

Migrant Remittances, Population Ageing and Intergenerational Family Obligations in Sri Lanka

Michele Ruth GAMBURD

AAUP Vice President for Collective Bargaining Anthropology Department
Portland State University, Portland, USA
gamburdm@pdx.edu

Sri Lanka stands at the confluence of two major social trends: ongoing growth in transnational labor migration, and a demographic shift toward an aging population. As time passes, Sri Lanka's median age increases. Cultural expectations dictate that daughters-in-law should care for elders in the home. Simultaneously, three decades of migration of guest workers to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) continues; in 2008, roughly 1.8 million Sri Lankans worked abroad, more than half of them women. Over a quarter of Sri Lanka's 20 million people depend on migrant remittances in a country fraught with high unemployment and rampant inflation. The absence of migrant women (particularly daughters and daughters-in-law) leaves aging parents and grandparents in Sri Lankan villages without as many family members to see to their everyday needs. Prospective migrants face a difficult choice: should they continue to migrate (and thus remit much-needed financial support to their families) or stay home (and thus provide personal care and attention to elders)? Upcoming shifts in Sri Lanka's population structure will exacerbate the tension between providing money and providing care. Drawing on ethnographic data from a village in coastal Sri Lanka, this paper presents an anthropological analysis of the long-term impact of labor migration on intergenerational family obligations and financial relations.

Michele Ruth Gamburd, a cultural anthropologist, is Professor of Anthropology at Portland State University in Portland, Oregon, USA. She has performed ethnographic research in Sri Lanka since 1992. Her theoretical interests focus on agency, gender relations, globalization, and social change. Topics of study include the migration of labor from Sri Lanka to West Asia, aging, the use and abuse of alcohol, and the aftermath of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. She is the author of *The Kitchen Spoon's Handle: Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's Migrant Housemaids* (2000) and *Breaking the Ashes: The Culture of Illicit Liquor in Sri Lanka* (2008), and she is co-editor (with Dennis B. McGilvray) of *Tsunami Recovery in Sri Lanka: Ethnic and Regional Dimensions* (2010).

Differential Impacts of Migration on the Family Networks of Older People in Indonesia: A Comparative Analysis

Phillip KREAGER

The Oxford Institute of Ageing, UK
philip.kreager@some.ox.ac.uk

Elisabeth SCHRÖDER-BUTTERFILL

Southampton University, UK

The paper places current transnational migration from Indonesia in the context of the country's longer-term migration history. Indonesia's size and multi-island geography make current transnational movement an extension of established forms of internal migration. As the relation between internal and external migration is important and relatively neglected in migration studies, the Indonesian case raises issues of wider interest for migration theory. The core of the paper draws on longitudinal demographic and anthropological study of three Indonesian communities. The specific focus is on implications of migration of the younger generation for older persons in the community, and particularly for older women. The norm is one in which a network balance is struck between the activities of elders and their children, some of whom are living nearby, whilst others live at varying distances away. Significant material advantages of remittances and other support from migrants are more likely to accrue to members of higher socio-economic strata, and to those with larger and more cohesive kin networks. In poorer strata, distance migration tends to provide one of a number of supports that enable families to survive, but not to improve their situation substantially. Migration of some network members, and the presence or absence of their monetary and other support, induce successive changes in the roles and activities of others. Other issues in a family network, like divorce and education payments, interact with migration, and tend to increase demands on older people. The multiple ties that make up a network are thus potential avenues to vulnerability as well as support.

Philip Kreager is Lecturer in Human Sciences, Somerville College, and Associate Senior Research Fellow, Oxford Institute of Ageing. He directed the Wellcome Trust project, *Ageing in Indonesia, 1999-2000*, is co-editor (with Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill) of *Ageing Without Children: European and Asian Perspectives* (Berghahn, 2004), and is the author of numerous articles arising from the project and on anthropological demography and the history of population thought.

Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill is Lecturer in Gerontology, Centre for Research on Ageing, School of Social Sciences, University of Southampton. She was awarded a British Academy Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship at St Antony's College and the Institute of Human Sciences, Oxford University, and is a Senior Researcher in *Ageing in Indonesia*. She co-edited (with Philip Kreager) *Ageing without Children: European and Asian Perspectives* (Berghahn, 2004), and is the author of numerous articles arising from the project.

**Remittances as Obligation:
Managing Generational Reproduction through Remittances
among Burmese Migrant Workers in Thailand**

Kyoko KUSAKABE

Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand;
kyokok@ait.ac.th

Ruth PEARSON

University of Leeds, UK
r.pearson@leeds.ac.uk

It is often pointed out that women cross-border migrants remit more to their family in origin more than men do. It is also frequently assumed that women's financial ability gained through migration can lead to women having more decision making power and recognition from their families commonly described as economic empowerment. This paper examines these arguments through a case study of women and men Burmese migrant workers in Thailand. Our research points out firstly that it is not only the gender of the remitter that matters but also their marital status. Single daughters and sons are expected to remit, while once they get married, the responsibility to remit is understood to be less. Especially for men, once they get married, they hardly remit to their natal families. This is closely connected to their notion of family and their range of responsibilities for family reproduction, reflecting their support for family members, including children, for whom they feel a responsibility. Secondly, sending remittances is better understood as reciprocal process rather than a one way financial support from the migrants to the families of origin. Especially women migrant workers feel great pressure in sending money home if they are leaving their children back home. Because they are involved in a reciprocal relationship, expecting the family to provide care for their children, they frequently will resort to borrowing money to meet their commitment to remit to their natal families, even if their current wages or liquidity is insufficient. We have also found that if the remittances fail, migrant workers will no longer be able to rely on their families' continued care for their children and have to organize to bring their children over the border to Thailand. Because of the reciprocal and obligatory nature of remittances, it is not expected to be used on specific purpose to improve the situation back home. Although remittances are an important source of income for the families back home, because of this nature of remittances, it does not seem to necessarily improve their entitlements thus do not lead to increased say for women in their natal households.

Kyoko Kusakabe is an associate professor of Gender and Development Studies, School of Environment, Resources and Development, Asian Institute of Technology. Her recent research focus is on women's work in the informal economy, especially on gendered dimension of labor migration and trade under regional economic integration. She has conducted a number of research at the border areas in the Mekong region. She is currently leading a research on "Gender, cross-border migrant workers and citizenship: A case study of the Burmese –Thai border" with Prof. Ruth Pearson, University of Leeds with the support of IDRC Canada. The paper is based on this research.

**'So They Remember Me When I'm Gone':
Remittances, Fatherhood and Gender Relations of Filipino Male Migrants**

Steve McKAY

Department of Sociology, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA
smckay@ucsc.edu

Scholarship on gender and Filipino labor migration has focused almost exclusively on women, highlighting the trend towards the "feminization" of migration from the Philippines since the 1970s. Yet few studies have focused on men, who have always remaining a high percentage of out-migrants and in 2007 actually surpassed the number of migrant women working abroad. This paper addresses the gap in the gender and migration literature and the neglected issues of masculinity by focusing on the largest group of Filipino migrant male workers, merchant seafarers. Today, there are over 373,000 Filipino seafarers in the global labor market, 97% of whom are men. As the only category of Filipino migrants that are still required by law to remit a certain percentage of their wages, merchant seafarers also send back over \$3.4 billion each year to the Philippines. This paper will focus on male seafarers and the role that their remittances and economic investments play in the construction of gender norms and relations in their families and communities, both during their time abroad and on their "visits" home. The paper draws on historical research on seafarer promotion and remittance policies since the 1970s, on ethnographic field research among male seafarers onboard three international ships, and interviews with seafarers in their home country and communities.

Steve McKay is Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of California, Santa Cruz. He received his PhD in Sociology and an MA in Southeast Asian Studies from the University of Wisconsin, Madison and his BA from University of California, Berkeley. His research and teaching interests include Filipino labor and diaspora, work and labor markets, globalization, and masculinity. He is the author of the book, *Satanic Mills or Silicon Islands? The Politics of High-Tech Production in the Philippines*, ILR/Cornell University Press and Ateneo University Press (2006) and numerous journal articles including, "Filipino Sea Men: Constructing Masculinities in an Ethnic Labor Niche," in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and "Hard Drives and Glass Ceilings: Gender Stratification in High-Tech Production," in *Gender & Society*.

Remittances and the Changing Roles of Women in Laos

Nittana SOUTHISENG

School of Management in Shinawatra International University, Thailand
nittana@siu.ac.th

John WALSH

School of Management in Shinawatra International University, Thailand
jcwalth@siu.ac.th

Prior to 1975, women in Laos suffered from having reduced levels of power over decision-making in their families and in their communities. This has had a negative impact on their ability to develop their own identities. Their roles were identified as being responsible for household activities and making preparations for their marriage. Many women lost opportunities to get educated and access the outdoor work that might have empowered them to improve their situations. So far, no accurate figures of either emigrants or return migrants have been compiled but it appears that most of them were women, and it was women who most and more frequently remitted money home. However, very few recent studies have addressed the relationship between remittances and the roles of women in Laos. This study, therefore, aims at redressing to some extent the deficiencies in knowledge. Qualitative techniques were used to gather data, including individual in-depth interviews and direct observation in combination with the content analysis method. Forty women in Vientiane Municipality and Savannakhet province were individually interviewed. It was found that the monetary remittance was typically used for family security and well-being; on fungible activities; on economic and business activities; and on community development, especially concerning hospitality and providing daily household necessities. Remittances played important roles in improving many respondents' livelihoods and positively changed their identities in families and communities. Women became empowered as they were able to start commercial businesses, rather than taking care of (just) housework, children and elders. Interviews indicated that 92.5% of the respondents their quality of lives improved, 90% felt happier in their families and 82.5% felt conflicts in their families were reduced.

Nittana Southiseng is a lecturer at School of Management in Shinawatra International University, Bangkok, Thailand. She is Laotian. She got two master degrees: Master of International Public Management from the Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok, and Master of Business Administration from the National Organization of the Studies, Policies and Administration in Vientiane in Laos. She is interested in writing researches in areas of human resource management, human resource development, entrepreneurship, leadership, migration and labour market.

John Walsh is a lecturer at Shinawatra International University in Bangkok. His doctorate was received from the University of Oxford in the field of international management. He has previously worked in Sudan, Greece, Korea, Australia, the UAE and his native Britain. Currently, his research focuses primarily on social and economic development in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region.

**“Good” Sons and “Dutiful” Daughters:
A Structural Symbolic Interactionist Analysis of the
Migration and Remittance Behavior of Northern Thai International Migrants**

Teresa R. SOBIESZCZYK

Department of Sociology, University of Montana, USA
teresa.sobieszczyk@umontana.edu

Using findings from ethnographic research and in-depth interviews with returned migrant workers, family members, and government officials in Northern Thailand, this paper examines the remittances of Northern Thai men and women who went abroad for employment in another East or Southeast Asian country. A structural symbolic interactionist perspective is used to explore the norms and the symbolic meanings behind remittances sent by male and female Thai migrants. The paper emphasizes the multiple meanings of remittances and the ways they relate to the performance of normative and idealized gender roles. Gender differences in the meanings and motivations behind remittances and the symbolic deployment of remittances are explored. The analysis demonstrates that the symbolic weight remittances carry can be especially important for young, unmarried female migrants and their families.

Teresa Sobieszczyk is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Montana (UM). She also contributes to UM's Women's and Gender Studies Program and helped establish programs in International Development Studies and South and Southeast Asian Studies. She received her doctorate in Development Sociology from Cornell University in 2000. Her current research focuses on gender, population, and health issues in Southeast Asia.

Migration, Gender, Remittances and Savings: Implications for Policy and Sustainable Futures

Nicola POCOCK

Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore
sppnp@nus.edu.sg

Filipina women migrate along gendered lines, notably as domestic workers. Economic motivation to migrate is evidenced by empirical studies, but less obvious are the actual economic behaviours of migrants, i.e. remittance and savings activities, that reflect this motivation. This paper investigated the economic behaviour of Filipina domestic workers, to answer the central research question of whether gender and occupation are determinants of remittances and savings activities. The data presented were obtained from a comparative survey sample of 65 Filipino migrants and interviews with 10 Filipina domestic workers and 3 key informants in London, UK. The data reveal that motivations to migrate are primarily economic; migration is perceived to be a necessary household survival strategy by most respondents. The voluntary element of migration is undermined by structural constraints that condition choices to migrate. Gender as a latent variable appears to influence occupational choices, migration choices and subsequent economic decision making. Empirical results point to the new observation that there are significant differences between the remittance and savings activities of domestic workers and non domestic workers. Specifically, domestic workers are more likely to be family breadwinners than other occupational groups, via higher remittances transfers. Savings activity differs between non domestic workers and domestic workers, who save less regularly and use origin country bank accounts more than UK bank accounts. Qualitative analysis reveals that gender implicitly influences remittance patterns, and that gendered household divisions of labour in the sending country are beginning to shift, but further empirical investigation is necessary to elaborate on this finding. Results have policy implications at the macro and micro levels for organisations working with Filipina migrants and their families.

Nicola Pocock is a research associate at the Lee Kuan School of Public Policy at NUS. She researches health and social policy developments in ASEAN as part of a Rockefeller trends monitoring project. Her research interests span gender and migration and the related health and social policy issues. Motivation for this study comes from her professional experience at aidha, a non profit organisation that provides financial education and entrepreneurship training for migrant domestic workers in Singapore (www.aidha.org). Nicola recently completed an MSc in public services policy and management at Kings College London, UK, where she was based during data collection for this study.

Remittances and the Transnational Family in South-east Asia

Lucy P. JORDAN

School of Social Sciences, University of Southampton, UK
l.p.jordan@soton.ac.uk

There is a substantial body of literature on the impact of remittances on household, community and national development in the global south. Prior research provides inconsistent support for the effects of migrant remittances on those left behind, and in particular, there has been very little systematic investigation of the incidence and use of parental remittances within left-behind families with dependent children. The current study uses recent data from the CHAMPSEA survey collected in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam in 2008 to investigate remittances in the transnational family. Taking into account possible selection effect bias, multivariate binary probit models predicting the likelihood of remittance receipt and variation in self-reported use of remittances among mother- and father-migrant transnational households for basic survival, short-term and long-term investment are examined. After accounting for individual and household characteristics including variables such as duration of migration, parent occupation and education, household composition and wealth, findings indicate that there are some significant differences: mother migrant households are less likely to report recent remittance receipt, and more likely to report use of remittances for short-term investments such as education and durable good purchase. There are also significant differences in specific use of remittances according to household wealth and duration of migration, providing some evidence of a relationship between inequality and migration.

Lucy P. Jordan joined the School of Social Sciences, University of Southampton as lecturer of Social Work Studies in 2010 with primary teaching responsibilities in the administration and management of public sector organisations. Prior to joining the faculty at Southampton, Dr. Jordan was a post-doctoral research fellow at the University of St. Andrews, School of Geography & Geosciences. Dr. Jordan completed her PhD in Social Welfare at the University of Washington (specialisation in comparative public policy) and Master of Social Work at the University of Michigan. Her research interests focus on child and family well-being in an international comparative context. Dr. Jordan's current research includes investigation of health and well-being of children in transnational families within South-East Asia and the relationship between gender, power and HIV risk in East African families. She is particularly interested in the negotiation of the shared responsibilities of market, family and state in supporting productive and reproductive labour of families.

Remittance Dependency, Family Relationship and Household Assets

Ratih DEWAYANTI

AKATIGA-Center for Social Analysis, Indonesia
ratih.dewayanti@gmail.com

This paper is based on the empirical findings in two villages in Indonesia and the Philippines from a research carried out in 2009-2010. The paper will describe the role of international migration and remittances in household economy in two countries, and particularly look into more detail how migration shapes the decision making structure in the family. The research found that international migration provides some forms of insurance to earn higher income and get permanent jobs for certain periods, especially as the job opportunities in two countries is declining. Rural households are becoming heavily dependent on remittances, as it constitutes 60-90% of household incomes. As the majority of the migrant households are poor farmers, the biggest part of the remittances are used for paying up the placement fee for going abroad, which they borrow from money lenders with high interest rate. Very few households manage to use remittances for investment, such as buying land, agricultural plots or starting small-scale business. The paper will also emphasise the role of parents and spouses in the decision on where to go, how to use remittances and how to take care of children left behind. Poverty and higher dependency to remittances from abroad shows a tendency of labor-sending community to encourage the next generation to work abroad, in which parents and grandparents play significant roles in passing the ideas. By using the case of Indonesian village, I will discuss the concept of family assets and migration which is related to divorce and re-marriage practices.

Ratih Dewayanti is a Doctoral student in Regional and City Planning, and Assistant at Rural and Regional Planning Research Group at School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development, Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB-Indonesia). Received M.Sc degree from Department of Rural Development Sociology, Wageningen University (the Netherlands), and undergraduate degree from City and Regional Planning, ITB. Also work as researcher in AKATIGA-Center for Social Analysis (Bandung, Indonesia), in the studies on migration, rural transformation and rural women studies. Current PhD research is on the changing spatial mobility of the poor and working class in periurban areas, which are affected by the practices of Flexible Labor Market.

Coping With Debts: Transnational Labour Migration and Family Economics in Vietnam

Lan Anh HOANG

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
arihla@nus.edu.sg

Brenda S. A. YEOH

Asia Research Institute, Department of Geography,
& Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore
geoyasa@nus.edu.sg

While economic benefits of transnational labour migration in the form of remittances have been scrutinized in the global migration literature, its economic costs including brokerage fees and debts (in particular, in cases of failed migration) as well as their implications for the well-being of involved individuals have been largely overlooked. Labour migrants and their families are often driven into indebtedness by excessive fees charged by networks of brokers in both source and destination countries. This is further aggravated by the fact that the majority of labour migrants is from poor farming households in developing countries and has access to only poorly-paid low-skilled jobs with multiple risks and job insecurity. Drawing on both existing migration literature and our empirical study of migrant families in Vietnam, this paper seeks to explore the family contexts and pathways leading to indebtedness among transnational labour migrants as well as the ways families cope with debts. By addressing this rather neglected aspect of migration, the paper cautions us against taking for granted economic benefits of migration in the form of increased remittances and at the same time contributes to an improved policy context for enhancing the wellbeing of migrant workers and their families.

Lan Anh Hoang received both her MA and PhD degrees in Development Studies from the School of International Development, University of East Anglia, UK. She is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Asian Metacentre for Population and Sustainable Development Analysis, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. While at ARI she works on a research project entitled 'Transnational Migration in South-East Asia and the Health of Children left Behind' funded by the Wellcome Trust, UK (2007-2010). Her research interests include migration, development, family and gender. Lan will be taking up lectureship in Development Studies at the University of Melbourne, Australia in January 2011.

Brenda S.A. Yeoh is Professor (Provost's Chair), Department of Geography, as well as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore. She is also the Research Leader of the Asian Migration Cluster at the Asia Research Institute, NUS, and coordinates the Asian MetaCentre for Population and Sustainable Development Analysis. She is currently the Editor-in-Chief for *Gender, Place and Culture* and also serves on the Editorial/Advisory Boards of various international journals. Her research interests include the politics of space in colonial and post-colonial cities; gender; migration and transnational communities. Her selected publications include *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore* (Oxford University Press, 1996; reissued Singapore University Press, 2003), *Singapore: A Developmental City State* (John Wiley, 1997, with Martin Perry and Lily Kong), *Gender and Migration* (Edward Elgar, 2000, with Katie Willis), *Gender Politics in the Asia-Pacific Region* (Routledge, 2002, with Peggy Teo and Shirlena Huang), *Migration and Health in Asia* (Routledge, 2005, with Santosh Jatrana and Mika Toyota), *Asian Women as Transnational Domestic Workers* (Marshall Cavendish, 2005, with Shirlena Huang and Noor Abdul Rahman), and *Working and Mothering in Asia* (NUS Press and NIAS Press 2007, with Theresa Devasahayam).

How Families In The Philippines Manage Remittances: Is Financial Literacy The Answer?

Maruja M.B. ASIS

Scalabrini Migration Center, Philippines
marlaasis@smc.org.ph

Cecilia RUIZ-MARAVE

Scalabrini Migration Center, Philippines
cecilia@smc.org.ph

Brenda S.A. YEOH

National University of Singapore
geoyasa@nus.edu.sg

Elsbeth GRAHAM

University of St. Andrews, UK
efg@st-andrews.ac.uk

As a leading source country of workers and talents for the global labor market, the Philippines also ranks among the major remittance receiving countries in the world. Remittances sent by overseas Filipinos are acknowledged as a pillar of the Philippine economy, accounting for some 10 percent of the country's GDP. In 2009, despite the global financial crisis, the Philippines received US\$17.4 billion. For families and households, remittances have underwritten the construction of houses and the schooling of family members; for some, remittances have provided the needed capital to start a business.

Although it is widely acknowledged that remittances have improved the material conditions of the families of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), there are persistent perceptions of profligate spending and conspicuous consumption by remittance-receiving families. In recent years, financial literacy programs have emerged as a response to help OFW families manage and make use of remittances wisely.

Based on survey and qualitative data from the Child Health and Migrant Parents in Southeast Asia (CHAMPSEA) study, this paper interrogates the management of remittances by OFW families. This paper proposes that gender differentiated labor migration has implications for decisions concerning remittances, but family characteristics and dynamics (notably, pre-migration economic status of the family, migration profile, living arrangements and care-giving arrangements) also contribute to negotiations concerning the uses of remittances. Thus, managing remittances also involves managing family relations. Illustrative cases will be provided to suggest that economic and relational considerations intersect as transnational families and households strategize to shore up resources to meet their consumption and emotional needs. By showing how formations of human relatedness and responsibility across transnational space have to be taken into account in understanding the management and use of remittances, the paper extends the work on remittances beyond the narrow confines of economic perspectives.

Maruja M.B. Asis is Director of Research and Publications at the Scalabrini Migration Center (SMC). She has been working on international migration and social change in Asia. Her current research deals with the health and well-being of migrants' children in the Philippines (which is part of a four-country study in Southeast Asia), capacity-building of migrants' associations and Philippine government institutions as development partners, and the Migration Information System in Asia Project. She is Co-editor of the *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* and *Asian Migration News*. She has authored various publications and has participated in many international conferences.

Cecilia Ruiz-Marave obtained her Bachelor of Science degree in public health at the University of the Philippines (UP) and took masteral units in demography at the UP Population Institute. Her special interests are in population and health studies, migration research and project planning, management and evaluation. Since joining the Scalabrini Migration Center in 2003, she has been involved in the publication of the *Asian Migration News* and in the conduct of migration researches dealing with the health and wellbeing of children. She is the Philippine co-in-country coordinator for the research project, *Transnational Migration in Southeast Asia and the Health of Children Left Behind* (Champsea).

Brenda S.A. Yeoh is Professor (Provost's Chair), Department of Geography, as well as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore. She is also the Research Leader of the Asian Migration Cluster at the Asia Research Institute, NUS, and coordinates the Asian MetaCentre for Population and Sustainable Development Analysis. She is currently the Editor-in-Chief for *Gender, Place and Culture* and also serves on the Editorial/Advisory Boards of various international journals. Her research interests include the politics of space in colonial and post-colonial cities; gender; migration and transnational communities. Her selected publications include *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore* (Oxford University Press, 1996; reissued Singapore University Press, 2003), *Singapore: A Developmental City State* (John Wiley, 1997, with Martin Perry and Lily Kong), *Gender and Migration* (Edward Elgar, 2000, with Katie Willis), *Gender Politics in the Asia-Pacific Region* (Routledge, 2002, with Peggy Teo and Shirlena Huang), *Migration and Health in Asia* (Routledge, 2005, with Santosh Jatrana and Mika Toyota), *Asian Women as Transnational Domestic Workers* (Marshall Cavendish, 2005, with Shirlena Huang and Noor Abdul Rahman), and *Working and Mothering in Asia* (NUS Press and NIAS Press 2007, with Theresa Devasahayam).

Elsbeth Graham graduated with an MA (Hons) in Geography and Economics from the University of St Andrews and a PhD in Social Sciences from the University of Durham before taking up a temporary post as Assistant Professor at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA. In 1980 she returned to a permanent lectureship at the University of St Andrews where she is now Reader in Geography. From 2004 to 2007, she served as Head of the School of Geography and Geosciences at St Andrews. She has also held appointments, in 2004 and 2008, as Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. Her research interests are in population and health geography, particularly in issues related to low fertility populations, both in Europe and Asia.

Filipino Children and the Religious Economy of Saving and Being Saved

Cheryll ALIPIO

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
aricjba@nus.edu.sg

Prior research on migration has tended to place economic transactions at the forefront with adults as the key social actors. In neglecting to include children in these processes, researchers fail to give a complete understanding of the everyday lived experiences of families in migratory circumstances. The assumption that children are irrelevant or insignificant to migration studies is clearly undermined by the growth of transnational families and the increase of children's roles and responsibilities in maintaining the household. Drawing on anthropological fieldwork carried out between 2006 and 2007 in the province of Laguna in the Philippines, this paper first considers the Philippine cultural notions of *utang* (debt) and its refractions of *hiya* (shame) and *awa* (pity) as a means for understanding the reciprocal gift and money exchange relationships that often structure the lived realities and subjective hopes of those most relegated to what Neferti Tadiar (2009) calls, the "global undersides of capitalism" – that is, the children of low-income migrant families. Although the families of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) are often mistaken as being relatively better off than those without OFW family members, what is usually untold or hidden in prevailing migrant narratives are those OFW families who do not receive regular remittances from abroad due to reasons such as employer withholding, employment loss, loan repayments, clandestine affairs, and rumored "second" wives or husbands. It is in these precarious, shrouded "undersides" that the paper next turns to the changing role of affective labor in the capitalist economy, where the work of parents is taken over by third parties like the NGO, Atikha Overseas Workers and Communities Initiative, Incorporated. This paper suggests that in its children program, Batang Atikha Savers Club (BASC), Atikha elevates the cultural notion of indebtedness to family with an additional strand of values and ethics that is largely informed by Weberian religious and capitalist thought. With these cultural, religious, and capitalist underpinnings, the paper examines how the province's 350 BASC members were able to save an estimated total of 1.7 million pesos through evaluating the case studies of two children and their understanding of the role they play in their families: Isabel, whose mother is a domestic worker in Saudi Arabia, and Ariane, whose father is an electrician also in Saudi Arabia. Situating my investigation of these children during a Christmas affair at BASC, this paper explores these children's mediations on and manipulations of the money and gifts received from their parents and, thus, reveals the implications for how BASC develops and rewards children as rational and moral citizens who save (remittances or allowances) not just for personal self-interest, but also for future familial and civic investments.

Cheryll Alipio is a Postdoctoral Fellow for the Changing Family in Asia research cluster of the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore. While at ARI, she is working on a new research project entitled, "Communities of Care: The Affective Labor of Children in the Philippines." Her research interests lie in studying the Philippines and Southeast Asia through the anthropology of childhood, anthropology of affect and reciprocity, identity and gender, kinship and reproductive labor, and transnationalism and labor migration. Prior to joining ARI, she completed both her MA and PhD degrees in Anthropology at the University of Washington and received her BA in Anthropology and Psychology, with a Minor in Women Studies, from the University of California at Davis. Her dissertation title is "Affective Economies: Child Debts, Devotions, and Desires in Philippine Migrant Families."

Economies of Emotion: Money, Migration and Transnational Families Undone

Sallie YEA

Department of Geography, National University of Singapore
geosyw@nus.edu.sg

This paper explores four inter-related but hitherto largely neglected manifestations of the connection between Filipinas working abroad, money (in the form of salary) and transnational family. These are: a) the use of salaries to achieve goals related to the breaking up – rather than strengthening - of familial units; b) the failure to remit money as a key site through which tensions are produced - rather than diluted - within families; c) the related tendency for women to remain in exploitative workplaces and under conditions of poor (and sometimes no) remuneration in order to be in a position to eventually remit, and; b) the use of salaries to purchase luxury goods and items to send back to children in the Philippines. These four concerns both produce and are explained through the concept of emotion in migration. I argue that these concerns are common manifestations of the ways emotions affect remittance practices that might otherwise contribute to both national development and supporting family regimes. The paper takes issue with the familiar assumption that Filipinas (and other low skilled migrant women in the Asian region) will remit most of their salaries in an effort to contribute to the welfare of the family. The findings of my research point to something quite different; namely the shaping and breaking of families through alternative uses of salaries and/ or the failure to receive and remit promised salaries. I draw on current research with Filipina domestics and entertainers in Singapore to contribute to a more critical analysis of the intersections between family, migration and money.

Sallie Yea is a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Geography at the National University of Singapore. She is currently conducting research on trafficking of women and girls for commercial sexual exploitation into Singapore and research on the construction of anti-trafficking responses and the impact of these on trafficked persons also focusing on Southeast Asia. She has published numerous articles on issues of sexuality, migration and human trafficking in journals such as *International Migration*, *Women's Studies International Forum* and *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*. Her first monograph, *'Untrafficked'* is due to appear in 2010 with University of Hawaii Press.