

MOTHERING FROM A DISTANCE: EMOTIONS, GENDER, AND INTER- GENERATIONAL RELATIONS IN FILIPINO TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

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An increasing number of Filipina migrants are mothering their children from a distance. In order to provide for their families, they must leave them behind in the Philippines and take advantage of the greater labor market opportunities in other countries of Asia, Europe, and the Americas. One of the largest sources of independent female labor migrants in the world, the Philippines has seen the formation of a growing number of female-headed transnational families.¹ These families are households with core members living in at least two nation-states and in which the mother works in another country while some or all of her dependents reside in the Philippines. This article analyzes the emotional consequences of geographical distance in female-headed transnational families and examines the mechanisms by which mothers and children cope with them.

Without a doubt, mothering from a distance has emotional ramifications both for mothers who leave and children who are sent back or left behind. The pain of family separation creates various feelings, including helplessness, regret, and guilt for mothers and loneliness, vulnerability, and insecurity for children. How are these feelings negotiated in the social reproduction of the transnational family?² Moreover, how are these feelings influenced by gender ideologies of mothering? The practice of mothering from a distance or "transnational mothering," as Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila have called it, ruptures the ideological foundation of the Filipino family.³ Unlike the "split households" of earlier Chinese, Mexican, and Filipino male migrants in the United States, the traditional division of labor with the father in

charge of production and the mother of reproduction is contested in contemporary female-headed transnational households.⁴

This article examines gender and intergenerational relations through the lens of emotion. I show that socialized gender norms in the family aggravate the emotional strains of mothers and children in transnational families and argue that the reconstitution of mothering led by female migrants from the Philippines is stalled by traditional ideologies of family life. I chose emotion as the central analytical principle of this article because emotional strains are prominent characteristics of the family life of migrant Filipina domestic workers. Moreover, these emotional strains beg to be understood systematically. As Arlie Hochschild has shown, emotions do not exist in a vacuum. Instead, they exist in the context of social structures in society. As she states, "Emotion is a sense that tells about the self-relevance of reality. We infer from it what we must have wanted or expected or how we must have been perceiving the world. Emotion is one way to discover a buried perspective on matters." Regulated by "feeling rules," emotions are determined by ideologies,⁵ and in the Filipino family, as in many other families, the ideology of woman as nurturer is a central determinant of the emotional needs and expectations of its members.⁶

To develop my argument, I begin by reviewing two relevant bodies of literature—one on transnational families and the other on emotional labor. Then, I describe my research methodology and the characteristics of my sample. To build my conceptual case, I first discuss the structural causes of distance mothering. Second, I illustrate the emotional strains engendered by the geographical distance in transnational families. Finally, I build on this by analyzing the ways that traditional gender ideologies aggravate the intergenerational conflicts wrought by the emotional strains of transnational family life.

TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

My discussion engages and draws from literature on the transnational family and women's work and emotional labor. Transnational families are neither unique to Filipino labor migrants nor are they exclusive to present-day migrants. Various studies have documented the formation of transnational households among

contemporary migrants from the traditional sending countries of Haiti and Mexico and earlier groups of migrants in the United States.⁷

Transnational families have also been given a plethora of names such as astronaut families, binational families, and split households. By referring to the families in my study as "transnational," I draw from recent literature that illustrates how various social fields, one of which is the family, operate through the regular circulation of goods, resources, individuals, and information across national borders.⁸

Literature on transnational families establishes that their formation is simultaneously a structural and cultural process. Migrants form transnational households in response to structural forces of economic globalization and, in doing so, rely on cultural resources such as kin networks.⁹ Missing from the literature, however, is the analysis of the emotional strains of parenting from a distance. At most, the strains of geographical separation, such as emotional stress and the higher risk of permanent separation, are given only a cursory glance.¹⁰ Studies have also not paid attention to intergenerational relations in these households.¹¹ This article contributes to literature on transnational families by looking more deeply into the emotional strains of separation and by considering the perspective of children on transnational family life.

EMOTIONAL LABOR

The discourse on social relationships in the family has, surprisingly, neglected the emotional dimensions of family life, because emotion has often been considered "too personal" and "treated as if it has an existence independent of the social and cultural context."¹² To address the division of emotional work in transnational families, I turn to literature on women's work, particularly discussions of emotional labor.

Feminist scholarship has long contested the ideological construction that links women to nurturance. Still, the ideology of women as caretakers continues to constrain the productive labor activities of women in myriad ways including their sex segregation in jobs resembling "wife-and-mother roles." This is the case not only in the United States but also in the Philippines.¹³ This ideology extends to the workplace in another way and that is the

greater expectation of women to provide care via *emotional labor*, a concept that refers to "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display."¹⁴

Emotional labor is expected in traditional female occupations such as paid domestic work. For example, domestic workers are bound to the script of "maternalism and deference."¹⁵ They are also made "protomothers," expected to mother two families—their own and that of their employers.¹⁶ They must provide companionship and care by acting as confidante and giving consolation to employers. These labor demands squeeze domestic workers of the energy and supplies needed to provide emotional care to their own families. As one quantitative study of the links between women's emotional labor at home and at work concludes, the scarcity hypothesis of emotional energy applies to jobs that involve caregiving much more than other types of jobs.¹⁷

Literature on emotional labor establishes that women are expected to nurture the emotional well-being of people at home and at work. Confronted with geographical distance, transnational mothers face the even greater challenge of providing emotional care to their children. If migrant Filipina domestic workers are to remain responsible for the emotional care of their families, children in female-headed transnational households are prone to suffer from a "care deficit."¹⁸

METHODOLOGY

This article is based primarily on open-ended interviews that I collected with female domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles: forty-six in Rome and twenty-six in Los Angeles. I tape-recorded and transcribed fully each of my interviews, which were mostly conducted in Tagalog or Taglish (a hybrid of Tagalog and English), and then translated into English. I based my study on these two cities because they are two main destinations of Filipina migrants.

A little less than five months in Rome in 1995 and 1996 gave me ample time to collect forty-six in-depth interviews with Filipina domestic workers. The interviews ranged from one and one-half to three hours in length. I collected an unsystematic sample of research participants by using chain and snowball referrals. To diversify my sample, I solicited research participants from various sites in the community (e.g., church, parks, and plazas).

In Los Angeles, I collected a smaller sample of twenty-six in-depth interviews with Filipina domestic workers. These interviews range from one and one-half to three hours in length. I collected these interviews between April and September 1996. My smaller sample is due to the fact that, unlike their counterparts in Rome, Filipina migrants in Los Angeles are not concentrated in the informal service sector. Another factor contributing to the smaller sample in Los Angeles is their relatively small representation among domestic workers. Although present in the ethnic community, Filipinas are but a minority among the larger group of Latina domestics in the area.

In the field research site of Los Angeles, tapping into the community began with the network of my mother's friends and relatives. To diversify my sample, I posted flyers in various ethnic enclave businesses. Two women responded to the flyers. Utilizing networks of domestic workers, the sample of interviewees was collected unsystematically through a snowball method. Participant observation provided a gateway to the community as I attended meetings of Filipino labor groups, the occasional Filipino town fiestas and the more frequent Filipino family parties, and spent time with domestic workers at their own and at their employers' homes.

My interviews with domestic workers provide a limited sample of children who grew up in transnational households. None of the twenty-six women interviewed in Los Angeles are second-generation transnationals. Of the forty-six women interviewed in Rome, only six were raised in transnational households. To gain the perspective of children, I supplement my data using a variety of sources. First, I rely on ten in-depth interviews that I had collected with children who grew up in transnational households. These interviews were conducted in Los Angeles in November and December 1994. Second, I look at writings of children featured in the transnational monthly *Tinig Filipino*.¹⁹ This magazine caters to migrant Filipina domestic workers and circulates in at least a dozen countries. Most issues feature articles and reprinted letters that voice the perspective of children on transnational family life. Finally, I rely on the earlier cited survey conducted by Victoria Paz Cruz with more than 300 children who are growing up with absentee migrant parents in the Philippines and her attached supplementary survey of more than ninety guardians.

The survey of 212 high school and college students with international migrant parents and ninety with internal migrant parents living elsewhere in the Philippines measures the social impact of migration on the family and assesses the effects of the prolonged absence of migrant parents on children.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE

Although there are distinguishing characteristics between my interviewees in Rome and Los Angeles, they also share many social characteristics. Differences between them include regional origin and median age. Interestingly, there are more similarities between them. First, most of them are legal residents of their respective host societies. In Italy, thirty of forty-six interviewees have a *permesso di soggiorno* (permit to stay), which grants them temporary residency for seven years. Most of my informants are documented because Italy has regularly granted amnesties to undocumented migrants. For example, the state awarded them in 1987, 1990, 1995, and 1997.²⁰ With the legislation of the Martelli Law in 1990, migrant Filipina domestic workers became eligible to sponsor the migration of their families. Nonetheless, most of my interviewees have chosen not to sponsor the migration of their children.

In Los Angeles, fifteen of twenty-six interviewees have legal documents. Most of the women acquired permanent legal status by marriage or the sponsorship of a wealthy employer. Yet many have not been able to sponsor the migration of dependents, because they have been caught in the legal bind of obtaining legal status only after their children had reached adult age, when they are no longer eligible for immediate family reunification.

Another similarity between my interviewees in Rome and Los Angeles is their high level of educational attainment. Most of them have acquired some years of postsecondary training in the Philippines. In Rome, my interviewees include twenty-three women with college degrees, twelve with some years of college or postsecondary vocational training, and seven women who completed high school. In Los Angeles, my interviewees include eleven women with college diplomas, eight with some years of college or postsecondary vocational training, and five who completed high school.

Finally, more than one-half of my interviewees are married women with children. I was surprised to stumble upon this fact, because studies have indicated that Filipina migrants are usually young and single women.²¹ Only five of twenty-six interviewees in Los Angeles and less than one-half (nineteen) in Rome are never-married single women. Women with children in the Philippines constitute a greater portion of my sample: twenty-five of forty-six in Rome and fourteen of twenty-six in Los Angeles.

The median age of interviewees suggests that the children of women in Rome are fairly young, and in Los Angeles, the children are older. The median age of my interviewees in Los Angeles is high at fifty-two. The youngest research participant is thirty-three, while the oldest is sixty-eight years old. What explains the extremely high median age of domestic workers in Los Angeles? We can surmise that younger immigrant Filipino women are not attracted to domestic work because of its isolating nature. They can choose to avoid domestic work, because compared with other immigrant groups, their knowledge of the English language gives them access to other types of employment. In Rome, the median age of interviewees is thirty-one years old, significantly lower than my sample in Los Angeles. Although only four women fall under the age of twenty-five, the oldest woman is sixty-six years old.

In contrast to the trend for shorter periods of separation among Mexican migrant families, the duration of separation among Filipina migrant domestic workers extends to more than two years for most families, usually encompassing the entire duration of settlement.²² Significantly, parents with legal documents return to the Philippines sporadically. On average, they visit their children every four years for a period of two months. They attribute the infrequency of their return to the high cost of airfare and to the fact they cannot afford to take time off work. In addition, the fear of losing their jobs prevents them from visiting their families for an extended period of time. As they are limited to short visits to the Philippines, traveling is seen as an excessive expense of funds that could otherwise be used on meeting the costs of reproducing the family.

THE STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF MOTHERING FROM A DISTANCE

The globalization of the market economy has triggered a high demand for female workers from developing nations, such as the Philippines, to supply low-wage service labor in more developed nations. In postindustrial nations such as the United States and Italy, their low-wage service labor (e.g., hotel housekeeping and domestic work) is needed by the growing professional population in global cities, meaning new economic centers where specialized professional services (e.g., legal, financial, accounting, and consulting services) are concentrated.²³ In newly industrialized countries, such as Taiwan and Malaysia, globalization and the rise of manufacturing production has also generated a demand for low-wage service migrant workers. Production activities in these economies have subsumed the traditional proletariat female work force who would otherwise perform low-wage service jobs such as domestic work. This shift in labor market concentration has generated a need for the lower wage labor of women from neighboring countries in Asia to fill the demand for service employment.²⁴

In globalization, even though the "denationalized" economy demands the low-wage service labor of female migrants, the "renationalized" society neither wants the responsibility for the reproductive costs of these workers nor grants them the membership accorded by the contributions of their labor to the economic growth of receiving nations.²⁵ The entrance of migrant Filipina domestic workers into the global economy is wrought by structural constraints that restrict their incorporation into receiving nations. For example, various countries limit the term of their settlement to temporary labor contracts and deny entry to their spouses and children.²⁶ As a result, migrant Filipina domestic workers with children are forced to mother from a distance.

Receiving nations curb the integration of migrant Filipina domestic workers so as to guarantee to their economies a secure source of low-wage labor. By containing the costs of reproduction in sending countries, wages of migrant workers can be kept to a minimum. Moreover, by restricting the incorporation of migrants, receiving nations can secure for their economies a supply of low-wage workers who could easily be repatriated if the economy is slow.

Sending the message that only the production and not the

reproduction of their labor is desired, nations such as Singapore and Malaysia prohibit the marriage or cohabitation of migrant Filipina domestic workers with native citizens.²⁷ Pregnancy is furthermore prohibited for Filipina migrants in the Middle East and Asia.²⁸ The liberal states of the United States and Italy are not exempt from the trend of "renationalization." In the United States, for example, lawmakers are entertaining the promotion of temporary labor migration and the elimination of certain preference categories for family reunification, including the preference categories for adult children and parents of U.S. citizens and permanent residents—the trend being to continue the labor provided by migrants but to discontinue support for their reproduction. In Italy, the "guest worker" status of migrant Filipinos coupled with their restricted options in the labor market encourages the maintenance of transnational households.

Only in a few countries are migrant Filipina domestic workers eligible for family reunification. They include Canada, the United States, and Italy. However, many structural factors deter migrant Filipina domestic workers in these countries from sponsoring the migration of their children. For instance, the occupational demands of domestic work make it difficult for them to raise their children in these host societies. In Italy, low wages force most day workers to work long hours. In the United States, most of my research informants are live-in domestic workers. As such, their work arrangement limits the time that they can devote to the care of their own families.

Consequently, as I have argued elsewhere, the increasing demand for migrant women to alleviate the reproductive labor of the growing number of working women in postindustrial nations has sparked the formation of an international division of reproductive labor.²⁹ Under this system, migrant Filipina domestic workers perform the reproductive labor of class-privileged women in industrialized countries and are forced to leave their children behind in the Philippines. Many in turn have had to hire other women in the Philippines to perform their own household work. In fact, many of the women in my study employ paid domestic workers to care for their families in the Philippines. In this sense, we can see the formation of a three-tier chain of the commodification of mothering between middle-class women in the United States and Italy; migrant Filipina domestic workers; and

Filipina domestic workers in the Philippines who are too poor to afford the costs of emigration.

Filipina migrants leave or send children back to the Philippines in order to mediate other structural forces of globalization, including the unequal level of economic development between sending and receiving nations and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments. Negotiating the unequal development of regions in the global economy, migrant Filipina domestic workers mother from a distance to take advantage of the lower costs of reproducing—feeding, housing, clothing, and educating—the family in the Third World. In doing so, they are able to provide their families with a secure middle-class lifestyle. The lesser costs of reproduction in sending countries, such as the Philippines, enable them to provide greater material benefits for their children, including the luxury of paid domestic help and more comfortable housing as opposed to cramped living quarters forced by high rents in global cities. In this way, the family can expedite its goals of accumulating savings and property.

Migrants also form transnational households in response to the pressure of nativism in receiving societies. Nativist grassroots organizations (e.g., Americans for Immigration Control and *Lega* in Northern Italy) aimed at the further restriction and exclusion of immigration have sprouted throughout the United States and Italy.³⁰ With anti-immigrant sentiments brewing, migrant parents may not want to expose their children to the racial tensions and anti-immigrant sentiments fostered by the social and cultural construction of low-wage migrants as undesirable citizens. These structural constraints prolong the length of family separation in migration as it may even extend to a span of a life cycle. Among my interviewees, for example, the length of separation between mothers and their now-adult children extends to sixteen years.

THE PAIN OF MOTHERING FROM A DISTANCE

When the girl that I take care of calls her mother "Mama," my heart jumps all the time because my children also call me "Mama." . . . I begin thinking that at this hour I should be taking care of my very own children and not someone else's, someone who is not related to me in any way, shape, or form. . . . The work that I do here is done for my family, but the problem is they are not close to me but are far away in the Philippines. Sometimes, you feel the separation and you start to cry. Some days, I just start crying while I am sweeping the

floor because I am thinking about my children in the Philippines. Sometimes, when I receive a letter from my children telling me that they are sick, I look up out the window and ask the Lord to look after them and make sure they get better even without me around to care after them. (Starts crying.) *If I had wings, I would fly home to my children. Just for a moment, to see my children and take care of their needs, help them, then fly back over here to continue my work.* (Author's emphasis.) (Rosemarie Samaniego, widowed, Rome, migrated in 1991, children are ten, twelve, fifteen, eighteen, and nineteen years old.)³¹

Everyday Filipina domestic workers such as Rosemarie Samaniego are overwhelmed by feelings of helplessness: they are trapped in the painful contradiction of feeling the distance from their families and having to depend on the material benefits of their separation. They may long to reunite with their children but cannot, because they need their earnings to sustain their families.

Emotional strains of transnational mothering include feelings of anxiety, helplessness, loss, guilt, and the burden of loneliness. Mothers negotiate these emotional strains in three central ways: the commodification of love; the repression of emotional strains; and the rationalization of distance, that is, they use regulation communication to ease distance. In general, individual women use all three coping mechanisms, although not always consciously. For the most part, they justify their decision to leave their children behind in the Philippines by highlighting the material gains of the family. And they struggle to maintain a semblance of family life by rationalizing distance. Although a few women explicitly deny the emotional strains imposed by separation on their children, most women admit to the emotional difficulties that they themselves feel.

Knowing that they have missed the growing years of children, mothers admit experiencing loss of intimacy in transnational families. In general, a surreal timelessness is felt during separation that is suddenly catapulted back to reality the moment the family reunites.

When I came home, my daughters were teenagers already. (Starts crying.) When I saw my family, I dropped my bag and asked who were my daughters. I did not know who they were but they just kept on screaming "Inay, Inay!" [Mom, Mom!] I asked them who was who and they said "I'm Sally and I'm Sandra." We were crying. I did not know who was who. Imagine! But they were so small when I left and there they were as teenagers. . . . (Ernie Contado, widowed, Rome, migrated in 1981, daughters followed her in early 1990s.)

Confronted with the absence of familiarity, transnational mothers

often feel an unsurmountable loss over their prolonged separation from their children.

For the women in my study, this pain is usually aggravated by caretaking tasks of domestic work. Taking care of children is not just taking care of children when, in the process of doing so, one cannot take care of one's own children. This contradiction accentuates the pain of domestic work and results in their simultaneous aversion and desire for this job. Ruby Mercado, a domestic worker, states: "Domestic work is depressing . . . you especially miss your children. I do not like taking care of other children when I could not take care of my own. It hurt too much." Although a few domestic workers resolve this tension by avoiding childcare, many also resolve it by "pouring love," including Trinidad Borromeo, who states, "When I take care of an elderly, I treat her like she is my own mother."

As I have noted, transnational mothers cope with the emotional tensions of mothering from a distance by commodifying love. In the field, I often heard women say: "I buy everything that my children need" or "I give them everything they want." Transnational parents knowingly or unknowingly have the urge to overcompensate for their absence with material goods. Ruby Mercado states:

All the things that my children needed I gave to them and even more because I know that I have not fulfilled my motherly duties completely. Because we were apart (since 1983), there have been needs that I have not met. I try to hide that gap by giving them all the material things that they desire and want. I feel guilty because as a mother I have not been able to care for their daily needs. *So, because I am lacking in giving them maternal love, I fill that gap with many material goods. . . .* (Author's emphasis.)

Unable to provide her four children (now between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six) with daily acts of caregiving, Ruby, not unlike other transnational mothers, feels insecure about the emotional bonds in her family. As a result, she has come to rely on commodities to establish concrete ties of familial dependency.

Transnational parents struggle with and do have regrets over separation, but they are able to withstand these hardships because of the financial gains that they have achieved in migration.

I have been lonely here. I have thought about the Philippines while I am scrubbing and mopping that floor. You cannot help but ask yourself what are you doing here scrubbing and being apart from your family. Then, you think about the money and know that you have no choice but to be here. (Incarnacion Molina, separated, Rome, migrated in 1991, two daughters in late adolescence.)

By working outside of the Philippines, parents obtain the financial resources that they need to ensure that their children eat daily meals of meat and rice, attend college, and have secure housing.

Although many migrant laborers outside of the Philippines have attained some years of postsecondary education, they have not been able to achieve a "secure" middle-class lifestyle in the Philippines. So, why do they bother to invest in their children's college education? The education of children is a marker of material security for migrant parents. It is a central motivating factor for migration. As a domestic worker states, *"The intelligence of my children would be wasted if they don't attain a college degree, that's why I made up my mind and I prayed a lot that I have a chance to go abroad for the sake of my children's education."*³² Parents believe that the more educated children there are in their families, the greater the resources of the family and the lesser the dependence of family members on each other, which means there would be less need for a family member to work outside of the Philippines in order to support other members of the family.

Migrant mothers also cope with separation by repressing the emotional tensions in transnational families. Considering that larger structural forces of globalization deny migrant Filipina domestic workers the right to family reunification, they sometimes cannot afford to confront their feelings. As Dorothy Espiritu—a widowed domestic worker in Los Angeles who left her four (now adult) children between the ages of nine and eighteen—explains, lingering over the painful sacrifice of separation only intensifies the emotional hardships of providing the family with material security.

In answer to my question of whether it has been difficult not seeing her children for twelve years, she answered:

If you say it is hard, it is hard. You could easily be overwhelmed by the loneliness you feel as a mother, but then you have to have the foresight to overcome that. Without the foresight for the future of your children, then you have a harder time. If I had not had the foresight, my children would not be as secure as they are now. They would not have had a chance. (Pauses.) What I did was I put the loneliness aside. I put everything aside. I put the sacrifice aside. Everything. Now, I am happy that all of them have completed college.

Although mothers usually admit that emotional strains are engendered by geographical distance, they also tend to repress them. In fact, some of my interviewees strategically cope with physical distance by completely denying its emotional costs. It

had primarily been mothers who had two sets of children, one in the Philippines and the other abroad, who preferred not to discuss intergenerational relationships at all.

Despite their tendency to downplay the emotional tensions wrought by the formation of transnational households, migrant mothers struggle to amend this loss by regularly keeping in contact with their children in the Philippines. To fulfill their mothering role from afar, they compress time and space and attempt to counter the physical distance in the family via the telephone and letter writing. Most of my interviewees phone and write their children at least once every two weeks. In doing so, they keep abreast of their children's activities and at the same time achieve a certain level of familiarity and intimacy. As Patricia Baclayon of Los Angeles states: "There is nothing wrong with our relationship. I pay a lot for the phone bill. Last month, I paid \$170 and that's two days of wages. They write too. Last week, I received four letters."

Ironically, the rationalization of transnational distance in the family, while reassuring for parents, could be stifling for children in the Philippines. At the very least, parents are more likely to consider prolonging separation, as they are reassured that separation is manageable and does not mean the loss of intimacy. The "power geometry" in the process of time-space compression is elucidated by feminist geographer Doreen Massey as having created distinct experiences:

This point concerns not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn't, although that is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation to the flows and the movement. Different social groups [in this case mothers and children] have distinct relationships to this anyway differentiated mobility: some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it.³³

In transnational families, power clearly lies with the parent, in particular the migrant parent. The process of time-space compression is unidirectional with children at the receiving end. Migrant parents initiate calls as children receive them. Migrant parents remit money to children physically immobilized in the Philippines. Children are trapped as time-space compression convinces parents that they have maintained close-knit ties and allows them to keep their children waiting even longer.

From the commodification of love to the "technological" management of distance, my interviewees have found many ways to cope with family separation. Although they ease the barriers that spatial distance has imposed on their families, many still feel that intimacy can only be fully achieved with great investment in time and daily interactions in the family.

THE PAIN OF GROWING UP IN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

Regardless of household structure, whether it is nuclear, single parent, or transnational, intergenerational conflicts frequently arise in the family. As many feminist scholars have argued, the family is not a collective unit. Instead, the family represents an institution with conflicting interests, priorities, and concerns for its members. In transnational households, intergenerational conflicts are engendered by the emotional strains of family life.

Children also suffer from the emotional costs of geographical distance with feelings of loneliness, insecurity, and vulnerability. They also crave greater intimacy with their migrant parents. For example, the children in Victoria Paz Cruz's survey offer several reasons for their desire to reunite with their migrant parents: "I want them to share with us in our daily life and I want our family to be complete"; "So that they will be there when we need them"; and "We can share our laughs and tears."³⁴ Denied the intimacy of daily interactions, children struggle to understand the motives behind their mothers' decision to raise them from a distance. Unfortunately, they do not necessarily do so successfully.

Three central conflicts plague intergenerational relationships between migrant mothers and the children whom they have left behind in the Philippines. First, children disagree with their mothers that commodities are sufficient markers of love. Second, they do not believe that their mothers recognize the sacrifices that children have made toward the successful maintenance of the family. Finally, although they appreciate the efforts of migrant mothers to show affection and care, they still question the extent of their efforts. They particularly question mothers for their sporadic visits to the Philippines. As I have noted, most of the mothers whom I interviewed return to the Philippines infrequently, once every four years.

For the most part, children recognize the material gains provided by separation. The survey of Paz Cruz, for instance, indicates that around 60 percent of children do not wish for their parents to stop working abroad. Nonetheless, they are not as convinced as are their mothers that financial stability is worth the emotional costs of separation. Claribelle Ignacio, a thirty-six-year-old, single, domestic worker in Rome, laments the loss of intimacy in her family:

My mother went to the United States and worked as a domestic worker. . . . She went to the States for a long time, when I was still young. I was separated from her for a long time but she did go home every year. She just wanted to go to the States to be able to provide a good future for us. . . . I can say that it is very different to be away from the mother. Even if you have everything, I can say your family is broken. Once the father, mother, and children no longer have communication, even if you are materially stable, it is better to be together. If a child wants material goods, they also want maternal love. That is still important. When I was a kid, I realized that it is better if we stayed together and my parents carried regular day jobs. . . . It is best if the family stays whole, as whole as it can be.

For children left behind in the Philippines, "staying together" and keeping the family "whole" are worth much more than achieving financial security. Children, however, can make such sweeping claims more easily, because the material security provided by migrant parents affords them the luxury of demanding greater emotional security; it is highly unlikely that impoverished children would make similar demands.

A theme that resonates in the writings of children in *Tinig Filipino* is the calling for the return of migrating mothers. Children usually place their argument in either/or terms: "money or family."³⁵ For example, a letter written by a son reads: "Mom, come home. Even if it means that I will no longer receive new toys or chocolates. Even if it means that I won't get new clothes anymore, just being close to you will make me happy. Dad and I are so lonely here without you."³⁶ The binary construction of "money or family" suggests that children consider these two to be mutually exclusive choices for their mothers. It also suggests that mothers care more about money than family.

A letter written by Nina Rea Arevalo to her mother indicates that children recognize that mothers sacrifice the intimacy of family life for the sake of their children's material security. Despite this fact, children like Nina still demand the return of their mothers.

The reason that the emotional gratification brought by the intimacy of everyday life is worth more than material security:

My dear mother:

How are you over there? Us, we're here wishing you were with us. . . . Mom, I was still very young when you left me with Kuya [older brother], Ate [older sister] and Dad. I still did not know the meaning of sadness. . . .

Do you know that they would cry when they read your letters? Me, I would just look at them. I grew up actually believing that letters are supposed to be read while crying.

Mom, I am older now and I know how to read and write. How many Christmases have passed since I was born? I still have not experienced this day with you with me. I know that you love us very much and that you sacrifice and suffer being away from us so that you could meet our needs. That is why we love you completely and so much.

Mom, I am getting older and I need someone guiding and supporting me and that is you. I don't want to be rich. Instead I want you with me, Mom. Doesn't God say that a family should always be together through hardships and happiness? But why are you far away from us?

Mom, Christmas is here again. That's why you should come home soon. I don't want anything else but you with me, Mom.

Kuya and Ate read somewhere that Filipino workers in other shores are the heroes of our country. But Mom, come back and you will be the queen that I will be with every day.

My wish is that you come home this coming Christmas.

Your youngest child, Nina Rea³⁷

The poignant letter expresses the disposition of children in transnational families: they hunger for emotional bonds with absentee parents and wish for the intimacies of everyday interactions.

Children want their mothers to return to the Philippines in order to amend the emotional distance wrought by separation. For many, such as Evelyn Binas, geographical distance has created an irreparable gap in intergenerational relations. After graduating from college with a degree in computer science in 1994, Evelyn joined her mother in Rome, where they live in a room in the home of her mother's employer. Left in the Philippines at the age of ten with her father, brother, and sister, Evelyn still holds a deep-seated resentment against her mother. When asked if she was close to her mother, Evelyn replied:

No. There is still a gap between us. We got used to not having a mother, even my brother and sister in the Philippines. . . . I was independent. I always felt that I didn't need someone guiding me. . . . Even though we are [now] living together, there is still this gap. . . . My mother came home when I was in my second and fourth year of high school and then fourth year of college. . . . When my mother was home, we felt that our house was too crowded. We

never stayed—we always went out. Whenever she was there, we never stayed home.

Do you think that you will ever be close to your mom?

No, not really. I don't think that I will really know how to open up to her. . . . *She should have gone home more frequently* (author's emphasis). In Christmas, I hated the fact that our family was not complete and I would see other families together. I don't think that we needed to come here to survive as a family. I see the homeless surviving together in the Philippines and if they are surviving, why did my mother have to come here? My classmates were so jealous of me because of all my designer things. They tell me that they envy me because my mom is abroad. I tell them: "Fine, she is abroad but we are not complete." Since the fourth grade, this is the first time that I actually spent Christmas with my mother. . . .

In contrast to other children, Evelyn asserts that she never looked forward to seeing her mother, yet believes that "she should have gone home more frequently." Evelyn resents her mother for rarely coming back to the Philippines. Although unable to express her feelings fully, Evelyn cites the presence of a "gap" that hinders her ability to communicate with and relate to her mother. Bitter about her mother's prolonged absence from her life, Evelyn is sadly resigned to a permanent emotional rift between them.

Although the weakening of emotional links in transnational families can be eased by the efforts of mothers to communicate with and visit their children regularly, they can also be tempered by the support provided by extended kin. Jane Sapin, for example, grew up (from age six on) with her grandmother, when her mother, followed by her father after two years, began working in Italy. Almost eighteen by the time she joined her parents and sisters in Rome, Jane found support and security from her extended family in the Philippines:

It was not hard growing up without my parents because I grew up with my grandmother. So it wasn't so bad. I'm sure there was a time when there were affairs that you should be accompanied by your parents. That's what I missed. . . . I wasn't angry with them. At that early age, I was mature. I used to tell my mother that it was fine that we were apart, because we were eventually going to be reunited. . . . I see my mother having sacrificed for our sake so that she could support us financially. . . .

Even at a young age in the Philippines, Jane had already acknowledged the sacrifices of her parents, especially her mother, and had been secure in the knowledge that her parents sought employment abroad not just for their personal interests but also for the

collective interest of the family. In contrast to Evelyn Binas, Jane does not resent her mother for visiting the family infrequently but in fact sees that her few visits, the first being when Jane was already ten years old, entailed sacrifices that she undertook for the sake of her children. The extended family provides tremendous support to transnational families. Among my interviewees, it is mostly other relatives and not fathers who care for the children left behind in the Philippines. Of those in Los Angeles with young dependents, seven have their children cared for by other relatives, usually grandparents or female relatives, and five have them cared for by fathers. In Rome, nine women left their children with fathers and seventeen left them with other relatives.

Even with the presence of other relatives, insecurities still arise among the children left behind in the Philippines. Between the ages of five and ten, Cesar Gregorio, a college student in the United States, had lived in the Philippines without either of his parents. He recalls growing up "feeling insecure," because he didn't know when he was going to see his parents again. By bearing the insecurities generated by parental absence, children such as Cesar sacrifice for the transnational family's success. Thus, children also want parents to recognize the sacrifices that they make to keep the family intact through separation:

But I don't blame my parents for my fate today, because they both sacrifice just to give us our needs and I just got my part. . . . And now, I realize that having a parent abroad may be a financial relief. But it also means a lot more. The overseas contract worker suffers lots of pain. They really sacrifice a lot. *But, hey, please don't forget that your kids also have lots of sacrifices to give, aside from growing up without a parent. Specifically, for those who thought that sending money is enough and they've already done their responsibilities, well, think again, because there are more than this. Your children need your love, support, attention, and affection. You can still be with your children although you really are not. You can let them feel you can be their best friends. And that you're still beside them no matter what, because distance is not a hindrance to a better relationship. . . . It's not only one person who suffers when an overseas contract worker leaves for abroad. All his or her loved ones do. And the children are the first on the list. The whole family bears the aches and pains just to achieve a better future. . . .*³⁸ (Author's emphasis.)

Childhood in transnational families does not just entail the luxury of receiving monthly remittances and care packages but also includes the often-unrecognized hardship of receiving less "love, support, attention, and affection."

Children recognize the efforts of their mothers to provide emo-

tional and material care from afar. They know that their mothers call regularly and remit funds every month. However, they still want their mothers to return to the Philippines. This is regardless of the efforts of mothers to maintain ties with their children. For example, both Claribelle Ignacio, whose mother returned to the Philippines every year, and Evelyn Binas, whose mother returned far less frequently, share the opinion that they would rather have had their mothers work in the Philippines. They both insist that by not returning home, their mothers failed to recognize the emotional difficulties of the children whom they had left behind.

Based on the writings in *Tinig Filipino* and my interviews with children, it seems that children are not convinced that emotional care can be completely provided by the support of extended kin, the financial support of migrant mothers, and weekly telephone conversations. As an eighteen-year-old female college student in Paz Cruz's survey suggests, "guidance, attention, love, and care" can only be completely given by "family togetherness":

I will tell my friend to convince her mother not to go abroad but to look for a profitable means of livelihood such as planting, embroidery, etc. Two years being with the family is more worthy compared to the dollars she might earn abroad. Is it enough to show our love in terms of wealth? I think it's not. We need the warmth of love of our fellowmen, especially our parents. We need their guidance, attention, love, and care to live happily and contented. I will make her mother realize the value of family togetherness. . . . If only all Filipinos aim to have a simple life, not the luxurious one, then, there is no need to leave our country to earn more money.³⁹

Children seem to have this ingrained desire for their mothers to return "home," suggesting that mothers are somehow at fault for working outside the Philippines. In the next section, I further deconstruct the emotional insecurities of children so as to explain why. My discussion shows that the tendency of children to view transnational mothering as an insufficient way of providing emotional care in the family emerges from socialized expectations of traditional mothering. I argue that the intergenerational conflicts engendered by emotional tensions in transnational households are aggravated by the traditional ideological system of the patriarchal nuclear family.

EMOTIONS AND GENDER IN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

The material and emotional interests in the social institution of the family are shaped and guided by an underlying ideological system.⁴⁰ Ideology, according to Stuart Hall, refers "to those images, concepts, and premises which provide the frameworks through which we represent, interpret, understand, and 'make sense' of some aspect of social existence."⁴¹ As a final discussion, I propose that the emotional interests of the children of migrant Filipina domestic workers are ideologically determined. This is a springboard to further explore the painful feelings of mothers and children in transnational households.

I specifically wish to excavate the social category of gender and map its influence on the emotional tensions affecting mothers and children in transnational families. In this section, I argue that the gender division of labor in the Filipino nuclear family, with fathers expected to economically sustain the family and mothers to reproduce family life, generates the emotional stress in transnational families. In contrast to other Asian countries, the Philippines has a more egalitarian gender structure. For example, the kinship system is bilateral and women have a comparable level of educational attainment to men.⁴² Moreover, women have a high rate of participation in the productive labor force. In fact, by 1994, women constituted 60 percent of deployed overseas contract workers from the Philippines.⁴³ Despite the more egalitarian gender structure in the Philippines, ideological constructs of feminine identity still follow the cult of domesticity.⁴⁴

In fact, the denial of maternal love is regarded as child abuse in the diaspora. As a domestic worker states: "Just [by] leaving [children] in the custody of fathers or relatives, we have already abused them. We have denied them their right of a motherly love and care."⁴⁵ In the Philippines, transnational households are considered "abnormal," called "broken homes," and therefore viewed as a social and cultural tragedy.⁴⁶ Transnational households are considered "broken" because the maintenance of this household diverges from traditional expectations of cohabitation in the family; they do not meet the traditional division of labor in the family, and they swerve from traditional practices of socialization in the family. The socialization of children is expected to come from direct parental supervision as well as from other adults, but the

geographic distance in transnational households impedes the ability of mothers to provide direct supervision to their children.⁴⁷

To downplay the formation of "broken homes," the government claims that most of their "economic heroes" are in fact nonmothers (i.e., men or single women). It seems that it was not until the mid-1980s with the larger flow of female migration did the "problem" of the "broken home" turn into a national crisis. In the early 1970s to early 1980s, when men still dominated the flow of migration, the traditional ideological foundation of the family remained stable. Migration did not question the division of labor in the family as husbands continued to economically sustain family life while mothers reproduced it. The spatial division of labor remained unchanged with the father earning wages outside the physical confines of the home and the mother nurturing the protective environment of this space. The outmigration of women, including many mothers, broke down this traditional division of labor, leaving many to wonder how one could leave fathers the primary parent responsible for reproducing the family. Such an "abnormal" arrangement clearly illustrates that the Filipino family is in fact now "broken" because it no longer fits the ideal nuclear household model.

A striking image on the December 1994 cover of *Tinig Filipino* shows a Filipino family surrounded with traditional holiday decor. The father, clutching a sleeping baby with his right hand, raises the traditional Christmas lantern by the window as his other son, who looks around five years old, holds on to a stuffed animal next to his older sister in her early teens. The family portrait evokes a feeling of holiday celebration as the caption states: "Pamilya'y Masaya Kung Sama-Sama" (The family is happy when everyone is together). Yet, the picture is not supposed to call forth an image of celebration but directs the viewers to think of a "broken family" as a very small, highlighted subcaption strategically placed next to the family portrait asks in Italian: "Peró dov'è mamma?" (but where is mama?). The subcaption reminds readers that a mother, not a father, is supposed to be rocking the children to sleep. The image is supposed to invoke a feeling of loss as the man, not the woman, cares for the family.

Although the prolonged absence of either a father or a mother leads to emotional costs, including emotional distance, in the family, the transnational family of women working outside the Philip-

pinas is often construed as more pathological. In the study of Paz Cruz, she found that 82.8 percent of the 302 students in her survey would advise their friends to "allow your parents to work abroad," but the breakdown of responses actually shows that 59.5 percent would advise friends to allow their fathers to go abroad, 19.7 percent would advise both parents, and only 3.6 percent would advise friends' mothers to work abroad.⁴⁸ Children are clearly less comfortable growing up with an absentee mother as only 3.6 percent of the students would advise friends to allow their mothers to work abroad. Paz Cruz's findings should be clarified, for most children only seem comfortable with the idea of a father working outside the Philippines.

The responses given by the youth to the question of what advice they would give friends whose parents are considering employment outside the Philippines also seem to fall within the grid of traditional gender norms in the family.

Mother as nurturer: I'll advise my friend not to allow her mother to go abroad. It's better that her father go because mothers can't do what fathers do. Mothers are closer to their children than the father. She's always present in times of difficulties and problems.⁴⁹

Father as breadwinner: I'll try to make her understand that it is the obligation of the father to provide for the family. With the present situation of the country, it's understandable that the father will look for greener pastures. They want the best for their children. I'll tell her she's lucky—her father is sacrificing to give them a good education and a good home.⁵⁰

These comments clearly follow the traditional gender division of labor of the patriarchal nuclear family. Notably, the ideological construction of the family controls not just the opinions of children but also their feelings and emotions concerning family separation.

In my study, most families with young children fall under the category of one-parent abroad transnational family. Yet based on interviews with children and writings published in *Tinig Filipino*, children in transnational families generally claim that maternal absence has denied them the emotional care expected of the family. Claribelle Ignacio's earlier comments ("if a child wants material goods, they also want maternal love,") emphasizes the interplay of emotions and gender. The gender expectation of mothers to provide emotional care and "maternal love" is what is denied of more and more children in the Philippines. Yet, children's feelings of emotional insecurity are only exacerbated by the belief that

mothers are the only ones fit to provide care. The question then concerns whether fathers in the Philippines are able to provide the "maternal love" sorely missing from their children's lives, if women are capable of assisting them with their ideologically prescribed role as the income producer. Unfortunately, fathers seem to avoid this responsibility. As I have noted, fathers are less apt to care for their children than are other female relatives.

What happens if fathers do provide emotional care to their children? Although I do not want to underplay the pain of children in transnational households, I question the poignant pleas for emotional security of those whose fathers are present in their everyday lives. Recall Nina Rea, who reminded her mother that she left her when she was too young to read and write: "Mom, I am getting older and I need someone guiding and supporting me and that is you. I don't want to be rich. Instead I want you with me, Mom." As she asks her mother to return to the Philippines and finally to give her the "guidance" and "support" she has long been denied, I have to wonder what the father in the Philippines is doing. Why does he not give the much-needed support to his daughter? Why can she not turn to him for the guidance expected of parents in the family? Is he not even trying to provide care, or does his daughter not recognize the care that he gives to his children?

Unlike Nina Rea, Evelyn Binas recognizes that her father has nurtured and emotionally cared for her since the fourth grade but nonetheless still fails to appreciate her mother for economically sustaining the family with her earnings as a domestic worker in Rome.

Since the fourth grade, my mother has been here in Rome. My father looked after me. . . . Everyone had a mother while I was the only one without one. It was only my father around for me. Like in graduation, it would be my father putting the medals on me. I remember my father always being there for me. During lunch, he would bring me over some food.

Did he work?

No. He sometimes did some work. We had some land with fruits and vegetables. He would go there to harvest. . . . So, he would do that work but not all the time.

Beneath her long enumeration of all the family work of her very caring father is her silence about the contributions of her mother to the family and the underlying suggestion that her mother failed to perform the work that she should have done. In families

such as Evelyn's, I have to wonder if a shift and breakdown of ideological norms would lead to a different take on the emotional costs of separation.

In sharp contrast to Evelyn's continued resentment of her mother, even though she was raised by a very loving father, and in contrast to the bitter feelings children generally feel about transnational mothers, is the more blasé attitude of Rodney Catorce regarding the absence of his father throughout his childhood:

I have always thought about it, my Dad being so far away from us for more than ten years now. I mean, how could he? I was barely eight years old when he left us to work abroad. He had to because he and Mom were having a hard time trying to make both ends meet for our family. . . . Sometimes I wonder what if Dad didn't gamble his luck abroad. . . . Well, undoubtedly, we would not have missed him that much. He would not have missed us that much. . . . He would have seen us grow up. Too bad, he was not able to. But then again, we would not be where we are now. We would not be living in our own house. . . . I and my brothers and sisters would not be studying in great schools. Daddy would not have been a good provider. . . . All these considered, I am glad he did. True, he is away, but so what?⁵¹

Recognizing the economic contributions of his father to the family and having been secure with the presence of his mother in the Philippines, Rodney did not experience a breakdown of the traditional division of labor in the family, a fact that seems to enable him to pose the question: "[My dad] is away, but so what?" quite easily.

The reconstitution of gender ideologies in the family would not lessen the sacrifices of children in transnational families but would temper the pain of separation. By this I do not mean to imply that a shift in gender ideology would eliminate the emotional difficulties engendered by separation. Instead, I wish to suggest that children may come to appreciate the efforts of mothers to provide material care and a reconstituted form of emotional care from a distance. Moreover, they may begin to demand less family labor from their migrant mothers. For instance, they would not expect mothers to be primarily responsible for both the material and emotional care in the family. At the same time, they may achieve greater emotional security from the care provided by extended kin and, for some, the fathers left behind in the Philippines. The impassioned pleas of children for emotional care have to be understood within its ideological framework, which surprisingly has not shifted along with the drastic change in the gen-

der division of labor instigated by the migration of women in so many families.

CONCLUSION

Although enabling the family to maximize its earnings, the formation of female-headed transnational households also involves an emotional upheaval in the lives of transnational mothers and the children whom they have left behind in the Philippines. A central paradox in the maintenance of such households is the achievement of financial security going hand in hand with an increase in emotional insecurity, an impact that could however be softened by an alteration of the traditional gender ideologies in the family.

In mapping out the emotional wounds imposed by geographical distance on mothers and children in transnational households, I do not mean to imply that these wounds can only be healed by the return of migrating mothers. Nor do I mean to suggest that mothers are somehow at fault for deciding to maximize their earning potential by working abroad and leaving children behind in the Philippines. The root causes of these wounds extend beyond the individual female migrant to larger structural inequalities that constrain the options that they have to provide their children with material, emotional, and moral care to the fullest. Various structural inequalities of globalization force them to sacrifice their emotional needs and those of their children for the material needs of the family. These inequalities include legal barriers preventing the migration of dependents; social stratification and the segregation of Filipino migrant workers to informal service employment in most host societies; economic globalization and the unequal level of development among nations; postindustrialization and the demand for female migrant workers; and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments in receiving nations.

These emotional wounds are telling of the "stalled revolution" faced by women at the beginning of this millennium as they have yet to achieve full gender parity at home and at work.⁵² The ideological foundation of the Filipino family has yet to experience a major rupture even with the high rate of women's labor force participation. The responsibility for emotional care remains with women even in families with fathers who provide a tremendous

amount of emotional care to their children and mothers who give a great deal of material care. It is true that feelings of pain in transnational families are fostered by separation; however, they are undoubtedly intensified by the failure in a great number of families to meet the gender-based expectations of children for mothers (and not fathers) to nurture them and also the self-imposed expectations of mothers to follow culturally and ideologically inscribed duties in the family. As shown by the emotional tensions wrought by separation and the greater resentment of children about transnational mothers, rather than fathers, traditional notions of mothering haunt migrant women transnationally. Traditional views still have a deep hold on the most basic values of the youth in the Philippines. However, we can only hope that the "reconstitution of mothering" led by numerous female migrants from the Philippines will eventually seep into and shift the consciousness, values, and ideologies of the general public toward the acceptance of multiple variances of family life.

NOTES

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1. See Victoria Paz Cruz, *Seasonal Orphans and Solo Parents: The Impacts of Overseas Migration* (Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center, 1987); and Maruja Asis, "The Overseas Employment Program," in *Philippine Labor Migration: Impact and Policy*, ed. Graziano Battistella and Anthony Paganoni (Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center, 1992), 68-112.

2. By social reproduction, I refer, as defined by Barbara Laslett and Johanna Brenner, to "the activities and attitudes, behaviors and emotions, responsibilities and relationships directly involved in the maintenance of life on a daily basis, and intergenerationally." See Barrie Thorne, "Feminism and the Family: Two Decades of Thought," in *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions*, ed. Barrie Thorne and Marilyn Yalom, rev. ed. (Boston: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 3-30.

3. For an excellent article on the reconstitution of mothering in transnational households, see Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila, "I'm Here, but I'm There: The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood," *Gender and Society* 11 (October 1997): 548-71. For a discussion of gender ideologies in the Philippines, see Delia Aguilar, *The Feminist Challenge: Initial Working Principles toward Reconceptualizing the Feminist Movement in the Philippines* (Metro Manila, Philippines: Asian Social Institute, 1988).

4. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Split Household, Small Producer, and Dual Wage Earner: An Analysis of Chinese-American Family Strategies," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 19 (February 1983): 35-46.

5. Arlie Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 85.
6. See Belinda Medina, *The Filipino Family: A Text with Selected Readings* (Quezon City, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 1991).
7. For contemporary transnational households, see Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Langhorne, Penn.: Gordon & Breach Science Publishers, 1992); Leo Chavez, *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1992); Julia Curry, "Labor Migration and Familial Responsibilities: Experiences of Mexican Women," in *Mexicanas at Work in the United States*, ed. Margarita Melville (Houston: Mexican American Studies Program, University of Houston, 1988), 47-63; Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Michel Laguerre, "Headquarters and Subsidiaries: Haitian Immigrant Family Households in New York City," in *Minority Families in the United States*, ed. Ronald Taylor (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1994), 47-61; Douglas Massey et al., *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); and Paz Cruz. For historical transnational households, see Glenn.
8. See Basch, Schiller, and Blanc; and Roger Rouse, "Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism," *Diaspora* 1, no. 1 (1991): 8-23.
9. Basch, Schiller, and Blanc; and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, "New Family Forms, Old Family Values: The Formation and Reproduction of the Filipino Transnational Family in Los Angeles," in *Asian America: A Multidisciplinary Reader*, ed. Min Zhou and James V. Gattwood (New York: New York University Press, 1999).
10. See Chavez; Curry; and Hondagneu-Sotelo.
11. Exceptions to this are the articles by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila; and Charlene Tung, "The Cost of Caring: The Social Reproductive Labor of Filipina Live-in Home Health Caregivers," *Frontiers* 21, no. 1 and 2 (2000): 61-82.
12. Stevi Jackson, "Even Sociologists Fall in Love: An Exploration in the Sociology of Emotions," *Sociology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 201-20; Jean Duncombe and Dennis Marsden, "Love and Intimacy: The Gender Division of Emotion and 'Emotion Work,'" *Sociology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 221-24; and Amy S. Wharton and Rebecca J. Erickson, "The Consequences of Caring: Exploring the Links between Women's Job and Family Emotion Work," *Sociological Quarterly* 36 (spring 1995): 273-96.
13. See Sylvia Chant and Cathy McIlwaine, *Women of a Lesser Cost: Female Labour, Foreign Exchange, and Philippine Development* (London: Pluto Press, 1995); and Elizabeth Uy Eviota, *The Political Economy of Gender: Women and the Sexual Division of Labour in the Philippines* (London: Zed Books, 1992).
14. Hochschild, *Managed Heart*, 7.
15. Judith Rollins, *Between Women: Domesticity and Their Employers* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985).
16. Mary Romero, *Maid in the U.S.A.* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 106.
17. Wharton and Erickson.
18. Arlie Hochschild, "Ideals of Care: Traditional, Postmodern, Cold-Modern, and Warm-Modern," in *Families in the United States: Kinship and Domestic Politics*, ed. Karen Hansen and Anita Iltis Garey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).
19. I looked at almost all the issues of *Tinig Filipino* published between October 1994 and July 1996. A few back issues prior to May 1995 had been unavailable.
20. The sixteen women who reported their status as undocumented were eligible to obtain a permit to stay under the 1995 legislative decree, and because the decree had been in progress during my research, we can safely assume that most of these women are now official guest workers in Italy.

21. Examples of such studies include Christine Chin, *In Service and Servitude: Foreign Female Domestic Workers and the Malaysian "Modernity" Project* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); and Catholic Institute for International Relations, *The Labour Trade: Filipino Migrant Workers around the Globe* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1987).
22. Hondagneu-Sotelo.
23. For excellent discussions on the labor market incorporation of migrants in urban centers of globalization, see Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility and Flow of Labor and Capital* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), and *Cities in a World Economy* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press, 1994).
24. See Chin.
25. For a discussion of the "denationalization" and "renationalization" of societies in globalization, see Saskia Sassen, *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
26. For instance, see Chin.
27. See Abigail Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis, introduction to *Not One of the Family: Foreign Domestic Workers in Canada*, ed. Abigail Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3-27.
28. See Mary Lou Alcidi, "Legal and Organizational Support Mechanisms for Foreign Domestic Workers," in *The Trade in Domestic Workers*, ed. Noeleen Heyzer et al. (London: Zed Books, 1994), 161-77; and Pei-Chia Lan, "Bounded Commodity in a Global Market: Migrant Workers in Taiwan" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Chicago, 6-8 Aug. 1999).
29. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, "Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and the International Division of Reproductive Labor," *Gender and Society* 14 (August 2000): 560-80.
30. See the anthology edited by Juan Perea, *Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-immigrant Impulse in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).
31. I use pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of my informants.
32. Gloria Acgaoili, "Mother, Behold Your Child," *Tinig Filipino*, May 1995, 14. Italicized sections are translated from Tagalog to English.
33. Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 149.
34. Paz Cruz, 43.
35. Clarita U. Aratan, "Money or Family," *Tinig Filipino*, December 1994, 34.
36. Liza Daguio, "Family Still Number One," *Tinig Filipino*, February 1995, 40. Quotation is translated from Tagalog to English.
37. Nina Rea Arevalo, "Inay, Pasko na Naman," *Tinig Filipino*, December 1994, 28. Letter is translated from Tagalog to English.
38. Junelyn Gonzaga, "Listen to Our Small Voices," *Tinig Filipino*, December 1995, 13.
39. Paz Cruz, 42.
40. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, "Interest and Emotion in Family Kinship Studies: A Critique of Social History and Anthropology," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, ed. Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 9-27.
41. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1997), 12.
42. See Eviota.
43. Luz Rimban, "Filipina Diaspora," in *Her Stories: Investigative Reports on Filipino Women in the 1990s*, ed. Cecile C.A. Balgos (Quezon City, Philippines: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, 1999), 128.
44. Carolyn Israel-Sobritchea, "The Ideology of Female Domesticity: Its Impact on the Status of Filipino Women," *Review of Women's Studies* 1, no. 1 (1990): 26-41.

45. Jocelyn Mariano, "Child Abuse and OCWs," *Tinig Filipino*, October 1995, 26-27.
46. Neferti Xina Tadiar, "Domestic Bodies of the Philippines," *Sojourn* 12, no. 2 (1997): 153-91.
47. See Medina for a discussion of cultural traditions in the Filipino family.
48. Paz Cruz, 38.
49. *Ibid.*, 42.
50. *Ibid.*, 40.
51. Rodney Catorce, "My Dad Is Away, So What?" *Tinig Filipino*, June 1995, 9.
52. Arlie Hochschild with Anne Machung, *The Second Shift* (New York: Avon Books, 1989).