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Domesticated: Migrant Domestic Workers in Jordan and Their Place in Jordan's Law and Homes

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Domesticated
Migrant Domestic Workers in Jordan and Their Place in Jordan's Law and Homes

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Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinangalangan ay hindi makakarating sa paroroonan.

- Dr. José Rizal

A person who does not know how to look back from where they come from will never reach their destination.

This Filipino proverb is often attributed to Dr. José Rizal, the 19th Century Filipino thinker, scholar, revolutionary, martyr, and *bayani* (national hero). Migrant workers are referred to as the *bagong bayani* (new national hero) in the Philippines. It is a huge honor to embark on this research project to amplify the voices and stories of these heroes. I offer this project to God and to migrant workers in Jordan, the Middle East/West Asia, and all over the world. This is for them.

I thank God for giving me the opportunity to be here in Jordan and the strength to do this research project. As a servant of the Lord, may God always keep my mind and heart open and enable me to become an instrument of peace, understanding, and humanity. In my prayers, I include the intentions of migrant workers, such as the people I have met who have shared to me all the things they have been through. I fervently pray that for countries like Jordan who benefit from the blood, sweat, and tears of migrant workers that the hearts of their rulers, officials, employers, and people may be opened. May their hearts be softened to empathize, humanize, and care for the migrant workers.

My heart and deepest gratitude go out to migrant workers in Jordan, the Middle East, and all over the world. This includes my own mother. She and I immigrated to the United States of America in 2011, and her labor of care as a caregiver is what moves me to do this project specifically about migrant domestic workers—caregivers who are predominantly women and from countries like the Philippines and Ethiopia here in Jordan.

All the migrant domestic workers that I was able to meet from Jordan to Turkey are Filipina women. *Maraming salamat po sa pagpayag nyo po sa akin na matuto po sa inyo pong mga kuwento at karansan. Intindi ko po na sa karamihan nyo po, madami po ang inyo pong pagsubok at pinagdaan. Isang malaking karangalan po na makilala ko po kayo.* [Thank you so much for allowing me to learn more about your stories and experiences. I understand that for most of you, you have been through so many challenges and difficulties. It is a huge honor to know you.]

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Content Warning:

This research paper includes first person accounts and descriptions of gender and race based domestic violence, sexual harassment, sexual assault, and racism. In addition, this research discusses accounts of suicide.

Abstract:

The purpose of this study is to bring attention to the labor conditions for migrant women domestic workers and what agency they have in the workplace (the home of their employers) and the law in Jordan. Jordan is considered as having a model labor law for migrant workers in the region. Officials from the Ministry of Labor have claimed that this makes the Kafala System—a system of labor that puts migrant workers under the care, standards, and control of the employer—non-existent in the country. This study will look further on the extent that this is reflected to the experiences of many migrant domestic workers. It will also cover how Jordan's laws regarding migrant workers' rights have been formed and shaped by diplomatic engagement and pressures from migrant worker sending countries.

Keywords: migration, migrant workers, labour, law, anthropology, women and gender studies

Introduction:

“Wala kang laya [You have no freedom],” Corazon said to me with a resigned smile. “Dungaw sa bintana [You peek through the window].”¹ For three years working as a domestic worker for a Jordanian family, Corazon never had the simple and basic ability to go outside on her own. “Hindi ako nakaapak sa grocery [I never even got to step foot inside a grocery],” she recounted.² She could only experience the world outside of her employer’s house through the vantage view of a window, and even then, she was deprived of that very time where she did not have a day off. Her employers would lock the house when they would go out to make sure that Corazon would never leave. The moment she arrived in Jordan and met her employers, they took away her phone, passport, *iqama* (residency permit), and work permit. The husband of the female employer eventually allowed Corazon to have her phone, but she had to use it in secret without the female employer knowing and can only communicate via the Internet. In terms of her wages, “Hindi ko nahawakan [I never got to hold it],” she said.³ Her employers would send all her salary back to her family in the Philippines, whom she could only communicate with in secret after a long time of not being allowed to do so. Corazon is a single mother of two children who are in elementary school. The last time they were all together in person was about 4 years ago.

Corazon is her pseudonym for this project, which the researcher deliberately assigned. In the Philippines, Corazon was the first name of the first woman president of the country—Corazon Cojuangco Aquino—whose administration brought the re-establishment of democracy following 21 years of American-backed dictatorship under Ferdinand E. Marcos. She was an advocate for women’s empowerment and an outspoken critic of the Marcos Dictatorship. She joined her husband Ninoy Aquino in exile to the United States, who was assassinated in 1983 during his return to the Philippines. She is one of the main figures of the nonviolent People Power Revolution of 1986 that toppled the Dictatorship. During her presidency from 1986 to 1992, Aquino coined the term “*bagong bayani*,” which means new hero(es), to describe and highlight the indispensable sacrifices that migrant workers make to support their families, *pamilya*, and the nation, *bayan*.⁴ She recognized them as the “*bagong bayani*” in a speech she delivered to Filipina women migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong on April 17, 1988. Addressing them directly, she said:

¹ Corazon, in conversation with the author, March, 2022.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Constable, 1997; Encinas-Franco, 2015; Encinas-Franco, 2020.

Tulad ng marami sa inyo, ako rin po ay isang maybahay at isang ina, at alam ko rin na mas nais ninyo, kung maari lamang, na lagi sana kayo sa tabi ng inyong pamilya. Alam ko rin, at naranasan ko, ang sakit ng mawalay sa sariling bayan.⁵

[Like many of you, I too have a family and I am a mother, and I too know that you greatly yearn, if only possible, to always be on the side of your family. I too know, and I endured it myself, the pain to be separated from our homeland.]

Subsequent presidential administrations to the present have continued this recognition of migrant workers as the new heroes.

Heroes

Growing up in the Philippines for 11 years, I remember vividly our history textbook in elementary school. In the unit on national heroes, *bayani*, we have a section dedicated to migrant workers—referred to as Overseas Filipino Workers or OFWs—next to the biographical sections about anti-colonial revolutionaries, Philippine Independence leaders, and World War 2 fighters. Raised by a single mother from the Philippines, I consider my own mother as a *bayani*. We both immigrated to the United States from the Philippines in 2011, and she worked as a caregiver for 10 years in the U.S. having similar roles to that of a domestic worker. Despite the importance of her labor that is physically demanding, the care labor from migrant women of color like my mother and Corazon—the domestic worker in Jordan—is often taken for granted by the society that benefits from them to the point that they are *invisibilized*. This is even though the Middle East is the biggest beneficiaries and consumers of their labour. With the 11.5 million migrant domestic workers in the world, the region where most of them are in are Arab States at 27.4 percent followed by Europe at 20 percent.⁶ In addition, most women migrant workers in the Arab World are domestic workers where 60 percent of women migrant workers in the region are domestic workers.⁷ Compared to commodities like oil and water, it is human bodies, in this case bodies of women, that are commodified in the market of care labour. As a son of a Filipina caregiver, I am personally affected, disturbed, and have witnessed in my own eyes how problematic it is that there is this lack of care for the caregivers from the U.S. to here in Jordan. Last year, I have witnessed

⁵ Aquino, 1988.

⁶ Parreñas 2021, p. 27.

⁷ Ibid.

my mother's health deteriorate to a critical level that stems from years of strenuous labor from caregiving. I went through the pain of a son whose hardworking mother was about to die. And there are many Filipina migrant domestic workers in Jordan who have been through the same subordinated and unfree environment as Corazon has. The invisibilization and lack of recognition on the invaluable presence of these human beings stem from their intersectional identities as women coming from other countries where migrant worker benefiting countries like Jordan have preconceived notions on their roles and place in their societies.

Migrant Domestic Workers in Jordan

Given their significant yet mostly unspoken presence in Jordan and the region, I seek to amplify the presence of migrant workers, specifically women migrant workers in domestic work, through this research. All the migrant domestic workers in this paper are from the Philippines, and they are given anonymity. The pseudonyms that the researcher assigned for each of them are based on the names of Filipina women *bayani*—heroes—and trailblazers to emphasize that they are heroes that especially those benefiting from their labor need to pay attention to. While there is recognition from Philippine institutions—from a migrant worker sending nation—on the value of migrant workers, what is the perception and treatment of the *bagong bayani* in the countries benefiting from their labor like the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan?

In Jordan, Filipina migrant workers like Corazon mostly work as domestic workers. The term Filipina used in this project refers to a woman from the Philippines. The labor that domestic workers do is “care services” for an employer and their household. It involves:

cleaning the house, cooking, washing and ironing clothes, taking care of children, or elderly or sick members of a family, gardening, guarding the house, driving for the family, and even taking care of household pets.⁸

In this research paper, domestic work is equated as caregiving. A domestic worker can be a live-in, which means that she resides in her employer's house, or a live-out, where she has her own residence. There are 75.6 million domestic workers in the world, and 76.2 percent of them are women.⁹ In the specific context of Jordan, most domestic workers in the present are women from other countries where Jordan is one of the destinations in the care labor market as a migrant worker

⁸ “Who are Domestic Workers.”

⁹ “Who are Domestic Workers.”

benefiting country. This research paper analyzes the “shift in the cultural behavior towards domestic workers” in Jordan.¹⁰ Jordanian societal attitudes and institutions have fostered not only this migration path for migrant domestic workers but have established a gendered and racialized hierarchy. This entails that the roles of a domestic worker are delegated to women from other countries, women like Corazon.

There are over one million migrant workers in Jordan (Donovan, 2014). Within this migrant worker population, “Egyptians represent the largest majority of the total migrant labour force (61.63%); followed by Bangladesh (15.66%), and the Philippines (5.37%); then Sri Lanka (4.72%), and India (3.65%).”¹¹ The experiences and predominant industry that migrant workers from these nationalities work in are different. In the 2017 data from Jordan’s Ministry of Labour, there were 210,326 work permits given to Egyptian men and 1,306 work permits given to Egyptian women.¹² In that same year, however, there were 18,884 work permits given to Filipina women compared to 1,144 work permits given to Filipino men.¹³ While most migrant workers from Egypt in Jordan are men, most migrant workers from the Philippines in the Kingdom are women. Doing a study on the migrant worker population in Jordan is relevant especially with their overall sizable presence in the Kingdom. It is important to recognize, however, that the migration path to Jordan is different depending on the country of origin of a migrant worker. This study specifically focuses on migrant workers from the Philippines and Ethiopia that have mostly women migrant workers working as domestic workers in the Kingdom. There is a demand in Jordan for women from these two countries, among many others such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia to do domestic work.

Hypothesis

In multiple published accounts and reports, Jordan is recognized as having a model labour law for the Middle East region that considers the human rights of migrant domestic workers. Despite such specific legislations, this research shows that the migrant labour system in Jordan is still rooted in the Kafala System that gives employers authority of power over migrant domestic workers. Given that a migrant domestic worker in Jordan does not have the ability to hold her

¹⁰ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 127.

¹¹ “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 35.

¹² “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 36.

¹³ “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 36.

employer accountable through the right of resignation, the Kafala System in Jordan impedes the efficacy of any specific legislation to form labour standards of human rights for migrant domestic workers. In addition to being a barrier, this system establishes a power imbalance in the relationship between employer and migrant domestic worker where she is effectively *domesticated* in Jordanian society where her own agency is not recognized.

Diplomatic missions of migrant worker sending countries actively negotiate with the Jordanian Government, especially the Ministry of Labour, and Jordanian recruitment agencies in attempts to establish such standards. This research presents the specific efforts of the Philippine Embassy and the Honorary Consulate of Ethiopia to advocate for migrant domestic workers from their respective nations. With the diplomatic engagements of migrant worker sending countries, the Jordanian state works individually with each country through specific bilateral labour and trade agreements and Memoranda of Understanding (MoU). As a result, conditions of labour for migrant domestic workers are further varied as it depends on the diplomatic pressure of their country of origin. As presented in this project, this results in female bodies being marked with a price tag. Migrant domestic workers are commodified where they are deemed “expensive” or “cheap” depending on the country of origin. This is a further example of how women migrant workers are domesticated in Jordan.

Terminology and Theoretical Framework

In this paper, the definition for migrant workers derives from the 1990 UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families that went into effect in 2003, which it is worth pointing out that Jordan has not ratified.¹⁴ This is despite the fact that Jordan is a country with a rentier economy that has depended on the remittances sent by Jordanian migrant workers. A migrant worker is “a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national.”¹⁵ Domestic work, based on Convention No. 189 Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers, is “work performed in or for a household or households.”¹⁶ Jordan has also not

¹⁴ “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 40.

¹⁵ “International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families,” 2003.

¹⁶ “Domestic Workers Convention,” 2011.

ratified Convention 189 despite it being a member of the International Labour Organization (ILO). Convention 189 acknowledges in its preamble that:

domestic work continues to be undervalued and invisible and is mainly carried out by women and girls, many of whom are migrants or members of disadvantaged communities and who are particularly vulnerable to discrimination in respect of conditions of employment and of work, and to other abuses of human rights.¹⁷

Building upon what international labour and human rights conventions have acknowledged, this paper presents how migrant domestic work in Jordan is gendered and racialized which effectively *domesticates* and invisibilizes the labourer.

In this process of *domestication*, the conditions and context of being *unfree* needs to be understood. Dr. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2021), a Filipina scholar and sociologist at the University of Southern California, defines the state of being unfree not as being prohibited from doing something but being vulnerable to being controlled by someone else.¹⁸ In the context of migrant domestic workers, “unfree domestic workers face the possibility of having either unbearable or tolerable work conditions imposed on them and of being assigned either a tyrannical or a benign employer,” she said.¹⁹ Looking at the relationship of power between employers and migrant domestic workers in Jordan, the paper follows the framework of analysis of Black feminist scholars in the United States. Black feminists like Dr. Angela Davis and Patricia Hill Collins have used the language of domestication, which is a process of dehumanization, invisibilization, and control akin to how humans have domesticated animals.²⁰ In the context of their analysis, it is on the experiences of Black women in the United States where the country’s legacy of racism and slavery have categorized and controlled their bodies to take up the domesticated slot, to be domestic workers. Black feminist scholarship is narrative-driven and underscores the process of control, of putting Black women in the position of unfreedom, based on intersectional identities of gender and race. In addition, this framework also presents the various forms of endurance and even resistance that Black women in the position of unfreedom undertook and undertake. With this particular method of looking at power dynamics and relationship of control, this paper recognizes that

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Parreñas, 2021, p. 12.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Collins, 2000; Davis 1981.

migrant domestic workers in Jordan endure unfreedom where the process of domestication stems from societal perceptions on gender and race.

Literature Review:

Within advocacy for and scholarship about migrant domestic workers, there is an overall acknowledgement of Jordan's distinct place in the Arab World in its efforts to include migrant domestic workers in its labour law. According to Tamkeen, a Jordanian NGO advocating for the rights of refugees and migrant workers, "Jordan became the first country in the Middle East to approve the United Standard Contract, a special work contract that addresses the category of domestic workers to assure their protection."²¹ In her book *Unfree: Migrant Domestic Work in Arab States*, Dr. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2021) specifically identified Jordan's passage of the United Standard Contract in 2003 in addition to an amendment in its labour law in 2009 where domestic workers were included. *Unfree* presents an ethnographic account of Filipina migrant domestic workers in the Middle East, specifically in the United Arab Emirates which has about 200,000 migrant domestic workers from the Philippines alone.²² Comparing Arab countries like the UAE to Jordan, migrant domestic workers in Jordan have rights and protections explicitly written in the labor law such as having "a maximum of 10 hours of work per day, a minimum of 8 continuous hours of rest per day, a weekly rest day, and regular salary payments."²³ In Parreñas' (2021) own research, "Jordan offers the most progressive rules and regulations for domestic workers in the region, as it remains the only country that has incorporated them under its national labour law."²⁴

On paper, Jordan appears to be the model migrant worker benefiting nation in the Middle East for specifically acknowledging the existence and protection of migrant domestic workers, most of whom if not all are women in the Kingdom. However, the existence of the *Kafala System* in Jordan where "the migrant worker is bound with an absolute subordination to the employer for the duration of the contract" undermines the specific workplace-related protections for migrant

²¹ "Invisible Women," 2015, p. 56.

²² Dajani, 2017.

²³ Parreñas, 2021, pp. 185-186.

²⁴ Ibid.

domestic workers (2015, 50).²⁵ It is also worth highlighting that Jordan, while a member of the International Labour Organization (ILO), has not ratified Convention No. 189.²⁶ To fully comprehend the experiences of migrant domestic workers in Jordan and the Middle East, there needs to be an understanding of the Kafala System that outlines the relationship between employer and migrant worker employee.

Kafala System

Embedded in a series of laws, societal norms, and attitudes, the Kafala System (نظام الكفالة) by definition puts migrant workers under the control of employers. 25 million migrants in the region are under Kafala, and it is especially “in force” in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in countries like Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.²⁷ In Jordan, for instance, all migrant workers have a *kafeel*, sponsor, who is responsible for guaranteeing the employee’s work and residency (*Iqama*) permits.²⁸ With her ethnographic study of migrant domestic workers in the United Arab Emirates, Parreñas (2021) investigated that “under the Kafala, employers are the primary assessors and administrators of the law. In other words, the ‘employer’s word is virtually law’ in their households” (2021, 7). Azhari (2017) stated that the premise of Kafala is to help “the authorities to monitor migrant workers through their sponsors” (64). In Saudi Arabia, for example, “a Saudi citizen can request for a foreign worker to come and to work for them, and in return, the *kafil* (*kafeel*) must be responsible for the worker as guarantee for the government” (Azhari 2017, 64). In its application within the labor systems of Middle East countries, Kafala only applies to citizen employers and non-citizen—foreign—employees. Such a system does not apply between citizen employers and citizen employees. It is a means to regulate, effectively control, foreign laborers.

The implication of the Kafala as this defined relationship of control strays away from the very root of what Kafala means. In Arabic, *Kafala* (كفالة) derives from the three consonant root *k-f-l* (ك-ف-ل) where words that are based on them could mean “to provide for, to be responsible for,

²⁵ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 50.

²⁶ “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 42.

²⁷ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 50.

²⁸ Frantz, 2013, p. 1072; “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 51.

or to be the legal guardian.”²⁹ Azhari (2017) presented that the term Kafala specifically means “guarantee” that is used in Islamic tradition where:

In the Sunnah, for example, the Prophet was reported using the word *kafāla* to refer to the good deed of sponsoring and guarantying the welfare of an orphan, which would result in being rewarded by existing side by side with the Prophet (in his company) in heaven.³⁰

From its origin, Kafala was never intended to be a form or system of control and dominance over another human being or a human being from a different nationality. Azhari (2017) described that in *fiqh*, Islamic Jurisprudence, Kafala basically describes the guarantee that the *kafeel* and the sponsored “will be united in the same burden and pact.”³¹ The sponsor, or *kafeel*, is on equal terms with the sponsored in addition to the sponsor being obligated to offer kindness to another human being. In fact, in the context of Jordan and its roots in Bedouin communities, Kafala was a term “used to describe Bedouin hospitality and their treatment towards foreign guests.”³² The Kafala System as it pertains to the power dynamic between employer and migrant worker developed in the 1950s when oil was discovered in parts of the Middle East.³³ But compared to the original concept of Kafala, this system does not exactly guarantee the welfare and well-being of migrant workers.

Migrant domestic workers in countries that have the Kafala System—most notably Saudi Arabia and the GCC—are subject to the control of their employer where labor conditions vary depending on who the sponsor is. As Parreñas (2021) stated, “it is the arbitrary authority of employers under the *kafala* that subjects them to inconsistent labor standards and thereby renders them vulnerable to abuse.”³⁴ In this system that gives sponsors arbitrary authority over migrant workers, it establishes “a non-equal relationship between the employer and employee.”³⁵ The Kafala System is so prevalent in the Middle East that in the case of the Philippines, government mandatory pre-departure courses and training for those who are going to be migrant domestic workers are informed of their inferior position within Kafala. In the Philippines’ Comprehensive

²⁹ Azhari, 2017, p. 63.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 50.

³³ Azhari, 2017, p. 63; “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 50.

³⁴ Parreñas, 2021, p. 5.

³⁵ “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 105.

Pre-Departure Education Program for Household Service Workers (CPDEP), prospective migrant domestic workers are made aware of:

their limited rights and the fact that their employers may ban them from using a cellular phone, deny them access to the Internet, constrain their “day off” to a rest day confined in the home, restrict their communication with the outside world including friends and family in the Philippines, and limit their food options.³⁶

Parreñas (2021) attended the mandatory pre-departure programs for migrant domestic workers heading to Arabi States where she noted that prospective workers were also warned “of the likelihood that they would encounter rape and sexual assault and harassment.”³⁷ One can argue—and proponents of the Kafala System have—that the control that employers have over migrant domestic workers need not result in these forms of abuse and violence. Not all employers intend to commit harm on workers from other countries. Nevertheless, the system of Kafala allows for the existence of employers who do so.

Many discourses about the Kafala System have condemned it as a form of institutionalized slavery. Frantz (2013) argued that Kafala “serves to suppress workers’ bargaining power and wages and creates labour relations which can be categorized as unfree.”³⁸ The Jordanian human rights NGO Tamkeen (2015) stated that “strengthening the granting full responsibility to the employer through the *kafala* system instills the principle of slavery that breeds control mechanisms of limiting the domestic worker’s freedom of movement within the family.”³⁹ In a UN Women policy paper titled Gender, Migration, and Development in the Philippines, Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon (2015) identified the Kafala System as “a usual culprit in rights violations of migrants.”⁴⁰ It is important to note that there is no actual policy or laws called Kafala.⁴¹ Instead, it is “a series of administrative practices, laws, and regulations” that make up a sponsorship system that places power over citizen employers to hire, retain, and remove foreign workers.⁴² Parreñas (2021) offered a nuanced perspective where the focus of her book *Unfree* is about the “absence of

³⁶ Parreñas, 2021, p. 5.

³⁷ Parreñas, 2021, p. 71.

³⁸ Frantz, 2013, p. 1072.

³⁹ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 70.

⁴⁰ Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon, 2015, p. 53.

⁴¹ Azhari, 2017; Frantz, 2013; “Invisible Women,” 2015,

⁴² Frantz, 2013, p. 1077.

labour standards in domestic work” within the Kafala System.⁴³ This results in “cultures of dehumanization, infantilization, and recognition of the humanity of domestic workers.”⁴⁴ The findings of this project show that the Kafala System exists in Jordan where migrant domestic workers can be dehumanized, infantilized, or recognized as human beings with agency depending on who the employer is.

While certain protections for migrant domestic workers are inscribed in Jordan’s labor law, the system of labor is inherently unfree for migrant domestic workers in the Kingdom. One of the main hallmarks of the Kafala System is that employees do not have the right to resign on their own.⁴⁵ Migrant domestic workers in Jordan, as presented in this project, cannot resign without the approval of both their current and prospective employers. For migrant domestic workers in the Kingdom, the concept of labour standards which is the foundation of fostering a professional and productive relationship between employer and employee does not exist. Instead, the conditions of labour vary depending on the specific employer. The “absence of labour standards in domestic work” is how migrant domestic workers are domesticated. Parreñas (2021) offered a helpful framework on how to go about understanding this labor system; to see it as “a relation and not a structure.”⁴⁶ The Kafala System is a structure of power and control, but it also influences the relationship between citizen employer and migrant worker. Given that the workplace of a migrant domestic worker is also the home of her employer and could also be her home if she is a live-in, the relationship between employer and employee in this environment is unique, especially with Kafala that gives employers control and responsibility over a migrant worker. This is where migrant domestic workers become domesticated where in this relationship, they are expected to be workers but not agents of their own rights.

Gendered and Racialized Labor

This master and servant relationship where migrant domestic workers are *domesticated* is not unique to Jordan or the Middle East. Within Black feminist scholarship in the U.S., there is extensive literature on amplifying the narratives of Black women where in a racially stratified

⁴³ Parreñas, 2021, p. 150.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ “The Right to Resign for Migrant Workers,” 2021.

⁴⁶ Parreñas, 2021, 17.

society like the United States, the occupations that they were allowed in after the Civil War (1865-1868) was in domestic work. The Civil War was fought over slavery where 11 states in the South broke away from the U.S. to preserve and continue the practice of enslaving Black people. With the South/Confederacy defeated in this war, slavery was officially abolished in the country with the passage of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The period of Reconstruction that came after the Civil War introduced legislations that acknowledged the equality of law for all Americans regardless of race. But the culture of white supremacy in addition to the patriarchy continued to (and continues to in the present day) pervade American society where many women of color, especially Black women, endure unfree labor and this relationship of domestication. This research on migrant domestic workers in Jordan incorporates Black feminism framework when looking at the relationship between employer and migrant worker because it is shaped by societal perceptions on gender and race. The gendered and racialized views and notions of Black women in domestic work in the United States that Black feminist scholars documented and analyzed parallels how migrant domestic workers are perceived in Jordan and in the region.

For example, one important aspect of the *domestication* of migrant domestic workers is their dehumanization where in the relationship between employer and employee, the migrant domestic worker is only expected to be a worker and not as a human agent of her own rights and desires. In her book *Black Feminist Thought*, Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins cited the influential 1937 work *Their Eyes Were Watching God* by Black anthropologist and scholar Zora Neale Hurston where Hurston included a statement from an elderly African American woman named Nanny who stated that Black women are the “mules uh de world.”⁴⁷ According to Collins (2000), “One core theme in U.S. Black feminist thought consists of analyzing Black women’s work, especially Black women’s labor market victimization as ‘mules.’”⁴⁸ In the experience of Black women in American history, white supremacy and anti-Black racism have dehumanized them where the identity of being Black and a woman is associated with the work of a servant, a domestic worker. Collins stated (2000) that “work as alienated labor can be economically exploitative, physically demanding, and intellectually deadening—the type of work long associated with Black women’s status as ‘mule.’”⁴⁹ This aspect of dehumanization where an

⁴⁷ Collins, 2000, p. 45.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Collins, 2000, p. 48.

individual is alienated where they are associated with labour based on their gender and race and ethnicity resonates with the experiences of migrant domestic workers. Anthropologist Nicole Constable (1997) wrote an ethnography of Filipina migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong. She described this very process of dehumanization:

The domestic worker is marketed as though she were an inanimate household appliance: she comes in various models, goes on sale, includes a warranty, and can easily be replaced if the customer is not satisfied. Like a washing machine or a refrigerator, a domestic worker has little say about the household she is delivered to or the job she is expected to perform, nor is the salesperson, except in rare instances, particularly concerned about the product once it has left the shop.⁵⁰

And this act of dehumanization is influenced by how a migrant worker benefiting society perceives both the role of women and people of a particular race and ethnicity. In the U.S. with its legacy of slavery and white supremacy, Black women historically were associated with domestic work and were thus made to work in this sector and barriers were placed to prevent the mobility of Black women to different sectors of work. Paying close attention to perceptions of race and gender in Jordan and the Middle East, domestic work in the country and region is gendered and racialized where it is associated with women migrant workers from countries like the Philippines and Ethiopia.

For a human being to be treated like a domestic animal, a mule, the process of domestication is also invisibilization. In their UN Women policy paper, Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon (2015) underscored the importance of recognizing the “feminization of migration.”⁵¹ In the case of the Philippines, which has “one of the most active migration flows in the world,” 60 percent of land-based migrant workers that have been hired from the Philippines from 2001 to 2010 are women.⁵² Domestic work, given its association as a role for women of a particular race and ethnicity, “remains invisible and is undervalued.”⁵³ This process of invisibilization is something that Black feminist scholars have analyzed in the context of the experiences of Black women in the U.S. According to Black feminist scholar Dr. Angela Davis (1981), 59.5 percent of employed Black women were domestic workers according to the 1940

⁵⁰ Constable, 1997, p. 62.

⁵¹ Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon, 2015, p. 1.

⁵² Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon, 2015, p. 7.

⁵³ Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon, 2015, p. 36.

census.⁵⁴ (103). Yet, she stated that “white women—feminists included—have revealed a historical reluctance to acknowledge the struggles of household workers” (101). And the reason for this all goes back to race and gender where domestic work is categorized as inferior labour to be taken up by the group deemed to be at the bottom of American society—Black women.

In the case of Jordan and the Middle East, that would be women migrant workers from places like Philippines and Ethiopia. What is not often recognized in this context is that because of the demand for domestic work and the societal notions that it is work deemed for women from other countries, women migrant workers who fill up this slot “enable women [citizens] to work, thereby expanding the labor force participation, employment and productivity in migrant receiving states.”⁵⁵ This pattern where the advocacy of the empowerment of women of a privileged group comes at the expense of putting other women to fill up the domesticated slot has been identified by Black feminist scholars like Davis. In conducting this research, the framework of Black feminism is applied where there is attention and affirmation of humanity given on the narratives of migrant domestic workers.

Methodology:

This project has identified the following stakeholder groups pertaining to migrant domestic workers and those that benefit from their labour. Beginning with the stakeholders from a migrant worker sending country, they are: migrant domestic workers, their families, recruitment agencies where migrant workers enter the labour export market, the government, diplomatic missions, and cultural and religious community groups in the destination country. For a migrant worker benefiting country, the stakeholders are: employers, their families, recruitment agencies where employers hire migrant workers in the labour import market, and the government. In addition, there are civil society organizations who work hand in hand with IGOs to assess labour conditions and advocate for the human rights of labourers. With the transnational phenomenon of feminized migration, there are many key players involved who form this network that reflects how established it is. The researcher was able to interview migrant domestic workers who are from the Philippines, Filipino community and religious groups in Jordan, the Philippine Embassy, Philippine Overseas Labor Office (POLO), the Philippines’ Overseas Workers Welfare

⁵⁴ Davis, 1981, p. 103.

⁵⁵ Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon, 2015, pp. 35-36.

Administration (OWWA), the Honorary Consulate of Ethiopia in Jordan, Tamkeen, UN International Organization for Migration (IOM), employers, and a former Minister of Labour in Jordan.

Incorporating ethnographic research methods, the research process for this project commenced in October 2021 when I started reaching out to the Philippine Embassy in Amman, Jordan. Along with my Independent Study Project for the SIT Jordan program, I am also working on my senior thesis that is due in March 2023 that is also about migrant domestic workers in the Kingdom. Along with the significant presence of migrant domestic workers, I chose Jordan to be my particular field site because at Harvard College, the only study abroad programs that the College approved in the Middle East are SIT Jordan and a program based in Jerusalem. Anticipating that I am going to be in Jordan and the Middle East region for several months starting in January 2022, I began conversing with high-ranking Philippine diplomats like Consul General Elmer G. Cato from the Philippine Consulate General in New York who has held diplomatic posts in Libya and Iraq and has extensive knowledge and connections within the Middle East. Consul General Cato was the first person I spoke with who brought up the Kafala System, and he introduced me via a formal letter to Philippine Ambassador to Jordan Akmad A. Sakkam. In addition, my uncle Oliver Ong, the Chief Financial Officer in the Philippine Embassy in Ankara, Turkey, connected me to the Embassy in Amman as well as to personnel at the Philippine Embassies in Syria and in Tel Aviv. Through these connections, I was able to have access to the Philippine Embassy as well as the POLO, OWWA, and the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs' (DFA) Office of Middle East and African Affairs (OMEAA). I was able to do on site fieldwork for this project starting in early February.

Officials among these governmental and diplomatic institutions from a major migrant worker sending country have allowed me to meet them, include their insights in this project, and attend relevant meetings and discussions. In addition, OMEAA has shared relevant readings and policy reports for my research. One of the research methods I utilize in this project is discursive analysis and archival work where my fieldwork is shaped by what has been studied, covered, or talked about in Jordan regarding the presence of migrant domestic workers. I was able to find past news reports and journal articles that show that there is coverage of migrant domestic workers in Jordan primarily around the issues of labour abuse and migrant domestic workers who leave their employers.

My process of discursive analysis has allowed me to enter and observe the online community of migrant domestic workers. I am a member of 14 Facebook groups where migrant domestic workers in Jordan can connect with each other and prospective employers can put out hiring notices. One of these groups, “Housekeeping Filipino Ofw in Amman,” has about 13.8 thousand members. It is a private group where people need to be approved by the admin, the people who formed this particular Facebook group. I go through the posts and comments in these groups and make observations on the various common subjects of discussion. Most of the Facebook groups that I am a member of are specifically for Filipina migrant domestic workers. But it is interesting that members of these groups who post and comment with other posts do not necessarily have to be Filipino migrant workers or prospective Jordanian employers. For example, in the aforementioned “Housekeeping Filipino Ofw in Amman” Facebook group, people with African ethnicity—based on their profile pictures—would also post and even comment to prospective Jordanian employer’s post looking for a domestic worker. Acknowledging the presence of migrant domestic workers in Jordan from other countries in addition to the Philippines, I am also a member of the 1.1 thousand-member Facebook group titled “GHANA-AMMAN Domestic help,Maid,Babysitter, Caregiver” with a profile image of a smiling Black woman with an apron cleaning a bath tub.

It is in these Facebook groups where I was able connect with migrant domestic workers as well as a Jordanian employer of a migrant domestic worker. One of my posts was written in the Tagalog language where I introduced myself, my research about migrant workers specifically in domestic work, an open invitation for people who are interested in having their insights included in my research to reach out to me, the methods of my research where migrant workers will be anonymous unless they requested not to be, and my contact information. A similar post was made in the English language and was posted in the “Expats in Amman” and in the aforementioned group for migrant domestic workers in Ghana. People commented in my posts and direct messaged me. It is through entering and introducing myself in the online community of migrant workers and their employers that I was able to meet migrant domestic workers and their communities in person. Albeit all the migrant domestic workers that have reached out to me are from the Philippines.

Ethical Considerations

In the discourse on the gendered and racialized labour of migrant domestic workers, there tends to be, according to Parreñas (2021), a “politics of shame.”⁵⁶ There is interest and coverage in researching and advocating for migrant domestic workers in response usually to cases of abuse and exploitation and the unequal and disadvantaged relationship that they are in with employers. In such coverage, their bodies become “sites of contestation and discipline” where they are portrayed in this pitiful, shameful state of helpless people without any agency. There is this tendency in social science research to gravitate towards “pain narratives” where researchers would recognize the humanity of their interlocutors to the extent of how victimized they are.⁵⁷ In this research approach, women migrant domestic workers are humanized because they are victimized. In this research, I engage in what Tuck and Yang would refer to as “refusal” in this predominant form of “settler colonial knowledge” that “domesticates, denies, and dominates.”⁵⁸ I consider it unethical and refuse to do research that only builds on the trauma and suffering of migrant domestic workers. As a researcher, the ethics of this project aims to decolonize the predominant research methods in the field of anthropology, social sciences, and migration studies that see the worth of communities to be studied based on their suffering.

Interviews conducted for this project are structured with the purpose of valuing the presence of migrant domestic workers. Interviews took place at the preferred meeting place of my interlocutors that they choose. Doing this alleviates the burden of participation for this project, especially with migrant domestic workers whose level of mobility may be limited in Jordan given a wide array of circumstances. For the people I have interacted who are from the Philippines, my interviews and engagement with them were done mostly in the Tagalog language and a mix of Tagalog and English which is known as “Taglish” within the Filipino community. I am a native Tagalog speaker, which is one of the most common and understandable languages in the Philippines. The interviews are semi-structured where I have a set of questions specific to the affiliation of my interlocutor. There are six sets of questions to correspond with migrant domestic workers, diplomats from migrant worker sending countries, intergovernmental organizations, employers of migrant domestic workers, Jordanian recruitment agencies, and Jordan’s Ministry of Labour (See Appendix 1). For this project, I was able to interview three current migrant domestic

⁵⁶ Parreñas, 2021, p. 285.

⁵⁷ Tuck and Yang, 2014, p. 228.

⁵⁸ Tuck and Yang, 2014, p. 235.

workers and one former migrant domestic worker who are all from the Philippines. I was also able to speak with and enter the homes of two employers who have Filipina domestic workers. I interviewed Dr. Jawad Anani who was the former Minister of Labour in Jordan. Through the assistance and support of SIT, a formal letter of outreach was delivered to the Ministry of Labour requesting to interview the appropriate personnel to respond to my research questions. The Ministry declined to offer their insights on this project. Officials from IOM, the Philippine Embassy in Jordan, POLO, OWWA, and the Honorary Consulate of Ethiopia were also interviewed. In total, 14 people were interviewed for this paper.

In all these interviews, I was cognizant of the pitfalls of researchers framing their conversations around pain narratives. Most of the questions were open-ended where my interlocutors can discuss what they personally want and comfortable sharing around the topic of migrant domestic workers in Jordan. The interviews were semi-structured that further allowed interlocutors to have agency in the interview process. In my interviews, I asked follow up questions that may not necessarily be on my pre-planned questions to allow my interlocutors to expound upon their shared insights and stories. With migrant domestic workers that I have interviewed, I continue communicating with them after an interview through weekly check-ins inquiring on their well-being. The ethical standards of this project affirm the humanity of migrant domestic workers where my purpose of reaching out to them is to acknowledge their presence. As Tuck and Yang (2014) pointed out, the problem in social science research is that people from underrepresented and marginalized communities are invited to speak only about their pain.⁵⁹ This research takes a decolonial approach by valuing the agency of migrant domestic workers.

All migrant domestic workers and employers are kept anonymous in this paper. Pseudonyms were assigned for migrant domestic workers based on the names of Filipina women who have made strides in Philippine history. Any information that can identify a migrant domestic worker or an employer is withheld from this paper. Identifying information includes the specific neighborhood in Amman where employers live and the exact date of arrival to Jordan of migrant domestic workers. In the case of the latter, I include the duration of time that a migrant domestic worker has worked for a specific employer, which is what Tamkeen does in their published reports. Consent to be included in this project was asked verbally and using a consent form (See Appendix 2). I also conducted weekly participant observation since February 2022 where I have attended

⁵⁹ Tuck and Yang, 2014, p. 227.

meetings and programming events at the Philippine Embassy and at POLO. In addition, I have attended many gatherings by Filipina migrant domestic workers from one of the weekly Catholic masses attended by them to various community gatherings. I have gotten the opportunity to enter the homes of live-out Filipina migrant domestic workers and have frequently visited Second Circle, which is informally known as “Manila Street” given the significant population of Filipinos in that area. I make my presence as a researcher known to the people in these spaces where at any time, the people within them can refuse to have my presence there or can ask for me to stop doing research, such as the taking of field notes which is how I do my ethnographic fieldwork.

Findings:

Corazon is one of the many migrant domestic workers from the Philippines who I got to meet in Amman. According to the Philippine Embassy, there are between 33,618 to 40,010 Filipino migrant workers in Jordan.⁶⁰ And POLO estimates that between 85 to 90% of the Filipino migrant workers in the Kingdom are domestic workers.⁶¹ In 2020 according to statistics from the Ministry of Labour, the country where Jordan hired the most migrant domestic workers is the Philippines at 10,825 followed by Bangladesh at 8,642. Figure 1 shows the gender and demographic make up of the 27,128 migrant domestic workers recruited in Jordan in 2020.

⁶⁰ POLO, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Figure 1: Gender and Demographic Make Up of Migrant Domestic Workers Recruited in Jordan in 2020⁶²

Nationality	Males	Females	Total
Pakistan	15	1	16
India	30	18	48
Thailand	3	2	5
Philippines	66	10,759	10,825
Sri Lanka	54	1,427	1,481
Bangladesh	131	8,331	8,462
Indonesia	7	428	435
Ghana	0	1122	1122
Ethiopia	4	4556	4560
Kenya	1	173	174
Total	941	26,817	27,128

The present trend in the demographic of migrant domestic workers in the Kingdom is fluctuating. In an interview with officials from IOM in April 2022, about 80% of newly arrived migrant domestic workers in Jordan today are from Ethiopia.⁶³ This statistic was confirmed by the Honorary Consulate of Ethiopia. According to Shadi Abdo, the office manager of the Honorary Consulate, there are an estimated 30,000 Ethiopian migrant workers in Jordan most of whom are women in domestic work.⁶⁴ There is no exact number of the total migrant domestic worker population in Jordan, and reports can widely vary. In a Roya News report from June 24, 2020, it identified that Jordan has 38,490 migrant domestic workers.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, a report from The Jordan Times on August 4, 2019, indicated that there are 50,000 registered and 30,000 unregistered domestic workers in the Kingdom making it a total of about 80,000 migrant domestic workers.⁶⁶ Getting exact numbers and statistics on the migrant domestic worker population in the Kingdom is difficult given the nature and place of work, which is almost always at the home of an employer.

⁶² "Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment," p. 45.

⁶³ IOM, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

⁶⁴ Shadi Abdo, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

⁶⁵ "Domestic Worker Employers Given Greater Protection but 'Slavery Still an Issue,'" 2020.

⁶⁶ Turnbull, 2019.

Compared to a factory for instance, the home is a well dispersed private space that the government and researchers cannot easily enter in and assess. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there is a significant presence of migrant domestic workers in the Kingdom where Jordan is an active consumer in this global care market of women laborers.

Corazon endured a life devoid of any freedom of mobility and communication for three years. After she recounted her experience, she expressed with dismay how her previous employer did not abide by the labour contract they signed. Providing me a copy of her contract, it explicitly states in English, Tagalog, and Arabic the responsibilities of the employer “to treat the worker with respect” (See Appendix 3). In this provision on the third article section (d), the worker must be provided with “clothing, food and drinks, properly ventilated and illuminated room, comfort and sleeping means, in addition to respecting his/her right of privacy in consistency with the traditions and customs of Jordan.” The contract further enumerates that the employer “shall allow the worker to Tele-communicate with his/her family once a month, while the worker shall be entitled to make a second call during the month at his/her own expense.” It also states that employers must “allow the worker to maintain his/her passport, as well as any other private documents” and that “the worker’s working hours shall not exceed ten hours daily, counting out any food or rest breaks.” The worker “shall be entitled of a weekly day off as may be agreed among them.” The domestic worker also gets a 14-day annual leave where if she does not avail it, the employer “shall pay the monetary equivalent at the end of the two-year period.”

The labour contract for all migrant domestic workers in Jordan is two years. It also specifies that the only place that the migrant domestic worker can work in is in the house of her employer who signed the contract where she cannot be passed off to work in the house of a different person. There are many more specific rights stated in the labour contract that employers are obligated to uphold such as paying for “medical, life, accident and repatriation insurance” for the worker as well as paying the costs of her plane ticket to arrive and leave Jordan. The labour contract for Ethiopian migrant domestic workers also has the same provisions (See Appendix 4). Despite this, Corazon’s former employers did not follow their end of the contract to uphold these rights.

In her current work as live-in domestic worker for another Jordanian employer, she told me that she is working without a signed contract. Compared to her previous employer, she now has day offs on Fridays where she can leave her employer’s house on her own and gets paid 400 JOD (564.18 USD) per month, compared to her salary of 280 JOD (394.93 USD) with her previous

employer which is below the minimum wage of 400 USD for Filipina domestic workers. Describing her sleeping accommodations for her current employer, “simple lang, laundry area siya kasama na inuduro, paliguan. May kama naman na maliit. Noon gusto ko umatras... pero no choice na eh” [It’s simple, laundry area that is also where I have my toilet and place of bath/shower. There is a very small bed. Back then I wanted to back out... but no choice na eh], she said.⁶⁷ When I interviewed her, it was during the winter season in Amman where she said that she freezes in her room and was not provided a heater. Working without a contract does not stipulate her current employer to uphold her rights, such as guaranteeing her “comfort and sleeping means.” Given that employers can violate the rights of migrant domestic workers even with a signed labour contract, “*tiis* ko nalang... I have no choice na eh” [I just have *to endure* it... I have no choice na eh], she said.⁶⁸ Despite the written rights of migrant domestic workers in Jordan, it does not entail that they are respected in practice. There is a lack of confidence on Jordan’s labour law and the labour contract among migrant domestic workers. In Tagalog, the root word *tiis* means to endure suffering. Words coming from this root have been commonly repeated by the Filipina domestic workers I have spoken with.

Jordan’s Laws

According to Jordan’s Former Minister of Labour Dr. Jawad Anani, in Jordan’s labour law, Jordanians and non-Jordanians have equal rights. “There is no discrimination whatsoever,” Dr. Anani iterated in an interview.⁶⁹ Under the law, Jordanian citizens and non-Jordanians have the fundamental right to litigate and file charges in court.⁷⁰ In addition, Labour Act No. 8 of 1996 stipulates that “Jordan’s labour law applies to all workers on the territory of the Kingdom, whether Jordanians or Migrants, in terms of rights and duties.”⁷¹ The provisions on the aforementioned labour contracts respective to migrant domestic workers from the Philippines and Ethiopia are backed by the labour law of the Kingdom. For example, in the System for Domestic Workers, Cooks, Gardeners and Similar Categories, Article 4 states that employers are required to “provide all requirements and conditions for decent work and secure the needs of their workers in terms of

⁶⁷ Corazon, in conversation with the author, March, 2022.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Dr. Jawad Anani, in conversation with the author, April 2022.

⁷⁰ “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 24.

⁷¹ “Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment,” p. 15.

clothes, food, drink and a well-lit and ventilated room, where they could sleep and have their right to privacy.”⁷² Article 7 within the System, which is further backed by Articles 60 to 63 of the Labour Law, is clear on the rights of workers to have a day off, the 14-day annual leave, and a sick leave.⁷³ Article 6 within the System puts the daily working hours of domestic workers at 10 hours per day, which does not include the time for breaks and meals.⁷⁴ Article 4 of the System, further iterated in Article 18 of the Labour Law, prohibits employers from making employees, like a domestic worker, work for other people.⁷⁵ Article 46 of the Labour Law mandates that the salary of the worker must be paid within seven days from the due date.⁷⁶

In the case of a worker’s right to possess their passports and identification documents, this is made clear in international law as well as the local laws of Jordan. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 18 of Jordan’s Passport Law 3 od 2002, Article 222 of the Jordanian Penal Code, and Article 77 of Jordan’s Labour Law prohibits employers from taking away the passport and documents of workers. Article 77, in fact, states that there is a fine between 500 and 1000 JOD for any employer who “employs any worker under duress, threats, fraud or coercion, including the confiscation of their travel document, and that the penalty will be doubled in case of repetition.”⁷⁷ Yet, in the 2017 data from Tamkeen, the most common infringement of migrant workers’ rights they had to address was passport confiscation where they received 349 complaints. During the First Quarterly Dialogue that officials from the Philippine Embassy and POLO held with Filipino community leaders in Jordan on February 18, 2022, the issue of passport confiscation arose. Representatives from the IOM were present to inform and encourage Filipino migrant workers to get the Covid-19 vaccine. To get the vaccine in the Kingdom, migrant workers must present their passport or a xerox copy of the identification information of the passport. Philippine Embassy and POLO officials emphasized that employers have no rights to hold onto a migrant worker’s passport because “pinagamayari niyan ng gobierno ng Pilipinas [that is the property of the Philippine Government]”⁷⁸ Labor Attaché Armi Evangel N. Peña, the main

⁷² “Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment,” p. 68.

⁷³ “Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment,” pp. 67-68.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ “Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment,” p. 69.

⁷⁶ “Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment,” p. 65.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Philippine Embassy in Jordan, First Quarter Meeting, February 2022.

administrator of POLO in Jordan, appealed to the Filipino community leaders to spread the word that employers who confiscate workers' passports must be reported to POLO. She stated that the Philippine Embassy and POLO have stressed the point with the Association of Jordanian Recruitment Agencies (AJRA) that employers have no rights to confiscate passports and that they are taking reports seriously. Employers who make such violations, and subsequently the recruitment agencies if they continue to work with them, can be blacklisted and banned from hiring Filipino migrant workers. But acknowledging the prevalence of this violation, the Labor Attaché strongly recommended that migrant workers have a copy or a picture of their passport and even emailed to themselves just in case.

The legal framework of the Jordanian state is very clear that migrant workers in the Kingdom have rights. And it is even specific to migrant domestic workers given specific parts of the law such as the System for Domestic Workers, Cooks, Gardeners and Similar Categories. These rights affirm international law and principles of human rights. Attorney Samara H. Jaber, a Jordanian lawyer working for POLO since August 2021, affirmed that Jordan's laws have the intention to protect workers. Responding to my questions via email and allowing me to interview her, Attorney Jaber highlighted that the Labour Law protects "worker's rights more than the employer" because it aims to uphold what it considers as the "weak party," which in this case is the worker.⁷⁹ This is manifested where "any agreements or conditions that may be against the worker or may lessen the rights of the worker shall not be followed or affective in the contract even if it was accepted by the worker," Attorney Jaber said.⁸⁰ She also clarified that a worker could file a case to court against their employer for contract violations "without paying any court fees." This upholds the overall law in the Kingdom where Jordanians and non-Jordans have the fundamental right to litigate. Attorney Jaber opined that the Labour Law "has a humanity in it."⁸¹ At POLO, her job is to facilitate communication between local employers and Filipino migrant workers, especially to discuss and settle disputes.

Jordan has a distinct place in the Arab World when it comes to migrant labour because it is both a migrant worker sending and a migrant worker benefiting country. In a 2011 report by the Human Rights Watch, it stated that Jordan "is the only Arab country to include domestic workers

⁷⁹ Samara H. Jaber, in conversation with the author, April 2022.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

under its labor laws.”⁸² Researchers like Parreñas (2021) have written that Jordan has “the most progressive rules and regulations for domestic workers in the region.”⁸³ In regards to the Kafala System, Labour Ministry spokesperson Mohammad Al Khatib assured during an interview with The Jordan Times in October 11, 2018, that “no references to the sponsorship system exist in the Jordanian legislation.”⁸⁴ Dr. Anani attributed Jordan’s unique place in the region to the fact there are Jordanians working abroad, which means that the Jordanian state can understand the position of being a migrant worker. He said:

Jordan is a different country. We are a country of refugees and immigrants. We incorporate those into the society. We have been known in Jordan to champion absence of discrimination, equality in wages. We don’t discriminate.⁸⁵

Given the legal structure with this protectionary stance on the rights of migrant workers, it then begs the question on why unfree labour conditions—a breeding ground for abuse and exploitation—such as what Corazon has been through persists?

Controlled Bodies

In imbuing its role to protect, the Jordanian state also controls migrant workers through the sponsorship system of the Kafala. While Jordan is seen as a model, its bar is not high. Frantz (2013) analyzed that “although Jordan banned slavery with the passage of the Anti-Slavery law of 1929 and ratified ILO conventions 29 and 105 abolishing forced labour, legal protections which could protect workers against forced labour are rarely invoked” (1083). While parts of Jordanian law have this protectionary language on migrant workers, certain provisions of it embody the language of control and dominion over migrant workers which further exacerbates the situation that researchers and human rights advocates like Frantz noted. Article 12 of the Instructions of the Conditions and Procedures for the Recruitment and Employment of Non-Jordanian Workers is a glaring example of Kafala in practice. It prohibits migrant workers from resigning from their workplace without “the approval of their original employer and the MoL (Ministry of Labour), as well as cancel their current permit and issue a new one with the new employer.”⁸⁶ As it is practiced

⁸² Wilcke, 2008.

⁸³ Parreñas, 2021, p. 185.

⁸⁴ Prieto, 2018.

⁸⁵ Dr. Jawad Anani, in conversation with the author, April 2022.

⁸⁶ “The Right to Resign for Migrant Workers,” 2021, p. 11.

in Jordan, a migrant worker must “get a release their original employer, cancel their current permit and issue a new one with the new employer.”⁸⁷ This is why Corazon had to put up with the abuses of her first employer—who clearly violated her rights stated in the labour contract, the Labour Law, and international law—because it is not easy in Jordan for a migrant worker to resign from their workplace. In fact, Jordan’s laws not only do not recognize the concept of resignation for migrant workers, but they criminalize it as well. If Corazon chose to resign from working for her first employer and worked for someone else without being “released,” she is considered a “runaway” by the Jordanian state because she did not abide by Article 12.

The penalties for not following Article 12 are stated in Article 11 of the Instructions as well as Article 5 in the System for Domestic Workers, Cooks, Gardeners and Similar Categories. Article 5 states that a domestic worker who left the employer’s home without permission is someone who “ran away from home,” and if there no justifiable cause, the worker is required to pay the employer as well as the costs for the flight back to the country of origin.⁸⁸ Article 11 mandates that employers must notify the Directorate of Labour when a migrant worker “ran away” where the police will issue a warrant to arrest the worker. A migrant worker who did not follow the procedures of Article 12 will be subject to imprisonment where they are processed for deportation “without hearing their testimony or understanding what reasons prompted them to leave work.”⁸⁹ Article 12 puts migrant workers in an inhumane, catch-22 situation. Take the case of Corazon who entered the Kingdom legally with documents. If she decided to resign from her employer and work for a new employer without going through the process of being “released,” she would be classified as a “runaway” and is subject to imprisonment and deportation. But, if she decided to follow Article 12 and ask for her employer who deprived her of her human rights to “release” her, Corazon’s employer could just fire her which basically withdraws their sponsorship of her, and employers “are not required to provide reasons for” doing so.⁹⁰ Gordon (2020) stated that this means that Corazon “cannot remain in Jordan after leaving work or being fired.”⁹¹ (3). Effectively, migrant workers, especially migrant domestic workers, are placed in this situation of unfreedom in Jordan where they are subjected to being controlled by the state and their employers. This

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ “The Right to Resign for Migrant Workers,” 2021, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁹ “Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment,” p. 53.

⁹⁰ Gordon, 2020, p. 2.

⁹¹ Gordon, 2020, p. 3.

process of control puts migrant domestic workers in an uncomfortable and vulnerable position. It is already a difficult scenario for a worker to ask her own boss responsible for abuse and dehumanization to “release” her. The Jordanian state, through Article 12 and the criminalization of the process of resignation, does not take into consideration.

There is no glossing over the fact that the terms being “released” and being a “runaway” are the language of slavery. In the United States, for instance, these are the exact words used to prop up the institution of slavery. Enslaved Black people who left their employers are considered as “runaways” which is a punishable offense. In enforcing the law, the job of the police was to hunt down “runaways.” Black feminist scholars who have written extensively about the experiences of Black women after the abolishment of slavery in 1865 have presented that the practice of slavery did not really end in 1865. Quoting American historian Jacqueline Jones, Haley (2016) stated that “domestic service recapitulated the mistress-slave relationship in the midst of industrializing America” (180). Having mentioned in this paper that in the legacy of slavery and anti-Black racism in the United States, Black women were marginalized by the state and categorized in the slot of domestic work. She is bounded by a contract with her white employer. And if she left her employer without being “released,” she is designated as a “runaway.”⁹² (184). The words from the institution of slavery persisted long after its abolition in the U.S. to control the bodies of Black women. The presence of the language of slavery in the Jordanian state delegitimizes the protections on migrant workers and migrant domestic workers because they are contradictory to them. Tamkeen recognizes the issue arising from the fact that migrant domestic workers in Jordan could not resign on their own accord and the language of slavery used to describe the process of resigning. The organization wrote:

Tamkeen refuses to call workers who leave their work “absconded” because the relationship between the worker and the employer is a purely contractual relationship and any of them can terminate it under the Labor Law. The term “runaway” is usually used by the police to describe people it wants to arrest because they are suspected of committing a crime. Therefore, we do not believe that is the correct term to use with workers using their legal right to leave their workplace or resign.⁹³ (8)

⁹² Haley, 2016, p. 184.

⁹³ “The Right to Resign for Migrant Workers,” 2021, pp. 8.

A worker's right to resign from a workplace should not have to be approved by their employer. This paper uses the term "resign" to describe the process of a migrant worker leaving their employer without getting "released," and I refuse to use the terminology of "running away" or "absconding" by the Jordanian state. The deprivation of migrant workers' right to resign is the standard within the Kafala System that puts migrant workers under the control of employers/sponsors. Given that migrant workers in Jordan do not have such right, the Kafala System exists in the Kingdom.

While there are migrant domestic workers like Corazon who did not resign from their first employer, Encarnación—a Filipina domestic worker who has been working in Jordan for over a decade—resigned from her first employer after a year of working as live-in in their household. She is from the Mindanao region of the Philippines and is a mother of four children. She pursued to become a police officer or a soldier and grew up admiring her grandfather in her mother's side who was a guerilla fighter in World War 2 fighting the Japanese who invaded the Philippines. She made the sacrifice to work abroad in the position of a domestic worker "dahil sa mga anak ko" [for my children], she said.⁹⁴ In her first employer's household, she endured the exact same working and living conditions as Corazon. The only form of communication she had with her family is by writing letters. She was not allowed by her employer to seal the envelop with her letters in it. Her workday ended at 3 a.m. and started at 5 a.m. where she only got less than 2 hours of rest. Her employer lived in a mansion, and she was tasked to do all the cleaning work. From the chemicals she is made to use and not provided with gloves or any form of protection, "Nangitim ang kamay ko" [My hands turned dark], she said.⁹⁵ She showed me her hands with calloused fingers and thickened palms and darker in coloration compared to her arms. Like a domesticated animal, she was passed around by her employer to work for other family members.

Passed around to work for her female employer's sister, she described how the brother-in-law of the employer interacted with her. "Pilit ako sinusubuan ng chocolate na hawak hawak niya. Sabi ko, 'ayaw ko.' Pero hindi, pilit na pilit niya insunusubo" [He forced me to eat chocolate from his hands. I told him, 'No, I don't want to.' But no, he kept forcing me to eat chocolate from his hands], she said. Encarnación resisted all the advances from this family member of her employer. "Inaano ako ng lalaki..." [The man was doing things to me...], she recounted another encounter.

⁹⁴ Encarnación, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

“Takbo ako sa CR sa ibaba tapos pumipilit siya na lumabas daw ako. Sabi ko, ‘Hindi. Umalis ka. Iwanan mo ako dito’” [I ran to the bathroom downstairs then he is forcing me to come out. I told him, ‘I don’t want to. Get out. Leave me alone.’” She told her employers about how she felt unsafe with the presence of this relative and did not want to be made to work for his family. “Pero wala man lang sila ginawa” [But they did not even do anything], she sighed. “Naulit na naman yun” [It happened again].⁹⁶ After a year of working for this employer, she found the opportunity to leave where she had to jump two-stories high from her employer’s balcony at night. Bleeding and bruised from the jump, she made her way to a Catholic Church in Amman that she was informed about during her pre-departure orientation where fellow Filipina migrant workers accompanied her to the POLO-OWWA building.

The Kafala System in Jordan does not allow people like Encarnación or Corazon to leave their employers and work for someone else. This is unfreedom. Their experiences are included in this paper to show the difficult and vulnerable situation that migrant domestic workers in Jordan are put in as a result of Kafala. For migrant domestic workers who are mostly women and whose labour are crucial to the survival of their families back in their countries of origin, the criminalization of resignation and the whole process of being “released” put them in a state of unfreedom. The choices are to either to resign and work for another employer which include the risks of imprisonment and deportation back to their countries of origin or to just continue working and endure the conditions of the workplace. There is the option of being “released” where current and upcoming employer both sign and agree to have the migrant domestic worker change employers. But for those in the position of Encarnación and Corazon, it is not straightforward.

Domesticated

Parreñas (2021) described domestic work as a form of labour that “emerges from, reflects, and reinforces some combination of hierarchical relationships of class, gender, race/ethnicity, migration, and/or age.”⁹⁷ In Jordan, domestic work is a slot to be filled by a non-Jordanian woman. According to Frantz (2013), “the purported rationale for the recruitment of migrant labour is to fulfill alleged shortages in sectors where Jordanians refuse to work.”⁹⁸ In my interview with Dr.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Parreñas, 2021, p. 81.

⁹⁸ Frantz, 2013, p. 1075.

Anani, I posed the question of why is it that in Jordan, there is a preference for non-Jordanian women from places like the Philippines to do domestic work? Dr. Anani responded that the nature of work of a domestic worker, which takes place in the home, is not deemed desirable. “Jordanians accept to do household chores but not in homes,” Dr. Anani said.⁹⁹ In a report by Tamkeen published in 2015, it stated that a “culture of shame” developed in Jordan as the economy became more “investment-oriented.”¹⁰⁰ The report elaborated, “The reluctance of Jordanians to work in humble professions has led to increasing the numbers of migrant workers who work in occupations that Jordanians refuse to work at.”¹⁰¹ Domestic work is one of these professions.

Talking with an employer of two Filipina domestic workers in Amman, he listed three reasons for why he, his family, and other Jordanians prefer “Filipina girls.” First, they “can speak English.” Second, they are “educated compared to [groups like] Indonesians and Africans.” Third, they are “married and have family back home” which means that they know housework and how to take care of families.¹⁰² Corazon’s employer described their preference for “Filipina maids” and how Corazon has become “part of the family.”¹⁰³ The manner of describing Filipina women migrant domestic workers as “girls” who have “become part of the family” of the employer has been recurring among the Palestinian and Jordanian employers I have spoken with. Dr. Anani said that “Filipina girls” are desired because of “their demeanor and cleanliness and temper” where they “act like nuns.”¹⁰⁴ This discourse reflects the gendered and racialized labour of domestic work in Jordan. In the specific case of Filipina women, Parreñas (2021) stated that they are subject to “infantilization” where they become “mere household dependents of the employer rather than as independent workers.”¹⁰⁵

It is interesting how women migrant domestic workers in Jordan are referred to as “girls” instead of women. It obfuscates the fact that they are people with agency entering a professional, legitimate career with their own families, connections, and experiences. Women migrant workers, according to Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon (2015), “remit a greater share of their

⁹⁹ Dr. Jawad Anani, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

¹⁰⁰ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 28.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Employer 1, in conversation with the author, February, 2022.

¹⁰³ Employer 2, in conversation with the author, March, 2022.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Jawad Anani, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

¹⁰⁵ Parreñas, 2021, p. 29.

earnings their male counterparts” and do so more frequently.¹⁰⁶ They are breadwinners of families back in their countries of origin who they are connected to. Tamkeen (2015) has encountered “many Filipinos with high-skills, such as teachers and nurses that were working as domestic workers because of the unemployment and low salaries in the Philippines.”¹⁰⁷ To refer to them as “girls” and harbor the language of infantilization reflects the process of domestication. The job of a domestic work is already deemed to be undesirable, which is then projected to the person in its position. The person, almost always a woman, is not accorded the recognition of her humanity as an independent agent of her own. Instead, she is considered as a “girl,” a child to be dependent on her employer. From the perspective of migrant domestic workers, the language of how they describe their own presence in Jordan is different. They see themselves taking up an honorable and legitimate profession to support their families. Encarnación captured the sentiment best when she said, “Hindi ako pumunta dito para alilain” [I did not come here to be enslaved/belittled].¹⁰⁸ Migrant domestic workers are women that are not machines of care service to be toyed around with. But the fact that they are not seen as women but as “girls” reflect how gendered domestic work is. It is a profession that is belittled, something that “girls” from other countries do and not women.

Along with the gendered aspect of domestic work in Jordan, it is also racialized. With the employer’s three points of why “Filipina girls” are sought for, domestic work is not only deemed as a slot to be filled by women from the Philippines but that certain ethnicities of people are considered “better” for the job. In this racialized construct, Filipina women become this model minority where they are “educated” and “can speak English.” Meanwhile, migrant domestic workers from places like in Africa are regarded as lower. This is reflected by the salary of migrant domestic workers in the Kingdom. Their salary depends on their country of origin. According to the Philippine Embassy, the minimum wage for newly arrived Filipina migrant domestic workers is at 400 JOD. Meanwhile, according to Office Manager Abdo from the Honorary Consulate of Ethiopia, the minimum wage for newly arrived Ethiopian migrant domestic workers is at 225 JOD. During my fieldwork at Second Circle, there was a hiring poster of domestic workers posted on an electrical pole that lists the salary that the employer will pay depending on the country of origin of

¹⁰⁶ Encinas-Franco, Ang, Opiniano, and Sescon, 2015, p. 40.

¹⁰⁷ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 63.

¹⁰⁸ Encarnación, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

the applicant (See Figure 2). In the ILO Convention 189 Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers, which Jordan has not ratified, it recognizes that nations must work for “the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.”¹⁰⁹ Tamkeen (2015) noted that Jordan has ratified Convention 111 of 1958 on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) which considers wage discrimination as a violation.¹¹⁰

Figure 2: Hiring Poster for Domestic Workers in Second Circle¹¹¹



Migrant Worker Sending Countries and Jordan

Migrant worker sending countries engage in diplomacy in efforts to advocate for the welfare of their people. Having established that there is a significant Filipina migrant domestic worker population in Jordan, the Philippines’ diplomatic and policy approach on migrant workers has been a model for other countries. According to the World Bank, the Philippines is a “model

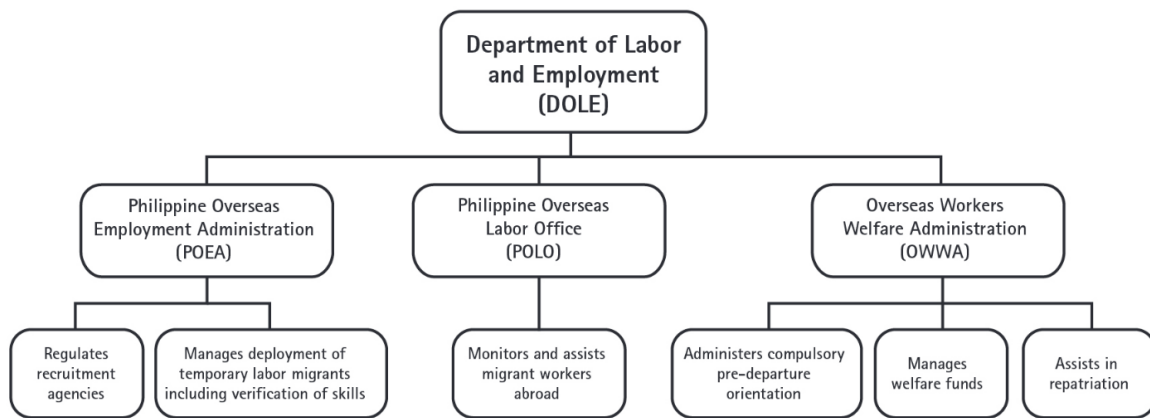
¹⁰⁹ “Domestic Workers Convention,” 2011.

¹¹⁰ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 63.

¹¹¹ Photo taken by the author

for other sending countries.”¹¹² Parreñas (2021) stated that the Philippines is “the most ideal case for examining migrant governance.”¹¹³ Frantz (2013) described the country as “the quintessential example” on its “strategy of international labour brokerage.”¹¹⁴ In an interview with members of Tamkeen, they described the Philippines as “easy to work with” and commended the presence of POLO, which is a governmental body part of the Philippines’ Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE).¹¹⁵ POLO specifically is tasked to handle matters related to migrant labour. Not counting the role of the Philippine Embassy, which is under the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), Figure 3 is a map of the governmental agencies under DOLE, and their specific roles.

Figure 3: Philippine Government Institutions for Managing Labor Migration¹¹⁶



In my fieldwork, I have attended the outreach programs that the Philippine Embassy, located in Abdoun, Amman, conducts with the Filipino migrant worker community, such as the First Quarter Dialogue. In addition, I have visited the POLO and OWWA office, which is under the same building in Al-Diyar and the reason why people I spoke with refer to these entities as POLO-OWWA. During a workday, the POLO-OWWA office has a line of migrant workers with their employers as this is where the labour contract is signed, identification records of migrant

¹¹² Parreñas, 2021, p. 53.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Frantz, 2013, p. 1075.

¹¹⁵ Tamkeen, in conversation with the author, March, 2022.

¹¹⁶ Parreñas, 2021, p. 57.

worker and employer are collected, as well as other required documents. In addition, POLO-OWWA handles labour complaints and disputes between migrant worker and employer. Attorney Jaber is one of the personnel the processes these cases in conjunction with the OWWA Welfare Officers. The building is also a shelter for Filipino migrant workers in distress. As of April 21, 2022, there were 16 migrant workers in the shelter. This is a lower number compared to November 20, 2006, where the Philippine Embassy in Amman became a defacto shelter for 160 migrant domestic workers. According to an official from POLO-OWWA in Jordan in an interview on April 20, 2022, POLO-OWWA in other countries with a significant Filipino migrant worker population run shelters where the shelter in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, has about 800 migrant workers, and the shelter in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, has about 500.

In a written exchange with POLO Jordan, the common complaints they receive from Filipino domestic workers in the Kingdom are:

Overwork with not enough rest hours, being made to work at houses of employers' friends or relatives, confiscation of mobile phones, delayed salaries, refusal of employer to allow worker to go home after end of contract term, passport/work permit confiscation, non-provision of day-off or rest day, verbal abuse.¹¹⁷

The Embassy and POLO work with Jordanian recruitment agencies as well as the Ministry of Labour to address concerns regarding labour conditions. This is through the creation of bilateral labour agreements as well as signed memorandum of understanding (MoU).¹¹⁸ Historically, the Philippines has also imposed multiple labour deployment bans on Jordan specifically banning Jordan from hiring women domestic workers from the Philippines. Encinas-Franco (2016) stated that "a deployment ban is generally imposed on women who would find themselves in situations risking death and are meant to serve as 'protective policies.'"¹¹⁹ Under the discretion of DOLE, the Philippine Government has enacted a deployment ban of domestic workers to Jordan in 1990 due to "unabated maltreatment and exploitation" that was lifted in 2005.¹²⁰ However, in just three years, another deployment ban was enacted in 2008 for the same reason that was lifted in 2012 after Jordan made commitments to protect migrant domestic workers and have a minimum wage

¹¹⁷ POLO, in written exchange with the author, April, 2022.

¹¹⁸ Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment," p. 28.

¹¹⁹ Encinas-Franco, 2016, p. 496.

¹²⁰ "Deployment Ban of DH to Jordan Lifted," 2005.

for migrant domestic workers from the Philippines.¹²¹ It can be ascertained that the condition of labour for migrant domestic workers has improved in Jordan. In 2022, there are 16 migrant workers in the POLO-OWWA shelter compared to 2006 with 160. But the fact that there are still people in the shelter reflects that the issue of the domestication of migrant domestic workers in Jordan persists.

The Honorary Consulate of Ethiopia has similar approaches of engaging with Jordan to advocate for their migrant workers, especially women in domestic work. Similar to the recent MoU that the Philippines and Jordan signed in 2018, Ethiopia and Jordan have a MoU signed in 2012 to commit both countries in acknowledging and protecting the rights of migrant workers.¹²² But given that migrant workers do not have the right to resign, those that have problems with their employers can report to the Consulate. The Consulate is a shelter similar to what POLO-OWWA has, and as of April 19, 2022, there were 8 Ethiopian women migrant domestic workers in the shelter. According to Office Manager Abdo, the complaints that the Consulate handles is fundamentally tied to the issues of employers who “don’t read the contract” and the law “not being enforced.”¹²³ The Consulate has a lawyer whose job is to resolve, and if need be, litigate cases. According to the Office Manager, having a lawyer is crucial because employers are more inclined to listen if spoken to by an attorney who can file charges in court. The Officer Manager specified that one of the most egregious cases that the Consulate handles is when employers fabricate a theft charge on a migrant worker who resigned without being “released.” Given that the process of resignation for migrant workers without having been “released” is criminalized and subject to arrest, a theft charge for a migrant worker, the Office Manager explained, could mean being in jail for 5 months. This is not because the migrant worker has been convicted of theft, but because in Jordan, the migrant worker must prove their innocence then they could be released from jail. It is a system where it is guilty till proven innocent that costs about 500 USD to pay for the lawyer to fight a single case. This phenomenon has been documented by Tamkeen on how employers have responded to migrant domestic workers resigning without being “released.” According to the NGO, “normally, employers lodge a complaint in the Police Department, accusing the worker of a crime, the most

¹²¹ Al Jazeera, 2008; Agence France Presse, 2012; “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 42.

¹²² Safe Path: Ethical Recruitment and Employment,” p. 33.

¹²³ Shadi Abdo, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

common of which is theft especially in relation to domestic workers.”¹²⁴ The presence of the Honorary Consulate is crucial in advocating for the rights of Ethiopian migrant domestic workers.

However, just like the Philippines, diplomatic engagements with Jordan, a migrant worker benefiting country, does not entail the improvement of labour conditions in the Kingdom or the creation of standard labour conditions for migrant domestic workers. The conditions are not standard, as a matter of fact. During my interview with Office Manager Abdo on April 19, 2022, he shared to me the cases he is handling for that day. He was arranging the insurance claims for the families of eight migrant Ethiopian women domestic workers who recently died. Four died of natural causes, and four died because of suicide. For the families of the four workers who died of natural causes, they get 7,000 USD. For the families of the four workers who died of suicide, their families each get 2,500 USD from the insurance. The experiences of migrant domestic workers in Jordan are difficult that deal with a Kafala-based society where they are domesticated. When I asked the Office Manager if migrant domestic workers overall regardless of nationality in Jordan have access to a psychologist and mental health counseling given experiences that may be traumatic, he gave me a simple answer, “None.” He followed up that for Ethiopian migrant workers, the Consulate is always available via phone, call, and WhatsApp to talk to. While the Office Manager and the Consul, Mr. Abdo’s father, are Jordanian, there are Ethiopian personnel at the Consulate. Ethiopia’s Honorary Consulate in Jordan opened in 2014. Given that there are approximately 30,000 Ethiopian migrant workers in Jordan, the presence of a larger infrastructure of diplomacy is something that Tamkeen identified is needed for Ethiopia.¹²⁵ According to the Office Manager, there are no plans for Ethiopia to have an embassy in Jordan.

Conclusion:

Migrant domestic workers have a significant presence in Jordanian society yet overlooked because of the process of domestication. The Jordanian state has laws that both protect and control them. In Jordan’s laws, the domestic worker is placed in a position of liminality. On one hand, the law acknowledges the vulnerable position of migrant workers and even acts to reprimand employers who deprive a non-Jordanian of their human rights. This has been widely recognized by researchers and human rights advocates where Jordan is distinct in the region for specifically

¹²⁴ “Access to Justice,” 2019, p. 80.

¹²⁵ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 43.

including domestic workers in the Labour Law. This is even attributed to Jordan's status as a migrant worker sending country. On the other hand, the law also criminalizes migrant workers where the terminology of slavery inherently puts them in a position of being unfree in the Kingdom. A migrant domestic worker cannot resign from her current employer and work for someone else without having "a signed, notarized 'release.'"¹²⁶ Of course, not all employers deprive migrant domestic workers of their rights, and not all employers would refuse to sign the "release paper." But there is a clear power of control here that is assigned to the employer where the migrant domestic worker cannot be an agent of her own. And to claim that agency, such as through the process of resigning without getting a "release," the migrant domestic worker is deemed dangerous, subject to arrest, a made-up theft charge, and deportation.

With this system of Kafala, the place of a migrant domestic worker in Jordan's homes is to fill the domestic slot. Kafala entails that her identity is only associated with her labour. Instead of a woman, she is seen as "a girl." Her identity as a Filipina, Ethiopian, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, and Indonesian is seen as akin and even a byword for servant. It is worth noting that this happens to other places and not just in Jordan. Dictionaries like the Oxford English Dictionary have included the definition nanny, servant, domestic worker, "a person who performs non-essential auxiliary tasks," and other similar descriptions for the word Filipina.¹²⁷ For one's gender and ethnicity to be reduced to a commodified product, in this case domestic work, it is effectively a process of domestication. However, to hear the narratives of migrant domestic workers, they resist these reductionist attempts to be categorized as appliances of labour. For those who endure unfreedom or escape from it, one thing holds true and that is migrant domestic workers see themselves as human beings. As Encarnación said, "Hindi ako pumunta dito para alilain" [I did not come here to be enslaved/belittled].¹²⁸ For Encarnación, Corazon, and many more women migrant workers who navigate around this system of domestication, it is a unique and difficult position to be in. To support their own families by being separated physically from them is a lot to carry in addition to being domesticated in places like Jordan. Corazon told me via text message:

¹²⁶ Frantz, 2013, p. 1077.

¹²⁷ Encinas-Franco, 2016, p. 301.

¹²⁸ Encarnación, in conversation with the author, April, 2022.

Sometimes I want to give up... but I realize na hindi dapat ako susuko. Lahat *tiisin* dahil may mga anak ako nanaghihintay sa paguwi ko... sila ang nagbibigay lakas sa akin na wag sumuko.¹²⁹

[Sometimes I want to give up... but I realize that I should not surrender. Everything I must *endure* because I have children who are waiting for my return... they are the ones who give me strength to not surrender]

To be a migrant domestic worker is about *tiis*, the Tagalog root word for endurance especially given their domesticated place in the law and the home.

Migrant worker sending countries engage with the Jordanian state where they facilitate the process of labour migration and work to protect their laborers, especially women. Both Philippines and Ethiopia have diplomatic presence in Jordan to be a resource and advocate for migrant workers from their respective countries. The Philippines has an established physical and bureaucratic infrastructure in place through the presence of an Embassy, POLO, and OWWA. Ethiopia has an Honorary Consulate that handles all cases pertaining to Ethiopian nationals in Jordan. Migrant worker sending countries like Philippines and Ethiopia, individually negotiate with Jordan in the interests of their countries where migrant workers, through remittances, are a source of economic growth. However, this does not guarantee a standard labour condition for all migrant domestic workers. It depends on the diplomatic pressure a country exerts, and too much pressure can entail that Jordan will look to recruit migrant domestic workers from another country instead. When the IOM stated that 80 percent of migrant domestic workers coming to Jordan in the present are coming from Ethiopia, this may be because Ethiopia does not demand as much compared to the Philippines. The Office Manager stated that there are different standards of labour, such as in wages for instance, because it “depends on the governments” of migrant worker sending countries.

This phenomenon of gendered and racialized labour is not unique to Jordan. In the U.S., the experiences of Black women attest to the process of enduring the process of domestication. This has been analyzed by Black feminist scholars. Davis (1981) wrote, “The employers who thought they were complimenting Black people by stating their preference for them over whites were arguing, in reality, that menial servants—slaves, to be frank—were what Black people were destined to be.”¹³⁰ This very much resonates to the infantilization of migrant domestic workers in

¹²⁹ Corazon, in conversation with the author, March, 2022.

¹³⁰ Davis, 1981, p. 99.

Jordan where “girls” from particular ethnicities are preferred. There is an imposed expectation placed by the migrant worker benefiting country, Jordan in this case, on the “girls” from countries like the Philippines and Ethiopia. There is evident discrimination where the “girls” are ranked and categorized as reflected by the differences in wages of migrant domestic workers based on their nationality. Taking the approach of Black feminists and to decolonize research, this project puts a focus on the narratives of migrant domestic workers in Jordan and to value their humanity for their presence, not their suffering. In this paper, they are heroes who have fought and endured. As a migrant Filipina domestic worker said during a dinner in her house at Second Circle, “Kung hindi ka makapaglaban, mababaliw ka” [If you don’t fight, you are going to turn crazy].

Study Limitations:

Centered on the narratives of migrant domestic workers in Jordan, this study was only able to include the experiences and insights of Filipina migrant domestic workers. It would further enrich this project to include the accounts of Ethiopian migrant domestic workers given that the work of their Honorary Consulate was presented in this study. In addition, Ethiopia is now one of the main countries that Jordan is recruiting migrant domestic workers from. Due to the 4-week span of this study, I had limited time to reach out to the Ethiopian migrant domestic worker community. Given the online communities of migrant domestic workers such as through Facebook groups, I did not have an outreach message in Amharic and Omhoro, the main languages of Ethiopia, as I did in the Tagalog language for the Filipina migrant domestic worker community. Furthermore, if I were able to listen and speak with Ethiopian migrant domestic workers, there would be a language barrier. In my conversations with Filipina migrant domestic workers, they were conducted in Tagalog for the most part. And as a native Tagalog speaker, I can attest that there are words in Tagalog that do not have a specific English equivalent, and there are particular experiences that can only be expressed and felt in the native language. Nevertheless, I recognize that it is a limitation of this study to not have voices from Ethiopian migrant domestic workers.

In addition, I attempted to reach out to recruitment agencies such as the Association of Jordanian Recruitment Agencies (AJRA) and the Al Hindawi Maid Services, a migrant domestic worker recruitment agency that I encountered during a taxi ride in Abdoun. There was no response in my outreach. In addition, the insights from current officials at the Ministry of Labour would be

relevant for this study. Unfortunately, after following the procedures of formally reaching out to the Ministry, they responded saying that they are unable to respond to my inquiries for this study.

One of the main limitations of this study is both the time constraint and the page limit. As mentioned in my methodology, I have started doing fieldwork for this project since arriving to Jordan in January 2022. I have been able to conduct interviews and have extensive fieldnotes that I can use for this study. However, given the limited amount of time to write and the specified length of 25 to 45 pages, there was not enough time and not enough room to include more. Adding more data and interview materials may have also made this study difficult to follow for the readers, so I was mindful in focusing on the quality of the fieldwork content I include in this project more than the quantity.

Recommendations for Future Studies:

Scholarship on migrant workers, especially women in domestic work, is not as extensive compared to the topic, for instance, of refugees in Jordan. This study presented the place of migrant domestic workers in the Jordanian state and home and explored the process of domestication of migrant domestic workers through the state of unfreedom with the Kafala System. The theme of invisibilization resonated in this paper. For future studies, I recommend investigating how migrant workers, especially domestic workers, are discussed and framed in Jordanian media. The stereotype and expectation, for instance, of Filipina women being docile must originate and be communicated from somewhere. This study showed that there is a racialized view on domestic work, but where did this originate? Given that information spreads through media sources like social media, television news outlets, news reports, and TV shows to name a few, how are migrant domestic workers portrayed and discussed? For instance, in the popular Jordanian film *Captain Abu Raed*, the wealthy family of the female pilot has a uniformed, Filipina domestic worker. The domestic worker does not play a part in this film, but I think that the filmmakers were deliberate in the choice to have a Filipina domestic worker in order to depict a wealthy Jordanian family. It would be a significant project to investigate at how the stereotypes and expectations for migrant domestic workers are communicated in Jordanian media.

Given the invisibilization of migrant domestic workers, it is important to consider what resources are available for them or for migrant workers in general. In Jordan, there are IGOs and NGOs that offer various services for refugees. International donors as well as the Jordanian state

support these humanitarian organizations. Besides Tamkeen, IOM, and the ILO, what other organizations exist in Jordan that advocate for migrant workers? What services can migrant workers access to? I touched upon this in my study, but the IOM is giving attention on the need of migrant workers to access services, such as the Covid-19 vaccine. But for migrant workers in Jordan, there may be barriers to accessing services, such as the vaccine. For a wide array of reasons, there are migrant workers who do not have their passports with them. And for those who have resigned without being “released,” there is obvious hesitancy to approach any government entity and programs. A study on the services and organizations that support migrant workers in Jordan is important, and the question of what services are offered should be posed.

Finally, in my fieldwork, I have encountered children of migrant domestic workers who were born out of wedlock or whose parent(s) do not have valid work and residency (iqama) permits. According to Tamkeen (2015),

There is a common story recounted in all the interviews conducted for this group of single mothers, that the fathers of their children left them immediately after knowing of their pregnancy. In general, most of the irregular domestic workers' children are stateless and don't have any legal protection or any recognition, where these children do not get any education, health care, or any essential services.¹³¹

Talking to one such child, she told me that “it’s better being a refugee” because in her position, Jordan “doesn’t think I exist.” In addition, given that there is a penalty of 1.5 JOD per day for a migrant worker who does not have a valid residency (iqama) and work permits, this penalty also applies to the child of the migrant worker. These are cases that embassies, like the Philippines, and Tamkeen are handling. There has not been as much coverage on the children of migrant workers, especially women migrant workers, born in the country of work of the parent(s). This is a particular population in Jordanian society that is invisibilized.

Expanding on this study entails giving care and acknowledgement on migrant worker communities that are very much present in Jordan but are only known with the nature of their work. The identities of migrant workers go beyond their occupation role. To understand and listen to them to learn about these identities is a step in humanizing them.

¹³¹ “Invisible Women,” 2015, p. 111.

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Appendices:

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

For migrant domestic workers:

- Where are you from in the Philippines?
- Do you have a big family?
- How long have you been in Jordan?
- Have you worked in other countries?
- How old are you? How old are you when you went to Jordan?
- How is it like to work here?
- What is your job?
- Did you have different employers?
- Do you have other jobs along with your current one?
- How did you become an OFW?
- How did you work here in Jordan?
- Why Jordan? Did you get to choose?
- What did you pack with you?
- What did you hear about Jordan before coming?
- What is your religion?
- Where do you sleep?
- Do you get a day-off?
- Do you get paid on time?
- Do you get paid the salary on the contract?
- Do you have your contract and passport with you?
- How much is your wage?
- How often do you get to talk to family back in the Philippines?
- Thoughts on being “part of the family?”
- Did they treat you as an adult or as a child/lowly status?
- Is our Philippine Embassy and POLO-OWWA effective?

- What would be the ideal labor condition for you? What would you hope the laws will do? What do you hope Jordanians will know more about you/migrant domestic workers?

For diplomats from migrant worker sending countries:

- What is the role of the Honorary Consulate of Ethiopia?
- Does it provide shelter for migrant workers in distress? How many are in the shelter?
- The experiences that migrant domestic workers go through can be traumatizing. Are there any services and resources that migrant domestic workers can access such as mental health counseling and therapy in Jordan?
- How does the Consulate support migrant workers who are going through trauma from their experience?
- What are the current statistics for Ethiopian migrant labor in Jordan? How many are in Jordan (I understand that this will not be a precise number given people who are undocumented)? How many are arriving each month (or this year)? What is the gender make up of Ethiopian migrant workers in Jordan, and what professions/careers are the most popular?
- What do the diplomatic ties between Jordan and Ethiopia look like? How does Jordan and Ethiopia collaborate in serving the Ethiopian migrant worker community?
- What does the relationship look like with Jordanian recruitment agencies?
- What are the key issues that the Philippines and Jordan have to address in regards to migrant labor?
- If it's possible to publicly disclose, what are the current things the Philippines is negotiating with Jordan in regards to migrant labor?
- What recent MoUs and/or bilateral agreements does Ethiopia have with Jordan concerning migrant labor? May I be able to access them if they are publicly available?
- Has Ethiopia ever placed a deployment ban of migrant workers to Jordan? In my research, this is something that the Philippine Government has done numerous times (1995, 2005, 2008, 2012) to Jordan where the PH Government has stopped migrant domestic workers from going to Jordan. I am wondering whether this is something that other countries have done also.
- Given the Kafala System in Jordan, what is the perspective of Ethiopia on it? How could the migrant labor system be improved?

- What is the relationship between the Honorary Consulate and the Ministry of Labor?

For intergovernmental organizations

- Very similar questions to those posed to diplomats from migrant worker sending countries

For Jordanian recruitment agencies

- How did countries in West Asia/Middle East become places that have a large presence of overseas laborers?
- In the context of countries that send migrant workers, why and how did certain countries, like the Philippines, Bangladesh, Ghana, and Ethiopia, become countries that have a significant overseas laborer population in the Jordan and the region, especially in domestic labor?
- To further follow up on the previous question, migrant workers in Jordan from these countries—Philippines and Ethiopia for instance—are mostly women in domestic work. Has it always been like this in Jordan where laborers from the aforementioned countries are women in domestic work? If not, what has contributed to the significant presence of migrant worker women in domestic work in Jordan?
- Can migrant worker women work in other industries besides domestic work in Jordan?
- What is the process for a non-Jordanian to become a domestic worker?
- What is the role of recruitment agencies?
- Which countries have the most migrant worker population in Jordan, especially in domestic labor and the service sector?
- What laws, diplomatic ties, and international agreements are there that have contributed to the large presence of foreign laborers in the region?
- In a book published last year by University of Southern California Professor Dr. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (who is a fellow Filipino and who I will be meeting virtually next week) called *Unfree*, Parreñas states that Jordan "offers the most progressive rules and regulations for domestic workers in the region" (185). What makes Jordan distinct from its other neighbors regarding labor laws for migrant workers.
- Does the Kafala System exist in Jordan? Why or why not?
- While the law in Jordan has specificity on the rights of migrant domestic workers, how are these rights upheld and fought for by the Jordanian Government in support of migrant domestic workers?

- How do recruitment agencies address cases of labor exploitation and abuse? Is there any data that has the numbers of how many cases there are in a given year? How about during the pandemic?
- The experiences that migrant domestic workers go through can be challenging and even traumatizing for those who have experienced forms of abuse and exploitation. Are there any services and resources that migrant domestic workers can access such as mental health counseling and therapy in Jordan?
- How do recruitment agencies support migrant workers who are going through trauma from experiences of abuse and exploitation?

For Jordan's Ministry of Labour

- How did countries in West Asia/Middle East become places that have a large presence of overseas laborers?
- In the context of countries that send migrant workers, why and how did certain countries, like the Philippines, Bangladesh, Ghana, and Ethiopia, become countries that have a significant overseas laborer population in the Jordan and the region, especially in domestic labor?
- To further follow up on the previous question, migrant workers in Jordan from these countries—Philippines and Ethiopia for instance—are mostly women in domestic work. Has it always been like this in Jordan where laborers from the aforementioned countries are women in domestic work? If not, what has contributed to the significant presence of migrant worker women in domestic work in Jordan?
- Can migrant worker women work in other industries besides domestic work in Jordan?
- What is the process for a non-Jordanian to become a domestic worker?
- Which countries have the most migrant worker population in Jordan, especially in domestic labor and the service sector?
- What laws, diplomatic ties, and international agreements are there that have contributed to the large presence of foreign laborers in the region?
- In a book published last year by University of Southern California Professor Dr. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (who is a fellow Filipino and who I will be meeting virtually next week) called *Unfree*, Parreñas states that Jordan "offers the most progressive rules and

regulations for domestic workers in the region" (185). What makes Jordan distinct from its other neighbors regarding labor laws for migrant workers.

- Does the Kafala System exist in Jordan? Why or why not?
- While the law in Jordan has specificity on the rights of migrant domestic workers, how are these rights upheld and fought for by the Jordanian Government in support of migrant domestic workers?
- How does the Ministry of Labor address cases of labor exploitation and abuse? Is there any data that has the numbers of how many cases there are in a given year? How about during the pandemic?
- The experiences that migrant domestic workers go through can be challenging and even traumatizing for those who have experienced forms of abuse and exploitation. Are there any services and resources that migrant domestic workers can access such as mental health counseling and therapy in Jordan?
- How does the Ministry of Labor support migrant workers who are going through trauma from experiences of abuse and exploitation?

For employers of migrant domestic workers

- Questions posed are very similar to questions posed to the Ministry of Labour. The main question asked is how did the employer go through the process of hiring a migrant domestic worker and why?

Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form



Domesticated: Migrant Domestic Workers in Jordan and Their Place in Jordan's Law and Homes

Jeromel Dela Rosa Lara – Harvard University

School for International Training—Jordan: Geopolitics, International Relations, and the Future of the Middle East

The purpose of this study is to bring attention to the labor conditions for migrant women domestic workers and what agency they have in the workplace (the home of their employers) and the law in Jordan. Jordan is considered as having a model labor law for migrant workers in the region. Officials from the Ministry of Labor have claimed that this makes the Kafala System—a system of labor that puts migrant workers under the care, standards, and control of the employer—non-existent in the country. This study will look further on the extent that this is reflected to the experiences of many migrant domestic workers. It will also cover how Jordan's laws regarding migrant workers' rights have been formed and shaped by diplomatic engagement and pressures from migrant worker sending countries.

1. Rights Notice

If at any time, you feel that you are at risk or exposed to unreasonable harm, you may terminate and stop the interview. Please take some time to carefully read the statements provided below.

- a. **Privacy** - all information you present in this interview may be recorded and safeguarded. If you do not want the information recorded, you need to let the interviewer know.
- b. **Anonymity** - all names in this study will be kept anonymous unless the participant chooses otherwise.
- c. **Confidentiality** - all names will remain completely confidential and fully protected by the interviewer. By signing below, you give the interviewer full responsibility to uphold this contract and its contents. The interviewer will also sign a copy of this contract and give it to the participant.

2. Instructions:

Please read the following statements carefully and mark your preferences where indicated. Signing below indicates your agreement with all statements and your voluntary participation in the study. Signing below while failing to mark a preference where indicated will be interpreted as an affirmative preference. Please ask the researcher if you have any questions regarding this consent form.

I am aware that this interview is conducted by an independent undergraduate researcher with the goal of producing a descriptive case study on migrant domestic workers in Jordan and the Middle East region.

I am aware that the information I provide is for research purposes only. I understand that my responses will be confidential and that my name will not be associated with any results of this study.

I am aware that I have the right to full anonymity upon request, and that upon request the researcher will omit all identifying information from both notes and drafts.

I am aware that I have the right to refuse to answer any question and to terminate my participation at any time, and that the researcher will answer any questions I have about the study.

I am aware of and take full responsibility for any risk, physical, psychological, legal, or social, associated with participation in this study.

I am aware that I will not receive monetary compensation for participation in this study, but a copy of the final study will be made available to me upon request.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use my name and position in the final study.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use my organizational affiliation in the final study.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use data collected in this interview in a later study.

Date:

April __, 2022

Participant's Signature:

Participant's Printed Name:

Jeromel Dela Rosa Lara

Researcher's Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Jeromel Dela Rosa Lara". The signature is written in a cursive style with a decorative flourish at the end.

Thank you for participating!

Questions, comments, complaints, and requests for the final written study can be directed to:

Dr. Raed Al Tabini, SIT Jordan Academic Director

Email: raed.altabini@sit.edu

Appendix 3: Labour Contract for Filipina Migrant Domestic Workers

Employment Contract for Non-Jordanian Domestic Workers
Kontrata ng Empleo para sa Kasambahay na Hindi Jordanian
عقد عمل خاص بالعمالين في المنزل من غير الأردنيين

Preamble:
Panimula:
المقدمة

(A) Employer (Owner of the House): _____
May-ari ng bahay
صاحب العمل (صاحب المنزل) (أ)

Name: _____
Pangalan
الاسم

Nationality: _____
Nasyonalidad
الجنسية

Gender: _____
Kararian
الجنس

Identification: _____
Identipikasyon
اثبات الشخصية

National No.: _____
Numero ng Nasyonalidad
الرقم الوطني

Occupation: _____
Hanapbuhay
المهنة

Work Phone: _____
Numero ng Telepono sa trabaho
هاتف العمل

Home phone: _____
Numero ng Telepono sa bahay
هاتف المنزل

Work Address: _____
Adres ng Opisina
عنوان العمل

Residential Address (City): _____
Adres ng bahay (Lungsod)
عنوان السكن (المدينة)

Street: _____
Numero ng kalye
الشارع

Office of Recruitment and Employment of Non-Jordanian Domestic Workers:

Pangalan ng Recruitment Agency sa Jordan
(ب): المكتب الخاص باستقدام واستخدام العمالين في المنزل من غير الأردنيين

Address: _____
Adres ng Opisina
العنوان

Phone: _____
Numero ng Telepono

1

رقم الهاتف

Ministry of Labor License No.: _____
Numero ng Lisenya sa Ministri ng Paggawa
رقم رخصة وزارة العمل

(B) Worker: _____
Kasambahay
الفريق الثاني (العمل/العاملة)

Name: _____
Panagalan
الاسم

Place & Date of Birth: _____
Lugar at Petsa ng Kapanganakan
مكان وتاريخ الولادة

Gender: _____
Kasarian
الجنس

Nationality: _____
Nasyonalidad
الجنسية

Civil Status: _____
Katayuan Sibil
الحالة الاجتماعية

Passport No.: _____
Numero ng Pasaporte
رقم جواز السفر

Place & Date of Issue: _____
Lugar at Petdang Pag-iisyu
مكان وتاريخ الاصدار

Expiration Date: _____
May Bisa Hanggang
تاريخ الانتهاء

Address at Home Country: _____
Adres sa Filipinas
العنوان في بلده الاصلي

Phone: _____
Numero ng Telepono
رقم الهاتف

Local Worker's Agent: _____
Pangalan ng Ahensiya sa Filipinas
وكيل العمل في بلده

Date of Contract (Day) (Month) (Year): _____
Petsa ng paglirma sa kontrata (araw/buwan/taon)
تاريخ العقد (اليوم) (الشهر) (السنة)

Contract Term: _____
Tagal ng Kontrata
مدة العقد

This contract shall be effective for two (2) years as of the date of the worker's departure from the Philippines with a monthly salary of _____ JD, payable upon the worker's reporting to the employer. Any deduction from the salary shall be only in accordance to the provisions of the law.

Ang kontratang ito ay tatagal ng dalawang (2) taon at may bias mula sa araw ng pag-alis sa Filipinas, para magtrabaho bilang _____ na may buwanang sahod na _____ J.D. na babayaran ng "Employer" mula sa araw ng kanyang pagganap sa tungkulin. Anumang halaga na kakaltasin san kanyang sahod ay dapat alinsunod sa taghana ng batas.

تكون مدة هذا العقد لمدة سنتين متتاليتين تبدأ اعتباراً من تاريخ مغادرة الفريق الثاني من القنينة شريطة استصدار تصريح عمل وإذن إقامة للفريق الثاني طبقاً
مدة العقد، ويأجر شهري مقداره دينار أردني، تستحق للعامل عند وصوله للكفيل، ولا يجوز حسم أو خصم أية مبلغ مالية من الأجر إلا وفقاً لأحكام
القانون.

Whereas, the Employer desires to hire the worker in his house, of which address is above mentioned, in the capacity of **domestic worker (M/F)**, and whereas the worker is fully willing to carry on such task, this contract was signed willingly and contently by both parties as per the following conditions:

Sapagkat, ang employer ay nais kumuha ng "Kasambahay" na maglilingkod sa kaniyang bahay na ang address ay nabanggit sa itaas, at maglilingkod bilang isang _____.

Sapagkat, ang Kasambahay ay malaya at kusang loob na tinanggap ang trabahong Ito upang maglilingkod sa kaniyang Employer na walang pasuball. Bilang patunay, ang dalawang panig ay nagkasundong pumirma sa kontratang Ito batay sa sumusunod na kondisyon:

ويما أن صاحب المنزل يرغب باستخدام العامل لديه في منزله المذكور عنوانه بالمقدمة بمهنة عامل/عملة منزل. ويما أن العامل لديه الرغبة الكاملة والاستعداد التام للقيام بذلك فقد تم توقيع هذا العقد بإرادة ورضاء الفريقين ضمن الشروط التالية:

First: The preamble is an integral part hereof.

Una: Ang Panimula ay mahalagang bahagi ng kontratang Ito.

أولاً: تعتبر مقدمة هذا العقد جزءاً لا يتجزأ منه وتقرأ معه كوحدة واحدة.

Second: This contract has been concluded in quadruplicates written in Arabic, English and Filipino signed by both parties, copies of which are equally acceptable and binding. In case of inconsistency, the Arabic and Filipino will be equally controlling. Provided that each party, the Ministry of Labor and the Recruitment Office shall retain a copy.

Ikalawa: Ang kontratang Ito ay may apat na kopya, na nakasulat sa wikang Arabik, Ingles at Filipino na nilagdaan ng magkabilang panig, na ang bawat kopya ay pare-parehong katanggap-tanggap at umliral. Kung may pagkakaiba sa nakasaad sa kontrata, ang wikang nasa Arabik at Filipino ang parehong magiging batayan. Bukod sa kopya ng dalawang panig, nararapat din na may kopya ang Ministry ng Paggawa at ang Recruitment Agency sa Jordan.

ثانياً: ينظم هذا العقد على أربع نسخ مكتوبة باللغة العربية و اللغة الانجليزية و اللغة الفلبينية موقعة من كلا الفريقين. تعتبر جميع النسخ بنفس الحجته القانونية، وفي حال الاختلاف في التفسير ترجح النسخة العربية و الفلبينية، وعلى ان يحتفظ كل من صاحب المنزل و العمل ووزارة العمل و مكتب الاستقدام بنسخة منه.

Third: Employer shall be hereby obliged of the following:

Ikatlo: Ang Employer ay may tungkuling tuparin ang sumusunod:

ثالثاً: يلتزم صاحب المنزل (أ) طبقاً للعقد المبرم بما يلي:

(a). At his own expense, pay the fees and costs of obtaining the work and residency permits of the worker.

(a). Bayaran ang lahat ng gastusin sa pagkuha ng pahintulot na makapagtrabaho at manlrahan sa kaniyang bansa and Kasambahay.

(أ) : دفع تكاليف استصدار إذن إقامة وتصريح عمل للعامل.

(b). The Employer shall be obliged to open a bank account under the worker's name in order to deposit the respective monthly salary payable within not more than seven days from the salary due date. The passbook or the deposit coupon shall be given to the worker and remain in his/her custody. The employer shall likewise keep a copy of the deposit coupon. The employer shall also help the worker to remit his/her salary to his/her designated beneficiary in the Philippines through proper banking channels.

(b). Ang Employer ay obligadong magbukas ng account sa bangko na nasa pangalan ng kaniyang Kasambahay at Ideposito ang kaukulang buwanang sahod, na hindi maaantala nang higit sa pitong araw mula sa takdang araw ng pasahod. Ang passbook o deposit slip ay kailangan ibigay at manatili sa pag-iingat ng Kasambahay. Dapat ay may kopya rin ng deposit slip ang Employer. Dapat ding tulungan ng Employer ang kasambahay sa pagpapadala ng pera sa kamag-anak na nasa Filipinas sa pamamagitan ng lehitimong bangko.

(ب) : يلتزم صاحب المنزل فتح حساب بنكي للعامل لإيداع الأجر الشهري فيه و على ان يكون موعد دفع الأجر للعامل خلال مدة أقصاها سبعة أيام من موعد استحقاق الأجر الشهري للعامل، ويحتفظ كل من العامل و صاحب المنزل على نسخة من قسيمة الأيداع لأثبات دفع الأجر، وعلى صاحب المنزل مساعدة العامل بتحويل أمواله إلى الجهة المراد للتحويل إليها بالفلبين.

(c). The Employer is required to employ the worker in his permanent or temporary place of residence with his/her family, where no other parties other than the first party and his/her family member to order or instruct the worker.

(c). Magtrabaho lamang ang Kasambahay sa sariling bahay ng Employer, permanente man o pansamantala, kasama ng pamilya ng Employer at wala ng iba pa. Siya lamang at ang kaniyang pamilya ang may karapatang mag-utos sa Kasambahay.

(ج) : يلتزم صاحب المنزل باستخدام العامل في مكان إقامته المعتاد أو الموقت مع أسرته ولا يحق لأي شخص غير صاحب المنزل وإفراد أسرته إصدار أوامر العمل للعامل.

d). The employer is obliged to treat the worker with respect, and to provide all requirements and conditions of appropriate working environment, as well as providing the workers with all essential necessities such as clothing, food and drinks, properly ventilated and illuminated room, comfort and sleeping means, in addition to respecting his/her right of privacy in consistency with the traditions and customs in Jordan.

d). Obligadong ituring ng Employer ang kasambahay nang may paggalang, at ibigay ang lahat ng pangangailangan gaya ng damit, pagkain at inumin, maaliwalas na silid at komportableng tulugan. Bukod ditto, igagalang ang karapatang pribado na alinsunod sa tradisyon at kaugallan ng Jordan.

(د) : الالتزام بمعاملة العامل باحترام وتوفير جميع متطلبات العمل اللائق وشروطه وتأمين جميع احتياجاته من ملابس ومأكل ومشرب وشرفه حصة الاضائة والتهووية ومساكن النوم والرعاية وحقه بالخصوصية بما لا يتعارض مع العادات والتقاليد في الاردن.

(e). The Employer, at his/her own expense, shall allow the worker to Tele-communicate with his/her family once a month, while the worker shall be entitled to make a second call during the month at his/her own expense.

(e). Papayagan ng Employer ang Kasambahay na tumawag sa pamilya nito sa Filipinas Isang beses kada buwan. Ang pagtawag na ito ay sagot ng Employer, pero ang mga sumusunod na tawag sa loob ng buwan na iyon ay babayaran na ng Kasambahay.

(ه) : الالتزام بتكثيف الاتصال بالعائلة في الخارج هاتفياً وعلى نفقة صاحب المنزل مرة واحدة في الشهر وللعمل الحق في مكالمات اضافية على نفقة الخاصة وكذلك الحق في المراسلات الخاصة.

(f). When travelling abroad, the first party shall not coerce the worker to come along unless with the approval of the same, and upon notification of the worker's respective embassy.

(f). Kung maglalakbay sa labas ng bansa ang Employer, hindi dapat piloting Isama ang Kasambahay hangga't walang pahintulot at pagbibigay alam sa Embahada ng Filipinas.

(و) : عدم اصطحاب العامل عند انتقال صاحب المنزل او أسرته الى دولة اخرى للإقامة المؤقتة الا بموافقة العامل وبعد إعلام سفارة دولته.

(g). The Employer, at his/her own expense, shall provide the worker with plane tickets for expatriation to Jordan, and repatriation upon the expiration of the workers' contract period of two years.

(g). Ang Employer ang gagastos ng pamaaha sa eroplano ng Kasambahay papunta sa Jordan at pauwi ng Filipinas pagkaraan ng dalawang taong kontrata.

(ز) : تأمين تذكرة سفر العامل على نفقة صاحب المنزل من بلده الاصلي الى المملكة وكذلك تذكرة السفر للعودة الى بلده الاصلي في حال اتم العامل مدة صل مستان.

(h). Allow the worker freedom of worship, without prejudice to the customs, traditions, and public morals and law of Jordan.

(h). Bigyan ng kalayaan ang Kasambahay sa kaniyang pagsamba, na naayon sa kaugalian, tradisyon, publikong moral, at batas ng Jordan.

(ح) : السماح للعامل بممارسة شعائره الدينية بما لا يتعارض مع العادات والتقاليد والنظم العام والاداب في المملكة.

(i). Allow the worker to maintain his/her passport, as well as any other private documents.

(i). Hayaan ang Kasambahay na magpanatili/magtago ng kaniyang pasaporte at iba pang pribadong dokumento.

(ط) : السماح للعامل بالاحتفاظ بجواز سفره واية اوراق شخصية تعود له.

(j). The Employer shall be obliged to obtain a medical, life, accident and repatriation insurance for the worker by an insurer duly licensed by the concerned official authorities.

(j). Obligado ang Employer na kumuha ng seguro sa pagpapagamot, buhay, aksidenté at repatriasyon (medical, life, accident and repatriation insurance) para sa Kasambahay. Ang nasabing insurance ay lisensiyado ng awtorisadong opisyal. (ي) : الالتزام بإصدار بوليصة تأمين على الحياة و تسفير الجثمان وضد الحوادث لصالح العامل لدى شركة تأمين مرخصة من الجهات الرسمية.

(k). The Employer shall be obliged to grant the worker and annual leave of (14) days, and may be postponed to the end of the worker's service. If worker did not avail of his/her vacation leave, the employer shall pay the monetary equivalent at the end of the two year period.

(k). Obligado ang Employer na bigyan na taunang leave na labing-apat (14) na araw, na maaring hindi gamitin ng Kasambahay hanggang sa katapusan ng kaniyang kontrata. Kung hindi gagamitin ng Kasambahay ang nasabing leave, maari niyang kunin and katumbas na halaga pagkaraan ng dalawang taong kontrata.

(ك) : يلتزم صاحب المنزل بمنح العامل إجازة سنوية (14) يوماً في السنة ويجوز تأجيلها إلى نهاية خدمة العامل, وفي حال عدم مطابقة العامل للاجازة السنوية فطى صاحب المنزل دفع المبلغ النقدي المعادل في نهاية عقد الملتحقين .

(l). The Employer must be responsible to allow the worker to leave Jordan in the event of war, civil disturbance or major natural calamity before the expiration of the worker's employment contract. The insurance company will be responsible for the cost of repatriation.

(l). Pananagutan ng Employer na payagan ang kaniyang Kasambahay na umalis ng Jordan bago matapos ang kontrata, sakaling may gilyera, kaguluhang sibil o malawakang kalamidad. Ang insurance ang magbabayad sa gastos ng Kasambahay sa pag-uwi sa Filipinas.

(ل) : يلتزم صاحب المنزل بمسؤولية السماح للعامل الخروج من الأردن في حال الثورات , الحروب أو الكوارث الطبيعية قبل انتهاء مدة العقد و تحصل شركة التأمين تكاليف التصفير .

Fourth: The worker shall be hereby obliged with the following:

Ikaapat: Ang Kasambahay ay obligadong gampanan ang sumusunod:

رابعاً : يلتزم العامل بما يلي:

(a). To perform his/her work diligently and faithfully.

(a). Maging masipag sa trabaho.

(أ) : القيام بالعمل المنزلي بكل امانة واخلاص.

(b). To respect the privacy of the home and to take care the owner's belongings and contents of the house.

(b). Igalang ang pagiging pribado ng tahanan at pangalagaan ang lahat ng mga gamit at kasangkapan ng bahay.

(ب) : لِحترام خصوصية المنزل الذي يعمل به والمحافظة على ممتلكات صاحب المنزل ومحتويات المنزل.

(c). To maintain the privacy and confidentiality of any secrets he/she becomes aware of.

(c). Panatilihin ang pagiging kompidensiyal ng anumang lihim ng pamilya na kanyang natukasan.

(ج) : عدم إفشاء الأسرار التي يطلع عليها.

(d). To indemnify the employer against any loss or damages to any equipments or belongings in the worker's custody, provided that such damage or loss is caused by the worker's gross negligence or deliberate act to cause damage or non-compliance to the owner's instructions, while such compensation shall not exceed five days' wage in total.

(d). Bayaran ang Employer sa anumang nawala o nasirang kasangkapan o gamit na nasa pangangalaga ng Kasambahay, kung ang pagkawala o pagkasira ay dulot ng kapabayaang, sinadya o hindi sumunod da tamang paggamit. Ang nasabing danyos ay hindi dapat lalagpas sa katumbas na limang araw na sahod ng Kasambahay.

(د) : تعويض صاحب المنزل عن فقد أو إتلاف أية أدوات أو ممتلكات يملكها وكانت في عهدة العامل وكان ذلك بخطأ لغشى عنه و / أو مخالفة لتعليمات صاحب المنزل ويكون هذا التعويض بما لا يزيد عن اجر خمس ايام من الشهر.

(e). To compensate the employer of all financial liabilities imposed hereunder as well as the cost of repatriation in case the worker leaves the employer's house and refuse to work, provided that such departure has not been compelled by the employer.

(e) Bayaran ang Employer sa lahat ng gastusing nakasaad ditto, pati ang gastos sa pag-uwi ng Filipino kung ang Kasambahay ay umalis sa Employer at ayaw ng magtrabaho, sa pasubaling hindi pinilit ng Employer ang pag-alis ng kasambahay.

(هـ) : يتحمل العامل تعويض صاحب المنزل عن كافة الالتزامات المالية المترتبة بموجب هذا العقد وكذلك تكلفة العودة الى بلده في حال هروبه من المنزل دون أن يكون صاحب المنزل متسبباً في ذلك.

(f). To respect and comply with all laws and regulations of Jordan and directives issued by virtue thereof.

(f). Igalang at sumunod sa lahat ng batas at alituntunin ng Jordan at sa kautusang nakasaad dito.

(ز) : الالتزام بلحترام القوانين والانظمة والتعليمات الصادرة بموجبهما وعدم مخالفتها.

Fifth: The Employer have agreed that the worker's working hours shall not exceed ten hours daily, counting out any food or rest breaks.

Ikalima: Ang Employer ay sumang-ayon na ang oras ng paglilingkod ng Kasambahay ay hindi lalagpas ng sampung oras (10) bawat araw, hindi kabilang ang oras sa pagkain at pahinga.

خامساً : اتفق الفريقان على ان مجموع ساعات عمل العامل لا تزيد فطياً عن عشر ساعات في اليوم الواحد ولا يحتسب منها الاوقات التي يقضيها العامل دون عمل او للراحة او لتناول الطعام.

Sixth: The Employer and worker have agreed that the daily working schedule shall be determined exclusively and solely by the Employer, taking into account the sufficient sleeping hours for the worker shall not be less than eight uninterrupted hours daily.

Ikaanim: Ang Employer at Kasambahay ay nagkasundo na ang pang-araw-araw na Gawain ay itatakdalamang ng Employer, na may pasuball na may sapat na tulog ang Kasambahay na hindi kulang sa walong (8) oras araw-araw nang hindi nagagambala.

سادساً : اتفق الفريقان على ان تنظيم ساعات العمل اليومي هو حق منفرد يتمتع به صاحب المنزل (ا) وحده مع صاحب المنزل بمنح العامل الفترة الكافية من ساعات النوم خلال اليوم الواحد بما لا يقل عن ثماني ساعات متصلة يوميا.

Seventh: The parties have agreed that the worker shall be entitled of a weekly day off as may be agreed among them. In the case of worker was required to work on a determined day off, the Employer shall be obliged to make up for such day with another day as may be agreed upon.

Ikapito: Ang magkabilang panig ay nagkasundo na ang Kasambahay ay may lingguhang araw ng pahinga (day off) na naaayon sa kanilang napagkasunduan. Kung sakaling ang Kasambahay ay pinagtrabaho sa napagkasunduang araw, obligado ang Employer na payagan sa ibang araw na kanilang napagkasunduan.

سابعاً : اتفق الفريقان على منح العامل يوم عطلة اسبوعية يتم الاتفاق عليها بينهما وفي حال العمل في يوم عطلة اسبوعية يلتزم صاحب المنزل بتعويضه بيوم اخر يتم الاتفاق عليه بينهما.

Eight: The parties have agreed that the worker shall be entitled of a fully-waged sick leave for (14) days annually.

Ikawalo: Ang magkabilang panig ay nagkasundo na ang Kasambahay ay may labing-apat (14) na araw na sick leave bawat taon na babayaran ng Employer.

ثامناً : اتفق الفريقان على منح العامل اجازة مرضية مدفوعة الاجر مدتها اربعة عشر يوماً خلال السنة.

Ninth: The worker shall have the right, after exhausting all amicable means by the Ministry of labor and official authorities and the Philippine Embassy, to terminate the contract in the case of the Employer's breach of his/her obligations hereunder, provided that such breach is not caused by the worker, while the Employer shall assume full civil and penal liability of such breach.

Ikasiyam: Ang Kasambahay ay may karapatan, matapos ang lahat ng pagdinig ng Ministri ng Paggawa, mga awtoridad na batas, at ng Embahada ng Pilipinas, ipagwalang-bisa ang kontratang ito dahil sa paglabag na hindi dulot ng Kasambahay, gayunman ang Employer ang mananagot.

تاسعاً : للعامل وبعد استنفاد كافة الطرق الودية من قبل وزارة العمل والجهات المسؤولة الحق بفسخ العقد إذا لم يتم صاحب المنزل بتنفيذ ما التزم به في هذا العقد ما لم يكن العامل متسبباً في ذلك ويتحمل صاحب المنزل كامل المسؤولية المدنية والجزائية الناتج عن إخلائه ببلود العقد.

9.1 The Employer shall terminate this contract in the following cases:

(9.1) Maaring tapusin ng Employer ang Kontratang Ito batay sa sumusunod:

1-9 : لصاحب المنزل الحق في اتياء العقد في الحالات التالية :

- a). Serious misconduct or willful disobedience by the worker of the lawful orders of the Employer or member of his/her family
 a). Masamang ugali at asal o tahasang hindi pagsunod ng Kasambahay sa mga Ipinag-uutos ng Employer at ng kaniyang pamilya na aon sa batas.
 -الأصناف الغير الشرعية من قبل العاملة ورفضها للعمل و تلقي التعليمات من دون سبب من قبل صاحب المنزل أو أي فرد من أفراد الأسرة أو رفض العاملة لطلبات صاحب المنزل الشرعية .

- b). Violation of the Jordan laws and regulations.
 b). Paglabag sa batas at alituntunin ng Jordan.

خرقها لتوانين و أنظمة دولة الأردن .

In such case, the worker shall pay the repatriation expenses.

Sa mga ganitong pangyayari, ang Kasambahay ang gagastos sa kanyang pag-uwi sa Filipinas.

-في هذه الحالات يتحمل العامل تكاليف تسييره .

9.2 The Worker shall terminate the contract in the following cases:

(9.2) Maaring tapusin ng Kasambahay ang kontratang ito batay sa sumusunod:

2-9 : فسخ العقد من قبل العاملة :

a). The worker may terminate the contract without cause by serving a written notice to the employer at least one month in advance

a). Maaring tapusin ng Kasambahay ang kontrata kahit walang dahilan, sa pasubaling ipapabatid niya sa pamamagitan ng pagliham sa kaniyang Employer, isang buwan bago ang takdang paglibitw.

أ - يمكن للعاملة فسخ العقد شريطة اعلام صاحب المنزل خطيا بفترة شهر قبل الفسخ و بذلك يتحمل العامل تكاليف تسييره .

The worker shall shoulder the cost of his/her repatriation.

Ang Kasambahay ang gagastos sa kanyang pag-uwi sa Filipinas

ب - في حال تعرض العامل للاساءة أو الضرب أو التحرش الجنسي من قبل صاحب المنزل أو أحد أفراد أسرته و ذلك بعد الحصول على الاقبيت بالتقرير الطبية أو التضائية أو من وزارة العمل .

b). If the worker is maltreated, assaulted or harassed by the employer or any member of his/her family, after such has been proved pursuant to a medical report made by a forensic doctor or investigation records provided by the Judicial Police or the Ministry of Labor.

b). Kung ang Kasambahay ay minaltrato, binugbog, o nakaranas ng kahalayan sa kaniyang Employer o sinumang kapamilya nito, pagkaraang mapatunayan sa ulat at pagsusuri ng klinikilalang doctor sa forensic o ulat ng pagsusuri ng hudisyal na pulis o Ministri ng Paggawa.

ج - في حال توظيف صاحب المنزل للعامل بكن أو عمل لخر لم يكن متتقا عليه أو بدون موافقة العمل .

c). If the Employer employs the Worker under a capacity other than that under which he/she had recruited him/her without his/her consent.

c). Kung pinagtrabaho ng Employer ang Kasambahay sa iba na wala siyang pagsang-ayon.

د - في حال عدم دفع صاحب المنزل راتب العامل الشهري لمدة 3 أشهر أو خصم رواتب غير مصرح به .

d). If the Employer does not pay the monthly wages for three months, or commits unauthorized salary deduction.

d). Kung ang Employer ay hindi magbabayad ng suweldo sa loob ng tatlong buwan o binawasan ang kaniyang suweldo na hindi alinsunod sa batas.

و بذلك يتحمل صاحب المنزل ارجاع و تسيير العامل الى بلده و نقتات تكررة الطيران .

In such cases, the Employer is obliged to return the second party to his/her country and shall pay the cost of the travel ticket.

Sa ganitong pangyayari, ang Employer ay obligadong pauwlin ang Kasambahay sa Filipinas at bayaran ang halaga ng pamasaha.

9.3) Either party may terminate this contract on the ground of illness, disease or injury suffered by the Worker, where the latter's continued employment is prohibited by law or is prejudicial to his/her health as well as to the health of the employer and his/her household, as evidenced with a medical report issued by official authorities, the repatriation expenses shall be shouldered by the employer.

9.3) Maaring tapusin ng sinuman sa magkabilang panig ang kontratang ito dahil sa sakit, pagkakasakit o pagkakasugat ng Kasambahay, na ang patuloy na pagtrabaho ng huli ay ipinagbabawal ng batas o makaapekto sa kaniyang kalusugan at kalusugan ng kaniyang Employer at ng pamilya nito, na pinatunayan ng ulat medical na inilabas ng awtorisadong opisyal. Ang gastos sa pagpapauwi ay babayaran ng kaniyang ahensiya o ng Employer.

9-3 : يحق لأي طرف من الطرفين فسخ العقد في حال المرض أو الاصابة في العمل من قبل العامل حيث يكون مخالفا للتوانين و خوفا على صحة العامل أو صاحب المنزل أو أفراد أسرته , على أن يتم تلمين تقرير طبي من الجهات المسؤولة حيث يتحمل المكتب تكاليف التسيير .

Tenth: Within the 1st 3 months of employment, the Office (b/Employer) shall solely bear all costs, should the worker appear to have any contagious or dangerous diseases, or to be physically unfit for the job, or in case of female worker to be pregnant. In such case, the Office shall solely bear any recruitment costs incurred by the Employer, as well as repatriation costs and any fees associated therewith.

Ikasampun: Sa loob ng unang tatlong buwan ng paninilbihan, ang tanggapan (b/Employer) ang sasagot sa lahat ng gastusin un gang Kasambahay ay may nakahahawa o mapanganib na sakit, o hindi kaya ng kalusugan ang trabaho, at kung ang babae Kasambahay ay bustis. Sa ganitong pangyayari, ang ahensya ang mananagot sa lahat ng ginastos ng Employer, gayundin ang gastos sa pagpapauwi ng Kasambahay at anumang kaakibat na bayarin.

عشر: يتحمل المكتب (ب / الفريق الاول) خلال اول 3 اشهر من توظيف العامل كافة التكاليف وحده اذا تبين ان الفريق الثاني مصطب بأي مرض من الامراض المعدية او الخطرة او عدم لياقته الصحية والجدية او ان تكون العاملة حامل, وهو ملازم وحده بتحمل اية تكاليف انتقها. صاحب المنزل لاستخدام الفريق الثاني واعادته الى بلده واية تكاليف انتقت بسبب ذلك.

Eleventh: In case the worker dies, repatriation of the worker's remains and personal belongings to the Philippines will be covered by repatriation insurance. Repatriation will be undertaken as soon as legally possible and without undue delay. In case the repatriation of the remains is not possible, the same may be disposed of after obtaining the approval of the worker's next of kin and the Philippine embassy.

Ikalabing-isa: Kung sakaling bawian ng buhay ang Kasambahay, ang pahahatid ng kaniyan labi at mga gamit sa Fillpinas ay saklaw ng insurance. Isasagawa ang paghahatid ng labi sa pinakamabilis na panahon alinsunod sa batas at walang pagkabalang. Kung sakaling hindi maluwal ang labi, ito ay ipaililbing pagkaraang sang-ayunan ng kaniyan pinakmalapit na kaanak at ng Embahada ng Fillpinas.

حادي عشر: في حال وفاة العامل, فان تفسير الجثمان و الأمتعة الشخصية الى الفلبين تكون منقطة من قبل تأمين تفسير الجثمان, و يتم التفسير بأسرع وقت قانوني ممكن بدون تأخير و في حال عدم القدرة على التفسير يتم الدفن بعد الحصول على موافقة أحد اقارب أو عائلة الميت و السفارة الفلبينية.

Twelfth: Upon the expiration of the contract and the work term, both parties are obliged to conduct quitance of all labor rights between the parties, which must be signed at the Ministry, while each party shall maintain his/her propriety copy according to the respective form.

Ikalabing-dalawa: Pagkatapos ng kontrata at ng dalawang taong napagkasunduan, ang magkabilang panig ay obligadong humarap sa Ministri ng paggawa upang lagdaan ang pagtatapos ng kanilang karapatan sa paggawa sa bawat isa, ang bawat panig ay magpapanatili ng kanilang kopya ng nilagdaan.

ثاني عشر: يلتزم الفريقان وعند انتهاء مدة العقد والعمل بإجراء مخلصه للحقوق الصافية بين الطرفين توقيع امام الوزارة ويحتفظ كل طرف بنسخة منه وفق النموذج الخاص بذلك.

Thirteenth: In the emergence of any dispute between the parties, such dispute shall be settled amicably before Labor Inspectors, within the soonest possible time, or before the committee on settlement of issues related to non-Jordanian domestic workers' employment with the participation of the Philippine Embassy/POLO. In case of inability to settle such dispute, then the same shall be referred to judicial authorities.

Ikalabing-tatlo: Kung magkaroon ng hindi pagkakaunawaan ang magkabilang panig, ang nasabing usapin ay ayusin sa harap ng Labor Inspector sa lalong madaling panahon o sa komite sa pag-aayos ng mga usapin sa Kasambahay na hindi Jordanian, kasama ang Embahada ng Fillpinas/POLO. Kung sakaling maayos ang nsabing usapin, ito ay idudulog sa korte.

ثالث عشر: في حال نشو اي نزاع بين الفريقين فيصنر الى تسوية بالطرق الودية امام منتشي العمل باقرب وقت ممكن او امام لجنة حل المشاكل المتعلقة باستخدام العاملين في المنازل من غير الاردنيين وبمساهمة السفارة الفلبينية/الملاحية العمالية, وإذا تضر حل النزاع فيحل الى القضاء.

Fourteenth: This contract was concluded on the _____ day of the month _____ corresponding to _____

Ikalabing-apat: Ang kontratang ito ay pinagtibay at nilagdaan ngayong ika _____, buwan ng _____

Taong _____ ayon sa _____

رابع عشر: تم تنظيم هذا العقد في يوم الموافق

Employer
Employer

الفريق الاول (أ)

Worker
Kasambahay
الفريق الاول (ب)

