

***“Pagod, Dugot, Pawis (Exhaustion, Blood, and Sweat)”*:
Transnational Practices of Care and Emotional Labour among
Filipino Kin Networks**

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Abstract

While the global care chains literature presupposes that care work flows unidirectionally along a hierarchical chain from the ‘Global South’ to the ‘Global North’ (Hochschild 2000; Parreñas 1998, 2000), this dissertation argues for a reconceptualization of transnational care and emotional labour that goes beyond links in a chain. Drawing on multisited ethnographic research conducted with a total of seventy participants in the Philippines, Canada, and Hong Kong, this study offers a more expansive approach to understanding transnational care and emotional labour as multiphased, multidirectional, multirelational, and multilocational in scope.

This dissertation makes some key interventions in gender, migration, and care scholarship. First, it understands that transnational care occurs in multiple phases in order to account for reconfigurations of care across the life course, such as migrants performing end-of-life care for elderly kin. Second, in contrast to the global care chains literature, which frames care as unidirectional, it highlights the ways in which care flows in multiple directions, showing how those who receive care also give care. Third, it moves away from an exclusive focus on the mother-child dyad, thereby decentering the Western heteronormative nuclear family structure and demonstrating how transnational care is multirelational, involving several generations and broader communities of carers. Fourth, it underscores the ways in which transnational care is multilocational by acknowledging how migrant networks often shift locales and perform care labour from multiple sites at once.

Finally and most importantly, this dissertation foregrounds *Pinay peminist kuwentuhan*, or Filipina feminist talkstory - a dynamic, collective, inclusive, participatory storytelling and storybuilding process that activates *Pinay* ways of knowing and being in the world. *Pinay peminist kuwentuhan* guides readers on a journey towards understanding the ways in which transnational Filipinos maintain kin solidarity and support the collective survival of migrant carers over time. Tracing the transnational caring practices of four Filipino migrant networks – specifically, their innovative use of traveling artefacts and information and communication technologies (ICTs) – this dissertation provides a more culturally nuanced approach to understanding transnational practices of care and emotional labour.

Keywords: *Pinay peminist kuwentuhan*, Filipino, Filipina, Filipinx, gender, migration, transnational, care, emotional labour, kin, networks, feminist theory, the Philippines, Canada, Hong Kong

Dedication

For *Kuya*, my inspiration, my mentor, my friend.

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Introduction

Bringing a *Pinay Peminist* Vision to Life

Wracked with uncertainty and self-doubt, I have attempted several iterations of this writing, trying to get it ‘perfect,’ but there is no perfect. There is only mess. And frustration. And struggle. And more mess. There is process and through it all, growth and healing. Here, I am fortified by *Pinay* scholar-activist, Nievera-Lozano’s words as I think about how to open this work. And so here, I start from a place of vulnerability.¹ Here, I start with acknowledging that I have struggled with ‘finding my academic voice’ because, for a long time, I thought that ‘my academic voice’ was somehow incongruent with my belief in a *Pinay peminist* vision. Nievera-Lozano writes:

As a *Pinay* scholar, I struggle to *speak* in fits and starts. I struggle to *write* in fits and starts with words that parrot the academy, with words to legitimize my worth and position... It is never easy to write for/in the academy. The pressure to articulate is heavy and daunting... But write, I must (2016, 1-2).

Write, I must. Even as I, too, struggle to speak and write in fits and starts. The struggle of what I interpret as a process of unlearning has been about *re-learning* how to write with integrity, openness, honesty, and vulnerability. I am still working towards understanding what this means. This dissertation, then, is not a finished product that provides a definitive guide to *Pinay peminism*. It is all process. It is unlearning - unfolding.

For me, working towards a *Pinay peminist* vision for this dissertation has meant placing the *kuwentuhan*² or talkstories of migrant and non-migrant carers front and centre and letting

¹ I came to the decision to acknowledge feelings of vulnerability in this work after a critical brainstorming session with committee member, Bonnie McElhinny.

² Pronounced kwen-too-han.

their talkstories guide this journey. It has meant reflexively placing my own *kuwentuhan* within this work in order to show how my own transnational kin network played a key role in making this journey possible. It has meant rejecting the idea that I must be restrictive in my writing style and content and in my way of ‘collecting data’ for fear that it is not ‘academic enough.’ It has meant being deliberate in my citational practices, in my decisions to foreground the works of *Pinay* and Filipina/o/x scholars and activists who inspired this journey in the first place. It has been about opening myself up to different forms of creative expression, to renewing and strengthening my commitment to community and to my own scholar-activist work. And so, here, I share my journey with you.

No one ever tells you that a poor Filipino kid from St. James Town,³ Toronto is a likely candidate for a PhD. No one ever tells you how privileged a space the academy is and how undeserving you will feel regardless of how many degrees you earn, or how deeply isolated and alone you will feel as the years go on. When I entered my first year as an undergraduate student in Women’s Studies and English Language and Literature at Queen’s University, I learned that I was the only *Pinay* in my cohort, the only *Pinay* in my entire department. When I entered my first year as a Master’s student in Sociology and Equity Studies in Education and Women and Gender Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto, I learned that I was the only *Pinay* in my cohort, the only *Pinay* in my entire department. And when I entered my first year as a PhD student in Gender, Feminist, and Women’s Studies at York University, I learned, again, that I was the only *Pinay* in my cohort, the only *Pinay* in my entire department.

³ St. James Town is the most densely populated neighbourhood in Canada. It is the largest high-rise community in all of Canada, one of the most multicultural, multiethnic, multilingual neighbourhoods in the city, and identified as one of the thirteen “economically deprived” neighbourhoods in the Greater Toronto Area. I have lived in Toronto community housing in St. James Town since I was five-years-old.

To be ‘the only one’ is a daunting position to be in. To be ‘the only one’ meant that it was a constant challenge to find support for my research, to find mentors in my home departments. It meant that I had to fight to retain my status as a student, fight to prove that my research mattered. I believe that my vexed position within the Canadian academy speaks to three larger issues. First, it speaks to the ways in which poor racialized bodies are differentially marked within the academy, and within white settler colonial contexts more broadly. Second, it speaks to the absence of Critical Filipino Studies in institutions of higher education and the lack of support or mentorship for students interested in developing work in this area. Finally, it highlights the need to explore the possibilities of a decolonial *Pinay peminist* (Filipina feminist) framework that foregrounds the lived experiences and situated knowledges of Filipino communities, particularly in light of powerful critiques by indigenous feminists, black feminists and feminists of colour on the ways in which the lives of gendered, classed, sexualized and racialized Others tend to be *written about* as case studies (Ahmed 2017; Alexander and Mohanty 2010a, 2010b; Hill-Collins 2000, 2004; Lawrence and Dua 2005; Mohanty 1984, 2003; Razack, Smith, and Thobani 2010; Swarr and Nagar 2010; Tuck and Yang 2012; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). In other words, while our labouring bodies may clean the hallowed halls of the academy, our ability to *write theory*, to contribute to epistemological production, is continually rendered invalid. This necessitates an interrogation of whose knowledges and experiences are being privileged within the academy, and whose are being violently erased.

Alexander and Mohanty (2010b) call into question who is considered a valid knowledge producer and disseminator of knowledge, and who is deemed to possess no knowledge or no knowledge *worth knowing* (2010, 29 [my emphasis]). They argue that spatialities of power are manifested in the very absence of indigenous students and students of colour, professors, and

administrators in the U.S. academy (2010, 40) and I posit, the Canadian academy as well. The results of their study on U.S. curricular content also point to the ways in which racialized Others are excised out of curricula thereby foreclosing critical engagements with transnational feminist theory and praxis, within the spaces of conference rooms, assembly halls, women and gender studies, queer studies classrooms, and other spaces of knowledge production (2010, 42).

Such excisions also occur within Asian American Studies and Filipino American Studies. de Jesus (2005) writes that for Filipina Americans, the legacy of imperialism and dual colonization by Spain and the United States has compounded the “[hetero]patriarchal bias of both Asian American and Filipino American studies, which has dictated the marginalization of Filipina voices, concerns and attempts to transform these disciplines through incorporating feminist and queer theory” (3-4). The contingent visibility of Filipinas as academics in Asian American Studies and Filipino American Studies is further exacerbated by the underrepresentation of Filipinas in the field of Gender, Feminist, and Women’s Studies (2005, 4). While de Jesus’ work centers on the historical specificities of Filipina American lives, I believe that it has wider applicability for critical diasporic Filipino scholar-activists in the Canadian context as well, although there are important distinctions in terms of migration trajectories and location-specific contexts as I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter One. Indeed, in the landmark volume titled, *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility* published in 2012, Coloma et al. acknowledge that the “scholarship on Filipina/os in the Canadian context is decidedly more recent and more limited in scope” gesturing to a much shorter immigration history – beginning in earnest in the 1960s – and resulting in a “shorter incubation period for both cultural and academic production” (12). The fact that this volume was published just six years ago is evidence of this shorter history in terms of the range and scope of issues covered.

My own lived experiences of underrepresentation, marginalization, and discrimination in the academy serve as a constant and powerful reminder that there is more work to be done. The contours of my own academic, advocacy and activist work with progressive Filipina feminist and migrant worker organizations like Gabriela Ontario (General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) and *Migrante Canada*, respectively, are driven by a *Pinay peminist* vision to carve out spaces where the knowledges and experiences of *Pinay* and Filipina/o/x scholars are taken seriously, where their – our - input matters, where we hold the power to shape and direct our own learning. For me, this intellectual and political project is about bringing a *Pinay peminist* framework to life. The implications of this work, then, are larger than this particular *Pinay peminist* project. I believe that this project holds within it the possibility of reimagining the ways in which we tell stories about transnational Filipino lives differently, and the ways in which we might employ *Pinay peminist kuwentuhan* for our teaching and scholar-activist work.

Pinay Peminism in Practice

This dissertation can further be read as a “meta-*kuwentuhan*” - a story about talkstories. It is about the stories on our tongues, the stories etched in our bodies - our faces, our hands, our feet - the stories we carry within us as we journey through life. Inspired by the works of Bonifacio (2014), de Jesus (2005), Francisco (2014), Jocson (2009), Nievera-Lozano (2013, 2016), and Tintiangco-Cubales and Sacramento (2009), it is about the ways in which a particular kind of Filipina feminist talkstorying, which I call *Pinay peminist kuwentuhan*, is employed to tell stories of migration journeys from the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Canada, and to further show how these sites become touch points for migrant and non-migrant carers’ (physical and virtual, real and imagined) journeys to other sites.

I view the method of *kuwentuhan* applied to multisited ethnographic research as a productive method for capturing stories of transnational Filipino life. As Francisco argues, unlike the structured or semi-structured interview format where “questions provoke answers”, *kuwentuhan* as method offers a more culturally nuanced methodological approach to bringing to life the stories of Filipino migrant care workers and their kin networks (2014, 85). It further privileges a “cultural style of communication and meaning making that relies on the cultural wealth that many Filipinos already share with one another” (Francisco 2014, 81). Centering the transnational talkstories of migrant care workers and their extended and chosen kin networks thus opens up spaces for identifying, naming, and connecting personal and collective histories and struggles, while simultaneously exploring the possible forms that *Pinay feminist* methodologies can take.

But what does it look like to frame multisited *kuwentuhan* as *Pinay feminist* praxis? I turn to Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales⁴ and Jocyl Sacramento’s work on *Pinay* praxis as one helpful guide. For Tintiangco-Cubales and Sacramento:

Pinayism has become a praxis asserting a transformative and transgressive agency that combines theory, practice, and personal reflection. *Pinayist* praxis is a process, place, and production that aims to connect the global and local to the personal issues and stories of *Pinay* struggle, survival... and strength (2009, 179-80).

Here, then, I see talkstorying and *Pinay* praxis as mutually constitutive - as processual, dynamic and transformative. I see *Pinay feminist kuwentuhan* as a space where collective healing *lives*, where a deep recognition and need for transnational kin survival and solidarity is centred, validated, and supported. I see *Pinay feminist kuwentuhan* as liberatory, as a way out of the intellectual confines of “white feminist hegemony,” and as a way *in* to deeper, more

⁴ Tintiangco-Cubales first theorized *Pinayism* in her 1996 essay of the same name.

reflexive, more intimate understandings of transnational Filipino lives and communities. As de Jesus writes, *Pinay peminist* theory can be framed as a form of feminist theory that “radically repudiates white feminist hegemony as it incorporates the Filipino American oppositional politics inscribed by choosing the term *Pilipino* over Filipino” (2005, 5).

I believe a commitment to prioritizing critical issues of concern identified *with* our communities in order to collectively resist processes of dehumanization is a vital and necessary aspect of understanding what *Pinay peminist* scholarship and activism can *do*. Moreover, if, as de Jesus writes, Filipinas remain “contingently visible as nameless, faceless overseas contract workers, sex workers, and mail-order brides scattered across the globe... as objects of a sexist imperial ideology [who remain] invisible as subjects and agents... simultaneously everywhere and nowhere,” then it is the goal of multisited *kuwentuhan* as *Pinay peminist* praxis to center the tellers of talkstories, to center the multiple subjectivities and agency of transnational carers in this dissertation and beyond (2005, 3).

Sharing My Own *Kuwentuhan*

Before introducing the transnational kin networks who generously gave their time and energy to this project, I wish to reflect upon my role as carer within my own transnational kin network. To begin this work from a place of vulnerability means situating myself squarely within this work and sharing with you the ways in which *kuwentuhan* throughout my ‘fieldwork’ unfolded - in the presence of my own extended and chosen kin - in the wake of traveling and unexpected news of death, chronic and terminal illness, and potentially fatal accidents.⁶ For me, every phase of ‘fieldwork’ seemed to be punctuated by events, which forced me to confront the ways in which transnational care and emotional labour intensifies and attenuates over the life course. Here, I position myself within conversations about transnational care in order to more

fully appreciate the ways in which transnational care and emotional labour is communicated and practiced, both in everyday moments and in moments of crisis.

Monday, January 28, 2013

Field journal entry

Baguio

Immediately after conducting the first phase of my fieldwork in Isabela, near the northeastern tip of Luzon, I travel with my parents, my aunt, three cousins and a niece to Baguio. We are lost for several hours, an endless, winding stretch of road before us. Eventually, we begin the steep ascent to Baguio City. We arrive in the early evening. We park haphazardly, anxious to feel solid ground beneath our feet again. We search for something to eat. Fried chicken and steamed white rice. We decide to go for a walk. Our path unlit. We know there is a night market somewhere in the vicinity. My parents stroll ahead of us by several meters.

And then my Mom gets hit by a truck. A tractor unit. I hear her scream. The headlights of the truck unlit. I recall the faint laughter of children playing in the streets... and my Mom's screams as the truck drives forward to hit her a second and third time. I rush toward the sound of my Mom's cries.

I stretch my arms out to feel for her. Crouched on concrete. I ask her questions in rapid succession, "Are you okay?" "What hurts?" "Can you stand?" She is holding on to my Dad's forearm for support. There is enough light for me to make out the looming shape of the truck. Realizing that he has hit a person, the driver quickly reverses. I chase after him. I refuse to let the driver get away with a hit-and-run. My aunt searches for help. The police arrive on scene. They manage to speak with the driver and tell him to follow us to Baguio General Hospital.

En route to the hospital, I realize I have run out of 'load'⁵ on my local cell phone. Thankfully, my cousin has not. She quickly sends a message to kin in Bulacan to ask them to send emergency load to my phone. After a series of coordinated text messages between my cousin and nieces who run a small *sari-sari*⁶ (variety) store and 'loading station' in Bulacan,⁷ I then text message my older brother in Rhode Island to inform him of our current situation. Though we are separated by a 12-hour time difference, I know that he is an early riser and there is a chance that he will respond sooner rather than later. I try calling him knowing that this will quickly drain my emergency load, but I do it anyway, desperate to get a hold of him. No answer. At this point, I do not know the extent of my Mom's injuries and I want to prepare him for a possible flight to the Philippines. I am steeling myself against the worst.

⁵ "The Philippine market is mostly pre-paid (some 95 per cent of the market) using low denominations ranging from 10 PHP to the very rare 500 PHP. Unusually, credit (locally referred to as 'load') has an expiration date which means that a 30 PHP top-up card will expire three days after an account is actually topped up. This pressure to spend any credit before it expires is one factor that has led to the dominance of texting" (Madianou and Miller 2012, 28).

⁶ Sari-sari stores that sell load are quite ubiquitous in the Philippines. More recently, new smartphone apps like "sariload" are being developed for sari-sari storeowners to sell and keep track of load. The app is currently available on Android devices.

⁷ My Mom had only learned to text message on a cell phone that year and was still getting used to the technology. She is 65 years old.

My Mom is admitted as soon as we arrive at the hospital. My Dad and I are responsible for reviewing and signing the necessary paperwork as my Mom promptly goes to x-ray. In the meantime, we wait. My Dad and I take turns sitting, standing, and pacing anxiously near the police, the driver responsible for my Mom's accident, and the driver's boss' administrative assistant who has just joined us. The two also await the test results and any charges that may follow. By the time we finally see a doctor and discuss my Mom's test results, we learn that apart from contusions to her hips and pelvis, she has no bone fractures, torn or sprained ligaments, no hemorrhages or lacerations to speak of. For all intents and purposes, my Mom is 'okay.' Except I know that she is not okay. Unwilling to stay for continued observation, my Mom insists that we head back to Manila. We do, at her request, but it is a long and exhausting journey for her, for all of us. In the car, I finally hear back from my brother. I am relieved to tell him that he does not have to fly to the Philippines.

At the heart of this *kuwento* (story) was the fear of losing my Mom and needing to share this fear with my brother more than 8000 miles away. My nieces and cousins made it possible to communicate with my brother and come up with a plan in case my Mom's condition proved to be fatal. Because my extended kin were continuously connected to their smartphones, they were able to respond quickly and effectively to the situation and keep everyone apprised of my Mom's status. This moment captures the ways in which transnational kin networks quickly come together and mobilize resources, which speaks directly to strategies of collective survival and solidarity adopted by transnational kin in the face of potential crises – a key theme explored throughout this dissertation. Other crucial examples of kin survival and solidarity can be drawn from *kuwentuhan* with the four transnational networks featured in this work. In the following section, I introduce two members of one of these networks, the De Rosales Care Network, in order to clarify the purpose of this study and the key research questions that frame it.

***Kuwentuhan* with Efren and Perla**

In this section, I introduce two members of the De Rosales Care Network, siblings, Efren and Perla, who were born in Laurel, Batangas, and both migrated to Hong Kong and Toronto,

Canada to perform domestic work. The following *kuwentuhan* takes place in Toronto:

Efren: I left the Philippines in September 1979. My friend help me to go to Hong Kong. He find me an employer. [I] stayed there for three years. A good friend came to Canada before me. I met her in Hong Kong. I said to her before she left, can you help me find an employer in Canada? Everybody there in Hong Kong is a caregiver and they are going to Canada like a caregiver too. I went to Canada in October 1982. I also sponsor *Inay*⁸ and my brother Edgar [the youngest one], but I didn't get Tatay.⁹ My Dad have a heart attack. They [Tatay and *Inay*] get an approval. Supposed to be they're coming to Canada... and then that's it. He died. After 15 years, I went back to 'see' Tatay [...] The rest of my brothers and sisters, they are all domestic workers starting to Perla, Liwliwa, Malaya, Maria, Jomar [...] I am the first one to come to Canada as a landed immigrant.

Perla: I was there in 1980 in Hong Kong. Efren found an employer for me. Different employer; different place. Only we see each other over the weekend because my day off is Saturday. May 1983, I come over to Canada. I help my two sisters. I got one to fill in my job because I obtained my immigration papers. My employer [is] the one looking for a caregiver. And then I get one sister from back home, and the other sister start getting the other from back home. All of us are here now.

This *kuwentuhan* allows us to trace the beginnings of a multiphase migration journey that started with Efren in 1979, which launched the journeys of *Inay*, Edgar, Perla, Liwliwa, Malaya, Maria, and Jomar, to Canada. It is notable that Efren is the first sibling to arrive in Canada as a landed immigrant, while her other siblings (with the exception of Edgar) were required to fulfill the terms of Canada's Foreign Domestic Movement Program from 1983 onwards. Efren and Perla's *kuwentuhan* captures the increasingly complex transnational trajectories of migrant care workers today. For Efren, the first phase of her journey began when she left the Philippines to perform domestic work in Hong Kong in 1979. The second phase of her journey involved her emigration to Canada in 1982. Shortly after, the first phase of Perla's migration journey began.

This *kuwentuhan* also allows us to see that moments intended to mark celebration, arrival,

⁸ Mother.

⁹ Father.

and reunification can turn into moments of mourning, literal and figurative departure, and separation. Upon learning of Tatay's death, Efren went back to Batangas to plan and prepare Tatay's funeral, constituting a third phase in Efren's migration journey. Tatay's death points to some of the challenges of living transnational migrant lives, of the foreclosure of kin reunions and the inability to 'say goodbye' to loved ones when confronted with news of sudden illness and death. It further demonstrates the financial and emotional costs of navigating transnational intimacies tied to particular kin rituals where the desire to be physically co-present in order to provide hands on care are more profoundly felt.

Despite the complexity of Efren and Perla's journeys and the journeys of so many others, the literature on gender, global migration, and care work, particularly the work on 'global care chains,' does not seem to account for such non-linear patterning. While the global care chains literature presupposes that care work flows unidirectionally along a hierarchical chain from the 'Global South' to the 'Global North' (Hochschild 2000, 2001; Parreñas 1998, 2000), this dissertation argues for a reconceptualization of transnational care and emotional labour that goes beyond links in a chain.

The questions that animate this dissertation, then, are the following: Given the ways in which the literature presents global care chains as unidirectional, how are we to make sense of Efren and Perla's *kuwentuhan*? What specific forms of care and emotional labour emerge within broader transnational kin contexts over time? In identifying key roles and forms of care and emotional labour, what is notable about how such labour is *enacted* and *expressed*? How do extended and chosen kin networks understand, negotiate and contest the care and emotional labour they perform? What are the sets of logics and forms of reciprocity and obligation that might inform such decisions?

Drawing on multisited *kuwentuhan* and ethnographic observations of four transnational kin networks spanning the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Canada - the De Rosales, Aglipay, Manalo, and Agbayani Care Networks - I argue for a reconceptualization of transnational care labour that is (1) multiphased, (2) multidirectional, (3) multilocational, and (4) multirelational in scope. This multifaceted approach showcases the ways in which transnational kin networks develop critical strategies to not only maintain kin solidarity among migrant and non-migrant carers (that is, maintain intimacies, a sense of vital connectedness over time and across vast distances), but also to support their collective survival across generations in the face of a global capitalist economy that devalues their labour and continually threatens to pull them apart.

Reading this Thesis

I have divided this dissertation into two parts. Part One, *Where the Journey Begins* establishes the foundation for my study. In Chapter One, *Labour Migration from the Philippines to Hong Kong and Canada*, I provide the context for understanding the migratory trajectories of each transnational care network. This chapter identifies state policies in the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Canada that govern the inflow and outflow of migrant domestic workers and caregivers. Specifically, I look at the ways in which the Philippine Labor Export Policy has facilitated the outflow of Filipino migrant workers to Hong Kong and Canada where the status of migrant workers remains precarious and uncertain. I pay particular attention to iterations of Canada's Caregiver Program under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and its claims to offer permanent resident status to caregivers who complete these programs. I move from these dominant narratives of national success and economic prosperity to trace local Filipino community histories of activist struggle and resilience in each of these sites.

In Chapter Two, *Global Care Chains: Conceptual Origins and Departures*, I offer a selective overview of the global care chains literature and its connections to the larger corpus of research on gender, migration and care. Here, I bring together the global care chains literature with other theoretical frameworks on transnational care in order to examine significant convergences and divergences in understandings of transnational caring practices. I then take up scholarly literature that challenges and expands this concept, followed by emergent literature that has led to its further growth and development. In Chapter Three, *Pinay Peminist Kuwentuhan as Multisited Method: A Reflexive Approach*, I discuss the ways in which coming to *kuwentuhan* was a transnational journey in and of itself. I share my own autoethnographic account in order to reflexively situate myself within my work and to share the ways in which my own transnational care networks played crucial roles throughout my ‘fieldwork.’

In Part Two, “*This is How We Care!*”: *Transnational Care and Emotional Labour in Practice*, each chapter showcases the ways in which a multiphased, multidirectional, multilocal, and multirelational approach captures the care and emotional labour expressed by each transnational network. It is here that I introduce multiple members of kin networks in multiple locations in order to recreate a sense of the dynamic collective storytelling process that is part of the multisited *Pinay peminist kuwentuhan* experience.

In Chapter Four, “*All of Us are Here Now*”: *Transnational Mobilities in Perspective*, I map out the collective journeys of Filipino migrant care networks and explore the ways in which these journeys are influenced by the ever-evolving care needs of their kin. It is here that I more fully develop the concept of multiphase migration journeys by drawing on *kuwentuhan* with the De Rosales, Agbayani, Aglipay, and Manalo Care Networks. In Chapter Five, “*Send yung Love (Send the Love)*”: *Caring through Traveling Artefacts*, I show how artefacts themselves tell

stories – stories of potential loss and destruction of intimate objects like family portraits. The traveling artefacts that I highlight in this chapter are artefacts of the everyday – artefacts that present us with an archive of kin histories that are preserved in creative, connective, and meaningful ways, artefacts that perhaps would not otherwise be viewed as vital to understanding the ways in which care is expressed among transnational kin networks, but which, I argue, enrich, nuance, and reveal valuable information about the intimate lives of transnational care networks.

In Chapter Six, “*We Really Keep in Touch!*”: *Caring through Digital Technologies*, I explore how engagement with different modes of communication result in different forms of intimacy and require a reframing of how transnational communication technologies have transformed “how we care,” that is, how kin make sense of their caring roles and the emotional labour that goes into these redefined roles. Highlighting asynchronous communication such as letters and landlines, and synchronous platforms such as Skype, Viber, Facebook, and WhatsApp, this chapter traces the ways in which transnational kin networks navigate a range of communicative environments to explore shifting forms of care and intimacy, as well as aspects of ‘doing kin work’ differently over time.

The conclusion to this dissertation, *Journeying On*, brings us back full circle. In this final chapter, I reflect upon the journey I began. I explore what it means to take *Pinay* and Filipina/o/x scholar-activism seriously and bring *Pinay peminist* visions to light. I then address the theoretical implications of this work within existing gender, migration, and care scholarship and outline the *Pinay peminist* possibilities it holds for Critical Filipino Studies and *Pinay Peminist* Studies in particular. Finally, I end with a discussion of my scholar-activist commitments and future works coming out of the recent announcement that Canada’s Caregiver Program will end in November

2019. I take this as an entry point into further discussion about the heightened vulnerability and precarity of migrant care workers globally, and how a multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational understanding of transnational networks of care might provide us with some tools for future transnational migrant activist work.

Part One

Where the Journey Begins

Part One lays the theoretical and methodological groundwork for this study. Here, the journey begins with the Philippines. It is from this point that all other journeys begin. To understand how Filipino migrants came to live and labour in places like Hong Kong and Canada, it is first necessary to understand how the Philippines came to be one of the largest organized exporters of human labour in the world. Chapter One thus provides an historical overview of the institutionalization of labour migration in the Philippines. While brief, it serves a critical purpose in clarifying the rationale for the fieldwork sites chosen. Chapter Two further contextualizes the rationale for this study by identifying the literature that I see this dissertation in conversation with. The primary purpose of this chapter is to show how I plan to build upon the scholarship on global migration, gender, and care. Chapter Three brings Part One to a close. It is in this final chapter that I discuss the significance of *Pinay peminist kuwentuhan* as multisited method in order to set the stage for what is to come in Part Two of this dissertation.

Chapter One

Labour Migration from the Philippines to Hong Kong and Canada

Filipina feminist sociologist, Robyn Magalit Rodriguez argues that if we “hope to fully grasp the new complexities of the Filipino migrant experience” we must first understand that Filipinos’ global and U.S. migrations are “inextricably linked because both are attributable to U.S. imperial legacies in the Philippines, specifically the formation of the neocolonial Philippine state as labor brokerage state” (Rodriguez 2016, 52).¹⁰ After over 300 years of Spanish colonial rule beginning with the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521, the Philippines was ceded to the United States for 20 million dollars, alongside Puerto Rico, Guam, and Cuba, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1898 (Coloma et al. 2012, 13). Thus began an era of U.S. colonial rule that lasted until the end of the Second World War, which precipitated the labour migration of Filipinos to the United States, and launched “an extensive and intertwined, but not necessarily mutually beneficial, network of trade interests [...] cultural and educational exchanges, and military experiences and structures” (Coloma et al. 2012, 13).

While “migration has always been a crucial element in the making of the Philippines and of Filipino overseas communities,”¹¹ it was not until the implementation of the Labor Code of 1974 that a labour export policy was formally instituted in the Philippines (Manalansan and Espiritu 2016, 4). Indeed, shortly after the declaration of Martial Law by former dictator and Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos in 1972, Marcos implemented the Labor Code of 1974

¹⁰ Rodriguez defines the brokering of labor as a neoliberal economic strategy developed by the Philippine state to effectively secure and manage the labor of its citizens.

¹¹ It is important to note that Filipino migration is embedded in longer colonial histories in the Philippines. Manalansan and Espiritu elaborate that during the Spanish colonial period, “internal migrations [...] led to the population of ‘frontier’ areas in the Philippines, transoceanic crossings to Mexico through the galleon trade, which led to unexpected twists as in the founding of a pre-US Civil War Filipino settlement in Louisiana, and to the European sojourns of the *ilustrados* (elite)” (2016, 3).

(Presidential Decree No. 442). Initially, this labour export policy was intended to be a stopgap measure in response to growing political unrest, increasing rates of unemployment and underemployment in the Philippines, and as a strategy to address severe balance of payment problems through remittances as outlined in Article 22 of the Labor Code (Tyner 2009). In the 1970s, key governing bodies were developed to oversee, regulate, and facilitate the outmigration of Filipino workers, specifically the Overseas Employment Development Board (OEDB) and the National Seamen Board (NSM); the former aimed at managing all land-based overseas employment and the latter aimed at managing all sea-based overseas employment. In 1982, through Executive Order 797, both the OEDB and NSM were consolidated into what is now known as the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), which was later reorganized under Executive Order 247 in 1986.¹²

That same year, after the ousting of President Ferdinand Marcos, Corazon “Cory” Aquino became the 11th President of the Philippines. A year into her presidency, POEA’s administrative powers expanded, and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), formerly the Welfare Fund for Overseas Workers, was born to manage concerns over the welfare and provision of support to overseas workers and their families.¹³

By the mid- to late-1980s, demand for health care professionals, particularly nurses, in Saudi Arabia, as well as the United States grew. It was during this time that Filipinos were increasingly being hired as domestic workers, most prominently in Hong Kong and the Middle East, but also in Singapore and other parts of East and Southeast Asia. Thus, the 1980s “marked

¹² “Executive Order No. 797,” CRALAW, last modified April 12, 2018, <http://www.chanrobles.com/poeaexecutiveorderno797.htm#EXECUTIVE%20ORDER%20NO.%20797>

“Executive Order No. 247,” CRALAW, last modified April 12, 2018, <http://www.chanrobles.com/poeaexecutiveorderno247.htm>

¹³ “History,” Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), last modified April 12, 2018, <http://www.owwa.gov.ph/?q=content/owwa>

the beginning of a feminization of export labor” due to the growth and demand for Filipino women in nursing and domestic work, as well as entertainment, factory work, and sales (Asis 2006).

As women constitute the majority of the Philippines’ well-educated, English-speaking migrant labour force, they have historically experienced higher rates of worker abuse and exploitation (Asis 2006). One of the most pivotal cases to expose the vulnerability of female overseas workers was the case of Flor Contemplacion, a Filipina domestic worker in Singapore who was accused of murdering her Singaporean employer’s son, three-year-old, Nicholas Huang, and fellow Filipina domestic worker, Delia Maga. Contemplacion was convicted and sentenced to death by hanging in 1995. Contemplacion became a powerful figure in Philippine labour history - a rallying symbol in the eyes of Filipinos globally. Thousands took to the streets before, during, and after Contemplacion’s death. Her execution, in particular, highlighted the glaring absence of comprehensive measures to protect overseas workers, and the state’s lack of preparedness in dealing with the escalating violence committed against Filipino migrants, and Filipino women in particular. As Guevarra aptly put it, Contemplacion’s case was a critical moment in “humanizing the country’s labor export policy and punctuating its ethos of labor migration and dependence on workers’ remittances for national economic survival” (2010, 36). It was her death that contributed to the accelerated passage of Republic Act (RA) 8042 or the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act, popularly referred to as the “Magna Carta” for Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos in 1995 - the year of Contemplacion’s execution.¹⁴ Though it must be stated that RA8042 was ultimately ineffective in protecting the rights of

¹⁴ “REPUBLIC ACT No. 8042: Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995,” Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), last modified April 12, 2018, [http://www.poea.gov.ph/lawsandrules/files/Migrant%20Workers%20Act%20of%201995%20\(RA%208042\).html](http://www.poea.gov.ph/lawsandrules/files/Migrant%20Workers%20Act%20of%201995%20(RA%208042).html)

overseas Filipino workers as its primary mandate was to shift from actively *promoting* to *managing* a system of labour export.

The Philippines is now known as one of the largest exporters of human labour in the world. In fact, the export of Filipino workers has become “an integral aspect of the Philippine political economy. All administrations since Marcos have been determined not to upset this lucrative program of labour export” (Bakan and Stasilus 1997, 4). The Philippines has become so successful as a major exporter of human labour that it has become a model for other labour-exporting countries according to the International Labor Organization (Hilal, Sparreboom, and Meade 2013, 10).

Indeed, in 2017, the latest Philippine Statistics Authority Survey on Overseas Filipinos announced that the total number of OFWs was estimated at 2.2 million. OFWs now work in more than 200 countries with an average of over 6000 OFWs leaving the Philippines daily, compared to 2500 in 2009 (Mitra 2017). Just this past year, one in every four OFWs worked in Saudi Arabia (23.8%), followed by the United Arab Emirates (15.9%), Kuwait (6.4%), and Qatar (6.2%) (PSA 2017). Outside of the Middle East, Hong Kong, as well as North and South America, constituted approximately 5.6% of OFWs, respectively (PSA 2017). Total cash remittances sent by OFWs averaged \$28.06 billion, and personal remittances at \$31.29 billion in 2016 (BSP 2016). Furthermore, latest statistics showed that more than half of all OFWs identified as females (53.6%) and were generally within the age range of 25 to 39 years old (PSA 2017). While leading destinations for OFWs have shifted over the years, what remains constant is the concentration of OFWs in Asian countries since the 1970s. For example, among deployed land-based OFWs within Asia, Hong Kong was identified as holding the highest numbers in 2010, and ranking second only to Singapore from 2011 to 2014. In 2015, Hong Kong still

remained a top destination among Asian countries (PSA 2015). Moreover, from 2010 to 2014, POEA ranked Hong Kong as number five and Canada as number ten among top ten destinations for land-based OFWs (new hires and rehires) globally. Significantly, Canada was the only non-Asian country to make this earlier list.

But these numbers do not really tell the stories of hardship that OFWs face, the challenges of long-term family separation, the ongoing financial costs associated with securing jobs overseas while maintaining and supporting kin members, nor of colossal state administrative errors and an historic lack of accountability when it comes to guaranteeing a high quality of security and protection of OFWs as we have seen in the case of Flor Contemplacion. Rather, these figures present a dominant narrative of success - that Filipinos are leaving the Philippines in unprecedented numbers and contributing to a thriving national economy. However, to make sense of the transnational lives of Filipino migrants in later chapters, we must understand how and why they came to be among the thousands leaving the Philippines daily for top destinations like Hong Kong and Canada, which are the two key sites explored in this dissertation.

Journeying from the Philippines to Hong Kong

As the Hong Kong economy boomed in the 1970s, a higher demand for labour corresponded with increasing numbers of local women joining the labour force (Asian Migration Centre 2001, 15). Consequently, when Hong Kong instituted its 1973 policy admitting foreign domestic workers to alleviate local labour shortages and meet the needs of a growing Chinese upper- and middle-class, Filipino, Indonesian, Thai, and other “foreign domestic workers” or FDWs¹⁵ began to change the face of migrant labour in Hong Kong (Constable 2007, 2014). In

¹⁵ Migrant domestic workers are officially referred to as “foreign domestic helpers” or FDHs in Hong Kong, however, I align myself with domestic worker activists who prefer the term ‘foreign domestic worker’ or FDW which underscores their significant economic contributions to Hong Kong society.

particular, the migration of high school and college-educated Filipinos to Hong Kong under two-year employment contracts and temporary visas grew significantly during the 1980s (Constable 2009, 149).

Despite the introduction of the 1987 New Conditions of Stay, also known as the “Two-Week Rule” (which forces domestic workers to return to the Philippines within two weeks of contract termination), which was followed by the “temporary ban on approval of new contracts” implemented by former Philippine President Aquino in 1988, Filipino domestic workers still make up the majority of hires. Filipino domestic workers made up 84.5 percent of migrant workers in Hong Kong by the early 1990s, quickly rising to 90 percent of all foreign domestic workers by 1993.¹⁶ In the 2000s, according to the Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, Filipinas comprised the largest number of employed foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong. For example, in 2008, there were 122, 720 Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong with a valid limit of stay, and in 2016, this number rose to 184, 762.¹⁷

Table 1. Number of Filipino Domestic Workers in Hong Kong, 2008-2016

Gender	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
F	122 720	126 513	133 761	140 766	152 007	160 589	168 706	177 619	184 762
M	3 223	3 362	2 552	3 787	3 962	4 039	4 073	4 242	4 343
Total	125 943	129 875	136 313	144 553	155 969	164 628	172 779	181 861	189 105

Source: Census and Statistics Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

These numbers have only continued to grow. Filipinos comprise 193, 680 of foreign domestic workers, while Indonesian domestic workers comprise 156, 569, followed by Thai

¹⁶ “Domestic Helpers,” Hong Kong Census Statistics Department, last modified June 16, 2012 <http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp430.jsp?productCode=FA100164>

¹⁷ “Labor Force Characteristics: Foreign Domestic Helpers by Nationality and Sex,” Hong Kong Census Statistics Department, last modified July 7, 2017 http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/gender/labour_force/

domestic workers at 2 506.¹⁸ Thus, between 1973 and 2017, the total number of foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong rose to 358, 900.

Despite the growing presence of over 300, 000 FDWs in Hong Kong since the 1970s, FDWs are excluded from becoming permanent residents or citizens of Hong Kong. It is important to note that the language of citizenship in Hong Kong is framed differently since Hong Kong has been categorized a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China since the end of British colonial rule in 1997. Constable elaborates: “Permanent residence or right of abode in Hong Kong is like political citizenship. It entitles a person to vote and to all local political rights” (2014, 10). FDWs do not enjoy the benefits of permanent residency, or right of abode under Hong Kong’s Basic Law (miniconstitution), nor are they able to enter Hong Kong with their dependents; instead, they are subject to strict conditions of stay and deportation (Constable 2014). Indeed, Hong Kong’s High Court ruled against extending the right to apply for permanent residency to foreign domestic workers in 2012, after Filipino domestic workers, Evangeline Vallejos and Daniel Domingo, who had both worked in Hong Kong for over twenty years, requested a formal review of Hong Kong immigration law (Chiu and Moy 2015).

Moreover, the live-in requirement which was officially introduced in Hong Kong in 2003¹⁹ to prevent workers from taking on part-time positions outside of their full-time two-year contracts, was upheld after an earlier High Court ruling involving the case of a Filipina domestic worker, Nancy Almorin Luciano (Ewing 2018). The ruling against the elimination of the live-in requirement effectively blocks FDWs from qualifying as “ordinarily resident” which would

¹⁸ “Domestic Helpers.”

¹⁹ Although it was common for domestic workers to live in their employers’ homes before the 2003 requirement was instituted.

entitle them to permanent residency after seven years of consecutive stay.²⁰ Despite these rulings, it is important to recognize that the efforts of Filipino migrant domestic workers like Vallejos, Domingo, and Luciano, alongside other migrant worker activists and advocates have not been in vain as they continue to mount protests and organize actions to increase pressure on the Philippine government and ‘receiving’ countries to secure greater protection of Overseas Filipino Workers globally.

Journeying from Hong Kong to Canada

Of the numbers of Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong, it is unknown how many of them migrate directly to Canada to pursue work as live-in caregivers. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) does not track the third-country work experience of LCP applicants; further, it is typical for domestic workers to return to the Philippines after working in Hong Kong, listing the Philippines as their place of birth and country of origin on their applications (McKay 2005, 16). That said, there are a few key studies that offer some insight into this particular migratory trajectory. The Gabriela Transitions Experiences Survey (GATES)²¹ is one recent example (Banerjee et al. 2017). The findings draw on a 2012-2013 survey of 631 Filipino women²² who arrived in Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program. The GATES findings point to how commonplace it is for caregivers to have worked in a third country.²³ For example,

²⁰ “Meanings of Right of Abode and Other Terms,” Immigration Department, The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Hong Kong Immigration Department, last modified July 12, 2017, <https://www.immd.gov.hk/eng/services/roa/term.html>

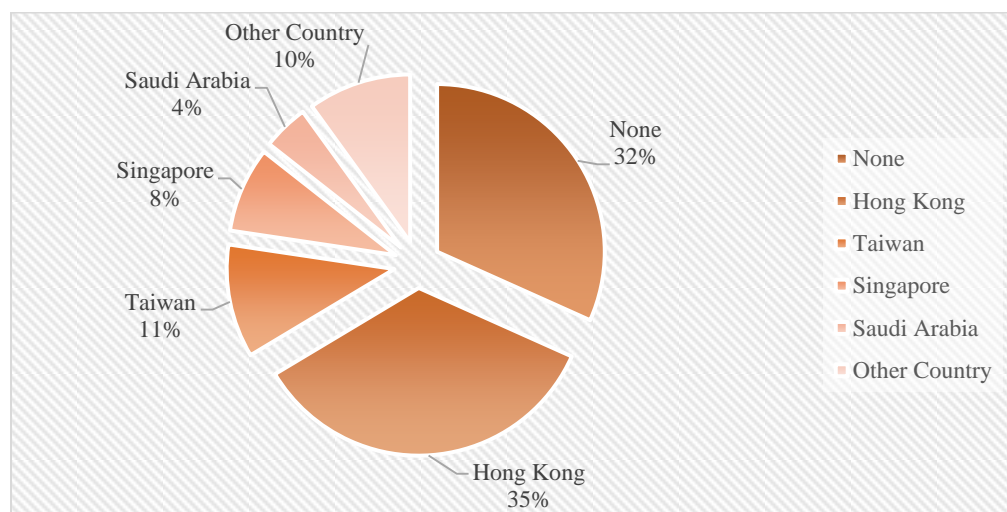
²¹ The Gabriela Transitions Experiences Survey or GATES was a nation-wide survey spearheaded by Gabriela Ontario in partnership with Ryerson University, York University, and the Community Alliance for Social Justice, which evaluated the employment and educational challenges of caregivers transitioning out of Canada’s Live-in Caregiver Program. I had the privilege of being a part of this project as both a researcher and member of Gabriela Ontario.

²² The GATES findings indicate that 33 per cent of participants were based in Toronto; 31 per cent in Vancouver; 14 per cent in Montreal; 11 per cent in Calgary; 6 per cent in Ottawa; and 5 per cent in Edmonton. See Appendix A.

²³ Of the 631 current and former caregivers who participated in the GATES study, roughly 68 per cent worked in a third country prior to their arrival in Canada, while 14 per cent worked in two countries or more, and less than 3 per cent worked in three or more countries. See Appendix A.

prior to their arrival in Canada, survey participants had already worked an average of 12.37 years outside of the Philippines, citing Hong Kong as the most common country of residence at 35 per cent, followed by Taiwan at 11 per cent, Singapore at 8 per cent, and Saudi Arabia at 4 per cent (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. “Third Country Work Experience”



Source: Gabriela Transitions Experiences Survey 2014

This strategy of building work experience in a third country before migrating to Canada is also referred to as “deploying cross-country” (McKay and PWC-BC 2002, 15). According to McKay and the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia, for domestic workers and caregivers, countries like Hong Kong and Singapore are viewed as “stepping stones” or “stopover points” en route to Canada (2005). This is, in part, due to the fact that it is both “easier and cheaper” to do contract work in countries that are in closer proximity to the Philippines before applying to work as live-in caregivers in Canada (2005, 16). Canadian Embassy officials consider cross-country deployment as “easier” since records of prior employment experience from countries like Hong Kong and Singapore can be more easily verified, resulting in a speedier

approval process (2005, 16).²⁴ Bonifacio (2014) also confirms that Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong are “eligible to apply as caregivers under the LCP in Canada” with at least one year of “experience outside the Philippines in lieu of certification from a six-month accredited caregiver course in the Philippines” (42).

Another indication that the Hong Kong to Canada trajectory is a common one is reflected in the consistent knowledge that domestic workers have about Canada’s immigration requirements for the Live-in Caregiver Program compared to other countries. Based on the 95 domestic workers in the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Singapore who participated in Pauls’ study (2011), she argues that this is likely due to the fact that the LCP has been established for more than twenty years, and that participants tended to have “at least one contact in Canada who had migrated through stepwise international migration” (1854).

What can be further gleaned from the GATES findings and other anecdotal evidence is that these links between the Philippines, Hong Kong and Canada reveal a sophisticated social infrastructure in place to facilitate and guide the multiphased migration journeys of Filipino migrant workers. In fact, as I argue in later chapters, it is often caregivers’ networks that are most vital to facilitating the migration process. My work confirms that transnational kin who strategically opt to work as domestic workers in Hong Kong with the aim of eventually migrating to Canada, tend to base their decisions on other kin’s migration patterns. Indeed, Paul (2011) writes that among the 95 participants in her study, almost all relied, to some extent, on migrant social capital, which refers to “the information or assistance received through network connections to reduce the costs and risk of migration (1862). She writes that most participants knew of friends or relatives who had engaged in multiphased journeys using Hong Kong and

²⁴ Although it is questionable whether the “approval” process could be considered speedy in 2017, as the government of Canada has since changed the policy around the Caregiver Program and created more stringent measures to entry, though the majority of caregiver migrants continue to be from the Philippines.

Singapore as “launch pads for eventual journeys to the West [encouraging] them to follow a similar trajectory” (1862). According to Paul (2011), these networks of friends and relatives became “role models whose migration strategies and trajectories were to be emulated” (1862).

Framed differently, Bonifacio (2014) also confirms that “personal and social networks, both within and outside the Philippines, facilitate chain migration [where] referrals to employers or placement agencies are a norm [and] ‘graduates’ of the LCP often submit names of family members or friends to replace them” (47). As we shall see in Part Two of this dissertation, this is an important phenomenon in the migratory trajectories of Filipinos as it highlights the ways in which domestic workers and caregivers work to maintain relationships with transnational kin to ensure their individual and collective survival through processes of direct and indirect familial sponsorship and housing provision.

Anju Paul (2011) innovatively re-frames the strategy of cross-country deployment as ‘stepwise international migration’ involving “multiple stops (of substantive duration) in various intermediate locations as part of an intentional, hierarchical progression toward an individual migrant’s preferred destination” (1844). For example, it is distinct from ‘chain migration,’ ‘onward migration (also referred to as secondary, tertiary, triangular or remigration),’ and ‘serial migration,’²⁵ none of which consider an “overarching migration strategy” or the “orders of countries through which migrants travel” (Paul 2011, 1864). For Paul, stepwise international migration is, importantly, characterized by their “incremental, hierarchical, contingent, constrained, dynamic, complex, and fundamentally agentic nature” (129). Paul’s research is a refreshing departure from works that focus on migration patterns as “single-stage, point-to-point journeys” (1864). It is also significant in that it allows us to see how migrants strategically

²⁵ Common among these formulations of migration is that they typically involve migration to multiple countries; however, the order or flow of these migration patterns differs, or are unaccounted for.

“accumulate migrant capital over time,” which they can then put towards budgeting for further migration journeys (1880). Her work affirms the critical strategies adopted by Filipino migrant domestic workers to develop long-term plans for living and working in destinations like Canada - a vision that may not be immediately realizable, but includes permanent settlement, eventual reunification with loved ones, citizenship status, and job security.

Filipinos in Canada

The purpose of this section is to firstly, observe developments in Filipino community histories that reflect the historical migration of Filipinos to particular regions of Canada following the “waves” template that many demographic profiles of Filipino immigration tend to adopt as a method of organizing, categorizing and understanding migration from the Philippines to Canada. My overarching goal in this section is to share various Filipino community histories that have been produced over time and bring them in conversation with each other, as each identifies and responds to various silences and gaps in the academic and non-academic literature – a further reflection of internal diversity among communities of Filipinos living in Canada. This internal diversity also speaks to key differences that point to the arbitrariness of the singular, homogenous Canadian census category ‘Filipino,’ which has come to be used in everyday parlance.

Perhaps the earliest published works on Filipino communities in Canada can be traced back to the 1980s (Aranas 1983; Beltran-Chen 1977, 1998; Bustamante 1984; Cusipag and Buenafe 1993; Laquian 1973; Laquian and Laquian 2008). Aranas (1983), for example, documents the first arrival of two Filipinos to Canada before 1931, which is a lesser known fact compared to the more commonly known “waves” of Filipino immigration that began in earnest in the 1960s, after the replacement of Canada’s preferential system that mandated “keeping

Canada white” with a points-based system built on criteria such as education, age, English or French proficiency, and occupational demand and skill, as outlined in Canada’s Immigration Act of 1967 (Bonifacio 2014, 48).

Cusipag and Buenafe (1993) provide one well-known historical account of the Filipino community’s civic, entrepreneurial and political life in Toronto, while Aranas (1983) and Beltran-Chen (1998) offer demographic profiles of Filipino immigrants that expand accounts of Filipino cultural life and intergenerational activities beyond Toronto to Thunder Bay, for example. Prominently cited scholars like Pratt (1997, 1999) and McKay (2002) contribute much to the literature on Filipino caregivers and youth in Vancouver, while more recent works include Kelly’s report on challenges to intergenerational mobility among Filipino youth in Canada (2014) and Bonifacio’s *Pinay on the Prairies* (2014), which both offer updated socio-demographic profiles of Filipinos in Canada covering immigration status, period of arrival, gender composition, marital status, residence, and mobility status to Beltran-Chen’s early 1980s coverage, creating momentum in discussions on Filipinos’ labour market integration and segmentation, which is yet another prominent theme in the literature on Filipinos in Canada.

It is useful to understand the context under which the immigration of Filipinos to Canada has been framed in order to grasp the major themes that have emerged in the literature. Filipinos can be considered relative newcomers to Canada given that the first ‘wave’ of Filipino immigration to Canada began in the late 1960s. Filipino immigrants at the time were predominantly medical professionals, namely doctors, nurses, and laboratory technicians (for more on migration of Filipino healthcare professionals, specifically nurses, to Canada, see Bonifacio 2014; Pratt 1999; PWC-BC 2000). Administrative and teaching professionals were also represented in this first wave of Filipino migration. A very important feature of this first

wave of Filipino migration to Canada was the granting of landed immigrant status or permanent residency status upon arrival (Coloma et al. 2012, 9). It is also worth noting that Filipino immigrants throughout this first wave and subsequent waves were characteristically “in their prime productive years, between 25 to 48 years old and highly educated” (PWC-BC 2000, 16).

The second wave of Filipino immigration to Canada began in the 1970s coinciding with the declaration of Martial Law in the Philippines in 1972 by then President Ferdinand Marcos. The 1970s saw a notable increase in Filipinos entering clerical, manufacturing and service jobs, and a gradual decline in the hiring of Filipinos into professional positions (Aranas 1983; Cusipag and Buenafe 1993; Kelly 2006; Laquian 1973). It should be noted that this gradual decline in hiring Filipino professionals not only reflected the state of the Canadian labour market at the time and the lack of higher-paying jobs available, but also the general underutilization of immigrant workers’ skills, which was not exclusive to Filipino immigrants. Perhaps the most significant change to Canadian immigration policy in the late 1970s was the inclusion of the family reunification category in 1978, which enabled first-wave Filipino immigrants to sponsor family members. This resulted in a significant increase in the Filipino elderly population and Filipino settlement in Canada overall (Coloma et al. 2012; Coloma and Pino 2016; Ferrer et al. 2017).

The 1980s to the present is typically considered the third wave of Filipino immigration to Canada. It is during this period that some of the most striking changes to immigration policy affecting Filipino migrant arrivals occur. While independent and sponsored immigrants continued to enter Canada through other immigration streams, the 1980s and early 1990s saw a sharp rise in the number of Filipino women arriving under what was then known as the Foreign Domestic Movement Program (FDM). For example, while only 15 per cent of entrants were

Filipino women in 1983, by 1992, when the FDM was renamed the Live-in Caregiver Program under the auspices of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)²⁶ that number had increased to 68 per cent, and by 2009, to 90 per cent (Kelly, Park, de Leon and Priest 2011, 10). The Philippines eventually rose to become the primary source country for live-in caregivers in Canada (Kelly et al. 2009; San Juan Jr. 2006).

Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program (1992 – 2014)

In the absence of a comprehensive childcare system, the Canadian federal government has relied on various temporary recruitment methods to facilitate the migration of racialized domestic workers to Canada. The implementation of the 1950s Caribbean Domestic Scheme was the first policy to officially mark Canada's "gradual transition from a predominantly white labour pool in domestic service to one in which the majority were women of colour" (Macklin, 1994, 16). And it was the LCP's immediate predecessor, the 1981 Foreign Domestic Movement, which initiated the surge in the recruitment of Filipino domestic workers.

Part of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP), the LCP was structured to meet demands for private, live-in care for children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities. The program offered principal applicants the possibility of permanent residency under the condition that they complete 24 months of live-in care work within a 36-month period. In 2010, following consultations with advocacy groups and a 2009 report by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, live-in caregivers had up to 48 months to fulfill the mandatory 24-month live-in requirement.

The Live-in Caregiver Program and its earlier iterations have been widely critiqued by scholars who have raised important questions around live-in caregiver rights, citizenship status,

²⁶ In 2015, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) was 'rebranded' as Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC).

and belonging within the Canadian nation-state (Giles and Arat-Koc 1994; Macklin 1994; Bakan and Stasiulis 1997; Arat-Koc, Villasin, and INTERCEDE 2001; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005). Other scholars have framed Canada's institutionalization of highly classed, gendered, and racialized recruitment methods in terms of international labour and human rights violations (Chang 2000; Oxman-Martinez et al. 2001). An extensive report commissioned by Status of Women Canada laid out concrete recommendations to help reform immigration law, labour law, contract law and social legislation with respect to the Live-in Caregiver Program (Langevin and Belleau 2000). Prompted by deportation threats and a wide range of abuses faced by foreign domestic workers of colour in Canada, the report highlighted the exclusion of live-in caregivers from the protection of certain labour and social legislation due to the overall invisibility and non-recognition of the feminized field of domestic and care labour.

After the LCP's inception, attention moved to the impact of the LCP on the families of caregivers, particularly the physical and emotional costs associated with long-term family separation (Arat-Koc, Villasin, and INTERCEDE 2001; Cohen 2000; de Leon 2009; Kelly et al. 2009; Parreñas 2008; Pratt 1997, 1999; Pratt and PWC-BC 2009; Silvera 1983). Literature has also developed around the settlement and integration of live-in caregivers and their dependents once reunited in Canada, which has produced further work on the implications of the de-professionalization and deskilling of live-in caregivers among subsequent generations (Pratt 1999; PWC-BC 2000; Kelly, Park, de Leon and Priest 2011; Kelly 2006; Kelly et al. 2009; Spitzer and Torres 2008).

In my previous work on family separation and reunification among Filipino domestic workers and their adult children in Toronto, Ontario and Montreal, Quebec (de Leon 2009), I noted that applicants under the former Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) who identified

having spouses and dependents were routinely denied entry into the program. The Live-in Caregiver Program is built on the same premise of ensuring that applicants live and work in the country as ‘single people’ or as ‘isolated workers,’ thus further entrenching the systematic separation of caregivers from their loved ones in the current program (Arat-Koc, Villasin, and INTERCEDE 2001; Pratt, PWC-BC, and UKPC 2008). As Pratt, the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia (PWC-BC), and *Ugnayan ng Kabataang Pilipino sa Canada / Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance* (UKPC/FCYA-BC) explain, “The Canadian government does not frame the LCP as a migration program; it is an employment program that is meant to address the immediate needs of Canadian families for affordable child care and eldercare” (2008, 6). The recognition of the immediate needs of migrant care workers’ families is not Canada’s primary concern. And while the possibility of permanent residency, family sponsorship, and eventual reunification continue to be a major draw of the program, it has never been a guarantee. Barriers have been built into each iteration of the program to make it increasingly difficult for migrant caregivers to reunite and settle down with their families in Canada.

For example, under the former LCP, a domestic worker could include her dependents in her permanent resident application, provided that the entire family passes medical and criminal checks (Arat-Koc, Villasin, and INTERCEDE 2001, 106). If one member of the family did not pass any one of these ‘background’ checks, sponsorship could be delayed by several months or even years. According to Pratt and PWC-BC, families could remain separated for an average of eight years, which is not only attributable to the LCP, but importantly, to initial years spent working abroad, most commonly in Hong Kong or Singapore (2008, 12). Further complications could increase average years of separation depending on a number of factors. For instance, dependents over the age of 19 who were not registered as full-time students were not considered

eligible for sponsorship. Additional financial challenges could include unaffordable application and ‘right of landing’ fees. More fundamentally, the complications that prolong or prevent reunification continue to be exacerbated by the Canadian government’s Eurocentric, heteropatriarchal definition of ‘the family’, which ignores extended kin networks and the crucial roles they play among migrant families. As Arat-Koc, Villasin, and INTERCEDE argue, “It is important to remember that for many domestic and caregiver workers, separation from parents, siblings, same-sex partners, or other intimate friends have been as difficult and as devastating” (2001, 23).

But even when reunification has taken place between caregivers and members of their immediate family, there are further challenges they must contend with. Studies have cautioned against a romanticized view of reunification as a symbol of having ‘made it,’ for the challenges that families experience during the post-reunification period are still part and parcel of the program itself. As Pratt and PWC-BC state, “Rather than reunification ending the LCP experience, the LCP sets the course for families’ lives in Canada, by drawing all of the family members into its orbit of social exclusion” (2008, 7). For Pratt and PWC-BC, Filipino youth previously separated from their migrant mothers often express feelings of “betrayal, of vulnerability [...] of bewilderment, of inexplicable fear, of not understanding the sudden departure of one’s mother” (2007). Such complicated feelings of betrayal and frustration cause children who have lived through prolonged separation to experience greater difficulty reconciling with their migrant parents who can be perceived as strangers to them during the reunification period (2001, 34).

Furthermore, post-reunification challenges can vary depending on the age of dependents upon arrival. Studies have shown that dependents who join their migrant parent when they are

younger, experience a relatively smoother transition and integration process and pose less familial or relationship challenges, while dependents who arrive as teenagers typically have a much harder time, which have compounding effects on their educational and employment trajectories (Pratt and PWC-BC 2008; Kelly 2014).

Kelly's recent study (2014), which builds on the nationwide Filipino Youth Transitions in Canada (FYTiC) project, sheds light on the intergenerational effects of downward mobility and deskilling of the children of Filipino migrants, particularly the children of caregivers. He points out how Filipino youth present a "double anomaly" as they are "less likely to hold a degree than either their parents or their peers in other racialized groups" (2014, 1). Kelly argues that Filipino youth experiences of downward mobility are directly influenced by the socioeconomic status and employment prospects of their parents' generation. He outlines three factors that impact Filipino youth's education and employment decisions. The first factor deals with the number, as well as the types, of jobs that their parents work, which involve irregular hours that leave them with less time to provide greater support and guidance to their children as they attempt to navigate the Canadian education system and job market. The second factor involves the reproduction of "labour market marginality." In other words, since Filipino youth rely primarily on their social networks of family and friends, they tend to choose jobs based on their networks' recommendations or referrals, thereby reproducing another generation of workers taking on similar forms of labour within low-skill sectors. The third factor Kelly highlights is the absence of diverse role models and mentors available to 1.5 and 2nd generation Filipino youth, that is, youth who came to Canada before they were 13 years old, or who were born in Canada, and the lack of representational content engaging Filipino community histories in school curricula, which has an adverse effect on youth self-esteem, particularly for male youth, and their overall sense of

identity. Thus, it is important to understand the ways in which the deprofessionalization of previous generations have a detrimental effect on the livelihoods of future generations of Filipino youth growing up in Canada. In short, immigration policies and programs like the LCP destroy family structures and clearly delineate which families get to stay together and which families do not.

Deprofessionalization and Intergenerational Economic Vulnerability under Canada's Caregiver Program

The fight to recognize foreign credentials is therefore an intergenerational fight for recognition among Filipino communities who have experienced systemic deskilling, deprofessionalization and labour segmentation in Canada, especially over the last two decades (Kelly and the Community Alliance for Social Justice, 2009; Kelly et al. 2014). A key finding from the landmark study on the deprofessionalization of Filipinos in Toronto conducted by Kelly and the Community Alliance for Social Justice is that Filipino immigrants have “among the highest levels of segmentation compared with other [immigrant] groups” and tend to be concentrated in select labour market niches, namely “health care, clerical work, and manufacturing” (2009, 8). They note that despite their high educational attainment, Filipinos tend to arrive in Canada with few financial assets and often rely on, and remain in, “survival” jobs that are below their skill level. They further argue that the immigration programs that Filipinos tend to come to Canada under “create structures of vulnerability and precarity” since these programs refuse to recognize their educational degrees, professional credentials and certifications, in addition to demanding exorbitant fees to cover the costs of immigration and settlement (i.e. processing fees, right of permanent residence fees, medical examination fees, transportation fees, housing and other settlement fees, language testing, legal and agency fees,

etc.) which delimit opportunities for educational and professional skills upgrading by putting migrants in debt (2009, 36).

Another crucial consideration is the disproportionate funds allocated to supporting kin in the Philippines through remittances. The need to financially support family members from afar, again, underscores the reality of forced family separation and delayed family reunification, and highlights the prioritization of familial needs over one's own professional career development. The nation-wide Gabriela Transitions Experiences Survey or GATES (2015), which evaluated the employment and educational challenges of caregivers transitioning out of the LCP, explains that the pressures associated with being a primary earner for one's kin commonly resulted in delays to the "pursuit of their own professional aspirations to find jobs that allowed them to immediately fulfill their financial obligations towards their families" (101).

They were further aware of the financial and legal constraints surrounding their ability to obtain additional certifications and upgrades since caregivers are not permitted to take courses beyond six months while fulfilling program requirements. In fact, despite 86 percent of respondents in the GATES study having bachelors' degrees in a diverse range of fields, many were aware that they would have to take bridging programs or additional courses to have their professional statuses assessed and recognized by professional licensing bodies in Canada (Tungohan et al. 2015, 99). Other pathways to professional certification in Canada tended to involve more risk as it typically meant longer time commitments, higher financial costs at international student rates rather than domestic rates, and no guarantees of employment upon completion (2015).

For those who participated in the GATES survey, emphasis on 'Canadian experience' severely limited caregivers' employment opportunities resulting in caregivers opting to take part-

time courses that were more affordable and shorter in length. These courses allowed caregivers to transition into similar work such as personal support work, care aide positions, and other potentially precarious, part-time, low-paid employment. To combat systemic deprofessionalization and improve job security for caregivers' transitioning out of the LCP, the GATES study provided recommendations that included a reevaluation of foreign credential assessments and the creation of accessible, state-funded training and education programs that would greatly improve caregivers' chances of entering their former professional fields, or of pursuing other careers commensurate with their skills (2015, 104).

The non-recognition of international degrees and professional certifications poses more barriers for those seeking work through this pathway. Furthermore, under the new Caregiver Program, annual quotas and more rigorous language requirements have been implemented which effectively limit and therefore, decrease the number of arrivals in this category (Kelly 2014, 1) – a strategy echoing earlier immigration policies to stem the number of arrivals of immigrants and their families under specific categories.

Conclusion

This chapter began with acknowledging the imperial legacies that have precipitated the institutionalization of labour migration in the Philippines, and resulted in the sophisticated system of labour management that exists in the Philippines today. In this chapter, I have taken the time to trace some of the key policies and programs that have shaped the migration, settlement, and integration experiences of Filipino domestic workers and caregivers in Hong Kong and Canada. I have demonstrated that despite their significant contributions to the societies they migrate to, Filipinos are fundamentally and routinely denied their *humanity* – not seen as

real people, as educated professionals with lives of their own, with families of their own, with communities of their own.

While this chapter provides the framework for understanding the structural conditions under which Filipino domestic workers and caregivers in Hong Kong and Canada must labour, I want to flag that not all participants in this study were paid migrant care workers. In fact, many carers within each kin network were employed in other industries, as you will see in Part Two of this dissertation. Moreover, some kin members who did perform un/paid care work in institutionalized settings transitioned into other types of employment over the life course, which is why this study emphasizes the importance of taking into account the *migration and work histories of generations of carers* within a given care network. Thus, while the migration journeys of many carers featured in this dissertation were facilitated by the FDM and LCP in Canada - programs described in detail in this chapter - this dissertation actually moves away from an exclusive focus on formalized paid care work as there is already a rich and robust body of literature that addresses this subject matter (as this chapter and the following chapter attest to). Thus, a key goal here was to bring awareness to the contexts under which transnational kin must navigate and negotiate existing and emerging forms of paid and unpaid care labour.

Chapter Two

Global Care Chains: Conceptual Origins and Departures

Introduction

This chapter offers a selective overview of the global care chains (GCC) literature and its connections to the larger corpus of research on gender, migration, care, and the transnational family. Here, I bring together the global care chains literature with other theoretical frameworks on transnational care in order to examine significant convergences and divergences in understandings of transnational caring practices. I begin this chapter by tracing the inception of global care chains and then move to take up scholarly literature that challenges and expands this concept, followed by emergent literature that has led to its further growth and development. Throughout this chapter, I will also attempt to identify gaps and silences in works that apply GCC to their own empirical data collection processes, and conclude this chapter by considering the benefits of alternative frameworks to help theorize my own research process.

Assessing the Global Care Chain (GCC) Literature

The works of Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (1998, 2000, 2001), Arlie Hochschild (2000, 2001), and later, Nicola Yeates (2005, 2009, 2012) comprise the body of research now widely cited as the global care chains literature. Their contributions to understanding transnational care, gender, migration and families within the last two decades have made a strong impact on the growth of this particular field of research. However, it must be stated that these are not the only pioneering works that have advanced theories on gender, global migration, and labour (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994; Chang 2000; Katz 2001; Massey 1994; Ong 1999; Romero 1992, 2011; Sassen 1999). Indeed, the works of Hochschild, Parreñas, and Yeates owe

much to existing scholarship critiquing the racialization and feminization of migrant care labour in Canada and the United States, most notably from Latin America and the Caribbean (Calliste 1989; Collen 1995; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Silvera 1989).²⁷

To hone in on the contributions and contestations around the global care chains literature, however, I take Filipina sociologist, Rhacel Salazar Parreñas' formulation of a transnational three-tier division of reproductive labour, which she also refers to as the "international transfer of care taking" as my entry point (2000, 2001). Parreñas uses these terms to make sense of a phenomenon wherein "Filipina domestic workers perform the reproductive labor of class-privileged women in industrialized countries as they leave their own to other women in the Philippines to perform" (2000, 560).

Drawing on case studies of Filipina domestic workers in Los Angeles and Rome, Parreñas identifies three groups of women laboring at each tier: "(1) middle- and upper- class women in receiving countries, (2) migrant Filipina domestic workers, and (3) Filipina domestic workers in the Philippines who are too poor to migrate" (2000, 560). It is their reproductive labor that is relied upon "to sustain the productive labor force [which encompasses] household chores, the care of elders, adults, and youth; the socialization of children; and the maintenance of social ties in the family" (Parreñas 2001, 61). Parreñas registers the distinctive meanings of economic migration for women compared to men under global capitalism and the persisting gender inequalities that exist in *both* sending and receiving countries (2001, 72). She argues that economic migration for women is not simply a survival strategy for families, but also a strategy for easing familial care responsibilities for some women by transferring those responsibilities

²⁷ For more recent critical works, see Crawford 2003; Dreby 2007; Kingma 2009; Olwig 2010; Orozco 2002; and Plaza 2000, 2008.

unto less privileged women. Moreover, the women “in the middle” - migrant Filipina domestic workers - not only enable middle- and upper-class women to join the labor force, but also foster national economic growth (2001, 74).

Parreñas’ concept is heavily influenced by two seminal works - Saskia Sassen’s (1988, 1999) work on the feminization of wage labour and the internationalization of reproductive labour, and Evelyn Nakano Glenn’s work on the “racial division of reproductive labor” (1992). Parreñas filled an important gap in existing scholarship on gender and global migration by revealing a missing piece of the puzzle - the realities of migrant domestic workers employing other domestic workers to care for their own families “left behind.” Her work complements the work of Latina sociologists and pioneers of the concept, “transnational motherhood,” Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) who ask the important question, “Who is taking care of the nanny’s children?” (Parreñas 2000, 563). Parreñas responds to Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila’s call by drawing attention to the *consequences* that exist for the families of domestic workers under a transnationalized care regime. Shifting attention to the families of all tiers, “from the low-wage migrant worker to the professionals whom they serve,” creates a more robust understanding of migratory processes and divisions of reproductive labor (2000, 565).

For Parreñas, the transference of familial responsibility is unevenly structured by gender, race, class and national citizenship status creating a system in which women are still the primary providers of paid and unpaid domestic work and caregiving. In other words, women’s increased labor participation has not resulted in a more even division of labor among men and women within the patriarchal, nuclear household but rather, an increased racialization and feminization of reproductive labor *transnationally* (2001). On the face of it, women’s increased labor participation would appear to be an indication of greater gender equality, but Parreñas would

argue it is not - precisely because gender inequality is exacerbated at both ends of the migration stream. Such structural barriers create the conditions for some women's provisional freedom and a corresponding *increase* in quality of family life, while maintaining other women's oppression resulting in a corresponding *decrease* in quality of family life (2001, 73).

Parreñas' earlier works provided a roadmap to improving understandings of gender, migration and labor processes. For its time, it contributed to a scholarly focus on migration and reproductive labor and to gender as central to the very organization and structure of global outflows of migratory labor. Parreñas' elaboration of Nakano Glenn's (1992) two-tier racial division of reproductive labor and Sassen's (1988) international division of reproductive labor enabled her to conceptualize a three-tier division of transnational reproductive labor that accounted for structural barriers faced by women workers and *their families* at every tier (2001, 72). This is the bedrock of Parreñas' works during this time period and the inspiration for much scholarship on the transnationalization of reproductive labour since.

In exploring the trajectory of Parreñas' work, it is also necessary to trace the work of feminist anthropologist, Arlie Hochschild. In an essay titled, "The Nanny Chain," Hochschild introduces the concept of "global care chains" for the first time. She describes the term as "a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring" (2001, 2). She uses the following example to showcase what such personal links could look like. She explains:

An older daughter from a poor family in a third world country cares for her siblings (the first link in the chain) while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a nanny migrating to a first world country (the second link) who, in turn, cares for the child of a family in a rich country (the final link) (2001, 2).

A year after the publication of “The Nanny Chain,” *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy* (2002) co-edited by Hochschild and Ehrenreich was published. In the introduction to the collection, Hochschild and Ehrenreich reveal what they call the “female underside of globalization” (2002, 2). At the time that “The Nanny Chain” and *Global Woman* were published, scholarship on gendered flows of labor, specifically the growing feminization of migrant domestic work globally, was burgeoning.²⁸ The particular phenomenon that attracted the attention of Hochschild and Ehrenreich and other feminist scholars around this time was the global transfer of domestic services from Third World to First World countries - services traditionally associated with what they describe as “a wife’s traditional role- child care, homemaking, and sex” (2002, 4). Hochschild’s chapter, “Love and Gold” elaborates on this phenomenon, focusing on the extraction of migrant mothers’ affective and emotional labour, or what she refers to as something akin to love - resources that are unquantifiable / immeasurable in a global capitalist economy and difficult to unpack in strictly economic terms - but resources that are nonetheless redistributed or transferred from the children of migrant mothers to the children of those who employ them.

Hochschild’s arguments in both “The Nanny Chain” (2001) and *Global Woman* (2002) focus exclusively on transfers of motherly labour, which present key limitations in future work on this subject matter. Conceptually, the global care chains argument reinforces the idea that care work is strictly women’s work and while scholars have noted the increasing feminization of global care labour, it is important that we diversify our understandings of the types of care work

²⁸ A note on distinctions between “global” and “transnational” feminisms: Transnational feminism grew out of theories and practices of radical feminists of colour and postcolonial feminists who challenged the concept of “global sisterhood” (Morgan 1984). The concept of global sisterhood did not fundamentally account for intersectional differences in feminists’ lived experiences, which divided, rather than united, feminists in struggle. Underlying the trajectory of “global” and “international” feminisms and the model of a global sisterhood is a Western, Eurocentric model of feminism with a white, middle-class subject at its center. Transnational feminist theory and praxis, as I understand it here, challenges the erasure of differences within Western feminist thought and acknowledges multiple standpoints shaping people’s everyday lives.

that do exist outside of the household and among various hosts of carers (beyond mothers, daughters and other female kin). It is equally important to acknowledge the diversity of family forms and transnational caring arrangements that exist in tandem with the different types of care work. The concept of a chain further constructs a linear and hierarchical representation of a particular type of heteronormative carer. As I demonstrate later on in this chapter, critiques of the GCC literature show that the global care chains concept does not fully capture the reproductive labour responsibilities of transnational migrants and their kin *over time*.

There is no question that global care chains as a concept has been productive in thinking through various iterations of transnational care. It has provided the building blocks for other key scholars to push the concept further and test its empirical validity. Many contemporary scholars have since taken up global care chains and introduced broader and more inclusive understandings of care beyond Hochschild's links in a chain.

Parreñas, herself, reflects on and re-evaluates the impact of the global care chains since its initial inception. In a special issue of *Global Networks* published in 2012, Parreñas returns to the major ideas put forth in these earlier works and to the care chains discourse that has been taken up since her original formulation of the transnational division of reproductive labor. She concedes to some of the limitations of her previous work, but not all. For example, she acknowledges the work of Nicola Yeates who points out how the care chain "reifies the notion that only women do care work which insufficiently examines local inequalities and inadvertently ignores care that occurs outside the household" (2012, 274). This leads to her explicitly stating that the future direction of transnational care research must involve a shift in focus from child care to elderly care, a move from household to institutional care, from private to public (2012, 274). In this rejoinder, she also outlines a need to return to a broader analysis of reproductive

labour,²⁹ rather than remain constrained by the concept of care chains, which has limited the scope and viability of future research. To get a better sense of how Parreñas is taking up Yeates' critique of the constraints of global care chains, I now offer a more in-depth look at Yeates' review of the global care chain literature.

Making Connections and Problematizing “the Chain”

In 2005 and 2012, Nicola Yeates wrote two comprehensive reviews on the global care chains concept. Yeates outlines the foundational elements of global care chains as follows: first, it involves the ‘outsourcing’ of domestic labour on national and international scales; second, it involves “household internationalization strategies” which precipitate international networks of families linking transnational households and families “through the employment nexus;” third, “female labour is central to global care chains, with women supplying their own care labour while consuming other women’s paid and unpaid care labour” (2005, 3). Finally, all of these processes reflect structural inequalities along the lines of class, income, status, race, ethnicity and caste which are reproduced through the outsourcing of domestic labour transnationally, requiring dependence on unpaid family labour further ‘down’ the care chain (2005, 3).

Yeates sees a correspondence between Hochschild’s global care chain model and the global value/commodity chain system. Though she concedes that Hochschild does not explicitly make this connection herself, Yeates argues that there are indeed two ways in which global commodity chain analysis has been applied to Hochschild’s formulation. Importantly, for Yeates, one of the notable differences between global commodity chain analysis and global care chain analysis is the “integration of non-material factors.” In other words, global care chains identify not only inequalities of labour, but also inequalities of emotion.

This integration of analyses that take into account the emotional and psychological effects or “non-material inputs” of the international trade in domestic workers hones in on the “emotional costs upon migrant mothers and their children, but also transfers of emotional and physical care labour from those situated lower down the global care chain to those situated further up it” (2005, 7). Consequently, Hochschild argues, the care chain is a mode of ‘emotional surplus value’ extraction” (2005, 7). The transnational transfer of motherly labour or the globalization of love reproduces “spatially structured care inequalities of maternal deprivation in poorer countries on the one hand and maternal abundance in richer countries on the other” (2005, 7). Yeates moves on to outline major developments in the global care chain concept and ways to broaden its application. According to Yeates, “global care chains are concerned with the reproduction of ‘beings’ and the social bonds between them, activities that encompass both market and non-market spheres” (2005, 8). Thus, while global commodity chain analysis relies on “contractual linkages” between for-profit firms, global care chains are produced by “governments, non-profit organisations and especially households operating outside of the commercial sphere” (2005, 8).

Yeates further outlines the complexity of *care services* offered (domestic cleaning, family care, health care, sexual care, educational care and religious/spiritual care), the *settings* in which they are offered (home, hospitals, hospices, churches, schools and brothels), and the *contexts* under which they are offered (individualized private settings, institutionalized state and non-state settings) (2005, 8). Moreover, she writes that the migration of those within a given care chain may also be motivated by an equally complex number of “linguistic, religious, cultural and familial” factors.

As noted earlier, a centerpiece of the global care chains concept is the household. As Yeates writes, “all care chains begin with the household, supplying as it does the care labour that will be exported through the migration process and which is required to care for the emigrant’s remaining dependents (or other relatives) while she is abroad” (2005, 9). She insists that more work needs to be done to develop global care chain analysis that captures what she calls the ‘distributive spatialities’ of care provision and consumption (2005, 9). Yeates offers an extensive list of recommendations to expand the global care chains concept. As Yeates and others who have attempted to broaden the scope of the global care chains concept have noted (Baldassar 2007, 2008, 2014; Baldassar and Baldock 2000; Baldassar, Baldock, and Wilding 2006; Baldock 2000; Cohen 2000; Francisco 2014, 2015a, 2015b; Kofman 2012; Man and Cohen 2015), there is first, a need to attend to the diversity of skills and occupational levels among migrant care workers; second, a need to acknowledge the wider range of family statuses and household types that migrant care workers belong to; and third, a need to recognize the class positions of families in ‘sending countries’ since the contexts under which care needs are met – either by purchasing care labour or relying on the unpaid care labour of extended kin – are largely dictated by the socioeconomic statuses of migrant care workers and their extended kin along the chain (13).

To elaborate on Yeates’ second point, she exposes the ways in which the global care chains concept focuses on nuclear families, most prominently mothers and their children, and suggests a linear “transfer of ‘love’ from one nuclear family in the South to another in the North” (10). This is unrealistic as not all migrant care workers are mothers, and not all migrant workers care for dependent children back home. Care workers may have other kin that they support financially and in other ways. Moreover, Yeates takes issue with this so-called “transfer of love” central to Hochschild’s definition of global care chains, which implies that the love felt by

migrant mothers for their children back home is somehow sacrificed once continuous proximate care is no longer available. But, as Yeates observes, “ ‘Love’ or caring *about* is not a finite commodity” and further to that, “emigration does not close down migrants’ care identities and practices; it transforms them and diverse forms of caregiving practices continue on a daily basis from a distance, facilitated by communications and media technologies” (2012, 146).

Thinking through GCC Alternatives: Critical Departures

What then are the conceptual alternatives to the global care chains framework? In this section, I present other scholars’ explorations of GCC alternatives. In particular, I pay attention to the works of feminist scholars who have opted to “return” to, or depart from, earlier frameworks in order to explain the phenomenon of global care. One could imagine a “pre” and “post” GCC trajectory here, however, I do not wish to apply such a linear temporal logic to the presentation of this literature; rather, I have framed this section in this way in order to contextualize how these concepts connect, resonate with, and draw upon, each other in ways that stretch the conceptual boundaries of care.

Raghuram is among those scholars seeking to depart from, or transform, the dialogue around global care chains (2012). Raghuram proposes a new research agenda that commits to recognizing different “infrastructural [political, economic, socio-cultural] architectures of care” (2012, 155). In particular, Raghuram is interested in promoting more empirical research that recognizes care organization and delivery, as well as the range of kinship and familial forms that exist in local contexts. Raghuram suggests that promoting further research that is attentive to these key points might counteract the practice of universalizing care arrangements that only recognize the nuclear family form – a point emphasized by other contemporary scholars cited above. Enriching and expanding research that recognizes this diversity of family forms in various

contexts could challenge the negative portrayal of alternative familial arrangements and move towards affirming transnational family arrangements as normal, as common reality (2012, 165).

An attendant and equally relevant issue is the tendency in academic and policy literature to attach the node of family and household to women from the South, while attaching the nodes of the state and the market to women from the North (2012, 169). Raghuram warns against this colonizing move, cautioning scholars to recognize how the nodes overlap in complicated ways.

Raghuram, like other scholars, have also questioned the unidirectionality of the care chain approach, suggesting that the concept of care “diamonds” could rectify this limitation by underscoring the “flows, loop backs across and within countries” (2012, 169), which I see as resonating with the multidirectionality of care proposed by scholars like Baldassar and Merla (2014) and Francisco (2015b). Raghuram also considers how researchers might incorporate the perspectives of those who want care or wish to move in order to receive a particular type of care in order to problematize questions of transnational im/mobility. Beyond class, Raghuram also urges scholars to pay attention to caste and religion as this shifts the level of dependency on other members of one’s kin and family network. Importantly, Raghuram is concerned with the lack of attention paid to place-based analysis, especially with respect to how global policy formation and implementation tends to be shaped by prominent migrant-sending countries like the Philippines, but inappropriately applied to other local contexts. She posits that there is a “geographic insensitivity to the distinctive dimensions of care” and thus, to how care is performed (2012, 156). Raghuram proposes a more placed-based and intersectional framework by bringing the literature of global care chains in conversation with the literature on care diamonds (Ochai 2009) where greater emphasis is placed on the transnational interactions of four “nodes”: the family and household; market; state; and community.

She argues that there are locally-informed “expectations, norms and ideologies of care” that influence the migration decisions of migrants, which encompass pre- and post-migration decisions. Their decisions include “how to care, towards what purpose, who should be cared for, [and] how care should be shared or paid for” (2012, 160). These differentially shape migrant understandings and application of the four nodes of care as they impact the physical, emotional and affective provision of care, as well as the allocation of responsibilities among care givers and care receivers in sending and receiving contexts (2012, 160).

In recent years, ever more productive critiques of GCC’s seminal works have helped us to consider different approaches to pushing the care chains debate further. In an incisive critique of the global care chains concept, Filipino queer theorist, Martin Manalansan argues that the care chain model depends upon a heteropatriarchal framing of gendered global migration and heteronormative conceptions of maternal care (2008). The care chain model serves to denote the transnational transfer of paid and unpaid care work among women in the ‘Global South’ to the ‘Global North’, which limits the model to an analytical focus on married women with children who are understood as primary carers deemed ‘naturally’ responsible for physical and social reproductive labour.

Manalansan disrupts the “neat synchronicity” between presumed affective labour and biological motherhood. He dislodges such presumptions by pointing out the glaring omission of male domestic workers and single, female domestic workers, and importantly, the virtual absence of sexuality *that is not tied to reproductive sex, sexual violence and/or rape*, but sexual desire and pleasure from gender and migration studies. Rather than adopting an additive approach to the literature, he puts into perspective the ways in which “a critical notion of sexuality enables a more inclusive and accurate portrait of global gendered migration” (2006,

224). He persuasively argues:

Feminist researchers of gender and migration might want to consider third-world women and men in the international care industry as viable desiring subjects without imputing compulsory heterosexuality and middle-class domesticity and thus locating them within the very patriarchal confines that these researchers have implicitly vowed to critique (2006, 242).

Manalansan exposes scholars who claim to challenge heteropatriarchy in transnational care research, but who undermine their own efforts by inadvertently adhering to an “inflexible gender script” – one that privileges heterosexual reproduction, the nuclear family, marriage, and a “rigid or stereotypical notion of being “feminine” (2001, 241). He outlines several helpful ways to “commit to changes in the research agenda” which include a focus on male domestic workers in order to highlight “gender fluidity and the role of women as sexual and gendered agentive subjects” which “complicates the idea of carework and prevents us from falling into the normative and universalizing trap of implicitly regarding women as natural nurturers” (239). Calling for a queering of the care chain, Manalansan suggests that “researchers of gender and migration [would] benefit from disrupting their normative conceptions of domesticity, love and care – by not locking them to static gendered bodies with immutable affective skills” and paying greater attention to moments of desire and *disaffection* as well (2007, 8).

To be clear, Manalansan does not deny the existence of a rich body of ethnographic work emerging from the global care chain literature, which, he acknowledges, has contributed significantly to the study of gender and migration and led to further research on the impact of overseas migration on the children of migrant domestic workers. However, in these works, he points out the continued disregard for the “experiences of gay and straight men and single women” (2006, 237). Manalansan exposes the privileging of migrant women with children in

existing care chain research in favour of a radical positioning *away* from heteronormative premises. Committing to transformative research agendas would mean exploring the experiences of “desiring and pleasure-seeking migrant subject[s]” whose very desires and pleasures are central, *not* peripheral, motivations for migration - an exploration further informed by an understanding of sexualities as they intersect “with and through other social, economic, and cultural practices and identities” (2006, 243). Such an agenda effectively reveals the “continuities and discontinuities of domestic work” (2006, 239).

Other recent studies have paid attention to critical absences in the care chains literature, developing useful concepts like “ties of relatedness” which recognize kin, community, and village ties (Aguilar Jr. 2009) and “webs of care” which highlight multiple constellations of transnational caring relationships (Hoang et al. 2015). Here, my purpose is to push conversations beyond care chains by offering up different scholarly approaches to reflecting on and reconceptualizing transnational care. Each of these approaches is useful in first, thinking through other non-linear ‘care models’ that open up more complex understandings of the labour of care; second, giving weight to the key roles that extended, chosen kin and non-kin play in transnational networks; and third, widening the sets of concerns and considerations for advancing research on this topic.

Such theoretical developments help us move in a productive direction with this scholarship. For example, there is a distinct shift away from the problematic language of care ‘deficits’ and care ‘drains’, which assume that proximate care is the only form of care that exists and that children ‘left behind’ by migrant mothers are experiencing a contemporary care ‘crisis’ (Parreñas 2005). As McKay critiquing Parreñas writes: “Her analysis appears to work from a tacit assumption that only care arising from face-to-face intimacy with a mother is authentic”

(2007, 179). Indeed, proximity does not necessarily guarantee closeness and emotional intimacy. As others have noted, in both proximate and non-proximate settings, care and emotional intimacy should not pivot around face-to-face connections with mothers alone, but should consider virtual, as well as other forms of transnational care exchanges amongst multiple networks of carers (Madianou and Miller 2012). Furthermore, to view gendered co-presence as the only 'authentic' type of caring and intimate relationship is to universalize a very particular kind of relationship that "extends a western, middle class norm to non-western contexts, maintaining a western emotional hegemony" (McKay 2007, 180).

Parreñas also does not sufficiently respond to calls by queer feminist scholars like Manalansan (2007) to the uncritical reading of the roles of men in transnational care arrangements. Rather than addressing this key challenge posed to her earlier work, she continues to resist any meaningful engagement with the transnational lives of queer care workers from a gender, sexuality and queer studies lens. In her 2012 rejoinder, Parreñas still asserts that "few men do 'care work'" and should be included in discussions of reproductive labour, but only as care recipients and "non-nurturant janitors, cooks, waiters, teachers, and nurses" (272). Parreñas thus forecloses conversations around men's reproductive labour capacities and caring roles, restricting the dialogue to a heteronormative framework of maternal care.

Manalansan cautions against such constrained dialogue, citing the earlier works of Parreñas (2001, 77) and Hochschild (2003, 29) for portraying "Filipino (and other third-world) males as being pathologically prevented by cultural 'tradition' from participating in domestic affairs while at the same time rendering the domestic sphere as always and already female" (2006, 240) - although Alicia Pingol's (2001) ethnographic study of *Ilocano* "househusbands" challenges this assumption by exploring *Ilocano* men's renegotiation and redistribution of

domestic responsibilities at home.

Honing in on Hoschschild's educational program solution to "the problem" of Filipino men not participating in domestic activities, Manalansan asserts that her pathologization of Filipino men "belies a particular kind of knowledge 'imperialism' ... since it portrays third-world men as lacking the cultural knowledge to be authentic modern fathers... [and sees them] as pre-modern or wallowing in tradition only to move as domestic workers into Western modernity" (240). This leaves no room for dialogue around "the figure of the male migrant careworker, specifically gay Filipino men, who are becoming the new figure of foreign careworkers" (2006, 239-40). When ethnographic evidence points to shifting trends in the role of the foreign careworker and leads to questions around traditionally feminized roles being taken up by third-world migrant men (2006, 240), it becomes deeply concerning that such important conversations are being overlooked by scholars of gender, care labour, and migration. To ignore or dismiss these shifts is to miss out on a fuller and more complete portrait of how gender dynamics are playing out on a transnational scale and in this contemporary moment. That said, the documentary film, *Paper Dolls*, which is featured in Manalansan's work, and the more recent works of scholars like Allan Punzalan Isaac (2016) and Robert Diaz (2016) on gay and trans migrant care workers in Israel and Canada, respectively, are shedding greater light on these absences and radically transforming the conversation.

As with Manalansan's work, I also draw inspiration from Baldassar and Merla (2014) whose most recent work resonates strongly with the trajectory of my own. Baldassar and Merla expand and move beyond the unilateral and dyadic flows of care from the 'Global South' to the 'Global North,' even as they acknowledge the major contributions of global care chain scholars cited above. They present a conceptually distinct alternative to the care chain framework,

focusing their attention on what they describe as generalized *reciprocal* and *asymmetrical* relationships or exchanges between a range of care actors over the life course, which are “subject to the political, economic, cultural and social contexts of both sending and receiving societies” (25). Importantly, Baldassar and Merla’s definition of transnational reciprocal and uneven care exchanges draws attention to the “family lifecycle as a dynamic set of processes across the life course, rather than a momentous event in time that damages family connectedness” (22). This immediately widens our scope of understanding by showing how care exchanges ebb and flow across generations and over time – a critical point often missed in the dominant GCC literature. It also nuances the GCC narrative by recognizing that the expectation or obligation to reciprocate care can exist, even if it is *never realized* over the life course, or that care can be reciprocated by and through other kin within a larger network of carers (7).

Baldassar and Merla’s definition of caregiving is extremely useful in that it encompasses the following:

a wide variety of care exchanges, from the direct provision of support described as ‘hands on’ or ‘caring for’ that can only be delivered when people are physically co-present, to the more emotional support of ‘caring about’... as well as the coordination of support provided by others... both of which can take place through virtual forms of communication and co-presence (2014, 12).

Baldassar and Merla’s definition of family expands to include nuclear and extended kin members who are “actively engaged in family survival and maintenance” (12). Their definition of caregiving further resonates with Finch’s (1989) classic work which delineates five forms of caregiving exchange or what Finch defines as “‘mutual support’ ... between family members, including: economic, accommodation, personal (‘hands on’), practical and child care, and emotional and moral” (Baldassar and Merla 2014, 12).

Further, Baldassar and Merla's definition of care underscores that the Western heteronormative conception of embodied physical proximity is flawed and *unnecessary* to the provision of care (12). Indeed, one of Baldassar and Merla's aims is to destigmatize transnational families who have been presented in the dominant literature as "deficient or at risk, fragmented, broken and under strain" (12). The transnational mothering literature demonstrate the ways in which migrant mothers have become a focal point for this gendered rupture in the traditional nuclear family form (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Viruell-Fuentes 2006). The literature points to this stigmatization and blaming of transnational mothers for abandoning or leaving their families behind (Parreñas 2005; Pratt and PWC-BC 2009). Tied to this is another major assumption that *distance* and *absence* halt the exchange of care and that *separation* prompted by the migration process results in this brokenness and fragmentation of families (13). Part of Baldassar and Merla's goal then is to challenge the idea of the broken transnational family by presenting overwhelming empirical evidence that substantiates that transnational families routinely retain their sense of familyhood, togetherness and belonging through periods of separation and distance as prompted by labour migration.

For Baldassar and Merla, a care circulation approach encourages us to widen our understanding of migrants and their kin as both care *givers* and care *receivers*, a point which I also emphasize in this dissertation. They are further interested in moving away from a conceptualization of care that exclusively focuses on the "materiality and corporeality of care" to one that also recognizes the "moral economies of the family" which enable us to see how other forms of care, particularly the virtual (Madianou and Miller 2012), circulate in *multiple* directions *at once* (29). Baldassar and Merla are wary that their conceptualization of care circulation could be critiqued for operating under the assumption that care networks give and

receive care evenly and fairly, and that all members have equal access to resources that facilitate the circulation of this care; however, this is not their intention (30). They make this abundantly clear by stating the following “we apply the framework of care circulations to capture the *asymmetries* of care experienced by transnational families from various socioeconomic, education, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds, and throughout each of these family networks, wherever members reside [my emphasis]” (31). Their goal is to challenge fixed understandings of families and households and the limits of unidirectional migration flows. To better understand care transnationalization, we must recognize that migrants often return or repatriate, or move back and forth between multiple places, which clearly highlights more intricate multidirectional movement patterns and importantly, the “complex and ongoing processes of connectedness over time” (44). Attentiveness to these ongoing temporal processes fall under what Hugo (2009) calls “circular interaction,” which acknowledges wider transnational interactions, which tend to vary in intensity and scope over the life course (45).

Baldassar and Merla distinguish themselves from other scholars who have privileged the circular movement of bodies, of *people*, which does not attend to the more frequent movement of circular *activities* (47). To illustrate this point, they draw on examples of the circulation of gifts which, for them, qualifies as care as it is “essential for the reproduction of kinship groups over the generations, and in particular for the intergenerational transmission of material and symbolic heritage (such as financial assets, family values and family principles” (47). Here, they see themselves as following in the tradition of works that adopt a ‘transnationalism from below’ approach, which translates into a focus on “transnational social fields” of the everyday or quotidian (53).

Taking in this selective overview of the global care chains literature and the valuable critiques that have led to new and exciting possibilities in the trajectory of transnational care research, I now move on to explore works that engage a vital facet of transnational care – emotional labour. Here, I take the opportunity to delve more deeply into the works of Baldassar and Merla (2014) and Manalansan (2016) who have now complicated and pushed the boundaries of global care chains, to understand how feelings, emotions, and affect play vital roles in these more nuanced and contemporary forms of care.

“Love” and “Sacrifice”: Writing against Dominant Narratives of Emotional Labour in Care Migration Literature

In thinking about the role of feelings, emotions and affect in transnational caring arrangements, one of the most urgent questions that comes to mind is what is distinct about how emotional labour is enacted and expressed? In asking this question, I consider *both* care and emotional labour among transnational kin networks as integral to more nuanced understandings of transnational lives – of how they are lived, and importantly, how they are *felt*. To have discussed paid and unpaid care work without addressing the emotional work involved is to ignore a central feminist concern with the marginalization and devaluation of emotions as a productive and valid site of scholarly inquiry. As Baldassar writes, transnational life “is a topic that is full of emotion [and yet] emotion and theories of emotion are rarely the central focus of analyses of transnational processes” (2008, 248). Indeed, it is telling that the historical devaluation of care work continues to operate alongside the devaluation of emotions in transnational processes.

But as feminist scholars, Pratt and Rosner, point out in their work on the global and the intimate: “Feminist approaches to the intimate have sought to redress this exclusion and have

distinguished within the sphere of intimacy a number of rubrics, prominently including feeling and affect, attachment to friends, families, and lovers; and the personal” (2012, 5). Citing Audre Lorde and Sianne Ngai’s “ugly feelings”, they explore the transformative power of emotions, negative emotions in particular such as anger, which can serve as a “potent analytic tool for discerning social injustices” (2012, 5). Rather than uncritically celebrating the emotional in feminist research, Pratt and Rosner mark the ways in which feelings can also be manipulated and mobilized for other purposes that “limit rather than strengthen” attachments (Ahmed 2004).

But what are the conceptual differences between terms such as emotions, feelings, affect, and intimacy? What are the benefits of engaging one or more of these conceptual tool(s) over others? How are they applied to theories of transnational care? We can begin with Felipe (2013) whose work on affective cartographies, transnational labour and the spectacularization of suffering helpfully distinguishes between feelings and emotions and affect. Inspired by the work of Shouse (2005), she writes, “While affect is the abstract intensity operating upon the unconscious, feelings are the subjective sensations that are consciously felt, while emotions are the physical display of those sensations” (2013). To further elaborate, Felipe explains how “affect operates within and between bodies at the level of the unconscious, however, emotion registers as the outward expression of feeling, therefore bodies can claim ownership of emotions because their expression is based on subjective experience” (2013).

In this section, I explore theories of transnational care that make emotions pivotal to our understanding of how transnational care is negotiated, contested, maintained and/or reconfigured among kin networks over time. Parreñas, Thai, and Silvey (2016) talk about the performance of *intimate labour* as an exchange of labour deemed “priceless” or “not for sale,” or only to be given “freely” or “for love” (1). For Boris and Parreñas (2010), intimate labour is defined as

“the work of forging, sustaining, nurturing, maintaining, and managing interpersonal ties, as well as the work of tending to the sexual, bodily, health, hygiene, and care needs of individuals” (1). Here, Boris and Parreñas are pushing back against the prevailing notion that intimacy is not work in the face of the increasing commodification of intimacy and the resulting creation of intimate industries and intimate economies.

In her work on emotions and economies, McKay (2007), inspired by the work of Berlant (2000) refers to intimacy as “made through emotional labour – the work of connecting, sharing, telling stories, listening and responding – rather than being a quality inherent in human interactions” (9). She makes the distinction between ‘caring for’, which is physical labour, and ‘caring about’, which is emotional labour. ‘Caring about’ refers to “having affection and concern for the other and working on the relationship between the self and the other to ensure the development of the bond” (McKay 2007, 4). Underpinning these significant conceptual developments around labour, emotions, intimacy and affect is the recognition that such labour is always embodied, but that it can manifest in multiple ways that do not necessarily rely on proximate, face-to-face exchanges. In different ways, they all help us to reconceptualize care labour. For example, they help us to rethink the problematic language of care ‘deficits’ and care ‘drains’, which assume that proximate care is the only form of care that exists and that children ‘left behind’ or separated by migrant mothers are experiencing a contemporary care ‘crisis’ (Parreñas 2005).

Exposing another assumption within the care chains literature, McKay points out that “not all actors share the same emotional vocabulary” and that understandings of gender, emotion and intimacy vary widely and shift according to different contexts (2007, 181). For example, McKay elaborates on the use of the term *mailiw* among Ifugao migrant care workers in Hong

Kong who best describe *iliw* as a feeling of *homesickness* (2007). The feeling of *iliw* is conceptualized as “affectively ‘heavy’ in the body” both “in the heart and in the head” and can be further understood as “a state of longing for place and people left behind” (2007, 184). Here, we cannot assume that the feeling of *iliw* will be embodied in the same way, or be engaged with in the same way. This is part of a larger critique of the care chains literature and the deference to Western “cultural and emotional universals” over emotional cultural specificities (2007, 32). *Iliw* captures some of the challenges of adequately translating culturally distinct emotional vocabularies. Significantly, the extent to which one reveals or conceals a feeling of *iliw* points to the degree of care and emotional labour involved in sustaining transnational intimacies.

To further elaborate on the work of emotion, I draw on Sara Ahmed’s essay on affective economies in which she asks, “How do emotions work to align some subjects with some others and against other others? How do emotions move between bodies?” (2004, 119) Ahmed argues that emotions play a crucial role in the “surfacing” of individual and collective bodies through the way in which emotions circulate between bodies and signs. What is particularly compelling about this point is not simply that Ahmed acknowledges the circulation of emotions between bodies and signs, but that emotions “do things,” that they “align individuals with communities- or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments” and that “we need to consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective” (2004, 119). As mentioned earlier, this dissertation is precisely concerned with “what work emotions do” (McElhinny 2010, 310).

Pratt and the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia’s testimonial work with Filipino live-in caregivers and their families is one concrete example of what work emotions can

do, of what an analysis of the production and circulation of affective intensities can accomplish (which I will elaborate on in the following section). Similarly, I understand that circulating stories of care and emotional labour among transnational kin networks can potentially compel others to *feel something*, to raise awareness about the social costs of migration for broader networks of carers, and to push for political action against unjust policies. For “affect and feeling also condition receptivity to listening and acknowledging and responding” (Pratt 2012, xxx).

In the section that follows, I unpack the ways in which concepts like emotions, feelings, affect, intimacy, attachment, and the senses are mobilized in the transnational care labour literature in order to showcase how these conceptual tools contribute to ever more nuanced and diverse understandings of transnational care in the contemporary moment. Here, I follow Manalansan’s lead in choosing to highlight scholarship that “centers the affective, emotional, and sensorial dimensions of how Filipinos negotiate, perform, establish, and/or resist the multiple predicaments of work, family, and nation” (2016, 1).

Power, “Peelings,”³⁰ and Emotional Scripts *or* Theorizing Excess

In his article on “Feeling Filipinos” Manalansan (2016) opens with one captivating phrase, “nothing more than feelings” - a line from the classic oldie, *Feelings* by Morris Albert. The line would be immediately recognizable to older generations of Filipino migrants for whom this song became globally popular (1). Here, Manalansan highlights a distinction between feelings with an “f” and peelings with a “p” to mark the historical, cultural and linguistic linkages that characterize part of what it means to be transnational Filipinos today. The phrase is

³⁰ Manalansan writes that feelings with a “p” not only connote “a marker of linguistic vestiges and accent detection among Filipinos everywhere but also constitute... a kind of compassionate and progressive analytical rigor about what it means to be Filipino today in a globalized world” (2016, 1). See also, Chapter Three, *Pinay Peminist Kuwentuhan as Multisited Method*, for a brief discussion of the symbolic and linguistic shift from the “f” to the “p” sound in relation to *Pinayism* or *Pinay peminism*.

indicative of American pop culture's influence on its neocolony, as well as its broader global reach. But the phrase, 'nothing more than peelings' belies the importance of feelings, particularly in the context of this dissertation, which highlights the negotiation and communication of feelings across vast distances among Filipino migrant care workers and their kin networks. That migrants take solace in a song about peelings, that they find catharsis through song, through the vocalization of their pain, their joy, their anger, their rage, their loneliness, their sadness and their loss is an important part of how transnational Filipinos express, make sense of, and *feel through*, their lives abroad.

Manalansan writes about how care has become a "proper" emotion that has transformed into a national idiom defining Filipino migrants. He argues that care is the central framework around which "emotional scripts" have been constituted, effectively disciplining the caring transnational Filipino migrant body in order to manage it and make it "marketable and valued" for a global consumer audience (2016, 3). But in addition to the professionalizing, disciplining, and emotional scripting of migrant caring bodies by the Philippine labour brokerage state (Rodriguez, 2010), there is also *this* - the importance of bodily knowledges that exist beyond human feeling subjects, extending to the artefactual and the discursive. Manalansan talks about how vital and revealing bodily knowledges via artefacts can be, such as those found in a *balikbayan* box. He urges us to consider "how *balikbayan* boxes from the diasporic elsewhere or packets of *sinigang* broth from the Philippines can propel or set in motion various ways of acting and being in the world such as being wistful, despondent, hopeful, exuberant, and/or dejected" (2016, 3). This emphasis on bodily knowledges resonates with my own empirical chapter on the powerful feelings that traveling artefacts can evoke for transnational kin networks, which lead to sustained connections, as well as ruptures (see Chapter Five, "*Send yung Love (Send the Love)*":

Caring through Traveling Artefacts).

Manalansan underscores the affective bodily intensities, skills and external forces or excesses that spill out and over uncontrolled by state forces (2016, 3). Analyses of these emotional excesses can offer more comprehensive insights into those elements of transnational migrants' lived realities that shape their decisions and migratory or non-migratory trajectories. It can help us understand how catalyzing affect, emotions and the senses can be in calling migrants and their kin to action in a variety of contexts; for example, when one thinks of channeling love, rage, anger, sadness, compassion into a fight for collective kin and community survival, better working conditions, social justice, or for improved housing, education, health for themselves and kin transnationally.

Developing a Politics of *Disaffection*

In a similar sense, Isaac (2016) also draws our attention to ways in which we can understand emotions and feelings differently. Analyzing *Care Divas*, a 2011 musical about transgendered Filipino migrant caregivers living and working in Israel, Isaac highlights the feeling of “wallowing” or “*not* wallowing,” to be more precise. *Care Divas*' musical director, Maribel Legarda writes against this wallowing, which gestures to a larger theme of writing against the suffering, sadness and sacrificial love overwhelmingly linked with the literature on heterosexual migrant mothers who perform care work abroad (Hochschild 2001; Parreñas 2000, 2001; Constable 2007, 2014). Legarda refuses to play into this dominant narrative of the wallowing Filipina migrant mother. Instead, Isaac outlines the ways that Legarda moves beyond this narrative to emphasize a more dynamic and meaningful message of finding community and support, of laughing and crying through individual and collective struggle, of using humour and laughter to grapple with life's exigencies.

Isaac (2016) drawing on Manalansan's work offers a way to move past the limitations of how feelings and emotions have been theorized through a politics of *disaffection*. Manalansan defines disaffection as "not only emotional distance, alienation, antipathy, and isolation but also this world's other connotation of disloyalty to regimes of power and authority" (2016, 10). Isaac further adds to Manalansan's formulation an understanding of disaffection as a crucial survival strategy, as "a defensive posture directed at, against, and away from the authorities of the places of migration" (2016, 10). He elaborates that this defensive posture can also be read as resistance to family and state, to the homogenization and romanticization of a particular *bagong bayani* or new national hero. Manalansan's politics of disaffection and provocative 'peelings' in conversation with Isaac's focus on a broader refusal to adhere to dominant themes of wallowing, suffering, sadness and sacrifice - serve as important interventions into expanding and challenging migration and care literature by most importantly, queering it.

Katigbak's work on "emotional remittances" offers a different, but nonetheless nuanced angle on emotions and feelings (2015). Katigbak explores how a "translocal moral economy influences the meanings of, and attitudes towards, emotional remittances [which] encompass the material objects as well as the sociocultural values and/or ideas sent from either the sending or receiving localities to their family members elsewhere" (2015, 519-20). Importantly, Katigbak deliberately explores more negative and contentious emotions in her discussion of emotional remittances, such as "ingratitude and guilt" and how these emotions influence and (re)shape transnational family dynamics. She writes, "such negative emotions, although often defined and/or ignored theoretically and empirically, are part of the whole construct and practice of transnational familyhood" (2015, 520).

“Risky Stories Worth Telling”

Among others whose work I will elaborate on shortly (Lee and Pratt 2011; Parreñas et al. 2016; Pratt and Johnston 2014; Pratt, Johnston, and Banta 2017; Pratt and Rosner 2012; McKay 2007), the recent works of Manalansan (2016), Isaac (2016), and Katigbak (2015) help us to articulate a radical politics of feelings and emotions that pushes against authoritative regimes and power structures. They propose innovative ways to think about emotions and feelings that activate and open up different ways of *doing* theory and praxis, providing us with conceptual tools to complicate the overemphasis on narratives of sacrifice and suffering on the one hand, and narratives of success, heroism and happiness on the other.

As noted earlier, feelings can indeed be a potent mobilizing tool for building solidarity, alliances, and communities, for fighting against unfair wages and other exploitative working conditions, which all serve to emphasize what feelings can “do” rather than simply what they “are” (Manalansan 2016; Ahmed 2004; McElhinny 2010; Pratt and Rosner 2012). For example, Geraldine Pratt (2012) attempts to mobilize grief, pain and loss as organizing tools that move people to action by bearing witness and testimony to the struggles of Filipina migrant caregivers in Vancouver, British Columbia. In *Families Apart: Conflicts of Labour and Love*, the pairing of labour and love *as conflict* offers up a more dissonant reading of these concepts, which differ from the more common packaging and consumption of maternal love in the Global North. It points to the dangers of unproblematically accepting the premise that the emotional labour of caring and loving is free, since this upholds and reinforces the devaluation of this type of intimate work, and uncritically centers and sentimentalizes love as the quintessential motivator for labour migration, remittance-sending, and becoming ‘part of the family.’

To further elaborate, Pratt and the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia (PWC-BC)³¹ outline a collective history of family separation, loss, grief and traumatic return among Filipinos in Vancouver, British Columbia (2012, 76). They remark upon the killing of Filipino youth, Jomar Lanot, the son of Jena Lanot who migrated to Canada under its former Live-in Caregiver Program, commonly referred to as the LCP). After years of separation from his mother, Jomar reunited with his mother in 2002 only to be separated from her again in death just one year later. The media reports and trial following Jomar's death presented a missed opportunity to "bear witness" to the realities of family separation among Filipina migrant mothers and their children. In deploying what Pratt calls "risky stories of maternal grief," both Pratt and PWC-BC recognize the ways that such stories may be taken up by a wider public to render Filipinas 'bad' mothers. As Pratt writes, "Accusations of bad mothering tail domestic workers, both in the Philippines, where they are stigmatized for leaving their children... and in Vancouver, where problems that arise among reunited youths are in part attributed to their bad mothers" (2012, 79). Their goal is thus to invoke "empathy through the mother-child relation" and to showcase more complex stories of family separation and reunification that make such judgments of 'good' or 'bad' mothering less easy to make (2012, 78).

Moreover, Pratt and PWC-BC present a different opportunity to "bear witness" to the pain, grief, and loss experienced by Filipino mothers and their children who experience years of separation due to the LCP requirement that Filipino women migrate alone, ready to live and serve in the homes of their new employers. They view this written work as part of a collection of life narratives that can be shared not only with the Filipino community in Canada, but also with a wider public who are invited to actively respond to these narratives in ways that contribute to social justice transformation for Filipino families, and put a stop to ongoing cycles of grief, pain,

³¹ Pratt has worked closely with PWC-BC for over a decade.

and loss produced by oppressive state policies that dictate which families get to stay together, and which families do not (2012, 75). There are many other stories similar to Jomar and Jena Lanot's that go unnoticed and undocumented, which make this endeavor to bring together more complex and nuanced life narratives of transnational struggle and loss that much more urgent.

They write:

We have no interest in bringing a Filipino community together in grief. We tell these stories to bring the Filipino community together to organize to end the conditions that create this grief. And we hope to tell stories about grief in such a way that a wider witnessing public cannot keep its distance, and is neither numb to nor able to gaze voyeuristically upon the spectacle of suffering and shame in ways that further objectify and dehumanize. These witnesses must come in closer, listen more carefully. We hope that the narratives that we present produce contradictory and ambivalent emotions-emotions that provoke analysis and critique, rather than replace it (2012, 95).

Translating Transnational/Translocal Emotions: Some Cultural-Linguistic Challenges

Stories of grief, sadness, pain, and loss further point us to prominent themes registering ambivalence and contradiction in the transnational care literature. For example, in an earlier anthropological study of Italian migrant workers and their elderly kin, Loretta Baldassar (2008) identifies the emotional acts of 'missing' and 'longing' to be important facets of maintaining transnational relationships, or what di Leonardo (1987) calls "kin-work." For Baldassar, emotional acts of 'missing' and 'longing' emerge discursively, physically, as well as through actions and the imagination (2008, 248). To miss and long for togetherness or a sense of closeness, according to Baldassar, motivates people to enact forms of "presencing" that serve to strengthen a sense of closeness across distance and over time. She identifies four ways in which this occurs - by virtual means; by proxy via 'transnational objects' like photographs; as well as by physical and imagined co-presence (2008, 247). She writes, "These embodied and imagined presences fill the absences left between phone calls, letters and visits helping to foster the sense

of family closeness” (264). However, it is important to highlight that Baldassar draws on empirical work conducted in Italian and admits that respondents did not actually use the terms ‘missing’ and ‘longing’ to describe their desire to be with kin; rather, she explains that what they communicated was more effectively akin to a feeling of *heartache* (252).

Baldassar opted to use the terms missing and longing which she deemed *closest* to the feeling that respondents conveyed during interviews. This search for the closest term to convey a given feeling in the English language should give us pause. If English does not capture the feelings that migrants and their kin draw upon to express the unique transnational relationships they are in, then how are we, as researchers, attempting to change this, to find more ethically responsible, inclusive ways of taking up scholarship that must grapple with the multiple and diverse emotional grammars and vocabularies that exist and shift across transcultural/translocal/transnational contexts?

McKay problematizes this universalist application of the English language and English cultural and classist understandings of intimacy and emotion to other translocal contexts which do not accurately portray / improve our understanding / help us make sense of the nuanced ways in which migrants express emotion in order to maintain relationships with their kin. She argues that buying into a Western emotional hegemony that scripts the way we use and interact with Victorian notions of intimacy is inadequate/insufficient in conveying/portraying/grasping the fully embodied meaning of the emotional, affective, sensorial states that are at play in shaping the dynamics of contemporary transnational kin relationships.

McKay also talks of ‘emotional literacy,’ which is a person’s ability to recognize and respond to their own and others’ emotions (2007, 12). She continues, “People’s emotional performances often entail quite conscious forms of work as they attempt to suppress the

expression of some emotions while ‘showing’ or intentionally revealing others” (2007, 13). She cites Beatty’s work on learning a new “emotional grammar,” which involves “both learning new words to describe new feelings and learning how to appropriately represent (or suppress) emotions in cross-cultural situations” (2007, 14). McKay uses the example of one Filipina migrant worker in Hong Kong who described needing to “swallow” her feeling and not “show” her emotional responses toward her paid care work and to her employers. McKay explains, “In Hong Kong, she has learned a new set of gestures of deference, affection, and gratitude and this is, for her, [is] part of what Thrift (2004) describes as the ‘mundane emotional labour of the workplace’” (15). Here, McKay underscores a few ways to approach a more nuanced understanding of emotional labour. First, the act of expressing and suppressing emotions in translation in the context of maintaining transnational relationships, as well as maintaining good employee-employer relationships *is* work. The showing and sharing of feeling is another element of this type of emotional work - it is another layer to the acts of expressing and suppressing emotions since *showing and sharing feeling* indicates a kind of affective response to one’s external environment, whether that be other bodies, etc. In other words, the sharing of feeling is an interactive experience that invites others to share in the feeling experience as well, which emphasizes a certain kind of mutuality or reciprocity (2007, 31).

Navigating Virtual Intimacies

Yet another facet to the showing and sharing of feeling is how such emotional performances are enacted virtually, or via a variety of media platforms (see also Francisco 2015a; Madianou 2012, 2014, 2016; Madianou and Miller 2011, 2012, 2013; Miller 2011; Miller and Slater 2011; Pertierra 2005; Pertierra et al. 2002). One recent and compelling contribution to theories of emotions in the transnational care literature is King-O-Riain’s (2015) work on what

she calls “emotional streaming.” I see connections between King-O-Riain’s work and the works of Madianou and Miller (2011, 2012, 2013), as well as McKay (2010) who have respectively brought ICTs to bear on the unique transnational communication strategies of migrant kin networks in this contemporary moment. These works have thrown a veritable monkey wrench in previous works like Hochschild’s which articulated emotions of love and sacrifice, pain and suffering and loss for children left behind by their migrant mothers that were underpinned by the assumption that such emotions rely on face-to-face proximate care, co-presence and sensorial stimulation like touch (a hug, a kiss, a held hand, etc). King-O-Riain offers us another lens through which to understand the ways that ICTs impact how people “do” emotions and “do family.” She highlights the *emotion practices* of transnational families on Skype and how the use of this particular mode of communication enables a very specific kind of sustained emotional connection. For her, Skype “changes the way in which people express their emotions” not only by accumulating them as “affective storage” but by “facilitating ongoing emotional streaming which deintensifies their feelings and therefore normalizes their daily emotional interactions. This deintensification and normalization of daily emotional interactions via Skype is a key contribution to the study of technological advances in transforming transnational care and emotional labour.

Conclusion: Productive Provocations

To understand the significance of GCC as a valid focal point for this literature review, I have attempted to trace its inception and subsequent application. Offering a brief and selective overview of works on gender, migration, and transnational care and emotional labour, as well as productive critiques that have emerged since, my aim in this chapter was to consider intellectual works that have generated new sets of questions and concerns for future feminist research on

transnational care. Clearly, there have been many iterations and reinterpretations of GCC over the last two decades, providing new scholars like myself with a robust conceptual toolkit to expand the field even further and deepen conversations around particular aspects of transnational caring practices and processes.

The “take home” points of this literature review, then, were to question firstly, whether the global care chains concept is still a relevant and productive one to engage with; secondly, whether it is necessary to move on and consider the array of analytical frameworks developed in recent scholarship on gender, migration and transnational care, and I argue that it is; and thirdly, present how emerging scholarship points to new directions in care transnationalization research, and demonstrates empirical vigilance and attentiveness to the transformative and ever-changing nature of care and emotional labour in this contemporary moment.

I accomplish this by doing the following: first, highlighting the stories that have been told in the literature on transnational families and care labour, which have persisted since GCC’s inception; second, featuring contributions from contemporary scholars who have specifically attempted to disrupt hegemonic narratives around the transnationalization of care by identifying what has been omitted from the dominant frame (i.e. what constitutes a family? what constitutes care?), and third, offering up alternative stories and concepts that reconfigure our understandings of care and emotional labour as transnational phenomena.

In doing so, my broader aim was to identify literature that supports my larger dissertation goal of moving beyond the linear and hierarchical limitations of the care chain approach toward a theoretical approach that first, accounts for broader networks of care givers and care receivers who do not conform to the nuclear, heteronormative family unit. The remainder of this dissertation reflects this conscious intention to explore more expansive networks of carers, rather

than limiting my focus to nuclear families. Part Two, *“This is How We Care!”: Transnational Care and Emotional Labour in Practice*, centers on the lives of four networks of Filipino migrants and their kin who did not exclusively remain in the role of care giver or receiver, but embodied both, or moved between one and/or the other over time, and who were linked to each other as siblings, partners, nieces, nephews, grandparents, godparents, guardians, extended kin, chosen kin, friends, neighbours, and community members.

Another aim was to acknowledge that transnational care and emotional labour manifest in and through various communication methods, as well as other actions or activities, artefacts or objects - not just people. This is strongly reflected in Part Two of this dissertation, most notably in Chapter Six, *“We Really Keep in Touch!”: Caring through Digital Technologies*, where I explore the complex forms, degrees and intensities of text-based, virtual or online care communication distinguished, for example, by kumustahan or everyday communication versus crisis communication. Further, in Chapter Five, *“Send yung Love (Send the Love)”*: *Caring through Traveling Artefacts*, I explore modes of care communication vis-à-vis transnational objects like photographs and letters, which carry a different weight and significance to kin, particularly elderly kin. In both chapters, a central piece of my argument is that all of these modes of transnational communication are critical to the maintenance and potential strengthening of intimate bonds between and among transnational kin across generations and over time.

A third aim was to account for the multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational features of care and emotional labour that operate throughout the life course. The thread that brings all of my ethnographic chapters together is this accounting for the ways in which the labour of care does not realistically move in one direction, but rather, flows unevenly

in multiple directions over the life course. Thus, rather than presenting more research that focuses on bilocal studies of the Philippines and Canada, I wished to explore the multilocal facets of transnational living in three sites: the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Canada. Beyond these three fieldwork sites, however, there are many other locations traversed by research participants for work, visits or “tours.” The geographic scope of my study is therefore broadened by the engagement with information communication technologies that enable transnational connections from multiple locations at once, and allow for an even deeper exploration of the transnational mobility not only of migrants and their kin over time, but also the mobility of care objects, and of care communication which, I argue, have the ability to travel transnationally as well. Moreover, this provision of care is simultaneously given and received by intricate networks of elders, children, teenagers, and adults alike - kin of all ages - living in multiple locations.

In the following chapter, *Pinay Peminist Kuwentuhan as Multisited Method: A Reflexive Approach*, I explore the power of multisited *kuwentuhan* or talkstory as method to deepen and nuance the conversations around transnational care and emotional labour. I argue that it is an approach that is more culturally attentive to the study of care and emotional labour among transnational Filipino kin networks as it more aptly reflects and responds to the ebbs and flows of transnational Filipino life. I further discuss the ways in which *kuwentuhan* as multisited method played a central role not only in the ‘data collection’ process, but also in the very structure of the dissertation itself, in the ways that I have consciously chosen to write and frame each chapter (as a story within a story, or a set of collective stories).

Chapter Three

Pinay Peminist Kuwentuhan as Multisited Method: A Reflexive Approach

The stories on our tongues
 Must be told and re-told
 It is in the telling that we
 Breathe life into our stories
 It is in the telling that we
 Share breath
 Share life
 Share histories.

Coming to *Kuwentuhan*

I wrote this poem in one of many journals that I carried with me during fieldwork.³² I wrote it to to make sense of what was happening around me, to make sense of what it meant to do ‘fieldwork’ on a topic so intimately tied to my being and becoming. When I first started this journey, I did not know what form of qualitative data collection would best speak to my area of research. I first set out to conduct a preliminary study that explored the effects of long-term separation among transnational Filipino kin networks in Central and Northern Luzon, Philippines using semi-structured interviews and participant observation as my primary methodological tools (see Appendix B). This preliminary study extended my MA research, which focused on long-term separation among migrant care workers and their adult children in Toronto, Ontario and Montreal, Quebec, Canada. At this stage, one of my goals was to find different ways of offering a more comprehensive look at the effects of long-term separation on transnational kin both ‘here’ and ‘there.’ My aim was to test methodological approaches that would adequately reflect the

³² I went through several journals during fieldwork. I often seized moments before and after spending time with each care network to jot down thoughts, observations, and short poems, or to digitally record brief notes to myself. During particularly long stretches of time on the road, I had greater opportunity to think through *kuwentuhan* shared. Long periods of waiting in airports and sitting in airplanes en route to the next fieldwork destination were also moments for longer periods of written and recorded reflections. These reflections were eventually transcribed along with all digitally recorded *kuwentuhan*.

transnational nature of my study. I did not know then that understanding care and emotional labour as multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational and multirelational was going to emerge as a core theme in my dissertation.

The questions I formulated during this initial phase of fieldwork were in colloquial Taglish, a linguistic mixture of *Tagalog* and English. I was not sure how the questions would resonate with research participants in a different fieldwork setting, which points to some of the epistemic, as well as communication and translation challenges among research participants and researchers with tenuous insider/outsider status. When I began interviews in January of 2013, I quickly learned that the semi-structured interview format was not conducive to frank and open conversation about caregiving relationships among kin networks. I noted that when I attempted to draw on the interview guideline, I was sometimes met with trepidation at the questions being posed - but this was where a breakthrough occurred. I observed that the more open conversations around long-term separation, care and emotional labour happened *outside* of any 'formal' interview process.

While this is a common observation in ethnographic work, I believe that there was a distinct rhythm and energy to the way kin spoke to me and to each other before, during, and after interviews, and I began to pay closer attention to those rhythms and energies in bodily gestures, contact, and communication. I took my cue from kin members and learned that the more honest and thoughtful moments happened in breaths, long pauses, full breaks – while walking, while preparing, cooking and sharing a meal, looking after elderly and young kin, hanging freshly laundered clothes to dry - while engaging in acts of kin care that reflected the very gendered themes under discussion. Significantly, these stories often extended to street markets, buses, the uneven steps of sari-sari (variety) stores, street corners and the middle of towns and city squares.

I realized that *kuwentuhan* was at the heart of it all - a form of talkstorying or collective storytelling, which Filipina-American scholar, Jocson, defines as both “a noun (story) and a verb (telling/listening to/participating in a story)” (2009, 241). She writes that *kuwentuhan* “serves as a tool to communicate everyday experiences within groups, especially among family and community members” (2009, 31). It is “largely influenced by other people’s words and ideas that eventually become incorporated into one’s own” (2009, 31). By adopting *kuwentuhan* as the preferred mode of communication with research participants, then, my hope was to create a space for the sharing and (re)telling of stories that would encourage multirelational lifestorying, stories that span the life course and highlight forms of caregiving and receiving over time in a format that drew on culturally attuned ways of knowing, being, and communicating among transnational Filipino kin networks.

Once I realized that *kuwentuhan* stood at the heart of my interactions ‘in the field’, that was the moment I stopped ‘interviewing’ and took in the multiple threads of *kuwentuhan* unfolding around me. I based my shift in approach on what I felt made sense for a study that sought to understand multiple articulations of care among transnational kin networks – on what I hoped was a more aligned and culturally attentive approach to the study of care and emotional labour among transnational Filipino kin networks.

And this is when I became conscious of my breath. Breath conveyed the ways in which *kuwentuhan* among care networks never fully stopped, but rather, picked up where one kin member left off, or threaded into another kin’s story en route to another kin member’s home. The feeling of *kuwentuhan* in my experience was that it never started and stopped in any definitive fashion. The element of breath in talkstorying here goes hand in hand with paying attention to the power of breath in pregnant pauses for dramatic effect, in the spaces between words, in short

intakes of breath denoting shock or surprise at a critical turn in a talkstory, or a deep melancholy sigh. Breath captured fear, pain, sadness in the telling. Thus, the interpretation of *peminist kuwentuhan* in these pages is not one seamless unending story for there were difficult moments in talkstorying where breath did not come so easily, constituting the ebbs and flows of talkstorying itself. Breath activated the orality that I came to learn as central to talkstorying.

Importantly, *kuwentuhan* abounded in person, as well as through group chats and social media outlets like Skype and Facebook. These other forms of communication were not considered tangents, but rather, key elements of the larger story of each care network - my own care network included. Facilitating *kuwentuhan* was a collaborative process where research participants signaled to me the ongoing nature of talkstorying.

***Kuwentuhan* in the Interstices**

Coming to *kuwentuhan* was a transnational journey in and of itself. I observed that the moments that yielded the most honest stories among transnational kin occurred on the road traveling to and from local fieldwork sites, and/or in the presence of food. The stories shared on the road were invaluable to illuminating connections between kin, to ‘filling in the blanks.’ Indeed, I quickly learned that there were stories that were often shared, but also sub-stories to those stories that were not shared, or only shared with specific individuals, which I would hear about belatedly. Those sub-stories contain the “secret-secrets” (Hirsch 2010) that still manage to circulate and which contain critical information about the network’s kin histories. These sub-stories often emerged through intermittent conversations while performing a variety of other caring roles.

Part of the joy of this collective and participatory method was that it typically involved three or more storytellers at once, with multiple members of kin and community present – people

passing through, or sitting down for a time to offer their thoughts and contribute to the retelling / restorying. It must be said that even if multiple people were present, not everyone contributed to a given story; however, the presence of multiple kin was often enough to recall a poignant moment, a memory that would move the talkstorying in a different direction and build from there, subtly shifting the dynamic of the entire *kuwentuhan* experience. Jocson elaborates:

Variations in the construction of a story abound as each teller has her/his own individual experience, an experience that is co-constructed by many experiences. In other words, a story is produced, reproduced, and recycled as a consequence of social interactions (243).

One-on-one interviews simply did not allow for this type of flux during the ‘data-gathering’ process. It became stifling and arbitrary to cut *kuwentuhan* off and request a one-on-one interview when the stories of care were already happening in the natural breaks of things, in the initial *kumustahan* or greetings, in indoor and outdoor cooking spaces, or in extended goodbyes. I actively listened to the ways in which kin spoke to each other, to me, to my own kin network, paying particular attention to bodily gestures and cues, to the ways kin chose to take up space differently depending on who was present and what was happening in the moment. Thus, *kuwentuhan* emerged, for me, as deeply embodied and personal.

Traveling *Kuwento*

The setting for most *kuwentuhan* was en route. We were always on the move - outdoors and indoors, in stairwells, elevators, heading to job placement agencies, markets, bus stops - places where much day-to-day activity of kin and community members occurred. In this constant movement, I was able to witness and be a part of social interactions where inevitably, stories abounded. Stories moved as they moved, as we moved. The ambient sounds that traveled with us were a vital part of the experience, telling a story all their own. Importantly, these ambient

sounds that filled these in-between spaces also vividly enhanced the multisensorial experience of *kuwentuhan*, distinguishing the urban and rural settings in which *kuwentuhan* took place. Among the ambient noises recorded were the tell-tale honks of jeepneys in three-hour Manila traffic, periodic requests for directions and stops, hawkers selling various goods, strong winds obscuring the voices of tricycle drivers, the sounds of feet slapping against rubber flip-flops on pavement, the bells and whistles of buses and trams, dogs barking, children playing, and roosters crowing. I quickly realized I needed to pay attention to all of these elements of *kuwentuhan* living through bodies of kin and the spaces they inhabited. The subject of care was infused in the daily communicative acts and gestures between and among kin. I was prompted to pay closer attention to the stories threaded into kin members' daily acts and gestures, as these constituted significant parts of the co-constructed stories of a care network. Jocson writes:

To be clear, *kuwento* is not simply about sharing stories but also about the nature in which the stories take place. To understand *kuwento* is to first understand story... Central to stories are the social events in which they are constructed. Stories are simply not the result of what the speaker has produced but also the result of a sort of co-authorship between the speaker and the listener (Ochs 1997). Whether in oral, visual, spatial, or written form, story creates an imagined space to voice out relevant tales and to make meaning of present-day events largely shaped by a historical past (2009, 242-43).

Kitchen *Kuwento*

The importance of what I am referring to as “kitchen *kuwento*” remained relevant throughout the fieldwork experience. I define kitchen *kuwento* here as stories that are shared in the presence of food. This may include processes of traveling, purchasing, preparing, and consuming food items. These can be everyday food items made for breakfast, *merienda* (snack), *tanghalian* (lunch), dinner, *pulutan* (appetizers or snacks paired with alcohol), as well as other casual snacking at various food stands and street vendors on the road.

We often journeyed to find food, to transport food, to deliver food, to share food. Thus, eating was a significant element of *kuwentuhan*. *Kuwentuhan* could spontaneously occur during a break while squatting on the side of a dirt road, having some water and *baon*.³³ It could occur after an unlikely encounter with a childhood friend in a graveyard, or in the middle of a street en route to another destination. This is distinct from writings on storytelling around the kitchen table where the table is a central and highly gendered feature of the storytelling experience.

The practicality of carrying food that could *travel well* - salted fish, boiled eggs, pork skewers doused in spiced vinegar, and steamed white rice - across unknown distances was a key consideration then. While the preparation of food may have, in some instances, occurred in particular kitchen environments, even then, the sharing of food and the timing of our coming together, further produced different talkstories - some more playful, reminiscent, despondent, but all revealing of people's life journeys in important ways.

I noted nostalgic food items prepared amongst migrant kin in Hong Kong and Toronto, as well as the consumption of imported goods from Canada intended for kin in the Philippines, which I brought along with me as *pasalubong* (gifts). In many instances, the most fruitful conversations were timed according to the time of day and each care network's food habits. Some of the best stories emerged around meal times, or other natural breaks in conversation where snacking or coffee/tea breaks were in order. It was simply impossible to have food without storytelling, or storytelling without food, which made interactions that much more engaging and dynamic.

³³ Prepared food provisions or food supply taken on a journey.

***Kuwentuhan* through Artefacts**

Another key aspect of how I employed *kuwentuhan* as method was to create space for the storying of artefacts like photographs, letters, and other symbols that mark the everyday lived realities of transnational Filipino kin networks. I believe that the storying process is enlivened and enriched by artefacts, by material and virtual objects rendered meaningful by the storytellers. This is where traveling images held on mobile devices or artefacts kept in wallets, and places of perceived prominence, were also valuable elements of initiating *kuwentuhan*. In cases where research participants were interviewed in their homes, photo albums and other artefacts displayed within the home served as additional prompts for storytelling. Participants were asked about mementoes and other items that they held dear. These items were sometimes viewed in hard copy form or in virtual form (i.e. previously uploaded to a password-protected online server and securely accessed via phone or computer). Other artefacts, such as certificates, letters, and artwork that participants felt were relevant to their life stories were also integrated. The purpose of employing such methods was to explore the ways in which albums and artefacts are understood and felt - how they are selected, handled, transported, placed in or carried to particular spaces, shared with others, and cared for— all of which tell stories and evoke multiple registers of emotion and meaning for participants. To recognize the significance of photo albums and other visual imagery is to be wholly attentive to the ways in which “images are encountered through a number of registers that far exceed the discursive: the bodily, the sensory, the psychic and the emotional” (Rose 2004, 551).

Multiple Sites and Sources

In this dissertation, I adopt multisited ethnography, as defined by Marcus, in order to move away from the “conventional single-site location, contextualized by macro-constructions of the large social order, such as the capitalist world system, to multiple sites of observation and participation that cut dichotomies such as the ‘local’ and the ‘global’, the ‘lifeworld’ and the ‘system’” (1995, 95). I intentionally approach *kuwentuhan* as multisited in order to better capture the transnational scope and complexity of contemporary care and emotional labour among Filipino extended and chosen kin networks. I, therefore, approach multisited *kuwentuhan* as a method of “following” *kuwentuhan* or talkstories in, and across, multiple sites.³⁴

Participants were recruited using personal connections, including my own extended kin networks. Through these personal connections, I adopted snowball sampling and virtual snowball sampling techniques to recruit a total of 70 research participants. Potential participants were encouraged to advertise the study to their own personal networks, which led me to conduct and organize my fieldwork into four stages held over 24 non-consecutive months from 2012 to 2014 in the following sites: Toronto, Canada; Central, Sha Tin, and Sheung Wan, Hong Kong; Cabagan, Aurora, and Tumauni, Isabela; Calauan, Laguna; Laurel, Batangas; Meycauayan and Santa Maria, Bulacan; Cubao, Quezon City; and Taguig City, Metro Manila, Philippines. In fact, it was through this process of building and developing personal connections, particularly during the first stage of fieldwork in the Philippines, that I learned a number of research participants had extensive kin networks in Hong Kong, which led me to include Central, Sha Tin, and Sheung Wan, Hong Kong as fieldwork sites. This process reflected the ways in which “site selections are to an extent made gradually and cumulatively, as new insights develop, as opportunities come

³⁴ Marcus elaborates on multisited ethnography as a method of following “people,” “the thing,” “the metaphor,” “the plot, story or allegory,” “the life or biography,” and “the conflict” (1995).

into sight, and to some extent by chance” (Hannerz 2003, 207).

During my fieldwork in these multiple sites, I participated in formal and informal local activities organized by research participants, particularly those that highlighted important events in the life course, including wakes and funerals. I also participated in cultural activities, panels, and other public events that were organized around the issue of transnational care work, while facilitating *kuwentuhan*. Materials from these events emerged as significant symbolic representations of transnational life for research participants and were referenced during *kuwentuhan*. My participation in these events helped me analyze the subtle forms of transnational care and emotional labour communicated by research participants and their networks in Canada, the Hong Kong, the Philippines, and other sites, in addition to situating these communications within broader debates on transnational care and emotional labour.

Research participants received a \$10 calling card as a small token of appreciation for their time during the first stage of fieldwork. The calling card acknowledged the transnational linkages to kin and community members overseas and the need for kin and community members to stay connected. This was given to participants in person after they completed the interview process. This evolved during the second, third and fourth stages of my fieldwork to gift baskets of food items and other basic necessities and imported snack items that research participants specifically preferred and requested. Significantly, *pasalubong* (gifts) that I carried to and from different kin were also distributed during this time.

During the first stage, research participants were required to respond to a series of semi-structured interview questions that took up to one to two hours of their time. One-on-one interviews were conducted with participants in locations that were convenient for them, which often meant staying flexible and open to travelling short and long distances. Interviews took

about one to two hours of their time, but in the case of *kuwentuhan*, sometimes took entire afternoons or evenings. Research participants were presented with a full explanation of the research prior to participation. Individuals remained and continue to remain anonymous and all information shared, confidential.

Informed Consent and the Significance of Smartphone Technology

Informed consent was obtained in written form (see Appendix C), but verbal consent was preferred. In fact, I quickly learned that it was far more preferable to garner approval and acceptance through kin members who may have already had prior contact with me in person in another fieldwork site (Hong Kong, Canada, or the Philippines) and expressed their comfort level with me and with meeting their kin through Facebook. Interestingly, the entire kin networks' system of approval and acceptance via social media platforms like Facebook or WhatsApp, Viber and text message put research participants far more at ease than the formalized process of signing a consent form or providing verbal consent on a digital recording device. This became a mandatory step in garnering informed consent defined and insisted upon by care networks themselves. This 'pre-approval' was apropos given the nature of the study and the importance of transnational coordination and communication strategies in the dissertation as a whole.

Here, I want to take a moment to discuss the surprising significance of selfies during fieldwork. The act of research participants taking group selfies of us at each fieldwork site and posting these selfies to Facebook, or sending them directly to their extended kin via Viber, was an important first step in our *kuwentuhan* sessions. In some cases, research participants took selfies and posted them to their Facebook pages, while in other cases, research participants held Skype or Viber video chats with kin upon our meeting, or a combination of both. The video-

based communication could be initiated from the research participants I was presently with, or with their kin members who had kindly made the arrangements for me to meet their kin in Hong Kong or the Philippines. I draw attention to examples of transnational communication at work because these acts validated the experiences shared between members of each care network and myself. Selfies and video chats initiated with smartphones, combined with follow-up private text messages between kin members, became the most common approach to regularly “checking in” with transnational kin. It was a method of confirming existing relationships through shared virtual storytelling; confirming my arrival, as well as who I was, what I looked like, and what my intentions were; and as a gateway to building trust and strengthening rapport with research participants.

Jo of the Aglipay Care Network illustrates this method quite aptly. In the following excerpt Jo and I are sharing stories in her home in Aurora. She shares that in August, she was able to travel to Hong Kong to visit her *biyanan* (in-law) whom she describes as very close to her based on their regular Facebook interactions. While in Hong Kong, her *biyanan* purchased an iPad mini for her. Jo is excited to show me the iPad and the Facebook photos from her trip. She also takes this opportunity to capture selfies of us to send to her *biyanan* whom I have the potential of meeting when I travel to Hong Kong at the end of the month:

***Kuwentuhan with Manang*³⁵ Jo on the Aglipay Compound in Aurora, Isabela**

Jo: Oh hold on, I will get something.

[Jo leaves and re-enters the room with her iPad mini]

I have pictures. This is just in August. That’s my *biyanan*.

[Shows me Facebook posts from her ‘tour’ in Hong Kong on her *biyanan*’s

³⁵ Older sister in *Ilocano*.

profile page. She then proceeds to take selfies of the two of us. You can hear the distinct click of photos being taken on the digital recorder]

Isa pa. Another one [Takes another picture of us]

I will text her. *Po-post ko yan mamaya sa Facebook.*

(I will post this on Facebook later).

Sabi ko, kung na sa Hong Kong ngayon, imeet mo to.

(I said, if she is in Hong Kong now, meet this person).

A combination of texting and posting photos to Facebook virtually ‘introduce’ me to her *biyenan* in Hong Kong before I actually meet with her in person. This is a novel use of Facebook, which highlights the wide-ranging and perhaps un/intended purposes of the social media platform. In the context of the selfies, the posts themselves can invite other responses from a wider online social network, and prompt more virtual interactions via approved photo comments, more public wall posts, and private threads. This becomes an opportunity to also share the experience of facilitating such encounters between extended kin, chosen kin and non-kin, but also warrants negotiation around degrees of privacy and confidentiality.

Circulating group selfies or discussing other connections found through ‘mutual’ friends serves to enhance trust by demonstrating time spent together. Notably, it encourages research participants to open up and discuss their transnational connections in greater depth. The use of smartphone technology here could also be read as part of a pre-screening process in that members of each care network were able to form their own character assessments of me, compare notes with their kin, and decide what their levels of engagement with me as a researcher would be. Their consent to participate in the study was more or less affirmed once we took a group selfie or held a video chat session with other kin members, and appeared to be far more

agreeable to them than the actual signing of ethics consent forms. I was also expected to follow up with each care network at each fieldwork site to confirm arrival and in-person meetings. It was important to be kept abreast of these meetings and to participate in these multiple, ongoing transnational dialogues.

For the “*Manangs*” (older sisters) of the Agbayani Care Network, it was important that I use Facebook to search and add different kin members from their care network, particularly their *Lola* (grandmother) who runs a boarding house for Filipino migrant workers in Toronto, and their aunt who lives and works in Toronto as a registered nurse. During our Facebook search, we discovered that my own distant relative knew their grandmother as her elementary school principal in her hometown.

Walking *Kuwentuhan* with “the *Manangs*” in Central District, Hong Kong

Vee: Message on Facebook. Search [for] this [person] and add because she is the one who is always online! [Laughs] They have a boarding house there [in Toronto].

Fe: Yes, that’s the one who get the Mama and that’s the siblings [Shows pictures from Facebook to acquaint myself with ‘who’s who’ among their kin in Toronto].

Vee: This is the first one [to migrate] there [to Toronto].

Mar: That’s the one I know who went there first.

Vee: You can send the Auntie the pictures so it’s ‘authentic’ that you were here.

[We wrap up the *kuwentuhan* by taking group pictures as ‘proof’ of our time together].

Here, *Manang Vee*'s reference to 'authenticity' can be understood as evidence or tangible proof of having been physically present, of having been 'there' with them. Put another way, it can be read as a different kind of 'signature' or verification of time spent together. Without the advanced smartphone technology to access Facebook on the spot and visually confirm these connections, my interaction with the three *Manangs* could have been very different. Right in the middle of a public square in Central, Hong Kong on a Sunday (importantly, the only day off for thousands of Hong Kong-based migrant domestic workers), access to Facebook and therefore, to the *Manangs*' Toronto-based kin network, directly impacted the ease and the flow of our *kuwentuhan*. I offer these two vignettes not only to demonstrate the fundamental role that digital technologies played in making this work possible in the first place, but also to signal what is to come in Part Two of this dissertation.

Part Two

“This is How We Care!”: Transnational Care and Emotional Labour in Practice

As documented in Part One of this dissertation, particularly Chapter One, *Labour Migration from the Philippines to Hong Kong and Canada*, and Chapter Two, *Global Care Chains: Conceptual Origins and Departures*, a rich and extensive body of work has already contributed to our theoretical understandings of migrant care work and state policy on domestic and care work, especially in well-documented sites like Hong Kong and Canada. While Part One laid the groundwork for this study by historically contextualizing the conditions under which the mass migration of Filipinos to other parts of the world came to be instituted, Part Two of this dissertation fleshes out my multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational approach to understanding transnational care and emotional labour and takes it to task, demonstrating how this approach plays out in practice.

The three chapters that comprise Part Two of this dissertation are organized into three key themes: transnational mobilities, artefacts, and communications. In these three chapters, I have selected *kuwentuhan* drawn from the larger multisited ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in order to 1) showcase compelling illustrations of emergent forms of transnational care and emotional labour that are emblematic of many others in this study and 2) provide a more immersive experience with central carers and storytellers within each care network. As a result, I feature *kuwentuhan* from 20 of the 70 carers in this study. I feature *kuwentuhan* from each care network that most powerfully convey the complexities of transnational Filipino life, and are most comprehensive in illustrating a multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational approach to transnational care and emotional labour. Further, each chapter

highlights multiple members of kin networks in different locations in order to recreate a sense of the dynamic collective storying process that is part of the multisited *kuwentuhan* experience, thus you will expect to see lengthier excerpts throughout.

Before delving into these three chapters, I want to reiterate that while all participants in this study were indeed carers in that they performed care within their transnational kin networks over time and across vast distances, not all carers were paid migrant caregivers. Part Two of this dissertation shifts attention away from an exclusive focus on formalized paid care work performed within the countries that migrants journey to, in order to draw attention to other forms of paid and unpaid care circulating among migrant caregivers and their extended and chosen kin networks. Part of my goal in Part Two of this dissertation, then, is to bring attention to practices and processes of transnational care and emotional labour that do not simply center the paid female migrant caregiver, but that bring awareness to the broader relations of care that migrants and non-migrants within transnational kin networks are embedded.

Chapter Four

“All of Us Are Here Now”: Transnational Mobilities³⁶ in Perspective

In this chapter, kin members from each network talk about the launch of their migration journeys. What is notable about the ways in which kin members storied their migration journeys is that they often included, or were intertwined with, the migration journeys of other kin, thus revealing the ways in which their movements were influenced by the ever-evolving care needs of others. While it is difficult to capture the sheer number of sites that migrants within each network have journeyed to, I have tried to do so by visually mapping out the various phases of each kin network’s migration journeys. What emerges from the accompanying maps, tables, and figures are distinct patterns or phases of collective kin migration. It is in this chapter, then, that I more fully develop what I call ‘multiphased migration journeys.’ And while the multilocationality, multidirectionality, and multirelationality of care are also featured in this chapter, I foreground the multiphased aspect of my transnational care framework in order to illustrate the ways in which kin solidarity and collective survival are *made possible* through processes of multiphased migration decision-making among multiple carers in multiple locations over time.

My conceptualization of multiphased migration journeys builds on, and extends, Anju Paul’s work on ‘international stepwise migration’ which, as outlined in Chapter One, “differs from more frequently studied migration patterns in its number of stages, duration, intentionality, hierarchical progression, and dynamic nature” (2011, 1842). While Paul applies her concept to *aspiring* migrants, I apply my ‘multiphase’ concept to migrants who have already embarked on their migration journeys from the Philippines, Hong Kong, Canada, and elsewhere. The

³⁶ While I highlight the significance of transnational mobilities in this chapter, I do so from a place that recognizes the “*production* of Filipina/os as ‘mobilizable subjects,’ which, as John Paul Catungal argues, “highlight[s] the importance of acts through which bodies are put into global circulation” (Silvey 2013, 109).

ethnographic insights drawn from the multiphase migration journeys in this study are distinct in that they first, include the perspectives of migrant and non-migrant kin. Second, as a result of including the perspectives of non-migrant kin, acknowledges the foresight, planning, and strategizing that involve broader kin networks. Third, in being adaptable and resourceful throughout various phases of the migration journey, kin have to contend with the possibility of belated or deferred arrivals that involve transnational re-planning and re-strategizing. Fourth, the multisited *kuwentuhan* shared in this chapter offer insights into a more inclusive approach that does not *always* follow, or *necessarily* result in, a hierarchical progression towards a preferred destination. Finally, in the context of this study, an overarching migration strategy was directly tied to the goals of sustaining transnational kin solidarity and collective survival of the whole kin network, rather than tied exclusively to the goals of the aspiring migrant carving out an individual career path.

The De Rosales Care Network

***Kuwentuhan* with Efren, Perla, and Tala in Toronto**

I begin with *kuwentuhan* shared by members of the De Rosales Care Network who have a large kinship base spanning parts of the Philippines, Hong Kong, Canada, Qatar, and Jordan.³⁷

Tanghalian (Lunch)

I arrive at Tala's east-end apartment. I meet Perla in the lobby and we greet each other with a hug and take the stairs up to her eldest daughter's place. I enter a long hallway into their apartment and see Perla's youngest daughter, Jessica, who is seven months pregnant. I greet Efren and Tala who are both visible from the hallway. Tala's three sons are also present. Reggie (Perla's son and Tala's brother) joins us later in the day bringing the total number of people in the apartment to ten.

I learn that today is the day before Tala's birthday. Tala has prepared food for a small, pre-birthday celebration – pancit, lumpia, and a small cheesecake for later in the

³⁷ Note: Tables tracking multiphased migration journeys include kin members who have migrated outside of the Philippines, and in some cases, within the Philippines. Tables do not reflect total number of participants in study.

evening. Perla, Efren and I move between the kitchen, living room/dining space as we talkstory and bring out dishes and drinks. While Efren is soft-spoken, Perla is quite outspoken and often the life of the party – both are powerful storytellers and share their first migration experiences ‘with feeling.’

Efren: I left the Philippines in September 1979. My friend help me to go to Hong Kong. He find me an employer. [I] stayed there for three years. A good friend came to Canada before me. I met her in Hong Kong. I said to her before she left, can you help me find an employer in Canada? Everybody there in Hong Kong is a caregiver and they are going to Canada like a caregiver too. I went to Canada in October 1982.

I also sponsor *Inay* and my brother Edgar [the youngest one]... The rest of my brothers and sisters, they are all domestic workers starting to Perla, Liwliwa, Malaya, Maria, Jomar... I am the first one to come to Canada as a landed immigrant.

Perla: I was there in 1980 in Hong Kong. Efren found an employer for me. Different employer; different place. Only we see each other over the weekend because my day off is Saturday. May 1983, I come over to Canada. I help my two sisters. I got one to fill in my job because I obtained my immigration papers. My employer [is] the one looking for a caregiver. And then I get one sister from back home, and the other sister start getting the other from back home. All of us are here now.

*Ate*³⁸ is 68 and I'm 62 only. Six years [difference]. I wonder why me and *Ate* Efren always go together in same place. Back home, we went to work with my cousin's wife. She worked and I worked there too! [Laughs] Yeah and then in my high school days, she got a job in Intramuros.³⁹ There was a little painting shop there and she worked there and brought me there too! So the two of us always work together and then again, after I graduated from high school, she work in a factory in Pasig⁴⁰ and [laughs hard] we work again too!

Tala: You know what we call them? Twins! That's what Jessica named them.

Perla: Yeah she calls us twins! And every time people see me - "Oh Efren!" "No, I'm not Efren!" They think I'm Efren because she work at Wal Mart. She brought me there to work. Yeah! So funny how me and my sister stay connected. We're never separated. When she is back home, she used to look after us younger sisters, so she cooked for us.

³⁸ Older sister in *Tagalog*.

³⁹ Known as the Walled City, Intramuros stood at the center of political power during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines, and still stands as a major tourist attraction today.

⁴⁰ In Kale Fajardo's work on Filipina/o working class tomboy masculinities and manhoods across waters, Fajardo unpacks the ways in which the Pasig River in Metro Manila has come to be known as an "urban poor river settlement (derogatorily identified as a 'slum') [...] a "natural sewer" full of 'stench' that people do not want to be near or look at" (2014, 130, 137).

Efren: Yes, I took care of everyone even they are bad [Efren, Perla, Tala and Jessica laugh]. I look after them.

Perla: All of us in Canada now. Seven girls and two boys.

First, this *kuwentuhan* allows us to trace the beginnings of a multiphased migration journey that started with Efren in 1979, which launched the journeys of *Inay*, Edgar, Perla, Liwliwa, Malaya, Maria, and Jomar, to Canada. It is notable that Efren is the first sibling to arrive in Canada as a landed immigrant, while her other siblings (with the exception of Edgar) were required to fulfill the terms of the Foreign Domestic Movement Program from 1983 onwards.

Second, it highlights the significance of sibling relationships, particularly between Efren and Perla whose life journeys and work histories are so closely intertwined that they are commonly referred to as ‘twins.’ They are the only two within the kin network whose work trajectories closely mirror each other’s in the Philippines, Hong Kong, as well as Canada. It is also critical to note that bonds within the kin network were strong *pre-migration*, or before leaving the Philippines, sustaining their transnational connections throughout the life course. Indeed, when their late sister, Ana, moved from Laurel to a small apartment in Pasig, Metro Manila after completing high school, kin and chosen kin within the De Rosales Care Network joined her during different phases of their life journeys:

Tala: Almost everybody lived in that place. If you were moving in Manila, you will stay in that place.

Perla: Always, always stay there.

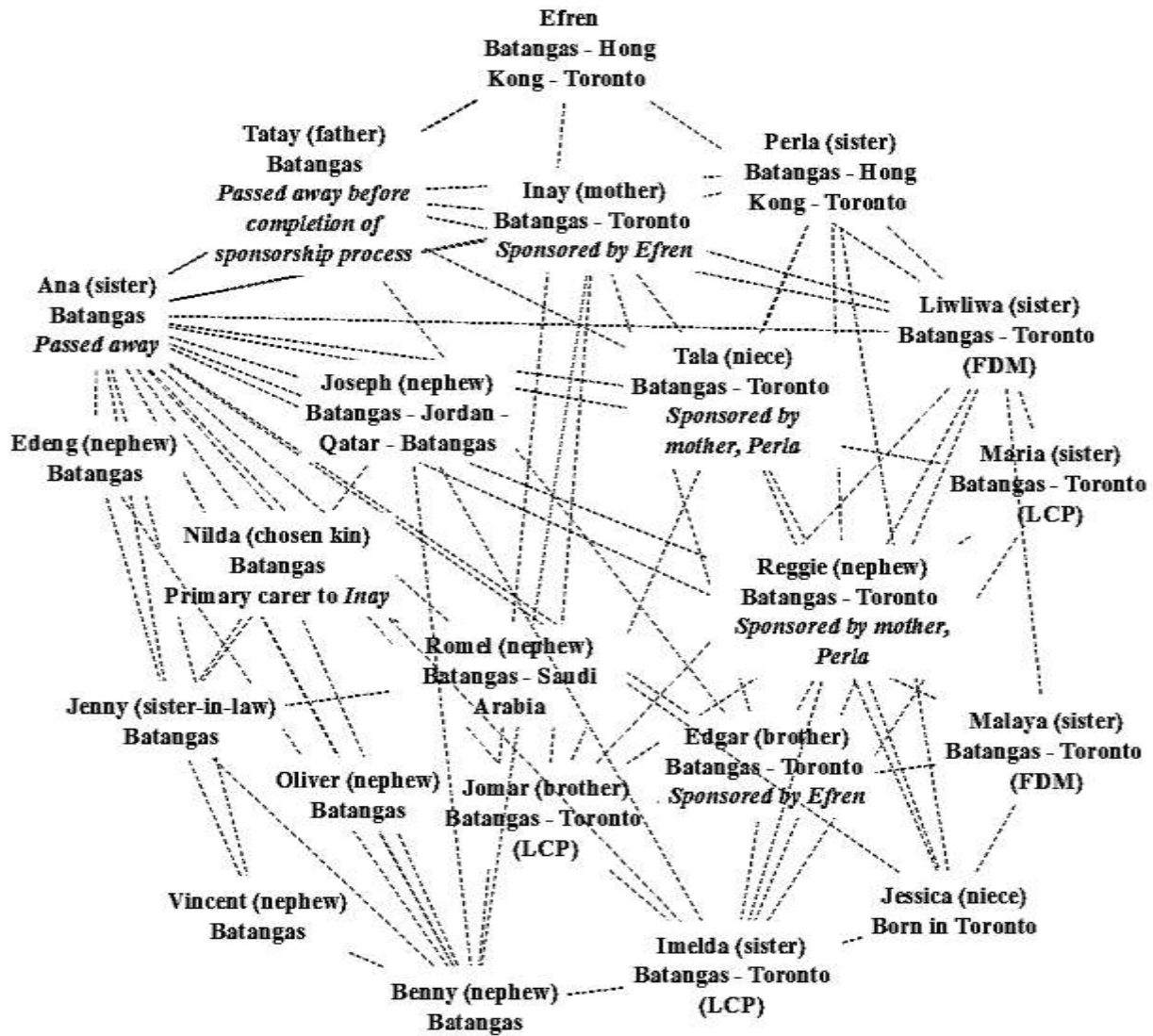
Tala: There was a lot of people who lived in that place when we were growing up. Let’s say you’re a friend of the family and you needed a place to stay, then they stayed there too and then we figure [it] out. You’ll find a place for that person. We find a way.

In providing temporary housing to a number of people, it is clear that Ana's apartment in Pasig served as a launchpad for various migration journeys, including rural-to-urban journeys, and as a thriving site of collectivity, solidarity, and support among kin and chosen kin who were part of the De Rosales Care Network. It is important to note that their internal migration from Laurel to Pasig underscores their working class identities as Pasig is known as an urban-poor or working-poor community (Fajardo 2014, 130). Lastly, it is notable that Efren speaks of having taken care of everyone "even they are bad." Her comment - lightheartedly shared - is suggestive of the kind of translocal and transnational care and emotional labour she performed for her younger kin over time, which not only included the day-to-day tasks of cooking and 'looking after' them, but also the shared responsibility of securing their migrant employment, and eventual reunification and re-settlement in Canada.

Table 2. The De Rosales Care Network		
Name and Phase	Date of Migration	Country of Migration
Efren		
Phase 1	1979	Batangas to Hong Kong
Phase 2	1982	Hong Kong to Toronto
	1994	<i>Tatay passes away</i>
Phase 3	1994	Toronto to Bantangas
Phase 4	1994	Batangas to Toronto
	1995	<i>Ana passes away; Joseph diagnosed with leukemia</i>
Phase 5	1995	Toronto to Bantangas
Phase 6	1996	Batangas to Toronto
Perla		
Phase 1	1980	Batangas to Hong Kong
Phase 2	1983	Hong Kong to Toronto under FDM
	1990	<i>Perla sponsors Tala and Reggie</i>
Phase 3	2014	Toronto to Bantangas
Phase 4	2014	Batangas to Toronto
Inay		
Phase 1	1994	Batangas to Toronto
Phase 2	2009	Toronto to Bantangas
Tala and Reggie		
Phase 1	1994	Batangas to Toronto
Imelda		
Phase 1	2000	Batangas to Toronto under LCP
	2015	<i>Ana's husband passes away</i>
Phase 2	2015	Toronto to Bantangas
Phase 3	2015	Batangas to Toronto
Liwliwa		
Phase 1	1986	Batangas to Toronto under FDM
Malaya		
Phase 1	1988	Batangas to Toronto under FDM
Maria		
Phase 1	1993	Batangas to Toronto under LCP
Jomar		
Phase 1	1995	Batangas to Toronto under LCP
Joseph		
Phase 1	1990	Batangas to Qatar
Phase 2	1995	Qatar to Batangas

	1995	<i>Mom (Ana) passes away; diagnosed with leukemia</i>
Phase 3	1995	Batangas to Jordan
Phase 4	2014	Jordan to Batangas
	2014	<i>Father passes away</i>
Romel		
Phase 1	1995	Batangas to Saudi Arabia

Figure 2. The De Rosaes Care Network



Map 1. The De Rosales Care Network's Multiphased Migration Journey



The Aglipay Care Network

Kuwentuhan with Maricel, Grace, and Mely

We meet on a warm, Sunday afternoon in September. *Manang* Mely's best friend and I arrive at their semi-detached town home in Toronto's Bloor West Village. *Manang* Mely's sister lives next door to her with her husband and two sons. We walk a short flight of steps and knock on *Manang* Mely's door. *Manang* Mely's eldest daughter greets us. After a bright hello, she promptly goes downstairs to the basement to join her younger sister. I can hear their laughter emanating from below. To our left is an open-concept kitchen and living room space. The living room space has been transformed into an extension of their kitchen/dining area. This is the liveliest space in the home. Indeed, the kitchen space is the key site of our on-the-record / off-the-record *kuwentuhan*. *Manang* Mely, who has just started preparing *pritong tilapia* (fried tilapia) in the kitchen, greets us. *Manang* Mely's parents are seated at the kitchen table. *Manang* Maricel, her daughter, Malou, her son, Mike, and her sister, Grace, are seated in chairs lining the wall and facing the kitchen table. They are closest to an old television set, which sits in a corner, visible from all other areas of the main floor. A *teleserye* (Philippine television soap opera, drama, or series) is currently playing on the GMA network. We are soon joined by *Manang* Nora, her sister-in-law, *Manang* Baby, her husband, and two sons. In total, thirteen people are present during our *kuwentuhan*. I learn that *Manang* Mely also has two international students who arrive at the house later in the evening, bringing the total number of people in the house to seventeen. In our first *kuwentuhan*, *Manang* Maricel, *Manang* Grace, and I take up the two couches in the family room, as everyone else continues talkstorying around

the kitchen table.

Maricel: In Hong Kong for the first [job] is two years. A friend who is our neighbour help me to go to Hong Kong. She found an employer for me. The friend who help me is in England now doing domestic help in London. I went back home and give birth to my two kids, Mike and Malou. After five years, I went back to Hong Kong and then I stayed there for seven years. My Mom took care of Mike and Malou in the Philippines - my Mom and Dad, and my sister-in-law. We have a cousin staying with us, so she's helping my Mom to take care of them [too]. [Being separated from them] it's no good, but you have to work. I have to work. It's for them.

After seven years, I came to Canada. It only took three months to go from Hong Kong to Canada. Before it was so fast. Well, actually processing is only one month, but you have to give notice that you're leaving them. [I started] the LCP 2001 to 2011. [I] stayed with my employer for ten years. Even though they release⁴¹ me, I'm still 'okay' with them because I got my landed and my citizenship with them. After two years as live-in caregiver, I got the open permit and then after a few months, I got my landed immigrant [status] in December and then June 13, 2005, they [my kids] came here. That was when I count four years and five months.

The employer who bring me here [is] my niece, you know, Maria. My niece released me in the first few months. We [my sister and I] see them [Maria and her family] often 'cause actually she help a lot with us. She got another one again - my nephew. I was the first and then the cousin, and then the other cousin. Me citizen, the other one citizen, the other one PR [permanent resident] and the other one's coming. She release me and the other cousin. Just continue the nephew.

Grace: I just came in April. First time I came to Canada. Five months. [I came here] to gain more experience and, like other Filipinos, to migrate and join my family. That's another reason. [*Manang* Maricel and I] reunited after ten years... We're only two. Our age gap is six years. I'm 49 and she's 55. [In Hong Kong] we lived in the same [area], the New Territories. Hong Kong is divided into three - Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and New Territories. She help me to go to Hong Kong. She found an employer for me. We work different houses. [Here in Canada] only on the weekend that we stay together.

Mely: We're all Baby's relatives in Aurora. We are all neighbours. They're very close too because they live in Hong Kong [Baby, Maricel and Grace]. Baby lived in Hong Kong for more than ten years. It's a long time. They also came to Canada around the same time too. I had one niece in Hong Kong, Jo. I help Jo with her education and when she went to Hong Kong to work. She went there for caregiver but she don't have a good luck. She was terminated.⁴²

⁴¹ Common term used to refer to being 'let go of,' or 'released' from one's employment contract.

⁴² Jo was fired without notice.

Kuwentuhan with Manang Jo

I meet *Manang Jo*, warm and jovial, outside of the Aglipay compound in Aurora.

The compound is surrounded by acres of rice and corn fields. As we walk together through the compound, she speaks fondly of *Manang Mely* and demonstrates awareness of her day-to-day activities. Our *kuwentuhan* starts from the moment Jo and I greet each other and continue on inside the house and into a room that is known as ‘*Manang Mely’s room.*’ As we settle in, we are joined by Jo’s sister, Jin, and their mother, *Lola*⁴³ Analyn, who is *Manang Mely’s* eldest sister.

Jo: I finished two years in commerce and then I went to Hong Kong. I was just 20 years old. I worked as a ‘DH’ [domestic helper]. I was there for only three months. I was terminated and it was a weekday. I asked [my employers] if I could use their phone to call my aunties, but they wouldn’t let me. I was crying so hard. I was with strangers. I went to the agency and slept there. My aunt picked me up and I went to a boarding house to sleep. It was about 2:00 pm when I was terminated and my aunt picked me up around midnight. I was in Hong Kong for two weeks without work and then when I went back to the Philippines, I worked for four years as a digital telephone operator. Auntie Mely and *Lola* help me - Auntie Mely especially.

There are three key points that I wish to highlight in this *kuwentuhan*. First, Maricel’s *kuwento* traces her multiphase migration journey where she leaves the Philippines to work as a domestic worker in Hong Kong for two years (phase one), returns to the Philippines to give birth to Mike and Malou (phase two), and then goes back to Hong Kong for an additional five years (phase three). This is followed by ten years of employment as a caregiver under the Live-in Caregiver Program in Canada (phase four). By outlining her multidirectional movement patterns and the length of time it took to plan and embark upon her multiphased journey from the Philippines to Hong Kong and Canada, Maricel defies the logic of a unidirectional and unilinear

⁴³ Grandmother.

migration trajectory - as do Grace, Mely, and Jo who also follow non-linear trajectories. Within the timeframe it took Maricel to give birth to her two kids and eventually sponsor and reunite with them, it took Maricel a total of 17 years employed as a domestic worker and caregiver in *two* countries to complete *four* phases of her multiphase migration journey.

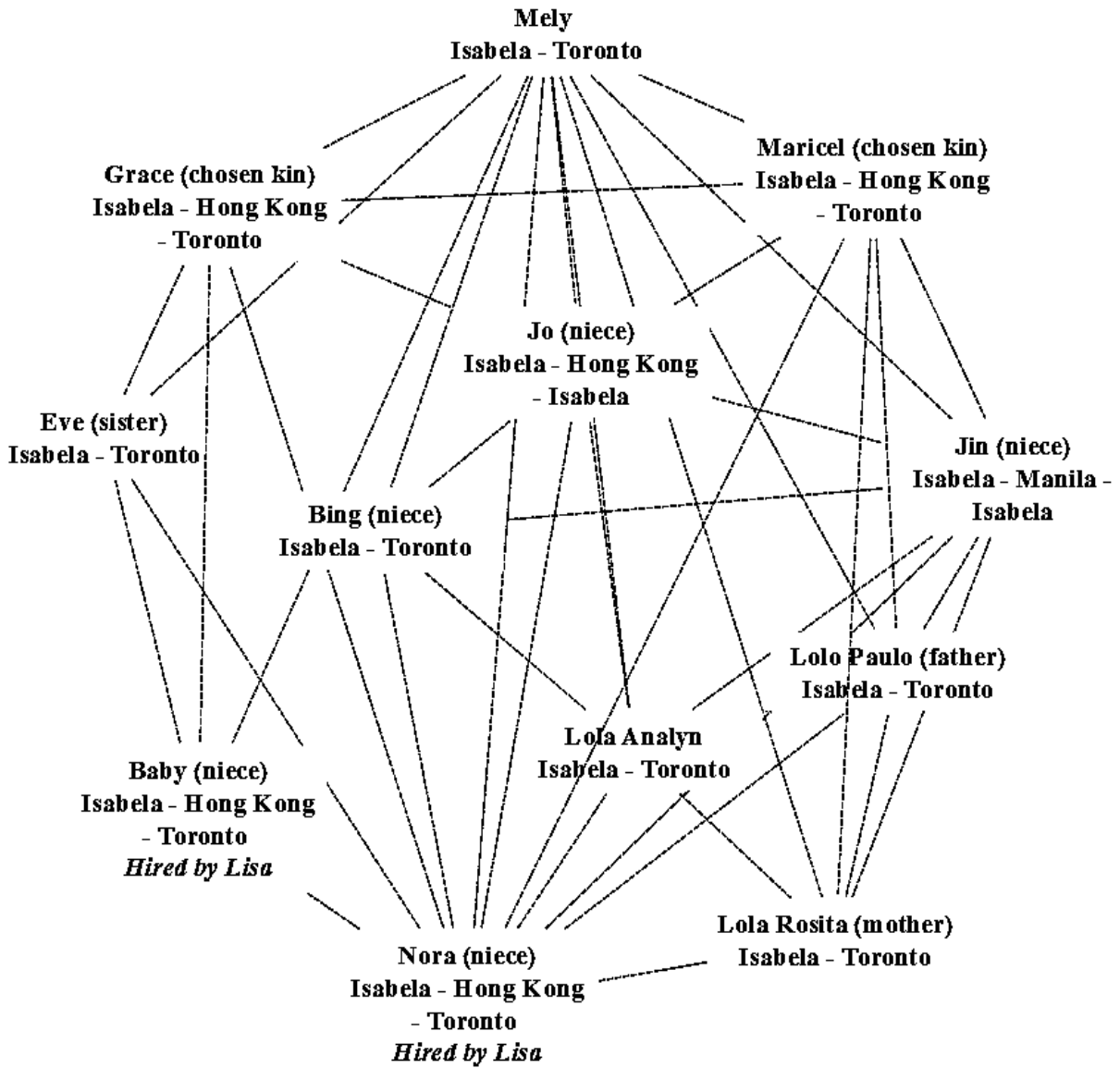
Second, in order to complete her multiphase migration journey, Maricel had to have developed an overarching migration strategy that included collective foresight and planning with other members of the Aglipay Care Network. This meant that Maricel's mother, father, sister-in-law and cousin helped raise Mike and Malou when she returned to Hong Kong and migrated to Canada. It also meant that Maricel was the first one to experiment and coordinate with her niece in Toronto to secure employment under the Live-in Caregiver Program and replicate this same process with four other kin members in order to increase their chances of gaining permanent residency and Canadian citizenship. This can be read as constituting a collective reunification strategy that is part of the Aglipays' overarching migration strategy.

Third, Mely helped Jo through two years of her commerce degree and supported her decision to put her education on pause in order to work in Hong Kong as a domestic worker. Jo's termination and the subsequent help she received from Mely upon her return to the Philippines points to the unplanned aspects of multiphase migration journeys and the need to quickly mobilize transnational kin in Hong Kong and in Toronto in the event of sudden termination or threat of deportation. This is part of the precarious reality of transnational care networks' lives and it is precisely what prompts the need to be adaptable and to develop what I argue is an overarching *survival* strategy that helps diffuse or mitigate situations like Jo's. Moreover, the strong bonds nurtured pre-migration contribute to the pronounced sense of kin solidarity among migrant and non-migrant kin alike, which is notably reflected in the transplantation of the

multigenerational household and family compound in Aurora to Toronto.

Table 3. The Aglipay Care Network		
Name and Phase	Date of Migration	Country of Migration
Maricel		
Phase 1	1987	Isabela to Hong Kong
Phase 2	1989	Hong Kong to Isabela
Phase 3	1994	Isabela to Hong Kong
Phase 4	2001	Hong Kong to Toronto
	2005	<i>Sponsors Mike and Malou</i>
Mike and Malou		
Phase 1	2005	Isabela to Toronto
Grace		
Phase 1	1987	Isabela to Hong Kong
Phase 2	1997	Hong Kong to Isabela
Phase 3	2015	Isabela to Toronto
Nora		
Phase 1	1994	Isabela to Hong Kong
Phase 2	2010	Hong Kong to Toronto under LCP (through Mely)
Nita		
Phase 1	1977	Isabela to Spain
Phase 2	1980	Spain to Toronto under FDM
Mely		
Phase 1	1989	Isabela to Toronto
Phase 2	2001	Toronto to Isabela (gets married)
Phase 3	2001	Isabela to Toronto
	2002	<i>Gives birth to first child, Jolyn</i>
	2006	<i>Gives birth to second child, Chrissel</i>
Eve		
Phase 1	1989	Isabela to Toronto
Baby		
Phase 1	2006	Isabela to Toronto under LCP (through Mely)
Jo		
Phase 1	1978	Isabela to Hong Kong
Phase 2	1978	Hong Kong to Toronto
Jin		
Phase 1	1999	Isabela to Manila (internal migration)
	2009	Manila to Isabela (internal migration)
		<i>Home destroyed by Typhoon Ondoy</i>

Figure 3. The Aglipay Care Network



Map 2. The Aglipay Care Network's Multiphased Migration Journey



The Manalo Care Network

Kuwentuhan with Nenita

We arrive at Auntie Nenita's house just before sunset. It is light enough outside to catch Nenita's sari-sari store open. It stands at a *kanto* (street corner). Apart from the standard sari-sari fare, like soft drinks, canned goods, *chichirya* (individually packaged snacks), and "load," I notice that her store also serves hot food, like fried chicken - an indication that the store is expanding and doing well. Nenita and her husband greet us. We follow Nenita down a dirt path to a concrete house. As you enter through the main gate, there is a grotto with a full-sized Mother Mary statue to your right. To the left is a small porch that leads to the front door of the house. We enter the house and find ourselves standing in the middle of the living room. We move to the kitchen table to sit down and begin our *kuwentuhan*.

Nenita: When Zeny left, they were 22 years of age. Now they are 25 years in Canada probably. Luz is probably about 15 years in Canada. When she went there, she was 30 plus in age. I took care of them when they were little, *si* Zeny at *si* Luz (Zeny and Luz), and I took care of Arvin (Luz' son). Luz left Arvin with me and took him when he was seven years old. Now the child is with her. He's about 10 or 11 now.

When they left, *malungkot siempre ako* (I was sad, of course) because they took the child I was taking care of and Luz' husband was here with me too for five years. She took them at the same time. *Sobrang lungkot* (very sad) because before we were together everyday.

Kuwentuhan with Zeny, Boy, and Luz

Merienda (Snack)

When I arrive at Zeny and Boy's apartment one September morning, I find that Zeny, as well as Luz' twins and youngest son are there. The kids are left in Zeny and Boy's care while Luz and her husband go to the local Filipino grocery store. Luz lives in the unit directly above Zeny and Boy. Arvin, Luz' eldest son, takes the short flight of stairs down to say hello and we greet each other warmly. Arvin is almost my height and graduating from Grade 8. Boy's eldest sister and husband, Lilibeth and Paolo, also live with them. They are present when I arrive, but leave soon after to attend daily mass. In total, 11 people come and go throughout the course of my visit. It is a well-known fact that many people have lived in this small two-bedroom apartment and that many people have brought their lives and their stories into this space, including and especially, Luz.

Unlike Nenita's living room in Laguna, the living room here is bare in the sense that there are no framed photos, no artefacts on the wall, on top of cabinets or other surfaces. The walls are beige and the space is small and simple. Storage items are in full view, stacked or piled on top of one another. Decorating the kitchen table in true 'buffet-style' are some coconut rolls and other meat-filled buns purchased from a nearby Chinese bakery. I am invited to have some *merienda* (snack). The importance of communal meals and storytelling is not to be missed. Quite organically, we end up settling by the kitchen table in the main living space and falling into *kuwentuhan*. We talk about packing for their upcoming departure for the Philippines. They will be traveling to Laguna in November for a big "OFW reunion." Many of their OFW kin will be attending, including their brother who currently works in Dubai and other kin members living and working in Italy.

Zeny: I came September 1987. I was in my twenties. For the whole life of my high school, I wanna go abroad to help my family. My father passed away already, so I consider myself as a father of the family. That's always my thinking. My Dad is gone, so I wanna help my brothers and my sister. I didn't know Boy yet [who was Flor's partner before becoming Zeny's partner].

I came here to Flor and Boy because I already have family in here to help me – Flor and Linda. Relatives. They were co-teachers back home and then when we came here, we're all the same doing care work! We all live together, but we are only weekender.⁴⁴ We live full-time in our employer, so we come home. That's how me and Tito Boy first met and then we moved in together.

⁴⁴ Refers to domestic workers who can afford to live-out and rent a space at a boarding house on weekends, which is typically when domestic workers have a day off. This is a common strategy adopted by domestic workers and caregivers to keep housing costs low.

We lived with *Inang* (mother). We lived for a long time with *Inang*.

Boy is the one who first help us to find an employer. They are a nurse in Toronto Western Hospital. Boy was a nursing aid and worked with this nurse. This nurse is helping most of her friends to find employer. She's Canadian.

Boy: This nurse needed some contact from the doctor, so they ask if they know somebody. I said, "Yes, I have someone back home." So we started through Teresa and then... how many?

Zeny: I'm the third one.

Boy: Yeah, the third one from Teresa. She is the one who contact all the doctors [Zeny: In Toronto Western Hospital] that needed some nannies.

Zeny: Caregivers. At that time, you don't really need to have a course, just experience.

Boy: That time [is] just word of mouth. We have to know how to help each other. [Zeny: That's the thing!] By the time I get Luz, it's through agency.

Luz: Yeah, I found the agency in Laguna. I contact a lady from Manila and then from Manila to Nel. And then that time, I get the letter of employment - the labour market opinion [LMO]. As soon as I get my visa, the Canadian embassy call me. They said that your LMO will be expired in two or three weeks, so I try to talk to Nel that we're gonna have trouble with the LMO. I called the employer and I said, "If you don't send us another LMO, we're gonna sue you." After that, we realize six caregivers was under his name!

Zeny: And then she talk to Teresa.

Luz: Yeah and she give me a hint, "Don't trust too much. Don't give more money until you have your plane ticket." Teresa's Dad give me a new LMO in case that Nel will not give us.

Boy: And after that, Nel was nailed by the immigration. Blacklisted! The last one her [Luz].

Luz: It's so hard to come here, but I finally came 2003.

There are a few key points I wish to unpack here. The first involves the phenomenon of what I call multiphased separation and reunification among transnational kin. The *kuwento* of Auntie Nenita, who raised Zeny and Luz, and then cared for Luz's son, reinforces the need to

pay attention to broader kin relations, particularly those that fall outside the migrant mother-child dyad. While the *kuwentuhan* of Zeny, Boy, and Luz show us the significance of multiphase migration journeys that involve the staggered arrivals of various extended and chosen kin to Canada, we also see how the process of multiphase separation and reunification unfolds. Auntie Nenita's *kuwento* reveals the emotional impact of one particular strand of separation, that is, separation from Zeny who was the first of the siblings to leave for Canada (phase one), followed by Luz (phase two) and then Luz's husband and son, Arvin (phase three) who were subsequently reunited with Luz in Toronto.

Another key point involves the importance of queer and transgender networks of care as highlighted by Boy and Zeny's relationship and their support network of kin and chosen kin, Flor, Linda, and Teresa. To understand Boy and Zeny's *kuwento*, particularly Zeny's desire to embody a fatherly role within the Manalo Care Network, it is important to understand that Boy and Zeny are partners who both, as Fajardo aptly articulates, "enact and embody queer and transgender Filipino tomboy masculinity" (2008, 407). To contextualize these kin and chosen kin relations further, we must understand how the term tomboy has been deployed in attempts to capture Filipino/a tomboy working class masculinities. Through his analysis of Nice Rodriguez' *Throw it to the River* (1993), in which Rodriguez views the term butch as an "approximation" of "tomboy", Fajardo elaborates that the term "can be read as a kind of gender-non-conforming, transgender Filipino masculinity/maleness/manhood, in addition to female masculinity or lesbianism" (2014, 127).⁴⁵ The weekender apartment in Toronto rented by Flor, with \$50 contributions from everyone who stayed or passed through the apartment, was a vital space for

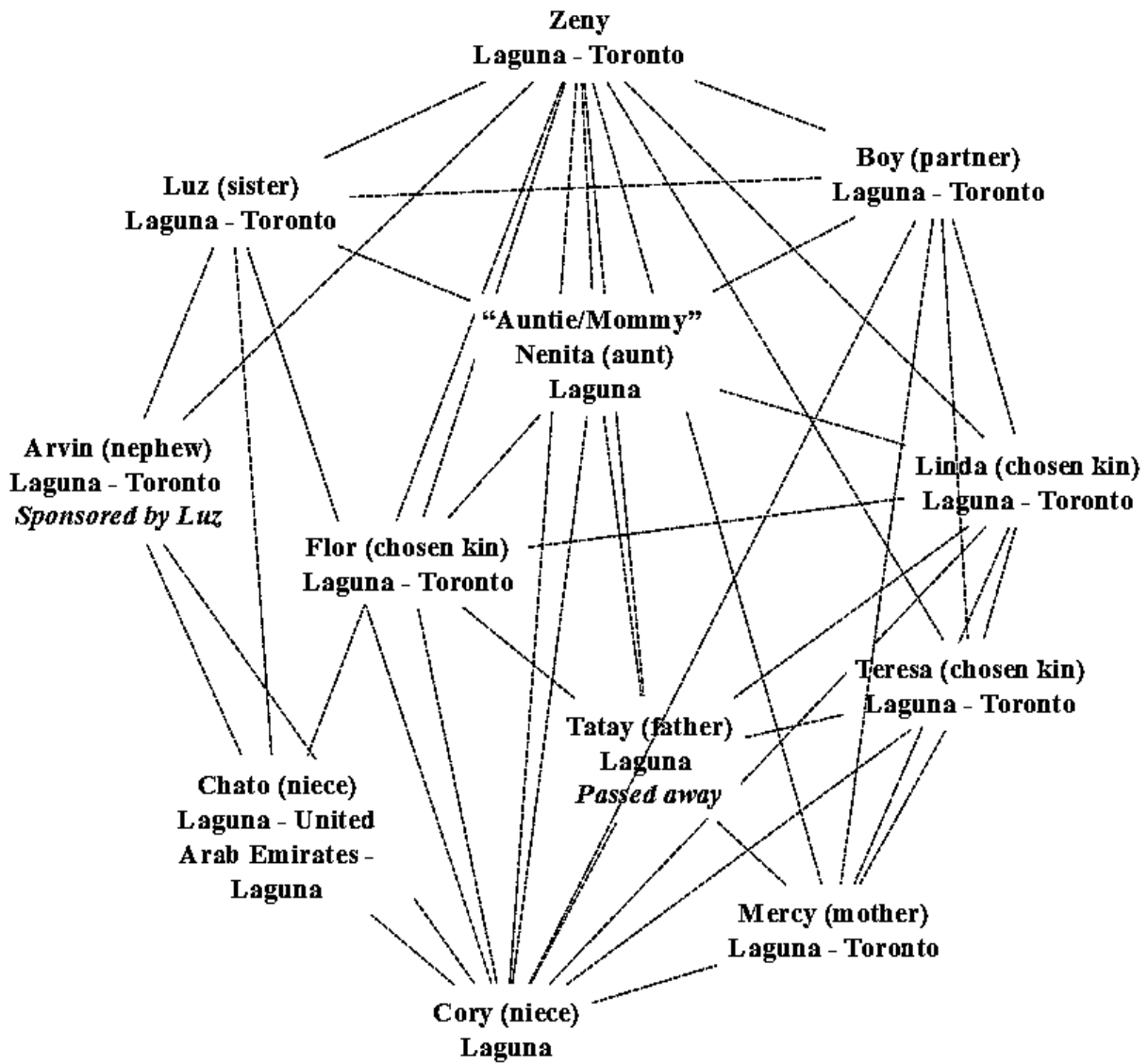
⁴⁵ Fajardo also reminds us that in the Philippines, as well as other parts of Southeast Asia, "sex-gender are not separated in the same way that sex/gender has been historically separated or teased out in European/European American knowledge production" (2014, 127).

queer and transgender networks of care to flourish, a site where Zeny ended up meeting their life partner and many of their long-time friends, while fulfilling their fatherly role within their transnational kin network. Further, as noted, Boy and Flor were partners before they helped Zeny migrate to Canada as a caregiver. Flor was Zeny's late cousin. She passed away over twenty years ago, and Boy and Zeny have been together ever since, living with, and supporting, *Inang* (Boy's mother) until she too, passed away in her early eighties. The weekender household in Toronto is significant not only in the ways that it supported a vital site of transnational queer and transgender sociality, solidarity and support, but also in other ways as it speaks to the varying degrees of restrictions on care workers' mobility. For example, Zeny's ability to live among their partner, kin, and chosen kin on weekends stood in sharp contrast to Luz who had far more difficulties securing employment in Canada and could not leave her employer's home while fulfilling the terms of her contract under the Live-in Caregiver Program.

Finally, this *kuwentuhan* points to the deprofessionalization of queer members of the Manalo kin network, like Flor and Linda, who were educators in their earlier careers in the Philippines and then care workers upon their migration to Canada. At the same time, it also speaks to the informal networks that Boy fostered as a nursing aid with other nurses and doctors at Toronto Western Hospital, which ultimately facilitated the care migration and subsequent multiphase reunification of kin members from Calauan to Toronto.

Table 4. The Manalo Care Network		
Name and Phase	Date of Migration	Country of Migration
Zeny		
Phase 1	1987	Laguna to Toronto
Phase 2	2014	Toronto to Laguna (OFW Reunion)
Phase 3	2014	Laguna to Toronto
Luz		
Phase 1	2003	Laguna to Toronto under FDM
	2007	<i>Sponsors Arvin and husband</i>
Phase 2	2014	Toronto to Laguna (OFW Reunion)
Phase 3	2014	Laguna to Toronto
Boy		
Phase 1	1975	Laguna to Toronto
Phase 2	2014	Toronto to Laguna (OFW Reunion)
Phase 3	2014	Laguna to Toronto
Chato		
Phase 1	2007	Laguna to United Arab Emirates
Phase 2	2009	United Arab Emirates to Laguna
	2010	<i>Met husband in UAE; birth to first child</i>

Figure 4. The Manalo Care Network



Map 3. The Manalo Care Network's Multiphased Migration Journey



The Agbayani Care Network

“That’s My Original Plan”: Migration Destination Deferred

Walking *kuwentuhan* with *Manang* Mar through Sheung Wan and Central District, Hong Kong on a Sunday afternoon

Manang Mar and I take the tram from Sheung Wan to Central. We collect ourselves just outside of the Central MTR station exits and directly across the street from the HSBC corporate building. Many Filipino and Indonesian domestic workers are gathered here on Sundays during their day off. Our *kuwentuhan* begins on the tram and continues as we walk through Statue Square and World Wide House. World Wide House is a hub of Filipino goods and services. There are a number of people packing *balikbayan* boxes on the streets, inside the plaza, taking items out of their luggage and transferring them over to boxes or large, sturdy bags with tell-tale plaid designs of red and blue. It is also a place where you can buy all manner of affordable toys, clothing, shoes, and accessories to send home, as well as a place where workers can congregate, eat Filipino food, watch Filipino films on DVD, and meet with their friends – a one-stop shop, if you will – everything you need in one place. We eat Filipino food (Mar enjoys chicken liver and I enjoy my *kare-kare*⁴⁶ combo) because Mar told me she rarely gets to eat Filipino food in Sha Tin, New Territories which is about an hour from Central and other Filipino local businesses in Hong Kong if you are traveling by MTR. Mar explains that Filipinos

⁴⁶ A hearty Filipino stew often made with oxtail, pork, or beef hocks and vegetables in a thick peanut-based sauce.

have adopted “many strategies” for surviving. As we walk through streets filled with Filipino migrant activity, she jokingly tells me, “This is how we care!”

Mar: My Mom is the one taking care of my son. We are separated for seven years! 2007 to 2014! I was in Bahrain 2007 to 2009 and then here in Hong Kong five years. I have a brother in UAE and in Saudi Arabia, so three of us are out of the country. I’m working as a supervisor for a big bakery before. My brother’s friend, the mother of the friend, is working in Bahrain. They opened a new branch and she said we’re looking for a female employee. That time, my son was just one year old and I told my brother [yes] so, that’s it. Less than two months, I’m there. When I was in Bahrain, Auntie Chenchia [Inocencia], said, “Why don’t you apply to Hong Kong, then you can go to Canada?” I’m resisting that time because it’s too far away from Bahrain. That’s why I come here as a tourist in 2009, so I personally see [what it’s like]. The salary compared to here [in Hong Kong] is almost the same.

I really plan to go to Canada. If you want to apply to Canada, you should have one year experience here and then after a year, you can apply. So, after you finish your contract - because each contract is two years - then it’s the right time to move. So you don’t need to renew your contract [in Hong Kong]. Of course you have at least three years university or college and one year experience of taking care of kid less than eight years old and that’s it, you can go. That two years means you’re not sending money [back home] so you need more - four years - because of course your salary won’t be enough. It takes time, but my cousin, Char, really put me down.⁴⁷

She borrow money to me in Hong Kong. I lend her money because I knew that she will pay me because she will be in a good place in Canada. We were very close since kinder[garten] because our house is just next to her house. *Kapit bahay lang*, so I said, *sige*. The worse thing she did to me is I give her the money and she ran away with the money direct to Canada. She knew that I was planning to apply to Canada. That’s my original plan. That’s why I came to Hong Kong. Actually, it’s this time I should be there already. So that’s the story. I’m trying to save now to go to Canada - after I pay for that stupid thing I did.

She told me she paid already to my Mom, like little bit, little bit. 500 pesos when she have. It won’t help my Mom! It’s nothing. I just told her, “You know what’s the reason I come here because I’m a single Mom. You have a son, I have a son.” My Mom is too old, almost 80 years old and alone with my son who is 9 years old. I live to support them. I said, “You just think of my son, then you remember.” Those time[s], even I cannot send money, my Mom is the one supporting. My Mom is working in government before, so she have her monthly pension. I was crying and she was crying because she said to me, “You [went] there to work for us, for your son but you’re not sending any money.” And then that’s it, that’s the story.

⁴⁷ In other words, she ‘set her back’ financially. Mar’s cousin, Char, was engaged to a Canadian citizen whom she met while employed as a domestic worker in Hong Kong. Mar provided Char with financial support in preparation for her move back to the Philippines and then to Canada to eventually join her husband.

As with the other multisited *kuwentuhan* shared in this chapter, here again, we see the significance of adopting a multiphased approach in tracing Mar's journey to Bahrain from 2007 to 2009 (phase one), followed by her brief tour to Hong Kong in 2009 (phase two), her return to Isabela (phase three), and then her migration to Hong Kong in 2010 as a domestic worker (phase four). Importantly, this *kuwentuhan* highlights the kin relations that facilitated Mar's employment abroad, such as her brother's friend's mother who employed her during her first stint as a supervisor at a commercial bakery in Bahrain.

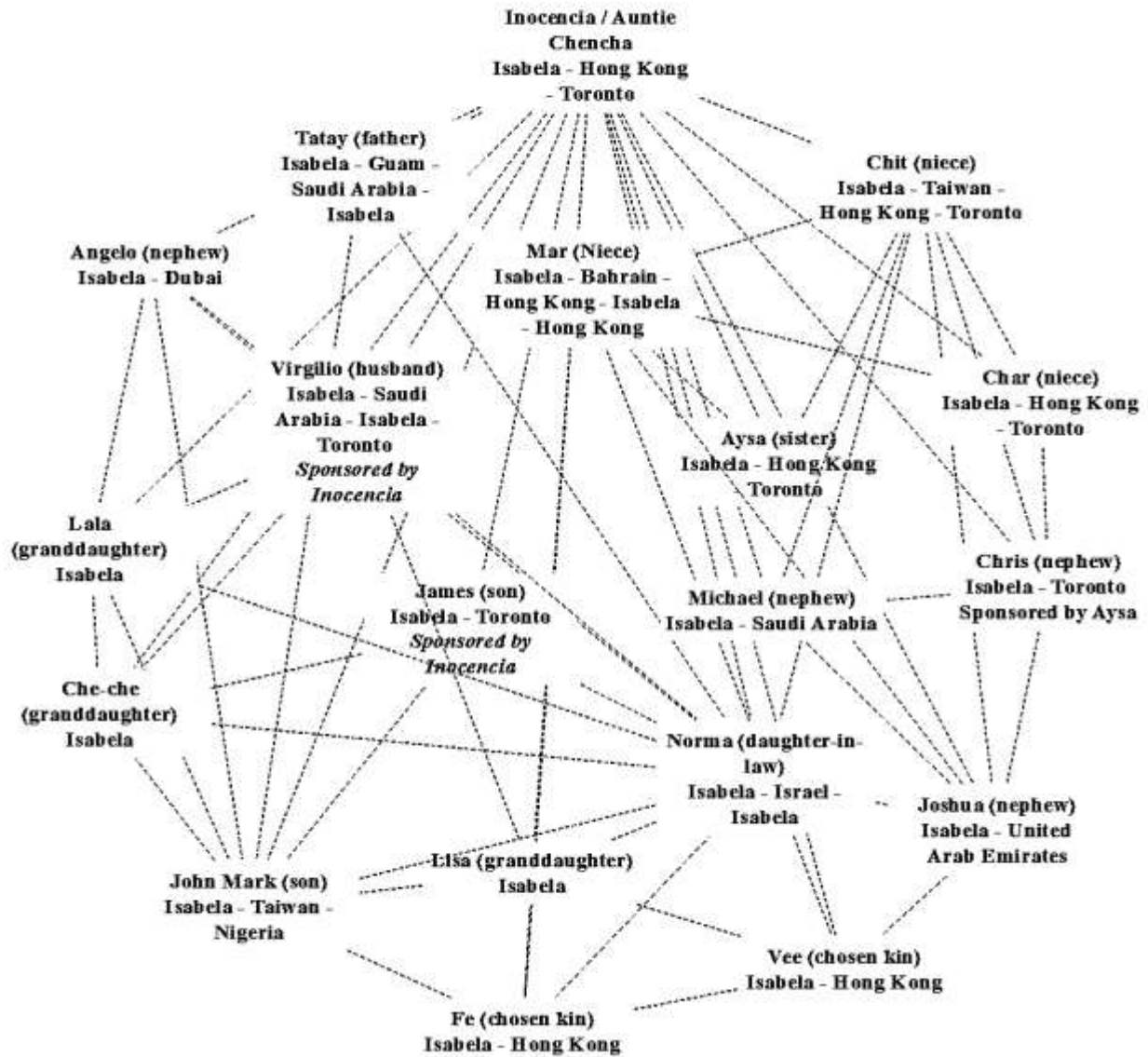
But perhaps the most striking aspect of Mar's *kuwentuhan* is in its articulation of a survival plan that displays the need for adaptability in the face of fraught and unplanned delays, as exemplified by Mar's relationship with Char, and the potential deferral of migrant arrival. Urged by Auntie Chenchá or Inocencia to make the move to Hong Kong and then to Canada just as she herself did, Mar set plans in motion to accumulate enough social capital and build enough experience and combined savings from her work in Bahrain and Hong Kong to increase her chances of securing employment in Canada through the LCP. It is also clear that Mar was very informed about the administrative processes involved in migrating to Hong Kong and to Canada. This knowledge, accrued over time through Auntie Chenchá (whose own multiphase migration journey included work in Hong Kong and Canada), as well as other migrant kin abroad such as her brothers in the UAE and Saudi Arabia and another cousin, Chit (who had worked in Taiwan and Hong Kong before migrating to Canada as a live-in caregiver to join Auntie Chenchá, her mother (Chenchá's sister), and younger brother) is a testament to Mar's drive to financially support the survival of her elderly mother and son, and eventually emerge from a cycle of debt. In fact, long-term arrangements have been made among the Agbayani Care Network to coordinate and facilitate Mar's migration to Canada this year, which underscores how far in

advance transnational kin networks *pre-plan* and strategize around their multiphase migration journeys, factoring in the barriers they may experience along the way.

Table 5. The Agbayani Care Network		
Name and Phase	Date of Migration	Country of Migration
Inocencia		
Phase 1	1995	Isabela to Hong Kong
Phase 2	2007	Hong Kong to Toronto under LCP
	2012	<i>Sponsors James and Virgilio</i>
Virgilio		
Phase 1	1995	Isabela to Saudi Arabia
Phase 2	2012	Isabela to Toronto
James		
Phase 1	2012	Isabela to Toronto
Phase 2	2015	Toronto to Isabela
Mar		
Phase 1	2007	Isabela to Bahrain
Phase 2	2009	Bahrain to Hong Kong
Phase 3	2009	Hong Kong to Isabela
Phase 4	2010	Isabela to Hong Kong
Chit		
Phase 1	2009	Isabela to Taiwan
Phase 2	2012	Taiwan to Hong Kong
Phase 3	2014	Hong Kong to Toronto under LCP
Norma		
Phase 1	2001	Isabela to Israel
Phase 2	2004	Israel to Isabela
John Mark		
Phase 1		Isabela to Taiwan
Phase 2		Taiwan to Nigeria
Phase 3		Nigeria to Isabela
Phase 4		Isabela to Nigeria
Tatay		
Phase 1	1980	Isabela to Guam
Phase 2	1987	Guam to Saudi Arabia
Phase 3	1994	Saudi Arabia to Isabela
Vee		
Phase 1	2008	Isabela to Hong Kong
Fe		
Phase 1	2010	Isabela to Hong Kong
Joshua		
Phase 1	2007	Isabela to United Arab Emirates

Angelo		
Phase 1	2010	Isabela to Dubai
Michael		
Phase 1	2007	Isabela to Saudi Arabia

Figure 5. The Agbayani Care Network



Map 4. The Agbayani Care Network's Multiphased Migration Journey



The De Rosales Care Network

“We Are Preparing for their Arrival”

Here, a different *kuwento* that powerfully demonstrates the deferral of migrant arrival and the unexpected multiphase and multidirectional movements prompted by the caring needs of kin is shared by Efren of the De Rosales Care Network.

Efren: I was going to Ottawa when someone phoned me that Tatay was in the hospital already. My Dad have a heart attack. But they [Tatay and *Inay*] get an approval. Supposed to be they're coming to Canada. Just waiting for the visa, waiting for the date, when it happen. That's why I'm so... [Efren cries] They were supposed to arrive in April and then that's it. I didn't get Tatay. He died already. I was shocked. My Tatay was very excited to come over. [Moment of silence]. After 15 years, I went back to see Tatay... It's supposed to be they gonna celebrate the 50th anniversary here in Canada because we are preparing for their arrival.

It is significant that Efren attempted to time Tatay and *Inay*'s arrival with their 50th wedding anniversary. It is significant that a moment intended to mark celebration, arrival, and reunification turned into a moment of mourning, literal and figurative departure, and separation. Since 1979, Efren had been saving a portion of her earnings as a paid domestic worker to eventually sponsor and reunite with her parents, and take care of them in Toronto. For Efren, this moment of crisis altered her course of action, derailing her preparations for her parents' arrival. To plan and attend a funeral in Batangas in place of an anniversary celebration in Toronto points to some of the challenges of living transnational migrant lives, particularly at times when expectations to meet the care needs of kin members are higher. Some of those challenges include, but are not limited to, the foreclosure of kin reunions and the inability to 'say goodbye' to loved ones when confronted with sudden illness and death. It further demonstrates the financial and emotional costs of navigating transnational intimacies tied to particular kin rituals like wakes and funerals where the desire to be physically co-present in order to provide hands-on financial, moral and emotional support, are more profoundly felt.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I offer insights into the resilience strategies created and adopted by the De Rosales, Aglipay, Manalo and Agbayani Care Networks over the life course. Particularly salient are the caring strategies adopted to support the employment and housing of transnational kin at different phases of their migration journeys. Tracing the migration journeys of members from each care network allows us to see practices of transnational care vis-à-vis emergent migration infrastructures⁴⁸ that facilitate the mobility of other kin and respond to their shifting care needs over time. Significantly, we are able to see how transnational networks produce dynamic sites

⁴⁸ Xing and Linqvist define migration infrastructure as "the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility" (2014, S122).

and systems of nonheteronormative, nonlinear support and solidarity to ensure their collective survival.

As noted in the introduction, I build on Paul's work on 'international stepwise migration' in that the multisited *kuwentuhan* shared with me by members of each care network confirmed that kin members typically worked in two or more countries. Second, as a result of working in two or more countries, they often spent longer periods of time outside of the Philippines doing contract work (ten or more years cumulatively). Third, migrant kin demonstrated foresight in the ways that they planned their journeys suggesting an overarching migration strategy. Fourth, migrant kin had to be adaptable, resourceful, and strategic about the various phases of their migration journeys in response to the ever-shifting care needs of their kin.

I also highlight how the phenomenon of multiphased migration plays out and prompts what I call multiphased separation and reunification. As each kin member leaves the Philippines to pursue work overseas, they are separating from loved ones, while potentially reuniting with others. Previous literature would have only offered us a snapshot of this transnational phenomenon, narrowing our focus to the separation between mother and child, or husband and wife; however, I argue that a multiphased approach allows us to *pan out* and see the complexities of multiphase separation and reunification among other kin relations, and how these relationships are marked by key events in the life course, such as the death of a loved one. A deep awareness of this reality could support the accommodation and protection of migrant workers' rights while on paid leave to care for extended kin in emergency situations.

Importantly, I show the ways in which generations of migrant caregivers are reproduced through the multiphased journeying process, for example, transitioning through various iterations of Canada's caregiver program – from the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) of the 1980s to

the Live-in Caregiver Program of the 1990s and 2000s. This continuum allows us to see how care networks' histories of multiphased migration journeying *map onto* historical shifts in state policy that mark ever-increasing restrictions on migrant workers' movements, alongside larger histories of globalization and migration. It also allows us to see how this reinforces occupational segmentation and the mass reproduction of 'low-skilled,' low-wage migrant care workers within a global capitalist economy.

Finally, drawing on visual mapping techniques, I trace the longer labour migration histories of transnational kin networks within which migrant caregivers are embedded, particularly within the Agbayani Care Network. For example, Auntie Chenchu's father's migration to Guam from 1980 to 1987 to labour in construction is one of the earliest examples of migration within the Agbayani Care Network and yet, sites like Guam and Nigeria are understudied in the literature on global migration, gender, and labour. These realities of transnational Filipino life present opportunities for complicating U.S. neocolonial ties to both Guam and the Philippines, brought about by the signing of the Treaty of Paris.⁴⁹ But less is known about the connection between the Philippines and Nigeria (Filipinos in Nigeria 2018). While a significant population of predominantly Filipino male migrants work in the oil industry in Nigeria, Auntie Chenchu's two sons, John Mark and Gerry's multiphase migration to Taiwan and Nigeria to labour in the tiling industry suggests that more work needs to be done to understand the global reach of Philippine labour brokering practices and the broader effects of global capitalism in these industries. By recognizing the intertwined multiphase migration journeys of transnational kin networks, I, therefore, introduce a new kind of engagement with the literature on global migration, gender, and care.

⁴⁹ For more on the colonial connections between the Philippines and Guam, see Yap 2015.

Chapter Five

“Send *yung* Love (Send the Love)”: Caring through Traveling Artefacts

The Manalo Care Network

Auntie Nenita as Curator of the “*Balikhayan* Box Museum”

February 2013
Field journal entry
Calauan, Laguna

All along the walls of Auntie Nenita’s small living room are large, framed school photos of Arvin, Luz’s eldest son whom Auntie Nenita cared for when Luz first migrated to Canada to work as a live-in caregiver in July 2003. There are some smaller photographs of Nenita’s grandchild, nieces and nephews, but Arvin’s photographs appear most prominent. Stacked high to the ceiling in one corner of the room are stuffed toys of various shapes and sizes. It is evident that Luz’s children and the children of their OFW kin have touched this home - the memory of them alive and displayed all throughout the house. Just beyond the kitchen where a large, framed illustration of ‘The Last Supper’ hangs is a striking glass display case of sardines, Holiday spam, Hereford corned beef, super-sized bottles of Nescafe instant coffee, Milo cocoa powder, Colgate toothpaste, value packs of Ivory and Irish Spring soap, Pantene Pro-V shampoo and conditioner, and more. Spanning the entire wall are rows and rows of these items - neatly shelved, stacked and categorized with dividers separating the toiletries from the dried and canned goods.

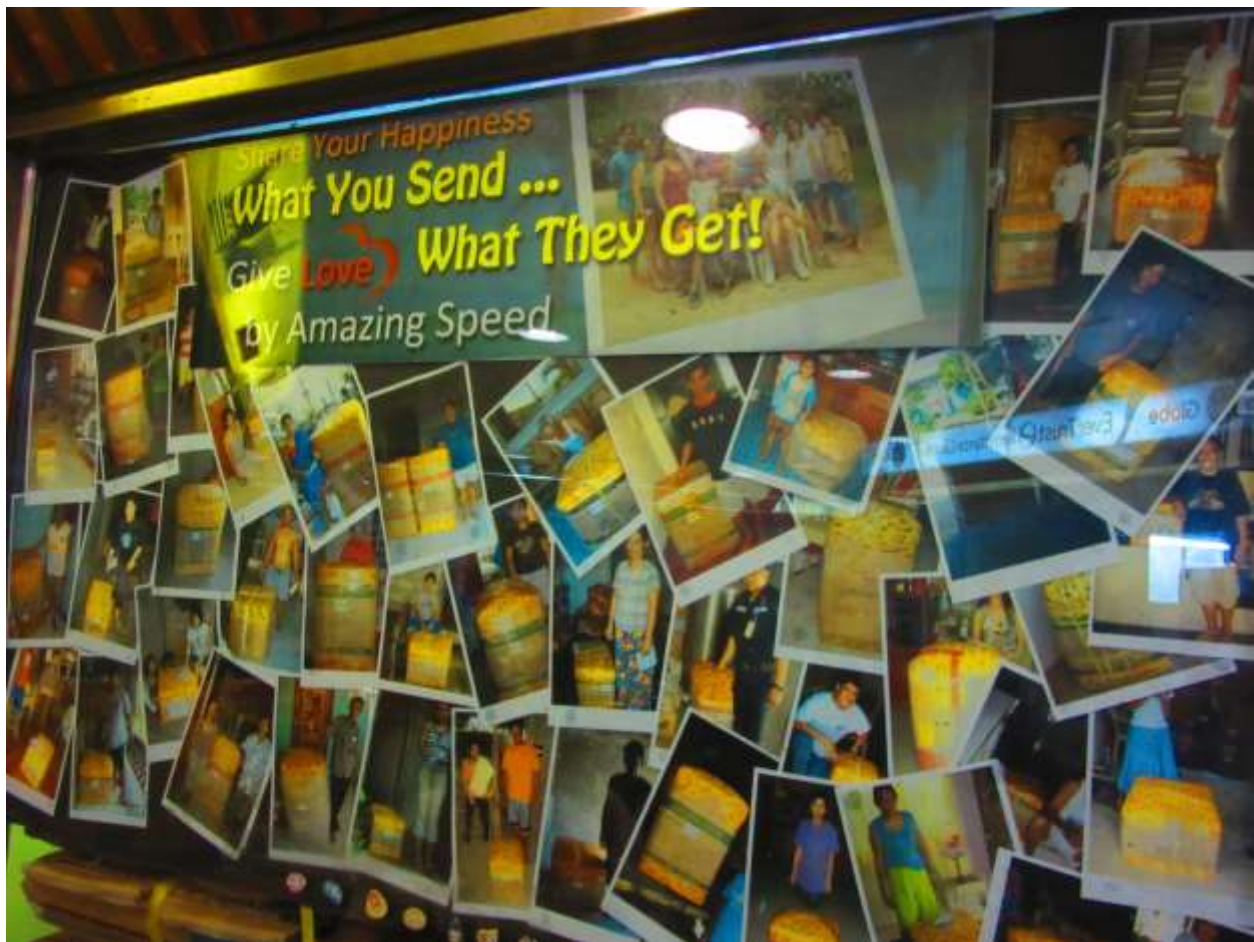
This chapter provides a closer look at how transnational kin networks communicate and sustain care and intimacy through the circulation of traveling artefacts. Here, I share stories about traveling artefacts, and show how traveling artefacts themselves tell stories, or “become cornerstones of stories” (Camposano 2012, 98). Traveling artefacts can tell stories of potential loss and destruction of intimate objects like family portraits, stories that highlight the need to preserve evidence of kin histories. The artefacts that I highlight in this chapter are artefacts that constitute an archive of kin histories preserved in creative and meaningful ways - as showcased by Auntie Nenita above - artefacts that travel not only between geographic sites (e.g. from the

Philippines to Hong Kong, from Hong Kong to the Philippines), but also between *physical and virtual worlds*. I will highlight artefacts of the quotidian that, perhaps, would not otherwise be viewed as vital to understanding the ways in which intimacy and care are expressed among migrant and non-migrant kin networks but which, I argue, enrich and nuance our current understandings of transnational care and emotional labour. Such artefacts not only establish intimate connections among transnational kin networks across multiple platforms constituting a unique method of kin history preservation, but also of collective kin survival over time.

Image 1. Various Stages of *Balikkbayan* Box Packing Outside of World Wide House in Central District, Hong Kong.
Conely de Leon 2013.



Image 2. “Share Your Happiness. What you send... What They Get! Give Love by Amazing Speed”
Pictured: Photographs of *balikbayan* boxes shipped and received by OFW kin in the Philippines.
Display located inside World Wide House in Central District, Hong Kong. Conely de Leon 2013.



What follows is a combined analysis of my own field notes with *kuwentuhan* from kin members of the Manalo, De Rosales, and Agbayani Care Networks. First, I explore Auntie Nenita’s “*balikbayan* box museum” in greater detail. Second, I share *kuwento* of virtual artefacts as recounted by Efren, Perla, Tala, and Nilda of the De Rosales Care Network. Third, I end with a compilation of field notes and *kuwentuhan* from Inocencia, Virgilio, James, and Norma of the Agbayani Care Network on photo duplication. In analyzing both the stories that artefacts tell and my own field notes which contextualize and locate these artefactual stories in particular places and times, I hope to provide a more grounded perspective on the roles that traveling artefacts

play in sustaining transnational intimacy, care communication, and kin history preservation.

***Balikbayan* Boxes**

In this section, I ask, what happens to the contents of a *balikbayan* box,⁵⁰ to letters and mailed photographs of migrant kin? Where do those items end up? Perhaps they end up on walls, in wallets, in carefully hidden envelopes, or replicated in various formats for others to engage with. I suggest that paying attention to traveling artefacts and the stories they tell opens up ways of identifying tangible, materially-grounded expressions of transnational kin care. Manalansan urges us to consider “how *Balikbayan* boxes from the diasporic elsewhere or packets of *sinigang* [sour and savoury Filipino soup or stew most often associated with the flavour of tamarind or sampalok] broth from the Philippines can propel or set in motion various ways of acting and being in the world such as being wistful, despondent, hopeful, exuberant, and/or dejected,” which can be “potentially useful pivots in negotiating through power inequalities and enliven struggles for survival” (2016, 3). Taking inspiration from Manalansan, then, I show how traveling artefacts index “bodily knowledges” and ways of being in the world that elaborate on transnational Filipino lived experiences in new and alternative ways (2016).

In this chapter, I underscore the significant role that traveling artefacts like the *balikbayan* box play in the caring practices of transnational migrant care networks. In the first image taken outside of World Wide House in Hong Kong’s Central District, I offer a view into the packing process itself, before the boxes are ready for shipment (see Image 1). The packing process is made particularly distinct by the fact that it is literally a public performance conducted in the streets surrounding World Wide House where many businesses that cater to OFWs are housed (see Image 2). These images are striking in that they speak to the significance of the only

day domestic workers in Hong Kong typically have off – Sunday. Since many domestic workers do not have a home to go to, or return to, on their day off, public spaces, particularly the streets of Central and the corridors of the MTR (Mass Transport Railway), become their ‘home for the day.’⁵¹ Thus, the *balikbayan* box and the place-specific practices tied to the very assembly of the *balikbayan* box, serve as rich examples of the ways in which the very act of sending and receiving goods is not only a form of gift exchange, but a performance of intimacies, such that *balikbayan* box shipping companies are now capitalizing on the affective labour of migrant workers and their kin as evidenced in Image 2.

***Kuwentuhan* with Nenita on the Manalo Compound in Calauan, Laguna**

The artefacts identified in the opening journal entry represent the contents of *balikbayan* boxes sent over the course of several years by Zeny and Luz to Auntie Nenita. While sitting around the kitchen table, Auntie Nenita gestures to the display:

They [Zeny and Luz] will say, ‘Oh, it [the *balikbayan* box] will arrive, it will come.’ If they give me something, I keep everything, everything. All my love goes to them, all my care. That is my feeling.

The accumulated items lining Auntie Nenita’s walls from floor to ceiling reveal the significance of the mundane. Here, sardines, spam and corned beef are far more than everyday items to be consumed at a later date. In fact, since Auntie Nenita deliberately chooses *not* to consume these items, the sardines, spam and corned beef are thus no longer every day, consumable items. To Auntie Nenita, all her love and all her care are embedded in her practice of keeping “everything,” in literally preserving the displayed artefacts that symbolize Zeny and

⁵¹ In communication with committee member, Guida Man, she elaborates that while domestic workers’ “‘occupation’ of these spaces are unintentional and carried out due to necessity; nonetheless, it can be seen as an act of defiance and empowerment” (2018).

Luz' reciprocated love and care for her. The care with which these artefacts have been curated by Auntie Nenita who has lovingly received, handled, preserved and displayed them, exceeds common understandings of care performance.

Auntie Nenita's response to these visual displays in her home is palpably one of comfort and pride. The *display* of these artefacts in the living room suggests a deliberate desire to present these artefacts to an audience in a more public part of the home, thus the *space* in which these particular artefacts are displayed matters because they hold performative appeal. They not only affirm Nenita's importance in her migrant kin's lives, but also affirm their importance in hers. The living room, as a more public space where visitors are received and free to take in the home space, may be understood as a place of prominence. The display of stuffed toys in the space of the living room may be understood as a testament to the important role Nenita played as a primary carer to Arvin before he left the Philippines at age seven to reunite with Luz in Canada. Moreover, the display of the stuffed toys coupled with photographs of Arvin and her other *apo* (grandchildren), can be viewed as Nenita's way of honouring and affirming her kin's ongoing presence in her life and in her home.

If we visualize a general layout of a living room and dining room together with glass display cases, careful and artful displays of portraits, stuffed toys, toiletries, and canned goods, it is easy to imagine the space of Auntie Nenita's home in Calauan as an exhibit symbolizing the care and emotional labour of her transnational kin. Auntie Nenita's decision to preserve and display these items for her own and others' viewing pleasure, as a way to feel more tangibly connected to Arvin, Zeny, Luz and other migrant kin, can be read as a deeper recognition of alternative performances of care that culturally nuance our understandings of transnational Filipino lived experiences.

Significantly, these artefacts tell us a story of the phenomenon of multiphase kin separation and reunification. The artefacts themselves mark the physical absence and emotional separation between Auntie Nenita and Zeny, between Auntie Nenita and Luz, followed by the simultaneous separation between Auntie Nenita and Arvin in the Philippines, and reunification between Luz and Arvin in Canada. As I argue throughout this dissertation, it is no longer tenable to view family separation and reunification as a singular episode that takes place between mothers and their biological children. Returning to my framework of transnational care and emotional labour as multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational and multirelational, we must take into account that the reunification of children with migrant kin inevitably means phases of separation between other kin carers who also feel the effects of multiphase separation and reunification over the life course.

Nenita's important role as a primary carer to her nieces and grandchildren who have left the Philippines to join other migrant kin abroad, or who are themselves now seeking work abroad, is all evidenced by the accumulation of the artefacts described above. We can point to other evidence of OFW kin care as indicators of how care is expressed vis-à-vis everyday objects contained within a *balikbayan* box, which are then taken up and rendered meaningful by other members of the care network.

It is precisely in the 'taking up' of such artefacts that we may see other creative forms of care unfold. To think about manifestations of multidirectional transnational care in particular, we must consider how care is interpreted by those who give it, as well as those who receive it. Here, I continue to complicate the notions of care giving and care receiving, and argue that all kin members of a transnational network are active carers who give, as well as receive, care over the life course and do so in creative ways that help broaden our understanding of alternative forms of

care and emotional labour.

In contrast to Auntie Nenita, the following explores the ways in which the contents of a *balikbayan* box may circulate far beyond the hands of the intended recipient(s) and further transform into shared resources for neighbours and other community members. Here, I foreground ‘recipients’ of *balikbayan* boxes as active carers in the ways that they take up the contents of *balikbayan* boxes and share the wealth of these traveling artefacts with others. I focus not just on how care is communicated through *balikbayan* box artefacts, but on how these artefacts become something more meaningful to a wider set of extended and chosen kin.

The De Rosales Care Network

Creating Occasion out of the Mundane: *Inay* becomes ‘Santa Claus’⁵²

Since 1994, Efren has timed her annual visits to Batangas with the coming of Christmas and the arrival of her *balikbayan* boxes. While it may be relatively common for Filipino migrants to time their visits to the Philippines with the arrival of their *balikbayan* boxes, it is less common for such visits to occur annually, especially from as far a distance as Canada. This speaks to Efren’s mobility as a landed immigrant in Canada and her accumulation of enough money over time to afford yearly trips to the Philippines.

Efren: Since 1994, I’ve been going home every year. That’s why I have lots of *balikbayan* boxes to send to *Inay*. Everything is inside. Mostly for *Inay*, nephews, nieces, like that. I give rosary, used clothing, Ensure [meal replacement drink], diaper, soap, shampoo, things like that. I can bring new things, whatever’s on sale. Perla send one box. I send four and then I have one more box on the way.

⁵² Pronounced by Efren as “Clows.”

The contents described by Efren underline the significance of items such as diapers, soap, shampoo, and Ensure, which are expensive to purchase in bulk for many of the De Rosales' extended and chosen kin in Laurel. While prioritizing items of necessity, Efren does create an element of pleasure and surprise in the actual opening of the *balikbayan* boxes by staging an eventful and transformative experience with her kin. It is in the opening of the boxes and the giving and receiving of its contents that the artefacts become veritable symbols of care to a wider network.

Efren: I said, "Do not open it." And when I come home, *I open it like Santa Claus*. That's right.

The last time I talked to *Inay*, "'Nay, I have lots of boxes."

Inay says, "Yeah?"

"Yeah, we have lots of *pasalubong*.⁵³ Lots of present to give."

And *Inay* says, "I cry. I don't have money. I don't have anything to give."

"'Nay, I have lots of things to give to them. *I will give it to you and you will give it to them. You're the Santa Claus.*"

***Kuwentuhan* with Nilda at the De Rosales' Ancestral Home in Laurel, Batangas**

Nilda: *Inay* will always say, "I don't have any money" [to me].

Inay – *marami* (plenty)! [to *Inay*]

[*Inay* raises her eyebrows and nods her head slightly to indicate acknowledgment of Nilda's statement]

If it's Christmas, for example, if they come home to visit together [from Canada], they will bring things. The one who brings a lot of things is *Ate* Efren. She really buys things there and brings boxes and boxes here.

⁵³ "*Pasalubong* (noun): A gift or souvenir given to a friend or relative by a person who has returned from a trip or arrived for a visit." English Oxford Living Dictionary, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/pasalubong>

Efren instructs her kin at home not to open the boxes that have traveled all the way from Toronto to Laurel until her arrival. Linking the opening of the boxes to Efren's homecoming heightens the anticipation of her arrival, as one would anticipate the arrival of Santa Claus, thus creating occasion out of the mundane. But we quickly learn that Efren does not become the Santa Claus of the occasion after all - *Inay* does. Through the retelling of the emotional exchange between Efren and her mother, we learn that more than anything else, Efren wants her mother to feel empowered to give to her kin, and most importantly, to feel cared *for* and cared *about*. In offering up the *balikbayan* box artefacts to *Inay*, Efren not only strengthens the bond between herself and *Inay*, but also makes it possible for the matriarch of the De Rosales Care Network to actively participate in a newly articulated caring ritual. Even as *Inay* herself insists that she does not have any thing or any money to give, Nilda affirms that she does. The receiving and opening of the *balikbayan* box is thus as "affectively charged" as the filling and sending of the *balikbayan* box (Camposano 2012, 99). The act of opening the boxes and distributing the *pasalubong* of rosaries, diapers, used clothing, soap, shampoo, and meal replacement drinks among kin is not just about visual display and gift-giving then, it is about transnational kin networks redefining, rearticulating and reinforcing new forms of caring rituals through what is arguably a quintessential marker of OFW care: the *balikbayan* box. Below, Efren continues her *kuwentuhan*, but this time, with her sister, Perla:

Efren: Sometimes we exchange Filipino money for those without mother, without father, like that...

Perla: You know, this one person has no kids, but she adopted all her cousin's kids from Bisayas and moved to Batangas and get married to my relative. She is taking care of how many girls... three girls and one boy, and then another cousin. She is adopting so much people and she doesn't have any means to support them.

Efren: But we are connected with the person who is looking after them... because the husband of this lady is the *apo* of *Inay*, so *Inay* is like the grandmother. So, every time I go back home, I always buy something. I always give to them. [If] we have some *pagkain* [food], I send it to them. They're happy because *Inay* always gives something. I said, "Don't worry *Inay*, all the contents of the boxes, I will give it to you and you will give it to them. Don't worry."

Nilda: *Ate* Efren will bring things for those who face difficulties here who cannot pay for things for themselves. Si *Ate* Efren, si *Ate* Perla, I'm not the only one they are looking after. They are looking after my husband and my child too.

As matriarch of the De Rosales Care Network, *Inay* is seen as the heart of these extended and chosen kin relations. Placing *Inay* at the center of these redefined caring rituals remains significant because of how these relationships become established. These ties to broader kin members within the De Rosales Care Network challenges notions of traditional family ties in the sense that such artefactual articulations of transnational care circulate beyond the nuclear family structure to incorporate alternative care arrangements for orphaned and adopted youth and kin in the De Rosales' home town of Laurel, Batangas. The dynamic formation of these extended and chosen kin relations allows us to depart from traditional notions of care and widen our scope and understanding of caring as a shared responsibility - one that is distributed and maintained through such traveling artefacts such as the *balikbayan* box. Exploring both the sending and receiving of *balikbayan* box goods presents an opportunity to understand new interpretations of multidirectional caring practices among transnational kin. For *Manang* Mar of the Agbayani Care Network, the *balikbayan* box signifies the sharing and distributing of the contents among extended and chosen kin, but also the collective care labour involved in putting together the box.

Walking *Kuwentuhan* with *Manang* Mar in Sha Tin, Hong Kong

Just share the *balikbayan* box for the neighbours. We just want to share because my brother has assistance in the farm and they have kids also, so we give *balikbayan* boxes for them to have - mainly clothings and chocolates, yeah, and some kitchen appliances.

Here, in addition to cash remittances, the *balikbayan* box signals recognition of the care labour performed by chosen kin on the farmland owned by *Manang* Mar's brother who works in 'Saudi' (Arabia). This moment highlights the multirelational and multilocational aspects of care exchanges that involve chosen kin and non-kin, including neighbours and members of surrounding communities. Further, the collective process of purchasing specific items, compiling them, packing them, and sending them to one location to be shipped to the Agbayani Care Network's hometown in Isabela suggests intricate planning, preparation and coordination among transnational kin. Camposano explains:

While boxes come in different sizes (they can be as small as the AsiaPac "*Bunsoy*" (youngest in English) at 24"x12"x12", or as big as the Afreight "*Bida*" at 24"x24"x36"), filling them is never a one-time event but a drawn out process that could take months (2012, 91).

Indeed, as the Manalo, De Rosales, and Agbayani Care Networks all demonstrate, the sending and receiving of *balikbayan* boxes among kin tell culturally rich and intricate stories of transnational care and emotional labour. Significantly, the practices of migrant kin from each network parallel the phases of their multiphase migration journeys in the sense that they are carefully thought-out, strategically timed and scheduled with transnational kin year-round. In the section that follows, I move to explore the ways in which photographs, as carriers of stories, also provide insight into the caring strategies of transnational kin.

Photographs as Virtual Artefacts

“Joseph Did This for the Family”: Taking Pictures of Pictures

Kuwentuhan with Tala, Jessica, Perla, and Efren in Toronto

Tala: Neng⁵⁴ [to younger sister, Jessica], can you go to *Kuya*⁵⁵ Joseph’s [Facebook] profile?

[To me] That’s Joseph, my cousin, Mommy Ana’s son. He’s in Qatar. He posted a picture when we were younger. You’ll see Mama Ana too.⁵⁶ Joseph did this. He cut all our pictures. He’s the one who now has all the pictures.

Perla: Joseph did this for the family. Efren, you should really hang it in our family room [in the Philippines]. Put it in a frame.

Efren: Tell Joseph.

Perla: In a big one [frame].

Tala: Mommy Ana, she kept most of the pictures, but this one, what Joseph did is he just took pictures from everybody’s Facebook and he created this [collage] ‘cause everyone’s on Facebook.

Efren, Perla, and Veroncia [in unison]: Yeah! Yes!

Tala: So he just pulled everybody’s picture - faces and everything - and just put it in there [in the collage]. The picture [of] Mommy Ana, that’s a picture when she was still single, so that’s the picture that he took because I think [the others are] pretty much gone. You know, in the Philippines, the photos, when you don’t take care of it, it’s not as good. What he did is he took a picture of it from his phone and then he preserved it that way - just have it digital.

The Art of Digital Collage

The *kuwentuhan* with Tala, Jessica, Perla and Efren in Toronto suggests a positive reception and interpretation of Joseph’s Facebook posts. Joseph, a construction worker in Qatar, developed a unique strategy for maintaining connections with his transnational kin by

⁵⁴ Young woman, sister, or girl in *Tagalog*.

⁵⁵ Older brother.

⁵⁶ Note that Tala calls *Tita* Ana “Mommy/Mama” because she was her primary carer when Perla migrated to perform domestic work in Hong Kong and Canada.

recirculating images from their collective past, recalling kin who have died, as well as homes they once inhabited. Joseph's mother, Ana, died more than ten years before his Facebook posts of their old apartment in Manila and the creation of the collage.

Collage is a technique in art production where glue is used to bring together an assemblage of different textures and forms to craft an entirely new piece (Busch, Klanten, and Hellige 2013). Joseph reassembles 'cut-and-paste' images, pictures of pictures, and text identifying the names of three generations of the De Rosales network in his collage.⁵⁷ Joseph's contemporary digital collage is striking. The faces of kin members, both living and dead, are presented in diagonal fashion. In the bottom right-hand corner of the collage is the De Rosales name in cursive font accompanied by an anonymous quote about the importance of family. The collage itself tells an important virtual story of the De Rosales kin network and their migration histories.

As the holder and collector of the De Rosales network's photographs passed down to him by his mother, Joseph was able to ensure that his transnational kin had access to them by making them available online. In crafting a digital collage made up of old photos of the De Rosales network to be shared online, Joseph effectively created the conditions for sustained virtual dialogue with his kin in Toronto, Laurel, and elsewhere – a dialogue that recalled their shared past, memorialized Mommy Ana, and fostered other forms of memory-making.

Importantly, the online reproduction of these images prevented the potential loss of, or damage to, the original photographic artefacts. Tala reminds us that in the Philippines, if you do not take care of photos, they are "not as good." Tala is not only referring to the climate of the Philippines as a common threat to the preservation of original artefacts, but also to the preservation of kin histories. She suggests that the strategy of taking a picture of a picture is less

⁵⁷ The collage is not visually presented here in order to protect the anonymity of the De Rosales kin network.

so about maintaining the quality and integrity of the image itself, and more so about transnational kin creatively and strategically ensuring the survival of kin histories and memories through the process of digitizing old photographs and circulating them online. In other words, while taking a picture of a picture may further lower the quality and integrity of the original artefact, such a strategy adopted by transnational kin networks holds another possibility - to strengthen transnational bonds among living kin and to provide assurances that kin will continue to be invested in communicating and providing care to one other. This leaves the gateway open for other practices of transnational care to emerge (an aspect of online transnational communication that I will elaborate on in Chapter Six through *kuwentuhan* with the Manalo Care Network).

Moreover, in circulating these images online, Joseph has opened up opportunities for other kin to take ‘pictures of pictures of pictures’ - to share and reproduce these images in other formats, as reflected in the exchange between Perla and Efren about enlarging and printing out the collage, then framing it and hanging it in the De Rosales household in Batangas. But what prompts the need to have these virtual artefacts reproduced in print form only to be framed and hung in a home that Perla, Efren and other transnational kin members visit once a year or every few years? Their *kuwentuhan* suggests that re-presenting the digital collage in other tangible formats - housed, protected and displayed within the De Rosales network’s Batangas home - has the power to further extend connections and bonds of care to transnational kin based in their hometown of Laurel, Batangas.

These are critical moments that offer insight into how care is symbolically and virtually circulated through photographs on social networking sites like Facebook. Facebook, then, can be viewed as a virtual storehouse of collective memories, as an accessible method of kin history preservation. It is in this way that the De Rosales Care Network creates a lasting record of their

kin's existence, both living and dead. Paying attention to the creation and preservation of artefacts of the quotidian allows us to also pay closer attention to the range of possibilities in contemporary transnational caring practices. Finally, the reproduction of old photographs circulated online by Joseph in Qatar, received and interpreted by Tala, Jessica, Perla and Efren in Tala's Toronto apartment can be read as part of the larger *kuwentuhan* of the De Rosales Care Network.

Photographs as Virtual Artefacts

The Agbayani Care Network

Photo Duplicates, Cut-outs, and "Empty" Homes

October 2014
Field Journal Entry
Toronto

It is a crisp afternoon in early October. I arrive in the Wilson and Bathurst area – Toronto's "Filipino Town" – and approach a low-rise building where Inocencia, Virgilio and their youngest son, James, live. Inocencia answers the door to their basement apartment, welcoming us into a short, narrow hallway that opens up into a cozy living room space. At once, I notice the framed photographs displayed in opposite corners of the living room. A photo of their eldest son's daughter and a printed postcard announcing her first birthday proudly stand atop one of the corner shelves – both images taken in their hometown of Cabagan, Isabela, Philippines. My eye also catches an 8x10 photo of James when he was six years old. This young version of James smiles against a soft blue backdrop as the 24-year-old James sleeps in his bedroom down the hall. I am shown duplicates of this photo in different sizes – a 3.5x2.5 version is stored in a transparent insert inside Virgilio's wallet. Also in Virgilio's wallet are five faded cut-out photos of a younger Inocencia. A 5x7 version of six-year-old James is displayed in a different part of the living room, and a few others reveal themselves amidst a pile of loose-leaf 4x6 photos. I know that the 8x10 version of this same photo is also framed and displayed in their family home in Cabagan, Isabela. It hangs in James's childhood bedroom where I first encountered it in 2013.

Kuwentuhan with Virgilio and Inocencia in their Basement Apartment in “Filipino Town”

[Virgilio brings pictures to the kitchen table. We sit around the kitchen table looking at loose-leaf photos. Inocencia laughs when she sees Virgilio pull photos of James and Inocencia out of his wallet]

Virgilio: I keep these [photos] when she just arrive before from Hong Kong to Philippines.

Inocencia: Very young.

Virgilio: This is my keepsake when I am courting her, when I miss her. And this is my son, the second, when he graduate industrial engineering in Quezon City. They have a good job in Nigeria now. They're happy. This is James, my youngest, when he is six years [old] [see Image 3].

Inocencia: Yeah, lots of these pictures of James in the house [in Toronto and Isabela]!

Image 3. Photograph of James of the Agbayani Care Network, Age Six⁵⁸



Inocencia left Cabagan to work as a domestic worker in Hong Kong when James was four years old, which means that the photo referred to above was taken during the initial years of their separation. Wherever Inocencia and Virgilio traveled, so too did this photograph of James. The image followed Inocencia to Hong Kong and Toronto as it followed Virgilio to Saudi Arabia and Toronto. This first phase of separation contextualizes this particular duplicated photo's significance to Inocencia and Virgilio.

⁵⁸ Featured here with permission from the Agbayanis.

A duplicate of this image of James also lives in the Agbayani's 'empty' renovated home in Cabagan, as well as their current apartment in Toronto. I suggest that its presence in both homes offers material evidence of how migrant lives are tethered to multiple sites. I further suggest that this duplicated artefact is evidence of transnational care circulating between and beyond the 'here' and 'there.' That the image lives in both homes confirms James's intimate ties to Isabela and Toronto and underscores their transnational connections to multiple 'homes.' That the same image also travels in the wallets, pockets, and purses of James's parents long after they have been reunited suggests the image's significance during a particularly challenging time in their lives.

While their family home in Isabela remains 'empty' in the sense that Inocencia, Virgilio and James do not physically live there (though they visit at least once a year), Norma, the wife of Inocencia's eldest son, John Mark, still maintains the home during the week while her eldest daughter attends school. Other kin in the neighbourhood also continue to view and interact with the space and the artefacts within it, albeit on a limited basis. It may be said that the house itself is an artefact, a monument to OFW kin.

If we consider online images, stuffed toys, toiletries, canned goods and other contents of a *balikbayan* box as symbols of OFW kin care, then we may also consider the 'empty' home built with the remittances of OFW kin as yet another form of artefactual representation. The house itself may be interpreted as symbolic of transnational care in that it required Inocencia's cumulative caregiver earnings from working in Hong Kong and Toronto to build. The process of physically building the home, as well as designing its interior, required kin in Toronto and Isabela to help plan, facilitate and coordinate all stages of home-building, renovating, and decorating. Placing portraits of Inocencia, Virgilio, and James within the home is a gesture that

publicly announces their ownership of the home and their perceived success as migrants. To have it then maintained, occupied, and taken care of by other kin in their hometown while they continue to work overseas, indicates a different set of social relations unfolding - one with transnational kin reconfiguring care responsibilities across multiple sites, which include care of the home and the artefacts contained within it.

The house is not empty, then, in the sense that the artefacts which animate the home actively keep the memory of James, Inocencia and Virgilio alive. In their work on empty migrant houses in Sumilang, Batangas, Aguilar Jr. et al. write that such migrant houses serve as a reminder that those who have left “have not been forgotten” and are still “part of the community despite their physical absence” (2009, 159). Moreover, they are considered “transnational investments in family ties, kin relations, [and] community membership” (Aguilar Jr. et al., 2009, 160). The duplicated image of James is thus rendered all the more meaningful because it adds another dimension to our *kuwentuhan* on multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational and multirelational transnational care. Just as the framed photos of Arvin remain prominent in Auntie Nenita’s home in Calauan, Laguna, so too does the duplicated photo of young James in his family home in Cabagan, Isabela. Both reveal why photographic artefacts have the power to connect kin living apart and to hold transnational relationships together, even at times when they threaten to fall apart. ²

Faded Portraits

Lastly, I want to draw attention to the faded, everyday portraits of Inocencia in Virgilio’s wallet. What compelled Virgilio to cut out these five particular images of Inocencia standing, sitting, and occasionally smiling at the camera? What is significant about these everyday images of Inocencia during various stages of her migration - images that detail her movements between

the Philippines, Hong Kong and Canada? That these portraits are all kept by Virgilio suggests something about *who* holds on to these artefacts, similar to how Joseph of the De Rosales Care Network was the holder of family portraits within his own kin network.

The state of the wallet and the photos carried within it, that is, the materiality of the artefacts themselves also tell a story. The wallet is worn and molded to the items inside. The insert that holds the faded photographs is rather cloudy with the residue of photographic ink. The fading suggests first, that the ink has rubbed off on the insert which accounts for its ‘cloudiness,’ and second, it suggests continuous touch. In other words, taking in the textures of all of these items together tells us a story about the passage of time, about a husband who did not simply keep photos of his son and his wife during various stages of migration in his wallet, but continually took them out to view them, to interact with them, to touch them, which led to their inevitable fading over time.

Touching these photographs underscores the affective dimensions of this type of sensory stimulation. As Virgilio shares, “This is my keepsake when I am courting her, when I miss her.” The title of Brown and Phu’s edited book, *Feeling Photography* (2014), captures this point precisely. Close attention to repeated acts of touching and feeling photographs, or what Brown and Phu refer to as “the frequently communal ritual of feeling photography” can reveal rather intimate gestures of care (2014). Indeed, care can be implied in subtle movements and affective responses to an artefact’s texture, tone, and colour, and in its very handling. That Virgilio selectively cut out photos of Inocencia to fit into his wallet - the serrated edges of the photos following the contours of Inocencia’s facial and bodily features - only adds to this notion. This says something further about the ‘editorial process’ and the person behind the selecting, cutting, arranging, and displaying of images, as much as it says something about the person *in* the

photographs. Apart from fitting these photos in his wallet, what else motivated Virgilio to select these specific visuals? Were there others accompanying Inocencia in the photos? What did the landscapes of each of these photos suggest about Inocencia's life, and correspondingly, about Virgilio's life? Though the answers to these questions may remain unknown, the point of contemplating them is to show how the very texture of these wallet-sized artefacts of Inocencia and James uncover important, and perhaps easily overlooked, details about everyday living in a transnational kin network.

The duplication of the photo of James at age six and the cut-out photos of young Inocencia in Virgilio's weathered wallet suggests some compelling ways that transnational kin networks manage to preserve and hold on to memories of kin through traveling artefacts. These portraits of loved ones carried in Virgilio's wallet and the duplicate portrait of James displayed in the family home in Cabagan and Toronto are key examples of what I mean by traveling artefacts – intimate objects rendered meaningful by the very fact that they *travel with* the 'owner', that the photos themselves accompany the traveler at various phases of the migration journey. Interestingly, though these artefacts travel within the kin network, they seem to be grounding in that they visually remind kin of care both given and received. It is important to emphasize the ways that artefacts themselves tell stories and inform our *kuwentuhan*, offering what I view as valid insights into the more subtle ways in which migrant kin networks communicate intimacy and connection – and not just as a peripheral point to the larger, structural issues around transnational care work itself.

Conclusion

This chapter explores how traveling artefacts offer insight into the ways that transnational kin networks creatively communicate care over time and across vast distances. Recuperating the stories that traveling artefacts tell helps make sense of the intricacies and intimacies of transnational caring and emotional practices. In this chapter, I have presented a combination of field journal entries and *kuwentuhan* with the Manalo, De Rosales, and Agbayani Care Networks. I conclude by drawing out a few key points from the artefactual stories shared.

With *balikbayan* box artefacts, I have illustrated the ways in which the seemingly mundane contents of a *balikbayan* box can transform into a loving tribute to OFW kin or into shared resources intended for kin and community survival. With virtual artefacts, I have explored the transformation of material artefacts into virtual ones, a move that underscores the significance of technological advancements in facilitating transnational care communication today. Virtual artefacts illuminate how popular social networking sites like Facebook become arenas for the wider circulation of family artefacts and the inventive collaging and tagging of ‘pictures of pictures’ that enrich transnational communication and encourage collective memory-making and healing. With photographic artefacts, I have delved into the very textures of, and affective responses to framed, resized, cut-out, and faded photographs of loved ones from whom transnational kin have been separated by distance or death. Finally, the ‘empty’ renovated OFW home, and the artefacts featured within it, are also of significance as they mark the ways in which OFW homes can be transient spaces and works-in-progress that activate transnational kin relations centered on the building, renovating, maintaining and homemaking of spaces for broader kin use. Taken together, these traveling artefacts index transnational acts of care that help build and maintain closeness, a sense of transnational togetherness, and form stronger bonds

of solidarity and survival among wider networks of kin carers over time.

Chapter Six

“We Really Keep in Touch!”: Caring Through Digital Technologies

I want to begin this chapter with still images from “Miss Nothing,” a two-minute video created by Google Philippines as part of their “*Balikbayan*” campaign to connect Overseas Filipino Workers with their kin.⁵⁹ “Miss Nothing” went viral upon its release during the 2014 Christmas season with 400, 000 views. The video highlights a number of Google products and applications like YouTube, Google +, Google Hangouts, and Google Earth, which can be simultaneously accessed to meet the communication needs of its transnational users. As the title suggests, it is through these various applications that OFWs “miss nothing” as they are invited to more fully participate in the lives of their transnational kin through the use of these featured applications. Indeed, Google Philippines’ “*Balikbayan*” campaign website describes the “Miss Nothing” video as part of a movement that “strives to enable Filipino families and communities to “share the everyday” through platforms and information that connect them with one another” (Encarnacion 2014).

But undergirding the heartwarming/heartwrenching stories shared throughout this campaign is the fact that tech giant, Google, is the main driver behind the campaign and featurette. We cannot lose sight of the fact that Google Philippines and other major telecommunications companies all have a stake in developing global marketing strategies targeted at OFWs and their kin under the claim that their products, services, and applications best facilitate transnational connections among Filipino migrants. We can thus view Google Philippines as part of a sophisticated migration infrastructure that aims to facilitate the brokering

⁵⁹ The video itself showcase a range of industries that Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) are employed in globally - domestic and care work, healthcare, hospitality, construction, as well as engineering, manufacturing, and seafaring.

of Filipino labour to the rest of the world.

I draw on still images from the “Miss Nothing” video in order to capture - in just a few short frames - the scope and complexity of what it means to “stay in touch”, to live as transnational families, as members of a broader transnational care network.⁶⁰ The video ad has been described by others online as both “touching” and as a guide to “staying in touch” with loved ones. The still images, in particular, underscore the emotional and affective responses to seeing and hearing loved ones, to sharing in the pain and heartache of separation, to participating in the pleasures of cathartic performance. The video’s wide circulation has elicited overwhelmingly tearful responses from OFWs and their kin (Hegina 2014; Lardizabal-Dado 2014). Headlines feature sub-headlines like, “Have that hanky ready,” and “Google Philippines’ *Balikbayan* video will make you cry” (Santos 2016; Uy 2015).

⁶⁰ Accompanying the video is the song, “You,” by Basil Valdez and covered by Noel Comia Jr. featured on *The Voice Kids Philippines* (Season 3).

Image 4. Child Kisses Smartphone. Still Image from Google Philippines' "Miss Nothing"⁶¹



Image 5. Migrant Worker Clutches Tablet to Heart. Still Image from Google Philippines' "Miss Nothing"



⁶¹ Still images from "Google PH Miss Nothing," a two-minute video created for Google Philippines' "*Balikbayan*" Campaign, August 21 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGrL-Me4cK0>

In the still images presented here (see Images 4, 5, 6, and 7), there is an undeniable emotional tactility to affectionately touching screens, kissing fingertips to screens, pressing tablet screens to the heart – these are all important markers of shared virtual intimacies. As *Manang Jo*'s sister, Jane, of the Aglipay Care Network shares in her *kuwentuhan* of her two children's communication with their father: "We communicate through cell phone every day, thrice a day, and then we text. My kids laugh as soon as they hear his voice on the phone, or they kiss the phone! Yes, it's true!" The act of kissing a phone, or touching a screen, or hearing the laughter of kin, can be read as attempts to negotiate affective responses and nurture intimacies. The ability to engage multiple senses and reach loved ones in time-space compression reproduces a multisensorial experience of transnational togetherness. Beyond the oral and visual register, haptic communication, or communication via one's sense of touch, is also being transformed and mediated through screen use. Efforts to produce technologies of affective haptics are currently being developed to mediate touch. This chapter speaks precisely to such efforts to stay in touch and considers the ways in which transnational Filipino kin networks express care over the life course using a range of communication technologies, which, I argue, is part of the everyday work of care. Moving from asynchronous communication such as letters and landlines, to synchronous communication via platforms such as Facebook, Skype, Viber and WhatsApp, this chapter traces the ways in which transnational kin networks navigate a range of communicative environments to explore shifting forms of care and intimacy, as well as aspects of doing kin work differently.

Image 6. Daughter Sends Kisses through Laptop. Still Image from Google Philippines' "Miss Nothing"



Image 7. Father Sends Kisses through Laptop. Still Image from Google Philippines' "Miss Nothing"



In particular, this chapter showcases the distinct, but overlapping purposes that various modes of transnational communication serve for kin networks over the life course, ranging from ‘kumustahan’⁶² to emergency response, in addition to creative applications and strategizations around what media platforms should be used when and with whom. Their adeptness and ability to switch between different platforms in order to maintain several conversations and relationships at once correspond to differing levels of telephonic and virtual interaction with transnational kin (Madianou and Miller 2012). I suggest that identifying the various uses of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) among transnational Filipino kin networks provide insight into emerging technologies that not only facilitate more nuanced expressions of care and emotional labour, but transform the very ways in which they care.

Based on the *kuwentuhan* shared by research participants representing the Aglipay, Manalo, De Rosales, and Agbayani Care Networks, I discuss four key themes in this chapter. These four themes focus firstly, on communication strategies adopted by transnational kin before the rise of web-based platforms and smartphone technology; secondly, on the transformation of everyday communication in helping to express and maintain care over time; thirdly, on the strategies adopted by kin to monitor specific types of care, particularly for youth and elderly kin, from a distance; and lastly, on the strategies adopted by kin to communicate and deliver care during unexpected moments of crises. The chapter will conclude with some reflections on the transnational communication strategies adopted by my own care network during fieldwork, as well as some broader reflections on the significance of communication technologies in better understanding the multiphase, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational scope of care and emotional labour among transnational Filipino kin networks today.

⁶² Greeting or welcome. Can be understood as a form of ‘checking in.’

Letters and Landlines: Transnational Transitions in Communication

This first section addresses communication strategies adopted by transnational kin before the rise of web-based platforms and smartphone technology. Specifically, it features *kuwentuhan* with the De Rosales and the Agbayani Care Networks when letters and landlines were the primary tools of communication used during the earlier phases of their multiphase migration journeys.

The De Rosales Care Network: “It Was Only through Letters That We Communicate”

Tala: I came here when I was thirteen.

Perla: Fourteen.

Tala: Thirteen, so nine years. All my early years, *Ate Ana* took care of me. I came here to Canada and that's when I met my Mom for the first time.

Perla: Whaaaat? For the first time?! [laughs]

Tala: No, the thing is, when you're four, I don't know... I don't remember anything, right? So, when my mother's describing how she left me in the airport, I don't remember because I was only four. I think I started remembering things when I was a little bit older. I know how she looks because we always write letters to each other with photographs.

Perla: No email.

Tala: No cell phones. No Facebook. Nothing. It was only through letters that we communicate. I think it [took] three weeks [for the letters to arrive].

Perla: I would always write. As soon as I finished my work, I would go to my room and I would spend my time writing to them.

Tala: Two pages and then I will write about a page to her [about] whatever we were doing. Sometimes we would send it separate [her and her brother, Reggie]; sometimes we would put it together. The thing is in the Philippines, they weigh the letter, right?

Perla: You know, the skim paper in the Philippines.

Tala: You have to write on very thin paper so that it won't weigh a lot internationally when you're sending it. It's too expensive. You don't even use those ink [pens] or the gel. We would use the medium ball pens.

This *kuwento* is a recounting of the forms of communication used when Perla left the Philippines for Hong Kong, Perla's first migration destination as a domestic worker, in the 1980s. According to Aguilar et al. (2009), the *coreo* or postal system was one of the most common modes of communication during this period (204). Recalling a time when cell phones and Facebook were not accessible modes of communication, Tala and Perla dwell on how involved a process it was to ensure that letter-writing remained the most cost-effective and sustainable option for them to stay connected during their earliest years of separation. The care and emotional labour that went into this asynchronous mode of transnational communication centers on the strategic selection and specifications of the letter-writing tools - thin paper, two page maximum, light ink - that would ensure that the cost of mailing would remain low, and therefore a reliable form of monthly updating based on an estimated three-week turnaround time for the sending and receiving of letters between Hong Kong and the Philippines. Further, the pictures that accompanied these letters helped both Tala and Perla remember each other's features and mark visible changes in their appearances during these early years.

The shape of this *kuwento* gives us greater insight into Perla and Tala's migration journeys. The *kuwento* reveals some of the misremembering around the traumatic event of their separation and subsequent reunification. Particularly striking is Tala's statement that her arrival in Canada marked the moment she met her mom "for the first time." This is common in the literature that speaks to the estrangement that children feel from their migrant parents after prolonged separation (Bautista and Boti 1999; Cohen 2000; de Leon 2009; Pratt 2012). However, less common in the literature is a discussion of separation from other kin. This *kuwento*

acknowledges multiphase separations and reunifications from loved ones that extend beyond mother-daughter relationships to aunt-niece relationships like that of Tala and Mommy Ana, Perla's eldest sister. This is made all the more evident in the following *kuwento*:

Tala: We didn't have our own landline, so we always use the neighbour's phone. You only hop the fence [laughs] and then you reach the neighbours. Instead of going around, what we will do is they will call us from the fence, "Hey! There's a phone call for you from long distance," from uh my Mom, so I will call Momma Ana and say, "Mom - Mommy is calling!" And then she goes. I was lighter when I was younger. I'd get there faster and I'd get her phone call. That's what we'd do because we didn't have a landline 'cause having a landline in the Philippines is a lot of money... but we always had neighbours who would lend you the phone. We will have to pay. We pay them, like you know, per hour, but then she will never call longer than a half hour because again, it will cost her money.

Perla: It doesn't cost me money, [it's] my employer's money. They know that I'm using the phone, but they can't stop me because they know that I have children back home.

As with the letters, the pre-planning and coordination involved in setting up a single long-distance call points to the involvement of a number of people including Perla, Tala, Mommy Ana, and their neighbours in the surrounding community. This clearly shows that care needed to go into establishing and nurturing community relationships and building trust with neighbours in order to make this form of voice-based communication possible for local and migrant kin. The calls themselves were expensive, which made pre-arrangements at the local level that much more significant. Unlike Aguilar et al. (2009) who argue that land-based phone calls were rare and only made to discuss important matters, it seems that among Perla, Tala, Mommy Ana, and neighbours, long-distance phone calls were made on a more frequent basis (209). This was largely enabled by the fact that the cost of the long distance calls were covered by Perla's employer in Toronto during the second phase of Perla's migration journey. Since the calls did

not require Perla to pay long-distance fees out-of-pocket, Perla was able to communicate with Tala more regularly.

It is through Tala and Perla's combined efforts to express care and emotional labour that they came to know each other as they did during those nine years of separation. It is important to note that Perla and Tala's interaction with each other is not entirely 'positive,' but mildly *corrective*. These moments of ambivalence between mother and daughter during our *kuwentuhan* are productive to witness since they underline the ongoing tensions of kin separation, which can manifest long after reunification has occurred - in the case of Perla and Tala, nearly three decades after. Alongside the ambivalences are the efforts to send "love and affection" via long-distance phone calls, letters, and photographs (Aguilar et al. 2009, 207). Perla and Tala's *kuwentuhan* shows us one example of the strategies used to employ different modes of communication in order to achieve a particular level of intimacy and connectedness that is meaningful to multiple kin.

For Perla to hear her daughter's voice, to participate in her life and mark the changes in her vocal and linguistic development from ages four to thirteen via long-distance phone calls, as well as her physiological development via mailed photographs, suggests how vital these forms of transnational communication are to processes of maintaining intimacy, familiarity, and familiarity. Moreover, the emotional and care labour that goes into maintaining this level of transnational communication is one that is shared collectively within the larger care network - between and among mother, daughter, son, siblings, neighbours, and community - and should be recognized as part of *ongoing* efforts to "do kin work" transnationally (di Leonardo 1987). The *ongoingness* of these efforts are evident in the rapid adoption of new forms of technology that advance possibilities of more meaningful, accessible, affordable, and therefore, more frequent

communication, particularly with the rise of Skype and other media platforms with a visual register.

Before moving on to explore these more recent modes of transnational communication, I want to reiterate three points from this *kuwentuhan*: First, I want to underscore Tala's active participation in maintaining transnational communication with her mother from a very young age. By foregrounding Tala's recollections of her separation from, and reunification with, her mother, we have an opportunity to bear witness to her perspectives and what it meant to her to adopt particular communication strategies to maintain a relationship with her mother. It is clear that Tala took on the responsibility of purchasing the tools necessary to write the letters that would then be delivered to the post office and mailed out to her mother. Further, it took Tala anticipating and timing her mother's calls, and physically running to her neighbour's home to guarantee the long-distance phone calls took place. Without this active participation, it is possible that the number of calls and letters exchanged would have been less frequent, which might have had an impact on the quality of their long-distance relationship.

Second, this *kuwentuhan* is shared and built upon by mother and daughter, which allows us to see mother and daughter recall key moments in their lives together, as well as apart. But beyond this, this *kuwentuhan* highlights the care and emotional labour performed by extended kin and affirms the intimate bonds forged outside of the migrant mother-daughter relationship. This then allows us to dig deeper and recognize that transnational communication among migrant care networks is part of a larger story of rebuilding and maintaining relationships in the face of multiphase separations from multiple carers against a backdrop of widespread poverty in the Philippines, a sophisticated infrastructure that upholds the export of migrant labourers, and a high demand for feminized and racialized domestic workers and caregivers globally.

Lastly, as early as the 1980s, which constituted the decade in which Perla and Tala were separated, we learn that the combined usage of various modes of transnational communication - landlines, letters, and photographs - reflect what Madianou and Miller (2012) view as early signs of “polymedia: of media as an integrated communicative environment” (13). Madianou and Miller’s (2012) innovative work allows us to see particular trends in this phenomenon of transnational migrant care networks operating within an advanced polymedia environment.

The Agbayani Care Network

Indeed, much has changed since the “era of snail mail” (Aguilar et al. 2009). The rapid transition from earlier modes of communication to more recent modes can be seen in the *kuwentuhan* with the Agbayanis who use a variety of synchronous media with both a visual and oral register to maintain intimacy with their loved ones.

Lala, *Manang* Norma’s two-year-old daughter and Mama Inocencia and Papa Virgilio’s *apo*, exemplifies how children are socialized from a very young age to understand primary contact and communication with a kin member overseas through the use of polymedia on smartphone devices. For example, *Manang* Norma describes Lala’s online relationship with her father who works in construction in Nigeria: “Our daughter, Lala, she saw him all the time. That’s why she knows him. Yeah, she grew up looking [at] him on Skype and Viber. ‘Who’s your daddy?’ She points.” Since birth, Lala has only ever known what it is like to see her father on a smartphone’s small screen. This is one affordance of smartphone technology and the particular advantage of the oral and visual register. While we were unable to get a hold of *Manang* Norma’s husband, we did have an opportunity to hold a Viber and Skype video chat session with Mama Inocencia in Toronto. I share an excerpt from our online talkstory here:

Online *Kuwentuhan* with Inocencia, Norma, Lala and Che-che on the Agbayani Compound in Cabagan, Isabela

Viber

Norma: Mama, mama, mama.

[Lala is laughing. We are waiting for Mama to come online]

Our signal is weak. Mama, mama... Oh we can hear you now. Finally.

Inocencia: Walang video (no video). Hello? Hi!

Norma: Let's just Skype! Skype so we can see you!

Inocencia: My signal is not good.

Norma: No, it's excellent na (now). Wen (yes). We want to see you.

Inocencia: Okay let's go online sa Skype.

Norma: Sigé mag online kami (Okay, let's go online).

[Switches platforms]

Skype

Inocencia: Hello! Oh, I can't see you... Oh, there you are! [laughs]
Lala! How are you Lala?

[Lala offers Mama Inocencia a close-up image of her face, effectively covering the whole screen]

Norma: Did you cut your hair, mama?

Inocencia: Hey, not only you! [Mama InocenciaF refers to Lala]

[*Manang* Norma also wants Mama Inocencia to interact with Che-che, Lala's older sister, but Lala is still taking up the entire screen]

Norma: Mama, we miss you. It's been how long now [since your last visit]? Five years?

The excerpt above is a prime example of the ways in which smartphone technology and transnational communication strategies converge to transform intergenerational relationships and strategies for maintaining intimate contact with loved ones. Lala is able to recognize her grandmother and interact with her by smiling, waving, making noises of excitement directed towards Mama Inocencia, and taking up space on the screen. They are co-present in a way that would not have been possible without the technology available to both *Manang* Norma in Isabela and Mama Inocencia in Toronto. Here, we see *Manang* Norma, Lala and Che-che finding ways to switch platforms in order to maintain intimate contact with Mama Inocencia, communicating how much they miss her and want her to come home, as well as noting the changes to Mama Inocencia's hair as a subtle marker of time passing and another indication of prolonged physical separation from kin.

Underlying this *kuwentuhan* are issues of access in rural areas of the Philippines. I intentionally include the attempts to connect via Viber and Skype in order to offer a glimpse of what Cabalquinto (2017) would describe as “asymmetrical mobile intimacy” wherein mobile practices among transnational kin reveal uneven levels of technological infrastructure in rural areas compared to urban areas of the Philippines, and limited access to resources (5). Despite its limitations, applications like Viber and Skype are still highly popular and enable, to varying degrees, larger numbers of transnational kin to participate in a given virtual interaction, particularly restaged family rituals, which might include family celebrations and everyday rituals that are timed around mundane activities such as eating together (Cabalquinto 2017, 5). For Lala, Che-che, *Manang* Norma, and Mama Inocencia, Skype was a preferred mode of communication due to the fact that one could engage multiple kin members in oral and visual interactions simultaneously. Beyond online conversation, these were opportunities to appreciate simply

“seeing” and “being” with one’s kin. “Seeing” and “being” together as facilitated by technological advances and having the option, as well as flexibility, of choosing what virtual environment one wishes to engage in, can be understood as an important aspect of how transnational networks are strategically and resourcefully maintaining mobile intimacy in this contemporary moment. Furthermore, intense and continuous communication with kin via a combination of multiple platforms on one’s smartphone is an indication of the level of care and emotional labour that goes into simulating “transnational togetherness” (Aguilar et al. 2009).

The more frequent usage of, and access to, smartphone technology has enabled children as young as two to actively participate in new forms of transnational communication as exemplified by Lala. Within the Agbayani kin network, Papa Virgilio also recalls a time when he and his youngest son took care of seven-year-old Lisa, the daughter of Papa Virgilio’s second eldest son, in Isabela.

Virgilio: Last week, the daughter of [my] second son is crying, ‘I want to look at Papa Virgilio! I want to talk face-to-face!’ If I call by phone, she don’t like. She want to see my face in the phone. Yeah, she quarrel with her mother if by phone, “I want to see Papa Virgilio!”

We’re very close because we took care of her. James change her diaper, take a bath, like that. She stayed with us in Isabela [for] one year because my son and his wife [Lisa’s parents] are working in Taiwan.

This *kuwento* demonstrates how children actively participate in sustaining transnational communication in that they consciously choose the online platforms they use to communicate based on the affordances they provide. The element of seeing Papa Virgilio’s face was a non-negotiable feature of Lisa’s virtual interactions with her grandfather. According to Papa Virgilio, Lisa negotiates with her mother - “quarrels” with her - on the choice of media platform and even refuses to answer Papa Virgilio when he calls her by phone. As Madianou observes, “choosing a

platform signifies emotional intent and becomes integral to how users manage their relationships” (2014, 675-78). Through Papa Virgilio, we learn not only of Lisa’s desire to remain in communication with her grandfather, but also of specific strategies to navigate the emotional complexities of separation from, and reunification with, her mother and father, followed by another phase of separation from her grandfather and uncle.

Significantly, this *kuwento* highlights how male-identified kin play key roles in transnational care provision and sustained communication. Papa Virgilio points to his role and his son’s role in providing proximate, hands-on care to Lisa while her parents migrated to Taiwan for a one-year contract. This *kuwento* tells us that well after Papa Virgilio and Uncle James left the Philippines to join Mama Inocencia in Toronto, Lisa’s relationships with her grandfather and uncle have been nurtured and closeness maintained. In other words, it showcases some of the ways in which grandfathers and uncles play key roles in transnational caring exchanges over time using the free video features of applications like Viber. As Papa Virgilio shares, the Viber video calls, alongside the messages and media clips he receives of kin in the Philippines, particularly his *apo*, make him “feel better, feel happy - just like you’re very near to them when you talk to each other.” For Papa Virgilio, being “laging online” (always online) facilitates a feeling of happiness, which is linked to a greater sense of closeness to his *apo*.

The *kuwentuhan* with the De Rosales and the Agbayani Care Networks illustrate the multiphase, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational facets of transnational care communication. By sharing *kuwentuhan* that showcases the active roles played by non-normative carers such as children, fathers, uncles, extended kin, and neighbours located in Hong Kong, Toronto, Batangas and Isabela, we can see how transnational migrant care networks negotiate the

realities of labour migration, separation, and reunification from multiple carers over time and across distance.

“Kumustahan”: Everyday Communication Using Smartphone Technology

In this section, I focus more squarely on digital technologies used to express contemporary transnational care, particularly through the use of smartphone technology. Here, I feature the use of popular platforms like Skype, Viber, and Facebook, as well as text messaging and long distance phone calls in order to demonstrate how smartphone technology is reshaping the ways in which transnational Filipino kin networks communicate care to one another and maintain intimacy – that is, “intimacy as made through emotional labour – the work of connecting, sharing, telling stories, listening, [and] responding” (McKay 2007, 179). Madianou’s work on smartphone use in the Philippines offers some insight into understanding how smartphones play a key role in the communication of care among transnational Filipinos. She argues:

Perhaps more than any other technology, smartphones are at the forefront of technological convergence. Combining features of traditional mobile phones, personal computers and the web, smartphones hybridise not only technologies and platforms but also users’ own practices, habits, and modes of accessing media with implications for personal communication (2014, 667).

Indeed, as *kuwentuhan* with research participants confirm, smartphone technology has significantly reshaped the ways in which transnational Filipino kin networks communicate with each other, the ease with which they switch between multimedia platforms, as well as the frequency and intensity with which they choose to communicate. This is partially due to increased access to the Internet in the Philippines, particularly “between 2008 and 2012 where Internet access grew by 500 per cent, the fastest rate in all of Southeast Asia” (Greene 2014).

The Philippines is now widely known as “the social networking capital of the world” (Russell 2011), and holds “one of the highest social media engagement rates across nearly all platforms” most notably, Facebook, at over 90 per cent (Greene 2014). The Philippines is reported to be the “world’s top social media user” at 67 million people according to We Are Social’s Digital 2018 report (Kemp 2018). In 2018, Facebook remains the most popular social media platform among Filipinos at over 2.17 billion users (ABS-CBN 2018). As one research participant working in Hong Kong affirms, “the social network is the big helper of all OFW (Overseas Filipino Workers).”

Understanding Care through Continuous Contact

I now turn to the *kuwentuhan* of six members of the Agbayani Care Network: Norma in Isabela, Philippines; Inocencia and Virgilio in Toronto, Canada; and *Manang* Mar, *Manang* Fe, and *Manang* Vee in Hong Kong. Norma grew up in the province of Isabela and was the first in her kin network to leave the Philippines to seek work abroad. At the age of 21, Norma moved to Tel Aviv, Israel to work as a caregiver. She managed to remain in Israel until she saved enough money to build a new home for her parents, as well as help her four siblings find work in construction and manufacturing in Taiwan and Nigeria. Because Norma was in Israel as a “TNT” (*tago ng tago*⁶³ or undocumented worker), she had to return to Isabela after three years. Upon her return to her hometown, she married John Mark, the eldest son of Inocencia and Virgilio.

In one of many stories shared between Norma and I, Norma details how often she stays in touch with her siblings and her husband in Taiwan and Nigeria, as well as Inocencia who works as a live-in caregiver and who herself worked in Hong Kong for many years, before migrating to Canada:

⁶³ Always hiding.

Norma: My brothers, yeah, we really keep in touch! We're calling every day [through] Viber, especially now that it has video call. It's very nice because it's free and it's unlimited. You're going to take that into consideration. I'm talking to Mama, talking to my brothers, talking to my husband... You get all of their stories about their life and their own burdens... I love it. With my friends, sometimes they complain, 'Oh, your phone is always busy. Thank God we caught you!' Yeah, especially during daytime. In Taiwan, [the time] is the same, but in Nigeria, it's seven hours behind.

Norma's husband, John Mark, also moved to Nigeria (via Taiwan) to work as a supervisor for a tiling company. She emphasizes that she not only communicates with him every day, but "every hour." She adds, "We Skype and Viber. We talk a lot. During work, he can talk. We talk, like, hours!" Here, Norma highlights important relationships with her loved ones and how the depth of these respective relationships influences the frequency and intensity of her smartphone communication with them. Despite time zone differences, Norma clearly prioritizes the amount of time she spends on sustaining relationships with her kin abroad, and has made it a large part of her everyday routine - in fact, "an integral part of her everyday life." Here, hourly and daily communication with kin living and working in multiple geographic locations at once enables what research participants have referred to as the experience of being "*laging online* [always online]"¹ In Norma's case, taking part in the minutiae of everyday life further encourages a stronger sense of active co-presence and helps to lessen the sense of physical absence among transnational kin.

Negotiating Care through Platform-switching

While communicating continuous care by smartphone via multiple platforms can be challenging, the strategy of *switching* media platforms as I have alluded to, is another way that kin networks have managed relationships and negotiated care expectations. This was evident in *kuwentuhan* with Hong Kong chosen kin members, *Manang Vee*, *Manang Mar*, and *Manang Fe*

(all of whom are connected via regional and school ties).

Manang Vee grew up in Cagayan and moved to Hong Kong to work as a domestic worker in 2008. Her two older sisters followed in 2010. They have a fourth sister who is currently “on the way.” *Manang Vee* and her sisters are also chosen kin to *Manang Mar*, the niece of Inocencia. *Manang Fe* who helps run a boarding house for Filipino domestic workers (the majority of whom are *Ilocana*) on weekends, is also closely connected to *Manang Mar*’s network. When talking about how the *Manangs* communicate care to their kin in Cagayan, Isabela and Toronto, they share that they generally interact through Facebook and Skype: “Online-online *lang* (just online).” However, they reveal that one instance where they use a different form of communication is when they send money home to the Philippines.

Vee: Through phone. If you always call, they always ask money. If you send money, just text.

Mar: Just give the control number⁶⁴ and the *balikbayan* boxes. That’s how we care!

Fe: That’s the reality *na naman* (that really is the reality).

Mar: Send *yung love* (send the love). It’s there. *Pagod, dugot pawis!*⁶⁵

Texting control numbers and confirming receipt of *balikbayan* boxes is understood by the *Manangs* as one way to “send *yung love*.” The texting, in and of itself, does not constitute the whole caring act; rather, texting control numbers and confirming receipt of *balikbayan* boxes is representative of the care and emotional labour performed, the “*pagod, dugot pawis*” of performing domestic work, of painstakingly assembling *balikbayan* boxes, of standing in long

⁶⁴ A control number is a tracking number or 10-digit reference code typically assigned to money transfers. The tracking number or control number is shared with the receiver of the money transfer, which is what *Manang Mar* is referring to here.

⁶⁵ The phrase *pagod, dugot, pawis* roughly translates from *Tagalog* to English as “exhaustion, blood, and sweat,” which is similar to the idiom, “blood, sweat and tears” implying great effort, or hard work. The phrase underscores the labour - the hard work - that goes into maintaining care among transnational kin networks. The title of this dissertation is directly inspired by *Manang Mar*.

line-ups to remit money and receive control numbers, of everything that leads up to that moment when you send the text message confirming you have fulfilled your care obligations for that month. Here, the way in which the *Manangs* understand and communicate care, then, is deliberate. Texting strictly around pay periods near the beginning or end of the month to confirm receipt of remittances, gifts and *balikbayan* boxes is a timed strategy adopted by the *Manangs* to temporarily limit voice and video communication with kin in the Philippines. Switching media platforms is therefore part of negotiating and contesting the care and emotional labour they perform. By texting, the *Manangs* are able to respond to requests for financial support while having some measure of control over “the pause between message and response” (Madianou and Miller 2012, 134). They accomplish what McKay describes as the necessity of ‘showing’ and ‘sharing’ feeling with their kin as exemplified in economic and gift exchanges (McKay 2007, 191).

By drawing on *kuwentuhan* with the Agbayanis, I have shown how smartphone technology is reconfiguring the ways in which multiply located kin understand, communicate, and negotiate care and emotional labour. In particular, I have demonstrated how the choice of media platform - whether text, voice, and/or video-based - has the power to create and convey “different emotional repertoires and registers” as in the case of the *Manangs* and Papa Virgilio who utilized a combination of many platforms and adopted methods of platform-switching to mediate and sustain their relationships with multiply located kin over time (Madianou 2014, 132).

The De Rosales Care Network

Long-Term Elderly Care Management

In this next section, I focus on the facilitation of elderly care using Skype and text messaging as primary tools of transnational communication. Through *kuwentuhan* with the De Rosales Care Network, I present different transnational strategies adopted by kin to both monitor and co-manage elderly care in Batangas and Toronto.

Inay is 96-years-old and bedridden. As matriarch of the De Rosales family, *Inay*'s care is facilitated by her nine children, eight of her grandchildren, and one of her great grandchildren, as well as a number of extended kin and non-kin. *Inay* is the central figure around which most transnational communication occurs, and is the driving force behind the transnational distribution of financial, practical, personal, and emotional support within the De Rosales care network (Finch and Mason 1993).

After living in Toronto for over twenty years and being diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis and osteoporosis, *Inay*'s children collectively decided that she should move back to the Philippines to benefit from private, in-home care and a warmer climate year-round. In preparation for *Inay*'s return to the Philippines, *Inay*'s children in Toronto entrusted their *kapit bahay* (neighbour) in their hometown of Laurel, Batangas to hire a woman named Nilda to become her primary caregiver. As her caregiver of eight years now, 53-year-old Nilda has become *Inay*'s constant and most trusted companion. Besides Nilda, one other person who is primarily responsible for *Inay*'s proximate, hands-on care is Jenny (wife of Oliver, son of Norma, one of *Inay*'s eight daughters). Nilda explains:

Nilda: There are two of us [who take care of *Inay*]. Jenny - the wife of Oliver who is the eldest child of Imelda – it's like she is my *amo* (supervisor) here. She will give me instructions. She's the one downstairs cooking.

I am the one who gives *Inay* her medicine, I am the one who feeds her. I am the one who gives her a bath. Everything. Jenny is just the one who teaches me how. I'm the one who moves, who does everything. She [Jenny] is the one who taught me when I first started, but of course, I've been here since 2009.

I cook [and] watch over the kids too. I help every so often, but not as often because I need to be here for *Inay*. I can't really leave her for long because she's old. Her resistance is weak.

Together, Nilda and Jenny coordinate *Inay*'s in-home care and hospital visits, and report back to *Inay*'s children in Toronto through a combination of exchanges via text message, phone call, Skype, and Facebook. Nilda elaborates:

Nilda: They take turns calling, *lahat sila* (all of them). It's just that for *Inay*, of course, she can't retain which child called because of her age. When you ask her, she doesn't remember who called. *Kuya* Jomar [one of *Inay*'s sons] doesn't call as often. When he calls, there's an occasion, a birthday. His siblings tell him stories of what is happening with her. In case anything happens, they have my number to call [and] Facebook, but I'm not the one who communicates [directly], it's Jenny and Edeng [another son of Imelda].

While Nilda is not the one who initiates sending updates or news about *Inay*'s health to her children, Nilda is undeniably the one providing *Inay* with the most intimate, hands-on care, and the one receiving calls and messages that include instructions to be carried out at home, not to mention the one with private knowledge of the De Rosales' communication habits. Indeed, *Inay*'s children do call often, her eldest daughters more so than the younger siblings including *Kuya* Jomar, as Nilda points out. As with their visits home, *Inay*'s children take turns individually checking up on her, or coordinating a gathering in one home to Skype her. This is the novelty of Skype – that it enables more than one person to participate in the communication

process and in helping to nurture a sense of togetherness.

Field journal entry
Laurel, Batangas

Inay falls in and out of sleep as we sit by her bedside. A laptop sits casually among the bedcovers facing *Inay* (*Inay*'s grandson, Vincent, has logged on to Skype for her, while Nilda has set up and placed the laptop within *Inay*'s view). *Inay*'s two daughters, Imelda and Efren, are on Skype video chat from Toronto. They attempt to converse with her, but they also spend long moments in silence, attentively watching her.

Here, the Skype video chat feature enables Imelda and Efren to 'hang out' with *Inay* and be present during a simple naptime or bedtime ritual. They recognize that *Inay*'s rest is important, so they do not disturb her, but choose to watch her or simply 'be' in the room with her. As Perla explains, "It's just a constant talking to her whenever she's able to speak with us, like last night, we [Perla and Efren] try to call her and she's sleeping. When she's sleeping, we don't wanna bother her." The Skype calls are never 'wasted' when there is minimal conversation. In fact, this is considered the norm – an expected, routinized aspect of their communication. It does not require constant dialogue in order for a sense of sustained connection to exist. Just being present in the same virtual environment is enough.

For example, in one Skype call, one can see the ways in which Nilda not only plays a supportive role in setting up and facilitating conversation between *Inay* and her daughters, Imelda and Efren, but also in guiding the line of conversation.

**Online *Kuwentuhan* with *Inay*, *Nilda*, *Efren*, and *Imelda* from the
De Rosales' Ancestral Home in Laurel, Batangas**

Skype

Imelda and Efren: 'Nay? 'Nay?

Nilda: *Yun si Imelda!* (There is Imelda!)

Inay: *Saan?* (Where?)

Nilda: *Nandini sa TV* (Here in the TV) [Nilda means the laptop]. She can't see, she can just hear. 'Nay, it's *Ate Imelda*. She wants to talk to you. *Na sa WiFi, na sa Skype, sa laptop po.*

Magsalita lang kayo. Sabihin mo kamusta kayo diyan.
(They are on WiFi, on Skype, on the laptop. Just speak. Ask how they are doing there).

Inay: Where are they?

Imelda and Efren: *Sa Canada, Toronto!* How are you feeling now, 'Nay? How old are you now?

Inay: 73.

Imelda and Efren: No, how old are you now?

Inay: I don't know.

Imelda: Ask her what is her birthday.

Inay: March 21, 1921.

Everyone: Wahhh!

[Everyone laughs and claps on camera to celebrate this moment of lucidity]

This Skype conversation is a common one among the De Rosales Care Network and showcases a mundane interaction with *Inay*, *Nilda*, and I in Batangas on one end, and *Imelda* and *Efren* in Toronto on the other. Underlying this interaction is the knowledge that *Inay*'s children

are invested in spending as much ‘virtual time’ with her as possible, and that they are committed to staying apprised of any sudden changes in *Inay*’s health and other kin’s health – all critical in planning ahead in the event of an emergency. For example, Nilda recalls that spring and summer of 2014 when *Inay* experienced alarming symptoms, which resulted in a series of emergency visits to the hospital. Nilda elaborates on the communication between kin in Batangas and Toronto during this time:

Nilda: It was almost like we lived at the hospital from May to July 2014. We just went back and forth. One time when we left the hospital, we had to go back right away. She excreted blood. They tested the blood in her feces at the laboratory, but there was no bacteria. They didn't want to test again and the trip would have been really far anyway. We had to go to Tanauan. She throws up when she travels because she is so used to being at home. She would just have a hard time at her old age.

[Now] we just text her doctor and tell him what her symptoms are if we can't make it to her appointment. Her doctor is good and just sends us her prescription based on the symptoms. We just go to the pharmacy at the *palengke* (market). It's just there. The child of Jenny gets the medicine, *si Benny*. He is 22 years old. He has a motor[cycle].

If we want to let *Ate Perla* know that *Lola* is like this, like that - ‘*Ate*, we are at the hospital,’ and then they will call. Before they call, they will ask, ‘Oh, what do you need? Why did you have to go there?’ They will ask. There are many ways. Even if we are at the house, they call often - especially *Ate Perla*. She calls more often because, of course, *Lola* got sick. We have a telephone [and] there's WiFi in the hospital. You can get load. It depends on the kind of phone you have. If you have just an ordinary cell phone [*not a smartphone*] you can't connect to WiFi.

Perla: When some family members, relatives or something will need some support, say they're sick or something, all of us will pitch in - all of the sisters and brothers, especially when Mom stayed in the hospital. Definitely I am the one responsible for calling everyone. We have to find out back home how much money we need to pay back the hospital - even expenses for the house, for Mom, so everybody will pitch in. Say we have to send each \$300 [CAD] for the cost of the hospitalization and the other expenses, especially for Mommy, we will do that for her.

One of my nephews is also very ill – *Ate Ana*'s son, Joseph. He's the one in Jordan. He is suffering from kidney failure. The boy goes to dialysis every week, so I have to send money to him. Nilda and Vincent [are] the ones I left in charge of bringing him to his dialysis appointments. His brother, Romel, in Saudi is pitching in some money too. Me, I cannot afford the total expense.

Inay's children in Toronto clearly play the roles of co-care managers and remittance providers. Among *Inay*'s children, Perla and Imelda play particularly prominent roles as co-care managers and organizers within the De Rosales Care Network. With Perla's years of work experience as an accounts payable clerk, she is the one in the kin network responsible for managing the coordination, collection, and distribution of financial support to *Inay*, Joseph, and the rest of the De Rosales household in Batangas. She also shares in the responsibility of delegating particular roles to kin as in the case of Nilda and Vincent who are able to provide more hands-on care to Joseph.

In contrast to Perla, Imelda was the last of the siblings to migrate to Canada, and it is she, among all the siblings, who remains closest to those living in the shared household as evidenced in her more frequent visits home, particularly since her own children, their significant others, and extended kin live there. Perla elaborates:

Perla: My sister [Imelda] is back home, back there now. Yeah, she went home there last month. She took off work for one and a half months to be with *Inay*. I can't really do that because I moved [Perla was laid off and recently found a new job]. I am financially not settled, so it's hard for me. My gesture to being a good daughter is I want to be with her to take care of her. I told her, 'You know, Mom, if I get some money and if I can afford to go home and be with you for awhile, I'll do that, Mom. I want to be with you.' She's already old and I want to spend my time with her.

You know, I felt so bad when I was there last December [2013] and she knew I'm about to come back here in Toronto. She called me by her bedside and asked me when is she coming back to Toronto. I think that, you know, she always dream of coming back and she is happy to be here in Canada. She likes it here. She prefers it. She sees all the kids together. Those are the things that she really miss.

Inay echoes her daughter's last thoughts when recounting her communication with her children.

Inay: They [her children in Toronto] always call. They tell me what is going on with them, when they get jobs. They tell me everything that is happening with them so I know. I like it [in Canada] especially because my children are all there.

Despite Perla's prominent role within the De Rosales care network as a co-care manager and organizer, the reality of Perla's employment situation (from being laid off to searching for and landing a new job where she must be on probation for three months) puts her in a difficult position. For Perla, there are clear consequences to her taking time off work – no paid leave and no guarantee of job security upon her return. Her strong sense of responsibility and obligation to her mother fosters concern that she will be unable to afford travel to the Philippines to provide proximate, hands-on care for her ageing mother. To partially assuage her fears, Perla tries to reassure her mother that her desire to be with her is strong enough that she will find a way to join her soon and make the most of their time together while *Inay* is still alive. Communicating this desire is enough to temporarily cope with the reality of multiphase separation and reunification in late adult life.

Inay's old age and ill health make Perla and her siblings in Toronto adamant about maintaining active digital lives with *Inay* as facilitated through Nilda, Jenny, Oliver, Vincent, Edeng, Romel and others in Batangas. This shows how both kin and non-kin are involved in the complex web of transnational care and emotional labour that exists among the De Rosales network.

Moments of Crisis

In this section, I move from a focus on elderly co-care management to a focus on transnational communication strategies adopted during moments of crisis. In particular, I share *kuwentuhan* that demonstrate how kin networks mobilize ICTs to organize themselves and provide collective care support to kin members in emergency situations. Each *kuwentuhan* presents a different take on how kin choose to mobilize their networks in order to provide immediate or urgent care support. The first *kuwentuhan* involves siblings Zeny and Luz recounting how their brother went missing during a storm in Bicol and their use of Facebook to locate him.

Mobilizing Facebook during Moments of Crisis

Facebook has become an important virtual medium for maintaining communication among transnational networks in recent years, as documented by McKay (2010), Miller (2011), Madianou and Miller (2014) and others. Research on Facebook usage among Filipinos is particularly compelling and relevant in understanding the various ways that Filipino care networks communicate and maintain vital connections over time. As McKay writes:

Filipino Facebook profiles are directed towards extended family and long-distance connections [...] Facebook enables them to stay in touch with family, classmates, neighbours and to form virtual communities of various kinds, including [...] organizing relief activities after the October 2009 floods and landslides” (2010, 484).

Here, McKay emphasizes the different purposes that a platform like Facebook can serve for transnational communities. According to McKay, Filipinos use Facebook for a distinct purpose and that is to connect or ‘stay in touch’ with extended kin and non-kin. Indeed, the care networks I storied with affirm their desire to stay connected with the everyday lives of their kin

vis-à-vis platforms like Facebook, but they also demonstrate a desire to create virtual communities that provide specific care support to kin during moments of crisis or emergency.

The Manalo Care Network

Kuwentuhan with Zeny and Luz

Luz: My brother was missing, just recently, maybe two or three months ago. He was in one remote island [in the Bicol region] and because that island was hit by a big storm - no connection. He cannot make contacts. That storm hit my place and the place where he works. Before you get to his [work], you have to take the boat, so when the storm hit that place, no power, nothing, no connection. By that time, we're looking for him, right? But nobody saw him. His son posted that his father was missing. As soon as he posted, we posted, and all of my friends re-posted to their own Facebook. They share it and ask everybody, "Facebook friend, please share." And I even call one of the Police Major in the Philippines to have connections and luckily one of the friend on Facebook found him in that island.

Zeny: Most remote. No WiFi. No connection at all because he lost his cell phone.

Luz: He just work there and he send money [home].

Zeny: And then he contact us through Facebook that he's okay. Now he's in Laguna. He's staying with my Mom.

What is striking about this story is how Luz found out about her missing brother. Luz explains that her brother's son posted that he was missing on Facebook. By doing so, he mobilized the power of Facebook re-posting and re-sharing. In re-posting and requesting to have others within their Facebook friends network re-post or re-share the son's original post, Luz and their kin network responded to the emergency situation by actively seeking people within their extended network to conduct a search for him. Here, Facebook became an effective tool to 'spread the word' that their brother/father/kin was missing, which prompted the formation of an organized search involving not just local kin on the ground, but also transnational kin like Luz. The reception and subsequent re-posting/sharing of this alarming news was instantaneous. The

instantaneity of posting to one's profile and having kin receive that posted information in their newsfeed and responding to that post is critical in the context of an emergency. This is but one site where emotional support could be shared and resources pooled together among kin. In a transnational kin network, Luz was able to use her contacts on Facebook to gather people to help find her missing brother. Once their brother was found, he chose Facebook as his primary source of communication - the same method used to search for him - to contact his sisters and tell them that he was okay and temporarily staying with their Mom in Laguna. "Don't worry," he posted on Facebook.

While Luz and Zeny did not have the power to physically go search for their brother themselves, they did have the power of their social networks, contacts within the local police force, on their Facebook friends list to help publicize the search to as wide a network as possible. This allowed Luz and Zeny to provide a distinct form of care to their brother. Further, their caring act could also be received, acknowledged and valued by other kin in a very public way on social media. Facebook opened up the possibility of Luz and Zeny participating in the search for their brother in a way that they would not have been able to had Facebook not been an option accessible to them and their kin in the Philippines. Facebook and other social media platforms, then, produce increasingly new ways for transnational kin to galvanize support and thus, redefine acts of care from a distance. They are navigating an online terrain by establishing different ways of providing what can be understood as "instantaneous" transnational care support to kin during potential moments of crisis.

Transnational care during a moment of crisis may be exhibited as a short burst of aid to extended kin, but may also extend beyond the moment of crisis itself. The forms of care and emotional labour one sees during moments of crisis are most obviously manifested through

collective efforts to pool money together which may potentially translate into long-term paid installments of medical bills, or the strategic building and nurturing of key contacts on Facebook and other social media sites. The very anticipation of crisis and subsequent crisis preparation (i.e. saving money for emergency situations, building and nurturing critical connections) appear to be important and more long-term aspects of transnational care management. Of course, this is not to say that kin are always already prepared for crisis. We must ask, why is such crisis preparation necessary in the first place? Processes of globalization have necessitated that transnational kin networks be formed and sustained using virtual platforms like Facebook in order to provide immediate/short-term/long-term support or aid to kin. Job precarity or instability, widespread poverty, and lack of state infrastructure prompt kin networks to act as their own advocates, to anticipate, prepare and plan for crisis scenarios like this one.

Managing Moments of Crisis within My Own Care Network:

An Auto-Ethnographic Account

Tuesday, June 3, 2014
Field journal entry
Tita Mila's Wake

It was already too late.

When my Mom found out that my Tita Mila was terminally ill with stage four-pancreatic cancer, it was February 2013.

Tita Mila died early March.

Her sister's terminal illness sparked a series of text messages between kin in Cubao, Bulacan and Toronto. Texting was their most affordable means of communication. ² Messages went back and forth between my Mom, her siblings in Toronto, and Tita Mila's children in Bulacan. Her main priority was to see how Tita Mila's children and grandchildren were coping with the news. She was particularly worried about what their financial situation would look like once their monthly remittances from Toronto came to a halt. She considered who could potentially take on this responsibility between her and her siblings. She discussed all of this with her niece who was also involved in these texting exchanges.

We received news of my Tita Mila's death through one of my Mom's sisters in

Toronto. This was early March 2013. I returned from the first stage of my dissertation fieldwork in the Philippines in time for Tita Mila's funeral. My Mom could not afford to fly back to Toronto with me, so I effectively became her proxy.⁶⁶

Even as her proxy, my Mom wanted to find a way to be present during the wake. Through communication with her sisters, she learned that it was possible to Skype in to funeral services. To arrange this, my Mom was prepared to travel in the early morning hours to her nephew's home in Bulacan to access a computer with a WiFi connection and an installed Skype application. In Toronto, however, online funeral services were not offered at this particular funeral home, which ultimately meant that my Mom could not 'attend' any of the services.

To ameliorate the situation, I resolved to text message her through every stage of the vigil, funeral service and burial. I gave her timed updates that included brief texts and images of Tita Mila's coffin, the flowers, the procession of relatives walking to the burial site, etc. I hoped that through this small window into the world of ICTs, my mother could grieve with her siblings and take part in this important series of rituals. I learned later that what I was doing was akin to "live tweeting."⁶⁷ Despite my best attempts to keep her connected to everything that was happening in Toronto, I could not console her. My mother's replies to me only communicated her grief, frustration, and sadness at not being present.

When you do not possess the means to access the technology that facilitates 'saying goodbye' to loved ones via Skype or live stream, there is little comfort in knowing that such technology exists. Here is an instance where technology failed my mother and did not afford her that final opportunity to 'see' her older sister and 'say goodbye.' Texting in a similar fashion to tweeting was an inadequate mode of transnational communication for my mother. Tweeting did not have the capacity to visually connect my mother to the proceedings the way that Skyping or live streaming would have. In other words, tweeting did not have the capacity to fully engage the senses, particularly sight and sound. In a moment of crisis such as this, tweeting was clearly not the optimal format for facilitating co-presence. Baldassar explains that "the way to manage the

⁶⁶ Baldassar draws on Kilkey and Merla's (2014) definition of mediated distant care 'by proxy' which involves "the co-ordination, from a distance, of care that is delivered by another person. This form of care by proxy relies on virtual forms of communication delivered through ICTs and can range from relatively minimal to intensive" (2014, 394).

⁶⁷ I shared this *kuwento* during a Master workshop led by Heather Horst at the University of Victoria in May 2014. It was Dierdre McKay who pointed out that the structure of my continuous stream of text and photo messages was in effect, a form of live tweeting without the use of a smartphone.

heartache of longing for and missing is through sensual contact and co-presence, in other words, through *feeling* the presence of people and places involving all of the five senses” (2008, 252). In other words, by engaging in technology that stimulates and engages as many of our senses as possible, we can alleviate some of the heartache felt by not being physically co-present.⁵ But the question remains - if we managed to Skype my mother in to the funeral proceedings or set up a live stream recording, would my mother have experienced closure, some sense of community in mourning, some opportunity to memorialize the event of her sister’s death? If we both had access to smartphone technology, limitless data at our fingertips, and the technical literacy to keep up with major advances in ICTs, what would that have made possible? Would this have relieved any potential guilt or disappointment my Mom may have felt for not being there? Perhaps not.

What we do know is that my mother’s memory and experience of her sister’s death was unlike anything she had been exposed to before. What we do know is the ways that news of loved ones dying, or news of chronic illness, travel. Her experience points to the ways in which rituals of mourning, death and dying are transforming with greater access to the increasing availability of various modes of online communication. For example, in the Philippines, an *e-burol* or e-wake is becoming a common service offered by funeral homes. An *e-burol* service

offers live webcasts of people’s wakes on their websites. This allows friends and family members to participate in the viewing of the deceased even though they are not able to attend the wake in person. The online service is geared towards Filipino emigrants and Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), many of whom may not be able to fly home due to financial or work-related constraints... webcams run 24 hours a day, making viewing convenient for relatives abroad... Live streams of wakes as well as archived footage of funerals are also made available” (*e-burol* and *e-libing* 2012).

Such services are being offered with greater frequency as larger numbers of OFWs leave the Philippines and are unable to visit in the event of a loved one's death and participate in key rituals surrounding this phase of the life course. And what of elderly *balikbayans* or returnees who are living out their retirement years in the Philippines? My own parents' return in their sixties suggests a need to shift our understanding of migration and return for older generations of Filipino migrants who are renegotiating relationships with transnational kin and community, and increasingly facing the realities of chronic and acute illness, death and dying. How quickly will both my parents have to familiarize themselves with *e-buro* or e-wake services? How soon before this becomes 'routine' practice for them and for other transnational kin networks?

Technology, in this instance, creates an opportunity to participate in what I call *transnational mourning*. Just as transnational togetherness (Aguilar et al. 2009) can be recreated via Skype during family celebrations such as birthdays, weddings, and anniversaries, so too can they be recreated in order to commemorate the dead. Archived footage of funerals and round-the-clock Skype viewings are reshaping the ways that we grieve the lives of those we have lost. Such technological advances applied to funeral home services is having an impact on how transnational kin networks communicate and sustain care throughout the life course. How are these services transforming our relationships to the living, as well as the dying, in a transnational world? These are questions for future work and cannot be given the full attention they deserve here.

Conclusion

I began this chapter with still images from Google Philippines' "Miss Nothing" video not only to capture the scope and complexity of what it means to 'stay in touch,' but to situate the ways in which the Philippine nation-state and multinational tech companies like Google have

capitalized on migrant labourers, creating structured dependencies on their products and services claiming to facilitate transnational acts of care and intimacy.

I then moved to explore the ways in which transnational kin networks are compelled to navigate, and become adept in, a range of communicative environments in their efforts to maintain care from afar. I underscore three distinct types of care articulated through ICTs which are 1) everyday care, 2) elderly care, and 3) crisis care in order to highlight how ICTs have come to transform the very ways in which transnational kin networks care. Cutting across all three types of care delivery is the multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational nature of transnational care. For example, in the shift from asynchronous to synchronous technologies, one can see corresponding shifts in access to, and use of, these technologies during key phases of kin members' multiphased migration journeys. The multidirectionality of care is also evident in the media platforms chosen to enact a strong sense of co-presence or transnational togetherness through the reinvention of online family rituals, or by simply 'being.' This was particularly poignant during moments of silence over Skype with *Inay* of the De Rosales Care Network as she napped.

In doing the care work of simply 'being there,' transnational kin located in Toronto, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and elsewhere were able to maintain their multilocational caring relations such that in particularly acute moments of need, kin were ready to respond. Two moments stand out in particular – one moment with the Manalo Care Network, and the other with the De Rosales Care Network. The *kuwentuhan* of Zeny and Luz' brother going missing is one moment where Luz was able to mobilize her resources online and draw upon her vast Facebook network (which she continues to maintain through *kumustahan* and everyday communication), to come to her aid in a clear moment of need.

The multisited *kuwentuhan* with Nilda in Batangas and Efren and Perla in Toronto was another moment where the transnational organization and multirelational coordination and delivery of care emerged as a powerful example of the use of ICTs during moments of elderly care crisis. In identifying the various uses of ICTs among the De Rosales, Manalo, and Agbayani Care Networks, we can see how emerging technologies facilitate more nuanced expressions of care and emotional labour. At the same time, we must recognize that the need for such an intricate system of care mobilization and crisis preparation is directly tied to processes of globalization, which have prompted transnational kin networks to care *through* virtual platforms like Google, Skype, and Facebook.

Conclusion

Journeying On

Inspired by the words of *Manang Mar* of the Agbayani Care Network, I titled this dissertation, “*Pagod, Dugot, Pawis*”: Transnational Practices of Care and Emotional Labour among Filipino Kin Networks. I did so to mark the ambivalences associated with the labour of care, to dislodge or to distract from an overwhelming focus on the labour of love (read: heteronormative/maternal love). Through this title, I wanted to immediately signal a different conversation, a different agenda, around the subject of transnational Filipino life. The phrase roughly translates from *Tagalog* to English as “exhaustion, blood, and sweat,” which is similar to the idiom, “blood, sweat and tears” implying great effort, or hard work. Beyond exhaustion, the term *pagod* captures a deep sense of fatigue, tiredness, weariness, and stress, but I believe it also captures something distinct that has not yet been calcified in dominant narratives of love and sacrifice.

In addition to capturing some of the textures of transnational Filipino life, this title also speaks to the *pagod, dugot, pawis* associated with the very writing of this dissertation, the intellectual labour that this project entailed, not to mention the care and emotional labour required of me within my own transnational kin network throughout this journey. It is only now that I am able to reflect on the significance of this title more closely. I confess that this journey was not easy, but I have chosen to sit with this uneasiness, knowing that this work must continue. The selection of this title, then, is representative of this work as a whole in that it articulates my hope for a deeper, more critical and uneasy engagement with new works on care and emotional labour in the context of transnational Filipino lives.

In one of the latest and boldest contributions to Filipino Studies, *Filipino Studies: Palimpsests of Nation and Diaspora* (2016), co-editors Manalansan and Espiritu frame the volume as “open, generous gestures, and attempts toward new conversations and collaborations, in order to think more broadly and aspirationally about emancipatory politics and futures, and to open up capacious vistas of ‘what it means to live as, and call oneself, Filipino’” (10).

Acknowledging the genealogical legacies that this important work came out of, I, too, feel inspired to take up this call toward more “open, generous gestures” and see the ‘closing’ of this dissertation as more of a journeying on, as an opening and opportunity for future engagements.

What I have attempted to do in this dissertation is trouble the linearity of the global care chain framework in order to advance a new definition of transnational care labour – one that, I hope, better captures the nuances and complexities of transnational kin networks’ lives– one that moves beyond the mother-child dyad and accounts for broader communities of carers such as siblings, nieces, nephews, neighbours, partners, grandparents, and grandchildren – those who are not often considered active care givers in the dominant gender, migration, and care literature, but who are clearly “doing” the work of care.

As policies and programs proliferate to meet the demands of a global care industry that does not care for care workers, transnational migrant and non-migrant networks are forced to adapt and develop new strategies to ensure their own collective survival and maintain kin solidarity, or a sense of ‘family,’ broadly defined. It is their creativity, resilience, and agency that is showcased here - all of which signal that the global care chain framework, while an important contribution to work on gender, migration and care labour, does not capture the breadth and depth of transnational kin care over time. The global care chain paradigm is thus, no longer a

viable framework from which to understand transnational care labour in this contemporary moment.

In the excerpts of *kuwentuhan* with the De Rosales, Aglipay, Manalo, and Agbayani Care Networks, I have shown how kin members make sense of their transnational lives and continue to redefine *how they care*, whether that be through the more obvious routes of sending remittances to financially support kin in the Philippines, or through more creative means - from hourly communication via Viber and Skype, which speaks to the *everyday work of transnational care*, to the more intensified use of ICTs to coordinate care for elderly and chronically ill kin, which speaks to elements of *distant crisis care*.

Through *kuwentuhan* with each of these networks, I have explored how transnational care and emotional labour can be understood as 1) multiphased, 2) multidirectional, 3) multilocational, and 4) multirelational in scope, deployed as part of an overarching strategy to maintain kin solidarity and support the collective survival of *generations of migrant carers over time*.

But again, even as I have elaborated on the significance of transnational Filipino kin networks' resilience in the face of a global capitalist economy that strips them of their humanity and reduces them to labouring brown bodies, the very need for creative survival strategies must be held in constant tension with a critical awareness of neoliberal capitalist structures at work, and the professionalizing, disciplining, and emotional scripting of racialized bodies by the Philippine labour brokerage state.

I would now like to close this dissertation by reflecting on my larger research trajectory in relation to key collaborations with migrant worker organizations, and future works. As a *Pinay peminist* (Filipina feminist) scholar-activist who grew up in a household where multiple

generations of kin members laboured under unjust working conditions, I have a personal and political commitment to doing impactful work on the ground and in the classroom. My social justice work has powerfully shaped my overall approach to scholar-activist research, and it is what continues to ground me in the histories of im/migrant struggle within my community. That I have been the only *Pinay* in my cohorts and departments throughout my undergraduate and graduate education makes this last point particularly salient for me. Pedagogically, this has meant that I actively and intentionally foreground works by *Pinay* and Filipina/o/x scholars as observed throughout this dissertation. Doing so has been part of my own survival in the Canadian academy. It is these life-sustaining works that have urged me to keep fighting to have my voice heard, even when it has been threatened with silence.

For over a decade now, I have participated in collaborative research projects with progressive Filipina feminist organizations like the Philippine Women Centre of Ontario (PWC-ON), and in later years, Gabriela Ontario, using arts-based and socially engaged research methods (like the P.A.R model) to guide our work. Two recent examples are the Gabriela Transitions Experiences Survey (GATES), which, as mentioned in Part One, was a nation-wide project that explored the employment and educational experiences of caregivers transitioning out of the Live-in Caregiver Program, and the Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario or PEPSO project, where I co-led a sub-project on creative works by live-in caregivers and artist-activists who used their art to highlight issues of precarity among temporary foreign workers and advocate for LCP reforms (Kelly and de Leon 2017). The trajectory of my work, particularly in the last ten years, is a clear reflection of my ongoing commitment to fostering connections and developing research agendas that strive to improve the working lives of migrant communities in Canada and beyond.

Image 8. Gabriela Ontario and Caregivers' Action Centre at Toronto's International Women's Day March and Rally 2018.



On March 3, 2018, I attended the International Women's Day March and Rally in Toronto with fellow members of Gabriela, Ontario (see Image 6). Held amidst large, flowing banners representing Gabriela Ontario, *Migrante Canada*, BAYAN (*Bagong Alyansang Makabayan*, New Patriotic Alliance), and the International League of People's Struggle (ILPS) were signs that read "Justice for Caregivers. Justice for All. Landed Status Now!" and "Caregivers Deserve Permanent Status on Landing." These signs represent a key demand - a call for permanent residency upon arrival and family unity, that is, family members must come with caregivers and should not have to endure prolonged separation. I must reiterate, however, that the Canadian state's definition of family is extremely limiting, restricted only to recognizing

spouses and children as “family members” who can qualify for family sponsorship and reunification. In line with the goals of this dissertation, I have argued that this is an area of state policy that requires radical revisioning, that requires an acknowledgement of the critical caring roles and responsibilities that extended kin, chosen kin, and non-kin hold in the lives of migrant caregivers – one that rejects the Western, nuclear, heteronormative structure around which programs like Canada’s Caregiver Program revolve.

Furthermore, in light of the fact that the Philippines remains Canada’s top source country for immigrants and that Filipino migrants continue to meet nationwide caring demands under Canada’s “old” and “new” pathways, I see a continued urgency to pay close attention to the range of challenges faced by Filipino migrant caregivers, including definitional limitations as to what constitutes a family as emphasized throughout this dissertation. I also see a continued urgency to pay close attention to the range of strategies they will have to employ to address the cumulative effects of key policy changes within the broader context of their lives and the transnational kin networks to which they belong.

This is a critical time to place pressure on the Canadian government to improve caregivers’ rights and protections globally. Just as we must resist hailing the Philippines as a model of human labour export and “migration management” (Rodriguez 2010, 141), we must also resist hailing Canada as a model of state benevolence. Canada has been upheld as the one country in the world that offers caregivers permanent resident status, and holds out the promise of full settlement and integration. However, the Canadian government’s recent announcement regarding the potential elimination of the Caregiver Program in 2019 will place the livelihoods of thousands of current caregivers and their transnational kin at risk and increase their economic vulnerability, creating the conditions for further abuse and exploitation. It will obstruct the future

security and stability of caregivers who have laboured in this country, contributed to its national economy, and the reproduction of its citizens.

To understand these debates as they unfold is to undo the myth of benevolence that surrounds Canada as a “model” labour-receiving state, which fundamentally means unsettling white settler colonialism, unravelling legacies of U.S. empire and global capitalist agendas, and exposing the Philippine state’s own distinctive role in brokering labour to the rest of the world (Rodriguez 2010). A key point here is that Canada’s Caregiver Program, in its current state of flux, cannot be read simply as a “Canadian issue.” Indeed, placing pressure on the Canadian government from within Canada will not be enough. As this dissertation has shown, mobilizing transnational networks of migrant and non-migrant carers from multiple sites can be critical to ensuring collective survival. Similarly, leveraging transnational linkages with affiliate migrant groups positioned in Hong Kong and other sites can foster migrant worker solidarity and campaign for the increased rights and protection of care workers globally.

I have pointed to the political work of Gabriela and *Migrante* here in order to further contextualize the political mobilization efforts of these organizations on a global scale.

Reflecting on the work of *Migrante* International, Rodriguez writes:

What makes *Migrante* unique is that it is a network that spans the global and links together Philippine migrant groups around the world with groups of migrants’ family members in the Philippines. Migrants’ engagement in transnational struggles also builds their capacity to engage effectively with labor movements and other civil society actors in their countries of employment to struggle for reforms in host countries that offer migrant workers rights and protections (2010, 151).

My reconceptualization of transnational care and emotional labour as multiphased, multidirectional, multilocational, and multirelational can further help us understand the ways in which networks of transnational migrant worker organizations conduct their advocacy and

activist work, build broader movements against neoliberal globalization, and create new visions of social justice that extend *beyond* alliances of transnational Filipino migrant networks (2010, 155).

As Canada and other countries around the globe continue to experience a “care crisis” and continue to rely on the temporary foreign labour of racialized and feminized migrant care workers, we must pay greater attention to their talkstories of struggle, solidarity, survival and healing. It is precisely these talkstories that will be part of our transnational mobilization efforts, part of what might move us to action, move us to rewrite histories, move us to learn new lessons and reimagine futures in which temporary foreign workers are no longer treated as temporary, where they are recognized in the fullness of their humanity with respect, dignity, job security, and a living wage.

Part of the struggle of scholar-activist work is the inability to adequately articulate the vitality and incredible richness of our loved ones’ lives. Certainly, the complex choreography of their lived experiences cannot be contained within the pages of a dissertation. What runs through and beyond this work, then, is a need to anchor communities in struggle, where the struggle for collective survival, solidarity, and healing among migrant and non-migrant carers and their transnational kin networks translates to other movements and serves as a powerful connecting force, a well of compassion and strength from which to draw, learn future lessons, and demand the impossible.

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Appendices

Appendix A

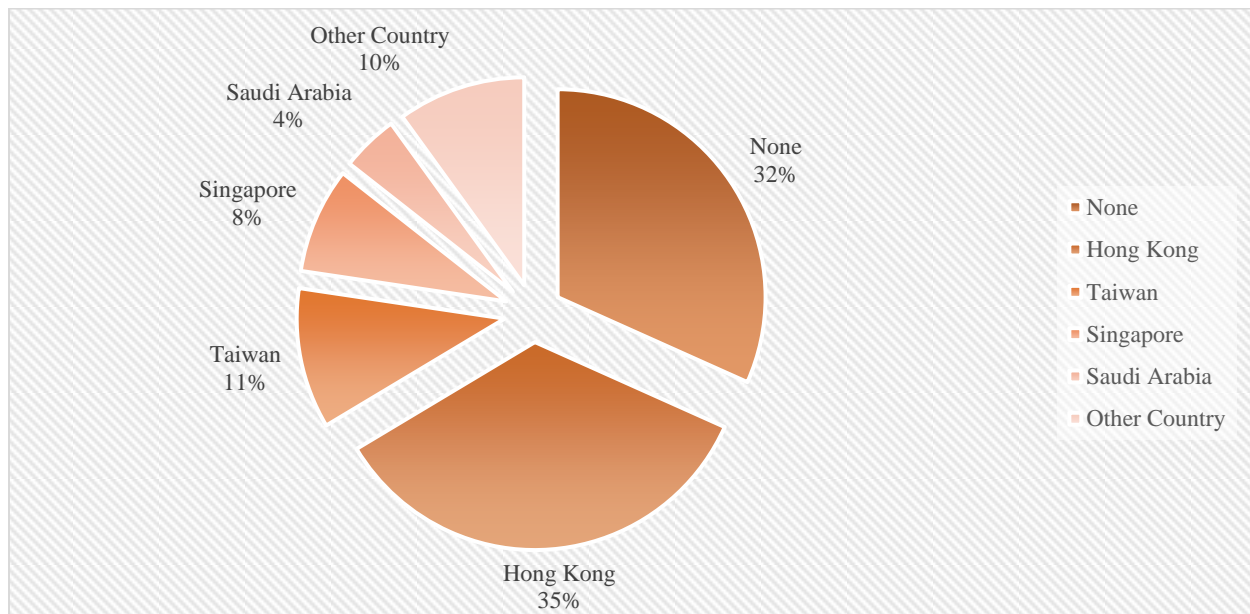


Gabriela Transitions Experiences Survey

Most caregivers work in a third country before coming to Canada.

Hong Kong is the most common country of residence prior to arrival in Canada.

On average the caregivers had been working outside of the Philippines for 12.37 years. About 68% worked in a third country before arriving in Canada. Another 14% worked in two countries before arriving in Canada. Very few (less than 3%) worked in three or more countries. The most common path to migration is through Hong Kong (35%), followed by Taiwan (11%), Singapore (8%).



Source: Data from the GATES survey of LCP immigrants in Canada

The Gabriela Transitions Experiences Survey (GATES) is a nation-wide research study conducted by Ryerson University and York University, and led by GABRIELA Ontario as its main community partner. The data presented here are based on a 2013-2014 survey of 631 current and former live-in caregivers. For more information on this study: <http://www.gatesurvey.com> or email us at info@gatesurvey.com.

Appendix B

Sample Interview Questions

Fieldwork Site 1: Central and Northern Luzon, Philippines

Care Provision and Shared Responsibilities over Time

- Now that some time has passed since we last spoke, what is your relationship like with your family members, extended and fictive kin in Canada now?
- Have there been any significant changes or developments since we last spoke? What do you think has changed?
- Have other family members, extended and/or fictive kin migrated to Canada or Hong Kong since we last spoke?
- Have your caring roles and responsibilities to loved ones here in the Philippines changed in the last year? How so?
- Have your caring roles and responsibilities to loved ones in Canada or Hong Kong changed? How so?
- Do you find that you share new care responsibilities with other extended and fictive kin members, e.g. siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, parents, grandparents, godparents, etc.? What are some of those shared responsibilities and how are they managed?
- How do you negotiate these current responsibilities?
- What are some of the challenges of providing ongoing care to extended and fictive kin here in the Philippines?
- What are some of the challenges of providing ongoing care to kin members of your migrant relative(s) in Canada and Hong Kong?
- Have you incurred any new expenses while caring for the kin members of your migrant relative(s)? If so, can you tell me what some of those expenses are (i.e. long distance phone cards/phone plans, remittances, home videos, letters, internet costs, visits)?
- Have you received any compensation for some of these new expenses, or any gifts and/or balikbayan boxes from your migrant relative(s)? If so, what did you receive?
- How long has it been since you last saw your relatives, extended and/or fictive kin?
- How long has it been since you last communicated with them?
- Have you had an opportunity to visit them and/or have they had an opportunity to visit you since we last spoke? If so, what was that like for you?
- Do you know of any other kin who were sponsored to Canada by your relative(s) since we last spoke?
- Do you know of any other kin who moved to Hong Kong since we last spoke?
- Do you see any differences in the caring roles and responsibilities you have to family, extended and fictive kin in Hong Kong compared to Canada? What might they be?
- Have your thoughts on the costs/challenges of family separation changed in the last year?

Staying Connected: Methods of Transnational Communication

- Do you think that physical distance makes a difference in the way that you are able to provide care for, or receive care from, your extended family and friends in Canada and Hong Kong?
- How do you continue to stay connected with, and express care for, loved ones while separated from them?
- How consistent is communication among you and your loved ones these days? Do you still communicate daily, weekly, monthly, yearly?
- Have you noticed a change in the frequency of communication in the last year?
- Do you see any differences in the consistency of communication and visits between you and your extended and fictive kin in Hong Kong compared to Canada? What might they be?

Fieldwork Site 2: Greater Toronto Area (GTA), Ontario, Canada

Migration and Separation

- When did you first move to Canada and what made you decide to do so?
- Did you already have extended family or friends living in Canada?
- Did they come to Canada under the LCP, or did they come to Canada under a different immigration program, or by some other means?
- Did you have any support from your extended kin networks and friends here in Canada when you first migrated? What kind of support did you receive from them?
- Did you find that your relationships with your extended kin networks in the Philippines or Hong Kong changed once you migrated? How so?
- Were any of your elderly parents, children or other family members left in the care of extended kin or friends?
- Do you keep any photos of them with you? Did you bring them with you from the Philippines?
- What was your relationship like with these primary carers before you left the Philippines? How did those relationships change over time?
- What forms of care did they provide to your elderly parents, children or other family members?
- Did you find ways to supervise this care, or provide your input on how that care would be administered? Did you experience any challenges in doing so?
- What are some examples of expenses that you incurred in order to sustain this care from afar?
- Have you ever sent gifts or *balikbayan* boxes to the Philippines or Hong Kong? If so, what did you send?
- Do you currently contribute to your extended family networks' income through remittances or provide care and support to them in other ways? Can you offer some examples?
- Based on your own experience, what do you think are the major challenges of separation?
- Do you find that your caring roles and responsibilities, or the roles and responsibilities of other extended family and friends, shift when you are away and/or when you are together?

Care Provision and Shared Responsibilities

- Can you share some examples of how you have provided care to your extended family and friends in the Philippines and Hong Kong?
- Have you found that you share care responsibilities with other extended family or kin members, e.g. siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, parents, grandparents, godparents, etc.? What are some of those shared responsibilities and how are they managed?
- How do you negotiate these responsibilities?
- How have you, yourself, received care from your loved ones in the Philippines and Hong Kong?
- What kinds of challenges have you experienced in providing care to those extended family and friends in the Philippines and Hong Kong? How did you deal with those challenges?

Care as Work

- Have you ever worked as a live-in caregiver under Canada's Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP)?
- If so, what roles and responsibilities did you have as a paid live-in caregiver or domestic worker?
- Have you ever worked as a live-in/live-out caregiver or domestic worker in other countries?
- How would you compare this to some of your roles and responsibilities to extended family and kin networks in the Philippines and Hong Kong?

Staying Connected: Methods of Transnational Communication

- Do you think that physical distance makes a difference in the way that you are able to provide care for, or receive care from, your extended family and friends in the Philippines and Hong Kong?
- How do you continue to stay connected with, and express care for, loved ones while separated from them?
- Which forms of communication do you find most helpful in maintaining intimacy among extended and fictive kin in the Philippines and Hong Kong, e.g. phone calls, text messages, emails, or social media outlets like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.?
- How often do you communicate with your loved ones using these communication methods, e.g. daily, weekly, monthly, yearly?
- Have you noticed a change in the frequency of communication over any particular period of time?
- Have you found other ways to stay updated on your extended and fictive kin's lives through other extended kin and/or close friends? Can you share some examples?

Fieldwork Site 3: Hong Kong

Migration and Separation

- When did you first move to Hong Kong and what made you decide to do so?
- Did you already have extended family or friends living in Hong Kong?
- Did they come to Hong Kong under an employment contract or by some other means?
- Did you have any support from your extended kin networks and friends when you first migrated here? What kind of support did you receive from them?
- Did you find that your relationships with your extended kin networks in the Philippines and Canada changed once you migrated? How so?
- Were any of your elderly parents, children or other family members left in the care of extended kin or friends?
- Do you keep any photos of them with you? Did you bring them with you from the Philippines?
- What was your relationship like with these primary carers before you left the Philippines? How did those relationships change over time?
- What forms of care did they provide to your elderly parents, children or other family members?
- Did you find ways to supervise this care, or provide your input on how that care would be administered? Did you experience any challenges in doing so?
- What are some examples of expenses that you incurred in order to sustain this care?
- Have you ever sent gifts or *balikbayan* boxes to the Philippines? If so, what did you send?
- Do you currently contribute to your extended family networks' income through remittances, or provide care and support to them in other ways? Can you offer some examples?
- Based on your own experience, what do you think are the major challenges of short-term and long-term migration and separation?

Care Provision and Shared Responsibilities

- Can you share some examples of how you have provided care to your extended family and friends in the Philippines and Canada?
- Have you found that you share care responsibilities with other extended family or kin members, e.g. siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, parents, grandparents, godparents, etc.?
- What are some of those shared responsibilities and how are they managed?
- How do you negotiate these responsibilities?
- How have you, yourself, received care from your loved ones in the Philippines and Canada?
- What kinds of challenges have you experienced in providing care to those extended family and friends in the Philippines? How did you deal with those challenges?

Care as Work

- Have you ever worked as a live-in/live-out caregiver or domestic helper (DH) here in Hong Kong or in other countries?
- If so, what roles and responsibilities did you have as a paid live-in/live-out caregiver or domestic helper?
- How would you compare this to some of your roles and responsibilities to extended family and kin networks in the Philippines and Canada?
- Do you have any plans to live and work in Canada? Why or why not?
- Who, in your extended kin networks, currently lives and works in Canada?

Staying Connected: Methods of Transnational Communication

- Do you think that physical distance makes a difference in the way that you are able to provide care for, or receive care from, your extended family and friends in the Philippines and Canada?
- How do you continue to stay connected with, and express care for, loved ones while separated from them?
- Which forms of communication do you find most helpful in maintaining intimacy among extended and fictive kin in the Philippines and Canada, e.g. phone calls, text messages, emails, or social media outlets like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.?
- How often do you communicate with your loved ones using these communication methods, e.g. daily, weekly, monthly, yearly?
- Have you noticed a change in the frequency of communication over any particular period of time?
- Have you found other ways to stay updated on your extended and fictive kin's lives through other extended kin and/or close friends? Can you share some examples?

Appendix C

Sample Informed Consent Form

Study name: Transnational Filipino Kin Networks and Intergenerational Circulations of Care and Emotional Labour

Principal Investigator:

First Name: Conely

Last Name: de Leon

Level of Study: PhD6

Graduate Program: Gender, Feminist & Women's Studies

Institution: York University

Purpose of the research:

The purpose of this study is to explore the migration, separation, and caregiving experiences of Filipina live-in caregivers and their extended kin networks in Canada, the Philippines, and Hong Kong.

What will members be asked to do in the research:

You will be asked to commit 1 - 2 hours of your time to respond to one-on-one interview questions.

Risks and discomforts:

One-on-one interviews will only be conducted in a location that is convenient for you. Interviews may lead to reflection on potentially difficult or emotional moments in your life.

Benefits of the research and benefits to you:

The benefits of this research include a \$10 gift card to thank you for your time and participation in the study, as well as greater dialogue on how to improve services and access to resources for transnational migrant families and their extended kin networks in Canada, the Philippines, and Hong Kong. Furthermore, this research may inform the work of community organizations and agencies that may be able to implement programs using its findings.

Voluntary participation:

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the relationship you may have with me or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the study:

You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. By signing this form you acknowledge receipt of a

\$10 gift card as an appreciation for your time. You may keep this gift even if you decide to withdraw from the study or decline to answer certain questions.

Confidentiality:

You have the option of keeping all interview documentation and recordings anonymous and confidential and stripped of any identifying information. The data will be collected using handwritten notes and a digital recording that will be transcribed. The data will be stored in a locked desk/cabinet in the York Centre for Asian Research at York University. Information kept on a computer will be encrypted and password-protected. Only I, as the primary researcher, will have access to the data. The data will be stored for a maximum length of 1 year (from September 2014 to September 2015). Once my dissertation is complete, the data will be destroyed.

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions about the research?

If you have any questions about the research in general or your role in the study you may contact myself, the Principal Investigator, Conely de Leon, or my supervisor, Dr. Philip Kelly. The graduate program office may also be contacted.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____, consent to participate in 'Transnational Filipino Kin Networks and Intergenerational Circulations of Care and Emotional Labour' conducted by Conely de Leon.

- (1) I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.
- (2) In any publications or reports arising from the use of this digitally recorded interview, I would prefer that my real name (please circle one):
 - Be used
 - Not be used
- (3) I consent / do not consent (please circle one) to allow these digital recordings to be played in academic settings.

Please circle all that apply:

- I would like a copy of the digitally recorded interview.
- I would like a copy of the transcript made from my digitally recorded interview.
- I would like a copy of the research results once the project is completed.

Signature: _____
Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____
Principal Investigator: Conely de Leon

Date: _____