Preface

The papers in this issue of the *Philippine Sociological Review* focus on the experiences of Filipinos living temporarily as contract workers or permanently as migrants outside the Philippines. Four of the papers were solicited by **Robyn Rodriguez**, herself a second-generation Filipino-American who is currently writing a doctoral dissertation on Filipino overseas contract workers for the Department of Sociology, University of California-Berkeley. Also, four of the papers deal with Filipinos in Japan; two, in the United States; and one, in Canada.

In the first paper, "The Social Constructions of the Filipina *Japayuki* and *Hanayome* and their Locations in Japanese Household and Society," **Mary Angeline Da-anoy–Satake** discusses two of the most pervasive, derogatory constructions of non-Japanese Asian women in Japan: the *japayuki*, entertainers found in towns and cities, and *hanayome*, recruited brides found in agricultural villages.

Da-anoy–Satake traces these "blunderous representations" of Filipinas to the exposure given them by media combined with structural conditions in both sending (Philippines) and receiving (Japan) countries, resulting in the migration of gender-specific (women) workers and individuals to Japan. The author argues that this feminization of migration along with global economic as well as national social and cultural factors (e.g., the structure of the Japanese household and society) perpetuates discrimination against, and the subordination and marginalization of Filipino women in Japan.

At the same time, Da-anoy–Satake emphasizes that media depictions of japayuki as sexual objects and hanayome as docile brides fail to show their multifaceted roles and invaluable contributions to the economic and social welfare of Japanese society. Thus, "the static stereotyped construction of Filipino women living and working in Japan is challenged by ... their diverse experiences as well as by their ability to withstand singular claims about them... the rational and pragmatic responses of women to their contextual realities... imply a pattern that contradict most of these mis/representations."

The contributions of Filipino migrants to Japanese society and economy that Da-anoy–Satake hints at in her article is more explicitly discussed by **Maria Rosario Piquero-Ballescas** in the second paper, "Filipinos Building Structures Within Japan." The paper begins with a detailed discussion of Japanese immigration rules and policies which are, in the end, deemed "restrictive." Ballescas then proceeds to discuss what she terms a "disciplining

discourse" that Filipinos in Japan have been, and are being, subjected to in the host (Japanese) society. However, despite these strict and protectionist policies and the negative stereotypes of them, Ballescas argues, Filipinos have come to Japan and have built physical and social structures for themselves and their families in the Philippines and in Japan, contributing positively to Japanese society and its people.

Their contribution to Japan consists primarily of labor, both productive and reproductive. Filipino male laborers build physical structures; female workers perform sex-affective services while domestic workers and brides provide care and maintenance through reproductive labor. And all types of workers contribute to political partnerships and alliances with Japanese NGOs, a number of local government units, and Japanese religious and church groups.

Ballescas thus concludes: "... not only do they build structures out of their labor, they also build homes and communities in Japan, springing from their sense of love and commitment to family." Literally and metaphorically, therefore, Filipino migrants are building structures in Japan.

In her paper, **Nota Magno** takes on a topic that has been neglected in the literature on Filipino migrants to Japan or elsewhere — that of food ways (or food and eating). Based on narratives she collected on Filipino women married to Japanese men in urban Japan, Magno points out that food is a way by which Philippine identities and meanings are articulated and reconstructed. More specifically, at the level of everyday food practices and processes, Filipino women who married and now work in Japan mobilize rules and draw on resources available to them for their own advantage and for their own purposes. Thus, food ways are seen as processes whereby Filipino women make sense of and negotiate with structures of food and national identity and, thereby, assert and articulate their selves. They produce "rational menus" out of traditional Philippine and Japanese menus. Food ways, in this sense, are always being reconstructed, much like the identities that they practice, or are created by them.

Pushing her arguments further, Magno ends her paper with an acute observation of the community, Nama, she studied in Tokyo. She notes that Nama has only one Philippine restaurant but has several bars and clubs. This indicates that "there is a greater consumption of Filipino women than of Filipino food in Nama... not because the Japanese ...have little knowledge or exposure to Philippine food" but because of "... the politics in which food and people are situated."

Takahata also deals with what has been neglected in the literature—that of a particular kind of Filipino overseas worker namely, boxers who go to Japan temporarily or reside there permanently to fight. Borrowing a sports sociologist's

(Maguire) typology of sportspersons who migrate, Takahata categorizes Filipino boxers who fight in Japan into five kinds, namely: (1) "Pioneers"; (2) "Settlers" who subsequently stay and settle in the society where they ply their labor; (3) "Mercenaries" who are motivated more by short-term gains and are employed as "hired guns;" (4) "Nomadic cosmopolitans" who are motivated by a cosmopolitan engagement with migration and use their sports careers to journey; and (5) "Returnees" who eventually come home as "the lure of home soil can prove too strong."

After his analysis of Filipino boxers who fight in Japan, however, Takahata suggests that revisions be made on Maguire's typology by adding some three other categories. He, in fact, claims that the majority of Filipino boxers who go to Japan are "hit-and-run journeyman," a category that is not in Maguire's typology although sharing features of the latter's "mercenary" sportsmen. "Hit-and-and run journeymen" are Filipino boxers who are motivated to go to Japan primarily by financial rewards.

Owing perhaps to some inadequacies in the translation of his paper from Japanese to English, Takahata's exposition of his ideas is not too clear. Nevertheless, his answer to the question "why do Filipino boxers in Japan always lose?" seems to be that, simply, it is the role that they are expected to assume. Much like the japayuki and hanayome who were "pushed" to Japan due to economic woes in the Philippines and "pulled" by Japan to fill-in roles that its own nationals shun, Filipino boxers are "invited" to Japan to fight (and earn more than they possibly can in the Philippines) and are expected to lose (although some win and even become national titleholders) so that their Japanese opponents can improve in the rankings or even become champions. All this, according to Takahata, shows, once more, the marginalizing and subordinating effects of ethnicity in international labor migration.

In "The Cultural Care of Children in Multiracial Families," **Evelyn Rodriguez** asks two major related questions: "Why and how do mothers 'culturally care' for their multiracial offspring? What, if any effects does this caring work have on these mothers' children, and for our general understandings of 'race' and 'culture' in the United States?" She attempts to answer these questions in an exploratory way using data gathered through in-depth interviews with mothers and their Filipino-White children. It is important to note that the respondents consist of three Filipina mothers, four White mothers, four daughters, and three sons from San Diego (California) and from the Bay Area (San Francisco), two Filipina mothers , one white mother, one daughter, and two sons.

Owing to the limited number of respondents she interviewed, Rodriguez is unable to arrive at definitive conclusions. Her data, however, suggests that "the 'cultural care' given by mothers is informed by their own experiences with 'race' and 'difference' and this "is often tacit and unacknowledged."

Rodriguez's data also suggest. "that multiple factors influence a multiracial person's cultural self-identity." This implies that multiracial children "receive care" not only from their mothers but also "from the rest of the world." Finally, she shows that her respondents "concurrently accept and defy the assumption that culture is biologically determined by one's race. They underscore the point that culture is fluid by exercising their ethnic options, and by refusing to be categorized."

Reviewers for this issue agreed to the inclusion of two other papers which some readers may find short of journal articles in a journal such as the *Philippine Sociological Review*. One of these , "Transnational Stages: Prospectus for a Filipino Theatre," primarily documents the growth of one theater group based in Sacramento, California , The Sinag-tala Theater Project, since its inception in 1990. Written by **Angela-Dee Alforque**, the daughter of the organization's founding producer and artistic director, Alcide Alforque, the paper outlines the requirements for building a Filipino-American theater based on the experience of Sinag-tala. For example, Filipino-American artists, she writes, must not only hone their artistic skills but must also research their histories to "dissect the very idea of 'Filipino American,' a term that 'like any other indicator of individual and collective identity, must constantly question its own prejudices, exclusions, and hierarchies, and allow for change.'"

The paper's contribution lies in its assertions relating to the need for a Filipino American theater to begin with. Alforque laments that "despite and because of the significant presence ... (for) at least five generations ... Americans of Filipino descent continue to (among others) negotiate issues of racial, ethnic, and national identity in the wider context of contemporary American society. . . challenges exacerbated by the fact that Philippine and Filipino American studies are marginalized to the point of nonexistence in American education..." She continues: "without a history, an identity is very difficult to define," arguing that artists of Filipino ancestry can "make Philippine and Filipino American studies accessible to their communities through the creation and production of culturally distinct theatrical representation and, by doing so, contribute to the ongoing process of defining self- and group identity."

Some readers may also view **Maria Deanna P. Santos'** piece, "A Matter of Policy or Strategy? Promoting the Human Rights of Filipina Domestic Workers in Canada," more as a position and advocacy paper rather than a social scientific piece of work, as indeed, it is. Based on a review of official government and secondary data and interviews and interactions with nongovernment organizations (who have themselves agenda to pursue) and reports they prepared for various fora, Santos finds many existing gaps in the protection of the lives of Filipina caregivers in Canada. These she groups into five areas, namely, "commodification and devaluing of domestic work," "gender equality,"

citizenship rights and temporary status," "racialized scheme," "live-in situation," "ineffectual legal and formal remedies," "family separation and reunification," and "equality and labor rights."

To promote the human rights of domestic workers, Santos recommends that receiving countries like Canada abolish the live-in care program "and other forms of indentured servitude" and proposes, instead, that domestic work "be given the appropriate dignity and recognition it deserves, commensurate to its enormous contribution to society." Santos recommends that sending countries like the Philippines adopt "a more active intervention and advocacy for the protection and promotion of its overseas workers in general and the Filipina domestic workers in particular." Finally, at the international level, Santos sees the "need to create avenues for leveling the playing field among nations, in terms of protecting individuals across borders, with more emphasis on upholding human dignity and rights, more than the economic concerns that are currently being prioritized."

MANUEL P. DIAZ
Issue Editor