TOGETHER BUT APART: FILIPINO TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES AND CARING FROM AFAR

by

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Abstract

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For this dissertation, I conducted multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork for three years in New York City with Filipino domestic workers and their families in Manila, Philippines. This study makes three interventions to the scholarship on transnationalism, family and care by suggesting the model of "multidirectionality of care" to understand the reorganization of *providers, definitions, and forms* of care within families separated by migration. First, I prioritize both biological and fictive family members left behind as *providers* of care in a transnational family. Second, rapidly developing computer technology changes *definition* of presence and of care migrant mothers and families left behind participate in. Third, *form* of care expands as members of transnational families come to include other migrants in the diaspora in what I call "communities of care". Broadly, this project is concerned with impacts of globalization and migration on the intimate and material operations of families. Specifically, I propose that transnational families are using all the resources they have available to them to innovate and participate in care work to maintain family life despite separation. My dissertation contributes directly to studies in technology, immigration and transnationalism, family and motherhood, and globalization. Further it tackles issues in gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, and social inequality.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

From Afar: Filipino Transnational Families and New Caring Strategies

Introduction

Mother's Day is one of the most important days at our Filipino Community Center in Queens, New York. The multi-purpose hall comes alive with purple décor and flowers. The tables are decorated with matching tablecloths and the fanciest disposable wares the organizers can find at the dollar stores. It is Spring in New York and people come in to the center buzzing with new energy and excited about the good weather: no more snow. After the 50 or more Filipino migrant women of Kabalikat Domestic Workers Support Network and other mothers who are members of the center are welcomed and seated, young Filipino women and men who volunteer at the center serve lunch. The food comes out in courses. When the women are almost done eating, the same volunteers read letters from Manila, letters of dedication from the children of the migrant women who are part of Kabalikat and the community center. After letters and poems from children and husbands had been read, the room dims and one of the Kabalikat coordinators, Andrea, turns on the projector.

Since the tables were set up as one long banquet table and the projector was faced on the wall behind some of the women, some of the workers had to turn around in their seats. The first pre-taped video was from Joan and Vicky's kids. Joan and Vicky, sisters from Manila who both migrated in the last five years since 2005, snicker at each other about how their kids' heads are as big as the white board on the center's wall. Still, all eyes are on the screen. A projection of Melann's face, Joan's only daughter, shows up on the wall and with a slow song

in the background, she greets her mother, "Happy Mother's Day Mama!" Then she turns the camera over to Christopher, Joan's youngest son. He was glowing with pride holding up his diploma as his present to his mother on mother's day. As he adjusted the distance of the diploma to the camera, close up and then a bit more back and then close up again, Joan, in tears, said aloud, "I'm so proud of you, Chris! Tapos na ang aking trabaho! My work is done! Tapos na ako sa arinola! I'm done with cleaning toilets!" He says happy mother's day to Joan and at the end of his message, he acknowledges the rest of the women in the room telling them that their kids are celebrating them too on mother's day. He ended with, "Wag kayong magalala, pinagbubutihan namin ang aming pagaaral dito, mga Tita. Don't worry, we're all doing our best in our studies here, Aunties."

Rita and Lily turn to Joan and tell her in their own ways, "See after all of that, ang galing pala ni Chris! Chris is so good after all! Didn't I tell you that you just have to always remind him about going to school? Didn't I tell you that you just have to tell him that you ask him to tell you about the different classes he is taking?" Joan, teary eyed, says, "Yes, I remember. And now, he's graduated. What a relief."

This is the living room scene of the current day Filipino family. Many families from the Philippines have one or two or more migrant family members abroad. More recently, in the past twenty years, those family members have increasingly become the women of the family: mothers, sisters, aunts, and daughters. The women who, in a largely patriarchal Filipino culture, are most responsible for caring for the home and children are the very people who are now opting to leave their homes and children to seek work outside of their country. Paradoxically, the work that many Filipino women find available to them are jobs

that ask of them to fulfill the very roles they played in their own households, instead, in the households of middle and upper class homes in other countries.

In their time abroad, women like Joan and Vicky watch their children grow up through webcams, joining their family activities and milestones through Skype, and watching their kids' every step through Facebook. Joan couldn't make it to Chris' graduation but having him show his diploma at Mother's Day in front of all of the Kabalikat women almost mimicked the public ceremony at Chris' university. The women at the center congratulated Joan by shaking her hand and asking her about what Chris graduated with, what his "course" was. Joan was able to glow with pride even if it was not at Chris' graduation, even if his cap and gown was off. She was able to share his pride and glory with women who are also putting sons and daughters, nieces and nephews through school. They all share in the hope that their sacrifices for their families back home will be returned victoriously like Joan's Chris did for her. Although far away, Filipino migrant women are still recognize holidays like mother's day to even if their families can't be with them. Technology like videos are taped and sent to New York City played retroactively and shared with yet another form of family, a group of childrenless mothers and parentless daughters. Migrant women who all see one another, necessarily, as their own made up families, fictive kin, in New York given their common sacrifices and situations.

Contemporary global migration reorganizes the *form, roles and definitions* of family for both migrant and non-migrant members. The classed idea of a nuclear family form in a geographically contained space that is reified in much of Western scholarship is no longer the form in which the popular family is shaped. For working class families in the Global North, it was often customary for children and parents to live apart for some time given the

conditions of employment (Seccombe 1995). In the Global South, families have often lived across households and cities and now, for many, across different nation-states. The character of families in contemporary globalization via migration is long-term separation over distance until reunification, parents' absence for a duration of their children's lives, and complex constellations of people, biological and non-biological kin, becoming incorporated into a "doing family" under conditions of separation (Dreby 2010). These conditions reconfigure the family form and the roles in the labor (both productive and reproductive) relations within a transnational family. Scholars have posited that the "transnational family" rearticulates traditional conceptions and strategies of motherhood for migrants (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997, Parrenas 2001, Dreby 2010). These new definitions compel migrant mothers to restrategize participation in their families through remittances and technology. Further, as migration becomes institutionalized especially on the national development agendas of developing countries, these new definitions of motherhood also affect families left behind as they respond to the absence of a family member.

From the outside looking in, the Philippines is an exemplary site to study migrant motherhood and the transnationalization of the family, as labor export has become institutionalized in the past 40 years. The Philippines is especially illustrative of the reconfiguration of family and motherhood, as the rhetoric around gender and migration is a pillar in facilitating the outmigration of Filipino women to the world's domestic industry. Anna Romina Guevarra argues that the gendered rhetoric of the state's migration industry hinges on ideas of "good" wives and mothers (Guevarra 2009). Moreover, the daily

departure of over 4,000 Filipinos, many of them women, to work abroad produces unprecedented consequences for Filipino families.

Plainly, Filipino global migration can be interpreted as Filipinos choosing to pick themselves up by their bootstraps to find a better future for their families. Although there is some truth in that, it is also key to situate Filipinos' decisions to migrate in the Philippines state's sophisticated and aggressive labor export industry, which supplies hundreds of thousands of Filipinos as migrant workers globally. The institutionalization of labor export and migration in the early 70s under the dictator Ferdinand Marcos has become part of the rubric of the Philippine national economy. Administration after administration since then has developed and advanced a system of migration management and regulation for profit, in what Robyn Rodriguez calls a "labor brokerage state" (Rodriguez 2010). It is important to contextualize the phenomenon of global migration in the institutions that produce conditions and mechanisms of migration—neoliberal globalization and the labor brokerage state—to understand that Filipinos decisions to leave their families are constrained by these social forces.

In this dissertation, I will make three interventions to the sociology of migration and transnationalism with a case study of transnational Filipino families. First, in what I call, "multidirectionality of care," I excavate the ***forms*** of care work performed not only by migrant towards families left behind, but also by children, husbands, in-laws and siblings towards their migrant family members abroad. Drawing attention to family members, both biological and fictive, in the Philippines answers the call for research to analyze how transnational practices are enacted by all members involved in transnational arrangements and how they choose to make sense of those practices (Levitt 2001). Although research on

Filipino transnational families discusses kinship ties, I prioritize the extended family formation and fictive kin as a primary form of the Filipino family to shift the focus away from the bourgeois idea of the nuclear family form. I center the expansive network of people and resources needed to maintain a transnational family in the study of care to understand how transnational practices emanate from different people and places.

Scholarship on transnational families has analyzed the role of kinship networks as support systems to the dispersed family; however, they are assumed to be in addition to the original nuclear family instead of a foundational component of the transnational family form. Membership in Filipino families' is expansive; with Filipinos tracing lineage through both mother and father and considering relatives regardless of how distant or close as "family"(Asis 2006). This form is upheld with a core value in Filipino behavior and psyche, "*pakikisama,"* literally translated as "being with," putting importance on interpersonal relationships that then bolster a feeling of being in the family (Agoncillo and Guerrero 1974). My research indicates that the Philippine family rarely follows the nuclear form; rather, it includes extended and fictive kinship networks in the production of families in everyday life and is now adjusting to distance and separation. Families, communities and people left behind are actively negotiating, rethinking and crafting who are care providers, what types of care are necessitated in a transnational context and who receives that care. Additionally, I show that the development of multiple directions, providers and interpretations of care is a product of migration as a mainstay in Philippine culture and families.

Further, the migrant family member is often marked as the nexus for care in transnational families. However, following literature on the sociology of the family on care

as a multidirectional social process (Fisher and Tronto 1990; Stack 1997), I highlight the redefinitions of roles for families left behind in appropriating care for the migrant family members to expand the focus of care providers to the different actors in the transnational family, both migrant and non-migrant. In my discussion of multidirectionality of care in the transnational family, I emphasize the direction of care going the opposite direction: from families left behind. Scholars often situate care in a transnational family with the migrant as a referent (R. Parrenas 2005; Dreby 2010; R. C. Smith 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997), however, with a historical and political economy analysis, coupled with a reimagining of the family outside of the nuclear form, I argue that families left behind are also always producing and delivering care from the place left behind.

Second, in conversation with and in contribution to the field of technology in transnationalism, this dissertation explores changing technology in the transnational family as a mode to make meaning of family relations across time and space. I argue that with the increase in the use of technology, the ***roles*** of who provides care interchange with the new needs of learning computer skills and the very visual register of the hardware used. The rapid development of technology, namely communication technologies like personal computers, video software, and web-based social networks, introduces quicker and more intimate interactions between families who live transnationally. Like Melann's pre-taped video and showing at the Mother's Day celebration above, today's visual register facilitated by these video and computer technologies establishes a new intimacy, albeit artificial and digital, for families separated by migration unlike communication strategies of the past. I argue that these available technologies introduce novel means of relating for separated families—surveillance, presence and intimacy are facilitated by these emerging

avenues of communication technology. Given these new avenues of communication, I show that technology clearly illustrates how the model of "multidirectionality of care" functions wherein children left behind teach mothers how to log on to Facebook and Skype allows migrant aunts see their aging parents. Still, the irony in studying how technology is mediating the relationships of transnational families is that both of these social facts are products of neoliberal globalization. This includes both global labor migration as the answer to poverty, joblessness and lack of life opportunities in the Philippines and technology as the product of globalization's need to become increasingly connected.

Lastly, I look to studies of diaspora and sociology of immigrant networks (Bashi 2007) to inform what I will call "communities of care"—a direction of care that is yet another redefinition of the ***definition*** of care arrangements in a transnational context. Rita and Lily's excitement for Joan's son's graduation initially demonstrates what I will theorize as a horizontal form of care in an immigrant social network. I propose that communities of care is a redefinition of the transnational family form as care work between Filipina migrants become a new "sisterhood" with new "daughters" and "mothers" incorporated in what migrants call their "family away from home." Migrants identify a new diasporic, fictive family form informed by the reconfigured care work they create in their own transnational families and the Philippines in mind. Their transnational families become the basis for their fictive kinship abroad.

Furthermore, these communities of care function similarly to immigrant social networks, assisting one another in practical issues of migrant life. Filipina migrant workers help one another in job hunting, housing and support (emotional, financial and practical) around issues of maintaining families in the Philippines and the transition to a life abroad.

However, I argue that this *definition* of care fomented in and through transnational reconfigurations of care cannot only be viewed as simple exchanges of resources. Rather, the connections and identifications with one another are embedded in the structurally similar positions they hold in the global city as migrant, mother and worker.

Network theory for immigrant communities often only focuses in on assimilative components of immigrant life. However, my proposal to use "communities of care" as a frame to look at these creative strategies for survival underscores the reconfiguration of care in a globalized economy. What network theory loses in just looking at immigrant relationships is the analysis that links a political economy of migration and the particularities of the places in which migrants live. Moreover, communities of care allows for Filipina migrants to be "diasporic subjects" that construct their own brands of care in New York City as they use diasporic sensibilities to relate to one another and thus forming bonds of support that are manifested both practically and affectively.

The next sections of the chapter will delve into the theoretical basis for my arguments about changing the ***forms, roles and definitions*** of the transnational family and care that has emerged in the research for this dissertation. First, I discuss the Philippine state and the political economy of migration to understand the current Filipino family form thriving under separation. The historical progression and present-day state of Filipino migration has adverse consequences for Filipino families, but it also allows us to understand how care in the current transnational family *form* can be multidirectional.

Second, I review the concept of "simultaneity" in transnational life to echo the multidirectional care model but, more importantly, to explore the *roles* of who provides care in which places for the transnational family. Simultaneity underscores the dynamism

of transnational life changing in all places all at once, therefore illuminating caregivers from abroad(s) and home. Further, in considering that transnational life is contemporaneously changing, I bring to light a postcolonial perspective that challenges the static, Old World and modern, abroad dichotomy in migration studies.

Third, I consider the literature on fictive kin and immigrant social network in relationship to the creation of an alternative *form* of family in the transnational context. I use the framework of structural constraints in relation to agential capacities in Queer theory and Black Feminist Thought to analyze "communities of care" as more than exchanges in resources in a new land. Rather, I use the conceptual critique of systems of power and responses "from below" to look deeper into the identification processes that make up diasporic "family" forms.

Lastly, I quickly reflect on the methodology of this transnational project that will be discussed in detail in the methods appendix. Then, I leave you with a road map for the rest of the dissertation.

Terms

In this dissertation, I use the term "transnational family" to describe the organization, operations and production of a family with members who reside in two or more nation-states. I operationalize this term to go beyond the Western idea of the nuclear family, of parents and children to take account of biological and fictive kin, which includes but is not limited to grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, siblings, nephews and nieces and those who are treated and labeled as such in the families. Expanding who is considered to be "in" the family allows for the possibility to study a wider and more intricate network of care work in a family that is called to adjust their every day practices and operations of

caring for one another. I start from an expansive understanding of family to build on existing scholarship, following Bryceson and Vuorela's (2002) concept of the transnational family as relational in nature. This permits consideration of a wider set of people who contribute to a transnational arrangement of family and also gives the families who participate in the study the authority to define who they deem as important players in sustaining the families. In the past the nuclear form as the assumed operative form of the family has limited the theorizing of care as invisibility of the various members of the extended family rendered their roles in care work and their understanding and definition of care invisible as well.

I use the term "care work" in this dissertation to discuss and theorize the work of maintaining a family. I include both productive or paid labor and social reproductive or domestic labor in this definition. Because the labor demand many Filipino migrant women fulfill is in the paid domestic care industry in the US, they are both the breadwinners for their families and yet they participate in the domestic labor of their families through different strategies of nurturing and surveillance from afar. Care in my research and in this dissertation is also valued in the unpaid work that family members participate in from their locations. I consider these unpaid practices of care as work as they constitute the daily operations that enable the transnational family to function, which is to say, that although the work of Skype calls from abroad or attending to one's studies that a migrant member is financing does not produce direct financial gain, it still maintains order for a family in a transnational context. In this dissertation, care work is inclusive of the range of work that is goes into keeping a family together and working while in a transnational arrangement.

Form: Labor Brokerage State and Multidirectional Care in the Transnational Family

Migration is becoming most optimal and sometimes sole option for people who are concerned about providing a better life for the families. Necessarily, migration is changing the form of families. Still, the choice to migrate is constrained by the demand for low-wage, service work in the global economy and facilitated through labor receiving and labor sending nation-states that need cheap labor and others that need remittances. Migration often bends to the shifts of contemporary capitalism; for example, financialization and retreat from social supports in the Global North produces a need for paid domestic work and the lack of sustainable industry and employment ushered in by privatization in the Global South produces massive labor migration. Of course, this oversimplification of global economic shifts and its relation to migration doesn't capture the whole picture but the relationship of the circulation of capital and the circulation of people is undeniable. These neoliberal reforms necessitate migration and, ultimately, shape the character of contemporary families.

Migration is often facilitated and regulated by nation states as part of the rubric of neoliberal globalization. In the Philippines, the systematization of migration, coupled with people who migrate as an alternative form of livelihood, is a prime intersection to study the relationship between the state and family. The scope of migrants leaving to work to sustain their families is expanding young people *and* people late in their life course, male and female, skilled and unskilled are all leaving their countries to assume work in service and construction industries. Rhacel Parrenas writes about the "international division of reproductive labor" wherein demands under which transnational families are often created are shaped by the crisis in paid care work in the First world (R. S. Parrenas 2001). In what

Arlie Hochschild calls the "global care chain," the internationalization of care, both productive and reproductive labor in the care industry, has restructured the organization of care (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). The need for paid care service work in the developed countries pulls migrant labor, often women, from countries in the Global South. In other words, social reproductive labor, both paid and unpaid labor, that sustains families in the Global North and South, has been and continues to be radically reconfigured. The global care chain captures the movement and migration of women working in the service industry and it also catches the shifts in reproductive labor or care work that leave the home along with the mothers, daughters, sisters and aunts. I contextualize the transnational family form and care work as produced by neoliberal globalization to highlight that the choice to migrate is ultimately constrained and structured by neoliberal changes in the Global North and South.

Further, I point to states and governance as a key element in contextualizing the family. In "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argue that the mode of economy organizes governance, thus when productive labor is structured to support the current political organization, social reproductive labor is consequently reorganized (Marx and Engels 1942). In other words, the conditions under which families operate reflect both the current economic *and* political systems at work. Marxist feminist scholars propose that this context is key in understanding that the family is not a natural form of organizing social life; rather it is always produced in relation to the state and economy (Coward 1983; Beneria 1999). Likewise, changes in state structures and economic conditions shape the family—its members, the roles the play and the work they do to maintain it. I focus on the neoliberal

Philippine state, and its labor brokering strategies, to denaturalize the changes in the transnational family and illuminate the role of political economy in the intimate lives of migrants and their families.

I link the state to the family to denaturalize both institutions as given. More importantly this link foregrounds the history and production of the current labor brokerage state in the Philippines. An examination of labor brokerage presents the political and social milieu that influences the multidirectional forms of care emergent in my research. Although past scholarship has, rightfully, embedded their studies in an analysis and critique of the conditions of globalization, the focus has often only been on the political economy of the migrant. For example, Parrenas' "international division of social reproductive labor" theorizes the paradox of paid social reproductive labor, or domestic work, as productive labor for Filipino domestic workers. Further, she shows that Filipino domestics' productive labor keeps them from participating in their family's social reproductive labor, and calls on lower paid Filipino domestics in the Philippines to take up that work. Parrenas argues that the fragmentation in social reproductive labor cuts across the lines of Global North and South, prioritizing class-privileged families, first in the Global North, then in migrant families in the Global South. Still, the use of political economy here follows the migrant and does not include families left behind as integral parts of the engine of labor migration.

Building from her framework, I use an analysis of the state and political economy to bring attention to the families left behind as central to the political economy of labor brokering and the global economy of migration. I argue that the family left behind is essential to the schema of labor brokerage because long-term separation can only work

with two agreeable parties, migrants and the families they leave. I tighten the link between the state and the family to emphasize that the political and economic conditions of labor brokering encompass both migrants *and* families left behind labor migration; which therefore impacts the care work that follows the separation of families.

Melann living in Manila, daughter of Joan, a domestic worker living in New York, said, “It is the most painful and difficult thing to live with a family separated, its even harder that this is something we *had* to do.” For MelAnn and the participants in this dissertation, this theoretical linkage is important because it represents a study “from below” that necessarily introduces how every person in a transnational family participates in labor brokerage as a system of employment. Melann’s “had to” points to the fact that the political economy of migration compels her to deal with the absence of her migrant mother, that it is not only her mother that is making a sacrifice through migration, the whole family has to get on board as well.

Labor Brokerage: Regulating Migrants, Regulating Families Left Behind

To elucidate the link between labor brokerage and the transnational family, let us take a look at the Philippines as a sending state, its labor brokerage initiatives and the consequences for families separated by migration. The Philippine “labor brokerage state” has systematized migration for national economic stability given the neoliberal reforms that has privatized much of the country’s social services and produced joblessness caused by liberalization policies. The export of migrant labor contractual and otherwise, and its lucrative remittance returns has proven to be a reliable neoliberal strategy to keep the Philippines an active player in the global economy. Following Marx and Engels’ analysis on

the state and the family, state-sponsored migration is, then, key to reconfiguring the contemporary Filipino family.

Migration as a neoliberal initiative also becomes a nation-building project, which necessarily means the production and regulation of citizen-subjects (Ong 2006). The individual (migrant and non-migrant) is produced through the institutions and ideologies of the Philippine labor brokerage state. In her past research on Filipina migration, Rhacel Parrenas argues that the rhetoric of Philippine government disavowed the outmigration of Filipino women to find work abroad as the rate of women leaving skyrocketed (R. Parrenas 2005). The absence of women in the household was deemed to be too much of a social cost to the family and a formidable threat to the patriarchal culture and structure of the Filipino family. As trafficking, especially in sex industries, of Filipino women migrants increased, sexuality became a primary concern of the Philippine state. As the Filipino woman's body represented the nation worldwide, these gendered implications of migration were unexpected and therefore in need of policing (Tadiar 2004). Women as citizen-subjects, representatives of their nation yet individualized, presented a paradox of profit and shame. The state's response was to stigmatize the migration of women to reel back the consequences of global shame based on the migration of women.

Yet the conditions in the Philippines for sustainable livelihood, for both men and women, did not improve and therefore labor migration became an inevitable option for many Filipinos. Therefore the Philippine state had to recuperate the export of labor and set up a different apparatus to manage its migration industry. Anna Romina Guevarra argues that the state works with a gendered moral economy to construct the ideal behavior of women migrant workers as disciplined citizen-subjects. The state invests in "empowering"

migrant citizens by legitimizing them through professionalization in education, training and certification. The "informed worker" is the effort of the labor brokerage state to make certain their citizens get governmental support but it also implicitly surrenders the vulnerability of being a migrant worker to those individuals. This moral frame and investment in individualized responsibility is a neoliberal ideal. If the worker is disciplined enough and attentive to their good behavior to keep themselves in line then they represent the Philippines proudly as citizen-subjects. Yet, when migrant workers are abused or trafficked, or worse, killed, then the state can easily release those migrants as irresponsible individual subjects that gambled on going abroad.

The state's labor brokerage strategies start and end in its ability to *produce* a global workforce. Professionalization strategies via state-sponsored trainings and seminars to teach women migrant workers aim to produce a proficient workforce. Committed to their migrant citizens, the state invests in these trainings as a response to a need of their population. Yet, simultaneously, the state inserts its gendered disciplining towards women migrant workers in managing their sexuality as a form of fulfilling their role as a good citizen-subject. Gendered trainings include managing appearances and interactions in the workplace and also vigilantly attending to their heteronormative gender roles of woman, mother and wife. However, it holds that if any woman migrant worker gets sexually abused or exploited at work, the responsibility sits squarely on their shoulders. In this way, the state is absolved of shame and their citizenry absorbs responsibility. This production of citizen-subjects through professionalization reminds migrants of their national obligations but it also individuates them.

Guevarra posits that this new rhetoric of responsibility leaves migrant workers disempowered. If they are abused, it's their fault because they weren't disciplined enough. Incidents of exploitation and abuse of migrant workers are out of the scope of any state, sending or receiving, as those governing bodies have done all they can to prepare workers (Foucault 2009). The gendered neoliberal ideology of individualism fomented in the Philippine state's characterizations of hero, ambassador and entrepreneur also abandons migrant workers, as they are individually responsible for themselves even in times of great stress.

Labor brokerage needs citizen-subjects to regulate and mobilize into the economy. Likewise, citizen-subjects rely on the state for its function to manage and provide opportunities for outmigration. This generative tension creates a type of governmentality that produces an affect of gratitude or indebtedness to the system of labor brokerage for both potential migrants and their families. Family members left behind often share the sentiment of gratitude for their migrant member's opportunity to go abroad to work. This affective background produced through labor brokering ideology influences family units, biological and fictive, to be thankful for the prospect of work and therefore rallies all members of a unit to work together to make good on the occasion. Couched in a discourse of Catholic individuation—sacrifice and blessing, "utang ng loob" or a debt of gratitude—the opportunity to migrate under a system of labor brokerage, is a form of regulation of the migrant and the families they will leave behind as well

To this end, the link between the labor brokerage state and the transnational family is not just the obvious migrant absence from their families but the political, economic and discursive system also works to create an affective basis to fold in whole families and

family networks to make long-term migration a viable form of livelihood. Thus care in a transnational Filipino family echoes this set up of labor brokerage. Everyone has a role in migration, whether it is to actually migrate or to take up work in the vacuum left behind by a migrant (one or two or more) family member. Understanding the link between labor brokerage and the current transnational family form allows us to analyze forms of transnational care not simply from the purview of the migrant but including those who are bound together in the social and moral contract of labor migration, families and friends left behind. In other words, if labor brokerage necessitates migrants and their families to function, then the care work that follows separation via migration requires those same actors to make good on the immigrant bargain.

Roles: Simultaneity, Care Providers and Technology in Transnational Contexts

The transnational family is not new (Isaksen, Devi, and Hochschild 2008; Yeates 2009; Glenn 1992; Anderson 2000). Beginning in the late 1960s, the increased rate of feminization of migration—women migrating for labor or marriage, instead of men—began to change the ways families had to operate, the change ushered in a family unit that had to function against the odds of time and space (Castles and Miller 2003; Zlotnik 2003). From Mexico, Central America and Latin America, women began to migrate to "El Norte" in search of jobs marking the beginning of families that lived and functioned across borders (Stephen 2007; Schmalzbauer 2004; Anzaldúa 1999). By the 70's, women from Southeast Asia, especially the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia, are the top countries of origin for domestic workers (Frantz 2008; R. S. Parrenas 2001). Similarly, the increase of migration of women from Eastern Europe to Western Europe to work in private households coalesced in the 80's (Mather 2006; Anderson 2000). The movement of women for work

through this upsurge in women's migration was often predicated on economic need and family survival. Feminization of migration (Castles and Miller 2003), as a characteristic of neoliberal globalization, drew attention to the consequences of women's absence in the family. Scholars agree that the migration of women, especially from the Global South to the Global North, to work in the care industry contributes to the decimation of the "commons" that families build over time through their everyday interactions, specifically for families who are transnational (Isaksen et al. 2008).

It is the movement of women that sound the alarms about family stability. Although men have consistently migrated historically, the concern about the disintegration of family is never fastened to men's mobility. It is important to note that the gendered construction of family is historically produced as a woman's issue, often absolving migrant men from carrying responsibilities in redefining forms of care in the transnational context. In this study, I examine the gender shifts for women in their roles as migrant breadwinners and for men as non-migrant domestic counterparts.

Still, the relationship between women's migration and impacts on their families warranted research. For migrant mothers, separation calls for adjustment in their participation and involvement with their children, husband and families in their homeland (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). In their pivotal work, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila coin the term "transnational motherhood", exploring how migration rearranges "mother-child interactions and requir[ing] a concomitant radical reshaping of the meanings and definitions of appropriate mother" (1997: 557). Other scholars support this notion and argue that transnational gender roles for migrant mothers shift as they become breadwinners and make decisions about household resources in the ways that they have

not before (Curran et al. 2006; Alicea 1997). In these studies, the changes in the *role* of the migrant became clear however the absence of an analysis of families left behind also became apparent.

Joanna Dreby's work in *Divided By Borders,* a study of Mexican migrants and their children, is another take on the importance of caregivers in the extended kin needed to sustain a parent-child relationship. She argues that "doing family" transnationally is not a natural cultural value in Mexican families. Rather it is the significant roles of "care networks across borders" that allow absent parents to still be a part of their children's lives. Dreby has shown that children and extended networks of kin and caregivers play an instrumental role in the maintaining the transnational family. She asserts that children are not powerless in the transnational family, they leverage care from their parents by withholding emotion. Children left behind act out to challenge what Robert C. Smith (2006) calls the "immigrant bargain," usually a migrant parent's tale of the sacrifice of migration converted into moral worth and value. When parents activate their narrative of the immigrant bargain, children respond through their own situated actions, whether it is withholding emotions (Dreby 2010) or rewarding their parents with their achievements (R. Parrenas 2004). Care providers in these emotional tugs of war exemplify simultaneity in how care is produced in both host and home lands and also as it is concurrently happening across borders.

However, in these formulations of simultaneity the exchanges are all centered on a linearity between migrant family members and families left behind. We only see the simultaneity of care happening between those two sets of actors. This formulation assumes that all the care work that families left behind engage in is only in reaction to the absence of

one person, but actually families left behind have so many more concerns outside of their migrant family member. Their lives continue without that one person: children have to be sent to school, bills need to be paid, and dinners need to be cooked. And although one person's absence is hard and palpable, families left behind are also acutely aware of the complex situation they are left with; which is a situation that necessitates the cooperation of many members of the family behind to fill in the absence of one person. Resolving these issues and helping one another is not only a concern for everyday life but also about repaying the immigrant bargain that migrant family members ante up when they migrate. I propose that we reorient care work that exists in families left behind as both a response to their migrant family members but also, caring for one another in the place left behind. When families left behind work to keep their lives together and they are successful in maintaining their lives, or even better, gain some advance in their quality of life, I posit that we can read this as a method of simultaneous care for one another left behind and for their migrant family members. From my research, I argue that simultaneity has additional dimensions: families left behind that take up care work for one another's needs in the Philippines also understand that work as simultaneous care for their migrant family members.

Simultaneity: A Conceptual Framework

Scholars argue that today's transnationalism is a set of "processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement," wherein migrants' relationship to the home country is not in contradiction to their settlement in the host (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992:6). Schiller et al provide a useful frame to understand that transnationalism is a practice in simultaneity;

first, in their discussion of the retreat of the nation-state in global capitalism and the rise of the global civil society and then again, in their description of transnationalism as integral to assimilation processes, instead of staggered phases in migrant life. What they hold in tension is the dialectic between home and host lands that then redefines practices of transnational life. Scholars agree that migrant transnationalism creates the conditions under which wherein migrants sustain linkages with their homeland through relationships and practices despite geographic distance, borders, and political regulations (Vertovec 2009; R. C. Smith 2006; Foner 2005). Across these studies, the simultaneity—how social relations, processes and practice change at once—between host and home, material and imagined is a point of exploration for researchers.

I take on Levitt and Schiller's concept of simultaneity in transnational theory to pay closer attention to the changing *roles* of who provides care to whom and, also the definitions of who becomes part of the transnational family. Simultaneity allows us to think of care in the transnational family as happening at once, from a migrant's location abroad and from the home left behind. Departing from other studies of the transnational family, I take on simultaneity to understand who emerges as care providers to broaden the scope of who gives care, to take heat off of just the migrant as a primary caregiver and allow families left behind to surface as integral caregivers in transnational families.

Simultaneity is crucial in framing this study of transnational life. In what Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller calls "dynamics of simultaneity," the place-based production of transnational families "takes us beyond the direct experience of migration into domains of interaction where individuals who do not move themselves maintain social relations across borders" (Levitt and Schiller 2004). Although families are spread over space and

time, the basic functions and operations of the family are not different—they still "do family" (Dreby 2010). A few scholars in the sociology of the family have argued that care is never a one-way street from active provider to passive receiver, rather, care is relational and reciprocal dynamic (Milligan and Wiles 2010; Fisher and Tronto 1990). If multidirectionality of care in families that live and work in the households and nation-states, this is definitely applicable to transnational families as well. In fact, my contribution to both literature on family and care and transnationalism is highlighting this very social process. To bolster that claim, the theoretical frame of simultaneity allows for the multiple directions and providers of care to emerge.

In a discussion on technology in transnational families, I redefine the providers of care by discussing how acts and forms of care are simultaneously produced and delivered. Technology played a key role in all of the interviews I conducted with migrants in New York City and their families in Manila. Computer technology for communication lessens some of the known stressors in transnational families, like the difficulty of being absent and not being able to visually see family members. For example, in the Mother's Day example above, in Chris' web video, he shows his mom that her sacrifice of migration has been paid back in full through his graduating from college. Technology is the venue here for Chris to showcase his achievements to his mother but behind the scenes, Chris and, his sister, Melann have spent countless hours as "tech help" for Joan, teaching her how to turn on a computer to creating an account on Yahoo. This two way directionality of care happens all at the same time, Joan sending back tuition money, Chris demonstrating that his actions are in fact making good on his mother's migration, Joan chatting with them on Yahoo about Chris' next steps, Melann showing her how to log on to Facebook. And still, in the example

above, the public proclamation of Chris' graduation is yet another dimension of simultaneous care as the members of Kabalikat were able to congratulate the proud mother even though she couldn't attend Chris' college graduation. The dynamics of simultaneity allow me to include the different forms of care that emerge in the changing social relations with the development of technology. Care, facilitated by technology and framed in simultaneity, adds more dimensions to the direction and providers of care in the transnational family.

Definition: Fictive Kinship and Communities of Care

In my research I found that new *definitions* of "family" emerge for migrant women. That redefinition is informed by their shared experience with the reorganization of care work in their transnational family arrangements. In what I call "communities of care, " I argue that fictive kinship ties between migrant women, enlightened by their experiences of transnational care in their family arrangements, redefine care between migrants in diasporic locations. This theorizing looks closely at the women-centered network that emerged in my research where gendered experiences of being a migrant, family member and a domestic worker produced points of unity and relationships of solidarity between research participants.

Scholars of immigration in the US posit that networks are essential to immigrant community formation and individual success in a new country (Bashi 2007; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004). Although the form of "networks" that these communities of care take on has long been established in social science literature (Ebaugh and Curry 2000; Hagan 1998; Levitt 1998; Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Waters 2001), I offer a different theoretical lens to discuss the basis and quality of social relations in these networks.

Existing research on immigrant social networks argues that migrant assimilation is key in understanding how immigrants build and contribute to their social networks and then, come to thrive or fail to thrive in their new homes (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). To build on those existing frames, I pull from migrants' transnational life to provide a deeper basis for the creation and function of immigrant social networks. Following Robert C. Smith argument that transnational practices does not preclude assimilation as he demonstrated in the "transnational life" of Ticuani Mexican migrants (R. C. Smith 2006), I illustrate that the redefinition of the family as a community of care relies on transnational life as a resource.

Moreover, in my research and in what Stuart Hall (Hall 2003) calls identification processes, I argue that the migrants living in New York City become intelligible to one another on the basis of 1) their experience in transnational families, and 2) the particularity of living in a global city as undocumented immigrants in a highly precarious labor industry under the conditions of long term separation from their families. Migrant, worker, mother are nodes of identification that migrant women use to recognize one another and recruit into their communities of care. I highlight these identification processes, from transnational to local lives, because participants have described their recognition of one another as migrant, worker, and mother in such situated accounts. In my field notes above, mothers at the Kabalikat celebration congratulated Joan on Chris' graduation by sharing their experiences of celebrating their family's milestones in their own special ways in New York City like buying a slice of birthday cake on their children's birthday. They not only identify with one another—imprisoned by the label of "undocumented"—but they understand the transnational dimension of their daily lives as

they often conduct their routines both in New York and Manila and everything in between. This in-betweenness is both simultaneously imagined by transnational life and produced situated, exclusionary, assimilation pressures. Migrants are adamant in seeing their fellow migrants do well in New York City while they maintain good relationships with their families at home. The assimilative purposes of immigrant social networks are often in relation and parallel in the maintenance of their transnational lives (R. C. Smith 2006). This underscores transnational scholars agreement that transnational practices and assimilations processes are not mutually exclusive, rather they are nodes in a continuum (R. C. Smith 2006; Schiller et al. 1992).

I look at the development of these communities of care beyond the simple activation of contacts in a network to produce opportunities because the global and local material basis for networks to emerge and function are too salient in the lives of Filipino migrant women. Communities of care are more than just networks, they activate identities that are produced through systems of power and more importantly, these networks are a response to those very systems. Hinged on shared experiences of women, communities of care claim more than networks to circulate resources and opportunity, they circulate care.

In fact, Black women in the United States have historically reclaimed strategies of motherhood and sisterhood under conditions of separation (Hill Collins 1995). The concept of kinship, for this study in particular when migrant women establish fictive sisterhood and motherhood based on their vulnerable situations, is an extension of what scholars of African American families in the US call, “othermothers”(Hill Collins 1995). As early as the 1960’s, Carol Stack argues that families who live under conditions of structural retreat often depend on intricate systems of biological and fictive kin for the basic survival of Black

families in America (Stack 1997). In opposition to the trope of culture of poverty, Stack argues that Black families are creative in setting up systems of resilience to deal with poverty, failing education systems and joblessness. The concept of othermothers and kinship ties demonstrate that it is the *conditions* under which families live that reorganize care work in women-centered networks. For Black families living in the US and migrants from the Global South living in the US, the conditions of economic deprivation drive families to separate and then recuperate through reorganizing care. I bring Black Feminist Thought in to conversation with immigrant social network literature to use its inherent critique on structural conditions as the basis for fictive kinship. Embedded in the concept of othermothers is an analysis of the political and economic conditions that restrict and then inspire women of color to create forms of resilience.

While this critique is key in my exploration of fictive kinship for migrant Filipino women in New York City, studies of the Filipino migrants' communities in the diaspora homes has claimed structural conditions produce displacement or placelessness as a characteristic of Filipinos in the diaspora (Pido 1986). Landmark studies of Filipino diaspora examine the conditions of the majority of Filipino migrants as immigrant workers, in the industry of care. Rhacel Parrenas, in her now canonical study of Filipino domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles, takes a close look at the diasporic "dislocations" of Filipino women in different "contexts of reception." One of Parrenas' concerns in this work is to explore the recurring story of dislocation or exploitation in the material everyday lives of Filipino women around the globe. She posits that the answer rests on Filipino women's "shared role as low-wage laborers in global capitalism," the dislocations are then the points of unity and solidarity across diasporic spaces. She does not claim that experiences of

Filipino women are the same everywhere; rather her argument rests on the similarities in Filipino women's lives that are present in the economic, political and social contexts in Italy or the US that may give rise to a coalitional ground between them. Parrenas almost speaks to the possibilities of networks for Filipino domestic workers, yet leaves the issue of collective consciousness and activism unattended.

Geraldine Pratt writes about the symbolic synonymy of Filipino and domestic workers in Canada as a racialized and gendered population of laborers (Pratt 2004). Pratt argues that the reification and inscription of domestic work onto Filipino women are through the their bodies. Racial and gender orders in Canada discipline Filipino women's bodies in public places and work spaces. Using a Foucauldian framework, she argues that disciplinary power of sexuality permeates through gestures, posture, living, working, and interactions with Canadians (Pratt 2004). Classed racism solidifies these inscriptions on Filipino women's bodies to produce powerlessness and vulnerability. Still, Pratt demonstrates that despite these discursive and political constraints, community organizing becomes the marker of Filipinas' reterritorialization of power. She shows that political organizing is a strategy that Filipinas employ in reconstituting their identities through collective education and mobilization. Pratt takes a step forward in studying the coalition politics of Filipino domestic workers yet she only situates the organizing in terms of Canada, eclipsing the potential of Filipino migrants' transnational life to inform their newfound collectives.

Stasiulis and Bakan's study on Filipino domestics in Canada highlights the efforts of Filipino women to subvert and change policies that allow for the exploitation of workers in private homes (Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). The main thrust of this work is to connect the

situations of domestic workers in Canada with Filipina domestics in Singapore or Kuwait or in the diaspora as a form of coalition building. Stasiulis and Bakan draw similarities between authoritarian regimes that produce similar conditions across the political, ideological, legal and experiential dimensions of Filipino migrant women workers the world over. Stasiulis and Bakan use a critique of the political and economic systems that produce migrant workers and they delve into the political potential of migrant worker organizing but also forget to deepen the study of how migrants, themselves, define their diasporic connections.

The task that Parrenas, Pratt and Bakan and Stasiulis leave for me is to deepen our understanding of the quality of these social relations as produced by the political economy of the Filipino labor diaspora. Their writing on the difficult conditions of Filipino migrant women's work situations and teasing out the resilient commonalities between them is significant, especially because the discourse that constitute them are often derogatory. Still, I argue that we should play close attention to the meaning making politics that help define these networks. Redefining these women-centered networks in terms of a new *definition* of care pulls in a microsociological analysis of their everyday lives as workers in the domestic care industry and the reorganized forms and roles in their transnational families. I resist conflating care as a nurturing and essentially good, woman's trait, rather understanding network building in terms of care moves the analysis closer to a political economic analysis of the radical reconfiguration of social reproductive labor in the lives of migrant women. I will continue the work of Filipino migration scholars in critiquing the structural powers that produce such dire conditions for Filipino migrant workers but I go on to redefine these networks as communities of care to prioritize migrant women's gendered inter-

subjectivity. Rather than assessing the efficacy of these networks, I am particularly interested in the identification processes that brings migrant women together.

Researching the Transnational Family

Guiding Questions

Broadly, my dissertation is concerned with the governance of migration and the impacts of globalization on the intimate and material operations of transnational family life. In particular, I systematically study the micro-level processes that constitute transnational families, that is, the ways that Filipino immigrant women workers and their family members in the Philippines interpret, negotiate and contest the structural arrangements that have separated their families. The central research question that this dissertation addresses is: how are the forms, roles and definitions of family changing with immigration under conditions of neoliberal globalization? Guiding questions that explore the everyday lives of transnational families are: who makes the maintenance of a transnational family possible? How are people redefining their roles in the families? How does the rapid development of technology figure into the transnational family set up? What types of networks are activated to maintain families in this arrangement?

Methodology: Multi-site, Institutional Ethnography and Participatory Research

Migration scholars contend that ethnography and qualitative methods are a vital research methodology to unearth the shifts and reinforcements of local understandings of gender and family as it changes with migration (Mahler and Pessar 2006; R. C. Smith 2006; M. P. Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Guevarra 2006). The research design of this dissertation is informed and inspired by multi-sited ethnography, institutional ethnography and participatory action research methodology. To answer the guiding questions above, I take

elements from these theories of social scientific research to tease out three dimensions that are critical to producing new knowledge about the intersection between migration under globalization and redefinitions of care.

First, multi-sited ethnography allows for a study of transnationalism “from below.” Prioritizing the voices of migrants and their families provides, often unheard, dimensions of transnational movement under conditions of globalization. For those, who migrate globally and live transnationally, some are valorized and labeled “mobile” and, involuntary others are termed “migrants” (Ong 1999). Often the lives and narratives of “migrants” are relegated to discussions of border controls, victimization and exploitation. And although, these are real conditions migrants live under, they are also always developing identities, families and communities in response and resilience. A multi-sited ethnographic lens allows for me, a feminist transnational researcher, to focus on the narratives that migrants and their families compose in their everyday life.

At the outset of my dissertation, the project to study the lives of Filipina domestic workers in New York City and their families in Manila was an epistemological challenge. I was compelled to craft a logic of inquiry that reflected the social reality of their lives. When I began interviewing Filipina migrants in New York City about their experiences of migration, 9 out of 10 women insisted that I would not understand their situations if I did not also interview their families in the Philippines. The character of transnational families necessarily changed the design of this project as the migrant women and their families operated on a multi-sited format. Therefore, to understand and reflect the social realities of families who live and operate from different places the design of this dissertation also took up a multi-sited method.

The multi-sited, transnational approach to studying transnational families also gave way to a methodological innovation, and ultimately, ended up informing the theoretical frame of place and simultaneity that informs my dissertation. At the urging of the migrant women in New York City to "*ipaloob*" or internalize their families' situation, I followed a total of 11 family constellations that include 40 migrant family members and 25 members of families left behind. Staying inside of these family circuits is a methodological innovation because I was able to track developing and shifting ideas of care and care arrangements through the years I was in the field. My privilege and ability to travel from New York City to Manila and back again, between 2009 and 2011, allowed me to not only understand the places in which members of families operated from but I was also witness to the simultaneity of care work in those places.

The accounts of transnational family in this dissertation are from Filipino migrant women working as domestic workers in New York City, both documented and otherwise, as they have experienced long-term separation from their families for various reasons. This sample of migrant family members in NYC are defined as migrants working to support and sustain relationships with their families in the Philippines. Recruitment to the study is based on a loose social network of domestic workers in the New York City area that have come together in the past to repatriate the deceased bodies of workers but also continue to organize support and social gatherings for workers. A second set of participants in this study are the family members of migrants who participate in the study, including but not limited to their children, husbands, partners, siblings and parents.

Semi-structured individual and group interviews are the primary method for data collection. Group interviews—or group conversations where questions were not only

fielded by me as the researcher but also by other people involved in the interview like a group of domestic workers in New York or sisters and brothers in Manila sitting together while the interview happens—are often the ways that families and migrant family members exchange advice and stories about their family lives. These methods are key epistemological tools that reflect the social processes that the participants engage in daily.

Second, this dissertation is informed by a concept introduced by Sandra Harding and later developed by Dorothy Smith, "institutional ethnography" (D. E. Smith 2005; Harding 1998). The concept for this theorization on research takes on a long historic feminist research critique that argues for a different logic and method of inquiry for women and, especially women who are marginalized by institutions that perpetuate capitalism, racism, heternormativity, and patriarchy. Smith's answer to this challenge is developing an alternative "sociology that does not transform people into objects but preserves their presences as subjects" (D. E. Smith 2005). Institutional ethnography centers interviews, participant observations and texts that belong to oppressed communities, at the center of sociological knowledge production. But more importantly, this methodological theory proposes that the social relations between research participants are the sharpest analytical tools to study "up," to examine the structures of power that produce particular conditions for working class people, migrants, people of color, queer folks, to name a few.

Since the objective of this dissertation is to examine migration under contemporary globalization, I could have chosen to study "up" and interviewed Philippine government officials to study the state-sponsored creation of a migration industry. However, "institutional ethnography" allowed me to sample on the "dependent variable," as in the people who are exported as labor by the migration industry. I chose to focus on Filipino

migrants and their families as the primary research sample to explore the social phenomena of systematic migration and globalization because they are the people who actually live the realities of the statistics and policies written by governing institutions (D. E. Smith 2005; Harding 1998). In institutional ethnography, epistemology is a primary site of research that is useful in reflecting upwards to the institutional processes that are at work in the banal. This discussion is key to understand the connection between how people are living with the trauma of migration and separation and the structures of power that shape that experience.

The stories of Filipino migrant women in a domestic worker organization called Kabalikat Domestic Workers Support Network, literally translated as "shoulder to shoulder" in English, is the primary research community to investigate the institutional processes of migration. Observations and reflections of the women in Kabalikat about their histories and everyday life serve as tools to analyze the social organization of institutional processes that shape their decisions to migrate and their lives abroad. In this ethnographic phase, I along with a participatory advisory group—a core of Filipino migrant women from Kabalikat, closely read the institutional mechanisms that were reified in the conversations, story-telling and meeting discussions with Filipino women. Basing my theoretical development in these interactions allows me to see how institutional mechanisms become embedded and embodied experiences.

Lastly, the design and process of data collection and analysis for this dissertation is inspired by participatory action research (PAR). PAR begins with the "understanding that people—especially who have experienced historic oppression…hold deep knowledge about their lives and experience and should help shape the questions [and] frame the

interpretations of [research]" (Torre and Fine 2006). Critical researchers and scholars actively critique traditional forms of research and the agendas and interests they serve (L. T. Smith 1999; Appadurai 2006). And although PAR is not the solution to the problematic nature of research (Cooke and Kothari 2001), researchers who are grappling with the method offer useful tools to approach the aforementioned objective to understand the world with the participation of those marginalized by power. Mapping (Powell 2010), theater of the oppressed (Boal 2000), journal writing and interview as conversation (Kvale 1996) are all non-traditional qualitative methods used in this project that required the participation of migrants and their families instead of relying on me as the lone researcher. These methods assisted in bringing out people's indigenous knowledge of the structures that frame their lives daily and pointing to the important dimensions of their lives that then became the central facets of this dissertation.

It is important to note that the PAR work in this dissertation was mainly conducted with migrant family members in New York City, as I was closest to them in residence and contact. They participated in construction of the interview guides, questions and research ventures to the Philippines, recruitment of their family and analysis. The participation of the Filipino domestic workers in the study made space for the participants in New York City to reflect on their experience as they critiqued the systems that brought them to their decision to migrate. For example, the recurring theme of family in their migration stories was also one of the most sensitive topics for migrants to discuss; thus asking the women to participate in guiding the direction of the research allowed me to navigate through their lives in a more informed way. Migrant family members, especially mothers, will only talk about the most painful and intimate parts of their family lives if and when they feel safe and

ready. Therefore, before I began field research, I was a volunteer organizer at the local Filipino community center to build relationships with the migrant community. In the spirit of PAR, early development of this dissertation research revolved around strategizing how data collection and analysis could help strengthen Filipino domestic worker organizing in Queens, New York. Group interviews and individual interviews eventually transformed into a community theater program that engaged many of the participants of this study in a year-long process to turn the research narratives into a collaboratively written and produced theatrical play (see Methods Appendix).

PAR was pivotal in the collection and analysis of this dissertation's research because it was the compass for writing this project. What follows is a confluence of what research participants thought was important about their lives, academic gaps, and salience for community-building and participation. I am not under any illusion that transnational, multi-sited methods, institutional ethnography and PAR don't produce an 'Other' or 'Otherness,' rather my point in pausing here to discuss these logics of inquiry is to contextualize the design of this project and the audiences that I, as an academic, writer, researcher, activist and *kasama* or comrade, am accountable to. I am invested in "working the hyphens" in my positionality, as Michelle Fine writes, working the hyphens means to "probe how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relations" (Fine 1994).

Conclusion

Globalization scholars often look to dissect and expose the problems of the current political economic system (Chossudovsky 2003; Tabb 2001), yet the impacts of those problems are rarely juxtaposed to the restructuring of institutions like the family and

gender. Research on transnationalism and immigration are increasingly concerned with the ways in which larger structural forces are shaping individual life chances and experiences in host lands (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). However, there has been little research on the implications of transnationalism and immigration for non-mobile or families left behind in the homeland (Vertovec 2009). To this end, this study will contribute empirically and methodologically to the corpus of work trying to understand the consequences of globalization, migration, and transnationalism for mobile and non-mobile subjects in multiple sites. In addition, this project will speak to the negotiations of care work in the family, as it departs from normative conceptions and models of the family. Lastly, this project investigates the connections between, across and among migrant workers as it engenders communities of care.

Back to the Mother's Day celebration at the community center, after the presentations of video messages, photo montages and emailed poems and letters, the organizers of Kabalikat suggest that the next part of the afternoon's program is for people to come and share their proudest moment of being a mother. One after another, each Kabalikat mother takes to the front of the room to share the most recent achievements of their families: the building of a house, the graduation of a young person in their families, a nice gravestone for a beloved one. Helen, one of Kabalikat's oldest members, remarks, "All of this we've achieved even if we're far. Only if the jobs were closer to home, only if the government would get it right."

The political charge of this dissertation is in linking the intimate to the global, just as Helen does in her statement above. The relationship of the radical reconfiguration of care, reorganization of the family and the political economy of migration under neoliberal

globalization must be juxtaposed, if not only to understand that the often too quick and amorphous shifts in the world but also to anchor those changes in the social costs and resilience people create under those circumstances. Moreover, I hope this study on the movement of care from one place to another demonstrates that some people's (First World) care is privileged over others (Third World). That migration is often, the only option for Filipinos to imagine a better future for their families means that the option to imagine that better future can never be in the proximity of their loved ones. These most intimate of decisions and the pulling apart of the most intimate of relationships is always then linked to the access to opportunities for livelihood.

In this chapter, I have provided the theoretical frames that anticipate the arguments of the following three data chapters in the dissertation. First, I insist on contextualizing the family in the labor brokerage state and political economy to establish that the transnational family form is produced through commodification of people through migration. Hence, the forms of care that follows the neoliberal version of labor migration reflects the multiple actors and places that are activated and affected by labor brokerage. Multidirectionality of care is then established in response to the state's reorganization and recuperation of the family in brokering parents, siblings and children as migrant exports.

Second, I pay close attention to the dynamics of simultaneity that produce transnational families to understand how roles of caregivers in transnational families can come from, both, abroad and the home left behind. The concept of "simultaneity" foregrounds the ways in which care is, at once, rearticulated in all of the locations in the transnational context of the Filipino family. Lastly, revisiting theories of immigrant social networks, I use fictive kinship theories from the scholarship in Black Feminist Thought to

argue that “communities of care” are new definitions of care in response to the dire conditions of isolation and migration. In the following chapters, I will delve deeper into these different *forms, roles* and *definitions* of care that emerge from transnational family contexts.

Roadmap

What follows this introduction is a comprehensive discussion on my methodology, where I will explore thoroughly the implications of multi-sited methods, institutional ethnography and participatory action research as outlined above. I will further discuss the theoretical and methodological contribution I make to sociology around studying the history and tracing constellations of families transnationally. Lastly, I will discuss the participatory dimensions of this research project which includes mapping, journaling and theater as tools of research and as oganizational building tools.

In chapter three, I will propose that with the context of historical and continuous labor migration in the Philippines, the family “relativizes” (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002) who is in the family and who will take up the work left behind by a migrant family member. I apply the frame of “multidirectionality of care” to transnational families by highlighting the care relationships of families left behind as a means of answering immediate needs for families in the Philippines. Redefining members of the family in the Philippines helps to take up work that is absent with the migration of a family member but, more importantly, this self-sustaining initiative on families left behind, I argue, is another type of care that emanates from the place left behind to migrant members as well. The multiplicity in the directions of care can be located in the reorganized version within family networks in the

Philippines, and an alternative *form* emerges contemporaneously for migrants in their diasporic locations.

For the fourth chapter I will examine the most recurrent theme across my data: technology and its role in changing the social relations of separation. Migrant family members in New York City are utilizing technology in order to be present in the lives of their families in their homeland. Contemporary technological advances has allowed transnational families to be present, albeit digitally, in family activities and functions. Depending on the software and internet programs used, like Yahoo Messenger, Skype and Facebook, families are learning about their mothers, children, husbands, etc. Technology, I argue, is not just a tool for communication; it is changing the *roles* of who become care providers in the transnational family.

Communities of care will be the focus of the fifth chapter. Following the frame of multidirectionality of care, I argue that the *definitions* of care is rearticulated by migrants in New York City to incorporate other migrant mothers as a network of solidarity and strength. Just as the maintenance of the family from the Philippines' end is reaching beyond the nuclear members of the family to fictive and biological kinship networks, these growing constellations are also paralleled in New York City. Drawing from Black Feminist Thought and Queer Theory, I argue that communities of care are "chosen families" (Weston 1997). I propose that the political subjectivities of migrant, mother and worker are queered identities in the American racial and social order and therefore, the identification processes in which migrant women in New York take part in is also interpreted as care.

This dissertation will add to the growing corpus of research and scholarship in Filipino migration to examine the state's role in gendering a migration industry and shaping ideals

of the family for migrant workers; assess the production and operation of families as it is reorganized by globalization and transnationalism; and explore the possibilities of political mobilization based on subjectivities of migrant, worker, woman and family member. This study on the transnational family life of Filipino immigrants will contribute to the sociology of migration and transnationalism, globalization and development, gender and the family and diaspora studies.

Chapter 2

Methodology and Methods:
Multi-Sited Ethnography, Institutional Ethnography and Participatory Action Research

Introduction

To the women, men and families of Kabalikat, the domestic workers who were not part of Kabalikat, and the community workers who made this research possible,

After three years of questions like: what is 'research'? When will you finish? How many more interviews do we need? How many more workshops? I hope this can explain the reasons behind why we did our research together, why we did it the way we did and what kinds of things we can accomplish when research is done as a community effort.

I want you to know that I chose the particular methods we did, not just because they were fun to do and interesting, but because the way we collected your stories will help people understand your lives as a part of a larger picture, a bigger system of politics and economics. The structures of power you already know about because you live it. I hope that writing down all these reasons, academic and political, will show that when we did our research together in all different sorts of ways, we were essentially helping people understand that even when your lives are hard, there are ways of surviving and thriving. And at the end of the day, that was our project together. To remember how strong we can be for one another, despite the fact that your jobs are exhausting, your families miss you, rent is too high, winters are too cold and New York City feels too lonely.

Writing down all these reasons is a practice in letting you know that our research interviews or kuwentohan, *karaoke afternoons, theater workshops, play writing sessions and* Diwang Pinay *are embedded in grassroots logics, just as your migration and separation from your families are embedded in systematic neoliberal logics. But above all else, I want to write these reasons down because we've all already felt the transformation of research coming from the grassroots. Now, I want to pause and tell you the thinking behind it.*

Everyday I wake up and I wish I had your strength and bravery. Everyday I wake up and I wish that everyone could see you as I see you: brave, heartbroken, hilarious and full of love. Your stories are all over this dissertation. Rightfully, it's yours. But as soon as you shared it with me, with our community, it became all of ours in our own ways. Sana gumaan ng kahit konti ang inyong dala. I hope that your heavy loads became a little lighter in the process. Thank you for sharing your lives with us. Thank you for working with us, non-migrants, non-domestic workers, a way to be part of your struggle without appropriating it. Thank you because I learned so much. I hope other people can learn from you too.

Sa inyong laging nagmamahal,
With love, always,
Valerie

Field notes, April 2011

I wrote this letter to the women of Kabalikat two weeks after we staged a play called, "*Diwang Pinay: Kasaysayan sa Likod ng Kababaihang Migranteng Mangagawa"* or Spirit of the Filipina: The Story Behind the Woman Migrant Worker. This play was culled from the individual and group interviews conducted for this dissertation and then developed in a year long series of theater workshops, play-writing sessions, and rehearsals. 15 days after the transformative play, as I stared at a screen trying to write the first draft of my methods chapter, all I could eke out was this letter to over 40 domestic workers of Kabalikat, over 30 members of an organization called Filipinas for Rights and Empowerment (FiRE) and the staff of Philippine Forum, the Filipino community center in Queens that housed these community organizations.

After an intensive year and a half of developing this play, pausing to write the logics of inquiry in my dissertation research that included the production of this play among other data collection strategies, felt too much like a passive exercise in justifying the methods. In reality, like most research projects, the design of this dissertation research started to impact people, families and communities, right when it started. Domestic workers, community organizers, community members and students were always ready to contribute their own opinions and reasoning behind how we conducted research qualitatively and why we needed to turn the interviews into a play. The idea of the "solitary" ethnographer/researcher crafting her research plans and conducting research on her own is not an accurate description for how this research project unfolded. In the spirit of collaboration and capacity building, this research project had many hands that shaped its design, implementation and creating of research products. With that said, this methods chapter will braid together the intellectual and academic underpinnings for the

methodological choices for this research with the epistemological and political significance of the methods by which the research was carried out.

It is important to note that I will be using the first person designation when discussing particular intellectual developments of research design, plans, methodology and methods. As a scholar and researcher, I brought privilege, a set of skills, time and energy to this collaborative research project that gives me the honor and responsibility to speak from my embodied privileges as an academic and documented person to explain the choices for the methods in this research (Fine and M. E. Torre 2006). Although I will be claiming some of these parts as mine, they are always situated and informed by my standpoint as an 'insider outsider' in my dissertation research. I will also mark the moments, parts and sections of the dissertation research when many of the various members of the community were involved. Following indigenous and native scholars (L. T. Smith 1999; Tuck 2008) who argue that research is haunted by a long history of false ownership and colonial knowledge production, I want to acknowledge that we, the members of the research project tried our hardest to distribute this research project's findings and products in a way that could benefit us all. Still, as a Filipina, immigrant, woman of color scholar, I accept the privilege and burden of claiming this dissertation as mine, understanding that this dissertation may not represent the views of all of the members of the research. But also, it's important to note that this dissertation is not the sole product of this research, but one of many outputs like the play and leadership training modules for migrant workers.

At its core, this dissertation seeks to examine the ways in which the family is changing under neoliberal immigration policy. In this dissertation, the unit of analysis—Filipino transnational families—provides an opportunity to understand how the most

intimate of social relations changes under the conditions of neoliberal globalization. At the point of formally designing the study, I crafted the methodological approach of this project to reflect the epistemological realities of those who live with and operate in the distinctive characteristics of the transnational Filipino family in this particular historical and political moment. In this chapter, I will highlight the unique aspects of the dissertation methodology that allowed me to make the arguments about multidirectionality of care in the transnational lives of Filipino migrants and their families. I begin with a short review of the existing research methods used in researching Philippine transnationalism and migrants in the Filipino diaspora. Second, I discuss the sets of methodology that inform the design and execution of the dissertation research: multi-sited and transnational ethnography, Institutional Ethnography and Participatory Action Research (PAR). Third, I document the collaborations, chronology and participatory methods inspired by PAR that includes feminist, qualitative methods and the "theater of the oppressed" games as data collection strategies. I emphasize that the research design of this dissertation reflects the macro-sociological phenomena of globalization and migration in its methodology and prioritizes epistemology through participatory research methods. Throughout this chapter, I show how the logics of inquiry in this research tease out the dialectic between the structural and the intimate, both changing so rapidly under globalization.

Following feminist scholars and researchers of the Filipino diaspora, this study prioritized qualitative methods through a multi-sited ethnographic approach to ascertain the changes in gender through migration as it emerged locally and reflected in transnational practice. I used qualitative research to heed the call of migration researchers to find the changes in the quality of life migrants and their families. Alongside other studies

of Philippine transnationalism, I took up a multi-sited ethnography to capture the simultaneity in the lives of Filipino migrants and their families and the diasporic identities that emerge in and through migration. Outside of Geraldine Pratt, participatory action research has not been a method taken up by researchers of the Filipino diaspora. However, I make this methodological intervention because I understand that research should also belong to the Filipino migrants that participate in the study. Research participants definitely shaped research questions, directions and ventures and, more importantly, gained organizing opportunities through the process.

In the next sections, I will provide basis for the design of the dissertation research. It's important to note that these methodological choices were based on the confluence between academic and intellectual gaps in the literature and the needs and opinions of the participants in this study.

Multi-sited Ethnography and Transnational Research

Early in my research, I held an exploratory group interview on the broad topic of "Experiences of Migration." At that point, I had built a rapport with a core of domestic workers who told me that if I really wanted to know about their experience of migration, that I would have to go back to the Philippines to meet their families and to understand and observe the conditions that pushed them to leave. I would then have to match those social facts up with their current experience in New York City, "You have to get to whole picture, there and here, or else, *bitin*. (loosely translated as, not whole)," said Vickie, one of the domestic workers at the group interview. During my first trip to interview families in the Philippines, it was clear to me that migration changes everyone and everything that that

process touches. As a transnational researcher, I picked up on these facts as I walked into the homes of families in Manila:

> *My first stop on this exploratory study is Ate Rose's home. She was one of the first to volunteer me to go back to the Philippines and ask families left behind how migration affected them. I remember when Ate Rose with Joan, Vickie, Rita, Lallie, and Helen, in the middle of the interview lovingly ganged up on me, saying that I'll never really understand what its like to be a Filipino migrant unless I visit their families. And bring them "pasalubong" from their counterparts in America, of course. With gifts from Ate Rose in hand, I walk closer to her family's home, the home she paid for and lit by lights she pays the bill for.*
>
> *I knock and a nine-year old Pepe answers, he is such a beautifully cheerful child. As soon as I step in to Rose's family's home in Manila, I see only him and his bright and all encompassing smile. His squinted eyes and mouth turned upwards at the corner swallow me into a love that I was only lucky to receive because Ate Rose told them months in advance that I was on my way. Of course, when I enter Pepe and Grace huddled their bodies together on the far wall of photos of New York City buildings and trees covered in snow. Their eyes filled with wonder and their smiles teeming with welcome betray their body language. I stick my hand out to them and said, "It's nice to meet you." And immediately, as if touch bonded us as sisters or cousins or best friends they warmed to me. As quickly as happiness enveloped me, I felt a pang of pain that Ate Rose had not been able to touch her kids in five years now. That the arms, my arms, that embraced her two youngest children were the same arms that held her in a tight hug before I left New York City.*
>
> *Grace is a slow to warm up child. She has a beautiful countenance that reminded me so much of Ate Edna's nose, smile and face. Her hair is shoulder length and her bangs were tied up in a ponytail in the middle of the top of her head. She wore a pink shirt with white shorts and it is obvious that at the age 11, she is going on 14 with the mounds on her chest introducing puberty before she can even understand what it is. She is as cheerful as Pepe, ready and almost waiting for us to be able to talk. Her anticipation isn't reeking of attention-seeking; it is subtle but palpable. I take out the chocolate I bring for them and I hand it to them. As Pepe reaches over to grab some candy from the bag, Grace does the proper pre-dinner thing and folds the big Ziploc in half so she could put it into the freezer. They both look at me with those relentless smiles and say, "Thank you." I look at the photos populating their refrigerator, all pictures of Ate Rose and, I'm surprised to find my face in one of the pictures.*
>
> *We are in the living room for 5 or so minutes and Kuya Mike urges me to get started with the interviews as he's starting to grill the meats for dinner while dialing Rose's cell number in the US. He assures me that he is seasoned in multi-tasking, what with all the kids he has. I ask if we could do the interview in the single room in the small but well kept house. Their home is like a studio apartment where the living room is opposite of the kitchen the bedroom where all five of them sleep is a small partition that houses the only bed they all sleep on, a bunk bed. It is clean. The floors are white and it looks like they swept and mopped before I came in. Because by the end of the night with the frequent ins and outs and the activities of undressing and unpacking*

going on in the room, it was littered with pillows out of place, wrappers thrown aside, book bags and notebooks strewn all over the place. After interviewing Pepe and Grace, Kuya Mike invites us to eat dinner already. In the background, we hear Pepe and Grace practicing the prayer before meals. When we come back to the food, Kuya Mike encourages the kids to recite it as he says it out loud too. Before we start to eat, Kuya Mike shows me his spread where I was pleasantly surprised to see all of my favorite foods. Pork barbecue, crab and shrimp, and Pinakbet, a vegetable stew. Ate Rose had mentioned to them that these were the things that I ate when we had gatherings in the US, I was moved almost to tears because here is the food that Ate Rose cooked for me and at the other end of the world sitting next to her husband and kids, I'm breaking open the same crabs that I eat when I am in front of her.

Field notes, November 4, 2009

When studying the lives of immigrants, Robert Courtney Smith argues that studying everyday practices, processes and relationships between people, institutions and places are imperative for understanding transnational life (R. C. Smith 2006). Scholars have argued that there is a need to factor in the experiences and changes in the lives of non-migrants, and therefore a need to conduct research in multiple sites of the transnational social field (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Pessar 1999; Wimmer and Schiller 2002; Anzaldúa 1999). The early participants in this study had the same idea. Scholars and migrants alike understood that their experiences of migration and settlement were clearly tied to how their transnational life unfolded in between home and host lands. Multi-sited ethnography had its basis, then, informed by the early group interview in New York City *and* scholarly invitations to situate transnational migration in studying multiple sites (Burawoy 2003) and as evidenced in my participant observations in Manila. It was clear that if I wanted to study a transnational dynamic, I had to follow the transnational circuits that started in Manila, migrated to New York City and then back again.

The ethnographic approach to studying transnational life might sound strange since a researcher cannot easily plant themselves in one place to do participant observation, write field notes and interview members in that dynamic. Therefore, it is important to note

the role of *place* in this discussion to highlight what Peggy Levitt and Nina Blick Schiller call the "simultaneity" in transnationalism (Levitt and Schiller 2004). Many migrant lives in a transnational context occur on many social fields, and when changes happen in a migrant's hostland, it influences changes in a migrant's homeland almost simultaneously. A look at place allows us to attend to the nuances of change in the different places in a migrant's transnational life (Guevarra 2006). In Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila's pioneering article name, "I'm Here but I'm There," simultaneity becomes key in understanding the changes ushered in by migration, in that, as much as the migrant's everyday life changes, so does her family's. To do this, it was clear that I had pay attention to the changes that migration and separation produced not only *from* the places migrants called home and hostland, but also factoring in those places as actors in producing transnational life.

With this perspective, I continued my research in a multi-sited fashion by traveling between New York City and Manila for 3 years, spending a total of seven months in Manila and the rest of the time in New York City. Numerous visits to families left behind allowed me to see growth spurts in children and the development of wrinkles in the faces of husbands, mothers and fathers of migrants. The relationship I built with families left behind in my visits were also sustained by our digital relationships. I am Facebook friends with almost all of the family members I've visited and interviewed. Our digital friendships and my regular visits to their homes and towns allowed me to observe and ask about the effects of separation and the strategies in transnational families on a consistent basis.

A unique aspect of this multi-sited ethnographic approach is my ability to "stay" within constellations of families, from migrants in New York City all the way to their

families in Manila, to study the operations, definitions and forms of care in a transnational family. In other studies of Filipino transnational studies (R. Parrenas 2005; Asis, Huang, and Yeoh 2004; Wolf 1997), samples of migrants and families left behind are often disconnected. Past researchers on transnational research interviewed or surveyed 2 sets of populations: migrants and non-related members of families left behind, basically people who were not related to one another. I believe that this previous form of sampling could possibly have constrained participants' answers to emphasize the negative consequences of migration and separation. In my research, I wanted to see if the existing research theses would hold if I chose a different methodological approach.

To this end, I prioritized 11 constellations of families to follow in the years of fieldwork, yielding 25 interviews and 5 group interviews. I ensured that all family members knew what my research was about. Between them, migrants in New York City and family members in Manila also talked about my research among themselves. They were comfortable participating in it. This particular methodological choice allowed for families to air out their grievances about long-term, long-distance separation but it also gave them the chance to talk about, think together on and express the ways in which they were making their situations work. Staying inside of the constellations of families also gave me a chance to have a comparable unit of analysis across families. I could observe and validate participants' interview sentiments and stories in their actions within their family structures over time and through different vantage points, both digital and in person. Staying inside a family constellation helped me understand a transnational family's care work in a continuum of interactions. The emotions of neglect and anger were often situated in times of distress and hardship. Still, those times and emotions were always followed

with feelings of understanding and, plainly, missing a family members. Staying in a family constellation and doing research digitally and in person between New York and Manila afforded me this range of emotions to study and analyze. When participants discussed care as a double edged sword, for example in the choice to migrate, feelings of abandonment but also of deep understanding, I was able to analyze these as nodes in a continuum of care work instead of simply reactions of anger to migrant's neglect.

Being able to interview and conduct observation with a migrant in New York City about their care work from afar and then discuss these points with her family in Manila is a powerful factor in my dissertation findings because the family members were able to define for themselves a broader meaning of the structure of family that contributed to the maintenance of their transnational families. They were able to redefine who "belonged" or "contributed" to the family, which included but was not limited to biological children, spouses, biological parents, grandparents and siblings, biological kin networks, fictive kin and friends. In past studies that assumed the Western idea of the nuclear family as the operative form of family in the Philippines, emotions of outrage and betrayal were rife because the scope of family "members" was necessarily limited to a few biological members. However, placing emphasis on the Filipino family in an extended kin network frame allows families left behind to see and define a broader range of resource people that contribute to the success of the transnational family. In this expansive definition of who gets to be in the family, participants were able to articulate the different providers of care contributing to the family, therefore allowing me to analyze the multiple directions of care within extended networks. Multi-sited ethnography and studying constellations of family allowed me to study the kin network in its expansive form.

Additionally, acknowledging the central role of biological kin and fictive kin as a crucial component of transnational families also allowed me to operationalize "communities of care" as a type of "family" produced under the conditions of migration and settlement in New York City. Multi-sited ethnography gave me an opportunity to observe transnational care work exchange and also see it in terms of the family structures that were being built between migrants in New York City. Studying in multiple sites allowed me to follow the transnational circuit as it played out in the lives of the migrants.

Multi-sited ethnography also bolstered my analysis on place, a pivotal theoretical frame for this dissertation. New York City, as a place, is an essential factor to understand the transnational life of Filipino migrants. Levitt and Schiller's writing on simultaneity emphasizes the role of place in transnational sociality and multi-sited ethnography and centers the understanding that places like New York City and Manila are their own characters in the stories of transnationalism. Transnational life happens in the shuttling between home and hostland. Still, home and host lands have geographical and material form, and more importantly, imagined and experiential consequences. In New York City, I was attuned to the specificity and historicity of securitization in the years I spent doing my fieldwork. It was apparent to me that experiences of migrants in the global city of New York did not revolve around incorporation or assimilation into the mainstream norm. Quite the opposite, the anti-immigrant sentiment and rise of raids and deportations in New York City made the idea of settling and assimilating to American society a fleeting thought. These particular political conditions shaped how migrants saw one another as refuge and resources, hence, the investment in a community of care.

On the other transnational hand, the sustained amount of time I spent in Manila and given that I grew up there as a child, allowed me to analyze Manila, the capitol of the Philippines, as a place that is rapidly developing geography alongside the acceleration of migration. Through migrant remittances and investment, Manila's urban development is increasingly modern. And although the landscape is changing, migration is still on an increase as jobs are concentrated in the service and tourism sector. The conditions under which migration flourishes are embedded in Manila's rapid development through foreign investment and the imploding internal national economy swallowed up by foreign investors and corporations (Tadiar 2004; Tyner 2009).

Multi-sited ethnographers argue that this methodological approach holds the macro and micro in tension. Through multi-sited ethnography, I was able to study the character of these global cities and the transnational life it engenders as a product of neoliberal globalization and economic restructuring. Multi-sited ethnography situates transnational life in these *places* therefore making it possible to analyze the structural problems in these global cities (Stoller 1997). Further, focusing on the people in both of these sites also demonstrated the creativity and imaginative solutions migrants and their families come up with along the contours of a globalizing world (Katz 2004). The choice to conduct multi-sited ethnography for this project was an effort to follow the people or the "cultural formation in a world system" and to follow the political economy of migration as part of "an ethnography of the system" (Marcus 1995:99). The long lines through the harrowing experience of customs in the US, more than the Philippines, fielding questions of how long I would stay or what my business was, just sharpened my analysis of the experience of labor migration. But also, during hundreds of hours on planes and airports from Asia to the US,

jet lags, and adjustment to time zones, I understood, viscerally, how transnational life is often suspended in the solitary in betweenness of time and space. Therefore, multi-sited ethnography is not solely a mere reflection of the transnational life of migrants and families but it is also an informed choice to study the conditions under which those transnational lives are lived.

Being a transnational scholar is admittedly a privileged position. It meant that I had to have legal papers in the US to come back and forth from the Philippines. It meant that I had to have enough money and time to buy tickets and weeks away from New York City. But with these embodied privileges, I, the ethnographer, colored this research with my subjectivity as an immigrant to the US, once undocumented during my time here, a woman of color, an academic and a community organizer. In my field notes above, at Rose's family's house in Manila, traces of transnationality are littered all over the artifacts in their home. As much as I was in Manila, whole parts of the home (i.e. refrigerator door, wall of photos), my embrace, stories of Rose's children, our meal were, at once, in front of us, but also produced by transnational interaction. With respect to these families' lives that is lived so squarely both in Manila and in New York City and then in-between, this research had to take on this aspect of spatiality.

Institutional Ethnography

Throughout my three years in the field, between New York City and Manila, there were over 70 participants included in this research project. In New York City, over 40 Filipino migrants participated in both semi-structured, individual interviews and group interviews. A majority of the migrants were women, around 95% of the sample identified as women. The self-identified men in the study were often husbands of migrant women

who also participated in the research. 85% of both men and women participants left biological children in the Philippines upon their migration, and a majority of those families left behind remain in the Philippines. Only 1 out of the 11 families included in the study was successfully able to petition their children from the Philippines to live in New York City with them. If the participants did not have biological children, they left behind biological parents, siblings, nieces and nephews and fictive kin. With that said, every single person in the sample had some tie to the Philippines. They were all financially supporting family members in the Philippines. The median age of the migrant sample was 42 years old, the youngest participant at the age of 28 and the oldest at 67 years old. The range of arrival to the US in the sample, at the time of interviews, was anywhere between 2 years to 25 years in the US. Participants who reported their years away from home in the decades were often serial migrants who had lived and worked in multiple, different countries before landing in New York City. 95% of the participants in the study can be categorized as undocumented with no foreseeable avenue of legalization under the current immigration legislation.

In Manila, Philippines, my interviews and group interviews with families left behind included 25 members including migrants' parents, husbands, children, siblings, aunts, nieces and nephews and best friends. 12 were male and 13 were female. The youngest participant I interviewed was 10 years old and the oldest was 77 years old. Within 11 families I focused on, 10 families had generations of migrants and other family members outside of their New York City counterpart were also abroad. A majority of adult children of New York City-based migrants were contemplating migration in return for their migrant parent's sacrifice. With the income of their migrant family member, many of these families had stabilized their household economic status. Debts were slowly being paid off. Purchase

of land and building and renovation of homes were taking place. They were able to send children to private institutions from elementary, high school to college. Families were also able to afford healthcare for aging or sickly family members. Although the quality of life in the basic necessities improved for families left behind, many of the families were not becoming upwardly mobile or transcending class lines in the Philippines. Many of the families were only barely making it with the remittance income they were taking in each month.

I begin this section with the identities of the participants of this dissertation because the marginalized categories they embody are assigned and produced through institutions of governance and migration under neoliberal globalization. In many scholarly accounts the details in the transnational lives of migrants and their families are often unfastened from the business of institutions that manage and facilitate the bureaucracies that usher Filipinos out of the country to a global destination. However, these details are actually rich in information and analysis of the efficacy and consequences of bureaucracies and institutions. Through the lens of those who are governed and those who migrate, I incorporate Canadian sociologist, Dorothy Smith's methodology, Institutional Ethnography (IE) (D. E. Smith et al. 2006; D. E. Smith 2005) as an approach to examine the machinations of the institutions that shape and constrain migration and transnational life for Filipinos. This approach assisted my examination of the institutional conditions that produce the Filipino labor diaspora, through the migrants and families that live out the consequences of a migrant labor export policy. Dovetailing with recent ethnographies of the Philippine state and its labor export policy (Rodriguez 2010; Guevarra 2009), this approach contributes

information on the underbelly of labor brokerage by examining these bureaucracies through the viewpoints of migrants and their families.

An IE frame investigates two sets of relations: “social relations people are drawn into through their work (with the term ‘social relations’ taken in its Marxist sense to mean not relationships but connections among work processes)” (Devault 2006a:294) and “’ruling relations’ [that] is not a heuristic device and does not simply point to ‘structure’ and ‘power,’ but instead refers to an expansive, historically specific apparatus of management and control that arose with the development of corporate capitalism and supports its orientation” (Devault 2006a:295) through the experiences of those who embody these relations. For Filipino migrants, these two sets of relations were not as obvious as in workplace studies that employ IE as methodology in community organizations (Mykhalovskiy and McCoy 2002) or nursing work in hospitals (Rankin and M. Campbell 2009). But in integrating this methodology, I exercised some theoretical generalizability with IE to include the work processes of migrant workers, specifically domestic workers in New York City, as the social relations that became the “fundamental grounding of social life” (Devault 2006a:294) for Filipino migrants. I identify the labor brokerage state of the Philippines as an institution that produces ruling relations in their facilitation, mobilization and regulation of migrant labor through the specific bureaucracies of migration management as evidenced in the work of Robyn Rodriguez and Anna Guevarra.

In terms of studying the dialectic between social and ruling relations, IE was most helpful in analyzing the identification processes in building “communities of care.” An IE framework allowed me to analyze the social relations between migrant workers as a

process of intelligibility to recognize one another as resources for solidarity and horizontal care through their experiences as domestic workers in New York City, migrants to the US and transnational family members. When these experiences were shared in the group interviews, theater workshops and through performance, identification processes between the research participants and the broader community developed more deeply than in a simple common experience between a set of people. The social relations, per the IE parameters, couched their shared understandings of being a migrant, domestic and family member as part of their work processes as migrant workers.

Additionally, although not as exhaustively covered in this dissertation, almost all interviews, group interviews, community workshops and the play production had critiques and analyses on the ever-growing culture of migration in the Philippines. Talking with migrants about the labor-brokerage state may seem biased, but with IE's framework, migrants are the experts in discussing the mechanisms and consequences of institutional and bureaucratic apparatus of migration as labor export.

IE has been instrumental to many research projects that are "studying up," examining institutions and structures of power like colonialism and race (Bannerji 1995), the welfare system (Weigt 2006), child protective services and social work (Brown 2006) and women's invisible care work (DeVault 1994). The corpus of work utilizing IE have sought to excavate various slivers that describe mothering work or care work, "whether it's done by a legal 'mother' or by another, or shared between two (or among more) adults, mothering work sustains household life. Social policy relies in various ways on the performance of such work, but typically accounts for it only in a language of 'values,' rather than recognizing it as work done in definite material conditions" (Devault 2006b:297). In

common, these scholars tackle systems of power from the vantage points and perspectives of women who have an intimate knowledge of these institutions. IE, after all, developed out of Smith's theorizing on feminist sociology and method wherein women's experience took primacy in interpreting the mainstream tropes about women's work and lives. But instead of simply making women's stories available for people to interpret, it is the work of IE researchers to tease out how women, among other marginalized communities, understand, navigate and negotiate processes of social organization, "exploring and describing the various social and institutional forces that shape, limit and otherwise organize people's actual and everyday/night worlds" (Mykhalovskiy and McCoy 2002:19).

In my work, I advance IE's methodology in considering transnational mothering, and care work by non-migrant families in homes left behind. In the popular narratives of the Philippines' migrants as "modern heroes," the scope of "good" motherhood now embraces the obligation for mothers to leave their families. As dutiful mothers who sacrifice anything and everything for their families, migration is a necessary option to keep families afloat and futures abound. Still, when women enter the realm of productive labor or income-generating labor, they are still bound to an invisibilized set of work processes in the gendered organization of transnational caring in their families. Further, the material and physical work of gendered care work done by families left behind in the Philippines also become almost a requirement, if not an obligation in a transnational family context. These work processes ushered in by reconfiguration of social reproductive labor through migration and long-term separation are never the focus of the Philippine labor-brokerage state or receiving families and governments in destination countries. I used IE to break open these care work processes as valuable, difficult and fulfilling and to understand the

new alteration in care work under the conditions of globalization: multidirectionality of care.

Participatory Action Research Inspirations

This project's methodology extends the idea of shared experiences or "dislocation" (R. S. Parrenas 2001) by putting shared experiences of migration, family, work and community at the center of the logic of inquiry about the lives of Filipino migrant women. The design of my dissertation research is inspired by principles of participatory action research as the methods of observation, construction of the interview guides and questions, research ventures, analysis and products of the research included the participation of Filipino domestic workers in my research. The exploratory research started with core members of a new organization called Kabalikat (translated as "shoulder to shoulder" in Tagalog) Domestic Worker Support Network, a program of Bayanihan Filipino Community Center, Philippine Forum in Queens, New York City. My participation in the organization began when I volunteered on a campaign for the repatriation of a deceased domestic worker, Fely Garcia or Tita Fely in 2007. This humanitarian campaign to repatriate Tita Fely's remains to the Philippines relied on domestic worker unity and collective effort to demand that the Philippine consulate in New York City advocate for a deeper police investigation of Garcia's death and also bear the cost of her repatriation. This political campaign garnered attention from local and ethnic media, but more importantly, legitimated Kabalikat as an organization that supported Filipino domestic workers concerns and rights. They raised upwards of $3,000 from their grassroots campaign and were successful in leveraging the New York Philippine consulate to shoulder the rest of Fely's fare. My volunteer time in Kabalikat's first year as an organization doubled as period

of rapport building with the domestic workers in the organization and I was able to help staff the campaign as a writer. It was an excellent beginning to my project's participant observations. In working with Kabalikat women for Tita Fely's campaign, it struck me that the points of unity for domestic workers to help out Tita Fely—a stranger to many of the Kabalikat members—revolved around three major themes: a critique of the Philippine state's negligence with migrants' welfare, concern for Tita Fely's family left behind and a worry that this fate could be shared by any of them.

To explore these themes that arose from my fieldwork, I interviewed Rita, Joan and Andrea, leaders in Kabalikat, with these observations in mind. In conversation with these leaders coupled with the pilot observations, we began to develop a research plan inspired by participatory action research principles, a method of research that the Filipino community organizers were familiar with from their organizing connections in the ongoing social liberation movement in the Philippines (IBON Foundation 2004). Participatory action research (PAR) methodology prioritizes the participation of research subjects informed by their indigenous knowledge of social conditions and institutions. They participate in informing the planning, implementation and analysis of the research project such as design, recruitment, collection and timeline. But more importantly, PAR methodology also insists that research is an engaged practice that activates dialogue across and within communities. Principles of PAR insist that all communities should have access and a "right to research" the pressing issues that are important and urgent to their community (Udvarhelyi 2011; Appadurai 2006).

Inspired by Tita Fely's campaign and seeing the need for research about their lives, the leaders of Kabalikat and I sat together to talk about a loose design for research to

support the new and blossoming organization[1]. Importantly, we also planned to develop a program to keep the political energy and organizing momentum going parallel to the collection of data. Kabalikat leaders identified three sets of issues they wanted to learn more about: domestic workers' migration stories, the role of the government and the culture of migration in the Philippines and the current case of why people came together for Tita Fely. It is important to note that the interviews with Kabalikat coordinators also framed this study towards researching the operations and definition of the transnational family as the focal point, as the stories of Rita, Joan and Andrea became stories about their family as the main reason for migration. Through many informal talks, revisions and approval of the interview guide, we decided to incorporate these issues in a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions used for all of the interviews with domestic workers in this project (see Appendix A). It is also useful to state that most of the interviews, group interviews and the play, *Diwang Pinay,* was held in *Tagalog* or Filipino, the national language of the Philippines.

I chose semi-structured interviews as my main method to give participants the time and space to share their stories in a confidential environment. I collected individual

[1] A short note on working with Kabalikat Domestic Workers Support Network instead of other prominent domestic workers organizations in New York City like Domestic Workers United (DWU): I decided to start a research project with Kabalikat and their respective networks to support multiplicity of organizing initiative by domestic workers in New York City. DWU is a respected organization in New York City; their success in winning the Domestic Worker Bill of Rights was an astounding feat that proved their legitimacy to all domestic workers. Still, other Filipino domestic workers found something particularly different in their membership with Kabalikat. And although it is a smaller organization without the political leverage as DWU, the size of Kabalikat offered a way to look closely at the particular points of unity that bring Filipino domestic workers together. Further, choosing to interview members of Kabalikat and also Filipino domestic workers that were not part of any organization allowed me to gather a range of opinions about care in transnational contexts.

interviews to deepen the understanding of the individual experience of migration, domestic work and participation of the transnational family. Later, many would divulge their personal trajectories in group interviews bit by bit, but the individual interviews allowed them to go deeper into their personal migration stories, opinions and experiences. I collected about 20 interviews from Kabalikat members before the theater workshops and group interviews began. But before we started the community theater program, many of the Kabalikat members advised me to return to the Philippines and interview their children to get all sides of the migration story. As discussed above in my decision to conduct multi-sited ethnography, the exploratory study and returns to the Philippines was actually a direction influenced by the participation of the migrants in the study.

Sociologists studying migration have over and again proved that family is a common motivation for migration (R. C. Smith 2006; Massey et al. 1993; Foner and Dreby 2011). Family is one of the most sensitive topics for migrants to discuss; thus asking the women to participate in crafting the key topics in the research allowed me to navigate through their lives in a more informed way as to identify key issues like the role of technology, redefinition of motherhood, significance of care work in families left behind and communities of care. Further, I understood that family members, especially mothers, would only talk about the most painful and intimate parts of their family lives if and when they felt safe and ready. Therefore I was able to understand which segments of family processes were the most important when the research participants remained adamant about keeping particular questions in. Further, the years I spent building relationships with participants and their families before interviewing them were and are key to the level of openness participants had when we talked.

My endorsement from migrant mothers, aunts, sisters and grandmothers was crucial for the recruitment and completion of Manila-based interviews and group interviews. Participants in New York City would phone home months before I would take a trip to Manila telling their families to expect me. When I arrived in families' homes in Manila on my first return in 2009, I was greeted with familiarity as migrants from New York already sent pictures of me, told stories about my work and the research we were doing together before I even set foot in the Philippines. I was also greeted with feasts of my favorite Filipino foods *alimasag* or crab, *hipon* or shrimp and *kangkong* or greens. Humbled by the effort and money spent on a spread for my visit, I would present each family with chocolates from the US and small parcels or *padala* from their family members in New York. I was frequently surprised about how much families in Manila knew about me: my favorite foods, current events in New York, weather changes there and upcoming activities at the center. But, it was most clear to me in these moments of transnational life that experiences of migration necessarily had to incorporate the stories of migrants and the people they left behind. Without this suggestion from the migrant workers, I could've easily focused in just on their lives in New York City. And even though it was a costly move and made my analysis much more complex, this story of changing families would have never been enough without the interviews of families in Manila.

With interviews and observation as the main method of collection in Manila, I asked family members about their experiences of that their migrant members' departure, the changes in their lives since the separation, the ways in which they incorporate that missing member into their family activities, and their networks of support in the absence of their family member and also their opinions on the politics of migration (see Appendix B). The

interview guide for Manila-based family members reflected the topics in the New York City interview guide to retain some comparability between interviews. Although not a fully participatory process, the development of the Manila-based guide was still informed by the participation of Filipino migrants in New York City.

Often, PAR projects move towards an action that mobilizes research findings to speak to an array of political ends, such as legislation change, public awareness of an issue, etc. In this project, the "action" portion of the research manifested in a year-long theater program and play production where interviews and group interviews collected were transformed into a stage play. Kabalikat's objectives in putting on the program and the play were to be able build leadership and organizing capacity in their membership. At the outset of the loose research plan we constructed together, we planned that the interviews could serve this dual purpose.

In December of 2009, we began to hold theater workshops, with 10-30 people participating in-group interviews and other Theater of the Oppressed exercises to deepen the themes I garnered from individual interviews. But the workshops also allowed for members of the organization to understand one another's stories to begin build a political analysis or critique on their experiences of forced migration, precarious work and immigration issues in the US. I participated and observed these workshops, and therefore the interactions and dynamics in them are also incorporated to the analysis in this dissertation. Additionally, theater workshops were not only for Kabalikat women, but open to other Filipino domestic workers and Filipino American community members. From these sustained workshops, I was able to recruit 23 domestic workers who were not Kabalikat members to participate in the study. The 23 non-Kabalikat domestic workers

stories were mostly collected through individual interviews, but there were many times that these 23 would also participate in the workshops were I collected group interviews.

Simultaneous my numerous returns and the collection of additional individual interviews, group interviews (15 all together) were held during community theater workshops allowed for me to propose a recurrent theme or topic that emerged from the individual semi structured interviews. Group interviews were held monthly for 10 months incorporated with theater exercises, writing and acting and then every Sunday for the last four months of play production. These group interviews gave us, research participants, workshops participants and I, the researcher, an opportunity to see, hear, talk, act and discuss the commonalities in individual stories. And these abounded. Still holding on to the question of shared experiences and dislocations, we decided on building a discussion and education portion in each monthly theater workshop. In these half hour to an hour group interview segments with anywhere from 5-15 people, I would throw out a recurring themes from the individual interviews to discuss as a group. Some themes we tackled in the group interviews were: separation, motherhood and children, sexuality and desire, husbands and infidelity, community, solidarity and diasporic family, state and transnational migrant governance. These themes are about dislocations, experiences of dispossession; whether we were talking about Tita Fely and the Philippine consulates' negligent handling of her case or about missing the milestones in children or family members' lives, the group interviews allowed each member to share how their individual experiences were also the experiences of others too. I observed how the themes in individual interviews actually shaped the lives of the migrants as a whole.

Here I use the term "group interviews" similarly to Esther Madriz's theorization that focus groups allows people from marginalized community to be more open and honest about their experiences of oppression (Madriz 1998). Group interviews—or interview sessions with two or more people, with questions fielded by all participants not just the researcher—were also entry points to gaining more individual interviews. The logic behind crafting "group interviews" follows Esther Madriz's methodological argument that a method to research women's lives must take into account women's subjective experiences and interactions (Madriz 1998). In what she calls, "collective testimony," Madriz insists that focus groups are a viable form of data collection for Latina women who are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds as these formats of exchange reflect the social realities of their interactions with one another. In my work, Filipino migrant women are often in groups of two or more in conversation about almost anything—work, where to get good and cheap thermals, sexuality and desire. Group interviews would start by my prompt that sounded like: "The theme today is infidelity. Let's talk about this." The focus group would then allow members of the group to explore, challenge and clarify the concepts and stories presented. I developed this method following Robert Courtney Smith's work on "grounded group interviews" where "you can get informants with different perspectives to challenge each other, frame their understandings differently, or otherwise capture some of the dynamic quality of the social life observed" (R. C. Smith 2006:357). This method not only facilitated multiple voices to be heard and listened to, but it is also an epistemological method that reflected the patterns of talk and gossip in migrant worker social life. Additionally, because stories of migration are often (tearful and agonizing) stories of trauma, I provided a list of social services and community organizations both in the Philippines and in NYC for the

participants of this study; in the case that they needed more support around the stories they told me.

Through 2010, in the spirit of participatory research and theater of the oppressed, migrants validated the recurring themes culled together in the individual interviews. The loose network of 40-50 participants included domestic workers, both men and women, who belonged to Kabalikat and other domestic workers who were not a part of the organization. The migrants involved troubled static notions of their experiences as migrants and workers, for example, mothering from afar as neglectful or working as a domestic as a dirty job. In group interviews, discussion and writing the script of the play, the domestic workers challenged these ideas and infused these experiences with complexity, retelling them as stories of pleasure and pain, freedom and constraint, and trials and victories. These workshops consisted of 4 components: "games" from the Theater of the Oppressed methodology, an educational component that was analytical but also built the skills of participants to contribute to group interviews and performance, and group interviews and rehearsals. The education component for this project was a segment that was devoted to leadership development and capacity-building for the participants. PAR projects often reserve time for analytic sessions to invest what Paulo Freire called "conscientization" (Freire 2000) through the research process but also to ensure that participants are involved in the design, implementation, direction and skills of doing research (Fields et al. 2008; Minkler et al. 2003). This educational component is an important point incorporating PAR principles to this project towards a critical project towards social justice (M. Torre et al. n.d.). It is not simply a politics of "inclusion," rather it

is an epistemological tool to identify injustices and awaken a sense of power through learning, research and action.

Younger Filipino immigrants and Filipino American, mostly women, educated and professional, were also important to the project as they were often facilitating theater workshops, organizing logistics and in charge of production details. Filipino American women from Filipinas for Rights and Empowerment (FiRE) and the staff of the Bayanihan Filipino Community Center were invaluable in the process as they took more time-intensive responsibilities like revising the scripts, looking for a theater, choreographing the dances, designing the lights, set art and props. This crew of non-domestic workers numbered between 30-40 people. All of the members of the staff for the production were cross-cultural (Filipino and Filipino American) and inter-generational (age cohort and immigration cohort); we all varied in privileges in terms of education, legal documentation, work stability, income, housing and language. Although PAR researchers have established that not all participation in PAR projects are egalitarian (Fine and M. E. Torre 2006; Fields et al. 2008), we made sure that all collaborators were in discussion about the balance in the parts they brought in to the project. Elsewhere I have written about "deep participation" (Francisco 2010) in PAR projects where the participatory approach we used invited all of us to participate with acute attention to our embodied identities, to make room for those who are often silenced and also to participate with intention so as to not silence our privilege.

When we staged the play, *Diwang Pinay,* at City University of New York, Hunter College in March 2011, the writing of the script, production, direction, cast, dancers, art production, songs, choreography and set design were all collaborative efforts of a majority

women staff that consisted of Kabalikat members, domestic workers, Filipino immigrant and Filipino American community members (see Appendix C). The production of this play is, in effect, the 'action' component in our PAR-inspired research.

Although the stage performance and script of the play is not read as part of the text for this dissertation, the analysis brought out by the group interviews, performance-elicited narratives and discussions reflecting the Theater of the Oppressed methods imbued the analysis of this research with the collective story or as Rita said, "iisang istorya," of Filipino migrants in New York. With Foucault's frame of biopolitics, in which he argues that the governance of populations, alongside the disciplining of the individual, manages bodies through economy and affect, this community theater program centered trauma and memory within the migration of Filipino domestic workers to tell their individual and collective story (Foucault 2009). For example, following Boal's "Image Theatre," the use of participants' bodies to sculpt a portrait or an image of their last memory of the Philippines (usually at an airport) elicited narratives about personal memories but also drew out discussion from all participants about their common narrative (Boal 2000). Performance-elicited narrative coupled with participatory politics in research allowed me to study of the circulation of affect, first experienced by individuals and then, in a community of migrants.

Throughout the three years of data collection and analysis process in both New York City and Manila, I followed a rigorous, triangulation cycle that was comprised of: individual interviews, field notes, observation, theater workshops and group interviews, field notes and observations (see Appendix E). Although methods were adjusted due to the participatory nature of the methodology, my data collection and analysis cycle stayed fixed. The systematic character of my collection and analysis drove a scientific logic of inquiry

between inductive and deductive reasoning. Additionally, through this cycle I maintained a hermeneutic of faith and suspicion (Josselson 2004) in the concepts that would surface and disappear. I wrote ethnographic field notes (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995) in all phases and sites about my experiences in the field interviewing and observing. These memos were greatly useful in my data analysis, which at times overlapped with data collection especially during the participatory discussion during theater workshops. But the field notes were most helpful as I started to piece together the academic gaps and where this dissertation could make methodological advances. Further, field notes were crucial in forming new ideas about the massive amounts of data I collected so that when I conducted focused coding on the interviews and group interviews transcripts using the qualitative analysis software, Atlas, I was able to look back on the most common themes. More open coding occurred in between extensive field note-taking and analysis workshops with domestic workers during theater workshop. Outside of interviews and group interviews, various data collected consists of maps, journals, play scripts, short topical open-ended surveys, songs and dances and web observations (i.e. screen captures, emails, videos).

Conclusion

A study of the changing character of families under migration in neoliberal globalization can take many forms. In my research, I, along with many collaborators, designed a project that centered the voices, stories and experiences of those who are in the throes of international migration and labor. Multi-sited ethnography and transnational research allowed me to capture the simultaneous nature in which intimate dynamics of care work change in different places and the structural conditions under which those changes occur. Institutional ethnography framed the research participants, migrants and

their families left behind, as the experts of the institutional processes and workings of migration and globalization. Participatory action research inspired the data collection and analysis strategies of the dissertation in ensuring research participants understood and shaped interviews, group interviews, participant observation, theater production and analysis. Informed by feminist, qualitative methods, this project reflects systematic research rigor as findings were triangulated by the various methods employed. Yet it also sought to capture the organic dynamic of qualitative research and serve a larger grassroots purpose for the research participants. I believe these methods were optimal in gathering data and analyzing the social processes of transnational family lives and their relationship to economic globalization and migration as the methods matched the inquiry I put before my dissertation project (see Appendix D).

I make three main contributions to the literature on transnationalism and immigration through this unique research design. First, my multi-sited ethnography focuses on transnational lives within constellations of families in two sites to expand the definition of family members and the forms of care work. This study adds to the emerging literature on the non-migrant counterparts of those moving around all over the world. Second, in prioritizing the voices of migrants and their families left behind to study institutions of migration, care work and family, I garner the understandings of the underbelly of, otherwise reified, structures of power. Lastly, employing participatory methods cast aside the idea that the process and products of research are reserved for experts. Research, often an invasive project, still interrupted the lives of Filipino migrants and their families but in an informed way. Further, participatory methods allowed for this

research (and the importance and right to research) to be translatable to audiences outside of the academy.

Finally, a note on Filipinos in the US, Filipinos are the second largest Asian American immigrant group with 3 million recorded and roughly 1 million uncounted and undocumented (Chua 2009). Outside of California, the northeast region of the US is home to a large concentration of Filipinos. The 2010 census counts over 67,000 Filipinos living in the Metro New York City, where the Filipino foreign-born residents population increased 22% from 2000 (Asian American Federation 2011). Constituting 7% of New York City's Asian American immigrants, Filipinos, both documented and otherwise, are generally college-educated, fluent in English and take up occupations primarily as nurses, domestic workers and teachers, and 58% of Filipinos in New York City are women. They are becoming a formidable transient and settled community in New York City, much like the presence of Filipinos in other global cities. It behooves scholars to research and reflect on the various sectors of burgeoning immigrant communities. Not all Filipinos are nurses. Not all Filipinos are upwardly mobile, model minority types. Some of them are undocumented immigrants. Some of them are low-wage workers. As sociologists, it is our responsibility to generalize but, I will insist, we must retain the nuance in our studies to reflect the various realities of the communities we research. More importantly, in this move to heterogenize the knowledge we produce, it is of utmost importance that we begin with the methods we collect our data with.

Chapter 3

Multi-directionality of Care: Taking Care of One Another

Introduction

Care work—physical and emotional labor that helps maintain functions and meanings of a family—takes different forms, especially for families with members who are separated by long-term separation and far distances. For Filipino families that live and have lived with generations of migrants in their families, forms of care are continually being revised as family members continually migrate. But what can we learn from the family and the changing care formulations in the transnational mode? One, the family is an important site to examine the forces of neoliberal globalization in order to link the most intimate of social relations—such that of the family—to the rapidly changing conditions of the global political economy. Historically, the Filipino family has absorbed the impacts of migration as a neoliberal initiative of the Philippine state to generate revenue against decreased state social supports. The institutionalization of labor migration in the Philippine political economy, mobilizes, facilitates and regulates Filipino citizens to leave in droves in search of livelihood abroad. Inherently, Filipino families are also drafted to this migration industrial complex as they bear the brunt of reorganizing care work as their family members migrate.

Which leads us to a second logic; investigations of transnational practices often only follow the migrant's practices in maintaining their ties to their homes and families left behind. Yet the dynamic set of social relations that make up transnational relationships involves so many actors between migrants and the people they left behind. In this chapter, I propose to explore this dynamism by placing care work as a unit of analysis and examining

who provides care, what type of care is it and what care means to people living in a transnational family.

The term "care work" in this chapter will straddle two popular conceptualizations of care in the sociology and feminist scholarship of the family: nurturance and social reproductive labor (Duffy 2005). Scholars of the family in the stream of nurturance established the concept of "relationality" or intimate relationships as the basis of care (Cancian and Oliker 2000; Fisher and Tronto 1990). Care is defined as the ability to develop emotional bonds based on personal, face-to-face relationships and care is both a giving and receiving arrangement. However, other scholars depart from this frame by deploying the term "social reproductive labor" to describe care work since occupations that fulfill the duties of "care work" are often not reciprocal in terms of building intimate relationships, for example in the cases of paid domestic workers or teachers (Glenn 1992; Beneria 1999; Katz 2004; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000). More importantly, social reproductive labor theorists insist on this term on a political note to point out that the paid care work was often sectioned off as low-wage jobs for women of color.

In transnational family theorizing, scholars begin with the assumption that migrant mothers and their families left behind are at the intersection of these two conceptualizations of care work. The paradox for transnational families is that migrants leave their nurturing care roles in one place to do productive or paid labor as social reproductive laborers in another place. In this vein, scholars have used the concept of "relativizing" in describing how transnational families expand and retract members and workers in their families in consideration of the duration and distance of a migrant member (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Asis, Huang, and Yeoh 2004).

For the purposes of this chapter, I want to retain the tension in the notion of care work as a paradoxical process and practice that at times both attend to the nurturance needs of employer as paid social reproductive laborers and also just nurturance when it comes to families left behind who can only offer their emotions and relationship as a form of care. For migrants, I expand on what past scholars have argued about migrant mothers—that financial support is their main avenue of care work, but that they also understand this also as a form of nurturing care. For families left behind, I offer a fresh look at the processes and practices of relating to migrant family members with nurturance as the perspective of their care work. I argue that although the currency of care work from families left behind is not financially calculable, the work of attending to a family member's needs, in this case if that member happens to be a migrant, contributes to a migrant's well being and can and should be understood as care work and caregiving.

Current transnational families are characteristically different from families who have historically been separated before, as technology has enabled daily communication (Parrenas 2005b) and serial migration—a return to home, then back to a new work destination again—marks the character of some migrants' relationships with their families left behind (Lorente 2005). Additionally, for the Philippines specifically, migration has become an industry that has institutionalized separation as an element in the contemporary Filipino family through its labor export policy. Given these conditions, I argue that families left behind are proactive and agentic in the renegotiation of care in the transnational family. In contrast to earlier studies on transnational Filipino families that represents families of migrants as passive receivers of care from their migrant family

members abroad, I argue that families left behind are also reformulating care from the place left behind.

To take on the epistemological challenge of exploring this proposal, this chapter's research follows the transnational care work within family networks. In other words, this research traces the care practices of 10 family constellations with migrant members in New York City, USA and their families in Metro Manila, Philippines. This methodological innovation also contributes to the literature on transnational families by opening up new ways to theorize the directionality of care over time and space. Further, tracing the multiple directions of care work within a family allows us to understand deeper the roles kin formations play in the transnational family. Family histories from different vantage points yield rich data about the inner workings of the family. These histories are key in understanding how families cope when a member of the family migrates; the ways families worked before migration allows us to understand the gravity of the adjustments they make when one of the family members leaves.

Researching inside these family constellations, I find Filipino families that already worked in intricate and extended kin networks before family members migrated have a set of tools to absorb the absence of a family member. And although migration, especially when a mother leaves, makes a family situation difficult, mothers' roles are absorbed and distributed through the extended kin networks that were and are present in Filipino families. I push the paradigm of the nuclear family forward by positing that Filipino families already work in an extended care network when they are all present in one place. Thus, the migration of a family member can activate that network to different ends. The adaptations within the kin network makes space for families left behind to rearticulate

their absorption of work in two ways; one, an answer to immediate needs, and two, as a form of care to their family member who migrated. Thus, the questions that guide this chapter are: How do families left behind work with what they have and take advantage of available family resources such as extended kin networks to reorganize care work? When sisters, aunts, mothers, husbands and children of a migrant mother step in to care for a family that is left behind, in what other ways do they understand this absorption of work?

With qualitative data from families left behind and their migrant family members, I show a glimpse of the history of care in families with migrant members. In many of the families in this project, care worked in a decentralized manner that used kin networks for the purposes of both nurturing and social reproduction before the migration of family members. Care givers in pre-migration arrangements vary from parents to children to aunts and grandparents. After migration and in taking on a multi-directionality of care frame, I posit that care givers in a transnational family equation are both migrants and families left behind. In families left behind, it may seem that different family members absorbing the roles of a migrant member and maintain the family is a simple action of filling the gaps that are left behind. However, in trying to understand the meaning of this care work for families left behind and in contextualizing care in this historical and multi-directional paradigm. I find that families left behind make meaning of absorbing their migrant family member's work as a *form* of care to that person that migrated. They interpret their work as such because they understand their family member's migration as fulfilling care responsibilities for the family; and thus, the absorption of the work left behind is then a way to pay back/answer the sacrifice of their migrant family member. Simultaneously, migrants interpret the work of their families left behind as care since the

reasons for migration are largely to provide their families with opportunities of economic stability, educational avenues, housing and comfort. When families left behind communicate and demonstrate that a migrant's sacrifices translate to the betterment of the family, migrants understand these developments as a repayment—or care that is a concrete transformation of lives based on migration as sacrifice. In this formulation, I identify the different caregivers, types of care and the meanings of care work for those different parties.

In this chapter, I present data that demonstrates how families left behind take care of one another that is also interpreted as a way of taking care of the migrant family member. This chapter extends the ideas of care in what Hondagneu-Sotelo calls "transnational motherhood" and what Rhacel Parrenas calls "long-distance intimacy" by reconceptualizing care to include the kin network instead of a nuclear family of parents and children. By framing care in the arrangement of the kin network, a more complex and intricate formula of care in the transnational family emerges. In what I call *multi-directionality of care*, I count the horizontal exchange of care from migrant family members' participation in care work simultaneously with the care work families left behind. Further, I recognize that the care work families in the Philippines take up is also a form of care they understand as care they provide to their migrant family members. Moreover, I posit that the historical institutionalization of migration is a factor in reorganizing the family influencing Filipino families' coping strategies and understandings of care work in their transnational contexts. In what follows, I explore how family members left behind understand their lateral care work in the Philippines as a form of care they extend to their migrant family members. Reorganizing and taking up the work of maintaining the family is

at once caring for physically present family members, but it is also a form of care for a migrant member.

Transnational Families

The characteristics of family formation are transformed alongside social, political and economic shifts in history (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). Scholars establish that the family form has absorbed changes under the conditions of globalization and migration by revising definitions, roles and operations of the family across the borders (Parrenas 2005a; Asis et al. 2004; Dreby 2010). Neoliberalism puts new burdens on the family. In the Global South, migration and separation are borne out of decreased and privatized social services and increasing unemployment. Complementarily, in the Global North, the privatization of public health care creates the demand for low wage workers to fill in the gaps in the growing care crisis for aging populations and new families.

Asis, Huang and Yeoh argue that the "transnational family—generally one where core members are distributed in two or more nation states, but continue to share strong bonds of collective welfare and unity—is a strategic response to the changing social, economic and political conditions of a globalizing world" (Asis et al. 2004:199). In this study, the transnational family is defined specifically under globalization and is exemplified by long-term separation over great distances wherein migrant family members seek a livelihood abroad to support families left behind. In this arrangement, families strive to reorganize the operations of the family, such as domestic labor, emotional labor, care, and income, to maintain the functions of the family but also to retain their ideals of family life.

Scholars in the sociology of immigration and transnationalism have introduced a variety of concepts to understand the reorganization of gender and the transnational family

under globalization (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Parrenas 2005a; Dreby 2010). Pierrete Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila's pivotal work about Latin American domestic workers in Los Angeles establishes that gender is organizing the changing social relations of family under migration and globalization. They argue that "transnational mothering radically rearranges mother-child interactions and requires a concomitant radical reshaping of the meanings and definitions of appropriate mothering" (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997:557). Migrant mothers often expand their definitions of motherhood by becoming the breadwinner while fulfilling intensive emotional and nurturing roles from afar.

Joanna Dreby's work with Mexican migrants in New Jersey and their families in Mexico explores how these separated family members still "do family" (Dreby 2010). She gives us a look at the work of maintaining a transnational family from different vantage points: migrant parents, caregivers and children left behind. Migrant parents stay active in the lives of their families by providing financial support for basic goods and needs and keeping communication through letters, pictures, phone calls and cards. Still, reorganization of the definitions of family is ongoing; children and caregivers left behind are not merely passive recipients of money and goods. Dreby shows us that children leverage power over migrants' family members by "emotional withholding" (Dreby 2010:142). Both migrants *and* families left behind reshape the meaning of family transnationally.

Still, these formulations take the migrants' role in transnationalizing care to be primary. Although discussion of families left behind emerge in recent scholarship, non-migrant family members are leveraging or redirecting the care they are receiving from

their migrant family member. Theorizing about how families left behind understand their withholding (Dreby 2010) or overachievements (Parrenas 2005a) or bargaining (Smith 2006) hasn't examined what other meanings and these practices produce.

Transnationality of the Filipino Family

It is important to reiterate that the reorganization of the family is linked to shifts and changes in political economy. For this study, the context of the transnational Filipino family is the Philippines' aggressive and sophisticated institutional organization of migration as labor export (Tadiar 2004; Guevarra 2009; Rodriguez 2010). Filipino families have been rearticulated across borders since the early 20th century through labor migration to different states in the US (Espiritu 2003). But a key turning point in the migration of Filipinos (and consequently the reorganization of Filipino families) was with the passage of the Labor Export Policy in 1972 under the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos that catalyzed a large-scale exodus out of the Philippines (Rodriguez 2010; Guevarra 2009). Current rhetoric around labor migration hinges on gender-specific and gender-coded ideals around filial piety and empowerment (Guevarra 2009). Inherent to the mobilization of migrants is the mobilization of their families to then take up the work their family members leave behind. The Philippine nation state and its migration industry, are both leading the way in providing cheap labor to the world and its labor export policy is also a central element in restructuring the contemporary form of the Filipino family.

On the one hand as Filipino women migrate to do paid care work, other scholars and researchers have turned to the reorganization of unpaid care work for migrant mothers and in their families left behind, on the other. Bryceson and Vuorela's (2002) introduce the notion of "relativizing," describing how families select who is part of the family based on

needs, length of separation and distance, whether people are blood-related or not. Asis, Huang and Yeoh (2004), in their research with Filipino migrants in Singapore and their families in the Philippines, find that migrants and their families identify who constitutes family and the roles people play in that unit relative to who is around and who can take up work. More importantly, they argue that these fluid terms of family can result in both support and conflict in how families left behind view migrant mothers. Rhacel Parrenas' (2005a, 2005b) research on transnational Filipino families demonstrates the various strategies migrant mothers employ to cope with the emotional strain of being away from their families, such as gifts, financial support and communication through phone and letters. More importantly, Parrenas argues that migrant mothers, despite their sacrifice, are stigmatized for their decision to leave by patriarchal ideology and the nuclear family formation. Given these cultural conditions children of global migration have trouble understanding their mothers' migration and are often strained by the separation (Parrenas 2005a; Reyes 2008).

When it comes to families left behind and their relationship to care, scholars argue that weakened links in transnational families are tempered by the support provided by extended kin. In Rhacel Parrenas' pioneering work exploring the dynamics of Filipino transnational families she argues that often the reorganization of labor to women kin and domestic helpers complicates kin relationships with migrant mothers (Parrenas 2005a). Parrenas' data shows that often aunts and grandmothers develop a resentful attitude towards their migrant family member. These emotional strains are mediated by remittances and financial support provided to kin networks by migrant members. Outside of the women kin, families also hire paid domestic workers to help around the

house(Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003). At times, migrant mothers include a domestic helper's wages in the household budget if families left behind cannot or have trouble absorbing the labor of the household. This "care deficit" points to kin networks and, even, paid domestic workers becoming burdened with the reorganization of labor in households missing a family member.

I point to the theorizing on the Philippine's migration industry and the subsequent scholarship on the Filipino transnational family to acknowledge that migration has become a staple in contemporary Filipino society. Thus, the cultural shifts that are a consequence of political and economic restructuring are dynamic and deserve continuous research attention. As migrant family member(s) become a mainstay in Filipino family formation, new understandings about how care is redistributed, valued and deployed emerge through different lenses on who gets incorporated into participating in "doing family" relative to the situation at hand and definitions of care within these arrangements. In this chapter, in particular, I will focus on kin networks' role in articulating care for families left behind and migrant family members in the context of the longstanding social fact of migration as a form of livelihood for Filipinos.

"Taking Care of Them Is Taking Care of Her"

Gonzalez Sisters: Joan Gonzalez Hernandez and Vickie Gonzalez Marquez

When Joan and Vickie lived in the Philippines, they lived within a 20 feet radius of one another along with their parents, siblings and their children, and their children's children. In Tondo, Manila, a notoriously rough and impoverished neighborhood, they didn't really have a choice. When I visit their urban poor neighborhood, the corner that the Gonzalez clan occupied is teeming with little children and three women doing laundry and hanging

up wet clothes on a few clotheslines in front of the set of cramped buildings where Joan and Vickie's family lived. Joan and Vickie's oldest sister, Tita (or Aunt) Tina, who sits on a block of wood rubbing soapy clothes together recognizes me and yells in Tagalog (the national language of the Philippines), "Hoy Val! I'm washing Vickie's kids' underwear so you better give me my hug from Joan and Vickie!"

Joan and Vickie are sisters who live in a one-bedroom apartment in Queens, New York. They are both mothers of 3 and 2 children, respectively, living in the Philippines. Both of them left to work as domestic workers in New York City in the early 2000s. In the Philippines, both of them were housewives, depending on their husbands and their siblings' collective income to feed their families and keep their households afloat. In an interview held in Queens Joan said to me:

> *Dati, wala kami masyado. Nawalan ng trabaho yung asawa ko. Ako naman, walang trabaho. Yung mga kapatid ko ang tumutulong sa aming utang. Pinatira kami ni Nanay sa bahay niya. As in, anim kami sa isang kuwarto, walang banyo yon. Kung kailangan ng banyo, punta ka doon kay Nanay. Ganoon ang buhay namin.*
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> Before I decided to leave, we didn't have much. My husband lost his job. I didn't have one. My siblings were giving us money for our basic expenses. My mother let us stay in a room in her house. As in, the 6 of us in one room, no bathroom. When we needed to use the bathroom we had to go to my mother's side of the house. Our lives were like that.

She continued to tell me that because of unemployment and poverty her four siblings, their children and their children's children lived together. Although it was hard to live in an overcrowded house, they traded childcare and chores for little bits of money to pay for clothing, food, and their kids' tuition, as costs of even public education was ever increasing. In both of their interviews, Joan and Vickie described their lives growing up with experiences that always involved their extended families. For them that form of care work would also inform their choices about raising their own families. Living in the same

neighborhood, literally side by side and on top (2nd and 3rd floors of Joan's home is shared with her other sister's family) was not so much of a coincidence but a choice.

Joan was the first to migrate in 2003 to New York City and then she convinced her younger sister Vickie to follow her in 2005. Their work as domestic workers in NYC supports a constellation of five families with 24 members in total: Joan's three children and four grandchildren; Vickie's husband and two children; Joan's oldest sister, Tina, and her three adult children who have a total of four children; Joan's brother and wife and their two kids, one of which has one newborn baby; and Joan and Vickie's aging mother. Although some of their siblings in the Philippines still work part time jobs, most of their responsibilities fall along the lines of keeping the household together and making sure that Joan and Vickie's children have three square meals, money for school and money to have some fun on the weekends. This arrangement of care mimics Joan and Vickie's situation before they migrated but the big difference is that much of the financial stress is now redirected to Joan and Vickie. In the past, Joan and Vickie's husbands or brother or sisters would work low wage jobs so that they could stay home and take care of the family's collective group of children, but today, Joan and Vickie are the breadwinners and their husbands have shifted roles.

I point to Joan and Vickie's case to demonstrate how kin networks are the saving grace of many Filipino families who are struggling to survive. A cramped and crowded house is better than no house at all. For a majority of the participants in my study, their living and family arrangements in the Philippines revolved around living with one, two or three other families whether they were siblings, family friends, or parents. Many Filipino women who eventually migrated were able to avail themselves of kin networks to bolster

slim incomes and periods of job-seeking. As some Filipino women were able to migrate for work, like the women in this study, the kin network became much more important in ensuring that their families would and could stay intact upon their departure. This kin set up becomes key in understanding how migrants' sisters who are aunts or migrants' mothers who are grandmothers take on caring for more family members and understand it as a way to care for their migrant family member.

When I talked with Joan's youngest son, Calvin, who is 18 years old and was only 11 when his Mother left, he spoke about Tita Tina's role in their lives:

> Calvin: *Kung di kaya ni Ate, tatanongin niya si Tita Tina. Kagaya ng dati, ginagawa ni Mama. Kund ki alam ni Ate, at least nandiyan si Tita Tina. Oo, Tita Tina. Masaya siya pero of course iba. Iba yung aruga niya kesa kay Mama. Kasi, ganito, kung di namin alam gawiin, amin-amin lang, punta kami sa kanya. Yon. Ganyan ang tulong niya sa amin. Kay Mama rin.*
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> If Melann can't do [chores], its Tita Tina she goes to. Like when Mama went to her before when she was here. If Melann doesn't know what to do, at least she has someone to go too. Yea, Tita Tina. She's happy to take care of us but of course it's different. Her way of taking care of us is different from Mama. Because it's like this, if we don't know what to do or how to do it and we can't solve it among ourselves, we go to her. That. That's how she helps us. She helps Mama.
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> Valerie: She doesn't feel like it's too much when you ask?
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> Calvin: *No, not really. Sabi niya di niya magagawa lahat ng ginawa ni Mama, hindi siya si Mama pero kung kailangan, okay lang. Di naman masamang bagay. Yan ang pagkaintidi niya na tulong kay Mama.*
>
> No, not really. She said that she can't do everything Mama does and she isn't Mama but when we need help or want help, it's okay to ask her. It's not a bad thing to go to her. This is how she can help.

Here Calvin discusses how Tita Tina interprets her help to the kids as help to them but to her sister as well. He understands Tita Tina as a reliable person that is available to them when he and his sister need help. When Calvin talks about "before," he is telling us about how the Gonzalez clan worked before anyone migrated. Now, since his mother has

migrated, leaning on his Tita Tina feels less like an imposition, instead it is a continuation of the relationships they had fostered when his mother still lived in the Philippines. In a way, the care work that is now redistributed among Melann, Calvin and Tita Tina is a practical move to keep the family together, but it also doubles up as a way to keep Joan's stress to a minimum, as she knows that her kids and her sister are continuing the way of life they had before.

In an interview with Joan, I shared with her how Calvin and Melann saw Tita Tina. She said, "I know that when Tina is there, my heart can rest because I know her with my kids. They respect her. I feel good when she is with my kids." Joan's remarks brings us full circle, as she acknowledges that the care work that becomes rearranged at home gives her some respite even though she still feels the guilt of being away from her family. For migrants, every little bit of help matters when separation from family starts to add up in years. Calvin and Melann looking for help and Tita Tina's pitching in is a response to Joan's absence but this reallocation also stretches all the way to New York as Joan's stress over her family's well-being decreases with the knowledge that they take care of one another.

After Vickie left in 2005, her daughter, Dianne and son, Z, looked to Melann and Calvin to adjust to their mother's absence. Melann offered to help out given her especially hard transition when Joan, her mother, left in 2003, she said, "Me and Dianne were close but not close close. But when Tita Vickie left, I told her that she could talk to me about anything. Have you read her blog? I told her she could tell me all of those feelings but she can also ask me about how to pick up *padala* (translation: remittances)." Because Melann and Dianne grew up so close together throughout their childhood, they were able to share a bond that exists among childhood friends. However, when their mothers migrated, this

closeness was prompted to develop in a new dimension. Sharing the challenging experience of their mother's migration also compelled them to share the experience of adjusting to their mother's absence. In these terms, Melann volunteered to teach Dianne how to continue paying bills, Dianne said:

> Valerie: When [Tita Vickie] sends *padala* (money), who pays the bills?
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> Dianne: *Hinahati hati ko siya, tapos binabayaran ko. Nakukuha ni Lola sa banko pagpinadala ni Mama. Tapos papalitan niya tapos hinahati ko sa bayarin ng bahay, allowance para sa aming tatlo, tapos, grocery, koryente, upa, yon, lahat ng basic. Pinaghahati ni Mama sa chat tapos ako naghahati para sa mga bayarin. Si Ate nagturo sa akin ng ganyan. Sinasabi niya kung tama ang ginagawa ko.*
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> I divide it up and then I pay for it. My grandmother gets the money in her bank account when Mama sends *padala* (money). Then she changes it into pesos and then I divide up per the costs of the house like allowance for us three for the month, then grocery food, then electricity, then rent, yea, everything like the most basic. Mama breaks it down for me over chat and then I divide it up and pay the bills. *Ate* Melann told me this. I know from her that I'm doing it right.

Melann's role in Dianne's life after the migration of Vickie was essential in making sure tasks like paying bills or ensuring that Dianne's brother and father had enough money to last the month. When I asked Melann, why she felt responsible for Dianne in this way, she replied, "I owe it to my mom and to Tita Vickie. If I didn't take care of Dianne, what kind of daughter would I be? What kind of niece would I be? We have to be there for each other for them [Joan and Vickie]." This transfer of knowledge to each other answers an pressing necessity in Dianne's life but as Melann talks through the idea of helping her cousin out, she calls upon the absence and the sacrifices that their mothers made through migration. Melann understands that being "there" for her cousin emotionally and logistically is not only for Dianne's sake, it's also influenced by the absence of Joan and Vickie. Melann's choice to support Dianne—"for each other"—is a form of support to Joan and Vickie—"for them"—because caring for Dianne also signals to Tita Vickie that Dianne isn't ever alone in

dealing with her absence. Dianne and Melann's relationship with each other allows them to demonstrate to their mothers that someone is caring for them even if it is not their mothers. Multidirectionaly of care is most apparent in this intricate web of care transfers: between the kin left behind in the Philippines, Melann helps Dianne with her emotional transition. From abroad, Vickie sends money from New York City to Dianne. Then Dianne redistributes that financial support to her family which includes the expansive kin network that Tita Joan and Melann is a part. Then again from the place left behind, Joan repays Vickie by seeing to it that Vickie's kids get support in their daily chores. We see that there are multiple care givers in this complex network of care on both ends of this particular transnational family.

For the men in the Gonzalez family, particularly Joan's husband, Enteng, and Vickie's husband Mauricio, participation in taking up the care work is uneven. In these two families, the activation of kin network produced two different participation trends from fathers and sons. Following Parrrenas' argument about reticent fathers, I found that Enteng's contribution to the vacuum Joan left behind was extremely limited as Joan's ability to generate income replaced his role as the family breadwinner. This instance confirms Parrenas' argument that fathering in transnational families is limited under patriarchal cultural logics, specifically in the Philippines (Parrenas 2005a). She continues by stating that if fathers do take up nurturing care work (i.e. domestic tasks like cooking and cleaning), it is only if their masculine identity is safeguarded. For Enteng, his disavowal of nurturing care work reflects the shame of having his wife performing the ascribed role of breadwinner. Melann comments on why her father is so distant to them, "*Lumayo siya kasi guilty kasi siya, kasi kung hindi siya nawalan ng trabaho, kung hindi siya nag-sumikap*

magtrabaho, di nandito si mama. He is distant because he feels guilty, because if he didn't lose his job, if he did not stop trying to find work, Mama would be here." Melann and Calvin, Enteng and Joan's kids, note their father's refusal to take up nurturing care work because of the gender ideology that was essentially breached by Joan's migration. It's important to note that historically, Enteng was not as close to the Gonzalez kin network because of his provincial dialect and the distance of his own family. Upon Joan's departure, he further isolated himself from his wife's family, although Melann and Calvin stuck to their mother's side. The recent historical context to Enteng's approach to nurturing care is important to mention here so as to not place blame squarely on his shoulders; indeed, the social controls cited by Parrenas coupled with personal histories and backgrounds of fathers should be factored into analyzing their fathering strategies.

However, in stark opposition to the literature and Enteng's story, Mauricio, Vickie's husband is totally different. Before Vickie migrated, Mauricio was a *jeepney* (type of public transportation) driver, who tried to go abroad to work in construction, and tried to take up manual labor jobs in Manila. Still, even if Mauricio worked, his salary was not enough and Vickie's migration brought about a solution to this problem. When Vickie migrated, Mauricio took up the nurturing care work to ensure that his children and their home were as secure as possible. Taking advantage of Vickie's kin network, he learned from Tina—Vickie's older sister—how to cook and do laundry. He takes and picks up both of his children from high school and college. He is a stay at home dad that takes pride in his work. His children, nieces and nephews and the rest of the Gonzalez family valorizes his work so that he claims it as his identity. Dianne, Melann and Calvin talk about Mauricio in a group interview:

Dianne: Kasi ngayon parang wala si mama dapat siya, pinaparamdaman niya naman na kahit wala si mama, nandun siya.

Melann: Pero yung Papa namin, wala. Wala lang, parang wala na nga kaming nanay, wala pa kaming tatay. Sabi ko nga kay Dang, palit nga tayo minsan ng tatay. (laughs) Kasi sila kahit papaano…

Calvin: …at least they feel loved, dahil may father.

This group interview happened with Mauricio in the room and these sentiments are freely shared among the cousins: Dianne, Z, Melann and Calvin. But also, Mauricio has also put a new value to his nurturing duties, he says:

Ngayon ko lang nagawa ang magluto habang naglalaba. Hindi ko naranasan dati yun. Noon ko narealiza na ang nanay pala sa bahay, ang trabaho ay mahirap. Yun mismo ang naranasan ko, andiyan magbubulyaw ako sa mga batang nagaaway. Kaya noong umalis si Vicki eh, mahirap pala kako. Pero okay lang, nandiyan sila Tina, sila Mel, tulong tulong, dahil sa ganoon, kaya ko naman.

It's only now that I've experience cooking and doing laundry at the same time. I've never experienced that before. That's when I realized that a mother at home, their work is hard. That's what I experienced, I'm there stopping the kids from bickering. That's why when Vickie left, I realized her work was so hard. But its okay, Tina is there, Mel is there, all of us helping out, I can do it.

On the contrary to Parrenas' findings that fathers who take on nurturing work face social disapproval and shaming, Mauricio embraces his public identity as a nurturer. I argue, with the help of the kin network and a revalorization of nurturing work as a collective effort, redefinitions of nurturance allow for Mauricio to accept and value his new role. Because nurturance is a new *form* of care from father figures, kin network and immediate family understand it as complementary to the gender ideology transgression of migration for mothers. Therefore social disapproval is lessened as new forms of care are revised in transnational arrangements.

The multi-directionality of care in this case is couched in the Gonzalez family network and in the succession of migration in their family. When the kin network is

considered as the normalized arrangement of care before migration, taking up more work does not become the main issue that families left behind struggle with. Sure, taking up the responsibilities of a whole other set of children or another household is challenging. But if the family already has experience working together to keep a family intact, being able to redistribute it among the people left behind isn't a steep transition. The kin network that shared family responsibilities for the kids and upkeep of the house before migration become the very network that is activated after a family member migrates. As shown in this family's example the people who take up the work understand their "helping out" as a contribution to caring for their migrant family member.

Sancho Family: Rita, Lara, Len and Leslie Sancho

In the Sancho family, Rita, is a migrant domestic worker living in NYC. She has been away from her family since 1995. She comes from what she calls "isang pamilyang nagaabraod," a family of migrants. Her mother migrated to support her and her six siblings when they were younger. And as soon as the oldest siblings in her family became old enough to migrate, they did. She has no children in the Philippines but helps to support her four siblings and their respective families. I interviewed her 3 sisters, Lara (28 years old) Leslie (34 years old) and Len (43 years old) in the Philippines about their experiences in a family of migrants. They reference their first experience of migration, their mother going to Saudi Arabia in 1976 and the vacuum filled by their father:

> Valerie: Did your Papa step up when your Mama left?
>
> Len: *Oo, si papa? Naman. Naglalaba, kasi before pa naman umalis si mama siya yun eh naglalaba siya. Siya yung tagalaba. Hinahati naming yung gawaiin sa amin, and yung mga Tita't Tito namin dito nakatira. Pero nung umalis si Mama, mas pa, sumobra pa kasi siya na yung nanay and tatay sa bahay.*

> Oh yeah, Papa? So much. He was the one doing the laundry even before Mama left. He was really the only one to do the laundry. Because we had split up chores among the kids and Tita and Tito living with us. But after Mama left, he took on double because he was the mother and father at the house.
>
> Valerie: *Uh-huh. Hindi siya yung… yung naging macho parang ayaw niyang gawin yan?* Uh-huh. He didn't feel like too macho to do that?
>
> Lara: *Si papa? Walang kamachohan yan! Wala! (Everyone laughs) Ginagawa na niya yun dati! Oo naman, naglalaba na yan. Pati underwear namin kahit dalaga na kami, yung may mga tinagusan ng menstruation. Ganyan siya, naglalaba tapos si Tita nagpaplantsa, sasabihan kami, "Kayo, kayo, matututunan niyo 'to rin! Pinapaturuan kayo ni Mama niyo. Para pagbalik niya, alam niyo na."*
>
> Oh Papa? He didn't do the macho thing! No way! Not at all! (Everyone laughs) That was his task in the order of things before! Even our underwear, even when we were in puberty, he washed our underwear with menstruation. That's how he was, while he was doing our laundry and our aunt was ironing he would tell us, "You and you, this and that, you're all going to learn how to wash clothes too! Mama would want me to teach you. So when she comes back, you'll know how."

This is about making sure that the Sancho girls were learning the lessons that their mother would've wanted them to know. Papa filled in for his wife, but he also made sure that upon her return she would not be coming back to lazy children. She would be coming home to children who had responsibilities, around the house, and for one another. Papa Sancho was at once taking up the work of his migrant wife and he was also ensuring that the redistribution of labor among the girls was a sort of taking care of his wife's worries that motherless children wouldn't learn the things a mother would want them to. Taking care of his kids was an immediate necessity, but there's an inherent piece where this work also contributes to caring for Mama Sancho as well. In the midst of this conversation Papa Sancho, interrupts by saying, "Taking care of them is taking care of her." In continuation of the above analysis on fathering, Papa Sancho's approach to fathering is not restrained by social disapproval or the disciplining of his masculine identity. If we understand the organization of domestic labor in the Sancho household as shared, then we can see that if

masculinity is not constructed as a singular task of breadwinning or head of household, then the adjustment for fathers to take up nurturing work can be easier.

Given the history of migration in Rita's family, her father, aunts, uncles, siblings, nieces and nephews, parents always worked together to raise one another. When it was Rita's turn to migrate, Lara, Rita's younger sister closest to her in age, talked about how Rita still likes to be involved in the lives of her family in the Philippines answered:

> V: Because she's not there to participate, she finds her own way to direct the planning huh?
>
> Lara: *Oo, kaya nga namin pinapatulan eh. Diba? Naeexcite din siya. Nakakatuwa din.* Yes, and that's why we have her do that. Right? (laughs) She gets excited too. And it makes me happy too.
>
> V: Is it like that with your other siblings?
>
> Lara: *Ganun kaming lahat eh… (laughs) ganun kami lahat. Lalo na yung nasa Japan.* All of us are like that…(laughs) all of us are like that, especially the one in Japan.

When Lara, Rita's younger sister, was telling me about how she tries to keep Rita involved she talked to me about including her in the planning of family events and occasions, it sounds like a superficial way of keeping migrant sisters involved. But as we continued talking, Lara told me about how Rita was a central organizer for almost all of their family activities before she migrated. From Sunday dinners to neighborhood fiestas, Lara and her older sisters Leslie and Len, filled in each other's stories about Rita's past duties as the family organizer:

> Lara: *Ayun, ikuwento mo yung fiesta nung nagkabulutong siya!* Tell her the story about when Rita had the measles during fiesta!
>
> Leslie: *Mageksena tayo ng fiesta bulutong!* We have to do a flash back to the fiesta of measles!
>
> Len: (Laughs) *Ang gulo niyo! Ganito siya ka-organizer, hindi siya makalabas pero nag-oorder pa siya galing sa kwarto kung anong dapat saan, ano pang bibilhin at*

yung di pa namin ginawa. You guys are crazy! Because of Rita's love for organizing things, she couldn't leave the room because she was contagious but she still insisted on helping out figuring out what things needed to go where, what else we were missing and keeping track of the things that wasn't done.

Here in the case of the Sancho family in the Philippines, they recognize that one of the most painful things their migrant sisters experience, especially Rita, is missing out on big family activities. Carving out a way where migrant sisters can still participate, whether it is picking out which ice cream to serve or the color theme for the fiesta, is a way that family in the Philippines keeps their presence current. Not only for the family in the Philippines but for their migrant counterparts. And even if the sisters in the Philippines have to carry out the actual shopping and planning that their migrant sisters would've done if they were in the Philippines, giving their migrant sisters a role in the planning, even as overlords and supervisors, is a way that siblings left behind make sure their migrant family members are still part of family life.

For Rita in the US, this transnational role allows her to feel that although she is away, she can still have a meaningful role in family activities and life that doesn't end at just financial support. Rita says, "I'm not physically there but I also feel like I'm not missing. I continue to be there. Like I never left. When they tell me about the daily—what they ate with their rice, what's happening with my nephew, Kevin, how the ladies planning fiesta are going crazy. When they tell me those things I remember the mundane, the things you would miss but you don't because they let you in on it. I am still there." Rita demonstrates that the role that her family crafts for her gives her sense of connection and belonging.

The Sancho family's adaptation to family members abroad includes helping them still feel like they are a part of the living and changing dynamic of the Sanchos. I would also argue that since the sisters Lara, Len, Leslie and Rita had formative experiences of

migration when their mother left, they are also able to expand the participation of their migrant sisters through this conception. Len, the oldest Sancho sister, mentioned that when Mama Sancho was away that, "*Pinadadalhan kami ni mama ng cassette tape sa balikbayan para sabihin kung anong pasalubong ng mga anak niya, darling. Alam niya kung mauubos na ang Tang at magpapadala yan pag alam niya na ubos na.* She would send back a cassette tape along with balikbayan boxes to narrate what imported product should go to which kid, darling. She would keep track of how much orange juice mix we'd drink and send another pack in bulk when she expected us to have no more." In their experiences with their migrant mother in the past, the Sancho sisters already had a model about how to do family across time and space. Thus, there is precedent in giving Rita and their migrant sister in Japan, Roma, a role in current day family activities. As migration repeats over generations, families are building the capacity to absorb their migrant family members' absence, yet sustain their presence.

Families left behind demonstrate that care work in the Philippines deployed inside of the kin network can also be interpreted as care work towards and for a migrant family member. They show that because migration has become an institution in Philippine society and family, strategies for redistributing care to migrants are passed down through generations. These inherited methods can then be framed as a way of keeping the family together, even if families left behind are sending that care work to migrants.

But Do Migrants Care?

Interviews and stories from Philippine-based families made it clear that they understood their caring for one another or making room for their migrant family members to participate in family activities as strategies of care work towards their migrant family

member. This necessarily led me to ask if migrant mothers or sisters or aunts interpret their families' actions in keeping them in the loop as reciprocal care work? This section could be called a "control group"—a group of migrant family members whose families I was not able to access due to time and distance from Manila. This analytic set explores the ways migrants interpret their families' actions in the families as care.

Janessa Velez

Janessa Velez is second to the youngest of 5 siblings born to parents that worked as peasants in a province in Central Luzon in the Philippines. Janessa's parents quickly found out that raising five children through growing rice was nearly impossible. They subsequently moved into a city close to their province where Janessa's mother worked as a laundry woman and her father worked as a driver. In her urban poor upbringing, Janessa was no stranger to work. Her siblings and she took care of one another as they grew up, and they all pitched in with their mother to do laundry by hand.

> *Naawa ako sa kaniya kasi talagang yung kamay niya sobra ng binabad. Halimbawa kapag binibisita ko siya ng naglalaba hawak ko ang mga kapatid ko, kapag tintignan ko siya naiiyak talaga ako. Pag nakikita ko siya my god yung nilalabhan niya ang dami, talaga mga ilang pantaloon. Gusto ko siyang matulungan, kaya ginawa ko lahat talaga para makatulong sa kanya, sa kanila. Di ako magpapakasal. Kasi pagnakasal ako, di baka di na ako maka…*
>
> I felt so bad for her because her hands looked like they soaked in water for too long. When I would visit her with my brothers in my arms, when I look at her I wanted to cry. When I saw her, my god, the amount of laundry she had to do, really like so many pairs of pants. I wanted to help her, that's why I've done everything I can do to help her, help them. I won't get married. If I get married, I won't be able to…(Janessa trails off crying)

With Janessa's parents busy with trying to feed their families on low-wage jobs, Janessa tried to stay in school, but she also carried many responsibilities for her siblings:

> *Lahat ng mga neighbor naming natutuwa na sa akin. Hindi ako yung tatamad tamad na kakain na wala namang itutulong. Ako mismo magsasabi kung ako na*

> *maghuhugas, ako na magluluto kasi kung hindi ko gagawin hindi kami kakain Val, alam mo yun. Minsan binibitbit ko yung kapatid ko o kaya sinasabihan ko yung kapatid kong bunso, "Ikaw huwag kang tatamad –tamad tumulong ka naman, mahiya ka naman!" Ginaganun ko siya. Para makakain kami. Kasi pagnakita mo si Mama, gusto ko talagang tulongan siya. Pero di ko sinasabi yan sa kanya, ako na lang. Sabi ko sa sarili ko, wala naman tumutulong sa kanya, ako na.*
>
> All of my neighbors looked at me like I was a good kid. I wasn't that lazy girl that would eat and wouldn't help out. I, myself, would announce that I would wash the dishes, and I would cook because if I didn't do it, we wouldn't eat, Val, you know that? Sometimes, I had my brother on my hip or I tell my youngest sister, "You, you can't be lazy, help out around here!" That's what I would tell her. Just so we could eat. Because when I see my Mama, I really want to help her. But of course I didn't tell her, I just kept it to myself. I said, no one is gonna help her, I'll just do it.

From an early age, Janessa already knew that her family worked in a way that everyone pitched in. Parents were not the only caregivers. Sisters, like her, were as responsible for dinner as her Mama was. Janessa carried this through her whole life course. When she finished college and went back home to help with her family's livelihood, an opportunity opened up to become a domestic worker in a rich family's house in the province they lived in. Janessa saw the opportunity for a wage as an extension of her duties as a care provider in her family, so she took it, she says, "*Kaya nga sinakripisyo ko yung 2000 hanggang 2003*. *Ang hirap magluto, maglinis, magluto, maglinis. Pero sabi ko, tutulunga ko sila kahit maliit lang ang sahod.* That's why I sacrificed for three years from 2000 to 2003. It was a really hard job to clean and cook and clean and cook. But I said I'd help my family, I'll take care of them even if I only make a small amount of money." If we situate Janessa in her family's care network as a viable person who is responsible for the whole, then this downgrade from being a college graduate to a domestic worker can be understood as her part in contributing to her family's overall well being.

Then, in 2003, a friend of the family who was getting too old to work abroad offered Janessa's mother an opportunity to work as a domestic worker in Canada with a Filipino

diplomat. Janessa volunteered for the chance at work since she had no children unlike the rest of her older siblings. She explained to me why she chose to migrate:

> *Ang concept ko lang kasi ay matulungan ko yung mama ko, na ayaw ko na siyang maglabada, yung ganoon. O kaya yung para maiba naman yung buhay naming kasi yung mga kapatid ko, nabuntisan, yung isa naglayas. 15 years saka naming siya nakita. Kasi hirap na hirap kaming lahat noon, alam mo, alam ko na ito ang magagawa ko, yung masipag dati, ngayon ako na yung nagtatrabaho at nagpapadala.*
>
> My concept is because I would be able to help Mama, and I didn't want her to do laundry anymore, you know? Or, so that our lives would change because my siblings had run off to have kids and get married. They were all having such a hard time, you know, and I knew this is how I could continue on being the helpful kid I was then, but today I'll work to send them money.

In these terms, Janessa talks about how she contributes to her family's betterment through migration. She understands her role as daughter and sister as breadwinner as an adult partly because of her experience as a caregiver in her family as an adolescent and teenager. The shared care giving operation of her family has informed Janessa's decisions to take up paid work in her adult life.

After almost a decade after she migrated, Janessa talks about what her family does with her support:

> *Kahit mga kapatid ko umiiyak yan. Kasi kahit mga kapatid ko tinutulungan ko rin sila. Alam kong wala naman silang mahihingian ng pera. Kaya ko ginagawa ito sa inyo hindi ako nanghihingi ng kapalit. At least masaya ako na natutulungan ko sila. Gumagaan ang loob ko pagalam ko na nagaaral ang mga pamangkin ko. Nabayaran ko na yun. Kaya sabi ko sa kapatid ko, tapusin na yung papel ng lupa para maumpisahan na yung business tapos ok na ako nun. Asikasuhin ang pagpapagawa ng bahay para sa atin, kay Mama. Bilhan ko din sila ng kaunting lupa, kahit installments. Kahit mabagal ang pagbabayad, Val. Ok na sa akin yun, sa amin na yun.*
>
> Yeah, even my siblings, they cry. Because even my siblings, I help them. They don't have anyone else to ask for help from. I told them that I send money back because I know they don't have anywhere to turn to. I left, but I'm not asking to pay me back. I'm happy to know that I can help take care of them. I feel like they give me my sacrifice back when I know my nieces and nephews are able to pay for tuition and finish school. I finished those payments. That's why I tell my brother, I told him to help finish the papers for our farm to help start our business because then I'll be ok.

> They take care of the house I want to build for my family, for my Mama. And I even pay installments to get us a farm. And making payments on house and lot or land is progress little by little, Val. I'm ok even with that, it's ours now.

Janessa identifies these milestones—finishing school, buying a house and lot, making installments on farmland—as steps towards stabilizing her family's finances. Echoing her objectives when she migrated, she effectively changed her families' life opportunities by providing them with financial support to open doors to education, home ownership and possibly, business opportunity. Scholars have likewise shown that these processes cut across different migrant communities (Smith 2006; Stephen 2007; Foner 2005).

However, it's important to note in this story, and in stories of migrant family members supporting their families back home: the reciprocity that produces feelings of satisfaction and relief for Janessa is facilitated by the commitment of her family to transform her remittances into actual life chances. Janessa could keep sending money back to the Philippines and perhaps even feel cheated about her migration if her "padala" or financial support didn't amount to the particular advances in her family's life. Families left behind, then, play a crucial role in converting this care (read: financial support) into addressing the issues of everyday lack in their situations in the Philippines. Simultaneously, addressing these needs and demonstrating that support from abroad "changes lives" in the Philippines, can also be read as care that is reciprocated by families left behinds to their counterparts abroad. Janessa says, "Building the house makes me feel like I can be proud of myself. By building the house they showed me that they're ok, and I feel good on that."

Betty Reyes

Betty is a domestic worker living in Queens, a 56-year-old mother, she has been away from her kids for 4 years. Betty migrated when her husband died and the savings ran out.

After her husband's death, she relied on her older children to take care of their younger siblings. When her income as a government worker in investment couldn't support her family, she decided that she may fare better as a migrant worker. She then retired from the government job she made a career out of, applied for a visa and was easily approved because of her numerous work trips to countries like Canada. Betty explained to her children that her retirement meant that this trip would be more than a work trip. Her migration would ultimately be the main avenue of income for their family. Betty stated:

> I have to explain to them that I'm not coming here to enjoy because this is New York. It's really a sacrifice for me. My daughter said that they would be like orphans when I leave. When I left, when we were in the airport, she was crying and weeping so much. It was so much that I almost couldn't leave. But we all had to sacrifice. And they understood, especially when they saw the difference financially. When they didn't have to take loans for school. When they didn't have to stand in line to get a promissory note. Things like that, that it was really hard for them.

Betty ensured that her children understood that at the core of her departure was an effort to support her children's education and their future.

Although three of her four kids are over 20 years old, her youngest daughter was nine when she left in 2006 and although they could take care of one another, they still felt the strain of her absence so Betty hired a domestic helper in the Philippines to attend to her kids' needs. Because she didn't have much extended kin to rely on, she was nervous about leaving her kids "all alone." A recent problem arose in her home in Manila, "Last April, the housekeeper left them. I asked them, 'Who will take care of the house?' You know what they said? 'We had a meeting, us four. We decided that we'll share the chores.' So that I could save. See? This is how they take care of me." Betty interprets her kids taking care of one another as a form of taking care of her, because they've problem-solved a sensitive issue that Betty could've been stressed about since if she didn't leave her kids wouldn't

have needed a housekeeper. Her kids understand that there is an immediate need in housework, but by pitching in to help one another, an indirect yet direct consequence of their problem solving is that they help their mother out a bit financially, and emotionally. Betty understands this sort of recuperating of work as a form of care towards her because it is one less thing she has to worry about but it's also about understanding that her children are taking responsibility for one another. This dynamic teaches migrant mothers, like Betty, that things at home are being taken care of, but also that the sacrifice of migration and distance is not for naught.

Lorie Denta

I asked Lorie, a 34 year old domestic worker in New Jersey what her biggest accomplishment has been since she left the Philippines in 1996. She answered, to support her parents, siblings and siblings' families, "Both of my brothers graduated college. I wasn't able to do that. I bought a house for my parents. It's important to me that they include me in the decisions of what happens in the house or what courses my brothers took. Because I know they are taking care of my sacrifices." Lorie walks us through what types of opportunities opened up for her parents and brothers because of her work abroad. Growing in the Philippines, her parents both worked to make ends meet and her 4 siblings took care of one another. Lorie had dreams of finishing school, but because she was the first to receive an opportunity to go abroad for work, she didn't hesitate to take a job in the US. While she told me about her brothers' graduating college, she said, "I'm so proud of them. I'm proud that I can do that for them."

Lorie's tears of pride and sacrifice was returned by her brothers' making good on her long-term and long-distance migration, but moreover, what made her feel integrated was

that her family invited and acknowledged her opinion on the important matters. Lorie continued to tell me that her advice was not always followed. Yet, she understood accomplishments like certificates of graduation and actual gains for the family like erecting a home are ways that the family was taking care of her during her years away. Here we see that the direction of care for Lorie was answered by her brothers' finishing school. Lorie understands their graduation as the ultimate reciprocity for her migration. She said, "If my sister or brother had the opportunity before I did, they would have gone. I would've made them proud." Lorie acknowledges that migration was an investment in caring for her family, and her intersubjective turn in the interview highlights how care doesn't only come from her sacrifice but also from her siblings finishing what she couldn't start.

In this section, I have introduced migrant family members that are not mothers to highlight what multi-directionality of care looks like from families left behind to migrants in New York City. In Lorie and Janessa's case, I find that the migration opportunity of a migrant family member is mobilized to support a range of constellations of families in the Philippines. Similar to migrant mothers, migrants who are daughters, sisters and aunts look to their families back home to gain some affirmation about their decision to migrate. Often migrants who have no children become the prime people to migrate, under the assumption that it will be less hard for them to separate from their families and that they will be able to concentrate more on their work abroad. Although these conditions may be true, Lorie and Janessa's stories illustrate that migrants who are not mothers also experience isolation and distress upon migration. Moreover, they also look to their families back home for care—an affirmation that their decision to migrate and be separated from their family is not in vain.

Migrant mothers and sisters acknowledge that when their family members left behind stepped up to care for one another, that they these were signals that a migrants' care work from abroad was reciprocated. Even if the care work coming from the Philippines isn't manifest in financial ways, the stories of families and their migrant family members show that different forms of care count. This vantage point allows us to see that the families left behind negotiate with absences of family members in a range of ways; abandonment and stigma is one way families deal with absence, but families that internalize and frame their family member's migration as sacrifice, try their best to make good on their migrant family member sacrifice. Whether it is through finishing college or taking care of one another, these demonstrations that life in the Philippines not only progresses but becomes better is a show that migrants' sacrifices are reciprocated.

This section shows that migrants—those whose families I was not able to interview in the Philippines—also see that care comes from different people and from different places. It may seem that when families take care of one another in the Philippines, a migrant mother or a migrant sister's role is excised and that may cause them to feel more isolated and not a part. But I've shown that when migrants see or hear about how the life they left back home continues to push forward without them, it gives them consolation. It allows them to understand their sacrifice of migration as a facilitating factor for their families life to get better. Moreover, these quotes from migrants in New York City that identifies developments like buying a house or absorbing house expenses or finishing college degrees, elucidates the ways in which care emanates from the Philippines. That families in the Philippines actively trouble shoot and persevere to reach particular goals show that they interpret these actions and advances in their life chances proof that the work, time

and distance their migrant family member has to endure is worth it. This is the sort of care formula that I point to as a evidence that care is multiple in provider and direction.

Conclusion

When care is framed in the kin network that Filipino families often work in, families left behind interpret taking up the labor people left behind as a progression of their past roles. If the decentralized arrangement of care in the kin network gives a wide range of people responsibilities for one another family when they are in close proximity to one another, then the shifts necessary when one family member migrates also relies on that network. Members of families left behind talk about their current roles as meaningful, because they are able to act as support systems to migrant sisters or migrant mothers; because the shared practice of care pre-migration isn't a brand new idea. Of course, the significant roles kin take up by providing care and labor in the families left behind is often compensated with financial support from their migrant members but the equation is more complex than a simple exchange of money for domestic labor. Families left behind show that taking up the work of maintaining a house and taking care of children is about answering immediate needs, but they also understand it as taking care of their migrant family member.

It's important to mention that many of these stories and quotes are extensions of the projects of scholars and researchers of the transnational family, the likes of Rhacel Parrenas, Joanna Dreby, Robert C. Smith. Scholars have found that the push and pulls of the transnational family are in children talking about how good they are doing in school so that mothers won't be mad or worried or both. Other scholars have theorized about fathers' absence in care as they clutch on to every last remaining strand of culture of patriarchy in a

world that has sentenced them into a lifetime of un- and underemployment and given their wives a superficial financial mobility. My project confirms the scholarship partly, when some fathers adopt a strict patriarchal logic, the transgression in gender ideology of migration their wives make strips them of their masculinity. However, when masculinity in a household is defined and valued in multiple ways, influenced by the kin network and shared household tasks, the transition into becoming nurturing fathers is not so steep. Of course, even the best of fathers in transnational families still feel the stigma of the reversal of gender roles. But they have more sources to draw their value (i.e. kin, children, migrant counterpart) to combat that stigma.

My contribution to this burgeoning field of study is the idea of situating the transnational family in their longer, larger histories of non-transnationality, in the times when they were all together in the same nation, and even in the same home. I think that it is a useful analytic and theoretical contribution for three reasons: first, I am pointing to situating transnational families, migrant and non-migrant family members alike, in their longer history of "doing family" because the interactions of families post-migration is influenced by how families have handled other challenging and difficult life events—perhaps the very changes that led to a decision to migrate, like the loss of a job, eviction or death in the family. Past research on transnational families arrive at studying the family at the incident of migration and the consequences of that particular life event. However, I argue that situating these families in the forms and dynamics and operations that they were in before one of their family members migrated is an important factor in analyzing the ways in which they have adapted. This analytic perspective allows us to bring in the continuity in the lives of families who are and/or have been dealing with migration.

Moreover, this analysis of the absorbability and resilience of family can stand up to the social stigma that place blame on mothers leaving their families and therefore stigmatizing migrants and their families.

Second, tracing the histories of families and the ways they've dealt with other life-altering changes also allows us to trace the history of migration in the Philippines through the life stories of families, the Sancho family being a case in point. We can look at how care work has grown to be more sophisticated as the Sancho family learned how to keep migrant family members involved in their everyday lives. As we look at the histories of families, they are the index of the effects of neoliberal policies gone wrong. This going deep allows us to juxtapose histories of families and histories of globalization and migration in the Philippines.

Third, politically, I think this analysis can elaborate a platform in which to critique the proliferation of labor export policies and programs such as the one the Philippine state espouses. In the Philippines, discourse on the social costs of migration has become very popular in cultural modes of movies, television and radio. This very social imaginary of the migrant blame game is conjured up by the same system of neoliberal ideology of individualism that the Philippine labor brokerage state harps on to encourage Filipinos to migrate. However, in this chapter, I have highlighted the role of the state in the separation of the family and also the innovative ways Filipino families are negotiating with the conditions under which they must sustain families.

Chapter 4

"*The Internet is Magic*": Care Providers and Technology

Manila

It's more humid today, July, after all it's rainy season in the Philippines. I'm a bit nervous about being in Barangay 50, a neighborhood in Manila notorious for petty crime and theft. Dianne, Nanay Vickie's daughter, hurries me through the bus terminal and reminds me to hold on to my purse. I enter Vickie's home, it is a small space, but it also has high ceilings so Vickie's husband, Mauricio, built a make-shift floor out of plywood and stairs on the side to divide the space in two "floors". Z, Vickie's only son, is sitting at the computer corner next to the door with a fan blowing wind directly to him. I sit down a bit dizzy from the heat and travel and Dianne sits right next to me smiling, this is the first time we're meeting in person. We've chatted on Facebook and have been sending messages for almost six months now. I touch her shoulder and ask her how she's doing. She answers, "Ok naman. I'm ok." Dianne is 16 years old, 5'4, heavy set and maybe body conscious as she keeps tugging at all corners of her shirt while talking to me.

Despite what her Mom tells me about her shyness, I find that Dianne is quite forward, she's the one that sat next to me and she seemed eager to start to talk with me about her mother. When we start, Dianne doesn't tell me about her life, love, dreams, or struggles. She's still just a kid and the biggest real thing that has happened to her is her mother's departure in 2008. Five minutes into our kuwentohan, or talk-story, I'm asking her about what changed about her relationship with her mom since she left, she replies, "Best friend ko siya. Gusto ko siyang alagaan. She's my best friend, I like taking care of her," her eyes well up and tears start to run down her cheeks, "Pwede kong sabihin sa kanya, kahit ano. Pati nga blog ko pinapabasa ko sa kanya. Para alam niya, na kahit malayo kami, pareho parin. I can tell her anything. I even have her read my blog. So she knows, that even if we're far away from each other, it's still the same."

I nod. I'm surprised that she has opened up to me so fast and so soon. At that moment, the Skype phone rings and Dianne says, "Ok lang, o, dito na siya. It's ok, because she's here now." I'm again surprised, confused about what she means. But in a couple of moments later I understand, because Nanay Vickie is now present via Skype. Tito Mauricio, Nanay Vickie's husband, a strikingly tall man with an apron on, calls us to the table to have dinner. Everyone has a place around the table and they make sure to leave a space in between me and Dianne so that the computer is facing the food and that Vickie, all the way in New York City, can join us.

New York City

It's a chilly November Sunday, I'm happy to be inside of Nanay Vickie, Nanay Joan and Ate Teresa's shared flat in Queens because its so warm. It takes me about 5 minutes to peel off my winter layers. The three of them live in the attic of a house, a floor that has two bedrooms separated by screens where only two of them come home to on the weekends. Joan and Teresa have live-in domestic work employment, so it keeps their Queens apartment empty on the weekdays. They keep their place neat and the first thing I notice is the 4 boxes stacked on top

of each other almost touching the ceiling, waiting to be sent back home for the holidays.

Nanay Vickie invites me to sit down and eat lunch with her and we start our kuwentohan over shrimp soup and rice. I ask her to tell me what is the hardest thing about being separated from her family. She replies, "Di ko maasikaso yung kanilang pagaaral or igabay sila. That I can't help them with their studies or guide them in their everyday." As we continue our conversation, she starts to cry when talking about her daughter Dianne, who will be going into her first year in college in a month. She cries because her pain is double fold. Nanay Vickie's employer just moved away and she is unemployed. She is hard on herself as she says, "Kung wala pala akong trabaho, de doon na lang ako. If I don't have a job anyway, I should be there."

After talking for an hour and a half, I hear some plates clinking together and being washed, and I have the urge to wash my plate as it has been sitting in front of me for so long. I ask Nanay Vickie to pause for a second and I proceed to an empty kitchen. At that point, I wondered where the noise was coming from and popped my head back into the room Nanay Vickie and I were in and saw that she was looking at her laptop computer screen. Her setup in a corner of her and Nanay Joan's room is complete with a mic, speakers, camera, photo printer and charger.

I discover that the whole time we have been talk-storying, the Skype has been on. The clinks of utensils on plates were sounds from someone washing dishes in the Philippines. I ask Nanay Vickie if I intruded on the time that she and her kids were supposed to talk, since it was Sunday and everything. And she says, "Hindi, gusto ko lang marining sila kahit hindi nila ako kinakausap, gusto ko lang na alam nila na nandito ako. No, I just like to listen to them even if they're not directly talking to me, I just want them to know that I'm here."

These two stories illustrate that advances in technology are easing some of the strains that come with a transnational family. Computer hardware coupled with web-based programs gives way to more platforms for interaction. Frequent communication, digital face to digital face interaction, and instant updates allow families to be in sync instantaneously even if they are separated across space. The development in computer technology has changed the lives of migrants and their families left behind. As Vickie and Dianne demonstrate, technology not only allows them to be in touch more often. It also offers them a different way to relate to one another.

Technology assists transnational families to stay involved in one another's lives in an unprecedented way (Levitt 2001). Scholars have studied relationship between the leaps in transportation and communication technology and migrants' abilities to maintain

relationships from abroad: from letters (Wyman 1993; Foner 2005; Gerber 2001), land lines and cell phones (Horst and Miller 2006; Lan 2006; Horst 2006; Madianou and Miller 2011), and text messages and emails (Wilding 2006; Licoppe and Smoreda 2005). Likewise, this development has also been felt from the ground. Migrant family members in New York City who have been away for 10 or more years have also seen and experienced the shifts in technology in their family lives. Carmie says, "You know, internet is magic. It's a magic because before when you write letters it takes months before they receive it. It's the internet that keeps us together. Cam to cam. When I'm not online for 2 days they worry. So we always talk on Facebook, Yahoo." Carmie's comment tells of her sustained duty as a migrant worker away from her family but as she lists the technological and social media developments in her career as a migrant mother, she is also commenting on how her emotional connection has also changed with the tide of technology. Her statement demonstrates that as the migrant she is not the sole person in her transnational family that needs and craves for communication, but it is also demanded and initiated by families left behind in the Philippines too. This chapter will cover the bittersweet dynamics of technology as heartbreaking because families have to be apart along with its potential for bringing families together.

Even as technology makes life apart that much easier, I want to preface this discussion by marking the development of technology as a foundational part of neoliberal globalization. David Harvey argues that the world is shrinking, insofar as transnational capital and capitalists use technologies that reduce the significance of both time and space in globalization (Harvey 1991). Time-space compression, or the qualities of technologies in communication, transportation and economics that elides distance, facilitates capital's

mobility and compresses the world within the reach of some. Scholars like Doreen Massey argue that attention must be paid to "the power geometry of time-space compression" (Massey 1993). In other words, power relations place different people and groups in relation to these advances in different ways. For some, like those in the mobile transnational capitalist class, the world is shrinking (Ong 1999). But for others, living in the world that has been ravaged by capital divestment and state retreat, people's sense of time and space have expanded as tools of production and reproduction become less and less accessible (Katz 2004). Although Harvey's concept is correct, technology in contemporary capitalism is making things better and worse for people in different ways.

Scholarship on the "digital divide" has established that the problem in development of technology lies largely in terms of access (Stephanie 2008). Access to technological implements, utilities like electricity and internet services, digital literacy and the content created on technology is limited to those who can afford it. But more broadly, scholars argue that the rapid growth of technology exacerbates existing inequalities in terms of race and class (Compaine 2001; Mack 2001). With the cheap reproduction of technological devices influenced by the growing information economy, the distinction in the digital divide is moving towards differential patterns of use instead of differential access (Modarres 2011). This move to specify who is using technology and how they are using it becomes key to the analysis of communication technology in this chapter.

Pei Cha Lan puts the "power geometry of time-space compression" to work in her study of domestic workers and their employers in Taiwan, by noting that, "the 'mobility' created by wireless technology is differentiated by social inequalities among phone users—along the divides of class and citizenship status in this case" (Lan 2006:74–75). She argues

that mobile phone technology parallels the mobility of migrants; still, the benefits they receive from mobile phones (i.e. communication with each other and family, etc.) still do not fundamentally change their low-wage work and migrancy. In using the theoretical frame of "power geometry of time-space compression," I argue that the role of technology in easing some of the strains in having a transnational family must also be contextualized in the conditions under which families had to be transnational in the first place. I want to be very clear that although technology allows for a more frequent and mobile exchange between separated families, the changes in quality of life for these families still does not alter the structural conditions under which they must live their lives apart.

Scholars suggest that what needs to be assessed is the "quality of parent-child relations" with the advent of technology (Foner and Dreby 2011:557). Therefore, I ask: How is the everyday life of transnational families changed by technology? What types of intimacies are produced through care work mediated by technology in the transnational family? How are gender processes changing in these technological arrangements? In this chapter, I build on the transnational scholarship, working from the assumption that technology changes the texture of the relationships of families who are separated. As technology's role in the transnational family is generally accepted, I examine here *how* technology is transforming those relationships. By focusing on computer technology, I analyze what types of computer interfaces produce particular types of care work and intimacies. Moreover, I demonstrate that the use of technology is a form of multidirectionality of care and explore the role of gender in these interactions.

In this chapter, I make three key interventions: first, I argue that technology helps transnational families negotiate gender boundaries and boundaries of care work. I review

the literature on technology and transnational families, with an emphasis on how gender mediates care in these arrangements. I agree with scholars who argue that technology provides security and confidence to migrant women in their new roles as breadwinners. Yet, a unique finding of this study expands this discussion of gender and technology in transnational life; in my examination of visual component of computer technology, I find that the visuality of contemporary communication technology mediates men's understanding of and carrying out gendered responsibilities left to them. In my discussion of husbands' undertaking of domestic labor through assistance on visual technological interface, I argue that stiff adherence to ascribed gender roles become more relaxed.

Second, by using the multidirectionality of care model, I show how technology becomes a pivot for care in the transnational arrangement through a switch in roles of teachers and learners. The dexterity of children left behind in technology gives them in an essential role to keep migrant or older family members abreast for the purposes of family operations. I explore how different computer technologies redefine roles (who uses technology) and forms of care work (what technology is utilized and to what end). Third, I argue that the visual register ushered in by computer technology (i.e. video technology and social networking sites) changes the texture of relationship building in transnational families. I argue that a closer look at who uses technology and in what way can illuminate multi-directionality of care in transnational families.

Lastly, in sharing the stories of these families, I illuminate their innovative strategies via the tools of technology in time-space compression but, more importantly, to situate these stories as contextualized accounts of families *having to* deal with technology to keep cohesion intact. The centrality of technology in transnational families is a result of

migrants' inability to return to their families because they are undocumented or their children haven't finished college or a host of other reasons. Therefore avoiding an uncritical celebration of technology, I frame these uses of technology as situated in the conditions under which families have to be separated. Instead of a purely descriptive account of how migrants and their families use Skype or Facebook, I aim to contextualize these efforts as part of a larger system of induced migration and, therefore, induced separation.

Terms

In this chapter, I use the general term, "computer technology," to include the use of computer machines and hardware like video cameras to website and web-based platforms like social networks and email servers. This is a rather new contribution to the literature on transnational communication as the development and accessibility of hardware like video cameras on computers and software programs like Skype and Yahoo Messenger have only emerged in the past decade. I focus largely on these computer communication technologies because they operate with a visual register, for the most part. This distinction is quite different from other communication technologies in past research as transnational families are able to "see" one another unlike before. This visual register, I propose, allows for different relationships and care work to emerge in the transnational context. I attend to the ways that these new "eyes" on one another, whether it is on a computer camera or social networking site, creates a new degree of involvement for family members who are separated.

By "technological exchange," I refer to the transnational interaction and flow of information, both substantive and instructive, through computer and communication

technology. It's important to note that I am making a distinction in using the term, "exchange" as I would like to highlight the fact that flow of information between transnational families are multidirectional. Both migrants and families left behind are using computer technology and communication technology to do a range of care work from keeping people abreast on current events or teaching one another skills to use the various computer technologies. I distinguish this interaction as "exchange" in comparison to other technologies (i.e. phone calls, text messages) because the advance of computer technology requires a new type of mastery of technology. Given that, the advent of web-based software has been parallel in both New York and Manila, thereby allowing family members left behind to be teachers in terms of skill and usage of technology. Note that the use of exchange will underscore the how *roles* are redefined in transnational family.

The data from this chapter is drawn mainly from qualitative interviews and group interviews. I will reference data derived from theater and community workshops that were part of the participatory action research data collection plan designed by community members, which include the domestic workers of Kabalikat. I also draw from participant observation notes from the years I spent doing physical ethnographic fieldwork with Kabalikat in New York and their families in the Philippines but also as their "friend" in the social networks they maintain online.

Technology in Transnational Contexts and Dynamics of Gender

Migration has long been an element of the global economy, but the age of globalization has ushered an increase in international migration and alongside this, the rapid development of communication technology. From the bottom up, migrants use the available means of communication to redefine relationships transnationally and to ensure

that the resources they migrated to attain go back to the people they left behind. A relationship with a migrant and family member back home is necessarily fostered and nurtured differently if their only communication is as infrequent as a letter versus if they stay in touch daily through a social network online. The types of technology engender particular types of intimacies and therefore should be scrutinized as such.

Technologies of communication have always been a mainstay in international migration. The possibility of transnational life and ties are facilitated through the ways migrants and people left behind stay in touch. Migrants have and continue to sustain relationships to people in their homelands through letters, cassette tapes, landline phones, mobile phones, text messages, and, more recently, emails and internet services. Across this gamut, these technologies served both emotional and practical purposes. In a historical study of early European immigrants' epistolary relationships in the US, David Gerber posits that letters operated in affirming immigrant ties to the Old World, redefining the relationships to people left behind that were left vulnerable with distance and formulating plans of future reunion or extended separation (Gerber 2001). These facets of transnational lives created new intimacies between people who had a relationship with one another through proximity and, given, that space revised that relationship, letters were the only way to continue the relationships they wished to maintain. Practically, letters from early transnational communities expedited the exchange in information and resources (Foner 2005). Letters were used to transmit sensitive information about remittances, costs of living, emergency situations and shipment of parcels and goods (Wyman 1993). For the women in Kabalikat, letters earlier on in their migration were often breaths of fresh air to find out how remittances were spent and discover how a sick family member was doing.

The infrequent communication left migrants feeling isolated and detached from their families.

The accessibility of mobile phones introduced a quicker and more frequent form of communication for transnational families. For Kabalikat women, the mobile phone gave them much more freedom to call when it was convenient for them and, for their families, to be able to call whenever they needed or wanted to talk to their family member abroad. Scholars argue that it substantially changed the quality of relationships for families separated by migration (Horst 2006; Madianou and Miller 2011). In Heather Horst and Daniel Miller's innovative study of the impact of the mobile phone in Jamaican society, they argue that the formalities of remittances and communicating emergency situations were eased by the advent of the mobile phone (Horst and Miller 2006). The mobile phone opens up the opportunity for family members to gain a more accurate picture of the situations at home and abroad. In this sense, connectivity allows family members to come to an understanding about the sacrifices and back breaking work in a foreign land and where money is most needed and spent in the homeland. Different from a landline phone, the mobile phone increases the frequency and accessibility of contact. Calls are initiated and returned at the convenience of family members both abroad and at home. Although the newness of anytime accessibility is comforting, the liberal access to one another's daily life gives way to surveillance and harassment. Migrants demand to know daily movements of spouses or children and relatives left behind stress their need for more and more financial support (Riak-Akuei 2005). Additionally, the cost and maintenance of the mobile phone becomes another burden for the transnational family. Scholars have found that although

mobile phones have allowed a closer connectivity between transnational families, ambivalence about this type of access to one another remains (Madianou and Miller 2011).

The Short Message Service (SMS), or more popularly known as text messages, developed along side the mobile phone. In the Philippines, a majority of Filipinos from different classes have access to pre-paid phones that work entirely to facilitate text-messaging communication. Long before texting was a hit in the US, Filipinos found that texting was cheap and was a viable form of communication to people in close proximity and further away. For migrants, text messages present a more covert and private method of communication to families at home or friends in their vicinity. Text messages on mobile phones can be received at any time without migrants having to physically interrupt a workday or conversation to receive information or communication (Lan 2006). The cost of texts, brevity and its capability to distribute information widely and quickly contributes to a more rapid updating system for migrants and their families back home. It is also used for more colloquial and conversational exchanges like jokes, poems, riddles and personal messages (Horst 2006; Lan 2006). In fact, text messages' rapidity and frequency is equally as important as the content for transnational communication (Licoppe and Smoreda 2005).

The onset of the internet in the late 1980's and its tremendous, sweeping impact in the world changed transnational life along with everything else. For migrants, the virtual world has intensified what the aforementioned communication technologies already provided and it provided more ways for migrants to stay involved in transnational activities. Transnational internet initiatives have facilitated support for hometown associations (Levitt 2001), political campaigns (Smith 2006), and cultural diffusion (Vertovec 2009). The internet's entry into the lives of people who live in a transnational

context accurately describes the simultaneity in which they live, together yet apart. Yet, the nature of technology is that of rapid advancement. The swiftness of changing internet interface and computer communication technology parallels the changing dynamics of social relations produced from them. I'm sure by the time of publication of this manuscript, major communication shifts will have already given way to new forms of social interactions and relations. Still, today, there is a lacuna in the existing literature examining the impact of computer technology in the lives of transnational families. I fill that gap in this chapter.

Gendered Dynamics in Transnational Technology

Gender is a social process organizing migration and therefore understanding the mutability of gender in the transnational context is key as the roles in the division of labor in the family changes according to which family member leaves (Curran et al. 2006). Past immigration literature, especially studies between the 50's to the 80's normalized gender by assuming "migrant" as a gender-neutral category (P. Pessar 1999; S. J. Mahler and P. R. Pessar 2006; Curran et al. 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999). After the criticisms of feminist scholars, the call to include gender was met superficially by what Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo calls an "add and stir" strategy, where gender became a factor for comparison and demographics rather than understanding gender as an integral part of the social organization of migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999). Patricia Pessar challenges us to "engender migration studies," a challenge to look at how gender relations have shaped migration patterns and social consequences of migration, namely changes in institutions such as, gender roles, households, family structure, labor and activism (1999). She argues that although some scholars posit migration as an avenue of emancipation, migration and its institutions are nonetheless constrained by patriarchy.

In this vein, researchers of the transnational family have argued that although migration provides a type of mobility for women migrants, power asymmetries along the lines of gender in the family are maintained in the transnational context (S. Mahler 2001; Parreñas 2005; Horst 2006). In examining the role of communication technology, Sarah Mahler argues that phone communication and the withholding of information in that interaction, in the case of male Salvadorean migrants in Long Island, NY and their wives in rural El Salvador maintains men's power in their relationships (S. Mahler 2001). Rhacel Parrenas, in what she calls, "long-distance intimacy," argues that although communication eases the strain in transnational families, it also exacerbates existing gender imbalances in the Filipino family. For both the migrant mother and daughters left behind, Parrenas suggests that women's domesticity stays intact. For migrant mothers, in fact, migration is a no win situation. Technology opens up the opportunity for migrant women to do the care work from afar and they are able to instruct women at home to assume their roles. Thus, mobile phones, text messages and emails become a constant reminder of the absence of mothers and produce ambivalence for daughters left behind.

Scholars offer an alternative perspective to Parrenas' argument in examining the nuances and new subjectivities that arise from families left behind (Mckay 2007; Asis 2006; Madianou and Miller 2011). Mirca Madianou and Daniel Miller make a case that communication through mobile phone allows migrant mothers to negotiate their ambivalence about wanting to go home to assume their domestic duties and to stay abroad to continue to assume the role of breadwinner for their families. Instead of affirming gender roles, Madianou and Miller suggest that the mobile phone as a communication technology empowers migrant women to feel more confident about their duty away from

home (Madianou and Miller 2011). Although, like Parrenas, I find that migrant mothers and women in their families left behind still take up roles in the gendered division of labor of the household, I agree with the perspective that communication technology are resources to negotiate and adjust who takes up work and roles of caring in the family. In my work, the good—women's ability to leave the home to find jobs—along with the bad—the unwavering patriarchal culture of the Philippine family—utilize technology to maintain gender order in transnational familial relations, but it is also true, that technology shapes the ways people are negotiating that order.

The visual register that accompanies much of the computer technology in my findings allows for a different push-back in negotiating care work and roles. The watchful eye of the web camera and the attentive eye of the social network gives migrant family members—mothers, aunts, grandmothers and sisters—a different way to negotiate their given roles as nurturer or domestic caretaker. Following Madianou and Miller, I argue that the tools of communication the migrant family members have, allow them to become more secure with their roles as breadwinners, a role ascribed often to males in the family. Without essentializing the femininine and masculine work in the family, I propose that technology allows members of the family to try on different gendered work and roles. For example, through Skype, the meal Tito Mauricio cooked for me on the scorching July day I mentioned above, was taught to him step by step by Nanay Vickie in Queens that Manila morning/New York evening. In this way, Tito Mauricio the historic breadwinner for his family is trying on a new role of cook with Skype as a tool as much as the fire on his stove. And for Nanay Vickie, the role of cooking is not necessarily only hers any longer, she now shares it with her husband who had never cooked before she migrated to New York.

Gendered Boundaries

Some families, a small minority, still use an old-fashioned form of communication—the telephone. With a program called Magic Jack or telephone cards, families communicate with one another less frequently than those who have computers through phone conversations. Although these interactions happen 3 or 4 times a week versus the daily and sometimes multiple times a day frequency of computer programs, the affective absence of mothers' migration often stays present with children and husbands as they make the decisions their mothers would have made but cannot because they're in NYC. Across the different families I visited in the Philippines, children would always tell me that in moments when both big and little decisions needed to be made, that their mothers' absence would become ever so present. Maya, a 14-year old daughter of Rose, an Kabalikat member, said when I asked her what has changed since her mom left, "Nothing really. When I have to decide to take JJ to the clinic or if I should do my homework instead of watch TV, she's always with me. I think of what she would've done, and I do it." She continued telling me that she filters her decisions by embodying her mother because she misses her mom and that her mother will expect her to report to her when she calls. The absence of her mother, Rose, is ever present in Maya's life and because of her weekly calls, her decisions are often informed by her duty to report. But it can go the other way too. In my *kuwentohan* with Ricky, the 16-year old son of Anne, another Kabalikat member working in NYC to put him and his brothers through an elite college and pay for his dormitory in the city proper, he relayed to me that because of his mother's absence he experienced more freedom. When I asked him what he did with his time, he said, "I just hang out. Sometimes I don't go to school. If my mom was here, I could never do that." Here the presence of absence is

celebrated by Ricky because he is aware that his mother cannot closely monitor his actions. And the reporting he does to his mother, a single phone call every month, allows him to tell her only what she wants to hear.

A mother's absence influences decisions of children here in very different ways. A child making good decisions has a lot to do with him or her taking care of the responsibilities that mothers have left behind. Whether or not children of migrant mothers make good on those responsibilities is another issue. The decision-making process that uses an internalization of the ubiquitous Mother, or just simply "lie to your Mom" strategy—is evidence of multi-directional care work. When these decisions are made with reporting via phone is in the formula, children are often thinking about how to frame daily issues in a way not to worry their migrant mothers. Care, then, doesn't always mean nurturing or telling the truth to migrant members. It can also be interpreted as children's filter of what they tell their migrant mothers. It is important to disentangle "care" with a moral goodness and nurturance, rather we must understand that multidirectionality of care is an exchange of labor, of keeping migrant family members. Its not only an exchange of good news and emotions, it is an avenue of to swap information.

However, I think gender is a crucial factor in who takes up this care work in reporting or turning on the webcam or even posting photos. Across the board, daughters seem to internalize the weight of their mothers' absence and absorb much of their mothers' responsibilities in domestic labor and sons seem to take the absence of their mothers to increase their mobility and independence. Calvin, Joan's son, says:

> *Pagkinausap ko siya sa webcam, hindi lahat sinasabi. Actually parang ano siya eh umm training siya kasi hindi mo siya, hindi ka ganun ka independent pag nandito siya, may inaasahan ka pa rin. But the thing is iba talaga sakin kapag wala na ang nanay diyan.*

> When I talk to her on the webcam, I don't tell her everything. Actually, it's like training because you can't, you're not that independent when she's here, you still rely on someone. But the thing is its different for me when there's no mother.

To which his sister, Melann replies:

> *Ay hindi ako ganyan. Sa amin ha, sa bahay namin, nung nawala si mama, parang wala ng pakialamanan. Sa amin na lang, kaming dalawa na lang, yun. O, tapos yun yung negative. Tapos yung positive naman, mas naging mas close kaming dalawa. Kasi nga wala siyang nanay, ako yung nanay niya.*
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> Oh for me it isn't like that. For us, at our house, when mama left, you were on your own. For us, ok, it was just us two. Oh, that was the negative. The positive side is we got closer, us two. Because he didn't have a mom, I became his mom.

This couplet is an illustrative point that validates much of the scholarship around how gendered roles become absorbed by daughters and women in families left behind. And still, this isn't the bottom line.

Instead of the generally accepted argument that technology mediates gender roles by inscribing traditional roles of domestic onto the traditional members of the family (read: women and girls), I find that technology allows for transnational families to widen their perspective of who does what work. I am not arguing that technology is the great equalizer. However, technology allows for migrant women to maintain family ties and provide care work that still resonate with their sensibility as women and mothers, or what work is ascribed to them through cultural and societal norms. But they also broaden their identity as a mother or woman to incorporate their new roles as breadwinners; a role attributed to men by the same cultural and societal mores that privilege the patriarchal norm. This example might be interpreted as saying that technology places more work on women, as they accept care work through Skype and Facebook even while they are financially sustaining their families. Still, migrant mothers, sisters, and aunts in this study embrace

care work as a form of integration into their family. It is a form of closeness that they cling to as the distance that puts them thousands of miles away from their family takes them from that intimacy. Brenda, a mother of two young girls, says:

> It's my maternal duty to be providing, yes. But becoming a good mother, I don't think so! (laughs) Because I am far away with them. Maybe a good mother in different way like being a provider, but not in a traditional way. Because in traditional way, you should be the one taking care of your kids, even if your working, you should also be able to take care of the kids. But I have to sacrifice that privilege because I have to think of them and their future. Then, the thing that helps me is Skype. Because in Skype you can see your family so that helps me a lot. I can see them before they go to school and before they go to bed.

Brenda demonstrates that technology allows her to feel secure in both her roles as provider and nurturer. Brenda defines "good mother" in terms of her ability to bring in income to the family and although, the trope of maternal duty still echoes in her mind she pacifies that guilt with her ability to interact with her family through Skype. The separation from her family is clearly still a conflict for her yet; technology gives her a way to make sense of herself in her new roles.

There are many instances indicating that members of the transnational family are pushing back on gender roles and trying on new ones. Husbands, sons and brothers often take up the care work their women counterparts leave behind. I find that as communication increases through technology and the visual register of the computer technology used by transnational families, families left behind are also increasingly understanding of the sacrifice and situation of the migrant family members. Because of the frequency and the visual form of communication computer technology provides, families left behind, especially men, are also understanding what is at stake for their wives, mothers and sisters. Therefore accepting the work left behind is no longer marked by gender, rather

it is also marked by an exchange of work, a multidirectional exchange of work. Peter, the husband of Melanie, says:

> *And then nung umalis si Mel, nagulat ako, yung responsibility ng nanay, iba pala yun. Napakabigat. Ibig sabihin, yung work ng mother hindi kaya ng lalaki. Hindi pwdeng pamacho-macho lang. Dun, narealize ko yung ganoon. Napakahirap ang ginawa ni Mel na umalis. Nakikita ko sa Skype gaano kahirap ang lumayo. At kahit mahirap din ang ikaw yung magbabadyet, ikaw magluluto, ikaw magbibihis sa mga bata. Laundry ikaw. Lahat. Yan ang kapalit.*
>
> And then when Mel left, I was shocked, mother's work and responsibility, its so different. So very heavy. What I mean to say is, it's hard for a man to do a mother's work. You can't just be macho-macho. That's when I realized that. Mel sacrificed so much when she left. I see on Skype how hard it is to be away from us. And even if it's hard that you'll be the one to budget, you cook, you dress the kids. Laundry, you. All of it. That's the exchange.

Most of the men in this study took up the work that their counterparts left behind. And what I found most surprising is that most of them were humbled by just how much work their women family members did, more so because they didn't realize it until after the women left. The transition in taking on this type of work is the learning curve of patriarchy. I do not argue that all the men in the study have revolutionized their patriarchal beliefs. They still want their wives back, hoping it will restore some type of gender order. But I do believe that, for men, taking on the work makes room for them to learn to bend and negotiate the rigid gendered roles they've come to learn from the Filipino culture.

I do not believe that technology neutralizes gender roles in the family. But I also do not find that technology reinscribes gender roles wholesale. The nuances in my research show that that technology informs a sort of boundary-testing and role negotiation in terms of care work.

Tech Support: Children's Roles As Care Providers

For transnational families, setting up a computer corner tops the list of investment

priorities. In this research project 90% of the participants in New York talked about the necessity of investing in computers for their needs and for their family.

> *Ang unang una kong binili ay yung kompyuter para sa kanila, para sa mga bata, sa school nila, at para makausap ko sila. Tapos ako naman. Yan ang unang una*.
>
> The very first thing I bought is a computer for them, for the kids, for school, and so that I could talk to them. Then I bought mine. That's the very first thing.

Rose's quote affirms the importance of her investment in computer technology. Many of the migrant members and older members of the family left behind are in the middle of their life course and most did not grow up in the computer era. So along with their new technology investment, they also are buying into a steep learning curve.

In contrast, young adults and children in families left behind are often adept at using computers, learning new programs, and troubleshooting technological problems. Even in a Third World country like the Philippines, computers are quite accessible and young people often attend to and nurture their social and academic lives digitally, hence their proficiency in computers and computer programs. In this way, young people in families become the resource people to get digital interactions going. They are in fact responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of machines and, more importantly, they become teachers to their older family members. Melann, 20 year old daughter of Joan who lives in Manila, says:

> *Ay si mama! Pagdating sa kompyuter, kami na ang nagiging nanay diyan. Tinuturuan. Kailangan maging mapasensya. Hinay hinay. Ganyan ang buhay ng anak ng nagaabroad, nagiging tech support.*
>
> Oh mama! When it comes to computers, we become the mother. We teach her how. We have to have patience with her. Slowly, slowly. That's the life of a child of a migrant, we become tech support.

Melann's remarks somewhat signal that her mother's learning curve with technology is a

burden but what is interesting is that she understands her "tech support" role as a flip in the roles of mother and daughter. She understands that the interaction between mothers and children are supposed to provide lessons and patience and she is enacting those behaviors even if she is the daughter in the relationship. Later, she comments:

> *Kung yan ang magagawa ko, gagawin at gagawin ko. Kasi, hindi naman sa nagsasasa siya sa internet, gusto niyang matutunan para makipagkontak samin. Kung maging tech support man ako, para sa kanya, anytime.*
>
> If that's what I can do for her, I will always do it. Because, its not like she's spending all her time on the internet, she wants to learn so she can keep in contact with us. If I am going to be a tech support, for her, anytime.

Here Melann understands that the, sometimes, painstaking process of step-by-step explanation of computer software to her mom becomes reciprocal. If Melann teaches her how to successfully log on to a video chat program, then her mother, Joan, will be "around." In a sense Melann understands that the emotional, time-intensive and, often, arduous, work of teaching her mother something brand new is a type of care work that only she can give to her mother. Melann's proclamation of becoming "tech support" is a legitimation of that role as a care provider. And although, it is often times tedious work, she is willing to do it on the promise that that care work will come back to her via her mother's presence.

Maya is 14 years old and the eldest of four kids living with her father in Quezon City. She says, "I taught her how to make an account because I want her to talk to us and play computer games when she's bored. When I taught her, I felt her heart became lighter." Children, at a young age, are tapping into their own technological dexterity to maintain relationships with their migrant mothers. Maya's tech teaching sessions may seem to be a mere logistical matter, but the latter part of this quote, demonstrates her understanding of her actions as work that involves emotion and care.

I See You: The Visual Register of Skype and Facebook

The presence of a family member is being rearticulated through the use of rapidly developing computer technologies like Skype, Gmail video chat and Yahoo Messenger video chat. The visual register on these computer programs, literally, opens up a window into the lives of family members who are separated.

For migrant mothers in New York City, their absence from their homes in Manila is substituted by their presence online, a sometimes creepy but comforting surveillance of their families through these venues. In Joanna Dreby's research about Mexican migrants and their families in the late 90s and early 2000s, she found that managing separation relied mainly on unreliable phone calls, gifts and remittances. Dreby's ethnography uncovered the painful reality of migrant parents sending gifts of clothes and toys that were age-inappropriate or could no longer fit their children, signaling a parents' inability to provide anything than just financial support for their kids. But today, like Vickie's example, Skype breaks this dynamic down. Although Vickie cannot touch her quickly growing children, she can at least see them face-to-face on a daily basis and watch how tall or skinny they get.

The presence of Vickie's absence in the Philippines adds another dimension to the maintenance of the family at home in Manila. At Vickie's request, "*Buksan ang online pagdating sa bahay.* Turn on the internet once you get home." Since NYC is exactly 12 hours ahead of Manila time, when Vickie's kids get home from school at 4-5pm in Manila, she's up and getting ready for work early in the morning in NYC. Many of the domestic workers maintain this schedule, whether it is early morning in Manila and late in NYC or vice versa, they insist on being "in the room" when mundane things are happening like dinner time,

washing up or getting ready for school. Rose, another Kabalikat member and migrant mother, says, "I just like hearing them move around." The presence of migrant mothers through technology in this way allows their absence to be a bit bearable.

Skype: Presence and Surveillance

The web camera and video conferencing technology not only ushered in a more rapid exchange of capital, communication and goods for corporations, but also a more rapid exchange for families. Families in a transnational arrangement use video technology to organize practical matters such as remittances, both money and packaged goods, and to update one another on pressing issues. But because the family is a different sort of social organizational unit, the outcomes of this technology reach beyond the practical into the emotions and intimacy. In this section, I discuss the visual register of web cams and video conferencing software as it changes the texture of communication migrants have with their families and loved ones at home. Seeing a face on a screen changes the physical and figurative "presence" of migrant family members living abroad. I hope to illuminate the ways that Skype or Yahoo Messenger, or what I will from now on call "webcam technology" or just "webcam"—as the migrants and their families refer to it—produce an affect of integration, presence and surveillance.

In her research on Mexican transnational families, Joana Dreby found that phone calls alleviated some of the strain of separation, but they also brought up feelings of shame and guilt for migrant parents who were not able to see their young children grow up (Dreby 2010). Webcams answer this desire of migrants to actually *see* their family when they are away.

When I asked migrants and their family members the hardest thing about being

separated, people often answered in tears: "*Hindi ko sila nakikita*. That I can't see them," "I can't see them grow up," "I can't see Mama's face," "*Hindi ko alam ang itsura nila.* I don't know what they look like anymore." I found that the actual practice of seeing and witnessing growth was important for both migrants and families left behind. The webcam's ability to provide a visual of people faces and bodies mattered a great deal to everyone in a transnational family.

Presence

The Santos family is a tight knit family. With seven sisters and one brother close in age, they are more like best friends than siblings. They joke around with a scathing sense of humor, using street slang to insult one another with laughter following shortly after, in a way that only loved ones can. They all share the understanding that they only have one another and that they are all parents to all the children in their family. Rita, like three of her sisters before her, immigrated as a single woman in her early twenties to support her aging parents and the nieces and nephews in her family in 1992. In a staggered pattern, the Santos sisters migrated for work to take turns as the breadwinner of their family. Rita, unlike some of her sisters, never made it back to the Philippines to live. She settled in New York City, got married and bought an apartment with her husband in the Bronx. Still, her relationship with her siblings hasn't changed. Leslie, Rita's sister closest in age, is a single mother who lives in the family house in Metro Manila tells me that Rita has a special affection to Leslie's son, Kela, as he was the first child born to the group of siblings. Rita is the primary financial support for Kela, Leslie describes how the webcam allowed Rita to become integrated into Kela's growth:

> *Yan ang drama dati. Yung voice tape, (dramatic voice) boses lang, eh ngayon, hi-tech na. Pero kasi ang problema dun, hindi mo mavivisualize, mavivisualize yung bata, ang*

maganda ngayon, nakikita mo yung bata lumalaki, sa internet di ba? Kahit papaano.

> That was the drama back then. The voice tape, (dramatic voice) only her voice, but now, its high tech. Because the problem back then is you couldn't visualize, visualize the kid, what's nice today, is you can see the kid grow up, on the internet right? At the very least that.

Leslie notes that the webcam allows Rita to *see* Kela grow and therefore, she may not feel as alienated as she had before when she could only send her voice back home or only hear Kela's voice. Leslie's statement of "*Kahit papaano.* At the very least that," suggests that Rita's communication and, now visual communication, is a reciprocation, a sort of pay back in exchange for Rita's migration and continued support for Kela. As an engagement in multidirectionality of care, Leslie understands that the communication through computer technology allows Rita to stay up to date and therefore allows her to feel reassured in supporting Kela's growth. Still, the visual component of their relationship is key here. Leslie point to the difference between the cassette tapes that were the communication technology of the past, where people would record voices on tape and send them. But now, webcam allows Rita to *see* her beloved nephew grow taller, bigger and more mature. This slight difference in actually being able to see her nephew's face grow and change may not seem like much, but for a long-term, serial migrant like Rita, the face of her nephew the last time they saw one another is what she clings to. And now, Skype allows her to not only cling to his face but to see it grow.

Rose left her husband and four children when the children were one, two, five and eight years old. Her youngest son, JJ, was a new born when she had to quickly pack up and leave to work for a diplomat who was moving from Manila to New York City. Now, JJ is almost 10 and she has been away for most of the formative years of her children's lives. Rose remembers the first years of her duty with the diplomat:

> *Kasi nandoon ako sa diplomat noon, kasi almost two years din ako nandoon sa may trabaho tapus wala naman akong laptop wala na man. Di ko sila makita katulad ngayon, kung hangaan ano lang tawag, phonecard, text ganyan. Nung first year ko dito siempre gabe gabe akong umiyak.*
>
> Because I was with the diplomat then, because I was with them almost two years working for them then I didn't have a laptop, nothing. I couldn't see them like I do now, it would only be through calls, phone cards, text, like that. My first year here, of course, I cried every night.

Rose's first job in the US with a diplomat was a severe case of abuse, exploitation and isolation, which I will return to in a later chapter. Rose endured difficult work conditions because her undocumented status led her to believe that making claims about better wages and work conditions or better quality of life was out of the question. She, then surrendered, her ability to communicate with her family in her first two years in the US, she notes that in that time she couldn't get a laptop which hindered her from seeing her kids. But here, it is important to note that it was of utmost importance to her to "see" her children, understanding that "seeing" them means talking with them through a webcam. Her statement above privileges webcam communication over phone calls and texts because her online relationship with them through the webcam allows her to *see* them and for them to *see* her. In this situation, where Rose is unable to return to her family until her promise of all of them finishing colleges is completed, the visual register of the webcam is often the only thing Rose has as a way of being with and keeping up with her kids.

I asked Rose's youngest two children, Grace and JJ who are 10 and 11, about how they kept up their relationship with their mother and they said:

> JJ: *Dati po telepono.* In the past, telephone.
>
> Grace: *Nanibago nga po kami noong makita namin siya kasi ang taba niya! (laughs)* We were shocked when we first saw her because she was so chubby! (laughs)
>
> JJ: *Tumaba siya eh!* (laughs) She got chubby! (laughs)

Grace: *Payat kasi, ang payat kasi niya noong umalis siya dito. Tapos payat na maitim.*
She was thin, she was thin when she left here. Then, she was thin and dark skinned.

JJ: *Ngayon pumuti!* (laughs)
Now she's white! (laughs)

Grace: *Pumuti siya.*
She got lighter.

JJ: *Sabi nila ng mga friend niya dito tumaba eh tumaba tapos puma, pumuti sabi ng mga friend niya dito.*
Her friends here said that she got fat, eh fatter, then, whi, whiter, said all of her friends here.

Grace: *Marami nang changes.*
Lots of changes.

JJ: *Lagi niyang tinitingnan yung height naming apat. Kung gaano na daw kami katangkad, tapos yung ano yung head tapos yung ano lagi talaga niyang binabantayan lagi yung height namin.*
She always looks at our height, us four. How tall we're getting, then measuring our heads, then um, she always keeps track of our height.

Grace: *Parang ano, gusto niya makita kung gaano kabilis kaming lumaki. Sabi ko nga, gaano siya kabilis tumaba?*
Para lumaki tayong lahat, sama sama! (laughs) Its like um, she wants to see how fast we are growing. I told her how fast are you getting chubbier? So we can grow together! (laughs)

In this conversation, JJ and Grace, remember the years that their family transitioned into webcam technology. They note that seeing their mother for the first time surprised them and her appearance was the first thing they spoke about. Of course, JJ and Grace's memories of their mother's physical appearance when she left are probably an amalgamation of pictures from the past, stories from their father, siblings and family friends but in their recollection of this transition in their family, they deemed it important for me to know that they knew the difference between their mother then and now. Their comments on how much chubbier and lighter she became during her time in the US points

to their ability to know their mother in a much more intimate sense than if they were just talking on the phone like before. Further, the story they are telling about physical growth in height and weight are dimensions of family life that, in the past, would not be the first priority to be tracked by phone call or letter writing. Tracking how tall or fat one another is becomes a sign of a physical closeness, an intimacy that the distance of migration could not allow before. Now, because of the visual register of webcams, being able to see one another gives families an opportunity to be integrated in a way that is taken from them after migration, the ability to see one another.

For Rose, the actual ability to see her kids grow taller and bigger is not only a change from her former avenue of communication for her, it is a way to enact the responsibilities that she could not attend to because of her migration. Grace's last comment about growing fat and tall together brings this point home; the visual component of the webcam provides an opportunity for transnational families to be together in a way that they could never before. Perhaps because of Rose's undocumented status and her inability to go home and see her kids for over 9 years, this type of technology means more to her and her family as they are at least together through the webcam. In this case, the webcam assisted Rose in fulfilling a care task that she could not continue because of her location, but it also calls on JJ and Grace to interact with their mom so as to show her that she is fulfilling that task, whether it is by measuring themselves or each other or also tracking their mother's growth in weight. Webcams' visual aspect gives way for this interaction in care to be reciprocal, with each family member doing their part in creating the intimacy they desire from one another.

The ability of migrants and families left behind to see one another online produces

an affect of both presence and but also surveillance. Heather Horst found that mobile phones allowed migrants to stay involved in the day to day affairs of their families, but that communication also always relied on the watchful eye and self-reporting of the voice on the other end (Horst 2006). Webcams serve the purpose of keeping family updated on day to day affairs. As I continued to research the new effects of the webcam on the lives of transnational families, I found that that the visual component of the technology *integrated* the lives of families' daily developments. Leslie continues to discuss how the webcam opens up a whole new world for migrants and their families left behind:

> *Pero ngayon, parang nandun sila sa internet, Skype, kahit wala silang sinasabi, yun na ang trend ngayon. Naka…naka-mic lang sila, parang lang nililive nila yung…kagigising lang nung bata, naghohomework, nagluluto si Tatay.*
>
> But now, they're there on the internet, Skype, even if they aren't saying anything. That's the trend now. They—they're on the mic, and it's like live. They see us live, when the kids get up, when they're doing their homework, when Tatay is cooking.

Leslie notes that the banal life becomes a consumable and enjoyable part of transnational families. Being "live" on the webcam invites migrants to be around, close and present from afar. Maya, Rose's eldest daughter says:

> *Noong simula noong nakakachat naman namin siya sa webcam lagi naman kaming nagkikita parang ganoon na rin parang lagi na rin siyang nandito.*
>
> When we started chatting her on the webcam, we always see each other. It's like before, its like she's always here.

The idea of streaming someone else's daily life "live" and instantly, allows family members in the Philippines to imagine that their migrant family members are "here." The dynamic of presence is facilitated by the visual aspect of webcams because as migrants are able to watch, witness and take in the daily happenings in their homes, emotions like trust, closeness and familiarity begin to be the basis of the intimacy created through webcams.

Vickie talks about the feeling of closeness and integration she feels with her family in Manila:

> *Pagnakaonline kami, alam mo ung lahat nangyayari, sa araw araw. Nasisiyahan ako pagalam ko na araw araw na gumagawa sila ng rebyu o nakikisama sa isa't isa. Parang nakikita ko sila matured. Your believe in yourself that you are not a fail as a mom.*
>
> You know when we're always online, you find out what's going on, you start to know what's happening everyday. It makes me feel better when I know everyday they are doing homework and taking care of each other. Its like I see they're maturing. You believe in yourself that you didn't fail as a mom.

Vickie likes to set up her webcam as she gets home from work and keeps it on as she does chores around her apartment in Queens. Her webcam doesn't necessarily need around the clock attention but being on the webcam, she makes herself available in that way. When she interacts with her kids as they are doing homework or she listens in when her daughter, Dianne, makes breakfast for her brother, Z, she is present to watch her kids, like she did when she lived with them. I asked Dianne about her mother's online presence and she answered

> E*veryday naman nagoonline. Minsan pag magisa ako okay lang basta ka-chat ko siya. Binubuksan pag gumagawa ng work niya, gumagawa ako ng work ko. Pagka may work siya, every day time dito tapos night doon. Ngayon kasi wala siyang work kaya every day at every night kausap namin siya.*
>
> Everyday we're online. Sometimes when I'm by myself, I just chat with her. She turns it on when she's doing her work and when I'm doing my work. When she has work, every morning here and night there. But now, she has no work so now we talk to her in the day time and at night.

The frequency of interaction via webcam between Vickie and her family in Manila mimics her physical presence in their home. Because she is available and around so much, the transnationality of their family seems seamless because of her ability to stay present, integrated and knowledgeable about the daily routine of her family. This presence, however, is maintained by two parties, Vickie in New York and a family member living in

her home in Manila; the very action of turning on Skype becomes a form of care that Dianne and Z participate in as they know that being present on webcam gives Vickie a feeling of relief. Instead of the distance defining the relationship between mother and children, the webcam and the responsibilities of children to turn it on, keep it on and talk with their mother becomes a form of care work they do for Vickie.

Surveillance

The presence of migrants via webcams also gives way to an eerie affective background, like someone is always watching. A few of the respondents reported that they feel like they are being watched. For migrants, they understand that the use of the webcam can be a way to ensure that families back home aren't spending their hard earned money on lavish things or that work around the house gets done. They were doing the watching. For families left behind, that sort of surveillance can be exasperating. The cousins, Dianne, Z, Melann and Chris, children of Vickie and Joan, discuss how they sometimes find reprieve when their mothers are "watching" them:

> Valerie: *Anong sinasabi niyo sa kanila pagbukas ng online?* What do you tell them when they first get online?
>
> Dianne: *Ah, yung reporting namin? Minsan…hindi kumpleto…* (laughs) Oh our reporting you mean? Sometimes, incomplete?
>
> Valerie: What do you mean?
>
> Z: *Kailangan may konting pagtatago!* (laughs) There's gotta be some secrets! (laughs)
> Chris: *Like minsan, ano umm… pupunta ka sa ganito o tamad ka, so may konting ano yun, na sabihin gagawa ka ng project. Minsan hindi ka gagawa ng project. Ituro lang ang webcam pababa ng konti!* Like sometimes, um…when you wanna go somewhere or you're just lazy, just say you have a project to do. Sometimes you don't work on the project. Just point the camera a little downward!
>
> Dianne: *Uy! Hindi ako ganun!* (laughs) Hey! I'm not like that!
>
> Melann: *Uy! Lahat tayo ganun!* (laughs) Hey! We're all like that!

Similar to families that live under the same roof, children create strategies to evade their parents' gaze. Although Dianne, Z, Melann and Chris' mothers live thousands of miles away, the game of cat and mouse still continues. As we continued our conversation, I found that the purpose behind this is that the presence of migrants via webcam is of course transformative for family cohesion, but it also maintains the power hierarchy between children and parents. A similar dynamic happens with husbands and wives and the shifts in the care work in the household.

Vickie's husband, Mauricio, a bus driver before Vickie left, has taken over much of Vickie's tasks at home like cleaning, cooking, paying for bills and caring for the children. This shift in roles of who the breadwinner is and the breadmaker is suffused with power reversals also. Vickie, along with other migrant women, feel entitled to certain power shifts in the home as they are bringing in the income. However, in the patriarchal schema of the Filipino family, most men, husbands, fathers and brothers, have a hard time with that shift. Mauricio says:

> *Pinagtiyagaan ko na lang habang nag-mamaneho ako. Pero ngayon every ano every Saturday mamimili tapos kung kaya lang ng oras mo naglalaba. Pwede sa linggo. Pero lunes hanggang miyerkules namamalantsa ako. Vik, ngayon ko lang naranasan yong nagluluto na naglalaba. Doon ko narealized na ang nanay pala sa bahay ang trabaho mahirap. Ang mas mahirap doon ay pagnandiyan siya. Sa webcam. Ang kaba ko, SUS.*
>
> I endured being a driver. But now, um, every Saturday groceries, if time allows it laundry. I can do it Sunday too. But Monday through Wednesday, I iron the clothes. Vickie, now I've experienced how it is to cook and clean. That's when I realized that mothers at home, their work is hard. What's even more difficult is when she's there. On webcam. My nerves, geez.

Mauricio shares with us how his transition was a huge realization about the gendered work that was the norm when Vickie lived with them. Different from other scholars' conclusions about husbands left behind in transnational families, Mauricio and the other men in the

study were often quick to pick up where their women counterparts left off. The men who participated in the study recognized that the women that left their family made a sacrifice and holding up their end of the deal was in taking up the tasks of the household. This finding surprised me at first, as it is the opposite of what many researchers conclude about men in transnational families. However, technology in this case, allows us to see perhaps a different dimension of men left behind.

Husbands of migrant women often used webcam technology to learn their new tricks of the trade, Peter, Melanie's husband, said:

> *Basta kung ano yung pinapakain ko sa kanila dito, natutunan ko sa tulong ng webcam at ni Mel. Pero kung di masarap, di niya alam!*
>
> What ever I cook here, I learned with the help of the webcam and Mel. But if it isn't good, then she won't know!

But at the same time, the gaze of the webcam pushes them to assess if they are doing their tasks properly. Although, the husbands never talked about any judgmental comments they received from their wives, the mere presence they feel from the webcam is enough for them to feel like they are being watched.

Migrant women launching surveillance of husbands and households do so to keep control of the kind of household they would want if they were still in the Philippines. They watch because they would like kids to do homework and husbands to prepare meals for children. They look into their homes because they like order and cleanliness. And yet for some, surveillance also keeps out a popularly known trend in infidelity for Filipino husbands left behind. Infidelity has always existed in Rose's relationship with her husband, even when she lived in the Philippines. As her stay in New York becomes longer and longer, she has been hearing that her husband is up to his old ways again. Rose recounts how she

found out about her husband, Mike's cheating:

> *Pag nagchachat kami nagkamamali sya na wrong sentence imbis na sinned sa babae niya, napunta sa akin kaya. Hindi yung lang, yung anak ko may sumbong sila sa akin. Lalot yung panganay ko. Kasi sabi ko sa kanya okay lang kung may babae ka, wag lang pakita doon sa may bata. Kasi yung mga bata baka kasi lumayo sa kanya o baka siya yung mag tulak para may sinungaling yung manga anak ko sakin. Alam mo, hayaan ko na lang na nakawebcam ako magdamag. Kahit paano, alam ko kung anong nangyayari sa pamamahay ko, sa mga bata.*
>
> When we used to chat he would send a wrong sentence to me instead of sending it to the other woman. Not just that, my kids would tell me. Especially my oldest. So I told him, its okay if you have a woman on the side, just don't show my kids. Because my kids what if they get angry at him and distance themselves or he might even push them to lie to me. You know, just leave the webcam on all the time. At least, I know what's happening in my house, to my kids.

The surveillance program Rose instituted is concerned with two things: keeping watch over her husband's trysts and also to undergird her idea of a home for her children, one where kids never have to lie to her about another woman in the house. This surveillance is on one hand a positive form of connection to the Philippines, for Rose. It provides her with some control over a situation that quickly gets away from her. But on the other hand, surveillance can easily be turned off by any person who knows that technology in her home. Moreover, her presence on Skype can color other technologies (i.e. chat, emails, Facebook) as a form of surveillance as well. When Skype becomes surveillance, computer technology attenuates anxieties for migrants abroad, but it can turn on them as well.

Skype's visual register adds a different dimension to communication, staying present and keeping order in a transnational family. Here, the frequency of communication is not so different but the technological interface of webcam technology mediates the type of care that results from it. For many families, an added facet of their digital lives together also operates with a visual component but increases the frequency and accessibility of family

interaction. If the webcam covers the basics of keeping up with daily activities and disciplining the household, Facebook makes room for a different type of relationship building.

Facebook: Boundaries, Friendship and Intimacies

Another digital avenue utilized by migrant family members and their families left behind transnationally is the use of social networks like Facebook, and in the past, Friendster and Myspace, to keep updated on one another's daily actions and behaviors. In this segment, I assess what types of intimacy are produced through communication on social networking sites, specifically Facebook. I argue that interaction through Facebook gives way for exchange in emotional care and technological skill over the digital platform. Further, that this digital platform urges transnational families to negotiate boundaries, develop friendships and create intimacies based on the sharing of everyday life.

Many migrant mothers have learned to use and love Facebook from the tutelage of their children, a form and direction of care that originates from families left behind in the Philippines. Maya, a 14 year old daughter of Rose who has been living and working in New York for almost ten years, says

> *Tinuturuan ko siyang gumawa ng Facebook account kasi nga mayroon libangan yung games sa Facebook. Tapos nung natutunan niya na ang marami, tinuturuan din niya ako kasi ano para daw, ano, magkalaro kami sa games. Kasi yun din daw yung nagpaluwag sa kanya.*
>
> I taught her how to make an account because then she'd have something to bide her time with, the games on Facebook. Then when she learned a lot more, she taught me, because, um, so that, um, we could play games together. Because that's what helps her feel better.

For Maya in Manila and her mother, Rose in New York City, Facebook becomes, one, a teacher-student relationship and, two, a platform to build a friendship. Facebook is one

thing in common to talk about, participate in together and learn about together. Their technological exchange is key in this relationship based on the social network. The exchange shows that care is being exchanged in terms of technological skills. When Maya says, "*nagpaluwag,"* or literally translated as to ease or provide comfort, the technological exchange of skills become a form of care work that Maya and Rose reciprocate for one another. Moreover, this exchange becomes the basis for them to develop an intimacy based on an interest they share, Facebook.

Unbeknownst to them, children who are friends with their mothers on Facebook allow their mothers to come into a social part of their life that mothers may not have been privy to if they were physically in the same vicinity. Many daughters of migrant mothers, inadvertently, let their mothers in a little too much. Maya shares:

> *Noong tinuruan ko siyang gumawa ng account sa Facebook, nilagay niya yung picture ko para matutunan niya lang. Tapos yun, doon siya nagsimulang magtanong kasi picture ko lang yung ginamit niya, ang daming nag cocoment, na ang dami daw may crush sa akin. So ganyan kaya nagtanong siya na may boyfriend ka na ba kasi sa Facebook pa lang daw ang dami nang nagtatanong, paano pa daw kaya pag ano, sa totoo.*
>
> When I taught her how to make a Facebook account, she put my picture up just so she could learn it. Then, that's when it started, she started asking because my picture was the one she used and a lot of people started to comment on it, she told me that there were so many guys who were crushing on me. So then, she asked if I had a boyfriend because if on Facebook so many people were asking about me, what more in real life.

Maya and Rose's digital relationship may have crossed a line that Maya would have not dared open up to her mother if they still lived under the same roof. Maya had no clue about the repercussions in her offering her picture to be put up on her mom's account. She did it as part of a technological exchange of skills and care. However, when the unintended consequence of her mother asking around about her personal life came about, she realized that sharing this digital platform allowed her mother into topics that she would maybe

want to keep private. However, later on in our conversation, Maya shows a surrender to the platform's sometimes invasive qualities, she says:

> *Pagpinagusapan namin ang mga crush crush na ganyan, nakakahiya nga kay Mommy, pero kasi nakikita niya na sa Facebook. Sasabihin ko na lang.*
>
> When we talk about crushes, I sometimes feel embarrassed with Mommy. But because she sees it on Facebook, I just tell her anyway.

In her realization that Facebook invites her mother into dimensions of her social life that she may have wanted to keep private, Maya understands that she has to take in the good with the bad in her relationship with her mom on Facebook. The surrender in Maya's comment about "just telling her anyway," points to her acceding to the fact that the site will eventually show all the social parts of her life to her mother in New York City. Maya consents to this part of this interface because it is part of building a relationship with her mother who hasn't been around for almost a decade. The site becomes the first line of opening up to her mother, a sort of testing ground to see what reaction she will get.

Maya is not the only one adjusting her intimate interaction on Facebook. Rose says:

> *Pagnakikita ko ang mga bagong pictures, parang shinishare nila sakin yung bagay na yon. So feeling ko, pwede ko silang tanongin tungkol sa mga status updates nila sa Facebook.*
>
> When I see new pictures, its like they are sharing those things with me. So I feel like, I can ask them about their status updates on Facebook.

In this statement, Rose is thankful that she can be part of her family's life in the Philippines. In Maya's earlier comment, Rose asking her about her budding womanhood and possible suitors was just a continuation of the interaction on Facebook. In this way, Rose understands that she isn't shut out because of the distance between her and her daughter. She takes this form of interaction on Facebook, then later on phone calls, as fodder to build a relationship with her daughter.

At other times, letting your mother in on your social life on Facebook can become as cumbersome as having them around to remind you of your chores. Because the website at its core encourages one to perform their social life digitally, all of the things shared on the site are available for comments, literally and figuratively. Status updates and mobile uploads of photos always have the option of inviting friends to comment on the moment you share. Comments, especially from mothers, are often comment*ary* on the event that has taken place. Dianne, the 16-year old daughter of Vickie, says:

> *Actually nag-away kami…(laughs) kasi nagcomment siya sa mga post ko eh… ako kasi post lang ako post. Tapos sinabihan ko siya, "Ma, huwag ka ngang comment ng comment!* Actually, we got into a fight…(laughs) because she kept commenting on all of my posts, cuz me, I just post and post whatever. Then I had to tell her, "Ma, don't keep commenting and commenting!
>
> Valerie: *Anong sabi niya?* What did she say?
>
> *Wala lang. Okay lang daw, sige hindi na nga sabi niya. Pero sabi ko sa kanya, piliin niya lang, hindi yung lahat! (laughs)* Nothing. She said okay, she won't do it anymore. But I told her, just choose some things, not all of it! (laughs)

It's important to note that daughters' lives aren't just surrendered to their mothers on Facebook. They are able to draw boundaries as Dianne is demonstrating here. Much like daughters whose mothers live under the same roof, transnational mother and daughter relationships function with boundaries being stepped over and then being redrawn. All of this is a part of getting to know one another, negotiating power in the familial relationship and understanding one another's growth. Although it may seem like mom being nosy for Maya and Dianne, and actually that may be true for mothers, Rose and Vickie, the relationship built via Facebook is one that allows for migrant mothers and their daughters to share an intimacy that would otherwise be closed to them if the social networking site were to not exist.

However, sometimes a migrant mother's watchful eye can take a turn for the worse. When that happens, instead of building intimacy through Facebook, families left behind start to draw boundaries to barricade their migrant family member's ability to view their digital lives. Althea, the 23-year old daughter of Olivia, has been separated from her mother since she was 2 years old. Fostering a relationship via Facebook with her mother often invites commentary of judgment and scorn, she says:

> Me, I don't think about it. I just post. And then one time *sabi niya sakin, dahil dun nakita niya… parang nakikita niya yung itsura ko. Pangit, uy payat-payat mo mukha ka ng adik ganyan, ganyan. Sawang-sawa na ako sa suot mo! Malaswa! Kaya hindi ka nagustuhan ni ganito! Ganyan, ganyan. Hala! Parang feeling niya siguro napaka ano ko…yung dahil dun sa technology nakikita niya rin. Kaya ngayon, kunyari pagmagpopost ako, umm… kunwari nakasuot ako ng ano ng tama… tinatago ko na lang para hindi na niya makita.*
>
> Me, I don't think about it. I just post. And then one time she said, because of what she saw…like she saw what I was wearing. Ugly, I'm so skinny, I look like an addict, like this and like that. I've seen you wear that before! How improper! That's why this person doesn't like you! Blah, blah. You better watch it! I think she feels that I'm so…but its because of the technology that she sees it too. That's why now, when I post, um…I pretend that I wear something nice…I hide other things from her so she doesn't see.

For Althea and Olivia, the character of their relationship is strained as they've been apart for most of the time that they've been a mother and daughter dyad. The judgmental and then, guarded interaction they have on Facebook reflects the trust issues in their relationship when they are off the Internet. Still, the boundaries that Althea draws are in response to the reaction Olivia had about her posts. Similar to an interaction a child would have to a parent invading their personal space and judging their actions, the boundaries are carved out with shutting out as the objective. Facebook, then, also allows for a mediated relationship between migrants and their families left behind. With privacy settings, children can choose what their parents can see and how much to let them in.

Still, more participants, both in New York City and Manila, in this study shared that Facebook allowed for friendships between family members to flourish. In the tenure of migrant's work abroad, their family's interests grow and blossom. Almost as quickly as 5 years go by, children, nieces and sisters and brothers' identities and concerns change. The option of sharing interests and daily or weekly events on a social networking site allows migrants to keep abreast with the changing dimensions of families left behind. Melanie talks about what she learns about her youngest, 15 year old son, Brian, through the social network:

> *Yung bunso ko naman naging active sa Facebook, dun ko lang na-find out na magaling siya, yun bang hidden talents niya. Nung maliit siya sumasayaw siya pero ngayon nagpe-perform talaga na! Nagsasasayaw! Ina-upload niya yung video! Cumocoment ako parati, lahat sila artist, magaling mag-isketch. Kung makikita mo yung ano ni Brian eh, magaling mag-sketch, mag-drawing.*
>
> My youngest son he started being active on Facebook, that's when I found out that he's good at, you know, his hidden talents. When he was small, he used to dance but now he really performs! Dancing! Then he uploads the video! I always comment on it, all of them are artists, they're good at sketching. If you could see Brian's stuff, eh, he's good at sketching, drawing.

The "hidden talents" Melanie find out about her son through Facebook is a way that she can feel like she can take part in the new development of his identities. Consuming the art or the videos he posts online allows her to participate and support in his current interests, albeit from afar.

Rutsi who migrated in 2000 left her children when all three were in grade school. Upon her departure, her children were young, only forming their own likes and hobbies. However, their formative years in high school allowed them to commit to extracurricular activities. Rutsi learns about those activities:

> *Sa Facebook, nakikita ko yung mga pictures, lagi pag may mga pagkaproud ka. Proud na proud ka! Lalo sa mga achievements ng mga anak mo. Magiging proud ka talaga.*

Lalo yung ikalawa ko na nagjoin siya ng modellng ba tapos nasakay siya sa taf five! Masaya talaga ako nun! Gwapo talaga anak kung gumaganun siya. Tapos umm ang bunso ko active sila sa sayawan! Eh active talaga silang tatlo sa sayaw sayaw. Di ko alam pala na lav na lav nila ang sayawan!

On Facebook, I see the pictures, and I can always feel proud about something. Very proud! Especially because of my children's achievements. You'll really be proud. Especially my second child, he joined a modeling competition and landed on the top five! I was so happy! My son's really good looking if he got up there. Then, um, my youngest, active in dance! Well all three of them really like to dance. I didn't even know that they loved dancing!

Rutsi's discovery that her son aspires to be a model and that all of her kids love to dance through Facebook gives her a glimpse into what her kids are proud of and what they like. Their posts on Facebook shows off their achievements or what they see as their accomplishments. Similarly, Rutsi reads these posts as things and events that her children think are important victories in their everyday life. Thus, she is able to view and consume what is important to them as well.

For migrants who don't have kids but support a brother and sister's family, Facebook also serves a comparable objective. Ties to family members in the Philippines through the photos and updates on the social networking site give migrant aunts or sisters a different view of their families. Instead of just seeing their transnational connection to their family merely as a financial support, migrant members get to know the different dimensions of the people that they are supporting. Lorna, a 54-year old woman, originally immigrated to New York City to stay just for 2 years to check out the scene, however, since she had no children, her intended short stay extended into 5 years. She supports her niece who is taking up nursing, and her ailing mother. For Lorna, the telephone is the most regular communication technology she uses but recently, she has been using Facebook more frequently to talk with her niece. She says, "I'm the cool *Tita.* Because I'm friends on Facebook with her, I know

about her boyfriend *na* because she changed it to 'In a Relationship.' Before her mother even knew. I tell her, its okay to have boyfriend but you also finish your studies. I'm paying for that, you know! (laughs)" In our conversation, Lorna prided herself on her ability to know a very personal part of her niece's life. In this statement, she shares a different view of her niece and for Lorna, knowing this piece humanizes her niece. It means that the support for her nursing school work isn't just a isolated deposit of money but an investment in someone's holistic future. Lorna is not only investing in her niece's future work opportunities, but she is also investing in a friend's future happiness and family. The friendship that develops on Facebook between them provides a more human connection to the traditional transnational ties of remittances.

The platform of social networking sites is based on continuous status updating and mobile uploading. This allows for both members of the family to constantly observe but also participate in those events, albeit digitally. For families in the Philippines and migrant family members, the ability to update their loved ones from where they are invites their counterparts to their daily activities. Migrants in New York City post status updates on their well being when working late or in the Hamptons for the summer and cannot be contacted by phone or video chat. Melanie, the mother of Brian and Melissa who works in New York City, separated from her family for about three years, states:

> *Sa Facebook, mga kumustahan lang pero inaupdate ko galing ako sa trabaho. Gaya ng isang beses, sabado kasi. May date night kila Priscilla so umuwi ako, ano na 11:30 PM. Nagupdate ako para alam nila na di ako makakatawag. O pagnasa Hampton at madalang lang ako makacomputer, update ko para alam nila na humihinga pa ako (laughs).*
>
> On Facebook, we ask each other how we're doing but I always update when I'm coming from work. Like one time, on a Saturday. Priscilla had a date night so I went home at 11:30 PM. I update so they know I can't call. Or if I'm in the Hamptons and I

> can't use the computer much, I write a status update so they know I'm still breathing (laughs).

Melanie uses Facebook as a way of keeping her family updated on her daily movements. The instantaneous updating of her status allows her family to follow her every move. She likes that Facebook and her status updates keep her whereabouts and activities known to her social network, which includes her family. The connectivity of status updates gives her an opportunity to make the supposed private sphere of work, public. The surveillance that sometimes bothers children left behind (like the examples of Maya and Dianne above) is a desired aspect of Facebook for migrants. The feeling that you are sharing your every move with your friends and family gives migrants a sense of connection outside of the isolation they often feel in their everyday jobs.

In addition, migrants also see to it that their Facebook personality also shows their lives outside of work. In a group interview with four migrant women, Vickie says:

> *Ay naku, di ko pa naupload yung mga pictures galing sa Cherry Blossom. Sayang di makikita ni Dianne yung napuntahan natin bago siyang pumunta ng iskul!*
>
> Oh man, I haven't been able to upload the pictures from the Cherry Blossom festival. It's a shame that Dianne won't be able to see where we went before she goes to school!

Melanie replies:

> *Ah, ako inaupload ko yan, automatic pagdating sa bahay. Para naman makita nila na kahit konti may kabonggahan naman ang buhay.*
>
> Oh, me, I upload it automatically when I get home. So, at least, they see that there's some flare in life.

This conversation between migrant women reflect that the profiles they maintain on Facebook is a representation of their lives in New York City. Portraying their life as solely

work would be inaccurate. They also want to share their days off, excursions and social gatherings to assure their families left behind that they are also faring well in the US.

Brian, the 15 year old son of Melanie, said jokingly about his commenting interaction with his mother:

> *Brian! Nakita mo na ba yung mga picture ko? Magcomment ka naman. Tuwing ako pag naglike ako, bakit ni-like mo lang, nasan yung comment mo? Tapos nagcomment ako, 'Ma, ang cute mo.' Bakit ang ikli ng comment mo? (laughs) Sabi ko, ma, ano bang gusto mong comment mo, magcocopy paste ako from the internet tapos ipapaste ko na lang!*
>
> Brian! Did you see my picture? C'mon and comment on it. And when I 'like' it, why did you only 'like' it, where's your comment? (laughs) Then I commented, 'Ma, you're cute,' why is your comment so short? I said, Ma, what do you want, I'll just copy and past it from the internet!

This interaction between Brian and his mother about the pictures she uploads about her outings is illustrative of the fact that the instantaneous character of Facebook allows for a more frequent conversation between family members about daily events. In this way, the Facebook relationships create a different type of intimacy for transnational family as the exchange revolves around sharing daily experiences and thoughts. It is important to Melanie to upload the pictures from her life in New York but it's equally important that her kids and husband consumes that media. It reassures her that they can take part in the fun stuff in her life too. Later and more seriously, Brian says, "I comment because I like to see what she does when she's not working. With or without the pressure." Brian's more somber comment points to the fact that it is also important to him to see what she does and keep up with her as well.

The sharing of everyday life is also a function that families in the Philippines use as well. Families are intentional and attentive about uploading pictures or bringing a camera to family outings. It is a type of care work that invites their migrant family

members to partake in occasions like graduation or a birthday or even as simple as a Sunday dinner. The uploading of pictures and 'tagging' of migrants in photo albums of occasions show migrant family members that they are still present in those important milestones and that the family unit they are investing in is intact. Dianne says:

> *Inaupload ko kasi natutuwa siya pagkalumalabas kami together, kaming tatlo. Nakikita niya na may kaya na kaming kumain sa labas. Natritreat niya kami. Pinapagalitan si Papa ni Mama pag ayaw niyang sumama samin nga eh! (laughs)*
>
> I upload [pictures] because she's happy when we all go out together, us three. She sees that, now, we can eat out. Her treat. She even gets mad at Papa when he doesn't want to come with us! (laughs)

Dianne, with her father and her brother, see to it that they mark those outings for her mother so that she can see that they have fun and are enjoying their lives despite of her absence and because of her sacrifice. Facebook's photo albums give Vickie a chance to see those moments and see her family enjoying the fruits of her labor.

This reciprocity in instantaneous sharing of photo allows families to let one another in on special events and occasions. In my conversation with Rose's youngest two children, Grace and JJ they describe how the process of sharing and uploading photos:

> JJ: *Kahit paano, nakikita namin ang picture niya. Lalo pag na sa snow! Yung mga jacket niya!* At least, we see her picture, especially when she's in the snow! And when it's cold! All of her coats!
>
> Valerie: Oh yea! (Everyone laughs)
>
> Grace: *Tapos kami din magshashare sa kanya.* Then we can share pictures with her too.
>
> JJ: *Shared din ang pictures naming, para lagi niyang nakikita. Kunyari na pumunta kami sa okasyon tapos yun ano nagdadala si Papa ng digicam, tapos picture picture, tapos yun iappload namin tapos ipapakita namin kay mama para malaman ni mama kong ano ang ginagawa naming ngayon. Tapos yun na nga minsan nag-okasyon din siya pinapakita din naman niya sa amin.* We share pictures so she can always see us, like when we go somewhere or an occasion then Papa brings a digicam then we take picture picture! Then after we upload so we can show Mama so she knows what we did today. And yea, sometimes, when she has different occasions she shows us too.

For Rose's family, the intention behind carrying a digital camera to special outings, taking pictures then uploading gives them the opportunity to bring their mother along to the outings that she would otherwise miss. And although, telling Rose about their family trips on the phone could be satisfying for both parties, the quick turnaround of photos gives Rose a semblance of simultaneity.

Still, the instantaneous quality of Facebook doesn't always mean positive things. Heather Horst and Dan Miller found that the frequency in contact through mobile phones gave families in the homeland much more access to cajole their migrant members to send back more money and goods, and quicker too (Horst and Miller 2006)! For Rutsi, seeing her kids' talents on Facebook wasn't enough to get her to check her account daily:

> *Inoopen ko lang pag ano paminsan minsan. Hindi na talaga ako nagsistay kasi SUS! Ang daming nanghihingi. Mabibwisit ka lang. 'We know that you're living a good life in New York can you sponsor us?' Aba ba mahirap na to! Tapos may iba akong estudyante na ang nanay nila, 'Uy andiyan ka na pala sa New York bilhan mo naman ako ng eyeglasses ko para remembrance.' Pagkasunod, 'Mam birthday ko na.' Hala! Nakikita tayo sa Facebook eh kaya hindi ko masyadong ginagamit na ang Facebook.*
>
> I only open [Facebook] sometimes. I don't really stay on it because GEEZ! So many people want stuff from me. Gives me a headache. 'We know that you're living a good life in New York, can you sponsor us?' Oh, no, that's too much! Then, I have this student, and their mother approached me, 'Hey, you're in New York, please buy me some glasses as a remembrance of you.' Next, 'Ma'am, its my birthday.' Whoa! We are being watched on Facebook that's why I'm not always on Facebook.

Rutsi's experience of Facebook and her friends vying for attention and financial gifts is a a form of keeping in touch that equates to harassment or unwanted pressure. Just as Facebook provides a quicker connection to family and friends across borders to help establish closer friendships and intimacy, it also gives people the same access to proposition migrants for their benefits.

The purposes Facebook serves for transnational families are quite similar for friends and families who live apart in the same nation or even in the same city. What makes this Facebook interaction important and unique for the participants in this study is the fact that over 90% of these families have not seen one another in years. Migrants in this study are largely undocumented so the long-term separation is the modus operandi for their families. In the transnational context, technologies like Facebook and Skype are not tools of communication or instruments to bide the time, they are often, the only thing families have to maintain, develop and build relationships. "Being with" other family members, abroad or at home, on Facebook collapses the time and distance that they cannot recover by simply flying across state borders or commuting an hour to another borough. Facebook, in all its social networking updating and uploading complexity, is a simple way of feeling like lives, albeit apart, are being lived simultaneously and together.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argue that a focused and deep exploration of computer technology and technological exchange illuminates the ways in which transnational families are engaging in multi-directional care work. The data I present demonstrate that various technological forms allow for different types of care work and different care providers. Following the multidirectionality of care model I have proposed in earlier chapters, a look at care in the family from the vantage point of technology allows us to see that kids can take care of their moms by being tech support and migrant family members' diligence in uploading photos is a different form of care in the transnational context. Further, I find that technology mediates gender in transnational families by holding together a tension that allows women and men, boys and girls to test boundaries and try on new roles in their

family's gender order. Departing from the popular ideal that men left behind do not carry their share of work, the men in this study prove otherwise. Technology allows them to reach a deeper understanding of the sacrifice made by all members of the family. Technology also provides a watchful eye to guide men in their new roles.

I argue that the visual component on webcam technologies like Skype, Yahoo Messenger, etc., allows for a different type care work to be exchanged both by migrant and families left behind. The act of turning on a webcam or maintaining a live feed for households in New York and Manila holds an intention of integrating far away loved ones in everyday life. Yet it also can become a visual system of surveillance. Facebook's social network character of instant updates and mobile uploads gives transnational families to experience life in a type of simultaneity that enables them to share their lives together, immediately from afar. Issues of boundaries and policing emerge in the technology of updating, and yet, it also encourages the development of intimacy and friendship between separated family members. In posting photos or commenting on Facebook activity, I find that the digital platform of Facebook gives both young children and migrant parents equal opportunity to provide care for one another by inviting one another in on their digital social life.

In this chapter, these arguments around multidirectionality of care, gender and the visual register can be effectively illustrated a quote from Jimmy, the 35-year old son of Faye and Bobby, an elderly couple working as domestic workers in New York City:

> J: *Maraming sakripisyo nung umalis sila dito atska yung sa work nila, mahirap ang ginagawa nila. Paano ko babalik sa kanila ang sakripisyo nila?* They sacrificed a lot when they left here and their work, its hard what they do. How will I return their sacrifice?
>
> V: Yes, how?

J: *Pag may inuutos sila sa amin, gagawin naming dito. Sabi ni mommy wala pong magcare taker sa bahay po kaya kami na lang po ang magcaretaker dito. Kaya ayun lahat ng inuutos nila sa amin sinusunod naming ng sa gayun po ay maging maluwag ang damdamin nila sa amin. Atsaka yung mga apo po niya pag nakakusap niya sa internet parang nawawala na rin yung pagod nila sa work po nila.* When they tell us to do something, we'll do it. Mommy said that there was no caretaker here at the house, so we became the caretakers here. That's why everything they ask us to do, we do it so that they can feel like we are giving back to them. And their grandchildren, they talk to them on the internet so that their stress from work will be gone.

V: How does the internet help?

J: *Eh talagang advance technology na ngayon, kasi po dati kung may relative ka sa abroad makakcommunicate ka lang sa kanila thru letters, eh ngayon po makakausap mo na sila at makikita pa dahil sa webcam. Parang magkaharap na rin kayo. Parang lumuluwag din sa ano nila syempre tayo naman pag nalalayo sa mga mahal natin parang mahirap ma-overcome. Pero pag nakakakitang ganyan na nakakausap mo, gumagaan na yung loob niya po.* Eh, technology has advanced now. Because back then, we had a relative abroad that communicates only through letters. But now, we can speak to them and see them through the webcam. Its like you're face to face. Its like their hearts become more spacious. Because of course when we are far from our loved ones, its hard to overcome. But when they talk to you, their spirit get lighter.

Transnational families are demonstrating impressive strategies to keep their families intact. This take on technology is a study from the bottom up of time-space compression. Despite the conditions of separation and migration, they are working hard to be there for one another, to be good to one another, to help one another's spirit get lighter. In these terms, this chapter's examination of technology isn't just a look from the bottom up. It is an exploration of the absurdity of technology as an instrument of intimacy. It is a reminder that because of the pressures of globalization, people make creative use of what they have. And it is also a reminder that just people have no other options than to do so.

David Harvey reminds us that the contemporary moment in neoliberal globalization requires high speed everything: financial capital, transportation, information and communication. Induced migration and the Philippine labor brokering state (Rodriguez

2002) are also products of time-space compression. The demands of the global economy for low-wage, precarious workers and the flinging of workers to different parts of the world are all aspects of the compression of time and space. Many can and have spun this as a positive example of worker internationalism, autonomy and freedom to choose one's own future. But as Doreen Massey reminds us, "the ways in which people are inserted into and placed within 'time-space compression' are highly complicated and extremely varied" (Massey 1993:63). Although globalization can celebrate the mobility of migrant workers and their ability to stay in contact with their homes left behind, it is followed by the shame of pulling migrants from their homes and witnessing them use technology to retain the very bonds they had to leave behind.

The above exploration of families' technological dexterity in maintaining a family is both impressive and depressing. Instead of solely celebrating the innovations in transnational family life arrangements, I am also reminded that these families *have* to think outside of the box to keep up with one another because they are apart. The opportunity to innovate these strategies of family life is mediated by the fact that families have to be apart to do so. I believe that we have to see these strategies in care and technology as a contextualized use of tools—tools that are part and parcel of the tools of capitalist globalization. It is important to understand that forced labor migration in the contemporary moment is a facet of life in neoliberal globalization. And therefore a necessitated use of technology, as innovative and impressive as it is, is the result of an induced geography for families who would otherwise not choose to be apart.

Chapter 5

Communities of Care: Redefining Care within Immigrant Communities

Introduction

In my years of fieldwork, I observed that the core Filipino domestic workers participants in this study fostered a culture that welcomed other Filipino domestics to be open about their experiences as migrants and workers who had filial obligations to the Philippines. Migrants who, in most situations, kept their personal problems and histories to themselves, often traded war stories in great detail and openness about immoral employers, trepidation over ICE (Immigration Customs Enforcement Agency) raids and exasperation over family issues in the Philippines. I wondered how strangers could connect with one another with such instantaneous trust and unreserved communication. Clearly, there was something about the stories that were most often shared—experiences about working as a domestic, being an immigrant in the US and having a family to support in the Philippines—that spoke universally to many migrant workers in New York City. To this end, I begin my discussion on "communities of care" by pointing to the basis of their connections: their experience as migrants in the US and the institutionalization of labor migration as development in the Philippines.

First, in interviews and discussions, migrants shared their experiences of isolation *and* displacement as migrants and workers in New York City as the most common and salient categories in their transitions to the US. Isolation is informed, principally, by the contemporary American racial order that places immigrants as the current Other. In the global city of New York City, immigrant identities are both lauded and disciplined simultaneously. New York as a traditional and contemporary port of entry for the world

makes it the case that immigrants are the bedrock for the city's economy (Foner 2005). Yet, even 10 years after 9/11, New York continues to be a highly securitized zone set up for immigrant raids, detention and deportation. This particular tension concerning immigrants, and specifically undocumented immigrants, is manifested in the informal labor market of the global city where, migrant labor is needed to support the center of commerce that is New York City but their jobs are also easily expendable and disposable as some of the most precarious occupations in the city (Sassen 1999; Chang 2000).

Secondly, the experience of displacement resonated between migrants as they shared their experiences both imagined and material of living in a Filipino labor diaspora. Filipino migrants' global migrations and consciousness often inform their conception of a "global imagined community" (Anderson 1991; Parrenas 2001b). The serial migration of Filipinos to and from and then, again to various countries and their experiences in their former migrant communities abroad provides an epistemological context that informs the way they engage in their current community with practices of solidarity, networking and assistance.

Lastly, a "community of care" is indubitably imbued with what the Philippine labor brokerage state calls "*bagong bayani"* or modern hero (Rodriguez 2002). Joan says, "*Sabi ng gobyerno bayani ng araw yun e, yung umaalis. So ang ano ko is... ini-encourage nila. Kasi yun ang pinakamadaling paraan parang magkalinkod ng pera di ba? Ang problema lang is, hindi nila inalagaan ang tao pagkalabas ng bansa.* The government said back then that the people migrating were heroes. So what I mean is they encouraged it. Because that's the quickest way to make money, right? The problem is, they don't take care of their people when they leave the country." Inextricable from the comments of migrants in this study is the role of

the Philippine state in inducing labor migration and therefore dispersing 10% of its population as laboring citizens all over the world.

Three factors: living as an immigrant in the American racial order, experiences of being part of a Filipino labor diaspora, and an awareness of the role of Philippine labor brokerage state in producing migration are the experiences under which immigrants have reformulated care in their transnational families and, then apply those redefined definitions of care to one another in their diasporic location. As a permutation of the model of "multidirectionality of care," "communities of care" is a form of reorganizing care horizontally, *from* migrants *to* other migrants in their vicinity.

My main intervention in this chapter is to provide evidence that what sociologists call an "immigrant social network," is not simply a constellation of contacts and exchanges in social capital. The questions of "what type?" and "what for?" regarding immigrant social network has been well researched. But what interests me in this chapter is the question of "under what conditions?" I argue that the immigrant social network I observed and found between Filipino migrant workers in New York City is informed by the radical reconfiguration of social reproductive labor in neoliberal globalization.

Marxist feminist scholars have long argued that the reproductive sphere is where primitive accumulation starts (Beneria 1999) and in the examples of migrants and their transnational families in this research that conclusion still holds true. A global economic niche for immigrant women all over the world has been created by a global demand for cheap domestic labor and the Philippine labor export policy to meet that demand (Parrenas 2001a; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). The inability of neoliberal globalization to fully privatize social reproductive labor as wage labor has left it to become a precarious

industry, enticing migrants to address the gaps in care all over the world. This global intensification for the need for care produces migrant workers in droves.

As migrants answer the demand for paid domestic labor, social reproductive labor is again reconfigured in the homes and families of migrants in what Arlie Hochschild describes as a "global care chain." It follows that as I have shown in past chapters, the both imaginative and painful, reorganization of the domestic labor or care work that maintains transnational families is, then, a product of the commodification of reproductive labor in migrant workers. The paradox lies "in terms of women moving between families and households; workers whose departure from their family of origin and insertion into their family of employment reconstitute the structure and content of family relationships in both material and imagined ways" (Asis, Huang, and Yeoh 2004:199). When migrants leave their families, their reproductive labor is displaced from countries in the Global South to families to the Global North.

I argue that the social networks developed in the Filipino migrant community in this study must be contextualized in the terms of this reconfiguration of social reproductive labor. The political economy of migrant labor and the transformation of care in their families produce identifications between migrants that are informed by these shifts. However, my concern in this chapter is to examine the identification processes (Hall 2003) that make up and allow the maintenance of the immigrant social network for Filipino migrants in this study. I argue that the identifications that animate the immigrant social network for Filipinos in New York City take place on the nodes of migrant, worker and mother as produced by shifts in social reproductive labor in the political economy of migration.

Following the model of multidirectionality of care, I argue that communities of care are informed by migrants' strategies in maintaining transnational families wherein care work is enacted and conceptualized differently from before. Migrants show that as much as they take care of their families in the Philippines, family members left behind take care of each other and, consequently, take care of them. Tech-savvy children reverse care roles as they sit with migrant family members for hours to learn the latest technology. What migrants and their families define as care has transformed; care is now a range of things from financial support to tech support, from remittances to text messages. To this end, the determination of who cares for whom and what kind of care exhibited in the transnational family is broadened to include a rethinking of the *organization* of care in a transnational context to include a community or a group of people who do not belong to the biologically transnational family discussed in past chapters. Informed by these shifts in *roles* and *definitions* in the organization of care between people in a transnational context, a community of care emerges as a different form care arrangement among migrants themselves (Hamilton and Chinchilla 2001). The reformulation of care in transnational families redraws the boundaries of care to include fictive kin for the migrants living in New York City. The reorganization of care in migrants' transnational families allows for care to be thought about and fostered differently for fellow migrants living and working in New York City. From the context of reformulated care in transnational families, I argue that a "community of care" emerges within migrant communities through shared identities and experiences as migrants, workers and members of transnational families.

Chosen Family and Othermothers: Theoretical Framework

Filipino migrants are materially located in New York City but they are also imaginatively participating in their families' lives in Manila. The stretch (Gilmore 2008) between New York City and Manila are often understood and lived as one place as migrant women participate in home life from afar. Insofar as the dialectic between local and global holds here, I want to situate this chapter in the in-betweenness of social life for migrants, both in New York and in the Philippines, all at once. This shuttling is the effective background against which the domestic workers begin to create and develop a *community of care*. By focusing on two social facts of migrant life: the already redefined forms of care, and the stretch between the places they live and work, I argue that care networks in migrant communities are more than networks for opportunities and mobility, they are practices in intelligibility—a recognition of one another as subjects that are positioned similarly in the structures of power and political economy and, more importantly, agents of care and change *for* one another.

In an effort to highlight the agential capacities of migrants in this reformulation of immigrant social networks, I draw on Queer theory analyzing homosociality and sexuality in migration (Luibheid and Cantu 2005; Luibhéid 2008; Manalansan 2005), Queer family formations among subjects with marginalized identities (Weston 1997) and Black feminist analysis on motherhood and kin networks in African American and Black communities (Stack 1997; Hill Collins 1995). Concepts in Queer theory and Black Feminist Thought reach beyond mere categories of affinity. These theoretical frames urge us to interrogate the systems of power that influence marginalized peoples to form strong and reliable networks to combat experiences of oppression. These conceptual frameworks hinge on epistemology and thus provide a deeper frame to theorize the nuance in people's choice to

seek out community or build a family they choose to belong to, how they interact with that group and what types of resilience they find in communities of care. Further, these conceptual frames destabilize the heteronormative assumption that organizes much of the migration scholarship on families and immigrant social network therefore I follow Queer migration scholars in exploring how, "'the age of migration' is centrally implicated in the construction, regulation and reworking of sexual identities, communities, politics and cultures" (Luibhéid 2008:169).

I juxtapose the concepts in Queer studies and Black Feminist Thought to the traditional sociology of immigration and migration, specifically the research on immigrant social networks, as I reframe the interaction in social networks in terms of care, as it is revised under conditions of globalization and migration. I bring these literatures together to fill the gaps in one another. Concepts of the chosen family and othermothers along with the literature on immigrant social networks agree that the functions and versatility of networks are central in the lives of marginalized groups. Yet what the analysis of Queer families and Black fictive kinship offers is a critique and examination of conditions of the politics and economics that drive the change in the forms of networks in Queer and Black communities. Further, these theoretical frameworks disrupt notions of biological kin and the centrality of a heteronormative family. It puts the non-normative family formation as the standard; therefore the circulation of care in a migrant network can be extended to a homosocial and queer definition of family and care.

In contrast, research on immigrant social networks operates from the assumption that networks are developed on the basis of identity, membership and acquaintance to a migrant community. Departing from that theoretical approach, I employ Queer theory and

Black Feminist theory to examine the macro constraints that shape the immigrant identifications in formation of communities for Filipino migrants in New York City. I draw on the analytic tool of "Queer" to emphasize that migration processes and settlement experiences are produced through heteronormative ideas of sexuality and gender. The feminized export of Filipino migrants work under a gendered global market and gendered tropes of the good mother or dutiful daughter. Given those regimes of heteronormalizing power, Filipino migrant women are redefining alternative expressions of their womanhood abroad as they find themselves in homosocial migrant communities full of women. I use Queer, however, in a different sense, heeding Eithne Lubheid's invitation to use Queer with a broader purpose, "rather than inscribe migrants from extraordinarily diverse backgrounds within a developmental narrative of LGBTQ identities, many scholars deploy the term *queer* to acknowledge that all identity categories are burdened by legacies that must be interrogated, do not map neatly across time and space, and become transformed through circulation within specific, unequally situated local, regional, national and transnational circuits" (Luibhéid 2008:170). In this vein, I examine the "identity categories" that pull migrants together in their chosen migrant family, informed by reorganized care in their transnational families.

Complementarily, I rely on Black Feminist Thought to analyze the emerging self-definitions of motherhood and womanhood of Filipino migrant women against the conditions of marginality they face as domestic workers and mothers or daughters stripped away from their families. In their "communities of care" in New York City, I argue that Filipino migrant women are redefining their experiences of oppression and isolation as a "standpoint" to create pockets of resilience. Patricia Hill Collins argues that "Black women's

position in the political economy, particularly ghettoization in domestic work, comprised another contradictory location where economic and political subordination created the conditions for Black women's resistance" (Collins 2000:11). Black women as slaves and domestic workers in white families presented an "Outsider-Within" perspective, given that they were systematically excluded yet also incorporated into the dominant group's ideologies and lives. These conditions of oppression coupled with an outsider-within standpoint provided a unique backdrop for Black women's solidarity with one another and the development of Black Feminist Thought. Following Collins analysis of Black women's resistance, I point to the material conditions of migrancy and precarity as Filipino migrant women's "position in the political economy" that foreground their capacity to determine and create a new vision of care, horizontally within their migrant communities.

Both of these theoretical frames serve two main purposes. First, these theories anchor my re-examination of immigrant social networks with a structural analysis of migrants' marginalization and, more importantly, migrants' creativity in negotiating with the constraints of their circumstances. Second, these frameworks will illuminate the alternative *definitions* of family that emerge in the diaspora, and for the purposes of migrants, abroad. Drawing from these two conceptual frames allows me to explore migrants' horizontal care work and alternative family formations that are outside of the heteronormative structure and pushing back from the conditions of marginalization.

The data for this chapter is drawn mainly from over 65 qualitative interviews with both individual and groups of domestic workers in New York. Additionally, in the course of data collection cum community theater program, supplemental data for the chapter is gleaned from one-year monthly workshop meetings with domestic workers and

community members that co-wrote, co-produced and co-starred in a play called, *Diwang Pinay: Kasaysayan ng Kababaihang Migranteng Manggagawa, Spirit of the Filipina: The Story of the Woman Migrant Worker,* about the lives of Filipino migrant workers in New York City, staged in March of 2011 at the City University of New York, Hunter College. The data from the community theater program used for this chapter includes group interviews focused on particular themes, the script of the play and journal entries. The community theater program utilized the dissertation interviews and material created through regular workshops over 15 months of preparation until showing. In this chapter, I will only use the data from the women in this research, which number 95% of the population interviewed.

Terms

It is important to note this method and reiterate the embodied identities of the women in my study for the purposes of this chapter as these structural categories they live daily engender power relations and constraint for them. The term "migrant" in this chapter is used to encompass both types, traditionally called "migrant" and "immigrant," a demarcation distinguished by how long one stays in a host country. The term "migrant" describes the range projects' participants of time they've lived in the US; at the time of interviews, anywhere between 2 years to 25 years. Still, no matter how long they had been away, all participants saw long-term plans as returning to the Philippines without a desire to ever settle in the US. Further, it is important to note that 90% of the Filipino migrants in this study are currently undocumented with no foreseeable avenue of legalization. This, I believe, suspends their status from ever identifying or becoming an "immigrant" in a sense of feeling like they belong or can see a future in the US.

The term “mother” as I will unpack it later on in the chapter, refers to two types of “mothers,” first 75% of the research participants who have biological children. Without legal papers, many of the women are unable to go back home to see their families. Some women left their children at very young ages, some children of migrants were as young as 6 months and as old as 28 years old. Still, the separation of these migrants can be considered long-term and long distance. A majority of the mothers who left their children migrated in the middle of their life course around their 30-40’s. This is an important point as many of the women thought they had fulfilled all of their duties prescribed by Filipino culture, as a woman and mother, and then had to essentially reverse gender roles to become the breadwinner of the home and remake the meaning of motherhood across time and space. I consider other single women who migrated at younger age, generally in their 20’s that are supporting their parents, siblings and nieces and nephews in the Philippines as atypical mothers as they start to identify their support to families in the Philippines as a maternal duty. The second type that I will later relate to “othermothers” or what I call “Titas” are women who haven’t birthed any children or mothers who do not have biological kids, often take up mothering duties for migrant friends in their community. This sharing of advice or even watching over families are all part of the collective redefinition of mother in a community of care. Mother, as Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila argue, is a socially constructed and historically specific concept (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). In this dissertation, kinship and fictive kin in the transnational context are transformed into mothers as well.

Lastly, the term “worker” applies to all 40 or more participants in this study who are migrants from the Philippines and live and work in New York City. Most undocumented participants without legal papers are working “under the table” in private homes as

housecleaners or what the migrants call “paper works,” a facetious attempt to professionalize the occupation’s name referring to the use of paper towels, toilet paper, etc. Most are working as domestic workers, which can include housekeeping duties, cooking duties alongside of taking care of children, elderly people and sometimes a dog or three. The non-contractual basis of employment subjects Filipino migrants to immediate and swift layoffs, wage theft, no access to paid vacation or basic benefits and no regulation in terms of work conditions and hours of work. Although the historic Domestic Workers Bill of Rights passed in New York State in 2010 (Anon 2010; Greenhouse 2007), domestic workers in this study were only just familiarizing themselves with the legislation and testing out the waters on how to have the law work on their behalf (Semple 2011). More than half can be considered migrant workers, as their settlement in the US is only one of the numerous countries they have lived and worked in. When migrants have had experience living and working in other countries, they worked as domestic workers, nannies, housekeepers and caregivers to the elderly elsewhere. The precarity of work for domestic workers, particularly in New York City, and their experiences of the Filipino labor diaspora are the two key aspects that make migrants intelligible to one another as workers.

Their lived experiences with undocumented status, family separation and serial labor migration is of utmost importance as the context of this chapter’s arguments as these processes and experiences produce a common identification with dislocation in the diaspora (Parrenas 2001a). Needless to say these terms are fluid, often working in tandem with one another or all at the same time or singular to keep sparking and continuing identification processes. For example, conversations about unemployment may trigger many of the migrants to identify themselves as workers but, at once, mothers with a family

to support. Other times, people will solely talk about the strains of being a migrant without acknowledging their experiences as mothers or workers.

What follows will be a review of the sociological scholarship on social capital in immigrant social networks. Then, using the conceptual frames of "chosen family," "othermothers" and a discussion on place, I submit narratives of Filipino migrants in New York City alongside my field notes to illuminate the structural conditions and identification processes migrants use to operate in a social network and how those collective social relations become a community of care.

Social Capital and Immigrant Social Networks

Bourdieu defined "social capital" as the positions, relationships, memberships to associations and groupings people held that was exchanged and utilized to provide access to a single person's resources, materials and opportunities in a network (Bourdieu 1986). He argued that social capital is exchanged only with people's investment in initiating, reproducing and maintaining relationships in what becomes a social network. Social capital is then traded, inherited and passed down towards particular ends for opportunities such as career mobility or academic achievement.

Scholars studying immigration note that social capital distributed through immigrant networks are crucial structures for economic transactions. Alejandro Portes states, "Networks are important in economic life because they are sources for the acquisition of scarce means, such as capital and information and because they simultaneously impose effective constraint on the unrestricted pursuit of personal gain," between, "recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial, cultural and affective ties" (Portes 1995:8). Networks in migration often supply potential

migrants and people who have migrated opportunities to stabilize their lives but it can also constrain one's choices based on the expectations and mores of a particular network.

Studies that draw from neoclassical economics and "new economics" of migration suggest that the decision to migrate is a rational choice for economic stability made in an individual, household and societal context in sending countries (Stark 1993). Potential immigrants use networks to choose destinations and set up viable means of work and housing in those destinations. Remittances from a prior generation(s) of migrants remit and reorganize income patterns in the homeland necessitating more migration, thus making it engrained into family structures and values (Massey 1999). Because migration changes the financial structure of families in the country of origin, the decision to migrate is often strongly influenced by families and groups and home and then carried out through the social networks of migrants in those groupings. However, scholars have been also paying close attention to the formation and operation of immigrant networks at the destination as equally imperative to the study of migration.

Scholars examining social networks in places of destination often assess immigrant assimilation and acculturation—whether immigrants fare well and how immigrants adapt. It is generally accepted that networks inform immigrant decisions to migrate (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991), how they find jobs in their destinations (Foner 2005), secure housing (Hagan 1998) and maintain transnational links to the homeland (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Levitt 1998). Social capital within immigrant communities is exchanged through these networks often impacting a new immigrant's settlement experience and ability to adapt to their new homes. Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut argue that assimilation is often impeded by "contexts of reception," the local social

hierarchies that greet immigrants upon their migration. Arguably, immigrants and second generation immigrants rely on social networks to combat those challenges (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004).

Still, the examinations of immigrant networks pre and post-migration treat migration as events rather than a process. Immigrant social networks are often only studied through the roles of potential, veteran, returned, new and adapted immigrants in the country of origin and destination, linked up by interpersonal ties that often provide social capital to facilitate migration. Social capital brings the relationships, information and opportunities to the members of the networks from homeland to hostland. And yet, "how [a network] forms, functions, is maintained and doles out benefits and sometimes trouble to its members" is still understudied (Bashi 2007:22). Vilna Bashi, in her study of West Indian immigrant networks, proposes a hub-and-spoke model where a network expert (the hub) provides social capital needed for new immigrants to establish housing, work and community in a new home. New migrants (the spokes) are often not obliged to return the favor to the hub, but are expected to pay it forward to new spokes in the social network. Bashi argues that in transnational form, these hub-and-spoke networks traverse national boundaries, rolling out their social capital resources from First World to Third World, and back again. In her study, the immigrant social network is a social process, dynamic and repetitive.

Helen Ebaugh and Mary Curry study another form of the immigrant social network: fictive kinship systems from Latin America, Yoruba and Asian cultures translated intoimmigrant communities (Ebaugh and Curry 2000). The form of Latin American *compadrazgo* or godfather-godmother relationships, ritual "houses" in the Yoruba religion

binding people to be responsible for one another and familial respect given to Asian members in an immigrant community are the forms of fictive kinship that work as immigrant social networks. In their study, these types of social networks serve similar purposes of social and financial support as well as social control, but interestingly enough they also served to maintain a cultural continuity and spiritual development for ethnic immigrants. Again, Ebaugh and Curry focus on a cultural continuum to emphasize that the social network for immigrants is an ongoing process that grows and shrinks, stabilizes and de-stablizes.

Following the lead of these two studies to deepen the analysis of immigrant network forms, functions and purposes, I examine the network that emerged in the interviews and the political organizing that occurred in my time in the field. Scholars like Bashi and Ebaugh and Curry offer a much needed typology of immigrant social network, however, the aforementioned studies reify the impetus for migration and therefore the development of social networks for immigrant communities. There is much to be uncovered by denaturalizing the reasons why immigrants identify with one another enough to work in and contribute to a social network. The experiences of adapting to a new country, or the hardships of losing a low-paying job and then having to accept an even lower-paying job, or not being able to see one's family for years, are all imperative experiences that become nodes of intelligibility for migrants. Before networks are started and in full swing, migrants have experiences, like these, as new migrants, precarious worker, migrant family member, as basis for participation in an immigrant social network. I approach this social process by asking a foundational sociological question that seems to be assumed in many studies on

social networks: under what *conditions* do migrants form social networks? What identities are deployed to form the basis for the social contract of being in a network?

The migrants in my study, a majority of them women, definitely take up a form of immigrant social network in the way they relate to one another by circulating job opportunities, advice on work and family issues, and loaning out a pot of money to whomever needs it. But they are also drawing from the redefinitions of care they are already engaging in with their transnational families to inform the relationships they build in communities of care. Offering a different analysis of immigrant social networks, I argue that the communities of care that emerge with migrant women in this study are engendered by the political economy of their labor migration. The circulation of support and constraint in communities of care are not just based on knowing a veteran migrant or moving into a immigrant community, rather the network migrant women choose to be in and build are based on their precarious situations as migrant, worker and migrant family member. The political economy of labor brokerage; displacement and isolation as a migrant; conditions of low-wage, unstable work; and long-term separation over long distances are conditions that form the basis of a community of care.

Not Just Networks: Communities of Care as Chosen and Fictive

Kabalikat Domestic Workers Support Network (translated as "shoulder to shoulder" in Tagalog), a group comprised primarily of Filipina migrant workers, was initially born out of a humanitarian campaign to raise funds to help facilitate the repatriation of Fely Garcia's remains to the Philippines. Garcia was found dead in her apartment closet in the Bronx in April of 2007. Signs of foul play arose as the case unfolded yet the Philippine consulate and the New York Police Department quickly closed the case even with community pressure

rising. This campaign became a political one demanding that the Philippine government perform at the maximum, an investigation of Garcia's death and, at the minimum, bear the cost of her repatriation. A community-based memorial service for Garcia drew hundreds of Filipino migrants and Filipino American community members from the New York/New Jersey area while hundreds of Filipino migrants employed in other parts of the world including Filipina domestics in Hong Kong signed petitions in support of the campaign. The intimately private matter of a migrant worker's death and the logistics of transporting a migrant's body back to her family became a public issue as Garcia's isolation as a migrant worker, and more her displacement from her homeland rendered visible the violence of neoliberal care economies that requires that migrants perform the labor of care while simultaneously disembedding them from familial and other social relations of care for themselves.

Through community organizing and pressure the campaign partially won; the consulate concede repatriation fees to the Garcia family and grassroots fundraising brought two of Fely's sons from Manila to retrieve their deceased mother. After Fely's campaign, the loose network of Filipino migrants, predominantly made up of women but also including some men, assisted in forming Kabalikat to continue providing job leads, housing matches and social activities. Throughout the years, Kabalikat members along with extended circles of friends and contacts began to meet regularly to build the organization and informally develop a migrant network. Their roots in assisting domestics or migrant workers in need became a priority for Kabalikat. The group launched more campaigns to aid migrant workers in its future as well as providing regular meetings for social and practical purposes.

Kabalikat as Fictive Kin: Othermothers and Titas

Scholars and researchers across anthropology, sociology, cultural theory, and Queer theory have posited that families and networks of care arise outside of biological kin and often inspired by marginalized identities and difficult circumstances. In Carol Stack's pioneering ethnography *All Our Kin*, she effectively argued that the tropes of "deviant, matriarchal and broken" (Stack 1997:22) come from an ideology of American racism that buttressed the pathologizing of Black communities. The kin network proves to be an indomitable resource for Black communities in the exchange of goods, food, and child rearing. The stability of kin networks despite blatant state retreat from black communities in form of unemployment, underdevelopment and lack of resources becomes the foundation for kin "folk" to engage in "swapping" resources. The conditions under which kin networks are forcibly produced is as important as the people in the Black community that build domestic networks for "child-keeping." Patricia Hill Collins' concept of "othermothers" emphasizes the centrality of fictive kin in African American communities; a holdover from African traditions that value motherhood not solely as the task of biological mothers, but as a responsibility of a women-centered network of "bloodmothers and othermothers." This Afrocentric ideology of motherhood intersected with the emancipation of women slaves from agricultural work to domestic work in the American South. This socioeconomic shift shaped the conditions under which African American women were robbed of the choice of raising their children. On these terms, othermothers and the fictive kin network became the family type of choice. These early studies also underscore that both Black Americans and immigrants in the US share the knowledge and capacity to utilize

social capital and networks. This is in sharp contrast with the idea that Blacks lag behind immigrants because of immigrant ingenuity.

Although women migrants in this study don't share the material responsibilities of collective child rearing, they have a deep understanding of one another as "mothers," or women who are supporting families in the Philippines. Whether they have biological children or not, women migrants identify with one another very quickly on the basis of their maternal filial obligations to their families back home. Gloria, a 34-year old single migrant, supports one older sibling and her child and two younger siblings going to college in the Philippines. She states, "I feel for other migrants here. Even if I'm not mother. I'm still doing mother duties by sending money to my niece and my young brother and sister. I am their mother because I have this responsibility to them." Sharon, a 56-year old mother of four adult children in the Philippines says, "*Lahat kami naging ina*. *As long as nagpapadala ka, kahit may anak o wala, ina ka. Inaasahan ka.* We all become mothers. As long as you send money back, whether you have kids or not, you're a mother. They depend on you." These quotes from migrants who have biological children or not show that a women-centered network for women migrants develop when they identify one another as "mothers" in transnational arrangements. Women without children become othermothers to nieces, nephews and siblings and that is enough for mothers with biological children to identify with them as migrants that have sacrificed to be away from family and to work abroad. Still, identifying with one another as mother has yet another dimension, the fictive kinship bonds migrants develop with one another on the basis of family members in transnational families.

In the history of the US, the division of work into a public and private sphere has always been a false dichotomy for Native American, African American, Latina American and Asian American women (Dill 1988; E. nakano Glenn 1985; Hill Collins 1993). Women of color in the US have struggled through the "double day" conditions of slavery, rural underdevelopment, demanding manual labor and anti-immigrant sentiment. Even when women of color in the US were pulled to care for white or privileged children, the responsibility of mothering and maintaining a family became collectivized in communities of color and also, transformed into a resource for resistance (Hill Collins 1993). Women migrants have inherited the racialized history of domestic servitude (E. N. Glenn 1992) and are, still, drawing from their migrant communities to mediate the challenges of being modern day servants.

The peculiar, yet normative, characteristic of women migrants in this study is that the distance between them and their families absolves them of their material duties of women's work in their families. Although they still do much care work via remittances and technology, the majority of their everyday reality is that they are a group of childrenless mothers, motherless daughters and siblingless sisters. In the examples above of fictive kin in families of color in the US, fictive kin often take up mothering duties such as child-rearing and baby sitting. However, with this group of women, the care work migrants require of one another is a horizontal kinship that toggles between sisterhood, motherhood and friendship. The fictive kinship ties often emerge around themes of isolation and assistance issues that are often expressed by family members in the traditional narratives of the Filipino family. The common, non-nuclear Filipino family integrates extended kin within operations, expecting both blood and non-biological family members to build

collective family culture together and take responsibilities for the events and emergencies in one another's lives.

Joan, a member of Kabalikat remarks that the group:

> …is a big help *sa mga nandito na nagisa dito, lalong lalo nagiisa ka. Kasi pagnagiisa ka walang pupuntahan e, lalo sa ganitong ah…ganiton panahon. Diba? Meron nga nagsabi sakin na very down ka, wala kang mapuntahan mabuti na lang may Kabalikat. At least punta sila kahit wala, meron silang makakausap, ganoon. Para kayong magkakapatid*.
>
> …is a big help for those who are alone here, especially if you are alone. Because when you are by yourself you have nowhere to go, especially when it's this [winter] season. Right? Someone told me once that [during the winter] you get very down, you have nowhere to go, its good that there is something like Kabalikat. At least, they'll all come even if there's nothing, you'll have someone to talk to. Like sisters.

Joan, like many women migrants, in Kabalikat suffered through her transition to the US because of the isolation. As a mother of three and a grandmother to four, she was never alone in her life in the Philippines. If it wasn't kids, it was her sisters and brothers who lived very close to her in Manila. She remarks that coming to the US alone is hard but being in the US alone is even harder. The unusual winter weather coupled with isolation left Joan feeling lonely and sad. Her decision to reach out and join a group like Kabalikat breaks that feeling of vulnerability, she identifies the group as "sister" denoting that the companionship and conversation is key in building relationships. It is interesting to note here that Joan arrives to the thought of sisterhood via her experience of migrating and adapting to a new place and new weather.

Joan continues:

> *At least you will have someone to hold on, hold on you. Di man dumating sa puntong ganoon, yun lang may makausap ka na iba, na hindi bata o hindi yung mga bata. Nadagdagan yung friends mo. Kahit sabihin mo na hindi kayo close, pagdating mo dito parang close ka na rin (laughs). Kahit matagal na kayo di nagkita, pagnagkita, parang, ay, ang close close na. Malaki ang naitulong. Parang shoulder to cry on. Home away from home. Family away from family.*

> At least you will have someone to hold on, hold on you. Even if it doesn't get to that point [of an emergency], at least you have someone else to talk to that's not a child or your children. You have more friends. Even if you say that you're not close, when you get here, it's like you are close (laughs). Even if you haven't seen each other, when you see each other, its like, hey, it feels like we are so close. It's a huge help. Like a shoulder to cry on. Home away from home. Family away from family.

In this quote, Joan responds to my question, "How does it help to have friends in time of need?" She comments that the situation doesn't have to be so dire for her to see the benefits of having a network of friends that she treats like family. Joan feels isolated in most areas of her life. At her workplace, she spends all day with a child. As a mother away from home, her conversations are often about maintaining her family. Her remark about talking to someone that's not a child or your own child demonstrates that talking with other women migrants is a welcome break from the monotony of her life. She goes on to analyze the closeness she feels with other members of Kabalikat. This is a key emotion that signals the purpose of this fictive kin network for Joan, the feeling of togetherness or a being-with is equated in building in her "family away from family." To combat the seclusion of work and being away from her biological family, Joan invests in her "sisters" in Kabalikat to share moments of vulnerability, joy and just plain, taking one's mind off the daily grind.

These horizontal fictive family relationships can also take the form of othermother or tita. In the Filipino family, very much like the fictive kin networks in Carol Stack and Patricia Hill Collins' research, the term mothers is not only reserved for biological parents. The label of mother gets assigned to those who invest in the social relations and work of care. *Titas* or aunts, blood or non-biological, can be treated and revered as mothers as long as they've developed the relationships. For the women migrants in this study, othermotherhood and *tita*hood surface first in situations of emergency when others are in

need of assistance. Janessa, a 30-year old, migrant tells her perspective on her othermothers and othertitas:

> *Ah yung KABALIKAT? Kasi sa simula kaya ako nakapasok diyan, sila Tita Joan ang nagyaya diyan sa akin. 'Diba noon nga takot nga akong maglalabas. Tapos takot akong kumuha ng passport and everything kesyo nga huhulihin ako, yung mga ganoon. Pero noong nakilala ko nga yang grupo na 'yan. Dati hindi pa ako nagpapansin, trabaho lang ako. Pero sabi ni Tita Joan, baka matulungan ka niyan, na makakuha ka ng passport. Naano rin ako kasi totoo talaga yun kasi habang nagpupunta-punta ako nalalaman ko na kung sinung mga lawyer, kung sinong malakas sa consulate, yung mga ganoon. Sige nga sabi ko parang okay. Ayun kaya naglakas loob akong umano sa KABALIKAT kasi hindi naman sa pilitan yun na sumali ka eh. Nasasayo yun eh kung gusto mo. Kaya ako minsan sasabihin ng iba, ano yun binabayaran pa kayo? Kasi minsan may mga Pilipinong ganyan na sasabihin na binabayaran ba kayo? Sabi ko it's your decision kung gusto mong pumunta o hindi. Porke pumupunta ka jan araw-araw linggo-linggo babayaran kayo, you don't have to. Kumbaga yan, grupo lang siya. Alam mo Val, naging mga nanay ko na yan, mga tita ko na yan. Magkaedad naman sila ng mga kapamilya ko sa Pinas! (laughs) Huy, wag mo sabihin sa kanila yun, gulpihin pa ako! Pero pupunta ako linggo linggo kasi sila na ang aking pamilya, yan ang kapalit, di pera.*
>
> Oh Kabalikat? I started there because *Ate* Joan invited me. Remember, in the past I was scared to go outside. Then I was scared to apply for a new passport and everything because I thought I'd get caught, like that. But when I met that group…before I never really got involved, I just worked. But *Ate* Joan said that they might be able to help me get my passport. I started to think about it because it was true because when I started going, I found about lawyers, who is influential at the consulate, like that. So, I said this is okay. There, that's how my spirit got strong when I was part of Kabalikat because they didn't force you to join. It's on you, if you want to. When others say, do they pay you to join? I say, it's your decision if you want to go or not. Just because I go everyday, every week, doesn't mean they pay me. You don't have to go. It's a group. You know Val, they've become my mothers, my *titas*. They're all the same age as my mom and aunts in the Philippines! (laughs) Hey don't tell them I said that, they'll beat me up. But I go week after week because they've become my family, that's what I get in return, not money.

Here, Janessa comments on the ways that the Kabalikat organization works like an immigrant social network. Like Vilna Bashi's hub-and-spoke model Joan is a hub that spokes, like Janessa, can depend on for resources. Knowing Joan gave Janessa the opportunity to meet other women in the organization, and further find the legal resources she needed for the situation at hand. But still, the latter part of Janessa's quote speaks to

something different than a simple acquisition of resources. Her explanation on the return she gets from the group is based on care and relationships. She signals that the women in Kabalikat, like Joan, take the place of her mother and aunts in the Philippines. As a *Tita*, or what Hill Collins describes as "othermother," Joan symbolizes a fictive mother in this women-centered immigrant network, demonstrating that social capital is not the only thing circulating in the group, women migrants also circulate care, a type of relating to one another that references the care that these migrant women perform in their transnational families. Janessa's fictive kin, other women migrants who take the symbolic place of mothers and aunts in her family, step in to help her in her time of need. But why does she identify those women as intimate fictive family members? Exploring Janessa's experience as a domestic worker can shine a light.

Janessa's story was one of the most extremely exploitative accounts I heard during my fieldwork. Janessa came from a rural province in the Philippines and was hired by a Philippine diplomat to be a nanny for his children, shipped directly from her home to Canada, then New York City. A first time migrant and scared about her new surroundings, Janessa endured a range of abuse from her employer's family from deplorable living conditions (*Ang dami-dami mong ginagawa tapos yung tutulugan mo ang tigas, sa sahig. Nagtatiyaga ako kasi sila ang amo ko wala akong mapupuntahan dito. I don't know but my back is hurting!* I do so much but I sleep on a rock hard floor. I just grit my teeth because they are my employers and I had nowhere else to go. I don't know but my back is hurting!"), brutal work hours ("*Tapos yung aabusuhin ka sa trabaho, walang off, lahat ng trabaho sakin.* They would abuse me at work, no off, all the work by myself"), unlawful sexual advances ("*Sometimes nagtatry siyang magbukas ng banyo na he knows I'm inside*

and he pretends na oops I didn't know your there! Sometimes he tried to open the bathroom door when he knew I was inside and he pretended that he didn't know I was there!") and finally, threats to her family's safety if she was not deferent ("*Yung ganoon ngang banta na papapulis ako, yung pamilya ko sa probinsya.* Threats that they'd call the police on me, on my family in the province."). Janessa stayed at this first job with this Filipino diplomat for five years until she escaped. She organized her escape with the help of other Filipino migrants, stashing her clothes and belongings with migrant friends little by little on her everyday visits to the park. She lived in a state of fear in the year right after she escaped, "*Tumatago talaga ako, it's true kasi natatatakot ako baka makita ako at hulihin ako.* Talagang takot na takot ako hindi ako bumaba doon sabi ko sa alaga ko. I hid because I was afraid they'd see me and catch me. I was so afraid that I didn't separate from my charge." Janessa also saw it fit to not speak with her family for a year after she escaped as to keep them safe and out of the trouble she was in. She felt scared and alone.

Janessa's traumatic experiences in her employment and then living in fear and isolation pushed her to a total quarantined life. When she mustered enough courage to talk with people, she began to build relationships that helped her heal the wounds of abuse. In a group interview about experiences of working in New York City, Joan told Janessa her reflections on what it was like to nurse Janessa back into stable mental health after her escape:

> *Takot na takot siya, kawawa. Isang beses nagtaxi kami pauwi, nadaanan namin itong Roosevelt, sa takot ni Ja kailangan kaming huminto kasi naiihi siya sa takot. Pagsakay niya ulit, iyak ng iyak, yinakap ko at sabi ko, anak kaya pa, nadaanan na natin lahat yan.*
>
> She was so afraid, poor thing. One time, we took a taxi home through Roosevelt (a Filipino enclave in Queens) and she was so scared she pulled the cab over because

she was gonna pee because she was so scared. When she got back in crying, I held her and said, child, you can do this, we've all gone through this.

The fictive kinship between Joan and Janessa develops on their common understanding of trauma in the workplace. The basis of Joan and Janessa's relationship is their knowledge and experience of being domestic workers. As migrants away from their own families, they lean on one another for strength, support and assistance. Like in historic communities of domestic workers in the US (Dill 1988; E. nakano Glenn 1985), the community where domestics come home provides a place where other women understand the trials of the workplace and, at same time, act as the support in times of need. Joan's explicit labeling of Janessa as *anak* or child, explains that this type of support is about worker solidarity as it is about developing a fictive kinship intimacy that is then the foundation of a community of care. But more importantly, this fictive kinship is an act of choice[2].

It's important to note here that migrants choose their communities of care in and through their identifications as diasporic subjects. Martin Manalansan examines the

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[2] In her ground-breaking book *Families We* Choose, Kath Weston argues that GLBT people have been positioned outside the construct of the "family," even a threat to the very idea of it (Weston 1997). Her study conducted during the mid-1980's described family values debate that pointed to GLBT people as a threat to the family along with a confluence of shifting family concepts like open adoptions, blended families of divorced and remarried parents and surrogate parenthood. Similarly, Despite those challenges, GLBT people innovated and established 'gay families' or 'chosen families' from fictive kin, friends and ex-lovers. In studying the family formations of Queer folks, she argues that we mustn't equate "chosen families" with a substitution or an alternative to a nuclear, heteronormative formation of family. For Janessa and Joan, developing a relationship with some semblance to motherhood and daughterhood is not about replacing their blood relatives, it is more about the conditions under which they find themselves as migrants and workers. Rather, chosen family "…is not fixed, for GLBT people or anyone else…[families] are multiple and emerge from historically changing conditions" (Weston 2005:134) and therefore, a product of social and political matters. Both Janessa and Joan understand one another on the basis of their experiences as domestic workers, they hold the abuse and isolation in common. Under these circumstances, the fictive relationship they build and invest in comes from an identification with what its like to be a worker, exploited and a migrant, alone.

transnational lives of Filipino Gay men living in New York in his innovative book *Global Divas*, where he argues that although friends and lovers do take the form of "chosen families," in the end gay men still do not equate their families of choice with their biological kin (Manalansan 2003). For Filipino Gay men, friends or *barkada*—peer group—would be a social network for support for transitions, concerning both migration and sexual lives. In many instances, Janessa and Joan exemplify this dynamic, the chosen families for women migrants are similar to Filipino Gay men's lives in building their chosen migrant families reflect their diasporic experience as much as their identities as Queer men or migrant women in New York City. For global divas and servants of globalization, "the meaning of the family…contains notions of continuity and persistence and at the same time the translation and transformation of relationships" (Manalansan 2003:101). Migrants choose their fictive kin on the basis of understanding the stakes in migration—a global and diasporic sensibility, but also, establish a community of care by the shared experiences as domestic workers and immigrants—a local, rooted identification process located in New York City.

My analysis is aligned with Black feminists and Queer scholars in arguing that families are as much chosen as they are given, they are as much fictive as they are biological, and they are as much homosocial as they are heteronormative. These scholars remind us that communities and families have always circulated care in response to increasing retreat by the state, historical and colonial violence, social prejudice and diaspora. The conditions under which families are "chosen" then built, then thrive are often the products of marginalized people's creativity and resilience. Migrants in this study have

lost their choice to be with and care for their families in the way they prefer. However, they actively “choose” their new families in a new place.

Conclusion

“Maybe because of the camaraderie, the care. That’s all. Sense of belongingness coz we’re the same. We can understand each other, we share laughter.” - Lorna

And sometimes, the community of care built by migrant domestic workers is really about something obvious and lighter: laughter. Many of the audio tracks of my interviews with the domestic workers in this study have laughter over booming karaoke music and crooning voices in the background. Interviews were often interrupted by people inviting us to pick up another plate of *alimanggo* or steamed crab and *pancit,* a Filipino noodle dish. There was always time to dish about someone’s new boyfriend and joke about how domestics become divas with heels on the weekends. After all, *tsismis* or gossip is, at times annoying but an imperative part in the collective life of domestic workers (Lan 2006:171). The moments of teasing, banter and laughter are just as important as the struggles that produce camaraderie, sisterhood and family in communities of care. Still, these stories about how communities of care form are narrated by the “struggles that showcase the different ways in which the state, public life and the ‘world’ outside intrude on and permeate these seemingly bounded, private and domestic spaces of home [and work] and how diasporic subjects confront them” (Manalansan 2005:148). What Martin Manalansan calls “diasporic intimacy,” resonates with the type of care illustrated in the above examples. Although these migrant women come to their subjectivities as migrant, worker and mother in different ways, they are nonetheless, still bound up in the in-betweeness of home and abroad and the production of those identities suspended in under these conditions. The

simultaneity of working and living abroad and still, participating and staying present at home in the Philippines, is a particular experience of diasporic subjects. I argue that this in-betweenness, a geographic consciousness and diasporic imaginary is the place produced by the interactions of migrant domestic workers in my research. The knowledge of the diaspora is a migrant worker's lived experience, it is as Rita says, "iisang istorya" or the "one story" that migrants share no matter their what stamps they have on their passports.

Surviving in a new land and assimilating to American society is only one type of reason for people to participate in an immigrant social network. However, I have shown in this chapter communities of care are often geared to numerous other purposes. The conditions under which immigrant social networks form and work is anchored in processes of identification (Hall 2003). Migranta relate to one another by their experiences of displacement and isolation as immigrants in New York and as diasporic subjects abroad. Yet when migrants come together to share their journeys, they become intelligible to one another as resources and a community of care. Janessa, whose tale is one of the most difficult stories in my research, insists that "*lakas ng loob,"* the strength of spirit emerged through building and investing in a community of care or, as they would frame it, "family away from family." It was their adopted *Titas* or Aunts and *Nanays* or Mothers that helped them heal or sing "Manila, Manila"[3] to comfort homesickness. This community of care no

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[3] *Manila, Manila* is a song by the rock band Hotdog, an ode to the capital, Manila released in the 1970's. A popular karaoke song for the domestic workers in Kabalikat, this happy, upbeat song is often sung at parties with a bit of sadness as the women often remember their homes fondly, not knowing when they can return. The lyrics include sentiments of the desire to return but the reality for these workers is that their return to Manila is unknown. "Manila (Manila, Manila)
I'm comin' back to Manila
The only place that I call home (home)
I'm comin' back to...

longer just works as a network to strategize assimilation or to find a new job or a new apartment, it gives migrants a space to creatively strategize together about surviving and making it in the US while keeping their transnational lives in the forefront of their minds and hearts.

The context of these identification processes and migrant networks, I want to reiterate, must always be couched in the political and economic milieu that drives thousands of migrants to leave the shores of the Philippines daily pulled by the "care chain" (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). Many migrants are answering the call for domestic workers—the paid workers that pick up other families' domestic labor as families all over see a retrenchment in the social services that would otherwise support social reproductive labor in the family. The undervaluing of domestic labor makes for the conditions of commodifying it and its workers, in the Global North and the Global South. Migration for Filipino women seems like the most optimal solution, as their social reproductive labor is more profitable elsewhere. Their families' then absorb the vacuum they leave. I echo Manansalan's sentiment about a "cautionary hopefulness" about migrancy and mobility, in that migration can superficially improve a family's income but it doesn't always improve their quality of life. It is important to note that the reconfiguration of social reproduction is the context under which communities of care are produced because we can then understand that these social immigrant networks don't just crop up whenever and wherever immigrants land. Actually, they are a transnational phenomenon, beginning with the material changes in family lives and fortified by the global imagined community that is

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Manila (Manila, Manila)
I'm comin' back to Manila
The only place that I call home (home)"

inherently part of any immigrant's life. Communities of care, then, must be analyzed as a formation of a bigger shifts in social reproductive care and also, as a form of care emanating from the local but echoed by the diaspora.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Who Cares?

Introduction

In 2004, Sharon came to New York City at the age of 52. A migrant late in her life course, Sharon thought she had already completed her duties as a wife and mother. She raised four children and had been a dutiful wife of 30 years to a successful businessman. Her trip to New York was supposed to be a visit to take care of legal paperwork for her Filipino husband with American citizenship. She did not imagine she would be staying for too long. But a twist of fate befell her when her husband suddenly fell gravely ill during her stay in New York City. Sharon's family collectively decided that she should stay on in the US to earn some extra money to augment the rapidly rising cost of her husband's medical care. Six years later, unable to go home to care for her sick husband and then, later his funeral, along with the graduations and weddings of her adult children, Sharon is still in New York City working as a domestic worker to send money back to her children and grandchildren in Manila. In my first interview with Sharon in early 2010, she recounts what it's like to be away from her family:

> Communication—text, YM (Yahoo Messenger), Skype—makes me feel like I'm close to them. When they tell me what happens in their day to day life—it's like talking to your Mom is taking care of your Mom. For example, there was this time when Johnny got into an accident and they were taking care of him. They told me instead of hiding it. When they are honest and they share with me, even if I'm worried, I feel like I'm there. Especially in those moments. Because it's not a one way, not a one way ticket, not just the moms who are taking care. They are doing their best to give comfort to their family members back home. But because back home, they understand the sacrifice, for them, for their father, they also include me. For me it's easier. Even if I cannot be with them, at least I can communicate. I was still the mother. Using these technologies, I was still the mother.

Sharon exemplifies what I call "multidirectionality of care" in this dissertation. In her experience as a migrant mother away from home, she considers her family's responsibility to one another as an answer to her sacrifice of being away from home. She notes that care in her transnational family is both produced by her from abroad and her children in the Philippines. Frequent communication through technology, keeping abreast on daily life and sharing important decisions are simple processes that Sharon values in her, albeit compromised, role as a mother in her dispersed family life.

Technology emerges in this quote as a great way to understand multidirectionality of care. In her comment, "I was still the mother," Sharon points to these transnational forms of communication as a way she makes meaning of her motherhood and, moreover, as a form of care her children takes up to keep her involved. Migrants interpret these gestures of inclusion and participation as practices and opportunities to retain the meaning of their new roles in the family. Technology is the mode in which this participation in care work becomes possible.

A few months later on the other side of the world I interviewed Sharon's eldest son, Max, living in Metro-Manila, Philippines. Max is the eldest of Sharon's four children. When I interviewed him in the October of 2010, he was 36 years old, working as a freelance graphic designer, earning enough to support himself. He lived with his brother and sister-in-law and their three children who receive financial support from Sharon. I asked him about his experience taking care of his sick father while his mother had to work abroad and he said:

> *I hope some of her stress is relieved. I wouldn't really know kasi baka may konting guilt na dapat siya yun. Pero kung ako as a son, yun ang gusto ko na ma-free siya of that burden. And most of all na maramdaman niya na isa kami, we are one in that goal na maalagaan at mabigay yung best to my dad. Magkakasama kami doon, hindi*

> *lang kaniya yun. Yung oras, yung malasakit, pati yung gastos, gusto ko maramdaman niya yun na magkakasama kami.*
>
> I hope some of her stress is relieved. I wouldn't really know because she may have felt guilty, like she should've been taking care of him. But as a son, I would like her to be free of that burden. And most of all that she feels that we are one, we are one in that the goal was to take care and give the best to my dad. We were all together in that endeavor, that's not only her responsibility. The time, the devotion and the cost, I wanted her to feel that we were all together.

Max notes that his intention was to ensure that his whole family felt that they were one in caring for their sick family member. Even if his mother was far, her contribution to the costs of medical care was as valuable as the time and energy he put in at his father's bedside. Max's effort to make sure Sharon understood that she was also playing a role during such an intense time is a form of care that is delivered from home to the migrant abroad. The care divided up between Sharon's children towards their sick father is a form of care that answered the immediate need in Manila, but it also doubled up as a form of care to Sharon, reassuring her that even without her the family could deal with the hardship that confronted them. In Max's understanding of multidirectionality of care, he says, "we are one," to illuminate that everyone plays a role in keeping the family together. Although a mother is abroad and a son is at home, care in transnational arrangements is interpreted, translated and understood in multiple ways. Indeed, the very people who create these new meanings of family and care are often the same people who help one another understand and accept the current forms and roles of care they occupy transnationally.

I highlight Max and Sharon's understanding of care to illuminate that care inside a transnational family is produced in multiple places, by multiple actors, dispersed in multiple directions. For Sharon and her children in the Philippines, care is shared and given

value in the different forms it takes. And still, in New York, Sharon again redefines care in her local networks. In the early part of 2011, a participant in this study and a distant acquaintance of Sharon's, Melanie, faced homelessness when her apartment was suddenly evacuated. Sharon offered a small spare room to Melanie in a time of need. Although Sharon felt embarrassed that the room was an oversized closet in a basement apartment in Queens, Melanie was thankful and took the opportunity without hesitation. In my follow up interview with Sharon, after I helped Melanie move into their newly shared apartment, I asked Sharon what inspires this sort of help, she answered:

> It's because we understand how hard for a woman not to have anyone in these situations. We are in the same boat. So we know the feeling. You try to help also. The feeling of being alone in a different country. Being in a place where it is new. The feeling that you are away from your immediate family. Working so hard as a housekeeper. Only making so little. *Malaking sakripisyo talaga yan, at isa sa kalooban yan ng migranteng Pilipino.* It's a really a huge sacrifice, and we are one in spirit with every migrant Filipino in that.

Sharon's response activates three specific identities that allow her to relate and recognize the hardship and sacrifice that other migrant Filipinos go through: a migrant, a family member abroad and a domestic worker. When Sharon mobilizes these identities she conjures up her own experiences of transition and adjustment to her life in New York City and then she can also identify with other migrants who are experiencing similar things. The recognition and, more importantly, the act of helping someone else, is linked to experiences and identities of being a migrant that is both simultaneously transnational and local. This horizontal circulation of care between migrants is activated through networks and informed by intersubjectivity.

Sharon's story is exemplary of the interventions I've asserted in this dissertation. First, through the model of "multidirectionality of care," Sharon demonstrates that care in a

transnational context is never a one-way formula. Although care comes in different *forms* (i.e. financial support and remittances from migrants v. emotional support from families left behind), the shape and practice it comes in maintains the transnational family. Moreover, to understand the multidirectionality of care in a transnational context in its multiplicity we must include the different parties who do the caring in transnational families. As I focused on the different actors in the care work formula, I was able to show the multiple directions and people that keep a transnational family intact.

Second, Sharon and her family share how technology is an excellent way to see the model of multidirectionality of care in action. Both migrants and families left behind use visual communication technologies frequently to keep one another involved. Just as much as remittances from abroad are regularly sent; text messages, status updates and video calls are as equally expected as well. The *roles* of care providers are often simultaneous and rapidly exchanged through these technologies. The significance of a chat on Skype or text message is a form of care tantamount to a remittance. We can see that caregivers in the transnational family are varied, it is both migrants and families left behind who give care through technology.

Third, these new forms and reinterpreted roles also inform how migrants see one another and, more importantly, build networks to support one another. The solidarity that emerges between domestic workers draws from their experiences as migrants, transnational family members and workers in the US. Migrants, in essence, establish a new *definition* of care in investing their families away from home.

A deeper examination of the *forms, roles* and *definitions* of care is at the crux of the multidirectionality of care model. These three aspects of transnational family urge us to

decenter care as a project of the lone migrant family member; rather it values the care that family members left behind contribute to the transnational family. Further it urges us to think about families with an expanded view, to include biological kin and fictive kin, at home and abroad. Forms, roles and definitions of family demonstrate that care in transnational contexts is manifold. I believe that illuminating the intricate web of care types, actors and meanings shows the creativity and endurance of migrants and their families under such desperate conditions of separation. But more importantly, it compels us to see that so many people are pained by the very conditions that push them to be creative in keeping their families together.

In this last chapter, I began with Sharon, Max and Melanie to reveal the complex organization of care in a transnational context. Like electricity pulsating in an elaborate system of wires, care work is initiated and exchanged rapidly under the technological advances of globalization. In this dissertation, it is imperative to contextualize these seemingly impressive strategies of coping in the capitalist political economy that induces family separation through "migration-as-development" policies. The following pages will recapitulate the theoretical framework that set the basis for my arguments. First, I state my analysis of neoliberal globalization and labor brokerage in the Philippines; the theoretical stage for the introduction of the model of "multidirectionality of care". Second, I discuss the analytic framework on the dynamics of simultaneity (Levitt and Schiller 2004) to make the argument for concurrent revision of roles in transnational caregiving. Third, I depart from the immigrant social network literature and employ concepts from Queer Theory and Black Feminist Thought to argue that the "communities of care" that emerge between migrant

women workers rely on their similar, structural positions as subjugated subjects. Lastly, I consider future directions of this research and the larger implications of this dissertation.

Forms: Multidirectionality of Care

Past studies on the transnational family have rightfully situated this social phenomenon in the political economy of neoliberal globalization (Parrenas 2005a; Dreby 2010). Rhacel Parrenas' concept of the "international division of social reproductive labor" is the most helpful hermeneutic to understand the accelerating migration of women from the Global South to work in the domestic industry in the Global North. She argues that social reproductive labor has been increasingly commoditized in the global market economy, thereby creating a transfer in paid reproductive labor from the Global South to the Global North and within countries in the Global South from poorer families to families who have migrant members (Parreñas 2000). Through this frame, the care work that becomes highlighted for transnational families only focuses on the migrant's effort to support her or his family from afar (i.e. remittances, communication, returns, material gifts). However, this analysis of the global economy's demand for domestic workers only traces the forced migration of migrants. It centers the migrant as the focal point for the commodification and the devaluation of social reproductive labor.

In contrast, I argue that families left behind must also be considered as an integral part of the international division of social reproductive labor. Families left behind who are not able to hire domestic workers from poorer families are constantly reorganizing the care work in their families to cope with their missing family member. And yet, their work is not included as part of the model of international division of reproductive labor. I argue that focusing on the work of family members left behind can bring into focus the value of

social reproductive labor that is made invisible by paid reproductive labor. Further including the family left behind in this formula lays the groundwork for arguing that care in transnational families functions through a multidirectional model, as we come to understand how instrumental families left behind are in this context.

Moreover, I argue that multidirectionality of care is a good model to understand care in a transnational context, especially in the Philippine case, because the Philippines' migrant and remittance industry has become a rubric in the national political economy wherein the export of labor has been institutionalized in what scholars call the "labor brokerage state" (R. Rodriguez 2002; Guevarra 2009). The culture of migration has relied on a steady and continuous stream of migrants working abroad and sending money back to their families. The Philippine state harps on the traditionally Catholic filial obligation of Filipinos to produce generations of migrants within families. Arguably, the state also relies on the whole family, albeit indirectly, to maintain a transnational family and make meaning of migrant members' sacrifices. If the state's rhetoric appeals to families left behind, or families potentially left behind, then an accurate analysis of the political economy of migration must also incorporate the contemporary family form—the transnational family—in the construction of the international division of social reproductive labor. Migrants are the necessary citizen-subject for labor export policies, but their families are the required hinge that keep migrants moored to serial migration and a steadfast remittance industry.

It follows that if the global political economy of migration includes both migrants and families, then care work in this arrangement must also be examined through the contribution of both migrants and their families left behind. Families left behind activate

many forms of resources and networks to fill the vacuum left by their migrant family members. They rely on their immediate biological family members to take up chores around the house and they turn to biological kin network to reduce the strain of having one or two members abroad. I define the Filipino family left behind as both extended and fictive to move away from the centrality of the nuclear, heteronormative family as operational form of Filipino families left behind.

In considering kin and extended family as a part of the dynamic network that fills in the gaps in domestic work in homes left behind, I find that when family members take care of one another it is to respond to some immediate need—a particular *form* of care in a transnational family. If a migrant family member, for example, a mother, is abroad and a father or aunt steps in to care for children or aging parents, that care must be valued as a permutation of care work in a transnational context. Although the care is happening locally in the place left behind, the migration of one family member made it necessary (and possible) for another person to take up that work. For men, these opportunities, alongside the help and assistance of other kin, can urge them to break out of their patriarchal logics around domestic work. Further, the shared domestic labors performed with kin give men a different source of value to draw from to redefine their masculinities. When we consider the expanded network as an operational organization of the transnational family, we can locate care work coming from more people and places than just the immediate biological members of a migrant's family. Then we can begin to understand the intricate web of care.

Further, the localized caring within families left behind also doubles up as a *form* of care towards their migrant counterpart. Family members in the Philippines understand their work to maintain their families as a reciprocal effort to their migrant family member's

sacrifice of going abroad to work. Husbands, children and siblings alike have described their commitment to keeping their family functioning and healthy as an offering to the migrants abroad. Families left behind proudly report achievements like graduations and the purchase of a new home, but reporting stressful events like sickness or death are also part of keeping migrants involved in family life. Migrants are often emotionally affected by these reports but in bad or good times, they also interpret these interactions as a form of care from their families left behind. After all the biggest fear of being a migrant is that you are missing all of the most important events in your family's life, and these regular accounts allow migrants to stay in the loop.

Including an expanded network of kin and considering the horizontal care work of families as new forms of caring in transnational families also sheds some light on the how care work mediates gender roles. Scholars have found that men often reject their domestic labor roles when wives or mothers migrate; largely because of the social and patriarchal logics that influence these behaviors. However, in my research, I find that it is hugely important to historicize the personal and family backgrounds of men left behind to understand how and why men may or may not reject their new roles as homemakers. Further, I find that the mobilizing kin network to assist fathers cope with the absence of their wives allow them to temper the steep transition. Indeed, asking for help from kin actually affirms a different type of masculinity for fathers left behind, one of a "good father". When their domestic work is valued, they identify their new roles as source of pride. More generally, I do believe that men generally will still reject their roles as homemakers. However, I argue that if masculinity is defined in multiple ways then men can draw from

different sources to value their manhood, or more importantly, their personhood. The factors that will allow this to flourish is future area of research that must be taken up.

The *forms* of care in transnational families are not only maintained by the practices of the migrant abroad. They are multiple. We have to count the local, horizontal care taken up by families left behind as a form of care. We have to count biological and fictive kin's assistance to fathers transitioning into their new roles as a variation of care. We have to count the care arrangements in homes and families left behind as a form of care for their proximate members and, also, as a form of care that is also aimed at their migrant family members. Multidirectionality of care illuminates these elaborate exchanges of care work and, in fact, puts care as a responsibility of everyone involved in a transnational family arrangement.

Roles: Technology and Simultaneity

I have established that the multidirectionality of care model operates on multiple forms of care to maintain a transnational family. In an effort to deepen the nuances of how care work is carried out, I consider the temporality of the model through dynamics of simultaneity. Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick-Schiller argue that simultaneity is key to understand migrants' social life, it cannot be described or studied within the container of one nation-state. In an effort to argue that assimilation and transnational practices are not binary opposites, Levitt and Schiller develop the concept of simultaneity to urge scholars to examine the ways that migrants are "living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally" (Levitt and Schiller 2004:13). Responding to this challenge, I take on the conceptual frame of simultaneity to explore the changing *roles* of care providers in transnational arrangements.

Studying transnational lives assumes that facets of family functions and operations are unfolding in both homeland and hostland simultaneously. Therefore, I explore the roles of caring that are emergent from both places at once. The dynamism of simultaneity supports the model of multidirectionality by emphasizing the care work taken up my migrant family members and the families left behind.

The use of technology illuminates how members of transnational families, both migrant and non-migrant, are stepping into roles of caregiving concurrently. Since communication technology is, often times, the glue that holds transnational families together, all members must have a certain degree of skill in operating computers and the ever changing interfaces of software and web-based programs. And although this technology is seemingly more accessible, the "digital divide" around technological literacy is still prevalent. Most migrants grew up before the personal computer era and rely on their children's dexterity in technology. The simple reversal of roles of teaching a parent how to use a computer may seem like acquiescence to the power hierarchies in family power relations, where parents are dominant and children are submissive. But in the case of transnational families, children understand their "tech support" roles as their contribution to maintaining a critical component of their transnational family: communication. Many children and young people left behind understand their roles as trainers in using computer technology as care work because the time they invest in teaching their migrant family members is reciprocated by the digital presence of their absent loved one. When they are successful in teaching their migrant mothers, they receive the benefits of their work through her ability to appear on Skype for a daily chat or a status update on how she's feeling on a workday. Further, young people interpret this work as care because the texture

of the step-by-step teaching is reminiscent of the slow and patient work of caring that they once experienced from their mothers, aunts, sisters and grandmothers when they were present in the past. Of course, for young people, these tech support sessions can become cumbersome and exasperating. Still, highlighting that children and young people left behind take up this work is evidence that roles of caregiving become redefined in transnational families, especially when we consider that care is occurring simultaneously.

In turn, migrant family members understand their digital selves as a reinforcement of their maternal roles in the family. Social networks like Facebook or Friendster become a form of open communication to their families. Updating one's status on Facebook often feels like informing one's family about the weather or a happy moment. Beyond being updated on day-to-day events, migrants are able to create a different type of friendship with their children or nieces and nephews through social networks. On one hand, learning about their family members left behind through their digital identities lets migrants into dimensions of their family's social lives that they may not have had access to if they were in the Philippines. This dynamic has the potential to create new intimacies with their families left behind. On the other hand, issues of crossing personal boundaries and surveillance can arise with migrants and non-migrants' access to different platforms of digital lives. For example, the common practice of keeping web cameras on in Manila and New York can often be interpreted as scrutiny or a nerve-wracking omnipresence. Here, my aim in noting how technology also brings about negative consequences is an effort to disentangle the idea of care work from notions of nurturance, love and affection. Care work, in the way I use it, refers to the exchange of labor within a family to maintain its meaning and operation. The surveillance aspect of Skype might seem obtrusive but it is still a moment to

understand how care is multiply produced, whether it is a son turning on the web cam or the migrant watching. Nevertheless, the use of technology in these examples illuminates the exchange between migrants and non-migrants in terms of keeping one another in the loop. Frequency in communication, digital face to face interaction and instantaneous updating through web cameras, video conferencing and social networks keeps migrants and their families left behind abreast of the daily activities of their family members. Everyone takes part in these exchanges. Thus I argue the roles of care providers multiply if we consider these interactions as part of care work in the transnational families.

Past scholars argue that technology mediates gender in transnational families by reinforcing gender roles in the family (Parrenas 2005b; Dreby 2010). However, in my work, I found that the frequency and visual register in these new forms of communication change the quality of interaction, particularly in terms of gender. Husbands left behind open up lines of communication that were rarely used when their wives lived in the Philippines with them. The fact that their wives are away, often indefinitely, push some husbands to talk with their wives more as part of their daily routine. In the past, men in the family would go to work and have limited time for conversation with their wives, but now the roles of breadwinner have changed. Frequent communication between husbands and wives and ability to see their spouses' tired faces make room for a deeper understanding of the sacrifice migrant women make in migrating, living and working away from their families. In this way, husbands in this study noted that they have come to a deeper understanding about the reversal of gender roles in their marriage. Additionally, husbands mentioned that web camera technology also gives them the opportunity to ask their wives how to do a particular task or chore. These interactions sometimes slip into espionage and

scrutinized observation similar to the social network examples above, yet there is much to be learned about the different texture of contemporary technology and how it is shaping gender negotiations. Future research must delve into the nuances of the latest technologies and in what ways it is mediating or reinforcing gender roles.

Roles of caregiving often shift and switch in teaching, updating and communicating through modern communication technologies. All participants in this study laud the development of the plethora of digital interfaces with which they can keep in touch with their families back home. The tools of technology become the bedrock of these transnational families, however, because of the reality that most migrants in this study are undocumented and cannot go home without receiving penalty, or worse, without a viable option of livelihood for their families. Most of the migrants in this study grit their teeth through years of hard work and separation to be able to put their children through school or pay for the healthcare of a sick family member. Often times, they are unable to return because they are the primary breadwinners in their families and there are no options for work in the Philippines. The significance of these new instruments of contact is that for many migrants, seeing their family members through a computer screen is all they have.

Although technology collapses the distance between migrants and their families at home, it is important to contextualize these strategies of coping in the political economic context that separate families in the first place. Migrants are compelled to leave the Philippines because of the lack in social supports for education, healthcare and employment. All of the retreats of the neoliberal state constrain the choice for Filipinos to leave their families and the country. In their destination countries, the swelling demand for precarious, low-wage labor echoes the economic restructuring happening in the Global

North, while restrictive immigration laws follow nativist sentiments that often come with times of economic crisis. These are the conditions under which migrants innovate their means of communication with their families left behind. It is to remind them of what is at stakes in their daily commute to work or decision to elongate their stay in the US. It is undeniable that these families' strategies to stay together from afar are impressive. And yet, it is also equally irrefutable that these transformations in family life are situated under dire conditions that drive families apart.

Definition: Migrant Family and Horizontal Care in the Diaspora

Definitions of family, in the above examples of transnational practices, have only dealt with biological kin between migrants and families left behind. Through the multidirectionality of care model, I have shown that both *forms* and *roles* of care work are diffuse and numerous if we consider transnational lives unfolding simultaneously in both home and host lands. Most migrants in this study exemplify a prowess in adjusting and understanding their family lives under the conditions of long-term separation over long distances. They understand that the experience of transnational life can be both rewarding and isolating. At times of great stress and worry, moments of hardship can be assuaged by sharing with others who understand the experience of being a migrant away from their family. These points of solidarity between migrants and the development of a network for support for one another is what I point to as "communities of care." Informed by this redefinition of family life transnationally, I believe that migrant women in this study invest in a community of care inasmuch that they relate to one another's experience as a migrant, migrant family member and worker. These communities of care, I argue, are redefining family for migrants who share identities as transnational family members, migrants and

workers in the US. The new *definition* of family for migrants mobilizes fictive kinship ideals between migrant women in this study. Moreover, I bring to light the identification processes that migrant women use to create, sustain and invest in a community of care.

Scholarship on immigrant social networks have theorized about the functions and forms of networks that have assisted immigrants in their transition and settlement in their destinations (Ebaugh and Curry 2000; Hagan 1998; Portes 1995). Immigrants' investments in these social networks are usually attributed to functionalist and deterministic logics of assimilation and integration into destination countries. However, I revisit this theorization to highlight the similar structural positions migrant women occupy as the fuel for participation in these networks and to add a different dimension to these networks outside of the already established purposes. Experiences of being a new migrant to the US, maintaining a family from afar and working as a precarious worker in a global city are nodes of intelligibility from which migrant women begin to recognize one another. These shared experiences become the basis for the network they build and participate in for both practical purposes and emotional support. These networks circulate a form of care that is informed by migrant women's experiences in their transnational families and redefine migrant camaraderie as a variation of "family" abroad.

To tease out the meanings of these communities of care, I draw from Queer Theory and Black Feminist Thought to interrogate the conditions under which marginalized subjects unite in solidarity and redefine family outside of the heteronormative ideal of family. Queer migration theorists explore how "sexuality structures migration processes and experiences" (Luibhéid 2008:171). Filipino migrant women understand their migration as a part of their filial obligation and narratives of heteronormative gender roles

compel them to fulfill their duties to their biological kin. As serial and long term migrants, Filipino women take on migration as a familial duty but bend the gendered schemas as migration provides (limited) autonomy and mobility. Further, Filipino migrant women are also astutely refashioning their ideas of womanhood and membership a family in establishing "chosen families" (Weston 1997) in the place abroad. In valuing homosocial practices and collectivities, they form a different type of family under the often isolating and difficult conditions of their migration. The families they choose or what I call "communities of care" work to provide pragmatic and personal support to the individuals in that network. The Queer concept of "chosen families" urges us to think of a community of care as a creative response from individuals in the throes of systems of power. It invites us to think of family outside the biological or heteronormative box. Most importantly, it puts the power of resilience in the hands of migrant women who are the ones doing the choosing, choosing to survive and choosing who can help them thrive.

Black Feminist Thought situates the inventive forms of resistance initiated by women of color in the US in an analysis of systems of oppression. Black feminist have written about the alternative forms of women-centered networks and "othermothers" that have fortified and bolstered Black communities in the US since the days of slavery. Patricia Hill Collins argues that an "outsider-within" perspective produces an intersubjectivity between Black women slaves which then led them to innovative strategies to cope with the cruelty of their circumstances (Collins 2000). Carol Stack writes about how othermothers were crucial for the survival of Black families in an urban setting where social resources were scarce (Stack 1997). The creativity of marginalized women is always situated dialectially within the very conditions that produce their subjugation. In this study, it is

important to trace the gendered and racialized history of domestic work as its continuation today is manifested in the lives of Filipino migrant women. The stories of abuse an exploitation as domestic workers often lead migrants to open up about their trials in the US. The instability of their jobs and the substandard labor conditions they work in are products of an American racial order in paid domestic work. Black Feminist Thought urges us to juxtapose the conditions of today's domestic workers to a history of domestic work in the US. It demands that we interrogate these systems of power and uncover how women are persevering regardless of their situations. More importantly, Black Feminist Thought allow us to trace the legacies of resilience in the face of hardship through communities of care.

A deeper theorizing and analysis of communities of care demonstrate that Filipino migrant women activate this network on the basis of their shared identities: migrant, transnational family member and worker. These identities are produced through regimes of power and generate experiences of subjugation and powerlessness. Yet, migrants build networks to combat these circumstances. These are the reasons why it is not enough to discuss communities of care simply as social networks where migrants go to trade and exchange resources. The dynamics of identification processes and the innate critique of systems of power in the creation, maintenance and operation of communities of care are important to highlight as the basis of these networks. The horizontal care within migrant communities is informed by the reorganization of care in migrants' transnational lives and their local everyday reality but also by their clear analysis of the role of the Philippine state and the US in shaping their circumstances. These are essential dimensions that redefine communities of care as migrants' families abroad.

Who Cares? Future Directions and Implications

The findings I present in this dissertation both contribute to and depart from the scholarship on immigration and transnationalism, gender and globalization. In studying the transnational lives of migrants and their families left behind, I explored themes of care work as it is reorganized in the context of separation. I developed the model of multidirectionality of care to describe the complex systems of work that go into maintaining the different parts and members of families in different sites. I insisted on understanding the Filipino transnational family in its expanded form, including biological kin in the Philippines and fictive kin in the US. I argued that families' perspective on multiple directions of care must be contextualized within the historic and uninterrupted culture of Philippine migration and its labor brokerage state. The family's pivotal position as anchors to migrant workers proves their invaluable role in the Philippine migration industry. Therefore families are always already incorporated in the brokering of migrants as workers to the world. Given this context, care work within transnational families is organized through multiple forms of care and care providers for multiple members of the family (migrant and non-migrant) and in multiple formations. Still, most of the data that shows how families are captured in the state ideology of migration comes from the narratives of migrants and their families. Future endeavors of this finding could explore just how much the state considers the family a part of labor brokering. This effort would require an examination of state ideologies, rhetoric and bureaucracies with close attention to the rhetoric on family and gender. Understanding the state's position on families (left behind or potentially left behind) can support the reasoning behind why transnational families organize their care work under a multidirectionality of care model. But more

importantly, this future work can expose the connection between macro political economic policies doled out by the state and its effects on the micro dynamics of the family. This is an imperative aim since much of migration is framed by an ideology of individual choice. This linkage could be key in leveraging power in the hands of migrants and their families to be able to demand for better options for livelihood and the option to stay together.

Adding to the literature on transnational families, I offered a more nuanced analysis on masculinity in the family by positing that kin networks and social recognition of fathers left behind can provide men with a different source to value their fatherhood and manhood. I argued that technology helps to mediate tensions in the gender boundaries crossed by migrations. Through the advancements in communication technology specifically through the visual register on web camera devices and social network programs, frequency of contact between transnational family members allows for a deeper understanding of the sacrifices in migration, therefore modifying the perspective of husbands and fathers left behind on ascribed roles of domesticity. I posited that these gendered understandings of migration, both being left behind and migrating, were bolstered by kin who affirmed the new gender roles for migrant women and men left behind. In this vein, further inquiry into gender dynamics within transnational families could continue based on how generations of migration mediate ideas of ascribed roles of masculinity and femininity. I believe that gender ideologies do change over time. Future research could speak to how historic and continuous migration is changing gendered schemas.

Expanding the scholarship in Queer migrations and departing from the social immigrant network literature, I argued that the social network in migrant communities

cannot be discussed as exchange of resources alone. Rather scholars must analyze the conditions under which immigrant social networks emerge. And, moreover, networks must be analyzed in terms of the identification processes migrants use to build and maintain those networks. Acute attention must be paid to the identities that stem from the oppressive systems of power that produce migrant communities. For me, it is important to situate networks in this dynamic to understand that these vibrant collectivities often arise in response to the difficulty of negative pressures in destination countries and the hardships brought about by migration. I do not wish to romanticize these groups. Rather I focused on the marginalized positions of migrants that are often pathologized as "cultures of poverty" and instead seek to reclaim them as agentic and creative. I offered a re-theorization of the network I found in my research through concepts of "chosen families" in Queer theory and "othermothers" in Black Feminist Thought to accentuate the agency in communities that are cast off in the American social imagination as irrelevant and incomprehensible. Communities of care also posses a transnational dimension, I argued, in that these networks are informed by migrants shared experience in transnational living. As a redefinition of family, migrants' chosen family in New York City is in an emergent type of family in the transnational context. Honing in on the local life of migrants and in using Queer theory as an analytical tool, prospective research could examine the theme of sexuality, queer, heterosexual and otherwise, in migrant communities.

Beyond its theoretical contributions, this dissertation speaks to policy and non-governmental work concerning migrants and families. International governance institutions like the United Nations and the Global Forum on Migration and Development have lauded the Philippines as a model of migration management, in the hope of

popularizing and replicating its mechanisms in other countries (R. M. Rodriguez 2010). Documenting the voices of families "left behind" allows for non-mobile subjects to weigh in on how migration actually affects a wide range of lives, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worst. Migration under the conditions of globalization is a double-edged sword, providing financial security for Filipino families but also creating separation and isolation. I could not endorse ending labor migration, as it is the cornerstone to so many Filipino families. However, I hope understanding deeply the stakes and costs of long term migration urges policymakers to provide more employment opportunities in the Philippines to temper the acceleration of migration abroad. Further, I hope the stories of migrants and their families can reach policy-making bodies in both sending and receiving countries to inform immigration policies about family reunification.

Finally, the most salient and significant finding I discovered through researching and writing this dissertation is the resilience of migrants workers in the US. In what migrants described as "*lakas ng loob*" or strength of the spirit, I found that despite exploitative and dehumanizing conditions as domestic workers, migrants often found strength and solace in one another. Once one domestic worker shared about a bad work situation others were able to share their similar or worse experiences. Her experience and this process encouraged migrants to share their struggles but also, their strategies for coping or pushing back. These conversations became an extremely valuable resource for newer migrant workers as they could learn from others' lessons and mistakes. Although these formal and informal dialogues assisted migrants to articulate and claim their rights on a one-by-one basis, the necessity for institutional recognition for labor standards and rights of domestic workers is critical. The influx of migrant women from the Global South gaining

employment in the domestic industry as domestic workers, housekeepers, nannies, and caregivers to the elderly is increasing. Recent passed legislation, including the rights of domestic workers in New York State (Domestic Workers Bill of Rights (A1470B/S2311E)) and California (AB 889/SB 411 or The Home Care Services Act of 2011), are benchmark victories for grassroots organizations and national alliances of domestic workers. And yet, these bills only cover a few labor standards and a limited amount of workers considered as domestics. This indispensable group of workers needs comprehensive federal legislation to protect their rights beyond single home/workplaces, but across the domestic industry.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Gabay Para Sa Mga Kuwentuhan sa NYC

NYC Interview Guide

Family – *Pamilya*

Ikuwento niyo po sakin yung buhay ninyo sa Pilipinas. Pwede po kayo magumpisa noong bata pa kayo.
Tell me about your life in the Philippines. You can start from childhood.

> *Meron po kayong mga kamaganak na nag-abroad?*
> Did you have relatives that went abroad?

Paano kayo nagdesisyon na magabroad?Ano ang mga dahilan para sa inyong pagaabroad?

> *Paano ninyo sinabi sa anak at pamilya ninyo? Ok naman sila?*
> *Ano yung pinakamahirap na bagay sa pagaabroad ninyo?*

Sa ngayon paano kayo nagiging actib sa buhay ng anak ninyo?
How do you keep up with your kids?

Paano kayo nakikisali sa inyong pamilya sa pamamagitan ng technology?
How do you participate in your family through technology?

Anong klaseng technology ginagamit niyo para makipag-ugnay sa inyong pamilya?
What kind of technology do you use to keep in contact with your family?

May naitutulong ba ang technology? O nagiging sagabal ba ang technology?
Does the technology help the distance? Or does it make it worse?

Kung pwede, gusto niyo ba na magabraoad ang mga anak o kapamilya ninyo?
If they could, would you want your kids or family members to migrate to work?

Migration -- *Pagaabroad*

Ikuwento niyo po sakin ang karanasan ninyo tungkol sa inyong pagaabroad.
Tell me about your migration story.

Pagdating ninyo, ikuwento po ninyo ang naranasan ninyong masaya at isang karanasan ng mabigat.
When you arrived, tell me about a happy and a difficult experience you had here.

Ikuwento niyo po ang karanasan ninyo sa pagtatrabaho bilang isang domestic dito.
Tell me about your experience working as a domestic worker here.

Sa mga pamilya sa Pilipinas, ang kulturang pagaabraod ay common, bakit kaya?
In families in the Philippines, a culture of migration is common why is that?

Bakit po ang karamihan ng migrante at babae at hindi lalake?
Why do you think women leave the Philippines and not men? Why are women leaving and not men?

<u>Consciousness – *Pagmumulat*</u>

Ano ang importansya in Tita Fely at Putli para sa KABALIKAT?
Why was Tita Fely and Tita Putli such important markers in KABALIKAT?

Bakit hindi tumutulong ang consulado sa mga isyung ganyan?
Why do you think the consulate doesn't help?

Sa tingin ninyo, ano ang tingin ng consulado at gobyerno sa inyong mga domestic worker?
How does the consulate and the government see domestic workers?

Ano ang nakakaiba sa samahan ng KABALIKAT?
What is special about KABALIKAT as an organization?

Ano yung mga bagay na pagkakaisa sa mga myembro sa KABALIKAT?
What brings members of Kabalikat together?

<u>The State – *Gobyerno*</u>

Ano ang papel ng gobyerno sa pagaabroad ng Pilipino?
What is the government's role in "nagaabroad"?

Ano ang papel nila bago kayong umalis sa Pilipinas?
What is their participation or influence or role before you leave?

Ano ang papel nila sa buhay ninyo pagnandito na kayo?
What is their participation or influence or role after you get here?

APPENDIX B

Gabay Para Sa Mga Kuwentuhan sa Maynila
Manila Interview Guide

<u>Pamilya - Family</u>

Ikuwento mo sa akin yung buhay ninyo nung nandito si ________.
Tell me about life when ________ was here.

- *Ano yung niyong paborito gawin?*
- What was your favorite thing to do?

- *Ano yung pinakamasaya na panahaon?*
- What was a fun memory?

- *Ano yung pinakamalunkot na panahon labas sa nung nagabraod siya?*
- What was a sad memory outside of her leaving?

- *Meron ba kayong magandang samahan sa kanila?*
- Did you have a good relationship with her him?

<u>Migration -- *Pagaabroad*</u>

Kuwento mo paano sinabi ni ________ na siya'y magtatrabaho sa abroad?
Tell me how they told you they were leaving.

- *Ano ang dahilan niya kung bakit siya magabroad?*
- What were the reasons they left?

- *Anong naisip mo?*
- What did you think about that?

- *Anong naramdaman mo?*
- How did you feel?

- *Meron ka bang naisip na hindi mo nasabi?*
- Is there something you wanted to say but couldn't?

Nung umalis na siya, ano yung naranasan mo?
When they left, what was your experience like?

- *Ano ang mga bagay na naiba nung umalis siya? Pwedeng positibo o negatibo?*
- What changed when they left? Positive or negative?

- *Sino nagasikaso sa inyo? Pagpasok o pagnagkasakit kayo?*

- Who takes care of you? For school or when you get sick?

- *Yung dating inasikaso ng nanay mo, sino na gumagawa nung bagay na yon ngayon?*
- Your mom's duties in the past, who does them now?

- *Kailan yung panahon na namimiss mo yung Nanay mo?*
- When do you miss you mom most?

- *Kung may problema ka, sino sinasabihian mo? Tinatawagan mo ba siya? Kung hindi siya sino?*
- When you have issues, who do you talk to? Call your mom? If not her, who?

Sa palagay mo, bakit siya nagabroad?
In your opinion, whey did she leave?

- *Nauunawan mo ba ang kanyang dahilan?*
- Do you understand why they left?

- *Meron ka bang ibang kilala (pamilya o kaibigan) na ganito rin ang sitwasyon nila?*
- Do you know other people whose situation is like yours?

<u>The State – *Gobyerno*</u>

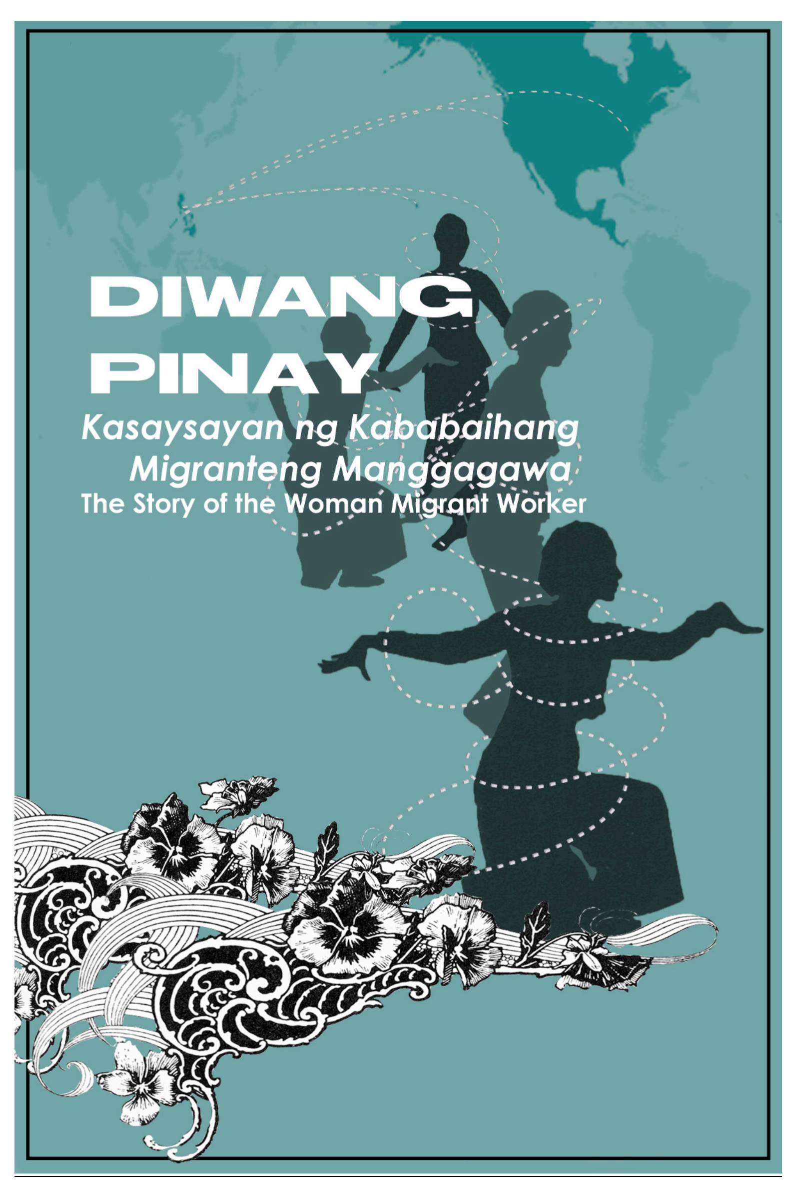
Ano ang papel ng gobyerno sa pagaabroad ng Pilipino?
What is the government's role in "nagaabroad"?

Ano ang papel nila bago kayong umalis sa Pilipinas?
What is their participation or influence or role before you leave?

Ano ang papel nila sa buhay ninyo pagnandito na kayo?
What is their participation or influence or role after you get here?

APPENDIX C

Flyer for *Diwang Pinay*



APPENDIX C (continued)

Flyer for *Diwang Pinay*

DIWANG PINAY

Kasaysayan ng Kababaihang Migranteng Manggagawa

The Story of the Woman Migrant Worker

Sunday, March 6, 2011 and March 13, 2011
Hunter College-Lang Recital Hall
WWW.FIRENYC.ORG

Hunter College-Recital Hall
695 Park Ave.
New York, NY.10065
Location: 4th Floor of the North Building at Hunter College
Access: 69th St. entrance between Park and Lexington Avenue

Subway: 4,6 to 68th St. Hunter College, F to East 63rd Street and Lexington Ave.

ALL AGES WELCOME!
March 6th 2PM Matinee Performance $10
March 6th, 7PM Evening Performance $20
March 13th, 2PM and 7PM Performance $20

Since February 2010, a group of Filipino women across generations, both age and migration, have gathered weekly to create an original staged play about migration, family and resilience. Diwang Pinay follows the story of Maria, a domestic worker in the NYC area who left the Philippines to support her family by migrating only to face challenges in a new city and figure out a way to survive. See the world through her eyes as a migrant and mother.

The process of creating this original work has bestowed a multigenerational group of Filipinas, immigrant and American-born, a unique experience to write, produce and direct stories about the lives of Filipino domestic workers living and working in New York City. This production is a collaboration between Kabalikat Domestic Worker Support Network, a program of the Philippine Forum and Filipinas for Rights and Empowerment (FiRE)-Gabriela USA.

Hosted by:

APPENDIX D

Research Questions and Methods Grid

Questions	Method
TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY • How do migrant women workers conceptualize and actualize participation in their families (i.e. mothering) from a transnational location? • What are the activities, technologies and practices of migrant women to maintain family life from abroad? • How does migration problematize our notions of motherhood, gender and family?	Field notes/Participant observation Interviews Group interviews Participatory analysis Theater workshops
FAMILIES LEFT BEHIND • How do families and kin "left behind" participate in the production of transnational families? • What types of care and emotion work do they do for the migrant family members? • How is technology changing the transnationality of family?	Field notes/Participant observation Interviews Group interviews
COMMUNITY RELATIONS • What types of identifications emerged from migrant women's subjectivities as migrant, women, family members and workers? • In other words, how does the production of transnational families shape political mobilization?	Field notes/Participant observation Interviews Group interviews
STATE and the FAMILY • How is the ideal Philippine family represented by the state through migration? • In what ways does Philippine government define ideal familial roles of motherhood, fatherhood, filial piety for children, extended family, etc.? • How do migrant women integrate and negotiate these messages?	Interviews Group interviews

APPENDIX E

Research Methods Triangulation Cycle

Participant Observation and Field Notes

- Observe activities, gatherings and events
- Identify important themes and concepts from observations
- Conduct participatory dialogue with research participants about findings
- Incorporate theoretical and research scholarship in the emerging data

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Individual Interviews

- Semi-structured interviews based topics culled from field notes
- Ensure participation in construction or revisions interview guide
- Take notes during interviews about new concepts, topics

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Group Interviews and/or Theater Workshops

- Discuss a theme from individual interviews for group interview
- Conduct Theater of the Oppressed games
- Conduct educational segment

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Ethnographic Field Notes

- Write field notes on each interview interaction, specifically on recurring themes and new concepts
- Identify important themes and concepts from interviews
- Select recurring theme to introduce to group interview at theater workshop
- Incorporate theoretical and research scholarship in the emerging data

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Autobiographical Statement

Valerie Francisco entered graduate school with a personal, political and academic commitment to transnational solidarity and feminist politics, specifically in the context of the Philippine progressive movement. Her academic and activist work is informed by her family's migration, and her experience as an undocumented immigrant woman in an increasingly anti-immigrant political climate in the US. 20 years ago, Francisco's mother migrated to the US with her three children; a dentist by training in the Philippines, Francisco's mother worked as a domestic worker when they arrived in California. As a member of an undocumented immigrant family, options for legalization were few. In 2004, Francisco entered an abusive marriage with a long-time boyfriend to gain status in the country. She left that marriage and fought a gruesome battle with the Immigration and Naturalization Services to attain my legal status through the Violence Against Women Act. Instead of folding into depression, political education, grassroots organizing and community research brought Francisco back to life.

Francisco's political work in Filipino women's organizing in San Francisco started in helping establish a progressive Filipino women's organization, *BABAE*, "woman" in Filipino, where her first project was to do a community research project on the incidence rates of domestic violence in the Filipino community. Her acceptance in the doctoral program in the department of sociology at CUNY, Graduate Center in New York City encouraged her to carve out a research program that both advanced scholarship on Filipino migrants as well as affect the lives of Filipino migrants in a meaningful way. In 2006, she became was the founding chairperson of Filipinas for Rights and Empowerment (FiRE), whose mission addressed the parallel struggles against violence that Filipino American, Filipino immigrant

and Filipino women in the Philippine faced under globalization. Her first community organizing project in NYC was to develop a young women's program in 2006 for Filipino American girls and teens to discuss sexuality and violence in partnership with a community-based organization, Philippine Forum. The project took its own life and later became a participatory action research project with Filipino youth about creating alternative sexuality education curriculum. This sparked Francisco's academic theorizing about Filipino transnational life and political activism as an exchange of ideas between the homeland and the diaspora; under the conditions of global migration.

Her dissertation work is a reflection of new transnational political formations rising from the Filipino diaspora while connecting to Filipino national struggles. Francisco's dissertation is a participatory research project with Filipino domestic workers living and working in New York City and their families in the Philippines about their transnational family life and their political activism. Francisco's dissertation research brought Filipino immigrant and Filipino American women from FiRE and KABALIKAT Domestic Workers Support Network together through multi-generational, cross immigrant cohort projects. Her commitment to research as a instrument for social change is exemplified through the various outcomes of the dissertation data collection and analysis. During the years I spent in the field, the dissertation methods assisted in developing leadership modules for a partnered domestic worker organization in New York. The collaborative component of this research engaged Filipino immigrant women in a theater program that transformed dissertation narratives into a stage production about the lives of Filipino domestic workers in New York and their families in Manila. This opportunity to do research while developing

the leadership capacity of, often, undocumented immigrant women allowed them to learn about and assert basic rights and privileges at their work places.

At the submission of this dissertation, Francisco is conducting a mixed-method, exploratory study on the workplace conditions of caregivers to the elderly in the Bay Area, many of which are Asian immigrant workers. The CARE Project is a participatory research project conducted with community partners, Filipino Community Center in San Francisco and Dr. Robyn Rodriguez of UC Davis. This study will contribute to the burgeoning literature on the care crisis in the US, introducing an examination of the labor conditions of caregivers working with the aging "baby boomer" population. This project dovetails off of the work I have done in my dissertation around the concepts of "care" and "care work" in the fields of sociology, Asian American studies, and women and gender studies.

Francisco serves as a member of the national executive committee of GABRIELA USA, the first overseas chapter of GABRIELA Philippines—the largest alliance of progressive women's organizations in the Philippines. Francisco believes it is important to me to keep a live connection to the Philippine women's movement as those core issues in the Philippines shape the alarming migration of women out of the country.

Francisco hopes that her academic and political work keep informing one another towards to aims: first, for the benefit of Filipino migrants and genuine change in the Philippines and, second, to produce innovative scholarship towards a deeper understanding of the Filipino diaspora.