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Desires for security in Filipino-Australian intermarriages

—With comparative analyses on Japanese-Filipino intermarriages*—

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Abstract

Inferring from interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions, this paper scrutinizes how desires for security are fulfilled. Security is defined as stable and comfortable life for the Filipino and Australian couples in Australia,

Situating the Australian-Filipino marriages as growing components of the Filipino community in Australia, this study analyses the demographics and the diverse factors surrounding intermarriages. The four variables covered in the study are: 1) The channel of acquaintance and rationale for marriage, 2) Government support for marriage migrants, 3) Remittance as a pseud-cultural practice of maintaining kinship, and 4) Retirement plan.

The conclusions were drawn from the comparable findings on Japanese men-Filipino women intermarriages in Japan, with the objective of clarifying the peculiarities and similarities in Australian-Filipino intermarriages.

This study found that Australian men's and Filipino women's rationale for marriage are analogous with Japanese-Filipino intermarriage counterpart. Here, men's quests for ideal partners point to women expected to be both conservative and play traditional roles. As for women, financial stability is a crucial factor. And, the study found Australia excels as a migrant country in terms of government support. Moreover, similar observations on remittance practices were observed. Finally, the likelihood for couples choosing Australia as retirement place is higher than Japan. Adequate public support and social welfare for elderly make fulfilment of desires for security viable for most of Australian-Filipino couples.

Keywords: Intermarriages, Rationale for marriage, Government support, Remittance, Retirement

フィリピン-オーストラリア国際結婚における安定への願望

—フィリピン-日本国際結婚への比較的考察を踏まえて—

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Introduction

This paper scrutinizes how desires for security are fulfilled. Security is defined as a stable and comfortable life for the Filipino and Australian couples in Australia. The data were gathered through interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions.

After a decade of researches the author had conducted on Filipino-Japanese intermarriages (2006; 2008; 2016), the project of conducting a study on Philippine-Australian intermarriages came about. This materialized during a one-year sabbatical leave at the University of New South Wales, Sydney between September 2017 and August 30, 2018, when I did field work for a six-month period from October 2017 until March 2018. I interviewed Australian-Filipino couples in Wollongong, Toongabbie, and Western Sydney. The research results were presented in academic meetings where all the comments and questions pointed to Japanese-Filipino intermarriages. So, comparative analyses were inserted although the main focus remains the Australian-Filipino intermarriages here.

Situating the Australian-Filipino marriages as a growing component of the Filipino community in Australia, this study analyses the demographics and the diverse factors in the marriages. The four variables covered in the study are: 1) The channel of acquaintance and rationale for marriage, 2) Government support for marriage migrants, 3) Remittance as a pseudo-cultural trait that maintains kinship relations, and 4) Retirement plan. After discussing four variables, I will analyse each variable and argue some similarities and differences with Japanese-Filipino intermarriages. The aim of the comparisons is to understand why certain findings are peculiar to Australia.

I. Background: Filipino Migration to Australia and Filipino-Australian Marriages

Australia has been noted as one of the most multicultural country in the world.¹ According to Australian Statistical Bureau, among Australian population of 24,210,800 as of 30 June 2016, 28.5 percent of Australia's estimated resident population (6.9 million people) were born overseas. The estimated resident population in top 10 countries of birth are UK (1,198,000), New Zealand (607,200), China (526,000), India (468,800), Philippines (246,400), Vietnam (236,700), Italy (194,900), South Africa (181,400), Malaysia (166,200) and Germany (124,300).²

Another indicator of its multicultural, multiracial background is the country of birth for one's parents. In Australia, 47.3% of people have both parents born in Australia and 34.4% of people have both parents born overseas. Persons whose father was born overseas is 6.4 percent and persons whose mother was born overseas is 4.7 percent. Hence, persons whose both parents or one parent were born overseas comprise 45.5 percent of the Australian population.

In Australia, the Philippine-born migrants were only 2,500 persons in 1971 (Jackson 1993: 136). The 1972 Martial Law declared by then-Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos pushed the

outmigration. This coincided with the renunciation of White Australia Policy in 1973, a factor which pulled the immigration. By 1990, the number increased to around 75,000 (Jackson 1993: 136) and in 1997, it was 104,700 (Australian Bureau of Statics 1998). In 2006, 120,500,³ in 2011, 171,233⁴ and in 2016, 246, 400. One statistic⁵ points out that between 1981 and 1990 and between 2007 and 2011, the arrivals of Philippine-born are particularly numerous.

Presently, the female population substantially outnumbers the male among Filipinos in Australia: 61 percent compared with 39 per cent of men out of 225,110 at the end of June 2014.⁶ Community information reveals:

During the 1970s and 80s, many Filipino women migrated as spouses of Australian residents, under the then Family Reunion Program. Also, most Philippine-born settlers were sponsored by a family member. Over the last twenty years, many have migrated as skilled migrants (Department of Immigration and Citizenship. 2011).

In 1970s and 1980s, there was a notable increase in intermarriages between Australian men and Filipino women. In addition, marriage migrant Filipinas invited their kin to Australia. Moreover, from the 1990s, skilled migration increased. Of this, Filipina nurses are dominant. In 2014–2015, registered nurses were accepted in 271 temporary work (skilled) visa category (subclass 457), and 863 category in point tested skilled migration. Nursing is a highly gendered occupation, i.e., female-dominated. Other categories include skilled meat workers, mechanics, software and application programmers, accountants, industrial engineers, and cooks. In this way, most of the Filipinos are engaged in skilled or semi-skilled jobs.

Moreover, from 1989–2015, the Commission on Filipino Overseas (CFO)⁷ provided guidance to 499,436 potential Filipino partners marrying out with foreign nationals. During this period, Filipino-Australian couples were the third largest (39,454), following Filipino-American (216,037) and Filipino-Japanese couples (120,799). In this period, women accounted for 91.4 percent of intermarriages. This indicates most Filipino-Australian marriages are largely between Filipino women and Australian men.

It should be noted that there are Filipinos who married prior to the above-mentioned period (1989–2015). Furthermore, there are resident Filipino migrant women (skilled or semi-skilled) who married Australian men.

Filipino women in Australia are approximately 140,000. They are categorized as follows: the marriage migrants, estimated at 50,000; the skilled or semi-skilled migrants or kin of those Filipinos living in Australia, who eventually married Australians (estimated at 30,000 to 50,000); the skilled or semi-skilled migrants; and kin. Inferring from the above data, the Filipino wives of Australians are estimated at 80,000 to 100,000.

II. Filipino-Australian Intermarriage Studies

1. The Proliferation of Intermarriages

The media coverage and studies of Filipino women married to Australians began in the mid-1980s, reflecting the proliferation and social implications of these marriages (Jackson 1993, Salocka 1997; 2006, Roces 1998). The subject of intermarriage has been discussed extensively in popular media and academic studies in both Philippines and Australia (The Pilipino Herald, 1994; Jackson 1993; Cahill 1990; Roces 2003; 75)

Moreover, academics analyse marriage migrants from gender perspectives i.e. in terms of commodification of women, as a form of prostitution or the trafficking of women (Roces 2003: 75; Boer. C 1988; De Stoop 1994). This is especially so because Filipino women were strongly viewed as “mail-order brides”. The term mail-order bride is a pejorative of a foreign woman married to Australian men through introduction agencies. It implies “the placing of order” for a bride via postal mail by Australian men. It also suggests the women had met and married Australian men only after a brief period of courtship. The unconventional, fast-tracked intermarriages caught the attention of various individuals and concerned groups.

In mail-order bride cases, some Filipino women were subjected to domestic violence by their Australian spouses (Holt 1996; Marginson 1999; Satake 2000: 186). Between 1989 and 1992, the annual rate of homicide for all women in Australia aged 20 and 39 was 1.0 per 100,000. And higher rate for women born in the Philippines: it was 5.6 per 100,000 (Cunnen and Stubbs 1997: 31). Australian men’s beliefs and expectations of Asian women as submissive and tolerant influence their attitude and behaviour toward the women they married.

The sensationalized abuse paved the way for the enactment of Republic Act 6955 in 1990 in the Philippines. Introduction agencies and undertakings to match Filipino women with foreign nationals as “mail-order bride” were banned under the law (Satake 2000: 185). Thereafter, the so-called dating spots in the internet have thrived as the cyber communication era began in the 1990s (Salocka 2002; Crespo 2009). Furthermore, as social media network has widely spread at unprecedented pace, the forging of acquaintances through the internet, like Facebook have consequently increased at a rapid pace ever imagined.

In addition, there are a lot of personal introductions and references initiated by siblings and relatives already based in Australia and married to Australian men. Often, a couple meets through an agency, a dating spot, on Facebook, or travelling, and/or at work. It is a common case to find a Filipino wife who has a friend or relative wishing to marry an Australian man; and her husband has a friend or relative wishing to marry a Filipina. The couple or the Filipina will then introduce their friends and relatives to one another. These network and informal arrangements have primarily facilitated the introduction for Filipino-Australian couples (Boer 1988: 20).

2. The Broader Perspectives

While previous studies largely focused on stereotypes and victimhood of 'mail-order brides', the following studies went further, recapitulating how these women redefine themselves.

There were substantial data to support the "victimhood" of those women (Saroca 2006), and narratives about the women's opportunistic attitude are as equally common (Boer 1988). But, these views were met with criticism for its partiality, undermining the women's desire to live a decent life. Roces (2003: 75) explicates: "Such a view (is) obscuring the possibility of the blurring of distinction between victim and agency ..., neglecting other aspects of the role of wife and mother, or of their success in assimilating and participating in multicultural Australia (as labourers in the workforce or as citizens), as well as the women's engagement with the issues of identity."

Saroca (1997: 90) also expounds, "(t)hat the use of the term 'mail order bride' to represent Filipinas and characterises a whole spectrum of ways in which couples meet and marry, simultaneously creates a negative image of the women and their marriage to Australian men and obscures the actualities of their everyday life."

Thus, to some extent, the mail-order bride narratives imply stereotyping not only of women, but also of men who are presumed to be aggressive and incurable psychopaths.

In describing Filipino women along this line, Roces writes an ethnographical study of Filipinas in Mount Isa in Queensland (2003). Also, in a study on Filipino-Australian intimacies online, Saroca (2002), based on interviews with five Australian men and Filipino women couples, analyses the online acquaintances, the subsequent e-mailing, and meeting in person.

Moreover, Bonifacio (2009), based on the research in Illawarra, Wollongong group, describes the transformed lives of Filipino women by joining the group. This finding is affirmed in my current study of the women in the Illawarra group.

Furthermore, Crespo's (2009) study on online marriages covers the actual marital life of the couple. Relying on the face-to-face and phone interviews with participants, it traces online marriages and "*Buhay ko*" (my life). The twenty-four participants of the research include eight prospective Filipino brides living in the Philippines, eight Filipino wives (ages 24-36) and their Western husband (ages 46-71) living in the Philippines, U.S., England, and Australia. As a gender study, this is interesting because this study deals with couples. Not only women but also men's perspectives and opinions on life and marriage are discussed.

Espinosa's (2017) work on Philippine-Australia migration extensively focuses on women and elderly. Based on the literature on the theme and some interviews with Australian-based Filipinos, Espinosa scrutinised Filipino migration, mail-order brides, elderly migrants, and Filipino political organizations in Australia.

While my study has similar findings to the above-mentioned literature, especially Crespo's study, it extends the scope of analysis. Although Crespo's study examines the process of meetings and

adaptations, my study further explores the public support for migrants, issue of remittance, and post-retirement plan for couples. And as a gender study, like Crespo, this paper deals with both sexes. And this paper further intends to analyse how desires for security in Filipino-Australian intermarriages are fulfilled.

III. The Research

1. The Research Methodology

To capture the actualities of Filipino-Australian marriages, interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions were conducted. Seven couples and five spouses have responded to the interview questionnaires and follow-ups (19 persons). Three couples and four spouses have responded to the questionnaires (10 persons). A total of twenty-nine respondents took part in the research (**Table 1**).

To find Australian-Filipino couples or spouse, I relied on Filipino organizations in New South Wales, Australia. One group is the Illawarra Filipino & Multicultural Women's Group, Inc. (IFMWG) in Wollongong, NSW, which was studied by Bonifacio (2009). Established in 1985, IFMWG has provided supports to Filipino and other multicultural women. I joined group meetings, observed and conducted interviews. Furthermore, three-rounds group discussions that we organized in November in 2017 provided suitable data for analysis.

Another is a Christian group: Jesus Our Banner Christian Church (Toongabbie, NSW). The third organization is Sydney Australia Filipino Seniors Inc. or SAFSI. Established in 1987, SAFSI has provided a meaningful support for Filipino seniors in Sydney. The fourth group, Allied Philippine Community Organization, or APCO referred members for in-depth interviews.

Interviews were conducted from October 2017 until March 2018. All the names of respondents are pseudonyms to protect their privacy. Other relevant demographic data, such as age and work of informants, were generated from interviews and questionnaires.

2. Research Findings

① Channels of acquaintances and rationale for marriage

(1) Channels

(a) Through Kin and Acquaintances

The largest number of respondents (12) revealed that they met their partner through introductions of friends (5), relatives (4), either friends or relatives (2), and workmates (1). Introductions are the most common channels. The second largest number (4) met in the workplace in Australia. Two couples came to know each other vis-à-vis the internet. One couple met at the Manila office of a private marriage agency.

Four couples met through introduction of friends and relatives. One of them, Deria is a pioneer

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Table 1 Interview list- interviewees, ages, interview date and venue, number of marriage and how they met

	Names	Age	Age of partner	Interview date (October 2017 to February 2018)	Interview venue: or where questionnaires recovered	Number of marriages	Number of marriages (partner)	How did they met?	year of marriage
1	Raul	67		Oct.18	Marayong	3		introduction of relative	2010
	Virgie	67		Oct.18	do	2		do	2010
2	Seddy	54		Oct.19	Wollongong	3		social media, FB	2016
	Nicole	36		Oct.19	do	1		do	2016
3	Boxy	77		Nov.09	do	1		Introduction of relative	1979
	Deria	73		Nov.02	do	1		do	1979
4	Nicholson	75		Nov.02	do	3		Introduction of relative	2014
	Neria	54		Nov.02	do	2 (1st marriage not registered)		do	2014
5	Bob	75		Nov.09	do	2		social media, FB	2016: de facto relations- waiting for Sunny's divorce
	Sunny	60		Nov.09	do	2		do	2016: de facto
6	Patrick	61		Dec.31	Toongabie	1		Introduction of friend	1986
	Catharine	62		Dec.31	do	1		do	1986
7	Charlie	37		Jan.07	Toongabie	1		Introduction of friend	2010
	Jacky	33		Jan.07	do	1		do	2010
8	Bright *	61		January	Toongabie	1		Introduction of friend or relative	2009
	Geraldine *	36		January	do	2		do	2009
9	Chros *	45		Feb.20	Toongabi	1		From work (same job site)	2008
	Nora *	49		Fer.20	Toongabi	2		work	2008
10	Emmy	64	79	Oct.19	Wollongong	1	1	introduction of friend	1984
11	Elsa	62	passed away (91 in 2017)	Nov.09	do	1	2	introduction of agent (niece)	1981
12	Brian	75	70	Nov.30	do	2	2 defacto relationship	on the job	2008 (de facoto relations)
13	Brima	75	passed away (84 in 2005)	Jan.17, 18	Belmore	2	2	tenant (the husband was house owner)	1989 (-2005. the husband passed away)
14	Lorenzana	62	70	Jan.31	Marrylands	2	2	introduction of relative	1989
15	Ms. X *	69	?	Oct.19	Wollongong	1	?	introduction of friend or relative	1994
16	Temy *	65	?	Oct.19	do	1	?	introduction of friend	1975
17	Maria *	72	married in 1983, divorced in 1994	Oct.19	do	2	?	business meeting	1983

* Questionnaire only

sources : Author's research.

wife. Her British-descendant husband, Boxy narrated.

She has two sisters living here. They showed me a photo album. I saw my future wife in that album. I said, 'this one looks nice.' That is how it started."

Since then, they had been corresponding for two and half years. Deria said,

I was a librarian in an exclusive school in Manila. I migrated to Australia early in 1979 and met him. My impression is Ok, I suppose.

Boxy's impression of his Filipina wife was: "She was charming, admirable and a good woman." They married in July 1979. He was thirty-nine and she thirty-four. Deria's parents were deceased, but Boxy's parents, especially mother opposed to their wedding: they didn't come to celebrate the nuptial vows. Boxy said.

"(The reason being) Deria is the first Asian coming into the family. My family (UK migrant descendants) were unfamiliar with Asians."

Deria agrees that there was racism. She felt uneasy when she newly arrived. Eventually, Deria's relationship with her parents-in-law improved because she looked after them until the day they passed away.

Another pioneer wife, Emmy also met his Croatian-migrant Australian husband through the introduction of friends in 1984. She was thirty-one while her husband was forty-six at the time of marriage. They married in 1984 and she migrated to Australia in 1986. Emmy recalled,

I was working in the government office and I sent two girls to study in New Zealand, then they met my husband in the airplane, and when the plane took a stopover in Brisbane, Queensland, they introduced themselves and they got his name and address. (He was looking for a partner.) After they came back to the Philippines, they gave it to me. Our communication began. Then, he came to the Philippines." "My parents said, 'Go ahead, you are 30. You are too old.' In the Philippines, if you are 30 and single, you are called *matandang dalaga* (spinster).

In another case, a UK migrant-descendant Australian husband recounted about his meeting with his future wife, Catherine. Patrick (60) is a computer programmer. When he was single, he rented a two-bedroom house in Sydney suburb⁸ in 1979.

"I placed an advertisement in the newspaper and got two Filipino women live in the room. On weekends, we went on a picnic. On January 1, 1983, one of the girls asked me to pick up a girl in Sydney. That's Catharine!"

Catharine (61), a registered nurse, migrated to Australia in 1982. Her sister came to work in Australia in 1972. While working in a nursing home as a nurse in Wollongong, she was asked by Patrick twice a week for a date. Regarding the marriage, her mother was not sure of her marriage because she would be far away from her, while her father was agreeable. Besides, her sister in Australia was strict with Patrick. Catherine expounded,

“My sister was going out with a German before, and she was sending money back to the relative in the Philippines and he said once they get married that’s the end of sending money. She thought Patrick would be the same.”

On the other hand, Patrick’s parents were cold and unwelcoming, too. Patrick said, *My mother was opposed to our marriage. She was sceptical.*, “*When I first told her about Catherine, her word was something like, ‘can’t you find a nicer Australian girl?’*”

By “Australian girl”, his mother meant a white Australian. This implies the racialized preference of Patrick’s parents. Although Italians and Greeks migrated to Australia after World War II, Patrick’s parents were unfamiliar with Asians, Patrick explained. There was a racist reaction similar to the opposition of Boxy’s parents to their son’s marriage to Filipina Deria, being a non-white.

There are racist reactions by parents of Australian husbands partly because Asians were few in their communities then. Patrick himself was annoyed by the stereotypical images of ‘mail-order’ brides that were so notoriously prevailing in the 1980s. This finding reaffirms Espinosa’s (2017: 137) study. Accordingly, a Caucasian husband was annoyed with the term of mail order bride although he married a Filipino women of high education, far from the stereotype image of such bride: lowly-educated promiscuous woman. Patrick recounts,

“Back in the 1980s, the image of mail-order bride was a common discomfort. That is quite bad. A lot of men thought I was marrying a woman through a mail-order bride service.”⁹

In the case of Patrick, his initial exposure to Filipino friends in the apartment gave him a balanced view, debunking stereotypes of Filipina mail-order brides. Against such pejoratives, he was able to stand dignified by explaining himself repeatedly.

The fourth case (Charlie [37] and Jacky [33]) is categorized as a second-generation marriage. Charlie is an Indonesian-Denmark migrant and Jacky, a Filipino-migrant. They married in 2010. They both acquired Australian citizenship before marriage. However, Jacky’s desire to have a cultural influence on their 3 children is an affirmation of her strong Filipino sentiments. Charlie was born in Australia in 1980. His father is an Indonesian from Manado, North Sulawesi and his mother from Denmark. Jacky was born in 1984 in Cebu and migrated to Australia in 1991 when she was seven.

Jacky recalls,

“I was at a friend’s house and he was there. I decided on him because he is caring.”

For Charlie, whose father is an Indonesian, he has an image of the Philippines as geographically Asia, Oriental.

“My dad is Indonesian. In high school, I had a lot of Filipino friends. So, I’m familiar with Philippine culture and there is similarity to Indonesian side.”

So, cultural similarity binds them together.

(b) Internet Acquaintances

Nicole (36) doesn’t know her real father. When she was younger, her mother took her to her cousin who looked after her. She was raised there with her 3 stepbrothers and 1 stepsister while her mother remarried. As she grew big, she decided to work overseas in Bahrain as a domestic helper for one year and four months and sent money to her family back home.

(In Bahrain) “I worked hard to clean the house. But they are ‘*malupit*’ (cruel). They lock you up because they don’t want you to meet Filipino friends. When children come back home late, they kick you to get up. One day *nagkasakit ako* (I got sick). They didn’t buy me medicine nor allowed me to go to hospital.”

Filipino Overseas workers are often treated this way in the Middle-East.¹⁰ Domestic workers often fall victims of abuse and violence as they stay in employers’ house. In her free time, she used Facebook, for recreation and communication. One day, her would-be husband, Seddy (54) sent her a friend request, which she accepted, and they started communicating on line.

Seddy was born in Belgium, and came to Australia at three with his parents. He said, “I met her on Facebook on March 2014. Nicole was in Bahrain and I was in Australia.” While Nicole recalled:

“As I explained to him about my situation, he called up my Arab employer by phone and said he wanted me out. He told me he would send money immediately so that I could go back to the Philippines. Next day with the money I bought a ticket and paid the penalty to the employer.”

Looking back, Seddy recounts, “*I sent her home from Middle East. It was so difficult. I didn’t expect anything in return.*” When they married in December 3, 2016, it was a fulfilment of their mutual desire to become a couple.

Seddy was married twice and divorced twice. He had 4 children (36, 32, 24, and 20) with his first Australian wife and had a vasectomy. Nicole knew about it before marriage and said, "*He said he has a friend and I can have a baby if I have a donor. But it is very expensive. I don't want my husband to sacrifice.*" She was referring to an artificial insemination. Asked if he wants to have a baby with her, Seddy says, "*I can't. I have four children with my first wife.*" Seddy is a caregiver in a nursery home, while Nicole is still unemployed, prioritizing learning Australian English and culture.

As shown in the above-mentioned case, internet generations are increasing and chance meetings on internet are now common now.

(c) Marriage Agency

Marriage agencies were a common route for Australian-Filipino intermarriages. Below is a narrative of such case.

Elsa was a vocational graduate, single and working in a shipping line in Makati, Metro Manila.¹¹ Her niece rang her up in 1981 and said "*You meet this Australian.*" Her niece had set up a marriage agency. "*An Australian's friend married a Filipino woman and this Australian also wants to marry a Filipino woman,*" she said.

Her parents were reluctant especially her mother who asked, "*Are you sure to marry? You are going to marry a foreigner. We don't know this guy.*"

Elsa further recollects, "*It is my first marriage. I was twenty-six and he was fifty-three. He is an Italian-migrant. In 1978, he divorced an Australian wife with whom he had son and daughter*". So, at that time, "*he was on his own. Very lonely.*" The couple married in the Philippines in April 1981 and six days later Elsa migrated to Australia. She decided to marry in a short period through a dating agency. She is one of those who fits the category of 'mail order brides'. Yet, she justified herself by saying:

"I tried to have a better future. I was working in a local shipping company owned by a Chinese. The salary was very low. So, I thought of moving in another country to improve my life circumstance."

(2) Rationale for Marriage

(a) Husbands' Rationale for Marriage

My inquiries on Australian husbands' decision to marry Filipino women and their conception of Filipino women generated some unexpected responses. "Personality is important, and nationality is irrelevant," was common response of 5 out of 11 husbands. This is surprising because I believed marrying Filipino is something special itself. For Raul (67): "*There is no nationality when it comes to love.*" For Seddy: "*You married her for her values, personality, and beliefs, not for her nationality.*"

Patrick adds: “*I didn’t marry because she is Filipina, but because I liked her. She happens to be a Filipina.*” Having no particular images of Filipino women, they decided to marry based on their personality. They value the person’s personality, over the nationality. In this paper, I refer to this group of men as “married for personality type (MPT).”

On the other hand, 5 husbands noted the women they married are attentive, caring, and obedient. One even said, they are committed and loyal. They uphold traditional values and have strong expectation as attentive and submissive women.

For Boxy, “*I married her because she is attentive, takes care of me very well and obedient.*” These opinions, i.e., being attentive, caring and obedient are prototypes of traditional women’s traits embodied by Filipino wives, appreciated and highly valued by the foreign husbands. Crespo (2009), in her interviews with foreign husbands, figures:

“For the majority of Western husbands, the marriage was success because they also find wives who have traditional values and were committed to family and marriage (Crespo 2009: 71).”

Western husbands put a lot of emphasis on family values and good morals, accordingly. In the said citation, Crespo did not elaborate on whether contemporary Australian women possess family values. On the other hand, Australian husbands appreciate having found Filipino wives who are committed and loyal. They married on the bases of personality trait and traditional values they expect the women would embody.

(b) Wives’ Rationale for Marriage

While stereotyped for their choices to marry an Australian, relationships go deeper than the process. Filipino women marry for a variety of reasons beyond money. Eight respondents cited love and personality traits such as being caring, attentive as the reasons they marry. The other eight respondents chose financially reliable, generous, responsible and respectful husbands. Some women cited both personal trait and financial reliability. A case in point is Corazon (60) who prefers “*Attentive, caring, financially reliable, responsible, loving, and not violent.*” I refer to the first response type as the love type (LT), and the second, the financial security type (FST).

Crespo (2009: 71) wrote about how the Filipino wives rate their marriage:

... the online wives rate their marriage to be a success for they were able to live a good life (access to resources/material possessions, convenience, and financial stability/security)

The above-mentioned accounts reveal the women’s level of satisfaction of their improved life in a foreign country. Consistent to their expectations, they have access to resources, convenience, and

financial stability. This holds true for half of the respondents. Below, Elasa and Brima (75) admitted they were financially motivated. To improve one's life circumstances, Elsa married. Brima (75) married an English-migrant Australian because she wanted to secure a visa in Australia as she had been overstaying her visa.¹²

Here, the issue of international hypergamy (Constable 2003: 146), or marrying up is relevant. Both Elsa and Brima married up in the social and economic stratum. Elsa, although struggling with English, was able to live in a "love house" constructed by her Italian migrant husband. Brima was able to slip into the husband's big house although she kept working as house keeper and carer of her elderly husband. These took place in a huge economic gap between prosperous Australia and "poor" Philippines.

In sum, Australian husbands, mostly wealthier than their Filipino spouses, find fulfilment in having Filipino wives, who are playing "traditional roles." Filipino wives are satisfied with their marriages for economic rewards and for having "good men." Some of them are globally marrying out for the desirable economic opportunities and rewards.

② Government Support

(1) Significance of Government Support

Marriage migrants go through a period of adaptation to a new environment such as language and employment obstacles. In this process, the government support plays an important role. Australia is known for being a country built upon and developed by foreign migrants. Though indigenous aboriginal people's lives have been extensively impacted, since the 18th century on, European (Mainly British) settlers came (Fethi Mansouri ed., 2015). After the immigration restriction in 1901 and the post-World War II war reconstruction based on the invitation of migrants from Europe, followed. Thereafter, with the abolishment of "White Australia" policy and the promulgation of multiculturalism in the 1970s, more people of diverse cultural backgrounds came in.

(2) Migrant Resources Centres-Multicultural Support

The purpose of Migrant Resources Centres (MRC), the main pillar of multiculturalism, is to cater to the immediate and longer-term needs of migrants and refugees to facilitate successful integration into their local community and enable them to reach their full potential.¹³ In this context, the Illawarra Migrant Resources Centre, Wollongong, for instance, with the financial backup of the central government, facilitated a comprehensive settlement program like English classes, formal orientation courses like advice & assistance with housing, education, employment and other support mechanisms (History, IMS).¹⁴

Among those who availed of this support program is Elsa. Elsa recollects, "When I first came to Australia in 1981, there was an MRC where you could study English. I took an English class for six

months.” Elsa pointed out language as one of difficulties in marriage life. Crespo (2009) writes the lives of Filipino wives as “... life is not so easy once they settle in the US, England or Australia. Learning a new language and acquiring a new communication skill are crucial to interracial/ intercultural marriage (Crespo 2009: 87).” In view of this, MRCs served migrants’ needs in acquiring basic skills as Elsa narrated.

However, some of them stopped English classes afterwards as funding from federal government diminished and phased out. This was the case especially since 1996, after which multiculturalism has eroded in the days of racial multiculturalization. A governmental shift from Labour Party to Liberal Party under John Howard (1996–2007) was behind the policy change. Furthermore, the September 11, 2001 New York terrorist attacks and the Cronulla riots in 2005 seem to have impacted on the minds of people (Johns, Noble and Harris 2017) and shifted away for the unconditional respect for different cultures to social integrity (Jupps and Clyne 2011: XVI). Presently, Australian government emphasizes integration and social cohesion rather than multiculturalism (Australian Government 2017).

(3) TAFE-State and Territory Program

The Train and Further Education (TAFE) is a state and territory program that provides vocational education in Australia. Beauty, design, childcare, accounting, business, recruitment, IT, and others are areas of study.¹⁵ Migrants face the challenge of nonrecognition of overseas qualification in employment. Filipino female migrants in Mt. Isa in Queensland faced these obstacles and opted to take the office clerk skill course at TAFE, obtaining jobs as receptionists, secretaries, or clerks (Roces 2003: 82).

A Filipina, Menzi (70), a younger sister of Delia registered at TAFE in childcare because she wanted to gain specific skills. She obtained a job in a childcare centre and was able to support her life as a single mother : she had divorced the Australian husband because he disapproved her choice to work.

(4) Department of Education and Training

Lorenzana (62) married in 1988 and came to live in Australia in 1989. She worked at the provision division of an Oil company in the Philippines. She recalls,

“When the ship was going to Singapore, I was in charge of preparing food and everything people need to travel there. Once they got there, I arranged all the provisions there. I got everything from there to come back to Manila.”

In Australia, she had to start from the scratch with a number of hurdles to tackle. First, the

English is different. Her husband is a European (Hungarian) and his English is “Australian” while hers is American given the American education system in the Philippines. “So, I have to study English.” She was able to study free of charge under the scheme called Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) of the Department of Education and Training. This program started in 1948 to cope up with the large influx of East and South European migrants. It offered 510 hours classes, for a period of six months.¹⁶

After her English course, she worked as a nursing assistant at a nursing home for seniors. She then changed career. She studied business and marketing in the skill for education and employment (SEE) program of the same department free of charge. It provides language, literacy and numeracy training to eligible job seekers.¹⁷

“I opened up my grocery store and sold foods I had cooked. And I started catering service, upgrading of what I did in the Philippines.”

By studying English and business course, she acquired communication skill, business prowess and earned better. She thus acquired her economic independence. And, all the programs she took at the Department of Education and Training were provided free of charge, making it easy and convenient for migrants like her to improve their skills.

(5) Public Educational and Family Support

Jacky is a beneficiary of public educational support and social security program. She is a contracted nurse while studying nursing in a university on a scholarship program. The scholarship is called HECS-HELP (Higher Education Contribution Scheme-Higher Education Loan Program) of the same department. On such courses as nursing and education, compulsory debt repayment was reduced to encourage more admission. She availed of this program.¹⁸

Furthermore, she availed of Centrelink Master Program, commonly referred to as Centrelink, under the Department Human Resources. As social security system in Australia, it caters to retirees, the unemployed, families, carers, parents, people with disabilities, Indigenous Australians, students aged 16–24, apprentices and people from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.¹⁹ “What is difficult in marriage is mainly the financial aspect, having 3 children,” Jacky said. So, financial support was very helpful for her family.

Although HECS-HELP and Centrelink are not specifically intended for migrants, they support Jacky, a migrant and working mother.

In sum, MRCs, TAFE, AME, SEE, HECS-HELP and Centrelink have helped the migrants adjust, settle, upgrade skills, study and lead a life of their choosing. The migrants make the best use of available public supports whether they are multicultural or social programs. This shows the

importance and effectiveness of the social support systems in migration process. Even if multiculturalism support programs have been on the decline, other sustainable support programs are available, proving that Australia is migrant-friendly.

③ Remittance as Maintaining Kinship

(1) Diverse Views of Remittance

In intermarriages with Philippine nationals, the continuous practice of remittances to families and kin causes marital conflicts, impacting family budget and marital relations. In interviews with the couples, Australian husbands were asked what they think of their wife's remittance to the Philippines, and Filipino wives were asked about their husbands' opinion on the issue.

On the first question, most husbands said, "Does not care." Nick (75), Charlie, and Emmy's husband said "Good". Only three are frank to admit it is not good. This is related to a fact that in Australia husband and wife have separate bank accounts, contrary to the common practice in the Philippines where the wife holds the purse of family, replicating the Spanish colonial practice where the woman is family treasurer".²⁰

Several women interviewed expressed varied justification for sending money. For Deria, she thinks "It's okay. I help my relatives a lot;" while her husband, Boxy said that "she doesn't send any, not that I know of." It is likely that she sends money from her pocket or that she does not inform her husband about the remittances.

In view of having separate accounts, Lorenzana, wife of Hungarian-Australian husband, pointed out, "*I do have my own job and I have my account. What can you say about your money? But you ask your husband once or twice, he would give once or twice. If you are overdoing it, your husband will complain about it.*"

There are cases where women do not send regularly. Below is case in point. Mahal (54) says all her children are here, so she doesn't remit money so much. Only when she is asked, she remits money. Her husband Nick says, "*Not much*" is okay with remittance. *I don't mind as long as necessary because in a lucky country (Australia), 'give me money' is tolerated and accepted.*"

On the one hand, Emmy's husband says, helping relatives is alright. Emmy recollects her experience saying:

My husband says, help, help (relatives), we send money together. I left 4 hectares of land to my mother. It is already a big help. So, I told them, don't rely on me because I have a family here. But I kept on sending money. When my mother passed away, I sent money. When one of my brothers died, I sent money."

On the other hand, some husbands like Bob and Charlie are frank about their disdain of

remittances. Bob said, *“Not good. My wife Sunny (60) has two daughters, 34 and 30 with her former Filipino husband. She used to do much. I told her, if you keep doing that why don’t you work and send money?”* Sunny conceded to it. She also knows she is too old to work and does not want to bother him.

(2) Problematic Aspects and Resolutions of Remittance Issue

Remittance is clearly a pseudo-cultural practice among Filipino abroad. Filipino families secure financial gains from this practice at the expense of family members overseas. Below are the diverse findings to support the claim (Focus group discussion, November 9, 2017). From the standpoint of Temio, an Italian migrant husband, it is abuse. He says:

The abuse is when the money is misused. That’s when it’s used for things other than necessities. Like with my former wife’s family (in the Philippines). My former mother in-law was telling her daughter to use my ATM card to withdraw all the money. I had a friend who had a pension, but his wife sends all the pensions to her family in the Philippines. That’s so abusive. Then, here in Australia, she needs a coat; some say why can’t she buy a coat in winter?

Some husbands understand the complexity underlying remittances. For Seddy, an open-minded husband, *“It’s difficult to resolve. But probably one resolution is to limit sending money and prioritize only for medication, but not Jolibee Bee²¹ type of grand party.”* Temio and Seddy share the common opinion to resolve the problematic issue of remittances. They suggested providing a setup fund to start a business for the wives’ families to alleviate their living condition. Seddy suggested, *“They can set up a store and you give them capital to start up a business. But sometimes, they even blew it and lose (sic) everything. Then, they ask again and again. This too is abusive.”*

As a common response, Australian husbands agreed that remittance is abusive, creates marital conflicts, puts unnecessary pressure, and causes stress on the Filipino wives and their Australian husbands. Admittedly, the Filipino wives acknowledged their husbands’ standings and opinions. Yet, most of the Filipino women are culturally bound to extend family support through remittances. This also reflects how remittances become symbolic cultural tool that maintains and sustains kinship ties back in the home country. Although some Australian husbands opposed it, there is also a degree of tolerance on their part over the years. Currently aware of the cultural dimension of remittances over its inherent monetary function as a form of economic support, they either concede to it, or display passive resistance to this pseudo-cultural practice.

In the case below, a mutual understanding on remittance is attainable for some couples. A Filipina approaches financial support to the Philippines with straightforward honesty. Ina, wife of Temio, said, *“I don’t want to keep any secret from my husband. I told him about my remittances because I think*

sending money is justifiable. It is a matter of discussing with your husband especially prior to getting married.” Temio points out the importance of open communication and suggests that “*from the beginning, the couple should talk about it. Like my wife is a teacher and she was honest about it, she wants to send money to her parents. So, we are both on the same boat and understand each other.*”

Another respondent, Emmy reaffirms, saying, “*The only resolution is for the couple is to discuss the matter because they are only ones who can work it out. Couples should be honest to each other. Honesty is the best policy.*” Whatever the result, couples should talk. That would be a resolution to the issue of remittance.

Thus, while some Australian husbands are critical of the tendency of their Filipina partners to encourage dependency and abuse through remittances, most also show tolerance and acceptance of such practices by their Filipino partners. This is also the case when husbands remit money to their parents in Australia. Boxy used to send money to his mother when she was alive. Delia allowed it.

④ Retirement Plans: Where to Settle After Retirement

(1) Social Welfare and Government Support²²

Retirement with old age is a crucial factor in deciding where to settle. Asked about where they want to stay after retirement, Raul said, Australia, citing health care, public transport, safety and pension as the most pragmatic reasons. All the permanent residents and Australian citizens are covered by the government medical care services. Called medicare services, it provides free admission and treatment in public hospitals, 75 percent of general practitioners and 85 percent of specialist consultations.

Virgie (67) said, “Of course, Australia, *di ba* (Filipino: meaning isn’t it)? Honey, what you wrote?” Climate, pension,²³ and health care are her reasons. Besides, public transport in New South Wales State is discounted for seniors above 65 regardless of the distance you travel, it is only 2.50 dollars daily.²⁴ Hence, the couple Virgie and Raul go often to Manly beach by train and boat “to breathe some fresh air”: they live in a modest government housing.

An Australian (Belgian born) Seddy said “Australia. I hope that my wife Nicole, too.” Nicole replied, “I did (chose Australia).” Aside from being a foster child, Nicole said “My husband told me, ‘if I pass away I want you to stay in Australia with my children.’ That’s his wish. So, I want to stay in Australia.” She adores her husband for rescuing her from a slavery job in Bahrain.

Seddy added, “Social welfare. Medicare. It will change, but it will always be there.” Accordingly, support network is strong in the community. Seddy further explains, his mother is 82 years old now. She went back to Belgium four years ago. She stayed there for three months. But she was glad that she had come back to Australia. He said,

“Belgium is a western country. But Australia is better. She has a string around her neck. When

she falls, or something happens, she presses the button and calls the house. This is not available yet in Belgium. We are very fortunate in Australia.”

(2) Australia: A “lucky country”

Immigrants both early migrants and the recent ones, refer to Australia as a “lucky country” for obvious reasons implied in the actualities of their daily life. Boxy said he would choose Australia because medical cost is outrageous in the Philippines. “It costs a fortune to get medical care in the Philippines,” he concluded. His wife, Delia also favours Australia citing hospitalization, pension, social welfare and health care as reasons to stay. She narrated.

“Australia is a lucky country. I met my husband 39 years ago. This is my country and my new home now. Although I have a house in the Philippines, this is my country now. And as I am aging, Australia provides for medical care.”

For Emmy, as well, Australia is home. She narrated: *“I have been here for 35 years. I like to stay here because my husband is also here. We’ve been together for all those years. I love everything here. People, climate, nature, social welfare, hospital, pension, all is good for Australia. I can’t think of any other place to retire. So, this is my home.”*

Brian (75, Scottish-descendant) is proud to be an Australian. *“Now I am retired. I want to stay in Australia because it is the best country in the world.” “It’s the whole country. People. You can go anywhere. Not like in the Philippines.²⁵ Traffic. Good. Good.”* His partner, Menzi said, *“I’ve been here for 41 years now. I have two daughters. I love Australia. This is my second country. I love the people, very friendly and calm.”*

(3) Climatic Conditions and Security

Nick pointed out the climatic condition for choosing Australia. *“Climate is most important. I would love to visit the Philippines for a holiday.” “People are friendly and very hospitable. But, if mid-summer you go, it’s like in Darwin.”²⁶* For his wife Mahal, who escaped a gambler Filipino partner, security is most important. “Life is safer and better here.” She wants to retire in Australia for 1) safety, 2) her five children and mother are here, and 3) she has her business of dresses.

Lorenzana also chooses Australia. *“The reason is all in your list: People, climate, nature, social welfare, hospital, and pension. Climate, it is endurable. In the Philippines, it is hot and rainy. Here, even in summer, hotness is not continuous. In winter, it’s not snowy.” “If we are going to stay in the Philippines, a meagre pension is not enough. The house rent is costly. If you eat out, it’s the same. It is expensive.”* While in Australia, water is free.²⁷ Only electricity and gas are payable. The house rent

is only 25% of pension. “We are paying only 200 dollars weekly for the rent, thanks to Kapit Bahayan Cooperative”.²⁸

(4) Family

For Catherine, her parents’ death changed her views. Catherine’s parents passed away and all the sisters migrated in Australia. “I don’t have a family in the Philippines. My family is here,” Catherine says. Patrick also pointed out the family as a reason in staying in Australia. “I don’t associate with Australians at work. I am bit out-guy,” he answers referring to his company with Filipino and Japanese circle of kin. Catherine’s elder sister married a Japanese man and has three daughters. The two couples go to the church every Sunday and officiate the ceremony together as core members of the church.

Catherine’s case is shared by most Filipino immigrants in Australia. The factors impacting the changed views of Filipino family are: age, length of stay in Australia, death of parents back home, and the overall feeling of security in living in Australia.

(5) Multicultural Society

Charlie (C) is an Indonesia-Danish Australian and Jacky (J) is a Filipino-Australian. They are a multicultural couple. When asked how they feel in multicultural Australia, they responded:

J-Yeah. Because we went to Indonesia, we stood out.

C-I stood out.

J-There are no multicultural families [out there]. If you are multicultural family, you stand out.

People just stare at you.

C-The man stares at me. I like the tension.

J-No. To Risa, my daughter, she has light, white skin. They touched my daughter in the hand.

They touched her hand over and over again. They made me uncomfortable. She is like a stranger.

Reflecting on their experience in Indonesia, they think that they do not stand out in multicultural Australia. In New South Wales and Victoria particularly, one encounters people of different skin colour, language and cultural backgrounds. Non-English speaking background population has high proportions with 18–19 % for Victoria and NSW (Glenn 2012: 2). Hence, it is assumed that intermarried couples like them feel comfortable therein.

(6) The Philippines: a place to visit or stay

Many husbands have been to the Philippines with their spouses a couple of times. They observed

poor housing and infrastructure, chaotic traffic and “bad” climatic condition, yet find the people very friendly. Furthermore, the Philippines’ social welfare systems are considered weak. Vacation trips don’t make the Philippines a place to live, but only reaffirm notions that it is a venue for short homecomings and holidays, not retirement.

IV. Comparative note on Filipino-Japanese intermarriages

1) Filipino-Japanese intermarriages

I delivered four variables in Filipino-Australian marriages: Route and rationales for marriage, government support for migrants, remittances, and retirement plan. Here, I will compare each variable with Filipino-Japanese intermarriages.

I first expound on the background for the increase of Filipino-Japanese intermarriages. The Japanese-Filipino marriages increased as young Filipino female entertainers made entry in Japan’s entertainment industry in 1980s to 2005 (Ballescás 1992; Satake and Da-anoy 2006). In their work places such as pubs and clubs, they met the future husbands who came as customers and proposed to marry (Satake and Da-anoy 2006; Faier 2009). Many of intermarriages between Japanese men and Filipino women are the result of women’s migrant work as entertainers. The author’s study indicated that 60 percent of the respondent couple met first time in a pub where the wife was working as 6 month contract workers (Satake and Da-anoy 2006: 53). So, the former “Japayuki”s, i.e. Japan-bound workers are the majority of Filipino wives of Japanese men.

Another reason is attributed to a “bride famine” in rural communities in Japan in the 1980s through the 1990s. Japanese women did not want to marry local farmers because of low income (Shukuya 1988: 33), hence it became a serious issue. In the mid-1980s, some rural community offices, in corroboration with private agencies, arranged mass weddings between Japanese farmers and Filipino women in the Philippines (Shukuya 1988; Mori 2002; Satake 2018). Brokered marriages in the Philippines, although banned in Republic Act 6955 in 1990 as trafficking of women for commercial purposes, still continue until today through the internet.

A third route is introduction initiated by siblings and relatives already married to Japanese men. This is similar to Australian-Filipino intermarriages. Filipino wives introduce their siblings and relatives to Japanese men. Fourth route is chance meetings of Japanese men who have worked or stayed or travelled in the Philippines, met their wives, and proposed marriages.

Japan’s Filipino population is 282,798 as of the end of 2020, the 4th in rank following Chinese (813,675), Koreans (446,364), and Vietnamese (411,968).²⁹ This is a comparable number of Filipinos in Australia. Among Filipinos in Japan, spouses of Japanese husbands are numerous, comprising more than half. Others include the Japanese descendants (*Nikkei Jin*) and technical trainees (Satake 2018: 59). Intercultural marriages stand at 21,852 in 2018 out of 586,481 marriages registered in Japan.

The intermarriages are skewed with a figure of 15,060 or 68.9 percent being sworn between Japanese men and foreign women. These women come from China (5,030), Philippines (3,676), Korea (1,779) and others. Filipino women topped the list from 1992 to 1996, and again in 2006. Statistical data shows the number of Japanese men-Filipino women marriages at 5,771 in 1992, 6,394 in 1993, 5,999 in 1994, 7,188 in 1995, 6,645 in 1996, and 12,150 in 2006 (e-Stat 2018).

2) Channels of Acquaintances and Rationale for Marriages

Japanese men assumed the Filipino women to be submissive because most of them met the Filipino women in pubs or clubs (Satake and Da-anoy 2006: 53).³⁰ They were customers who hang-out for a chat with women and relax. They meet Filipino women who, as part of their occupation, need to entertain the customers. So, the men marry the Filipino women on the assumption that they are obedient. Here, in my current study, half of Australian husbands appreciate the traditional values and role of women. This is one similarity based on men's expectations and assumptions. On the other hand, Filipino women assume that Japanese men are rich as they have capacity to haunt the pubs. Besides, they came to work in the land of 'rising yen' in the 1980s and 1990s. They expect to marry "rich" or financially stable Japanese men (Satake and Da-anoy 2006: 45-46; Faier 2009: 64). Filipino women in Japan share the MT or FST in Australia.

Here I point out the implication of word "Japayuki", former jobs of most Filipino wives of Japanese men. Quite often, what implies with such entertainment jobs is prostitutions, which is not true. While they worked at pubs and clubs called 'Firipin pub,' at night, the most common job is to sit with customers, chat, pour alcohol drinks, and sing songs with 'karaoke' music. But the negative image of 'Japayuki' as racial slur haunts the women and their husbands, and children. There were reported cases of school bullying, one of which was a school-girl's suicide in 2010.³¹ Thus, there is similarity of "mail-order brides" in Australia and "Japayuki" in Japan.

3) Government Support

In Japan, in each prefecture there is a semi-public international association (*Kokusai Yuko Kyokai*) where foreign migrants can study Japanese language for a minimum fee. This is done in accordance with the government policy of multicultural co-existence with foreigners (*Tabunkuka Kyosei*) which promulgated in 2005 (Kondo 2009: 26; Satake 2011: 31). Foreigners have increased in number to 2,731,093 in 2018, constituting about 2 percent of the population (Ministry of Justice 2019a). In addition, the Ministry of Labour and Welfare provides a job preparation support with basic Japanese courses in 17 out of 44 prefectures for foreigners (Satake 2017: 293). But TAFE and SEEP type supports to uplift migrants to higher skills in various fields are lacking in Japan. The support of MLW includes job training for care workers only. Australia provides diverse and advanced forms of support for migrants and diverse people as it has grown into a multicultural society. Japan accepts the

migrants only as cheap labours to complement its labour shortages in aged society. It has no foresight to uplift migrants' skill to integrate fully into society as equal partners. Japan still need to fulfil its pledge to be a truly multicultural society in terms of government supports for migrants as well as influencing people's mindset (Tanaka 2008: iv).

4) Remittance

In intermarriages in Japan likewise, remittance to the Philippines is often misunderstood by Japanese husband and in-laws, leading to marital breakups (Satake 2018: 62). Remittance to the wives' family tends to cause marital problems (Kondo 2003: 115). Filipino practice of remittance as a pseudo-cultural practice based on extended family systems is hardly understood by Japanese husbands because dominant family system is nuclear in Japan, similar to Australia. Kondo points out that in the Philippine culture, marriages to foreigners mean extension of families, and hence their family income (Kondo 2003: 115). Family ties extend beyond borders between Philippines and Japan, and cutting remittance is impossible, posing similarities with Filipinos in Australia.

5) Retirement Plan

In Australia, sufficient social welfare programs for elderly seem to lie behind the majority preference to stay in the country. While in Japan, social welfare is not as good as Australia: one must pay 30 percent of medical expenses, including admission and operation at hospitals.³² And, it is hard for Filipino residents to gain the citizenship given the enormous requirements³³ and the Japanese language comprehension test. So, Filipinos tend to acquire permanent residency only and would not acquire citizenship. In 2018, out of 9,074 naturalization applicants, 4,357 are Koreans, 3,025 are Chinese, and others are 1,692, including Filipino nationals (Ministry of Justice 2019b). So, the Filipinos are presumed to be few. In Australia, the Citizenship Test which includes English comprehension started in 2007. Prior to that, there were no such tests, making it easier to get citizenship. Furthermore, most Filipinos work in the labour sector, in the fast-food chains, and factories in Japan, only few are professional (Takaya et al. 2015: 15) while Filipino wives in Australia are skilled or semi-skilled workers. For Filipino in Japan, it is not the best country to retire. Some couples are opted to spend their retirement in the Philippines (Satake 2017: 88).

V. Conclusion

Through the preliminary comparison, this study found that Australian men's and Filipino women's rationale for marriages are analogous with Japanese-Filipino intermarriage counterpart. Here, men's quests for ideal partners are both conventional. The common expectation is to find women who embody "traditional values" and subscribe to care roles and responsibilities. As for government and

public supports, Australia excels as a migrant country. As for remittance, similar problems are observed in both countries. And, the likelihood of choosing Australia as retirement place is higher than Japan. Hence, it is surmised that adequate public support and social welfare programs make fulfilment of desires for security viable for most of Australian-Filipino couples.

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Notes

- 1 80% of Australians reject the notion of selecting immigrants by race and 85% believe multiculturalism is good for the county (Marr 2017). For the definition of multiculturalism, (Jupp 2011; 42).
- 2 <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/0/D56C4A3E41586764CA2581A70015893E?Opendocument>; <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3412.0> Accessed on 3 May 2018.
- 3 <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/7d12b0f6763c78caca257061001cc588/ec871bf375f2035dca257306000d5422!OpenDocument>. Accessed on 4 October 2018.
- 4 Community Information Summary, Philippine-born, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, <https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/.../02.../philippines.pdf>. Accessed on 4 October 2018.
- 5 Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Community Information Summary: Philippine-born: 2011.
- 6 <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about/reports-publications/research-statistics/statistics/live-in-australia/country-profiles/republic-of-the-philippines> Accessed on 3 May 2018.
- 7 <http://www.cfo.gov.ph/> Accessed on 26 April 2018.
- 8 Sydney city is Central Business District (CBD), 2 km long and 500m wide area. The wide area outside is called Sydney Suburb or Greater Sydney.
- 9 The Japanese men marrying a Filipino are assumed to marry a *Japayuki* san, or a former entertainer (Satake and Da-anoy 2006).
- 10 President Rodrigo Duterte banned the new deployment of Filipino workers to Kuwait due to cases of maltreatments of OFWs by employers in 2017 (Hydanarin 2018).
- 11 It is composed of 16 cities and 1 municipality. Main city is Manila. It is officially called National Capital Region.
- 12 She was a government employee in the Philippines. To escape from a corruption charge, she migrated to

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Australia in 1987, leaving her Filipino husband. When she was working in a hotel as a house cleaner, she met Charles, an English-migrant, and a widower. He wanted to marry her. He made a phone call from Australia to her husband, offered him money to annul their marriage. Brima and Charles married in 1989. She said, “I married an Australian because I wanted to stay in Australia for good. He is financially stable (Interview, 18 January 2018).”

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- 14 Illawarra Migrant Resources Centre was started in 1980. Sometime in 1990s, it changed its name to Illawarra Migrant Services.
- 15 <https://www.tafecourses.com.au/resources/what-is-tafe/>. Accessed on 15 May 2018.
- 16 <https://www.education.gov.au/adult-migrant-english-program-0>. Accessed on 3 April 2018.
- 17 <https://www.education.gov.au/skills-education-and-employment>. Accessed on 15 April 2018
- 18 For both course, the 2016–2017 financial year is the last for which someone can claim the HECS-HELP Benefit. There seem sufficient numbers of nurses due to skilled migrants. “Thousands of nursing graduates unable to find work in Australian hospitals: union”, John Stewart, ABC News, 24 May 2014. “Nurse graduates ‘locked out’ of workforce as migrants get jobs,” Nick Toscano, 6 June 2015, Sydney Morning Herald.
- 19 <https://www.humanservices.gov.au/individuals/centrelink>. Accessed on 20 April 2018.
- 20 WOMEN IN THE PHILIPPINES: STATUS, STEREOTYPES, MARIA CLARA AND ABUSE, http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Philippines/sub5_6c/entry-3876.html. Accessed on 4 December 2018.
- 21 Philippine’s number 1 hamburger chain.
- 22 Superannuation are the arrangements put in place by the Government of Australia to assist people in Australia to accumulate money for an income in retirement. It is compulsory for employers to make superannuation contributions for their employees. The employer contribution rate has been 9.5% since 1 July 2014.
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- 27 <http://www.sydneywater.com.au/sw/accounts-billing/paying-your-bill/pension-rebates/index.htm> Accessed on 4 April 2018.
- 28 Housing cooperative started by Filipino leader, Mr. Ruben Amores. <https://kapitbahayancoop.wordpress.com/>. Accessed on 14 March 2018.
- 29 http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyuukokukanri04_00003.html. Accessed on 25 June 2020.
- 30 Out of 60 couples, 36 met first at workplaces of wives (Satake and Da-anoy 2006: 53).
- 31 A Filipina-Japanese school-girl in Gunma committed suicide after a series of school bullying in 2010. (Mainichi Daily News, 5 November 2010) (<http://www.debito.org/?p=7759>. Accessed on 30 March 2020)
- 32 <https://international.commonwealthfund.org/countries/japan/>. Accessed on 22 February 2019.
- 33 To file for naturalization, one must submit many documents to the local legal affairs bureau detailing one’s

relatives, one's livelihood, job or business, one's motive for wanting to become a Japanese citizen, one's tax payments, and so forth (Ito 2011).

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