

# BRINGING UP THE CHILDREN OF MIGRANTS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF ILOCANO CHILD FOSTERAGE

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## Introduction

As many researches have pointed out, the Ilocos region has been a major source of migrants from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (McLennan, 1980; Keesing, 1962). Initial migration of Ilocanos focused on such regions as Central Luzon and the Cagayan Valley. This was spurred on by declining living standards, which were brought about by the deterioration of aspects of the local economy, such as the indigo industry and increasing population density. Coercion and encouragement of labor migration to tobacco fields in the Cagayan Valley were further causes of migration from the Ilocos region (McLennan, 1980: 117-21; Sharma, 1987: 25). After the establishment of the American regime, Ilocano migration expanded throughout the entire Philippines. Simultaneously, many young Ilocano men migrated outside the Philippines, mainly to Hawaii to become plantation workers, which continued until the mid 1930s (Alcantara, 1981; Sharma, 1987). Following the declaration of independence of the Republic of the Philippines, the focus of migration was dispersed throughout the islands. Emigration to the United States began after the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act in the United States, which allowed many Ilocanos to migrate to the US either for the purpose of family reunification or for employment purpose (Liu *et al.*, 1991). Both types of migration — in internal migration mainly to Manila or other destination in the Philippines, and emigration to the United States — have continued until now. In recent years, however, overseas labor migration to the Gulf Region, East Asia and Europe has become more prevalent, as in the other regions in the Philippines (Pertierra, 1992, vii; cf. Cariño, 1992: 5)

This brief outline of the history of Ilocano migration indicates the significance of migration in this region. Due to its importance in the history of this region, a

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variety of studies have concentrated upon the problems of Ilocano migration from various perspectives (e.g. Abad and Cariño, 1981, Caces *et al.*, 1985; Griffiths, 1978; Findley, 1987; Lewis, 1971; Pertierra, 1992; Sharma, 1987; Smith, 1976; Young, 1980). Focusing upon rural-urban migration, return migration, post-1965 emigration to the United States and recent overseas labor migration, these studies reveal the diverse backgrounds and characteristics of migration and the social changes taking place within this region. This paper shall further expand upon the social processes of migration by focusing upon the child fosterage in Ilocano society, to which little recognition has been given in the previous studies, with a few exceptions (e.g., Young, 1980). More specifically, it focuses on child fostering by close relatives of migrants in the homeland communities during the recent development of overseas labor migration to Italy from a village in Ilocos. This phenomenon, child rearing by the close relatives, is usually considered as a relatively new one in the local societies in the Philippines, which has become one of the largest sources of migrant workers in the world since the 1970s. Nevertheless, this paper will propose that we could recognize the continuity between the traditional child fosterage and present arrangement of child rearing which takes place in the migrant households. Therefore, it attempts to analyze the phenomenon in the social and historical context of Ilocano society. By doing so, I try to describe the “creative response” of the local societies to “the controlling forces of global capitalism and to their place within the global racial order.” (Basch *et al.*, 1994: 10)

### Research Site

Research was conducted intermittently for four months from December 1992 to May 1993, two months from July to August 1995, one month in August 1996, four months from December 1996 to April 1997, and eleven months from October 1997 to August 1998 in an Ilocos village. Except for the first three months during which I conducted extensive research in the entire town, I lived in the village, which has a considerable number of migrants to the United States and Italy. All interviews were conducted in Ilocano.

The village is located in the interior municipality 14 kilometers east from the coastal capital of the province of Ilocos Norte, and one of 23 villages composing the municipality. There were 132 households in the village during the period of research in 1995.

Migration has been one of the most important means for villagers to become upwardly mobile in this agricultural village, where, apart from remittances from

abroad or Manila, rice, garlic and tobacco are the main sources of income. Indeed, there were a considerable number of households with overseas migrants (47, including emigrants to the United States), some of whom, as in other regions in the Philippines, represented the wealthiest families in the village (cf. Banzon-Bautista, 1989).

The history of migration of this village reflects general trends in the Ilocos region. In this village, at least 12 young men migrated to Hawaii or California as plantation workers from 1910 to 1940, possibly much more. Some of them returned to the village, and were called *Hawaiianos*. There are at least six households receiving a pension from the United States, locally called *pensionados*. After the independence of the Philippines, continuous migration followed to places such as Manila, Mindanao and Cagayan. It also became evident that migrants took advantage of the benefits provided by the US Immigration Act passed in 1965. From this village, roughly 100 people have migrated to the United States since 1965. Finally, since the 1970s, overseas labor migration to East Asia, the Gulf region and Europe has been prevalent.

The distinctive feature of contemporary migration in the village is the importance of labor migration to Rome, Italy. Migration to Italy began in the late 1970s, and due to strong kinship networks, expanded rapidly (Nagasaka, 1998a). The basic characteristics of migrants to Italy from this village<sup>1</sup> are: they generally work as domestic helpers (housemaids, gardeners), some become factory workers, women appeared to have migrated in slightly greater numbers than men,<sup>2</sup> which shows a marked contrast with the male-only migrants to Hawaii during the American regime. The average age of migrants was 34, the majority of whom are married (almost 70%); about half of the migrants had received tertiary education.

The general pattern of this migration is to go to Italy assisted by relatives who had already migrated, and then to take a vacation in the village every two or three years after obtaining a work permit in Italy.<sup>3</sup> This pattern of migration demands mutual assistance among relatives, and subsequently close ties between the homeland village and the migrant community. Moreover, it is not unusual that both parents migrated to work in Italy and left their children in the care of their immediate relatives. During interviews, the following reasons for this arrangement were given:

1. Migrants want their children to be exposed to social life in the Philippines.
2. Their employers rarely permit them to have a child in the house.
3. The cost of education in Italy is higher than in the Philippines.

As a result, many children live with their relatives in the village. In the following section, I will focus upon these practices. However, in order to understand the practices, it is necessary to describe the folk notion of child fosterage in the Ilocos region and its historical background.

### **Child Fosterage in the Ilocos Region: Social and Historical Background**

The term fosterage is generally used to refer to “all forms of childhood residence with persons other than the natural (‘biological’) parents, involving the exercise of some parental rights and obligations by persons other than the natural parents, but not the surrender of [all] rights by the natural parents” (Schildkrout, 1973:51). Fosterage is usually distinguished from adoption in which the real parents are replaced, either socially or legally (Nelson, 1987:182). This analytical distinction does not always correspond to the distinction of a variety of local societies. However, in Ilocano, informants made a relatively clear distinction between *taraken* or *aiwan* (to foster) and *ampon* or *adopt* (to adopt legally) although the difference between them is possibly the result of imposition of national law.<sup>4</sup> Following the local distinction between adoption and fosterage, the term fostering or fosterage used here refers to the Ilocano folk notion of child fosterage, *taraken* and *aiwan*. We will discuss the difference of the local terms of child fosterage between *taraken* and *aiwan* later.

Before a closer study of the child fosterage in the Ilocos region, let us look briefly at the basic characteristics of the composition of Ilocano households, since the practice of fostering is naturally embedded in local rule of household composition. In Ilocano society, the basic socioeconomic unit is considered as the nuclear household. After marriage, a couple is expected to have an individual house and be economically independent of the couple’s parents. Statistically, virilocal residence is predominant due to the practice of male dowry (*sab-ung*), but even so, this is not considered as the rule. The male dowry referred to here, includes the properties, such as rice field, house, animals for agriculture, which are given by the groom’s parents to start their new life. In accordance with these points, most households are comprised of the nuclear family. However, the inclusion of other consanguine and affines is considered neither abnormal nor improper. Many researchers supported these findings, indicating the flexibility of household compositions (e.g. Pertierra, 1986:86; Young, 1980:51). With this flexibility of household composition, it is common to find children living with relatives other than their “real” parents (Young, 1980: 152). Therefore, the practice of child fosterage in this region should be

considered in the context of the flexibility of Ilocano household composition.

Child fostering in Ilocos occurs in the context of Ilocano notions of “parenthood.” To bring up children is considered as the obligation of parents, but their close relatives, e.g. bilateral kin, parents, siblings, and sometimes more distant kin are expected to share this obligation. When the real parents cannot fulfill their obligation to their children, this responsibility will be extended to their siblings (children’s uncles or aunts), their parents (children’s grandparents) and so on. In this sense, “parenthood” is not confined to the real parents, but shared with close kin. People generally foster their grandchildren, nieces or nephews.

Next, we will briefly look at the previous research regarding child fosterage in the societies of lowland Christian Filipinos. According to Yu and Liu, its basic features and functions are: 1) it is distinct from legal adoption; 2) neither formal ritual nor special form of request is required; 3) there is no marked preference for either sex; 4) it facilitates the establishment of multiple equivalent bonds but does not forfeit the duties and privileges of parenthood; 5) foster parents are usually close relatives; 6) material benefits of children are sometimes taken into account; 7) the role of children as companions is a significant part of its practice (1982:249-262). Child fosterage in the Ilocos villages corresponds to these features and functions.

Almost all the cases of child fostering are arranged in informal conversation among close relatives. One of the foster parents related the beginning of their arrangement as follows.

“I said to his mother (the interviewee’s daughter), ‘he (foster child) can live with us, if we eat, he also eats.’ That is what I said to her, because they are not different from us.”

The will of the children to be fostered is usually considered during initial periods. Indeed, we have a case where a child did not like to live in her grandparents’ house, so the grandparents had no choice but to foster another grandchild in order to help their daughter’s household, which had a large number of children. The phrase “he or she (foster child) also likes (this arrangement)” is frequently heard during the interview. The notion of shared “parenthood” of the Ilocanos provides conditions mentioned earlier. We will see the seventh point later in the explanation of fostering cases of spinsters.

In the household, foster children usually apply kin terms of address for real parents (*tatang*, *nanang*) to their foster parents to whom different address (e.g.

*lolo*: grandfather, *lola*: grandmother, *anti*: aunt) should be used. The fact that one is fostered is generally known in the community, and in the formal situation, the foster parents are usually introduced by their foster child in the following way: “he is my foster father (*pinnakaamak* or *nangpadakkel kaniak*).

It is not uncommon that foster parents give some proportion of their properties to their foster child. I will present cases where such arrangements took place.

*Case 1:* Tinong’s mother went to Mindanao when Tinong was 2 years old (1962). Because he was an illegitimate child, his mother’s brother advised her to leave Tinong in his care. Since then, Tinong’s uncle brought up Tinong with his real sons, and he covered all expenses Tinong needed. Tinong addressed his foster parents as his real parents (*tatang, nanang*). When Tinong got married in 1980, his uncle gave him a rice field (*talon*), farmland (*bengkag*) and a carabao as his dowry (*sab-ung*), the same inheritance he gave his real sons.

*Case 2:* Facio’s grandfather (FF) had no child in his house when Facio was born in 1937. Because the grandfather had no companion (*kadua*) in his house, he fostered Facio when Facio was one year old. Since then, Facio would sometimes go to his natal house to eat and sleep, but he basically lived in his grandfather’s house. He addressed his foster parents as grandparents (*lolo, lola*). Coming home from Manila where he worked, he stayed in his foster parent’s house as well as his real parents’ house during his vacation in the village. Aside from his daily expenses and educational expenses, his foster parents also gave him a rice field when he got married.

However, these cases do not mean that the foster child always had a share of the foster parents’ property. One of our cases indicated this uncertain nature of the right of inheritance.

*Case 3:* Lolita was fostered by her grandmother’s brother (MMB) when she was four months old in 1971. At that time, her foster parents had only one daughter, so they wanted to have a companion for themselves and their daughter, who was sickly. Her mother also wanted this arrangement. Since then, Lolita lived with her foster parents and they covered all the expenses until she finished her vocational course. When she went to Saudi Arabia in 1994, her foster parents mortgaged their rice field. Although she returned to the Philippines in 1995, she has not lived in her foster parents’ house and rarely had communication with them. Her foster parents commented that she would not acquire her share unless she took care of them in their old age, since their relatives do not allow her to do so. According to the foster parents, if she took care of them, she can get all their property, since their sickly daughter was not married.

It can be said that the right of inheritance depends upon the nature of the relationship between the foster parents and the children. In short, in Ilocano fosterage, *taraken* is characterized by the elasticity of the rights of inheritance.

According to Smith (1976), as a result of the massive exodus of young male Ilocanos to Hawaii in the American period, there has been a considerable gender imbalance in the Ilocos region since that time. These Ilocano spinsters, *baket nga balasang*, usually lived with their parents after their male siblings got married or migrated. After the death of their parents or in their parents' old age, they usually fostered their close relative's children as their companions (*kadua*). Here is an example.

*Case 4:* Maria was born in 1916. In 1965, Roberto, her brother's son was eight years old. She requested her brother to let her foster Roberto. Since then, she and her mother, who later died, fostered him until his graduation from college. His school expenses were covered by his real parents, while his foster parent covered other expenses. Maria's other brother's daughter, Aning, was also fostered by her. After his graduation, Roberto went to Baguio to work as a government employee and started to help his foster parent. When Maria died in 1997, Roberto returned to the Philippines from Italy, where he has worked for more than 15 years, to attend her burial ceremony and feast. His real father (Maria's brother) said that his son and his niece would inherit Maria's property.

The general reason for this arrangement by single female relatives is, "she has no companion (*awan ti kaduana*).” In Ilocano society, companionship is highly valued. Living alone or going somewhere alone always creates sympathy. Consequently, a number of children in this region had been brought up or fostered by their aunt (*ikit* or *anti*) or their grandmother (*apo* or *lola*), and fosterage in the Ilocos region might become a more usual practice than it used to be. These social and historical contexts mentioned here give the setting of fosterage of migrant households at the present time.

### **Child Fosterage in the Migrant Household at Present**

In this section, I will present the cases of child fostering of migrant households. As mentioned earlier, migrants to Italy left their children with their parents, siblings or siblings of their parents. Real parents usually remit money to the foster parents for their children's education, their daily expenses and such miscellaneous expenses as ritual activities. As a result, the fostering of children of migrants provides the foster parents with economic security, which they cannot usually expect from the married children (Suzuki, 1996). At the same time, it also provides the

opportunities to reinforce the reciprocal relationship with their kin and neighbors by giving feasts (*padaya* or *paala*) for the celebration of the children's baptism, birthday, graduation and so on (Nagasaka, 1998b). Migrants, in turn, also maintain solid ties with the homeland community by means of the existence of the children they left behind. Aside from remittance and other communication, ritual activities for their children also provide the migrant workers with opportunities for a vacation and to strengthen ties with their villagemates. The graduation of children is also the time when the parents working abroad can come home for a vacation. They sponsor the feasts for their children.

The arrangement of fostering does not occasion a formal request (or ritual procedure) to the foster parents. Usually, real parents simply say to the foster parents, "I go to work in Rome, and leave my children here. I will remit their expenses." Here are the cases of fostering at migrant households.

**Case 5:** Jerry went to Italy in 1984. He built a house in 1988 in the village and asked his parents, Modesto and Virginia, to live in his new house. Modesto, Virginia and Celie, who was unmarried then, moved to the new house from their old house in the same hamlet and lived there as caretakers (*bantay*) of the house. Jerry married a migrant worker in Italy who is from the Visayan region, and they had a daughter, Alma, who was born in Italy in 1988. After seven months, she was brought home by her relative to her father's house. Celie also migrated to Italy in 1989 after her marriage, and left her son Oscar. Their parents have taken care of their children since then. The parents in Rome send remittances almost monthly, approximately 4,000 pesos a month, to cover educational and other expenses.

**Case 6:** Patrick migrated to Italy in 1980, while Vina went to Italy in 1985. After their marriage, Floryfess was born in Italy in 1990 and brought to Ilocos by her mother after four months. Rey was born in the Ilocos when Vina, his mother, returned to Ilocos in 1992 for her vacation. Vina then left her children, Floryfess and Rey, in her father's (Jose) house, after which, Venancia as a foster parent, took care of Floryfess and Rey with the help of Jose and Blondina. In 1993, Patrick returned to Ilocos for his vacation and started to construct his house, located next to Jose's house. Although the house had not yet been completely constructed, Patrick asked Venancia, his wife's sister, to take care of his children in his new house. At present, Venancia lives with Floryfess and Rey as their foster parent and she is controlling the remittance from their parents. The money arrives irregularly, for example, once in every two months. The total sum of the remittance reaches around 90,000 pesos yearly.

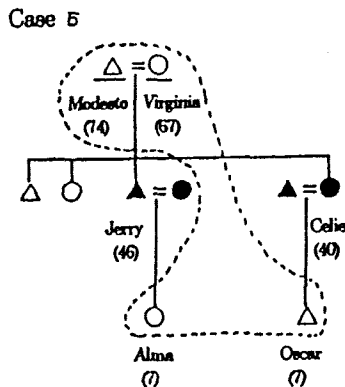
**Case 7:** Teresita and Maria, both members of the considerable single female population (*baket nga balasang*), resulting from significant male migration during the American period (cf. Smith, 1976:132), took Rico as a foster child



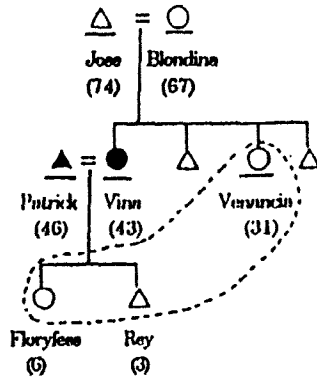
when he was two years old (1946). Together with their parents, who were still alive at that time, Teresita and Maria brought him up and covered his school expenses. After Rico completed a degree in agriculture, he obtained a position as an agriculturist in the province of Ilocos Norte, whereupon he started to support his foster parents, Teresita and Maria. In 1987, Rico decided to join his wife, Linda, in Italy. Linda had migrated there a few months before. Rico then asked his aunts, or his foster parents, Teresita and Maria, to live with and supervise his daughters, Joy and Mary Ann. They complied with Rico's request. At present, they reside in Rico's newly constructed house and act as foster parents to Joy and Mary Ann. However, their functions as foster parents are gradually diminishing due to their advanced age. Instead, Rico's daughters are taking over a part of the responsibility of the affairs of the household, including the control of the remittances from their parents for their educational expenses. Rico sends remittances individually for his aunts and for his daughters. His aunts receive 3,000 pesos and his daughters 7,000 pesos, respectively. The daughters request money from their parents in times of need through long distance calls, and, as a result, the foster parents do not know their foster children's expenses.

Case 5, a household consisting of parents and children of migrants, is considered a typical migrant household. In all cases, the foster parents are close relatives of the children, as shown in the cases in the previous sections. A feature common to each case is the construction of a new house by migrant workers. At the same time, cases may also be seen, where migrants working in Italy for a relatively short period of time, left their children in their parents' house. In Case 7, fosterage spanned two generations. Rico was fostered by his two aunts, who were both spinsters. As a result of the bond created by this fosterage, Rico, when moving to Italy, left his children, Joy and Mary Ann, in the care of his aunts. In the following section, I will analyze these cases and compare them with cases in the previous section. Figure I presents the illustrations for these cases.

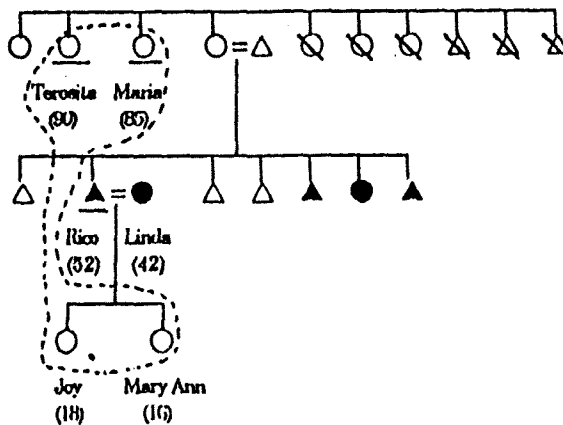
FIGURE I  
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITIONS OF MIGRANT FAMILIES



## Case 6



## Case 7



## Analysis

In Ilocano society, child fostering by a close relative is commonly practiced. Prior to the increase of Ilocano spinsters or *baket nga balasang*, economic difficulties associated with raising the children of relatives who are the real parents, separation or death of the real parents, and absence or lack of children of foster parents had formed the main reason for the previous fostering (Cases 1, 2 and 3). These practices were in accordance with the flexibility of the household composition and bilateral kinship system in Ilocano society, which entails the shared “parent-hood”. The increase of Ilocano spinsters, caused by the massive migration of young men to Hawaii or California during the American regime, further expanded the reason for child fostering and made it more of a practice that is taken for granted than it used to be in the region.

All of these factors should be taken into consideration in order to comprehend the present child fostering in the migrant households. However, there are the marked differences between the present fostering at migrant households and the previous types of fostering regarding the coverage of children's expenses and the decision regarding the children's affairs by their real parents. Distinguishing two types of fostering, some informants refer to the former cases as *aiwan*, and the latter case as *taraken* in Ilocano. According to them, *aiwan* implicates a temporal arrangement while *taraken* implicates a permanent one. *Taraken* means, for example, that it is like bringing up (*taraken*) your animal. You cover all the cost of your animal.

However, they simultaneously insisted that these distinctions are not necessarily clear.

Researcher: How do you call the arrangement you made (he left his children in the care of his parents-in-law)?

Respondent: *Taraken*

Researcher: Isn't it *aiwan*?

Respondent: They are the same.

As a consequence, some informants in the migrant households employed the term *taraken* to refer to their fostering cases. The mother of the children in Case 6 explained it as follows:

"They are fostered by our relatives. They are not different from us. That's why I did this arrangement. Moreover, there is no child here, and they (foster parents) are old. They have children to play with (if they foster children)."

In her narrative, the continuity rather than the differences between the two types of fostering are comprehensible. The expression "they are not different" is frequently used as the rationale for fostering of close relatives in the previous type of child fostering. Moreover, in the latter part of her explanation, to provide the children as companions (*kadua*) for the elders, is one of the most common reasons of fostering in non-migrant households, especially in the cases of fostering by spinsters (*baket nga balasang*). This perceived continuity between the two types of fostering is the basis in the local practice itself. This is what happened in Case 4, when the foster parent did not or could not cover the cost of education, although she sometimes contributed to her foster child's educational expenses. Or we still

have other cases in which real parents and foster parents contributed to the expenses of the foster children nearly equally. These cases tell us of the unclear nature of obligation between foster parents and real parents in the Ilocano child fosterage. This unclear nature of the local distinction of fosterage between *taraken* and *aiwan* usually enables migrant or foster parents to identify their practice with the traditional type of fostering, or to consider the practice as a natural arrangement in accordance with their "tradition." One of the foster parents related their arrangement as follows:

"This is like having children again. That is our style here. You leave your children, and just go (to work)... If we have no children, our house is not happy."

It is suggested that the Ilocano child fosterage, one of their social institutions which has aided the orphans or economically disadvantaged children and provided couples or spinsters with companions in their house, was reinterpreted by migrants to Italy in accordance with the new situation brought about by the new opportunity of migration. Migrants to Italy usually take their vacation every two to three years and they rarely bring up their children in Italy. Migrants and their close relatives adjusted this social institution, child fosterage, into the new situation. The adjustment seems to have been done by expanding the local notion of child fosterage or incorporating this arrangement into the existing social institution. In this process, the unclear nature of the local distinction between the two types of fosterage made the adjustment easier, and consequently, they consider their arrangement as natural in accordance with their "tradition." Therefore, child fostering in the migrant household can be considered as their social and cultural adaptation to the new migration opportunity through their reinterpretation of an existing social institution.

However, it is also a fact that the new situation, where more than 70 people in the village had migrated to Italy and more than 30 children were fostered by their close relatives, sometimes made the adjustment difficult. In Case 7, we observed the inability of the aged foster parents to control the wasteful behavior of their foster children. This case suggests that the existing local institution cannot thoroughly incorporate the new type of fostering. We will discuss this point again in the conclusion.

## **Conclusion**

This paper sought to examine the child fostering of overseas migrant households in the contemporary Ilocano village. Since the late 1970s, labor migration to

Italy has been rapidly increasing in the village. Given the difficulty to raise their children in Italy, almost all migrants chose to leave their children in their natal village in the care of their close kin, such as their parents, siblings, siblings of parents and so on. We analyzed this phenomenon from the viewpoint of continuity with the existing child fosterage in Ilocano society. In Ilocano society, child fostering has been commonly practiced to aid orphans, economically disadvantaged children or children faced with the separation of their parents, and to provide Ilocano unmarried women (*baket nga balasang*) and elders with companions. This paper showed that migrants and their close relatives reinterpreted this social institution or expanded the folk notion of child fosterage, and adjusted it into the new migration opportunity. More specifically, the unclear nature of the existing child fosterage facilitated this easier adjustment and made them recognize their practices of child fostering in the village as something that is in accordance with their tradition. Therefore, the rapid growth of child fostering in the migrant households can be considered as a case of social and cultural adaptation of local societies to the wider political and economic system.

However, we should, at the same time, acknowledge some cases where arrangement of child fostering is criticized by neighbors and close relatives. For instance, in Case 7, kin and neighbors expressed their anxieties about the wasteful behavior of the daughters of migrants due to the inability of the aged foster parents to supervise them. This case, generally perceived as the problem of “seasonal orphans” in the term used by Cruz (1987), could raise the discussion of so-called “social cost of overseas migration.” For instance, Pingol (1992:92) indicated the existence of the social cost of this arrangement, namely, that the children are more spoiled without parental supervision in the case study in a village in Ilocos. However, as shown in this paper, this phenomenon of “seasonal orphan” or the discussion of the social cost of overseas migration should not be treated independently of the continuity with the existing social institution, child fosterage in particular, or local social structure and its historical background in general. From the viewpoint used in this paper, it is suggested that the reinterpretation or adjustment of the existing child fosterage has faced difficulty, when overseas migration expanded in an excessive manner, as in the village we studied. In other words, without considering the continuity between the existing child fosterage and child fostering in the migrant households, we cannot understand what happens to the Filipino households in the process of globalization. It is, therefore, in this context that the social cost of overseas migration should be discussed. Otherwise, we would overlook the process of “creative response” of local societies to the wider political and economic transformation. Further research from this perspective would progressively enhance the understanding of complex processes of overseas migration and subsequent transformation of local societies in the process of globalization.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Data used here and in the subsequent sections was obtained during initial field work (1992-1993), and includes information about migrants from an adjacent village.

<sup>2</sup>Women accounted for 34 of the total migrant sample, while men accounted for 28. But many migrant workers generally admitted the trend that a proportion of women among the migrants was growing due to the gender disparity of labor demand in Italy, while one researcher noted that "labor market segmentation along gender lines in the destination country does not result in demand being exclusively for female workers and, as a consequence, is not a satisfactory explanation for gender selectivity." (Tacoll,1996:12)

<sup>3</sup>More detailed discussion of migrant networks from this village to Italy, see Nagasaka (1998a).

<sup>4</sup>This distinction corresponds to that made by Cebuano informants in research conducted by Yu and Liu (1980:251).

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