The London School of Economics and Political Science

Filipina Intermarriage in Rural Japan:
An Anthropological Approach

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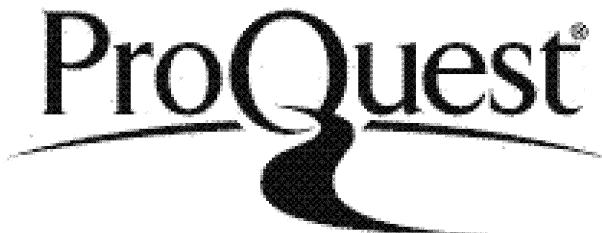
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Abstract

This is a study of forty Filipina women married to Japanese men living in a rural farming district in northern Japan. The thesis is concerned with four main areas of enquiry: the initial adjustment of the Filipinas to their new environment; their performance of local gender roles; the religious practices that the women carry out; and the social activities in which they participate. It is an account of the difficulties individuals face and the adjustments they have to make when they decide to settle in a foreign country. It is also an account of the problems of 'accommodation' experienced by Filipinas encountering Japanese society. The difficulties that the women face in their marital lives and the way in which they deal with them indicate both particular characteristics of Japanese society and certain qualities of Filipino personhood. By looking at a transnational experience from this perspective, the thesis attempts to trace the contours of the dynamic interaction between the Filipinas and the Japanese, on the one hand, and between forces of social reproduction and individual choices, on the other. All the Filipinas portrayed here met their spouse (directly or indirectly) through a public intermarriage introduction service provided by Japanese municipal government. Since the intermarriage introduction service was aimed at solving an issue of significant social concern in Japan, namely the 'bride famine' being experienced in rural areas, it is not surprising that there is an extensive body of literature concerning the problem published in Japanese, whereas the lived experiences of these Filipinas have not been much explored. More generally, while marriage between people from different countries has become increasingly common, not much research has yet been conducted on the subject yet. The thesis is therefore intended as a contribution to the ethnography of female transnational migration as well as to that of Filipina intermarriage.

Acknowledgements

List of Illustrations

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Maps

Tables

Glossary

J: Japanese, T: Tagalog

aijin	a lover; a mistress (J)
aisatsu-mawari	a greeting tour (J)
Ajia kara kita hanayome	a bride who came from Asia (J)
aki shigoto	autumn work (J)
ako	I (T)
Amaterasu	Shinto sun goddess (J)
amateuran	amateur singing contests (T)
anekatoku	succession by an eldest daughter (J)
aomono	lit. 'blue/green things'; vegetables (J)
Asahi-Okura Hoshiki	Asahi-Okura System (J)
atotori	successor (J)
baka	an idiot (J); a cow (T)
barong tagalog	a type of shirt which were introduced during the Spanish colonial period and transformed into a national symbol during the Marcos regime (T)
bastos	rude and obscene (T)
baylan	a spirit medium (T)
bebi bumu	a baby boom (J)
bekka	a branch household (J)
bekkyo	living apart (from parents/partner) (J)
boshitecho	a maternity handbook (J)
bukkyo	Buddhism (J)
bunka kyoshitsu	a culture class (J)
bunka-koryu-kai	a culture exchange conference (J)
buraku	a hamlet (J)
burakukai	a hamlet assembly (J)
burakukaicho	a hamlet assembly chairperson (J)
butsudan	a Buddhist alter (J)
chanoma	tea room (J)
chiku	ward(s) (J)
chonan-sozoku	succession by an eldest son (J)
cornicks	fried corns
Daikoku	deity of the harvest (J)
danchi	municipal apartments; public housing developments (J)
dekasegi	lit. going to earn; labour migration (J)
Ebisu	deities of fortune (J)
Firippin-jin	a Filipino/Filipina (J)
fufu-yoshi	a married couple 'adopted' by a childless family (J)
fujinkai	women's association (J)
gaijin	foreigner (J)

gaikokujin hanayome	foreign bride (J)
gaikokujin no oyomesan	foreign bride (J)
gaman	endure; tolerate; forbear (J)
ganid	a beast; a selfish person
geitoboru	outdoor sport resembling golf (J)
ginataan	coconut milk
ginataan labong	pork and bamboo shoots cooked with coconut milk
goshakareta	scolded (J)
haitto	lit. I'm coming in (J)
hanare	a separate house (J)
hideri	a drought (J)
hiya	a separate house(J)
hanayaka	glamorous (J)
hanmai	rice to eat (J)
hatake-shigoto	growing vegetables (in the household plot) (J)
Higan	equinoctial week in spring and autumn (J)
hindi romantico	not romantic
hitokai	slave dealers (J)
hodoai	moderation in taste and behaviour (J)
hokenfu	a community nurse (J)
hone	one's inner feelings, wishes, and proclivities (J)
honke	stem household (J)
hon-matsuri	main' or real festival (J)
ie de oboerukoto	things to learn at home (J)
ie o deru	moving out of the house (J)
imonikai	potato-cooking gathering (J)
Iseko	*a ko* association formed to visit the Ise Shrine of the Shinto sun goddess of Amaterasu (J)
japayuki	being bound for Japan (J)
japayuki-gan'nen	the genesis of *japayuki* (J)
jikaku	self-awareness (J)
jikkan	to feel actually (J)
kacho	the head of the family/ household (J)
kakko tsuki no kokusaikekkon	intermarriage in quotation marks (J)
kamidana	miniature Shinto shrine (J)
kami-sama	a god; a deity (J)
karagai	dried cod cooked with soy sauce (J)
karayuki	being bound for China or a foreign country (J)
kechi	tightfisted (J)
keigo	polite language (J)
kejime	distinction, discrimination (J)
kengyo-noka	a part-time farmer (J)
kenshu	job-training programme (J)
kibishii	rigorous; severe; strict (J)
kiken	hazardous; dangerous (J)
kikin	a famine (J)

kirai	dislike *(J. verb)*
kirifuda	the last resort (J)
kitanai	dirty (J)
kiten	wit (J)
kitsui	demanding (J)
ko	association derived from Buddhist activities (J)
kokeisha-mondai	the 'problem of successors (J)
kokusai-kekkon	international marriage (J)
kokusai-teki	international (J)
kominkan	public hall (J)
kondankai	meetings inviting Filipina, Korean and Chinese spouses (J)
kun	suffix indicating the male gender of the addressee (J)
leche flan	crème custard (T)
lunpiyang shanghai	a type of spring rolls (T)
ma'si-sozoku	succession by a youngest son
Maganda	beautiful or lovely (T)
masakit	painful; hurtful; insulting (T)
matigas ng ulo	lit. a hard head; stubborn (T)
mayaban	arrogant (T)
mechado	beef cooked with a tomato sauce) (T)
miai kekkon	arranged marriage (J)
miai	view each other (J)
miso	soybean paste (J)
miso-ramen	noodles with soup seasoned with *miso* (J)
mottai nai	wasting (J)
mozacon	mama's boy (J)
muko	bridegroom (J)
muko-yosi	a husband 'adopted' to marry a successor-daughter of a sonless family (J)
musume	daughters (J)
nabakari no entateina	token entertainers (J)
naebako	seedlings in frames filled with soil (J)
nahihiya	shy (T)
namagusa-mono	lit. a thing that smells of blood (J)
netsuretsu na jun-ai	passionate pure love (J)
Nihongo	Japanese (J)
nikushin	flesh-relation (J)
ni-san-nan	second and third sons (J)
nokyo	agricultural co-operative (J)
nomi-matsuri	drinking festival (J)
obaasan	grandmother (J)
obachan	a variation of *obasan* (J)
obachan-shumi	taste of elderly women (J)
obanchan	grandmother (J)

obasan	an aunt (J)
ochanomi	tea drinking (J)
ojiisan	grandfather (J)
ojinchan	grandfather (J)
Okannoko	*ko* association affiliated with the bodhisattva Kannon (J)
okasan	mother (J)
okashii	amusing; strange; improper; suspicious (J)
okka	mother (J)
omoiyari	consideration for the feelings of others (J)
omote	front or what is exposed to public attention (J)
otosan	father (J)
otto	father (J)
oyafuko	unfilial (J)
pancit	Filipino fried noodles with sliced pork and vegetables (T)
pangit	ugly or spoiling the beauty of the person (T)
pasalubong	gift(s) brought by a traveler returning from a trip (T)
pasma	illness of which symptoms include hand tremors, sweaty palms, numbness and pains (T)
patei-zuki	party-loving (J)
patis	Filipino fish source (T)
rojikurabu	elderly people's club (J)
sabik	keen; eager] to have what she wanted (T)
saikin no oyomesan	today's bride (J)
sake	rice wine (J)
sakim	greedy; selfish; caring too much for oneself (T)
samui	cold (J)
san	suffix indicating the female gender of the addressees (J)
sankei	3Ks - *kitsui* (demanding), *kitanai* (dirty) and *kiken* (hazardous; dangerous) (J)
sashimi	sliced raw fish (J)
satogaeri	lit. returning to the home (J)
seinendan	youth group (J)
seksi	sexy (T)
senkenteki	ahead of their time (J)
Shatta Dori	Shuttered Street (J)
shinigan	a type of food containing pork potatoes and Chinese vegetables and condiments (T)
Shinkansen	New Trunk Line (J)
shinseki	relatives (J)
shinsho yuzuri	handing over of the family fortune (J)
simple lang	just simple (T)
shoyu	soy sauce (J)

soto	outside (J)
sugata katachi	personal appearance
sugoi	amazing (J)
sukidesu	like (J. verb)
sukinahito	loved one (J)
taisaku	countermeasure(s) (J)
takumashii	strong (J)
tanoshikunaru	pleasurable (J)
tatemae	one's formal appearance compelled by a standardised norm, principle or rule (J)
terno	a type of blouses, which were introduced during the Spanish colonial period and transformed into a national symbol during the Marcos regime (T)
tinola	a Filipino dish with a variety of meat, potatoes and Chinese vegetables (J)
tita	aunt (T)
tokonoma	a room decorated with an alcove (J)
tomodachi	a friend (J)
tonarigumi	neighbourhood group(s)
uchi	inside (J)
ulam	a dish eaten with cooked rice (T)
unmeiteki	destined (to marry) (J)
ura	back; what is hidden from the public eye (J)
wakawakashii	youthful (J)
wakazumakai	young wives' association (J)
yabottai	rustic; unsophisticated (J)
yakuba	municipal government office (J)
yome busoku	shortage of brides (J)
yome	a bride (J)
yuino	betrothal gift money (J)
yuki	snow (J)
yunnori	a Korean game similar to backgammon
zabuton	a cushion (J)

Note on Japanese Romanization and currencies

Japanese Romanization

The Hepburn system of Romanization is used for Japanese terms, including the names of person and places. Long vowels are not indicated.

Currencies

One Philippine peso is approximately 0.01 British pounds.
One Japanese yen is approximately 0.006 British pounds.

Map of the Philippines

Map of Japan

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Introduction. Filipina Intermarriage in Rural Japan: An Anthropological Approach

This thesis concerns a small number of Filipinas, forty in all, who live in a rural farming district in northern Japan that I shall call Murasaki. Murasaki District comprises one city that I shall call Suma, and seven villages that I shall call Kashiwagi, Matukaze, Ukifune, Otome, Takekawa, Sawarabi and Momijinoga. Of the eight municipalities, Otome, Sawarabi, Momijinoga and Takekawa carried out matchmaking between Filipinas and their local bachelors during the period between 1986 and 1992. These Filipinas are all married to Japanese men whom they met either through the municipal matchmaking service or through connections relating to this service. The marriages took place during the period from 1986 to 1997.

The National Statistics for Japan show that the number of intermarried Japanese men rapidly increased during the 1980s and that intermarriage to Filipinas has since 1992 been one of common patterns of intermarriage in Japan (Table 1). During the 1980s, Japan saw high economic growth accompanied by a massive influx of transnational migrants from other Asian countries. This provided single Japanese men living in urban areas with opportunities to meet Filipinas and develop relationships with them, whereas their rural counterparts, particularly successor sons of farming families, faced serious difficulties finding a marital partner. Japan, like many advanced European nations, has experienced a severe contraction of working population in rural areas since the end of the Second World War (1945). It results in the problem of 'bride famine' in those areas. For the farming families, the bachelorhood of their successor sons means extinction of the family line. From the

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municipal governments' point of view, this threatens the continuity of the community. To address this problem, two municipalities in northern Japan, Asahi Town and Okura Village, organized trips to the Philippines for their local bachelors and carried out a matchmaking operation between them and Filipinas in 1985 and in 1986 respectively. The public matchmaking service was called *kirifuda* or 'last resort' (Sato et al. 1989:56). It was, in other words, thought to represent the last chance for single men living in these rural areas to avoid 'involuntary bachelorhood' (Knight 1995:9). The general nature of this social concern in rural Japan became evident when other rural municipal governments followed suit and opened similar services for their bachelor residents, adopting the same procedure of matchmaking carried out by Asahi Town and Okura Village, which was later named the Asahi-Okura *Hoshiki* (system). Murasaki, the geographical focus of this thesis, represents one of the rural areas where Filipina-Japanese marriages became popularised in this way.

Both municipal governments that carried out public matchmaking services and Japanese men who married through the services came to attract fierce criticism from women's groups and feminist intellectuals for substituting foreign women for the natives. The municipal governments in Murasaki closed their matchmaking services, entrusting the role of matchmaker to commercial agencies. Yet, Filipinas continue to lead their lives in rural Japan, having been incorporated into the existing households of their husbands' families. This thesis explores the marital lives of Filipinas in Murasaki.

Table 1. International marriages in Japan 1965 - 2006

Year	All coupes	Japanese couples	Eithr Husband or wife foreigner	Husband Japanese wife foreign All couples	Korea	China	Philippines	Thailand	USA	UK	Brazil	Peru	Others	Wife Japanese husband foreign All couples	Korea	China	Philippines	Thailand	USA	UK	Brazil	Peru	Others
1965	954,852	950,696	4,156	1,067	843	121			64				39	3089	1128	158			1592				211
1966	940,120	936,144	3,976	1056	846	115			43				52	2920	1108	166			1433				213
1967	953,096	948,611	4,485	1348	1097	139			53				59	3137	1157	175			1555				250
1968	956,312	951,528	4,784	1460	1124	176			53				107	3324	1157	208			1600				258
1969	984,142	979,063	5,079	1719	1284	206			80				149	3360	1168	194			1734				264
1970	1,029,405	1,023,859	5,546	2108	1536	280			75				217	3438	1386	195			1571				286
1971	1,091,229	1,085,639	5,546	2350	1696	325			97				232	3240	1533	194			1252				261
1972	1,099,984	1,093,988	5,996	2674	1785	445			102				342	3322	1707	237			1010				368
1973	1,071,923	1,065,730	6,193	2849	1902	410			122				415	3344	1674	238			1024				408
1974	1,000,455	994,096	6359	3177	2047	477			142				511	3182	1743	229			790				420
1975	941,628	935,583	6,045	3222	1994	574			152				502	2823	1554	243			631				395
1976	871,543	865,221	6322	3467	2049	646			163				609	2855	1554	229			604				458
1977	821,029	814,958	6071	3501	1990	635			196				680	2570	1390	197			539				444
1978	793,257	786,977	6280	3620	2110	655			172				683	2660	1500	198			601				361
1979	788,505	781,774	6731	3921	2224	751			183				763	2810	1597	189			598				426
1980	774,702	767,441	7261	4386	2458	912			178				838	2875	1651	194			625				405
1981	776,531	768,774	7757	4813	2585	1032			219				977	2944	1638	235			630				441
1982	781,252	772,296	8956	5697	2903	1345			225				1224	3259	1809	285			665				500
1983	762,552	752,101	10451	7000	3391	1864			269				1476	3451	1901	296			734				520
1984	739,991	729,483	10508	6828	3209	1704			234				1681	3680	2021	300			751				608
1985	735,850	723,669	12181	7738	3622	1766			254				2096	4443	2525	380			876				662
1986	710,962	698,433	12529	8255	3515	1841			218				2681	4274	2330	349			896				669
1987	696,173	681,589	14584	10176	4405	1977			235				3559	4408	2365	432			947				664
1988	707,716	690,844	16872	12267	5063	2234			234				4736	4605	2535	431			888				751
1989	708,316	685,473	22843	17800	7685	3291			211				6613	5043	2589	614			946				894
1990	722,138	696,512	25626	20026	8940	3614			260				7212	5600	2721	708			1091				1080
1991	742,264	717,105	25159	19096	6969	3871			243				8013	6063	2666	789			1292				1316
1992	754,441	728,579	25862	19423	5537	4638	5771	5771	248	99	645	138	762	6439	2804	777	54	13	1350	168	152	56	1065
1993	792,658	766,001	26657	20092	5068	4691	6394	1926	244	89	625	166	889	6565	2762	766	58	22	1381	220	146	81	1129
1994	782,738	756,926	25812	19216	4851	4587	5999	1836	241	90	590	146	876	6596	2686	695	46	17	1445	190	147	74	1296
1995	791,888	764,161	27727	20787	4521	5174	7188	1915	198	82	579	140	990	6940	2842	769	52	19	1303	213	162	66	1514
1996	795,080	766,708	28372	21162	4461	6264	6645	1760	241	88	551	130	1022	7210	2800	773	56	25	1357	234	199	58	1708
1997	775,651	747,400	28251	20902	4504	6630	6035	1688	184	90	488	156	1127	7349	2674	834	61	31	1374	225	233	99	1818
1998	784,595	754,959	29636	22159	5143	7036	6111	1699	215	65	417	138	1335	7477	2635	787	81	38	1299	240	204	122	2071
1999	762,028	730,128	31900	24272	5798	7810	6414	2024	198	81	333	128	1486	7628	2499	836	101	64	1318	228	222	123	2237
2000	798,138	761,875	36263	28326	6214	9884	7519	2137	202	76	357	145	1792	7937	2509	878	109	67	1483	249	279	124	2239
2001	799,999	760,272	39727	31972	6214	13936	7160	1840	175	93	347	142	2091	7755	2477	793	83	55	1416	267	243	135	2286
2002	757,331	721,452	35879	27957	5353	10750	7630	1536	163	85	284	126	1030	7922	2379	814	104	45	1488	317	231	137	2407
2003	740,191	704,152	36039	27881	5318	10242	7794	1445	156	65	295	139	2427	8158	2235	890	117	62	1529	334	265	125	2601
2004	720,417	680,906	39511	30907	5730	11915	8397	1640	179	64	256	137	2589	8604	2293	1104	120	75	1500	339	268	122	2783
2005	714,265	672,784	41481	33116	6066	11644	10242	1637	177	59	311	121	2859	8365	2087	1015	187	60	1551	343	261	123	2738
2006	730,971	686,270	44701	35993	6041	12131	12150	1676	215	79	285	117	3299	8708	2335	1084	195	54	1474	387	292	115	2773

1. The Aim and Objective of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to provide an account of the marital lives of forty Filipinas in rural Japan and to contribute to the general ethnography of intermarriage and transnational migration. The thesis looks at the everyday lives of the Filipinas. The focus of this thesis is placed on the accommodations and adaptations that the women make in their lives in order to successfully settle in a foreign country. By 'accommodation', I mean the process in which people cope with the change in a natural and social environment that their migration entails. I take 'adaptation' to mean the process in which migrants learn the language in the new land, gain knowledge about the locality and try to fit into the lifestyle of the host society. The objective of this thesis is to explore how the Filipinas accommodate the change in their natural and social environment, how they adapt themselves to the lifestyle of a rural farming village, and how they are incorporated into the married-in families and communities. This opening section has two purposes: to briefly locate my ethnography in relation to other immediately relevant studies of transnational intermarriage, and to provide a general overview of the central themes.

Following the open criticism of the public matchmaking services, Filipina-Japanese marriage in rural Japan attracted acute attention from the Japanese public, producing a spate of writing about it. One of the earliest and the most informative works is Kyoko Shukuya's *Brides Who Came from Asia: A Logic of the Receiving Side* (1988). Shukuya, a journalist, investigates the operations and fees of the matchmaking service provided by Asahi Town and Okura Village, along with those

of two other rural municipalities and several commercial intermarriage agents. Some scholars and special commentators follow Shukuya in their research on Filipina intermarriage in rural areas. However, the main focus of studies dealing with Filipina-Japanese marriage in rural areas is invariably the problem of the shortage of brides (e.g. Sato, et. al. 1989; Niigata Nippo 1989; Higurashi 1989; Itamoto 1990: 135-75; Iwamoto 1995). Accordingly, real life experiences of Filipinas are hardly explored. One of the few exceptions which concerns Filipina partners in rural Japan is a work by Norihiko Kuwayama, a psychiatrist and the director of an NGO specialized in aiding foreign partners. His book entitled *International marriage and Stress* (1995) describes intermarried foreign partners/patients (including Filipinas, Korean and Chinese women) who suffer from language barriers and cultural differences, and a variety of activities conducted by NGOs to support them.

It was as recently as the 1990s that Filipina transnational movement began to attract academic attention. Although there is now quite an extensive literature on Filipina migration, most case studies have focused on the idea that Filipinas migrate to contexts which are more 'modern' than those they leave behind in the Philippines. While moving beyond explanations from economic motivations alone, such studies as Nicole Constable's domestic helpers in Hong Kong (1997) and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas' domestic helpers in Rome and Los Angeles (2001) have explored the ways in which Filipina migrant workers seek out a combination of better income for themselves and the families they leave behind, and the experience of a world beyond the Philippines which is seen as wealthier, more exciting and more glamorous than life at home. Constable's study of Internet marriages, *Romance on a Global Stage*

(2003), is consistent with her study of migrant workers in this respect, since it emphasizes the inseparability of Filipinas' hopes for a wider experience of life with hopes for economic stability, as well as the way that both are linked with hopes for a happy emotional relationship. In this study, Constable talks to Filipinas who marry men from the United States, and who envisage their transnational marriages as the move from the Philippines understood as a relative backwater of global modernity, towards the United States which is generally viewed as its epicentre. Although the Filipinas working in Italy studied by Parreñas (2001) obviously have specific ideas about, for example, Rome as the Holy City of Catholics, the expectations of Filipinas coming to Europe which Parreñas discusses appear to be broadly comparable to the expectations of Filipinas going to Hong Kong or to America; that is, that they are seeking out experience in locations viewed as more advanced, more urban and more modern than those they leave behind.

Japan is also viewed as an advanced nation from the perspective of most ordinary people in the Philippines, and it is clear that Filipina workers applying for jobs in the entertainment industry in Japan, such as a *japayuki* who are the subjects of Lieba Faier's recent study, *Intimate Encounters* (2009), regard it in this light. My informants were no exception in this respect. However, one clear difference between my study and the other studies currently available is that they were recruited immediately and specifically as wives of rural farmers, and asked to go and live in Japanese families from the outset. Faier's informants were, she tells us, usually influenced by the glamour which supposedly attaches to bar work and entertainment work because of its supposed connection (more imagined than real) with the

possibility of entry into a world of a professional entertainment industry of successful

Filipina singers, TV personalities and film stars within a national entertainment

industry. My informants, on the other hand, were unlike Faier's in that they were only

ever approached as potential brides, and unlike Constable's in that it was clear from

the beginning that they would be going as wives of farmers within one particular

location and economy in Japan. Although some of them nurtured hopes and

expectations for job opportunities apart from marriage, and these were sometimes

sources of tension as I shall show, my study is unique because it looks at Filipinas

travelling, not towards a more urban destination, but towards one which was in many

cases more rural than the Manila life which some of them left behind. It is also

unique because in most cases they understood this, whatever parallel hopes they may

also have entertained. My thesis is therefore a study of migration which questions the

usual assumption that transnational movement is always towards modernity, and

which at least complicates the implication in the literature that such migration is

always motivated by the desire to travel towards images of a more modern life.

While my Filipina informants' intermarriages can be seen as a 'reverse'

movement, there also are paradoxical aspects in situations surrounding Filipina

intermarriages in Murasaki and the lives of people involve in this phenomenon,

which this thesis aims to explore. One of the most distinctive features of Filipina

intermarriages in Murasaki is the way in which these marriages were undertaken,

namely matchmaking services. Although the public saw the services as controversial,

intermarriages between local men and Filipinas were apparently condoned in the area.

In response to the floods of criticism poured over their marriages, Japanese partners

emphasized the loneliness and insipidity of the single lives that they had endured in their rural villages. Nevertheless, the driving force behind the establishment of public matchmaking services is attributed to the interests of the natives preserving their *ie*. The word *ie* means the family and the household, besides the physical building in which the family-household members live. It also carries a connotation of continuity corresponding closely to the meaning of the English word 'house' as in 'the House of Windsor' (Fukutake 1967; Hendry 1987; Vogel 1971). The core concept of formation of the *ie* is what was called the *kazoku seido* (family system).[1] The amalgamation of the ethics of Neo-Confucianism (established during the Tokugawa shogunate (1600 - 1868) as an ideological tool for ruling the country) and Japanese mytho-history enabled the Meiji government (1868 - 1912) to proclaim that all Japanese were descended from the imperial line, and thus to convert filial piety from a private custom into a civic duty. It is claimed that the '*ie* ideology' buttressed Japanese people's strong sense of responsibility for preserving their *ie*. As indicated by the doctrine advocated by the Meiji government, the ideology of the *ie* is associated with ethnocentrism of the society and often attributed to xenophobic attitudes among the Japanese. While Filipina intermarriages in Murasaki is an indication that the *ie* opens its heavy door in order to avoid destruction, this poses a question of how the conservative rural community incorporates Filipinas.

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[1] The *kazoku seido* was disseminated by means of the compulsory education system introduced across the nation in 1872. The development of moral character was the central aim of primary schooling until the end of the Pacific War in 1945 (Hendry 1981:15; Smith 1983:29-31). The task was carried out extremely efficiently, given that enrolment in schools was up to 98% by 1909 (Hendry 1981:26).

While the rule of succession to the *ie* is further examined in Chapter 2, the traditional *ie* is characterized by two main features. One is its dual function as a unit of a kinship group and a unit of a corporate group. The other is that the continuity of the latter has always subordinated that of the former so that a wide variety of practices, including arrangements which pass over biological sons of the household head, have been followed and regarded as legitimate. The institution of the *ie* has developed in tandem with patriarchy and land ownership, even though the rule of succession to the institution has never been precisely that of primogeniture. The vast majority of my informants' husbands (38 out of 40) were first sons who succeeded to their natal household and inherited land to farm. The second paradox manifested in Filipina intermarriages in rural Japan is the particular situation of Japanese partners. As indicated by the problem of 'bride famine' in this area and the number of intermarriages to Filipinas as a result, the child that is privileged in terms of inheritance is disadvantaged in terms of marriage. This is attributed to their social position as a successor to the *ie* and their occupation as a farmer. While succession to the *ie* in Murasaki entails performance of such duties as remaining in the natal village, taking care of one's parents, and ideally continuing the household occupation (normally farming), contemporary Japanese women are reluctant to take on the generally accepted duties towards the husband's parents and hard manual labour demanded by family farming. Emphasizing the increasing difficulty of the situation of middle-aged bachelor residents who were becoming less and less attractive in the national marriage market, municipal governments that provided the matchmaking service commonly pointed to farming as being a disadvantageous occupation when

looking for a bride (Nippon Seinenkan 1988; Higure 1989). Their matchmaking services were a countermeasure to the problem of 'bride famine'. The other paradoxical aspect in intermarriages in Murasaki is, however, that while the municipalities have explicitly encouraged intermarriage as a way of sustaining local *ie*, the way in which they have done so may subvert them in the long term. This is because the majority of Filipinas married into farming families are young urban women who have never learned to farm and who are, like their Japanese counterparts, generally reluctant to do so. Contrary to the popular desire, such brides may perpetuate the *ie* biologically; however, they are not much help in maintaining their viability as farming units. This thesis asks how the traditional *ie* transforms in order to survive in the modern rural Japanese context.

Incorporation of a Filipina bride in their *ie* has caused one other paradoxical effect on the lives of the Japanese families, particularly on that of the mother-in-law. Not only Filipinas but also their Japanese counterparts are incompetent to work on the land. However, upon arrival in Murasaki, the Filipina brides lack knowledge of local customs and conventions, the skill of cooking 'proper' food, and above all, Japanese language skills. This means that their mothers-in-law have to take on additional chores at a time in life when they are ready to retire. Since incorporation of a new member usually influences intra-group dynamics and relationships, this issue poses a question of how the relationships between the Filipinas and their Japanese families are formed and developed.

Post-marital residence in the Philippines is normally neolocal, and modern Japanese brides are more likely to lead a modern lifestyle, setting up their 'nuclear'

households upon marriage, whereas the vast majority of my Filipina informants live with their parents-in-law, having married into the existing household of their Japanese husbands' family. Yet, co-residence with parents-in-law, which contemporary Japanese women try to avoid, is one of the duties assigned to the successor's spouse to the *ie*. It seems that the married lives of the Filipinas are subjected to social pressures compelling them to perform the specific role of the successor's spouse. However, as described in the following chapters, the Filipinas manage to cope with their situation well, running their households and participating in communal activities. Behind their successful adaptation to the local lives lies the emotional and practical support they receive from other Filipinas in the vicinity. The support from fellow Filipinas is crucial, especially at the beginning of their lives in Murasaki, when the bond with their Japanese families is presumably weak and the language barrier is visible. Nevertheless, successful adaptation means reproducing the local model of the married woman, involving a kind of 'mimicry'. While scholars such as Kondo would argue that by performing Japanese gender roles (and by internalizing Japanese language and culture) the Filipinas are transforming into Japanese (1999), studies on transnational migrants would suggest that the women are split between Filipina and Japanese identities through performance of Filipina and Japanese roles (Hall 1990). However, interactions between the Filipinas indicate that while successful adaptation to local lives (e.g. a good command of Japanese, a broad knowledge of the locality and Japan) is admired, excessive adaptation (e.g. strict adhesion to local customs and dress code) is abhorred; there certainly is Filipino aesthetics in the way in which they perform Japanese gender roles. This asks a

question of the significance of adaptation of Japanese gender roles for the Filipinas themselves.

I have presented three central issues that this thesis will explore: 1) how Filipinas are incorporated into Japanese community and families incorporate, 2) how intra-household dynamics transform as a result of incorporation of the new members, and 3) the significance of adaptation of Japanese gender roles for the Filipinas. To understand these issues, one needs to take into account the notion of the *ie* which is deeply ingrained in the natives in Murasaki. When a Japanese social group is discussed, the notion of the *ie* is almost always employed as the framework around which social interaction is structured. The framework provided by this institution is often conceived as monolithic and inflexible so that it is not people but situations and relationships structured around this framework that are believed to control their behaviours. However, in her study of Japanese society, Joy Hendry demonstrates how people attempt to control situations and shape power relationships by employing a particular mode of communication. Attempts of generating power displayed by the less powerful are often conceived of as an act of resistance, as it normally entails alteration of the existing power relationships. However, this mode of communication empowers the less powerful by reproducing the existing framework of hierarchal relationships. This is because, according to Hendry, Japanese place much cultural value upon the maintenance of harmony. Moreover, although Japanese society is often characterized as a closed society, various practices deployed to secure the successor to the *ie* point to flexibility and capacity to receive new members. If power is generated through preproduction of the existing hierarchy of the *ie*, Filipina-

Japanese households become the locus in which Filipinas empower themselves by performing Japanese gender roles.

In order to fathom the significance of adaption of Japanese gender roles for the Filipinas themselves, it is necessary to look at not only the married lives of the Filipinas but also the cultural landscape of the lowland Philippines. The latter is commonly known for its apparent assimilation of Western culture. However, in her study on the lowland Philippines, Fenella Cannell argues that the cultural essence of the lowland Philippines does not reside in fixed and finalized cultural objects but in the transformations to which such cultural objects are subjected. With reference to accounts of collective forms of popular entertainment (including singing contests and *bakla*'s (transvestites) and women's beauty-contests) and various forms of power relationships (including not only those between living people but also those between living people and spiritual and imaginary others), Cannell elucidates the Filipino notion of beauty and that of power (1999). From the Filipino worldview, neither beauty nor power is something that is possessed by a person but something that is generated through dynamic engagement with the others and therefore is in constant transformation. Personal prettiness, for instance, is only part of the concept of beauty, which consists of such components as: proper clothing and make-up and positive acclamation of the viewer. By the same token, power is not an internal essence found in the person but is accessible only through dynamic engagement with others. A wealthy and powerful person does not attract praise for his/her fortune or position but through engagement with the other. The state of the relationship between the participants never becomes equal but is always asymmetric. Constant

and dynamic engagement transforms the relationship from that of greater hierarchy and distance to that of greater balance and harmony, through which power is exchanged for intimacy. For Filipinas, then, learning the language of powerful others and adapting their model of actions are the mode by which relationships are transformed.

As mentioned in the beginning of the thesis, Filipina intermarriages were criticized for substituting foreign women for the natives. However, if reproducing the existing order of the hierarchy is Japanese mode of generating power, my Filipina informants' adaptation to Japanese gender roles not only reproduces the existing framework of relationships but also empowers the women. If learning the language of powerful others and adapting their model of actions are Filipino mode of generating power, the Filipinas' adaptation to the lives in Murasaki is not aimed at preserving existing relationships but generating power and intimacy between them and the others that co-participate in their lives. In order to buttress the above contention, I shall explore anthropological literature of intermarriage, Filipino personhood, Japanese society and transnational migration.

2. Defining the Phenomenon: Terminology for Intermarriages

Studies of intermarriage are characterized by diversity in terms of the focuses of research. In fact, studies of intermarriage cover all stages of the phenomenon, including: 1) causation, 2) partner selection and incidence patterns; and, 3) the consequences of intermarriage for couples and their children. Research on these themes has been conducted within various scholarly disciplines including

psychology, demography, sociology, and anthropology. And, it has employed a variety of terminologies to describe different focuses and diverse research interests. In this section, I examine terminologies employed by the preceding studies of intermarriage and discuss my usage of 'intermarriage'.

As in 'inter-racial', 'inter-national' and 'inter-ethic' marriages for instance, the prefix 'inter' is most frequently used to emphasize a crossover element found in the relationship of the two partners that go to make up a couple. Such crossover elements include religion, culture, class, language and caste, in addition to race, nationality and ethnicity (Cahill 1991:4). However, there is often more than one such crossover element found in these types of relationship. In his review of communication studies on intermarried couples, Rohrlich is critical of the use of the prefix 'inter' because it is 'too loosely used' (1988:38). He argues for the use of a new term, 'dual-cultural' marriage, because of its more specific description of the cultural backgrounds involved in the research subject (op. cit.). However, in her study of Chinese intermarriage in New York, Sung reports that the cultural background of her informants is more often 'tri-' cultural than 'dual', as many of them are of mixed parentage (1990:64).

Some scholars prefer to use the prefix 'cross'. Reviewing the literature of 'cross-national' marriage, Cottrell argues that although 'cross-national' marriages are most likely inter-ethnic marriages, equating 'cross-national' with 'cross-cultural' is overly simplistic. 'Since most nations are ethnically diverse, one cannot assume that a cross-national marriage will necessarily involve very different cultures, even if the dominant cultures in the two nations are very different' (1990:152). Taking Western-

Indian couples living in India, where she conducted her fieldwork (1973), for example, Cottrell suggests that an Indian who is an urban, Westernized, Christian will experience fewer cultural differences married to an American Christian than married to an Indian who is an orthodox Hindu (1990:152).

In their introduction to a collection of essays entitled *Cross-Cultural Marriage*, Breger and Hill, on the other hand, propose the term 'cross-cultural' to describe marriages between people of different linguistic, religious or ethnic groups and/or nations (1998:7). In contrast to Cottrell, Breger and Hill emphasize the cultural divide between regions, socio-economic classes, and sexes within the same class; they argue that all marriages can be seen as cross-cultural marriages (op. cit.). As noted earlier in the thesis, their approach to the research phenomenon is not only gender-sensitive but is also critical of any generalisation. Because of its heavy reliance on a patriarchal gender model, they are particularly critical of Robert Merton's analysis of interracial marriage in the USA (1972 [1941]), referring to it as a 'sexist model' (1998:16), even though his analysis has been influential for analyses of partner selection in interracial marriages (e.g. Benson 1981). Neither Breger (ibid. 129-52) nor Hill (Khatib-Chahidi, Hill and Paton ibid. 49-66) employs the term 'cross-cultural marriage' in their contributions, however. Since they are both concerned with issues relating to the difference in nationality between marital partners, they refer to their research phenomenon as 'international' marriage instead.

One of the latest publications concerning Filipina intermarriage is a collection of eight case studies entitled *Cross-Border Marriages* (Constable 2005). The collection aims at conveying a variety of experiences of 'Asian women', questioning

the stereotypes associated with them, and calling to mind the multiple ways in which 'cross-border marriages' are linked to wider regional, national, global, and transnational processes. The study introduces the concept of 'global hypergamy', which such contributors as Constable and Suzuki demonstrate to be a useful analytical tool in order to discover contradictory social and economic patterns involved in 'cross-border marriages'. In her contributing article to the above collection, Constable also argues for 'correspondence marriages' to replace the derogatory 'mail-order brides' with reference to the case study of Filipina-US intermarriage (ibid. 186). However, none of the contributors discuss the term 'cross-border marriages' so that the question is left open as to whether 'cross-border marriages' are solely attributed to Asian women.

Merton employs the term 'intermarriage' in his study of interracial marriage in the USA, which Breger and Hill have criticized. He defines 'intermarriage' as the marriage of persons deriving from in-groups, other than the family, that are culturally conceived to be relevant to the choice of a spouse, arguing that race is a dimension of such in-groups that may be traded for another dimension, such as class (1972 [1941]:13). Merton argues that any term that emphasizes one characteristic of the marital union will possibly downplay the effects of the others, rendering rudimentary a complex event. He states: 'All marriages are 'intermarriage' (ibid. 17). While Breger and Hill focus on the cultural divide between marital partners, Merton is more concerned with the social boundaries that lie between them. Despite the difference in viewpoints, both studies seem to agree that each marriage differs not in kind but in degree. As mentioned above, the literature on intermarriage has generated numerous

terms encapsulating diverse research interests. The term 'cross-national' marriage appears to be the most appropriate to emphasize the fact that my informants have all crossed national borders to marry their husband. However, if a cross-national marriage does not always involve very different cultures, it is insufficient to describe Filipina-Japanese couples. I shall occasionally employ such a terms as 'inter-religious' marriage to emphasize religious aspects of the married lives, however various factors other than religion involved in Filipina-Japanese couples, exerting different, but equally significant, influences on the Filipina spouses' accommodation and adjustment to life in Japan. This thesis therefore follows Merton and refers to the research subject as 'intermarriage', with the implication that it contains all factors that influence any marital union.

3. The Fieldwork and the Problems Encountered

I conducted fieldwork in Murasaki over a period of seventeen months between March 1997 and June 1998. Six of these weeks (between March and April 1998) were spent in the Philippines where I accompanied some of my informants on their return trip. The fieldwork in Murasaki employed several typical anthropological research methods: participant observation, formal and informal interviews, and a survey of locally available historical and statistical sources. Filipina informants were recruited by the 'snow ball' method. During my fieldwork, all the local municipalities provided free Japanese language lesson for the foreign residents. Taking advantage of being a native Japanese speaker, I started assisting as a volunteer at the Japanese class in Takekawa in which two advanced students and three beginners were being taught together at that time. About three weeks after I started fieldwork, a Filipina

married into Takekawa and joined the class. This changed my position in the class from that of meddlesome observer to that of instructor. The teaching of the advanced learners was informally assigned to me so that the instructor hired by the village office could give her full attention to the beginners, especially the new student. A few months after that, three more advanced learners joined the class. One of Filipinas in the classroom offered to give me Tagalog lessons. In return for the lessons, my teacher wanted to practise speaking English with me. As my Filipina network developed, a few more Filipinas joined the exchange language lessons. These language exchanges turned out to be a great opportunity for me to hear their thoughts about events that I had observed. The affiliation with Takekawa allowed me to participate in cultural exchange events organized by seven other municipal governments as well as those organized by the Murasaki International Exchange Centre (hereafter MIEC), which was established in 1989 to promote the 'internationalization' of the county and improve social services for its foreign residents (see Chapter 6).

My time in the Philippines was spent with the informants, their natal families, relatives, friends and neighbours, participating in a series of welcome-home events for the returnees, and going on several research-oriented visits to the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, a governmental organization which provides intermarried Filipinas with pre-migration counselling. The visit to the Philippines helped deepen my understanding of my informants' experience of Philippine-Japan transnational movement to a significant extent.

In the section below, I discuss my position in Murasaki and problems that I encountered during my fieldwork. The problems I encountered during my fieldwork stemmed from the nature of the research subject: intermarriage. According to earlier studies of intermarriage, intermarried people commonly respond to research with opposition and resentment. This is due to the taboos and stereotypes that surround such marriages (Porterfield 1978 and Connor 1976 in Cahill 1990:7). While my personal position in my fieldwork site and the particular circumstances of Murasaki are discussed below, it should be borne in mind that intermarriage was a sensitive subject to the local people, especially to the Filipinas' Japanese husbands and parents-in-law. I experienced difficulties in collecting data from Japanese partners and parents-in-law, and I am aware that in this thesis their voices are somewhat passed over. In order to supplement the insufficient data on Japanese husbands, life-stories of two husbands are included in the section below. I hope my discussion of problems encountered in my fieldwork will serve as a useful reference for those who consider carrying out anthropological research on intermarriages in rural Japan or other related subjects.

I was born in the Western part of Japan and had never travelled so far north before. I had no acquaintances in Murasaki; and, as discussed in Chapter 1, the area lacked housing. Fortunately, one of the biggest factories in Murasaki (a factory that employed some 200 people) was situated in Takekawa and had a dormitory block of about thirty rooms, of which more than half were vacant. Some personnel from the village office found out about it and negotiated with the company so that I could rent one of the rooms. When I moved into the dormitory block there were eleven

residents including seven Japanese women, ranging in age from seventeen to twenty-one years old, and one Korean-Japanese couple with two babies of whom the younger one was only two months old. The family occupied two adjoining rooms while looking for another property to rent.

I am Japanese myself and therefore formed part of the same society that I was researching. I speak Japanese as my first language and share certain cultural values with the natives of Murasaki. However, the local dialect is radically different to standard Japanese. Thanks to standard national education and the influence of the mass media, young people switched between their own dialect and standard Japanese according to the social situation. This meant that until I overheard them talking with one another, I did not realise that all my female dormitory mates were actually natives of Murasaki who chose to live in the dormitory block rather than to commute in order to enjoy freedom from parental supervision. The age group to which my informants' parents-in-law belonged created more problems for me as they spoke only the local dialect. At the beginning of fieldwork, I had difficulty understanding them. At this time I also had no knowledge of the customs and conventions unique to Murasaki, customs which have managed to survive by adapting themselves to the modern context. In addition, the rural scenery and the life style were unfamiliar to someone like me, who was brought up in an urban area. At the start it was all so strange that I described the place as 'exotic' to my friends who called me to find out how I was.

From the locals' point of view, however, I was probably not regarded as a complete stranger but rather as simultaneously an insider and an outsider. My lack of

awareness of the local customs and conventions surprised some natives who believed these customs to be universal in Japan. My lack of affiliation to a native household also made it difficult for some to 'place' me because in this part of Japan a person is almost always identified with the household to which he or she belongs (see Chapter 1). Because of my female gender and single status, it was often more than a matter of simple classification that caused confusion, though. Some people expressed sympathy for my parents, whom they had never met, imagining their anxiety about my unattached state in a strange place. Others were concerned about my well being, comparing me to their *musume* (daughters) who, like myself, were away from home for the purposes of higher education or employment. For the Filipinas in Murasaki, my difference from the local Japanese was apparently marked by my quality as a newcomer. My difficulty in understanding the dialect of Murasaki amused them, while my lack of local knowledge made them in general protective towards me vis-à-vis the locals. They taught me not only Philippine languages and customs but also those of Murasaki so that I would not make a careless mistake in the presence of the locals. As our relationship developed, they introduced me to their family members, friends, neighbours, and co-workers not only as a researcher but also as a *tomodachi* (friend). A small number of Filipinas (six in all) even introduced me to their natal family during my stay in the Philippines.

My single female status carried significance in a locality where the shortage of brides was a pressing concern, of course. Yet, it was only after I had adapted to the local life to the extent that I participated in farming that some elders began to consider me as a prospective bride for local bachelors. However, I was never

particularly popular with the latter because I always asked them their opinions about intermarriage. Although when I started fieldwork the public international marriage introduction office was no longer active, *kokusai-kekkon* was still a sensitive and emotional subject for people in Murasaki, something that I found out immediately after I started my fieldwork.

A mentioned above, I began my fieldwork in Takekawa Village by sitting in a Japanese language class that the municipal government had organized. I remember the hostile looks of two Filipinas when I attended the Japanese class in Takekawa for the first time and was introduced as a 'researcher'. However, in spite of the hostile reaction on the part of some, I remember that most of the Filipinas present in the class showed courtesy to their visitor, at least putting a smile on their faces. I found out after the class that the latter group married into Takekawa in the 1990s, while the former group did so in the late 1980s when the public intermarriage introduction service became a controversial issue in Japan. Data gathering by journalists in this area during the period between the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s was so excessively intrusive that Kashiwagi municipality made an official announcement that it would control journalistic activity in order to protect its residents' privacy.

Thanks to their friendly nature, the Filipinas quickly accepted my research. However, the encounter with mass media had been a traumatic experience for the people of Murasaki, irrespective of their nationality. Local Japanese were particularly sensitive to the word *kokusai-kekkon* (international marriage). I recall that I unwittingly upset a woman in her late fifties whose two cousins had married a Korean and a Chinese respectively, by describing her family group as *kokusai-teki*

(international). In such circumstances, the assignment of teaching at the Japanese class, which affiliated me with the local authority, was a great move for my fieldwork. Particularly in the early stages of my fieldwork, I used this positive aspect to minimise hostility and distrust, which would otherwise have been directed at a researcher of *kokusai-kekkon*. Nevertheless, approaching to local intermarried Japanese men was the most difficult task of my fieldwork, as indicated by the account of male personnel of the municipal offices described below.

After the intermarriage project was completed, all the municipal offices in Murasaki established new departments. The name of the departments varied from 'Public Relations' to 'Area Promotion', for instance, but they were all responsible for operating the Japanese language classes and for dealing with researchers and journalists visiting the municipality to collect data on intermarriage. The other important task of the departments, not officially assigned to them though, was to provide a consultation service for intermarried residents (as though they were performing a role of the conventional go-between for the intermarried residents). Visitors to the departments were mostly foreign residents. They would drop by the office just to greet the staff on the way to or back from a visit to other departments (to pay taxes, apply for welfare, or attend a Japanese class). In the course of daily conversation, issues and problems that concerned the foreign residents were revealed; and, some came to be reflected in terms of the social services on offer. The personnel in these departments were predominantly men, of whom the majority were in their thirties and forties (a similar age group to the intermarried local men). Before they were appointed to these departments, these officials had worked in the intermarriage

introduction office and had thus met local bachelors regularly, discussing the possibility of intermarriage. After they were assigned to the new department, the personnel began to meet the intermarried wives on a regular basis; but they now seldom saw the husbands. They sometimes told me sadly that they 'had not heard the voice of the husbands' (*danna no koe ga kikoete konai*). The silence of the husbands was attributed to the reticent character typifying people in northern Japan, the strength of the extended family in which they were caught between the wife and the parents, or a lack of concern about the wives' problems. However, given that their *kokusai kekkon* was a sensitive subject (so much so that the utterance of a single word could upset someone), it was not surprising that the Japanese partners were unwilling to talk about it. Fear, resentment or sadness in anticipation of being stereotyped was what I inferred from the facial expressions of the majority of the husbands of my informants when I met them for the first time, introduced by their wives. The more familiar my presence in their homes, the less reserved they became. However, there was only ever a handful of Japanese partners with whom I became intimate enough to discuss their experiences of intermarriage. What hindered my approach to the Japanese partners was my concern over the possibility that my inquiries about their personal experiences of intermarriage might offend them and thus cause marital quarrels, which could also affect relationships between my Filipina informants and their parents-in-law.

In his study on Filipinas wives of Australian, Japanese and Swiss, Cahill reports similar difficulties his research teams faced when collecting data on the male partners (1990:8). In fact, due to the insufficient number of samples obtained, the

data on Japanese partners was excluded from his analysis. Besides negative associations with the research subject, the Japanese husbands seemed not to have time for an interview (which lasted on average two hours), and those who accepted the interview were resentful of the fact that the interview was conducted by Filipinas (op. cit.). As for Cahill's research team, it was the work-oriented life of the Japanese and the gender and ethnicity of the researcher that were the problems for studying male partners in Murasaki. In my case, in a locality where the social and work lives were relatively highly segregated in terms of gender and also often of age (see Chapter 1), it was not easy for a woman to enter male domains and thus to build up a rapport with men. A good example is that while going out for a drink would be what Japanese men most typically did to consolidate a bond with male friends, I could not take out my informants' husbands for a drink without female company. I pondered the advantages of having a male research assistant, although financial constraints did not allow me to hire one. However, if I had had a male research assistant, I suspect that collecting verbal accounts from the Japanese partners would have been still difficult, because local people's reaction to research activities on their intermarriages was extraordinarily adverse. Rather than remain silent about Japanese husbands of the Filipinas, however, I decided to present the limited data on them, hoping that it will help us understand the circumstances of the wives' lives even to a slight extent.

4. The Profiles of the Partners and the Background of their Intermarriages

4. 1. Intermarriage Introduction Services in Murasaki

Of the four municipalities that introduced the public intermarriage introduction service, Otome, Sawarabi and Takekawa organized a one-week trip to the Philippines in 1986, 1988 and 1989 respectively. During this week, participants managed to complete the marriage registration, hold a wedding ceremony, and go on honeymoon all on the same trip. However, they were not able to then be accompanied home by their brides, because the legal procedures for the young Filipinas to enter Japan took at least a couple of months to complete. As the public view of the matchmaking tours became more critical, Momijinoga and Sawarabi municipalities invited Filipinas to what was ostensibly job-training programmes (*kenshu*) in local textile factories in 1988 and in 1992 respectively.[2]

While all the expenses of the job-training programmes were borne by the municipalities, the one-week trip cost the male participants ¥2,000,000. The charge included virtually all the expenses that could be incurred during the tour, including air tickets, accommodation and meals, expenses for meetings with candidate brides, the costs of a wedding ceremony and a reception, a pair of wedding rings, and a honeymoon trip, and *yuino* (a betrothal gift money).

The municipal intermarriage introduction offices commonly required male candidates to submit their certificate from the family register, their resident registration and that of their employment together with a salary slip, in order to prove the identity of the male candidates and to guarantee that their economic resources would enable them to provide for their marital partner, whereas commercial intermarriage agencies sometimes did not insist on this (Lawyers' Association in

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[2] The duration of the kenshu in Momijinoga was six months, and that in Sawarabi nine days.

Iwate 1995). The public matchmakers also carried out screening of male applicants in order to exclude those people who were considered to be 'inappropriate for intermarriage', such as those who had excessive drinking habits and those who were judged to be of abusive and/or parsimonious character (Shukuya 1988:50). The applicants were required to submit an essay about their vision of married life. The other requirement placed on candidate grooms was that both parents be in good health and prepared to reside with the couple. This requirement was imposed for the particular reason that they could help the bride get used to her new surroundings in Japan. However, it should be noted that co-residence with grooms' parents is not contradictory to conventional residential arrangement of married couples in Japan, which contemporary Japanese women in general attempt to avoid. The prerequisite for matchmaking services for involuntary bachelors living in highly depopulated areas was that the couple should lead their marital life in the male partners' residence, of course (Shukuya 1988:5).

The male participants in the matchmaking, like the typical grooms in intermarriage in rural areas, were in their thirties and forties, while the candidate brides were in their twenties (see below). According to officials who had worked in the intermarriage introduction office, women in this age cohort were recruited on the assumption that the younger they were, the quicker they would acquire Japanese and adapt to a new environment. Younger age of female partners is crucially important if the marriages are aimed at forming a family with children. It can be also assumed that the male candidates preferred to have younger partners. It means that the age discrepancy between the partners making up the couple was significant. The second

requirement was that candidate brides should have completed their high school education. Women's educational achievement was not only an index of their intelligence but also of their natal family's economic standing. Given that the economic discrepancy between the Philippines and Japan motivated many Filipinos/Filipinas to be 'bound for Japan', it is easy to see that this requirement was provided to save the grooms from the possible burden of having to support the bride's family (Shukuya 1988:52). The third requirement was that female candidates should have no command of the Japanese language. This appears to contradict the reasoning behind the age requirement. However, the logic behind the third requirement is different. The purpose of this requirement was to screen out women who might have been engaged in the sex trade (a command of Japanese was thought to indicate work experience in Japan), thereby protecting male candidates from being trapped into a marriage of convenience. Since the candidate grooms spoke only Japanese, this meant that all the initial conversation between men and women was conducted through an interpreter.

In 1989, Takekawa municipality also carried out matchmaking in Korea, through which three Korean women came to marry into the village, utilising a connection obtained through a Korean resident in Suma.[3] In 1989, all the eight municipalities assembled and established the MIEC. Responsibility for the intermarriage introduction service was then formally assigned to the MIEC, which was considered to be more capable of handling projects such as the job-training

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[3] It is reported that because of similar physical features to Japanese, Korean and Chinese women are preferred to Filipinas (Ishii 1996:153).

programme conducted by Momijinoga and Sawarabi municipalities, especially since all the eight municipalities relied on the services of the same agent in the Philippines.[4] An intermarriage introduction project in which all the eight municipalities participated never materialized, however. When I began fieldwork in 1997, only Sawarabi municipality still publicly provided residents with an introduction to the agent in the Philippines, and this only if requested. The contract with the agent expired in 2000 and was not renewed. For this reason, the public intermarriage introduction service is no longer available in Murasaki.

As the municipal governments closed their public intermarriage introduction services, alternative commercial services became more accessible in the rural areas. In the early 1990s, some local matchmakers began to handle intermarriages, while a couple of intermarriage introduction agencies based in Tokyo opened up branches of their businesses in Murasaki. Both local and cosmopolitan agencies advertised one-week trips to Korea, China, and the Philippines. It was through these that all of my Chinese informants came to marry into Murasaki. In addition, a Filipina-Japanese couple began to broker a marriage to a Filipina. A Korean spouse of a local Japanese man also brokered a marriage to a compatriot. I do not know of any Chinese women involved in matchmaking, however. I know one Filipina who organized for her younger sister to marry her husband's brother; two Filipinas also introduced their cousin to a relative of their husband; and one introduced her friend to her Japanese neighbour. None of my Korean and Chinese informants married through such close personal connections.

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[4] The agent in the Philippines originated in Murasaki and migrated to the Philippines.

4. 2. Contributing Factors to the Problems of Shortage of Brides in Rural Areas

It was in the mid-1960s when the problem of a shortage of brides began to be noticed in rural farming areas. This problem is attributed to changes in three factors in post-war Japan: 1) a demographic imbalance between sexes, 2) rural depopulation, and 3) change in attitude of Japanese women towards marriage. The first factor involves demographic change. While the birth rate of male infants is naturally 5 – 6% higher than that of female infants, the progress of medical science and the improvement of hospital facilities have contributed to the sharp and constant decrease in the infant mortality rate in Japan. The demographic imbalance between sexes became clearly evident in the mid-1960s when people born during the period of the post-war 'baby boom' (1947-9) reached marriageable age. A major contributing factor to the demographic change was the high economic growth experienced since the early 1950s. The majority of the husbands of intermarried couples in my sample were born in the 1950s.

The second factor is a serious decline of working populations in these areas. It was in the mid-1960s when the influence of the high economic growth rate finally reached the remote, rural areas like Murasaki, causing a massive outflow of the active workforce towards the cities. Migrant work started not only to supplement cash income during slack farming seasons but also to solve the unemployment problems faced by non-inheriting children in these less industrialized areas. The post-war civil code of inheritance granted all children equal rights, irrespective of sex and age (see Chapter 2). However, parents in Murasaki, like parents in other farming areas

(Hendry 1981:103), made great efforts to avoid dividing the limited household property, such as farmland. They provided junior sons with more education than eldest sons to help them obtain a salaried job which were scarce in the county in those times. As a result, a large number of non-inheriting children left home. Rather than marrying a farmer, farmers' daughters too often choose to leave home, finding employment in cities. As a result, the rural population was absorbed into the cities to such an extent that their home areas became severely depopulated.

As indicated by farmers' daughters' participation in labour migration, the third contributing factor to the problem of the shortage of brides in rural areas, which is also closely related to economic changes, is the change in attitude of Japanese women towards marriage (Iwao 1993; Knight 1995). As they progressively entered the formal sector of the economy and acquired more economic independence, contemporary Japanese women are said to have become more 'prudent' when choosing marital partners. They are now said to look for three 'highs' in the men that they marry: high income, higher education, and physical height. Apparently, blue-collar workers are less competitive than white-collar workers in the marriage market. Yet, farmers appear to be far less competitive even than blue-collar workers. It is said that 'the sons of the farming families, no matter how attractive or wealthy, have trouble finding brides ... [because] the hardships of a farming woman's life and many customs of rural life hardly appeal to today's young women who greatly prize their freedom and autonomy' ... [and because] these women are 'reluctant to take on the generally accepted duties towards the husband's parents' (Iwao 1993: 66). The duty of looking after elderly parents is not an unfamiliar expectation in the Philippines. In

the Philippines, as in Japan, this duty often entails co-residence with the parents, and the couple who tends them in their last years has the right to continue to live in the house after the death of the parents (Cannell 1999:62). In the Philippines, the duty tends to be taken on, either by the youngest child and his/her spouse, or by the oldest child and his/her spouse, depending on family circumstances and negotiations. The child-in-law who lives in the parental house to assume this duty is likely to be thought of as the special 'favourite' of the old couple (ibid. 62-3, 73). Yet, it is common for young women to make it a condition of their arrangement that they will continue to live with their own parents after marriage, and not with their in-laws (ibid. 35). In Japan this duty is expected to be taken on by the oldest son and his spouse. In this case, virilocal residence is regarded as the norm. And, conventional relationships between the bride and her mother-in-law is said to be subjected to 'most strain' (Hendry 1981:95).

According to a survey taken in 1981 (Shukuya 1988:41), more than 55% of municipalities in Japan (1808 out of 3,253) acknowledge that male residents in their administrative areas face difficulties finding marital partners. About 30% (962) of these municipalities had opened a marriage introduction office (introducing Japanese partners), 16% (514) send a gift or money to newly married couples, 15% (484) organise social gatherings for single residents, and 13% (418) offer successful go-betweens a monetary reward for their services. Yet, rural farming areas are most affected by the problem of the shortage of brides (*yome-busoku*). The mass media often refer to the problem as 'bride famine' (*yome-kikin*) or 'bride drought' (*yome-hideri*), implying that it is endemic to farming areas, whereas municipal governments,

including those in Murasaki, refer to the situation as the 'problem of successors' (*kokeisha-mondai*).

4. 3. The Profile of the Japanese Partners

Of the forty Japanese partners of the Filipinas in my sample, the average age at the time of marriage was thirty-seven. The figure is nearly ten years higher than the national average at the first marriage in the period between 1980 and 2000 in which their intermarriage took place. The lowest age at marriage was twenty-five, and the highest fifty-three. Of the forty partners, twenty-five graduated from high school and fifteen completed junior high school. Twenty of them are employed full-time in a company, while nineteen are farmers who are also employed temporarily or on a day-to-day base in such industries as construction and forestry. One runs a small factory himself. Of the twenty full-time employees, ten engage in construction work, eight in manufacturing, two in public services, and one in transport. At the time of marriage, thirty-eight lived in their natal house with the parents, of which two moved out of the house about a year after marriage and formed their own nuclear household. The other two lived in their own houses, as their brothers also had intermarried and succeeded to their natal house. Of the twenty full-time employees, fourteen engage in rice production as well. By this I mean that he played an active part in the two most labour-intensive processes of rice production, i.e. transplanting seedlings in spring, and harvesting in autumn. Their family members do the day-to-day farming. Seven men including one self-employed man do not engage in farming at all, as they rent

out their land to neighbouring farmers for rice production. Their parents grow vegetables for household consumption, though.

Ichiro

Ichiro was born in 1948 in one of the remotest areas in Murasaki, as the eldest son of a farming family with five children. Since he was a child, he helped his parents with farming. Around the time he completed compulsory education, his father fell ill and could not stand such demanding labour as rice transplanting, and he took over his father's role. He sent all his younger brothers to high school and provided his sister with a trousseau when she married to the son of a neighbouring farmer. As they completed education, his two younger brothers left for Tokyo, and the youngest one found a job in a neighbouring city and commuted from home.

At the age of twenty, Ichiro was already an able farmer. He managed all the rice-production with only assistance of his youngest brother in rice transplanting and harvesting. He envisaged that he would find a *kidate-no-yoi* (kind-hearted), *ki-ga-yoku-tsuku* (considerate) and *yoku-hatararu* (hard-working) woman to marry, from a family and work together in his rice fields, as his parents had done. It, however, took him nearly twenty years to see the vision to come true. When he met his Filipina wife, Lori, he was thirty-nine years old. Ichiro, like the majority of husbands of my Filipina informants, was silent about his romantic relationships in the past. However, it did not mean that he (and other husbands) had never had a girlfriend, of course. His elderly neighbours who had known Ichiro since he was a child recall a girlfriend who they believed would marry him. Unfortunately, her parents objected to their

marriage, because she was the eldest daughter of a sonless family and was expected to assume the duty of succeeding her natal family by marrying a *muko-yoshi* who would take her surname. A few years after the incident, Ichiro's youngest brother got married to one of his co-workers and left home to establish his own household with his wife in the city where his company was located.

After he broke up with the girlfriend, Ichiro met several women with a view to marriage, through introductions arranged by his relatives and neighbours or *miai* (lit. mutual viewing). His marriage did not materialise, however. As his social network was exhausted, he tried commercial marriage brokers. Responding to the increasing difficulty of local men in finding brides, commercial marriage brokers emerged in Murasaki in the mid 1970s. The brokers were said to visit each and every local household in order to identify potential customers. Under the system of commercial matchmaking, candidate grooms paid a sum of money to buy a membership of the matchmaking service and then paid a charge for a meeting with a candidate bride set up for them. The charge was not refundable, even if it did not result in a marriage. Ichiro and many single male farmers in his age cohort in the area used similar matchmaking services, and their marriage proposals were repeatedly declined.

Ichiro met Lori a year before the public intermarriage introduction office was opened in his village. Earlier in this year, Ichiro's father passed away. He met a local politician and acquaintance of his father at his father's funeral. The politician had been acting to establish a public intermarriage introduction service in his village. A few weeks after his father's funeral, he brought Ichiro a picture of Lori's. She was

a friend of one of Filipinas recently married into Murasaki. Lori was eleven years junior to Ichiro, and worked in a department store in Manila as a shop assistant. Her picture rekindled his hope to marry and form his own family. Trying to introduce himself, Ichiro made a telephone call to Lori before travelling to the Philippines. She spoke to him in English, and he found himself unable to reply to anything she had said. His command of English was not good enough to do so. Having faced a language barrier to his candidate bride, Ichiro bought an English-Japanese conversation textbook. He also borrowed a Tagalog-Japanese conversation textbook from Lori's friend. He began to prepare for the travel to the Philippines, which was his first travel abroad.

Two weeks after the quiet telephone conversation, Ichiro found himself arriving in Manila. Ichiro met Lori in a restaurant in Manila. Ichiro's first impression of Lori (who was petite) was that she was like a delicate flower. As he talked to her through the translation by the matchmaker, however, he found that she was not only charming but also an intelligent and confident person. He requested the matchmaker to arrange a meeting with her parents in order to ask them their permission to marry her. On the following day, he visited Lori's parents who lived in a farming village a two-hour drive from Manila. Besides her parents and five siblings, her grandmother, and a few relatives (who lived in the same neighbourhood) were present in their house. Ichiro recalls that the grandmother served him food, from which he perceived that he was accepted. Three months after the first meeting, Lori married into Murasaki.

When I met Ichiro and Lori for the first time, they had been married for nearly ten years and had two children. While farmers in Ichiro's village abandoned farming due to lack of successors, Ichiro rented rice fields from such neighbours and continued rice production on their lands. The land on which he worked expanded year by year. At the time of the interview, he was one of the major tenants in his village. Concerning Ichiro's vision of a marital life, however, his idea of farming with his wife did not materialize. Lori's task in rice production was washing the mud out of a few hundreds of *naebako* (frames containing seedlings in soil) after rice transplanting, which itself was hard work. Like her Japanese counterparts (see Chapter 1), however, she did not participate in actual rice production. Ichiro therefore managed rice-production with assistance of his youngest brother in rice transplanting and harvesting.

Saburo

Saburo was born in 1950 as the youngest of four siblings (with two brothers and one sister). Until the Showa government completed land reform in this area, his family owned the largest rice field in his hamlet. Since he was a child, Saburo's father had been of weak health so that his parents worked only a small area of the family's land by themselves, while the majority was rented out. As they completed their compulsory education, both of his brothers found employment in cities near Tokyo. (Some of his elderly neighbours indicated to me that his brothers had not been on good terms with his mother, although Saburo made no comment about it). Saburo and his sister studied at high school and were employed locally. Saburo's first job

was an assistant in a transport company. His main task was loading tracks. He then took a driving license and was employed as a long-distance lorry driver. The transport industry rapidly grew during the period between the mid 1970s and the 1980s, during which his workload consistently increased, so did his income. With the savings and network he built up over the years, he started his own transport business in 1985. By the time, all his siblings had already formed their own families outside Murasaki. He was in the position of succeeding his natal house and looking after his parents in their old age.

Saburo claims that he somehow believed one of his brothers would eventually come back and succeed his natal household; he remained in Murasaki not because he had special affection for his hometown but because he liked mechanics since his childhood and enjoyed his job. The job as a long-distance lorry driver did not require him to leave his home for a long period of time, but it provided him with opportunities to visit various cities outside Murasaki. This offset his desire to leave his parental home and live in a city by himself. However, he spent most of his workday alone (i.e. driving), while his colleagues were predominantly male; he had few opportunities to meet women in his work place. Saburo claims that even though his business went well, he had felt his life was incomplete without a partner. He visited the office of public marriage introduction service in his village. He then received a letter from the village office informing of its intermarriage introduction service. He thought that this could be his last chance of marriage, so he applied for it.

Before organising a trip to the Philippines, the intermarriage introduction office carried out a series of consultations for candidate grooms to prepare for the

trip, which Saburo attended. There were a few other participants in the consultation, who were all in their thirties and forties. In the course of consultation, they discussed with the staff of the intermarriage introduction office visions and aspirations concerning their future life and problems and difficulty that their intermarriages could entail. The consultation made Saburo realise that he had little knowledge about the Philippines. Until he got the opportunity to seek a bride in the Philippines, he had never been interested in the country. In fact, one of his relatives on his father's side was dispatched to the country during Pacific War (1941-44) and killed there, but it occurred before he was born. Having been informed that the people in the Philippines spoke English, he bought an English-Japanese dictionary and conversation text. The consultation helped Saburo to reconfirm his decision to find a bride in the Philippines, and other candidates to reconsider theirs. At the end of the session, he found that only he and another candidate were going to the Philippines.

The one-week travel to the Philippines was carried out after a month of consultation. It was Saburo's first trip abroad. He said, 'it was the best experience in my life'. Saburo stayed in the top floor of a high-rise hotel in Manila, from which he enjoyed the view of the city. A limousine was hired for the party to travel the city. He enjoyed VIP treatment and was impressed by the highly industrialized city of Manila. After all, he met his wife Teresa during this journey. The meeting with candidate brides took place on the second day. Teresa was one of seven candidate brides present at the meeting. She was there with her female co-worker, another candidate bride. At that time, Teresa was twenty-six years old and worked as a secretary in a wholesale food company. Saburo told me that from all the other

candidate brides, Teresa had stood out for her personal prettiness and witty response to remarks he made with the assistance of the organiser of the event who also acted as an interpreter. Having observed her interaction with her friend, he also thought that she was a considerate person. When his interpreter told him that she had accepted his proposal of marriage, he could not believe his word so that he had to ask him to repeat it three times. On the third day of his travel in the Philippines, Saburo visited Teresa's parents and found out that they were not happy about their engagement. Despite her parents' disagreement, Teresa did not break off her engagement to Saburo. They married in a city hall in Teresa's hometown one month after their engagement when Saburo returned to the Philippines and then in Murasaki another month later when Teresa finally married into there.

When I met Saburo and Teresa for the first time, they had been married for nine years and had a five-year old daughter together. During the past nine years, Saburo's father had passed away. Then, one of his employees had a serious accident while working. In order to pay the compensation, he had to sell his lorries and thus close his business. Having recalled those hard times, he said to me, 'I could have recovered from shock of my father's death and loss of business without Teresa's support. But, without her, it wouldn't have been so easy'. Since he closed down his business, Saburo has worked in a construction company as a crane operator. During snowy winter, he also operates a snowplough on early morning shifts between two to five o'clock. From a distance, he then may appear to be a typical Japanese husband who works most of the time and neglects his family. However, he is always with his family when he is off duty.

4. 4. The Profile of the Filipina Partners

Of the forty Filipinas in my sample, twenty-eight married during the period between 1986 and 1992, either directly through the municipal introduction service or through a connection relating to it, while the remaining twelve married in 1993 or after, by means of introductions made by fellow nationals (two of these married into Murasaki during my fieldwork). The majority of thirty-three are from Metro Manila, which is the base of the intermarriage agency, or one of its neighbouring states, five persons are from Visayas region, and three from Mindanao. Accordingly, Tagalog, the vernacular of Manila is the first language of the majority of Filipina spouses in my research sample. Tagalog is the medium of communication between them and a small number of their compatriots who came from other areas.[5]

Figure 1. Skyscrapers and squatter areas in Manila

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[5] Tagalog is widely used as a lingua franca throughout the country, where 90% of the population speak one of nine representative languages: Tagalog, Ilocano, Bicol, Pampagngo, Pangasinan, Maranao, Cebuano, Samar-Leyte, or Hiligaynon (Steinberg 1990:39; McFarland 1994:100-101). Tagalog is the medium of communication in overseas Filipino communities.

Concerning educational attainment of the Filipinas, all but three women completed high school education, five graduated from college and three are university graduates with a bachelor's degree. As their matchmakers rightly pointed out, the brides' educational attainment indicates their families' economic situation. The university graduates are from the wealthiest families that hired a maid or two, while three women who did not complete high school education are from lower-income families. While all the Filipinas speak English with a varying degree of fluency, none of them were able to speak Japanese at the time of marriage. This indicates that although their matchmakers differed, similar requirements for candidate brides in terms of age, educational attainment and fluency of Japanese language were all at work when they were introduced to their husbands. Command of English became commonly important to them when communicating with their Japanese husbands, who did not speak their native language, especially in the initial stages of marriages where language barrier between the couples were most significant (see Chapter 4).

Figure 2. An elementary school building

The average age of the Filipinas at the time of marriage was twenty-two years, while the lowest age at the time of marriage was eighteen years, and the highest age twenty-eight years. The average age of my Filipina informants at the marriage is slightly higher than the median age at first marriage for women with high school education (21.1 years) (NCOTROFW and ADB 1995:11). This indicates that they were perhaps less competitive in the domestic marriage market, which is competitive for women in urban areas (op. cit). As discussed further below, the fear of being 'left on the shelf' can be one of factors motivated them to intermarry.

At the end of the fieldwork in 1998, the duration of marriages ranged from between eight months to eleven years; the average length of (ongoing) marriage was six years. The mean age of the Filipina spouses was twenty-eight years, while the oldest was thirty-eight years, and the youngest twenty years. The mean age of the Japanese spouses was forty-five years, while the oldest was fifty-three years, and the youngest thirty-eight years. The largest age discrepancy between partners was twenty-five years, the smallest five years; the average age discrepancy between partners was sixteen years.

Betty

Betty was born in 1964 in Manila as the fourth child of seven siblings. Her parents had migrated from Visayas to the metropolis, seeking for regular employment. However, they soon come to realise that it was not as easy as they expected. Her

father sought for day-to-day employment in construction sites, although he often failed to find it. Supporting her family, her mother sold groceries in a local market with her elder siblings' assistance. 'My family was poor,' said Betty, 'and all my older siblings had worked to bring up me and my younger siblings.' Betty told me that her elder siblings were like her 'surrogate parents'; they had not enjoyed their own life, and were still unmarried, because they had to dedicate their life for her family.

Until she entered the elementary school, Betty was a very quiet child and had few playmates. She used to take a walk alone. She was usually caught by her father who had searched for her in their neighbourhood, scolded for having gone out without telling her parents about her outing, and taken back home. Despite repeated scolding, she did not stop going away from home, as if she were under control of someone else. Her parents believed that she had been possessed by a spirit and consulted a spirit medium. Betty recalls that an elderly male 'faith healer' looked into her eyes and said to her, 'There is nothing to chase you away from home'. Even after that, she habitually walked away from home. Finally, her father said to her, 'if you want to run away home so much, never come back'. The fear of not being allowed to return home stopped her from taking a walk.

In high school, Betty was a bright and active student. She liked studying and was particularly good at English. She regularly participated in English speech contests held in the school. After graduation, she wanted to study at university, but she also wanted to work and help her family. She started working in a factory. She was soon assigned to be a supervisor. Workers on her shop floor told her that they

were happy to have Betty as their supervisor because she was impartial to everybody. While working as a supervisor, Betty came to be concerned with working conditions of the factory. She became friends with a group of workers who were also concerned with working conditions of the factory. However, there was a conflict in the group, which became intense so that she carried a knife for fear of being attacked by the opposing side. She then met a recruit in her factory, Emma. Emma was three years younger than Betty, a university dropout (due to financial difficulty), and a believer of a Protestant denomination, whereas Betty was Roman Catholic and a high school graduate who once aspired to study in a university. Despite difference in age, religious denomination and educational background between them, Betty and Emma became good friends. Betty stopped seeing the group of workers and began attending Bible readings held in Emma's church. A few months later, Emma went to Japan to work as an entertainer. She met a Japanese man in her workplace, and married him. Since then, she has lived in a city in western Japan. Betty and Emma have kept in touch until today.

In 1989, Betty attended a meeting with two middle-aged Japanese men held in a restaurant in Manila. They had travelled to Manila, searching for brides. There were seven women, all in their twenties, including Betty. She was twenty-five years old at that time. Betty recalls that one of the Japanese men looked at her so eagerly that she thought he would even try to look into the inside of her ears. This made her feel uncomfortable throughout the meeting. At the end of the meeting, neither of the men chose Betty as his bride. However, she received a call from the matchmaker next day and was told that one of the Japanese men wanted to see her again. It was

because the woman he had chosen to marry changed her mind. As a child, the man lost a digit in an accident in which he caught his fingers in a thresher while helping his parents feed rice through it. As she found that a digit was missing from his right hand, she thought that he was a yakuza, because a well-known way yakuza atone for failure is cutting off a digit. One of my informants told me that she had asked her husband to show her all his fingers and toes when he proposed marriage. The matchmaker explained to the first candidate bride how he lost the digit, but she did not change her mind this time. So, he called the second candidate to find out her intention. Betty attended the second meeting with the Japanese man, Masaichi. He was forty years old at that time of the meeting. After a few hours of the first date, Masaichi proposed to Betty, and she accepted it.

Betty told me of several reasons why she had accepted Masaichi's proposal. Firstly, she thought that marrying Masaichi was 'God's intention'. She said, 'Because I am Christian, I did not decide (to marry him) myself. I prayed God and asked Him: 'Please, give me an instant' answer.' While praying, she came to think that if she rejected his proposal, no one would marry him; on the same assumption that his first candidate bride made, all other candidate brides would also reject his proposal. She then thought, 'If somebody should marry him, I should do it.' This account of God's intention represents a carrying-over of patterns from arranged marriages in the Philippines (Cannell 1999: 45). Guidance by God or the 'prophetic insight of the supernaturals' as the 'final guarantor of successful marriage' is as important as that of the elder people, especially the mother (op. cit).

Secondly, Betty mentioned her mother's encouragement to marry Masaichi. To any marrying couples, the parents' congratulation on their union would be the most precious wedding gift, indeed. However, the mother's support was crucially important to Betty's decision on marriage. As indicated by the account on her childhood, her father was strict to her and her siblings. He was not only an unreliable breadwinner but also an unfaithful husband, who himself was often away from home. As a young girl, she used to think that if all men were like her father, she would rather remain single throughout her life. Her elder siblings, who she referred to as surrogate parents, were all single at that time. She saw them as having sacrificed their youth for the younger siblings including herself and blamed her father for it. She somehow believed that she would live her life like her elder siblings, remaining single and supporting her family. Her mother was aware of her thoughts about marriage. When Betty had a call from the matchmaker, her mother said to her, 'Marriage is the important part of one's life; not all men are like your father'.

Thirdly, Betty thought that marriage to a Japanese man would enable her to provide her family with financial support. Given her concern for her natal family and sympathy for Masaichi lead by God's guidance, Betty's motivation to marry Masaichi appeared to be completely altruistic. However, she thought of her own welfare, of course. Lastly, Betty told me that she had thought that Masaichi's proposal could be her last chance to marry someone. In fact, it was the first proposal of marriage that she ever received. However, it may not be surprising that she thought in that way, because Betty was twenty-five years old when she met Masaichi, while many Filipinas with high school education like her would have been married in

their late teens. Betty claims that she believed that she would remain single throughout her life like her older siblings until she received a telephone call from the matchmaker. She was not in search of a marital partner when she participated in the matchmaking event. One of her female co-workers told her about the matchmaking event. She had occasionally told Betty of her interest in intermarriage. However, when she finally had an opportunity for it, she was hesitant about taking it. She wanted Betty to accompany her, saying, 'Only if you go with me, I will go.' Betty told me that when she found neither of the Japanese men chose her as their bride she was not disappointed, because it rather confirmed her belief in the fate of living a single life. The telephone call from the matchmaker not simply surprised Betty but also confused her, as it cast doubt on the belief. When she was considering Masaichi's proposal, what worried her most was infidelity. 'Womanizing, drinking and gambling' are considered as a set of misdeeds that Filipino husbands most likely commit, while infidelity is conceived to be the worst (Medina 1991:172, 177-9). Yet, Japanese husbands are almost always characterized by infidelity, which is supported by the fact that Japan is the major receiving country of Filipina entertainers (Tadiar 2004). Before meeting Masaichi, Betty heard of local Filipinas who suffered from their Japanese husbands' numerous extramarital affairs. She thought that she could be in the same situation with those Filipinas, if she married Masaichi. Betty told me that she was scared of marrying a Japanese man, about whom she knew almost nothing at the time of his proposal, but she was more scared of her future as a single woman in old age which could be unbearably lonely. She made an international call to Emma and was advised that a village in the northern part of Japan such as one that

Masaichi came from was so remote that she would be terribly homesick. Despite her advice, Betty decided to marry Masaichi. Three months after the proposal, she left for Murasaki.

When I met Betty for the first time, she had been married to Masaichi for eight years and had two children (four and two years respectively). The family lived with Masaichi's mother. Masaichi's father had passed away a few days before Betty arrived in Murasaki. Upon her arrival, the 'Manila girl' was shocked by remoteness of the area. She was relieved when she found a Filipina living in the neighbourhood. The wedding took place immediately after her arrival. Masaichi invited about a hundred guests including the mayor of his village, local politicians and all Filipina-Japanese couples in his village (five in total). Betty's father and both her elder brothers attended the wedding, as they accompanied her travel to Murasaki, whereas her mother remained in the Philippines. On the wedding day, Betty found that she was not as happy as she had expected. She missed her mother, while Masaichi appeared to be oblivious of her feeling. She thought that throwing such a sumptuous party was inappropriate, because Masaichi should be mourning for his father at that time. Betty's brothers returned to the Philippines a couple of days after the wedding, while her father continued to stay in Murasaki for a month. When he was about to return to the Philippines, Betty was in tears and told Masaichi that she would go with her father. Masaichi embraced her and said repeatedly in English, 'I love you', as though the words were a prayer. Betty then decided to remain in Murasaki with Masaichi.

Betty told me that she had been homesick during the first year of marriage, but the first three years was also 'fun'. As a typical farmer in northern Japan, Masaichi worked in a construction site in Yokohama, one of metropolises near Tokyo, during winter in order to supplement the farming income, and Betty accompanied him. She enjoyed the urban life in general and the married life with no in-laws. In the third year of marriage, she got pregnant. In the following year, Betty gave birth to a female baby, and her mother passed away. After her mother's death, Betty invited her father to Murasaki with intention to look after him. However, having lived with her family for two months, her father found it difficult to adjust himself to the life there and returned to Manila. Betty proudly told me that her father found how hard-working Masaichi was, having worked with him in rice fields. Since he returned to Manila, her father has lived with one of her brothers and his wife. Betty has since then regularly sent them some money to contribute to her father's living costs. She also provided one of her younger sisters with a fund for opening a sari-sari store.[6] The business has not been successful so that she occasionally sends her some money to cover the loss. As their first baby was born, Masaichi stopped migrating to Yokohama during winter and began working in construction sites in the local area. Betty then became a 'full-time' resident in Murasaki. Since then, she has committed herself to child rearing and housekeeping, while she regularly attends a Japanese language class and activities of a local association for married women.

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[6] A small grocery shop called the sari-sari store is found in almost all neighborhoods in Manila and major cites in the Philippines. There are usually full of men and women discussing the latest local news. Because of the close relationship with the community, the product is often sold on credit, while colleting the payment is difficult. Some stores display a hand-written sign saying 'No Credit', trying to avoid such a predicament.

Figure 3. A sari-sari store

Jean

Jean was born in 1973 in the north edge of Metro Manila. Her father was a seaman and 'single' when he met her mother, who had already a son and a daughter with her previous partner at that time. Her parents had a son before Jean and three daughters and two sons after her. She has therefore brought up with eight siblings. Jean told me that her father was equally kind and generous to her and all her siblings. He always fed the children first. He never raised his voice to his family. Because of his occupation he was often away from home. However, when he was at home he was always with her family. In the absence of the father, disciplining the children was apparently her mother's task. Jean described her mother as *kechi* (tight-fisted). Given that all of Jean's older siblings completed high school education despite the absence of their father, her mother must have been a prudent person. Of her eight

siblings, Jean spoke of her stepsister Lynne most frequently. Lynne was four years

senior to Jean. I noted in my fieldwork notes: 'Jean has beautiful big black eyes, long

black straight hair and a very light complexion, which I assume attracted her

husband's attention at the first sight'. A desire for a light complexion is common to

Filipinas and Japanese women so that a variety of skin-whitening cosmetics is

available both in the Philippines and in Japan. While a light complexion was

something that Jean was very much proud of and that she shared with all her sisters,

Jean told me that hers was only the second lightest to Lynne's. 'Besides, Lynne has a

body of Marilyn Monroe', said Jean. Apparently, Jean admired her elder sister. And,

it was not only because of her outstanding beauty. During the period between 1992-

4, Lynne had gone to Japan twice and worked there as an entertainer. During the

same period, Jean was studying business management in a college. Concerning her

educational attainment, Jean was the first member of her family who studied at

college, and this she largely owed to Lynne. Jean told me that since she was a child,

she had seen many young female neighbours leaving for Japan to work as

entertainers; when they came back to the Philippines, they all wore '*seksi*' (sexy)

dresses, lots of make-up, lots of gold, and they were *mayaban* (arrogant)'. However,

Lynne was as humble as she had been. It was apparent that Lynne was Jean's role

model.

In 1994 Lynne went on to her third trip to Japan. Soon after that, Jean bought

a Japanese conversation text, thinking of herself accompanying Lynne's next trip.

Since Jean's comment on return migrants from Japan indicated that she had seen the

migrants' lives in Japan as moral decline, I asked her why she thought of working in

Japan. She mentioned two reasons. The first reason was that she was in the final year of study so that she had to find a job. She told me that she chose to study business management in college because she was good at mathematics in high school and wanted a managerial job. She was interested in running a business by herself, although she had not thought of which trade she particularly wanted to deal with. She expected that her college degree would help her to support herself, but she also anticipated that she could provide her parents and siblings by working in Japan as Lynne did. The second reason for following Lynne's path was her success in Japan, of course. Jean admired her because of her bravery in throwing herself into an adventure of travelling abroad by herself and her good fortune to have been able to provide for her family.

Jean did not follow Lynne to Japan, however. Lynne never went to Japan again. Soon after she returned home, she met an engineer teaching in a local college and married him. While many couples in Manila lived with their parents in their early stages of marriage in order to minimise their living costs, Lynne settled in her own house where she had a 'maid' to order to do chores. Furthermore, a few months after Lynne's marriage, her female neighbour and friend of her mother's brought Jean an inquiry of marriage to a Japanese man. The neighbour had a niece who had married a Japanese man a few years ago, has since then lived in Japan, and was looking for a bride for one of her Japanese neighbours. The suitor, Kazuo, was company-employed, the only child of a landowning farmer, and was twenty-one years senior to Jean. Jean recalls that her father objected because of the considerable age difference between Jean and the candidate groom and because she had to leave

the Philippines if she married him. In fact, Kazuo was only four years junior to her father. Her mother, on the other hand, was positive about the arrangement because Kazuo's financial situation was stable, and Japan was not so far from Manila (four-hour flight to Narita). She suggested that, although the age difference was significant, Kazuo could make himself a good husband. Jean trusted her mother's opinion, rather than her father's (as the majority of my Filipina informants did. See below.). A few days later, Kazuo arrived in Manila.

Jean and Kazuo's first 'date' took place in a restaurant in Manila. She was escorted by her mother and Lynne. He was accompanied by the Filipina matchmaker who had flown in from Japan with him. Jean's first impression of Kazuo was that he looked younger than his age. She also recalls that he looked nervous and uncomfortable throughout the meeting so that she felt pity for him. Kazuo could not find any fault in the young, pretty, and well-educated Jean. After a few hours of introduction through the aid of the Filipina go-between acting as an interpreter, he proposed to Jean. Jean was not ready to make a response to his proposal, however. Seeing that Jean was unsure and hesitant about her reply, Lynne suggested Kazuko should come to her house next day and meet the rest of Jean's family.

The second 'date' therefore took place in Lynne's house in the presence of Jean's whole family. Kazuo brought a radio cassette player for Jean and boxes of chocolates for her family. Her family welcomed Kazuo with dinner. At the end of the day, Jean accepted Kazuo's proposal. Two days after that, they married at the city hall and then threw a wedding party in a restaurant. Jean's parents, her siblings, the neighbour who brought the inquiry of marriage to Jean and her husband, and the

matchmaker were all present at the ceremony and the wedding party. Kazuo's parents were absent from both the ceremony and the reception, as they remained in Japan due to old age. Jean's father was absent from the wedding party, as he still objected her marriage. On the next day the couple went on to a day trip to a tourist spot outside Manila. Kazuo left the Philippines three days after the honeymoon, having successfully completed his quest for a bride. Jean followed him about three months after his departure, as she graduated from college and got a visa to enter Japan. During the period of the three months, Kazuo visited Jean three times. He also wrote her in a mixture of Japanese and English telling Jean how much he longed to see her again and how he refurbished his house in consideration of her convenience. Jean replied to him in English.

As mentioned above, a few months before she met Kazuo Jean was thinking about possibility of working in Japan. Her father opposed her marriage. Moreover, she had a boyfriend when she met Kazuo for the first time. When asked why she accepted Kazuo's proposal despite those factors, Jean told me three reasons. Firstly, Kazuo was kind to her and all her family members. Secondly, she wanted to live abroad, although she did not want to go so far away from home that she would miss her family. She thought that Japan was close enough to the Philippines. Lastly, she mentioned that one of her younger sisters had suffered from epilepsy. She wanted to provide her with better medical treatment. Jean thought that marrying Kazuo would help her to support her natal family because he was from the affluent Japan.

At the time of the interview, Jean had been married to Kazuo for two years and had a nine-month son, Kazuhiro. When Kazuhiro was born, Kazuo sent Jean's

parents a fund to start a jeepney transportation. Jean's family responded to Kazuo's kindness by decorating a jeepney purchased by the fund with a large sign with the name of Kazuhiro. Jean told me that she had recently suggested that Kazuo should bring her parents and younger siblings to live with them in Murasaki. Kazuo declined her suggestion on the ground that it was not a practical way to support them. Instead, he provided her parents with a fund to start a taxi business. It appeared that Jean got all that she wanted in her marriage: a kind husband, a life abroad, and provision for her natal family. I assumed that Lynne's married life with material comforts had exerted influence on Jean's decision to marry Kazuo in a similar way that her work experience in Japan motivated Jean to think about working there. However, Jean did not relate her decision of marriage to Lynne's marriage at all. When asked whether she would accept Kazuo's proposal even if Lynne had not been married but prepared for her third trip to Japan, Jean said with the tone of self-assurance, 'Yes'. She then reminded me that working as a *'japayuki'* was only the means to help her family that was available for her at that time, but it was not the goal of her life. Jean told me that all her friends and neighbours gathered to see her off to the airport and said to her one after another, 'Don't become *mayaban*, Jean.' If as Jean observed, material wealth earned through migration had made daughters of her neighbouring families arrogant, it appeared that the locals had somehow foreseen success of her marriage at least in economic terms.

Figure 4. Jeepney – the most popular means of public transportation in the Philippines

4. 5. Contributing Factors to Filipina Intermarriages

While Betty and Jean stated various reasons why they decided to accept the proposal from their Japanese husbands, there are two common factors that influenced their decision: aspirations to provide their natal family with financial support and the thought that marriage is an important part of the course of human lives. Despite differences in their families' economic situation, the vast majority of my informants (thirty-seven persons) including one university graduate mentioned that they had the similar aspirations at the time of marriage. In fact, Filipina fiancées of US men (Constable 2003), Filipina domestic helpers in Rome (Tacoli 1996a, 1996b; Parreñas 2001) and Hong Kong (Constable 1997), and Filipina internal migrant factory workers (Chant and McIlwaine 1995) all express the same aspirations. Cahill emphasizes the importance of the family to Filipino people: 'the Filipino psyche is

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best understood in the context of the kinship system and the primacy of the family

which is the building block of society and the cornerstone of [a] society with virtually

no social security system. Concern for [the] family is manifested in the honour and

respect given to parents and elders, in the care given to children, the generosity

towards him (sic) in need and in the great sacrifices one endures for the welfare of the

family' (Licuanan 1987:4 in1990 48). It is then interesting to note that the majority

of my informants (twenty-four persons) reported that their fathers, like Jean's father,

were discontented with their decision to intermarry, and three other women had to

confront objection by their both parents. Age discrepancy between the couples,

negative images attached to Japanese men, and a long distance between the

Philippines and Japan are the major reasons presented by the parents. As indicated

by the response of Jean's neighbours to her intermarriage, ordinary Filipinos in

general do not see intermarriage negatively (Nakao 1996:81). However, it is reported

that intermarriage to Japanese men is received less favourably than intermarriage to

US men because of low repute of the former held by Filipino people (ibid. 82). From

her fieldwork experience in Bicol, the lowland Philippines in the late 1980s, Cannell

reports that the idea that 'America is the 'Philippines' good patron is vividly linked to

memories of atrocities conducted by Japanese soldiers during the Pacific War' (1999:

6). This image of Japanese men as callous soldiers has shifted to one of suit-clad

gangsters or yakuza since the period of high economic development in the 1970s

(Samonte 1991:114). While the image of yakuza is not positive at all, the older

generations still have strong memories of the Japanese occupation. Some of my

informants report that their parents and grandparents showed disapproval of their

intermarriage with Japanese, having associated their suitors with the Japanese soldiers.

In his essay on his marital life with a Filipina in downtown Tokyo (1999:154), Tamagaki reports that his father-in-law, like Jean's father, was absent from their wedding party held in the Philippines, coping with the sorrow at the daughter's departure from home by himself. Tamagaki's father-in-law, like Jean's father, had undergone family separation prior to their marriage when his bride left for Japan as an entertainer. One may therefore conceive that the father could have grown tolerant to the pain of parting. However, it is not surprising that he was saddened more profoundly by this occasion, because labour migrants are expected to return home as the contract period ends; while married-out daughters are not (theoretically). Claussen reports that the Filipina Missionary Sisters faced a similar quiet objection by their birth fathers to their decision to pursue the vocation, which could be compared to marriage to Jesus Christ, because the fathers saw their conduct as 'abandonment of the family' (2001: 35-40).

Those who reported their father's objection to intermarriage received encouragement from their mother, and those who encountered objection from their both parents told me that they had been reconciled with their parents by the time they left for Japan. Nevertheless, if the concern for the family is manifested in the honour and respect given to parents, the parents' objection to intermarriage should be accepted. This indicates that the women made their decision autonomously, despite their emphasis on welfare of their natal families. However, they hardly talked about their own welfare. This may be attributed to the 'Filipino psyche' that sees the

family's welfare as paramount, which prevents the women from seeing themselves separately from their families. However, my informants were concerned with their own welfare when they thought of intermarriage with Japanese men, of course.

It can be assumed that those who came from wealthier families were less concerned about an economic situation of their natal families at the time of marriage. However, their individual socio-economic situation was sometimes not as stable as their family's. Having failed to find a job requiring her bachelor degree in economics, one of the university graduates was working as a maid in Manila when she met her Japanese husband. She told me that she was pleased to discover how capable she was of managing household chores. However, when she received the proposal of marriage from her husband, she thought that she should manage her own household rather than somebody else's. After she married into Murasaki, she opened a franchised dry cleaning shop in her house. Since the actual cleaning was done in the parent company, the business required only a small space for receiving customers, and she did not need to attend the shop all the time. She was therefore able to run business without conflict with responsibility for housekeeping.

Both Filipino labour migration and Filipina intermarriage are often explicated with reference to the 'colonial mentality' or a preference for things foreign which emanated from the three hundred years of Spanish dominance and was caused partly by a continuing neo-colonial relationship with the USA (Licuanan 1987:11 in Cahill 1991:51; Suzuki 2002:101). Cahill emphasizes that the 'colonial mentality' and uncertainty of occupational and financial future in the Philippines combined drive Filipinas to a 'risky jump into an intermarriage' (1991:51-52). Two of my

informants, who both married into Murasaki in the late 1980s (when the Philippines saw political upheavals followed by EDSA revolution) mentioned, besides interest in foreign countries, political instability and unpredictability of the future of the country as a contributing factor in making a decision on their intermarriage.

Jean mentioned her interest in foreign countries as a factor that motivated her to intermarry. In fact, the majority of my informants (twenty-nine persons) also emphasized their interest in living abroad. Studies of migration often focus exclusively on the political economy operating in the macro structure so that micro-level motivations such as individual migrants' emotion and sentiment that inspired their decisions are dismissed from the analyses (Constable 2003119-20; Kohn 1998). However, not only Filipina transnational labour migrants (Tacoli 1996a, 1996b) but also male internal labour migrants express a similar desire to 'see the world' (Parry 1999). Migrant workers frequently utilize existing networks of migration to find employment and accommodation in their destination. The majority of my Filipina informants had family members, relatives or friends working abroad when they met their husbands. Their destinations include Dubai, Rome, London, Malaysia, Taiwan, Tokyo, and the USA. However, with the exception of one woman who had been outside the Philippines before marriage in her capacity as a domestic helper in Dubai, none of them had travelled abroad before marriage. Apparently, the vast majority of my informants did not exploit networks of labour migration. This indicates that the world they aspired to see is centered on the Philippines.

I have discussed factors that influenced my Filipina informants' decision on their intermarriage to Japanese men. Although Filipina intermarriage and

transnational migration are often explained with similar rationales, the account of my

Filipina informants indicates that they were different actions with different

significance. What have they foreseen in their future when they made a decision to

intermarry? Concerning careers of women in the Philippines, Chant and McIlwaine

argue that while the aggressive imposition of Catholicism with its glorification of the

Virgin Mary and prohibition on divorce compel women to be faithful wives or chaste

spinsters, there is no tangible alternatives to marriage (1995: 298) (op. cit.). Filipina

scholars such as Aguilar, on the other hand, argue that the notion of the 'queen of the

home' makes it difficult for contemporary Filipinas with professions to pursue their

careers after marriage (Aguilar 1989 in Cahill 1990:50). The notion was derived

from the image of the upper and middle class American women who exercise 'the

power behind the throne' and was idealised in association with the image of Madonna

as the mother. It is said that the notion was utilised for the social construction of

Filipina womanhood during the period of the US administration.[7] As a result, many

upper and middle class women (who have servants) are compelled to dedicate full

time commitment to household management. However, Media reports that the

women do it with pride (1995:127). In his study of Philippine history renowned for

its concise and insightful commentaries (1994), Steinberg discusses only two female

figures, Imelda Marcos and Corazon Aquino. He sees the prominence of both

women as 'within, not outside of, [the] tradition', in which 'women held power on all

levels' (ibid. 4). As the wife, she was the decision maker of the family affairs; as the

mother, she had almost total say in decisions concerning the children, including the

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critical issue of marriage choice (op. cit). It seems that gender models of women in the Philippines have altered as they encountered ideologies of powerful others. As feminist scholars point out, while both working class and middle class Filipinas attempt to be economically independent, gender politics in the contemporary Philippines sometimes force them into the institution of marriage. Nevertheless, I suggest that the positive, powerful and prestigious images associated with the wife and the mother can also be a factor to encourage Filipinas to pursue the career of house-makers even if they are located outside the home country. My Filipina informants perform the roles of the wife and the mother positively and proudly, which is documented in the rest of this thesis.

5. The Organization of the Thesis

The thesis focuses on four spheres of the intermarried lives of the Filipinas in rural Japan: 1) adjustment to the environment and lifestyle of the marital place, 2) household management, 3) religious practices, and 4) social activities; and, to do so, it is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 describes the locality in which the Filipinas live their marital lives; the climate, demography, economic structure, administrative system, and representative customs and conventions of Murasaki. While various terminologies for intermarriage examined above indicate that a similar subject could be approached very differently depending on its research interest, this thesis discusses the difficulties and problems that these women commonly faced at various stages of their marital lives, or what Breger and Hill call 'social dis-ease'

(1998:17). They warn us that studies dealing with the difficulties and problems of intermarriages risk predefining such marriages as problematic (op. cit.). In order to avoid this danger and to fathom the experience of the intermarried Filipinas, Chapter 2 discusses the various conceptual frames and approaches employed to document the research subject and conceptualize the subject with reference to anthropological literature on intermarriage, Japanese society, Filipina migration, Philippine society and on transnational migration.

The accounts are discussed in the order of stages of the marital life, and with a focus on relationships with the others with which the Filipinas interact most significantly in those stages. Chapter 3 follows the Filipinas as they arrive in the rural district of Japan that is to become their home. Adjustment to an environment and lifestyle of the marital place occupies the women most heavily in the earliest period of the marital lives. This chapter focuses on accounts of common difficulties and problems they faced during this period, paying particular attention to the development of social networks and, especially, conjugal relationships. Chapter 4 looks at the households of the Filipina-Japanese families from the insider perspective. It examines local gender roles, domestic work, the economic activities that the Filipinas come to perform, and the conflicts with their mothers-in-laws that emerge over the running of the household. Chapter 5 examines the religious practices that the Filipinas carry out in Murasaki and discusses issues relating to religious differences between them and their Japanese husbands, which came to be problematic to the couples only in the later stage of marriage. This chapter focuses on: the maintenance of the women's original cultural identity, the construction of their

offspring's identity, and changing relationships between Filipinas and their Japanese families which is indicated by the growing concern of the Japanese families about religious differences between them and the Filipinas. Chapter 6 is concerned with the social lives of the Filipinas. This chapter refers to accounts of such activities as birthday parties for children and presentations at culture classes; it also deals with self-presentation, in particular the mode of dressing and wearing make-up adopted by the Filipinas. The chapter explores features of the relationships between the Filipinas and their fellow nationals and their awareness of the host society. The last chapter summarizes the processes of adaptation and accommodation of the intermarried Filipinas.

Chapter 1. Villages of Intermarriage

Introduction

This chapter describes Murasaki, the new home of intermarried Filipinas that I studied. It will be shown that, the natural environment, the material infrastructure and the lifestyle in Murasaki is significantly different from those in the urban Philippines where the majority of the Filipinas originated. This will indicate how the Filipinas face problems and difficulties adapting themselves to Murasaki, especially during the early period of their lives there (see Chapter 3). However, we will also find that some local customs and practices are similar to those universally found in the Philippines. This might lead us to assume that Filipinas' would have some capacity to adapt to Japanese society. Those customs and practices are closely associated with the house, which is central in the ideology and in the daily lives of both the natives of Murasaki and people in the Philippines. The language of the 'house' is pervasive and the everyday interactions described in this chapter are crucial to the dynamics of the Filipina-Japanese household, which I attempt to conceptualize in the following chapter.

1. Topography and Climate

Murasaki is one of four counties that comprise a prefecture in the north part of the main land of Japan. The total area of Murasaki is 1,803.94 km2, of which residential areas account for 1%, roads and other facilities 9%, farmland 10%, and mountains

(owned mostly by the national government) 80%. The cultivated area is situated in an oval-shaped basin enclosed by mountains that I shall call the Suma Basin. At the bottom of the Suma Bonchi is Suma City, which is surrounded, moving clockwise, by seven villages, Kashiwagi, Matukaze, Ukifune, Otome, Takekawa, Sawarabi and Momijinoga. Kashiwagi and Otome are located in the most mountainous areas; Sawarabi is situated on the plain; and Matukaze, Ukifune, Takekawa and Momijinoga consist of some mountainous and some flat areas. Many small rivers run across the plain and join the main river that runs from west to south through Sawarabi, Takekawa, and Ukifune.

Figure 5. Winter in Murasaki

Located as it is in the northern part of the main island, the climate in Murasaki is far from mild. During the winter, a bitter wind blows along the rivers and brings heavy snow to the area, snow which covers the ground for 112 days on average each

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year, and whose greatest annual depth more than 143cm (MCGA 1997a:3). A large snowplough works day and night to remove snow from the main roads. Shovelling snow off paths and roofs becomes an important communal and domestic task. Since the climate in the Philippines is tropical; throughout the year the temperature rarely falls below twenty degrees centigrade in the whole archipelago, except in high mountain areas, it is not difficult to imagine how my Filipina informants had a hard time adjusting to the natural environment in Murasaki. A Japanese woman told me that one of the first Japanese words her Filipina sister-in-law learned in Murasaki was 'samui' (cold). Her sister-in-law, who had arrived in Murasaki a few days before Christmas, repeated the word throughout her first winter there.

During summer, the mountains surrounding the Suma Basin hold the heat in, frequently raising temperatures to more than thirty degrees centigrade, creating conditions just like summer in the Philippines. However, the weather during the summer in the area is very unpredictable. Even in mid-summer, cold air often comes into the basin along the mountains and causes damage to crops. June and September are the main periods of rainfall. The rain in June is continuous and constant, while the weather in September is changeable during the course of the day bringing occasional severe downpours accompanied by roaring thunder. Until river embankments were reinforced in the 1960s, heavy rainfall had frequently caused landslides in the mountainous areas and floods in the river basins.

2. Communication

Air travel from Manila to Tokyo takes about four hours. A train journey from Tokyo to Suma then takes another four hours with one transfer from the *Shinkansen* or *Bullet Train* to an express. Before the *Shinkansen* was extended to the northern part of the country in 1991, travel between Tokyo and Suma took about eight hours. In order to travel onwards from Suma to Matukaze, Ukifune, Takekawa, Sawarabi and Momijinoga, there are two single-track lines; neither of these goes as far as Sawarabi, Kashiwagi, or Otome. Bus transport links all the seven villages to Suma, but their operation is infrequent. The most reliable means of transport in Murasaki is therefore the car. The drive between Suma and the seven villages takes from thirty to forty-five minutes. Public transport in the county is not extensively developed, and amenities and facilities are heavily concentrated in Suma (see below). For this reason many households have more than one car, and neighbours exchange lifts to help non-driver family members.

Until the first two national roads were constructed in 1871 and the national railway was opened in 1922, river transport was an important form of transport connecting Murasaki to other areas. For people in riverside hamlets (*buraku*), river transport was the means of daily interaction with people in neighbouring hamlets. Until 1963, children aged ten years and older were allowed to operate a boat and actually went to school by boat. Heavy rainfalls in early summer and autumn and frozen over rivers in winter led to accidents, which sometimes took young lives. It was as recently as the mid 1970s that all the hamlets were connected by smaller roads and bridges, freeing some hamlets from what had previously been a state of isolation.

3. Appearance and Facilities

As you step out of Suma station, you find an arcade, along which there is a travel centre, a few souvenir shops, restaurants and coffee shops, and two hotels between family-owned shops dedicated to various trades. This is the entrance to the city centre of Suma. A few-minute walk away from the main street is a small area in which the bars are concentrated. As indicated in the section about transport above, Murasaki has developed round the city of Suma. The place where the castle once stood in feudal times is now used as a communal park. Here people from all over the county gather to see the cherry blossom in spring. Public facilities, such as the police headquarters, a hospital, the office building of the Murasaki County Governmental Association (hereafter MCGA), which carries out projects commonly beneficial to residents in all the eight municipalities, and the MIEC are all to be found in Suma. Banks and privately run clinics specialising in obstetrics and gynaecology are also found only in Suma. All the eight municipalities have public kindergartens, elementary schools, and junior high schools, while high schools are found only in Kashiwagi, Matukaze, Momijinoga, and in Suma. Two vocational schools specialising in agriculture and computer technology are both situated in Suma. There is no college or university in the county so it is inevitable that children who wish to pursue further education will leave home.

Whichever direction you take from Suma, a few-minute car drive takes you into vast rice fields dotted with hamlets consisting of clusters of ten to twenty houses. In mountainous Kashiwagi and Otome, there are terraced paddy fields. From the

hillside roads to Sawarabi, you see small rivers meandering through rice fields like giant snakes. Iron-and-concrete buildings occasionally stand out in the archetypal rural scenery. The larger buildings are factories that the municipal governments invited to the area to create employment for its residents, and the smaller ones are apartments called *danchi* (public housing developments) commonly built in the 1970s in order to provide housing for young couples wishing to form a nuclear household instead of cohabitating with parents in their natal home. In the late 1980s, a block of detached houses was built for the same purpose. Amidst the local scenery the municipal houses, which also are called *danchi*, are just as conspicuous to the eye as their predecessors, not only because they are newer and considerably smaller, compared with most of the privately owned houses in the neighbourhood, but also because they are identically designed and carefully aligned with spacing at regular intervals. Although depopulation has made more houses vacant than ever before, renting a house is not normal practice in Murasaki, where the majority of families own their houses. Apart from rental apartments in Suma, these houses are one of the few options for young couples.

Figure 6. The *danchi*, municipal houses

The *nokyo* (the agricultural co-operative), the *kominkan* (the central public hall), and the *yakuba* (the municipal government office) are pivotal facilities for economic, cultural, and political life in the seven villages. In addition to trading agricultural products harvested by the residents, the *nokyo* provides banking services in the villages where there are no ordinary banks. Some of the offices open grocery shops on the premises, which often have a large assortment of farming tools in stock as well; others operate petrol stations. The *kominkan* provides a venue for communal events, such as the annual assembly of local associations (see below). *Bunka-kyoshitsu* (culture classes) dealing with a variety of subjects such as cooking, the tea ceremony, basket making, how to wear the kimono, etc. are held in the *kominkan*. In the seven villages, a public library is commonly found on the premises of the *kominkan*; Suma has a dedicated public library. Until 2001 when a cinema-theatre was built at the Suma station arcade films were occasionally shown in the *kominkan*. Although all the cultural events and classes held in the *kominkan* are organized by the municipal government as part of social services, the *kominkan* and the *yakuba* are not found in the same neighbourhood, which is inconvenient for those who have business to deal with in both places on the same day. This is because the consolidation of the twenty-one original villages in the 1950s was carried out in such a way that the larger villages absorbed the neighbouring smaller ones, causing much dispute as to how to name the new municipalities. The compromise agreed on was to establish a municipal office building in the second largest villages exchange for retaining the names of the largest villages. As a result the newly established eight municipalities

allocated the *kominkan* and the *yakuba* separately to two areas in the municipality. These quarters now form the busiest part of essentially quiet villages which have few retail shops and other commercial facilities.

In Matukaze, Momijinoga, Takekawa and Ukifune restaurants and hotels, in addition to various retail shops, are also found in the vicinity of the train stations, although they are often closed with just their old signs left on the buildings. It was during the period when the stations were being constructed that these areas became most prosperous, crowded with labourers from various parts of the country and local traders supplying their daily needs. Teashops, restaurants, and hotels were opened in these areas at that time. Once the stations were actually opened, however, travellers rarely stopped in the rural villages. Thanks to the convenience of public transport, the areas have recently been developed into commuter hamlets. Here rice can be found on sale, although there does not seem to be a large market for it. In Murasaki, rice is still not something that is purchased with money; it is, rather, something exchanged for labour and other favours.

Figure 7. Spring in Murasaki

The local scenery clearly indicates that the main agricultural product of the county is rice. The decrease in the farming population is a national phenomenon, but many families in Murasaki still produce rice at least for their own household consumption, which is rice known as *hanmai* (lit. rice to eat). Families that do not use their land for rice production rent it to farming neighbours; in this case a portion of the harvest is given to the landowner as rent. Part-time farmers often ask non-farming relatives to help transplanting and harvesting rice; and the return for their labour is also made in the form of a portion of the harvest. The rice-harvesting season begins in September. As the reaping progresses, the land covered with yellow ears of rice becomes patched by tracts of brown earth, like a giant chessboard. At this time more combine harvesters than cars are seen on local roads. They move slowly like snails, and yet they transmit excitement throughout the county.

Figure 8. A combine harvester

4. Industries and Employment

Of Japan's Gross Domestic Production (GDP) in 1995, production of the commercial and service industries accounted for 60.4%, the manufacturing and construction industries 37.3%, and agriculture, forestry, and fishery the remaining 2.1%. Of the general production of Murasaki in the same year, the commercial and service industries accounted for 57.1%, the manufacturing and construction industries for 32.2%; and agriculture, forestry, and fishery for 8.7%. With regard to jobs, the commercial and service industries employed 61.0% of the national labour population, the manufacturing and construction industries 32.9%, and agriculture, forestry and fishery 5.7%. The commercial and service industries in Murasaki, on the other hand, provided work for 45.1% of the regional work population, while employment in manufacturing and construction industries, and agriculture, forestry and fishery accounted for 37.5% and 17.3% respectively. Comparisons with the national averages reveal some general characteristics of the industries in Murasaki such as: 1) the relatively low level of employment provided by the commercial and service industry but the high level of productivity of this sector, 2) the relatively high level of employment provided by the manufacturing and construction industries but the low level of productivity of this sector, and 3) the heavy emphasis placed on agriculture and forestry in the local economy.

According to the MCGA, there were 1,677 stores in the district in 1994 which employed 7,026 persons, generating total annual sales of 185 million yen. This means that employment had increased by 2.4%, compared with the previous survey

carried out in 1991, while the number of shops and the total annual sales had decreased by 6.4% and 3.5% respectively. The MCGA attributes the former advancement to the opening of four franchised supermarkets or 'large size stores (with a floor area of 3,000 m2 or larger)' in the area in the beginning of the 1990s, and the latter to the weakened national economy (MCGA 1997a:79).

All the franchised supermarkets were opened along two motorways on the outskirts of Suma, and these were soon followed by twenty 'second largest sized stores (with a shop floor of a 500m2 – 2,999 m2)', including franchised fast food chains and clothing outlets. Taking advantage, as it does, of the convenient location for drivers, this area has become a new commercial centre for the county, causing a significant number of shops in the city centre to close down their businesses. Besides competition with the franchised supermarkets, these family-owned stores have faced increasing difficulties with regard to maintaining their tenancies (due to the effect of high property prices) and finding a successor to take over the business (MCGA 1997a:79). Since so many stores along the main street in Suma have closed their shutters, showing that they are no longer in business, local people have started calling the street *Shatta Dori* or Shuttered Street.

While the total annual sales are in decline, the annual sales per shop are maintaining a level equivalent to the prefectural average. The local authorities attribute this to the concentration of commercial facilities in Suma, where 53% of all the retailers and wholesalers in Murasaki are located. The MCGA believes that Suma has developed into 'a unique commercial sphere that does not allow neighbouring commercial areas to absorb its buying power' (op. cit.). In other words, people in

Murasaki manage their daily needs with products and services available from within the county, although young single people do often drive to larger cites outside the county for shopping and leisure purposes.

There are 366 factories in Murasaki in 1995, which employ 10,450 persons in total. There are only eight factories operated by 200 employees or more in Murasaki, whereas most factories are run by family members along with just a handful of employees. In an attempt to stem the outflow of the young population to the cities, the eight municipal governments have invited subcontractor companies of large firms, such as Toshiba and Fuji Film, to set up business in the area. The major products of the manufacturing industry in Murasaki are light electrical appliances, textiles, and processed food, which account for 34.2% of the total annual production. The local manufacturing industry provides more women than men with employment. Of the total female work population, those employed in the manufacturing industry account for the largest percentage (31.54%), with the commercial and service industries amounting to 20.94% and 23.14% respectively.

Concerning the tourist industry in Murasaki, the main feature is thirteen *onsens* (natural hot springs) spread out over the nine municipalities, of which the annual average number of visitors in 1996 was only 879. The poor performance of the tourist industry is largely attributed to underdeveloped local transportation.

5. Agriculture

The main agricultural product of the area is rice. As with the Philippines and many other Asian countries, rice is the staple food of Japan.[8] Rice is produced throughout the country; the northern region, however, is well known for its high production and high quality. In Murasaki, 86.5% of the total cultivated area (19,300 ha) is used for rice production, generating 69.8% of the total agricultural profit in 1995. This is significantly higher than the prefectural average of 48.3%. The number of family households engaging in agriculture amounts to 33.1% of the total, which is higher than the prefectural average of 20.9%. However, the annual harvest is equivalent to only 68% of the prefectural average, which is the lowest of all the four counties comprising the prefecture. Indeed, 95.6% of farmers in Murasaki are *kengyo-noka* or part-time farmers who have other occupations to supplement their income.

Until the mid 1970s, seasonal labour migration was the major sideline of farmers in Murasaki. The practice emerged in Murasaki in the mid 1950s. After the annual rice harvest, the active labour force of the family, represented by fathers and sons, left for the cities in November. They return the following April just before the preparation for rice transplanting started. The most popular destination during the 1950s was Hokkaido, the northern island of Japan, and the major occupations were construction work, food manufacturing and processing, and coal mining. In the 1960s, the major destination shifted from the north to the west. Construction sites in Tokyo and Yokohama became the major destinations for seasonal labour migration. By that time, it was no longer uncommon for wives to accompany their husbands.

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[8] The main produce of the Philippines includes rice.

Many women in their sixties and seventies told me their recollections of their lives in the metropolises, where they too worked in construction sites, sweeping and carrying building materials, while their husbands engaged in heavier work. After reaching a peak of 10,622 in 1972, the number of seasonal labour migrants departing from Murasaki has been constantly decreasing. The total number of labour migrants from Murasaki in 1995 was 1,991, which accounts for only 9% of the total part-time farmer population for the same year (19,183). In that year 63% of the local population were employed full-time in agriculture, 21% were employed as part-timers or on a day-to-day basis, while 7% were engaged in other activities.

6. Population and Households

Table 2. Population of Murasaki 1997 (Percentage of Population of 65 years and over)

Murasaki	98,918 (20.6%)
Suma	42,683 (18.2%)
Matsukaze	12,043 (22.4%)
Momijinoga	11,343 (22.3%)
Kashiwagi	7,639 (21.5%)
Ukifune	7,436 (23.0%)
Takekawa	6,890 (20.6%)
Sawarabi	6,075 (22.4%)
Otome	4,809 (22.7%)

Of the eight municipalities in Murasaki, Suma has the largest population, accounting for 43% of the total population of the whole county, while Otome is the smallest, amounting to just 4%. All the eight municipalities typically suffer from depopulation, and five of these (Otome, Matukaze, Momijinoga, Takekawa, and Ukifune) are designated by the national government as highly depopulated areas subject to special countermeasures (est. 1970), which includes concession of local tax, and provision of funds to improve the local infrastructure and to promote local economy. With the financial aid, Momijinoga and Ukifune municipalities built a folk museum, and Takekawa municipality opened a leisure centre equipped with an indoor swimming pool and a public bath. The other countermeasure that Japanese national government has pursued is restriction on many types of international immigration, as such European countries as France, Germany and Italy have done. Limitation of international labour immigration is viewed as a means of lowering the unemployment

rate (see the Introduction), although the Japanese public seems to be not so vocal as their European counterpart with regard to this issue.

In Murasaki, as in rural parts of Europe, the aging population, emigration of young people and the low fertility rate, are the factors leading to depopulation. Of the productive population of ages from fifteen to sixty-four, people of age sixty-five and above make up 21.5% of the total population, which is higher than the prefectural average of 20.5% and the national average of 14.5%. Those in their twenties form the smallest group (8.8%), while those in their forties account for 14.9%. During my fieldwork, the county was excited by the news that the *Shinkansen* would be extended to a neighbouring city. Many people were delighted by the idea that it would invigorate the local economy. However, there were also sceptics who told me that it would just make it easier for local youth to leave home.

The household size in Murasaki has actually shrunk significantly over the years. In 1997, there were 26,134 households in total, and the average household size was 3.79 persons, which was nevertheless larger than the prefectural and national average of 3.45 and 2.82 persons respectively. Concerning household size of the Filipina-Japanese family, at the start of fieldwork the smallest household consisted of two persons. The largest household consisted of seven persons: the couple, their two children, the husband's mother and grandparents. During my fieldwork, five women gave birth to a baby. By the end of the fieldwork, the average number of children of the Filipina-Japanese couples was 1.65, who ranged in age from a few months to ten years old; the average size of the Filipina-Japanese families was 4.5 persons.

People in Murasaki, particularly those living in mountainous hamlets, have typically formed relatively large households. According to the earliest local records, the average household size in one of the most mountainous areas was, for instance, nine persons (Takekawa Village 1988:50), which is comparable with the average household size of Nakagiri, a village in central Japan well known from Befu's classic study of duo-local households in the same period (1968). As we will see below, a typical Filipina-Japanese family household (and the ideal family household in Murasaki) consists of three generations, which include a married couple, their parents, and the junior couple's children. The formation of three-generation household was one of the major projects of the pre-war Japanese government. Until the end of the Second World War, individual citizens were obliged to register themselves as members of a domestic unit called the *ie* (lit. house. See below for definitions of the term.). Until then, individuals were not allowed to change their residence, to carry out an adoption, or men younger than thirty years old and women under twenty-five years old to marry without the consent of the *kacho* (the head of the *ie*) (Articles 749, 750 and 772 in Yoshimi et. al., 1988: 142-3). The consent of the *kacho* and the parents was required for the marriage of people under the ages given above. These ages were far higher than the average age at first marriage in those days. For instance, the men's average age at first marriage in 1882 was 22.1 years old and that of women was 19.04 years old (Prime Minister's Office 1886 in Kumagai, 1983:94). Beardsley and his associates describe the authority the Meiji Civil Code granted to the household head as 'almost autocratic and absolute' (1959: 217). However, young people apparently accepted this authority peaceably. None of

the literature I know of records protests against the regulations, while much reports that the people were actually enthusiastic about observing them (Beardsley, et. al., ibid. 1959; Vogel, 1971; Smith and Wiswell 1982). Indeed, given that the sale of land was, in principle, banned during the Tokugawa era and that the majority of farmers were tenants, not only the *ie* ideology but also land reform (initiated by the Meiji government (1868-1912) and fully realized by the Showa government (1926–1989) immediately after the end of the Second World War) reinforced the sense of duty and the desire to perpetuate the *ie* among ordinary farmers (Hayami 1983).

From her fieldwork experience in Kurotsuchi, a rural farming area in southern Japan, in the mid-1970s, Hendry reports that it is most frequently asserted that the main object of marriage was not to satisfy the interests of the individuals involved but to perpetuate the *ie* (ibid. 18). During my fieldwork, a ten-year-old girl told me how her new house had been built. At the time of conversation, the house was nearly completed so that she was particularly excited about her new room, which she was going to share with her grandmother. When I heard that one whole room would be given to her only sibling, a girl two years senior to her, I asked the girl if she was satisfied with this arrangement. The girl answered quite contentedly that she was, 'because Elder Sister is *atotori* (successor).' Her aunt, 43 years old, was in company with her. She remarked on the girl's account that children in the area were able to make such a distinction between them and other siblings (in terms of the ranking for succession for the natal household), which helped eldest children to grow *atotori no jikaku* (self-awareness that they would become the successor). While Beardsley and his associates note the rising concern with primogeniture in a farming village in

central Japan in the 1950s (1959), the importance of the *ie* is thus maintained up to the present day in Murasaki. Of course, depopulation and decreasing farming population in Murasaki indicate that a cultural value attached to continuity of the *ie* is waning. A Filipina wife of a local farmer pointed out to me that rice production did not produce profit that remunerated her husband's hard work, as it was reflected on her household finance. Nevertheless, her existence in Murasaki itself manifests continuity of the *ie* and farming community. A small number of farmers produce such vegetables and fruit as cherry tomatoes and melons, as they get a high price in the domestic market. However, many farmers, including this Filipina's husband, do not see growing vegetables as proper farming but as something akin to gardening that can be done by women and elder people in between domestic chores; they are unwilling to convert their rice fields into vegetable gardens. Farmers in Murasaki are proud of their occupation as the producer of the staple food of the country and the high quality of rice that they produce, and local non-farmers express their respect for the occupation. This is one reason why rice production continuously dominates agriculture in this area. It seems that rice production symbolizes the cultural value attached to the *ie*, thus compels the farming community to keep going. From his fieldwork experience in Hongu, a depopulated rural farming area in central Japan, in the late 1980s, Knight discusses two dimensions of awareness of continuity of the *ie*: one is the 'sense of gratitude to those in the past for the their efforts which have helped make the present what it is' (which includes not only the land and other material property but also the positions and reputation that one's *ie* occupies in the local community); another is the 'sense of responsibility to those who come

afterwards and a propensity to work not just for the sake of present day needs but also for future needs and those of posterity' (1992:81). Knight contends that the *ie* is a 'channel' to tie the present members to the members of past and future generations (op. cit.). Incidentally, a colloquial word for the *ie* is *uchi*. The term, *uchi* also means inside. According to anthropological studies of Japan, despite regional linguistic variation, the notion of *uchi* (inside), together with the notion of *soto* (outside), are employed universally when social space is categorized. While *soto* is conceived as public space and is marked by formality and discipline, *uchi* is said to be the private space and is characterized by spontaneity and intimacy. Because of the located perspective of the in-group that the term signifies, *uchi* is often translated as 'us' (e.g. Kondo 1990). Then, it is conceivable that emotional warmth and closeness that the current occupants find in the house are the other factor that urges them to preserve their *ie*.

7. The House

A typical family house in Murasaki is a detached house with two floors, normally constructed after the peak of seasonal emigration from the mid 1970s onwards. One particular characteristic of the house in Murasaki is a spacious entrance hall, convenient particularly in busy farming seasons for taking off farming clothes and footwear before entering the other rooms and during winter to store various tools for removing snow. The front door of the house is usually found unlocked and is often left open even if none of the residents are at home. The residents all said to me with one voice, 'this is the sign of welcome for visitors'. Neighbours could drop in at any

time, simply calling out the typical greeting to the building: '*Haitto* (I'm coming in)'. If the residents are in, they welcome the visitor in the entrance hall or pop their head through a gap between the sliding doors of the *chanoma* (lit. tea room) to greet them. The *chanoma* is always found next to the entrance hall, as people spend the majority of time at home in this room. If the residents are out or fail to respond to the visitor's greeting, the visitor walks into the *chanoma* to find out whether or not the residents are in. A close-knit community is found in the Philippines, too. However, while Filipinos 'hang out' in the street, in front of a sari-sari store, for instance, people in Murasaki meet up with neighbours in the *chanoma*. In addition to depopulation in the area, this custom marks a crucial difference between the rural Philippines and Murasaki. A newly married Filipina told me that the quiet local scenery with no soul in the street made her feel melancholic. Daily visits by neighbours are technically surprise visits; and, how gracefully you can receive this surprise is an art, an art that the majority of my informants were in the process of mastering during my fieldwork.

The *chanoma* is the largest room in the house. This room is furnished with an elaborately designed *butsudan* (a Buddhist alter dedicated to the deceased household members), a *kamidana* (a miniature Shinto shrine), and statues of *Ebisu* and *Daikoku* (deities of fortune and the harvest respectively). In addition to cooked rice, which is in principle freshly prepared every morning, incense and flowers, various kinds of fruits and sweets are offered at the *butsudan*, contributing to the cheerful atmosphere in the room. A family altar can be found in every family household in the Philippines, which consists of a statue of Virgin Mary, crucifix and any other saints' images (e.g. Saint Ninõ or Child Jesus); a food offering is not made daily but specially on All

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Saints' Day (1 November) and All Souls' Day (2 November) (see Section 9.). It can

be appreciated that the *chanoma* is not simply for entertaining guests; rather it is a

multi-purpose space. The household members gather in this room to have their daily

meals even if there is a large kitchen with a dining table; they also come here to

watch TV even if they have a TV set in their own room; and children do their

homework there, even if they have their own room.

Figure 9. *Butsudan*
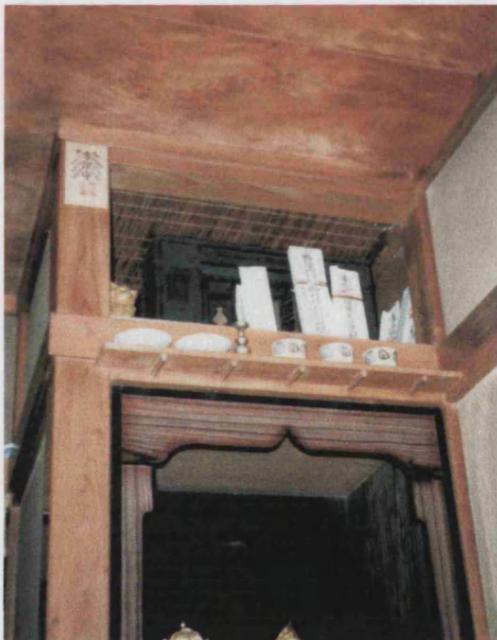
Figure 10. *Kamidana*

One room that is usually situated next to the *chanoma* is the *tokonoma* (lit. a room decorated with an alcove). The *tokonoma* is decorated with framed pictures of several recently deceased household members, including those who died in the

Second World War with certificates of the decorations awarded to them for their military service. Portraits of the Emperor and Empress Showa and of the royal family are also often found in the room. One or two more rooms are often found next to the *tokonoma*. These are usually smaller than the other two rooms so far described. All the rooms, apart from the kitchen, are usually furnished with *tatami*-mats and sliding doors so that by removing the doors a space to accommodate a larger number of guests can be created for such occasions as the feast during the Bon festival, memorial services for the deceased and funerals. In marked contrast to the conventional Japanese style of the ground floor, the first floor is often designed and furnished in a somewhat Western style, with hinged doors and wooden or carpeted floors. This is in an anticipation of the fact that the married-in partner of the successor child will most likely prefer it like this. While the young couple occupies the first floor, the senior members sleep on the ground floor. Since the kitchen, the bathroom, and the toilet are all found on the ground floor, this arrangement minimises the burden for elderly members (who do not have to climb up stairs), and provides privacy for the young couple at the same time.

Figure 11. Decorations in *tokonoma*

Of the thirty-six Filipina-Japanese couples who live with the husbands' parents, residential arrangement of two couples is slightly different to the norm. One built an extension to the one-storied house of the parents (for their use only) at the time of their marriage in the late 1980s; and the other couple, married during my fieldwork, built a one-bedroom house with a small kitchen unit inside the compound of the parental house. These were unusual arrangements in Murasaki. In some other parts of Japan it is conventional to build a separate house (*hanare* or *hiya*) within the compound of the main house for the retired parents to move into when the marital partner of the successor-child moves in to the main house (Beardsley, et al. 1959; Nakane 1967) but this type of arrangement is hardly ever found in Murasaki. It should be noted, however, that although the couples lived in a separate building to the parents, this arrangement was only aimed at securing their privacy. Like the majority of the Filipina-Japanese families, the couples shared the household facilities and expenses with the parents.

Of the four couples who formed a nuclear family household, two lived in a detached house similar to the typical family house described as above, but both were newer and lacked portraits of ancestors. The other two couples live in municipal houses, while the parents live in the natal house by themselves. As mentioned above, the municipal apartments and houses are both known as *danchi*. The establishment of *danchi* as an alternative residence appears to indicate that forming a nuclear family household has gradually become an option for successor-children in Murasaki. However, both the husbands living in *danchi* told me that the arrangement was temporary until their parents retired, until then their wives would learn how to

manage the household by themselves. The monthly rent of the *danchi*, which consists

of three rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom, and a separate toilet, varies between ¥6,000 -

¥17,000 according to the income of the tenant. In the case of a municipal house,

which is also designed for a nuclear family, the monthly rent is higher, ranging

between ¥17,000 - ¥49,000. Compared with the ordinary houses in Murasaki

described above, the municipal apartments and houses are considerably smaller in

size. They are, however, larger than privately owned apartments which often consist

of only one room with a small cooking space and a bathroom unit with a toilet.

Compared with privately owned apartments, which charge at least ¥30,000 monthly,

the rent for the municipal apartments and houses is appreciably lower. However,

some villagers told me that those who resided in the municipal houses and apartments

were 'wasting' (*mottai nai*) money because they already had a house in the village

(i.e. their natal house).

Co-residence with parents is the norm in the region, but this arrangement is

slowly in decline. A Japanese woman in her late fifties emphasized that *bekkyo*

(living apart from parents) was a matter that local Japanese of her age considered far

less likely than divorce. While many female villagers of her age were employed part-

time in factories, she had worked full-time in a company as a clerk since graduating

from high school. 'As a working wife', she said, 'I've never been a good wife who

stayed at home and always complied with what the parents-in-law said. Friction with

the parents-in-law was frequent. But, I've never thought about suggesting *bekkyo* to

my husband.' 'This was because', she emphasized, 'this could not happen! For

wives in my time, 'moving out of the house (*ie o deru*)' did not mean establishing a

new household with her husband but rather leaving the marital house without him, that is to say, divorce.' Here we see the analogy between the husband and the *ie*. Hendry emphasizes in her study of Japanese marriage that *yome* is married not simply to her spouse but also to her spouse's *ie* (1981). As she points out, the *kanji* (Chinese character) signifying the term for *yome* consists of two parts representing a woman and the *ie* respectively. The woman told me that her husband would not be able to leave his parents 'because such an action was *oyafuko* (unfilial)'. A male villager in his mid forties told me that many people called the municipal houses '*oyafuko danch*i' (unfilial houses).

While the younger generation is blamed for becoming 'unfilial', the truth of the matter is slightly different. The single women in their twenties I interviewed, for example, claimed that they would live with the parents-in-law if their 'loved one' (*sukina-hito*) wished to do so. According to these women, who all grew up in extended family households, and a few of whom co-resided with their sisters-in-laws at the time of the interview, the personality of the prospective mother-in-law is the second most important determining factor for residential arrangements. However, even if this is recognized to be a potential problem, the women are aware of the risk of being labelled 'unfilial' if they do decide to live apart from the parents of their future husband. They told me that the only way to live apart and to avoid this sanction was to live outside Murasaki.

8. The Family Households

Table 3. Terms for members of the three-generation household

Generation	Male	Female
First	Ojinchan (Grandfather)	Obanchan (Grandmother)
Second	Otto (Father)	Okka (Mother)
Third	Atotori (Successor)	Yome (Bride)

Table 3 shows local terms for the representative family members. Between family members, the kinship terms are, in principle, used to address and refer to senior members only. Although parents and grandparents often call elder children 'elder brother/sister', as though reminding them of their position in the sibling set, senior members normally call junior members by their given name. Imitating their father and grandparents, whether unconsciously or trying to be mischievous, toddlers often call their mother by name in a somewhat patronizing tone. This habit is soon corrected at kindergarten, though. Due to the influence of national education and the mass media, the dialect terms for the father and for the mother are often replaced with the standard Japanese (*otosan* and *okasan* respectively); grandparents, however, are still addressed using the local terms. In Japan, addressing unrelated senior interlocutors in kinship terms is a gesture of respect and intimacy. However, I frequently noted that in Murasaki addressing unrelated elderly interlocutors in kinship terms did not always ease the interaction with them since these people were often not actually grandparents yet due to their sons' involuntary bachelorhood. In the Philippines, kinship terms are also used for people who are totally unrelated to the speakers in order to show them respect. In Tagalog speaking areas, for instance, such

nomenclatures as *kuya* (eldest brother) and *ate* (eldest sister) are used among the siblings to address and refer to the older ones as a sign of respect for their age. My Filipina informants also used these terms to address and refer to the older fellow nationals and their husbands (see Chapter 6). Despite varying degrees of fluency in Japanese, they seemed to have no difficulty applying Japanese kinship terms to strangers. In fact, some of them pointed out a convenience of the use, i.e. no need to remember the interlocutor's name. Besides frequent use of kinship term, use of respect particle '*po*' is found in Tagalog. The English translation of the particle is 'Sir' and 'Ma'am', and is used in direct discourse to express respect for relative seniority and social status. *Keigo*, polite form of Japanese language has a similar function (see Chapter 2).

When the above terms are used as alternatives to the actual name of family members referred to, these are often combined with the term *uchi-no* as in *uchi-no yome*, for instance. As mentioned above, *uchi* signifies the *ie* and the in-group of 'us'. A translation of *uchi-no yome* can therefore be the bride to my *ie* or *our* bride. Close relationships of *yome* with her marital *ie* was discussed above with reference to the *kanji* signifying the term. The term *yome* is often translated as 'bride' in English. However, *yome* does not simply mean a woman who is getting married or who has just married. In Murasaki as in many other parts of Japan, women in varying stages of the marriage process are all referred to as *yome* whenever their affiliation with their marital *ie* is to be clarified. In such cases, their surname is added to the term with the prefix '*o*' and the suffix '*san*', both of which denote politeness: for instance, Umeda-*san-no-o-yome-san*. However, since a few surnames often dominate a

neighbourhood, the term *honke* (main house) or *bekka* (branch house) is added to the

surname if necessary: for instance, *honke-no*-Umeda-*san-no-o-yome-san*.

9. Relationships between the Houses

In the late sixteenth century, Murasaki comprised seventy-two villages and was ruled

by a clan called Matsukaze. In the early seventeenth century the Tokugawa

government took away the privilege of the Matsukaze clan and gave it to the

Takekawa clan. By the time feudalism was replaced by the parliamentary Meiji

government, the seventy-two villages had been further fused into just twenty-one. It

was in the mid 1950s that the twenty-one villages were further consolidated into eight

independent municipalities under the National Town and Village Consolidation Law.

The former twenty-one villages are now called *chiku* (zone, area) and serve as units

of municipal administration when designating school zones, for instance. Besides

administrative collaboration through the MCGA, close interrelations between the

municipalities are reflected in a local custom: the visiting of the ancestral graves at

the beginning of August. In Japan, there are four customary occasions each year to

visit family graves: the period immediately before the *Bon* festival (NS. 15 August),

and during *Higan*, or the equinoctial week, in spring (seven days including three days

before and after 21 March) and autumn (seven days including three days before and

after 23 September). In the snowy county it is customary to visit just once a year

before the *Bon* festival. The whole family participates in the *Bon* taking baskets full

of offerings to the deceased family members, baskets which include home-made rice

cakes and a variety of vegetables and fruits, in addition to incense and flowers.

Elderly people told me that the purpose of the visit to families' graves was not only to offer prayers to the ancestors and the recently deceased but also to bring them back to the home in order that they stay with the living members during the period of the Bon. Each municipality organises a different day for its residents to visit their families' graves so that this important 'reunion' does not coincide with visits to relatives' ancestral graves in other municipalities. In a similar way, different dates are allocated to each hamlet to carry out communal events commemorating the Bon (such as the carrying of a miniature shrine through the streets, a karaoke-singing contest, a folk dance, etc.) so that the festive events can be seen in Murasaki by all throughout the latter half of August.

Figure 12. Gravestones

Figure 13. Offering at a gravestone

Figure 14. Offering at a *butsudan* during the period of Bon festival

Figure 15. Children carrying a miniature shrine

It is noted that All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day in the Philippines resemble the *Bon* festival in Murasaki in many respects. During this time in the Philippines, people visit the tombs of the deceased family members to which they offer candles, flowers, food and precious items, making the cemeteries gay and inviting. Guided by the candles lit on the tombs, the souls of the deceased are believed to return to the earth, and visit the house of their living family. Every house will prepare a food offering for the souls of the deceased, which is in front of the family altar, or on a table specially arranged with candles, crucifix and any other saints' images that the family has in the house. People make every effort to travel home to the provinces to attend (Cannell 1999:157-58). This partly explains why Filipina wives in Murasaki readily take care of their husbands' siblings and relatives who travelled to Murasaki to attend the *Bon* festival and stayed in their house during the period (see Chapter 4), pay a visit to their ancestral tombs with them, and even look after the *butsudan* (see Chapter 5).

The modern history of Japan began with a political movement known as the Meiji Restoration in 1868. This movement dismantled the Tokugawa feudal government, which had ruled for 265 years, and established a parliamentary government in its place. Within a few years of its establishment, the Meiji government also dismantled local clan governments and replaced them with prefectures. It also abolished the occupational class-caste system which had divided the people largely into four main groups (in order of seniority: warriors, farmers, artisans, merchants); it obliged all commoners to take a surname (which had previously been a privilege of the warrior class); and it permitted marriage between the nobility and commoners. At that time, about 80 - 90% of the population are estimated to have been farmers, with the warrior class making up another 10 - 15%.

In Murasaki a few surnames are much more common than others, and although these names are found in all the eight municipalities, they are often concentrated in one hamlet. These surnames are said to originate from vassals of the Matsukaze clan. According to the local literature, the majority of residents living in Murasaki in the late 1980s are the fourth or fifth generations of either lineal or collateral descendants of the people registered in the first census carried out in 1876 (Takekawa Village 1989). However, it is difficult to confirm the genealogical relations between families bearing the same surname because it was only in 1875 that common people became legally obliged to carry a surname. In order to comment on genealogical relations between local families, I come back to the custom whereby each household holds a feast during the period of the *Bon*. In the

same way the communal events are staggered, these feasts are held on a different date in each hamlet so that people can receive *shinseki* (relatives) coming from outside of their hamlet.[9] On sultry afternoons during the period of the Bon, the household heads are busy travelling from one relative's feast to another's. When asked about the relationships between a large number of households bearing the same surname, a household head in his early sixties said to me, wiping perspiration from his forehead: 'If you once trace back your genealogy, all the houses with the same surname will be your *shinseki*. Then, you have to pay a visit to them all.' The implication is that it is hard work to try and maintain relations with all your relatives so that you need to chose and demonstrate who are your relatives. On the day of the feast people strictly refrained from visiting unrelated neighbours. This is in marked contrast to the casual and frequent exchange of visits between neighbours in daily life. It is obligatory for the *tonarigumi* (neighbourhood group) to exchange labour between the members at occasions such as the construction of a new house, weddings, or funerals (see below). When the wedding ceremony was still held in the home, it was customary that an informal reception for female members of the *tonarigumi* be held on the day following the formal wedding reception in order to reward them for their work as well as to introduce the bride to them. Today the wedding ceremony and reception are normally held in a rented hall and so require no exchange of labour between the *tonarigumi* on this occasion; however, female members of the *tonarigumi* are still invited to the reception. Although the area has suffered from the 'bride famine', I managed to observe one wedding during my

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[9] The group of related households is known to students of Japanese society as *dozoku* (Befu 1963; Brown 1966; Nakane 1967; Hendry 1987: 25-7). However, people in Murasaki hardly use the term.

fieldwork, which invited two Filipinas living in the same neighbourhood. One had lived in the area for nearly ten years and been familiar to the groom's family, whereas the other had been in the area for only two years and was hardly known to them. Yet, both women belonged to the same *tonarigumi*. Regarding funerals, as a member of a *tonarigumi*, some Filipinas were sent to neighbouring households of which a member had passed away, helping to prepare for the funeral. However, it was one of their parents-in-law who actually attended the funeral ceremony itself and the subsequent memorial services for the deceased, acting as representative for the household. It was, therefore, unusual for younger household members to participate in funerals and memorial services, unless there was a death within the household or of a close friend.

In order to distinguish themselves from other households with the same surname, people used a *yago* (house name). The *yago* was also often given to the eldest son as the given name in pre-war times. Today, the *yago* remains only part of the long household history that is something of which villagers are very much proud. A few male villagers in their late forties told me of their wish to have named one of their sons their *yago* so that it would be preserved in the subsequent generation. They all gave up the idea, though, as they were opposed by their wives because those names were very different from modern given names and sounded too old-fashioned. A similar custom is found in Europe. In rural Basque communities, for instance, the house heads are referred to by the house name rather than by their Christian name, and children and other adult members of the house by their Christian name and house name (Otto 1981: 43).

When relationships between *shinseki* were explained to me, this was often done in terms of the lineal relationships between the *honke* and *bekka*, rather than in terms of the ego's relationships to his/her relatives. The *honke* can be compared to the 'stem family' in Europe, as land and property accrued to it are handed down from generation to generation. The *bekka* is the 'branch house' newly set up by non-successor members of the *honke*. The system of succession of the *ie* is further discussed in Chapter 2 with particular reference to Fukutake's and Bachnik's analyses, which indicate that the membership ranking (in terms of age and sex) determines not only the choice of successor but also an essential part of the everyday behaviour of the household members (Fukutake 1967:41; Bachnik 1983:164). A similar hierarchy is found in the everyday interaction between members of the *honke* and the *bekka* and in household affairs. On the day of the visit to the ancestral grave, the heads of *bekka* pay a visit also to the *honke* in order to offer a prayer to the latter's *butsudan*. This often ends up with a drinking session with the head of the *honke*. The *honke* is influential in its *bekka*'s household affairs. In the graveyard, while looking at a small, old gravestone of his family surrounded by new, large gravestones of its neighbours, the head of a *bekka* told me of his plan to replace it with a big gravestone before the next Bon festival. He had been preparing to do this for this year's Bon festival, but as he found out that his *honke* was doing the same, he postponed it, in accordance with the hierarchical order of houses. Elderly people thought that this was a wise decision, as he might otherwise have appeared to be competing with the *honke*. The head of another *bekka*, who was planning to build a new house, consulted with the head of his *honke* over the matter. He said: 'It was just

a matter of formality.' However, it seemed to be important for him to do it, especially since his new house would be larger than that of the *honke*. The head of the *honke* is also regarded as the person who grants a certain amount of authority to members of his *bekka* and he is, therefore, expected to be responsible for the behaviour of the latter. Neighbours visit the heads of *honke* to consult with them about how to solve their problems with their *bekka*. After seeing off a neighbour, a young head of a *honke* said to me: 'I don't want to intervene in neighbours' household affairs'. However, one of his *bekka* (of which the head was his deceased father's younger brother) had caused disputes with several different neighbours, and each of the neighbours involved in the dispute had lodged a complaint with him. The head blamed his uncle for his lack of authority over younger members of his household. As the above episodes indicate, younger people were less concerned with authority attached to the main-branch household relations. However, the actions they took were still more than a formality inherited from the past. The young head took on his responsibilities over members of his *bekka* seriously and acted as mediator between his *bekka* members and the neighbour who had lodged a complaint with him. He invited both parties to his home to discuss their problem.

Some of the Filipinas proudly told me that their marital households were *honke*, with implication that the status of their marital households was superior to that of *bekka*. It implied particularly that the status of their marital households was superior to that of their fellow nationals' whose marital households were not only *bekka* but also had the same surnames as theirs. As described further in the following chapters, such an aspect of Japanese society hardly affected interaction between the

Filipinas. However, when they faced the Japanese community, they too had to act according to the status. Those who married into *honke* had to receive more guests not only during festival seasons but also in daily lives, while those who married into *bekka* were required to make a gesture of respect to their *honke* members, particularly to the household head, for instance. One ultimate example is the case of a Filipina whose husband is the head of a *honke* which is one of the longest standing in the area. On one occasion, her husband found that some of his neighbours were complaining about the Japanese class that his Filipina wife had attended. It was because as they claimed, the class was operated by the municipal government and therefore by taxes they had paid. The neighbours insisted that if the Filipinas needed language lessons, not the government but their husbands should be responsible for the need. As indicated by numerical data on the regional economy above, the remote farming district had never been wealthy so that many farmers had to supplement their income by labour migration. Yet, there were some households that still needed to go on the relief. A woman in her mid-forties told me that when she was in elementary school, the government used to deliver a supply of stationery (rather than money to purchase one) to the pupils on the relief to the school (rather than to their home). The delivery of stationery embarrassed her and all other children who, like her, were on relief, because it indicated the fact that they were. People in the farming area have placed great value on economic self-sufficiency and frugality. They would not look down on a person because of his/her humble living, however they would regard the condition of living dependence on others, especially on the government's support, as demeaning. The husband of the Filipina found it difficult to disagree with his

neighbours' complaint about the Japanese language class, although he knew that he would not be able to afford private lessons for his wife. He told her that his household was *honke*, the members of which were expected to be an example to the members of his *bekka* and to the community, so was she; she should therefore stop attending the class. Not all the community members agreed with him, however. While the husband and his neighbours saw the language class a burden on the public, the language teacher saw it as a service to enjoy. Besides, the Filipina was one of the brightest students in her class, who gave her joy in teaching. The female teacher in her early thirties visited the Filipina's home in order to convince her husband to have her continue her lessons. Unfortunately, she could not change his mind. The incident took place one year before my fieldwork, but a heated argument that the teacher had with the husband was still remembered by his neighbours. By following her husband, the Filipina deprived herself of opportunity of learning Japanese, however she had no choice.

10. Communal Activities

As indicated above, communal activities are carried out within the unit of the hamlet. Each *hamlet* has its own assembly (*burakukai*) to organise communal tasks such as the cleaning or repair of communal spaces and facilities including temples, shrines, parks and the public hall. Each household is obliged to send at least one adult member to assist with such work. The *burakukaicho* (chairperson) is designated following a principle of rotations, and the *burakukaihi* (hamlet fee) to be spent on communal events is collected monthly. A *buraku* is further divided into groups of ten

to fifteen neighbouring households. This system of *tonarigumi* was established all over Japan during the period of the Second World War and has since then been functioning as a local unit connecting every household to the central administrative system (Nakane 1969:144). Information from the municipal government is circulated via the *kairanban* (circulating notice board), which includes monthly bulletins issued by the village office, and application forms for social services. The *kairanban* is delivered every week to the *burakukaicho* of each *buraku* who keeps one set of copies for his/her household and delivers the rest to one household of each *tonarigumi*. That household keeps one set of copies for itself and passes the rest on to the next household. The same procedure is repeated until the information has been distributed to all the households belonging to the same *tonarigumi*. In a reverse process, one household takes charge of collecting communal fees from its *tonarigumi* members in order to submit them to the *burakukaicho*. However, as the configuration of the local households became more diverse, these began to face difficulties in performing their function properly. A house head complained about a dual-income couple with no children who had moved into his *tonarigumi* recently. Given responsibility for collecting the water bill of his *tonarigumi* households, he visited the couple repeatedly only to find they were out. As he felt responsible for the payment of the total amount owed by his *tonarigumi*, he ended up paying their water bill himself.

Other communal associations also found in the eight municipalities of Murasaki are the *fujinkai* (women's association), the *wakazumakai* (young wives' association) and the *rojikurabu* (elderly people's club). The *fujinkai* is well known to

students of Japanese society because of the fact that its predecessor was founded by patriots in the early 20th century and because one of its major activities was to support the war effort up until the end of the Second World War (Moon 1989:138-9). After the war the *fujinkai* was revived in many parts of the country to conduct voluntary activities. The contemporary *fujinkai* in Murasaki operates in the same way as its predecessor did. It first assembles in the unit of the hamlet and then collaborates with the members of other hamlets to carry out ward-level and municipal-level activities, which include recycling campaigns, visits to the homes of elderly people, and lecture meetings inviting local specialists to talk about subjects directly related to domestic life such as healthy diets, geriatric illnesses, home nursing of elderly people, etc. Prefectural and national assemblies are held periodically. The strong tie with the municipal government is indicated by the presence of local politicians and the headmasters of local schools at the annual ward-level assembly of the *fujinkai*, held at the end of the fiscal year in March. The assemblies that I attended were followed by a lavish feast with karaoke singing. Apart from providing services to the local community, members of the same hamlet collect a sum of money in order to make a trip to some tourist spot once a year.

The *fujinkai* is the largest and most active of all the local associations in Murasaki. It provides great support to a variety of communal events organized by the *buraku* assembly. The attractive nature of the *Bon* festival makes it the biggest communal event in each *buraku,* but it would be impossible to carry out without the cooperation of the *fujinkai*. It is customary in Murasaki for each household to hold a feast during the period of the Bon festival, in addition to taking part in the communal

event. Elderly people told me that the feast was the *hon-matsuri* (lit. main festival), and the communal event was an *ura-matsuri* (informal festival), which it was customary to carry out on the day following the *hon-matsuri*. However, some hamlets have recently reversed the order, as requested by the *fujinkai*. The request stemmed from the fact that the *hon-matsuri* was also called the *nomi-matsuri* (lit. drinking festival) and often continued until late at night. The change in the order of the two festivals allowed the women to have a rest on the day following the *nomi-matsuri*.

Like the *fujinkai*, the *wakazumakai* and the *rojikurabu* are operated under the auspices of the local governments. Just as with the *fujinkai*, participation in the activities is voluntary; the chairperson is designated using a rotation system; and, all the residents (or tax payers) in the same *buraku* are theoretically members of one of these associations, irrespective of race, ethnicity, nationality or religion (as demonstrated by my foreign informants). Unlike the *fujinkai*, the *wakazumakai* and the *rojikurabu* neither collaborate with the members of other hamlets nor carry out voluntary activities promoting public interests; their activities are mostly recreational (see below).

The vast majority of members of the *fujinkai* are women in their forties and fifties, while those of the *wakazumakai* are in their twenties and thirties. The monthly assembly held in the public hall is the main activity of the *wakazumakai*. However, reflecting, as it does, the lifestyle of 'young wives', the activities organized by the *wakazumakai* vary significantly between hamlets. Members of commuter hamlets seldom meet up, as they work outside their hamlets, while members of hamlets with a

large farming population gather regularly and set up a variety of events, which include an annual trip and occasional karaoke singing parties, *imonikai* (lit. potato-cooking gathering), an outdoor party unique to northern parts of Japan. A lecture is organized by the municipal government for the association once a year or so. Officially, the assembly is held to exchange information and advice concerning domestic work and child rearing. However, issues more frequently brought in for discussion at the assemblies that I attended concerned relationships with husbands and with in-laws. These were generally discussed relatively openly, contrary to my expectation that these rural people would be very secretive. The members appeared to enjoy sharing their stories more than actually seeking a solution. The atmosphere of the discussion, enjoyed over a variety of refreshments brought by the members, was always relaxed, reminding me of the 'tea parties' held by their mothers and grandmothers (see below).

Having heard from compatriots living in farming hamlets how enjoyable the activities were, a few Filipinas who lived in commuter hamlets complained about the inactivity of their *wakazumakai*. Nevertheless, Filipina wives' participation in the local association depends more on their command of Japanese than on the pace of life. Belle, twenty-five years old, joined the association two years after she married into Murasaki, having been encouraged by a Filipina neighbour's regular participation. Belle was nicknamed Mata (the Eye) by her fellow Filipinas because of her big, beautiful eyes and because of her great observational sense of humour. She was always the centre of attention at gatherings of Filipinas. At the assembly of *wakazumakai*, however, she was often left out of the conversation, despite the

Filipina neighbour's help in communicating with the Japanese members. After a couple of meetings Belle gave up on the *wakazumakai*. Typically, it was only after their first child entered preschool (at the age of three) that my Filipina informants began participating in the activities of the *wakazumakai*, and they largely did so in order to socialize with the mothers of their child's classmates. By this time they were also able to enjoy conversation with the Japanese members.

The *rojikurabu* was created in the 1980s with the aim of filling up the leisure time of retired people. The main activities of the *rojikurabu* include gateball, an outdoor sport resembling croquet, and an annual trip. A group made up of a few men and women playing the game are often to be seen in the gateball field, which is normally provided in a corner of public parks; however, these people are apparently the minority. Many elderly people I know only participate in the annual trip. Rather than play gateball, elderly people in Murasaki pray in *ko* associations. Derived from Buddhist activities, *ko* associations developed into a credit association in the Tokugawa era (Nakane 1967:146-9), although none of the *ko* associations in Murasaki have such a function any longer. One of the *ko* associations most widely attended in Murasaki is the *Okannoko* (known as *Kannonko* in many other parts in Japan). *Okannoko* is affiliated with the bodhisattva *Kannon*, who is regarded as the patron of women, and is therefore associated with the ability to cure infertility or problems related to breast-feeding. Members of the *Okannoko* are predominantly women in their sixties and older. They told me that they were only practicing chanting sutras for the time when they might really need them, i.e. funerals and memorial services for the deceased. The gathering for chanting sutras is commonly

held once a month at one of the members' houses; the date of the gathering differed from *buraku* to *buraku*. It is customary for the members to be served with food and drink after the chanting. Some associations enjoy a vegetarian meal prepared by the host member, while others prepare a variety of snacks. A sum of money is collected at each gathering to pay for the food and drinks and for an outing that the associations make once or twice a year. Another representative *ko* association in Murasaki is the *Iseko*, which was formed to visit the Ise Shrine of the Shinto sun goddess of Amaterasu. The frequency of the assembly of the *Iseko* found in Murasaki varies between hamlets: some gather only annually, others monthly, though they all send a couple of members to the Ise Shrine every year.

An association that was gradually disappearing from Murasaki was the *seinendan* (youth group). The predecessor of this association was the young men's group, which as the most active labour force, enjoyed control over village endogamy in pre-modern times. Like the *fujinkai*, the *seinendan* had strong ties with the local government and carried out important tasks for the community such as civil patrols (like Neighbourhood Watch in the UK) and fire fighting. Until the early 1970s, when it lost a large number of its members to migration, the association was also in charge of organising communal events. The association, lacking new membership, has become increasingly inactive however, and responsibility for communal activities is now assumed by the *burakukai*. The last activity organized by the *seinendan* in Murasaki consisted of a variety of events aimed at enticing women of marriageable age to come to the county during the 1980s. During my fieldwork, some municipalities were attempting to revitalise the *seinendan* with younger personnel of

the municipal office acting as the leading members. However, many people said to me: 'The *seinendan* was disbanded a few years ago'.

Concerning local associations, I should report on the Filipina Wives' Association in Murasaki. The FWAM was established in 1993 with fifteen founding members aiming at exchange information and advice concerning intermarried lives and child rearing and promoting positive images of the Philippines among local Japanese. The association provides its members with a fund for travel to the Philippines. The fund is not given but is rather lent to a member (with no interest to be paid and no security necessary) until another member comes to need the fund. The FWAM is operated in a similar manner that other local associations are operated; all Filipina wives in Murasaki are theoretically members, and participation in activities is voluntary, although the chairperson is elected, rather than appointed by using a rotation system. During my fieldwork, no official meeting was held, and there was only one event in which seven FWAM members participated as the representatives (see Chapter 6). According to the chairperson, the association had held a meeting once a month and organized a series of events in the first three years of establishment or so, but it become gradually inactive, as the members were increasingly occupied with family affairs, work, and the education of their children. The FWAM has been until today maintained by a few leading members. It had not organized a single event since I left Murasaki, but the travel fund is still available for all Filipina wives living in the area.

11. Domestic Tasks

The extended family households in Murasaki, as in other parts of Japan, allocate various domestic tasks to their members. In principle, women are in charge of such domestic chores as cleaning and cooking, while men are responsible for the maintenance and repair of the building and the household facilities. While younger members of the household are out at work, elderly members of the household look after their young children. The people in Murasaki emphasise the responsibility of the male household members for *aki shigoto* (autumn work) which refers to the maintenance work done on the house in preparation for the winter. This work includes covering garden plants with straw or vinyl sheeting and enclosing the windowpanes with wooden plates to protect them from the pressure of the snow. Although a typical family household in contemporary Murasaki has more than one source of income, all the incomes are pooled together to give one single household budget which is entrusted to a female household member until the time comes to transfer this responsibility to her successor. The event of transferring the control of the household budget is called *shinsho-yuzuri* (lit. 'handing over of the family fortune'), which I shall discuss further below. Another important task assumed by the female house head consists of making the daily offering to the *butsudan* and the *kamidana*, as well as organising the commemoration rites for deceased family members. These tasks are also transferred from the mother-in-law to the daughter-in-law, as are the knowledge and skills necessary for organising the rites. These responsibilities were often talked about with awe and respect at the meetings of *wakazumakai*.
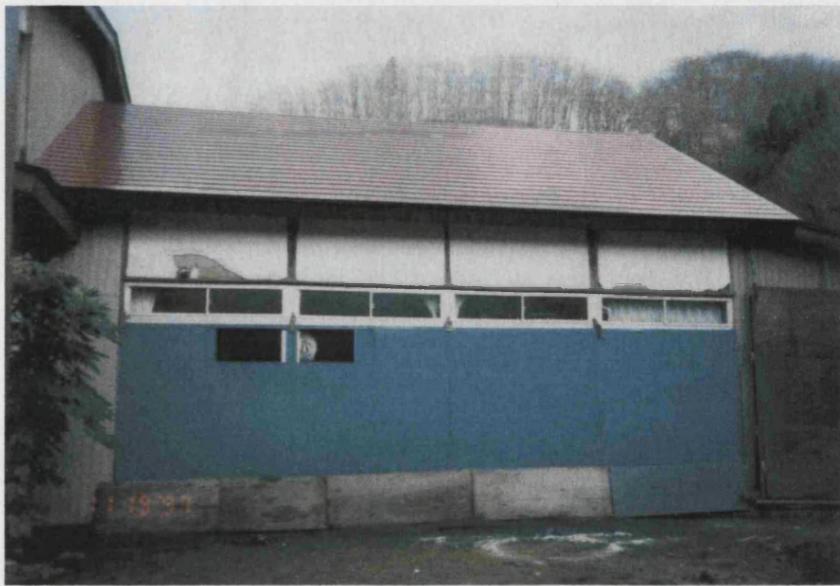
Figure 16. Windowpanes enclosed with wooden plates to protect them from the pressure of the snow

The statistics show that women in their sixties and above account for 32% of the total female farming population of the area, while the 40-59 age group accounts for 24%, and women in their twenties and thirties for just 19% (YSY 1996). The remaining 25% is comprised of women younger than twenty yeas old. This indicates that where rice production is conducted by the family, the task of farming is becoming increasingly hard to transfer from the mother-in-law to the daughters-in-law. Filipinas from rural areas, like young women in Murasaki, would not have any problems knowing how to do rice farming, while the majority of my Filipina informants are from urban areas. Of the thirty-three Filipinas whose household engaged in rice production either for the main income or for household consumption, only two regularly took part in rice production during my fieldwork (see Chapter 4).

As the statistics show, the women in their sixties and above, the same generation as my Filipina informants' mothers-in-law, are the most active group

when it comes to tending the rice (daily) and *hatake-shigoto*, or growing vegetables in the household plot. At five in the morning, they are already in the field. Women in their forties and fifties, the same age group as my informants' husbands, are in charge of the heavier tasks involved in transplanting seedlings in spring and harvesting in autumn. When transplanting rice their task is that of loading the *naebako* onto the planting tractors that their husbands operate. When harvesting the rice, they collect the sacks of rice from the fields and load them onto the trucks while their husbands operate the combine harvesters. One sack weighs 60kg. Most of the farming women I know are capable of operating a rice-planting tractor and a combine harvester. However, these are regarded as men's tasks while their task is to 'assist' the men, even though this means doing the most physically demanding work. Their hard labour in the rice fields is rewarded, just as it is for their husbands, with a special meal and a bottle of beer served by their mothers-in-law. When asked her opinion about the decrease in the number of farming wives, Satoko, one of farming wives in her early forties proudly told me, '*saikin no oyomesan wa yoku ga nai*' (recently married brides are not greedy), with the implication that her younger counterparts lack the ambition to improve their living by farming. Farming, unlike wage employment, does not restrict one's freedom eight hours a day and Satoko, like other farming wives in her age cohort, does not farm all day but just a couple of hours before and after her part-time factory job. She told me that farming had become *tanoshikunaru* (pleasurable) as she came to see that the products that she grew improved the living of her family. Satoko's comment, however, does not simply mean that the young working wives are less concerned with household finance. This

is a polite way of describing non-farming wives who are often seen as avoiding

farming therefore shirking of their responsibilities to the marital family.

Figure 17. *Naebako* full with seedlings

Figure 18. Empty *naebako*

Figure 19. A rice-transplanting tractor

Figure 20. Transplanting rice manually

Saikin no oyomesan (recently married bride) are women in their twenties and thirties, the same age group as my Filipina informants. Many women in this age group are employed on a full-time basis in offices and factories, leaving their children in the care of their mother-in-law or grandmother-in-law. A characteristic of this

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group frequently mentioned by elderly villagers is that they stay out of household farming. This is not surprising if we bear in mind that the successor-sons to farming families face difficulties finding a bride. However, farmers' wives in this age cohort whom I regularly met at the assembly of *wakazumakai* claimed that none of the members of any farming household are completely excluded from rice production. Kumiko is one such farmer's wife. She was twenty-seven years old and had been married for four years, and was working in a factory in Suma at the time of our conversation, which happened to begin with such an everyday topic as the local weather. Kumiko said: 'Everyone says that they like spring and autumn; these are the best seasons in this area. But I don't like either spring or autumn because of rice-planting and harvesting.' During the periods of rice planting and harvesting, she had to rush back home to prepare for the return of the farming household members: a bath should always be ready, more dishes should be at the dinner table in order to reward their labour, and the dinner should not be in the slightest degree delayed. The house should also be cleaner and tidier than usual in order to make the farmers feel good, but of course the house became dirtier with mud from the rice fields and there were more clothes to be washed. Kumiko concluded: 'Whoever says what, I like the winter best. Because all my family relax in the home and so do I.'

12. Leisure

One of the traditional forms of leisure in Murasaki is to hold an outdoor party called *imonikai*. People gather in a garden, a park, or at the riverside and cook potatoes in a large pot. This is Murasaki's version of a barbeque party, because it is an occasion to

invite friends and neighbours and to relax. As is further discussed in Chapter 3, the typical diet in Murasaki is almost vegetarian, hence the potatoes; Filipina-Japanese families throw real barbeque parties with meat, however.

Another leisure activity popular in Murasaki, and nation-wide as well, is computer-operated pachinko pinball. In pachinko when a ball goes into a certain hole, the machine returns a large number of balls to the player, which can then be exchanged for a variety of prizes including cigarettes, chocolates, imported wristwatches and handbags (depending on the number of balls). There are several pachinko parlours in Suma, each with hundreds of such pinball machines. The overwhelming majority of the customers are men but some women (from various different age brackets) can also be found there. However, because it is a kind of gambling and because sitting in a pachinko parlour for hours on end means neglecting the family and domestic tasks, married women may not openly talk about this activity. A Korean woman I know carefully chose different parlours every time she went so that she would not be recognized by other customers, especially by her neighbours.

In Murasaki, as in many other parts of Japan and in the Philippines, karaoke-singing is also a popular leisure activity. Unlike in the Philippines, however, the singing contest is seldom held locally (in the case of Murasaki), apart from the period of the Bon festival. People in Japan perform karaoke-singing somewhat privately in a place called the 'karaoke box' which is a rental room equipped with a karaoke machine and a small stage with a mirror ball. The rental fee is charged hourly and a variety of snacks and drinks (including alcohol) can be ordered by means of the

intercom system each room is equipped with. There is just one such karaoke box in Suma, although bars and public houses concentrated in one particular quarter of Suma are also equipped with karaoke machines to attract customers. Men visit the latter with their friends and co-workers after work not only to sing and drink but also to be served by hostesses, while women go to the karaoke box on a day-off, throwing an 'instant party'. In Japan as in the Philippines, singing in these circumstances is usually a 'solo' affair (Cannell 1999:208). So, the party is divided into one singer and an audience of his/her colleagues, and each participant sings a song in rotation. The repertoire available on karaoke machines has become increasingly extensive. Responding to the demands of customers, there are not only numbers by Western singers but also Korean and Filipino songs available at the karaoke box in Suma. However, this selection does not satisfy the young people I know; they drive to a larger city outside Murasaki in order to sing the latest hits. There was a radical difference between local Japanese and my Filipina informants in behaviour when they are in the karaoke box. Local Japanese, like many Japanese I know, were often busy consulting a track list (sometimes as thick as a telephone directory) to determine which song they should sing. The audience occasionally clapped their hands along with the song being sung and almost always applauded when a performance ended. The Filipinas, on the other hand, did not spend much time on selecting a song. Since the majority of tracks in the track list were Japanese and therefore the choice of songs was limited to them, they quickly picked up songs they wanted to sing. While a person was singing, the rest of the group often sang the song together. Their repertoire included danceable Western pop songs so that they danced to the music.

As mentioned above, another form of leisure conventionally enjoyed by women in Murasaki is *ochanomi* or afternoon tea with neighbours. This is now practised largely by elderly women and is apparently their favourite form of leisure. Grandmothers keep snacks such as rice crackers, chocolates, and biscuits aside especially for this occasion. As guests arrive, the hostess appears in the living room carrying these refreshments placed in various lacquered vessels with an air of both solemnity and excitement, as if she is about to reveal a hidden treasure. While participants in *ochanomi* simply enjoy merriment of the gathering with friends, non-participants point out two functions of the practice. The first is to police the neighbourhood. Since women spend all afternoon at a *chanoma* in a room which often faces onto the street, they tend to notice anyone acting oddly. For this reason, they claim that it is safe to leave the house unlocked and the entrance door open even when all the household members are out. However, the group of women do not simply spend all the afternoon watching what is going on outside; it is conversation that they enjoy. The second function of the gathering is to circulate gossip. If the narrow social network of a rural society is often attributed to the quick circulation of gossip, then the *ochanomi* should be thought of as the 'control tower' for gossip. In her ethnography of a rural village in Taiwan, Wolf describes how the women empower themselves and control relationships with mothers-in-law by utilising the effect of gossip within their local circle. Women come to learn how to socialise with their female neighbours and so how to be accepted by their married-in society. Those who fail to socialise like this face a hard time (1976). In rural villages in Japan many young wives appear to be concerned with how to avoid being gossiped about, rather

than about how to utilise gossip. Mikiko, a twenty-nine year-old nurse, was on maternity leave at the time of my interview with her. Since she was staying at home, she served food for her grandmother-in-law's tea-drinking parties, which constantly worried her because, she said, 'if the food is not chewable enough or palatable to the taste of the guests, they will complain about me providing them with inconsiderate service'. Akemi, a twenty-seven year-old factory worker, confessed that she had never been sure about how to respond to her elderly female neighbours' questions (always posed as part of their daily greetings) about how her mother-in-law was. 'Whatever I may actually say', said Akemi, 'it could be passed on to others incorrectly.' For instance, if her mother-in-law happens to be ill on a certain day and she honestly tells someone this with a polite smile on her face, this person may tell other neighbours that she looked happy about her mother-in-law's illness. Akemi's case indicates that women who engage in wage employment and who socialise with co-workers more frequently than with their mothers-in-law and female neighbours may not have many opportunities to circulate gossip. Yet all the accounts of the younger women do indicate that they are in the process of learning how to deal with gossip. Women in their forties and fifties appear to be more confident about interacting with neighbours. I often noticed how they skilfully avoided expressing a definite opinion about certain subject matters concerning someone's reputation. Satoko's comment on *saikin no oyomesan* described above is one example. When asked about how to handle such a situation as Akemi's, a woman in her mid-forties suggested to me to answer the question honestly and then invite the neighbour in to tea, telling the neighbour that her visit would cheer up the mother-in-law. This would

certainly please the neighbour. My Filipina informants were all aware that as a young woman newly married into the area and as a foreigner, they were more likely to be being gossiped about, than their Japanese counterparts were. While the latter similarly expressed acute concern about being gossiped about, the former showed a variation in terms of degree of such concern and of the way that they dealt with gossips, which I shall further describe in Chapter 6.

13. Inheritance and Succession

It has been indicated that succession to the *ie* in Murasaki does not mean simply being endowed with property. It entails the performance of such duties as remaining in the natal village, taking care of parents, and ideally continuing the household occupation (normally farming). I was told that parents were only 'lending' children their farmland. This means that inheritance of property is postponed as long as possible in order to make it difficult for the young successor to sell it. While farmland is well protected from the caprices of children, retired parents are not entirely dependent on their successors. They make contributions to the household budget, by continuously growing vegetables and rice for household consumption. Even those who do not farm manage their personal needs by means of their pensions. An elaborate warrior doll and a set of Emperor and Empress dolls displayed in the *tokonoma* and shown to every visitor on Children's Day (5 May) and on Dolls' Day (3 March) are almost always found to have been provided by grandparents. Expensive gifts to grandchildren demonstrate not only the elderly grandparents' economic power but also their influence over household affairs.

Figure 21. Dolls displayed on Doll's Day

As mentioned above, the rule of participation in the decision making of *buraku* affairs is that one adult household member is sent to the assembly, with the chairperson being assigned in rotation. This means that the role of the chairperson is assigned not to an individual but to a household. Nevertheless, it is always the male member in his forties and fifties who actually performs the role of the chairperson. Moreover, those who take on leadership within the *burakukai* are almost always male members of this age cohort. As the Bon festival approaches, the leading members of the *burakukai* meet more frequently than usual, often after work, for the planning and preparation of the communal event or the 'informal festival'. On the day the event is carried out, they are always busy instructing communal members how to organise the event. However, on the day of the household feast or the 'main festival', they are often out to work, so the hosting of relatives is entrusted to their father, demonstrating that there are two male heads in each household.

The handing over of the male headship is apparently gradual with few indications visible to an observer, while that of the female headship is clearly marked by *shinsho-yuzuri*. Local women told me that it took at least ten years for the younger female member to assume control. Since it symbolises the female headship and takes such a long time to actually happen, the transfer of responsibility is a great concern among married women in Murasaki. Older women frequently asked their younger neighbours whether their *shinsho-yuzuri* had already been completed. As this suggests, the change in female headship is not announced formally to the public. It comes to be known to neighbours when the former head retires from the *fujinkai* and joins one of the *ko* associations, and when her successor leaves the *wakazumakai* and begins attending the assembly of the *fujinkai*. It seems that the power relations of the local family household are in a constant but gradual process of transformation, which occurs in tandem with the incorporation of the new household members into the local society. I attempt to capture these moments of transformation of the Filipina-Japanese family households in the following chapters.

Concluding Notes

This chapter has described the natural, economic and socio-cultural environment in Murasaki. While the climate in Murasaki was severe, the local economy was heavily dependent on agriculture. The main product of the area was the country's staple food, rice. Rice production was normally carried out by the family, and part-time farmers often asked non-farming relatives to help with transplanting and harvesting rice. Families that did not farm rented their land to farming neighbours, although many

families in Murasaki still produced rice at least for their own household consumption. The local industries were oriented toward manufacturing and assembly, which provided more employment opportunities for women than for men. In Murasaki women at varying stages in their marriage were referred to as *yome* whenever their affiliation with their marital ie needed to be clarified. However, one could spot a difference between them and the local women in terms of their lifestyles. Women in their sixties and above, the age group of Filipinas' mothers-in-law, formed the largest group engaged in farming. Early every morning, they attended to the day-to-day farming tasks which included the vegetables which they grew for household consumption. They spent much of the afternoon at *chanoma*, having tea with their neighbours. They also attended a gathering of the *ko* association. Many women in their forties and fifties, the same age groups as Filipinas' Japanese husbands', tend rice daily, while being employed at local businesses part-time. They played an active part in the processes of rice production, including transplanting seedlings and harvesting beside their husbands. As a member of the *fujinkai*, the women in this age group were also actively engaged in communal events. Women in their twenties and thirties, the same age group as Filipinas, were most likely to be employed full-time. As members of the *wakazumakai*, they socialized with neighbouring married women in the same age group. They were, however, less involved in their neighbourhood relations than women of the other age groups. Of the three age groups of women, they were the least likely to participate in their family's farming. Married women's non-participation in farming was a new phenomenon in this area. This manifested

itself in the locals calling the third group of women '*saikin no oyomesan*' (recently married bride).

As discussed with reference to the local use of the term *yome*, people were identified with the *ie* to which they belonged. Relationships between relatives were also often explained in terms of those between the head house and its branch houses. The use of kinship terms for replacement with the names of unrelated senior interlocutors indicated that social interactions in Murasaki were structured around the hierarchy of the *ie*. Festive and communal activities were scheduled so that they did not coincide with important events of the *ie* (e.g. the visiting of the ancestral graves and the festive feast). For example, the arrangement for participation in the communal decision making was such that one adult was sent to the assembly from each household. All those aspects of the daily live in Murasaki indicated that the notion of the *ie* was deeply embedded in local people. The crux of this notion was perpetuating the institution. Depopulation, decreasing farming population, and the increase in the number of nuclear households in Murasaki indicated that a cultural value attached to the *ie* was withering away. However, local people talked explicitly about the importance of preserving their *ie* and how the sense of responsibility for its continuity was passed on to younger generations. We have seen that local practice of succession to the *ie* did not mean simply being endowed with property. It was accompanied by the performance of such duties as remaining in the natal village, looking after one's parents, and ideally continuing the household occupation. Moreover, although it was customarily the first-born sons that inherited their family homestead, some households were succeeded by junior sons or daughters. This

indicates that the rule of succession to the *ie* is complex and so are the patterns of

selecting the successor. While this chapter described the local practices relating to the

ie, the following chapter examines the rule of succession to this institution.

Chapter 2. In Search of an Anthropological Approach to Filipina Intermarriage in Rural Japan

Introduction

In the Introduction, I have presented three questions that thesis will explore: how Filipinas are incorporated into their married-in community and families, how intra-household dynamics shift as a result of incorporation of the new members; and, the significance of adaptation of Japanese gender roles for the Filipinas. With regard to the first question, I have suggested that although Japanese society is often characterized by its closed nature, various practices employed to recruit the successor to the *ie* indicates flexibility and capacity to receive a new member. Concerning workings of intra-household dynamics, I discussed with reference to Hendry's analysis of Japanese social interaction in which power was generated through reproduction of the existing framework of relationships. The significance of adaptation of Japanese gender roles for the Filipinas was discussed with Cannell's study of Filipino personhood which argued that learning the language of powerful others and adapting their model of actions are the mode by which relationships are transformed from that of greater hierarchy and distance to that of greater balance and harmony, and through which power is exchanged for intimacy. I therefore suggested that while migrants' adaptation to their host society entails replication of the mode of lives in the destination, my Filipina informants' adaptation to Japanese language and gender roles should not be seen as an act of repetition but an attempt to transform their relationships with Japanese people.

In order to conceptualize Filipinas' experience of marital lives in rural Japan and examine applicability of the above discussion to it, this chapter reviews anthropological studies. Subjects of the studies discussed in this chapter include: 1) intermarriage, 2) Filipino personhood, 3) Japanese society, and 4) transnational migration. Various terminologies for intermarriage examined in Introduction indicate that a similar subject could be approached very differently depending on its research interest, while I am aware of risk that this study might misrepresent my informants' intermarriages as problematic by recounting difficulties and problems they face in Murasaki. I shall therefore review studies of intermarriage in order to examine how expatriate partners lead their lives in their married-in countries, on the one hand, and how those studies approach the experiences of intermarriages, on the other hand.

In order to conceptualize the significance of the Filipinas' lives in rural Japan, I examine studies on Filipino personhood and Japanese society. Subjects of studies on Filipino personhood include: internal female migrant workers, overseas domestic helpers, Catholic nuns, male transvestites, and people in the lowland Christian Philippines. The lives of internal migrant workers are examined in relation to gender roles that the workers play in the workplace and at home. The experiences of overseas domestic helpers are of particular relevance for the comparability of their occupation (substituting for housewives) and expatriate situation to intermarried Filipinas. Studies of Catholic nuns and male transvestites let us look at Filipino notions of gender at different angles. With reference to Cannell's analysis of power relationships, I will then examine how, from the particular viewpoint of the lowland

Christian Philippines, the people look at their interlocutor and how they conceive power relationships.

With regard to writings on Japanese society, I seek to conceptualize how Japanese society (families and communities) incorporates Filipinas and how intra-group dynamics transform by incorporating them. In order to fathom the ways in which Japanese people interact with each other and how they conceptualise such interaction, I discuss Bachnik's study on the concept of *kejime* (which she translates as 'distinction') the unique ability of the Japanese to distinguish the context of a particular situation of interaction (1992), Kondo's theory of Japanese 'selves' (1990), and Hendry's analysis of the use of *keigo* (lit. polite language) (1987). After examining the dynamic of interaction between Japanese people that these studies present, I review Fukutake's and Bachnik's analyses of the system of succession to the *ie*. The aim of the review is therefore twofold: explicating the system of succession to the household in Murasaki and examining applicability of the above analyses to the case of Murasaki. With reference to studies of transnational immigration, I then discuss the possibility of applying the above studies to the case of my Filipina informants and explain the organization of the thesis in terms of contentions of the studies.

1. Intermarriages in Literature: Adaptation and Marginality

In her extensive review of the literature of 'cross-national' marriage, Cottrell points out that relatively small, non-random samples and almost exclusive focus on

female partners characterise the literature (1990:159). She suggests that access to female partners is easier to achieve than to male partners as the former are often found to be fellow members of an association for foreign wives. Cottrell discusses the literature in terms of themes: 'isolation and alienation', 'adaptation and marginality', and 'achievement'. The first theme is found in studies of Asian 'war brides' married to American soldiers. The second theme is a major theme of studies on western wives living in their partner's non-Western home countries. The last theme is discussed with reference to Varro's study of North American wives of Frenchmen living in France (1988).

Cottrell attributes the isolation and alienation of Asian wives of American men to the inadequacy of three important elements of the marital lives in the USA: 1) communication with the husband; 2) his ability or willingness to help his wife adapt to a new environment; and, 3) opportunities for the wife to develop her social network, such as work outside the home (1990:155). Compared with Asian wives in Western countries, Western wives in non-Western countries tend to be less isolated because they are often employed in professional or semi-professional positions such as that of language instructor, and because the host people with whom they interact often speak some English. The Western wives therefore enjoy more personal and social resources to help them cope with the life in a foreign country than do their Asian counterparts (ibid. 156). However, the greater their participation in the host society becomes, the more marginalized they feel, as they face difficulties of adaptation to the life this entails (ibid. 157).

The 'achievement' of the North American wives of Frenchmen is discussed with particular reference to the bilingual education they provide for their children (ibid. 157-8). The usefulness and privilege of English as an international language are factors that help the mothers transfer their native language to their offspring. Since they conceive the English language to represent their identity, the sense of achievement they claim to have obtained through children's bilingualism appears to be extraordinary. However, although all the women who belonged to an association for American wives of Frenchmen were normally wealthy enough to provide their children with expensive bilingual education anyway, not all the women have managed to attain this 'achievement'. In fact, Varro's study is aimed at analysing the variation in degrees of success. The children's command of English varies significantly according to such factors as the degree of the father's participation in daily conversation in English and the frequency with which the children travel to an English speaking country during school holidays, besides schooling. In addition, not all women in the sample chose to provide their children with bilingual education (1988:121-123). Some women chose to transmit their religion, instead (ibid. 124).

Common experiences of Western wives in non-Western countries relate to the difficulty of adapting to the gender roles of the married-into society. In their study of thirty English and North American wives in India, Joshi and Krishna report that performance of the role of 'subservient daughter-in-law' distressed their informants because it offended the ideology of equality that they believed in and therefore threatened their sense of integrity and sense of self (1999:184). Nevertheless, they are reminded to perform this role at every occasion. One informant reports that when

she prepared an excellent masala dosa, she was praised not as a good cook but as a good daughter-in-law (ibid. 175). In her case study of fifty-five English and US wives in Japan, Imamura notes, on the other hand, that the local notion of the mother makes her informants feel 'the most deep-rooted marginality', as it assesses their performance as 'poor' (1990:177). Although the gender roles with which the women have to deal differ, their accounts indicate that cross-national marriage throws into relief unexpected discrepancies in role perceptions between the self and the other. The problem, however, can be approached very differently, as the aforementioned studies demonstrate.

Joshi and Krishna analyse Western wives' difficulties performing the Indian gender role, by comparing them with the difficulties faced by Indian women. They argue that not only Western women but also Indian women see the conventional role of Indian daughter-in-law as subservient. However, the former are unable to play the role without feeling 'damaged', whereas the latter behave meekly in their home setting, even though they act powerfully and autonomously in their workplace. The difference between the Westerners and the Indians in terms of their perception of the performance of the same gender role is explained in terms of the significance of the Indian extended family, of which the daughter-in-law is part, and in terms of the difference in life-span calculations used by Westerners and Indians. Indian women see their situation on a long-term perspective; they expect that a 'subservient' daughter-in-law will transform into a 'powerful' mother-in-law when their children grew up and marry. Western women, on the other hand, are more concerned with changing their current situation with which they are not satisfied. The difference in

perspective between the two groups of married women can be attributed to familiarity with the workings of the Indian family or lack of it. Indian women have seen the positions of their mothers and grandmothers change in a similar way, while Western women are probably still in the process of adapting themselves to marital life in India.

Yet the major cause of the problems Western wives have when performing the Indian gender role is the difference in perception of the self as experienced by Westerners and Indians, remark Joshi and Krishna. They argue that Indians' perception of the self is similar to that posited by English and North American culture, which emphasises the abstract person as a causal category (Shweder and Bourne 1982 and Miller 1984 in ibid. 175) and which therefore perceives the self in terms of psychological traits, rather than roles (Dhawan et. al. 1995 in op. cit.). However, they emphasise that Indians, unlike Westerners, have the ability to distance their sense of self from their actual role performance (Mitter 1991:97 in ibid. 185) and the 'ability to create a *strong* private sense of the self within a family or a public setting' (op. cit. italics original.); the English and North American self is 'more fragile' because of the Weberian expectation of unity of experience (op. cit.). Nevertheless, their ethnography indicates that performance of the former is as good as that of the latter. If performance of the Indian role requires of the performer an ability to distance his/her sense of self from the performance, the English and North American women's good performance, despite the Weberian demand on unified self, indicates that their sense of self is stronger than their Indian counterparts. As described further in the following chapters, my Filipina informants encounter

difficulty performing the Japanese gender role. In their case, besides discrepancies in role perceptions between them and their Japanese family members, the family's innocent but strong expectation that the Filipinas quickly adapt themselves to the Japanese role is a major causal factor of distress. I cannot assume that all the Indian women successfully perform the subservient daughter-in-law. However, if they succeed, as Joshi and Krishna's ethnography indicates, not the Weberian expectation but the Indian family's high expectation can be a causal factor of the English and North American wives' distress.

In Imamura's study, by contrast, indigenous locals make no appearance at all. Rather than cultural differences in the conceptualisation of the self, Imamura attributes her informants' difficulty in adapting to the host society to their migrant status there. Following Simmel, Imamura sees the English and North American informants as 'strangers who import qualities that cannot stem from an in-group itself into the group' (1950:402 in 1990: 171). And following Merton, she also sees them as 'cosmopolitans whose values are supposed to be appreciated more highly than 'local' values' (1968:441-74 in ibid. 189). That said, they are a 'special category of cosmopolitans' whose 'prestige does not extend ... to intimate areas of societal norms or interpersonal relations'. What differentiates the Western women in Japan from Simmel's strangers and what sets them apart from Merton's cosmopolitans is the membership of the host society that they have acquired through marriage to a resident national. Strangers/cosmopolitans, who bring to a society something new, generate recurrent tensions as they clash with a society that attempts to reproduce itself (ibid. 189). Social forces compel the Western women to perform the Japanese gender role,

creating a 'perpetual marginality' for these strangers/cosmopolitans (op. cit.).

However, if a gender role given by the host society is the locus in which social force

is generated, I doubt that even such cosmopolitan people are free from social force.

Moreover, the case of Filipina wives in Murasaki indicates that force generated in the

gender role is not always constraining. They energetically engage in social activities

with fellow nationals, trying to make a space for themselves in the community (see

Chapter 6).

Although the approaches that Imamura's and Joshi and Krishna's studies

employ differ, they both concentrate on analysing the causal factors of the

difficulties. Their ethnographies describe how discrepancies in role perceptions

between the women and the host society are crystallized and how they perceive social

force, however the studies do not explore how difficulties and problems in the marital

lives abroad are coped with or confronted. As a result they generate negative

impressions of the research subject by suggesting that none of the intermarried family

members suffer problems of adaptation, these problems being suffered by defenceless

foreign partners alone.

Analyzing causal factors behind the difficulties and problems intermarried

Filipinas encounter when adapting themselves in their husbands' home countries,

Cahill (1990) surveys 185 Filipinas wives of Australian, Japanese and Swiss and 66

of their husbands. The study deals with five groups of spouses (excluding Japanese

husbands), and examines the variation among marital partners in the degree of their

adaptation and their marital satisfaction, which are rated with a score up to a

maximum of five. The survey indicates that the marital satisfaction of Australian

husbands is the highest, and that of Filipina wives in Japan the lowest. Cahill attributes the high marital satisfaction of Australian husbands to the sexual satisfaction that they have gained through marriage (ibid. 109). However, he also reports that Filipina-Australian marriages show the greatest difference between partners in terms of age, education, and cultural factors. Moreover, the importance of sex to marital life emphasized by the Australian husbands is at variance with the more romantic attitudes of Filipina partners. Cahill suggests that, if the wives' familiarity with English language is left aside, the Australian marriages have the least chance of bestowing marital success (op. cit.).

It should be noted that marital satisfaction of female partners in general is lower than their male partners, given that they still bear a larger share of duties to household management, domestic tasks, and child-rearing, etc. even in Europe and the USA. Yet, Cahill believes the language barrier to be the key factor for the low marital satisfaction among Filipina wives of Japanese men. The language issue is indeed significant for the Filipina partners in Japan and Switzerland, who are both required to learn their partner's mother tongue as they live in the latter's home country (ibid. 93, 109). The Swiss group emphasizes the importance of learning the local language to a greater extent than their Japanese counterparts (ibid. 93), and they indicate that loneliness, the climate, and the regimentation of Swiss life represent the most serious drawbacks in their marital lives. In order to relieve feelings of isolation and boredom, almost half of the Swiss group take on work outside the house (ibid. 109). Of the Filipina partners in Japan, in contrast, only a handful have taken on work outside the house (op. cit.). This means that many are confined to the marital

home where they most probably reside with their parents-in-law. Cahill does not

reveal how many Filipina partners in his sample reside with their parents-in-law, but

he emphasizes that relationships with parents-in-law, particularly with the mother-in-

law, is the main issue for Filipina partners in Japan (ibid. 107).[10] The Japanese

group's low level of satisfaction with support from in-laws is attributed to their lack

of proficiency in Japanese, both in terms of speaking and writing, which 'makes

effective communication difficult, if not impossible, with their husband and his

family and friends' (op. cit.).

Cahill's emphasis on the importance of verbal communication between

partners is in stark contrast to Kohn's study of 'mixed marriage' between Yakha

women and Limbu men in East Nepal, who are able to communicate with each other

in Nepali, the lingua franca of Nepal, but who do not speak their partner's native

language (1998). Based on data from fieldwork as well as on her own experience of

intermarriage to an English man, Kohn argues for the significance of nonverbal

communication in marital relationships, such as attraction to the exotic other,

romance, seduction and love (ibid. 67-82). Her study is intended to contribute to the

criticism of earlier anthropological studies of marriage that have allowed no place for

the emotional experiences of the informants due to their focus on the socio-economic

aspects of the relationship (Jankowiak Fischer 1992:149 in ibid. 68). Kohn argues

that a holistic and realistic description of marriage comprises both emic and etic

perspectives, i.e. marriage is both a social institution and the lived experiences of the

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[10] Not only the Japanese group (30%) but also their Australian (37%) and Swiss counterparts (20%)
report that 'it is difficult to have a foreign mother-in-law' (1990:107). Particular discontent of the
Australian group with relationships with the mother-in-law is not discussed.

individuals involved in it (ibid. 77). '[T]he true language of seduction is to be found at the level of thought and sentiment rather than vocabulary and grammar' (ibid. 76). Fieldworkers may be able to observe the experience and speculate on the thoughts and sentiments that the informants experience, but they certainly cannot directly participate in such emotional experiences as attraction to the other, romance, seduction and love. Accounts of the romance are, therefore, 'second-hand' i.e. collected from indirect sources (ibid. 69).

Kohn's ethnography brings to mind one of my informants who was once seriously worried that her husband might be having an extramarital affair. It was during the period between the end of April and the beginning of May when she noticed that her husband had began to go out in the morning on weekends and public holidays, telling her that he was going to work, as he did on weekdays. Until that time, the newly-wed couple had gone out more frequently than any of the other couples in my research sample. But this period had come to an end and one day, frightened by the possible causes of this change in behaviour, the Filipina announced in her Japanese language class: 'Aijin iruyo!' (my husband has a mistress). The Japanese word 'aijin' literarily means a lover, but it carries an implication that the relationship in which the person is involved is sexual and extramarital, as with the English word 'mistress'. To my knowledge, her Japanese teacher had never taught her this vocabulary. The teacher sighed and then asked me: 'Who taught her such a word?' So I asked the woman who had done it. She told me that she had learned the word from TV programs, but I suspect that her Japanese co-workers helped her master the use of this vocabulary. Intriguingly, the women had just learned the word

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and, at the same time, that all dates written in red in the Japanese calendar denote public holidays. In Japan, public holidays are concentrated together in the particular period, so much so that this period is called 'Golden Week'. It's the time when workaholic Japanese leave the office and live a bit more for leisure activities. However, it was when spring had come, the weather became fine and when her husband's construction company became very busy. Her husband had not been seeing *aijin* but worked in the field even on weekends and public holidays. The women could not believe that he had to work on public holidays, though. Not only Cahill's Japanese research team but also many of my informants married to company employees complained about the work-oriented life-style of Japanese men.

For lovers (in the English sense) in Murasaki, who usually live with their parents, a Sunday outing is a precious occasion providing an opportunity to be intimate with each other. However, the couple in question sometimes invited me on their outings. I think this was not only because I was on good terms with the wife but also because, like her, I was unfamiliar with the area and did not have many acquaintances there. It provided me with a good orientation of the area. In order to reciprocate their kindness, I was determined to help them communicate better with each other, as they were still in the earliest stage of intermarriage and therefore facing a serious language barrier (see Chapter 3). They were always pretty quiet, however. It was probably not the language barrier but the presence of a third party, i.e. myself, that contributed to rendering their conversation barely audible. They were embarrassed to exchange words in my presence. Yet the couple would not need an interpreter. Such gestures as exchange of smile and a subtle touch of each other's

hands clearly indicated that they, like Kohn's informants, were actually talking to each other in a 'language beyond vocabulary and grammar.'[11] Without real words it is difficult, if not impossible, for researchers to record what their informants communicate with each other, though.

There are some accounts of the lived experiences of individuals; and Benson, in particular, is careful when handling such data. She argues that the complexity of human experiences would reject any analysis that sought to reduce it to the cruder category of social science (1990:vii). She at the same time suggests that the close interrelationship between individual choices and wider social forces can be reflected in the way in which individuals seek to organise their lives and confront their problems (ibid. vii-viii). Rather than explicating the individual experiences of informants, Benson therefore chooses to trace the social networks of the inter-racial families, trying to look at the reflection British society casts upon them. In the Introduction, I discussed my own experience of the difficulties encountered when collecting verbal accounts from Japanese partners, the persons who occupy the most significant part of the lives of my Filipina informants. Even though it may be possible to extrapolate informants' individual experiences from data obtained from indirect sources, there is a serious risk of misrepresenting the informants with this approach. Having examined the literature on 'cross-national' marriage, it is clear that the marital lives of women can be approached from radically different analytical perspectives. However, while Breger and Hill, and Merton similarly argue that any

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[11] In Bicol, the lowland Philippines married women reply on non-verbal gestures (e.g. softly pinching the forearm) to indicate to their husbands when they want to initiate sex or please and endear themselves to them (Fenella Cannell, personal communication).

marriage can involve a certain element that serves as a barrier between the couple, the studies of 'cross-national' marriage similarly indicate that experiences of the marital lives abroad crystallise interrelationships between individuals and the society. Moreover, the studies indicate, as Benson argues, that we cannot fathom individual partners' experiences, by placing them into a category of social science, but we can deepen our understanding of the society in question and crossover elements involved in marital relationships, by examining individual partners' experiences through the lens of the adaptations and accommodations that they make in their marital lives. One aim of this thesis, then, is to explore qualities of Philippine personhood and characteristics of Japanese society, by examining the difficulties and problems that the Filipinas face in their lives in Japan and the way in which they deal with them.

2. Literature on Filipino Personhood

2. 1. Female Migration and Gender Roles

In their study of internal female migration in three localities in Visayas region (Cebu, Lapu-Lapu and Boracay Island), Chant and McIlwaine explore how the gender ideology of the contemporary Philippines influences women's decisions on migration, their employment and the organisation of household (1995). They report that the gender ideology of the contemporary Philippines does not treat migrant women as one group, a woman's choice of destination and employment and the organisation of her household differing in accordance with the particular gender roles she performs. The informants are therefore divided into three groups: 1) married

women accompanied by their husband, 2) single women migrated unattached, and 3) single mothers with their children. I review all the three groups of women here, although the third group may be anomalous in terms of conventional gender roles, because I believe contrast and comparison with the first two groups cast light on complexities of women's lives in the Philippines.

In many parts of the world the idea that women lack physical strength and are therefore less productive has contributed to the reality of women's lower wages for agricultural work and their non-participation in such typical men's labour as carrying and pushing heavy objects in the fields. This idea is also at work in the tourism industry in the Philippine. Mechanized or heavy jobs, including kitchen work in hotels with large industrial dishwashers, are allocated exclusively to male workers, while manual and lighter jobs with strong domestic components, such as washing, bed-making and cleaning, in addition to service at the reception desk, are all assigned to female workers. The assignment of the last task is due to the women's physical attributes and sexual attractiveness to the customers, who appear to be predominantly male (ibid. 287). The export manufacturing industry in the Philippines, as in its neighbouring countries (Ong 1987), seeks young single women to assign to assembly work, because of their anticipated capacity for detailed monotonous work, commitment to high productivity, perceived innocence in respect to industrial labour practice, supposed willingness to accept orders (associated with their junior status and lack of power within the household), and the presumed absence of conflicting responsibilities brought about marriage and motherhood (ibid. 288). Married and older migrants from the sample are therefore less competitive than their single and

younger counterparts in the labour market and find themselves selling foods and merchandise on beaches and at other tourist spots. Single migrants with children are least advantaged and most likely to be engaged in the sex industry. This group of migrants travelled further on average than the other two groups for the sake of achieving a safe distance from their parents and relatives who would otherwise be implicated in the stigma attached to these women's anomalous status (ibid. Chapter 6).

Regarding household organisation, married women in the sample help form a 'male-headed household' with their husband, whom they typically follow to his destination. Some domestic chores are allocated to the husbands, but Chant and McIlwaine report that this does not lighten the wife's burden with regard to wage work. Moreover, the surplus income that they make is often spent on their husband's personal pleasures and his socialising with his peer group, whose major activities include gambling and drinking. For the working wives, managing the household was not pleasurable but frustrating. Rather than incorporating male members, single mothers often form a 'female-headed household' with fellow workers. Since the household members are all in a similar situation, they mutually reciprocate child-care and emotional support. Single young women in Chant and McIlwaine's samples chose to migrate unattached, counting on their employers for accommodation and protection. For this reason they all form single households. Since they remit a significant part of their salary to family back home, their household budget is tight. However, unlike their married counterparts, they enjoy autonomy in the running of

their own household and in terms of making a contribution to their parental household.

The study, aptly entitled 'Women of a Lesser Cost', demonstrates that recruitment into export-oriented activities in the Philippines per se is predicated on gender inequalities, embedding women further within their traditional gender-assigned activities, and promoting gender stereotypes associated with the occupations that they engage in. Moreover, the choice of destination, employment, and the organisation of the household vary among the female migrants, whereas their search for employment is motivated by the same household needs, whether in their places of origin or in their current places of residence (e.g. Parreñas 2001). 'These needs', Chant and McIlwaine argue, 'are not just borne out of poverty but are conceptualized by the women as their principle rationale for working. In other words, women rarely enter the labour force for themselves but for *others*, even where it is obvious that their earnings will not necessarily enhance the family's well-being so much as indulge patriarchal privileges, so acting to undercut the very coherence and viability of the institutions women are trying to sustain' (ibid. 299; italics original). Chant and McIlwaine argue that the altruistic motivation for participating in the economy is a 'complicity (albeit unwitting) of women with gender ideology' that undermines women's own interests and weakens their power to generate change (op. cit.).

The women in Chant and McIlwaine's study remind me not of Filipinas in particular, but of all women I know in Murasaki. That is largely because the industry in Murasaki shares some features with their research area. In the manufacturing and commercial industries, female workers predominate on shop floors, while male

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workers occupy office floors. Young single female factory workers, like my dormitory mates, are found to be recruited because of their particular capabilities. My dormitory mates enjoyed autonomy in the running of their own household and/or in terms of making a contribution to their parental household. Married and older women were less competitive than their single and younger counterparts in the labour market. Manual and lighter jobs with strong domestic components were usually assigned to female workers, and mechanized jobs allocated almost exclusively to male workers. In Murasaki, however, even operation of rice transplanting tractors and combine harvesters was assigned to men so that farming women were often in charge of more physically demanding manual work (e.g. carrying *naebako* and sacks of rice). Another difference in women's situation between the Philippines and Murasaki is that despite the heavy workload, local farming women in Murasaki expressed pleasure in managing household finances. The task may be easier in Murasaki, thanks to the strong national economy. Nevertheless, farming wives in Murasaki, too, can be seen as complicit with 'the enemy', unwittingly reproducing a conventional local role of the wife. Both in the Philippines and in Murasaki, the household is run by women. In the former, managing household finances is compared to a duty of a 'queen', in the latter, which symbolises the female headship of the household. Women in Murasaki, like women in the Philippines, emphasized the importance of their contribution to the welfare of their household members, even if their wage comprised a minor part of the household budget in reality. It indicates that although they may be undermining interests of women as a whole, they are

apparently seeking individual satisfaction in performance of the particular gender role.

As the positive effect of women's wage earning, Chant and McIlwaine suggest at least three tendencies of a potentially positive nature. The first is that wage earning provides women with power to exercise greater control over their own lives. Even if those already married are in a position where their ability to negotiate has undergone little change, single women become able not only to postpone marriage but also to resist proposals from men who are likely to exploit them. The second and related outcome of women's employment is the modification of their relationships with housework and childcare. If the bulk of a woman's day is spent in the workplace rather than at home and if some of their housework and childcare is delegated to others, the symbolic association of female roles with domestic labour may lessen, even if the employment in which they are involved continues to be highly imbued with patriarchal values (ibid. 300). The third possible outcome is that wage earning will enable women to establish female-headed or female-only living arrangements, providing environments where immediate encounters with men and with patriarchal ideologies are excluded from a very personal area of women's lives. The female-headed household which provides a space for mothers to be the sole parents of sons and daughters, and to have the opportunity to exert authority over males, remark Chant and McIlwaine, may be crucial in shaping future attitudes and behaviour and in forging further paths for change (ibid. 301). However, I do not see advantages of absence of fathers to individual children. The higher median age at the first marriage in the urban Philippines (see Chapter 1) can be seen as a sign of the

first tendency, while symbolic association of female roles with domestic labour and patriarchal ideologies appear to persist not only in the Philippines but many other parts of the world.

The gender issues discussed above in relation to internal migration are also to be found in Constable's study of Filipina domestic helpers in Hong Kong (1997). Of the 150,000 foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong in 1995, more than 130,000 were from the Philippines, making the Filipinas the largest non-Chinese ethnic group in Hong Kong (ibid. xii). The typical Filipina domestic helper is in her late twenties or early thirties and single. She supports several family members in the Philippines. Although her primary stated reason for going to Hong Kong is economic, a desire for adventure and independence may also be a factor. She is most likely Roman Catholic, has at least a high school education, and speaks English as well as her national and regional dialect (ibid. 65). Regardless of age, educational attainment, and marital status, most Filipina domestic helpers in Hong Kong work in their employers' home (a live-in arrangement) with a two-year contract (ibid. 17).[12] Participation in the labour market in Hong Kong appears to provide young Filipinas with greater control over their lives back home, compared to their counterparts back in Cebu. A Filipina talked of the necessity of saving for her future, a future in which she might remain single (ibid. 161). The majority of the employers are upper- or middle-class Chinese, who often form a double-income household. Rather than reassigning the responsibilities within their own household, middle-class working wives prefer to hire someone from outside the family to do the work. Young Chinese

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· 12 By law, domestic helpers in Hong Kong must live in their employer's home unless an exception is granted by the government (Constable 1997:133)

working-class women were unwilling to take on these tasks; for them the worst cleaning jobs in hotels and department stores were preferable to conventional live-in domestic work, which not only deprived workers of their independence but which also evoked the image of bonded servitude (ibid. 27-8. See below). This meant that Chinese women's participation in the labour market in Hong Kong in no way nullified the symbolic association of women with domestic work; this type of domestic work had simply been transferred to another group of women.

The massive presence of Filipinas has, however, engendered a new stereotype associated with these women: the *banmui* or 'Filipina girl'. 'On her arrival in Hong Kong', remarks Constable, a Filipina domestic helper is usually expected to be 'just a maid' (or a *banmui*) and to accept the 'baggage' that accompanies this label', regardless of her social position back home (ibid. 77). While the term *banmui* can be used interchangeably with 'maid' or 'servant', the word for 'Filipina' has, to a large extent, come to replace the terms (ibid. 38-9).[13]

Constable discusses the lives of *banmui* with reference to Chinese models of servants, *amah*s and *muijai*s. She notes that while the term *amah* is used for both Chinese and foreign domestic helpers (ibid. 49), Chinese *amah*s and Filipina domestic helpers are in fact the antithesis of each other within the context of a global perspective. Fuelled by a powerful sense of nostalgia, Hong Kong Chinese see the conventional Chinese *amah*s as the 'ideal' servants, equating them to the nannies of Victorian England, as well as symbolising 'Chinese ethnic, cultural or racial

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[13] It is reported that editors of the Oxford dictionary prepared for the new entry for 'Filipina' 'servant' or 'amah'. President Aquino lodged a formal complaint through the British Embassy, and the derogatory connotation to the word was deleted (Layosa 1990a in Constable 1997:39)

superiority' (ibid. 40) and the economic success of Hong Kong (ibid. 58). Filipinas, on the other hand, represent foreign workers who are not only stereotyped as being 'lazy, selfish and greedy' (ibid. 57-8) but who are also said to be 'taking over' or 'invading' the city (elaborating on a metaphor of war and illness) (ibid. 58).

Constable also notes that the term *amah* is applied more specifically to Chinese women who receive wages for their household labour as opposed to *muijais*. (ibid. 77). Conventional *amah*s are eternal spinsters, widows, or unmarried women who have migrated from silk-producing regions, strongly hit by the world depression in 1929 (ibid. 50). *Muijais* are young girls (*mui* in *muijai*, as in *banmui*, means 'younger sister' or 'girl') sold by their own parents at the age of eight to ten to work as domestic servants in a situation akin to bonded servitude.[14] Constable reports that Filipina domestic helpers, 'like *muijais* are often not paid their wages, fed leftovers, [and] forced to work long hours until they become sick with exhaustion. When they fall ill, they are punished with beatings and kickings (sic)' (ibid. 47, 147). Along with harsh forms of discipline, Chinese employers employ a false logic of family relations (treating young Filipinas as quasi-daughters) in order to enforce early curfews and overtime work (ibid. 15, 104-5). Discipline imposed on the Filipina workers also includes the regulation of their appearance (e.g. the prohibition of long hair, make-up, and skirts) and the timetabling of workers' duties in a minute fashion (ibid. 83-99). They are often required to wear uniforms (ibid. 95-6).

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[14] The sale and purchase of *muijai* in Hong Kong has been officially prohibited since 1929, although one of Constable's Chinese informants recalled that she 'hired a *muijai*' to provide help for her *amah* in the early 1960s (ibid. 46).

As mentioned above, many Filipinas in Murasaki had relatives and/or friends working abroad, and a few had siblings living abroad at the time of marriage. Betty told me about what verbal abuses overseas Filipina domestic helpers she knew had encountered. She associated it with her experience in Yokohama, where a Japanese woman violently pulled her out of a telephone box in order to use the telephone. This affected her appreciation of her position in Murasaki as a wife of a local man. In order to conceive the position of Filipina residents in their villages, Japanese in Murasaki applied the models of the local Japanese wives, as Chinese in Hong Kong employed the models of Chinese servants. It meant that Japanese neighbours were friendly to the Filipinas in general. The membership of local associations indicated that the community was open to newcomers in principle, although degree of participation of the Filipinas in the associations varied. Nevertheless, many Filipinas in my research reported on rude Japanese co-workers in their workplace. So, they exchanged tips on how to deal with such co-workers.

Concerning the quality of work relationships in Hong Kong, Constable argues that Chinese employers' conceptualization of the Filipina workers is a major predetermining factor, while the lives of Filipina workers are simultaneously resistant to, and accommodating of, this hegemonic power relationship. Responding to oppressive work discipline and negative stereotyping, some Filipinas express their resistance through legal action, public demonstrations, and/or less confrontational means such as jokes and pranks. Others show antipathy towards their fellow nationals' political protests, advocating instead the 'professionalising' of their work. This in practice means applying a similar type of work discipline to that proposed by

their employers and recruitment agencies, and the adoption of deferential behaviour toward employers and the host society (ibid. 194-7). Constable attributes the apparently contradictory behaviour of the Filipina domestic helpers to their migrant status in Hong Kong. The Filipina domestic helpers' organisations in Hong Kong have little political power to address pervasive local and global structures, a reality that is reflected in their harsh contractual work conditions. Improvement of these work conditions is a longer-term project and often contravenes their two-year only commitment to life in Hong Kong (ibid. 189). Given the impossible situation, Constable urges us to see 'how Filipina domestic helpers derive pleasure, or at least some satisfaction, from attempts to organise their work better and maximise their productivity, to get along well with employers, and to 'professionalise' their image, even at the cost of becoming ever more obedient and hardworking' (ibid. 210).

I am sympathetic to Constable's view of Filipinas who, as 'temporary' migrants, deal with their day-to-day situation only, resorting to 'personal,' 'inward' solutions, rather than directing their energy at creating or implementing wider social change (ibid. 189). However, I would suggest that this view does not fully explain the significance of their 'concerns' for their employers' needs, which they address to fellow nationals (ibid. 188-94), and their encouragement to each other to appreciate 'their work because of the good they can do for their own families and especially for their employers' families' (ibid. 194). Constable interprets the above explanation as a consequence of the transnational movement and therefore discusses it together with accounts of the emergence of 'national' identity and personal/professional pride as a response to the encounter with the Hong Kong Chinese (who negatively stereotype

Filipinas and look down on paid domestic work with live-in conditions). Since the Filipinas intend to deny, rather than confirm, the stereotypes, by making themselves even more obedient and hardworking 'servants', their behaviour may be seen either as a way of promoting their self-image in the eyes of the host society or as a way of assimilating themselves to the Chinese model of 'servanthood'. However, it is also implicit in their words that the altruistic idea of service is not just borne out of their need to secure employment but is also conceptualized by the women as part of their rationale for enduring the exploitative work. Filipina migrant workers in Hong Kong appear to exert themselves for *others* in a somewhat similar manner to their counterparts in Visayas. In order to understand this we need to further examine Filipino notions of gender and power.

In her book entitled *Servants of Globalization* (2001), Parreñas examines the lives of Filipina domestic helpers in Rome and Los Angeles. Parreñas argues that Filipina migrant domestic helpers face different levels of 'dislocation' or processes in which external forces in society in large part constitute the reality of migrant workers (ibid. 3). The key dislocations are partial citizenship, the pain of family separation, contradictory class mobility, and the feeling of social exclusion or non-belonging in the migrant community. Parreñas examines the dislocations, employing three different levels of analysis: macro-structural, intermediate, and subject level. The macro-structural approach is employed to document the macro-processes that control the flows of migration and the labour market's incorporation of these migrants; the intermediate level of analysis looks at institutions and documents social processes of migration and settlement; and, the subject level of approach examines how migrants

are situated within the social processes of migration and how they navigate through these constitutive processes (ibid. 23). [15]

At the subject level of analysis, Parreñas, like Constable, applies the Foucauldian model of the subject in order to explore the work and social lives of Filipina domestic helpers. At the intermediate level of analysis, she looks at such institutions as the nation-state and gender. At the same time as explaining the effects of the existing institutions on the lives of Filipina migrant workers, Parreñas also discusses how 'transnational' families and hometown associations are created in the host societies. Responding to the different social settings of their destinations, the Filipinas' felt experience of social exclusion varies between Rome and Los Angeles. In Rome, where Filipina migrant workers predominantly engage in domestic work, they experience social exclusion with regard to interaction with Italians, while in Los Angeles (where the Filipino community is dominated by middle-class professionals) the domestic helpers, many of whom had professional jobs in the Philippines, discover the contradictory class mobility caused by migration as they encounter their already installed compatriots. They therefore feel segregated from the rest of the Filipino community. The feeling of 'non-belonging' in their host society encourages Filipinas in Rome to return to their home country while maximizing the profits to be gained from their migration; while the perceived segregation of the Filipino community makes Filipinas in Los Angeles abhor their work.

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[15] I conceive that the 'subject' in Parreñas' use is what a person is conceptualized in specific circumstances, e.g. transnational migration, or intermarriage. The term is often used in preference to alternatives such as 'actor' and 'individual' by writers in the structuralist tradition in order to emphasise that individual human beings are not the sole organisers of social relations but are simultaneously enabled and limited by the structures.

The above report shows a stark contrast to the case of my Filipina informants. As mentioned above, the Filipina wives in Murasaki, like Filipina domestic helpers in Rome, have also experienced social exclusion with regard to interaction with Japanese. As their sociological data indicate, there are a small number of Filipinas who encounter the contradictory class mobility caused by intermarriage. When they arrived in Murasaki, they, like Filipina domestic helpers in Los Angeles, might have felt segregated from the rest of the Filipina community. Parreñas argues that the creation of transnational institutions including a hometown association is a means by which migrants who have not been fully incorporated into the host society can ease and resist 'dislocations'. Reflecting the status of members, the association of the Filipina wives in Murasaki provides members with opportunities to meet both fellow nationals and the host people (see Chapter 6). This indicates that a crucial difference between Filipina overseas workers and intermarried Filipinas, which is that while such 'dislocations' as partial citizenship and pain of family separation are inevitable consequences of migration for the former, the main consequences for the latter are potentially positive: establishing a family and assuming full citizenship. Moreover, it is important to draw a demarcation line between two groups of overseas Filipinas and examine specific circumstances in which they live in order to understand the lives of overseas migrants.

Because of the stark difference in the local 'context of reception' that the two destinations present to the two (distinct) groups of Filipina low-wage workers, Parreñas attributes the emergence of similarities between them to the process of globalization. Following Kearney, Parreñas conceives of globalization as 'social,

economic, cultural and demographic processes that take place within nations but also transcend them, such that attention limited to local processes, identities, and units of analysis yields incomplete understanding of the local' (1995:548 in ibid. 24). Following Sassen and Foucalt, Parreñas further emphasises that globalization is not an encompassing umbrella (Sassen 1998 in ibid. 24); rather, it operates in specific institutional and geographical contexts thereby reaching the most molecular elements in society (Foucalt 1980 in op. cit.). Four corresponding macro-processes that shape the 'subject' formation of migrant Filipina domestic helpers include the feminization of the international labour force (Sassen 1988 in op. cit.), the 'de-nationalization of economies,' the formation of 'global cities', and the 're-nationalization of politics' (ibid. 24-5). To summarise: global capitalism creates a high demand for the low-wage labour of women from traditionally Third World countries in export-processing zones of developing countries. The penetration of manufacturing production in developing countries directly leads the manufacturing production that remains in advanced capitalist countries to enter into competition with the low production costs in developing countries. Multinational corporations with production facilities across the globe, on the other hand, maintain central operations in new economic centres, or 'global cities', where specialized professional services are concentrated. The rise of these geographic centres (in which decision making for the operations affecting overseas production takes place) demands low-wage service labour to maintain the lifestyles of the professional inhabitants of these centres. For the most part, immigrants, many of them are female, respond to these demands. The 'de-nationalization of economies' described above is accompanied by the 're-

nationalization of politics', or increasing sentiments of nationalism. In post-industrial

nations re-nationalization partly results from the use of immigrants as scapegoats for

the economic displacements faced by middle-income workers in the de-

industrialization of the economy (Sassen 1996 and Ong 1999 in ibid. 26). An

example of the re-nationalization was shown above in Constable's study of Filipina

domestic helpers in Hong Kong. Parreñas does not report an instance of Filipinas in

Rome and Los Angles, though. There are negative public images associated

particularly with my Filipina informants, which I shall describe, together with their

efforts to challenge the images (see Chapter 6).

While Parreñas examines experiences of Filipina domestic helpers in relation

to processes of globalization, Tadiar analyses it with reference to the international

relations of the Philippines in her book entitled *Fantasy Production* (2004). Tadiar

discusses the international relations of the Philippines within the Asia-Pacific bloc

and Filipina migrant domestic helpers working in Singapore (and the Middle-East),

with particular reference to the institution of gender. She conceptualises the politico-

economic relation between the Philippines, the USA and Japan by comparing them

with gender relations: 'Masculine and feminine are defined against each other and

function according to the specific historical relation at work. Hence, in its relation to

the USA, Japan may occupy a feminine position, but in relation to the Philippines, it

may occupy a masculine position' (ibid. 42-3). Using this perspective, Tadiar

summarizes the international relations between the three nations as follows: 'In the

case of Japan, clearly some leverage, that is some bargaining power, is gained in her

marriage of interests with the USA. In the case of the Philippines, that 'security' is at

least questionable. For the 'special relationship' of the Philippines and the USA there is no marriage, and the Philippines is no wife; she is, rather, America's mistress' (ibid. 43). For Tadiar, a sexual relation is not only a metaphor, it is also a form of logic on which international relations are based. Tadiar states: 'The 'prostitution' or feminized commoditisation of the Philippines [...] is made possible by and perpetuates a logic in which certain divisions of labour and patterns of sexual relations converge and collaborate in the driving of the national economy' (ibid. 43). The gender and sex of migrants represent the focal point of her analysis of Filipina overseas migration, and of the problematic of the nation-state as well. Tadiar argues: 'What is noted as 'the ease with which contract workers slide into the sex industry' stems precisely from the continuity between domestic helpers and prostitutes and mail-order brides which is based on their constitution as 'feminine' bodily beings-for-others' (ibid. 120). The term 'mail-order brides' is frequently used in her discussion, but this group of Filipina migrants are not, in fact, included in her analysis.

As with the term 'mail-order brides', Tadiar uses the term 'globalization' in her discussion without defining what she means by this. She notes the existence of 'a g-string clad Ifugao man holding a camera', 'a hijab-wearing Muslim women talking on the cellular phone' and 'children in Manila wearing t-shirts with Ivy League university names [...] whose references and connotations these urchins cannot possibly understand' (ibid. 2). However she does not seem to appreciate how these images precisely capture the pervasive global circulation of goods. She refers to the above vignettes as examples of 'alien modernity' (op. cit), a phrase from which I infer her uneasiness about what she is seeing. It appears that, for Tadiar, any

encounter with 'different' others is intrinsically harmful, loaded with latent enmity. She assumes that such dichotomies as the coloniser/ the colonized, the oppressor/ the oppressed, and the exploiter/ the exploited can be applied uncritically to international relations. This view may be plausible when it is applied to the power relations between 'sending' and 'receiving' nations of migrants or those between domestic helpers and their employers. However, I think that such a dichotomous viewpoint is too simplistic and monolithic when it comes to trying to understand and explain international relations, which resemble more a fiendishly complex matrix than a binary opposition. The real world is much more complex than Tadiar makes it out to be. Foreign corporations entering the Philippines, for example, are often found to be multinationals; while people in the Philippines cannot be represented simply as equal members of a nation-state since they are obviously divided into distinct socio-economic classes etc.

Although Tadiar hardly discusses 'mail-order brides', she broadly equates them with 'prostitutes'. This conceptualisation is in accordance with the popular view of 'mail-order brides', which Constable is aimed at challenging. In her book entitled *Romance on a Global Stage* (2003), Constable presents rich ethnographic data on Filipina wives and fiancées of US men and the latest development in the 'mail-order brides' business: internet. With reference to previous studies of 'mail-order brides', Constable carefully examines the presentation of women in the 'catalogues' (or web sites), the remarks made by the web masters, the women's introductory comments, and the personal requirements for marital partners expressed both by the women and their potential grooms. While both Constable and her

predecessors look at Asian women in the international marriage market, there is a crucial difference between her approach and that of other scholars. The former sees the women as the agents, actively and autonomously using the system of intermarriage introduction, whereas the latter see the women being used by the system or 'trafficked'. Constable is particularly critical of many contemporary critiques of mail-order brides, which depict the subject as part of a 'traffic in women' and as an example of women's sexual and economic slavery, and which rely on early feminist assumptions about universal gender inequality (ibid. 64). She argues that the notion of trafficking in women and female sexual and domestic slavery is bolstered by the 1970s feminist view of marriage as a fundamentally exploitative patriarchal institution. While some 1970s feminists proposed rejecting the institution of marriage altogether, others considered the possibility of less exploitative marital and domestic arrangements in which men contributed to the unpaid reproductive household labour and/or women participated in the paid labour force. The greater the departure from the Western feminist notion of a liberated household, the more exploitative the situation was presumed to be. Using the Western feminist yardstick, Third World women were often regarded as exploited, subservient 'victims' of marriage and patriarchy, and 'mail-order brides' were envisioned as contemporary examples of such Third World victims within Western societies (ibid. 65). As discussed above, there have been negative cases where women have been duped into marriages and then been exploited. Applying Parreñas' concept of 'dislocations' to 'mail-order brides,' in addition to the potentially exploitive circumstance in the host society, negative stereotypes associated with Asian women and their intermarriages

can be thought of as a 'dislocation,' i.e. as part of the external forces in society that constitute the painful reality of the migrants. However, Constable emphasizes that the depiction of 'mail-order brides' as victims is not simply inaccurate but that it also reinforces negative stereotypes associated with Asian women and their intermarriages, creating the impression that 'Asia is a breeding ground for women who, blind to their own oppression, must be rescued by enlightened feminists' (ibid. 86). Constable's study reminds us that the right term to describe these migration processes should be 'relocation', rather than 'dislocation', a crucial difference between female overseas workers and women labelled as 'mail-order brides'. It is to be noted that both Filipina intermarriage and low-wage labour migration contribute to the reproduction, rather than the demolition, of patriarchal ideologies and the gender division of labour within the host society. However, although the studies of Filipina migrant domestic helpers agree on the fact that overseas labour migration is not rewarding for the migrants, the studies of Filipina intermarriage present different and somewhat contradictory depictions of the research subject. The discrepancy resulting from the different analytical approaches indicates the diversity and complexity of the research phenomenon.

2. 2. Filipino Notions of Beauty and Power

In his analysis of male transvestism in Sulu, the Muslim Philippines, Johnson notes that male transvestites both in the Muslim and in the Christian Philippines, unlike those from other parts of Southeast Asia, lack specific instances directly

linking male transvestites with shamanistic practice and courtly rituals. Nevertheless, they appear to be a 'transformation and transfiguration of the sacred' (ibid. 29): 'something that the local branch of Islamic theology associates with women's bodies' (ibid. 66). Johnson further argues that male transvestites in the Philippines were the 'embodiments of a conceptual order in which the ability to incorporate seemingly opposed elements was read as a sign of potency, something which persons strove to achieve rather than redefine and re-categorise' (ibid. 27).

The *bantut*, or 'transgenderally identified men' (as Johnson terms), in Sulu are conventionally regarded as excellent musicians, singers and dancers and perform at weddings and other community celebrations (ibid. 29-31). Today, the *bantut*, like their counterparts in the Christian Philippines, the *bakla* (Cannel 1995, 1999), are recognized particularly as possessors and purveyors of 'beauty.' Not only have they come to dominate a burgeoning beauty parlour business, they have also started running their own beauty contests. They are often the principle organisers, orchestrators, and choreographers of women's beauty pageants and similar events, such as school talent shows. Johnson reports that being a beautician provides *bantut* with a decent income as well as favourable collective recognition, which their predecessors achieved through their musical performances (ibid. 154-5). For *bantut*, this represents a recovery of social recognition because their representative occupations some decades earlier included domestic helpers and bar and coffee shop maids, which were not only low-paid but which were also regarded as low-status. Johnson points out that such scholars as Whitehead (1981) and Ortner (1981) would see *bantut*'s retrieval of social recognition as successful gender crossing since they

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contend that occupational prestige is in many instances more important than sexuality in defining gender (ibid. 21). The *bantut* themselves, however, tend to see what they have done as taking over a gender-specialized occupation. A claim common to male transvestites in the Philippines with regard to their gender is that they have 'a woman's heart stuck inside a man's body' (ibid. 89; Cannell 1999:214). They therefore love to dress in women's clothing and perform female roles. They also claim that they desire men, rather than women, for sexual relations and romantic interest. Johnson mentions that anthropologists such as Devereux would see transvestism in the Philippines as an expression of the need to create a socially acceptable niche for homosexuality (1931 in ibid. 20). However, the response of the *bantut* to the dominant Anglo-American interpretation of being 'gay' was surprise and aversion because 'gay' men choose men similar to themselves (ibid. 90-91). The 'men with women's hearts' claim that they love only 'real men' (i.e. men with an invulnerable male sexual identity, an identity which is thought not to be in any way threatened by their relations with *bantut*) (op. cit.; Cannell 1999:214). In fact, some Filipino transvestites prefer to refer to themselves by an alternative English term, 'third sex,' as though claiming a category designating their own particular gender (Johnson 1997:228; Cannell 1999:215). So the native explanation not only negates the same-sex sexuality idea but also challenges dualism in respect to gender identity.

As mentioned above, the status of *bantut* was increasingly stigmatized until they regained favourable collective recognition through engagement in the beauty parlour business. Trying to disassociate themselves from negative connotations attached to the term *bantut*, 'transgenderally identified men' in Sulu began calling

themselves 'gay'. Because of the Western images of glamour and beauty that they attempt to reproduce, 'gays' in Sulu have come to represent not only beauty and style but also 'knowledge-power' associated with America. As indicated above, the association with America empowers *bantut* to the extent that they regain favourable collective recognition. However, at the same time it provokes antagonism directed at Westernisation among the local people. This is due to the political climate in Sulu which, in response to external power-struggles, has become more nationalistic/Islamic. Johnson analyses the workings of local politics and how they reflect on the body of *bantut*/gay men. While *bantut* are the anomaly in Sulu society, Filipinas are the outsider in Murasaki. Their social roles differ, but Johnson provides a fascinating insight into the culture politics of Murasaki and the Filipinas' position within it, as I discuss in Chapter 7.

Of the studies of female empowerment in the Philippines, Claussen's account of 'feminist' Catholic nuns provides some invaluable data and many pertinent insights into contemporary Filipina gender ideologies (2001). The subjects of her study are eight Filipina Missionary Benedictine Sisters, including Sister Justine, a cofounder and former chair of the largest feminist organisation in the country, GABRIELA (the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Liberty and Action). It describes various aspects of Philippine feminism, such as the Sisters' individual definitions of 'feminism', their relationships with male kin, activities that they carry out to enlighten fellow Filipinas, and other feminist movements in the country. Philippine feminism, like the country itself, is characterized by its diversity, with numerous organisations in operation, all acting with differing ideologies and

different social concerns.[16] Claussen attributes the diversity of Philippine feminism to the creative and culturally encouraged ability of Filipinas to 'translate' different ideologies across different situations; and, she therefore emphasises that all these types of Filipina feminism are 'legitimate, culturally specific movements and therefore cannot simply be likened to Western feminism' (ibid. 211). It should be noted that dominant indigenous feminist scholars' views (Aquino 1985 and Aguilar 1989 in ibid. 207) radically differs from Western feminism'; they are characterized by nationalist, anti-individualistic and pro-family orientation (ibid. 212). Despite some variance in immediate concerns and ideological stances, the Sisters are sympathetic to the individualistic orientation of Western feminism and contend that the family is a 'primal site of sex-based oppression' (ibid. 212-3). The ill effects of double standards of morality and sexuality extant in Philippine society in relation to the socialisation and education of women leads Sister Justine to explicitly express how she despises the values perpetuated in the Filipino family, with its production of the 'ever-loyal wife and self-sacrificing mother' (ibid. 213). As indicated by their criticism on the conventional Filipino gender roles, the Sisters are highly educated (with at least a Master's Degree) liberal cosmopolitans.

Relating to the ideas about gender that the Filipina Sisters express, Claussen notes, of course, that the nuns, being celibate and childless, may be conceived as asexual or androgynous (ibid. 59). She refers to an account of gender identity by one of the Sisters whom her colleagues used to call *bakla* in jest because of her 'aggressive' and 'authoritative' manner (ibid. 60-62). Here we see the implication of

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[16] There are 420 organizations with more than 50,000 members come under the umbrella of GABRIELA.

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crossed gender lines. However, the transformability of Filipino notions of gender is judged to be an option available only to men since there is no culturally elaborated equivalent (and hence no culturally legitimated) alternative for women. Masculine women, like the nun in question, are therefore required to confront themselves, adjust their vocation, and achieve 'psycho-spiritual integration' (ibid. 61). In this light, rather than symbolizing the transformability and diversity of Filipino gender, the *bakla* becomes symbolic of double standards of sexuality in the Philippines.

However, the above view may also be prevalent only among educated, cosmopolitan Filipinos. After her experience of fieldwork in rural Bicol, in the lowland Christian Philippines, Cannell noticed a preoccupation with dichotomising gender identity (similar to that described above for the West) in the metropolis of Manila (1999:214). In relatively rural areas like Bicol, *bakla* are in some ways very much accepted. The identity of *'bakla'* is given to little boys who seem happier doing girls' chores and wearing girls' clothes until they either accept and adapt to the idea or angrily reject it. Such children are sometimes teased, but they are neither ignored nor persecuted. While in the West gay or transvestite men and women sometimes become the targets of hatred or prejudiced violence, this rarely occurs in Bicol, even though *bakla* are not always treated as persons of equal dignity, compared to other adults. Cannell attributes the greater accommodation of the *bakla* in Bicol *barangays* (communities) to a generally non-authoritarian attitude of the people and their lack of interest in the unequivocal definition of how someone came to be the way they are (op. cit.).

Concerning my Filipina informants' attitudes toward other people's conducts, they showed a similar non-authoritarian attitude and great tolerance of differences and variations in ways in which things were carried out. Having married into the same area, they exchanged information about the locality, its norms and conventions. They did not simply follow the information to reproduce local norms or conventions, but they also applied it to daily lives, trying to find more suitable ways for their own particular situations. There was therefore difference and variation in ways in which they carried out the same matter, and they hardly ever questioned whether other Filipinas' conduct was proper or correct. Of course, they were curious about how other Filipinas were dealing with similar situations to those they were dealing with. They did exchange gossip about fellow Filipinas' conduct. When asked, they could present their opinions about it. However, differences and variations in conduct between them and others were almost always accepted as they were.

In Bicol, as in Sulu, the people conceive the ability to make and create beauty demonstrated by *bakla* as an inherent part of their being (ibid. 215-6). Bicolanos say: 'The *bakla* are very clever at imitating things' by which they mean implicitly that they are 'good not just at mimicry, but at making things look like other things' (ibid. 216). Cosmopolitan Filipinos' perception of gender identity of the *bakla* may be more influenced by Western gender ideologies, the *bakla* are apparently regarded as purveyors of 'beauty' in the metropolis of Manila and its surrounding areas, as in Bicol and Sulu. All male beauticians I met in the Philippines (Manila and its surrounding areas) were apparently *bakla*.

While Johnson discusses the transformative power of *bantut* with reference to their collective empowerment within the system of knowledge and power in the Islamic Philippines, Cannell explains the equivalent in the lowland Christian Philippine in relation to notions of power. She discusses her account of *bakla* which is centred on their beauty-contests, together with accounts of other collective forms of entertainment popular with people from all classes (nation-wide), including singing contests (*amateuran*) and women's beauty-contests. Beauty-contests are especially popular in the Philippines and are often held even in very small towns, eventually leading to regional and even national-level finals. The events involve various kinds of people, both in terms of audience and contestants, because they are held for many different categories of entrant, 'Miss Temperance' and 'Mrs Health and Hygiene', for instance (ibid. 212-3). Here we also find diversity in the themes of beauty-contests. The history of beauty-contests in the Philippines goes back to the Spanish era, when wealthy families fought to have their daughter win a title as a way of increasing her chances of an exceptional marriage. In these contests the winner was determined according to the amount of sponsorship money she attracted from her backers, money destined for donation to the Church (ibid. 204). Today, the main contests for women and for *bakla* in the Bicol region are run without the sponsorship element described above. The present format of beauty-contests, which follows the standard model of 'Miss World' and 'Miss Universe' and which is based on American-style meritocratic principles known in the Philippines as 'brains and beauty *lang*' ('brains and beauty only'), emerged in the 1960s. Because of the format of the events, some post-modern critics may perceive performances shown in the *amateuran* and in the *bakla* beauty-

contests (or the cultural landscapes of the lowland Philippines as a whole) as nothing more than the mere replication of what Filipinos imagine to be America: a 'blank parody' (Jameson 1991:17). Cannell, however, elucidates local meanings of the performances, according to which what appears to be the imagined America is symbolic of powerful others to whom the people are asked to learn to relate. What appears as mimicry, then, is an attempt at dynamic engagement with the 'others'; and it is an attempt at transforming this asymmetric relationship to a state of intimacy and equality.

With regard to the local meanings of 'beauty-contests', Cannell emphasizes the dual kinds of 'beauty' to which the contestants are staking a claim: personal prettiness, on the one hand, and aspects of 'beauty' that can be bought – grand clothes, complete make-up, the evidence of who is behind you and the affirmative acclamation of the crowd - on the other. It is not only in the Philippines but also in many other parts of the world that becoming beautiful represents an economic activity, however Cannel emphasizes that it is this notion of 'beauty' that makes the Filipino/Filipina beauty-contests never endingly compelling for performers and audiences alike. The *bakla* beauty-contests are especially popular in the Philippines, but this is not simply because the audiences are interested in the ambivalent gender and sexual identity of the contestants. Cannell emphasizes that although the importation of Euro-American gendered and sexualized notions of identity into the Philippines is significant, people in relatively rural areas like Bicol do not think solely in terms of an inner, more authentic and sexually founded (post-Freudian) self in the way that is claimed to be central to Westerner's constructions of their own

individuality (ibid. 224). In relation to the issue of gender and sexuality, Cannell discusses an incident in a *bakla* beauty-contest, in which a contestant's costume came adrift, revealing his chest and genital area. While this was condemned by both performers and audience as *bastos* (rude, obscene), she argues that it was not the dropping of the mask of gender which scandalized people so much as the display of body-parts, which would be inappropriate for anyone of either gender (ibid. 224).

The setting of the *amateuran* and the beauty-contests is formal and the languages used are always English and Tagalog, the languages of elite education to which ordinary Bicolanos have restricted access, and performance is usually a 'solo' affair. It therefore demands that the performers take risks, exposed as they are to an audience (even though the spectators are ready to appreciate a good performance). In order to achieve a successful performance, Bicolanos say it is important to 'put aside one's shame' (ibid. 208). Shame in other contexts, according to Cannell, is an emotion that results when two people who are significantly different from one another, especially in terms of status, are brought into sudden intimacy. The 'shame' is felt most by the subordinate party. In this light, all performances within elite genres can be thought of as a kind of daring attempt to imitate the intimacy model, potentially raising the status of the performers, or resulting in them being labelled as pretentious (ibid. 223). With reference to Sally-Ann Ness' study of a traditional dance in contemporary Cebu, Cannell further points out that the Filipino conception of the 'natural' state is not that which is not cultivated and acquired, but that which is not exaggerated. I found a similar conception of the 'natural' state among my informants, which I shall further discussed in Chapter 5, with reference to the mode of dressing

and wearing make-up adapted by them. In the Filipino/Filipina aesthetic sense, the state of being 'natural' is not achieved by letting oneself be as he/she is, but it requires 'skill' to be natural and external aspects of 'beauty', such as clothes, make up and approval of the viewer. Recall the dual kinds of 'beauty' that makes the Filipino/Filipina beauty-contests especially popular in the Philippines. If as Cannel argues, the audiences of *bakla* beauty-contests are not simply interested in the ambivalent gender and sexual identity of the contestants but their successful performances, we shall find out what the audience see in the performance.

Putting aside one's shame and achieving a successful performance, the *bakla* enact in an even more exaggerated form the Bicolano performer's perpetual dilemma, walking the tightrope between the élan of a successful performance and the shameful exposure of failure. Although they are regarded as the most talented exponents of the widely prized skill of transformation through imitation or replication, there is still always the risk of being considered pretentious, vulgar or fake ('*ma-arte*') (ibid. 223). Cannell, who has herself served as judge at a *bakla* beauty-contest, emphasizes that the greatest shame that a *bakla* contestant can imagine is that 'people would find fault with you and say you hadn't studied it'. Only their artistry and long and exacting practice of how to walk, smile, pose and pronounce English lead the contestants to triumph, says the judge (ibid. 219). Cannell suggests that the popularity of the *bakla* beauty-contests stems from these spectacular risks which are experienced vicariously by the audience at the same time as they enjoy stunning performances, performances that speak to both rich and poor, educated and uneducated, with equal if not identical powers of fascination (ibid. 223-224).

Cannell's study of power relationships in the Christian Philippines is extensive, and it examines various power relationships, including not only those between living people but also those between living people and spiritual and imaginary others. It argues that hierarchical and egalitarian relationships coexist not only in contrast with each other but also as variations of each other. 'People are greatly concerned with *transformation* from states of greater hierarchy, distance and asymmetry between persons to states of greater balance, intimacy and harmony' (ibid. 228; italics original). This is because for people in the Philippines '[p]owerful and wealthy persons [...] are not icons of a transcendent order beyond themselves which attract worship, in the sense that royalty or rank may attract worship, in and of itself. Conversely, nothing about a poor man's essential make-up would exclude him from becoming a rich and powerful member of the elite, given unlikely circumstances which showered him with wealth' (ibid. 229). And this is why 'at whatever point of history, the Filipino poor came to represent the possibility that their own labour – their own existence – would be worthy of recognition, that they could be [...] persons of equal value although not of equal power' (ibid. 240; Kerkvliet 1990:250). This is a place where power does not reside in material or immaterial objects but is accessible only through relations of exchange between persons (Cannell 1999:253). People of equal value are compelled to engage in relationships constantly and dynamically so that power can be exchanged with intimacy and so that any existing inequality between the parties to the relationship can be minimized.

Concerning power relationships in Southeast Asia, it is noted that until Lévi-Strauss' notion of 'the house' allowed us to see the institution as both uniting and

transcending the principles of kinship, kinship and corporate groups co-existing in the societies were thought to be in opposition, and therefore when the power structure of those societies was attempted to conceive in either term, it came to be indescribable except as 'loosely-structured'. The notion of the 'house-based' society was revised by contributors to a collection of essays *About the house* (Carsten and Hugh-Jones ed. 1995), which indicated that 'opposing principles' were facets of 'the house' that came to surface in turn 'processually' over time, rather than united (Carsten 1995:125, 127). Another important direction of conceptualising power relationships in Southeast Asia is presented by Atkinson and Errington. It suggests that 'in hierarchal situations (such societies as usually referred to as the 'Indic kingdoms'), the tendency is for power to be imagined as coming from the inside, whereas in marginal situation (as in small-scale communities with explicit but highly diverse ideologies of egalitarianism) the power is imagined as obtained from the outside (Errington 1990:46 in Cannell 1999: 67).

As indicated above, the Filipino notion of power fits into these dominant models only uncomfortably. What differentiates the Christian Philippines from other Southeast Asian societies is, according to Cannell, the impact of Spanish colonisation. When the Spanish arrived in the Philippines in the seventeenth century, Filipino elites were beginning to make serious attempts to establish themselves as a permanent and exclusive rank defined by blood. However, these attempts were interrupted by the Europeans before they could be consolidated, and lowland societies were therefore still centrally defined by 'a social *mobility* that ultimately embraced all

three classes' aristocracy (datu), freeman (timawa/maharlika) and those who were bonded to various degrees (oripun/alipin) (Scott 1983:141 in ibid 236. Italic mine).

It is indeed the impact of colonization that makes the cultural landscape in the lowland Philippines appear to be inauthentic and imitative. Anthropologists of the Philippines are, however, all critical of such a perspective of a culture as a unified and finalized entity (R. Rosaldo 1988; Claussen 2001). Cannell's study challenges the conventional view by showing us that the cultural essence of the lowland Philippines does not reside in an unchanging tradition but in transformation. This does not mean that Filipino people are completely indifferent to historical change or to a sensation of loss for things that they used to enjoy, of course. As Cannell demonstrates, the people are conscious of what they have lost as well as of what they have acquired; and, they are also aware of differences among themselves and between themselves and external powers. Yet, if power in the lowland Philippines is conceived of as never being fixed or still, what is aesthetic to the people is not the act of transformation in itself (the significance of which may differ among them) but the mode by which something is transformed. Beauty-contests are especially popular in the Philippines because the events display the moment when a successful performance comes to embody a spectacular and adventurous transformation, transcending radical differences between the people and the powerful others: the achievement of power and intimacy.

In this section, I have emphasized that in Filipino cultural world, power does not reside in objects but in dynamic engagement with the others, and gender identity is structured on the basis of holism rather than duality. I have examined

ethnographies of diverse groups of Filipinas, which include migrant workers in Visayas, domestic helpers in Hong Kong, Rome and Los Angeles, Catholic nuns, and *bakla/bantut*. I suggest that if the ethnographies were seen in this perspective, they could be interpreted differently. The altruistic motivation for participating in the economy expressed by female migrant workers in Visayas could be conceived as an attempt to generate power, rather than 'unwitting complicity with gender ideology'. Another endeavour to generate power is the advocacy of the 'professionalization' of work that Filipina domestic helpers in Hong Kong carried out. Constable rightly points out that it neither liberates the workers nor improves their work conditions, improving instead only their relationships with their employers (1997:196-7). Yet, it can be seen as an attempt at setting up the stage for such transformation, if as Cannell argues the setting of the event in which Filipino/Filipinas attempt to transform an unequal power relationship is always formal and demands command of an elite language. The existence of *bakla/bantut* manifests the holistic Filipino cultural view of gender, while greater accommodation of their existence in rural areas than in metropolitan Manila indicates that rural Filipinos are less exposed to Western culture and therefore less familiar to the dual notion of gender (according to which *bakla/bantut* are anomalies). Nevertheless, if the people in the lowland Philippines see the cultural landscape in the same holistic view that *bakla/bantut* symbolize, diverse ideologies that Filipina feminists support and great tolerance to such diversity that Benedictine sisters demonstrate can be seen as stemming from this particular view.

I would then suggest that Filipina-Japanese marriage, which demands that Filipina partners learn the Japanese language and a Japanese way of living (rather than the other way around), also represents an unequal power relationship. My informants' adaptation to life in rural Japan appears to be imitating the models of Japanese wives and replicating the local way of living. However, according to Filipino notions of power, it can be conceived as a process of transforming an unequal power relationship, an attempt at exchanging power for intimacy.

3. Literature on Japanese Society

3. 1. Language, Self, and Social Space

Contemporary Japanese culture consists of elements originating from diverse geographical places and historical periods. There is a strong influence from China and Korea, as can be seen in the arts, philosophy, and kinship classification. The Japanese language is closely related to the Korean language, Hankul; and, like Hankul, it appropriates Chinese characters. Regional variation within the language with regard to accent and vocabulary is said to be so significant that a person from the northernmost area of the mainland would not be able to communicate with someone from the southernmost district, if they both spoke in their respective dialects (Sugimoto 1997:63). The national medium of communication, which is regarded as standard Japanese, takes the accent and vocabulary of the Tokyo middle-class. The national curriculum set up by the national government decrees that pupils should be taught to speak standard Japanese so that those raised outside the Tokyo region are

'bilingual', being competent in at least two types of Japanese (op. cit.). This tendency is reinforced by output from television and radio.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, despite regional linguistic variation, the binary notion of *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) is employed universally in Japan when social space is categorized. This notion is said to be first learnt by a child in association with the clean inside of the house in which it lives and the dirty outside world (Hendry 1987:40-41). There are two other sets of opposing concepts associated with *uchi* and *soto*. These are called *ura* ('back' or what is hidden from the public eye) and *omote* ('front' or what is exposed to public attention), and *honne* (one's inner feelings, wishes, and proclivities) and *tatemae* (one's formal appearance compelled by a standardized norm, principle or rule). Generally, a Japanese person is said to express *honne* in *uchi* and/or in the context of *ura* and to display *tatemae* in *soto* and/or in the *omote* situation (Lebra 1976: 112-3; Doi 1986; Kondo 1990; Bachnik 1992; Tobin 1992, Hendry 1987: 39-41). Tobin emphasises in his study of Japanese preschools that Western children also learn the difference between internal and external voices and the need to be circumspect and polite in formal contexts. They also learn to control the display of their emotions and to channel the gratification of their impulses (1992:24). What is often conceived to be idiosyncratic to the Japanese, though, is that, unlike Westerners, 'appropriate personal and social behaviour is identified, not as a general set of behaviours which transcend situations, but rather as a series of particular situations which generate a kaleidoscope of different behaviours which are nonetheless ordered and *agreed upon*' (Bachnik 1992:155, italics original).

In her article on the concept of *kejime*, Bachnik suggests that this ability is a 'meta-level concept'. Rather than signifying general meanings, it signifies pragmatic meanings such as 'here' and 'there'. Rather than naming objects, it indexes the specific quality and quantity of what is observed, like a barometer, plumb line, weather vane, pendulum, or photometer (1992:157-8). *Kejime* thus indexes how much discipline, submission of self, or 'boundedness', and how little emotion, self-expression, or spontaneity is appropriate in a given situation (ibid. 159). Accordingly, the concurrently shifting behaviours of her long-term informant family in response to the unexpected visit of important guests are analysed with reference to changes in such elements as the quantity and quality of meals and the utensils used before and after the arrival of the guests. 'Japanese 'self' is not constituted as an autonomous individual; rather self in the narrow sense is constantly being related beyond one's self, both through the disciplined energy of social participation, and in the larger sense of moving beyond the boundaries of inner and outer to the open, boundless self' (ibid. 167). From this perspective, the person and the situation appear to be almost identical. According to Bachnik, exercising *kejime* becomes a crucial social skill for living in Japan; *kejime* is a major pedagogical focus in Japanese education (ibid. 155). However, if *kejime* is a meta-level concept that Japanese acquire only through socialisation and compulsory education, it is assumed that no foreigners, apart from trained anthropologists, can grasp the workings of social life in Japan; foreigners, like my Filipina informants, therefore merely follow natives, as they move according to a series of particular situations.

In her study of a small confectionery factory employing some thirty workers, Kondo also emphasizes the importance of the binary notion of social space to everyday life in Japan (1990). According to Kondo, however, not only situations but also the 'subject-positionings' people adopt in particular situations define fluid and constantly changing boundaries between self and other (ibid. 31). Taking a feature of the Japanese language, for example, she explains the multiple and sometimes contradictory interpretations of the Japanese self.

Table 4. Japanese 1st person pronouns (Kondo 1990:27)

Context of Situation	Male	Female
Formal	Watakushi	Watakushi
	Watashi Watashi (less formal than for men)	
	Washi (for older men, usually)	
Informal	Boku	Watashi
	Ore	Atashi

As seen above, the Japanese language provides the speaker with different options for the 1st person pronouns to be used in differing social contexts. These personal pronouns are often substituted with other self-referents, which include kinship terms and occupational titles as well as proper names. The Japanese self is constantly shifting between differing situations and relationships between oneself and one's interlocutor, whereas 'I' in the English language is irreducible and relatively detached from its social context (ibid. 27-31). Rather than positing the unproblematic existence of a unified, rational, coherent, bounded subject (as North American culture often conceives the self to be), Kondo sees 'selves' as potential sites for the play of

multiple discourses shifting between multiple subject-positions. She emphasizes that 'the women I knew were not members of some unproblematic category, 'women', but were constituted through a variety of specific subject-positions - wife, mother, part-time worker, resident of the *shitamachi* (downtown), and worker in a small enterprise, to name only a few (ibid. 44). I conceive that the 'subject-positioning' in Kondo's use is what a person is conceptualized to be performing in specific situations, which could be also referred to as a social role. However, Kondo emphasizes that 'it is important to realise that conflicts, ambiguities, and multiplicities in interpretation, are not simply associated with different positionings in society [...] but exist within a *single* self' (ibid. 45. italics original). She thus argues: 'Relationally defined selves in Japan [...] mount radical challenges to our own assumptions about fixed, essentialist identities and provide possibilities for a consideration of cultural difference and a radical critique of 'the whole subject' in contemporary Western culture' (ibid. 33). Kondo is critical of Foucault's notion of power because of its assertion of a 'whole subject' (ibid. 311, fn). She employs Derrida's critique of Saussure, or what is often called 'deconstruction', which contends that the meaning of the sign can never be fixed but is always potentially in play across interconnected discourses (ibid. 36).

Nevertheless, the cultural difference in the conceptualization of the self (of the Japanese and North American interpretations) is downplayed by her own experience in Japan, which is summarized at the beginning of her book as follows: 'I was never allowed to be an autonomous, freely operating 'individual'. As a resident of my neighbourhood, a friend, a co-worker, a teacher, a relative, an acquaintance, a quasi-

daughter, I was always defined by my obligations and links to others. I was 'always already' caught in webs of relationships, in which loving concern was not separable from power, where relationships define one and enable one to define others' (ibid. 26). It was largely due to her physical features (being a third-generation Japanese-American) and to the Japanese trait of adhering to an 'eminently biological definition of Japaneseness' that, Kondo reports, 'my friends and co-workers [...] emphasized my identity as Japanese, sometimes even against my own intentions and desires. [...] Over time, my increasingly 'Japanese' behaviour served [...] to resolve their crises of meaning and to confirm their assumptions about their own identities. That I, too, came to participate enthusiastically in this recasting of the self is a testimonial to their success in action upon me' (ibid. 14). The experience of performing Japanese 'subject-positionings' led Kondo to feel that her identity was fragmented into a Japanese/quasi-daughter and an American/researcher in the field, rather than multiple selves being constructed within her self (ibid. 17). She felt that as a consequence she would be completely transformed into a Japanese person, the fear of which pushed her to end her fieldwork in Japan (ibid. 24). With reference to her own experience of transformation, Kondo emphasizes the importance not only of the acquisition of a language but also of the performance of culturally encouraged behaviour in order to internalise a culture. By so doing, she successfully buttresses her twofold contention that Japanese 'selves are crafted in the process of work and within the matrices of power' and that this discovery challenges the North American notion of a unified, rational, coherent, bounded self (ibid. 300).

Kondo's experience in Japan indicates that internalisation of another culture entails fragmentation of one's self and even possibility of completely transforming into another self. My Filipina informants' experience in rural Japan, like Kondo's in downtown Tokyo, entails adaptation to the language and gender roles of the host society. However, I cannot see my Filipina informants as 'fragmented' into Filipino and Japanese selves or completely transforming into Japanese creating multiple inner selves in the self. I shall therefore discuss the concept of multiple selves later in this chapter, with reference to studies of transnational immigration.

It has been indicated above that Japanese 'self' is not constituted as an autonomous, freely operating individual; his/her social interaction is controlled by the situation in which it takes place, and his/her 'subject-positioning' is defined by the relationship in which s/he is currently involved. In her study of Japanese society entitled *Wrapping Japanese* (1993), Hendry analyses interactions between the people, which are delicately 'wrapped' with layers of self-presentation, but her account shows interactions more dynamic than the situational and performative approaches described above. Hendry's study, like Cannell's study of the lowland Christian Philippines, is extensive. She examines not only the use of language but also that of the body, space, and various art forms of self-presentation. Here, I would like to discuss her analysis of the use of *keigo* (lit. polite language). The use of *keigo* is concerned with social status. Broadly speaking, *keigo* is divided into respectful forms and humble forms. The use of 'polite language' lubricates asymmetric interactions, such as that between super-ordinates and subordinates, men and women, customers and shopkeepers, etc. It also discourages unwanted advances. By speaking the polite

language in a cold tone, a housewife, for instance, may put off door-to-door salespersons, indicating that she is not interested in their products. *Keigo* can therefore be a subtle means of signalling to friends or acquaintances, so each side may put on the brakes if they feel that the level of intimacy is growing too high or if one is becoming too informal by stepping up their own use of *keigo*. The 'polite language' is also used to assess and manipulate the social status and prestige of the speaker. *Keigo* is the formal form of the Japanese language normally employed in a formal speech. However, a housewife may also speak *keigo* to her peer group in an informal gathering in order to construct a social status higher than her fellows. This works because the command of *keigo* indicates the better socio-economic background of the speaker. And, in a similar manner, an elite group may use *keigo* in order to close the door on those who are not capable of using the same language (ibid. 55-58, 62-63).

As indicated above, the Japanese people in Hendry's study attempt to control situations and shape relationships by employing a particular speech form. Formality and politeness are not simply ascribed as characteristic of a given situation. Hendry emphasizes that in a place like Japan where much cultural value is placed upon the maintenance of harmony, formality and politeness are powerful forms of communication. Following Bourdieu (1991:164 in ibid. 171), she calls this power 'invisible power [which] can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it'. It is suggested that in this form of communication, not only the form of an utterance (how a word is said) but also silence (what is not said) is just as important as an

utterance (what is said) (1993:165). In this light the utterance and performance of Japanese texts does not represent the speaker/performer's inner selves, contrary to the predictions of the situational and performative approach models. It rather empowers one's self. Hendry contends that this working of power relations can be metaphorically called a 'cultural design' that 'makes possible the making of the whole range of life-stages and statues, thus representing, and recreating, the hierarchical order, which, in turn, gives rise to the locus of power relationships' (ibid. 172).

Hendry does not specify how the hierarchical order is structured or from where it emanated. However, I assume that it stemmed from that of the *ie* and that it is structured around the continuity of the institution. Concerning social interaction in Murasaki, we have seen in Chapter 1 that the hierarchy in the local family household and between *honke* and *bekka* reflect on use of kinship terms, people's behaviours and conduct. Although authority granted to the head of the *honke* is apparently waning, the people still attempt to control situations and shape relationships, by employing the hierarchical order in the house. I shall therefore examine the inside of the *ie*.

3. 2. The Structure of the *Ie* and the Moment of Transformation

In his study of Japanese rural society, Fukutake argues that the quintessential characteristic of the *ie* is inheritance according to primogeniture, which he believes to be a product of feudalism (1967:42). In old and wealthy landlord families there

would be a set of 'family precepts' which everyone was expected to obey in the name of the ancestor who formulated them so that the *ie* should for ever flourish and be preserved (ibid. 40). Inheritance was therefore primarily a matter of 'succeeding to the house' as though 'succeeding to the throne' (ibid. 41). Members of the family were expected to submit obediently to the authoritarian control of the household 'head', so much so that it turned the relationships between the head and other members of the family to something akin to feudal master-servant relations (op. cit). Among the middling and poor farmers and certainly among the very poor, however, the authoritarian tendency within the house never developed (ibid. 41). In such families it was the pressure of poverty that demanded continuous cooperation and solidarity from every family member so that individual members were forced to take second place to the *ie*. Moreover, primogeniture inheritance was not the invariable rule for farm families. In districts where productivity was low, it was fairly common to find a husband for the eldest daughter as soon as possible so as to pass on to him the headship of the house - a practice institutionalized in some districts and called by the name *anekatoku*. In other districts where holdings were generally small, succession by youngest son was practised instead. The eldest son and his brothers moved out of the parental family home as soon as they reached maturity until only the youngest son was left at home to inherit. Fukutake further emphasizes that in the farming districts where holdings were in any case far too small to be divided, primogeniture was rigidly institutionalized among common people and then reinforced by the inheritance provisions of the Meiji Civil Code (ibid. 42-3).

Fukutake's analysis suggests that the traditional *ie* has at least two facets: it is a unit of a kinship group and it is a unit of a corporate group. In her study of succession patterns of the *ie*, Bachnik argues that we should look at the institution solely as a corporate group because, according to Bachnik, '[a]lthough kinship does have many associations with biologically defined ties, what the Japanese mean by 'blood' is not isomorphic with biology and Japanese kinship is [...] regarded as a cultural matter' (1983:162). In this light, it is not individual (or biological) but corporate continuity for which succession to the *ie* is organized. Bachnik thus formulates Japanese succession patterns as follows: the *ie* requires not a person but a set made up of a man and a woman to fill the positions of the head and his/her spouse in each generation, who must be from an in-group and an out-group respectively, 'because incest is not the usual practice' (ibid. 170) (incest is a recognized sanctioned practice, indeed.). Accordingly, marriage, through which the out-group successor is recruited and in-group non-successors are removed, is the crucial event for the continuity of the *ie*. By securing a set of two successors in each generation the original *ie* remains as the stem household, while non-successor members leave the natal home either to establish their own household as a branch household or to be incorporated into another household through marriage.

It is often pointed out that when asked the rule of succession for the *ie*, contemporary Japanese almost inevitably mention *chonan-sozoku* (succession by an eldest son), even though such practices as *muko-yoosi* (a 'husband adopted' to marry a daughter of a sonless family uxorilocally), *fufu-yoshi* (a 'married couple adopted' by a childless family) and other arrangements which pass over natural sons are

regarded as acceptable or even legitimate, rather than deviant or exceptional (Bachnik 1983: 169; Kondo 1990: 124). Bachnik's analysis explains this apparent contradiction in the Japanese system of succession. Moreover, she emphasizes that succession is not defined simply by filling the position of the successors. The *ie* is constantly in the process of sorting out permanent and non-permanent members so that the continuous performance of duties maintains the present 'successors' in their positions. This suggests a great degree of flexibility in actually selecting successors and raises the question of how such flexibility is achieved.

This question is potentially answered if we accept Bachnik's contention that the *ie* provides no ascriptive requirements for the successor positions (ibid. 169) but ranks all the members in terms of their 'quality of membership in the *ie*' instead (ibid. 164). Table 5 shows positions of the 'successors' in each generation (ibid. 165), and Table 6 shows Bachnik's tentative ranking of membership 'quality' in the *ie* (ibid. 167).[17]

Table 5. Successor positions in each generation

	Male	Female
Retired	Ojiisan (Grandfather)	Obaasan (Grandmother)
Acting	Otosan (Father)	Okasan (Mother)
Incoming	Atotori (Successor)	Yome (Bride)

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[17] The terminology employed for these positions is standard Japanese.

Table 6. Ranking of membership quality in the *ie*

+	-
Permanency	Non-permanency
In-group	Out-group
Older generation	Younger generation
Male	Female
Older (within generation)	Younger (within generation)

Key: (+ outranks -)

It should be noted that succession is not contingent on the maintenance of any specific form of successor to the organisation. There is a wide range of possible options, including 'passing over' a natural son (ibid. 167-8). The ranking determines not only the choice for designating a successor but also informs the 'continuous choice' of whether or not to maintain that successor in office.

Disagreeing with Fukutake, Bachnik argues that *chonan-sozoku* is a 'folk explanation', a 'highly condensed explanation which presumes knowledge of the entire system of recruitment' (ibid. 173). She further contends that although 'the Meiji Civil Code is widely cited as legislating succession by a 'rule of primogeniture' and its influence has been widespread, even at the popular level, the code itself mentions neither the term *chonan-sozoku* nor any 'rule' of succession' (ibid. 169).

The Meiji Civil Code, which was enacted in 1898 with the aim of unifying the disparate succession practices of the country, provides only four criteria for succession: near kin over distant, legitimate over illegitimate, male over female, older over younger (*Minpo* [The Meiji Civil Code] Article 970). In accordance with these

criteria succession by the eldest son is the most preferable choice. However, all the other permutations of choices are also possible under the Code. If we look at other articles on inheritance, though, the choice is apparently forcefully slanted towards *chonan-sozoku*. For example, a family might choose their daughter as the heir, by marrying her to a *muko-yoshi*. However in this instance, it is not the successor herself but her spouse who is the legal manager of the family property that she has inherited (Article 801 in Yoshimi et. al. 1988:144). If the husband has an acknowledged son with a concubine, the illegitimate son takes precedence over the barren wife (Article 970 in ibid. 143). In addition, for the first thirty years of the Meiji era until the Civil Code was enacted, both household heads and first sons were exempted from conscription, which was generally obligatory for male citizens over twenty years old. Bachnik downplays the influence of Meiji Civil Code on unification of the practices of household succession. However, if as she argues, Japanese kinship is a cultural matter, it appears that, instead of allowing the dissolution of sonless households for the simple reason that the prospective successor was not a biological son of the household head, the Meiji oligarchy set up conditions for *chonan-sozoku* which in reality rationalized the hierarchy within the household according, most probably, to Bachnik's tentative household ranking shown in Table 6. As a result, women's rights of inheritance were most severely affected.

Bachnik's analysis indicates that the *ie* is not a monolithic institution rigidly structured around the hierarchy but a crowded house with members with disparate quality; each member performs a unique role through which the power relations between them are transformed. It is noticed that the model Japanese household

employed in Bachnik's analysis is akin to a typical household in Murasaki. As seen in Chapter 1, the activities of male members during the period of the *Bon* festival indicated the *ie* in Murasaki is both a unit of a corporate group and a unit of a kinship group. While succession to the local household is a continuous process, the force that propels the process is generated through performance of duties by the young successor couples. And, such a practice as *shinsho-yuzuri* signifies a moment of transformation.

Among the members of the *ie*, according to Bachnik, the *yome* is the one whose ranking changes most radically during the process of succession. At the beginning of marriage, the young woman from the out-group is placed at the bottom of the ranking, but she is ranked the second highest when she retires. She is only after her husband. She has to be resigned to the second highest position, which is not because her gender is inferior but because she is originally from the out-group. I would then suggest that if the *ie* provides no ascriptive requirements for the successor positions, the Filipina wives in Murasaki can also climb to the second top position in their marital households by the time of retirement.

Nevertheless, since Bachnik's analysis is concerned with Japanese 'kinship', one may argue that the flexible rule of recruiting successors to the *ie* is not applicable to Filipina wives of Japanese men. Somewhat contrary to Bachnick, Kondo emphasizes the importance of the 'eminently biological definition of Japaneseness' when living among Japanese. However, Kondo pointed out that she could have been mistaken for a Korean or Chinese, while it was her continuous performance of Japanese gender roles that affirmed and reinforced her Japanese informants'

assumption that she was Japanese. Moreover, it was not her physical features but her

obligations and links to others that located her in the existing social network.

Concerning expatriate experiences in Japan, the binary notion of 'inside' and

'outside' is often employed to explicate xenophobic attitudes and ethnocentrism of

the society (Hendry 1987:38-43; Sugimoto 1997:169-170). A Japanese word for

foreigner, *gai-jin*, is composed of two Chinese characters signifying 'outside' and a

'person' respectively, so the word is translated literally as 'outsider.' Both Japanese

commentators and foreign residents in Japan argue that the word is primarily

negative, derogatory in connotation and offensive (Sato 1996:8-11). Moreover,

analysts of Japanese social psychology argue that the inferiority complex towards the

Caucasian West and the superiority complex towards Asian neighbours have played a

major role in Japanese perception of foreigners (Sugimoto 1997:169). Japanese

society is not free from prejudice against foreigner. However, I suggest that it is in

the process towards a more international social environment. In a preschool in my

hometown where a few factories employ a relatively large number of migrants from

the mainland China, Brazil and the Philippines, for instance, Japanese children

exchange daily greetings with offspring of these migrants in Mandarin, Portuguese,

and Tagalog as well as in Japanese. I believe that this kind of interaction will foster a

more international cast of mind in the next generation.

I have emphasized the importance of the role of the house to people in

Murasaki. People are identified with the house in which they reside, and cultural

values attached to the house and sentiments associated with the home provide them

with the framework of everyday interaction. Because of the flexible system of

succession to the *ie*, which can pass over even natural sons, Bachnik conceives that Japanese kinship is a cultural matter. However, similar customs and conventions associated with the house are found not only in Murasaki but also in the Philippines and Europe (see Chapter 1). This indicates that the house is an extension of the person and a prime agent of socialization in these societies, too. Moreover, as ethnographies of the 'house-based' societies point out, the house not only serves as the framework in which activities and ideas are articulated, but it also stands for the process through which the occupants grow and their relationships transform (Ott 1981; Pina-Cabral 1986; Carsten and Hugh-Jones ed. 1995).

Although the framework of relationships provided by the *ie* is often conceived as monolithic and inflexible so that it is not people but situations and relationships structured around this framework that are believed to control their behaviours, we have seen that the Japanese house also represents the process through which power relationships are transformed. I therefore suggest that although my Filipina informants' adaptation to Japanese language and local gender roles may appear to be simply reproducing the existing form of social relations (and repeating the Japanese text) in Murasaki, it is the form through which relationships between the Filipinas and Japanese others transforms.

4. An Anthropological View on Filipinas in Murasaki

I have indicated that post-structuralist and deconstructionist critics are sceptical about applicability of the unified, rational subject of Western humanist discourse to the subject of non-Western discourse, and that Kondo's theory of

Japanese 'selves' is a challenge to such Western conceptualisation of the self. I too

do not assume that the concept of the unified, rational person is universally

applicable. However, I have stated above that I disagree with Kondo's theory of

'multiple selves' and the post-structuralist notion of 'multiple identities' because both

argue that the multiple, shifting selves' are internalized through learning a language

and culture of a society, achieved by performing different 'subject-positionings' in

different situations, and exist in a single self. Even though the experience of my

Filipina informants is that of learning the language and life style of the host society, I

cannot see them as 'fragmented' into Filipino and Japanese selves or completely

transforming into Japanese creating multiple inner selves in the self. Concerning

conceptualization of the multiple, shifting selves, I have urged the reader to look at

issues related to that of overseas migrants' identity, which is not totally irrelevant to

studies of intermarriage. In fact, research on intermarriage began in the USA in the

early twentieth century as part of immigration studies as the growing number of

immigrant groups and the resultant racial diversity became social concerns of the

nation-state (Drachesler 1921; Kennedy 1944; Price and Zubrzycki 1962). One of the

earliest studies on intermarriage is Drachesler's *Intermarriage in New York City*

published in 1921, which discusses specific obstacles to intermarriage between

different ethnic groups.[18] Drachesler conceives of intermarriage as 'two civilisations

in miniature [...] contending for supremacy' and posits that this struggle will

eventually lead to a 'blending of different cultures' (ibid. 77). It took more than four

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[18] Drachesler reports that intermarriage between European groups is made difficult by religious differences between Catholicism and Protestantism; ethnic religious solidarity is the major obstacle for the Jewish; and skin colour for black people (1921:51, 57).

decades after the publication of the research for anti-miscegenation laws to be finally invalidated in all the states of the USA (1967).

It was a few years before the invalidation that Gordon (1964) presented his theory of the assimilation of migrants into the host society. Theories of assimilation had been discussed in earlier work of the Chicago School and in particular by Park (1950) but Gordon developed the ideas much more thoroughly. He hypothesized that the keystone of the arch of assimilation' is the 'structural assimilation' by which social networks, social organisations, and institutional activities of the host society become open to the migrant group (ibid. 70-1). Once structural assimilation is achieved, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow (ibid. 81).

One of sub-processes of assimilation, and an inevitable by-product of the structural assimilation, is 'marital assimilation' or marriage between the minority group and the core group. 'Marital assimilation' serves as an index for the reduction of negative feeling of one group against another and therefore for that of the level of integration of the society (ibid. 80). Gordon's hypothesis has served as a major theoretical thread for immigration studies, and demographic data on intermarriage has served as a barometer of harmonious inter-ethnic relations in much research work (Hassan 1974; Richard 1991). However, demographic data on intermarriage has shown that this integration is highly selective (Merton 1972 [1941]; Kennedy 1944; Benson 1981). The literature of intermarriage abounds with accounts of intolerance of mixed unions (Merton 1972 [1941]; Benson 1981:70-77; Mayer 1985:116-120; Barbara 1989:22-33, 86; Kannan 1972: 51-66; Sung 1990:74-99; Shibata 1998; Crester 1990; Delmage 2000). Concluding her study of interracial families in

London, Benson states: 'Unlike researchers of earlier generations, I cannot see, in interracial unions, a 'solution' to the racism and hostility. Rather, they reflect in microcosm all the tensions of a racially antagonistic society' (1981:150). Breger and Hill describe Gordon, somewhat more concisely, as 'politically optimistic' (1998:16). Nevertheless, since Gordon's theory of assimilation, the experiences of transnational migrants have been seen as an important force in the process of assimilation to the host culture. Some researchers on immigration, who themselves have migrant parentage, are, therefore, just as anxious as their informants about the possibility of their original culture being 'diluted' in the host society (Sung 1990; Mayer 1985).

A new era of immigrants' identity began with the end of the Second World War. Since then, the conquering nations have come to see increasing number of immigrants from former colonies. This inspired multiculturalism and facilitated the emergence of identity politics. Black politics came into view in the late 1960s, followed by gender politics in the late 1970s and then the gay movement in the 1980s. Diaspora studies or studies of immigrants in Western metropolises finally emerged in the late 1980s. It was aimed at shedding light on the multi-faceted identity of the immigrants, an identity which from the perspective of Western humanist discourse did not fit into existing categories and was therefore seen as in-between, a mixture or confusion (Gilroy 1987; Bhaba 1994; Werbner 2001). The post-structuralist notion of subjectivity defines identity not as the essence of a person but states rather that identities are 'positionings' an agent performs in particular discourses (Hall 1990:226). The non-essentialist notion of the self enables 'hybrid' persons to speak freely of their various and sometimes contradictory identities (for

example, the 'identity' of a black, lesbian, mother of a child, born in Paris and living in New York). It confines all the positionings to the empirical body of an agent so that the self is fragmented into multiple subject-positionings, shifting between given situations in which the agent performed one or other of the positionings. It challenges the unified, coherent, and rational subject of Western humanist discourses that has long seen transnational experiences as an in-between, a mixture, or a confusion, whereas the self is apparently unable to cohere and unify itself.

The difference between the arguments of Hall and Kondo is now clear. They both challenge the Cartesian concept of the self as the coherent and unified subject, however Kondo sees multiple, shifting identities as unique to Japanese culture, and Hall as a result of transnational experiences. Given that a workplace is an area contested by workers and their employers, it is not surprising that the former strategically express their different positions (social and gender roles) as wives, mothers, part-time workers etc., thereby confronting the hegemonic discourse of the Japanese workplace. However, Kondo departs from Foucault's notion of 'power' in order to challenge the North American notion of coherent self, with the Japanese notion of identity. She chooses to deploy Derrida's argument instead and analyses the Japanese use of the personal pronouns. By so doing, Kondo not only emphasises the difference between its subject culture and that of North America but also dismisses the anthropologist's own multiplicity of identity back in her country of origin (i.e. a third-generation Japanese-American woman).

Concerning the concept of multiple, shifting selves, Moore points out in her critique of anthropological theories that general response of anthropologists to the

post-structuralist and deconstructionist critique of the unified, rational subject is either resistance or silence, despite the fact that they have never assumed that the Western concept of the person and the self are universal, and, almost uniquely among academic disciplines, they have the data to show that this is the case (1994:29). Moore analyses these responses in relation to two issues. The first is concerned with the politics of representation. There is reluctance among some anthropologists to relinquish the idea that persons in other cultures are rational, unified individuals, in favour of a view of the subjectivity of the subject which stresses its shifting, imaginary and conflicting nature, because the latter could easily become a pathological characterisation of others (ibid. 29-30). The second and the more important issue concerns the authenticity of data. Anthropologists have historically based their knowledge of another culture on their experience of that culture: 'an experience which is both authentic and unique' (ibid. 30). Post-structuralist and deconstructionist readings of the subject, on the other hand, emphasise that there is no singular essence at the core of each individual which makes him/her what s/he is and which guarantees the authenticity of their knowledge of self and of the world. In other words, the 'I' does not author experience (op. cit.). However, if, as Kondo does with reference to the indigenous language and in her use of her own unique positioning in the field, the knowledge of a culture obtained is authenticated, then the post-structuralist and deconstructionist notions of subjectivity become useful as a framework for anthropology to theorise the shifting, imaginary and conflicting nature of the subject, such as we find in Japan.

Nevertheless, languages have developed over time and are slow to change. The form a language has now could be a reflection of a culture that has now significantly changed. Moreover, as Kondo points out herself, a linguistic explanation employed to theorise a cultural view of personhood inevitably runs the risk of generalising its speakers' linguistic ideology (1990:42) and therefore positing the existence of an undifferentiated collective subject (ibid. 38). Yet, if as she argues, the personal pronouns of a language serve as a measure of the ideational boundaries between self and other and of the fluidity and changeability of boundaries between the self and other, I shall suggest that Tagalog pronouns highlight a rigidity in terms of the self superior even to that of English.

Table 7. Tagalog 1st Person Pronouns

Singular	Plural
Ako (I)	Tayo (We, inclusive of 'You')
	Kami (We, exclusive of 'You')

As shown above, the Tagalog 1st person singular pronoun, *ako* (like 'I' in the English language) is irreducible, as it is detached from its social context. Tagalog 'encourages an assumption that the 'self' is a whole, bounded subject who marches through untouched and unchanged from one situation to the next' (Kondo 1990:32), just as Kondo argues for the English language. Yet, Tagalog provides the speaker with two kinds of 1st person plural pronouns: *tayo* and *kami*. *Tayo*, like 'we' in English, is used to refer both to the speaker and to the 'listener' as a group, while *kami* is used when the 'listener' is excluded from the 'we' group. *Kami*, the

exclusive 'we', enables the Tagalog speaker to distinguish between 'you' and 'I' in any situation, whereas the meaning of 'we' in English depends on the context in which the speaker and the 'listener' are present. The two kinds of 1st person plural pronouns require that Tagalog speakers make a distinction not only between the self and the other but also between different interlocutors with whom the speaker is engaging in the social space. It means that the speaker's choice of the pronouns (*tayo* or *kami*) presents his or her view of each interlocutor (i.e. whether or not a particular interlocutor is seen as one of 'us'). The alternative use of 1st person plural pronouns therefore reflects not only the boundary between the speaker and the interlocutor but also the speaker's recognition of the difference between interlocutors. From this perspective, a variety of Japanese personal pronouns can also be seen to be reflecting different interlocutors whom the speaker encounters. As seen above, a choice of numerous options of 1st person pronouns and self-referents is often attributed to the existence of a wide array of 'situations' or 'relationships' in which the speaker is involved and is therefore thought to reflect the fluidity and changeability of the self. However, in his study of Japanese society Smith points out that the basic rule use of Japanese personal pronouns and other self-referents is as follows: 'the designation of the other invariably precedes designation of the self in any interaction' (1983:77). This means that Japanese 1st person pronouns and other self-referents demand that the speaker make a distinction not simply between the self and the other but also between disparate others who are also engaged in the conversation, in a similar manner in which Tagalog 1st person plural pronouns do. In this light if as Bachnik argues, *kejime* is the crucial social skill for Japanese, I would suggest that what her

informants' behaviour indexes is not the quality and quantity of the external elements party to the engagement but the very finely arranged social hierarchy that Japanese kinship terms represent. It is noted that in her study of Japanese preschool children Hendry translates the term *kejime* as 'discrimination', rather than 'distinction', as it is the ability to recognize the difference not only between situations but also between people with whom one interacts (1986:86).

I am particularly concerned about the credibility of a linguistic approach that isolates a word from the context of which it is part. As we cannot negotiate the meaning of a word without knowing the particular context of which it currently plays a part, quotes from dictionaries cannot describe the entire ability of the word to express its speakers' individual ideology. Derrida would also say that without knowing the whole context in which a word is finally positioned, we cannot identify the meaning of the word. Hence, there is no consummation of the meaning of a word but only postponement of its finality: 'différance'. This does not mean, however, that the meaning of a word is fragmented. Rather it means that the meaning is in a constant process of being constructed through its encounter with other words (Derrida 1981). If this is applied to the human subject it is not that 'the unified subject is no longer unified', but rather that the subject is in a constant process of constructing 'itself' through its encounter with others. In this light, 'subject positionings' are not subjective or individual but inter-subjective and therefore social. As we have seen above, there are always others who co-participate in the construction of such 'positionings'. The celebration of multiple identities in the last century was itself proffered to the dominant Western discourse in order to contest the meaning of

'multiplicity'. Moreover, all 'others' are by no means identical. A study of inter-racial marriage in the US demonstrates that even the identity of such a definite definition as 'white woman' can be forcefully shaped against the person's desire and intention (Delmage 2000).[19] It is therefore more plausible to imagine that what makes the self appear to be shifting between various positionings is the fact that it is a reflection of disparate others, and that conflicts, ambiguities, and multiplicities in the interpretation of a positioning do not exist simply within the self but also exist somewhere between the self and the 'others'.

Concluding Notes

I have examined anthropological literature of disparate subjects, which includes intermarriage, Filipinas at home and overseas, Japanese society, and transnational immigration. Literature of intermarriage suggested that a similar subject could be approached very differently depending on its research interest. Following Benson's contention on 'inter-racial' marriage, I chose to explore Filipino personhood and Japanese society. The literature of Filipino people has pointed out the local meanings of the performances, according to which what appears to be mimicry is an attempt at dynamic engagement with the 'others', an attempt at transforming asymmetric power relationship to a state of intimacy and equality. The Filipinas' adaptation to Japanese language and gender roles is not imitation of the

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[19] Delmage's study of white women married to black men (2000) shows how white partners discover privilege attached to their skin by witnessing prejudice and discrimination against their black partners. At the same time, they encounter various forms of negative responses to their mixed union, by which they note the loss of racial privilege.

Japanese gender roles but an attempt at transforming an unequal power relationship between the women and the 'others'. The studies of Japanese society, on the other hand, have suggested that the indigenous mode of generating power relationships is replicating the existing order of the hierarchy. I have argued that the Filipinas' adaptation to Japanese language and gender roles could generate the locus of power relationships. As discussed with reference to Parreñas' study, the lives of Filipinas in their married-into country is therefore conceived as 'relocation'. Moreover, the studies of immigration have suggested that the experience of relocation needs to be examined not as a finalized phenomenon but as a process of being constructed through the encounter with others. In the chapters that follow, I shall therefore examine the Filipinas' adaptation to the rural Japanese lives, with reference to 'social positionings' they perform in various contexts: wife, daughter-in-law, mother, part-time worker, Filipina resident of the rural Japanese farming village, and a member of the local families, to name only a few. The accounts are discussed in the order of stages of the marital life. The positioning of wife or conjugal relationships is discussed with reference to accounts of adjustment to an environment and lifestyle of the early stages of marriage (Chapter 3) and that of daughter-in-law with accounts of household management (Chapter 4). I examine local social activities with the focus on interaction between the Filipinas and that between them and wider Japanese society (Chapter 6). Indeed, such inner experience as self and identity is hard to know, but if religious practices represent cultural identity of Filipina wives of Japanese men, as in the case of some North American wives of French men in Varro's study, I discuss the women's identification with their offspring and marital

family in relation to religious practices that the Filipina wives carry out (Chapter 5). The thesis documents how the Filipina wives come to perform disparate 'social positionings'. It then argues that by performing those positionings, they are generating power and intimacy, forming and developing relationships with people around them, and building up their marital lives.

Chapter 3. The Initial Stages of Marital Life

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections all dealing with the initial stages of Filipina intermarriage in rural Japan. The first section describes the problems and difficulties that Filipina spouses encounter when trying to adapt to their new environment, especially the climate, infrastructure, diet and the language. The second section discusses the social networks that the women begin to form in their new homes. The third section focuses on the first return trip to the Philippines after marriage, *satogaeri* (the Japanese custom that sends a bride back on a visit to her natal home after marriage). The importance of the connection with the natal family to intermarried Filipinas has been discussed with respect to the women's marital satisfaction (Cahill 1991) and to their construction of personal identity and pride (Suzuki 2000). This chapter examines the issues concerning the particular situation of Filipinas in Murasaki which emerge during *satogaeri*: family planning, education of children, and the conjugal bond between the Filipinas and their Japanese husbands. Having looked at the contours of the initial stages of their marital lives, the last section discusses the conjugal relationships between the Filipinas and their Japanese husbands. While any human relationship requires time to mature and consolidate, the matchmaking services allowed their clients very little time to know each other before marriage. This suggests that the bond between the Filipinas and their husbands is weaker at the beginning of their marital lives. At the same time, the women are most heavily occupied with adjustment to an environment and lifestyle of the marital place

during this period. This chapter asks how Filipinas conceive their relationships with their husbands at that particular stage of the marital lives, how it changes over its course, and which factors influence their relationships.

1. The Arrival: Adaptation to the New Environment

1. 1. The Language

As discussed in Chapter 1, the language barrier between the partners is one of the most serious problems of Filipina-Japanese marriage; and, the problem is at its most significant in the initial stages of the marriage. The methods of communication employed by the Filipina-Japanese couples in Murasaki during this stage were gesturing, gesticulating, and jointly consulting a set of English-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionaries. Even though the husbands themselves faced the same language barrier as their wives (in reverse), they acted as interpreters between their wives and other Japanese. The men typically took leave from work to accompany their wives to important appointments such as visits to the immigration office and medical check-ups. They also played the role of interpreter at home, assisting in the communication between their wives and parents, since the latter had little knowledge of English. Although all the foreign spouses I met in Murasaki suffered from the language barrier in the early stages of their new lives, Korean and Chinese spouses were able to manage communication with Japanese speakers somewhat more easily than the Filipinas by exchanging notes with them using Chinese characters (which both the Japanese and Korean language use also) even when they were unable to use

spoken Japanese. Parents of Korean spouses also spoke some Japanese, as they had undergone the assimilation policy implemented by the Japanese government during the period of Japanese colonization. This meant that making an international call to Korean parents for interpretation purposes was, for Korean-Japanese couples, a practical solution to communication problems in the initial stages of marriage.

The language barrier that the Filipinas faced in their marital lives with Japanese partners was, thus, more serious than that faced by their Chinese and Korean counterparts. This was reflected by the existence of three different Japanese classes organized by the Takekawa municipality for its Chinese, Korean and Filipina residents. During my fieldwork the Filipina learners spent most of their time in the classroom working on spelling and reading *kanji* (Chinese characters). The class for Chinese residents, which had six learners averaging four years residence in Murasaki, spent more time practising the usage of set phrases and idioms, employing a role-playing method. The class for Korean residents, established in 1991 together with the class for Filipina residents, had only two students, both of whom had lived in Murasaki for seven years. This tiny class was advanced enough to read short newspaper articles. A month after I started fieldwork, the class for Korean residents was stopped due to lack of students, while the Japanese class for Filipina residents experienced an increase in the number of students.

1. 2. Diet

Concerning the daily diet of Murasaki, the essential elements of typical home-prepared meals are rice, *miso-shiru* (soup seasoned with *miso* or soybean paste, which

is one of the most representative Japanese seasonings), and a couple of different kinds of pickled vegetables. A variety of cooked vegetables seasoned mainly with soy sauce and grilled fish, most often salmon, are also typical dishes that are served in addition to the above. Because of the taste of *miso* paste, *miso-shiru* was one part of the local diet that my Filipina informants universally disliked during the early stages of their time in Murasaki. The soup was served at all three meals each day, however. At lunch with her Japanese teacher in a local restaurant, Vicky, twenty-two years old, pointed at the *miso-ramen* (noodles with soup seasoned with *miso*) that the teacher was happily eating and whispered a joke to me: 'In the Philippines, only dogs would eat *miso*'. Vicky had married to a company-employee, Katsuya, forty-four years old for two years and had a baby son with him. The family lived with Katsuya's mother, Kayoko, sixty-seven years old. Vicky claimed that since she had married into Murasaki, she had only survived because of the Filipino dishes that she prepared for herself. As discussed further in the following chapter, Vicky was an exception in terms of dietary life. The majority of my Filipina informants did not cook Filipino food on a daily basis but on special occasions such as children's birthday parties, Christmas parties, school festivals, and cultural exchange events. The major reason for this is the different dietary preferences of the Filipinas and their Japanese families and the expectation of the latter that the Filipinas would adapt the local diet. Concerning cooking, I should also report that not all my Filipina informants were able to cook Filipino dishes prior to marriage. Two women had to learn how to cook Filipino dishes, in addition to Japanese dishes, after they married into Murasaki

because their natal families were wealthy enough to hire a servant to prepare meals for them.

Filipino dishes are often seasoned with coconut milk, tomato sauce, or condiments. However, those seasonings were not familiar to the locals and were therefore difficult to find there until franchised supermarkets arrived in Suma in the early 1990s. There were no stores handling Philippine food products in Murasaki during my fieldwork. One Filipina living in a neighbouring county dealt in a small range of Philippine products, and some of my informants purchased such basic cooking ingredients as *patis* (fish source) from her. *Patis* and other vital cooking ingredients were always brought back from the Philippines when the Filipinas visited their natal families. Spare supplies were sometimes sold to fellow nationals. However, a variety of Philippine products, including cooking ingredients, sweets, cosmetics and toiletries, clothes, and even religious items, were in fact obtainable by means of a mail-order service provided by stores based in such metropolises as Tokyo, Osaka, and their environs. Just before the end of my fieldwork Vicky and her friends discovered this service through an advertisement placed in a Filipino monthly newspaper distributed in Japan. They were excited by the wide range of products handled by these stores and ordered some items such as *patis*, *cornicks* (fried corn), and peanut butter, as well as some cosmetics and toiletries popular in the Philippines, including a few bars of bleaching soap (skin-whitening soap). They did not, however, become regular customers, as they already knew how to manage their daily necessities using locally available goods.

1. 3. Mobility

The underdeveloped public transport system in Murasaki became a problem, as only one of the Filipinas had a driving licence at the time of marriage.[20] Until they obtained a driving licence, their husbands were often the only drivers in the marital household. However, in general the husbands were not available to act as drivers during daytime during the week, as they worked away from their home. In order to go beyond walking distance from home, the Filipinas had to find someone to give them a lift. My foreign informants were mostly willing to help those fellow nationals recently married into Murasaki to get used to the new environment; while the Filipinas were so eager to help newcomers that they appeared to assume almost total responsibility for their well being. The Filipinas were particularly aware of the isolation faced by newcomers. Even though those settled-in were now extremely occupied by the running of their households, a request for a lift was seldom rejected. However, some of the newcomers appeared frustrated by this situation in which their daily life was heavily dependent on others. One woman was tired of asking her Filipina neighbour for a lift and began cycling instead. However, when she found out that Suma was too far to go by bicycle she gave up. Cycling was unfamiliar to her and to all my Filipina informants as they were never encouraged to bicycle as young girls. Another Filipina recounted how her husband had bought her an electromotive wheelchair in place of a bicycle to increase her mobility. It did not expand her sphere of her movement dramatically, but she used it anyway (because it was easier to

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[20] It is not simply because they could not afford a driving licence. In contract to the situations in Murasaki, in Manila and its neighbouring areas diverse forms of transportation, including jeepney, bus, tricycles, train, and taxi are available for both for short and long distance travellers.

operate than a bicycle) until she found out the real purpose of the vehicle. Ironically she was the Filipina who had a driving licence prior to marriage. She could have driven a car in Japan if she had applied for an international licence. However, she had not done this because her husband was opposed to her driving without understanding the traffic signs written in Japanese.

During my fieldwork twenty-five of the Filipinas had a driving license. Nineteen of these had obtained the licence in Japan by passing both technical and written tests in Japanese, while six had obtained their licences in the Philippines during the period of their return visit home. Given that the Japanese language is foreign to them and that a driving lesson in Japan is far more expensive than in the Philippines, the latter is the more reliable and economical way of obtaining a driving licence. In fact none of those who have a Japanese licence passed the final test first time. One woman, who had to take the test six times, cheerfully told me that she had the 'world record' for Suma Driving School, the only driving school in Murasaki. Nevertheless, in spite of the joking, it was a stressful experience for her and she suffered from troubled sleep and hair loss during the process. All those who obtained a Japanese licence reported similar symptoms of stress during the period of study for the final test. Nevertheless, they were proud to have got the Japanese licence, as it proved that their command of academic Japanese was as good as a local's. Because of the additional prestige attached to a Japanese licence, the Filipina who already had a driving licence from the Philippines from before her marriage took the licence tests in Japan as well. During my fieldwork, however, Suma Driving School had only one Filipina learner, while a few Filipinas were planning to obtain their driving licence in

the Philippines. Those who married into Murasaki in recent years were apparently more interested in the most rational method of obtaining a driving licence.

1. 4. The Climate

As mentioned in the Introduction, the climate in the Philippines is tropical, whereas the climate in Murasaki is arctic, characterized by a long winter with heavy snowfalls. In the late morning of the fifth of December 1997, the first snow of the season finally reached the centre of Suma Basin and left it all white within a couple of hours. That day, I had a lunch appointment with two Filipinas. One was Cynthia (twenty-eight years old), who had just married into Murasaki nine months ago; the other was Belle (twenty-five years old) who had lived there for two years. When I was about to leave my dormitory block (where all the other residents had already gone to work) my telephone started ringing, the ring echoing round the building. It was Belle. She said to me excitedly: 'Umeda-*san*, look outside! *Yuki* (snow)!' Through the window I saw a few snowflakes just reaching the ground. I dashed out of my room to get to Belle's house, hoping that it would not cover the road. The climate influences the lives of all the residents of the area, irrespective of how long they have lived there, although, of course, one adapts more with time. Driving on a snowy day was something that all my Filipina informants were still not used to doing. The frozen road-surface and the poor visibility caused by the snow forced even experienced drivers to refrain from driving, generally restricting what people could do.

Figure 22. Driving on a snowy day

While we were having lunch at Belle's house, Cynthia was excited by the snow, which she was seeing for the first time in her life. Cynthia said repeatedly to us: '*Ang ganda* [beautiful]! *Yuki*.' As indicated by her earlier telephone call, even though it was her second winter in Murasaki, Belle was no less delighted than Cynthia. After lunch Cynthia and Belle went out to stroll around the neighbourhood in order to appreciate the snow while their neighbours hurried home. Like Cynthia and Belle, all my Filipina informants had never seen snow until they spent their first winter in Murasaki. Their first impression of snow was almost always that it was beautiful. As it fell continually all day and every day throughout the winter, however, they no longer found it so beautiful. Soon after Christmas Cynthia stopped going out, saying it was '*samui*'. After then she stayed in the house all winter, spending most of the time in her room until next spring. Cynthia's confinement was largely due to her pregnancy, while she caught a cold as she continuously observed the Filipino bathing practice in Murasaki.

Of the local practices related to the natural environment, bathing is the one to which all my Filipina informants faced the greatest difficulty adapting to in the initial stages of their lives in Murasaki. Back in the Philippines my informants normally bathed twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening, with running water (by using s bucket, a shower or both); while in Murasaki, they found that the locals bathed only in the evening and by soaking the body in hot water which was normally shared with other family members. When I began my fieldwork all the Filipinas, apart from Cynthia, had already managed to adapt to this way of bathing. However, some were still uncomfortable soaking their body in hot water; others expressed their dislike of using the same water with other bathers did, as they saw it as unhygienic and dirty (they therefore bathed before all other family members did); one Filipina reported a minor skin rash, the cause of which she attributed to bathing with hot water.

In relation to Japanese bathing habits, I shall report that in a swimming pool I visited in the Philippines, all Filipinas were swimming wearing T-shirts over a swimming suit so that their upper body was not exposed to the public eyes, which made a stark contract to white female customers in bikinis. While the Filipina mode of dressing and make-up is further discussed in Chapter 6, it can be said that the attitude of Filipinas toward the body in general is more modest than that of Western and Japanese women. It is then conceived that a common problem among Filipinas living in Japan is going naked when using *sento* (public bath) and *onsen* (natural hot spring). However, my Filipina informants were not concerned about this habit. It was because they all had a bath at home, and therefore they rarely visited the *sento* and

the *onsen* in the area. I had however an opportunity to accompany a Filipina, who had lived in Murasaki for seven years at that time, her four-year old daughter and mother-in-law to the public bath in the Takekawa leisure centre. It was during school summer holiday, and therefore the place was crowded with families with children like them. When we had a bath together among other customers, the Filipina showed no sigh of hesitation or embarrassment. She told me that when she went the public bath for the first time, she was surprised to see people walking around naked. She felt abashed when she took off her clothes and then entered the bathing area. The feeling of embarrassment diminished when she noticed that people around her was completely indifferent to her being naked. By the time she finished bathing and got out of the building, she felt refreshed so that she forgot how much ashamed she had felt. The Filipinas who are accustomed to the local bathing habit told me that when they returned to the Philippines, they were uncomfortable with the Filipino way of bathing; it took a couple of days until their body got used to it.

Regarding the practice of bathing, I was told during my stay in the Philippines that bathing after ironing could cause *pasma* (hand tremors, sweaty palms, numbness and pains in the hands and forearms) so that it was sensible not to bathe until the next morning. *Pasma* is attributed to stress on body vessels caused by sudden interaction of heat and cold (Cannell 1999:82; Tan 2007a, 2007b). If someone has been doing hard manual labour, ironing or writing for instance, the hands are perceived as 'hot' and should not be abruptly exposed to cold, for example, by washing the hands in cold water. Constable reports that because of the danger of bathing, Filipina domestic helpers in Hong Kong find the Chinese practice of bathing in the evening

extremely annoying (1997:98). One Filipina told Constable that forcing her to bathe in the evening was just another way in which her employer tried to ruin her health and beauty. Some of them utilise the Filipino conception of bathing to justify sticking to their original practice and to protect their health. Those who have to shower in the evening are advised to threaten their employers with the medical bills that may ensue should they become sick (op. cit.). When asked about the dangers of bathing some of my Filipina informants told me that they heard about these from their parents and elders. However, none of them related the Japanese practice of bathing to a possible cause of illness. What they did complain about, though, was their in-laws' encouragement to follow the Japanese way of bathing, which they felt to be a kind of compulsion. Regarding the differences in response to the bathing practices of their host society between the Filipinas in Hong Kong and those in Murasaki, I believe that the different reactions cannot simply be attributed to the fact that the former are seemingly more exposed to risk and compulsion than the latter. It is also the nature of the relationship between the women and their 'hosts' that influences their response to a similar practice, shifting their reactions in differing directions.

A solution to the problem of the different bathing habits of the family members of Filipina-Japanese households is the installation of a shower. One couple, married in the mid-1990s, installed a shower unit with a toilet next to their bedroom on the first floor, in addition to a shower in the bathroom on the ground floor. In the Japanese bathroom, however, there is nothing to warm bathers other than the hot water itself; and, the changing room is normally not equipped with a heater either. A powerful kerosene heater is used in homes in Murasaki, but this is switched off

during the night while people are sleeping. As the winter approaches having a shower, particularly in the morning, becomes increasingly unpleasant. A few days after Cynthia's confinement, I visited Belle who had just returned from Cynthia's. She had delivered something that she called 'Filipino chicken soup' to Cynthia, because Cynthia had been laid up with a cold and had no appetite for Japanese food. Belle attributed Cynthia's cold to her continuing observance of her original bathing practice. She referred to Cynthia as '*matigas ng ulo*' ('stubborn' or literally 'a hard head'), from which I inferred her sympathy for the difficulty Cynthia was experiencing adapting to the new practice, the similar difficulty she had once experienced. Although Cynthia's condition was not serious, it contributed to prevent her from getting out of her house because she was pregnant at the time and therefore refrained from taking medicine.

1. 5. Pregnancy and Childbirth

If one becomes pregnant in Japan, one should obtain a *boshitecho* (a maternity handbook) by advising the local municipal office about the pregnancy. With the *boshitecho*, a pregnant woman and her child (once it is born) are able to receive free health checks and inoculations. The time, location, and details of such public services are always advertised in the municipal bulletins. The *boshitecho* does not just give access to such public services, it is also used for recording the condition of the mother and the growth of the child. It also contains useful information on how to manage a mother and child's health. Furthermore, if the pregnant woman is a foreign

national, the municipal governments in Murasaki send a *hokenfu* (community nurse) accompanied by an interpreter to her home so that she can consult the nurse about her condition in her native language.

According to the *hokenfu*, a common symptom among the foreign patients during the pregnancy of the first child was considerable weight loss. They emphasized that this was in stark contrast to their native counterparts who in general put on excessive amounts of weight and who were advised to control this weight gain for their health and for a safe delivery. They attributed weight loss to the double burden of physiological and environmental changes that foreign spouses underwent during the period of the pregnancy of the first child. Particularly important was the fact that they underwent the physiological changes while the local diet was still unfamiliar to their tastes. Symptoms relating to pregnancy mentioned by my Filipina informants were indeed often concerned with diet. These included a craving for unripe green mangoes (which have an acid taste and which are served with salt) during the period of the pregnancy and a big appetite for Filipino foods after the birth. In the Philippines, unsatisfied food cravings (and other fancies) of pregnant women are considered to cause danger to the health of women and their babies. However, this idea is unfamiliar to Japanese people. Vicky recalled that when she was pregnant with her first child, she told Katsuya about her craving for green mangoes. In order to satisfy her craving, Katsuya drove up to one of the biggest cites in northern Japan. When he was back with a box of yellow mangoes, however, Vicky threw the mangoes at him. It was not only because she was frustrated by the fact he was unable to find green mangoes but also because she thought that he was not seriously

concerned about her and their unborn baby's health. Nevertheless, not only green mangoes but also many other food products typical of the Philippines were hard to find in Murasaki. In order to satisfy their appetite the women had to use food products available in the locality and cook them for themselves, because none of their marital family members were able to prepare Filipino dishes for them. In the Philippines, women generally rest in the central room of the house after childbirth for forty days; they are looked after by their mother, besides their husband, sisters and/or other female relatives.[21] In Murasaki, it is said that women should avoid any *mizu-shigoto* (tasks using water) for twenty-one days and take a rest in their natal home for thirty-one days after labour. It took thirty to forty days for my Filipina informants to go out of the house for the first time after the birth of their first child. The main carer of the Filipinas during the period of recovery from childbirth was their elderly mother-in-law, but other female in-laws, especially sisters-in-law, regularly visited them to provide assistance in care of the women and nursing their babies. However, if they were in the Philippines, they would have been looked after by their mother. A Filipina who had given birth to her first child by Caesarean section seven years earlier recalled that preparing a meal for herself after the childbirth was *masakit* (painful; hurtful; insulting); with the feeling of pain in her abdomen, she wished her mother were with her. Given that the period immediately after childbirth is the time when women are to be comforted, undergoing childbirth in Japan can easily be understood to be a *masakit* experience not just for this woman but also for many of the Filipina residents in Murasaki.

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[21] Fenella Cannell personal communication
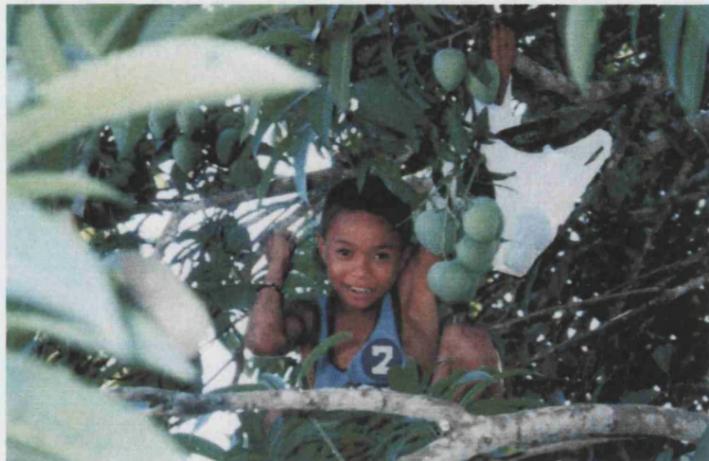
Figure 23. Green mangoes – straight from the tree (if you were in the Philippines)

Concerning medical services in Japan, it should be remembered that not only the local diet but also the language was foreign to the Filipinas during the period of the pregnancy with the first child. As indicated above it was their native partner who read the maternity handbook and the municipal bulletins, providing them with the appropriate health care and medical treatment. Local obstetricians were aware of the limits of communication with their Filipina patients. They gave them diagnoses and advice by means of English as far as was possible, and they always repeated what they meant to say to the native partners who accompanied their wives to the clinic. The system of communication appeared to work fine until the patients needed to explain their problems by themselves. When they were hospitalized for childbirth, the majority of the Filipinas were reduced to a state of panic because they found out that the personnel attending them hardly understood what they said.

The medical interpretation service was introduced in 1993, aimed at lightening the double burden of physiological and environmental changes that foreign

spouses were subject to during the period of the pregnancy of the first child. While the local community nurses were all Japanese women, the Tagalog/Japanese interpreters recruited for the service were Filipinas who, like the patients, were married to Japanese men, but who lived outside Murasaki (so that the patients' privacy was protected). The community nurses emphasized that the medical service conducted by the female team provided foreign patients with a great opportunity to talk not only about problems relating to their health but also about any other problems that they might find difficult to discuss with men, i.e. with local obstetricians, who were predominantly men, and their husbands. During my fieldwork five Filipinas, including Cynthia, gave birth to their first child. Apart from Cynthia, who put on weight excessively and had to control her diet, they all went through their pregnancies without serious health problems. They were often accompanied to the clinic by fellow nationals living in their neighbourhood for purposes of both interpretation and emotional support; and they, like Cynthia, were consoled by Filipino dishes cooked by their Filipina neighbours. It appears that the environment of Murasaki became increasingly less stressful for Filipina spouses, thanks to the medical interpretation service provided by the municipality and the presence of fellow nationals in the neighbourhood.

2. Ways into the Local Society

2. 1. The Japanese Language Class

A week after her arrival in Murasaki Cynthia made her first appearance at the Japanese language class and made friends with two fellow nationals Teresita and Dory, as well as with Belle. When I first met Teresita she was twenty-eight years old and had lived in Murasaki for nearly two years and had a baby son with a forty-two-year-old farmer. Dory was nineteen years old and had been married to a forty-two-year-old carpenter for one year at that time. Dory had no child at that time, because the couple had decided not to have a baby until she reached the age of twenty. For the Filipinas in Murasaki, who face a more serious language barrier than that faced by Chinese and Korean wives, the Japanese language class provides them with a great deal of assistance in adapting to the host society. The Japanese language class is not only a place to learn the language, though; it also provides an occasion to meet fellow nationals. For new arrivals like Cynthia, it was the first step into entering local society. This occasion seems to be more important for those who have recently married into Murasaki like Cynthia because those who married in the 1980s and the early 1990s had a wedding both in the Philippines and in Japan and carried out a conventional *aisatsu-mawari* (greeting tour) to introduce them to neighbours after the wedding. Those who have more recently married in have omitted these rituals in Japan, though they all had a wedding in the Philippines. The reason most often given for not having a wedding ceremony in Japan was that the funds saved by this could be used for the wives' return trip to the Philippines. However, it can also be attributed to the changing zeitgeist of the host society with respect to Filipina intermarriages.

Until the early 1990s, when the municipal intermarriage introduction service met criticism from the wider society, intermarriages in rural Japan were celebrated by the entire local community as representing a solution to the bride famine. Involvement by local governments made the weddings of intermarried couples almost communal events. Local politicians were present at the weddings to express their congratulations. As the local governments stepped down from their matchmaking role, though, public celebrations were toned down. Since intermarriage was an unusual practice in the region, the weddings of the earlier intermarried couples can also be seen as an attempt to make public and legitimate the conjugal relationships. Then, the omission of the wedding in Japan on the part of the recently married Filipina-Japanese couples can be also seen as an indication of the acceptance of such a method of partner selection by the local people. Since the presence of foreign spouses came to attract less attention from the neighbours, it was through other fellow nationals whom the new arrivals met in the language class that their existence came to be known to the marital society. Yet what participants in the Japanese language class most appreciated about the language class was, apparently, the language barrier free space that it provided through access to their fellow nationals. Given that in the initial stages of marriage the Filipinas spent most of their time with parents-in-law with whom communication was still difficult, it should be assumed that those who had recently married into Murasaki were the ones who looked forward most to this occasion. However, even those who already had a good command of Japanese attended the language class in order to meet up with fellow nationals.

As mentioned above the Japanese class for Korean residents in Takekawa was discontinued due to lack of students during my fieldwork, while the class for Filipina residents gained three new students besides Cynthia. One had been resident in Takekawa for nine years, while the other two had lived in Sawarabi for ten and three years respectively. Given that the class in Takekawa started at 10am on Wednesday, whereas the class in Sawarabi at 7pm on Tuesday, and that both the Filipinas from Sawarabi were employed, the class in Sawarabi would logically have been more convenient for them. Nevertheless, they chose to take a half-day leave from work to attend the class in Takekawa, because they were the only Filipina learners in the class in Sawarabi where all the foreign residents were taught together. In the class in Takekawa, on the other hand, all the learners were Filipinas. As this indicates, Filipinas look for occasions for meeting their compatriots in the Japanese language class, such occasions become more difficult to find as their life is increasingly occupied with housekeeping, childrearing and work. And, this occasion was particularly precious to the Filipinas from Sawarabi, who were both Protestant and therefore did not meet other fellow Filipinas at Mass (see Chapter 5). The municipal office appreciates the function that the Japanese language class performs. When the Filipinas from Sawarabi began attending the class in Takekawa, I noticed that a few people called their entitlement to the lesson into question because the Japanese class (like those held in all the other municipalities in Murasaki) was part of its social services and therefore available only to residents from the municipality. However, the Takekawa municipal office ignored the query so they continued to attend the class. Nevertheless, as discussed further below, their husbands and in-laws express

disapproval of Filipinas spending time together on the ground that it prevents them from learning Japanese.

Figure 24. Japanese language class

Figure 25. Learning *hiragana* (Japanese cursive syllables)

2. 2. The Workplace

In the early summer of 1998 Cynthia began working in a factory assembling mobile phones, leaving her baby in her mother-in-law's care while she was at work. It was the first job she got in Murasaki, one year after arriving there. Her job was to solder the internal parts of mobile phones and her workplace was a typical small-sized factory in Murasaki. It was run by a couple in their mid-forties who employed a dozen female workers whose ages varied between the mid thirties to the early fifties. The husband was in charge of general management, the wife helped him with the bookkeeping, and both worked on the shop floor whenever extra hands were needed. It was the factory where Belle and Dory also got their first jobs in Murasaki. It was Dory who suggested that Belle work in the factory, as her only Filipina co-worker had left for a larger factory. In a similar manner Belle suggested that Cynthia work in the factory when Dory became pregnant and decided to leave her employment. Belle wanted a companion; the shop floor needed a replacement; and, the general manager (who told me that contributing to the 'international exchange of friendship' was his sole motivation for employing foreigners) was also apparently happy with the young workers with the nimble fingers and the good eyesight. Having been employed part-time, Cynthia, like Belle and Dory, worked four days a week full-time and took a day's leave every week to attend the Japanese language class. Japanese workers in the factory, married women themselves, were curious about the recently married young Filipinas and sometimes asked them about private matters concerning their

marital lives; Belle always responded with great humour. What annoyed the young

Filipinas, though, was that as soon as they started talking to each other naturally in

Tagalog, their co-workers said to them, '*Nihongo* (Japanese)!', suggesting to them

that they speak in Japanese. It just made them stop talking entirely, though. This was

something that almost all my Filipina informants had experienced in their

workplaces.

Concerning the employment of the Filipina spouses, six engaged in family

businesses such as farming and running a retail shop, while the majority were

employed by a company. Of the company employees all but three worked in a

factory. A small factory near their house, which enabled them to commute on foot,

was often the Filipinas' first workplace in Murasaki. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the

manufacturing industry is the largest employer of the female working population in

Murasaki. While the limited choice of employment together with the lack of

educational institutions in the area impelled local youth to move to urban areas, the

Filipinas were pushed in the opposite direction into the manufacturing industry,

irrespective of their educational attainments.

The difficulty experienced by foreign spouses finding employment in their

marital country has been frequently discussed in earlier studies of intermarriage. In

her study of Japanese-Danish marriages in Denmark, Refsing (1998) reports that the

economic conditions of the marital country affect the employment opportunities of

the Japanese partners more severely than their native colleagues. In France and

Germany, US partners are confronted with the problem of the downgrading of their

qualifications obtained in their country of origin (Varro 1988; Berger 1998). English-

speaking spouses living in non-English-speaking countries, such as France (Varro 1988) and Japan (Imamura 1990), are often reduced to teaching English to ensure their economic independence, despite their qualifications for other professions. These, however, are the cases of urban residents. Dally, an elementary school teacher in the Philippines, told me that during the period of her engagement she was repeatedly told by people who claimed to know about Japan that she could easily find a job teaching English in Japan. On her arrival in Murasaki, however, she found that there was no private English conversation school in the area, while local public schools only employed English conversation teachers from such English-speaking countries as the UK and the USA, as they were appointed by the Ministry of Education. Predictably, the first job Dally had in Murasaki was a similar type of assembly work to that described above. The Filipinas in this rural setting suffer from a lack of opportunity to utilise their intellectual resources, such as the command of English, for the purposes of their economic activities. Since the area has suffered a drop in the number of younger people, the concentration of the Filipinas in the manufacturing industry appears to demonstrate a direct correlation of demand and supply in terms of the local labour market. However, statistics show that about forty-six percents of the female working population in their twenties and thirties in Murasaki were employed in commercial and service industries. Suffice to say, the difference in employment patterns between the Filipinas and their native counterparts was due to the language barrier. Manufacturing work, which required less expertise in Japanese than sales and clerical work, was more accessible for the Filipinas, while the aging local labour market also rendered them competitive in the manufacturing

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industry. Concerning the wages for factory work, Cynthia's hourly wage, like Belle's and Dory's, started at ¥550 and was paid monthly in cash. The three Filipinas all kept a certain amount of money from the salary for their personal needs and handed over the rest of it to their mothers-in-law so that they could deposit it in the bank for them. They all told me that their savings were for their return trip to the Philippines: *satogaeri*.

3. *Satogaeri*: the First Visit to the Philippines after Marriage

During my fieldwork eight Filipinas, including Belle and one of her closest friends, Teresita, paid a visit to their natal families in the Philippines. They all called the event *satogaeri*, the Japanese term that means literarily 'returning to the home' and which refers especially to the bride's first visit to her parental home after marriage. Strictly speaking, however, *satogaeri* means the bride's very first call on her parental home after marriage. In this light, only four of them, including Belle and Teresita, carried out true *satogaeri* while I was there. When the wedding ceremony and reception was still held at the home in Murasaki, it was customary for *satogaeri* to take place two days after the ceremony or the day following the informal reception inviting female neighbours (see Chapter 1). Today, however, the bride married into Murasaki is more likely to be on her honeymoon trip that day than to be visiting her parents. The *satogaeri* of the four Filipinas I knew actually took place after two years of marriage, by which time Teresita had a ten-month-old son, and the other three all had children over the age of one. These Filipina brides' first call on their parental home after marriage was not only a trip reuniting them with their natal

family; it was also a trip to introduce their first child to them. This pattern was common to the vast majority of my Filipina informants who had already carried out the *satogaeri*, although some of them took even more than two years to complete the custom.

For the vast majority of my Filipina informants (who were Catholics) having their child baptized was the most important aspect of the *satogaeri*; and, as mentioned above, for the four women who carried out the *satogaeri* during my fieldwork, obtaining a driving licence was another task to be completed during the trip. In order to fulfil all the promises they had made to themselves and to compensate for their long absences from the natal home, my informants all planned to stay in the Philippines for a month or so, while their husbands planned to return to Japan a few days into the stay. Often in the first few days of their stay in the Philippines when the travellers (including the Filipinas) were in the initial stage of acclimatising themselves to the natural environment of the destination, the accompanying children caught colds and developed fevers, having been exposed to radical environment changes not only from arctic to tropical climates but also from very hot open-air places to air-conditioned restaurants and hotels. This panicked the new parents (especially the fathers who believed that medical treatment in the Philippines was less advanced than in Japan) and resulted in the whole party returning to Japan in the middle of the holiday. Experienced travellers were therefore eager to furnish novices with advice and information for 'survival' in the Philippines. With regard to the four Filipinas who made the *satogaeri* during my fieldwork, their children also fell ill during the trip, and, they all returned home within a week or so. Fortunately, all of

them managed to have their child baptized anyway; but only Belle was able to acquire a driving licence in such a short period of time. She had to wait for her international licence to be delivered to her for more than six months, though.

It was in the late autumn of 1997 when Belle and Teresita told me about their idea of making the *satogaeri* for the first time, together. Belle and Teresita had been close friends since Teresita had married into the same neighbourhood a few months after Belle. Talking about the trip to the Philippines, which would be their first reunion with parents and siblings after their marriages, they were both excited. They suggested to me that I should accompany them on their trip and stay at their parent's home with them. 'The more, the merrier, *di ba* (isn't it)?' said Belle. I accepted the invitation immediately and suggested to them that Cynthia could also come with us. 'The more, the merrier, *di ba*?' I repeated after Belle. However, Belle said to me with a tone of self-assurance: 'It's too soon for her to do it.' I asked Belle when would be the best time for Cynthia to carry out the *satogaeri*. However, neither Belle nor Teresita was able to present a specific time so that they were reduced to be silence. However, it sounded to me as if there was a tacit rule regarding the timing of the first trip back to the Philippines after marriage.

Belle and Teresita's idea of a joint *satogaeri* did not materialise for reasons that I shall discuss below. As mentioned above, both Teresita and Belle quickly returned to Japan during their *satogaeri*, while I continued in the Philippines for a few more weeks after their departure. So when I saw Teresita again in Murasaki more than one month had passed since she returned from her *satogaeri*. When I dropped in on her house with a small souvenir from the Philippines, she was at home

as usual. However, she had started preparing for dinner earlier than usual, fighting with the *tempura* (deep-fried shrimps). I was led to the living room where her mother-in-law Shizuko was having tea, watching her grandson Hiroshi (named after seas, symbolising the Philippines) napping. Before Teresita's *satogaeri*, Shizuko had been so anxious about Hiroshi's well-being during the trip that she always withdrew from conversations where Teresita began talking about the trip. Since Hiroshi had got ill during the trip, as she had expected, I wondered which subject I should bring up with her, especially since I had a memento from the Philippines in my hand. As soon as I joined her, however, Shizuko said to me: 'Hiroshi became unable to walk (*arukenakunatta*) in the Philippines.' What she meant was that although Hiroshi had been attempting to take a couple steps and had been nearly getting up on his legs before the trip, now he was not doing any of this. Shizuko then speculated that this was because he had not been allowed to move freely (always being held by the parents) throughout the trip. She might have simply been stating her observation of a subtle change in her grandson, one which I was unable to notice, however, her words reminded me of the symbolic association of the act of walking with an infant's well-being and growth that is prevalent in Japan. From southern Japan Hendry reports that a child who has reached the age of one is ritually made to take its first steps on a large flat rice-cake (1981:204); while in Murasaki, in the northern part of Japan, a child is made to walk with rice-cakes on its back on its first birthday. Hiroshi's first birthday was near at hand. Shizuko's words also reminded me that all the children who had accompanied their mothers on the *satogaeri* were one year old or older, whereas Hiroshi was ten months old at the time of the trip. This made me think that Shizuko

was criticising Teresita for having taken the baby to her *satogaeri* before he reached the age of one.

The accounts of Filipinas' first pregnancies and birth experiences were discussed in the above section. While many foreign spouses faced the double burden of physiological and environmental change in the early stages of marriage, one Filipina talked to me about her painful experiences after the birth of her first child. She also told me what she conceived to be the 'best solution' to the difficulties and problems relating to pregnancy and childbirth that she and her fellow nationals had all encountered, namely, returning to the Philippines to be looked after by their mothers. This is indeed a simple and effective solution to the many problems brought up by my Filipina informants. However, this particular woman never actually put this solution into practice herself and her second child was also born in Murasaki. Besides her first-born child's illness in the Philippines during her *satogaeri*, what made her hesitate to return to her mother was her husband's strong desire for her to give birth in Murasaki. None of my Filipina informants implemented her idea until late in my fieldwork, one Filipina returned to the Philippines to give birth to her second child. Two years after her *satogaeri*, Belle sent me a postcard from the Philippines to inform me that she had just had her second baby. This was followed by Teresita a year after that. This indicates not only the increasing influence of the Filipina partners' opinions on family matters but also the lessening anxieties of the Japanese partners about the well-being of the Filipina partner and their infants during their *satogaeri*. This had always been a serious concern not only for the Japanese partners but also for their parents, relatives, and even neighbours during my fieldwork.

Another issue relating to the well-being of the offspring that became apparent at the time of the *satogaeri* is concerned with the acquisition of language. Varro points out that bringing up children bilingually requires not just special schooling but also sending the children abroad during school holidays, while parents of potentially bilingual children are concerned about the possible negative effects of bilingualism on their children's intelligence and personality (1988:91-3). Varro's informants who did not transmit the wives' language to their children were silent about whether the possible negative effect of bilingualism influenced their decision. Many Japanese I met in Murasaki, however, apparently believed that the simultaneous learning of more than one language inhibited the acquisition of both languages. Foreign mothers of toddlers were often reminded to speak in Japanese to their children and to their fellow nationals if the toddlers were present, because their children would not learn Japanese otherwise. Accordingly, the *satogaeri* was perceived as an occasion for the accompanying children to lose their command of one language rather than to acquire another. This concern was demonstrated by Belle's husband Takao. As he found out that his work schedule would not allow him to accompany Belle, Takao bought some videotapes of Walt Disney films dubbed into Japanese for their son (who had just stared to speak a few words in Japanese) to watch while he was in the Philippines so that, Takao said to Belle, 'he won't forget Japanese'. It was only after their children acquired full command of Japanese as their first language that Japanese parents became concerned about the possibility of their children's acquisition of the mother's language. This is further discussed in Chapter 6 with reference to issues relating to

another important subject concerning offspring of the Filipina-Japanese couples: religion.

It was not only the children but also the wives who were thought to become forgetful during the *satogaeri*, according to the accounts of Laura and her husband Masao. Laura, thirty-two years old, and Masao, a forty-six-year-old company-employee, had been married for seven years and had one child at the time of the interview. Laura made her *satogaeri* about three years after her marriage and planned to stay in the Philippines for a month; and, unlike her fellow nationals, she actually managed to do this. Masao said: 'A one-month holiday may be too extravagant by local standards, but I didn't mind because since being married, Laura has been making big efforts to adapt herself to the life in Japan. She needed a bit of respite.' While Laura was away, however, Masao found some of his neighbours talking about the fact that she might not ever come back. When Laura returned home he asked her to make the next trip shorter because: 'I don't want to hear such a thing.' Because of the great geographical distance between the partners' countries of origin, the 'marital distance' between the partners, and the way they come to get married, the bond between Filipina-Japanese couples is presumed to be weak. I did not notice any incidence of gossip regarding my Filipina informants' *satogaeri* during my fieldwork, however; their trips were short after all, though. If they had managed to stay in the Philippines for a longer period the same gossip might have been circulated, making the grooms uneasy.

Many issues concerning intermarriage surface at the time of *satogaeri*, but the utmost concern for my Filipina informants was always to make the return trip

successful. A variety of gifts, from chocolates to electric appliances, which often filled several large boxes, were always taken to the natal family. The practice of giving *pasalubong* or gifts brought by a traveler returning from a trip, especially migrant workers, is a popular tradition in the Philippines. It also was often at the time of the *satogaeri* that the returnee and her marital family made a larger gift or financial contribution to her natal family in order for them to start up a new business or to expand an existing one. A grand 'welcome' feast prepared by the natal family (but with the expenses paid by the returnee) was usually attended by a large number of guests, including neighbours and distant relatives. The *satogaeri* of intermarried Filipinas, marked with a distribution of wealth to the natal family and community, is similar in style to the return trips of Filipino overseas workers. For the intermarried Filipinas, however, both small and large gifts are not simply a demonstration of the affluence of their lives abroad but also of the adequacy of their husbands' support. And this impression is strengthened by the companionship of the husband on the trip. As Tamagaki points out, this challenges the contemporary Japanese men's notion of *satogaeri*, i.e. sending the wife back to her natal home for a short period of time. Demonstrating the importance of the husband's companionship to Filipina's *satogaeri*, Tamagaki discusses his wife's Filipina friend who intended to spend her pregnancy and the birth of her first child in the Philippines. Unlike his wife and her other fellow nationals who only dreamed of doing this, this woman actually returned to the Philippines. However, she came back to Japan after four days because she could not put up with the neighbours' gossip that she had been abandoned by her husband (1999:199). Nevertheless, Tamagaki confesses that he felt aggrieved when

his wife called him during one of her return trips, asking him to meet her in the Philippines, because although he knew that his arrival would serve to demonstrate his affection for his wife not only to her natal community but also to her, the travel expenses would be high (ibid. 230).

As mentioned above, of the four Filipinas who made a *satogaeri* during my fieldwork Belle was the only one who was not accompanied by her husband. Employed in a construction company in the snowy county as a site manager, Takao could not take leave in the beginning of spring when his company was in full operation. He apparently tried to come until the very last moment when he realized that it was just too impractical. Since Belle intended to travel together with Teresita and myself, she suggested different dates for our departure several times while waiting for Takao to take some leave. This not only ruined Belle and Teresita's joint *satogaeri*; it also made it look like Belle was messing us around with her travel plans, because she never told us about Takao's busy work schedule. Each time she suggested a new date she gave a different reason, which we gradually came to realise were inconsistent. Belle, like Tamagaki's wife, probably could not accept the fact that his work took precedence over her return trip to the Philippines. Teresita eventually gave up waiting for Belle and left Murasaki at the beginning of March 1998. I waited for Belle for a few days more and then began my journey with Laura and her six-year-old daughter, accompanying her on her third return trip to the Philippines after marriage. A week after my departure Belle finally made her *satogaeri*. She told Dory that she would not come back for the exceptionally long period of three months but this was just to make her green with envy.

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Figure 26. A welcome feast in the beach

Figure 27. An abundance of seafood

4. Dependent Women and Good Husbands? - Conjugal Relationships in the Early Stages of Marriage

This chapter has discussed the Filipina spouses' adaptation to the early stages of marital life. As seen at the start of the chapter, the climate, the infrastructure, the diet, and the language of Murasaki were all alien to the women at first. Of these

factors, the language barrier in particular rendered the Filipinas almost totally dependent on their husbands. Apart from the difficulties presented by the language the young women recently married into Murasaki were shy in general of dealing with strangers. Even when their command of Japanese became good enough to effectively manage communication, they were still afraid of being misunderstood or of not being understood at all. At a gathering at Cynthia's one afternoon Dory checked her wristwatch and said: 'Oh, I have to go home.' She then took out a mobile phone (these had just recently become available in the area and none of her friends used one at the time) from her handbag. She called Hajime who was at work and told him to call a taxi for her to return home from Cynthia's. Given that all the communication between Dory and Hajime was conducted in Japanese, she could have called a taxi for herself; but she took the safer measure. As is demonstrated by the episode of the Filipina practicing cycling presented above, some women were frustrated by this situation of dependency (which deprived them of their independence) and attempted to challenge it. However their means of acting independently were extremely limited and more often than not were in vain. Some women did not feel the need to struggle so hard and seemed to adjust to the situation quite effortlessly. This made the latter appear to be more heavily dependent on their husbands than the others. Their friends, however, did not see the situation like this. What to an outsider might look like submission to the constricting external environment or subordination to the husband was interpreted by them as a demonstration of the husband's affection for his wife, especially when he responded supportively. Seeing Dory get into a taxi, Cynthia said to me: 'Princess is going home.'

Conjugal relationships are discussed in Cannell's extensive study of power relations in the Christian Philippines. According to Cannell, the practice of matrimony and what might be called 'patriarchal bias' were consolidated in the lowland Philippines by the arrival of the Spaniards. While highly educated, liberal, cosmopolitan Filipinos, like Missionary Benedictine sisters, might call the conservative behaviour of fellow nationals 'Spanish' (Claussen 2001:107), Cannell reports that people in Bicol *barangays* associate what they call 'Spanish manners' with particular male behaviour. This behaviour involves the 'jealous' restriction of the free movement of their wives outside of the house and authoritarianism directed (by mothers also) towards their children. It also involves formally conducted weddings between prosperous partners along with a tendency for new couples to live with the groom's parents after marriage until at least the birth of the first child (a requirement which is otherwise often ignored) (1999:52-3). The first type of behaviour was recounted by elderly people remembering their fathers, who were born around the beginning of the 20th century (ibid. 52), while the latter type is thought to mark out elite forms of behaviour today (ibid. 53). Cannell notes that both the authority of fathers and the practice of arranged marriage are waning in contemporary Bicol. Even so it should be remembered that some women in their thirties and forties at the time of her fieldwork in the late 1980's accepted arranged marriages. It was during the Pacific War and the Japanese Occupation that some parents arranged for their young daughters (aged fourteen or fifteen) to marry reliable young men in order to protect them from the attentions of Japanese soldiers (ibid. 53)

Contrary to Chant and McIlwaine's descriptions (see Chapter 2), Cannell depicts Filipino conjugal relationships as relationships made up of 'difficult women and good husbands' (1999:38). All marital couples, she quotes in her book, were married as arranged by their parents, contrary to the brides' intentions and desires. However, it is not meant to indicate that obedient women become demanding wives, avenging their forced marriages. Cannell points out that the idea that women may be 'obedient but reluctant' is elaborated not only in conjugal relationships but also in parent-child relationships and the courtship ritual in the lowland Philippines. The courtship ritual in the lowland Philippines (as in the highland Philippines and in many other parts of Southeast Asia) emphasises movement, in particular the active approach by the groom to the bride's house. The bride phrases her power as reluctance to move. Cannell argues that the courtship rituals, in which the groom's side advances and the bride's side resists, demonstrate feminine power located in immobility. The ritual therefore not only complements masculinity (symbolized by movement) but also creates a drama of two wills, or two potencies, in confrontation with one another (ibid. 74-5). The asymmetric gendered relations and tension that this generates were to be found in elite marriages in the lowland Philippines in the early Spanish period, in which the children of an elite woman and a lower-rank man (even a slave) were not simply of 'mixed' status but could also rise socially and threaten the ranks of the *datu* (ibid. 69-70). Accordingly, elite men preferred to treat their daughters as the 'location' to which their status was attached; daughters should therefore not be dispersed but preserved. They made every attempt to prevent their daughters from marrying men of lower rank. A groom whose status claim was weak

could be kept in the bride's house, where she remained under the shelter of her father's status, but a groom who was actually of higher status than the bride would be allowed to take her away more quickly, having in effect elevated the standing of her house through marrying her as an equal (ibid. 70).

Contrary to the approach adapted by elite fathers in the seventeenth-century lowland Philippines, the contemporary courtship ritual which also involves a huge bride-price demanded by the bride's side (which would be publicly seen as maintaining its status with the groom's side's meeting of its demands) indicates that the bride's status is ritually superior to the groom's. In the context of the lowland Philippine courtship ritual, women's language of reluctance is constructed on the pivotal position of the bride in the system of arranged marriage. Parents can force children, especially daughters, into marriage, but they cannot discount their daughter's sacrifice of will. This not only places the parents under an obligation; it can also make a groom a semi-permanent suitor within his own marriage (ibid. 75). Indeed, Cannell notes that many factors including education and shifting views on women's economic roles could proximately affect their responses to the system of courtship and marriage. Contemporary Bicol women's attitudes, however, resonate with a view of courtship and marriage as constituting people in power relations in ways in which 'women can value themselves as acquiescent transacted persons, and regret the curtailment of courtships which made them as difficult to marry ... as if they had all been princesses' (ibid. 74).

Concerning the courtships of my Filipina informants, all got married to their spouses through introductions made by a municipal government service or through

fellow nationals who were themselves married to Japanese men. And, although their

go-betweens differed, they all made a decision to marry their suitors within a few

days of their first meetings with them. They all claimed that, until that time, they had

not thought about marrying a Japanese man and living in Japan. This does not mean

that my Filipina informants were forced to marry. As discussed in the Introduction,

many women met opposition from their parents. Nevertheless, when asked about

contributing factors to their decision on intermarriage, few emphasized their

autonomy or mobility with regards to courtship. A few women, including four

women who were introduced to their husbands by their kin, emphasized

encouragement given to them by their older female kin (such as the mother, sisters,

and aunts). Those who married through personal introductions (including those made

by sisters, cousins, and a Filipina who acted as a marriage broker) stressed the

recommendations made by third parties such as their go-between (or a person who

acted as a liaison between them and their go-between such as a female neighbour), a

friend of the mother, and one of the father's co-workers. Those who married through

the municipal intermarriage introduction service, on the other hand, described their

participation in the matchmaking event as accidental. Some joined the event only as

replacements for unexpected drop-outs in order to replenish the number of candidate

brides. Others attended the event merely as companions of their sisters, cousins, or

friends who were interested in intermarriage.

What was always implicit in their stories about courtship, however, was the

persuasion used by their husbands. Contrary to their lack of intention or desire to

marry, and despite of presence of many other Filipinas who actively wished to marry

a Japanese man, their husbands came forward and proposed to them. As Kohn rightly points out, individual experiences of courtship and marriage are available to the observer only second-hand (1998:69). Having perceived the difficulty I was having imagining how active their husbands (who hardly showed any gestures of affection to their wives in my presence) were as suitors, some of my informants showed me love letters from their husbands which they received prior to marriage. The letters, handwritten in a mixture of Japanese and English, passionately beg the women to come to their suitors and to change their lonely lives into happy ones. One letter addresses the recipient as 'my Goddess' and another as 'my Virgin Mary'.

With regard to the conjugal relationships of my Filipina informants, I would like to discuss these bearing in mind the argument that intermarriages reflect participating partners' disapproval of their original cultural model of gender relationships. In her analysis of Filipina-Japanese marriage in urban Japan, Suzuki reports oppressive relationships between the Filipinas and their fathers and abuse from their ex-partners; these problems were fortunately solved by marrying Japanese men and leaving their home country (2001; Tacoli 1996b). Refsing also suggests in her analysis of Japanese-Danish marriages in Denmark that the main reason for Japanese women marrying their Danish husbands is that these are more considerate and less domineering than Japanese men in general (1998:205). Recalling the early days of his marriage, one of my Japanese informants, who had been married to his Filipina wife for nine years, told me that intermarriage had been good for him because if he had married a Japanese woman he would have been narrow-minded and would have behaved like a male chauvinist. His wife and her fellow Filipinas

emphasized in unison, however, that their husbands were *hindi romantiko* (not romantic), compared to Filipinos in general. One Filipina told me about how deeply she was disappointed by the indifference of her husband, a carpenter, to her first Saint Valentine's Day gift to him, a chocolate in the shape of a hammer. She told me that she had never made him a Valentine gift since then. Another informant was very upset when her husband, carrying their one-year-old baby (whose weight was easily that of a three year old), walked past her on the way from a supermarket to their car, rather than keeping pace with her as she carried a shopping bag in each hand or rather than helping her by carrying one of the bags. 'Why didn't you walk with me?!', she said to her husband as she caught up with him at the car. 'I wanted to open the door [of the car] for you,' replied her husband. 'But, why didn't you wait for me? I'm carrying two bags!' 'That's why I wanted to open the door for you!' 'But you could have walked with me! Am I not your wife?' Tamagaki reports a similar incident as a typical domestic scene (1995:228-229). Advising his male readers who may be considering marrying a Filipina, Tamagaki remarks that Filipinas expect more gestures of affection from their husbands than a Japanese woman might do (ibid. 227-8). He would, however, encounter disagreement by the aforementioned Refsing's Japanese wives who chose to marry Danish men because of their more caring behaviour than ordinary Japanese men.

The Filipina-Japanese couples started their marital lives pretty much as the grooms wished them to be. The brides, on the other hand, might have felt early on that their marital lives were starting to their disadvantage, as they faced immediate difficulties adapting to the new environment. As seen above, pregnancy with the first

child and its delivery were apparently the most stressful times for Filipinas in the initial stages of marriage. Kuwayama, a psychiatrist specialising in foreign spouses residing in rural Japan, notes the tendency of foreign spouses to get pregnant in the early stages of their marital lives (1995:35). He reports that in addition to various kinds of stress relating to pregnancy, his patients are confronted with psychological pressure to become pregnant in the first place, pressure exerted by the marital family who wish self-interestedly to secure their successor to their *ie*. Indicating the magnitude of the pressure, he refers to a remark made by one of his Filipina patients: 'we are just like a child-bearing machine' (ibid. 36). In order to lessen the stress of foreign spouses in rural Japan, Kuwayama advises intermarrying couples to exercise birth control for at least the first two years of marriage, ideally using a 'natural' contraceptive method (op. cit.).

Having dealt with pregnant women in similar situations, the communal nurses whom I met in Murasaki, however, did not refer to the benefits of birth control with intermarried couples at all. The cynic may argue that the communal nurses were after all employed by the municipal government that arranged these intermarriages in order to increase the population of its administrative area. I tend to believe, however, that they were genuinely unaware of the possible benefits. This was not only because my inquiries concerning birth control were always met with surprise. The vast majority of Japanese I met in Murasaki, including single women of marriageable age, also thought that having a child was an essential part of the marital life. Of course this does not mean that the people in Murasaki have never thought about family planning. On the contrary, as the shrinking size of the local households indicates, family

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planning has become an increasingly serious issue in Murasaki precisely because of its consequences. Nevertheless, all the recently married couples I met in Murasaki were expecting to have at least one.

The significance of the birth of the first child to Japanese marriage is discussed by Hendry in relation to the woman's position in her marital household. In the virilocal residence a bride is a stranger in the initial stages of marriage; and she must adapt to ways of doing things that are new to her but well-established to the others. Brides in this situation are often assigned the least attractive tasks, reflecting their weak position in the household (1981:100). Bachnik's ranking of the household membership in terms of 'qualities' relevant to household succession also places the bride (as the youngest female from an out-group) at the bottom of the household hierarchy. The bride's early period in her new home is depicted as trying and lonely, a state which Hendry refers to as 'the bitter-moon,' in contrast to honeymoon (op. cit.). It is after a child is born to the couple that the relation of *giri* (in-law or duty), which is how the woman is initially seen by the marital family, transforms to that of *nikushin* (flesh-relation). Explaining the effect of the birth of a child on Japanese marriage, Hendry's informants quoted the proverb: '*ko wa kasugai*' (a child is a clamp), a clamp that unites the incomer, previously regarded as an outsider, to her marital family (op. cit.). Concerning the family planning of Filipina-Japanese couples in Murasaki, I suggest that the child's role in consolidating a married couple is as important as (if not more than) securing the successor to their *ie*. While Kuwayama's report on his Filipina patient implies that her parents-in-law were the ones who expressed their desire for securing the successor to their *ie*, all my informants claimed

that among their Japanese family, their husband was most explicit about the desire to have a child. Given that the bond between Filipina-Japanese couples is presumed to be weak (as indicated by the episode of Laura's *satogaeri*), it is considered as rather natural if the Japanese partners relied on the wisdom of the ancients, trying to consolidate their conjugal relationship. It also involves formally conducted weddings between prosperous partners along with a tendency for new couples to live with the groom's parents after marriage until at least the birth of the first child (a requirement which is otherwise often ignored) (1999:52-3).

With regard to the importance of a child to Filipino marriage, Cannell also reports that her female informants, whose marriage was arranged by their parents, regarded the birth of their first child as the moment at which they began acknowledging a little more connection with their husbands. All their accounts contrast the time 'after we had children ...' with the time that went before. This 'after' time is one of greater intimacy and freer speech between husband and wife; a new feeling is born with the new child – the feeling of 'pity' or 'compassion' for their husbands (1999:42). Cannell states that people in Bicol, as in many other parts of the Philippines, are inclined to describe many social processes in terms of a kind of mutual accommodation, usually referred to as 'getting used to it' or 'getting used to each other' and that all marriages in Bicol are thought of as a process, a transition from rather formal or even potentially hostile exchanges (first of words, then of food and finally of sexuality) which leads to the fulfilment of sharing in the birth of children. In an arranged marriage the transition is indeed much less easy, and

therefore the intimacy that follows the birth of children marks a greater discontinuity (op. cit.).

In the Philippines, as in Japan, reproduction is conventionally regarded as an important part of marriage. According to Medina (1991), sons are regarded as carrying on the family line, while both male and female children are seen as a sign of the grace of God, a source of happiness, and a symbol of the father's masculinity. Children are also of great help in the house as baby sitters, kitchen aides, etc. and are looked upon as a sort of investment or insurance policy with the expectation of economic support in old age (ibid. 44). The total fertility rate or average 'completed' family size in 1984 was 4.5 children, which is high by international standards and even in comparison with the Southeast Asian average of 4.1 children. The rate has generally been in decline though, in particular in urban areas (de Guzman 1989 in op. cit.). Medina attributes the high birth rate in the Philippines to the high value placed on children (op. cit.). It is also noted that birth control is a sensitive issue in the Catholic Philippines, especially in rural areas.[22]

The vast majority of my Filipina informants (38 out of 40) were from relatively large families and had at least two siblings. Since families with three children were hardly to be found in Murasaki, one Filipina (who was the third of seven siblings and who had three children herself) asked me why I thought the Japanese had so few children. With the implication that Japanese people do not place much value on having children, she continued by stating: 'I love children. If I were married in the Philippines, like my mother, I would also have seven children.'

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[22] Fenella Cannell, personal communication.

Having considered the expenses of sending all her children to university in Japan, however, she told me that she would not, in fact, have more than three children. As suggested above, it appears that with the family planning decisions of the Filipina-Japanese couples in Murasaki the initiative was taken by the husbands; the wives' thoughts were more about the number of children they would have. The wives' considerations about when and where to have more children became more influential in family planning decisions after the birth of the first child.

The frequently gender-segregated social lives in Murasaki indicate how the locals hardly expressed any emotional aspects of their marital relationships in public. Although compared to their intra-married counterparts the husbands of my Filipina informants did spend more leisure-time with their wives and more often helped them with domestic chores behind the scenes, I never once witnessed them holding their wives' hands or cuddling them, let alone kissing them. Kuwayama's article published on the tenth anniversary of the 'invention' of the intermarriage introduction service by Japanese municipal governments reports Japanese husbands' inadequate affection and care for their Filipina wives, which, he warns, could motivate the wives to have extramarital affairs (1997). While the Japanese male psychiatrist gives a generally 'unhappy' account of Filipina-Japanese marriage, a Filipina psychologist reports how her Filipina informants (married to Japanese men for five years on average) had come to realise that their husbands' attitudes toward them, which the women had admonished them for at the start of the marriage because they felt they were being treated 'like a child', were actually a 'sign of caring' (Samonte 1994:53-54). Like Kuwayama, Samonte notes that the Japanese husbands' attitudes towards

their Filipina wives did not change at all; it was the wives' view of things that changed (ibid. 54). My Filipina informants who had been married for five years or longer, on the other hand, pointed out both changed and unchanged aspects of their husbands' attitudes toward them. Some saw their husbands become less active as suitors. One woman described this situation by saying that she and her husband were becoming less like lovers and more like siblings. In contrast, others claimed that their husbands came to learn more about their sexuality and therefore provided them with more sexual pleasure than before. Nevertheless, my Filipina informants all claimed that their husbands were poor at expressing their emotions, but that they were consistently hard-working and generous and faithful to their wives. The first factor was attributed as a characteristic common to Japanese men, while the other two factors were interpreted as signs of maturity associated with their husbands' age, which was much greater than theirs. When asked whether they would recommend other Filipinas to marry Japanese men like they had done, however, the majority of them responded that they wouldn't because of the difficulties they had experienced adapting to their lives in Japan. In fact, a few of them had received inquiries from relatives or acquaintances about prospective Japanese grooms for their daughters; but none had responded to them. They told me that they were 'just lucky' to have met men like their husbands. This does not mean that these women were now fully satisfied with their marital lives, having overcome the difficulties of adapting to practical aspects of their new lives in Japan and discovered 'good husbands'.

Concluding notes

This chapter has discussed the initial stage of the Filipinas' lives in Murasaki and the conjugal relationships of the Filipina-Japanese couples. With reference to the conventional courtship in the Philippines, I discussed their 'accidental' encounter with their husbands. Their account resembled the Filipina courtship in the respect that the women were 'immovable' and 'reluctant to move' (as they were not proactive in participating in the meeting with their husbands), while their husbands made 'active advances' and proposed them. In fact, the Filipinas' interactions at the initial stage of marriage were comparable to the Filipina courtship. While the women faced various problems and difficulties when adapting to the new environment, the language barrier between them and Japanese people was apparently the most significant problem. To make matters worse, underdeveloped local public transport confined the Filipinas to the vicinity of their new homes. During the early period of their lives in Murasaki, outside activities of the Filipinas were almost fully dependent on others, their husbands in particular. It appeared that by marrying into Murasaki, they lost autonomy and independence. However, the Filipinas saw this state not as depending on their husbands but as gaining support from them. It seems that the Filipinas saw their conventional relationships in the early period of their marriage in the light of the conventional Filipina courtship. In this light, support from their husbands' was analogous to a brideprice which their husband was obliged to pay. According to the conventional Filipina courtship, until this obligation was fulfilled, the groom was in the state of a 'semi-permanent suitor' within his own marriage, and the bride was a 'princess'.

The Filipinas talked of their conjugal relationships in the light of the authentic Filipina courtship, in which the bride's status was superior to the groom's and therefore their position more powerful. However, the accounts on their child birth and the issues relating to their return trip to the Philippines indicated that in the beginning of their marriage their influence on the family affairs was insignificant. The birth of a child consolidated their conjugal bond, and their views of the family affairs became more influential in the later period of marriage. As Cannell remarks with reference to arranged marriages in Bicol, it is only the long, transformative processes of union in marriage and the sharing of children which will accommodate the will of bride and groom progressively to each other, in the course of which both will be changed (1999:75).

As they began to attend the Japanese language classes, the Filipinas made friends with other fellow nationals living in the same area. As they acquired a driving licence and improved their Japanese vocabulary, they became more mobile. They found a job and began to participate in communal gatherings. Their social network expanded. Nevertheless, as they advance further to the inner circles of the Japanese household and local community, they encounter new problems and difficulties. The following chapter focuses on household management of the Filipina-Japanese families and power relations between the Filipinas and their parents-in-law, which often affect their conjugal relationships.

Chapter 4. Women's Work: Gender Roles and Workings of the Filipina-Japanese Household

Introduction

Having been married into the existing household of the husbands' family, the vast majority of my Filipina informants take over domestic tasks and management of the household from their mothers-in-law. They also find employment in local businesses, as native women of Murasaki do. The intermarried Filipinas in Murasaki begin to perform the local gender role of *yome*. This chapter discusses three spheres of the activities of the Filipina *yome*: 1) domestic tasks, 2) economic activities, and 3) management of household budget. We will see immediately how domestic tasks are passed on to the Filipinas and how those tasks are then carried out. Concerning the Filipinas' economic activities, their Japanese counterparts actively engage in local businesses (see Chapter 1), whereas their search for employment does not always win approval from their husbands and parents-in-law. This indicates that the situation in which Filipinas perform gender roles is not identical to that of native women. This chapter examines the factors that influence the Filipinas' situation in playing the role of *yome*.

The significance of the task of household budget management to local women was discussed in Chapter 1. This chapter examines the process through which the Filipinas come to run the household, the significance of this task to the Filipinas, and how they interact with their Japanese families in the context of household

management. Japanese mode of communication, which generates power by replicating the existing framework of relationships, has been discussed in Chapter 2. The accounts presented in this chapter will demonstrate how Filipinas try to transform their relationships with their Japanese families, by adapting themselves to the role of *yome*, while maintaining a harmonious relationship with them at the same time.

1. Domestic Work

A few days after her arrival in Murasaki, I saw Cynthia outside her house as I passed by. She was sweeping the ground. Because of the advanced age of their mothers-in-law, it was assumed that domestic chores would be assigned to and taken on by the junior members of the household as quickly as possible. The Filipinas recalled how, immediately after their arrival in Murasaki, they started doing such chores as sweeping floors, hanging out washing, weeding the garden, etc. They did not recall being taught much by their mothers-in-law, however. In her study of intermarriage in Mallorca, Waldren reports how Spanish mothers-in-law never ceased explaining things, speaking louder and louder until their foreign daughters-in-law feigned understanding (1998:42). In contrast, Japanese mothers-in-law are very reticent, but this is not only due to the language barrier, however. According to White, the Japanese method of learning relies not on dynamic interaction between the instructor and the learner but on the learner's paying attention to the instructor's demonstration (1987:46). Concerning the local way of learning, a retired carpenter in his seventies told me that when he was an apprentice, his master told him to 'steal' the master's

carpentry skill. It meant that he should observe what the master did and reproduce it. He too used to tell the same to his apprentices. Japanese mothers-in-law in Murasaki would give their Filipina daughters-in-law a few words of instruction, while performing tasks themselves. One Filipina who married into Murasaki in the late 1980s told me how she took over the task of preparing the evening meal from her mother-in-law without even being aware of it. In addition to her mother-in-law's reticence, this came about because of a particular way of purchasing meat and fish in the area before the supermarkets were opened in Suma, i.e. home delivery by a local fishmonger-cum-grocer. In the early days of her marriage, a package of cooking materials was delivered daily to her house. One day, she found a package containing some fish on the kitchen table and cooked it for the evening meal, although her mother-in-law had not told her to do this. After that, she came to notice that a package was left in the same place everyday, while her mother-in-law stopped preparing the evening meal. Her mother-in-law never announced the transfer of the task to her, but ever since then she has been in charge of preparing the evening meal.

The level of participation of the mother-in-law in domestic chores varied depending on the routine allowed by the daughter-in-law's employment. Where the daughters-in-law were not employed, the mothers-in-law were able to devote themselves only to *ochanomi* and *hatake-shigoto*; and caring for the grandchildren became a source of pleasure rather than a task. Where the daughters-in-law were employed, however, care for children, in addition to some other chores, were assigned to the mothers-in-law. In order to avoid imposing such a burden on their mothers-in-law, a few Filipinas chose to do assembly work at home (rather than

working outside the home) until their children entered kindergarten. One mother of young children worked part-time during my fieldwork so that she could pick her child up from the kindergarten when it was closed at 3pm and walk home with her. The degree of the husbands' involvement with domestic chores varied, largely according to the availability of assistance from the mother-in-law. In a Filipina-Japanese household where the elderly mother-in-law was no longer able to do chores, the husband took charge of preparing the 'festival' dish, *karagai* (dried cod cooked with soy sauce), for the feast of Bon festival, because, he said, 'we cannot receive guests without it.' His wife told me that at that time she could not recall exactly how to cook it. Another example involves a Filipina-Japanese family where the mother-in-law had been recently admitted to hospital. As the wife began working shifts in order to contribute to the medical expenses, the husband took charge of sweeping the rooms and hanging out the laundry when his wife was doing morning shift, and prepared the evening meal for the family when she was on the evening shift.

Figure 28. A local supermarket

Figure 29. *Karagai*

As discussed in Chapter 1, domestic chores are allocated in accordance with sex of the household members; cooking and cleaning are assigned to female members, while male members are in charge of repair and maintenance of the house. However, the example of Filipina-Japanese families shows that any family member available and capable takes over a task whenever it becomes necessary.

2. Economic Activities

The fundamental gender roles of the contemporary Filipino family do not radically differ from the Japanese ones. The role of the husband is that of the breadwinner and the head of the household, while housekeeping and child rearing are considered the wife's major responsibilities (Medina 1991:123; Sevilla 1995:42-6; Alcantara 1994:94-109). Nevertheless, a certain amount of flexibility in the domestic allocation of productive and reproductive tasks (and the possibility of further-reaching

flexibility) is to be found in the Filipina-Japanese family households in Murasaki. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Chant and McIlwaine note the same situation for family households in the Philippines, in addition to the relatively equal treatment of male and female children with regard to inheritance and schooling, which contradicts the rigid association of gender with tasks assigned to women in workplaces. As discussed in Chapter 4, tension between the flexibility of gender roles and a patriarchal bias is also found in Cannell's study of Bicolano marriage. Besides the formality of marriage and authoritarian male behaviours, people in Bicol see the rigid association of women with reproductive tasks as 'Spanish manners' (1999:52). Cannell further points out that although the association of women with domesticity is found in Bicol as in many other societies, describing the work of Bicolano 'housewives' as 'housework' is inadequate, as the proper employment for women until the 1950s was weaving abaca cloth on looms set up under the raised house frame, cloth which was both for home use and for sale (1999:52).

A similar tension between women's productivity and patriarchal ideology is discussed in Ueno's essay on contemporary urban middle-class Japanese women (1987). Ueno argues that it was after the Meiji Restoration that woman of the warrior class (whose virtue was demonstrated by confining themselves to the marital house, looking after the children and the household) became the standard model for the Japanese wife. As a result, during the severe economic stagnation of the 1970s when urban middle-class wives began to take part-time jobs in order to maintain their standard of living, these working wives were seen as unfortunate to have married unreliable breadwinners. This view, of course, severely affected the reputation of

their husbands (ibid. 79-80). Ueno, a Japanese woman herself, blames the patriarchal ideology of the warrior class for degrading the status of contemporary Japanese women, while celebrating the higher status of women in the agriculturist class, a status supported by their productive power.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the majority of my Filipina informants, like their native counterparts, actively engage in economic activities, while facing a severely limited choice of work due to the lack of industrial development in the rural area. When they expressed their intentions to work outside the home to their husbands for the first time, however, many faced objections. The reason provided by the husbands was often that the wife's role was to stay at home and look after the children and the household.[23] This indeed resonates with the urban middle-class model of married women described above. Since this model came to prevail as the standard model of married women in the 1970s in urban Japan, the rationale of the rural men for opposing their wives' employment outside the home presented in the late 1990s may simply be the same as that presented to the urban middle-class wives in the 1970s with a straightforward time lag between urban and rural areas. Even if this is the case, however, it appears to contradict the local models of married women applied in Murasaki. This section therefore explores the significance of Filipinas' participation in economic activities outside the home to their Japanese families and the women themselves.

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[23] Samonte's study of intermarried Filipinas in urban Japan also talks about their husband's and in-laws' objections to their employment, although it does not discuss reasons for these objections (1994:49).

2.1. Farming

As mentioned in Chapter 2, of the forty husbands, nineteen engaged in rice production in order to provide their main income and fourteen for purposes of household consumption. Only two wives, however, regularly took part in rice production during my fieldwork. One of the non-farming wives, Melinda, thirty-three years old, had been married to Yoshio, a farmer eighteen years her senior for seven years, and had had two children with him at the time of the interview. Yoshio's father passed on a few years after he married Melinda; and his mother had a minor stroke two years ago, which forced her to 'retire' from farming. However, he continued to produce rice, with the help of his sister, who was married to a farmer in the same hamlet, at transplanting and harvesting time. Melinda told me that she used to suggest to Yoshio that he stop farming and find full-time employment in a company instead, but she stopped doing it since she realized that his reply to her suggestion remained unchanged: 'I love rice-planting'.

An office worker back in Manila, Melinda has devoted herself to child rearing and housekeeping since she has been married. When the elder child entered preschool, she wanted to work part-time in a neighbouring factory where her sister-in-law was employed. When she told Yoshio about her intention to do this, however, he said to her that the '*uchi* [our family/household] was not so deprived that it needed to send [its] *yome* to work'. Yoshio was reticent about the issue implied by his objection to her employment. However, acting as his proxy, Melinda's sister-in-law suggested to me that Melinda should help Yoshio farming rather than looking for employment. The shortage of brides experienced by farmers demonstrates how being

a farmer's wife in rural Japan is not a popular role. As explained in Chapter 1, local Japanese think of participation in rice production conducted by the family as a duty of its members; hence children contribute their labour even after they have established their own families, as do Melinda's in-laws. And the married-in members are no exception to this rule. The labour of the former is normally compensated for with a portion of the harvest, while that of the latter is simply thought of as a demonstration of their commitment to the marital family. Local people appear to expect the latter to contribute particularly significantly, probably because this type of 'loyalty' labour is hard to get. They see young wives' employment outside the home as a shirking of their responsibilities to the marital family and that such behaviour is a typical attitude of *saikin no oyomesan*, as implied in the comment of a farming woman. As this shows, even though the local farming population has been declining in the area, the productive power of young women is not only a concern of their marital farming households, it also constitutes a local norm for married women, a norm which nevertheless is eroding away. Melinda gave up on her idea of getting wage work. During my fieldwork another non-farming Filipina wife of a farmer also stayed at home instead of finding a waged job outside of the home, because, she said, her husband preferred her to do so.

It is important to note that for rural women, getting a waged job and contributing the wage to the household is the other culturally most valued form of production, apart from producing children. As mentioned above, even though women's employment is seen as secondary to the family business, male household members would take over domestic chores whenever necessary. I shall therefore

look into the difference in situation between local women and Filipina wives further below.

2. 2. Wage Employment

The previous chapter described how Belle came to work in a factory. It was about two months before Belle found her job that she told Takao about her intention to work for the first time, hoping that he would help her. She also, however, met with his opposition. While Belle and Takao were still in the course of negotiations regarding her employment, I heard Takao say to her: 'Why don't you stay at home? You still have lots of 'things to learn at home' (*ie de oboerukoto*).' Takao is a company-employee; and, his parents do not engage in rice production preferring to rent out the land to a neighbouring farmer. However, since his mother, Tamiko, grows some vegetables for household consumption, Takao thought to suggest to Belle to do the same in a plot within the household compound, instead of going to work outside. After two years of marriage, Belle, though, claimed that she had taken over all the domestic chores. She told me that she got up at five o'clock in the morning, as Tamiko did, and while Tamiko was attending to her vegetables she prepared breakfast for the family and a lunch box for Takao. After seeing him off to work, she cleaned the kitchen thoroughly (which was common practice amongst my Filipina informants), vacuumed all the rooms, and hung out the clean laundry. By nine in the morning she had nothing particular to do apart from looking after her one-year old son; so my visit to her (after then) was always welcomed.

As suggested above, in a rural area where the commitment of women to their marital family is highly valued, farming represents the prototypical performance of the women's gender role. It is therefore unsurprising that Takao prefers Belle growing vegetables for household consumption to being employed by a third party. Nevertheless, I shall point out that because of the radical economic discrepancy between Japan and the Philippines, Filipina intermarriages are more often than not conceived simply as a variation on labour migration, and that this typical view of Filipina spouses can be one of the factors that makes some husbands and in-laws reluctant to send their wives out to paid jobs. This is especially true for recently married women, like Belle, who are seen as less committed to the marital family than those who have been married for a longer period. In order to keep Belle in the house Takao began providing her with a handsome monthly allowance (¥50,000), although, as we saw in the previous chapter, she eventually chose to work outside her home anyway.

As discussed in the Introduction, the Filipino family is characterized by strong bonds between its members (Medina 1991:16). Provision for the family has been interpreted as the major factor pushing young Filipinas to labour migration (Trager 1984; Chant and McIwaine 1995:155-7). However, this is not the only factor motivating young Filipinas to travel abroad (Tacoli 1996. 16-8). My Filipina informants, like many Filipina daughters, are also concerned with their natal family's well being. They have provided financial support for younger siblings' higher education and for older siblings' businesses, for instance; and they are all proud of their contribution to their natal families. However, provision for the natal family is

not the only factor motivating them to get wage work. As indicated by Belle's case, one of the factors pushing many of my Filipina informants toward waged employment is boredom with domestic life. Employment is sought not only as a means of economic independence or betterment but also as an opportunity for stepping out of the household compound and meeting people, i.e. expanding one's social life. This may be a major reason (besides economic concerns) that many married women today, who are fully equipped with electrical appliances, seek employment. In addition, the highly isolated lives of young Filipinas in the initial stages of intermarriage in rural Japan, suggest that their need for such an opportunity is acute, just like their counterparts in Switzerland (Cahill 1990). Belle's situation was exacerbated by the fact that her close friend and neighbour, Dory, began working in a factory, leaving her more alone than before. So when Takao suggested to Belle that she farm with Tamiko, she was apparently happy to do this, even though she was a 'Manila girl' who had never farmed before. Belle bought seeds and seedlings for vegetables and flowers, following Tamiko's advice, while Tamiko prepared the ground for Belle to plant them. Belle was ready to learn how to farm, but this never actually came to pass. This was not only because she found a job soon after that, but also because she wanted to have a companion to learn farming with, which, however, was impossible in Murasaki. As pointed out above, farming was a family business and home was, therefore, where people were expected to work. Having exhausted the possibilities of her social network, Belle finally asked me to farm with her. While she waited for me to start, she found a job.

Needless to say countering the boredom of domestic life and expanding one's social life are secondary motivations compared to economic pressures. As women become increasingly involved in household management their motivations for having wage work will change, of course. During my fieldwork one Filipina was wondering whether she should leave her factory (where she had worked for four years) to work on a construction site for higher wages, because she had found out that her mother-in-law, who had recently fallen ill, needed to be treated in an expensive private clinic.

3. Management of the Household Budget

In the Philippines, as in Murasaki, a newly married couple often reside with one of the partners' parents; the purposes for this cohabitation and the operation of the household significantly differ between the two locations, however. The arrangement in Murasaki is part of the system of succession to the parental household; in the Philippines it is more often a temporary solution for the young couple to lighten their financial burden in the early stages of marriage rather than the fulfilment of a filial obligation. As this suggests then, the most prevalent residential unit for the Filipino family, at least according to Medina, is the *mag-anak* or the nuclear family, comprising of the husband and wife and the unmarried children (1991:14-6).[24] The wives in the Philippines are the family treasurers and co-managers of the household (Medina 1991: 125; David 1994). In Murasaki these positions are at first assumed not by the wives but by their mothers-in-law. Earlier studies of Filipina intermarriage

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24 There are more extended family households in urban areas, particularly in Metro Manila, where putting up a separate house is costly (Medina 1991:17).

report that this system for managing household finances (which does not entrust the wife with its management) presents a major problem for intermarried Filipinas in their familial lives abroad (Samonte 1994:21; Cahill 1991:119). Obviously, this problem directly relates to relationships with in-laws. This is discussed in the following section, while this section describes the wives' performance of the management of the household budget and discusses its significance for the women themselves.

During my fieldwork, fourteen of the Filipina-Japanese households entrusted the mother-in-law with the management of the household budget while the other twenty-six households assigned the task to the wife. It took about five years of marriage for the twenty-six wives to take over this task, which is actually quicker than their Japanese counterparts who normally waited about ten years. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this task symbolises the status of female headship, so much so that the native women of Murasaki are greatly concerned with this succession, calling it 'the transfer of the family fortune'. However, assuming the task does not actually mean taking over full control of the household budget. All adult household members are invited to take part in decision-making relating to the purchase of expensive items, such as furniture and household appliances. Even purchases for daily consumption are often subject to the intervention of senior members. A Filipina, who had lived for nearly seven years in Murasaki, told me in her fluent local Japanese how she was recently *goshakareta* (scolded) by her father-in-law for having purchased a bunch of spinach. Her father-in-law thought she was wasting money because, as he said to her, 'we have plenty of *aomono* (lit. 'green things', i.e. vegetables).' Indeed, her parents-

in-law grew a variety of vegetables, including cabbages, cucumbers, aubergines, radishes and edible chrysanthemums, but not spinach. While the woman purchased this particular kind of vegetable intending to cook a particular dish, her father-in-law thought that she should have substituted the item with other vegetables grown at home.

Although different goods and items are involved, similar episodes abound, demonstrating the great value elderly people in Murasaki placed on economic self-sufficiency and frugality. In spite of the interventions of parents-in-law, however, my Filipina informants who had already taken charge of the household budget were proud of being assigned this task. This was not because the task marked high status in the household but because it demonstrated their capacity to perform the task. They often talked of the difficulties of managing a limited budget and compared themselves favourably with their fellow nationals who had not yet assumed the task and who therefore lacked knowledge about the local economy.

This state of affairs does not mean, however, that the younger Filipinas were incapable of managing finances at the early stages of marriage, of course. When I met Dory for the first time her mother-in-law Teruko, sixty-five years old, was in charge of the household budget. Teruko gave Dory a sum of money each time when Dory went out so that she could buy lunch and satisfy her immediate personal needs. Soon after I began seeing Dory regularly at the Japanese class I noticed, however, that she always bought one of the cheapest options at lunch with her classmates after the class and put aside what remained of the allowance for other needs. She was not simply economising her limited resources; she was also minimising the number of

times she had to ask Teruko for money, because this was not a pleasant task. Although the people of Murasaki told me that the local system of household management meant having 'one household purse', this did not mean that the household members contributed all their earnings to the household nor that they contributed an equal amount of money to it. While the arrangement of contributions differs between households, what is common between them is that the member who has no source of income has to consult with the household manager in order to be given money for their personal needs. Hajime came to notice the inconvenience this caused Dory and organized for her to receive a fixed amount monthly, as other recently married Filipina-Japanese couples have dealt with the inconvenience. This, however, was stopped when she started earning a salary. Securing income for their personal needs was another important reason why my informants sought employment.

As suggested above, my Filipina informants associated the management of the household budget with their personal capability, rather than with status. They and their direct Japanese counterparts are apparently less interested in the event of *shinsho-yuzuri* than their older neighbours are. They did, however, talk about their friends' and neighbours' assumption of the task, as well as about delays relating to this. While the younger Japanese wives attributed the delay of *shinsho-yuzuri* to the persistent power of the mothers-in-law in question, my Filipina informants related it to the inadequacy of the daughters-in-law involved. There was, in fact, one Filipina who had been married for ten years and who had two children by her husband who still entrusted her mother-in-law with the management of the household budget. She

told me what the thinking behind this was. Unlike her fellow nationals, she talked of the task as an element constituting her relationship with her mother-in-law, which she claimed was as intimate as that between the real mother and daughter. The non-assumption of the management of the household budget was therefore aimed at maintaining her present relationship with her mother-in-law. She managed her personal needs by means of her salary from the factory work, while her children's necessities were provided for in the household budget comprised solely of the income from farming by her husband and parents-in law. If excessive intervention of parents-in-law in the management of the household budget is an inevitable consequence of the assumption of the task, this arrangement is certainly less conflict-ridden. Moreover, given the heavy responsibility attached to the task, it appears to be an easier option. Nevertheless, the other Filipinas saw this case as a way of escaping from the responsibility of household management. Indeed, younger Filipinas who were not in charge of the management of the household budget often complained about the local practice. Their concern, though, was not with who were in charge of the budget but with the process of decision-making from which they were sometimes excluded on the grounds that they had scarce knowledge of the local economy.

4. In-Law Relationships in the Filipina-Japanese Family

4. 1. 'Good Parents-in-Law'

The previous chapter suggested that the different dietary preferences of Filipinas and their Japanese families might be one of the issues causing discord between them.

However, I did not actually encounter any conflict concerning daily diet during my fieldwork, with the exception of one case, which I shall talk about immediately below. The relatively peaceful 'dietary' lives of the Filipina-Japanese families can be attributed to the fact that apart from a few who had married into Murasaki more recently, my Filipina informants seldom cooked Filipino food. Filipino dishes were prepared for a variety of occasions during my fieldwork, which all took place outside the routine of daily life. I, therefore, developed the idea that Filipino dishes marked special events for my Filipina informants. It appeared that as local dishes became familiar to their taste, it became less frequent for them to prepare Filipino dishes for themselves on a day-to-day basis.

Figure 30. A primary school sports day

Figure 31. National flags of the Philippines and Japan contributed by a child of a Filipina–Japanese couple

Figure 32. Lunch on a primary school sports day

Of the few Filipinas who prepared Filipino dishes at home, Vicky was the one who did so most frequently. The other women sometimes substituted a package of instant noodles for *ulam* (dish eaten with cooked rice), while Vicky prepared a proper Filipino dish almost every day. One of factors preventing her from adjusting to the local diet was that she was a great cook of Philippine cuisine. In addition, she was apparently never short of cooking materials. Vicky told me that when she opened the refrigerator in her house and found there was no meat left she always said to Katsuya, pretending to lament: 'Ah, there is nothing for me to eat in this house'. Then, he would drive her to one of the supermarkets in Suma to buy some. Vicky not only

prepared excellent Philippine dishes, she also invited her compatriots to her Philippine meals. Occasionally some of her friends brought meat and vegetables to her house and cooked some dishes together with her. At lunch at Vicky's, however, I sometimes heard Katsuya tell her that her diet included too much meat and was therefore not healthy; 'You should eat vegetables, too'. Thanks to 'culture-exchange' cooking classes organized by the municipal governments (see Chapter 6), Philippine cuisine was not totally alien to the natives of Murasaki. When I started my fieldwork, there was already a widespread conception that 'Korean dishes are too hot; Filipino dishes are too sweet.' There was also a common conception among Filipinas' husbands and in-laws that Filipino dishes were always very 'meaty'.[25] Filipino dishes my informants cooked in Murasaki contained generous amounts of a variety of meats, however, meat does not normally form the main part of the daily diet of ordinary people in the Philippines. During my stay in the Philippines pigs and chickens were slaughtered at the feast to welcome the return of the daughters from Japan, while *ulam* served at everyday meals consisted of vegetables or fish. Although our daily diet is becoming increasingly diverse, thanks to the global circulation of food products, it is not only purchasing power but also regional availability that influences our daily diet, of course, and this is the case for my Filipina informants. Fish that is typical in the tropical Philippines is not available in Murasaki, whereas a variety of meats sold in local supermarkets are easy to access.

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[25] Korean dishes also typically contain meat, and are known to the Japanese in Murasaki from having attended a Korean barbeque. However, Japanese family members of my Korean informants did not emphasise this feature. This was probably because it was a fact too well known to remark on, however. Husbands did admit to once or twice being overwhelmed by the burning hot taste of authentic Korean dishes that their Korean wives cooked.

The essential components of the diet in Murasaki are vegetarian, and therefore the idea of Filipino dishes being 'meaty' is unsurprising. Yet, at other times, I heard Katsuya say to Vicky: 'You should eat the same food that we eat, too, because you've been here for long enough to do so'. There were, in fact, some indications that the Japanese families' expectations with regard to their Filipina members' adaptation to life in Japan extended to their daily diet. Rather than pressure from the husbands, a public health nurse was more concerned about the role of the Japanese mother-in-law teaching her daughter-in-law the workings of her household. She told me that if foreign wives happened to have a *kibishii* (strict) mother-in-law, they would not easily be allowed to prepare a different meal for themselves but would have to eat the same food that the rest of the family ate, even when the local food was still foreign to their taste. She told me that one of problems common to pregnant foreign residents, weight loss, was caused by Japanese families' expectation that their foreign members would instantly adapt to the local diet. Indeed, the role of the mother-in-law might have compelled many women in Murasaki to discipline their daughters-in-law. Since foreign wives lack command of the Japanese language and knowledge of local customs in the initial stages of their lives in Murasaki, they can be seen as equivalent to malleable infants, reinforcing their mother-in-law's sense of obligation to instruct them. In addition, the unusually long distance between their natal home and their marital home could render foreign brides far less powerful in their marital households than their native counterparts.

As mentioned above, the formation of the extended family household in the Philippines is in part both an economic strategy and a temporary solution for the

young couple in the early stages of marriage, whereas living in the husband's hometown is a prerequisite of Filipina intermarriage in rural Japan. One of few requirements imposed by the incoming Filipinas, however, is that the candidate groom still have his mother alive to help his bride to become 'accommodated' to the life in Japan. The purpose of the co-residence of married couples with parents in the Philippines, besides lightening the financial burden of the former, is for the former to receive physical care as well as moral support from the latter, especially when the wife goes through pregnancy and the delivery of her first child (Medina 1991: 12-22). Of my foreign informants, both Filipina and Chinese wives sometimes pointed out the lack of assistance or the little assistance given by their Japanese family members with domestic chores. While the Chinese informants criticized their husbands, by comparing them to the contemporary Chinese model where the husbands bear equal responsibility for domestic chores along with the wives, the Filipinas complained about their mothers-in-law.

As pointed out above, Filipino dishes no longer formed the main part of the daily diet of many Filipinas during my fieldwork. There were some women who hardly prepared Filipino dishes at home. For them, lunch at Vicky's, apart from the 'special' occasions described above, was one of few opportunities to eat Filipino dishes. Their appreciation of this occasion appeared to be so great that I asked them what made them refrain from cooking Filipino dishes in their home. Rather than attributing it to their mother-in-law's disciplinary strength, they mentioned the inflexibility of their parents-in-law with regard to diet. It is worth mentioning that it is customary in the county to refrain from eating meat on the day of a funeral, the day

of a commemoration of a deceased household member, the middle of *Higan*, the day

of visiting family graves before the Bon festival in August, and on other Buddhist-

related occasions, such as the gatherings of the *ko* association. The forty-seven year-

old husband of a Filipina told me that he avoided eating any meat if possible, and

definitely did not eat any in the morning. Elderly people called meat *namagusa-*

mono (lit. a thing that smells flesh) and many of them I knew preferred not to eat any

at all. This does not simply mean that the natives of Murasaki faithfully follow the

Buddhist precept forbidding the taking of animal life, of course. The local diet

described above is also a reflection of the past when the geographical and climatic

environment only allowed the inhabitants a small range of foods. Salmon, for

instance, is the most familiar fish in cold areas like Murasaki, while rice and

vegetables (which are consumed daily) were often those things harvested by the

household members or relatives; and, until recently *miso* (fermented soybean paste),

and its derivative, *shoyu* (soy sauce), were made at home. The recent arrival of

franchised supermarkets and fast food stores in Suma has made a variety of global

dishes such as hamburgers, spaghetti, and curry available in this essentially rural area.

At the dinner table children are delighted with such dishes; and young people in

particular frequented fast food stores in Suma and in larger neighbouring cities.

However, older people like my Filipina informants' parents-in-law are unfamiliar

with the practice of eating out and therefore are not familiar with the contemporary

cuisine, in the same way that my Filipina informants are unfamiliar with the local diet

on their arrival in Murasaki. It was often the fathers-in-law who adhered strictly to

the conventional local vegetarian diet, and this was a major reason why cooking was

the last domestic task that the mothers-in-law completely entrusted to their Filipina daughters-in-law.

Figure 33. Home–made *miso* in barrels

With reference to Appadurai's contention (in his analysis of gastro-politics in Hindu South Asia) that food has 'the capacity to mobilise strong emotions' (1981:494), Joshi and Krishna discuss the case of an Indian man who startled his American wife by his adaptation of what his wife saw as the [male] 'child's role' at his mother's table – expecting to be served, oblivious to the needs of his own wife and child (1998:174-5).26 The capacity of food to mobilize strong emotions is found in gastro-politics in the Filipina-Japanese families just as in American-Indian families. The Filipina-Japanese case, however, is concerned with not only gender ideology but also with cultural identity and a sense of belonging. For the Japanese

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26 I insert the term, 'male', in order to emphasise Hindu Indian gender relations relating to male and female with regard to the allocation of food which is the focus of Joshi and Krishna's discussion (1998:174-5).

family members, that their foreign members eat the same food that they do demonstrates the affiliation of the incomers. This conception is easily extended to any potential friend who is invited to share food, because sharing food symbolizes intimacy. It is the new member who has to adjust herself to the taste of the established members, though. Fellow nationals whose parents-in-law are flexible enough to eat Filipino dishes, like Vicky's mother-in-law, are apparently envied. Vicky's guests said to me, 'she is lucky to have such a 'good mother-in-law'.

4. 2. Faultless Wives

If a woman who devotes herself to her marital family and farms its land is the ideal model of married woman (*oyomesan*) in Murasaki, I would suggest that Gina is that ideal woman. When I met Gina for the first time she was twenty-eight years old and had been living in Murasaki for one year. Gina's husband, Noriaki, fifteen years her senior, is a progressive farmer. Unlike many farmers in Murasaki who solely engage in rice production, he also grows cherry tomatoes and melons in greenhouses, corresponding with the high demand in the domestic market. Since she married, Gina has helped Noriaki farming. When I met her for the first time she was seven months pregnant with her fist child but I saw her working daily in the fields together with Noriaki and her parents-in-law until the very day on which she gave birth to her child. According to local farming women, it is not unusual for farming women to do this, nevertheless her hard work did at least impress her non-farming neighbours. Gina is also an expert at housekeeping, having worked as a domestic helper in the Middle East. Within a year of her marriage she took over all the domestic chores, including

cooking. I recall shrimp and vegetable tempura she prepared for a dinner, not only because they looked exactly the same as those in her Japanese cookery book but also because they tasted completely authentic to me. Gina, like her fellow nationals during the initial stages of marriage, suffered from the language barrier and needed her husband's help to read Japanese. Her movements were also dependent on him, because she did not have a driving licence. Despite these handicaps, Gina carried out the daily management of the household in what appeared to me to be a faultless manner.

Despite, or maybe because of, her excellent performance of the local gender role, Gina and her mother-in-law, Masayo, seventy-one years old, were not on good terms during my fieldwork. Gina often complained about Masayo's lack of help with domestic chores, a complaint she made more frequently after the birth of her first child. Masayo, on the other hand, never talked to me about her relationship with Gina or her evaluation of Gina's performance as housekeeper. Instead she talked about her own performance as a young farming woman when all the processes of rice production were carried out manually. Her recollections were always concluded with a remark on how fortunate today's farming women were, compared with her contemporaries. Masayo was known to Gina's friends as a difficult person to please. It was therefore more frequent for them to invite Gina to their homes than to visit her. Nevertheless, Gina often did not accept these invitations.

During the period of the Bon festival a Filipina-Japanese couple threw a barbeque party, inviting a few Filipina-Japanese couples in their neighbourhood, including Gina and Noriaki. As all the guests arrived, the party divided into two

groups, i.e. men and women. The former occupied the *chanoma* and began a drinking session, and the latter gathered in the garden, barbequing. I saw Gina holding her newborn baby in her arms sat at a table in the garden, while all her friends made a procession to the kitchen to get cooking materials. I noticed a diamond pendant sparkling on her neck, which I found later was a birthday gift from Noriaki, and a sad expression on her face. Rather than following the procession, I decided to talk to Gina. As soon as I sat next to her, she asked me about a Japanese custom relating to the celebration of birthdays. Gina's twenty-ninth birthday had been on the previous day. Her birthday fell on the day on which her hamlet held a Bon festival feast, receiving relatives from outside the hamlet. In order to be present at this occasion and to meet new members of the family, i.e. Gina and her baby, one of her sisters-in-law had come up from Tokyo, accompanied by her husband and two teenage children. They had arrived a few days before and had since then been staying at Gina's. On the day in question she was busy preparing a celebratory meal, which she intended to celebrate her birthday as well as the feast. However, Noriaki told her she could not do this because it was not customary in Murasaki to celebrate a birthday at the feast of the Bon festival. Gina was unconvinced of the need for strict adherence to this local custom and asked Noriaki more about the custom relating to birthday celebrations. However, he only repeated '*gaman*' (be patient) and did not give her a further explanation. Gina refrained from celebrating her birthday at the feast, as Noriaki had told her.

Concerning the significance of the celebration of birthdays for Filipino people, Samonte remarks: 'Filipinos are family-centred. Birthdays and other special

events in the year are celebrated as a family by eating at home or outside (restaurant, picnic, etc.). Fathers make it a point to be home for such events (1994: 48).' Having formed a nuclear family, Samonte's Filipina informant endures her husband's absence from home on her birthday, however. Samonte points out: 'In Japan, where males are company-oriented, the Filipina has to learn to accept her husband's absence for work even on special occasions (such as her birthday). Eating alone, even outside, is something very difficult for the Filipina to do' (op. cit.). Having married into the husband's natal family's household, the Filipina in rural Japan (Gina), on the other hand, faces a slightly different situation, one in which she abandons the idea of celebrating her birthday, despite her husband's presence. The former is confronted with the busyness of urban life, whereas the latter is bound by convention. It can be seen then that the problems that Filipina spouses face in Japan reflect both the type of family they form and the characteristics of life in the area where they reside. As indicated by the question posed to me, however, Gina did not credit Noriaki's explanation of the local custom. Rather than waiting for my reply, she presented her own interpretation of the incident, which was that although Noriaki did not tell her the truth he had actually lied for more complex reasons. It was not due to local custom or Noriaki's wishes that she did not celebrate her birthday; rather it was because of one of Masayo's malevolent demands preventing her from carrying out her own ideas concerning household affairs. What perplexed her was the way the Japanese household functioned. How could it be that such unreasoning demands were apparently accepted and incorporated into household affairs? As she talked about Masayo, her facial expression changed from that of sadness to bitterness and

anger. By that time her friends had returned from the kitchen and joined our table. The focus of Gina's complaint shifted from the incident on her birthday to Masayo's lack of assistance in childrearing. As I noticed that only one person was preparing the barbeque I left the table to help her.

Celebrating a birthday is, in fact, a modern practice in Japan. Hendry reports from southern Japan that although young people now often follow the Western custom of sending each other cards and gifts on birthdays, the birthday in Japan generally had no special significance before this trend emerged. Ages were reckoned to start with one at birth, increasing every New Year, so that a child born on New Year's Eve would be two the following day (1981: 204). In their study of a Japanese Village in the 1950s, Beardsley and his associates argue that this neglect of what is a personal and individual occasion 'reflects the social scheme as a whole, in which individual persons are submerged' (1959: 295). In the late 1990s in northern rural Japan, people still reckoned ages to start with one at birth, although they understood that this was officially invalid; and the celebration of a birthday was still regarded as insignificant as an event marking the life cycle. During my fieldwork my Filipina informants threw birthday parties for their children, inviting children's playmates and fellow nationals, two cases of which are discussed in the following chapter. Nevertheless, not all the husbands agreed to these parties. Some were aware that their giving invitations to a party might impose pressure on children's playmates' parents to reciprocate. Rather than by inviting friends to the home, local Japanese celebrated children's birthdays by buying them something that they wanted, a computer game or a bicycle, for instance. Concerning adults' birthdays, I hardly

encountered anyone celebrating by throwing a party, with the exception of one case, which I shall discuss immediately below.

On Gina's birthday and the day of the local festival feast, I was in her hamlet. Having been invited to the festival feast, I was at one of my Korean informants' houses. Shunko was thirty-six years old and had been married to Ichiro, a forty-two year-old company employee, for seven years; they had one child at that time. The couple lived with Ichiro's mother, Chiyo, sixty-eight years old. Shunko worked in a small coffee shop inside a public sports centre in her village. A few days before the day of the feast I dropped into the coffee shop. Since there was no sports event on that day, there were no customers in the shop and Shunko was having coffee with the caretaker of the sport ground, a man in his late sixties. In the course of the conversation she told me that the way in which Japanese parents treated adult children was *okashii*. Since the Japanese term *okashii* has several different meanings such as 'amusing', 'strange', 'improper', and so forth, I asked her in which way it was *okashii*.[27] Shunko took the example of Chiyo's treatment of her daughter, Akiko, forty-seven years old. According to Shunko, whenever Akiko visited their house, Chiyo treated her to sumptuous food and took great care of her as though she was a very important guest. Shunko told me that this would be regarded as *okashii* in Korea where, contrary to Japan, it was the elderly parents who ought to be served with great care and respect by the adult children. Having listened to her remark, the caretaker responded to it immediately and said enthusiastically, 'it is not *okashii* at all that parents want to feed children delicious food, especially if children have been

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[27] Hendry succinctly recapitulates the meaning as: 'the opposite to the ideal quality of ordinary and average' (1986:114).

married out and have not many opportunities to see the parents.' Shunko replied straight away: 'Then, why don't you take them to a restaurant, rather than serving them at home?' The implication of her remark is that a married-in household member is not treated nearly as well as a married-out child, despite her service to the household members. It is not elderly parents but their daughters-in-law, of course, who actually provide the married-out daughters with sumptuous food and who take great care of them.

When I arrived at Shunko's house on the day of the feast she was in the middle of cooking and I joined her. When Akiko arrived, accompanied by her husband and their two daughters, both in their early twenties, Shunko told me to join the guests in the *tokonoma* (a room used to receive formal guests) so that I could hear conversations interesting for my research. While all the other family members were hosting Akiko and her family over tea, Shunko shuttled back and forth between the *tokonoma* and the kitchen, delivering food, drinks and utensils to the table. After a round of conversation Akiko made a gesture to indicate that she was going to the kitchen to help Shunko. Shunko noticed this immediately and held Akiko's shoulders lightly, suggesting by this that she remain in her seat. She told her that the feast was almost ready. As the table was being covered with a variety of dishes, Ichiro called Shunko to join the party for toasting. It, however, was not Ichiro but Shunko herself who proposed the first toast. She asked the guests to join her in raising their glasses to the health of Chiyo and to wish her many happy returns on her birthday. It was Chiyo's birthday that day. If, as Beardsley and his associates argue, individuals within the Japanese social scheme are conceived of as parts of the whole, an occasion

in which all the household members and relatives, both living and dead, gather, such as the feast of the Bon, should not be confused with such a personal and individual occasion as the birthday. However, Shunko's celebration of Chiyo's birthday did not offend anyone present at the Bon feast. On the contrary, Akiko made a speech declaring that Ichiro had a good *yome*. Akiko's husband agreed with her with great enthusiasm and Ichiro himself could not resist smiling.

The above two episodes combined illustrate somewhat the position of the married woman in the Japanese household and also reveal some of its workings. Taken together these examples would suggest that Beardsley and associates' argument about Japanese social schemes is not equally applicable to all individuals. Shunko's episode exemplifies Hendry's Japanese model of power, which argues that 'representation and reproduction of the hierarchy in turn generates the locus of generating power'. Rather than explicitly pushing back the limiting parameters of the conduct allowed her, she performed her gender role of the good daughter-in-law and by so doing reproduced the household hierarchy. She thus won the compliments of her in-laws and was able in this way to exercise an 'invisible power' over them.

One may argue that Shunko's family was simply humouring her precisely because she was not Japanese. However, Shunko's breach of the local custom stressed the contour of the household hierarchy, rather than undermining it. I shall point out that Shunko was aware of the difference between her position and that of all the others present at the feast, including the researcher; she was also aware of the limits put on her own conduct that this position imposed on her. It should be unsurprising that a Korean woman be familiar with the gender roles of Japanese

women and the hierarchy within the household, because both Korean and Japanese cultures are greatly influenced by Confucianism, which emphasizes the importance of hierarchal order to human interaction. In her comparative study of the behaviour of contemporary Japanese and Korean women, Moon contends that Korean women are those more bound by Confucian ethics (1992). This does not mean, however, that contemporary Korean women face no difficulties when performing the conventional Japanese woman's gender role as is demonstrated by Shunko's conversation with her co-worker, who was in fact the same age as her mother-in-law.

While Shunko neglected the local custom by celebrating her mother-in-law's birthday at the feast of the Bon festival, Gina observed it strictly even by refraining from celebrating her birthday. By so doing, Gina avoided open conflict with her Japanese family and maintained harmony of the gathering. Following Hendry's argument, Gina should have been enjoying great amount of 'invisible power'. Nevertheless, she was apparently feeling sad. Indeed, if people in the Philippines are essentially people of equal value who have to earn recognition by dint of their own labour, it is quite understandable that Gina should have felt that her very existence was neglected. She was not ignored, of course. The diamond pendant, which all her friends talked of with admiration, was Noriaki's gesture of appreciation. It is indicated that although foreign women's performance of the local gender roles and acquisition of the Japanese language appeared to be mimicry or repetition, it not only reproduced the existing hierarchy but also empowered the performers in the relationships with the Japanese people around them. Nevertheless, power created

though the conduct was hard to see. I shall therefore further discuss this form of communication below.

5. Communications in the Filipina-Japanese Household

As mentioned in the previous chapters, one of the characteristics of Filipina-Japanese marriages is the language barrier that exists between the partners. The Filipina-Japanese couples relied on such methods as consultation with English-Japanese/Japanese-English dictionaries, in addition to gestures and gesticulations to communicate with each other during the initial stages of marriage. At Belle's house, a Japanese-English dictionary was always in sight when the couple had had what Belle called a 'communication' on the previous evening, which, from what she described, was a quarrel. A quarrel might be one of few occasions on which Belle saw her quiet husband speak out more unreservedly. On top of the language barrier some husbands, like Belle's, are reserved, rendering verbal communication between the partners even more muted.

Since one of the prerequisites of these marriages was that the brides have no command of Japanese at the time of marriage, the husbands of my Filipina informants had previously taught themselves some Tagalog. They were, in general, familiar with some Tagalog words and phrases but did not understand conversations. They stopped learning Tagalog as their wives' Japanese improved. During my fieldwork I met one Filipina-Japanese couple who communicated with each other in Tagalog. I came across them when I was in the reception area of the immigration office of a neighbouring city. I was accompanying one of my closest informants, Erma, in order

to obtain her re-entry permit to Japan for her forthcoming trip to the Philippines (this was required for foreign residents in Japan who wished to return to the country after travelling abroad). Elysia was thirty-four years old and had been married to Kazuya, a company-employee fifteen years her senior, for five years, and had one child with him. The family lived with Kazuya's mother, Kayo, seventy-one years old. When Elysia overheard the Filipina-Japanese couple, who were accompanied by a baby, talking to each other in Tagalog, she looked astonished, as if she was witnessing something unbelievable. She was so amazed that she approached the couple and asked them how come the husband was able to speak Tagalog. The couple, residents of a neighbouring city, told her that the husband was an exporter of used cars. As he travelled to the Philippines often for the business, he had learned the language. It was during one of his trips to the Philippines that the couple had met. Having being told that they were not married through an intermarriage introduction agency, Elysia looked convinced.

On the way home from the immigration office, Elysia told me that the Filipina whom we had just met was 'happy'. Since she had spoken with the woman only briefly while we were waiting for the paperwork to be done, I asked Elysia what made her think so. She told me that it was because her husband spoke Tagalog. The fact is that not only Elysia but all my Filipina informants would have liked their husbands to be able to understand their language. When asked about problems with Kazuya relating to the language barrier, however, Elysia began talking about the difficulty communicating with Kayo during the early stages of co-residence instead. This was because Kayo used to order Elysia to do all the domestic chores, one after

the other, simply ordering '[Do] this' and '[Do] that'. This made Elysia feel 'miserable'. She wanted to stop Kayo ordering her around, but the language barrier did not allow her to do this easily. Several days after this conversation, I had an opportunity to interview Elysia and Kazuya together. Kazuya recalled the early days of their marriage and said to me: 'I used to say to my mother, 'Even though Elysia does not speak Japanese, she is not a child. Don't force her to do anything that she does not want to do, saying, 'Do this! Do that!'' Elysia followed this by saying: '*Taihendattayo*! (Things were really difficult in those days).'

Before this conversation I had talked with Maria, the chairperson of the FWAM, about problems concerning the language barrier between her fellow nationals and their Japanese families. After our discussion Maria said to me that although she and her fellow nationals have faced many problems relating to the language barrier this 'does not mean that it is always good to understand Japanese. If someone says to you, for instance, '*Baka* [you are an idiot]' and you understand the word, you will be upset. But, if you don't know the word, you may just smile. So it is better not to understand Japanese so well.' Maria's comment highlighted the negative consequences of the improvement of the foreign spouses' command of their partner's language: the better the Filipinas understood Japanese, the more inquisitive about what was said they become, and as a result, the more quarrels the couple would have.[28] Having had the opportunity of discussing the communication problems of intermarried couples, I mentioned to Elysia and Kazuya Maria's point and asked them

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[28] According to a research of Sociology Department, Tsukuba University, among Iranian male migrant workers in Tokyo, those who have a good command of Japanese have experienced more troubles at their workplace than those whose command of Japanese is poor (1994: 152-154).

if they had encountered any negative consequences stemming from understanding each other better. Elysia disagreed strongly with Maria's argument, repeatedly saying: '*Sonnakoto naiyoi!* (Such a thing would not happen).'

A few days after the interview, I was with Elysia in her kitchen. We were about to drive to Suma to buy some ingredients to make *tinola* (Chinese cabbages, potatoes, and various kinds of meat cooked with condiments in stock). Pointing out the old pots filling the shelves, Elysia told me that they had not been used for a long time. She did not see the point of keeping them, but she could not throw them away because it was Kayo who had been saving them. She also showed me many brand-new pots that Kayo kept in storage, which were all return gifts made by neighbours and relatives in recognition of her family's contribution to their household affairs (weddings, the birth of children, the construction of a new house, recovery from illness or accident, funerals, memorial services for the deceased, etc). It was implicit in her remarks that she wanted to use these new pots to cook the *tinola* but was hesitant about using them without Kayo's permission. In Murasaki, as in many parts of Japan, gifts were often regarded as having been exchanged not between individuals but between whole households involved in relationships of mutual assistance. Kayo would therefore not claim that these new pots belonged to her, even though she was in charge of looking after them. Since Elysia was now in charge of managing the household budget, I also thought that she could use these new pots at her own discretion. I suggested that Elysia use them to cook the *tinola* and she immediately agreed with me. I then, however, became anxious that this might cause friction between Elysia and Kayo. I withdrew my suggestion and told Elysia that she had

better ask Kayo permission before using them. Elysia disagreed with me this time. She told me that Kayo had never easily agreed to anything that she suggested. If she asked, Kayo would say 'no'; so it would be better not to consult Kayo and to just do it. Elysia's comment reminded me of Maria's remark about communication: a conversation could easily develop into a quarrel. Of course, the above account is concerned not simply with communication but also with power relations; Elysia and Kayo knew exactly what was going on without having to explain it to each other in words. However, having seen Elysia enthusiastically emphasise the importance of mutual understanding within her Japanese family a few days earlier, the shifting of her attitude puzzled me.

Shifting behaviours in Japanese social spaces have been discussed in Chapter 2. Bachnik argued the importance of a meta-level concept (unique to the Japanese) called *kejime* to determine the context of a particular situation. This created the impression that foreign wives who wished to behave appropriately in a series of fluid, ever-changing situations could do nothing but follow the natives shifting behaviours. Kondo's argument for the internalization of Japanese gender ideology through the performance of gender roles, on the other hand, implied the possibility that foreign wives could completely transform themselves into Japanese. Hendry's analysis of the use of *keigo* suggested that what appeared to be shifting behaviours was an attempt to influence power relations by means of self-presentation (or in which way words are spoken) within the very finely arranged social hierarchy. Hendry further pointed out that Japanese communication is indirect so that not only how words are said but also what is not said is just as important as what is actually said, arguing that what

facilitated such indirect communication was the cultural value placed on harmony and the avoidance of open conflict (1993: 165).

Following Hendry, I interpret the shifting of Elysia's attitude not as a contradiction or a confusion but as a response to the two different interlocutors she interacts with in her Japanese household, i.e. her husband and her mother-in-law. And what made her attitude shift was the force of the existing structure of the Japanese household around which the relationships with her interlocutors were constituted. Hendry argues for the importance of silence to Japanese communication; I would also suggest that the silence of the Filipinas does not signal a refusal to communicate. For the women who are incorporated into Japanese households, silence is another strategy to push back the limiting parameters placed on their conduct. They carry out their projects rather quietly so that the authority structure and general harmony in the household is not disturbed. And so perhaps Maria's example was not exactly an exception. Until I found out that she had been bullied in her workplace, I assumed that her comment was concerned with communication with her in-laws. But this was not the case. As the chairperson of the FWAM, Maria was extremely busy running the association immediately after its establishment which gave rise to gossip that she was neglecting her marital family. During my fieldwork, one of her co-workers expressed ostensible commiseration for Maria's marital family to other co-workers for having an *oyomesan* like her (who neglected her family) rather than actually confronting her. Maria understood the message but could not reply to it because it had not been directly said to her.

It was about four months after Cynthia began attending the Japanese class that

she spoke out for the first time during the lesson: '*Okaasan ga kiraidesu!*' (I dislike

Mother[-in-law]). Cynthia was at that time confronting her mother-in-law about the

bill for international calls made to her natal family and for collect-calls from them.

This was one of the common issues that caused conflict in Filipina-Japanese families

in the early stages of marriage. Not only their mothers-in-law (as the financial

managers of the households) but also their husbands were concerned about the

telephone bills, which were often bigger than they had ever seen before. In order to

lower the telephone bills, the husbands suggested that the wives write letters instead

of telephoning, while some mothers-in-law simply hung up collect calls from the

Philippines instead of passing them to their daughters-in-law. This had occurred to

Cynthia recently. Nevertheless, her statement was not concerned with this one

particular incident. It was made in the course of practising the use of the phrases: 'I

like [something]' (... *ga sukidesu*) and 'I dislike [something]' (... *ga kiraidesu*).' It

was intended to be a joke and successfully made her classmates laugh. Common

experiences relating to parents-in-law, such as those described above, led the

Filipinas to build up some shared notions about Japanese mothers-in-law, in

particular. One of these, as indicated by Cynthia's statement, was that they were

apparently people who were likely to be disliked. In another instance, some Filipinas

described their Japanese mothers-in-law as the 'queens of the household', a metaphor

that Filipino people often use to indicate the position of the wife in the Filipino

household (Cahill 1991: 98). When asked who was the 'king', they told me that the

'king' was the father-in-law. He was, however, a 'king without a crown' according

to the women. As indicated above, this was not simply because the mothers-in-law played the role of family treasurer but also because they represented the long-lasting influence of both parents-in-law over household affairs.

As suggested by the process by which the Filipinas took over domestic chores, in-law relationships in the Filipina-Japanese family during the early stages of cohabitation were rather 'quiet'. However, it appears that young Filipinas quickly perceived the tensions generated by these in-law relationships. Cynthia's statement was followed by a statement made by Dory (nineteen years old), the youngest of my Filipina informants. As though demonstrating the result of her year of Japanese study, she developed the phrase slightly and said correctly: '*Okaasan wa watashi ga kiraidesu*' (Mother[-in-law] dislikes me). In contrast to Cynthia, she looked serious and depressed so her classmates could not resist asking her what made her feel like this. Dory's problem was one encountered by many married women in Murasaki, irrespective of their nationality, namely that her mother-in-law made loud noises by dropping pans or slamming doors when she was resting in her room. For their Japanese counterparts, the *wakazumakai* was one of the places to discuss problems with the in-laws and to let out the stress caused by these. The Japanese language class served the same purpose for many foreign residents in Murasaki. By spending the rest of the lesson telling Dory about similar incidents, her classmates attempted to alleviate her worries; however the young Filipina still looked very anxious about her relationship with her mother-in-law at the end of the class. Shared notions of the Japanese mother-in-law are thus built up with fellow nationals as they undergo similar experiences.

The psychiatrist Kuwayama diagnoses that it is not culture shock but the dynamics of Japanese mother-son relationships that is the cause of mental stress among his intermarried foreign patients. When asked about stress caused by in-law relationships, one of my Filipina informants (whose mother-in-law is known to her neighbours as a strict disciplinarian) pointed out to me that not only herself but all her fellow nationals, including those who live separately from their parents-in-law, have had a hard time dealing with their parents-in-law. However, she also claimed that the attitude of the parents-in-law has changed over time; they have softened and become closer to their Filipina daughters-in-law. As Samonte emphasizes regarding Filipina wives' view of their Japanese husbands' attitudes, it may not be the attitude of the parents-in-law but rather the Filipinas' view of their parents-in-law that has actually changed. Nevertheless if, as Bachnik argues with reference to the ranking of the hierarchy of the *ie*, the Filipina brides' position in their marital household is eventually promoted to that of one of the pair of household heads. If, as Hendry contends, the relationship between the Japanese bride and her in-laws transforms from one of duty to one of 'flesh-relation', my informant's claim may not be a mere illusion. Both the view and attitude of the parents-in-law toward the Filipinas do change over the years of co-residence.

Concluding Notes

This chapter has described the process through which Filipinas come to assume responsibility for domestic tasks and management of the household and perform the

role of *yome*. The majority of Filipinas did not participate in family farming but were employed in local businesses. Non-participation of Filipina *yome* in family farming created tensions in the Filipina-Japanese families. This indicated that the Filipinas adapted the local gender model of their age groups (twenties and thirties), whereas their Japanese families expected them to perform that of their husbands' age groups (forties and older). Since the majority of native young women did not participate in their married family's farming, Filipinas' non-participation in family farming did not arouse overt criticism by their husbands and parents-in-law. However, their relatives who had to take over the *yomes'* farming responsibilities complained to me about it. The Japanese families of the Filipinas were more aware that their neighbours would associate their *yome* with the negative stereotype of women from other Asian countries who intermarried to Japanese in order to work in Japan legally. They strongly opposed the women's employment, although the majority of Filipinas managed to overcome the opposition. In Murasaki, the management of household budget was not just a task but represented the status of the female house head. However, for the Filipinas, the management of the household budget represented not status but their personal capability. They managed their households with pride.

The chapter focused on the relationships between the women and their mothers-in-law which formed a part of the structure of the Filipina-Japanese family households. According to Hendry, Japanese mode of communication generates power by replicating the existing framework of relationships. We learned about the account of Shunko's celebration of her mother-in-law's birthday, which presented a perfect example of how 'invisible' power was generated, this mode of communication was

universally deployed in Murasaki. This mode of communication is aimed at maintaining harmony with others. The quiet way in which Filipinas' mothers-in-law transferred domestic tasks exemplified this. Following Cannell, I have suggested that Filipinas' adaptation to local gender roles was a dynamic engagement with Japanese 'others' through which the state of their relationships transforms from that of asymmetric and distant to that of more balanced and intimate. As Cannell claimed, Gina expected that her excellent adaptation of local gender roles would change her relationship with her mother-in-law for the better. However, as Hendry pointed out, power generated in the Japanese households was hard to see. Her husband rewarded her with an expensive birthday gift, and a further conflict with her mother-in-law was avoided; however, she was disappointed by the fact that her effort did not visibly improve her relationship with her mother-in-law. One of the causes for disagreement between the women, besides the language barrier, was the Japanese indirect mode of communication, which frustrated many Filipina daughters-in-law who sought more direct interaction with their mothers-in-law. However, as indicated by Elysia's account, they came to follow the local mode and went about household affairs without consulting their mothers-in-law. Their silence was neither refusal of communication nor resistance. The Filipinas' performance of local gender roles was aimed at maintaining harmony with the family members involved. The materials presented in this chapter suggest that development of relationships between Filipinas and their Japanese families is a long, transformative process. The following chapter therefore explores further the relationships between the Filipinas and their marital

families and the view and attitude of the parents-in-law toward the Filipinas, with reference to the religious practices carried out by the Filipina-Japanese families.

Chapter 5. Accommodation and Transformation of the Religious Practices of the Filipina-Japanese Families

Introduction

This chapter describes religious practices that intermarried Filipinas carry out in rural Japan. It looks at how the practices they used to conduct in the Philippines are transformed in their new environment, and how local practices are accommodated in their daily lives. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the relationships between the Filipinas and their marital families in the context of religious practices. Issues discussed in this chapter include: 1) the maintenance of the women's original cultural identity, 2) the construction of their offspring's identity, and 3) the views of Filipinas and their Japanese families about religious differences between them. The accounts on the first two issues are discussed in order to evaluate the question on the identity of transnational migrants: whether they completely assimilate to the host society or split into multiple 'selves'.

While the preceding studies report that it is often prior to marriage that parents and relatives of the couples involved come to be concerned about religious differences between the partners and therefore oppose the couples' decision to marry; the resolution to this problem is conversion of one partner to the other partner's religion. However, the cases of the Filipina-Japanese couples show that religious differences between the partners become an issue at a later period of their marriages. Accordingly, there is no case of conversion of Filipina partners to their Japanese

families' religion and vice versa. The growing concern of the Filipinas' Japanese families about religious differences between them and the Filipinas makes it difficult for the latter to continue their original religious practices, though. Nevertheless, the change in the views of the Japanese families on the religious differences can be conceived as a change in their view of their Filipina *yome*.

1. Religious Practices in Murasaki

Higan-no-chunichi (the middle of the (spring) equinox week) came around about three weeks after Cynthia arrived in Murasaki. People in Murasaki commemorate the day by offering a particular kind of sweet rice cakes to *butsudan*, which are conventionally made at home (by female members of the household). On that day Cynthia accompanied her mother-in-law to a graveyard in which her father-in-law was laid to rest along with his ancestors. Cynthia watched as her mother-in-law offered flowers and incense at the grave and prayed for a while in silence. They then returned home. It was on the local day for visiting the graveyard before the Bon festival when she visited her husband's family's grave again. This time not only her mother-in-law but also her husband, his siblings, and their spouses and children accompanied her. As Cynthia watched, they all offered prayers in front of the ancestral grave, by joining their hands and bowing their head towards the grave; Cynthia crossed herself. Her husband noticed this and stopped her from doing it, by saying in English: 'No! No!' He did the prayer again, showing Cynthia what to do.

Then she copied him. Cynthia told me that this was the first time that she had prayed in the 'Buddhist' way. It was also the first occasion on which she saw her husband performing prayers; he hardly demonstrated any sign of religiousness in his daily life. A religious practice that Cynthia did encounter in daily life was the offering of cooked rice and silent prayer that her mother-in-law made every morning to the *butsudan*. Her mother-in-law had never asked her to pray with her, though.

Figure 34. Offering at the family grave

While the religious attitude of the husbands of the Filipinas will be further discussed below, not only Cynthia but also her fellow nationals claimed that their husbands were not religious. Even though such religious items as *butsudan* and *kamidana* were found in their homes, they seldom saw their husbands offering prayers to them. As mentioned in Chapter 1, apart from the municipal day for visiting tombs before the Bon, funerals and memorial services for the deceased and the gatherings of the *ko* association (to which their parents-in-law belonged) were the

main religious practices that the Filipinas encountered in Murasaki. During my fieldwork Vicky encountered a gathering of the *ko* association (to which her mother-in-law belonged) for the first time when it was held in her house. She helped her mother-in-law serve tea and refreshments to her associates but before the chanting of sutra started she left the house with her son to go for an afternoon stroll, thereby avoiding hearing the chanting, which she described as 'spooky'. While it was one of their parents-in-law who attended the funeral ceremony itself and the subsequent memorial services for the deceased, the frequency of the *ko* gatherings varied between associations and between hamlets, and not all the parents-in-law of the Filipinas were active participants in a *ko* association. The religious practice that my Filipina informants most frequently encountered in Murasaki was, therefore, the offering of cooked rice and silent prayer that their mothers-in-law made to the *butsudan* and/or *kamidana* every morning.

2. Christian Institutions and Practices in Murasaki

The Philippines is one of only two majority Roman Catholic countries in Asia (the other being East Timor). About 90% of Filipinos are Christians, where 81% belong to the Roman Catholic Church, and the 9% composed of Protestant denominations. Of the forty Filipinas in my sample, thirty-seven are Roman Catholic and three Protestant. Irrespective of their denomination, all my Filipina informants had some religious possessions. Protestant Filipinas showed me Bibles in their bedrooms and in their cars. In addition to the Bible, Catholic Filipinas had such items as statues of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and of Saint Ninõ, often with rosaries hung on their

necks; and, some of the Filipinas hung a rosary on the front mirrors of their cars. With regard to Christian institutions in Murasaki, there is just one Protestant church in Suma, open for bible reading every Sunday afternoon; no Catholic church has ever been founded. In 1549 St. Francis Xavier landed at the southern end of the main island in Japan and then went north and up to Kyoto, a city in the west where the then imperial court was located.[29] However, Christianity reached Murasaki only in the 1950s when a Protestant denomination was introduced along with an agriculturalist movement. The believers never built a church but have since then carried out bible readings at one of the believers' homes. The nearest Catholic Church to Murasaki is some two-hours drive away. Attending a religious service was difficult for Catholic Filipinas in Murasaki until 1991 when an elderly man, one of a few Protestant agriculturalists in his own village, found out about his Catholic Filipina neighbours' problem. He asked the nearest Catholic Church to dispatch a priest to Murasaki to provide the Filipinas with religious services. Since then Mass has been held once a month in rented premises in Suma. Because of the limited time and space allowed by the fact that the premises were rented, the service provided was restricted to Communion. Catholics in Murasaki still needed to drive to the church in a neighbouring city in order to receive services other than Communion, such as baptism and confession.

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[29] Hideyoshi Toyotomi, the first shogun who ruled the entire main land of the country, banned Christianity in 1587 on the grounds that it placed God above the shogun. Until the Meiji government granted the people freedom of religious belief 'within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects [of the Emperor]' (Article 28 of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan established in 1889), Christianity was continuously banned in Japan from then on.

During my fieldwork, Mass and other recreational events for the congregation, including a party after the Christmas service and tea after regular Mass, were organized by a Japanese woman in her fifties and one of the Filipinas who had attended Mass in Suma since it began. The priest was a Japanese man in his early forties who had performed his duties in Murasaki since succeeding his predecessor three years before. Regular participants in Mass included seven Filipinas and a similar number of Japanese. Of the seven regular Filipina participants, four women, including the woman acting as an organiser, brought their children occasionally; two others were almost always accompanied by their husbands as well as their children. The children had been baptized; they participated in the service and received the Host. None of the husbands were Christian, however. They waited for their family outside the room where Mass was held or went somewhere else like a pachinko parlour to kill time until the service was over. They did occasionally join the congregation for tea after Mass. The remaining regular Filipina participant had no child at that time, as she had married into Murasaki during my fieldwork, like Cynthia. Her marital home was in the same neighbourhood as the Filipina organiser so she got a lift whenever the organiser attended Mass. Cynthia, on the other hand, had no Catholic friends who regularly attended Mass and therefore had no lift to get there. The Christmas service in 1997 was the first service that she attended after she married into Murasaki in the spring of the same year. Filipina attendance at the Christmas service was the largest of the year: twelve women in all. Most of them brought all their children, and a few were also accompanied by their husbands. Only two, including Cynthia and another newly-wed, had no companion. The Protestant

man who had helped initiate Catholic Mass in Murasaki was surprised at the small number of Filipina participants in 1997 when I reported the numbers to him. He recalled that when the service was started in 1991 there were about twenty regular participants accompanied by their husbands. After a peak of about thirty participants in 1993, the same year in which the FWAM was established, the number of Filipina participants decreased. The Filipino practice of churchgoing varies by socio-economic class. While urban middle-class Filipinos living near Manila may attend Mass regularly, many rural Filipinos, who may attend Mass and confession infrequently, attend the family shrine and practise domestic prayer frequently (e.g. Cannel 1999). Churchgoing provides Filipino transnational labour migrants with an occasion for meeting fellow nationals other than co-workers, expanding their social network (Ventura 1992; Ishiyama 1987). Since Filipinas in Murasaki meet fellow nationals daily in their workplace, neighbourhood, and in the Japanese language class, the diminished attendance at Mass could be considered simply as a switch in modality. The Filipina organiser of Mass told me that it had been increasingly difficult for her and her fellow nationals to attend Mass as they were increasingly occupied with family affairs, work, and the education of their children. Their Japanese families had also become more vocal in their disapproval of their churchgoing.

The Japanese participants in Mass included men and women in their forties to sixties. They were unrelated to the Filipinas. Apart from one couple in their early sixties who was preparing for christening, they were not related to each other. As Hendry points out in her seminal textbook on Japan, Christianity in Japan is a

'personal religion' with which people affiliated as individuals rather than as the whole family, and their children do not necessarily follow their example (1987: 144). However, conversion of the Japanese congregants in Murasaki to Catholicism means separation from other members of their family in terms of their 'religious' affiliation. One of the congregants told me that she was grateful to her family for their understanding of her conversion; they allowed her to attend Mass.

3. Religious Practices of the Filipina-Japanese Families

3. 1. Baptism of Children

The vast majority of children (57 out of 61) of the Catholic Filipinas were baptized and, with the exception of one child whose baptism took place in Japan, all the baptisms took place in the Philippines. Since the majority of the Catholic Filipinas did not attend Mass regularly, religious services provided for the children were also limited. However, even though the children were still very young (the oldest was eleven years old), they were aware of certain aspects of Christianity and of the fact that none of their immediate family members apart from their mother adhered to this faith. The youngest case I knew of was a three year-old girl who, pointing to the statue of Jesus Christ in her home one day, said to me: 'This is Mother's *kami-sama* (god)'. Her mother told me that her daughter had recently be asking her questions about why her god was different from that of the rest of her family.

The children came to recognize differences between their mothers and the other members of the family, of which the statues of Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary

were only part. Generally, young children are often upset when a mother engages in conversation with a third party as this means that attention is diverted away from them. Interestingly, however, I found some young children (two to four years old) of the Filipinas even more disturbed when their mothers switched languages from Japanese to their original tongue. As the children of the Filipinas enter kindergarten, they start to encounter more Japanese women of their mothers' age, i.e. their classmates' mothers. Because of this they have more occasions to compare their mothers to their classmates' mothers. I met one girl of four years who repeatedly told her mother that her Japanese was incorrect when the mother was in conversation with other mothers. When asked about their mother's country, which they had repeatedly visited since they were infants, however, children's responses were usually positive, with the exception of one boy, Dally's son. When I met Dally for the first time she was thirty-four years old and had a six-year-old son Hirokazu and a daughter of two Asami. I met Hirokazu for the first time at his home, while accompanying three Filipinas and their children, five in all (four to six years old), on a visit. He had just started elementary school. As the mothers talked about their travel plans to go to the Philippines, the other children were getting excited in anticipation, while he looked totally uninterested. When asked if he wanted to go to the Philippines too, he said to me hesitantly: 'No.' According to Dally 'Hirokazu dislikes the Philippines' since he fell ill when he visited the country for the first time at the age of three. As mentioned earlier, it was a common experience of Filipinas during their first return trip to the Philippines for their child to fall ill. While this situation often made the whole family

abandon the trip and return to Japan, Dally's particular case was the shortest trip that I ever heard about; she stayed for only three nights in the Philippines.

As our relationship developed, Dally told me the whole story of her first trip to the Philippines. Dally's husband, Kazuhisa was the only son of a *honke* with a relatively long history. Because of their son's late marriage, Hirokazu represented what her parents-in-law had been hoping to have for a long time: their first grandchild and the treasured heir to the household. Her mother-in-law, especially, devoted all her care and attention to the little boy. Consequently, Hirokazu came to be closer to her than to his mother. When Dally's first return trip to the Philippines approached, she realized that he would not willingly accompany her on the trip, unless his grandmother went with him. Instead of having the grandmother travel to the Philippines, though, the family decided to trick the boy. They told him that they would take him to Tokyo Disneyland, taking him in fact to Narita airport instead. On boarding the airplane, the boy found out that none of the family but Dally would be accompanying him. He cried throughout the flight to the Philippines and got a fever as soon as he arrived there. On the second day Dally took Hirokazu to hospital, but he did not recover immediately. Having been informed of his illness, Kazuhisa came to the Philippines on the third day and the family returned to Japan the day after that. Two years after this incident Dally had Asami. She took her to the Philippines and had her baptized. Hirokazu, on the other hand, has never been back to the Philippines since then and was never baptized. Dally's account indicates the difficulty of disciplining one's children in the extended family, where the mother has to compete with the grandmother for authority and intimacy. Not only Filipina mothers but also

their Japanese counterparts complained about the intervention of the in-laws in this respect. However, the former could be more easily disadvantaged if differences between the mother and others were presented negatively to her children. Dally experienced a feeling of hurt when she saw how her occasional mistakes in Japanese disappointed Hirokazu and felt frustration at her mothers-in-law's intervention when she disciplined him.

During my fieldwork Dally and other Filipinas in her village were asked to carry out a cultural presentation in all four elementary schools in the village. They decided to introduce some English games and organize a performance of the bamboo dance. Although Filipinas who had no children at the time were included in the event, it was aimed at 'introducing the mother's culture to the children'. While the Filipinas were divided into four groups in order to present the performances in one of four schools in the village, the activities were scheduled so that mothers of the school children could participate in the performance at the school where their children attended. When Dally found out about the arrangement, she was worried that it might upset Hirokazu. Fortunately, Dally's performance, especially the English games, received a favourable reception among Hirokazu's classmates. As children enter school and become more interested in the subjects that they study, they begin appreciating their Filipina mother's intellectual resources more. At the end of my fieldwork Hirokazu told me with great pride how his mother spoke English and could solve all the arithmetic problems he posed her instantly.

Chapter 2 discussed Varro's study of US women in France who transfer their cultural identity to their children by bringing them up bilingually in English and

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French. The bilingualism of their children is the common concern among Varro's informants; however, even so, not all the women brought up their children bilingually. Some women chose to transfer their religion instead. As mentioned in Chapter 4, as the husbands and in-laws of my Filipina informants were concerned about the effect of bilingualism on their children's acquisition of Japanese, all the children were brought up as monolingual Japanese. Baptism can be seen as the mothers' attempt to construct a shared identity with their children who did not speak their native language. Varro further points out that not all the children of a set of siblings are necessarily brought up bilingually; the eldest children are the most likely candidates for this. Varro discusses this second factor not as a variation among siblings but as a change in the women's view of this achievement over the period of their marital lives. Their desire to transfer their cultural identity to their offspring is satisfied by the bilingualism of the first-born child (1988: 121-4). If, as Varro points out, the mothers' desire to transfer their cultural identity is engendered by the particular setting of their familial lives in which elements of their original culture are hard to share with their children, the mothers' attempt to transfer their cultural identity to their children can be seen as strengthening that bond, which they perceive the current setting of their familial lives renders feeble. If this is the case the consistent practice of the Filipina mothers of having all their children baptized can be seen in part as a reflection of the Filipina mothers' unsatisfied desires or felt insecurities concerning their relationship with their children, who have been brought up as Japanese. It also indicates the great importance of Christian identity to the Filipinas. This importance is illustrated by an episode concerning Rita.

Rita was thirty-three years old and had been married to her husband, Takeo, a company employee fifteen years her senior, for seven years and had a six-year-old daughter, Yoko, when I met her for the first time. Planning to travel to the Philippines with Yoko during the spring school holidays, Rita took over the task of renewing Yoko's Japanese passport from Takeo for the first time. She filled the application form in by herself and went to the passport office in Suma to submit it. In the course of examining the form, however, a young female clerk saw that Yoko's nationality was not specified. When asked about the nationality, Erma's facial expression changed dramatically. Her friendly, self-confident smile suddenly disappeared and a nervous look appeared on her face instead. After a painful silence, she said forcefully: 'Firippin-jin desu! ([she] is a Filipina!). Apparently, Rita felt the need to convince the clerk of the truth of her answer by means of her tone of voice. On the way home from the passport office, she was silent, as though trying to recover from the impact of the incident. When asked later by me when Yoko had obtained her Philippine nationality, however, she managed to tell me that what she meant was that Yoko was baptized in the Philippines.

The MIEC provides intermarried residents with information about the legal status of children of mixed parentage (of Japanese and foreign citizens) in the form of a booklet. This states that the Japanese government allows children of mixed parentage (of Japanese and foreign citizens) to retain the nationality of both parents' countries until they attain the age of twenty. The Philippine government allows children of mixed parentage (of Filipino and foreign citizens) to retain the nationality of both parents' countries permanently. Philippine nationality can be obtained by

reporting the birth of the child to the government (MIEC 1994: 16), not by being baptized in the Philippines, of course. Rita admits that she never thought about Yoko's legal status until the incident in the passport office. It was the first time that she became aware of the possibility that her child's nationality could be different from hers. When she got the information about the nationality of children of mixed parentage, she told me that Yoko's certificate of baptism would be used in place of her birth certificate, implying that she still hoped that Yoko would obtain Philippine nationality.

Besides the desire to transmit the essence of one's identity to one's offspring, I would suggest that the baptism of children is intended as a demonstration of the mothers' continuing affiliation with their natal families. Not only the parents-in-law in Japan, but also their counterparts in the Philippines, are aware of the religious differences between the two partners forming the couple. During my stay in the Philippines, one of my informants was scolded by her mother for having missed Mass as she guided me around her town. The father of another informant happily told me after the baptism of his grandson that the child now belonged to his family. Christian identity becomes an important defining factor on which the natal families of the Filipinas can rely when they emphasize their ties not only with their intermarried daughters but also with their grandchildren who are being brought up outside the Philippines. There is a language barrier between them and their grandchildren, which can be considered as creating a distance between them. Nevertheless, all the Filipino grandparents I met told me that their grandchildren from Japan were their 'favourites', because the children were pretty with a light complexion (and well-

dressed) and better behaved (or more reserved partly due to the language barrier) than their Filipino cousins, and because the children became dearer when they memorized some words of the local language naturally while staying in the Philippines and began to speak to their grandparents.

Rita identified her daughter as a Filipina on the grounds that she was baptized as a Christian, which was a reflection of her own identity. I assume that many of my Filipina informants would do the same, not only because their children are brought up as monolingual Japanese but also because Christianity constitutes a vital part of the communal identity of the Philippine people, who particularly appreciate this link because of the recognized cultural and linguistic diversity that exists among them. As mentioned above, regular and frequent attendance at Mass is not the key identifier of Catholic commitment. However, Christian identity is vitally important to Filipinos/Filipinas. Cannell reports that almost all the healers she knew insist that their *anitos* (ancestors/spirits in Bicolano) are Christians, even though they still retain the aura of highly indigenous supernatural patrons and allies (1999:127; Salazar 1996).

Figure 35. A church in Manila

With regard to US women's endeavours to transfer their cultural identity to their children, Varro points out the usefulness of English as an international language and the privilege that is therefore attached to it. The same positive factors allow Filipina mothers to teach their children English. Filipina mothers of school-age children told me that they wished to send their children to the Philippines during school holidays so that they would learn both English and their native language. It was during the summer holidays that this idea became most tempting. They pointed out, however, that it was difficult to carry out this plan because, although the duration of the summer holiday was the longest of all the school holidays, it was during this period that the children had the greatest amount of assignments to do. In addition, *rajio taiso* (the radio gymnastic exercise) held at the school grounds every morning virtually only allowed children to make a day's trip away, because although attendance was voluntary, it was recorded on a card which was submitted to the school and came to attention of the homeroom teacher. Filipina mothers expressed their hopes to send their children to the Philippines for higher education, whereas their husbands often suggested the USA instead. The husbands saw the USA as truly international and its English language as authentic. The wives, on the other hand, thought of the country as a dangerous place where people carried guns, quite unlike the Philippines where their natal families would look after their children.[30]

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[30] In the Philippines, as in the U.S.A, a gun can be legally purchased.

3. 2. The Performance of Japanese Practices

As mentioned above, the offering of cooked rice and prayers that their mothers-in-law made to the *butsudan* and/or *kamidana* every morning was a religious practice that the Filipinas observed constantly from the earliest days of their married lives in Murasaki. There were other occasions on which the Filipinas would encounter local practices, such as when visiting the tombs before the Bon, funerals and memorial services for the deceased, and gatherings of a *ko* association, but the daily offerings were the most significant. During my fieldwork, all the Filipinas, with the exception of one woman who I shall discuss later in this section, accompanied their family on their visits to the ancestral graves; and, rather than crossing themselves, they offered prayers at the grave in the 'Buddhist' fashion. Since many of them have stopped attending Mass in Murasaki, I asked them what the performance of the Japanese religious practice meant to them. Their common answer in general was that they were following the local ways, as was appropriate to these occasions. Regarding funerals and memorial services, I suggested above that the Filipinas hardly attended any funerals or memorial services unless they lost a direct household member. Of the forty Filipinas, three women had already lost their mother-in-law during my fieldwork. As they were now fully responsible for domestic work, they also looked after the *butsudan* and the *kamidana* in their houses. During my fieldwork, two women took over this task from their (still surviving) mothers-in-law and began making a daily offering of cooked rice and silent prayer as their mother-in-law did. One of these women was Rita while the other was her friend Nina, thirty-four years old, who had been married for seven years to her husband, a company-employee, and

who had two children when I met her for the first time. The family lived with her husband's parents. In Rita's case, her mother-in-law was hospitalized due to a minor stroke, leaving Rita with the *butsudan* to look after. Nina, on the other hand, took over this task when her mother-in-law was away on a trip with her fellow *ko* members. In a similar manner to which many Japanese mothers-in-law transferred domestic tasks to their Filipina daughters-in-law, Nina's mother-in-law did not tell her to take over this task prior to the trip. Both Rita and Nina had stopped attending Mass in Murasaki, I asked them what the daily offering to the *butsudan* meant to them. Rather than talking about religious motivations, such as the worship of their husband's ancestors or the repose of the soul of the dead, they talked of the performance as forming part of the domestic duties: 'if I don't do it, who would do it?'

It appears that the Filipinas performed the religious practices of the Japanese household in a rather functional way. The Filipinas who had stopped attending Mass emphasized their continuing affiliation with Christianity, claiming that they went to church whenever they made a trip to the Philippines. There seemed to be a demarcation line in their religious life between the Philippines and Japan. However, this may not mean that performance of Japanese religious practice has no significance whatsoever for its Filipina performers. Belief in the spirits of the ancestors and the dead souls are also found in Filipino culture (Cannell 1999:108-28, 155-64; Rafael 1988: 111-5; Pertierra 1988: 129-32; Mori and Terada 1994: 102-5). Many houses have a family shrine where memorial séances for death anniversaries are conducted. The spirits of the ancestors are said to become a protective spirit-companions of

healers. The soul of the dead is regarded as having both a benevolent and a harmful side, the former aspect being cultivated as a household guardian, and the latter distanced from the living as soon as possible. It is believed, for instance, that the pity of dead souls, especially of grandparents for grandchildren, cause the latter ill (Cannell 1999: 82). When one of my Filipina informants fell ill soon after her child fell ill, some of her fellow nationals told me that this might be being caused by the spirit of her deceased father-in-law, who was angry at her negligence looking after his *butsudan*. The Filipina in this episode, whom I shall call Elsa, was twenty-eight years old, and had been married for four years to a part-time farmer when I met her for the first time. Elsa was a rigorous believer in Evangelism. She had never participated in any of the religious practices that her Japanese family carried out. On the ground that the practice was idol worship, she did not even accompany them on their visits to the ancestral graves. A year earlier, her mother-in-law had had a stroke, leaving half her body paralysed. Since then, Elsa had looked after her mother-in-law's daily needs, helping her bathe and dress, with the occasional assistance of her sister-in-law. However, she never helped her mother-in-law offer cooked rice to the *butsudan*, even though she saw her mother-in-law do this with great difficulty every morning. Both women were very stubborn. As mentioned above, there were a small number of women who had already taken over this household religious practice. Although a *butsudan* was invariably found in every house, the amount of attention paid to it varied from household to household. Some *butsudan* received a helping of freshly cooked rice every morning, others only received parcels of snacks, and some were left with no offerings at all. My Filipina informants, both the

performers and the observers, seemed to accept these variations as they were; they never entered into discussion about the offerings. However, Elsa's attitude towards the practice of making offerings sometimes came up in conversations between her fellow nationals. Although not only Elsa but also her mother-in-law were attempting to observe their religious practice, no one took Elsa's side regarding this matter. Until her child and Elsa consecutively fell ill, they were all critical of Elsa not because she neglected the spirit of her father-in-law but because she was not sympathetic enough to her mother-in-law.

4. Religious Problems of Filipina-Japanese Families

4. 1. Affiliation with Buddhism

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, it is often prior to marriage that parents and relatives of the couples involved come to be concerned about religious difference between the partners and therefore oppose the couples' decision to marry, whereas in the case of the Filipina-Japanese marriages in Murasaki it was after marriage that their Japanese families came to express their concern about the couples' religious difference. According to the Filipina organiser of Mass, it was not immediately after marriage but after about five years of marriage that their Japanese families, particularly the fathers-in-law, began expressing their concerns about religious differences between the young couple.

Nevertheless, even in a Filipina-Japanese household where the father-in-law had already passed away, I heard a husband tell his wife: 'You have to learn a little

more about Buddhism (*bukkyo no koto*), as you have been here for long enough to do so.' It was, in fact, Vicky's husband Katsuya who made this comment. Vicky did not appear to catch on and therefore made no reply because the comment was made during their son's birthday party when she was extremely busy entertaining the guests (see Chapter 7). However, as though in response to his comment, she went to Mass only twice during my fieldwork. Katsuya's remark summarizes the particularity of the religious problem of the Filipina-Japanese marriages in Murasaki, which is that the Filipina wives are expected to accept their Japanese family's religion gradually, as they adapt themselves to life in Japan. As mentioned above, however, the husbands of the Filipinas, including Katsuya, seldom demonstrated their own affiliation with Buddhism or Shinto, so much so that their wives thought that they were not religious at all. This begs the question of what 'religion' really means to the husbands.

Hendry points out that despite the fact that many Japanese claim to be non-religious, they do carry out 'religious practices' in exceptional circumstances. For instance, in times of distress they may pray at a Shinto shrine, a Buddhist temple, and/or at their ancestral tombs (1995: 116). The disparate objects of worship appear to indicate that they are in the state of confusion. However, Hendry emphasizes that the key aspect of Japanese religion, which is found both in Buddhism and Shinto, is ancestral worship (ibid. 126). The importance of ancestors to the natives of Murasaki was demonstrated by the episodes about the Bon festival presented in Chapter 1. The system of designating a day for each municipality to visit the ancestral graves along with the given purpose of the visit (a reunion of the living and the dead household

members) suggests that the deceased household members are no less significant than the living ones. Given that the local custom of visiting the ancestral graves normally takes place at the beginning of the Bon festival in midsummer, Cynthia's mother-in-law's visit in early spring was unusual. However, if the grave is where the ancestral spirits reside, the purpose of her visit was probably to report on her son's marriage to the ancestors and to 'introduce' his bride to them, particularly to her deceased husband. More scientific minds, products of modern education, may make the younger generations in Murasaki dismiss such an explanation for a visit to the ancestral graves as one of superstitious beliefs. As described in Chapter 1, however, the ancestors also exert influence on some men in their forties, the age group in which the Filipinas' husbands belonged, so much so that some fathers attempted to name their children after their *yago*, transmitting a remnant of their ancestry to the next generation.

As discussed in Chapter 2, an essential feature of the *ie* is the continuity between generations. The recruitment of successors is itself an ongoing process of narrowing down the constituent members until they include only a set of two permanent members, one from the in-group and another from the out-group, in each generation of the institution. Because in recruiting the successors blood became secondary to the continuity of the institution, Bachnik argued that Japanese kinship was not isomorphic with biologically defined ties but was rather a cultural construct (1984: 162). This means that, having reached the last stage of the process, only those 'permanent' members are incorporated in the genealogy and the ancestor roster, and these irrespective of their biological make-up (ibid. 165). Recall that many Filipinas

took over management of the household budget after five years of marriage. It was

not accidental that house members, especially fathers-in-law as the official head of

the house, began showing disapproval of the Filipinas' churchgoing at around the

same time as the event of *shinsho-yuzuri* was completed. This indicates that the

Japanese members came to regard the Filipinas as permanent members of their house,

in much the same manner as Japanese neighbours claimed that in the rural farming

landscape the Filipinas became barely distinguishable from the natives (see Chapter

7). The statues of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary became increasingly invisible in

the Japanese house during this period.

4. 2. Attendance at Mass

As mentioned above, the majority of my informants stopped attending Mass and this

was attributed to the busyness of the women's lives, the expectation of their Japanese

families that they would affiliate themselves with Buddhism, and the severely limited

access to religious services in Murasaki due to the remoteness of the area and the

underdeveloped local public transport system. Since Mass has started being held

monthly in Suma, accessibility to religious services has greatly improved. However,

because of the lack of independent means of transport and limited knowledge of local

geography, the Filipinas who have recently married into Murasaki still suffer similar

difficulties attending Mass to those experienced before. When Mass first became

available in Murasaki, many Filipinas were still unable to drive a car meaning that

their husbands drove them to Mass. Because their husbands seldom demonstrated

affiliation to any religion, some Filipinas expected that their husbands would convert to their religion, since they attended Mass with them. However, in a similar way in which husbands stopped learning Tagalog as their wives' command of Japanese improved, husbands gradually stopped accompanying their wives to Mass as their wives became able to drive a car. During my fieldwork, only one husband drove his wife regularly to Mass. This indicates that Japanese men more recently married to Filipinas either expect their wives to adapt to the religious life of Japan more quickly than their predecessors did or that they are less concerned with their wives' need for religious services. I would suggest that the lack or loss of the husbands' company at church resulting from their lack of interest in the wives' religion is a major contributing factor discouraging the Filipinas from attending Mass.

Regarding the wives' need for religious services, I have pointed out that the availability in Murasaki has been improved to the extent that Mass is now accessible by a twenty-minute train ride from Matsukaze, Ukifune, Takekawa, Sawarabi and Momijinoga. When I accompanied a few Filipinas on a train journey for their first attendance at Mass in Suma, I found that the long awaited opportunity to attend a religious service disappointed them, however. Unlike the majority of the regular Filipina participants at Mass, those who had recently married into Murasaki still faced the language barrier with respect to the priest as well as the Japanese congregation. Their toddlers also became fretful during Mass so that they had to repeatedly go out of the premises to sooth them. None of them attended Mass again, claiming that they would go to church in the Philippines instead when they visited their natal families. This indicates that the Filipinas have to compromise between

what they want and what is actually available in Murasaki in a similar manner in which they manage to prepare Filipino dishes for themselves.

Indeed, if as Cahill emphasises, regular attendance at Mass is generally thought to demonstrate the maintenance of religious commitment, seven regular participants at Mass in Murasaki, like his Australian group, seem to have maintained their active religious faith, despite the lack of access to English Mass and special Mass for Filipinos, not to mention Filipino chaplains. Yet, I would like to point out a different view of religious practice amongst the Filipina participants at Mass revealed by the episode described below.

At tea after Mass in late August, when events for the Bon festival were carried out in many parts of the county, the Filipina participants told me about how people in the Philippines celebrate annual events such as Christmas and New Year's Day. While comparing the carrying out of conventional events in the Philippines and Japan, we found ourselves discussing the differences in conduct at funerals. A critical difference between the funeral in the Philippines and that in Murasaki is, of course, that in the former the body of the deceased is buried for the day of reckoning, while in the latter it is usually cremated with the ashes being consigned to the tomb in which the deceased's ancestors have been placed in the past. For the Filipinas intermarried to Japanese, the difference is significant, since they are eventually destined to 'enter their marital family's ancestral tombs'. Two Filipinas responded to this issue (implied by their 'inter-religious marriage') immediately. They said in unison that they did not even wish to think about the idea that their bodies would be cremated. In a sharp tone, they added that they would make the necessary

arrangements so that their bodies would be sent to the Philippines and buried there. Their statements were followed by a moment of silence. Then, one Filipina hesitantly stated that she did not mind if her body was cremated in Japan. When asked how she had come to think in that way, she talked about how attentively her mother-in-law's body was beautified for her funeral.

Both in the Philippines and Japan, funerals, including treatment of corpses, are at present conducted by commercial funeral companies. In the Philippines, embalming is carried out in order to forestall the decomposition of corpses and make them suitable for display at a wake. Other aims reported include preventing the dead soul from coming back, and paying respect to the dead; the latter used to be confined to the rich and became only recently something that the poor feel obliged to afford (Cannell 1999:148). The embalmers remove the blood of the corpse with a crude hollow skewer and hand pump. Pumping the blood from the body into one jar and from the abdominal cavity into another. Formalin is pumped in as the blood is pumped out, and if the wake is a specially long one they also remove the viscera (ibid. 149). Then, the body is washed, dried, put makeup on, and dressed in formal clothes to 'present the best possible appearance' (ibid. 142). In Japan, the *yukan* or 'bathing before the departure' is carried out. The aim of the practice is said to clean the body and soul of the deceased before it travels to the next world. The body is washed with warm water, unwanted facial hair is shaved, overgrown nails are trimmed, and makeup is applied to the face in order to make the corpse look more lifelike. Conventionally, the deceased is dressed with a white kimono, nevertheless,

formal western dresses or even casual clothes are used if the family desires that the deceased is dressed in them as it would be in life.

Having heard diametrically opposed viewpoints, the rest of the Filipina participants were apparently not ready to give their opinions on this issue and remained silent. The discussion was taken over by the priest who suggested that all the congregants make a donation to construct a Catholic cemetery in Murasaki. No-one present delivered an opinion, however. I did not have an opportunity to discuss the subject further with the Filipinas.[31] Nevertheless, I would like to report my impression that although what the Filipinas talked about was how they wanted their bodies to be entombed, what I think they were really talking about was where their bodies should be buried. I interpreted the discussion as implying the degree of affiliation to their marital group and their intimacy with the Japanese family. The length of their residence in Murasaki seems important; at the time of the episode, the two Filipinas who rejected the Japanese funeral had lived in Murasaki for one and three years respectively, while the one who accepted it had been there for ten years, the longest of all the Filipina participants at Mass. She was the one who was regularly accompanied by her children to Mass and often by her husband. Her view of the Japanese funeral indicates her change in perception of life in the marital society where religious practice is radically different from that of her own original culture; it also indicates, above all, a profound tolerance of the difference of others, a tolerance cultivated through her particular marital experience. While I do not assume that all

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[31] The priest did not make this suggestion to his congregation again and the reaction of the two Filipinas made me hesitant about talking about the subject to them. I felt it too immediate to pose a question concerning their own deaths to the Filipinas who were in the middle of tackling all the problems involved in settling in to their new environment.

the Filipinas who are inter-religiously married come to accept such difference, I would suggest that the silence of the other Filipinas, whose length of residence in Murasaki ranged from five to eight years, indicates the possibility of a similar change among them.

Concluding Notes

This chapter has described the 'religious' practices that the intermarried Filipinas carry out in rural Japan, revealing issues relating to religious difference between the Filipinas and their Japanese families such as maintenance of the women's original cultural identity, the construction of the offspring's identity and relationships with the marital family. While these issues have often been reported in previous studies of intermarriage, the case of my informants is characterized by the women's great capacity for adaptation to the local practices. The vast majority of my informants participate in the annual visit to the marital families' tomb and perform prayers the 'Buddhist' way; and a few of them carry out the daily offering to the *butsudan*. The former is explained as something demanded by the occasion, and the latter as part of domestic work. Nevertheless, since religious practices are ideologically binding conduct, one might argue that this conduct cannot be compared to the performance of such a quotidian activity as domestic work. Indeed, with regard to her Catholic fellow nationals' adaptation to the local practices, Elsa, the Protestant, once told me that making offerings to the *butsudan* and the *kamidana* was idol worship. If her fellow nationals really interpret their conduct in a similar way, by claiming that their

performance is part of household affairs they may be trying to protect themselves from the distress that this would otherwise cause them. However, the episode of cooking *misoshiru* described below indicates that, at least for the Filipina wives in Murasaki, performance of Japanese practices is not simply a question of the individual's conduct satisfying the performer's individual desires and intentions. It is a social conduct that concerns others who co-participate in their lives there.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, *misoshiru* was the most unpopular Japanese food among my Filipina informants during the early stages of their lives in Japan. Vicky was the least flexible of my informants with regard to diet. One early evening when I visited Vicky's house, I found her skilfully dicing *tofu* (soy bean curd, the main ingredient of *misoshiru*) and putting it into a large pot; she was cooking *misoshiru*. I said to Vicky: 'I thought you didn't like *misoshiru*.' 'Yes, I dislike *misoshiru*,' she replied, making a face. 'But, you are cooking *misoshiru*,' I tried to confirm her statement. She then smiled and said to me, 'Yes. But, I don't taste it; [I'm] just cooking'. Vicky knew that as long as *misoshiru* was on the dinner table, Katsuya was happy. Such a passive form of cooking as Vicky's could be responsible for the development of a new recipe. Laura's *misoshiru* tasted different from ordinary *misoshiru* and was palatable to my taste (I myself dislike *misoshiru* in general). When I asked her for the recipe for her *misoshiru*, she taught me to add chicken stock and a pinch of pepper to the original stock, which was made with dried bonito, the stock most frequently used in Japanese dishes. If her pedantic mother-in-law found out about this change she might be upset, I thought. At the dinner table, I complimented Laura's cooking. Masao responded proudly: 'I don't mean to boast

about my own *yome*, but she is really good at cooking.' After dinner, Masao lay in front of the TV and began watching a boxing match, which happened to be between a Japanese and a Filipino boxer, while the rest of the family entertained the guest with conversation. When the match started, Laura cheered on the Japanese boxer a couple of times in between bouts of conversation. Her daughter and mother-in-law were apparently completely uninterested in boxing and they paid no attention to the match. Throughout the match Masao was completely silent so that we all thought that he had fallen asleep until the Filipino boxer fell down onto the deck of the ring. Masao suddenly got up and shouted at the screen: 'Ah! *Ganbare*! *Ganbare*! (Hang on! Hang on!)' He had been supporting the Filipino boxer all along.

We have seen how intermarriage to rural Japanese men imposed on Filipinas a tremendous burden of learning and of performing a range of Japanese 'texts'. While intermarriage represents an unequal relationship between the partners, I would suggest that the Filipinas' adaptation should not be seen as a simple case of repeating the texts. Their performance of Japanese practices is neither imitation nor reproduction. Performance served as the locus through which the Filipinas engaged with others who participated in their lives, transformed their relationships, and brought forth something new. What was new was not to be found in the form of the Filipinas performance but in their interlocutor's response to that performance. Some husbands, including Masao, told me of their feelings of offence when they encountered Japanese people who were prejudiced against the Philippines and its people. Many husbands claimed that they had come to be aware of news about the Philippines since they married Filipinas; but if they had not married Filipinas, they

would not even know where the Philippines were. While the children of my Filipina informants were all given Japanese names, *kanji* that signified images of the Philippines, such as sea and sunshine, were frequently found within these names.

I have suggested above that the Filipinas' claims concerning their performance of local 'religious' practice could be seen as strategies for the prevention of distress this might otherwise cause them. If they see *butsudan* and *kamidana* as religious objects, though, I believe that the Catholic Filipinas do not see these objects in exactly the same way in which they see a statue of Christ, the Virgin Mary or any other saints, although they may see the practice of making an offering to the *butsudan* as propitiating the spirit of the dead, as the local Japanese do. This is the point at which the Protestant Filipina departs from her Catholic fellow nationals, however. We have seen in the thesis that the Filipinas gradually yet consistently adapted themselves to their lives in rural Japan, incorporating Japanese words and practices into themselves. If they continue to do so, this begs the question as to whether they will eventually be transformed into Japanese. Even though the practice of baptism for their children indicates that the Christian identity is still fundamentally important to the Filipinas, Laura's cheers for the Japanese boxer indicate her identification with the Japanese. Is she changing into a Japanese person? However good her command of Japanese is, however deep her understanding of Japanese culture may be, I believe that she is not, but I believe that her cheer was not a monologue, thrown into the air. Indeed, Laura could be cheering on the Japanese boxer for many different reasons, but I believe the most important reason is to identify herself with her Japanese family, Masao in particular. I contend that it was a performance or conscious action aimed at

transforming the relationships between her and her different interlocutors, minimising the gap between them by exchanging power with intimacy.

While the previous chapters explored how the Filipinas accommodated themselves to the day-to-day lives in rural Japan, this chapter focused on religious practices that they carried out in their married homes. Those practices were both Christian and Buddhist/Shitoism. Even though the Filipinas did not go to church regularly, they prayed privately and with their children so that the letter came to be aware of their mother's *kami-sama*. They all had their children baptized. Those practices were crucially important to the Filipinas not only to maintain their Filipina identity but also to strengthen the bond between them and their children and demonstrate their continuing affiliation with their natal families. However, with the exception of one person, they all accompanied their Japanese families to visits to their ancestral graves and prayed in the 'Buddhist' way. There was a small number of Filipinas who looked after Buddhist altars in their homes. And, one of the regular participants in Mass showed a profound appreciation of the religious differences between her and her Japanese family. The materials presented in this chapter indicated that Filipinas' performance of Japanese practices was based on their sense of affiliation with their Japanese family and not with their personal religious convictions, and therefore that their performance of religious practices was not only a personal action that was aimed at satisfying the performer's individual desires and intentions but also a social act that concerned others who shared their lives.

The accounts discussed in this chapter indicate that not only their performance of Japanese religious practices but also that of gender roles, their use of Japanese

language, and accommodation of the local lifestyle are all conscious acts that are intended to bond them with the Japanese who co-participate in their lives, most importantly their Japanese family. While the identities of transnational migrants are often conceived as assimilating to the host society or fragmenting into multiple 'selves', I suggest that Filipinas are neither transforming into Japanese nor split to pieces of identities but are building up their lives in the new place; their adaptation to Japanese practices is a call for a 'dialogue' with their Japanese family.

The growing concern of the Filipinas' Japanese families about religious differences between them and the Filipinas can be seen as a response to the Filipinas' call for the dialogue. For Japanese people, religion is fundamentally ancestral worship. Their Japanese families appeared to expect that the Filipinas would accept their 'religion' gradually, as they became more accustomed to their lives in Murasaki. However, it was noted that the Japanese families came to be more explicit about their concerns with religious differences between the couple at around the same time that the Filipinas took over the task of managing the household budget from their mothers-in-law. This can be seen as an indication that they came to regard the Filipinas as a 'full-time' member of their *ie*.

While the chapter discussed components that constituted the family lives of the Filipinas and the process in which they are further taken up in their marital families, the following chapter focuses on their social lives in order to examine forms of Filipina identity that they construct in their transnational setting of lives and how they are incorporated in the local community.

Chapter 6. The Social Lives of the Filipinas: Public Images and Self-presentation

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the social lives of the Filipinas in Murasaki. It looks at four subject areas in the following order: 1) the presentation of Filipina culture that Filipina residents make at *bunka-koryu-kai* (culture exchange conferences organised by the local authorities); 2) the type of clothing and make-up that the women wear in everyday life; 3) the birthday parties that they hold for their children; and, 4) the disputes that arise between Filipinas. The chapter examines the correlation between elements of social life (such as public images of the 'Filipina brides in rural Japan' and the forms of self-presentation employed by the Filipinas) and relationships between the Filipinas and their fellow nationals. The various forms of self-presentation discussed in this chapter represent how the women are aware of their self-images given by the host society and how they make self-presentations in response to the host society. The accounts of interactions between the Filipinas elucidate the women's perception of power. In the previous chapters, I have emphasized that although the Filipinas showed great capacity for adaptation to local lives, their performance of local gender roles and practices was not a mimicry or repetition of Japanese gender roles but an act of engaging with the 'others', through which they attempted an exchange of power and intimacy with them. I also pointed out that while they face constrictions in reproducing Filipina practices in the new

environment, they managed to do so by utilising locally accessible materials. This chapter examines how Filipinas make choices under these constrictions in order to expand the parameters of their 'permitted' range of activities dictated by the host society. In so doing, this chapter also aims at revealing a particular way in which the local community incorporates the Filipinas.

1. The Presentation of Filipino Culture

1. 1. A Public Image of Filipinas in Rural Japan

One day at the end of September in 1997, when the people in Murasaki were enjoying a moment of leisure, having completed rice harvesting, a local television crew came to film the Japanese language class for Filipina residents in Takekawa. The film was to form part of a report on an international Korean Town symposium, which Takekawa municipality had organized, inviting the representatives of two 'Korean Towns' in Japan and those of Los Angeles and Toronto (although the North Americans were only present 'virtually' via Internet). Besides promoting friendly relations with those towns, the village office presented two other purposes for opening the symposium: promoting the continuing exchange of friendship and farming technology with a village in Korea that had been going on since 1985, and cultivating an international feeling in the region, a feeling which would encourage more international exchange activities and eliminate prejudice and discrimination against foreign residents.

Due to an increase in the number of students, the Japanese class for the Filipina residents had been divided into beginners and advanced learners since June. It was the beginners' class that the television crew came to film. Because of intense public interest in the municipal intermarriage introduction service, the students of the advanced class, who had all married through the service, had experience of interviews and filming, whereas for the students of the beginners' class, it was their first encounter with a TV camera. '*Nahihiya ako!* [I'm shy!]' The presence of the television camera excited and at the same time intimidated the young Filipinas. The filming of the beginners was followed by the interview of an advanced student, Aida. At the time of the interview, Aida was thirty-six years old and had been married to a part-time farmer, fifty-one years old, for eight years, and had two children with him. The family lived with her husband's parents. As the spokesperson for the Filipina residents in Takekawa, she talked in her fluent Japanese about her first impressions of Murasaki, her daily life, and her likes and dislikes about life in Japan.

The report on the Korean Town symposium was broadcast as part of an afternoon news show which I watched in Aida's house with her and her whole family. We all sat in front of the television set to watch Aida on the screen. However, the long interview with Aida did not appear at all. Instead, the faces of the beginner students, apparently uncomfortable learning *hiragana* (Japanese cursive syllables), came up. A Filipina present at the beginners' class pointed out that the one who appeared most on the screen had the darkest complexion of all those in the class. The woman who made this point had a very light complexion herself. Given that a fair complexion is something that both Filipinas and Japanese women similarly

desire, the woman told me sarcastically that the one who appeared most on the TV programme was 'lucky to have a dark complexion'. If Filipinas were simply typified as brides from an exotic, tropical county, this did not mean, however, that 'foreign residents' had no voice at all in the report. A Korean spouse of a local man appeared on the screen, with the village office in the background, of course, though. By allocating different roles to Filipinas and to Korean residents, the programme managed to present a concise report on the Korean Town symposium, relating it to the foreign residents in the village and the social services that the municipality had provided for them. However, it failed to update the image of 'Filipina brides'.

Filipino intellectuals are critical of the Japanese mass media for its treatment of the Philippines and its people, claiming that it has contributed to creating negative images of them. In her analysis of Philippine-Japanese international perceptions of each other, Samonte reports that poverty, crime, and illegal migrants were the only issues which the Japanese mass media dealt with to represent the Philippines during her time travelling in Japan (1991:119).

Concerning images of the Philippines prevalent in Murasaki, Maria told me about an incident that she came across during a six-month job-training programme organized by Momijigawa municipality. Maria was one of the trainees on the programme, a programme during which she met her husband. One day when the programme was coming to an end, one of her Japanese co-workers claimed that a one thousand yen note had gone missing from her purse which she had left in her locker. The co-worker then began claiming that one of the Filipina trainees had stolen it, justifying the accusation by arguing that this amount of money was many times more

valuable in their country than in Japan. Maria is a quick thinker and always quick on repartee and her Japanese at that time was much better than her fellow nationals', thanks to her then boyfriend and present husband. While her fellow nationals stayed silent, not knowing how to respond, she took out a one thousand yen note from her purse and gave it to the Japanese co-worker, saying to her: 'I thought Japan was a rich country, but some people make a fuss for only one thousand yen.' This significantly shamed the Japanese co-worker. Maria recalled that during the job training the language barrier between the Filipina and Japanese workers kept their interaction to a minimum, while they were also physically distant because the trainees were gathered in a section separate from the main workstation. It was during the above incident that Maria interacted with her Japanese co-workers most closely during the whole job-training programme. She has since then changed her workplace a few times, but she continues to work so her career as a worker in Japan is slightly longer than that as the spouse of a Japanese man. Maria also recalled that it was only after she got married to her husband that her Japanese co-workers began demanding that she speak Japanese in the workplace. As indicated above, her fellow nationals told me about the same incident with annoyance, whereas Maria described it positively, if somewhat sarcastically, as an indication that Japanese workers were coming to regard her as a co-worker, rather than as a foreigner from an impoverished country. Nevertheless, Maria and her friends became aware that the negative images of the Philippines and its people among Japanese had contributed to creating prejudice against them. This motivated them to establish an association for Filipina wives in Murasaki.

1. 2. Culture Exchange Conference and the FWAM

As mentioned above, the FWAM was established to promote positive images of the

Philippines among local Japanese. The utmost concern of the members was with

their children. Both the mothers and mothers-to-be were worried that their children

might be bullied at school for the simple reason that their mother was a Filipina.

What the FWAM chose to present as Philippine culture was the art of the 'bamboo

dance' (or tinikling dance), in which two teams in turn move two bamboo sticks and

step between them in time to music.[32] The 'bamboo dance', which is originated from

Leyte Province, came to be recognized as a national art for public entertainment

during the period of American colonisation. The costumes they chose to wear for the

presentation were *barong tagalog* shirts and *terno* blouses, which were introduced

during the Spanish colonial period and transformed into a national symbol during the

Marcos regime (Watari 1994:83). In order to present their performance to a Japanese

audience at home, they practised in between work and domestic chores. They then

began visiting local institutions such as a home for elderly people and a school for

mentally handicapped children, while also participating in local festivals and culture

exchange conferences organized by the MIEC.

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[32] The dance is called tinikling, as it is a mimic movement of tinikling birds (roadrunner) hopping over trees, grass stems or over bamboo traps set by farmers.

Figure 36. Tinikling (courtesy of Barangay Folk Dance Troup © National Bookstore Inc. Manila, the Philippines)

Figure 37. Bamboo dance

Promoting the 'international development' of the area, the MIEC had, since being established in 1989, actively organized a variety of events. During the first

seven years until 1997, the year in which I began my fieldwork, it had held fourteen lectures and symposiums (inviting both local and metropolitan Japanese intellectuals and foreign residents), eight *kenshu-kai* (training programmes for personnel of the municipal institutions), three *kondan-kai* (meetings inviting Filipina, Korean and Chinese spouses respectively), besides the annual culture exchange meeting, the biggest event of all. The annual culture exchange meeting in the fiscal year of 1997/1998 was entitled 'The Food Culture Exchange Conference.' It was held in mid January in 1998 in the central communal hall in Suma, inviting some seventy local Japanese and thirty foreign residents, including Philippine, Chinese and Korean nationals. The event was divided into two parts. In the first part the three groups of foreign residents cooked several dishes from their countries of origin together with Japanese volunteers. In the second part all the guests enjoyed the food that had been prepared earlier in the conference, while groups of foreign spouses presented some performances representative of their home countries. A Chinese woman resident in Suma played the Chinese harp. A group of Korean women living in Takekawa demonstrated a game called *yunnori* (similar to backgammon) to the audience. Then the FWAM performed the bamboo dance dressed in 'national' costume, accompanied by taped music. After the performance, the Filipinas taught the guests how to do the steps for the bamboo dance.

With the aim of introducing the cultures of foreign residents to the locals, the eight municipalities also organized similar culture-exchange events independently. Rather than setting up a new format, however, foreign spouses were invited to existing fixtures, such as the culture classes and after-school activities. In the former,

foreign wives introduced their national cuisine to their native counterparts. In after-school activities, the Filipinas taught children the bamboo dance and English, while Chinese and Koreans taught how to cook their national dishes. To promote the participation of native residents, information on these events was inserted in the public newsletters that each municipality distributed monthly to all the households in its administrative area. The public newsletters were also used to introduce foreign residents to the local community. In addition to essays written by foreign residents on national and seasonal events or festivals in their countries of origin, recipes taken from their national cuisines and folk stories from their home countries were inserted in the newsletters with the help of foreign residents.

As shown above, both the MIEC and local municipalities carried out a variety of culture-exchange activities. However, there was a significant difference between the county-level culture-exchange events and those organized by the local municipalities. In the former, for instance, native participants were selected more formally with local politicians, schoolteachers, and staff from municipal institutions generally being those chosen; whereas in the latter the event was open to any municipal taxpayers. In the events organized by the MEIC, interaction between foreign and native guests was obviously equated with that between performers and an audience, while in the municipal culture-exchange events, all the participants interacted with each other more dynamically, cooking, dancing, or playing games. In addition, the MEIC presented Filipina participants as members of the FWAM, whereas in the municipal events the same Filipinas were introduced as the *oyomesan* of local families or as the mothers of classmates.

Figure 38. Bamboo dance – After–school activity by Filipina mothers
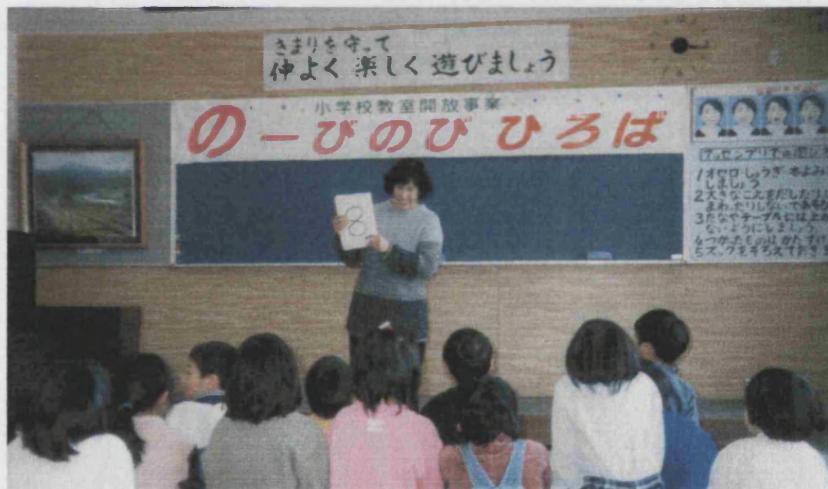
Figure 39. English game – After–school activity by Filipina mothers

Figure 40. Cooking meat dumplings – Afterschool activity by Chinese mothers

Figure 41. *Yunnori* game – After–school activity by Korean mothers

In his study of male transvestites in Sulu, Johnson points out that the local elites see events such as beauty contests as what mainstream society does; this motivates them to sponsor these events and to participate in them as judges. The local elites incorporate these events into the community, demonstrating that their society is 'progressive and tolerant' (1997: 229; Cannell 1991:376). By so doing, the local elites try to identify the community with mainstream society. At the same time, however, they make a distinction between themselves and the *bantut*, by treating the latter as a case of 'cultural otherness' (ibid. 230). Johnson argues that the creation and distancing of otherness is a process transforming society; identification with larger society takes place through the production of the discourse of distinct types of ethnic or national bodies (ibid. 236-7). Following Johnson, cultural events organized by the MIEC, aiming at incorporating the 'cultures' of foreign residents into the local society, can also be seen as making a distinction between foreign and Japanese participants, by placing them in the positions of the performer and the observer respectively. This can, at the same time, be conceived as the county's attempt at identifying itself with wider Japanese society and can therefore be seen as a process of transformation for the local society too. During my fieldwork, however, the FWAM was not active, and neither was the MIEC. The annual culture-exchange meeting described above was the only event that the MIEC organized during my fieldwork; and this was, therefore, the only occasion when I saw my Filipina informants perform the bamboo dance as members of the FWAM.

2. The Filipinas' Style: Clothing and Make-up

2.1. A Change in the Local View of Filipinas

'When Maria arrived in our house, my neighbours' response was extraordinary [*sugokkatta*]. They rushed into our house just to have a look at her.' With a hint of excitement, a forty-four year-old farmer, Kazuo recalled the early days of his marriage. At the time of the interview he and his wife Maria, thirty-seven year old, had been married for nine years and had three children. When asked about her impression of the neighbours' response Maria said: 'When I came to Murasaki, there were already a few Filipinas here. Those Filipinas were subject to the villagers' curiosity. Wherever they went, the people stared at them and talked about them behind their back. Compared with those Filipinas, I was lucky.' Responding to my report on the initial response of local people to Filipinas, one of the village office personnel said to me: 'No such thing would happen today. *Gaikokujin no oyomesan* [foreign brides] are no longer unfamiliar to local people.' I hardly noticed anyone on the street staring at my Filipina informants during my fieldwork. One reason for the increasing inactivity of the FWAM and of the MIEC was that wider Japanese society and local people came to pay less attention to 'foreign brides'. The MIEC was not urged so strongly to demonstrate its identification with wider society, while the local people came to recognize the Filipinas as members of local families.

Concerning the change in the reception given to the Filipinas, some local Japanese claimed that the appearance of their Filipina neighbours came to be more

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and more Japanese the longer they lived in Japan. Providing evidence of this, a woman told me of an incident that occurred when one of her friends from a neighbouring village visited her. As she and her friend took a walk in her neighbourhood, they passed one of her Filipina neighbours. If the Filipina's physical features had been radically different to a Japanese person, her friend would have noticed her neighbour. Her friend, however, failed to do so and passed the woman by. My Japanese informant told her friend that the woman whom they had just gone past was not Japanese but a Filipina. With surprise, her friend said to her: 'she seems no different from the Japanese at all.' When further asked about the resemblance of their Filipina neighbours to Japanese people, however, none of my Japanese informants were able to articulate more. Nevertheless, a report resulting from ten years of observation by a Japanese psychiatrist notes that after a period of living in rural Japan, Filipina brides, who used to be *wakawakashii* (youthful) and *hanayaka* (glamorous) like office workers in Makati (a town in Manila and the business centre of the Philippines) came to wear *obachan-shumi* (clothes to the taste of elderly women) and *yabottai* (rustic; unsophisticated) clothes such as local Japanese women usually wear (Kuwayama 1996: 57). It seems that in the view of long-term Japanese observers, Filipinas become increasingly invisible in the landscape of rural Japan the longer they stay.

2. 2. The Filipinas' Style: Clothing and Make-up

As mentioned in the previous chapter, I saw Cynthia sweeping the ground outside her house a few days after her arrival in Murasaki. I was with two Filipinas, driving to

Suma to shop for some groceries and her house was situated along the road we took. As we passed her house, one of my companions abruptly raised her voice, attracting my attention: '*Nani are?* [what's that?]' What attracted her attention was the pair of bright pink pyjama trousers that Cynthia was wearing. By that time, a few Filipinas had already told me about episodes involving pyjamas. The fact that the women's pyjamas sold in Japan looked similar to what was everyday wear in the Philippines often lead to confusion. One day a new Filipina neighbour had taken a walk in the neighbourhood in pyjamas embarrassing everybody and, eventually, herself. This is one of the mistakes that many of my Filipina informants made during their initial stages of life in rural Japan. Although Cynthia did not go out after finishing the chore, her fellow nationals were amused by the idea that she might.

Indeed, Cynthia's bright pink trousers stood out in the rural scenery. Although women's pyjamas sold in Murasaki were often very colourful (like children's clothes), local Japanese women hardly ever wore bright colours. Elderly women often wore dark-coloured cotton trousers for farming (*monpe*) and a smock, which always reminded me of the women in Niiike in the 1950s that Beardsley and his associates documented (1957). Younger women were more aware of current fashion, of course. On winter sports days at elementary schools, I was able to make a list of globally known clothing brands from looking at the logos embroidered or printed on the down jackets that the mothers wore. However, I seldom saw them wearing colours as bright as pink and red. In addition, I seldom saw adult females in skirts on everyday occasions, even during the summer, although female high school

students, whom I saw assembling after school in front of Suma station or in game-parlours in Suma, always wore miniskirts, even in freezing mid-winter.

The quiet taste in clothing among Japanese women in Murasaki and the modest way that they dressed may be attributed to rural conservatism, a conservatism which was apparently somewhat weakened among the younger generation. In the Philippines, on the other hand, modesty is one of the important themes when young women decide what to wear and what make-up to put on. During the period of my stay in the Philippines, I hardly saw any young women in miniskirts, even in Manila. The young women I saw wore simple T-shirts and jeans; some wore skirts of a modest length. My travelling companion on the journey to the Philippines, Laura, said to me: 'In the Philippines, only [return] *japayuki* wear thick make-up and *'seksi'* clothes'.

When Cynthia made her first appearance at the Japanese class, her appearance differed radically from what I had seen a few days before. Dressed in a pair of slim black jeans and a white turtleneck top, she looked smart and active. The simple and neat way (*simple lang*) that Cynthia dressed and the clean and natural look that she had was what the majority of my Filipina informants attempted to achieve when they dressed and put on make-up. Successful self-presentation always invited an exclamation of '*Maganda!*' (beautiful or lovely), whereas poorer displays were usually described as *pangit* (ugly or 'spoiling the beauty of the wearer'). The Filipinas often pointed out that their Japanese counterparts wore too much make-up. This appears to contradict the conservative clothing worn by the women native to Murasaki. Rather than colourful make-up, however, native women often simply

covered their facial skin with a conspicuous layer of foundation. My Filipina informants also tried to make themselves appear natural, though.

Not all the Filipinas preferred the same style of self-presentation, however. One of my informants was nicknamed by her fellow nationals '*Seksi*' because she often wore 'miniskirts', showing off her long, slender legs. The nickname implied both a compliment and a criticism, though. One of her Filipina neighbours was concerned about her clothing not only because it lacked modesty but also because it stood out in her Japanese village. She said: 'Because we are *gaijin*, if one of us does something conspicuous, all of us are seen in the same way.' Samonte reports that her informants are told by their Japanese husbands and in-laws not to wear colourful and bright clothes, nor make-up and miniskirts (1994: 48). My informants impose similar restrictions on each other. This does not mean that their husbands and in-laws are unconcerned with their self-presentation, though. What appears to be a self-imposed dress code is a restatement of their Japanese family members' opinions that has been passed on to their fellow nationals. Samonte's study indicates that the dress code of intermarried Filipinas in urban Japan is concerned not so much with the fact that women stand out as foreigners but with the risk of them being mistaken for entertainers (ibid. 49). Since Filipina entertainers are virtually non-existent in Murasaki, these fellow nationals hardly come into the conversations of my informants. However, outside of the locality, the Filipinas are certainly aware of the entertainers' presence, as indicated by Laura's comment on Filipina aesthetics. The economy class section of our flight to the Philippines, in which Laura, her daughter and I had seats, was almost full. The vast majority of the passengers were Filipinas

whom I suspected were entertainers, rather than housewives, because of their clothing and make-up and the company they had. Japanese men, who appeared to be boyfriends rather than husbands, accompanied a few of the Filipinas; and there was a child accompanied by a couple. As the plane approached Manila Airport, the female passengers began to powder their faces and comb their hair almost in unison. Laura told me later that she was the only one who did not 'groom' herself in our section; and, she added that all those who did must be *japayuki*.

In order to look at the different ways of dressing of my Filipina informants and local Japanese women I shall discuss episodes involving typical clothes such as aprons and smocks. In Murasaki aprons and smocks are not simply working clothes that people wear in the kitchen. There are many occasions outside this domain where women also wear these garments, for instance at communal meetings and during activities where they take on the task of serving tea and food to other participants and at workplaces where uniforms are not provided. I also saw native women in aprons or smocks on their visits to neighbours and shopping in supermarkets in Suma. My Filipina informants told me that wearing an apron or smock was an unfamiliar practice in the Philippines; it was more associated with maids than with housewives and they did not see these working clothes in general as pretty. When Belle discovered that in her first workplace in Murasaki, a factory in her neighbourhood, all the workers wore either an apron or a smock, she spent all day in Suma, looking for one. She could not find any that she could bear to wear, though, so she wore one that her aunt-in-law had given to her. In her study of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong, Constable reports the requirement of wearing a 'maid's uniform'. Her

informants oppose this demand made by their employers because they dislike uniforms that they see as demeaning or embarrassing. They are also aware that uniforms and other visible markers help heighten their ability to serve as a status symbol for their employers, thereby making an unwanted distinction between them and their bosses (1997: 95-6). Contrary to the situation of domestic workers in Hong Kong, the visible marker of working clothes helped my Filipina informants relate to their Japanese neighbours and co-workers. Excessive gestures of affiliation to the Japanese may urge their fellow nationals to put a brake on this, however.

My Filipina informants wore aprons and smocks on whatever occasions they were required to do so. However, unlike their Japanese counterparts who wear one almost all the time, they take these clothes off when it becomes unnecessary to wear them. I never saw them in working clothes when they went on errands or visited their Filipina neighbours, with the exception of one case, which I shall discuss immediately below. It was at a gathering of a few Filipinas where I saw one woman wearing a smock. As soon as she arrived one of her friends mocked her by calling her *obasan* (an aunt). Like the Tagalog term *tita* (aunt), the Japanese term *obasan* and its variation *obachan* are used to address both one's aunt and a totally unrelated senior woman. My informants sometimes called each other *tita*, emphasising their different ages in jest. As mentioned above, the misogynist Japanese term *obachan-shumi* (found in the report by the Japanese psychiatrist) derives from the term *obachan*, a variation of the term, *obasan*. Accordingly, it is likely that the Filipina was trying to imply that her friend looked older with that particular garment on, or that the clothes she wore were spoiling her beauty. However, if this was the case, the

woman could have told her this in her own language, rather than by addressing her with a Japanese term that carries such connotations. On a different occasion, the same Filipina told me that the role of Japanese wives was akin to that of the 'maid', because they had to serve not only their husbands but also their in-laws. Since such a lowly image of Japanese wives is prevalent in the Philippines (Medina 1991:175), it is not surprising that she and her fellow nationals consciously or unconsciously associate smocks and aprons, which local Japanese wives almost always wear, with this interpretation. And, unfortunately, they now assumed the same position as the Japanese wives. When asked whether the smock that her friend had worn at the previous gathering was *obachan-shumi*, the Filipina told me that it was not the garment that her friend wore but the way in which she wore it that was *pangit* ('ugly'). Nevertheless, since there were so many occasions that required the Filipinas to wear one, some of her fellow nationals sometimes forgot to take them off even when it was unnecessary.

3. Two Birthday Parties: Presentations of Power and Status

Interaction between the Filipina wives in Murasaki echoes Cannell's model of Filipino personhood in which hierarchical and egalitarian aspects of relationships not only co-exist in terms of contrast but also in terms of the process of transformation. One factor that marks egalitarian relationships is the living standard of the Filipina-Japanese families. As indicated previously the educational attainments and socio-economic backgrounds of the Filipina spouses vary, whereas the conditions of their

present lives are similar to the extent that they all own their own house (or are entitled to own the natal house) in which they all have a family-size refrigerator, a washing machine, one or more television sets and other electric appliances, just like any average local family household does. As seen in the previous chapters, Japanese partners tend to be blue-collar workers or farmers, while the vast majority of the Filipina spouses engage in factory work, irrespective of their educational attainments.

As mentioned above, of the forty Filipinas, three are university graduates and four are college graduates, while just three did not complete high school education. Of the seven better educated Filipinas, five married in the period between 1987 and 1992, and the other two married in 1995 and 1997. Of the three women who did not complete high school education, one married into Murasaki in 1987, while the other two married in the mid 1990s. Accordingly, the rank of educational attainment among the Filipina spouses roughly corresponded to their length of residence in Japan and therefore to their seniority. Seniority is an important element of social interaction in the Philippines as it is associated with authority. Traditionally, a ladder type system of authority exists in the Filipino family whereby the older children, whether male or female, are dominant over the younger ones (Medina 1991: 24). This authority goes with responsibility for the younger siblings' well being. Filipina overseas workers are often found to be supporting their younger siblings (Constable 1997; Ishiyama 1989). As mentioned earlier, Filipino people use kinship terms for people who are totally unrelated to the speakers, showing respect for the interlocutors, and my Filipina informants address and refer to the older fellow nationals as *ate* (eldest sister). This may be a reason why they were so eager to help

new arrivals (who are often younger than the benefactor). They also address and refer to the older fellow nationals' husbands as *kuya* (eldest brother) to show them respect, and fellow nationals' husbands and their own as the *lolo* (grandfather) in jest.

Regarding the use of kinship terms among my Filipina informants, all the women in their twenties appeared to follow this convention, calling their older fellow nationals using the term *ate* and their husbands, *kuya*. However, there was a variation in the use of kinship terms among the women in their late twenties. Of the twelve women aged twenty-eight and twenty-nine, about a half of them (five persons) employed these terms, whereas the other half (seven persons) did not. The factor that differentiated the behaviour of the Filipinas of similar age was the length of their period of residence in Japan. The latter married into Murasaki during the period between 1986 and 1989, while the former married in 1992 or after that. Omission of the kinship terms indicates the intimacy between these women and their older fellow nationals, an intimacy that has grown over the years.

To my Filipina informants, the length of time of residence in Murasaki equates with their knowledge about the host society and their command of Japanese. Filipinas who had recently married into Murasaki were respectful to their older fellow nationals because of their greater local knowledge and Japanese vocabulary, which included phrases and sentences useful in negotiating with husbands or for dealing with rude co-workers, for instance. The art of handling Japanese interlocutors (transferred from fellow national to fellow national) was always talked about with admiration. However, if a newcomer discovered that a fellow national who had lived in Murasaki for a longer period than they had was ignorant of a certain matter

concerning Japan, she would not hesitate to point this out, even if the fellow national in question was senior to them. This indicates another aspect of these relationships: the co-existence of hierarchical and egalitarian relationships among the Filipinas. It also shows that they are continuously absorbing information about their host society, information they are eager to apply to their activities in order to improve their social lives.

3. 1. Vicky and Dally

One Sunday in late autumn, two Filipinas who lived almost next door to each other each had a party. Both parties were thrown to celebrate the first sons' birthdays; one boy was one year old, and the other was seven. It was not accidental that the two parties were held on the same day. The hosts planned it like this, although they took their common friends' convenience into consideration too. The invitations said that the first party would start at eleven o'clock in the morning and that the second would start at three in the afternoon. The host of the first party was Vicky, whose difficulty adapting to the local diet was discussed in the previous chapter. Vicky was born and brought up in a town on the south edge of Metro Manila as the fourth of eight siblings. Her family was wealthy enough to send her and all her older siblings to high school. She, however, was the first of her family to study at college, thanks to financial support from a wealthy neighbour. In return, she had helped the neighbour's family with domestic chores, which turned out to be an opportunity for her to learn housekeeping and cooking. Despite her short period of time living in Murasaki, Vicky was well known among my informants for her good sense of

humour and excellent cooking skills which were both demonstrated at the party. The host of the second party was Dally. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Dally was one of the few university graduates among my informants. As her education indicates, she was born to a relatively wealthy family in a state neighbouring Manila, as the youngest of three daughters. Both of her sisters also graduated from university and were engaged in clerical work. In contrast to Vicky, Dally was one of the few Filipinas who had to learn how to cook Filipino dishes after marrying into Murasaki, as her natal family had had a maid to cook for them.

I met Vicky for the first time in the early spring of 1997 in Aida's house, or more precisely in Aida's kitchen, where she was cooking some Filipino dishes. As mentioned above, because of her cooking skills and witty character, she was popular among my informants. Some of my informants, including Aida, came to pick her up and take her to their home when they desperately needed to have proper Filipino dishes. Vicky told me that she was secretly planning to throw a big party on the first birthday of her son Hiroyuki, and that I would be invited. I immediately accepted the invitation and asked her the date of the party. When I found out that it would be the coming autumn, I was surprised by her long-term planning. From that time on, Vicky frequently reminded me about the invitation, and when she did so she always looked excited. Her plan was a long-term one, indeed. By the beginning of the summer, Vicky managed to find a job in a small factory in her neighbourhood in order to finance the party.

In contrast to Vicky, Dally informed me of Hirokazu's birthday party only a couple of weeks prior to the date, although I already knew that his birthday fell on

that day. It appeared that Vicky's plan had motivated Dally to do the same. I found out at her party, however, that it had been prepared a relatively long time before then (see below). In retrospect, I can see that Dally's commitment to the party was just as strong as Vicky's; this was partly demonstrated by her attitude towards shopping the day before the parties. Having assumed responsibility for managing the household budget, Dally had always tried to economise. When she shopped for groceries, she always compared the prices, quantity and quality of the merchandise carefully before buying. In her search for cooking materials for the party, however, she made no compromises. For instance, both Vicky and Dally chose canned pineapples (a crucial ingredient of a 'Philippine-style' fruit salad) made in the Philippines, which cost almost twice as much as those from anywhere else. Dally also spent ¥3,000 on a watermelon, which she found only after visiting four shops, because the season was nearly over. As we will see immediately below, however, the two parties appeared to be radically different in terms of the presentation of the event and of the dishes, the composition of the guests, and the significance of the event to the hosts and to their guests. And, as indicated above, the timing and organisation of the events was not accidental.

Vicky's Party

Contrary to Vicky's earlier invitation, I found myself on the day of the party not in her guest room but in her kitchen, helping her and Aida cook a variety of Philippine dishes which included: *mechado* (beef stew in tomato sauce), pork *sinigang* (tamarind based soup), and *ginataan labong* (coconut milk based stew with pork and

bamboo shoots), which are served with rice. There also were *pancit* (fried noodles), *lumpiang shanghai* (spring rolls), meat spaghetti, and a 'Philippine-style' fruit salad. Those dishes, especially spaghetti, represent a typical middle-class Filipino party menu, which reflect Vicky's association with her wealthy sponsor for college education.[33] Both the variety and quantity of food impressed Aida: '*Sugoi!*' (amazing). Having been told by her husband that 'it's customary in Japan to serve at least five dishes at a feast', Aida had always managed to do this by adding some ready-made food to her menu. In addition to the seven dishes described above, one Filipina brought *leche flan* (rich caramel custard) and another a three-story birthday cake with icing with a message made of chocolate saying in English: 'Happy Birthday Hiroyuki. Thank You, Papa and Mama'. While Vicky and her assistants were cooking, her husband Katsuya prepared space for the party on the ground floor of their house. He removed all the sliding doors partitioning the *chanoma* and two other rooms adjoining it and made a long dining table in the centre of the space by combining four normal tables. Surrounding the table were numerous *zabuton* (flat cushions) for the guests to sit comfortably on the floor, which was covered with *tatami* mats. In total, twenty-six Filipinos were present at Vicky's party, two of whom had travelled from outside of Murasaki to get there. When the party had just started, Dally came in with Asami. Dally offered her congratulations to Katsuya on Hiroyuki's birthday and joined the feast for a while. She then returned home, as Asami started crying, 'Dad!' Like Dally, about half of the guests were accompanied by a child or two, whose age ranged from three months to seven years. In order for

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[33] Fenella Cannell, personal communication

the mothers to be able to look after their babies, one room was opened up as a nursery. Although Vicky suggested to her guests that they bring their spouses with them, only six were accompanied by their husbands. The variety of Filipino dishes delighted the wives, while their partners' plates remained empty. Having noticed that her husband was hesitating to take any food, one Filipina put some spaghetti on a plate and passed it to him, saying: 'It's really tasty, try it.' The husband took the plate, managed to gather up a small portion with a pair of chopsticks, and brought this to his mouth. 'It's too sweet', he murmured and refused to touch any more Filipino dishes. Thanks to Kayoko, in addition to the pickled vegetables that she prepared herself, grilled sea breams and *sashimi* (sliced raw fish) were provided by a neighbouring fishmonger for the Japanese guests. The sea breams symbolized celebration, while the *sashimi* was regarded as a sumptuous dish, especially in such a remote mountainous area. Throughout the party, the husbands ate only these Japanese dishes, while drinking beer and *sake* (rice wine).

Birthday gifts were brought to the party one after another. All those who were accompanied by their husbands brought larger gifts (in size) with them, the largest of which was in a box about one-metre square. It was from one of Vicky's closest friends, Eva, and her husband. We found out after the party that it contained a plastic tricycle which Hiroyuki would have to wait at least a year to be able to ride. This reminded me of a characteristic of gift-giving in this area that young Japanese wives had told me about: 'Items chosen for seasonal gifts or in return for gift money received at such occasions as weddings, funerals, and memorial services for the deceased are always large in order to impress the recipient. It may not be valuable or

useful, but it will surely be troublesome if you have to take it back home with you.'

Nevertheless, Filipino parties are primarily food distribution events, and birthday parties are treats for the guests (significance of which are further discussed below). However large the gifts were, they were never paid any attention during the party. They were piled in a corner of the hall and forgotten until most of the clearing up was finished.

As the birthday cake arrived, Vicky transformed herself from earnest host, literally running around to serve guests one food after another, to enthusiastic organiser. She took a lead in making the guests sing 'Happy birthday', while Katsuya filmed the scene. At around three in the afternoon, all the courses of the meal had been finished, and half of the guests began to move on to Dally's house. The other half stayed at Vicky's. In general they went home before dinnertime to feed their families, although three couples continued on until ten in the evening. Food prepared for the party was put in plastic containers and given away to all the guests when they left. Apart from setting up the tables and filming the party occasionally, Katsuya was mainly in charge of exchanging relatively formal greetings with Filipina guests and looking after their husbands. Vicky, on the other hand, worked frantically throughout the party, hosting guests and directing the event. At the end of the party, her voice was hoarse. While cleaning up the dishes with Aida and myself, Vicky told us that she had spent about ¥120,000 on the party, which was equivalent to more than 60% of the average monthly income of residents in Murasaki. Aida said to me reproachfully: '*Sugoi!*' 'Look, Yoshimi-chan. After two years in Japan, Vicky

doesn't know the value of money yet. She must believe that her husband is a millionaire.'

Dally's Party

As the guests began moving to Dally's party, I followed the procession. In Dally's house, like in Vicky's, the space for the party had been created by removing all the partitions between the rooms on the ground floor. This space was divided into two parts. Three identical sets of rectangular picnic tables with benches on each side (which were typically used in an outdoor party unique to this area, known as *imonikai*) were lined up along the veranda, from where one could enjoy the view of the Japanese garden that Dally's father-in-law looked after. On the other side of the tables were several long and narrow wooden stands with *zabuton* placed along them. These wooden stands, which resembled benches, were desks borrowed from a neighbouring Japanese calligraphy class for this occasion. They were arranged to face the outside so that people who sat in this section could see the pretty Japanese garden with just the guests occupying the tables in the way. When I arrived in Dally's house, all the guests, including twelve Filipinas, were seated on this side, accompanied by their children, nine in all, ranging in age from three to nine years old. As I stepped into the entrance hall, a large banner draped across the room caught my eye. On the banner, custom-made in the Philippines, was a message written in Japanese: '*Otanjobi omedetou* (Happy Birthday), Hirokazu'. Under the banner was a large Western dining table covered with white tablecloths, on which dishes were laid out buffet style. Canapés, including sausages, chicken fritters, fried prawns and

marshmallows were skewered with colourful sticks tipped with small flags. The main dishes were meat spaghetti and beef *mechado*. *Mechado* was normally served with rice. However, no rice was served at Dally's, as it was not considered as a proper party meal. I also found that the watermelon, which Dally had sought with such determination, had been transformed into a basket containing a Philippine-style fruit salad. Deserts included Dally's homemade *leche flan*, the taste of which all her friends always admired, and a birthday cake purchased from a local bakery. Besides the dishes were paper plates and cups patterned with colourful animals and flowers, plastic forks and spoons in vivid colours such as red, green, and yellow, and paper napkins with a gingham check of light blue and pink. These pretty disposable utensils and paper napkins, which I never saw in any other household in Murasaki, made Aida gasp with sheer admiration: 'This is the Philippine style!'

Figure 42. The birthday boy and guests

As guests arrived, Dally called Hirokazu, who was at the time playing a computer game in his room with his classmate, the son of a neighbouring Japanese family. As the birthday boy made his appearance, Dally instructed all the children to make a queue in front of the main table. She put a party hat on each child, served

them food and a drink with a couple of party crackers, and told them to be seated at one of the picnic tables. Then, the adults were asked to help themselves.

As though echoing Aida, the Filipina guests, one after another, told me: 'this is a Philippine-style party!' One woman suggested that only the balloons, which are usually used to decorate party halls in the Philippines, were missing. However, there were actually some on the wall behind her which she had not seen. All the elements of Hirokazu's birthday party, such as the room decorated with balloons, the Western tables and chairs, the children with birthday hats cheerfully gathering around the birthday child, reminded me of other Filipina informants' children's birthday parties thrown in the Philippines, which I had seen in pictures. Indeed, not only the banner but also all the disposable tableware, and even the balloons were Philippine-made. Dally's sisters sent them to her together with some birthday gifts for Hirokazu. Dally told me that she spent ¥60,000 from her savings on the party.

As soon as he finished his meal, the shy Hirokazu dashed back to his room to continue playing his computer game and the rest of the children followed him. The atmosphere of the party was more relaxing than Vicky's because the gathering was smaller, the majority had already eaten heartily at Vicky's, and the guests knew each other relatively well. As indicated by the age of their children, all the Filipina guests present at Dally's party were friends and acquaintances who had lived in Murasaki for a similar length of time. In addition, there was no need to exchange formal greetings because Dally's husband and her parents-in-law were absent throughout the party. While the children immersed themselves in a computer game, the mothers enjoyed chatting with each other. Like Vicky, Dally gave away all the remaining

food to the guests at the end. The gifts from the guests were also ignored throughout the event.

3. 2. Some Implications of the Birthday Parties

Vicky's Party: the Production of Power

A guidebook for long-term Japanese visitors to the Philippines reports that Filipino people are '*patei-zuki*' (party-loving) and that 'parties are thrown not only for celebrating Christmas and birthdays. Various occasions can be used as an excuse for a party' (Nakao 1996: 131). The report continues: 'Taking advantage of the national character, the domestically invested franchised fast food restaurant, Jollibee takes bookings for birthday parties for children', whereas McDonald's does not (ibid.131). The reporter sees this as one of the strategies that the local firm has used to maintain itself at the top of the market in the Philippines, pushing the global enterprise back into second place (op. cit.). The brief report on the Philippine economy does not fail to point out its most significant characteristic, a wide economic disparity between people, which, the reporter says, makes these fast food restaurants 'physically close to ordinary Filipinos but economically distant from them (op. cit.). From this economic perspective, Dally's party can be seen as a reflection of her wealthy, middle-class background (with more western goods). This style of party is regarded as the 'standard' and, for ordinary Filipinos, represents the 'ideal' Philippine style. The main Filipino dishes served at the two parties are similar and are typical of the middle class (especially spaghetti). However, throwing such a lavish feast might not have formed part of Vicky's life in the Philippines. She must have been present at

such occasions many times, preparing dishes for the guests of her wealthy neighbour. Vicky's party was clearly constituted of a mixture of Filipino and Japanese elements. Unlike Dally's party where even her husband was absent, both Filipina and Japanese guests were present at Vicky's party, being entertained with a mixture of Filipino and Japanese foods. The co-presence of spoons and chopsticks was symbolic of Filipina-Japanese intermarriage. Indeed, rather than looking to the past, Vicky's party clearly indicated her present state in Murasaki and the 'power' that she currently enjoyed there.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Filipino notion of personhood and power stipulates that power is not an internal essence found in the person but is rather something that is only accessible through relations of exchange between persons. Cannell points out that earning recognition and 'making a claim' is found throughout the history of the lowland Philippines and that this is not simply a strategy used by 'those who do not have' to minimise the material inequality between them and 'those who have.' Where the powerful and wealthy are not icons of a transcendent order beyond themselves which attracts worship, the power they enjoy depends ultimately on their popularity and ability to gather followers: 'those who have' distribute more favours and gifts than they need to be given in order to elicit signs of deference from others in the community (Rafael 1988: 141 in 1999: 236). When I saw two Filipinas bring a *leche flan* and a three-story birthday cake to Vicky's party, I thought that these were their gifts to Vicky's son. However, I found out later that Vicky had paid a handsome sum of money for these Filipino desserts. Given that all the outgoings for her party were spent on food, that the food was given away to all the guests at the

end of the party, and that gifts from the guests were neglected throughout the party, Vicky's party can be seen as a distribution of favour. Vicky also bought Aida a handbag in return for her help preparing the food. It appeared that Vicky was trying to attain popularity in the society which she had just entered by distributing her material power. While Dally was reproducing an aspect of her past, Vicky was using her present life in Japan to present herself, albeit in a conventional Filipino way.

Dally's Party: Reproduction of Status

Vicky's party demonstrates a change in her life and implies further changes, whereas Dally's party appears to aim at reproducing a Filipino space inside a rural Japanese village. Ironically, the style of birthday party Dally employed, which all her guests acclaimed as the authentic Philippine style, might not actually have constituted part of the lives of her guests prior to their marriages. They, like Vicky, now enjoy economic power allowing them to buy items symbolic of high living standards in the Philippines; but this was not the case before, though. When Dally offered me an invitation, she emphasized that the party was for Hirokazu, not for her. 'I'll invite *Firipinjin*, too. But, the main guests will be Hirokazu's friends.' By emphasising the obvious fact that the party was held for Hirokazu, Dally appeared to be trying to disassociate her party from Vicky's and to detach herself from other Filipinas. This was not only aimed at making a distinction between her and her fellows' socio-economic status back in the Philippines, though.

Besides the motherly desire to celebrate the birthday of her child by throwing a sumptuous party, what similarly motivated Vicky and Dally to do this was probably

the fact that it was the first opportunity for them to host a son's birthday party. For the reasons that I discussed in the previous chapter, Dally never had an opportunity to throw a birthday party for Hirokazu in the Philippines. Contrary to her emphasis on the benefits to Hirokazu, her reproduction of the Philippine style party might actually, therefore, have served to compensate for her frustrated desire to celebrate her son's birthday in the Philippines. Moreover, if she saw Vicky's party as the locus from which the mother worked on her relationships with her peers, then Dally's attempt to de-emphasise her personal motivations can be conceived to be disassociating her party from Vicky's. As indicated earlier, intermarriage placed Filipinas from different socio-economic backgrounds on the same socio-economic footing. For those who came from the wealthier families, this transformation can be seen as a degradation of their status. It is therefore unsurprising if Dally attempted to preserve her original status, by reproducing the Philippine style party. Her party was successful to the extent that all her guests in unison acclaimed how it was of the authentic Philippine style. Her guests, however, included only a half of the Filipinas who were gathered in her hamlet on the day of the event. The other half, including Vicky and her other younger Filipina neighbours, remained in Vicky's house as if they were attempting to not be incorporated into the structure of Filipino relationships that Dally reproduced. Even if Dally wished to reproduce the asymmetrical aspect of Filipino relationships, it was her fellow nationals who actually evaluated her presentation. I would suggest that Dally was aware of the limit of her self-presentation and of the limitations of her reconstruction of the past in the present. Even though Vicky was not present within the space Dally so carefully reproduced, Dally was present in the social world in

which Vicky produced her new status. It was probably not accidental that Dally made a courtesy visit to Vicky's party, while Vicky did not reciprocate this.

4. A Social World of the Filipinas in Rural Japan

In his study on class and status relations in San Ricardo, Central Luzon, Kerkvliet reports that although the people often associate high living standards with prestige, the economic power does not necessarily entail high esteem and respect; and some people in an economically inferior position enjoy considerable respect even from people with more economic power (1990: 62). At the same time, the people in San Ricardo are 'acutely' aware of differences in socio-economic conditions among them (ibid. 14); and, such difference is expressed in terms of 'class' (one's means of making a living) and 'status' (his or her standard of living) (ibid. 14, 61-2) or using such simple terms as 'rich' and 'poor' (ibid. 59).

Among the Filipinas in Murasaki, those from less wealthy families often used such terms as 'rich' and 'poor', like the people in San Ricardo, when they told me about their and their fellow nationals' socio-economic background. When Vicky talked of her natal family, she almost always described it as 'poor'. This, however, was not aimed at reconstructing the asymmetric relationships of the Philippines in Japan. When she mentioned this, she expressed the fellow feeling that she shared with her Filipina friends from similar backgrounds. As mentioned above, Vicky's closest friends were Eva and Rosa. Both women married into neighbouring hamlets a few months after Vicky did, using the same go-between who had arranged Vicky's marriage. Eva was two years younger than Vicky, and Rosa five years her senior.

Although they married through the same go-between, they had never met each other prior to marriage. Since they have married into Murasaki, they have exchanged visits and gone out together. Two months after the birthday party, Vicky resigned from her factory job in order to commit herself full-time to housekeeping and child rearing. She was, however, already busy preparing for her *satogaeri*. She frequently went out in search of gifts for her natal family and relatives and for clothes for herself to wear during the trip. After then, any gathering at Vicky's house often turned into an impromptu private fashion show. She tried her new clothes on one after another, explaining on which occasions she would wear them, while Eva and Rosa complimented her. Sometime later, however, one of her Filipina acquaintances told Vicky that Eva and Rosa were spreading gossip that she was '*mayabang*'. She was also told that they condemned her for 'doing only shopping' and 'buying things only for herself', implying that she neglected both her marital and natal families. The incident came up in conversation with a few Filipinas whose length of residence in Murasaki ranged from six to ten years. What particularly attracted their attention was Vicky's shopping practice. Reminding me that it was only recently that she had experienced such enormous buying power, all the Filipinas, who might well have undergone a similar experience to Vicky's, thought that Vicky's behaviour was understandable. At the same time, they were critical of Vicky, like their younger counterparts, Eva and Rosa. One woman said: 'Vicky is *sabik* [keen; eager] to have what she wanted in the Philippines. But, if she does not change her behaviour, she will be *sakim* [greedy; selfish; caring too much for oneself].' She told me that

describing a person as *sakim* was as offensive as calling him/her *ganid* (not human; a selfish person).

Eva and Rosa's emphasis on Vicky's neglect of her marital and natal families and the other fellow nationals' comments stemmed from the concept of Filipino kinship which is constructed through reciprocity. Those in better circumstances are expected to share at least part of their wealth with kin, especially parents and siblings. As a result, although Vicky appeared to have earned recognition by means of the party, her distribution of wealth did not in the end help her to win a good reputation. This had already been indicated by Aida's disapproval of Vicky spending such a large amount of money on the party. This suggests that among the Filipinas in Murasaki, as with the Filipinos in San Ricardo, economic power does not necessarily entail high esteem and respect. Moreover, the economic power that fellow nationals exercised was talked about with reference to their marital family or their natal family, as if one's economic power did not belong to an individual but was generated through relationships with others. As mentioned above, Aida was critical of the great expense of Vicky's party. At the same time, though, she did not fail to perceive Vicky's powerful position within her marital family reflected in her distribution of wealth. She told me that Vicky was now the 'princess of the household.' If the economic power that a person exercises is seen not as something belonging to herself but as something generated through the relationships in which she is involved, the wealth that she distributes is a reflection of those relationships. Thus her relationship with the receivers of her gifts becomes akin to that between the actor and the audience, because the latter is situated outside the relationship generating the power. I would

suggest that this metaphor characterises the relationships between the Filipinas in Murasaki.

When asked about the cause of the discord between her and her friends, Vicky was apparently disturbed and explained away the falling out by the fact that Eva and Rosa were just jealous. The financial situation of the three women at the time of the incident was as follows: Vicky and Rosa received a similar amount for their monthly allowance, while Eva had a paid job. Nevertheless, Kayoko also gave Vicky some money every time she went out so that she could buy train tickets and lunch, whereas Rosa's and Eva's mothers-in-law only put on an unhappy expression when they went out. On the way home from shopping, Rosa and Eva sometimes went to Vicky's house first and left the items they had purchased for themselves there so that their mothers-in-law would not notice how much they were 'consuming'. Having remembered this difference, I found myself suggesting to Vicky that she stop showing them her new clothes. This resulted in her getting even angrier. With her eyes blurred with tears, she drew closer to me, claiming that she had not intended to make them jealous but rather to share her pleasure with them. Indeed generally, if we had something that pleased us (pretty clothes, a stylish car, a rare collectors' item, or an interesting book, for instance) we would show it to friends, expecting for them to sympathise with the pleasure that it brought us. And the friends' sympathy, which is often expressed in the form of recognition, approval, and admiration for the beauty of the item, increases our pleasure. What I did not understand, however, was the acuteness of Vicky's need for the sympathy of her friends, which manifested itself in the betrayal of her emotion.

Because of their egalitarian relationships, there were sometimes heated debates between my Filipina informants accompanied by emotional bursts. In order to explain to the Japanese observer such interactions, which appeared to be more direct and dynamic than the typical Japanese way of communicating, the Filipinas described them as 'dramas'. If each woman were the heroine of her drama, her fellow nationals would be the co-actors or the audience. The importance of the audience to the drama was implied in the comment of one Filipina on the discord between Vicky and her friends. At the time of the interview, she had been resident in Murasaki for ten years, a longer period than any of the other commentators on this subject. Contrary to my expectation, she told me that Vicky was not simply showing off her economic power. Reminding me of the remoteness and monotony of the place where she and her fellow nationals lived, she told me that being seen by fellow nationals was 'proof' that they were still alive. Her remark indicates not simply the melancholy of the long-term migrant (Cahill 1991: 82). It also points out the difference between what she perceived as the local view and the view that she thought she shared with her compatriots. The difference was apparently significant enough that, as her comment suggested, only the latter were able to appreciate their dramas. From this point of view, Dally's party, which faithfully reproduced the 'Philippine-style', exemplified a drama that would lose a great deal of significance without a Filipino audience. This is not simply because recognition, approval, and admiration turn beauty into power but also because local and global aesthetics are not always compatible with one another, this being the point from which Cannell's argument begins.

It was about two months after the incident that Vicky made up with Eva and Rosa. One morning, Rosa called me to say: 'Everybody's coming [to my house]. Come here quickly.' At Rosa's, there were Eva and Vicky. Vicky exchanged with her friends news about other common friends that she had heard while she had been estranged from them. As if the discord between them had never existed, the three women responded sympathetically to each other's comments and laughed at the jokes that each of them made in turn. They appeared to be genuinely intimate with each other. Given that the fellow nationals with whom my informants interact are small in number, each person deserves special attention and for this special attention to be reciprocated.

Concluding Notes

This chapter has described various forms of self-presentation that the Filipinas employed in their lives in rural Japan, in comparison with the self-images imposed by the host society. By so doing, it aimed at indicating the constrictions imposed on their self-presentation on the one hand, and the choices that they made under these constrictions, on the other. In her analysis of Pakistani immigrants in the UK, Werbner deploys Geertz's notion of a 'local sensitivity' or a whole number of implicit understandings and emotional sensitivities to art, poetry, religion, and life (1983: 99 in 2001: 144) and argues that authors of hybrid social discourses are potentially disturbing and interruptive and that they therefore tread a fine line between delightful transgression and real offence. To play upon and transgress a local aesthetic without giving offence, the authors must understand the 'local

sensitivity' and observe the limits of cultural hybridity, beyond which 'their actions may arouse hostility or even violence' (op. cit). As we have seen above, when expressing their aesthetics the Filipinas were aware of the risk of standing out as foreigners and being associated with the negative images attached to this status. At the same time, though, expressions of excessive adaptation provoked disapproval from fellow nationals. This transnational condition may be conceived of as a 'fractured reality' (Bhabha 1994: 214 in ibid.) and the migrants' worldview as a 'double consciousness' (Gilroy 1993: 126, 161-2 in ibid). The inner experience of individuals, like 'consciousness', is hard to know. I assert, however, that the Filipinas in Murasaki are dealing with two different 'sensitivities' when they present themselves to the local society, and that fellow nationals form an integral part of this local society, however small in number they are.

Chapter 7. Conclusion: Intermarriage as the Processes of Relocation and Adaptation

Introduction

Aimed at contributing to the ethnography of intermarriage and transnational migration, this thesis has described married lives of forty Filipinas in a rural farming county in northern Japan that I shall call Murasaki. In Introduction, I have suggested that while most case studies on Filipina migration have focused on the idea that Filipinas migrate to contexts which are more 'modern' than those they leave behind in the Philippines, this thesis questions the usual assumption that transnational movement is always towards modernity, and which at least complicates the implication in the literature that such migration is always motivated by the desire to travel towards images of a more modern life. Filipina migrant workers in Hong Kong, Rome and Los Angeles are all in their quest for a combination of better income for themselves and the families they leave behind, and the experience of a world beyond the Philippines which is seen as wealthier, more exciting and more glamorous than life at home (Constable: 1997; Parreñas: 2001). Filipinas who marry men from the United States envisage their transnational marriages as the move from the Philippines understood as a relative backwater of global modernity, towards the United States which is generally viewed as its epicentre. For them, hopes for a wider experience of life are inseparable from hopes for economic stability, as well as hopes for a happy emotional relationship (Constable: 2003). While Japan is also viewed as an advanced nation from the perspective of most ordinary people in the Philippines, Filipina entertainers who marry men from rural Japan were usually influenced by the

glamour which supposedly attaches to bar work and entertainment work because of

its supposed connection with the possibility of entry into a world of a professional

entertainment industry (Faier: 2009). Those Filipina migrants are all seeking out

experience in locations viewed as more advanced, more urban and more modern than

those they leave behind. My informants, on the other hand, were unlike the Filipina

entertainers married to rural Japanese men, in that they were only ever approached

as potential brides, and unlike the Filipina wives of US men in that it was clear from

the beginning that they would be going as wives of farmers within one particular

location and economy in Japan. Some of them nurtured hopes and expectations for

job opportunities apart from marriage, and these were sometimes sources of tension

between them and their Japanese families as I have shown. However, whatever

parallel hopes they may also have entertained, they understood that they would be

travelling, not towards a more urban destination, but towards one which was in many

cases more rural than the life which they left behind, having been recruited

immediately and specifically as wives of rural farmers, and asked to go and live in

Japanese families from the outset. The case of my Filipina informants presents a

stark contrast to the other studies on Filipina intermarriage and transnational

migration. This thesis therefore provides unique accounts to the ethnography of

Filipina intermarriage and transnational migration.

The thesis has focused on the accommodations and adaptations that Filipinas

make in their married lives. It has looked at the process in which the women cope

with the change in a natural and social environment that their intermarriage has

entailed, and the process in which they learn Japanese language, gain knowledge

about the locality and try to fit into the indigenous lifestyle of their married-in society. In so doing, the thesis has dealt with three main questions: 1) how Japanese community and families incorporate Filipinas, 2) how intra-household dynamics transform as a result of incorporation of the new members, and 3) the significance of adaptation of Japanese gender roles for the Filipinas.

While the focus of the thesis was placed on the accommodations and adaptations that Filipinas make in their married lives, it was inevitable that the thesis dealt with the difficulties and problems that the Filipinas commonly faced at various stages of their marital lives. In order to avoid risk predefining their marriages as 'problematic' and to fathom their experience of marital lives, Chapter 2 reviewed literature of intermarriage. Following Benson's contention on 'inter-racial' marriage, I chose to search answers to the main questions in anthropological studies on Filipino personhood and Japanese society.

With reference to studies of transnational immigration, I examined the possibility of applying contentions of these studies to the case of my Filipina informants and to the general views of the identity of transnational migrants. While the experience of transnational migration is often conceived as assimilation to the host society or fragmentation into multiple 'selves', the review of the studies of immigration suggested that the experience of migrants needed to be examined not as a finalized phenomenon but as a process of being constructed through the encounter with others. Accordingly, the accounts were discussed in the order of stages of the marital life, and with a focus on relationships with the others with which the Filipinas interacted most significantly in those stages.

In the final chapter, I shall summarize the accounts presented in the thesis in terms of the three questions presented above. I shall deal with the first two questions together, as both are concerned with the features of Japanese society. I shall then outline the main points of the previous chapter in terms of the third question which concerns Filipino personhood. After summarizing the thesis, I shall briefly discuss the subject of my next project, and some subjects related to this research that I have not been able to discuss in the main body of this thesis.

Intermarriage as Processes of Relocation

While Parreñas pointed out that the processes undergone by migrant Filipina domestic workers were 'dislocations', I have suggested that those of intermarried Filipinas should be conceived of as relocations. The domestic workers underwent many stresses connected to dislocations such as; partial citizenship, the pain of family separation, contradictory class mobility, and the feeling of social exclusion or non-belonging in the local community; whereas the account of my informants indicated that, even though they did have to face the unpleasant consequences, the intermarried Filipinas formed families, obtained full citizenship, and became a member of the local community. The literature on intermarriage showed that, even though they all originally came from the same country, experiences of US women in their host societies differed, as their current socio-cultural environments differed. The same was indicated by Parreñas' study on Filipina domestic helpers in Rome and Los Angeles. In order to fathom particular socio-cultural environment in which the Filipinas were located, Chapter 1 described natural environment, infrastructure and lifestyle in

Murasaki. While the lives in Murasaki were significantly different from those in the urban Philippines where the majority of the Filipinas originated. However, some customs and conventions in Murasaki were similar to those universally found in the Philippines. For instance, celebrations commemorating the deceased family members were carried out during Bon festival in Murasaki and on All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day in the Philippines. Seniority was an important element of social interaction both in Murasaki and in the Philippines, where kinship terms were used to address and refer to unrelated senior interlocutors as a gesture of respect and intimacy. This led us to assume the women's great capacity for adaptation to social interactions with rural Japanese.

In an attempt to conceptualise the process in which the Filipinas were incorporated into the existing family household of their Japanese husbands and the local community, and workings of intra-household dynamics, Chapter 2 examined anthropological literature on Japanese society. I discussed Bachnik's notion of *kejime* (distinction), Kondo's theory on multiple self (or 'selves') and Hendry's analysis of the use of *keigo* (polite language). While Bachnick and Kondo argued that a situation and/or a matrix of relationships in which a person was currently located controlled his/her behaviour (or generated a self), Hendry demonstrated that people were trying to control the situation and relationships by using *keigo*. For the former power relationships in Japanese society were fixed and finalised, while for the latter they were in constant change. It appears that Hendry's analysis was more applicable to the process in which the Filipinas formed and developed relationships with Japanese people around them. Nevertheless, as Hendry warns, the power generated

through the use of *keigo* was 'invisible', as it replicated the existing framework of relationships, rather than dismantled it. On the assumption that the framework of Japanese relationships was modelled after the hierarchy of the *ie*, I further examined Bachnick's analysis of recruitment strategies for succession of the *ie*. Indeed, many anthropologists of Japan have argued that the concept of the *ie* serves as the framework for Japanese social relationships (e.g. Nakane 1970; Kondo 1990; Hamabata 1990). However, the framework provided by this institution is often conceived as monolithic and inflexible so that it is not people but situations and relationships structured around this framework that are believed to control their behaviours. Moreover, the *ie* is seen as a closed institution which refuses to include 'foreign' elements, and therefore the notion of the *ie* is often associated with xenophobic attitudes and ethnocentrism among Japanese people. On the contrary to the general view of the *ie*, I suggested that the process in which the Filipinas were incorporated into rural Japanese society could be explicated with reference to the concept of the *ie*. Bachnik's analysis of recruitment strategies for succession to the *ie* indicated that marriage of the prospective successor was a significant event guaranteeing continuity of the institution; the *ie* allowed strangers to transform themselves into family through the process of living under the same roof and running the household together.

In Chapter 3, I have pointed out that the birth of a child to the successor couple was another pivotal element of this process, as it united the married-in spouse, previously regarded as an outsider, to his/her marital family. Particularly in virilocal residence, the bride was a stranger in the initial stages of marriage. However, the

Japanese say that after a child was born to the couple her relation of *giri* (in-law or duty) with the marital family would transform to that of *nikushin* (flesh-relation). I have emphasized that the birth of a child was particularly important to Filipina-Japanese couples in Murasaki. Due to the way they came to marry, the bond between the couples was assumed to be significantly weaker in the beginning of the marital lives. This was reflected in their family planning decisions and the Filipinas' delayed *satogaeri* (the Japanese custom that sends a bride back on a visit to her natal home). According to the local custom, the *satogaeri* takes place two days after the wedding ceremony, whereas it took nearly two years for the majority of the Filipinas to make *satogaeri*. None of the Filipinas were allowed to spend the period of their pregnancy and birth of their first child in the Philippines. By the time they made *satogaeri* many of their first children had already had their first birthday. The Filipina wives' considerations as to whether and where to have more children became more influential in family planning decisions after the birth of the first child.

Chapter 4 described the process through which 'invisible power' was generated. We have seen two Filipinas and a Korean woman all face the difficulties of dealing with their mothers-in-law. One of the Filipinas agreed to her husband's wish not to celebrate her birthday at a feast of Bon festival, even though she was not convinced by his explanation that it would go against the local custom. As a result, her husband rewarded her with an expensive birthday gift, and a further conflict with her mother-in-law was avoided. Her effort did not visibly improve her relationship with her mother-in-law, though. The Korean woman, on the other hand, celebrated the birthday of her mother-in-law at the feast of Bon. By so doing, she defied the

custom. However, all the Japanese guests present at the feast prised her as a good *yome* who took great care of her mother-in-law. Another Filipina went about a household affair without consulting her mother-in-law, because whatever she suggested, claimed the woman, her mother-in-law would disagree with it. Rather than raise the issue in direct discussion, which could result in a quarrel and therefore disturb the existing structure of relationships in her household, she chose to be silent and maintain harmony with her mother-in-law. Attempts of generating power displayed by the less powerful are often conceived of as an act of resistance, as it normally entails alteration of the existing power relationships. As indicated by the accounts presented in this chapter, however, the 'invisible power' is generated by replicating the existing framework of relationships, because this mode of communication is primarily aimed at maintaining harmony with the other party involved in the power relations.

With reference to religious practices that the Filipinas carry out in Murasaki, Chapter 5 discussed how the women were incorporated into their Japanese family. As mentioned in the chapter, religious differences between partners involved are often the causes of parents' and relatives' disapproval of the couple's decision to marry, and conversion of one partner to the other partner's religion is the solution to this family dispute. In the case of the Filipina-Japanese couples in Murasaki, religious differences between the spouses were not an issue prior to their marriage. It was the later stage of their marital lives that their Japanese families came to express their concerns about religious differences between them and their Filipina *yome*. Their Japanese families appeared to expect that the Filipinas would accept their religion

gradually, as they adapted themselves to live in Japan. This discouraged some Filipinas from attending Mass. However, while the basic principle of Japanese religion was ancestral worship, the Japanese families' concerns with religious differences between the couple came to be more explicit at around the same time that the Filipinas took over the task of managing the household budget from their mothers-in-law. I therefore suggested that the Japanese families' concerns about religious differences between the couple were an indication that they had accepted the Filipinas as a member of their *ie*.

While the previous chapters discussed relationships between the Filipinas and their Japanese families, the last chapter described how the Filipinas were incorporated into the local community. According to Parreñas, the Filipina hometown associations in Rome and Los Angeles provided Filipina domestic workers with a means of easing and resisting 'dislocations' that they experience as people not fully incorporated into the host society (Parreñas 2001). For my Filipina informants, though, it provided them with the means to become further incorporated into the host society while differentiating themselves from the local people at the same time. Such scholars as Imamura might argue that by creating an image of Philippine culture in the host society, the intermarried Filipinas are creating a marginal space for themselves (1990). Consequently, the accounts of my informants indicated that the associations were utilized not only to provide the members with help adapting to their marital lives abroad but also to change local perceptions of the members and their original country for the better. This allowed them to expand the parameters of their 'permitted' range of activities, as dictated by the host society, at the same time as

integrating themselves more. Furthermore, the Filipinas were always introduced as the *yome* of a local family in culture classes organized by the municipal governments and were also actively recruited to such communal groups as the Young Wives' Association. All these accounts indicated that the institution of the *ie* served the locus in which the Filipinas and Japanese 'others' transform the state of their relationships from that of asymmetric and distant to that of more balanced and intimate.

Indeed, Bachnik's argument for great flexibility of the recruitment strategies for succession of the *ie* contradicted Kondo's claim of a strong adherence to principles of biological essence among the Japanese. As mentioned in Chapter 6, however, Bachnik's argument supports the claim of long-term Japanese observers that the physical appearance of Filipinas in rural Japan comes to resemble that of the local Japanese. It also reminds me of Kondo's experience of transformation into a Japanese person, a transformation that she discovered when she saw her reflection in a shop window. The people in Murasaki were not blind to the differences in physical appearance (or biological make-up) between them and their Filipina neighbours; their claim in itself indicated that the difference was still visible to them. As indicated above, however, the more they are identified with their marital family, the more they are treated as Japanese. They thus receive credit for carrying out socially valuable roles while experiencing pressure to behave more like the Japanese at the same time.

Intermarriage as Processes of Adaptation

Conceptualizing the significance of the Filipinas' adaptation of the Japanese gender roles, Chapter 2 examined anthropological studies on Filipina labour migration,

Filipina intermarriage and gender and power relationships in the Philippines. Chant and McIlwaine's accounts of the lives of internal migrant workers cast light on gender roles that the workers played in the workplace and at home. The working wives in the Philippines emphasized their consideration not for their own but for their family's well-being as their principle rationale for working. However, their employment would not necessarily enhance their family's welfare but contributed to maintaining gender ideology' that undermines women's own interests and weakening their power to instigate change. Chant and McIlwaine therefore described this contradictory aspect of Filipinas' participation in the economy as 'unwitting complicity' with gender ideology. A similar altruistic motivation for work was experienced among Filipina domestic helpers in Hong Kong. They advocated 'professionalising' their work and emphasized their consideration for their employer's family's well-being. This project did not liberate the workers but demanded more obedience and hard work. Constable attributed this apparently contradictory behaviour to their state as transnational migrant workers in Hong Kong in which they had little political power to improve their work conditions. She argued that the Filipinas were attempting to have more incentive to work and find pleasure in their lives. Similarly, Parreñas emphasized the negative side in the lives of domestic helpers in Rome and Los Angeles. She therefore referred to them as 'dislocations'. In her study on the international relations of the Philippines, Tadiar presented a more critical view on Filipina labour migration and 'mail-order brides', although she did not examine any accounts by intermarried Filipinas. She equated the phenomenon with 'prostitution'. In her study on Filipina-US intermarriage, Constable criticized

this type of Western feminist view of intermarried Filipinas. She argued that victimizing the women further bolsters negative stereotypes associated with them. Nevertheless, Tadiar interprets the Philippine nation's relations with the US, Japan and other international powers through the metaphor of gender antagonism and the opposition of male and female. In her study on Filipina Missionary Benedictine Sisters, Claussen reported a similar view of gender among the sisters. Highly educated, cosmopolitan Filipinas were familiar with the Western concept of dichotomized gender identity. However, both Johnson's study on the Islamic Philippines and Cannell's study on the Christian Philippines documented that the Filipina view of gender identity was holistic. Cannell reported that ordinary Filipinas were tolerant of transforming gender identity and resulting diversity. With reference to accounts of various forms of power relationships, Cannell elucidated that people in the Philippines saw not only gender identity but also power relations through the same perspective. In this perspective, power was not an internal essence found in the person but was generated through relationship of exchange between persons, which never became equal but was always asymmetric. The state of the relationships transformed from that of greater hierarchy and distance to that of greater balance and harmony through constant and dynamic engagement with the other, though which power was exchanged for intimacy. From this Filipina cultural view, power was never fixed or still but was in consistent flux. Her analysis of collective forms of popular entertainment in the Philippines demonstrated that learning the language of the powerful others and adapting their model of actions were not the act of mimicry replicating the existing cultural objects but the mode by which relationships with the

powerful others were transformed from distant and hierarchical to closer and more equal. I suggested the possibility that Missionary Benedictine Sisters (urban Filipinas) and domestic helpers in Hong Kong (transnational migrants) shared the same worldview, and the possibility that intermarried Filipinas from the urban Philippines saw their marital lives in rural Japan in the same perspective.

In comparison to the conventional model of courtship ritual in the lowland Philippines, Chapter 3 discussed conjugal relationships of Filipinas at the initial stages of their marital lives. In this model, the bride awaited her groom's arrival at her house, but she was 'reluctant to move'. While immobility of the bride symbolized femininity and the bride's higher status than the groom's, active mobility of the groom represents masculinity and vitality. The process in which the groom's side advanced and the bride's side resisted symbolized asymmetric gendered relations and tension that this generated. There was a drama in which two opposing potencies met; through confrontation with one another, their distant and asymmetric relationship became more equal and intimate. This model resembled the first encounter between Filipinas and their Japanese husbands as described by the Filipinas. The Filipinas' 'accidental' participation in the intermarriage introduction service indicated their 'reluctance to move' toward marital relationships with their husbands and therefore the 'immobile' state in their courtship. Their husbands' proposal represented the groom's active advance to the bride. A feeling of tension raised and filled this process, as they came forward to the Filipinas, especially because they were chosen from among a number of bridal candidates. The Filipinas' situation in the initial stages of their marriage was also somewhat analogous to the courtship ritual in the

lowland Philippines. Their state soon after their arrival in Murasaki was practically immobile, because the language barrier and poor local public transport limited the sphere of their daily activities to the vicinity of their homes. It was their husbands who acted as an interpreter for them and escorted them to the outside world. It appeared that by marrying into Murasaki, the Filipinas were deprived of autonomy and independence. However, the women conceived of this state not as dependence on their husbands but as gaining support from them, as though they were receiving a brideprice, which had been often paid by the groom's labour in the past. Until this obligation was fulfilled, the groom was in the state of a 'semi-permanent suitor' within his own marriage, and the bride, a 'princess'.

Chapter 4 focused on the Filipinas' performance of local gender roles. As discussed in Chapter 1, although the natives in Murasaki called married women in all stages of their married lives *yome* (bride), there was a variation in their lifestyle depending on age groups. While many Filipinos tried to follow the local model of their age group (twenties and thirties), their Japanese family expected them to perform that of their husbands' age groups (forties and older). Difference between the two models was that the former did not participate in family farming. The Filipinos' non-participation in family farming became an issue for the Filipino-Japanese families. While the majority of the Filipinos came to find a waged job in local factories, like many married women in Murasaki, they had faced objections of their Japanese families prior to their employment. While the people in Murasaki attributed younger wives' non-participation in farming and their employment to their lack of commitment to their marital families, the Japanese families of the Filipinas were

aware that their neighbours would associate their Filipina *yome* with the negative stereotype of women from other Asian countries who intermarried to Japanese in order to work in Japan legally.

The management of household budget was another issue that caused tension in the Filipina-Japanese families, particularly between the Filipinos and their mothers-in-law. In Murasaki, where three-generation households were the norm and where households were run by women, the management of household budget was not just a task but represented the status of the female house head. Accordingly, disagreement in opinion over the management of household budget was a common cause of conflicts between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law in Murasaki. While the Japanese women ascribed delayed assignment of this task to the persistent power of the mothers-in-law in question, the Filipinas related it to the inadequacy of the daughters-in-law involved. For the latter, the management of the household budget represented not status but their personal capability. The Filipinas managed their households with pride. Indirect communication the locals were accustomed to using made it difficult for the Filipinas to engage with their mothers-in-law directly. However, they came to adapt the local mode and went about household affairs without consulting their mothers-in-law. Their silence was neither refusal of communication with their mothers-in-law nor resistance to them but the means of maintaining harmony with their families while pursuing their goals. As seen in Chapter 5, the intra-household dynamics gradually transformed, as the Filipinas continuously perform the local gender roles and built up their Japanese vocabulary.

Chapter 5 examined the significance of Filipinas' performance of religious practices, which were divided into Christian and Japanese. Since religious practices are ideologically charged actions, this raised the pressing question regarding the identity of transnational migrants: whether they completely assimilate to the host society or split into multiple 'selves'. One of the purposes of this chapter was to evaluate upon this issue. As reported in this chapter, the vast majority of my Filipina informants accompanied their Japanese families to visits to their ancestral graves. However, none of them claimed their affiliation with their Japanese family's religion. While in many Filipina-Japanese households, Japanese mothers-in-law made offerings of flowers and incense at Buddhist altars, there was a relatively small number of Filipinos who looked after Buddhist altars in their homes. However, even they did not claim their action was religious in nature. They said they carried it out as part of housekeeping. While the environment in Murasaki, where there was no Catholic church, made it difficult for the Catholic Filipinas to continue religious practices that they had carried out in the Philippines, they emphasized their continuous affiliation with Christianity. They insisted on baptising their children, who were brought up as Japanese. I suggested that by transferring their religion, the Filipinos were trying to strengthen the bond between them and their children, at the same time, preserving their own Filipino identity. Upholding their Filipino identity was important for the women, because it also constituted a bond between them and their natal family in the Philippines. This indicated that their performance of Japanese religious practices was not simply an individual act that was intended to satisfy the performer's desires but was a social act that connected them to their Japanese family.

The Filipinas' criticism against their Protestant friend for not helping her mother-in-law make offering to the Buddhist altar showed their appreciation of religious differences between them and their Japanese family. The discussion on differences between funerals in Japan and the Philippines by the Filipina participants in Mass suggested that their understanding of religious differences was based on their sense of affiliation with their Japanese family and not with their personal religious convictions. The materials presented in this chapter indicated that not only their performance of Japanese religious practices but also that of gender roles, and their use of Japanese language and accommodation of the local lifestyle were all conscious acts that were intended to bond them with the Japanese who co-participate in their lives, most importantly their Japanese family. Accordingly, I argued that the Filipinos were neither transforming into Japanese nor fragmented to pieces of identities; the Filipinos' performance of Japanese religious practices was a call for a 'dialogue' with their Japanese family. This contention and attributes of Filipino identity other than religious activities were further examined in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 described social lives of the Filipinas in Murasaki, which included the accounts of four subjects: 1) the presentation of Philippine culture at culture exchange conferences organised by the local governments and other public events, 2) the type of clothing and make-up that the women wore in everyday life, 3) the birthday parties that they held for their children, and 4) the disputes that arose between the Filipinas. By so doing, this chapter examined the Filipinas' awareness of the host society and Filipino notion of power. With reference to the first two accounts, the chapter discussed the images that their host society gave to the Filipinas

and how the Filipinas responded to those images. We have seen that the images associated with Filipinas were all negative so that the Filipinas attempted to improve their images, by introducing Filipino culture to local people. Here, their utmost concern was not with their self-image but their Japanese family, in particular, their children. The primary purpose of their campaign was to prevent their children from being bullied at school. The Filipinas' awareness of the host society was also reflected on the type of clothing and make-up that they wore in everyday life. The Filipinas tried not to stand out in their rural society, where people's taste in clothes was generally conservative. They reproached a fellow Filipina for making herself conspicuous by wearing a mini skirt. However, they also reproached a fellow Filipina for rigidly following the local dress code. This was not because the clothes themselves were unsuitable but the way in which they were worn was not aesthetically pleasing. As discussed in Chapter 2, an essential component of the Filipino notion of beauty was dynamic engagement with others. The account of the type of clothing and make-up that the Filipinas wore in everyday life showed how their endeavour to be beautiful was always eventually acclaimed by fellow Filipinas', in a similar manner in which efforts of participants in various beauty contests in the Philippines was rewarded with the affirmative acclamation of the audience. Similarly, power would not be generated without a positive response from the other with whom one engaged in relations of exchange, as the account of Vicky's son's birthday party indicated.

The episode at Vicky's son's birthday party revealed the Filipino conceptualization of power, which was not inherent to the person or his/her wealth

and status but was something to be earned through relations of exchange between persons. At her son's birthday party, Vicky distributed her wealth among her fellow Filipinas. It was apparently aimed at gaining popularity among her Filipina community. However, she did not in the end win a good reputation. Instead, she was criticized for wasting money. Moreover, her fellow Filipinas talked about her 'economic power' with reference to her marital family or her natal family. They saw the 'economic power' that Vicky exercised not as something belonging to herself but as something generated through the relationships in which she was involved. From their point of view, the 'economic power' that Vicky exercised was a reflection of those relationships.

From the viewpoint of the fellow Filipinas, it also appeared that they were not participants in Vicky's relationships of exchange but merely an audience. However, I argued that they played the role of audience and co-participants in the lives of their fellow Filipinos simultaneously, and that these roles were vitally important for each Filipina as they went through their marital lives in Murasaki. As indicated by the account of Dally's son's birthday party, it was fellow Filipinas that gave genuine appreciation and real meaning to her self-presentations. Although Dally implied that she invited her fellow Filipinas to her party only out of obligation, her reproduction of the 'Philippine-style' party in her Japanese village would not have been completed without the Filipina guests' rigorous check on details of her party and their unanimous approval on the result. While all her Japanese family was absent from her party, her fellow Filipinas acknowledged the effort that she put in it. It was not simply because they shared the same Filipina 'sensitivities', as the account of the

disputes between Vicky and her Filipina friends suggested. As young Filipinas from relatively urban areas, they began their married lives in this remote conservative rural area without a command of Japanese language and knowledge of the locality. As a result, they made numerous *faux pas* concerning local customs and practices. As their social spheres expanded, they experienced negative prejudice fostered by stereotypical perception of the Filipinas. Through those experiences, they came to understand the 'local sensitivities'. Having been incorporated into their husbands' natal homes, they lived with their parents-in-law. It was primarily their mothers-in-law that provided them with practical help in day-to-day life. However, because of the language barrier and the hierarchy in the Japanese households development of their relationships is slow. It was fellow Filipinas that provided them with emotional support. They all had undergone similar experiences, made similar mistakes and faced similar difficulties and problems when they adapted to the lives in Murasaki. This was the reason why those who had already lived in Murasaki provided their comrades who recently arrived there with both emotional and practical support so generously and earnestly. They appear to believe that they were responsible for well-being of the latter. While young rural Filipinas and their Japanese counterparts both migrated to urban cities and live neolocally there, the Filipinos in Murasaki moved in the reverse direction, having married to rural Japanese men. Although each person is irreplaceable and his/her life experience is unique, marital lives of the Filipinas in Murasaki may be described as extraordinary and unusual. Yet, they have others who share their exceptional experience, even though their number is small. The existence of fellow Filipinas in their lives keeps them going on.

Related Research Subjects

In this section, I discuss some important issues that I have not been able to discuss in the main body of this thesis.

While the Filipinas' relationships with their children are discussed in Chapter 5 with reference to religious practices, the thesis does not discuss the Filipina-Japanese children's views of their parents' marriages. This is largely because they were very young during my fieldwork.[34] As the majority of them are now in their teens, I would like to explore their lives in my next project. I am particularly interested in their identity construction and how their parents and local community accommodate it. In his study on children of inter-racial marriages in the UK, Andrew Maxwell notes that the identity of children of inter-racial marriages is fluid forever; it can change with the rhythms of life-ever progressions and the sociolo-political environments in which they live (1998). It means that their identity is a reflection of the society in which they live. As described in the previous chapters, children of the Filipina-Japanese couples were brought up as monolingal Japanese. While Murasaki is a conservative rural society, the Filipina-Japanese couples hoped to provide their children with international education. At the same time, some fathers might hope that one of their children would remain Murasaki and succeed their *ie*. How and whether would the parents pursue their hope on their children? How would the children respond to it? Even if their identity is never fixed and finalized, and if their identity construction is influenced by external force, choices they make in response to the

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[34] The oldest were nine years old.

external factors would reflect their view of cultural heritages that they can claim. Maxwell also points out that although media coverage tends to highlight their problems rather than advantages, a mixed heritage can foster an ability to cross cultures to understand and relate to others (ibid. 227). This thesis showed their mothers' understanding of cultural difference between them and Japanese people and their efforts for improving the images of their country among the local Japanese. Since bulling at school is a social concern in Japan, it is important to look at the social world of children of the intermarried couples.

While divorce is another subject closely related to the subject of my research, I do not discuss divorces in the main text of this thesis, because no divorce took place during my fieldwork. By contrast with the rather pessimistic prognosis that most Japanese would stereotypically expect, the picture I paint of these marriages is fairly benign. Most seemed to me relatively successful and stable. Though I could gather little first-hand data, I did hear of three Japanese-Filipina unions that ended in divorce or separation, and these I will briefly discuss below. Two of them occurred prior to my fieldwork, and one took place after it. My accounts of them were obtained from indirect sources because all divorced Filipina spouses had left Murasaki. The people who were close to the Filipinas in question did not want to talk about those unfortunate incidents, especially the ex-husbands and in-laws. Those circumstances should be kept in mind while reading the account of the incidents below.

Three divorce cases are presented in chronological order. In Case 1 the marriage commenced in 1988 and lasted for five years. Case 2 took place in 1995. This marriage lasted only two months. In Case 3, the Filipina involved was one of

my informants. She left Murasaki in 2001, after fourteen years of marriage. After the three cases are presented, I will discuss data on trends in divorces among intermarried couples in Japan (Table 2).

Case 1. Amelia

Amelia was in her early twenties when she married into Murasaki in 1988 through the municipal matchmaking service. She was from a city near Manila and worked in a factory prior to marriage. Her husband, fifteen years senior to her, was the first son of a farming family and a farmer himself, having succeeded to his natal house and family business. In the winter season, he migrated to urban areas and worked in construction in order to supplement his income from farming. Both of his parents lived and farmed with him. Since Amelia originally came from an urban area, I suspect that she had no experience of farming. However, in her first year in Murasaki, she worked the rice fields with her Japanese family. In the second year she gave birth to a son. After giving birth she was committed to child-rearing and stopped participating in family farming. As her son entered kindergarten, Amelia started attending a driving school and obtained a driver's license. The area in which she lived was one of the most remote in Murasaki so the license significantly enhanced her mobility. Subsequently she found a job at a local textile factory, where two other intermarried Filipinas worked. She started commuting to work by car. By that time, Mass was held once a month in rented premises in Suma City. Amelia began to attend Mass with her husband. With her fellow Filipinas, she established the FWAM. It was at this time that she was granted Japanese nationality. Shortly thereafter, Amelia left

Murasaki without telling anyone. It was the summer of 1993; five years had passed since she married into Murasaki. After her departure, she made a telephone call from Tokyo, her (alleged) destination, to her husband and a few close friends, informing them of the purpose of her journey. All the events in her life in Murasaki described above, such as the childbirth, finding a job, obtaining a driving license, development of her social life as result, and above all, taking Japanese nationality, indicate that her life appeared to run smoothly. However, some of her friends were aware of problems with her in-laws prior to her departure. However, since Amelia obtained Japanese nationality shortly before her disappearance; they believed that she was reconciled with them. Her friends expressed great regret about her decision not only because she left a child behind but also because they believed that her problems could have been solved by other means. The locals were generally critical of Amelia, largely due to her lack of consideration for her son. One local implied that the marriage was a scheme to start a new life in Tokyo as a Japanese citizen. The neighbouring Filipinas, on the other hand, speculated that there must have been someone local who helped her travel, by booking a ticket and finding accommodation because, to their knowledge, she had no acquaintances in Tokyo at the time of departure. They also pointed out that, by calling her husband and friends Amelia not only relieved those concerned about her safety but also prevented them from reporting her disappearance to the police. Since no police investigation took place, there is no evidence that she was in fact helped. It was Amelia's silent departure that led the FWAM to set up the fund for travel to the Philippines. It thus provides those who need a break from their marital lives with a viable alternative.

Case 2. Belinda

Belinda was twenty-seven years old when she married into Murasaki in the spring of 1995 through introduction by a Filipina who had married into Murasaki seven years earlier. Belinda was from a town on the southern edge of Metro Manila. Her husband, thirteen years senior to her, was the first son of a farming family. He was employed by a construction company, but he played an active part in transplanting seedlings in spring, and harvesting in autumn. His mother did the day-to-day farming. His father had passed away in 1990. Soon after she married into Murasaki, Belinda started attending the Japanese language class organised by her village office, accompanied by her Filipina go-between. There she made friends with a few more Filipinas in her neighbourhood. She then began to visit their homes. When she was not at her friends', she spent most of her day at home with her mother-in-law. One day, after two months since her arrival, Belinda told her mother-in-law that she would visit one of her Filipina neighbours. Her mother-in-law recalls that it was early afternoon; she was casually dressed and had a small handbag that she always carried when she went out; when she told Belinda to return home before dinner, she nodded to her. She did not return for dinner. Her husband went to search the neighbourhood. He called the police in the evening, having found that she had not visited any of her Filipina neighbours. She was found in over a week in a city further north where one of her friends from her hometown was living with her Japanese husband. The investigation showed that Belinda had travelled to the city by herself, relying on the help of the friend. One of the Filipinas, who used to see Belinda regularly in the language

classes, admits that Belinda had been always worried about the well being of her natal family. She wanted to support them financially, but neither her husband nor her mother-in-law offered help. She tried to find a job, however without success. She had, therefore, been severely frustrated by her situation. The Filipina recalls how she advised Belinda to forget about financial support for her overseas family until she herself got used to the local life. However, in spite of this advice Belinda chose to abandon her marital family.

Case 3. Celeste

Celeste had married into Murasaki in 1988 at the age of nineteen through the municipal matchmaking service. She was born in one of the states surrounding Metro Manila. She had two elder brothers and two younger sisters. Her father was a clerk in a town office. He arranged for her to participate in a matchmaking meeting organised by the municipal office where she met her Japanese husband, Nobuo. Nobuo, twelve years her senior, was employed in a textile factory. He was the only son of a *honke* (lit. main house) and in possession of sizable rice fields. According to the rules of succession to households in Murasaki, he should have followed his father's path and become a farmer. However, when Nobuo found the employment in the factory, his parents rented their rice field to their farming neighbours. When Celeste met Nobuo, she had graduated from high school and was looking for a job. When asked about her reasons for marriage, she told me that she did not thoroughly consider what would happen to her life once she accepted his proposal. She said, 'I was young, and things happened so quickly.' Nobuo and Celestine were married during his five-day stay at

the Philippines. However, it took over two months for Celeste to complete the legal procedures necessary for her journey to Japan. In the beginning of May, when the winter snows had melted away and all the cherry blossoms were in full bloom, she re-married Nobuo, this time in his hometown. Both of Nobuo's parents were in good health. Although they no longer engaged in rice production, they grew vegetables for their household consumption, as many local households did. Like her fellow Filipinas, Celeste had had no command of Japanese when she married into Murasaki. However, the public Japanese language class was not opened in her village at that time. Celeste's mother-in-law taught her Japanese in between domestic chores by using flashcards. After work Nobuo also contributed to her studies with the help of children's textbooks. In the second year of their marriage, Nobuo sent Celeste's parents some funds, with which her brothers started a jeepney transportation service (Figure 1). In the same year, the couple visited her natal family in the Philippines. Since then, Celeste made a trip to the Philippines a couple of times a year. Those visits were considered frequent when compared with her fellow Filipinas who made such trips only once every year or two. Nobuo accompanied her on the first several trips. In 1991, the third year of her marriage, her village opened the public Japanese language class for its foreign residents. By that time, five Filipinas had married into her village. Celeste attended the class together with those Filipinas. With her Japanese teacher's assistance, she started preparing for a driving licence written exam. Having obtained the licence, she stopped attending the class. When asked for her reasons for quitting the class, Celeste told me that the class was below her abilities. Celeste's command of Japanese was one of the best among my Filipina

informants. She gave talks in Japanese about current Philippine topics in local high schools and junior high schools, as she was invited to their after-school activities. She occasionally submitted essays about the Philippines to the municipal newsletter. In addition, Celeste's command of English was as good as all my university-graduate Filipina informants. She conducted extra-curricular programs in local elementary schools (see Chapter 6). After quitting the Japanese language class, Celeste started working in the same textile factory as Nobuo. In the following year, the couple sent money to Celeste's brothers to purchase more jeepneys.

It was about this time when she found that Nobuo suffered from oligospermia (low sperm count). The couple consulted several obstetricians and gynaecologists and were told that it would be extremely difficult for them to have children. During my fieldwork, they were still childless. Since Nobuo was the only child, his infertility meant that his *ie* would be extinguished. Continuity of their *ie* was the greater social concern of the people in Murasaki, hence the public international marriage introduction services were carried out in this area. I asked Celeste how the family felt about the situation. She answered rather cheerfully, '*Ganbattakedo damedattawa.* (We (Celeste and Nobuo) tried hard, but it didn't work).' She appeared to have already given up her hope for a child. Four years after this conversation, Celeste left Murasaki quietly. She thus brought an end to her fourteen year marriage.

Celeste's Filipina friends believe that the reason for her departure (and fleeing from her marital life) was her barren relationship with Nobuo. They blamed Nobuo for not providing enough care and attention to Celeste. Nobuo had a reputation for being lazy. (This was based on his discontinuation of the family farming tradition.)

Some of his neighbours told me that born as the only child, he grew up spoiled. He was also known to be a heavy drinker, whereas Celeste was a teetotaller. His drinking habit had gotten worse over the last few years resulting in liver damage. Celeste's Filipina friends maintained that had she had a child with him, she might have remained in Murasaki. As discussed in Chapter 4, both in the Philippines and in Japan, the birth of a child is regarded as consolidating conjugal relationships. However, Amelia's case discussed above contradicts this. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that it is easier to walk out of a marriage if one has no children. The fact that they stayed together for fourteen years, despite being childless, indicates that the couple had made efforts to their keep marriage functioning. For example, Nobuo and Celeste had provided Celeste's brothers with financial assistance to expand their jeepney transport business. What is more, while other Filipinas' husbands often remained in Murasaki during their wives' trip in the Philippines due to their inflexible work schedule or tight budget, Nobuo accompanied Celeste. Nobuo's Tagalog (Celeste's native language) vocabulary was more extensive than other Filipinas' husbands'. This could have improved communication between the couple and their mutual understanding. Celeste's active participation in the public events made her stand out among other intermarried Filipinas in Murasaki, who were more occupied by their household affairs. Her having no children allowed her to spend more time and energy on those activities than her fellow Filipinas. However, this also means that her marital life lacked the pleasure that child care might entail. Moreover, this situation marked a difference between her and her fellow Filipinas. One of the purposes for which the FWAM was established was to exchange information on child

care between fellow members. Celeste, however, had no information to exchange. As indicated by her active involvement in local activities, Celeste's social network was wide; however, it seems to have been not thick enough to catch her problems.

Divorce trends in Japan

Table 8 shows the divorce trends in Japan. The number of divorces consistently declined from when it was first surveyed in 1898 until the mid-1960s, when it began to increase. This increase is attributable to three factors: 1) an increase in opportunities for women to participate in economic activities, 2) alleviation of the stigma attached to divorce (Kumagai 1983:86; Sugimoto 1997:159); and, 3) abating preoccupation with the continuity of the *ie* (Kumagai 1983: 93). The total number of divorces in 2006 is 257,475, and the divorce rate in the same year is 35%. The total number of divorces of Japanese couples alone in 2006 is 240,373, and the divorce rate of Japanese couples in the same year is 35%. The total number of divorces of intermarried couples in 2006 is 17,102, and the divorce rate of intermarried couples is 38%. The total number of divorces of Filipina-Japanese couples in 2006 is 4,065, and the divorce rate of Filipina-Japanese couples in the same year is 33%. The figures show that while Japanese intermarriages in general are more fragile than intra-marriages, Filipina-Japanese marriages are more durable than Japanese marriages.

Concerning the state of marital relationships between Filipinas and their foreign husbands, Cahill evaluates their 'marital satisfaction' by employing the concept of 'marital distance' (1990). The 'marital distance' between the participating partners is measured based on the following variables: class, caste, religion, ethnicity,

race, language and nationality (ibid. 4). Cahill presents two working hypotheses. One suggests that the greater the marital distance, the greater the chance of marital breakdown. The other suggests that greater marital distance results in greater marital stability, if it serves to encourage the partners to commit themselves more thoroughly and work more consistently to make their marriage work (op. cit.). While individual factors such as attraction to the partner are excluded from Cahill's analysis, it seems that durability of marital relationships among intermarried partners depends on the individual partners' commitment to their relationships. Yet, in analysing the data, Cahill notes that the Filipina partners found it very difficult to distinguish between adjustment to their partner and to the intermarriage and adjustment to their married-in countries and to the new socio-cultural context in which they are obliged to live (ibid. 93). It is therefore suggested that for those who live in their partner's home country as a foreigner, 'marital distance' represents not only a distance between them and their partner but also a distance between them and their host society and that their 'marital satisfaction' reflects not only the adequacy of the partner and of the marital life but also all the elements constituting their everyday lives abroad. Concerning the three divorces of Filipinas in Murasaki described above, the people who knew the couples involved attributed their divorces respectively to: 1) difficult in-law relationships, 2) economic constraints; and, 3) strained conjugal relationships. While these factors would be common major reasons for divorce of any married couple, there may be more factors that influenced the Filipinas' decision to end their marriages, albeit to a lesser extent.

Table 8   Trends in Divorces by   Nationality of Wife and Husband in Japan 1992_2008

Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	179,191	188,297	195,106	199,016	206,955	222,635	243,183	250,529	264,246	285,911	289,836	283,854	270,804	261,917	257,475	254,832	251,136
Japanese Couple	171,475	180,700	187,369	191,024	198,860	213,486	232,877	239,479	251,879	272,244	274,584	268,598	255,505	246,228	240,373	236,612	232,362
One of couple is foreigner	7,716	7,597	7,737	7,992	8,095	9,149	10,306	11,050	12,367	13,667	15,252	15,256	15,299	15,689	17,102	18,220	18,774
Japanese husband and foreign wife	6,174	5,987	5,996	6,153	6,171	7,080	7,867	8,514	9,607	10,676	12,807	12,103	12,071	12,430	13,713	14,784	15,135
Japanese wife and foreign husband	1,542	1,610	1,741	1,839	1,924	2,069	2,439	2,536	2,760	2,991	3,165	3,153	3,228	3,259	3,389	3,436	3,639

Japanese husband and foreign wife

Nationality of Wife

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	6,174	5,987	5,996	6,153	6,171	7,080	7,867	8,514	9,607	10,676	12,807	12,103	12,071	12,430	13,713	14,784	15,135
Korea	3,591	3,154	2,835	2,582	2,313	2,185	2,146	2,312	2,555	2,652	2,745	2,653	2,504	2,555	2,718	2,826	2,648
China	1,163	1,234	1,323	1,486	1,462	1,901	2,318	2,476	2,918	3,610	4,629	4,480	4,386	4,363	4,728	5,020	5,338
Philippines	988	1,111	1,281	1,456	1,706	2,216	2,440	2,575	2,816	2,963	3,133	3,282	3,395	3,485	4,065	4,625	4,782
Thailand	171	186	239	315	320	362	435	540	612	682	699	678	685	782	867	831	795
U.S.A	75	62	63	53	60	67	76	75	68	69	76	75	75	76	60	68	64
United Kingdom	15	17	17	25	19	27	29	29	41	31	33	17	21	28	27	15	29
Brazil	39	43	35	47	52	66	71	91	92	101	91	101	103	116	90	100	96
Peru	6	6	11	15	18	19	27	25	40	41	45	57	65	59	59	49	56
Other countries	126	174	192	174	221	237	325	391	465	527	636	760	837	966	1,099	1,250	1,327

Japanese wife and foreign husband

Nationality of Husband

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	1,542	1,610	1,741	1,839	1,924	2,069	2,439	2,536	2,760	2,991	3,165	3,153	3,228	3,259	3,389	3,436	3,639
Korea	956	889	885	939	912	983	1,091	1,096	1,113	1,184	1,167	1,098	966	971	927	916	899
China	148	167	190	198	203	237	286	320	369	397	447	411	502	492	499	568	608
Philippines	33	40	52	43	66	53	48	59	66	62	77	84	84	86	105	112	128
Thailand	4	8	12	8	14	15	14	20	19	38	36	43	46	30	39	50	40
U.S.A	203	265	273	299	298	328	383	356	385	359	364	371	367	398	393	374	413
United Kingdom	22	31	48	40	39	43	57	42	58	59	58	79	63	86	84	61	92
Brazil	3	10	12	20	23	26	33	39	59	54	78	72	81	81	98	100	111
Peru	3	7	7	7	15	17	41	35	41	52	56	57	56	68	73	70	63
Other countries	170	193	262	285	354	367	486	569	650	786	882	938	1,063	1,047	1,171	1,185	1,285

Note: 1. The first survey conducted in 1992.

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Concluding Notes: The Key to Successful Intermarriage

The key to successful 'cross-national marriage', according to Cottrell, was the proximity of the marital partners' culture, besides the native partners' adequate support for their foreign partners' adaptation to the marital country (1990). Cottrell's contention was buttressed by Cahill's survey of the 'marital satisfaction' of intermarried Filipinas in Australia, Switzerland and in Japan, which ranked the Australian group highest and the Japanese lowest, demonstrating the hypothesis of 'marital distance' (1990). However, if, as the survey shows, the factor lowering the 'marital satisfaction' of the Filipinas in Japan is the language barrier between the women and their partners and in-laws, the accounts of my informants made this fact more complicated. These accounts indicated that the 'marital satisfaction' of one regional group of intermarried Filipinas could radically vary from woman to woman, as their command of the host language significantly varied, the variation corresponding largely to the duration of marriage.

This thesis has discussed the problems and difficulties that intermarried Filipinas similarly face when adapting themselves to their host society. I have emphasized that this type of approach entails the serious risk of creating the impression that such marriages are fundamentally problematic, therefore supporting the negative stereotypes associated with Filipina intermarriage. However, the actual accounts of my Filipina informants indicate that they cannot be treated as an undifferentiated group. As discussed in the Introduction, they are all situated within a macrostructure that in some sense encouraged their intermarriages, and they do all face the same influences exerted by existing institutions about what constitutes

intermarriage, confronting similar problems and difficulties in this process when adapting to the marital lives. However, we have seen among the Filipinas different ways of dealing with their problems and difficulties, and variations in the degree of adaptation and in the level of awareness of the host society. And, as the Filipinas themselves emphasized, the socio-economic background varies between them. In my view, each informant is a unique individual who does not deserve to be merely generalized. What is common to them all, apart from the fact that they are from the Philippines and married to rural Japanese men, is that they are trying to discover happiness and success in their marriages, just as any married person would normally do. The thesis has presented variation among the women in the way they adapt themselves to the local lives, degree of adaptation, and the way they deal with difficulty adapting to the local lives. With reference to Filipina-US intermarriage, Constable argues that although all these marriages are best understood as providing a 'passport' to personal freedom and wealth, and a bridge to the West for kin, it is not only Filipina intermarriage that involves pragmatic and practical concerns; it is all marriages. Filipina intermarriage reveals the elements that other marriages involve but ignore or mystify (2003: 120). I would suggest this contention can also be applied to marital lives. This means that every marriage represents a process through which marital partners adapt themselves to their marital lives; intermarriage makes this process particularly visible. Any marriage requires the partners involved to make adjustments: to co-habitation; to the management of household affairs and in-law relationships; and to the ways of associating with neighbours and participating in the local society as a married person and a family member, rather than simply as an

individual. In this light, as Merton points out, it seems to me that all marriages are

'intermarriage'.

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