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主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

Negotiating Care Across Borders & Generations: An Analysis of Care Circulation in Filipino Transnational Families in the Chubu Region of Japan

(国境と世代を超えたケア・ネゴシエーション：日本の中部地方におけるフィリピン系トランスナショナル家族のケア・サーキュレーションに係る分析)

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論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

Context & Research Problem

Recent scholarship on the concept of family has evolved and now includes emphases on cultural dynamics, transnational geography; and individual as well as collective attitudes and emotions (Glick, 2010). These factors are used to analyze the formation and functioning of families in a new dynamic international context. Broadly speaking, due to increased mobility and improvements in transportation and communication technologies, coupled with desires/needs for better economic opportunities, enhanced lifestyles and social safety, more and more people of various demographic profiles are experiencing the dynamics of transnational family life. The image of the ideal nuclear family, as evident in much of the traditional literature on the sociology of the family and the consciousness of many social policymakers, is increasingly contested as the contemporary realities of family life move towards transnationality, particularly in Asia, as in other parts of the world (see Alipio, Lu & Yeah, 2015).

As a result, this phenomenon has received much attention from various stakeholders. In fact, much research has been done on how families and their members are affected by separation across international borders (see Baldassar et al. 2007; Bryceson & Vuorela 2002). One key area of interrogation is care and how it is exchanged within these families. That is the focus of my dissertation. Situated in the lived experiences of Filipino transnational families with members in the Chubu region

of Japan, I explore family ties, care configurations and the dynamics of ‘care circulation’. In this dissertation, I examine the circulation of family-based care work by looking at how care flows around the family network in a context of extended transnational separation. Concurring with recent scholarship, in this study, I demonstrate that care work and the definition of family is expansive and adaptable.

While the main analysis is focused on families as micro units, the transnational nature of these family relationships mandates an engagement with the larger meso and macro factors that mediate the provision and exchange of care. A nuanced interrogation of these issues aids our understanding of Filipino family culture, gender relations and familial separation; as well as increased international mobility precipitated by rising global demand and supply.

Main Research Question:

To what extent are Filipino transnational families in the Chubu region of Japan able to sustain their familial ties and keep their families intact; despite extended geographical separation and various changes in their family arrangements?

Sub-questions:

1. How is care exchanged in these families?
2. What kind of social and emotional relations exist between family members?
3. What strategies are adopted to deal with challenges within these families?
4. How do gender norms impact on caregiving in these families?

Methodology & Research Design

This dissertation is based on a qualitative study of Filipino migrants who live in the Chubu region of Japan and their family members in the Philippines. It draws on data collected through in-depth interviews; as well as participation in and observation of family life in five prefectures in Japan (Nagano, Aichi, Shizuoka, Gifu and Mie) and several parts of Metro Manila and Cebu City in the Philippines. I also conducted fieldwork in the provinces of Bulacan and Cavite. Some interviews and/or conversations to clarify already collected data were conducted online via Skype, FaceTime or other videoconferencing media. Additionally, I followed the online behaviour and posts of some of the respondents (primarily younger ones) who had become ‘friends’ with me on social media. The bulk of my fieldwork was conducted between July 2016 and May 2019, although my interaction with the participants is ongoing.

A purposive-snowball sampling technique was adopted. Interviews with and observation of members of forty-three families were conducted. Each of the families involved has at least one family member who lives, works and/or studies in the Chubu region of Japan. The sample of participants in this study are diverse in terms of age, gender, social class, educational achievement, marital status, sexual orientation and immigration status. However, I must highlight that, although it was not an intended outcome, due to the snow-ball sampling technique adopted, most of the respondents seem to be relatively better-off compared to other Filipinos living in Japan. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalized as the reality of all Filipino transnational families in the Chubu region of Japan.

Outline of the Dissertation & Summary of Chapters

In the true spirit of this dissertation (the telling of stories and their implications), I have deeply considered how to organize it in order to tell an empirical but interesting, inspiring and thought-provoking story about a diverse group of migrants and their families; and how they experience and negotiate their familial separation. Based on my considerations, I have organized my dissertation as follows:

Chapter 2 establishes this study's theoretical foundation by exploring the existing literature and theories as it relates to transnationalism and migration. In this chapter, I first consider the core concepts of the transnational paradigm and their theoretical developments over time. In doing this, I also examine the criticisms levied against this paradigm and the way forward for transnationalism as a theory/concept. Next, I discuss how family relationships are affected by transnational migration and the subsequent temporal and spatial separation. Here, I detail how transnational motherhood, fatherhood and childhood are experienced and addressed in the existing literature. I also briefly discuss the issue of elderly care in transnational families.

Since this study investigates how care is provided and exchanged, it is important to identify what roles are involved in order to further interrogate their performance. Therefore, in Chapter 3, I present eight typologies of caring roles and discuss how they affect and are affected by care circulation. These typologies were identified based on a life course perspective and are organized under two broad categories: childhood and adulthood. This chapter acts as a transition to the next two substantive chapters where I discuss the practical and symbolic strategies involved in providing care and how families and their members mitigate any problems or challenges.

In Chapter 4, I show how and why the Filipino traditions of gift-giving and the sending of balikbayan boxes, as well as the building and/or acquisition of real estate, are closely linked to the creation, embodiment and maintenance of familial ties and belonging, despite geographic separation. Here, I explicate the relationship between intimacy and material exchanges and economic transactions by considering the local cultural values that underpin and drive these exchanges.

Chapter 5 develops my analysis of caregiving dynamics by considering the concept of ‘presence’ and how it is established and maintained across borders using Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). In this chapter, I engage with critical issues related to how communication media shape the exchange of care and intimacy within contexts of familial dispersion. I also discuss the ways in which new and older forms of communication shape intimate interactions and reconstitute the temporal and spatial aspects of Filipino transnational family life.

Chapter 6 expands the discussion by situating familial care in the context of a broader socio-political structure. This undertaking is fruitful because it allows for the extension of the definition of care and the recognition of alternative ways of providing care not only to family members but also to one’s homeland. As I argue in this chapter, care can be conceptualized as social remittances. Moreover, to the extent that the Philippine state fails to provide adequate livelihoods for its people, even as it is highly involved in state-led labor brokerage and the deployment of discourses that frame the performance of familial responsibilities as a form of national patriotism, any care provided by transnational family members can be seen as caring for one’s country because it relieves the burdens of the state in taking care of those family members. The new conceptual understanding of ‘transnational care’ that I advance in this chapter lays the foundation for a larger advocacy that calls on the Philippine state to provide reciprocal care to its family members - the sons and daughters of the nation.

Chapter 7 then summarizes the findings of the study and relates them to existing knowledge. I consider the implications of my results and their empirical and conceptual contributions to the understanding of kinship ties, care work and extended geographical separation. As the final chapter, here, I situate the findings of my study in the broader context of increased mobility and various meso and macro factors that mediate transnational family relationships. This makes it possible to show the multidimensional significance of the study.

Conclusion

This study responded to the need to better understand increased human mobility and the ways in which it affects contemporary life. Using the Filipino transnational family as a unit of analysis and adopting the theory of ‘care circulation’ as a useful analytical framework, this dissertation demonstrated that a transnational approach is particularly important in the study of families dispersed across international borders. Since the early 2000s, a substantive body of work on what has been referred to as the ‘global care chains’ provides insight on how migrants, primarily low-skilled females, have been forced to move from the global south to the global north to perform care work (see Parreñas, 2001, Yeates, 2009 & Hochschild, 2001). While they do this, they inadvertently create care deficits and care drain situations in their home countries. While not totally rejecting the propositions of those scholars, one of my main arguments in this dissertation is that a broader understanding of care and care

circulation is more appropriate. As I have done throughout my analysis, it is important to go beyond a dyadic view to consider the extensive network of family relationships which are involved in the provision and exchange of care. As well as the various actors involved, it is equally important to consider the different ways and forms of care and how it flows around the family network and among extended kin.

In this dissertation, I adopted Finch's (1989) five categories of familial care: emotional/moral, economic, accommodation, personal and practical. Throughout this dissertation, I have demonstrated that different family members based in different locations are involved in various kinds of care work, which are aimed at maintaining and displaying an image of a well-functioning family, even if separated by international borders. Adopting this broad definition of care exchange is useful to the extent that it gives a comprehensive picture of the efforts of all family and kin members. From this perspective, we are able to include non-traditional providers of care and demonstrate that feminized migration does not necessarily result in a drainage of care. Much to the contrary, it activates other nodes of care within a broader familial care network and summons family members to play their part, which often results in new role identities and reshaped social relations.

The discussions undertaken in this dissertation support and build on recent scholarship which conceptualizes family life as a verb ('doing family') rather than as a noun or an entity (a co-resident family unit). This focus on what a family does versus where the family members are domiciled is useful to the extent that it shifts our consideration away from a conventional understanding of 'family' as necessarily place-bound. This perspective also highlights current trends in how families are constituted through sets of actions and gestures that possess certain meanings in particular situations.

The Filipino transnational family has proven to be a fertile site for studying care circulation within geographically-dispersed families. Indeed, considering the foregoing summary and synthesis of the findings and how they engage with the existing literature, we see that this dissertation has responded to the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. To the extent that the Filipino transnational family is shaped by and embedded in ideological convictions of what a 'good family' should look like i.e. nuclear and co-resident, it would make it impossible for these families to be considered as such. Yet, as evidenced by this dissertation, the remarkable resilience of these families cannot be ignored. Their resilience is built on a collective effort to push the limits of social definitions and prescriptions regarding family life. The Filipino families in this study have been able to stay intact by redefining the daily rubrics of circulating love and affection in their family networks. They are involved in a range of emotional and symbolic, but also practical, work despite the challenges of separation. As demonstrated in this dissertation, Filipino transnational family members adopt various technologies and participate in sentimental economic exchanges in order to maintain their familial bonds and connections; even though their multi-faceted lives are lived across borders.