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NINA TRIGE ANDERSEN

A Philippine History of Denmark From Pioneer Settlers to Permanently Temporary Workers

In 1973 forty-nine women left the Philippines to work as chambermaids at the Hotel Scandinavia in Copenhagen. They became known as “The 49ers” and were among the last “Filipino Pioneers,” as the arrivals of 1960–1973 referred to themselves. In late 1973 Denmark formally stopped issuing work permits for third-country nationals, which profoundly changed the conditions for later arrivals. Since the 2000s a new wave of migrants from the Philippines has entered Denmark on a much larger scale but under more precarious conditions. This article traces the lives of The 49ers and examines the relations between the generation of the Pioneers and the later migrants, illustrating a history of creating labor in motion.

KEYWORDS: MIGRATION · LABOR MARKET · SCANDINAVIA · MICROHISTORY · TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY

From 2005 to 2015 more Filipinos arrived in Denmark than in the preceding four decades, making Filipinos the third-largest migrant group (not counting refugees) from outside Europe and the US to enter Denmark. These migrants obtained visas primarily through the so-called au pair scheme: a live-in arrangement lasting up to two years during which the migrant does “chores” for a “host family” in return for an “allowance.” This article contextualizes these contemporary changes in migration patterns by tracing the lives of the first batch of Philippine women workers to Denmark through life-story interviews and archival studies, as well as situating this inquiry within a wider field of migration studies. Through diachronic analysis this article explores the intertwined histories of the first generation who came in the 1960s and 1970s and the migrants who arrived in the 2000s and 2010s.

Interrogating what Dawn Mabalon (2013, 6) calls “the politics of historical memory,” this article is part of a larger body of research that aims to transform individual and collective stories of Philippine workers in Denmark into history. Wesley Valdez (2012), a descendant of a Pioneer—as the arrivals of 1960–1973 refer to themselves—describes his own embeddedness in such a history of migration:

The old photos of Copenhagen, they're part of my history, but not quite. It wasn't my ancestors who built the fountains and laid the railway tracks. The old photos of people marching against Marcos, they're part of my history too, but not quite. I wasn't born yet, and my parents were here in Denmark. But the other day I was flipping through the 1980 newsletter from the Filipino Association in Denmark, with lots of photos from Saint Anne Church at Amager, from the parties, and the workplaces. And that is my history. This is what I grew up with, this is the life my parents built. My generation is a part of the history of Denmark and of the Philippines, but not quite—our history is the history of migration.

Until summer 2015 Valdez served as chair of the Filipino Association of Denmark (FAD), founded in 1970 by the Pioneers.

This article attempts to map out a tentative sketch of the history of migration from the Philippines to Denmark by tracing translocal relations through lives lived between Denmark and the Philippines from the 1960s

to the present, surfacing a process of creating labor in motion through a reading of the lives of different migrant generations. It draws attention to how changes in immigration rules and labor market organization have structured the different arrivals' social conditions, which in turn have structured the connections and separations between the generations.

Although since the early 2000s there has been a growing number of studies that inquire into the histories of global labor migrations from the Philippines (e.g., Choy 2003; Rodriguez 2005, 2010; Vergara 2009; Mabalon 2013; Aguilar 2005, 2011, 2012, 2015; Mercene 2006; Asis and Battistella 2013), the existing studies are largely silent on the genesis of post-Second World War labor migration from the Philippines to Europe.¹ Europe, however, was the destination of one out of every four Philippine temporary migrant workers in 1975 (Orbeta and Abrigo 2009, 4; Abrera-Mangahas 1989, 5). By 2011 Europe was home to almost a million Filipinos—among them more than 260,000 temporary and around 140,000 irregular migrants (Asis and Battistella 2013, 55). In recent years more studies have started to interrogate migration from the Philippines to Scandinavia, but they primarily comprise scholarship of a distinctly contemporary cut (Stenum 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Øien 2009; Isaksen 2010; Sollund 2010; Cox 2015).

Since the early 2000s domestic work in general and migrant domestic work in particular have also become increasingly inscribed in labor history as well as in Europe's migration history (e.g., Fauve-Chamoux 2004; Hoerder et al. 2015). Studies have been conducted specifically on au pair or domestic work migration (particularly from the Philippines) to Northern Europe, including Scandinavia and Denmark. These studies, however, rarely historicize nor situate the au pair scheme in a (labor) migration perspective—Helle Stenum's (e.g., 2011) work being a notable exception—but rather focus on the scheme's particularities as well as its contemporariness (Andersen and Myong 2015).

This article instead asks how and why domestic work migration from the Philippines emerged at this historical moment, and what this new phenomenon reveals about global transformations of labor movements and labor markets. The interrogation takes as its point of departure the 1960s and 1970s, when Western and Northern Europe actively recruited labor and the Philippines crafted its manpower export policies. From the outset Denmark had been a market for this state-brokered export of labor, and Filipinos have thus provided labor for the Danish economy for at least half a

century. For better or for worse, very limited public or research attention was given to these migrants prior to the au pair boom.² To rectify this situation, this article begins with an overview of the waves of migration from the Philippines to Denmark from the 1960s to the present and explains some specificities of the rules regulating labor and migration to Denmark. After a section on the approach, methodology, and empirical material used, the stories of “The 49ers” are unfolded. The focus on The 49ers—a group of women recruited from the Philippines to work in the Hotel Scandinavia in Copenhagen in 1973—functions as an incision between microhistory and transnational/translocal history, linking events in the Danish labor market, the urban development of Copenhagen, and the political struggles around migration policies with the social and political events in the Philippines and the emergence of what Robyn Rodriguez (2005, 2010) has termed the labor brokerage state (cf. Guevarra 2010).

Three Waves of Migration

In general terms labor migration from the Philippines to Denmark can be said to have occurred in three major waves. Excluded from this account, however, are Philippine seamen employed by Danish-based companies; professionals hired by Danish multinational companies such as Novo Nordisk and Maersk; and visiting scholars or PhDs—although professionals and scholars have seemingly risen in numbers since the 2000s. Thus, this article does not cover Philippine migration to Denmark in its full complexity.

Guest Worker Era, 1960–1973

The first wave arrived from 1960 to 1973, that is, during the so-called guest-worker era of Europe and the early days of systematic labor export from the Philippines, or what Filomeno Aguilar (2015, 448–49) from a Filipino perspective has called “the ‘new’ global labor migrations,” thus placing it in continuity with “the ‘old’ global labor migrations in the nineteenth century.” In Denmark this generation named themselves “Filipino Pioneers” and “The Vanguard of the Seventies.” The latter term has since faded from daily use, and the term Filipino Pioneers is used in this article to cover all arrivals in the 1960–1973 period. This generation includes “The 49ers,” who arrived in 1973 and are among the last of the Pioneers. Many from this first generation had college degrees or higher, but were hired primarily for unskilled work,

mostly in the service sector in Copenhagen hotels and the Copenhagen Airport, although some also found employment in manufacturing industries. In some cases the Pioneers are or have become *tita* and *tito* (aunts and uncles in the literal or expanded sense of elder kin) of twenty-first-century migrants.

Postimmigration Stop, 1970s–1990s

The Pioneers were followed by a second wave of primarily women workers who arrived in Denmark from the late 1970s to the late 1990s. While most Pioneers entered on work permits, or on tourist visas with their work permits secured after landing their first job, the majority of the “middle generation” obtained their residence permit by marrying someone with permanent residence status or with Danish citizenship. This mode of entry was brought about by the immigration stop adopted in late 1973.

In theory the stop ended the practice of nationals from outside of the European Economic Community (EEC, now European Union/European Economic Area [EU/EEA]) being issued first-time work permits. According to detailed statistics available from the Danish StatBank (an online service of Statistics Denmark), 194 out of 232 residence permits granted to Filipinos (150 of them women) in 1997 were given on grounds of marriage and only nine because of work. Nonetheless, many from the middle generation found work in the same sectors, often the exact same workplaces, as the Pioneers. Although from the mid-1970s onward Europe, not least Denmark, increasingly restricted the legal entry of non-EEC nationals, the Philippines remained a supplier of manpower to the Danish economy through new migration channels. While marriage and family reunification became the mode of entry or prolonged residence, employment and the remittance of money to kin in the Philippines remained a central part of the migration project.

Furthermore the immigration stop was only gradually implemented. Filipinos were among those who fell under the radar of the border profiling of presumed labor migrants because they did not fit the popular image of the “guest worker,” for two reasons. Firstly, so-called guest workers were presumed to be men, whereas the majority of migrant workers from the Philippines to Denmark were from the outset women. By 1976, when the number of Filipinos residing in Denmark had surpassed 500, women accounted for around 70 percent of them (Larsen 2016). Secondly, those profiled as guest

workers were primarily “persons of Mediterranean appearance” (*sydlandsk udseende personer*), a description that did not apply to Philippine migrants (Friis 1989, 49; cf. Arbejdsministeriet 1970, 25).

Au Pair Migration Late 1990s Onward

The third wave of migrants from the Philippines to Denmark began in the late 1990s: from fewer than 200 annually in the early 2000s the number of Philippine citizens entering Denmark rose to almost 2,200 in 2008 (Statistics Denmark 2015, table VAN8; Danish Immigration Service 2009).

This contemporary wave of Philippine migration has taken place not on the basis of work permits or family reunification, as in the first two waves, but through the au pair scheme, through which one obtains a residence permit that is inherently temporary and valid for a maximum non-extendable period of twenty-four months (previously eighteen). Migrants who have entered as au pairs can apply for other types of residence permit, such as (a) study permit, which requires the migrant to pay a vast amount of money in tuition fees; (b) work permit, which requires a match between educational merits (as well as recognition of these) and the so-called Positive List (a fluctuating state-managed list of job functions in special need of manpower); and (c) permit on grounds of marriage/family reunification.

In the late 1960s several countries in Europe adopted the au pair (French for “on equal footing” or “on a par”) concept as a formal migration program, though the phenomenon dates back to the late nineteenth century (e.g., Liarou 2015; Dalgas 2015, 41). At that time the program formalized—as well as encouraged—the practice of young Europeans, mostly females, who financed a year or two abroad by living with a “host family”; in return for accommodation and a small allowance, they performed “chores” such as cooking, cleaning, and childcare, while being adopted temporarily into the private realm of the family. For these chores Danish legislation as of 2016 set a limit of thirty hours per week. The au pairs would usually take up studies—which since 2000 consisted primarily of language classes—justifying the program as a form of “cultural exchange.” From the outset the program was also a form of cheap domestic labor, an aspect that seems to have become increasingly pronounced since third-country nationals began to make up the majority of the au pair migrants (Stenum 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Andersen 2010, 2013).

In Denmark au pairing is not regarded as work, legally speaking. Contrary to realities, au pairing is conceptualized as a “family” arrangement rather than a form of domestic work; as such, legislation also bans the migrant from having or establishing a family of his or her own. This program thus restricts the migrant’s use of the otherwise most accessible option for gaining a new residence permit: marriage. If the migrant does indeed find a partner in Denmark during the au pair stay, this is viewed with suspicion from authorities as well as some host families. Until spring 2014 pregnancy could serve as a legal reason for deporting migrants on au pair permits. Although this deportation practice has since been ruled illegal, it is still legal for a host family to terminate its contract with an au pair who gets pregnant, and without a host family the residence permit becomes invalid, effectively rendering the pregnant migrant deportable. In no other sector of the Danish labor market is it legal to end a job contract because of pregnancy, but since au pairing is legally defined as “cultural exchange” it is not protected by labor laws. The temporality attached to the au pair stay is thus related not only to the residence permit that cannot be prolonged, but also to the high risk of becoming deportable. Au pairs whose contracts are terminated or who wish to change host family/workplace must apply for a new permit, which is not guaranteed even if they have found a new host family/employer willing to sign a contract.

Since the 2000s, the au pair scheme has been a Europe–Europe or Europe–US phenomenon only to a very limited extent. Instead the primary applicants for au pair permits come from the former Soviet Republics and not least from the Global South. In the case of Denmark, as well as Norway, Filipinas by 2015 accounted for more than 80 percent of the successful au pair applicants. Furthermore, in the 2010s the number of au pairs in Denmark was four to five times higher than in the late 1990s (Statistics Denmark 2015, table VAN8). Au pair migration peaked in 2008–2010, with more than 6,400 migrants coming from the Philippines alone (Danish Immigration Service 2009, 2010, 2011). This number is remarkable given the small territory and population of Denmark. Since 2010 the annual number of au pair permits has dropped slightly each year, with the total around 1,300 in 2016, of which around 1,000 were given to Filipinas (Danish Immigration Service 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016).

From the mid-2000s onward the new regional pattern of migration to Denmark—with migrant groups from the Philippines being one of the most

rapidly growing, along with those from China and Thailand—has coincided with a global rise in the numbers of migrant care workers. As Aguilar (2003, 138, 145) has observed, “seemingly archaic labor forms” have reemerged in Europe, where paid domestic work resurfaced from the late twentieth century “not as a mere vestige from the past but as an integral part of contemporary social formations.” In many parts of Europe particularly the Nordic countries, as well as increasingly in the US (Chuang 2013), paid domestic work is often employed in the guise of the au pair system.

Approach, Methodology, and Empirical Materials

The sketch of the history of migration from the Philippines to Denmark presented in this article is based on more than five years of research drawing upon oral history, primarily through interviews with The 49ers and other Pioneers and with the middle generation—approximately forty in total—as well as with their families in the Philippines; with young migrants who arrived in Denmark as au pairs from the early 2000s; with organizers and employees from Danish labor unions that have many Filipina/Filipino members; and with Philippine labor officials.

Furthermore, I have collected for an ongoing archival project material from individual migrants and Philippine organizations and community events, such as party invitations, association newsletters and magazines, programs of gatherings, photos, diaries, letters, and other materials from the late 1960s to the present. For instance, the Robles family archive consists of, among others, the diary of Ms. Robles (who arrived in 1971 [fig. 1], her husband in 1972) and letters exchanged with authorities and potential employers in Denmark (cf. Andersen 2016).³

I also conducted a survey from 2013 to 2016, which 257 Philippine migrants in Denmark completed, the majority of whom arrived from the 1990s onwards. The survey consisted of an online version (which is not well suited for senior-citizen respondents) and a paper version that was distributed and collected during Filipino gatherings (such as Independence Day and Christmas parties in Copenhagen) and during classes at a language school located in a Copenhagen neighborhood where many Filipina au pairs reside. Information collected from qualitative interviews with Filipino Pioneers was added manually to the dataset.

The 49ers’ stories emerged from collective interviews I conducted with them primarily during their annual reunions in November 2010,



Fig. 1. Ms. Robles was one of the Philippine workers who had arranged everything before leaving for Denmark in late 1971, and was sure that a chambermaid job awaited her, only to find out upon her arrival that her position had been filled by another Filipina. Photo courtesy of Rod Robles.

2011, 2012, and 2015. Four of The 49ers—those named in this article—were interviewed at length several times during the years 2010–2014, with follow-up conversations in the succeeding years, most often in their homes in Copenhagen and in one case also the family home in the Philippines. The first interviews that lasted from two to four hours were conducted in Copenhagen, October–November 2010, before I visited their relatives in their birth places in the Philippines: Samal in Bataan, Baliuag in Bulacan, Naic in Cavite, and Santo Niño (formerly Ibayo) in Parañaque, Metro Manila. After these visits, I reinterviewed the four women over a period of several years, and this practice offered the opportunity to build trust, and for them to recall details of their pasts, and not least interpret and reinterpret their pasts and presents. These four women have been portrayed at length elsewhere (Andersen 2013), but for the purpose of this article samples have been selected to support the arguments made. Furthermore, I conducted informal interviews, which served to inform the context primarily of recruitment and the first years in Denmark, with others of The 49ers at social gatherings such as a major Filipino Pioneer reunion in 2011 at Hotel Royal in Copenhagen (a SAS hotel opened in 1960 and one of the first to recruit Philippine workers) and at birthday parties during the years 2011–2016.

Finally, the materials for the research project of which this article is part include documents such as annual reports from the Philippine Department/Ministry of Labor (DOL, MOL, now DOLE) and the Overseas Employment Development Board (OEDB, now Philippine Overseas Employment Administration or POEA); magazines and annual reports from labor unions and employer associations in Denmark; minutes from seminars on migration and labor; newspaper articles; shadow reports from ministries; working papers from organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO); and official statistics from the Philippines and Denmark.

By reading the data as forming a Philippine history of Denmark rather than a history of Filipinos in Denmark, I am suggesting a perspective not only of a migrant group or community portrayed in its (constructed) specificities, but also of how the individual and collective experiences and trajectories of Philippine workers who migrated to Denmark—some of whom migrated on to other countries or returned to the Philippines—are part of the history of Denmark and of the Philippines, as well as constitute a third kind of history in its own right. I use this perspective as a lens to view historical transformations within, but not confined to, a nation-state territory. It is a perspective that

simultaneously seeks to denationalize the history of, in this instance, Denmark and the Philippines, and to inscribe the lives of migrants onto the body of national history. It also renders visible the micropolitics of migration history and allows ordinary (labor) migrants to emerge as creators of history as such.

It is a history that is taking place in Denmark, in the Philippines, in between, as well as in places that are neither, for instance, Nayong Pilipino in Copenhagen, and little Copenhagen in San Juan, Samal. Emerging from these migrant histories are also temporalities that are neither present nor past, but are inhabited by people away from places that no longer exist, people deprived of the possibility to stay, people preserving histories that belong neither here nor there. The article draws inspiration from studies, notably those of Benito Vergara (2009) and Mabalon (2013), that have carved out such a third space and time in history, giving priority to the voices from and portraits of localized transnational Filipino communities.

Guest Worker-Importing Denmark, Labor-Exporting Philippines

Between 1960 and 1973 hundreds of Philippine workers arrived in Copenhagen. The exact number is difficult to determine; only in 1987 did Filipinos start to appear as a specific category in the *Statistisk Årbog* (Statistics Yearbook), an annual publication of the Danish statistics bureau. Before 1987 Filipinos were counted under “Asian, others.” The online databank of Statistics Denmark at present allows one to trace Filipino migration to Denmark from 1980 onward. For data prior to 1980 one has to rely on the Central Register in Denmark, from where the total numbers of Filipino citizens officially residing in Denmark are available beginning in 1975. For that year 473 Filipinos were registered in Denmark; by 1979 this number had climbed to 666 (Larsen 2014a, 2014b). From the Pioneers’ oral accounts, however, it would seem that the Central Register figures cover only a part of the migration in that period. Some of the workers who arrived between 1960 and 1973 never officially resided in Denmark, but arrived on tourist visas and worked with or without permits for limited periods of time and then moved on to primarily English-speaking destinations, such as Canada or the US, while a few returned to the Philippines. The practice of entering Denmark on a tourist visa—for the purpose of finding work—continued throughout the 1970s, although with increasing difficulty. One might thus assume that the annual inflow of workers from the Philippines

was larger than what the number of Filipinos residing in Denmark from 1975 to 1980 would lead us to believe.

The numbers may seem small by today's standards. However, one should keep in mind that the Filipino Pioneers went to Denmark before the Philippine government adopted the Labor Code of 1974 and created the OEDB, later transformed into the POEA. In the early 1970s only a few thousand workers going abroad were registered and processed annually by Philippine labor officials. In this context numbers in the hundreds are worth counting, and Denmark does in fact appear on the list of countries served by the Department of Labor (prior to 1974) and the OEDB (DOLE 1973, 18; OEDB 1978).

Filipino Pioneers and The 49ers

The Filipino Pioneers arrived along with thousands of other so-called guest workers, especially from Turkey, Pakistan, and the former Yugoslavia, in a period of large-scale labor migration to the expanding urban industrial centers of Europe. Whereas the influx of these groups of migrant workers has been much studied, that of Philippine workers has been largely left out of history partly because the figure of the guest worker quickly became synonymous with male migrants from certain countries recruited for labor in factories. However, the guest workers of the 1960s and 1970s also counted a substantial number of women, and the workers were recruited not just for the manufacturing industry, but also for service jobs, particularly in hotels and restaurants (ARPLA 1980, 1, 64), not least in Scandinavia. Copenhagen in this period became a global metropolis (however small) through the construction of new mega hotels with Filipinos and Filipinas populating them as clerks, accountants, chefs, and particularly chambermaids, as was the case with The 49ers.

The history of migration from the Philippines to Denmark illustrates that women have long migrated on their own as labor migrants and played key roles as intermediaries who secured overseas employment for their friends, husbands, relatives, and neighbors from their hometowns in the Philippines. In this sense the last decades have seen perhaps just as much a feminization of migration discourse as feminization of migration as such as Laura Oso and Natalie Ribas-Mateos (2013, 14) have pointed out.

Interviews and informal conversations with Filipinas who arrived in Denmark during 1960–1973 indicate that most Pioneers traveled to Denmark alone or in small groups with varying degrees of planning. While some Filipinas had a concrete job offer—which did not always materialize—



Fig. 2. Christina Callos-Madsen (standing right, holding her son) visiting her mother (middle) and grandmother (left) in Naic, Cavite, 1978. Photo courtesy of Christina Callos-Madsen.

others had job recommendations from relatives and friends in Copenhagen or had contacts who they assumed could help them find work upon arrival. Still others just tried their luck, in some cases encouraged by non-licensed recruitment agents in the Philippines. Teresa Diaz (2015), for instance, who arrived in the late 1960s, originally wanted to go to the US but was scammed by a Manila travel agent who did not deliver the promised US work visa and instead told her to leave for Copenhagen where, he said, no papers were needed and everything would be easy.

Among the Pioneers was a large group of women who were contracted in Manila in 1973 to work for a full year as chambermaids in a newly opened modern mega hotel, the Hotel Scandinavia, in Copenhagen. The Danish employer, through a Singaporean recruiter, hired them directly, with the general manager even going to Manila in order to accompany them on their journey to Copenhagen.

“The 49ers,” as the group came to be known, arrived in Copenhagen to a vibrant Philippine community already being created by other Filipino Pioneers. Some of The 49ers had known no one in Denmark previously, as in the case of Christina Callos (now Madsen, fig. 2) from Naic, Cavite, who had been referred to the job by a local “drummer” (Madsen 2010), the

term once used to refer to the private and more or less organized middlemen (Vallangca 1977). Most, however, had been listed by relatives and former neighbors when the management of Hotel Scandinavia asked Filipinos and Filipinas already working for other Copenhagen hotels to recommend prospective chambermaids. Finally, the Philippine Department of Labor directly referred five workers to complete the group of fifty new overseas workers. As it happened, one of the recruited workers failed the medical test at the last minute, and thus the term “The 49ers” came about.

The 49ers were an unusually large group, and they were among those whom Philippine labor officials in 1973 monitored and processed (fig. 3). The Department of Labor sent a Ms. Garcia to ensure that the facilities and contracts were in order, and together with The 49ers and the general manager of Hotel Scandinavia, Aksel Christiansen, she was on the plane from Manila that landed in Copenhagen on 8 November 1973, a snowy winter day.⁴



Fig. 3. The 49ers prior to the dispatch from Manila, 1973. Ms. Garcia is seated on the right-hand side of the staff manager of Hotel Scandinavia, Aksel Christiansen. They left the Philippines as temporary overseas contract workers, but only two returned. Around half of the group has remained in Denmark; the rest moved on to Norway, Canada, Belgium, and Australia. Photo courtesy of Christina Callos-Madsen.

Hotel Scandinavia

The 49ers recall arriving in an old-fashioned city—more like a village, actually—where people dressed funny, living their lives on the periphery of the modern Western world, always two steps behind. However, at this time Denmark and Copenhagen were changing rapidly with rural–urban migration, women entering the paid labor market in large numbers, and influences from global capital increasingly shaping every aspect of daily life, including labor relations.

With its twenty-six floors built in less than a year, the Hotel Scandinavia was modernity incarnated in a 1970s Copenhagen, where a seven-storey building was considered a skyscraper. The new mega hotels constructed in the 1960s and 1970s brought to this remote Nordic capital certain features of new global capitalism such as fashion trade fairs, gourmet restaurants, multinational companies, night clubs, mass tourism, wellness industry, and corporate business conferences (Centralforeningen af Hotelværter og Restauratører i Danmark 1971, 1, 3, 6, 8–9, 12–13, 25, 28). Facilitating these events were migrant workers not only from poorer European countries such as Ireland and Italy, but also from Southeast Asia.

The then very successful and partly state-owned Scandinavian Airlines (SAS) in cooperation with Western International (later called Westin), a US-based international hotel chain, initially established the Hotel Scandinavia, which spearheaded the Americans’ entry into the European market. William Ellis from Western International was appointed CEO (Centralforeningen af Hotelværter og Restauratører i Danmark 1972, 8–9, 11–13; 1973, 5ff, 8–9, 12, 18–20). This new “city within the city,” as the hotel was called, impressed and overwhelmed the local hotel and restaurant sector. “Mr. Ellis has already arrived in Copenhagen,” the employer association magazine *Hotel & Restaurant* announced in the summer of 1972 in a multipage coverage of what would soon become the biggest hotel in Northern Europe (Centralforeningen af Hotelværter og Restauratører i Danmark 1972, 10, 15; cf. 1973, 8–9).

By 1972 Denmark had experienced more than a decade of economic prosperity along with industrialization. Not even the labor reserve—that of women—could fill the gaps in service and manufacturing. Several sectors experienced immediate and recurring labor shortages. In 1967, in response to lobbying by the employers’ association, the government had liberalized

the work permit system and thus allowed systematic recruitment of migrant workers (Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening 1965–1966, 41; Kallestrup 1973). Labor migration was not new to Denmark—late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century movements included, for instance, Polish and Swedish agricultural laborers—but in the years after the Second World War it was combined with a structural change in the economy.

The national coalition of labor unions was skeptical, to say the least, of the influx of “guest workers” and pushed for, on the one hand, expanded rights for the migrants who had already arrived and, on the other hand, limitations on entries and permits. A temporary immigration stop was adopted in 1970, but with wide legal possibilities for dispensations. Labor migration thus continued almost uninterruptedly, while public debate grew louder on job security and working conditions, housing, “social” and “cultural” tensions between nationals and migrants, and employers’ illegal practices (cf. Buchardt 2016). These tensions were exacerbated when an economic crisis set in across Western and Northern Europe starting from the mid-1970s.

The Filipino workers who arrived in Denmark during these years were of course initially unaware of the political struggles they were becoming the object of, and a large proportion of them decided to stay on in Denmark despite the fact that few of them had planned to do so when they left the Philippines. During the yearlong contract in Copenhagen (1973–1974) The 49ers became each other’s closest network of friends and part of the backbone of a growing Philippine community in Denmark. More than four decades later they still celebrated their annual anniversaries, most often in Copenhagen, sometimes with online participation through Skype or visits from those who had since moved to other countries. On their fortieth anniversary in 2013 they went together on vacation to the island of Malta. Although The 49ers are connected by kinship as well as cultural, social or political affiliation to the later au pair migrants, the generations are separated by social conditions of different forms of mobility and temporality, as will be elaborated on shortly.

San Juan in Copenhagen

In the 1960s and 1970s Philippine workers would spread the word to family, friends, and neighbors in their home country about job openings in Denmark, for instance, at the SAS Catering at the Copenhagen Airport or in Copenhagen hotels. In one case almost every household in one Philippine

barangay sent workers to Copenhagen: it was the (in)famous San Juan in Samal, marred as it was by heavy fighting between communist rebels and the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine Constabulary. Rufina “Pinay” Valenzuela (2014) speaks of those fighting years during a Christmas holiday in San Juan, where she was born and raised before leaving for Denmark more than forty years ago: “I remember the ratatatatatata in the night, when this or that house was raided by the army, and only the next morning we would know what had happened, and to whom.”

The fighting has since stopped, and there is now a new church, town hall, health clinic, and school building in her hometown. But Samal has not changed dramatically. It is still a small rural town surrounded by rice fields, with a coastline prey to pollution from Manila Bay, which makes it difficult for small farmers and fisherfolk to earn a living. Most people in the San Juan part of Samal make ends meet by having relatives work abroad, many of them in Copenhagen. It was a former neighbor who recommended Valenzuela for the job as chambermaid at the Hotel Scandinavia in 1973.⁵ Being very young and closely attached to her father—a landless peasant like many in Samal at that time—Valenzuela had no wish to leave home; but with her father ill with tuberculosis someone had to earn money for his medication.

Valenzuela’s old neighbor Benita Medina had been the first resident from San Juan to leave for Copenhagen. In Manila Medina was working in the private household of an American family on Dewey Boulevard, as some Filipino Pioneers in Denmark still called it decades after it had been renamed Roxas Boulevard. On her way to and from work, Medina would stop by the embassies and consulates to look for overseas job postings. In 1969 she landed a job as chambermaid at the old Hotel Kong Frederik in central Copenhagen.

Although a large family with ten children, the Medina family income did not fall short as they also ran a successful jeweler’s shop servicing American soldiers from the nearby military base—later to be transformed into the Bataan Export Processing Zone in Mariveles. But Benita Medina had other concerns. “My mother didn’t want us to get caught in the crossfire or get involved in the fighting,” Angeles “Jun” Medina recalled on a Sunday afternoon in Samal in December 2014, while he and Valenzuela sat on each side of Benita Medina, who at 94 years old no longer communicated much herself. She had moved back into the same house she left half a century earlier. When she visited the Philippines on vacation in 2011, her health did

not permit her to return to Copenhagen. Thus she resides in San Juan, once again, while eight of her ten children have built their lives in Copenhagen.

When the Hotel Scandinavia opened in the spring of 1973, Medina's eldest son Eddie had already been hired to work in the staff canteen. He later made sure that The 49ers would be served rice, not the Danish diet of bread and potatoes that most Filipinos did not find palatable. By 1973 five other Medina siblings were also already employed at hotels around Copenhagen, and, without ever running an agency, Benita Medina recruited dozens of workers from her hometown to the booming Danish hotel industry.

This practice might have been what the CEO Mr. Ellis referred to when he disclosed that Hotel Scandinavia found many of their foreign workers by "exchanging accesses" with the other hotels in town (Centralforeningen af Hotelværter og Restauratører i Danmark 1973, 7). Rather than posting job openings the different hotel managements referred workers internally, often by asking trusted Filipina staff to recommend friends and relatives. The Hotel Scandinavia management—in an interview for the magazine of the Hotel- og Restaurationspersonalets Forbund (HRF), the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, which at the time of The 49ers' arrival lobbied for restrictions on foreign-worker recruitment—deftly avoided mentioning this practice. However, the legal and practical procedures of hiring workers from a country as far away as the Philippines—in the 1970s when communications were much less expedient than today—made timing unpredictable. At times workers would arrive with a contract only to find that others had already filled their position; in such cases, the management provided a letter of recommendation and sent the applicant to another hotel in need of workers (Andersen 2016). It was all part of "exchanging accesses" to labor among hotels in Denmark, made possible by migrant worker linkages with their villages of origin in the Philippines.

Twentieth-century Migrants: From Temporary to Permanent

When The 49ers set out from Manila in 1973 few of them had plans of emigrating—but life happened. For Valenzuela the elders in her hometown, among them Eddie Medina Sr., persuaded her not to return to San Juan when her contract expired. They advised her to entrust the daily care of her father to her older sister, find a new job in Denmark, and keep sending money home. So she did (Medina 2015; Valenzuela 2010, 2014). Josie Høgh



Fig. 4. (Left to right) Josie from Parañaque, Rufina from Samal, Letty from Baliuag, and Christina from Naic at Hotel Scandinavia, 2011. They left for Denmark on one-year contracts in 1973. Photo taken when they revisited their first workplace in Denmark, Hotel Scandinavia, thirty-eight years later. Photo courtesy of Katrina V. Palad (Rufina's daughter).

(married name) from Parañaque, who was recommended for recruitment to The 49ers by a distant cousin working in Copenhagen, fell in love with a Dane and got married hastily before her father back in the Philippines could find out. The 49er Letty Valencia abandoned her plans of migrating on to Canada because she realized she could not leave her younger sister, also working in Denmark, and a newborn nephew. Each had their own specific reasons to change their migration project during that first year abroad, and thus more than half of The 49ers, who the Department of Labor in the Philippines had registered as temporary overseas contract workers, became permanent migrants in Denmark (fig. 4).

The 49ers arrived at a historic moment, just twenty-one days before the adoption of a permanent immigration stop in Denmark, which profoundly altered the character of migration for decades to come. Despite the difficult economic context and legally precarious situation in which The 49ers found themselves when their one-year contract expired in November 1974, many sought ways to stay in Denmark. Because of the immigration stop, they

were not able to prolong their original work and residence permits that had been valid for one year. Instead, they could get a new residence permit by taking up a position then called *ung pige i huset* (literally, “young girl in the house”), a sort of live-in domestic worker. At that time it was still possible to obtain new work and residence permits after two years of legal stay in the country, so the young-girl-in-the-house option was a viable strategy for third-country nationals who wanted to extend their stay after the immigration stop of 29 November 1973. Thus The 49ers and the Pioneers became the first Filipinas to work as live-in domestic workers in Denmark, and decades later the generation of their nieces, on a much larger scale, began arriving as au pairs.

It was not just Denmark that adopted an immigration stop during the 1970s. Western and Northern Europe implemented similar rules that severely restricted the entry of third-country nationals and/or instituted (further) measures of “forced rotation” (Böhning 1974, 1979), which practically closed down options for new migrants to settle, in time creating a permanently temporary workforce (cf. Hahamovitch 2003). Starting in 1973 the oil crisis set in motion the transformation of a decade of growth into more than a decade of economic hardships and rising unemployment in Europe, including Denmark. For every 100 unemployed in 1973 there were forty job openings; a year later, only six; and in 1975, just one.⁶ In 1974 the permission sought by the Hotel Scandinavia management to prolong the contract with the Philippine chambermaids was declined. Danish workers were to fill any available job position (Hotel- og Restaurationspersonalets Samvirke 1975, 21; Arbejdernes Fællesorganisationer 1976, 8).

“We Will Retaliate”

The skepticism that the Danish labor unions had harbored toward shifting groups of migrant workers since the beginning of the century became more outspoken. In 1973 a central organizer of the Copenhagen branch of the hotel and restaurant workers’ union HRF warned against racism:

Ulykkelig den dag, hvis vi, som det ses i bl.a. USA, bliver en slags racister, fordi vi på arbejdspladserne skal omgås gæstearbejderne. Retten til at arbejde, at eksistere, er en menneskeret, uanset race, hudfarve og nationalitet. (Hotel- og Restaurationspersonalets Forbund 1973, 20–21)

Wretched be the day when we, as is already the case in for instance the United States, become some kind of racist by having to associate with the guest workers in the workplaces. The right to work, to exist, is a human right, regardless of race, color and nationality.

When by early 1975 the labor union had been informed that some Philippine chambermaids were now working in private homes while still doing shifts at the hotels, the same organizer changed the tune and started blaming racism on the migrants themselves:

Det kan da ikke være meningen, at udlændingene på ‘ulovlig vis’ ad bagvejen finder vej til arbejdspladser, som dansk arbejdskraft kunne bestride. Det er det, der skaber uvilje mod udlændingene. . . . Man har på fornemmelsen, at visse personer inden for branchen står bag disse manøvrer, med at ‘lagre’ de omtalte stuepiger i den private ‘hushjælp’ i nogen tid, for så at hente dem frem . . . Men vi har navnene på disse personer, og vil følge dem fremover, og skulle de igen vise sig på de bestemte hoteller vi har i tankerne, så skal vi nok komme kraftigt igen. Så er det sagt. (Hotel- og Restaurationspersonalets Samvirke 1975, 21)

I cannot believe that the foreigners “illegally” and through the backdoor find their way to those jobs that Danish workers could carry out. This is exactly what brings about aversion against the foreigners. . . . One suspects that certain individuals within the sector are behind these maneuvers of “storing” the named chambermaids in the private households only to retrieve them later on . . . but we have the names of those people, and we will follow them closely, and if they show their faces in the hotels again, we will retaliate. There you have it.

These two quotes reflected positions in not just this particular union, but also the Danish labor unions’ generally ambiguous and conflicting positions regarding migration. On the one hand, many labor activists favored an internationalist position and spoke out against employer and state discrimination against foreign workers. On the other hand, an attitude in defense of “Danish jobs for Danish workers” prevailed. As unemployment started to rise the anti-immigrant sentiment grew stronger.

The majority of Philippine workers in the Danish hotel sector—except those who worked without permits—had since the 1960s joined the HRF partly because many workplaces in Denmark at that time simply did not accept nonunionized workers. The HRF, however, did not treat Filipinas as members with equal rights. Rather, the union generally referred to them in the member magazines as foreign elements. Although foreign-born workers made up around 40 percent of the Copenhagen branch of the HRF from the 1970s onward (HRF København 1983, 26), the only mention of Filipina chambermaids in this union’s official history—written when the union was dissolved in a merger with other unions in the late 1990s—concerned the “language problems” of having to deal with non-Danish-speaking members and problems with “illegals” (Federspiel 1998, 139–42). Ironically, the union published this official history at the end of a decade of labor struggles at the Copenhagen hotels, in which Filipina chambermaids had taken the lead.

Eventually the HRF, particularly during the 1990s, made a targeted effort of organizing and mobilizing the large base of migrant workers within the sector (Andersen 2014). Lone Søgaard (2015), who in 1993 was hired as an organizer by a newly elected political leadership of the Copenhagen branch of the union, recalls:

On my first day of work, on 1 July 1993, someone at the union office whispered to me: “I think you should drop by Hotel Sheraton. There are things happening this morning.” When I arrived, the Filipina chambermaids were already forming picket lines. They were angry about the way they were being treated by the matron, who did not respect their work and used offensive language. It was only the beginning, during that decade there were struggles in several major hotels in town. Filipinas have always been the easiest to organize, and we doubled our membership during the first years under the new leadership who realized the importance of involving the non-Danish-speaking workers. Soon we had Filipina shop stewards from the hotels elected for the main board as well. Those years were a grand time for the union.

From their perspective most of The 49ers were unaware of the union’s animosity toward them in the 1970s. They could not read the Danish-language member magazine anyway. According to not just The 49ers but

also Filipinas working at other Copenhagen hotels during the 1970s and 1980s, mainly Hotel Richmond, Sheraton, and d’Angleterre, no one from the union approached the Filipina chambermaids before well into the 1980s (fig. 5). The Filipinas also did not consider themselves having been “stored” in private households, as the labor union organizer had phrased it in 1975. Rather, they experienced how an emerging Philippine community along with individual Danish colleagues was willing and able to help them settle despite the difficult circumstances. Some found work in private households through the network of Catholic priests who had welcomed the Philippine workers with open arms, small congregations as they were in predominantly Protestant Denmark, while others through their friends in the Filipino Association of Denmark (FAD). Tove Hedegaard—a matron at Hotel Richmond known as Mother Tove and “grandma” to the children of the Filipino Pioneers—“adopted” some of The 49ers and helped a large group of Filipinas with everything, from finding jobs and housing to making dental appointments and changing light bulbs (Naidas 2012).

The labor union was right insofar as the primary option for The 49ers who wanted to remain in Denmark was to find work as a “young girl in



Fig. 5. Danish and Filipina chambermaids at Hotel Richmond, Copenhagen, 1972. Photo courtesy of Gitte Kabéll (standing left in the photo). Already in 1971 the “guest workers” were so numerous in Copenhagen hotels that the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union (HRF 1971, 3) admitted that the sector would face instant manpower shortage if the “guest workers” reacted to the hostility against them and actually left.

the house” and in some cases take shifts at the hotels as well, as many had financial obligations to fulfill. Few of the migrants themselves were aware that this practice was technically illegal; they were merely trying to navigate their own migration projects through the changing landscape of migration rules and labor market conditions.

From 1974 onward the character of migration to Denmark changed gradually, with the enforcement of the new rules slowly being implemented. The Pioneers continued to invite family and friends to join them on tourist visas, find jobs for them, and eventually, by creativity and good fortune, secure the proper documents. In time, however, the immigration stop profoundly changed the conditions of migration for most non-EU citizens, including Filipinos.

Twenty-First-Century Philippine Migrants: Permanently Temporary

The 1973 immigration stop ultimately made entry of non-EU citizens contingent upon access to a family: by marriage, family reunification, transnational adoption, or domestic work (today under the auspices of the au pair scheme). As such, it could be seen as a monument in the process of the domestication of (labor) migration (Andersen and Myong 2015). Since the 1980s, marrying a Danish citizen or permanent resident increasingly became an integral part of (labor) migration strategies for Southeast Asian women. In pointing out this fact, I do not mean to suggest that so-called economic motives were necessarily these migrants’ sole or primary motives for marriage.⁷ It is merely an observation that post-1973 marriage became the most viable option for Filipinas or Filipinos to obtain legal access to live and work in Denmark.

In fact, Filipinos by the 2010s remained one of the groups in Denmark most successful in applying for legal residence on grounds of marriage. Only around one in six applications was rejected in the first half of 2015, whereas the rejection rate among Turkish applicants was almost one in two and among Chinese one in three, with a total average rejection rate of more than 37 percent (Danish Immigration Service 2015, 12). My own research, backed by statistics on labor union membership, suggests that Filipinas who entered Denmark (or extended their residence permit) through marriage often find work in the same sectors—many even in the same workplaces—as those before them who came on work permits, and like their predecessors

remitted money to their relatives in the Philippines. Thus, as migration scholar Helle Stenum has pointed out, it does not necessarily make sense to speak of “marriage migration,” let alone to make a clear distinction between marriage and labor migration (Andersen 2013, 241).

Despite the 1973 immigration stop, the influx of Philippine workers to Copenhagen hotels—the middle generation—thus continued at a moderate but steady pace throughout the 1970s–1990s. As of 2011 the HRF—now merged with other unions to form the Fagligt Fælles Forbund (3F), known in English as United Federation of Danish Workers—still held the largest group of Philippine members (3F 2011), but this group comprised just around 5 percent of the entire Philippine population in Denmark. Naturally not all workers in the hotel sector are unionized, but the numbers do suggest that since the 2000s Filipinos have become dispersed across a much wider spectrum of jobs than in the time of the Pioneers. During the 2010s the labor union Fag og Arbejde (FOA, Trade and Labor)—which organized workers in the public sector, historically also domestic workers and since 2010 au pairs as well—has come to organize an almost equally large group of Filipinos as the 3F has done. As of May 2016, there were 1,097 Filipinas and Filipinos in the FOA (compared with 1,152 in the 3F), which was more than twice as many as in 2010. Filipinas in 2016 comprised the second-largest migrant group in the FOA (along with Thais, the biggest migrant group being Turks).

From around the 1990s, Filipinas—in 1980 around two-thirds of Philippine citizens residing in Denmark were women, by 2014 eight out of ten (Statistics Denmark 2015, table FOLK2)—no longer primarily found work in the hotels but in the public and domestic cleaning and care sector, as well as various occupations in the private sector, including self-employment. While the scale of migration from the Philippines to Denmark, as well as globally, has changed dramatically since the late 1990s, so has the labor market in Denmark and globally.

This new situation has created tension and division as well as new alliances and forms of kinship among Filipinos and Filipinas in Denmark. Family ties, religious affinity, and other social relations cemented the community (to the extent that this concept is useful) that emerged from the three large waves of migrations. However, the sheer number of Filipinos in Denmark has made it impossible to maintain the tightly knit social structures that the 1960s and 1970s arrivals established. The days when everyone knew

everyone, when Filipinos dominated certain workplaces in Copenhagen, and when most would gather for one single Christmas Party, Valentine's Day, and Independence Day celebration, are vanishing, although there are still reminiscences to be found in how Filipinos enter the labor market, how information travels, and where social gatherings are held. The temporal, legal, and economic conditions of their lives, however, to some extent, keep the migrant generations separate.

Between the arrivals of 1960–1973 and those of the twenty-first century there has been a change in how mobility is perceived and experienced, from having been mostly a privilege, even if not always a first choice, to becoming a permanent social condition in which migrants are increasingly compelled to stay in motion. While the majority of the Pioneers came straight from the Philippines to Denmark, and just a few had worked in another European country prior to arrival, around one out of three from the generation of post-2000s migrants had worked in one, two, or three—a few even in four—other countries before they arrived as au pairs in Denmark. These estimates are based on the survey (online and print) I conducted in 2013–2016 among more than 250 Philippine migrants in Denmark. Moreover, for the post-2000s arrivals Denmark rarely has been the last stop. As of early 2015 more than 50 of the 200-plus au pair members that the FOA recruited during the preceding four years had moved to another country for another contract. However, many maintained their membership in the FOA, either to keep access to counseling that may be applicable in their new context or to help create similar organizing structures in the new country, such as in Norway since 2014 (Gocotano 2015).

According to Statistics Denmark (2015, table INDVAN and UDVAN), the out-migration of Philippine citizens from Denmark was approximately one-third of the in-migration in 2007; by 2013 the out-migration was more than half. Nonetheless some of those who entered on the precarious au pair permit have found ways of staying. The number of Filipinos residing in Denmark thus more than doubled from 2005 to 2015, but in general numbers fewer than 6,000 Philippine citizens settled in Denmark during the last decade out of the more than 16,000 who were admitted on au pair permits (*ibid.*; Danish Immigration Service 2015). It seems that, while the Pioneers were temporary migrants who became permanent, many migrants of today become permanently temporary.

"Branded as Au Pair"

Since around 2004, the vast majority of permits granted to Philippine citizens have been for au pair visas, with less than 15 percent entering Denmark on either work or study permit by 2015. When the au pair boom began, it seemingly caught the Philippine community in Denmark by surprise even though some of the au pairs were relatives of the Pioneers. But the scale and nature of the new wave of migration was unexpected, and half a century after the arrival of the first Pioneers the Philippine community in Denmark found itself in a social reality it did not recognize.

Intensive media coverage focusing on sensational stories of fraud and abusive conditions soon accompanied the dramatic rise in the number of Filipina au pairs (e.g., Korsby 2010). To the Philippine community this exposure was quite a new experience. For decades the Pioneers, The 49ers, as well as those who followed them had been a solid part of Danish society, with the majority holding low-paid and unskilled but nevertheless regular jobs with steady income; they had engaged in labor union activity and played an active role in civil society. Drawing some public attention in the 1980s was the so-called mail-order bride phenomenon, which included Filipinas. Experiences of racism were also not new to the Philippine population in Denmark, but in the mid-2000s the larger Philippine community was confronted with a lasting and extensive exposure that many found to be negative, making some, especially women, feel uneasy. Relevant to such negative attention is Aguilar's (2002, 14) observation from other contexts regarding how migrants sometimes "seek to dispel the stereotypes by engaging in self-discipline" and might even "chastise errant co-nationals in the conviction that the actions of a few implicate the whole and tarnish the reputation of Filipinas as a category."

Jean Gocotano, a domestic worker in Hong Kong before landing an au pair contract in Denmark in 2010, speaks of such a phenomenon in Denmark. She was elected spokesperson for the au pairs in Denmark in 2011. After her contract expired, she became employed as an organizer for the FOA, which in 2010 decided to include au pairs in its membership base. On the relations with the older generations of Filipinos in Denmark, Gocotano (2015) says:

The au pairs are much in focus in the public with cases of abuse, and then the old generation feels shame, instead of helping these young girls. They feel it's ruining their reputation. So they want us to be quiet. I don't understand it. Maybe it's a long process of educating them that this is the reality now. Au pairs also contribute to the society, and they're not going to hide their situation, and whether you like it or not, it's not going to go away. Maybe some from the old generation feel that because they're already citizens here, they are not connected to us. I hope in the future their eyes will be opened.

When the au pair numbers began rising, The 49ers were in their late fifties and early sixties, and many of them since 1973 had sustained their relatives in the Philippines while also establishing families in Denmark. Some worked with Philippine associations and religious communities, both of which had multiplied since the 1970s, and others took part in NGO and political activities for social change in general and in the Philippines in particular. By the early 2000s The 49ers started to have more regular and frequent group reunions. With their children now adults, some divorced from their husbands, most of them had a stable and some even a very solid private economy—it was finally time for The 49ers to prioritize themselves. And then the au pair phenomenon intruded on their plans.

While The 49ers had opted to build their lives in Denmark, such options have not been readily available to the new generation of Filipinas, many of whom have become permanently temporary, some also periodically having to live their lives “in hiding” (*tago nang tago*), under the radar and without protection from labor laws, and in an odd limbo between having to stay in motion and not being able to move about freely. That a growing number of Filipinas also live undocumented in Denmark is for obvious reasons neither well researched nor discussed in the open, but Filipinos from all migrant generations speak of the reality of this phenomenon. How this temporariness and illegalization came about has to do with political and economic transformations in Denmark, the Philippines, and around the globe during the last half century.

Many Filipinas who arrived in Denmark since the 2000s—of about the same age as The 49ers when they first arrived in 1973—have found themselves in positions where they are not regarded as workers but rather are infantilized, racialized, and in many cases blatantly exploited. Some among

the Pioneers' generation feel that the ill regard their young compatriots are met with have “rubbed off” on them, sometimes very directly as they have been misrecognized in public as au pairs—despite them being senior citizens. Josie Høgh (2012) recalls her own reaction to this situation:

I was very troubled by it. I felt like I was being branded as an au pair myself. At the time I was just reading about it in the newspapers, and I actually started to look down on them. But then I started thinking about what I had experienced compared to them, and I realized that it has to do with the way society has developed—it has nothing to do with being a Filipina. It's about the development of society in the Philippines and here in Denmark. I'm able to see it that way now.

When “Filipina” became synonymous with “au pair” or “domestic worker,” Høgh experienced being discursively transformed from a successful and mature woman—working as a senior accountant with one of the biggest energy companies in Scandinavia, living in a big apartment with modern art pieces hanging on the walls—into a servant, orientalized and stripped of labor or citizen's rights. Instinctively she objected by distancing herself from these new migrants and from a country she had left forty years ago.

But Høgh and the other 49ers also had their own migration history to draw on when they try to maneuver within this new reality. They too had been in a situation where their network of compatriots was of vital importance. Since Høgh—having been able to put her education in Denmark to good use—is more of an exception than the norm, the other 49ers had also experienced their university degrees in psychology or their teacher education coming to naught on the Danish labor market, where they were regarded as unskilled workers.

Instead of actually distancing herself from the au pairs, Høgh started interacting with them, for instance at the local Philippine radio station in Copenhagen Istasyon Pinoy, where the au pairs in the 2010s began working alongside the Pioneers. Høgh also opened her home to the au pairs for them to spend some time off from their “host families.” At “Tita Josie's place” and at Valenzuela's apartment in Copenhagen, which has become known to fellow Filipinos—in Denmark and in the Philippines—as a “little hotel,” the au pairs have had a chance to speak freely and organize for better work conditions.

Staying in Motion

Meanwhile not all, perhaps not even most, of the Pioneers' generation have come to the same conclusion as Høgh, Valenzuela, and others from The 49ers. The Philippine community in Denmark is divided by lines not only of class or regional affinity in the Philippines but also by mode of entry to Denmark. By 2016, the old Filipino Association of Denmark (FAD) comprised primarily of Pioneers and their relatives, including Filipinos born in Denmark. Other associations, such as the Filipino-Danish Center, attracted primarily Filipinas who arrived from 1975 onward and their (Danish) spouses. The au pairs also maintain their own groups and associations, one of them being the FOA au pair group and the Au Pair Network (APN), a collaboration between the FOA, the Catholic charity organization Caritas, and the free churches' association Kirkernes Integrations Tjeneste (KIT, Integration Service of the Churches).

Despite ongoing ecumenical work, the divisions to some extent also surface along lines of religion: while the Pioneers and descendants dominate old Catholic communities, second-wave Filipinas and particularly the au pair generation dominate the charismatic and evangelical or born-again Christian congregations. This pattern, of course, has to do with the rise of evangelical currents in the Philippines since the late 1980s (Rose 1996; Kay 2009), which is also reflected in the composition of migrants. However, the divisions are also related to evangelical denominations having been more readily adaptive to the lives of the new migrants, as these have been founded by (temporary) migrants. Two examples are the local chapter of the Jesus is Lord movement (JIL-Denmark) and the Filipino Christian Church Communities (FCCC). Although the FCCC started out as a mission from an independent charismatic church in Quezon City, it has since separated from the parent church and from its base in Copenhagen has expanded into a transnational congregation in its own right, with a fully functioning branch in Norway and emerging branches in France, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain (Osias 2015).

The congregation structures of both the JIL-Denmark and FCCC are to a large extent organized on the spatialities and temporalities of temporary migrants such as au pairs. In JIL-Denmark, for instance, the au pairs themselves do the readings at Sunday service, organize bible study groups (life groups) in the neighborhoods where au pairs typically reside (meaning the affluent

areas north of Copenhagen), and make the church rituals and schedules flexible, thus allowing unexpected disruptions caused by unpredictable work lives. Based on field observations and interviews conducted in 2012–2015, congregation members in the gatherings also incorporate prayers for those who are about to leave (someone always is) and welcoming rites for those who arrive—the “first timers.”

However, many new migrants still seek out the Catholic churches in Denmark, and Caritas has since the 2010s increasingly turned its attention to the situation of the au pairs. But the old institutional social structures and religious practices of, for instance, Saint Anne Church—a traditional Filipino stronghold in Amager, Copenhagen—are centered around the church building in a part of the city where many Filipino Pioneers and middle generations live, but where very few au pairs reside. The church is not as flexibly accommodating toward the geographies, everyday lives, and economic situation of au pairs as are the activities of the JIL-Denmark and FCCC, where mobile prayer and bible-reading groups form a central infrastructure (Andersen 2013, 2015).

Perhaps the most significant feature that structures the social conditions of the migrants of today is how global capitalism is increasingly organized on the basis of labor in motion. While around one in three of all registered Filipinos who left the Philippines in 1976 were permanent migrants, by 2005 it was less than one in ten (Orbeta and Abrigo 2009, 3).

One of the migrant workers living in a condition of permanent temporariness is “Anya.”⁸ Before she came to Denmark as an au pair she had worked for a number of years as a domestic worker in Hong Kong. When I interviewed her for the first time in Copenhagen in 2012, it had been seven years since she had last returned to visit her family in Bukidnon. Her au pair contract had recently expired, and she had slim chances of getting a new documented status in Denmark or any other place, but she had no intention of returning to the Philippines either. Asked what she would do next, she said: “You’ve got to be creative, you’ve just got to continue working and sending back money. It’s all about staying in motion” (Anya 2012).

A Shared History of Migration

Anya was one of the founding organizers of the au pair group that the FOA set up in 2010. The social conditions of labor migrants like Anya are imbued

with a temporality that makes their trajectories fundamentally different from that of The 49ers. And yet the two generations are connected—even if not always willfully and certainly not without friction. They are connected by kinship, inherited and chosen, as well as by the racialized recognition of them as belonging to the same group, however distantly separated their social conditions and everyday lives may be. First and foremost they are linked through a global organization of the labor market and by a shared history of migration.

In Danish labor history Filipinos are also connected by a shared tradition of unionizing against all odds. While the Pioneers and the latecomers finally made their way into the core of the originally unaccommodating hotel workers union and started forming picket lines during the outsourcing decade of the 1990s, the au pair generation from 2010 began to organize the unorganizable: the workers who are dispersed in private homes, whose residence permits are dependent on the goodwill of their “host families” and who are not even recognized as workers by Danish law—and who will probably in the near future depart for another contract in another country. “Some days we gain one, lose one, or gain one, lose two,” as Gocotano (2015) describes the uphill effort. Nevertheless, the new generation of migrants from the Philippines brings in new ideas to a withering Danish labor movement, one of them being a transnational or crossborder transferable union membership that matches the new realities. Along with “Tita Pinay and Tita Josie,” as Gocotano refers to Valenzuela and Høgh of The 49ers, the au pair generation is part of a Philippine history of Denmark, telling tales of a profoundly altered Danish welfare state, situated in a global economy restructured along the lines of labor in motion.

Conclusion

In this tentative sketch of (labor) migration from the Philippines to Denmark from the 1960s to the first two decades of the twenty-first century, I have sought to map the various generations of arrivals by focusing on recruitment dynamics and entry options and how these have affected conditions for migrant existence, with particular attention to laboring lives. I have also touched upon the views and strategies of Danish labor unions on migration in the abstract sense and migrant colleagues concretely. Much more could be said about for instance how Filipina workers have organized themselves

on the Danish labor market (Andersen 2014, in press). In at least two settings and periods—hotel workers’ struggles in the 1990s and au pair organizing in the 2010s—Filipinas have contributed new experiences and traditions to Danish trade unionizing. Philippine migrants to Denmark from the 1960s to the 1990s found jobs in the same sector, often in the very same workplaces, but social and legal conditions changed, contingent upon migration rules and the global as well as local structural economics. The different conditions for the various arrivals became all the more pronounced with the new migrations since the 2000s, primarily of women entering on au pair visas, rendering their lives more precarious than those of their predecessors. Such temporal, legal, and economic conditions have consequences for daily life and social organizing, and while in many ways they keep the generations of arrivals apart, the changing realities also carve out new social spaces and generate new ways of relating.

List of Abbreviations

3F	Fagligt Fælles Forbund (United Federation of Danish Workers)
APN	Au Pair Network
DOL	Department of Labor
DOLE	Department of Labor and Employment
FAD	Filipino Association of Denmark
FOA	Fag og Arbejde (Trade and Labor)
HRF	Hotel- og Restaurationspersonalets Forbund (Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union)
ILO	International Labour Organization
JIL	Jesus is Lord movement
KIT	Kirkernes Integration Tjeneste (Integration Service of the Churches)
OEDEB	Overseas Employment Development Board
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

Notes

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- 1 The majority of contemporary studies focus primarily on domestic workers in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands, which are also the European countries most often mentioned in studies with a broader scope (e.g., Asis and Battistella 2013), whereas Northern Europe, particularly Scandinavia, tends to be left out of the equation.
- 2 Countless newspaper articles have been written on Philippine citizens in Denmark, particularly since 2005–2006, and increasingly Philippine migration to Denmark (and Europe) is becoming the object of scholarly research. But as of 2016 studies dealing with the migration *history* between the Philippines and Denmark were basically limited to an anthology edited by the Filipina journalist residing in Denmark, Filomenita Monggaya Høghsholm (2007) and my own work (Andersen 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, in press; Andersen and Myong 2015).
- 3 Parts of the Robles archive will eventually be included in the online archive Filippinernes Danmarkshistorie (A Philippine History of Denmark). This private archive was kindly made available by Rodrigo Robles, son of the late Maria Lourdes and Reynaldo Robles, who arrived in Denmark in 1971 and 1972, respectively. Rodrigo Robles joined them in Denmark in 1973.
- 4 Those among The 49ers interviewed do not know for sure Ms. Garcia's first name, but she might be Maria Carmen G. Garcia, who later became Chief of Management and Planning Service in the OEDB.
- 5 I based the account of Rufina Valenzuela's story on several interviews I conducted with her in 2010–2014 and with Eddie Medina Sr., her former neighbor in San Juan who now lives in Copenhagen, in 2014–2015. The accounts related to Benita Cargara Medina are based on a visit to her home in San Juan, Samal, in December 2014 and on interviews with Eddie Medina Sr., his siblings Estrella and Angeles “Jun” Medina, as well as Eddie Medina Jr.
- 6 These numbers are based on statistics from Statistics Denmark and the Employment Offices and Services, as compiled in Jørgensen 1985–1986, 63.
- 7 For an analysis of Filipina imaginaries of European husbands, see, e.g., Bulloch and Fabinyi 2009.
- 8 I conducted interviews with Anya, who wishes to remain anonymous, at various locations in Copenhagen in 2012–2013, and since 2013 we had occasional informal conversations at larger gatherings.

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