sri Lankan neoliberal structural adjustment programmes during the period of 1977-94, Lakshman and Samaratunge (2000) assert that price deregulation, elimination of subsidies, and reductions in state-provided social welfare services had made it harder for poor families and female-headed households to meet their basic needs. Pinnawala's ethnographical study seeks a better understanding of the background of migration. In her discussion of changes in household power structure, Pinnawala (2013) compares two marginalised groups of people in the Kandy district in terms of the complex intersectionality of class, ethnicity, gender and others: Sinhalese from an area called a 'colony' by outsiders, and Indian Tamils from a community called a 'slum area'. The latter community resides in an urban low-

income settlement with very poor facilities, particularly sanitation facilities. According to her, the settlement was originally an accommodation for sanitary workers employed by the Kandy Municipal Council, although many residents do not work for the Council and the main source of income is through informal sector activities (Pinnawala 2013). While she does not discuss these residents' attributes, other literature suggests a connection to the colonial legacy of the caste system. This legacy, according to Silva, Sivapragasam and Thanges (2009), is manifest in landlessness, low human dignity, low educational achievement, extreme poverty, unemployment, poor living conditions such as over-crowdedness, and poor asset ownership. A few studies make a connection between domestic labour migration and the 25-year internal conflict between the government of Sri Lanka and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, arguing that some internally displaced women have joined the migration (Dias & Jayasundere 2002, p. 4). These studies show that women decide to migrate for their own and families' well-being within a specific social, cultural, political and economic context.

A number of studies underscore that most migrants have aspirations to achieve particular goals, although some women migrate to avoid marital problems (Gamburd 1995; Kottegoda, S et al. 2013). While specific goals depend on the migrants' backgrounds, studies highlight that women tend to migrate to support the daily expenditures of their families, return the money borrowed from both relatives and neighbours, buy a land, build a house, install a pipe for water in a house, purchase jewelleries for daughters' dowries, and purchase household assets (Gamburd 1995; Handapangoda 2014; Hugo & Ukwatta 2010; Pinnawala 2013; Shaw 2010). In addition, scholars emphasise that women's economic power provides their children with educational opportunities, including purchasing books, and sending them to secondary school and private classes (Kottegoda, S et al. 2013; Ukwatta 2010). Other Sri Lankan women migrate to address medical needs for sick parents and children (Kottegoda, S et al. 2013). In this way, migrant female domestic workers contribute to improving the standard of living and opportunity structures of their families.

One important aspect of migration decision-making is that the livelihood strategy is planned collectively by the migrants and other family members. Studies highlighted that Sri Lankan women discussed the possibilities for employment opportunities abroad with their extended families, other married women in the family, spouses and in-laws (Gamburd 2000; Kottegoda, Sepali 2006). As the decision to migrate is usually made after family consultations, it is a collective rather than an individual decision.

3.3 Security Issues in the Recruitment and Employment Process

3.3.1 Workers' insecurity at the scene of recruitment: malpractice of employment agencies

Several studies have focused on an insecurity issue facing domestic workers in the process of recruitment. In 1990, Eelens and Speckmann (1990) pointed out that the enormous demand for female domestic workers had led to a thriving recruitment sector and to numerous illegal activities among both authorised and unauthorised agents. The illegal activities included non-adherence to advertised benefits of decent payment, free medical services, and free return tickets; forging of documents such as passports, birth certificates and identity cards; and sending migrants informally out of registration (Dias & Jayasundere 2002, p. 20; Eelens & Speckmann 1990, pp. 15-20). Above all, exorbitant agency fees and commissions resulted in huge debts. A recent study (Kottegoda, S et al. 2013) also identified illegal practices. Among the 22 return migrants interviewed, four women paid US$33-65, 10 women US$65-130, and six women over US$130. The study also noted that the women raised the money by borrowing from different sources (for example, family, friends, and money lenders) or by pawning jewellery and mortgaging land. Officially, there are no such agency fees or commissions charged to migrants. Migrants are obliged to pay Rs. 7,700 (approx. US$50) for registration at the Sri Lankan Bureau of Foreign Employment (SLBFE), a transportation fee to the airport in Sri Lanka, and from the airport to the place of employment in the destination (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2014, p. 18). Other than this, recruitment agencies have the responsibility to cover all expenses including passport preparation, visa fees, cost of medical examination, air ticket, pre-SLBFE departure training, and uniforms for pre-departure training (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2014, p. 9). Private companies are supposed to recoup the costs by collecting money from the employers via the agencies in destination places (Moukarbel 2009, p. 87).

The literature attempts to explain the causes of malpractice and provide some policy suggestions. Scholars mention that agents charge illegal fees because it is the way to recover commissions and fees incurred by their counterpart agencies in labour-receiving countries (Dias & Jayasundere 2002, p. 15; Eelens & Speckmann 1990, pp. 15-20). Heavy administrative expenses and the financial risk posed by migrants' premature return are other reasons (Eelens & Speckmann 1990). Eelens and Speckmann (1990) therefore suggest that the government should take a more flexible position with regard to the maximum chargeable fee. This may make agencies less likely to try to recuperate their costs illegally. They also suggest a low-interest loan system for low-income migrants to avoid being charged illegal fees.

The Foreign Employment Act of SLBFE 1986 is the legislative framework for the system of licensing recruitment agents, and making it mandatory for migrants to register at SLBFE. Scholars

doubt the extent to which this initiative controls and redresses the exploitative practices in the recruitment process, as a large number of unlicensed employment agencies and agents are operating in Sri Lanka. Scholars (Dias & Jayasundere 2002; Eelens & Speckmann 1990, pp. 15-20) claim that the line between legal and illegal agents is blurred because even licensed agencies outsource jobs to sub-agents, who may secure employment abroad, complete passport application forms, and accompany the prospective migrant to the airport. Avoiding high financial investments is the key motivation for agents to send migrants through undocumented channels.

Another point of view is that some prospective migrant female domestic workers understand and accept the malpractice of the sub-agents because the migrants believe the sub-agents work better for them to secure working conditions (Dias & Jayasundere 2002, p. 19). In the recruitment process, return migrants in the study by Kottegoda, S et al. (2013, p. 30) speak about sub agents enticing prospective women to migrate, and visiting their homes to chat to family members about the prospects of foreign employment. Foreign employment in the domestic worker category is thus simplified, as the opportunity is literally 'there at your doorstep' (Kottegoda, S et al. 2013, p. 30). Furthermore, the forging of documents is accepted by the migrants. Many Sinhala and Tamil women speak casually of travelling as Muslims to be ensured of better work conditions, salaries, terms and conditions, and easy access to employment opportunities (Dias & Jayasundere 2002, p. 20). This ethnic aspect may be related to the employers' preference for Muslims over other religious groups (Eelens & Speckmann 1990, p. 300).

3.3.2 Workers' insecurity at the scene of employment: the limited capacity of the Sri Lankan state

A considerable amount of literature has been published on migrants' vulnerability to exploitation, harassment, and violence in the process of employment (Abu-Habib 1998; Dias & Jayasundere 2002; Frantz 2008, 2010; Gamburd 2009; Jureidini & Moukarbel 2004; Thimothy & Sasikumar 2012). It is reported that MFDWs tend to face issues such as non-payment or wage deduction, heavy workload, lack of holidays, and denial of freedom. In addition to exploitative working conditions, MFDWs are said to face physical and verbal threats, sexual abuse, and violence.

Some scholars argue that abuse and exploitation are derived from the migrants' incapability to adapt to host country norms and to conform to the attitudes expected by the employer (Dias & Jayasundere 2002, p. 10). Dias and Jayasundere (2002, p. 11) identify six issues that provoke harassment: lack of skills in handling modern household gadgets; inability to communicate with the employer in a language understood by both; inability of the migrant worker to adapt to the social and cultural environment of the host country; and poor knowledge of migrants' rights and obligations for herself. In addition, they stress the importance of maintaining good mental and physical health during the period of employment for the fulfilment of the migrant's objectives (Dias

& Jayasundere 2002, p. 12). Therefore, they suggest that empowering women in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes should be a focus of a safeguarding strategy.

However, other scholars doubt whether individual efforts protect migrants. They (Abu-Habib 1998; Jureidini & Moukarbel 2004; Thimothy & Sasikumar 2012) attribute women migrants' unsafe status to the laws and regulations surrounding domestic workers in the Middle East. Jureidini and Moukarbel (2004), for example, point out that the Kafala system renders domestic work as 'contract slavery' because it gives employers legal control over employees. The sponsorship system is widely adopted in Middle Eastern countries including Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Jordan and Lebanon. The framework legally bonds the domestic workers to their employers, denying the workers' right to choose an employer without permission from receiving-state authorities, and the right to withdraw their labour from their sponsor without becoming illegal (Jureidini & Moukarbel 2004). Under the Kafala system, domestic workers live in the private homes of their employers, who often confiscate their passport and other documents. Furthermore, the Kafala system restricts their freedom to associate and organise collective activism among other domestic workers in destination countries. In terms of the migrants' actions and behaviour, Frantz (2008) documents the resistance and adaptation of migrants against these arrangements, such as seeking refuge in a Sri Lankan embassy, and developing sponsors' dependency upon them to naturalise uneven power relations.

Other scholars point out that international relations issues underlie workers' insecurity; for example, the Sri Lankan state is unable to intervene in host countries' laws and regulations (Gamburd 2009). Gamburd (2009), for instance, documents that a Sri Lankan employment and welfare counsellor in Dubai was told by the UAE government that Sri Lanka should either stop sending workers or accept the current situation. This highlights two international issues: the conflict with destination countries, and the intense competition that exists between labour-exporting countries. Furthermore, the Sri Lankan state wants to raise the status and image of its workers, and thus its own image. Sri Lankan migrant domestic workers have low status in comparison with domestic workers from other countries. Thimothy and Sasikumar (2012, pp. 38-40), for example, mention that Sri Lankan women are often employed by middle-class families and get lower wages than Philippine or Indonesian workers who are employed by upper-class families. This is, they argue, mainly because of the employers' perception that the South-East Asian women are better-educated than Sri Lankan women, and have the right religious background. In this way, the migrants themselves are problematised instead of underlying international issues.

3.4 Women's Empowerment and Social Costs to Left-Behind Families

In terms of social impacts, most Sri Lankan literature has painted the social and development impacts of migration in a positive light since female migration started to grow in the early 1980s. Labour migration has led to women's participation in economic-decision making and changes in the gender division of labour in households (Gamburd 1995; Handapangoda 2012, 2014; Pinnawala 2013). However, negative repercussions were also noted. For example, Gamburd states that some husbands reassert their masculinity against the wives' new roles as breadwinners through drinking (Gamburd 1995).

New concerns associated with left-behind families have emerged from the early 2000s, particularly in terms of the impacts of mother migration on their children. The concerns are often conceptualised as social costs, which refer to a wide range of perceived problems including child abuse and neglect, the disruption of children's education, and health problems among children. Husbands' alcoholism, elopement and family breakdown have also been identified (Jayasuriya & Opeskin 2015; Shaw 2010; Siriwardhana et al. 2015; Ukwatta 2010). Considering the benefits of remittances to the state and their families, some scholars suggest that the social costs can be minimised by protective mechanisms including welfare programmes for children and their carers left behind (Jayasuriya & Opeskin 2015; Shaw 2010; Siriwardhana et al. 2015; Ukwatta 2010) and projects for ensuring responsible management of household finances (Shaw 2010).

Others discuss the literature from the perspective of discourse and gender norms. By reviewing news articles and official announcements in the early 2000s, Gamburd (2008) points out that the costs are a controversial issue among governments, media and villagers. This is because family and child problems are not necessarily supported by evidence produced in scholarly articles in the 1990s. Furthermore, scholars reveal that social costs are socially constructed through presumptions made by the state. The concept implies that abnormal, dysfunctional families are caused by the unideal behaviour of mothers. In Sri Lankan society (both Sinhalese and Tamils), traditional gender norms and beliefs define a normal family as one in which women are at home and bear reproductive duties, which is irreconcilable with migration for productive work (Handapangoda 2012). Similarly, Gamburd (2008) argues that the public see abnormal family structures to be derived from the bad behaviour of the poor, rather than from state's failure to provide for its citizens (Gamburd 2008). In fact, women are reported to arrange for children left behind by asking extended family for support (Kottegoda, S et al. 2013). This means that that they are knowledgeable about the available options, and take steps to ensure their children's safety, rather than acting recklessly.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the key issues regarding MFDWs by reviewing the Sri Lankan literature. The review identified that migrants' decision-making and actions are embedded in political, social and economic contexts within the nation and among Sri Lanka, other labour-sending countries and the Middle East. It first showed that Sri Lankan women made a decision to migrate against the backdrop of poverty. The poverty may have been related to Sri Lankan neoliberal policy, as well as the class and ethnic inequality in Sri Lanka. Second, workers' insecurities in the process of recruitment and employment were derived from the recruitment agencies' interests in making profits and the Kafala system in destination countries. Despite the state's view of the malpractice of the agencies, some Sinhalese and Tamil women showed an understanding and acceptance of the sub-agents' forging the documents in order to gain better working conditions in the destination countries. Furthermore, to resist the administrative structure in destination countries, some migrant workers run away to the Sri Lankan embassy, while others developed dependent relations with their employers. A relatively new issue is the social costs associated with mother migration and their children's vulnerability. However, this cost is based on gender ideology in Sri Lankan society rather than their families' experiences, which was evidenced by the women's due consideration of arranging children's care by means of their social capital.

Above all, the literature review highlights the perspective of the Sri Lankan state as a labour-sending country. The state promotes labour migration in order to maximise benefits to national development. This interest connects with the state's interest to raise the image and status of migrant female domestic workers. The link makes women's skills and attitudes the key strategy to minimise international problems between Sri Lanka and the Middle East, and to compete with other labour-sending countries. The major implication for the policy analysis (in the next chapter) is that domestic work migration to the Middle East does not occur in a vacuum. The state plays an important role in shaping the development context and the opportunity structures for citizens. With the insight in mind, the thesis analyses Sri Lankan policy that encourages certain groups of people to engage in labour migration while rejecting others.

CHAPTER 4 THE POLICY ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION POLICY AND ITS IMPACTS ON DOMESTIC LABOUR MIGRATION

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we have seen that domestic workers' migration to the Middle East is affected by the development context and opportunity structures shaped by the Sri Lankan state. However, the state also plays a more direct role through policy-making. Therefore, it is important to examine the National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka (Migration Policy). A critical discourse analysis will reveal underlying ideas in the state's view of its female citizens in relation to domestic labour migration. The Policy articulates that the Sri Lankan government reduces the number of female departure for domestic work while increasing other components of labour migration, such as male skilled workers. Some regulatory actions have been carried out by the state, one of which is aimed at dissuading its female citizens from migrating overseas both for domestic labour and other sectors of foreign employment. The state's belief seems to be underpinned by a particular set of ideas about Sri Lankan women. This chapter asks several questions in order to unpack the state's understanding and thinking about its female citizens: why the state regulates female domestic labour migration; how the state justifies migration control; what ideas underpin the state's initiative; and what (potential) impacts the state's policy has on its female citizens. These questions are discussed with particular focus on the state's reasoning in discussing its female citizens in the field of labour migration. The chapter first makes the policy relevant and meaningful in discussing women's migration. It then analyses the evidence, facts and issues provided by the state to reach its conclusion to regulate female domestic labour migration. Finally it examines the (potential) impacts of policy implementation on female domestic labour migration.

4.2 The Overview of the National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka

4.2.1 The Migration Policy as the state's decision in selecting migrants

The Migration Policy is a first-ever governmental migration document designed in October 2008 by the then-Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare (MFEPW), with technical assistance from the International Labour Office (ILO). The document was published in 2009 with Cabinet approval and has been a primary policy governing labour migration from Sri Lanka (Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015). The MFEPW was established in 2007 for the purpose of realising the very important contribution made by Sri Lankan migrant workers to the national economy (Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015). It takes responsibility for policy formulation and

implementation, for promoting foreign employment and improving the welfare of migrants and their families. From the state's perspective, labour migration is 'part of the overall agenda of creating decent work for all citizens' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 7). Thus, the aim of the Migration Policy is 'to promote opportunities for all men and women to engage in migration for decent and productive employment in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 7). It intends to do so through policies, laws, regulations, services and facilities for migrant workers and their families. Although it is expressed that the state promotes employment opportunities for all men and women, since 2007 the Sri Lankan government has placed particular emphasis on 'increasing the migration of skilled workers and reducing the outflow of low skilled workers (including women workers who are employed as housemaids)' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 1).

The state's intentions are framed in the Migration Policy, in that it welcomes certain citizens and simultaneously rejects others, particularly those defined as a 'housemaid' in the field of the Sri Lankan labour migration. In other words, the state articulated to select who should (not) be the migrants. In fact, the state believes that female domestic labour migration is one of the 'inadequately regulated sectors of employment' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 19). Some regulatory programmes based on the Migration Policy have been introduced by the Sri Lanka Bureau for Foreign Employment (SLBFE), a primary governmental regulatory body for overseas migration. One is the submission of the Family Background Report. This is a mandatory pre-departure requirement that is exclusively applied to prospective migrant women who are to engage in domestic labour overseas (and has extended to all prospective female labour migrants since 2015). The exclusionary attitude is likely to be reflected by a particular view of the state regarding its female citizens.

4.2.2 Female migrants as a problematic group for the state

The Migration Policy is designed to articulate the MFEPW's vision, aims and commitment to labour migration. The Ministry's vision of a future is clearly expressed from the perspective of a labour-sending country, declaring that it would 'become the best skilled and professional labour provider in the global job market' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 3). Because the state recognises that the international labour market determines demand for Sri Lankan migrants, its mission is 'to convert the entire labour migration sector into a demand-driven process, making it highly competitive by introducing required structural changes, together with necessary promotional, protective and welfare measures' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 3). The articulation of the state's role in the global economy as a labour sender may partially be influenced by the national development approach, in that the state must promote migration with due consideration of protection and welfare of the migrants.

While the promotional view is adopted by the state in the labour migration field, the Migration Policy is also designed to respond to a particular set of challenges. The problems recognised by the state include economic, security and social issues, which are clearly linked to female migration. It is articulated that the state faces problems of 'the vulnerability of workers who migrate under risky and unsafe conditions and the predominance of low-remittance, low-skilled jobs mainly for women with heavy social costs for families' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. V). Such challenges imply that the state needs migrants who have higher earning potential, who can enjoy rights in destination places, and who can bring benefits to the state and families left behind. Presumably, the ideal migrants for the state may not fit with female domestic workers and make the women subject of regulation. If such is the case, it is important to unpack the assumptions linking these women to the issues of low-remittances, vulnerability, and social costs.

4.2.3 The state's gender sensitive criteria applied to irrational, incapable female citizens

In the Migration Policy, three sections describe how the state addresses the challenges. In the section 'linking migration and development processes', the state mainly discusses how Sri Lankan migration can produce and foster national economic development. The economic mechanisms the state refers to are remittances, reintegration of returning migrant workers, circulation policies and linkages with transnational communities. This perspective may lay the foundation for how the state may promote itself. The other sections are 'good governance of the migration process', and 'protection and empowerment of migrant workers and their families'; the state recognises good governance as valid in regulating the labour migration process. The official articulation that the state is in charge of controlling labour migration appears in the second section, stating that the state 'undertakes to protect and empower migrant workers and their families' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. V). With regard to this, the state emphasises the pre-departure stage of the migration process, from decision-making to training for migration. More precisely, the state states that it will take three measures against the vulnerability of migrants and social costs: (1) setting 'minimum requirements for the profile of migrant workers'; (2) developing 'an environment within which potential migrant workers can make informed and considered decisions to migrate for work'; and (3) offering 'significant measures to prepare and train migrant workers psychologically and professionally' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. V). In particular, the state considers 'the development of skills as a main and effective means of protection for migrant workers and their families' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. IV). Taking into account that the state attempts to control female domestic labour migration, the regulatory framework seemingly addresses potential female migrants' skills, mind states, thoughts, and their abilities to make decisions. The Migration Policy represents female migrants as irrational, incapable citizens who do not perform their duties

as female citizens. This enables a discussion of the state's assumptions regarding a particular way to understand and value its female citizens.

One of the most important aspects of the Policy is the state's approaches to gender equality and female empowerment. In the Migration Policy, the state mentions that 'gender sensitive criteria' is applied in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes affecting migrant workers (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 7). The criteria, literally meaning the factor by which the state judges and decides upon a series of initiatives, reflects the state's attitude towards gender equality. This raises the question: to which migrants will gender sensitive criteria be applied? In addition, the state emphasises that the actions are undertaken with the aim of 'empowering migrant workers in exercising the rights to informed decision-making' in the pre-departure stage (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 7). The state's perspective on empowerment implies that a particular group of migrants needs to be informed by others in order to make a (rational) decision on migration. Unpacking who is given the role of the informer, and to which prospective migrants, is critical to reveal who the state feels needs empowerment, and in what way.

4.2.4 The SLBFE as the regulatory body of labour migration

The implementation of the Migration Policy is assigned to the SLBFE. The regulatory body was established in 1985 under the purview of the Ministry of Labour to administrate overseas employment. After 2007 when the MFEPW was created, the Bureau acted within the range of the Ministry, and now the Ministry of Foreign Employment (MFE; a successive ministry of the MFEPW created in 2015) (Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015). A fundamental regulatory framework is based on the SLBFE Act of 1985, requiring all workers leaving Sri Lanka for overseas employment to be registered with the SLBFE prior to departure (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 48). The Act also makes it compulsory for recruitment agencies to be licensed by the authority. The framework is recognised as crucial to protect migrant workers and their families by monitoring the outflow of labour and the practice of the agencies, keeping track of employers' names and addresses, and providing the migrants and their families with welfare insurance.

The Bureau also has a responsibility to produce periodic reports for an Advisory Committee on Labour Migration. The role of the committee is to review the labour migration process, explore issues and challenges, follow the changes in the labour market and advise on all aspects of the process. The committee consists of representatives from all key state institutions. The representatives of the government ministries and agencies engaged in an extensive consultative process to generate the 2008 Migration Policy, together with other relevant stakeholders such as employers' workers' organisations, migrant associations, civil societies and concerned international agencies. In short, the Migration Policy incorporates a range of ideas from employment and

economic issues to education (skills and training), healthcare, child development, and female empowerment. The ideas are reflected in the policy implementation by the SLBFE.

4.2.5 Sri Lankan feminisation of migration: housemaids as a major component

The Migration Policy was formulated to follow global and national initiatives, including international instruments pertaining to migrant workers, national development plans, and global initiatives for promoting migration-and-development links. The normative framework of national migration legislation and practice is founded on the ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Their Families in 1996. Furthermore, the ILO Multilateral Framework provides a solid foundation for the elaboration of the Migration Policy. In addition to the international tool, the Government's Ten Year Horizon Development Framework (2006-2016), the National Plan of Action for Decent Work, and both the 2002 and 2008 Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers recognise the importance of labour migration for the national economy. The Action Plan for Decent Work as well as The National Human Rights Action Plan, and the National Plan of Action on Women, recognise female migrant domestic workers as a specific vulnerable category.

Other reasons for the policy formulation are the impact of globalisation trends on the national economy, the rapid growth of migrant numbers with associated vulnerability, protection and welfare issues, and social implications of migration. Given this context, the Migration Policy was designed in regards to the 'increasing feminisation of migration' since the state's opening its economy to global market in the late 1970s (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 1). Table 1 reveals the estimated total number of Sri Lankan contract migrant workers in 2007 based on sex and 'manpower' levels. In the national data, the government refers to domestic workers as 'housemaids', in a separate category located beneath the manpower level of the 'unskilled'. Importantly, this implies that the government views domestic work as a job performed by Sri Lankan women. In 2007, of the total state's stock of overseas contract workers (1,642,455) overseas, women represented 62%, and the vast majority of female contract workers were domestic workers.

Table 1 Estimated Number of Sri Lankan Overseas Contract Workers by Manpower Levels & Sex in 2007

Manpower Level	Male	Female	Total
Professional Level	12,200	2,550	14,750
Middle Level	36,500	10,000	46,500
Clerical & Related	59,300	11,780	71,080
Skilled	260,400	107,100	367,500
Semi-skilled	3,100	235	3,335
Unskilled	250,800	77,990	328,790
Housemaid	-	810,500	810,500
Total	**622,300**	**1,020,155**	**1,642,455**

Source: Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare (2008, p. 41)

The feminisation of Sri Lankan migration can be seen in the number of foreign employment departures. Table 2 reveals the comparison in departure numbers among male migrants, female domestic labour migrants (housemaid), and female migrants in other sectors from 1996 onwards. This was the year when the SLBFE implemented proper mechanisms to collect data and maintain statistics on departures for foreign employment (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2015, p. 7). Overall, female departure for foreign employment had outnumbered male migration until 2007, which later changed. This is due to the constant increase in male migrants, while female migration figures have remained stable. Regarding housemaid migration, between 1996 and 2012, around 100,000 Sri Lankan women annually departed for domestic labour with the lowest number at 85,349 in 1998 and the highest at 125,493 in 2005. A notable point is that the table shows a decrease in domestic labour migration after 2013, the time when the SLBFE introduced new regulatory measures based on the Migration Policy (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2015, p. iv). This implies that the state policy does influence its female citizens' migration as domestic workers. The question is what the policy measures are, and the reasons for these measures.

*Table 2 Comparison of Male Migrant Workers, Housemaids & Other Female Migrant Workers, during the Period 1996 – 2015**

Year	Male		Female						Grand Total
			Housemaid		other		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1996	43,112	26.52	110,479	67.96	8,985	5.52	119,464	73.48	162,576
1997	37,552	24.99	99,429	66.16	13,302	8.85	112,731	75.01	150,283
1998	53,867	33.91	85,349	53.40	20,600	12.69	105,949	66.09	159,816
1999	63,720	35.45	88,063	49.00	27,952	15.55	116,015	64.55	179,735
2000	59,793	32.82	99,413	54.57	22,982	12.61	122,395	67.18	182,188
2001	59,807	32.50	102,850	55.89	21,350	11.61	124,200	67.50	184,007
2002	70,522	34.61	108,535	53.26	24,716	12.13	133,251	65.39	203,773
2003	74,508	35.51	102,011	48.61	33,327	15.88	135,338	64.49	209,846
2004	80,699	37.59	110,512	51.47	23,498	10.94	134,010	62.41	214,709
2005	93,896	40.60	125,493	54.26	11,901	5.14	137,394	59.40	231,290
2006	90,170	44.65	99,711	49.37	12,067	5.98	111,778	55.35	201,948
2007	103,476	47.37	102,355	46.85	12,628	5.78	114,983	52.63	218,459
2008	128,232	51.19	107,923	43.08	14,344	5.73	122,267	48.81	250,499
2009	119,381	48.31	113,678	46.00	14,067	5.69	127,745	51.69	247,126
2010	136,850	51.16	112,752	42.15	17,905	6.69	130,657	48.84	267,507
2011	136,307	51.84	107,491	40.88	19,163	7.28	126,654	48.16	262,961
2012	144,135	51.03	119,011	42.14	19,301	6.83	138,312	48.97	282,447
2013	175,185	70.25	96,900	33.05	21,133	7.20	118,033	40.25	293,218
2014	190,217	63.26	88,628	29.47	21,858	7.27	110,486	36.74	300,703
2015*	172,630	65.56	73,278	27.83	17,399	6.61	90,677	34.44	263,307

*Provisional Source: Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment (2015, p. 7)

4.3 The Reasoning Behind the Policy Formulation: How the State Views Female Migrant Domestic Workers

4.3.1 Economistic arguments: underestimating the productive role of women for caring children

As noted above, the government needs to respond to the issue of domestic workers' low earning potential and, consequently, their low remittances. This need is partially based on the state's interests in labour migration for national development; since the late 1970s, private remittances, which the government regards one of the export revenues, has become a substantial means of balancing the state's budget.

Table 3 shows the remittances' place in total export earnings from 1990 to 2015 (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2015), during which period Sri Lanka experienced a significant increase in remittances. Between 1990 and 2007, private remittances had increased 17 times annually from Rs.16 billion (US$105 million) to Rs.276.8 billion (US$1.8 billion). The revenue continued to rise to Rs.948.9 billion (US$6.2 billion) in 2015, which accounted for 66.56% of total export earnings and 8.62% of Gross Domestic Product (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2015, p. 84). A noticeable point in the table is the increase in the absolute amount of remittances, as well as its share of total revenue after 2008 when the policy was formulated. The significance of migrant remittances for the national economy is acknowledged by the government, particularly for its role in 'human capital formation through education and healthcare for children' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. VI).

In part, the state's belief that the number of MFDWs should be reduced is based on economistic reasoning that low-skilled labourers contribute less to economic growth than more highly skilled workers do. The state recognises domestic work in the global market as 'low remuneration', which is 'resulting in low remittances' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 2). This has three implications for national development. First, the state wants more remittances, to redress the national balance of payment, a critical element in borrowing money from the International Monetary Fund (International Monetary Fund 2017). Second, the multiplier effects of remittances, which the state sees 'the potential to reduce poverty and expand decent work' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 32), are minimised if the volume of remittances is small. Third, the human capital development of left-behind children can be maximised by skilled workers with their larger remittances, rather than the smaller returns from domestic workers.

However, the government's way of thinking underestimates the MFDWs in terms of their productive work. Women are capable of contributing to national development and child development. In 2009,

it was estimated that the half of US$3.2 billion of the remittances were sent by female domestic workers (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2009 cited in Hugo & Ukwatta 2010, p. 241). Per household, migrant workers remit as much as US$35-70 monthly (Kottegoda, S et al. 2013). Social development literature reveals that the use of remittances is child-oriented, as more than three-quarters of 400 households of female migrants reported that migration enhanced their ability to pay the costs associated education (Hugo & Ukwatta 2010). Their economic resource earnings, and thus their ability to support their children, seems to be underestimated in the Migration Policy which emphasises low remuneration and low remittances.

Table 3 Private Remittances and Foreign Earnings (Rs. Million) during the Year 1990 - 2015

Year	Private Remittance	Tea	Rubber	Coconut	Garment	Total Export	Private remittances as a % of total export
1990	16,054	19,823	3,080	2,783	24,828	76,624	20.95%
1991	18,311	17,867	2,641	2,619	31,652	82,225	22.27%
1992	24,037	14,893	2,960	3,691	49,176	107,855	22.29%
1993	30,592	19,911	3,086	2,796	62,349	138,175	22.14%
1994	34,992	20,964	3,582	3,761	68,945	158,554	22.07%
1995	40,482	24,638	5,713	5,271	84,806	195,092	20.75%
1996	46,003	34,068	5,753	6,091	93,814	226,801	20.28%
1997	54,445	42,533	4,640	6,940	121,083	274,193	19.86%
1998	64,517	50,280	2,808	6,110	142,333	310,938	20.75%
1999	74,356	43,728	2,305	9,119	155,214	325,171	22.87%
2000	87,697	53,133	2,179	9,174	206,360	420,114	20.87%
2001	103,180	61,602	2,129	7,348	208,624	430,372	23.97%
2002	123,783	63,105	2,552	8,009	214,895	449,850	27.38%
2003	136,475	65,936	3,717	8,926	231,652	495,426	27.55%
2004	158,291	74,897	5,155	11,453	268,573	583,967	27.11%
2005	197,968	81,482	4,724	11,400	276,144	638,276	31.02%
2006	224,678	91,667	9,674	12,898	303,263	716,579	31.35%
2007	276,814	113,565	12,066	14,226	347,893	845,683	32.73%
2008	316,092	137,606	13,535	15,728	355,995	878,499	35.98%
2009	382,818	136,194	11,327	18,685	358,374	813,911	47.03%
2010	465,166	162,793	19,580	18,728	359,113	974,387	47.74%
2011	569,103	164,869	22,811	29,394	440,791	1,167,588	48.74%
2012	763,980	180,429	15,726	26,594	482,212	1,245,531	61.34%
2013	827,689	199,446	9,194	26,488	221,659	1,344,054	61.58%
2014	916,344	212,588	5,916	46,517	611,350	1,453,176	63.06%
2015*	948,957	182,054	3,548	47,745	618,803	1,425,791	66.56%

*Provisional Source: Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment (2015, p. 84)

4.3.2 Insecurity in the recruitment process: why licencing the agencies is not enough

The government's stated reason for reducing the female departure number for domestic work was their vulnerability to exploitation and abuse. In terms of the recruitment process, the government recognises the issues including 'overcharging of fees, debt bondage, falsification of documents, the deception of under age (under 18 years of age) persons and sending them abroad for employment, dishonesty with regard to the nature and conditions of employment, and contract substitution' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 20). The main cause is stated as the '[m]alpractices by private recruitment agencies and the gaps in the regulatory framework for local agents of recruiting agencies (known as sub-agents)' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 10). As a solution to the perceived problem, the government takes measures of monitoring and regulating recruitment process by licensing agencies (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 10).

Regulatory measures are important to minimise exploitation and abuses to some extent. The previous research highlighted that insecurity stems from malpractice by the sub-agents. However, the Migration Policy fails to recognise the structural aspect that pertains to their malpractices. Agents must recover debts from destination-country agents, and this is done by overcharging migrant workers (Dias & Jayasundere 2002, p. 19). This means that unless the relations between Sri Lankan agencies and the destination-country agencies are addressed, malpractice is highly likely to occur. Second, agents often forge documents to enhance recruitment potential and to gain better working conditions. These aims are supported by the ethnic hierarchy in destination countries which favour Muslims, as well as in the Middle East, where national stereotypes preference female, South-East Asian domestic workers (Thimothy & Sasikumar 2012, p. 39). This evidence suggests that the fundamental problems behind women's insecurity are not the state's failure to monitor and regulate the recruitment agencies, but the uneven systems.

4.3.3 Insecurity in the employment process: vulnerability rooted in the incapacity of the female migrants?

In terms of insecurity arising from employment, the issues raised in the Migration Policy extend from 'non-payment of salaries, early and forced termination without compensation, exploitative work conditions such as long hours of work, burden of work, lack of rest and leisure, to abusive situations including verbal, physical, mental and sexual abuse and confiscation of travel documents' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 45). The exploitative and abusive situations were associated by the state with specific reasons. In terms of regulatory and structural reasons, the government mentions that their vulnerability is rooted in 'the lack of State to State agreements to safeguard and protect migrant workers' (Ministry of Foreign

Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 45). The government is optimistic in negotiating bilateral agreements with destination countries because the insecurity issues are 'less controversial' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 10).

Interestingly, the government seems to be more concerned about personal incapacity as the cause of exploitation and abuse. The Migration Policy articulates that 'diverse vulnerabilities [are] resulting from lack of adequate education and training, language skills and capacity to conform to work demands' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 10). This leads the state to conclude that '[t]he ultimate protection to all migrant workers is the possession of skills' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 10). However, that the provision of skills is the best way to redress vulnerability seems too optimistic in the context of the housemaid. For example, a study on the interaction between domestic workers and their employers in Jordan identified that vulnerability may be rooted in unequal power relationships between employers and domestic workers (Frantz 2008, p. 627). As Frantz points out, employers often exert their power to keep the domestic workers in line. This is not directly addressed in the Policy. However, the Policy ignores capacities that workers do have, such as building dependency relationships with employers, and articulates only that women are vulnerable and thus should be subject to regulation.

This suggests that the real subject of protection is not migrants, but national benefits. The goals of the migration policy are shaped to prevent international conflict and maximise labour migration in terms of remittance flows, knowledge transfer and reinvestment of the human capital. Skill provision is perceived by the government as a tool to raise the image and status of Sri Lankans so that they can compete successfully in a global labour market with other sending countries while avoiding international tensions. Thus the Sri Lankan government's approach to the migration-and-development link fits Nederveen Pieterse's description of 'a meeting point between the authoritarian state and the neoliberal market' (2010, pp. 134-5). In this sense, the state's agenda on migrant domestic workers' insecurity is not to protect migrants but maximise the state's own economic and political interests in labour migration.

4.3.4 Social costs: naturalisation of the gender division of labour

In addition to economic and security issues, the Migration Policy was developed to address what the state considers to be adverse social impacts of female migration. The social costs are not explicitly defined in the Migration Policy, and do not even seem to be supported by any statistical data in the same way as the economic and security issues. Indeed, the state notes that 'the social cost of migration has yet to be fully analysed' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 45). Yet the state obviously links the problem to female migration, which can be seen in the state's description of female migrants as 'women with heavy social costs for families' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. IV).

Such natural linkage of women migration with adverse impacts on their families left-behind comes together with the state's problematic statement that some female citizens 'may choose to migrate without due consideration of its adverse implications for personal and family interests, and rights of spouses, children, extended families and the migrant workers themselves' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, pp. 19-20). That women are viewed as poor decision-makers may lead the state to see 'an environment that promotes informed decision-making on migration for employment' as an appropriate action to reduce social costs (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 19). While the state believes that female migrants do not properly consider family interests, most previous studies (Gamburd 2000; Handapangoda 2012, 2014; Kottegoda, Sepali 2006; Pinnawala 2013) reveal the decision of migration as a collective action of a member of an (extended) family.

The naturalisation process is based on the state's assumptions regarding gender division of labour in a household. As previous research (Handapangoda 2012, 2014; Kottegoda, S et al. 2013; Pinnawala 2013) shows, Sri Lankan women often play reproductive roles in a family system, while productive work is assigned to men. The Migration Policy shows that the state condones this gendered division of labour, or at least takes it for granted. This point of view assumes that it is natural for women to stay at home and engage in (free) reproductive work in a household. If the women act in a different, unusual or unideal way, such as migrating for work and playing a breadwinner role, the state's view of its female citizens is challenged. Thus, the state sees women as engaging in paid reproductive work overseas without taking notice of their duties as child carers and home makers in Sri Lanka. Therefore, by restricting women's choices and capacity to migrate, the state takes a proactive role in encouraging women to behave in a manner that it deems rational.

4.4 The Impacts of the Migration Policy on Domestic Labour Migration

4.4.1 Analysis of a new regulation: the Family Background Report

The SLBFE took new regulatory measures based on the Migration Policy during the latter half of the year 2013. According to the SLBFE's 2015 Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment (2015, p. iv), one important action was introducing the mandatory requirement for potential migrant female workers to submit a Family Background Report (FBR). The state's new policy aims to restrict migration for domestic (and other) work for women with children under the five of age. Prospective women are obliged to report their background information, which includes the following details (United Nations Sri Lanka 2015, p. 24):

1. her marital status,

2. the number of children with dates of birth,
3. the name and signature of a ‘guardian’ (her husband or father),
4. the nominated caregiver’s kinship relationship to the migrant (if the primary caretaker is not her husband),
5. the status of the nominated caregiver’s health status,
6. the proof of the nominated caregiver’s attendance on the visit of a Migration Development Officer and declaration of consent to fulfil the primary caregiver’s role for the entire duration of the mother’s absence, and
7. the following signatures verifying the information provided:
    a. Grama Niladhari (a village officer appointed by the central government to carry out administrative duties);
    b. Family Health Worker;
    c. Migration Development Officer; and,
    d. Divisional Secretary (the final authorisation).

From the perspective of the state, the measures have been successful because they have contributed to a decline in female departures (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2015, p. iv). The national statistics show that the departure of the MFDWs has reduced from 112,752 in 2010 to 73,278 in 2015 (Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment 2015, p. 7). While the state’s evidence is based on national statistics that show the formal aspect of domestic labour migration, Weeraratne’s (2016) study found some evidence of an increase in departure of females outside the registry of the SLBFE. Although this study is far from comprehensive, it does indicate that the restriction imposed by the Migration Policy might not have had the desired effect. Therefore, it is significant to ask why the restriction failed to meet the government’s goal.

As highlighted above, the government will ‘apply gender sensitive criteria in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes affecting migrant workers’ (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, p. 7). Furthermore, the policies and programmes will ‘aim towards the empowerment of migrant workers in exercising the right to informed decision-making’ (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, pp. 7-8). This raises questions. Who are the migrants to whom gender sensitive criteria will be applied, and who is given the role of the informer, and by whom? By answering these questions in the context of the Family Background Report, I argue that the regulations reinforce the domestic gender divisions of labour, in which women are the natural care givers in their family, by limiting the agency of female domestic workers.

4.4.2 The government’s disempowering its female citizens

The main purpose of the policy is to ensure that female migrants make informed decisions that focus primarily on the care and protection of their children. From the state’s perspective, the action

is a firm commitment to safeguard the vulnerable children of migrant workers with the expectation of reducing social costs (Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015, p. 31). The idea of the FBR was originally based on a cabinet paper submitted in 2007 by the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment (International Labour Organization 2015a). The new policy was formally enforced by the SLBFE in 2013. It is important to note that the regulation was first applied exclusively to prospective female domestic workers, but has extended to all women seeking foreign employment irrespective of their occupations and destinations. To put the matter simply, the FBR is not a requirement for male migrant workers with young children. In this sense, the FBR policy can be interpreted as the state's gender sensitive criteria, based on its view of female citizens as irrational decision makers. Because the state views women as incapable of making rational decisions that reflect their proper gendered role in society, they become subject to the state's effort to guide their decision-making through the regulation of the FBR. Although the government aims to empower its female citizens, the power to make a decision is given male family members (husbands or fathers). Thus, the FBR has a disempowering effect on its female citizens in terms of decision-making.

4.4.3 The government's shaping the primary role of women as a reproductive worker

Perhaps more importantly, the FBR reflects the government's view of its female citizens' main responsibility lying with (social) reproduction. The state assumes that the investment in children derived from low level remittances does not outweigh the loss of the mother as primary caregiver. This is an important point if we ask why the FBR is applied to women children aged under five. In Sri Lanka, schooling starts at six (Ministry of Education 2013, p. 22). This means that from the state's point of view, children over six years old need investment from parents for human capital formation. With due consideration of the remittance impact on child development, the government allows its female citizens to play a productive role. However, women are supposed to behave within the ideal mother model in Sri Lankan society. For the state, the ideal migrant is committed to her family and focused on her goals, does not spend money frivolously (e.g., on clothes, taxis, and jewellery), sends all of her earnings home, and does not have affairs with men (Frantz 2008). Mothers with children under five should care for their children at home, according to the state, rather than migrate and earn money. In short, the state sees its female citizens as children's primary caregivers, but allows them to migrate because their children need to be developed in order to become human capital.

4.4.4 Women's limited agency: resistance to the government guidance

The Family Background Report also opens the gate for decision makers to use the FBR to enrich themselves. The enforcement of the FBR at the local Divisional Secretariat level is assigned to the Migration Development Officer (MDO), who is recruited under the government's policy of recruiting unemployed graduates and allocated to each local level. The process includes checking each FBR

and verifying the details through visits to the household in question, visits to guardians' household (if not the same), and visits to the village officer and public health worker. In other words, the MDO is the regulator who makes a decision to 'recommend' or 'not recommend' foreign employment of women to the SLBFE.

Some results are reported in the government report and the ILO document. The annual reports state that in 2015 there were 1,834 cases of 'not recommended', while 69,493 cases were recommended (Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015, p. 31). Rejected applications are to be referred to other auxiliary service providers, such as alternate livelihood service providers, Social Service Officers, Counselling Officers, and Child Rights Promotion Officers. Although no follow-up is made by the MDOs in such instances, the women's actions are documented (International Labour Organization 2015a). MDOs have had to face various pressures and harassment from rejected applicants via telephone, including death threats (International Labour Organization 2015a). It is certainly a difficult situation for MDOs. That said, prospective female migrants' perspectives must be at the centre of the discussion, and the women claim that they need to migrate.

The ILO also documents one of the FBR's negative effects on migrants' insecurity in the process of recruitment and employment. The FBR is reported to have forced many women to seek illegal and unsafe ways of leaving the country and being at risk of human trafficking and smuggling. In addition, fraudulent migration without any pre-departure preparation or registration with the SLBFE is seen to have caused many women to be at risk of abuse and harassment during recruitment and overseas employment (International Labour Organization 2015a). Although the ILO does not provide any statistical data, such as complaints from the migrants in the process of recruitment and employment, the state may have failed to fulfil the policy objective to protect migrants. What the government highlighted in its recent report is that the SLBFE has successfully monitored and regulated foreign employment agencies for recruiting Sri Lankans (Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015, p. 8). In 2015, the government conducted 91 raids on illegal recruitment activities, and 294 cases of legal actions against licensed agents and non-licensed persons who violated the law in 2015 (Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015, p. 12). From the viewpoint of the government, controlling the agencies is an important strategy to minimise migrants' insecurity. However, the extent to which the initiatives prevent security issues is doubtable. This is because emigration occurs within a gap of understanding between the state's interests and the women's voices and demands. While the state attempts to allocate reproductive work to women, they resist it and may hold other development visions.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the Migration Policy and its potential impacts on female domestic labour migration. It argued that the state views its female citizens as filling the gender role of the reproductive worker. It also believes them to hold limited decision-making capabilities, which it then further restricts. This is obvious in the state's gender sensitive criteria, which is exclusively applied to women in the context of child caring and decision making processes. The state's attitude partially influences the regulatory measures of the Family Background Report. Simultaneously, however, the state seemingly sees the women as an important remittance source, particularly for its role in developing children into human capital. The state policy's impacts were visible in the reduction female domestic worker departures. However, the policy may have led to increased informal, undocumented migration by women who are not recommended by the state to migrate for domestic labour employment, which can be interpreted as the women's claim for their own development visions. The overall impact of the Migration Policy and Family Background Report has been to undermine female citizens' freedom of decision-making.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The thesis has set out to examine how the Sri Lankan government has tackled the perceived problems of migrant female domestic workers. The discussion was developed within the conceptual framework of the migration-and-development link. The major objectives of this chapter are to bring together the main remarks in the previous chapters for the purpose of linking migrant female domestic workers and development. This chapter also compares the Sri Lankan government's approach to women's empowerment with the Sustainable Development Goals, a global development policy that came into effect in January 2016 (United Nations Development Programme 2017). Taking the importance of empowering Sri Lankan women into account, the thesis concludes by highlighting limitations in the current knowledge of migrant female domestic workers and recommendations for further research.

5.2 The Migrant Female Domestic Workers and Development

The purpose of the thesis was to analyse the migration-and-development link in the context of migrant female domestic workers from Sri Lanka to the Middle East. In the international policy and academic arenas, the migration-and-development link was mainly conceptualised with two major meanings of development: national development and social development. From the national development approach, the labour migration from the Global south to North has been seen to benefit the labour-sending countries in terms of remittances, knowledge imports, and human and social capital reinvestments. From this perspective, the states play key roles in sending high quality labour with the goals of maximising profits and minimising costs to the state, such as brain drain and international conflicts. On the other hand, the social development arguments focuses on migratory benefits and costs to migrants and their families. The viewpoint has underscored that employment abroad enables migrants to achieve goals that they value. Furthermore, female migration has been seen to have empowering effects on women. Positive impacts have been produced by active migrants and their families, within the wider development context shaped by labour-receiving countries (e.g. administrative arrangements) and labour-sending countries (e.g. neoliberal economic and social policy). Social forces often render migrants insecure, and struggling for their families.

In the case of the Sri Lankan migration-and-development link, similar, but distinctive, discussions have occurred since the beginning of female domestic labour migration to the Middle East in the late 1970s. On one hand, the Sri Lankan state has benefited from labour migration in terms of remittances. On the other hand, female migrants made the decision to migrate with their family in a

position of poverty. Women's engagement in productive work abroad has empowered some in terms of access to and control over economic resources. That said, since the 1980s, the migration process has left workers vulnerable to insecurities in recruitment and employment. Migrants are often in debt, due to recruitment agencies' malpractice, and are at risk of exploitation and harassment by employers. Facing insecurity, some women pay exorbitant agency fees to secure employment, disguise themselves as Muslim to gain better employment conditions, develop dependent relationships with their employers, and seek refuge at Sri Lankan embassies when necessary. More recently, since the early 2000s, female domestic labour migration has been perceived by the public to be problematic, because the migration of mothers is recognised to produce the family and children problems. The public associated social costs with perceived mothers' lack of due consideration of their families. However, academic research revealed that mothers arrange care for their children, often with their female kin.

In order to minimise perceived problems and maximise labour migration, the Sri Lankan government has taken initiatives through policy-making. The thesis identified two major responses. First, the government highlighted skills development as a way to achieve national economic development goals and protect migrant female domestic workers. Empowering migrant domestic workers through capacity development is the Sri Lankan state's response to its relatively weak position as a labour-sending country compared to labour-importing countries. Second, to tackle what it perceives as the social costs of migration and development, the state limits the ability of women with young children to engage in paid domestic work overseas. In this way, the social costs are reshaped and limited through government regulations that naturalise women's responsibility for reproductive work in private households.

5.3 Significance of the Findings

These findings enhance our understanding of the Sri Lankan government's view on gender equality in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals. The evidence from this thesis suggests that the government failed to meet the SDG 5 'Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls'. The gender sensitive criteria taken in the migration policy and programme formulations does not work towards one of the targets 'Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels' (United Nations n.d.). The state's criteria is applied exclusively to Sri Lankan women, and serves to reinforce the gender division of labour between women and men. Furthermore, the FBR has disempowered women in Sri Lanka, in that they cannot have equal opportunities in decision-making.

More importantly, the findings in the thesis suggest that there is a need to redress the narratives surrounding Sri Lankan women as incapable, irrational citizens. The Sri Lankan government sees its female citizens' migration choices as being 'without due consideration of [their] adverse implications for personal and family interests' (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008). This is a binary opposition: the government is a knowledgeable institution, and its female citizens are ignorant people. The representation becomes a problem because problems and solutions are defined by the government. In other words, women cannot present their own voices, experiences and development visions in the policy arena. In the sense that the two actors have different interests and experiences, finding ways to improve communication between them would enable policymakers to frame more nuanced policies, and allow female citizens to negotiate and articulate their knowledge in policies and programmes.

In order to fully depict the experiences of the Sri Lankan migrant domestic workers, it is important to do further research from the perspective of critical development studies. The scholars – metaphysical, ethical, and political theorists, as well as literary theorists – have emphasised the marginalised, poor, and oppressed people in the Global South (see especially, McEwan 2009; Schech & Haggis 2000). In fact, a major limitation identified in the thesis is that few have studied migrant female domestic workers from their own perspectives. Critical development analysis may offer a better understanding of migrant female domestic workers within the development context by focusing on not only gender, but also on other social factors such as ethnicity, which is an important aspect in discussing migration in the context of Sri Lanka. As a multicultural county, Sri Lanka is constituted by a majority group of Sinhalese and minority groups of Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil, and Sri Lankan Moor (Department of Census & Statistics 2015, p. 141). These ethnic groups have distinctive histories, cultures and gender ideologies that can affect migration. Current knowledge is limited in terms of identifying their agencies, distinctive structures and contemporary development context. Further studies need to be done.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu-Habib, L 1998, 'The use and abuse of female domestic workers from Sri Lanka in Lebanon', *Gender & Development*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 52-6.

Agunias, DR 2006, *From a zero-sum to a win-win scenario: literature review on circular migration*, Migration Policy Institute, Washington, DC.

Akanbi, OA 2017, 'Impact of migration on economic growth and human development: case of sub-Saharan African countries', *International Journal of Social Economics*, vol. 44, no. 5, pp. 683-95.

Alvarez, SMS & Sliwa, M 2016, 'Transnational activities of Colombians in the US: A qualitative exploration of the migration-development nexus', *Critical Perspectives on International Business*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 140-66.

Azam, M 2015, 'The role of migrant workers remittances in fostering economic growth: The four Asian developing countries' experiences', *International Journal of Social Economics*, vol. 42, no. 8, pp. 690-705.

Babić, B 2013, 'The migration–development nexus in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Center for Local Development and Diaspora seen 'from below'', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 211-25.

Booth, D 1994, 'Rethinking social development: an overview', in D Booth (ed.), *Rethinking social development: theory, research and practice*, Longman group Limited, Harlow, pp. 3-34.

Castles, S, De Haas, H & Miller, MJ 2014, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Macmillan Publishers Ltd, England.

Dannecker, P 2009, 'Migrant visions of development: A gendered approach', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 119-32.

De Haas, H 2005, 'International migration, remittances and development: myths and facts', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 8, pp. 1269-84.

De, PK & Ratha, D 2012, 'Impact of remittances on household income, asset and human capital: evidence from Sri Lanka', *Migration and Development*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 163-79.

Deere, CD & Alvarado, G 2016, 'Asset Accumulation through International Migration: Gender, Remittances, and Decision Making in Ecuador', *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 51, no. 4, pp. 249-70.

Department of Census & Statistics 2015, *Census of Population and Housing 2012*, Ministry of Policy Planning and Economic Affairs, Battaramulla, viewed 12 September 2017, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/Pages/Activities/Reports/FinalReport/FinalReportE.pdf>.

Dias, M & Jayasundere, R 2002, 'Sri Lanka: Good practices to prevent women migrant workers from going into exploitative forms of labour', *Gender Promotion Programme (GENPROM) Working Paper,* vol. 8, no. 9, International Labour Office, Geneva.

Eelens, F & Speckmann, JD 1990, 'Recruitment of labor migrants for the Middle East: the Sri Lankan case', *International Migration Review*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 297-322.

Frantz, E 2008, 'Of maids and madams: Sri Lankan domestic workers and their employers in Jordan', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 609-38.

—— 2010, 'Buddhism by other means: Sacred sites and ritual practice among Sri Lankan domestic workers in Jordan', *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 11, no. 3-4, pp. 268-92.

Gamburd, MR 1995, 'Sri Lanka's "Army of Housemaids": Control of Remittances and Gender Transformations', *Anthropologica*, pp. 49-88.

—— 2000, *The kitchen spoon's handle: Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's migrant housemaids*, Cornell University Press, New York.

—— 2008, 'Milk teeth and jet planes: kin relations in families of Sri Lanka's transnational domestic servants', *City & society*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 5-31.

—— 2009, 'Advocating for Sri Lankan migrant workers: Obstacles and challenges', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 61-88.

Gamlen, A 2014, 'The new migration-and-development pessimism', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 581-97.

Giddens, A & Sutton, PW 2013, *Sociology*, seventh edn, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Global Commission on International Migration 2005, *SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE GLOBAL COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION*, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Secretariat, New York.

Greig, A, Hulme, D & Turner, M 2007, *Challenging global inequality: Development theory and practice in the 21st century*, Palgrave, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire.

Handapangoda, WS 2012, 'Can Money Buy Them Power? A Re-Evaluation of Women's Transnational Labor Migration and Their Household Empowerment in Sri Lanka', *Women's Studies*, vol. 41, no. 5, pp. 558-82.

—— 2014, 'Is Transnational Labour Migration Empowering for Women? Re-evaluating the Case of Married Sri Lankan Domestic Maids', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 353-77.

Harmes, A 2012, 'The rise of neoliberal nationalism', *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 59-86.

Harvey, D 2005, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Hugo, G & Ukwatta, S 2010, 'Sri Lankan Female Domestic Workers Overseas - The Impact on Their Children', *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 237-63.

Hulugalle, S, Lasagabaster, E & Maimbo, S 2005, *Sri Lanka's Migrant Labor Remittances: Enhancing the Quality and Outreach of the Rural Remittance Infrastructure*, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper , The World Bank, Washington DC, viewed 10 September 2017, <https://www.microfinancegateway.org/sites/default/files/mfg-en-paper-sri-lankas-migrant-labor-remittances-enhancing-the-quality-and-outreach-of-the-rural-remittance-infrastructure-dec-2005_0.pdf>.

International Labour Organization 2013, *Domestic workers across the world: Global and regional statistics and the extent of legal protection*, International Labour Office, Geneva, viewed 12 September 2017, < http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_173363.pdf>.

—— 2015, *ILO global estimates on migrant workers: Results and methodology - Special focus on migrant domestic workers*, International Labour Office, Geneva, viewed 12 September 2017, <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_436343.pdf>.

—— 2015a, *Migration Development Officers – bringing services to the local community*, International Labour Organization, Colombo, viewed 27 August 2017, <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-colombo/documents/publication/wcms_526547.pdf>.

International Monetary Fund 2017, IMF Conditionality - International Monetary Fund FACTSHEET, viewed 28 August 2017, <https://www.imf.org/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/08/02/21/28/IMF-Conditionality?pdf=1>.

International Organization for Migration 2017, Key Migration Terms, International Organization for Migration, viewed 16 September 2017, <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>.

Jayasuriya, R & Opeskin, B 2015, 'The Migration of Women Domestic Workers from Sri Lanka: Protecting the Rights of Children Left Behind', *Cornell Int'l LJ*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 579-638.

Jayaweera, S, Dias, M & Wanasundera, L 2002, *Returnee migrant women in two locations in Sri Lanka*, Centre for Women's Research, Colombo.

Jureidini, R & Moukarbel, N 2004, 'Female Sri Lankan domestic workers in Lebanon: A case of ‘contract slavery’?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 581-607.

Koser, K 2012, 'International Migration and Development ', in PA Haslam, J Schafer & P Beaudet (eds), *Introduction to International Development: Approaches, Actors, and Issues*, Oxford University Press Don Mills, Canada, pp. 437-53.

Kothari, U & Minogue, M 2002, 'Critical perspectives on development: An introduction', in Minogue, M & Kothari, U (eds), *Development theory and practice: Critical perspectives*, Palgrave, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire.

Kottegoda, S 2006, 'Bringing Home the Money: Migration and Poverty in Gender Politics in Sri Lanka', in Arya, S & Roy, A (eds), *Poverty, Gender and Migration, Women and Migration in Asia*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 49–71.

Kottegoda, S, Jayasundere, R, Perera, S & Attapattu, P 2013, *Transforming Lives: Listening to Sri Lankan Returnee Migrant Women*, Women and Media Collective, Colombo.

Lakshman, WD & Samaratunge, RHS 2000, 'Structural Adjustment Policies in Sri Lanka: Implications for the Macro Economy and Vulnerable Groups in Society', in Ruwanpura, KN, Rodrigo, C, Lakshman, WD, Samratunga, RHS, Alailima, P, Sanderatne, N, Perera, M, Kottegoda, S & Jayaweera, S (eds), *Structural Adjustment, Gender and Employment: The Sri Lankan Experience*, International Labour Office, Geneva, pp. 35-63.

Long, N & Van der Ploeg, JD 1994, 'Heterogeneity, actor and structure: towards a reconstitution of the concept of structure', in D Booth (ed.), *Rethinking Social Development: Theory, Research and Practice*, Longman group Limited, Harlow, pp. 62-89.

Matsas, R 2008, 'The global forum on migration and development: a new path for global governance', *J Studia Diplomatica*, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 7-25.

Mazzucato, V 2011, 'Reverse remittances in the migration–development nexus: two-way flows between Ghana and the Netherlands', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 17, no. 5, pp. 454-68.

McEwan, C 2009, *Postcolonialism and Development*, Routledge Perspectives on Development, Routledge, Oxon.

Ministry of Education 2013, Education First – Sri Lanka*,* Ministry of Education, Battaramulla, viewed 28 August 2017, <https://www.parliament.lk/uploads/documents/paperspresented/performance_report_ministry_of_education_2013.pdf>.

Ministry of Foreign Employment 2015, Annual Performance Report – 2015, Ministry of Foreign Employment, Colombo, viewed 27 August 2017, <https://www.parliament.lk/uploads/documents/paperspresented/performance-report-ministry-of-foreign-employment-2015.pdf>.

Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008, National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka, Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare, Colombo, viewed 20 August 2017, < http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-colombo/documents/publication/wcms_114003.pdf>.

Mohapatra, S, Ratha, D & Silwa, A 2010, Outlook for remittance flows 2011-12 : recovery after the crisis, but risks lie ahead, World Bank, Washington, DC, viewed 15 August 2017, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/140741468162857159/pdf/586270BRI0Migr10BOX353808B01PUBLIC1.pdf>.

Moukarbel, N 2009, *Sri Lankan housemaids in Lebanon: a case of 'symbolic violence' and 'everyday forms of resistance'*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.

Nederveen Pieterse, J 2010, *Development Theory*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London.

Pinnawala, M 2013, 'Assertive wife, cooperative husband: changing household power structure and returned migrant women in Sri Lanka', *Pakistan Journal of Women's Studies: Alam-e-Niswan= Alam-i Nisvan*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 35-56.

Piper, N 2009, 'The complex interconnections of the migration–development nexus: a social perspective', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 93-101.

Preibisch, K, Dodd, W & Su, Y 2016, 'Pursuing the capabilities approach within the migration–development nexus', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 42, no. 13, pp. 2111-27.

Raghuram, P 2009, 'Which migration, what development? Unsettling the edifice of migration and development', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 103-17.

Schech, S & Haggis, J 2000, *Culture and Development: A Critical Introduction*, Blackwell Publishers, Malden MA.

Sen, A 2000, *Development as Freedom*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Shaw, J 2010, 'Making housemaid remittances work for low-income families in Sri Lanka', *Development in Practice*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 18-30.

Siddique, A, Selvanathan, EA & Selvanathan, S 2012, 'Remittances and economic growth: empirical evidence from Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka', *Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 48, no. 8, pp. 1045-62.

Silva, KT, Sivapragasam, P & Thanges, P 2009, *Caste Discrimination and Social Justice in Sri Lanka: An Overview*, Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Dehli.

Siriwardhana, C, Wickramage, K, Jayaweera, K, Adikari, A, Weerawarna, S, Van Bortel, T, Siribaddana, S & Sumathipala, A 2015, 'Impact of economic labour migration: A qualitative exploration of left-behind family member perspectives in Sri Lanka', *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 885-94.

Skeldon, R 2008, 'International migration as a tool in development policy: a passing phase?', *Population and Development Review*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 1-18.

Sørensen, NN 2012, 'Revisiting the migration–development nexus: From social networks and remittances to markets for migration control', *International Migration*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 61-76.

Sri Lankan Bureau of Foreign Employment 2014, Safe Labour Migration Information Guide, Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment, Colombo, viewed 21 September 2017, <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-colombo/documents/publication/wcms_233361.pdf>.

—— 2015, *Annual Statistical Report of Foreign Employment – 2015*, Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment, Colombo, viewed 28 August 2017, <http://www.slbfe.lk/page.php?LID=1&MID=213>.

Sriskandarajah, D 2002, 'The migration–development nexus: Sri Lanka case study', *International Migration*, vol. 40, no. 5, pp. 283-307.

Stahl, C & Habib, A 1991, 'Emigration and development in South and Southeast Asia', in Papademetrious, DG & Martin, PL (eds), *The Unsettled Relationship: Labor Migration and Economic Development, Greenwood Press, New York*, pp. 163-79.

Taylor, EJ 1999, 'The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process', *International Migration*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 63-88.

Thimothy, R & Sasikumar, S 2012, *Migration of Women Workers from South Asia to the Gulf*, Galaxy Offset, New Delhi.

Torres, RM & Carte, L 2016, 'Migration and Development? The Gendered Costs of Migration on Mexico's Rural “Left Behind”', *Geographical Review*, vol. 106, no. 3, pp. 399-420.

Ukwatta, S 2010, 'Sri Lankan female domestic workers overseas: mothering their children from a distance', *Journal of Population Research*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 107-31.

UN Women 2013, *Contributions of Migrant Domestic Workers to Sustainable Development*, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, Tailand.

United Nations n.d., Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, viewed 27 September 2017, <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/>.

United Nations Development Programme 2017, Sustainable Development Goals, United Nations Development Programme, viewed 27 September 2017, <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html>.

United Nations Sri Lanka 2015, *Sri Lankan Migrant Domestic Workers: The Impact of Sri Lankan Policies on Workers' Right to Freely Access Employment*, United Nations Sri Lanka, Colombo.

Walmsley, T, Aguiar, A & Ahmed, SA 2017, 'Labour Migration and Economic Growth in East and South-East Asia', *The World Economy*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 116-39.

Weeraratne, B 2016, 'Protecting the Welfare of Children and its Causal Effect on Limiting Mother's Labour Migration', *International Migration*, vol. 54, no. 5, pp. 59-75.

World Bank 2003, *Global Development Finance – Striving for Stability in Development Finance*, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

—— 2016a, 'Migration and development: a role for the World Bank Group', World Bank Group, Washington, D.C., viewed 20 August 2017, <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/468881473870347506/Migration-and-Development-Report-Sept2016.pdf>.

—— 2016b, Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, DC, viewed 12 September 2017, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/23743/9781464803192.pdf?sequence=3>.

Zapata, GP 2013, 'The migration–development nexus: Rendering migrants as transnational financial subjects through housing', *Geoforum*, vol. 47, pp. 93-102.