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Global Householding, Gender, and Filipino Migration: A Preliminary Review

Utilizing data from the National Statistics Office's Family Income and Expenditure Survey (NSO-FIES) and three case studies, this article argues that overseas labor migration inserts households into a globalized life that reconfigures patterns of "household making" through remittances and income mobilization activities. In turn, these income/remittance patterns and the mobilization of reproductive labor have changed the ways households left behind in the Philippines organize child care/elderly care, household maintenance, and resource mobilization within and across households. The article concludes with insights gained in utilizing the household as a unit of analysis in examining the interfaces and interconnections between global-local processes and Filipino migration.

KEYWORDS: GLOBALIZATION · HOUSEHOLD · REPRODUCTIVE LABOR · EMOTIONAL LABOR · EMOTIONAL CAPITAL · STATUS MAKING · RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

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In 2006 an estimated 9 million overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) sent remittances to families and relatives in the Philippines amounting to US$12.8 billion (BSP 2007). Their numbers account for more than 10 percent of the Philippine population and about one-fourth of its labor force. The deployment of OFWs and their sizeable contribution to the Philippine economy in remittances are consistent with global trends in which remittance flows to developing countries rose from US$31 billion in 1990 to US$167 billion in 2005, with the Philippines ranking fifth (after India, Mexico, China, and Pakistan) in the total value of remittances received from abroad (World Bank 2006, 89–90). The importance of remittances to local economies is reflected in the fact that during the last ten years remittance growth has outpaced private capital flows and official development assistance (ODA). In 2004 remittances were larger than public and private capital flows (ibid., 88).

In addition to providing valuable foreign currency to service the country's foreign loans amounting to US$60 billion, remittances have tremendous effects on how household economies in places of origin and places of destination are organized and reconstituted over time. These changes are especially significant in view of the fact that migration and remittances have been a central strategy for many Filipino households over the last forty years or so. Consequently, this article is concerned with the central question: How does the migration of household members—mostly female—affect household arrangements for reproductive labor and income/remittance mobilization?

Although the answers are quite tentative as this study is merely an *initial* review of Filipino migration and the globalization of households in Pacific Asia (Douglass 2006), and the data are drawn mainly from existing sources,[1] this article hopes to show how the "globalized links" of Filipino households through overseas migration have transformed the dynamics of household organization. It begins by mapping out the globalizing tendencies in Filipino households. It then assesses the concepts utilized by other studies in examining the global-local dimensions of migrant households, and argues that the concept of global householding provides a more effective perspective to understand the link between the micro (individual, household, community) and the macro (global/national/societal) forces. A subsequent section compares the characteristics of remittance-receiving households with those of nonreceiving households in order to highlight the particular characteristics of the former. It also provides case studies of migrant households to illustrate how migration has reconfigured the ways households organize care-giving and resource mobilization (income, remittances) arrangements.

Most migration studies take either a macro or a micro level of analysis. It is rare to find studies that try to integrate the two approaches, not only because of resource constraints but also because of the more fundamental issue of analytical coherence and validity that becomes apparent as one moves from one level of analysis to the other. The prevalence of either macro or micro level analysis is partly a function of methodological assumptions formulated for relatively stable populations anchored at a particular time and geographic space. The age of supersonic transport systems, which allows a migrant to traverse great distances in short time periods, and of communications technologies (e.g., broadband technologies and web-based cameras), which compress time and space, gives rise to the "absent" but "present" migrant household member(s) who can simultaneously affect and be affected by the dynamics of several households in different parts of the globe (Castells 2004; Pertierra 2002). The blurring of boundaries between the physical and virtual realities presents some dilemma in units, levels, and parameters of analysis. This also runs counter to the structural-functionalist assumption that the modern nuclear family or household is the most suitable form for industrial societies, while kinship and social networks are more suited to preindustrial societies (Goode 1965). Structures residing at different levels of analysis generate processes that interface or interconnect these levels, giving rise to new forms of engagements among household members and their households. However, most sociological concepts and methodologies are not designed to capture and measure the interconnectedness and embeddedness of social relations in micro-meso-macro level structures. The concept of global householding (Douglass 2006) attempts to link social action at different levels of analysis, and assumes that families and households do overlap and that their engagements are deeply embedded in social networks and other institutions. In analyzing these global-local interactions, the household as a unit of analysis is more useful than the family as it includes nonkin members (e.g., maids, caregivers, and other domestic workers) who provide critical physical and emotional labor in maintaining and reproducing the unit.

GLOBALIZING TENDENCIES IN FILIPINO HOUSEHOLDS

Douglass's (2006, 2) concept of global householding provides a new analytical lens in examining Filipino households and how they are affected by international migration. He argues that the

> formation and sustenance of households [are] increasingly reliant on the international movements of people and transactions among

> household members residing in more than one national territory. . . . the compression of time and space made possible by modern transportation and communications technologies allows transnational migrants to carry out spatially dispersed householding over international space with perhaps a father or mother working in one country and children being schooled or working in another.[2]

The increasingly female-dominated migration stream from the Philippines affects particularly the mobilization of reproductive labor in the sending, receiving, and allied households in different parts of the globe. This article, however, focuses on how overseas migration and the mobilization of reproductive labor and remittances in sending households in the Philippines highlight the interfaces between global and local forces.

Douglass (2006) identifies four major sources of globalizing tendencies that transform households, namely: (1) overseas labor migration, (2) marriage with foreigners, (3) intercountry adoption, and (4) the entry of an increasing number of transnational residents. Overseas labor migration has affected Filipino households' formation, organization, and reconstitution over the last four decades. Compared with migration, the numbers involved in marriage to foreigners and intercountry adoption are quite miniscule. For the last ten to fifteen years, marriage to foreigners is at 4 percent (about 20,000) of the 500,000 or so total marriages every year (Indon 2004, 2), with 93 percent of them contracted by female rather than male Philippine citizens. Meanwhile, according to Balanon (2006), on average 400 intercountry adoptions are registered every year with the Intercountry Adoption Board (ICAB) since the enactment of the Intercountry Adoption Act of 1995 (Republic Act 8043).[3]

The passage of the Citizenship Retention and Reacquisition Act of 2003 (Republic Act 9225), providing for dual citizenship for Filipinos, also heightens globalizing tendencies by increasing symbolic transnational homemaking activities, such as return visits for exploration of retirement, vacations, and celebrations that allow migrants to reclaim status denied of them abroad (Espiritu 2003).

Transnational communities of Koreans and South Asians (Indians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis) have also increased during the last ten to fifteen years (Miralao and Makil 2007). In the 1980s the Philippine government also resettled large numbers of Vietnamese refugees in the provinces of Palawan and Bataan. The proliferation of Korean shops, restaurants, and other services, particularly in Metro Manila and Metro Cebu, is due largely to the influx of Korean nationals who come to study English. Meanwhile, South

Asians have penetrated the microfinance sector in most urban and rural poor communities in the archipelago.

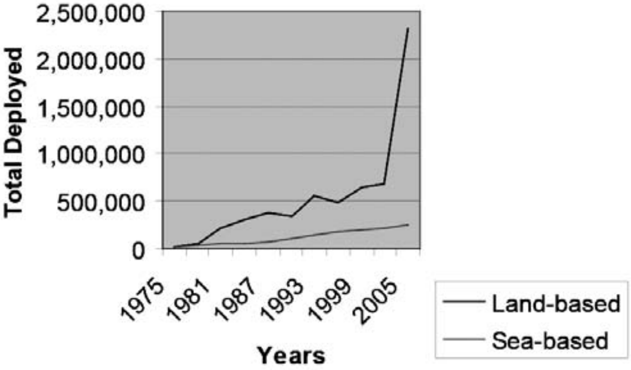
Shifts in Patterns of Migration and Labor Reproduction

The globalizing tendencies discussed above do not match the force coming from the global migration of a large number of Filipino women these past four decades because of developments in other parts of the world. Indeed, decades of overseas migration have set the stage for the globalization of Filipino households. The Social Weather Stations (SWS 2004) reported in its August 2004 survey that about 52 percent of its nationwide respondents said that they have a family member or relative living abroad. This observation attests to how large numbers of Filipino households and communities are linked to different parts of the globe.

In the 1980s the rise of the East Asian and European economies allowed better-off households in these countries to import domestic helpers and caregivers. Women in Hong Kong and Singapore entering the labor market in droves needed to be freed from the demands of household maintenance and care for children and the elderly. Meanwhile, entertainers' visas allowed young Filipinas to work in Japan. These forces, among others, led to the reappropriation of women's emotional and reproductive labor in the care, formation, and sustenance of households they left behind and in their places of employment.

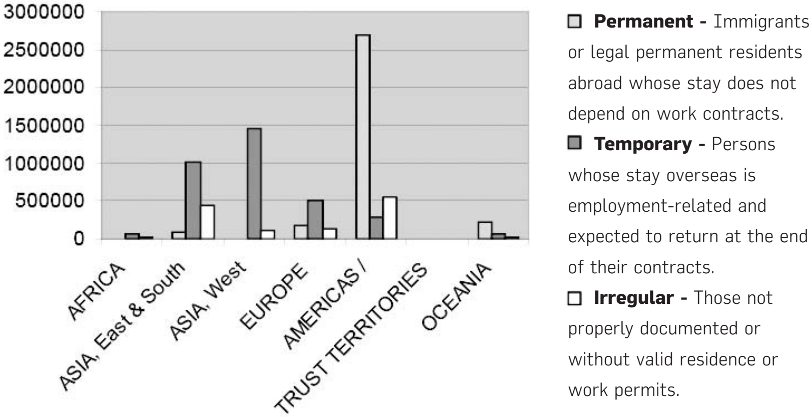
The trend since the 1990s reinforces the above migration patterns. The intensity and scale are reflected in the number and multiple destinations of

Figure 1. Deployed overseas Filipino workers, 1975–2005



Sources of basic data: Asis 2006; POEA 2005

Figure 2. Stock estimate of overseas Filipinos, by major world region, Dec. 2004



☐ **Permanent -** Immigrants or legal permanent residents abroad whose stay does not depend on work contracts.

■ **Temporary -** Persons whose stay overseas is employment-related and expected to return at the end of their contracts.

☐ **Irregular -** Those not properly documented or without valid residence or work permits.

Source of basic data: CFO 2006

both males and females, involving multiple layers of families, households, and communities at different points of the globe (see figures 1 to 2). Recent migrations have mobilized lower skilled, female domestic helpers, nurses, and caregivers, as well as seafarers. Originating mostly from middle- to low-income households, these migrants affect the organization of reproductive labor (child/elderly care, domestic work) in both sending and receiving households.

Thus, the survival, maintenance, and reconstitution of a sizeable number of Filipino households these past forty years have relied increasingly on global migration. Transactions and household arrangements among different household members are becoming global with their movement to different parts of the world. Globalizing forces, especially those associated with the rapid movements of capital, labor, goods, and information across multiple borders, impinge largely on the migrant's household organization and resource mobilization. In turn, household members reconfigure these processes in ways meaningful to the demands of their households and allied social networks.

How do Filipino migrant households constitute and reconstitute their household activities and childcare arrangements given the distance of the resource providers and decision makers from the locus of "householding" activities? Indeed, we may find that the conditions under which migrant households operate may push toward fluid and flexible ways of mobilizing household labor and other resources.

CONCEPTS AND PERSPECTIVES IN FILIPINO MIGRATION AND HOUSEHOLDING

Several authors have advanced concepts to address the deterritorializing and territorializing aspects of globalized life and capture the interconnections of the migrant with real and imagined households and localities. Appadurai (1996, 216) has advanced the concept of translocalities to analyze the overlapping and intertwining global-local forces as a result of migration. Echoing this view, McKay (2004, 4) examines the multiple communities occupied and engaged in by Filipino migrants as

> place-based neighborhoods created by both locals and circulating populations. Trans-localities belong to specific cartographic sites, but are also un-grounded or 'virtual' or extend along complex nodes and pathways . . . a space where 'economic' transactions and affective relations structure locality off the ground. But these transactions and relations nonetheless influence people's activities, social interdependence, and environmental sustainability in particular material contexts.

Analyzing communities as translocalities shifts the focus from the neighborhood infrastructure, economy, and apparent livelihood strategies of people present in a given community to the network of absent members and the flows of information and value in which they are embedded. However, although this view highlights translocal connections, it does not focus much on households and emotional labor/capital.

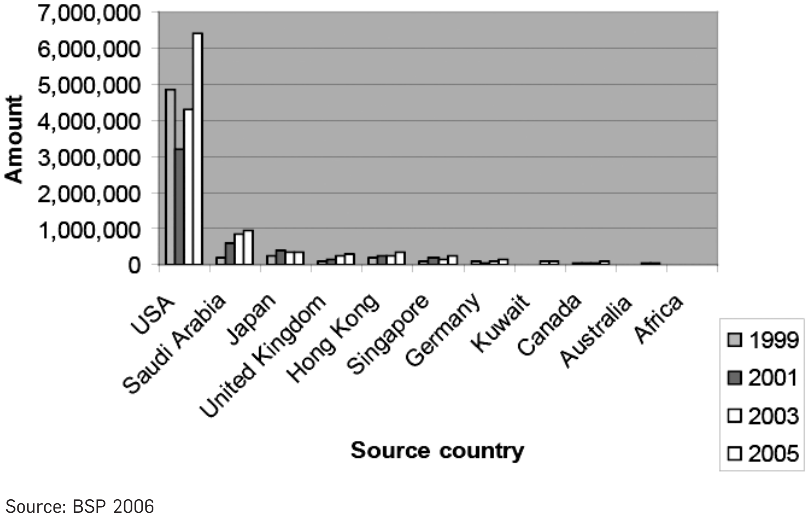
Another way to examine how the global is inserted into the local and vice-versa is to analyze how migrant households mobilize remittances for its maintenance and reproduction. Ling Ping Chen (2003) argues that migration and remittances "inscribe" global forces into the everyday lives of their households and their material status-making activities. Remittances allow migrant households to elevate their standard of living (e.g., private school for kids, higher income, consumption lifestyles, and so on) compared with other households in their communities. Working abroad becomes part of the household's strategy of upward mobility and long-term security within the context of several layers of overlapping translocalities. Income and remittances thus represent social position and the social power that goes with it. Asis (2003) argues that journeying was traditionally a male preserve and those returning are given a warm welcome and an esteemed place in the community. Overseas work does not necessarily increase available resources, but brings in the cash that initially enables a few families to monopolize existing resources. This outcome increases economic stratification and impels other families to send members abroad and remit the needed cash (Pertierra et al. 1992). Globalizing tendencies are also inscribed in the everyday life of the remittance-receiving household through the acquisition of symbols of modernity (e.g., mobile phone for sending text messages to the absent member; Internet connection and broadband web camera). Acquiring these symbols often results in seemingly ridiculous situations like buying a refrigerator or karaoke system when electricity is yet to be connected to the barangay. However, this behavior ceases to be ridiculous when viewed within the context of a migrant's project of upward mobility.

The "household" is the loci for concrete activities related to the production and reproduction of life in a group bounded by strong commitments, making it a "home" for them. Espiritu (2003) argues that homemaking activities have very fluid emotional and geographical boundaries, involving a basic nucleus of sociobiological structures with porous overlays of family affinities. She employs terms like "home", "family", and "homebound" to describe Filipino Americans living across cultures, communities, and countries. Homemaking becomes "unbounded" when activities and practices become transnational and local at the same time, but specific activities of homemaking can be "bounded" to a particular territory. Her agency-oriented theoretical perspective allows us to understand both the homebound and the unbounded Filipino in Los Angeles who are "simultaneously colonized national, immigrant and racialized minority transformed through the experience of colonialism and migration and how they in turn transform and remake the social world around them." Filipinos confront U.S. domestic racism and the global racial order by leading lives stretched across borders—shaped as much by memories of and ties to the Philippines ("there") as by the social, economic, and political contexts in their new home in the United States ("here"). Thus, migration is not only about arrival and settlement but crucially also about home orientation and return. In focusing on the "here" and "there" of homemaking, Espiritu anchors these activities in concrete, geographical, and institutional contexts as well as in imagined spaces.

Pingol (2001), studying Ilocano husbands left behind by their wives to engage in domestic work in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Italy, finds that these wives have assumed "breadwinning" roles needed to maintain their families and households. They also spend much of their earnings in acquiring symbols of status and modernity (e.g., thatched roof houses becoming modern in materials and design, acquisition of appliances and communication technologies, consumption of "brand names" in fashion, accounts with finance institutions, and dealings with remittance services, and so on). Meanwhile, the husbands left behind are "remaking their masculinities" by providing care to the children while their spouses provide the same to the households of their employment, and in the process become breadwinners to their households back home. The wives' "remaking of their femininities" and its impact on marital and household dynamics would have been interesting but not dealt with in this study.

Caces et al. (1985) have suggested the concept of a "shadow household"—where one or more members of a household migrate but continue to participate significantly in the decisions and actions of the household left behind. The shadow household members do not share residential arrangements but the intensity of their commitment and assumption of obligations to reproduce the household indicate strongly their being part of the unit. Physically absent but deeply embedded in the affairs of the household, migrants are central to the shaping of and in turn are shaped by their household fortunes.

Figure 3. Remittances of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), by country of employment, in thousand U.S. dollars, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005



Source: BSP 2006

Daniels (1987) has advanced the notion of "emotions work" to describe the range of activities of women that do not seem productive but crucial in constructing and affirming social relationships. These include organizing reunions, birthdays, shopping for anniversary and Christmas gifts, caring for children or supporting their participation in school activities, and taking care of the sick or the elderly. Parreñas (2003), in *Servants of Globalization*, utilizes the concept of emotional labor to describe the work of Filipina domestics in Rome and Los Angeles. Drawing from Parreñas's work, Hoschild (2002) uses the term "global care chain" to refer to a series of personal links between people across the globe based on paid or unpaid work of caring. Women in industrialized countries who are fully integrated into the formal economy and trying to free themselves of their "double burden" recruit other women (usually from poor classes in poor regions of the globe like the Philippines). In turn, these women (usually from relatively urbanized cities/towns), who are also married and have children, have to recruit other women (usually much poorer and from poor communities in the provinces, often recruited from one's kin network) to take care of their children while they are away. Yeats (2005) argues that emotional labor, including the "valorization of sacrifice" by Filipina domestics, nannies, and other caregivers, integrates them to the "global care chain." This study views emotional labor as part of the emotional capital that both migrants and family/household members mobilize in making their assertions or claims for resources.[4]

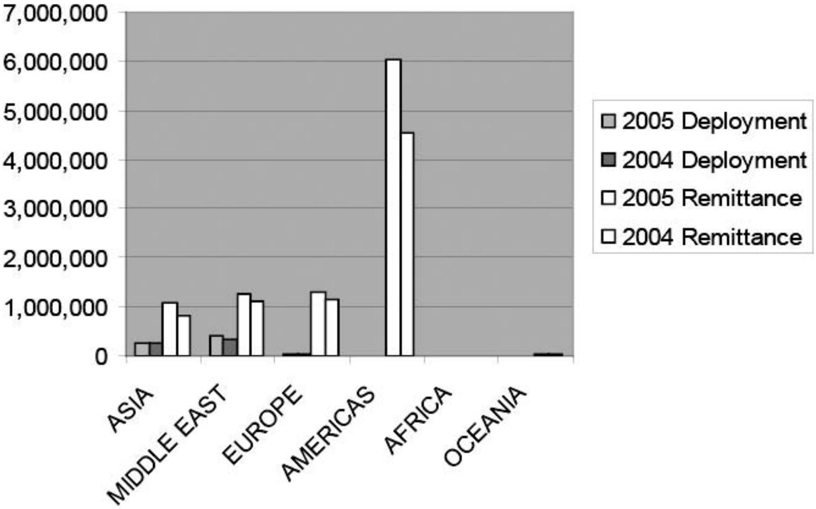
In this study, I seek to integrate the insights of the authors discussed above to study female-dominated migration streams and their consequences for the household dynamics of social reproduction. In particular, I wish to understand migrant remittance activities within the context of household resource mobilization and status-making activities (e.g., investing in homes, modern consumption habits, and so on) as a pivot to apply the global householding framework.

Indeed, global householding provides a conceptual bridge between the micro and macro, and between local and global forces. It allows us to investigate the interfaces and interconnections among several households—the migrant household and its satellite households or networks of support for social reproduction—both at the place of origin and the places of residence of different members of a household. In this case, the original meaning of a household, which assumes members to be "sharing a pot or cooking arrangements" in a particular geographic space or locality, gets transformed to also mean sharing "virtual pots" of material and nonmaterial (e.g., emotional labor/capital) resources across territories to sustain the household. Global householding, then, allows the analysis of activities occurring at different places of the globe but designed to reproduce households in the origin and in the place(s) of employment. These seemingly diverse activities occurring at different places are connected by the needs of the household and its members. The analytical power of global householding resides in its ability to address the activities of both deterritorialized members (in different parts of the nation-state and the globe) and territorialized members (in place of origin) of the household.

Remittances and Globalization of Households

Remittances constitute a major source of income for a sizeable number of Filipino families (figures 3 and 4). About 20.7 percent (8,729) of the total sample of 42,094 households in the 2003 National Statistics Office's Family Income and Expenditure Survey (NSO-FIES) received remittances from overseas, which amounted to P243.6 million. These remittances allow households to "smooth out" their consumption patterns, given the internal and external shocks that they experience (Tullao, Cortes, and See 2004; Macaranas 2005).

Figure 4. Deployment and remittances of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), by continent, in thousand U.S. dollars, 2004 and 2005



Source: BSP 2006

Table 1. Comparative summary data on the type of household and the characteristics of the household head, remittance-receiving and nonremittance-receiving households

	NONREMITTANCE-RECEIVING HHS	REMITTANCE-RECEIVING HHS
TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD (HH)		
Single/Nuclear	81%	71%
Extended	18%	29%
Two or more nonrelated members	0.21%	0.39%
HH HEAD SEX		
Male	87%	73%
Female	13%	27%
HH HEAD AGE		
15-24	3%	2%
25-39	35%	28%
40-59	44%	45%
60 and above	17%	25%
HH HEAD MARITAL STATUS		
Single	4%	4%
Married	83%	78%
Widowed	12%	15%
Separated/Divorced	2%	3%
HH HEAD EDUCATION		
No Grade Completed	4.3%	2%
Elementary Undergraduate	26%	13%
Elementary Graduate	21%	16%
High School Undergraduate	13%	11%
High School Graduate	19%	25%
College Undergraduate	9%	17%
Post-College	0.15%	0.45%
HH HEAD EMPLOYMENT STATUS		
Labor Force Participation	90%	73%
HH HEAD OCCUPATION		
Professional/Technical	14%	27%

Source of basic data: NSO-FIES 2003

Table 2. Comparative summary data on the level of income and expenditures, remittance- receiving and nonremittance-receiving households

	NONREMITTANCE-RECEIVING HHS	**REMITTANCE-RECEIVING HHS**
Total Family Income	Higher	Lower
Total Family Expenditure		
Lower income	Higher	Lower
Higher income	Lower	Higher
EXPENDITURE ITEMS		
Food		
Lower income	Higher	Lower
Higher income	Lower	Higher
Alcohol		
Lower income	Higher	Lower
Higher income	Lower	Higher
Light, fuel, and water		
Lower income	Higher	Lower
Higher income	Lower	Higher
Transportation	Lower	Higher
Household operation		
Lower income	No difference	
Higher Income	Lower	Higher
Personal care		
Lower income	Lower	Higher
Higher income	Lower	Higher
Clothing and footwear	Higher	Lower
Education	Higher	Lower
Recreation	No difference	
Health Care	Lower	Higher
Durables	Lower	Higher
Nondurables	Higher	Lower
House rent/housing	Lower	Higher
House repairs	Higher	Lower
Occasions	Higher	Lower

Source of basic data: NSO-FIES 2003

The Remittance-Receiving Households (RRHs)

Table 1, which is based on data from the 2003 NSO-FIES, presents comparative summary data on remittance-receiving households (RRH) and nonremittance-receiving households. The households that do receive remittances approximate those that are subjected to the globalizing tendencies of migration through cash remittances, material gifts, and consumption of new ideas and lifestyles. Such globalizing forces affect these households' structure, sociodemographic characteristics, and patterns of resource mobilization such as labor force participation and expenditure patterns.

Profile of RRHs. As shown in table 1, the RRHs tend to possess certain distinctive characteristics compared with those that do not receive remittances. In terms of structure, seven out of ten (71 percent) of the RRHs are nuclear, while close to three out of ten are extended households. In contrast, eight out of ten (81 percent) of the non-RRHs are nuclear and nearly two out of ten are extended households. Thus, although most households in both groups are nuclear in structure, households that receive remittances exhibit a comparatively higher proportion of extended households. Moreover, only a very small fraction of the total households contains two or more unrelated persons. However, the survey was not designed to capture the presence of domestic helpers and other nonkin service providers present in households.

Although males head most households in both groups, female-headed households comprise a somewhat larger percentage (27 percent) of the RRHs than the non-RRHs (13 percent). In addition, compared with those without remittances, the RRHs show a somewhat higher percentage of household heads who are widowed and divorced or separated. Similarly, compared with the non-RRHs, a higher proportion of the RRHs reports an elderly person (60 years and older) as the household head. Although the household heads of the RRHs possess comparatively higher education levels and a sizeable number (27 percent) report professional-technical jobs, they also have a lower level of labor force participation, i.e., higher number of unemployed (73 percent) compared with the 90 percent labor force participation rate of household heads among the non-RRHs.

Consequences of remittances on household expenditure. As indicated in table 2, the RRHs have lower average family income than those households without remittances, indicating that most migrants come from the lower income strata of the population. However, in terms of household expenditures, the RRHs from the higher income bracket (P100,000–P499,000) spend more than comparable households without remittances. The higher-income RRHs, comparatively speaking, appear to spend more on food; alcohol; light, fuel, and water; household operation; personal care; health care; durables; and housing. These patterns reinforce studies, such as those by Tullao, Cortez, and See (2004), which argue that remittances from abroad foster a high level of dependency and erode the spirit of self-reliance on the part of the household members left behind. They also reinforce a common concern that remittances create a culture of dependency.

However, the RRHs from the lower income bracket (below an annual income of P100,000) have lower expenditures compared with households in the same income bracket that do not receive remittances. In particular, these lower-income RRHs have lower expenditures on food; alcohol; and light, fuel, and water. However, as the income of the RRHs increases, the expenditure on these items also rises. In contrast, as the income of non-RRHs increases, the expenditure on these items is lower than those of RRHs. These expenditure patterns seem to indicate that income increases among the RRHs is accompanied by greater spending on material consumption.

Compared with the general population, the household structure of the RRHs indicates a higher number of extended households and a higher proportion headed by females, widowed, and divorced or separated. Although not directly indicated by the census data presented here, my field interviews among migrants (see household cases below) seem to highlight what is embedded in this summary of the characteristics of remittance-receiving households—that migration and remittances tend to expand the range of consumption practices, and reconfigure the ways households organize themselves and their allocation of resources.

INSCRIBING THE GLOBAL IN THE LOCAL AND VICE VERSA: THE MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD AND BEYOND

Labor migration to other parts of the globe reorders the household structure and arrangements for domestic/child care and resource mobilization strategies. Table 3, with data culled from Pingol's (2001) sample of migrant households from several communities in the Ilocos, shows how household structures and living/care arrangements have been reorganized with the migration of the wife.

Table 3 shows that the modal pattern is the nuclear household, with sixteen of the forty households in Pingol's study remaining purely nuclear, without much support from either the husband's or the wife's parents, even after the wife's migration for overseas employment. However, thirteen out of

Table 3. Changes in household structure and living arrangements with the wife's overseas migration

HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS	NUMBER		REMARKS
Nuclear Households		**29**	
Nuclear ever since		16	2 with maids
Nuclear with husband's mother's support	2		
Nuclear with husband's in-law's support	4		2 cases from in-law's HH to nuclear
Nuclear with both sides' support	1		
Nuclear with external support, subtotal		7	
From husband's mother's HH to nuclear	3		1 with maid
From husband's in-laws' HH to nuclear	3		No support from parent-in-law
From extended to nuclear, subtotal		6	
Extended Households		**11**	
From nuclear to husband's mother's HH	4		
From nuclear to husband's in-laws' HH	2		
From nuclear to extended, subtotal		6	
From husband's in-laws to his side	1		
With husband's family of orientation ever since	2		
With husband's in-laws ever since	2		1 case where husband got expelled from in-laws' residence, but children remained
Extended ever since, subtotal		5	
Total		**40**	

Source: Pingol 2001, 38

the forty households can be said to have undergone a major reorganization in living arrangements: seven households remained nuclear but had to rely heavily on the support of the husband's parents or parents-in-law, while six households changed from being nuclear to extended households with the family left behind moving into the residence of the husband's parents or parents-in-law. In effect, the husbands enlisted the help of their kin (mother, sisters, aunt, and in-laws) or nonkin (i.e., domestic helpers) in the critical tasks of childcare and household management. In some cases, this involved the changing of living arrangements, with the mother or mother-in-law moving into the household to fill in for the wife, or the family left behind joining another household, that of the husband's or wife's parents. Interestingly, however, six households were in the extended form prior to the wife's departure for overseas work, and were living with either the husband's or the wife's parents; however, they reconstituted themselves after the wife went abroad by becoming nuclear. It seems that, in these cases, the husband felt that he could manage his family operations better by living away from either of the couple's parents or the extended family. All in all, twenty-nine of the forty households were nuclear and only eleven were extended households.

The new household arrangements often result in tensions or conflicts related to the discipline and nurturance of children, and to the allocation and spending of remittances sent by the wife. Often the absent wife's mother or siblings make strong demands and claims on the children's upbringing or on the use of remittances by invoking their blood and emotional ties with the migrant worker. Tensions between the left-behind husband and the mother-in-law also arise because the latter feels that it is her duty to report to her daughter the former's supposed infidelities, inadequacies, or incompetence in taking care of the children; excesses in spending the remittances; and other perceived inappropriate behavior. In effect, the mother-in-law erodes the moral superiority of the husband as head of the family and in the process carves an advantage to become the legitimate authority figure, with a greater claim on the remittances as well. In coping with the absent wife, household arrangements for care giving, domestic work, farm labor, and business activities result in fluid structures, and have powerful consequences on household organization.

Illustrative Household Cases

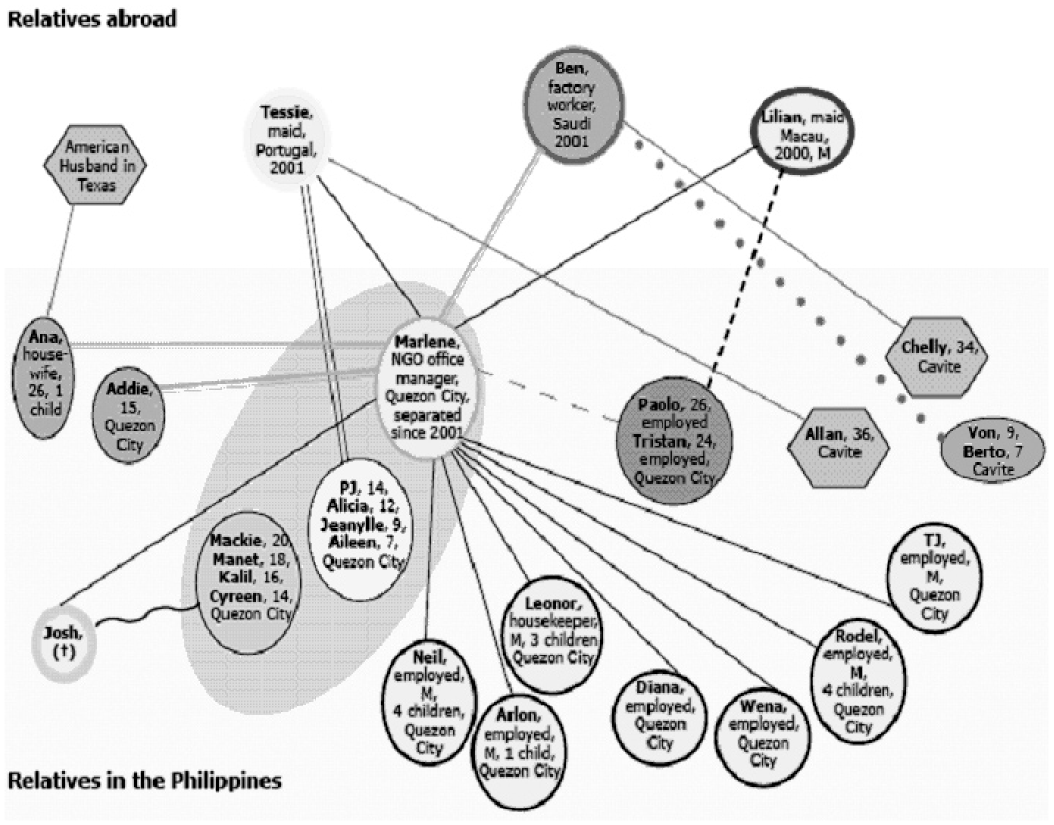
The following cases[5] further illustrate some of the consequences of global migration on the household, such as: (1) life course events—marriage, separation, or household formation—that affect the migration decision of a household member and the social reproduction of households; (2) the allocation and reallocation of household resources for financing migration that bear upon the project of accumulation and subsequent migration of other members; (3) the labor arrangements in productive and reproductive activities that are rearranged because of migration; and (4) the reconfiguration of structures of power relations within and across related households in a given locality and across the globe.[6]

Case 1. The "Present-Absent" Migrant

Marlene is an office manager for a nongovernment organization in Quezon City. She has three children, Ben, 31, Ana, 26, and Addie, 15, but has been separated from her husband since 1985. Ben, the eldest child, has been working in a chocolate factory in Saudi Arabia since 2001. Ben sends P20,000.00 every month to his wife (Chelly) and two children (Von and Berto) in Cavite, just outside of Metro Manila. On weekends and school vacations, Ben's children live with Marlene. Ana, the second child, is also married and has a two-year old son, but her American husband works in Texas. Ana works as a model and lives with Marlene, but intends to move to Texas when her child turns four years old. By then, Ana says, the need for childcare will not be as intensive as it is now. At present, a maid assists in providing child care and home care for Ana's/Marlene's household. Ana's husband sends her P20,000.00 a month for their expenses. Before her husband left for Texas, he installed a broadband Internet service and a web camera in Marlene's living room so that he can "see" his wife while talking to her from Texas. As Ana puts it, "My husband seems to be just here talking to me and my child. This gadget lessens my loneliness for him as well as sustains our emotional bonds with each other. Aside from his regular remittances, this ties our family and household together. No one can understand how this technology has shortened the emotional distance between us."

Being the eldest among ten surviving siblings, Marlene has assumed responsibility over the children left behind by a brother who passed away as well as over the children of her sisters who have migrated abroad. Her sister, Lilian, left for Macau in 2000 in order to find work as a domestic helper and be free from her womanizing husband. Lilian left her two sons, then aged 19 and 17, under the general guardianship of Marlene. Although three of Marlene's siblings and their families also live in the same housing compound, Marlene acts as the surrogate parent to Lilian's two children. Lilian sends P15,000.00 a month to Marlene for the living and educational expenses of the children. In 2003 and again in 2005, Lilian returned to the Philippines to visit, but she complained about how the children have become emotionally distant from her.

In 2003 another of Marlene's sisters, Tessie, left for Portugal, where she works as a domestic helper. She is separated from her husband and has left the care of her four children to Marlene. Tessie remits E250 to Marlene for the children's expenses. Because she does not have the proper papers in Portugal, Tessie is unable to visit her children in the Philippines, but her children have all been given mobile phones to facilitate their weekly communication with her. In between, they also make use of the broadband Internet and web camera installed by Ana's husband. In contrast to Lilian's children, Tessie's children say they do not feel "so far" from their mother.


Relatives abroad
American Husband in Texas
Tessie, maid, Portugal, 2001
Ben, factory worker, Saudi 2001
Lilian, maid Macau, 2000, M
Chelly, 34, Cavite
Allan, 36, Cavite
Von, 9, Berto, 7 Cavite
Paolo, 26, employed Tristan, 24, employed, Quezon City
Ana, house-wife, 26, 1 child
Addie, 15, Quezon City
Marlene, NGO office manager, Quezon City, separated since 2001
PJ, 14, Alicia, 12, Jeanylle, 9, Aileen, 7, Quezon City
Mackie, 20, Manet, 18, Kalil, 16, Cyreen, 14, Quezon City
Josh, (†)
Neil, employed, M, 4 children, Quezon City
Arlon, employed, M, 1 child, Quezon City
Leonor, housekeeper, M, 3 children Quezon City
Diana, employed, Quezon City
Wena, employed, Quezon City
Rodel, employed, M, 4 children, Quezon City
TJ, employed, M, Quezon City
Relatives in the Philippines

Case 1. Marlene in Quezon City, with family members in Macau, Portugal, and Saudi Arabia

Marlene points out the negative side of the children's instant communication with their mother, "Often this convenience causes conflicts between me and Tessie. The children ask their mother that I buy them things or permit them to do certain things that in my opinion should not be granted to them because it will spoil them. But because she is not here and does not fully 'see' the situation, she grants it to them against my will. I told her she should trust me, being her sister, a mother, and an aunt to her children! She does not believe that the money she sends is hardly enough. My other brothers and sisters also do not seem to comprehend, saying I should share with them the remittances of my sisters for their children! Haaaay!"

Analysis. The case of Marlene shows how separation from or death of male spouses and lack of an income source on the part of the female spouse can lead to migration. A series of events have led to the gradual reconstitution of Marlene's household in order to take care of the children of her siblings who have either migrated or died. At the same time, Marlene's case illustrates how migrants in other parts of the globe remain present or are inserted into the daily lives of household members left behind through instant communications technology. It also shows how gender roles and the emotional force associated with "family and obligations" are implicated in the distribution or sharing of remittances, as well as how surrogate parenting roles are negotiated between the migrant and the household members to enable the continued reproduction of the households left behind. Marlene, for example, had to reorganize her household (including renovation and expansion of her house) to accommodate the two sets of children of her migrant sisters alongside the needs of her children and grandchildren. She had to take on the role of a surrogate parent and manage their resources because their husbands could not be relied upon to take care of the children and make sure that the remitted money is spent on the children's needs.

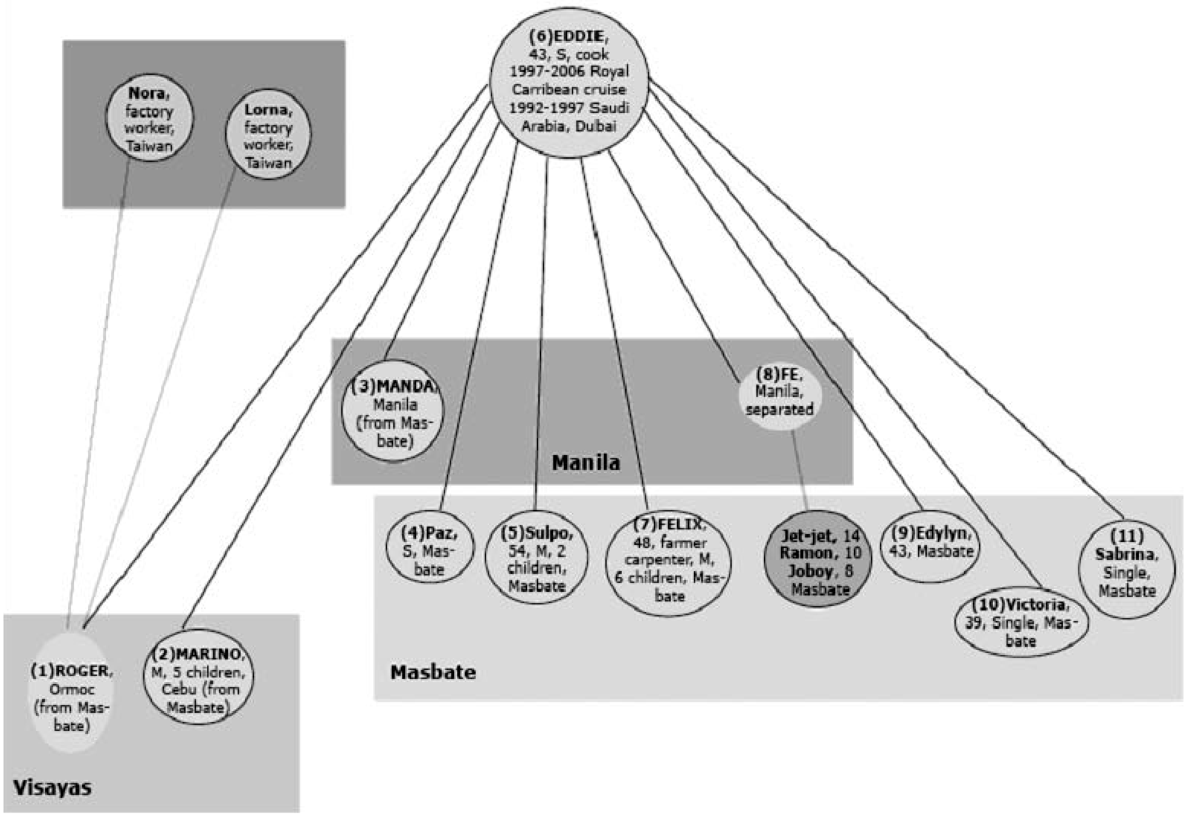
Remittances remind family members of absent migrants as they go about their everyday activities like paying for the tuition fees, daily allowances, and other expenses of children left behind. Mobile phones, broadband Internet connection, and web camera allow migrants and left-behind family members to interact with each other in a simultaneous present and actively participate in household decision making. However, these gadgets can also lead to conflicting disciplinary actions on the part of the surrogate mother and the distant "but seemingly near" biological mother. More significantly, new care-giving arrangements restructure power relations in the household and across related households, with the surrogate caregiver's power and status mediated by the "absent" migrant but "who is just a screen away."

Despite the presence of other siblings nearby, Marlene was tasked to take over the parental duties of her sisters because she is the eldest and the most capable, materially and emotionally, to assume the tasks, according to her migrant sisters. Yet her other nonmigrant siblings think that she is benefiting from the remittances, which they think should be shared with the rest of the family. They feel that that they are entitled to share the remittances because they live nearby and also "look after" the children. How remittances are allocated or distributed among household members or allied households can generate either tension or joy or both, depending on which alliance network one is a part. In Marlene's case, the other siblings are quite jealous of the remittances and want a share of it, despite the fact that these are hardly enough for the children of their migrant siblings. According to Marlene, her siblings often mobilize strong feelings of obligations and sentiments associated with "being a family" to justify their demands or to assert their entitlement to the remittances.

Case 2. Status-Making and Financing for Subsequent Migrations

Eddie, 43 years old, single, male, from a rural community in Masbate, has been working overseas since 1992. His initial contracts were in Saudi Arabia and Dubai. Since 1997 he has been working as a cook for the Royal Caribbean, a cruise ship. Eddie is the seventh of eleven children. Being single and having worked abroad for a long time, he has been perceived as very successful by his siblings and the people in their community. Whenever he returns to Masbate, his siblings, relatives (some far-removed), and neighbors all seek him out to ask for financial assistance for themselves or for community improvement projects. From their point of view, more successful members of the community like Eddie should share their resources with the less fortunate, that is, those who have not migrated or have not progressed materially. According to Eddie, "When I am on a two-month leave from the ship, I do not stay long in the community because I end up spending so much . . . for drinking with the corner boys who are actually unemployed men or *estambay*, for contributions to the town fiesta, to help for someone who is sick, and so on. Even if I do not go out of my house, they come! I really do not want to do these things, but to maintain good feelings and relations I grudgingly do it. Over the years, I have become so desirable to them!"

Eddie says he is the "Mother of Perpetual Help" in his family and has financed both the internal and international migration of his kin. He paid for


(6)EDDIE, 43, S, cook 1997-2006 Royal Carribean cruise 1992-1997 Saudi Arabia, Dubai
Nora, factory worker, Taiwan
Lorna, factory worker, Taiwan
(3)MANDA, Manila (from Masbate)
(8)FE, Manila, separated
Manila
(4)Paz, S, Masbate
(5)Sulpo, 54, M, 2 children, Masbate
(7)FELIX, 48, farmer carpenter, M, 6 children, Masbate
Jet-jet, 14 Ramon, 10 Joboy, 8 Masbate
(9)Edylyn, 43, Masbate
(10)Victoria, 39, Single, Masbate
(11) Sabrina, Single, Masbate
Masbate
(1)ROGER, Ormoc (from Masbate)
(2)MARINO, M, 5 children, Cebu (from Masbate)
Visayas

Case 2. Eddie, a cook in the Royal Caribbean cruise

the migration of his oldest brother, Roger, to Ormoc; his older brother, Marino, to Cebu; and his older sister, Manda, to Manila. Eddie also financed the education of a niece in Cebu and loaned money for her migration to Taiwan in 1998. The same niece eventually helped finance the migration of her sister to Taiwan in 2000. When Eddie's younger sister, Fe, separated from her husband, Eddie and Manda, then already based in Manila, helped her find employment in Manila while supporting her three children in Masbate under the care of their unmarried sisters. According to Eddie, all his acts of financial assistance were supposed to be loans, but his kin have never paid him back because they think it is his obligation to help.

According to his sister, Manda, Eddie's overseas work has elevated his status and prestige in the community and within the household. They all look up to him with pride and respect because he has heavily invested in land and other properties as well as in modern appliances. His purchase of modern appliances, like washing machine and refrigerator, is particularly noticeable because electricity is yet to arrive in their village in Masbate. Community members are also quite impressed with Eddie's improvement in material status and lifestyle, and thus treat him with awe and respect. Within the household, Eddie has become the major decision maker, deciding on important matters such as housing renovations, labor arrangements, payments in their household and the farm, schooling for his nieces and nephews, and where his relatives should migrate. Manda says, "Even though we are much older than Eddie, we do not have much say because we do not have the material capacity to support our assertions." Lately, however, with the migration of some of kin to Taiwan, decisions in the household regarding the farm in Masbate or the care-giving arrangements of their nieces and nephews have become a series of negotiations between them and Eddie, leaving those in the Philippines to implement them.

Analysis. Eddie's case illustrates how the migrant's position and his household's material capacity have changed before the eyes of his own siblings, relatives, and the wider community. It shows how the domestic roles of his siblings and labor arrangements in the farm have been altered because of the internal and international migration of family members, who in turn are able to set up their own households in various places. With Eddie's remittances, his two unmarried sisters need not work as unpaid farm workers anymore. Instead, they hire workers to cultivate their corn farm, in effect transforming them into employers. Although previously Eddie's household utilized mainly unpaid family labor to cultivate their farm, his remittances have enabled his sisters to mobilize nonkin labor through the wage relation.

When Eddie's sister, Fe, separated from her husband and left for Manila, the two sisters became the surrogate parents of her children. Eddie's remittances allowed Fe to set up her own household in Manila, together with a coworker, while supporting her children in Masbate. These transformations in householding arrangements have been possible because of Eddie's remittances.

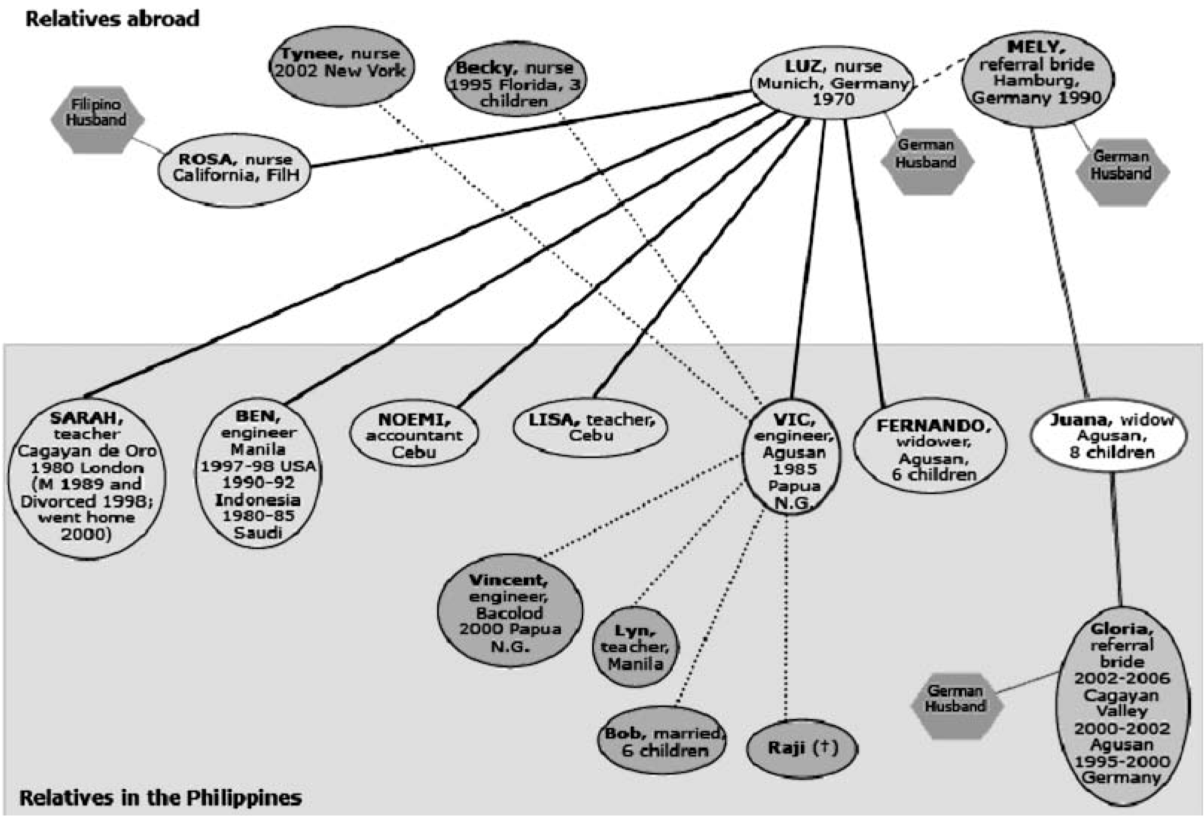
Eddie's case also highlights the status-making activities of migrant households as reflected in his urban-based consumption practices, investments in house renovations, properties, and household facilities and in his contributions to the construction of the town church. Despite being unmarried and of relatively low birth rank order among his siblings, Eddie has become the patriarch both of his family of orientation and of the clan, and in the process transforming the relations of power both within Eddie's family circle of households and with other households in the community.

Case 3: Gender-Role Socialization and Financing Subsequent Migration

Luz, originally from Compostela, Cebu, migrated to Germany in 1970 as part of the first generation of nurses recruited to fill the shortage of medical workers in German hospitals. With a widowed mother and being the eldest of eight children, Luz worked hard to save money to send to her mother for the education of her siblings. Her sister, Rosa, also a nurse, migrated to California in 1972 as part of the U.S. Visitor Exchange Program. Three of their siblings, Sarah, Ben, and Vic, have also worked overseas. Sarah went to London as a nurse in 1985 and eventually settled there. After she and her husband divorced in 1999, she returned to the Philippines in 2000. Ben, an engineer, worked in the U.S., Indonesia, and Saudi Arabia before he returned home for good in 1998. Vic, also an engineer, has been working in Papua New Guinea since 1995. His son Vincent followed suit in 2000. Two of Vic's daughters, Becky and Tynee, went to work as nurses in New York in 2001 and 2004, respectively.

Having been successful as a nurse in Germany, Luz financed the migration of Rosa, Sarah, and Ben. She partially assisted Vic, when he left for Papua New Guinea. When Vic's daughters migrated to the U.S., both Luz and Rosa helped them finance their migration. Both sisters regularly send money to support the households of their siblings as well as the education of their nieces and nephews.

Luz's cousins, Mely and Gloria (Juana, their widowed mother, is the sister of Luz's widowed mother), also migrated to Germany as "mail order"


Relatives abroad
Tynee, nurse 2002 New York
Becky, nurse 1995 Florida, 3 children
Filipino Husband
ROSA, nurse California, FilH
LUZ, nurse Munich, Germany 1970
German Husband
MELY, referral bride Hamburg, Germany 1990
German Husband
SARAH, teacher Cagayan de Oro 1980 London (M 1989 and Divorced 1998; went home 2000)
BEN, engineer Manila 1997-98 USA 1990-92 Indonesia 1980-85 Saudi
NOEMI, accountant Cebu
LISA, teacher, Cebu
VIC, engineer, Agusan 1985 Papua N.G.
FERNANDO, widower, Agusan, 6 children
Juana, widow Agusan, 8 children
Vincent, engineer, Bacolod 2000 Papua N.G.
Lyn, teacher, Manila
Bob, married, 6 children
Raji (†)
German Husband
Gloria, referral bride 2002-2006 Cagayan Valley 2000-2002 Agusan 1995-2000 Germany
Relatives in the Philippines

Case 3. Luz, a nurse in Germany with family members in the U.S. and Germany

brides in the 1990s. Mely and Gloria are from a poor, farming family and have been encouraged by the success of their cousin Luz. Owing to Luz's aversion to Mely's decision of marrying a pen pal, the former at first refused to help the latter. But when Mely found a German husband for her sister, Gloria, Luz lent her money to finance the latter's migration in 1994. Gloria, who married a German fifty years her senior became a widow in 2000 and retired to the Philippines with her German boyfriend in Cagayan Valley in northern Luzon, far from her hometown in the Visayas. According to her, she decided to live far from her relatives' constant pleas for help. Meanwhile, Mely has acquired several properties and a mansion in their town, becoming the envy of her relatives and town mates. Luz and her German husband also have a mansion in Cebu that is occupied by her sisters and brothers, who look at her with awe and respect. When they come home, they give lavish receptions and are often asked to crown the town fiesta queen or become a sponsor (*hermana mayor*) in the annual *flores de mayo* (flowers of May) festival. Luz says that the respect and awe that her relatives and town mates accord to her make her hard work in Germany all worthwhile.

Analysis. As in the case of Eddie, Luz's case illustrates how overseas migration and remittances affect household formation patterns, and the financing of the education of siblings, nieces, and nephews that subsequently feed into further migrations. Luz's case shows how family members and relatives are socialized into occupations, such as nursing and engineering, which can lead to overseas migration. Indeed, three additional nurses in Luz's kin group indicate how family members are socialized into care-giving professions that have high potential for overseas employment and upward mobility. This case shows how successful migrants subsidize subsequent migrations of kin as well as the reproduction of households left in the Philippines.

The status-making dimension of migration is also a key motivating force as shown in their acquisition of properties and mansions, which puts them in a better position materially compared with their town mates who did not migrate. Initially from lower middle-class origins, Luz and Gloria built mansion-like houses, and acquired landholdings and other assets for their families in the Philippines. In the eyes of their neighbors, Luz, Gloria, and their families have gained prestige, power, and influence in the community. These indicators of individual and family status have been possible because of their overseas migration, subsequent marriage to foreigners, and the flow of remittances to their families back home.

Gloria's being a referral bride highlights the gendered aspect of migration, i.e., women's reproductive labor has been employed to sustain the households left behind. Gloria's case illustrates the mail-order bride phenomenon in Europe in the 1980s and early 1990s, where a large number of single/separated/widowed women, mostly from the middle and lower income groups, sought work and/or husbands abroad through correspondence or referrals, motivated by the strong economic need of their families and, for some, the inability to find "suitable" local partners. This phenomenon has reinforced the country's female-dominated migration stream (composed mostly of maids, entertainers, nurses, and so on), affirming in the process the pattern of migrant households being supported by women's productive and reproductive labor.

The Absent-Present Household Member and the Social Reproduction of Households

Although absent, the migrant member registers his or her powerful presence in the sending household and community, which is reinforced by regular visits and communication facilitated by the latest technology. The household cases presented above allow us a glimpse of some of the processes underlying the reorganization of householding arrangements of the kin who are left behind, such as:

1. Activities related to the social reproduction of households (e.g., caregiving arrangements for children, the sick, and the elderly) are mostly assumed by surrogate mothers or women caregivers, with key decision making inputs and financing supplied by the absent migrant household member. This process is part of the global care chain in the reproduction of households, which have been assumed by "aliens" in the place and culture of the migrant's destination and in the sending household (e.g., varying levels of estrangement and affinity among migrant, left-behind spouse, and surrogate caregivers). There are also varying levels of estrangement and affinity at the destination, for this occurs at both loci of interaction, i.e., sending and receiving households (Yeats 2005).

2. The absent migrant often initiates or supports new resource mobilization, consumption, and investment activities. This includes the education of household members (i.e., private school, high tuition fees, tutorial assistance), which may enhance the potential for migration. The absent migrant may also directly finance subsequent migrations to ensure the upward social mobility of members of the household or of satellite households.

3. With active support from the household members left behind, the absent migrant initiates the acquisition of symbols of modernity, which assert

a new status position for themselves and their households. In the process, power relations between the migrant and other household members as well as of the migrant household vis-à-vis other households in the community are reconfigured. The regular sending of text messages, mobile phone calls, Internet communication, and regular vacations and visits reinforce assertions of status. Thus, overseas migration is a project of wealth- and status-making activities of migrant households and communities.

The consumption and expenditure patterns of remittance receiving households and the household cases described above give us a glimpse of the dynamic changes occurring in Filipino households, partly as a result of decades of overseas migration. Migration, especially that of married or single women, creates a series of changes in household arrangements regarding the care-giving, nurturance, household management, and living arrangements of household members left behind. More often than not, these changes affect more the mothers, mothers-in-law, or single sisters than their male counterparts, whose emotional support/capital and reproductive labor become crucial in the maintenance and social reproduction of households both in the sending and receiving communities.

The concept of global householding, as opposed to homemaking (Espiritu 2003) or home (Yeoh and Lam 2004) or translocality (Appadurai 1996), allows a better conceptual handle in examining the transformations in different loci created by global migration. It allows us to grapple with how migration and remittances appropriate both the productive and reproductive labor of family and nonfamily members, in the process reorganizing and reconstituting the household and their social relations as a collective unit within and without. The household (both in real and imagined spaces) as a unit of analysis provides a locus, a stage or platform where the migrant navigates the "family and community" waters made murky by the competing demands for emotional capital and duty/obligations among different households and their members.

OVERSEAS FILIPINO MIGRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR GLOBAL HOUSEHOLDING

As shown in the previous sections, the global migration of Filipinos in the last four decades has reconfigured the ways migrant households organize and reproduce themselves. This multiple layered process affects household members and allied households located in different parts of the global care chain, creating a series of transactions involving mainly women's reproductive labor. The migration of large numbers of domestic helpers and seafarers means a sizeable number of male-headed and female-headed households, respectively, are left behind. These processes often result in the reversal of gender roles, such as a father left behind being called "*na-tay*"—a hybrid contraction of *nanay* (mother) and *tatay* (father)—by his children, or in the alteration of household structures with the father asking his mother/mother-in-law to move in and take care of the children. In these cases, the mother of the children assumes the "breadwinning" role in the family with her reproductive and emotional labor/capital. These arrangements result in traditional gender roles or household arrangements regarding care-giving, household management, or allocation of remittances being negotiated and altered in sending and receiving communities.

Meanwhile, the migration of large numbers of Filipinas and their employment as domestics, nurses, and caregivers has facilitated the reproduction of households in better-off economies. Thus, Filipinas migrating to Japan have allowed some Japanese households to address their need for reproductive labor (Tullao, Cortez, and See 2003). With their changing sociodemographics, more Japanese women are migrating to cities and entering the professional world, leaving rural Japanese males to fulfill their marital and recreational needs with Filipina women. The pressures for household reproduction have resulted in sister-city arrangements between some prefectures in Japan with rural towns in the provincial Philippines for the purpose of recruiting brides.

In a different vein, the large numbers of domestic workers in Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan have allowed, at least for the middle-class and upper-class women in these societies, to maintain and reproduce their households.[7] This situation allows them to be free from the drudgery of housework and caring for children and the elderly, and pursue more meaningful as well as remunerative work in the professional-technical sector. In like manner, some Filipino households in North America have recruited grandparents, unmarried siblings, and relatives to provide child/elderly care. Macaranas (2005) estimates that grandparents provide about 20 percent of childcare in Filipino-American households.

Similarly, female domestics "colonizing" public spaces in Hongkong, Singapore, or Taipei are actually engaging in reproductive/emotional labor (i.e., emotional exchange/support from peer networks, arrangements for remittances and gifts, "collecting" news from home or about friends in other parts of the city, and so on) to partly sustain themselves and their households back home. Public places in these cities become sites of construction and assertion of their emotional labor/capital and well-being because their households of employment do not allow them to construct these activities.

That the tasks of maintenance and operation of households in places of destination have been left largely in the hands of caregivers has led to some interesting patterns of socialization and development among the children. Anecdotal evidence point to children cared for by Filipina domestics in Singapore, Paris, or Hong Kong having the linguistic habits (e.g., French with Filipino accent) and social practices of their caregivers (eating rice, praying to the saints, and so on). Meanwhile, the tasks of caring for the children left behind by these domestic workers are also performed by surrogate parents/caregivers like the migrant's parents, siblings, relatives, or hired help. This completes the cycle of what Yeats (2005) terms "global care chain" from the sending household back to the receiving household.

In conclusion, the above case studies show the potential analytical power of the concept of global householding in understanding the consequences of global migration on the ways that productive and reproductive labor are being reorganized and reconstituted in both sending and receiving households, and in allied households as well. In addition, the cases also show how emotional labor and emotional capital are mobilized in migration and remittance allocation decisions to reproduce and sustain the household and the family in everyday life. These processes are informed by the interfacing of global and local forces in the "householding" processes, which are anchored at specific and multiple localities, giving rise to varying forms of household arrangements and structures.

Notes

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1 This study utilizes three sources of data: (1) secondary studies, (2) the NSO's Family and Income Expenditure Survey, and (3) existing case studies of migrant households.

2 For an elaboration of the concept of global householding, see Douglass in this issue.

3 Ms. Lourdes Balanon is the former chair of the Intercountry Adoption Board and a former undersecretary of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD).

4 I am grateful to Dr. Eufracio Abaya for introducing the concept of emotional capital during the forum on global householding organized by the Philippine Social Science Council and the Philippine Migration Research Network, 19 Mar. 2006.

5 The author conducted these household case studies originally for earlier works on trafficking in women to Europe (1995–1998) and Japan (1997), and a study of women migrants for UNESCO (1995). See, for example, Porio 1999.

6 Another major consequence of the movements of people unprecedented in intensity and scale is the question of identity, belonging, and citizenship but it will not be addressed here.

7 See Huang, Yeoh, and Straughan in this issue.

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