

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**

Erasmus

**Looking through the lens of Gender, Orientalism and
Intersectionality:
Exploring Gender relations within Dutch-Filipino Families in
the Netherlands**

A Research Paper presented by:

Kristel May D. Casimiro
(Philippines)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Human Rights, Gender, Conflict Studies: Social Justice Perspectives
SJP**

Specialization:

Women and Gender Studies

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Nahda Shehada
Dr. Katarzyna Elzbieta Grabska

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2018

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Contents

Acknowledgements

v

Abstract

vi

Chapter 1 Introduction: Setting the Research Stage	1
1.1 Contextual Background	1
1.2 Research Problem Statement	2
1.3 Literature Review	2
1.3.1 <i>Couples, Household, Family</i>	2
1.3.2 <i>Filipino Couples in the Philippines</i>	3
1.3.3 <i>Dutch Couples in the Netherlands</i>	4
1.3.4 <i>Dutch Men-Filipino Women Couples</i>	4
1.4 Research Questions and Objectives	5
1.4.2 <i>Sub-questions</i>	5
Chapter 2: Methodological Strategies and Methods of Data Collection	6
2.1 Introduction	6
2.2 Sources, Participants, and Sites	6
2.3 Methods	7
2.4 Data Analysis	9
2.5 Positionality, Reflexivity, and Ethics	9
2.6 Scope, Limitations and Research Challenges	10
2.7 Personal Experiences in the Field	10
2.8 Conclusion	11
Chapter 3: Theoretical and Analytical Framework	12
3.1 Introduction	12
3.2 Gender Power Relations	12
3.3 Orientalism	13
3.4 Intersectionality	13
3.5 Analytical Framework	14
3.6 Conclusion	14
Chapter 4: The Orient meets the Occident	15
4.1 Introduction	15
4.2 Asian online dating sites: Bridging the Philippines and the Netherlands	15
4.3 “The Imagined Other”	16
4.3 “The Ideal Man”	17
4.4 Conclusion	18
Chapter 5: Who Gets What, and How? Gender Relations of Dutch-Filipino couples	19

5.1	Introduction	19
5.2	Background of Dutch Men and Filipino Women	19
5.3	Shared Does Not Mean Equal: Gender Division of Labor in Dutch-Filipino Family	21
5.4	“Who dominates?” On Employment, Earnings and Expenses	23
5.5	Reproductive choices and decision making	24
5.6	Conclusion	26

Chapter 6: Supporting our Filipino Family in the Philippines: Why and Why not?
27

6.1	Introduction	27
6.2	The sense of moral obligation to my Filipino family	27
6.3	The sense of good citizenship to my country	28
6.4	Conclusion	29

Chapter 7: Conclusion 30

<i>Appendices</i>	32
<i>References</i>	35

Acknowledgements

I would like to convey my sincere gratitude to my research participants, Dutch-Filipino couples of the Netherlands, who had given their trust and time in sharing their personal stories. Thank you for welcoming me to your respective homes and offering me a place to sleep and a food to eat whenever I pay a visit. Most importantly, Thank you for treating me as a member of your family in the Netherlands.

To my supervisor, Dr. Nahda Shehada, Thank you for the patience, professional support, academic encouragement, and motherly guidance that you have given me from the beginning until the end of this thesis writing. I am equally thankful to my second reader, Dr. Katarzyna Elzbieta Grabska, for all the time and effort to provide useful and constructive comments to further improve my thesis.

To my convenor, Dr. Dubravka Zarkov, Thank you so much for all your guidance since the beginning of my academic journey. You have always been an inspiration and great mentor.

To my undergraduate mentor, Prof. Carin Gonzalez, you have always inspired me to believe in my potentials and abilities, Thank you for your unending trust and support.

To my peer discussants, Vanessa and Ana, your insights and suggestions are truly helpful and amazing. I appreciate all the fun and meaningful discussions we had. Thank you very much, girls! I am also thankful to my NSG sisters who have been one of my support groups from the beginning until the end of my RP writing journey, We survived!

My parents, Flor and Edgardo, my brothers, Marlon, Bhogs, and Michael, and the whole family are my constant support and motivation in finishing my graduate studies in the Netherlands. I dedicate all my achievements to all of you. I love you all.

To Team Baag, my ISS and RP journey would not be complete without you girls who have been with me in good & bad times. Thank you for the wonderful memories my dearest sisters! Congratulations, we did it!

To Nuffic, I am truly honoured and grateful for the scholarship award that you have given. As a Netherlands Fellowship Program scholar, my ISS-MA journey was made possible. Thank you for all the support.

The field work of this research was supported and funded by De Zaaier Dutch Foundation. Thank you very much for the research grant that you have given.

Abstract

This study explores the gender relations of Dutch-Filipino couples in the Netherlands. Studying gender relations involves complexities, thus, this research unveils how gender relations are practiced, observed, and narrated among Dutch Filipino couples. Dutch men and Filipino women are not homogenous groups; hence, gender relations are subject to intersectional influences. Specifically, this research investigates how the intersection of gender, socio-demographic conditions, age, marriage, and education contribute to the formation of social relations of gender among Dutch-Filipino couples. Moreover, this study demonstrates how the relationship of Dutch-Filipino couples is historically situated in the relationship between the Orient and the Occident. This relationship is reflected in how Dutch men and Filipino women perceive each other. More importantly, these perceptions have long existed as part of the different notions of the Occident about the Orient.

Dutch men and Filipino women carry different backgrounds influenced by various gender norms and ideologies. Bringing them together, two different forms of gender ideologies co-exist such as the gender relations of dominance and subordination. These gender relations undergone are observed in the way Dutch-Filipino couples negotiate and compromise in their everyday life, perform gender roles, and resolve their marital differences.

Relevance to Development Studies

This study offers the first detailed research about the gender relations of Dutch-Filipino couples in the Netherlands. This research offers an innovative work on analysing gender relations by investigating how it is being narrated, practiced and observed. Also, it is subject to international analysis because men and women are not homogenous groups. Moreover, this study discusses the emergence of Orientalism in the present by re-examining the relationship of the Orient and the Occident which is embedded in the relationship of Dutch-Filipino couples in the Netherlands.

Keywords

Family, Gender, Gender Analysis, Gender Relations, Intersectionality, Orientalism, Power Relations

Chapter 1

Introduction: Setting the Research Stage

1.1 Contextual Background

There is an increasing number of Filipino women who are married to Dutch men in the Netherlands. According to Bayanihan organization, 68 percent out of the 16,719 Filipinos in the Netherlands are women. These Filipino women come to the Netherlands for various reasons such as marital reunification, thus these figures include Filipino women who are married to Dutch men in the Netherlands. Having two different races in a family poses various patterns of gender relations. Despite existing literature about family, gender relations within family remain understudied (De Hart et al. 2013 stated in Fresnoza-Flot 2018:23). When studying gender relations, it is important to differentiate sexual practices from the assigned social roles among men and women (Scott 1986:1056).

According to literature, the notion of traditional marriage within Filipino family describes the role of men as breadwinner and women as being dedicated to housework and child care (Bianchi & Milkie 2010; Rogers & Amato 2000 stated in Ogletree 2014:71). However, this may not be the reality of all Filipino families considering different gender ideologies, norms and practices.

Within Dutch-Filipino couples, Gonzales (1998), highlighted the struggles in the life story of a middle-class Filipino woman married to a middle-class Dutch man. Although, Gonzales made limited discussions about gender relations because the study focused on the life, struggles, and adjustments of a Filipino woman as she migrated to the Netherlands for marital reunification.

Filipino women who are married to Dutch men should not be clustered as one. More importantly, they do not compose a homogenous group. These Filipino women came from different background, ages, education, and class. Therefore, these factors entail various lifestyles which might influence gender relations within the family, specifically the methods of problem solving. Coming from different socio-economic positioning, Filipino women who married Dutch men had different method of solving problems. Dutch men also differ from one another based on class, age and other social categories which are not limited to their social, political and economic background, but also, their situatedness within Dutch society. Accordingly, having established certain gender dynamics between Dutch men and Filipino women may influence their everyday life, relations, negotiations and gender roles.

These literature review and meeting with Filipino women paved the way to my interest in exploring this social setting in this research paper. This research included Filipino women who were married to Dutch men in the Netherlands. These Filipino women came to the Netherlands for marital reunification with their Dutch partners. The main concern of this research is to explore the gender relations within Dutch-Filipino families in the Netherlands by looking closely into the realities of Dutch-Filipino couples. Specifically, I am concerned on how orientalism, gender and intersectionality help us understand the way Dutch-Filipino couples negotiate their everyday life and gender roles within the family

1.2 Research Problem Statement

There are several scholarly articles and literatures which explore gender relations in various settings. However, the experiences of gender relations may not be the same with the experiences of the others. Age, gender, education and many other power structures may influence the way gender relations are formed. Since there is an increasing number of Dutch-Filipino marriages in the Netherlands, this research gains interest to explore Dutch-Filipino families. My positionality as a Filipino woman served as a starting point to enter the lives of Filipino women themselves and their Dutch husbands. The descriptions of the different family models within the Netherlands and the Philippines are explored and reviewed in this study. However, the study about gender relations within Dutch-Filipino families are lacking. With these, I decided to explore gender relations, gender roles of wives and husbands among Dutch-Filipino couples in the Netherlands. Specifically, the research paper explores how Dutch-Filipino couples negotiate their everyday life, gender roles, and how they solve problems when it arises within the family.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Couples, Household, Family

In this study, there were dilemmas on how to address the research participants: whether they should be called a family, or a household. Thus, it is significant to gain clarity on how each term differs from the other. The concept “family” may mean and refer to various things. It could be a domestic unit wherein unity and common interests may take place between people related by marriage or blood who are living together. Family may also refer to those people with whom one is related (Linda 1997:28). It could also be an institutional site where individuals produce and reproduce norms, values, privileges and power. It is a more complex phenomenon where different activities such as relationships, survival and reproduction between men and women are concentrated. In family affiliation, kinship is established, children are reared, reproduction is made, rights and responsibilities (between the spouses) are distributed based on gender, age, income, religious affiliation, background, education including other power relations. With this, gender relations, gender struggles and negotiations between wife and husband, parents and children were situated within families (Silberschmidt 1991:14). There were two kinds of family when being referred by my research participants. Nuclear family referred to the family formed only by parents and children, while extended family is recognized as similar with nuclear family with additional relatives attached (Nicholson 1997:29). In many instances, Dutch-Filipino couples spoke about their own family which referred to them living in one roof. Also, they spoke about their extended families which often referred to the people outside their home but is related to them such as their parents, brothers, sisters and other relatives. With this, the definition of family as a unit may be an issue despite the recognition of nuclear family as composed of married couples and their children. Although, the lack of clarity existed to what extent will family be still considered as “units” when their members already started their own families in other countries (Willis 2000:28).

The definition of household shall obviate the previous gap on the definition of family. Household was defined as “a primarily family-based collectivity, concerned with the generational and daily (e.g. sleeping, rest, eating) reproduction of its membership (Kabeer 1991:25) Most often, the term household was used in scholarly articles and research to denote the group of people linked by direct economic ties or sometimes kinship ties- though not in all instances (Willis 2000:28). In the field, the term household was never used by my research

participants as they always refer to the term family when they speak about their Dutch-Filipino family, and other people whom were not part of their house, but they have established kinship and economic ties especially those associated with the flow of remittances. From these that I read, Dutch-Filipino couples were more than a couple, less than a family and much more complex than a household. Although, I preferred to call my research participants as couples and use the term family in this research to describe the different set of gender relations that took place among Dutch-Filipino couples. Also, extended family will be used in this study to refer to those members whom my research participants had established kinship and economic ties regardless of their geographical locations.

1.3.2 Filipino Couples in the Philippines

In the Philippines, the institution of the family is perceived as the basic ‘patriarchal’ unit in society. From literature available across Philippines, women are known to be the “*ilaw ng tahanan*” (light of the home) while men are seen as “*haligi ng tahanan*” (pillars of the home) (Asis 2002:80). On the other hand, “*Maybahay*” (housewife) is an emotionally and morally high valued position assigned to Filipino women (Lauser 2006:334). Filipino men are expected to be the provider of the family by having stable jobs to sustain daily survival. Men are always questioned about economic stability especially prior to marital union and marriage. Hegemonic masculinity traces the roots of patriarchal practice and role in the Philippines. The term ‘hegemonic’ connotes a structure of control or hierarchy placing masculinities in pecking order. Masculine norms are set politically by men from the dominant class to perpetuate certain level of authority (Tosh 2014). Hegemony and power as part of masculine identity is maintained among men who strive as breadwinners in the family (Pingol stated in Lukasiwicz 2011:581). Since Filipino family necessitates men to be the primary provider, working wives signify the failure of men to provide for the family. I presume that this expectation marginalizes both the working wife and the house husbands. Filipino house husbands are discriminately called “*under the saya*” (under the skirt) which denotes inferior status of men.

According to Lauser (2006:324), efficient family management, protection of the children and protection of husband’s interests are the basis of a good Filipino wife, thus, this outline of duties are expected to be fulfilled and not be neglected. These expectations limit the activities of a Filipino wife, and often lead to the issue of multiple burden among women. Some scholarly articles still present Filipino women as domesticated women but, these are constructed perceptions about the Filipino women; not necessarily from Filipino women themselves. Filipino women as domesticated, caring, subordinated, dominated and powerless, are merely misrepresentations of Filipino women which maintain and strengthen hegemonic masculinity within society. In some other Philippine literatures, Filipino women are recognized housekeepers as their roles are situated inside the home along with their house chores (cooking, laundry, washing the dishes), nurturing roles (care for the children and sick family members) and reproductive functions (Illo 1995). This may be the reality in earlier times but, societies have already gone changes which influenced certain gender norms and practices. Instability and change are inevitable within the realm of hegemonic masculinity. Existing norms and ideology of male supremacy are challenged by women who assert rights in specific areas such as Marriage (Tosh 2004). In the present, not all Filipino women are confined within their homes as some are already making a difference in the professional world outside the domestic arena. Moreover, there are observable improvements when it comes to women’s participation within family decision making and processes. Wives are responsible for labor allocation, economic expenditure and financial management as part of “*co-partners*” or family treasure’s duty. In several developing countries, patterns of women as financial managers are observed as part of the agreed contract enforced by wife at the time

of marriage (A. Timothy Church 1986; Jeanne F. Illo 1989; Belen T. G. Medina 1991; Mina M. Ramirez 1984 stated in Ashraf 2009:1248). Financial management as a shared responsibility in some families in the Philippines encompasses marital issues and problems. It involves financial decisions, daily spending (including vices) and time spent over technological gadgets incurring specific expenses (phones and computers) (Bernardo 2016). Some practices dictate that men are expected to turn their earnings over to their wives for budgeting and allocation. In return, Filipino husbands receive a certain amount of money which serves as personal allowance for his daily expenses including vices such as cigarettes and liquors (Illo and Lee 1991 stated in Ashraf 2009:1248). I contend that this context may not be applicable to all Filipino families considering that each family comes from a specific class – giving them more economic capacities and purchasing capabilities.

In relation to marital issues, couples' communication, among many other contributive factors played a significant role in reconciling issues within Filipino families; promoting a healthy marital and spousal relationship and satisfaction (Vazhappilly et.al. 2016:304). I agree to this argument as this is in line with the result of this study in relation to marital solutions and strategies.

1.3.3 Dutch Couples in the Netherlands

In most European countries such as the Netherlands, some migrants come for marriage unification or cohabitation with their European partners. In the Netherlands, cohabitation is widely accepted and practiced, thus, only those people attached to certain social and religious codes of conduct directly marry without cohabitating (Soons & Kalmijn 2009 stated in Verbakel et al. 2014:4). Although, there are some people who come to European countries such as the Netherlands for work and employment opportunities which ended up also in marriages. Most scholars explore family by focusing on the questions of ethnicity and identity, leaving gender and gender relations aside (OECD 2003 stated in Riano 2012:266; Koelet et al. 2014:220; De Hart et al. 2013 stated in Fresnoza-Flot et al. 2018:23; Gaspar 2012 stated in Brahic 2018:39). I believe that it is important to examine the gender relations within the family because Dutch families should not also be homogenized. Both Dutch men and women may belong to the same race, but it is important to consider other facets of their identity such as class, age, gender and education.

In Dutch relationships, egalitarian practice, role collaboration and roles sharing are mutual preference and not a division of labor along gender lines (Brines and Joyner 1999; Ono 1998; Rogers 2004 stated in Kalmijn et al 2007:3). Netherlands offers more opportunities to both sexes especially to women in the context of multiple roles fulfillment (Vijver 2007). Hence, there is no assurance that issues of inequality will not occur within egalitarian families. Within Dutch couples, there are tendencies of conflict due to unequal division of labor especially for the women or wives. Berkel (1997:81) states that wives still spend more hours on house works than husbands, thus, such instances lead to Dutch marital issues and conflict.

1.3.4 Dutch Men-Filipino Women Couples

Literatures related to Dutch-Filipino family appears to be limited, nevertheless, I found scholarly studies regarding cases of Dutch-Filipino marriage in Europe. Gonzales (1998) highlighted the life story of a middle-class Filipino woman who married a Dutch man in the Netherlands. This Filipino woman portrays the role of the home keeper within Dutch-Filipino couples because her Dutch husband is working. However, this literature lacks elaborate

discussion on gender relations within Dutch-Filipino family. Among couples in United Kingdom (UK), findings suggest that negotiated/fluid gender roles/narratives lead to a potentially more democratic relationship. Nonetheless, deep-seated gender division of labour practices remains such as the bulk of intergenerational care attributed to women (Brahic 2018:51). Among Belgian-Thai couples, Thai migrant women are expected to fulfill dual roles: as a daughter in Thailand and as mother and wives in Belgium (Fresnoza-Flot 2018:24). In this context, Thai migrant women are not packaged as one since these women come from different background, age and class. This is similar with the case of working-class Filipino women in marital unions in France (Fresnoza-Flot 2018:25). This literature relates with the context of this research paper as I argue in my paper that Filipino women and Dutch men also varies in background, age and class. In the case of Thai- Belgian couple, marriage as a social institution reinforces women exploitation. These working-class Thai migrant women strive to fulfill traditional gender role within the home and at the same time, struggle to access the labour market. Furthermore, multiple roles among migrant spouses are the root cause of marital conflict and tension, which often leads to problem- solving through negotiations.

1.4 Research Questions and Objectives

The objective of the research is to generate new knowledge about gender relations within Dutch-Filipino families. It aims to determine how Dutch-Filipino couples negotiate their everyday life, gender roles, and how they solve problems within the family using the theories of gender and intersectionality. Moreover, this research provides answers to the following:

1.4.1 *Main-questions*

- a. How Orientalism and the analytical concepts of gender and intersectionality help us understand the way Dutch-Filipino couples negotiate their everyday life and gender roles within the family?

1.4.2 *Sub-questions*

- a. What are the socio-demographic profiles of the Dutch men and Filipino women?
- b. What are the gender roles of Dutch men and Filipino women within the family?
- c. How does the intersecting power relations on class, age and gender influence the negotiation of their gender roles within Dutch-Filipino family?
- d. How do Dutch-Filipino couples solve their problems when they arise within the family?

Chapter 2: Methodological Strategies and Methods of Data Collection

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the methodological strategies and data collection methods employed in this study. This first section (2.2) presents the research participants who are engaged in this study. The next sections will discuss (2.3) the positionality of the researcher and (2.4) the process of data analysis. The last sections will focus on the (2.4) research challenges encountered, (2.6) methods of the research, (2.7) personal experiences encountered in the field, and (2.8) the summary of the chapter.

2.2 Sources, Participants, and Sites

Primary data was the main source of data that provide first-hand information collected through interviews, participant observation and informal conversations.

Participants were identified through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a process of identifying groups or individuals for data collection using networks and through referrals. It is very useful when little knowledge is known by the researcher about specific groups being studied as the researcher only needs to make few contacts to be directed to the others (Kumar 1996:162). Snowball sampling was very helpful in this research as I have very little contact and access to those Filipino women who were married to Dutch men in the Netherlands. In this research, initial meeting was made with a group of Filipino women during an event. This event lead to more referrals which enabled me to locate and identify more research participants. Few months before my research fieldwork, I started identifying and meeting research participants who were referred to me. Thus, there were enough time to build rapport between me and my research participants. Snowball sampling as a technique also had some limitations and challenges. The choice of the entire participants relied on the choice of the initial participants at the first stage which may create some bias. Also, the technique posed some challenges when the number of research participants grew. The participants were composed of families consisting of Dutch men and Filipino women whom have been married or cohabitating for three years up to forty years. I interviewed 15 different families coming from the different regions of the Netherlands, such as The Hague, Amsterdam, Limburg, Zwijndrecht, Roermond, Eindhoven, Wijchen and Nijmegen. After my interviews with 15 Filipino women and 11 Dutch men, I decided to end my field work as too much data were already generated for a short period of time. The chosen methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interview and informal conversation required time and movement, thus, I could not interview more participants and spend time with more people at the same time. The interview sessions took place within the house of my participant, giving them a more comfortable zone. It was also strategic place to conduct my observation with regards to their practice within the family. Normally, I joined them for lunch, dinner and other celebrations which gave me as a researcher and them as my participant a more relaxed feeling about the interview sessions. Interviews and conversations were mostly in English, although there were instances that Filipino women preferred to communicate in Filipino. Recording instruments were not utilized in this research, which did not require any transcriptions. Instead, data were written right after every interviews, conversations and observations.

2.3 Methods

In this research, I employed several methods such as Interview, Observation and Informal Conversation to gather data and information. The combination of three different methods validated data through triangulation. Triangulation as a method also allowed the portrayal and construction of a wider gender scope, span, shade and dimension in the production of knowledges (Wickramasinghe 2010:44). The study of gender relations may be too complex as it may be different when being practiced, observed and heard. Thus, it is a good methodological strategy to employ various methods and establish the relationship among gathered data. For this research, I have relied fully on the primary data collected such as field notes from observation, informal conversations and interviews.

2.3.1 Observation

Observation as a systematic method is an effective way to learn the dynamics and interactions of the people involved as phenomenon occurs. In this study, participant's observation is employed as an ethnographic process which enabled the researcher to become part of the group being observed. Participant's observation has been defined as prolonged and intense social interaction between the researchers and the concerned subjects wherein data is systematically collected and recorded in the form of field notes. (Bogden 1972:3 stated in Judd et al. 1991:280). In participant observation, the data collection relies on the ability of the researcher through his or her senses (O'leary 2014:231). Therefore, the main highlight and nature of doing observation is to record what people do rather than focusing on what people say they do (O'leary 2014:237). Narrative recording is practiced when it comes to recording my observation data. Through narrative recording, the researcher records description based on his or her words right after every observation to provide a deeper insight into the occurred interaction (Kumar 1999:107).

In the context of family, it is a private space closed to researchers and observers, thus, it requires rapport building and period of engagement with the concerned people to gain access. I was not a total outsider in all the families I observed since I have established a good rapport and constant communication with them for several months. My time in the field and relationship with my participants are sufficient for me to enter their homes and observe properly. In most of my observations, my presence is acknowledged but my main intentions and the nature of my observation is not fully disclosed. It will be hard to act natural for my participants when they know they are being observed.

2.3.2 Informal Conversation

The nature of my observation involves me as a passive observer in the field. On the other hand, spontaneously, I have sought information as an active interviewer through conversational interviewing. It is an approach to generate data verbally through talking about specific subject matter with concerned research participants in an informal and conversational way (Roulston 2012:2). I have been part of every family's gathering, meeting and celebration that includes situations and circumstances that allowed me to obtain information and data. Majority are small conversations or unexpected interaction with my research participants due to my presence in their homes or other event. In several instances such as cooking or preparing dinner, my participants unexpectedly disclose information relevant to my study. They find such instances as their most comfortable state wherein they voice out their stories and sentiments. Usually, I start with a certain topic and let them direct the conversation.

In some instances, I was introduced to more groups of people related to my participants. This has been an opportunity to have informal conversations with them about the topic relevant to my research study. Thus, my participants brief them of my role as a researcher which made them feel comfortable to open discussions related to my research study.

I did not record any notes as this could interrupt their comfortable state and they might become conscious and careful of the information they are providing. I have also been observant of their expressions and movements while relaying stories and information to detect any underlying meanings or feelings. All these data were written as part of my fieldwork notes and observation journals.

2.3.3 Semi-Structured Interview

Observation data and collection of stories and information from informal conversations were already gathered. Still, there was a need to unveil the meanings of all the data gathered which needs to be spoken and verified by my research participants. Hence, I employed semi-structured interviews to verify observations and make meanings of my field notes. Semi-structured interview is a flexible approach as interviewers or researchers build a questioning plan, which may shift according to the natural flow of the conversation (O'leary 2014:218). It is an effective way to gather information based on what is needed and as unexpected information emerged. In my fieldwork, I prepared a matrix of interview questions with reference to my order of research questions that served as my guide in all my interview sessions. This matrix was not strictly followed, but I employed various strategies to gather all the data needed in the matrix without controlling the flow of discussions made by my participants.

Interview was also an appropriate approach when it comes to complex and sensitive topics, thus, it is important that the interviewer prepared the respondents prior to the conduct of semi-structured interviews which entail sensitive questions and complex ones (Kumar 1996:115). In my constant house visits and events participation, I assured that good ties and rapport are well established to build confidence and trust with my research participants. I started scheduling interviews as soon as I felt they are comfortable enough to a more personal discussion.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted according to the availability of participants. Initially, the approach was to interview research participants individually, but I noticed that it is also good to conduct interviews by pairs to establish dynamics and observe point of convergence in the way they respond to interview questions and handle discussions. Most interviews were conducted in English and Filipino as some participants can express well through their mother tongue. Prior to interviews, well-informed consent is sought from my research participants which also include assurance of the anonymity and confidentiality of all the data.

Recording interview data always happened right after every interview, thus, it requires a good mental skill to remember all the information and data being heard. I decided not to record while conducting the interview as my research participants became very conscious while giving their personal responses when being recorded. Interview data were written right after every interview. It was very important that those data and information be remembered, thus, they were written through mobile phone during toilet breaks.

2.4 Data Analysis

Data from interviews, informal conversation and participant observation were analysed manually. Raw data were arranged in a matrix to see how each data corresponded to the research questions. All the names and location of the research participants were changed for anonymity. Themes were identified and specific colors were assigned to each theme. All the data and information related to the identified themes were highlighted according to the assigned theme colors. Under every theme, codes and sub codes were identified. The relationship between each theme, code and sub code was analysed to determine how each influenced one or the other.

2.5 Positionality, Reflexivity, and Ethics

It is significant to consider positionality, reflexivity and ethics in conducting this research about gender relations within the family. In relation to research, positionality encompasses the world view of individuals or the background of the researcher surrounded by various ontological, methodological and epistemological assumptions (Sikes 2004). Positionality also entails power relation between the researcher and the research participants, including the importance of establishing and maintaining trust and rapport all throughout the research process (Brooks et al. 2015:2). As a researcher I must be aware of how I present myself as a researcher and how I understood the position of my research participants. On the other hand, Reflexivity is an epistemological/theoretical standpoint, a method and a practice which highly includes the opinions, sentiments and perspectives of the individuals and the researcher (Wickramasungha (2010:56). As opposed to positivist, the inclusion of I and myself is encouraged in a research study. Therefore, two different researchers who are working on the same subject may generate different interpretations and output. By being reflexive with regards to the research material and my positionality, my research material including its richness will be more valuable.

In this research, I acknowledged my positionality which might have influenced and shaped my relationship with my research participants and the entire knowledge production process. My educational background and discipline as a Sociologist, social justice scholar and gender advocate may have influenced my perspectives on gender relations within the family. It has been a good starting point to enter the lives of my participants and engage into discourses and debates. As a Filipino woman who knows the English and Filipino language, I was familiar of the arguments and discussions of some of my respondents with reference to the Filipino community and practices. English was also an effective medium between me and my other research participants, making it easier for both parties to communicate. Coming from a middle-class family with good national and international educational background, my research participants perceive me as a student whom they could trust and welcome in their respective homes and private events such as birthdays, anniversaries and other gatherings. My age and civil status are also a determinant since I am single and younger than most of my research participants. In my observation, I was treated as a young researcher who is in search of familial realities and stories which made them more comfortable to respond and discuss their personal lives. Being a young middle-class woman, my research participants expected me to relate to some of their knowledge, ideas and experiences especially when sharing their stories. In several instances, I was always given tips and reminders about marriage and partnership right after every interview. It is evident that my positionality played an important role in this whole research process. Power relations are also changing between me and my research participants. There are instances where I must adjust the way I present my positionality as a researcher to maintain the relationship balance with my participants, thus,

overpowering and underpowering may disrupt the research process and relationship with them.

Ethical concerns in several aspects also arise in this research study. According to Brooks (2015:2), ethical matters are fluid which need continuous negotiation in practice considering spaces, power relation shifts and changes. Throughout this research, there was an assurance of anonymity and confidentiality among the research participants. In some instances, my research participants tried to know the responses of their partners. Moreover, there were some information that one preferred not to disclose to the other. These situations were challenging, but I maintained the confidentiality of all the information and explained its importance to my research participants. In writing my findings, there were no traces of the profile of my participants. Moreover, they should not be recognized in any part of the research data and findings, thus, all the names and places used in this research are purely code names and pseudo places as part of the anonymity and confidentiality measures of this research.

2.6 Scope, Limitations and Research Challenges

My study is concentrated only in some of the cities of the Netherlands since I have identified my research participants through snowball sampling. This fieldwork within various families posed some limitations, difficulties and challenges. Time is an important factor to consider since most of my respondents are working, thus, adjustment must always be made on my part to meet their availability. Initially, I planned to conduct interviews individually among men and women within the family. However, most of the available time given were their free schedules when both of them are present in the house. This situation led me to interviewing the couples in pair which also enable me to observe some points of convergence and their dynamics when responding. Although, I noticed that this situation had some limitations especially in some of the interview questions that I felt uncomfortable to ask when interviewing my participants in pairs. I developed another plan and strategy to ask them follow up questions individually to gather responses for the other questions. I saw the importance of trust between the researcher and participants since it was easier for me to start small informal conversations to suffice my interview data.

One of the important challenges during my fieldwork is how I handled both positive and negative responses of my research respondents without overpowering the flow of conversations and interviews. As a researcher, I have discussed my positionality which might be opposing to the perspectives of my participants. I possessed some of the skills in relation to managing my feelings, expressions and reactions.

Another challenge is the study of gender relations especially within families because of its complexities. It can either be narrated through interviews and conversations or practiced- and thus observed. These three may inform gender relations in various ways and scope which posed a challenge on how to reconcile all the data coming from three different methods. At first, it was overwhelming, but findings have unveiled the beauty of its similarities and differences which help in explaining and expounding this study.

2.7 Personal Experiences in the Field

During this research fieldwork, there are several experiences that are significant to discuss. In the beginning of 2018, I started participating in various Filipino gatherings and events to identify and meet potential and concerned research participants such as Filipino women and

their Dutch husbands. For several months, constant communication, house visits and contact are maintained. In some instances, I was also invited for a simple gathering, dinner, and some shopping. In some cases, I was invited to spend nights in my respondent's house because of the distance and transportation to the Hague which would take some time especially during late evenings. This is a very good opportunity to observe the family and know more information and stories through informal conversations. During house visits, informal conversations do happen a lot while preparing food, eating dinner, doing grocery shopping and watching television. This is also one way of building rapport with my participants as the questions for my interview are quite personal and sensitive. Whenever I observed that my participants are confident and willing to open their personal stories, I make appointments with them for the conduct of my interviews. The initial question raised by some of my participants concerns recordings and videos because interviews are mostly recorded by phones, recorders and video camera. As a response, I assure that there will be no any recording instruments including note taking for them to be comfortable enough to open and discuss any personal or sensitive topic that they prefer to share.

The most challenging part of my fieldwork is how to record my data from informal conversations and interviews accurately without forgetting the details. In my case, I usually go to the toilet whenever I want to take note of something that I must not forget. I quickly record all the details in my phone especially those details which I find significant to my research questions. Right after every conversation and interviews, I make sure to record all the information in my laptop or phone. All the above-mentioned circumstances may have influenced the writing of this research paper.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter detailed and summarized the methodological strategies and methods of data collection employed in this research. The combination of three different methods: interview, informal conversation and participant observation resulted in the richer data and wider perspective on the complexities of gender relations. The positionality and reflexivity of the researcher was also discussed because this may have an influence in the way this paper was written. The anonymity of the research participants and confidentiality of the research data gathered were highly valued in this research. Research data undergone several levels of thematic analysis to determine the links and relations of various themes. The personal experiences and challenges encountered in the field were significant, thus, these were also highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Analytical Framework

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the theoretical approaches adopted in this paper such as Gender Power relations, Orientalism, Intersectionality will be discussed. As part of this chapter, there will be discussions on how these theoretical approaches will be utilized in this research through the section on analytical framework.

3.2 Gender Power Relations

Gender is a product of human interactions that are constantly created and re-created, thus, there is no fixed definition of gender (Lorber 1994). Gender produced certain prototypes of essential expression in the form of binaries such as femininity and masculinity (West et al. 1987). These binaries are associated with various experiences and differences that produces certain feelings, consciousness and skills (Lorber 1994). The differences generated between girls and boys, and men and women are merely socially-constructed, are not natural, essential or biological (West et al. 1987). Gender differentiated sexual practices from the assigned appropriate social roles among women and men in their everyday life (Scott 1986:1056). Role theory recognized these roles as sex roles or more recently called gender roles in which scholars began the analysis of how these are learned and enacted (West et al. 1987). In a family setting, gender roles among men and women may be different which are dependent on how the society perceived various social constructions of these gender roles. The classic example of these gender roles portrayed men as the breadwinner and women as the carrier of domestic work including house chores and child care. These gender roles are enclosed in specific set of gender relations.

The long-established social relations of gender between men and women revolved around male dominance and female subordination. Gender relations are evident within families wherein patriarchy and the different practices of masculinities existed as part of male dominance. In addition, specific example of gender relations of subordination included those women who portray the roles of a wife and a mother performing domestic work at home.

The discussion and theorization on gender relation is considered incomplete without bringing the discussions of power relations. Power relations are embedded in social identities which are linked with norms and ideologies (Collins 1990;2000 stated in Shields 2008:301). Power relation is a significant part of every individual's real-life situations; thus, power relations existed in the daily realities and interactions of men and women. Radtke & Stam (1994:5) argued that gender relations are reflections of gendered subjectivities which constitute power relations. Gender inequalities are maintained through actions of individuals that reproduce certain types of gender relations such as male domination and female subordination. Power could be productive and oppressive, and it may create or constrain individual's social practices of gender. Although, as gendered beings, men and women could also generate resistance aside from oppression. Drawing from Foucault, power is dynamic which could be in a form of resistance (Lewis 1996:19). There is a crucial link established between the nature of gender and power relations, which considers gender as a product of power relations. More importantly, including power in an analysis of gender allows us to see how gender is constructed through the practices of power.

3.3 Orientalism

In 1987, *Orientalism* by Edward Said conceptualized the historical relationship between the West and the East also known as the Occident and the Orient. This relationship showed dichotomies construction of inferiority (Orient) and superiority (The Occident). The West or the Occident had formulated knowledges and imaginations about the Orient which speaks about its domination over it (Lewis 1996:16). The Orient was theorized and formed due to the Occident's political, economic and religious interests in relation to imperialism and colonialism. During colonialization, Eastern countries were constantly defined according to the Western experiences of it, which later became the realities of the Orient. These realities are not natural depictions, but these are representations of the European's imagination and knowledge about the Orient. The relationship between the East and the West was all about domination, power and heightened Western hegemony (Said 1979 stated in Kim 2011:238). The Oriental knowledge about the Orient produced misconceptions, generalizations and varied perceptions which was formed historically by the Occident. These misrepresentations were produced and reproduced about the Orient, which was characterized by its inferiority to the West.

In *Orientalism*, the question of gender only served as a metaphor which often referred to the feminine side of the Orientalized Other. Specifically, *Orientalism* produced European paradigm about the sexual differences of men and women. Women were constructed as "The Other" by the Occident which ensured masculine superiority and does not provide any true reality about women (Lewis 1996:18). Oriental women never speak for themselves, but, the representations about them were only creations of foreign, high class men, thus, these representations were not the realities of Oriental women. The traditional view about women's marginalization and alienation to colonialism was reflected in Said's *Orientalism*. In Said's *Orientalism*, the absence of women's position in relation to colonialism and power was not questioned. Women were victimized during the historical colonialization which subjected them to oppression and exploitation. Oriental women as oppressed women were viewed as submissive, voiceless, seductive, and promiscuous (Shabanirad et al. 2015: 22). This portrayal of Oriental women strengthened both the superiority of the West (Occident) and the hegemony of patriarchy and masculinity.

3.4 Intersectionality

The term "Intersectionality" was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1993) as she evaluated and analyzed the interrelatedness of social identities such as gender and race within Black and white women societies and their employment experiences (Hopkins et al. 2007). Intersectionality as an approach enables us to re-evaluate social positioning of men and women, and reflects how both participate in the production and reproduction of these relations (Lutz et al. 2011). The construct of intersectionality believes that gender is incomplete without speaking about various dimensions of social structure/social identity because this plays a crucial and formative role in operationalizing gender and its meaning (Shields 2008). Feminist employ intersectionality as a tool to understand gender in relation to other social identities such as race, class, age and sexual orientation (Shields 2008). Moreover, theorizing identity in a more complex fashion subverts the binaries of gender such as femininity and masculinity (Nash 2008). Primary question which concerns about who is older, middle-aged or young is always existential. Dwyer's (1999) work investigated the intersection of age with religious, ethnic and gendered identities in the context of young Muslim women in the west. It highlighted the influence of ethnicised and religious discourses with the identities of young

Muslim women which reproduced the parental culture that emphasized family honour (Hopkins et al. 2007).

3.5 Analytical Framework

For this research, I will use Gender Power relations, Orientalism and Intersectionality as analytical tools to explore the gender relations of Dutch-Filipino Families in the Netherlands. Through Gender Power relations, I will examine the existing relations of power among binaries of gender in a Dutch-Filipino family setting. Radtke & Stam's argument is helpful to analyse how gender is constructed through the practices of power. Specifically, I will look at using Lorber's argument to determine how the experiences and differences of power relations influence the production and reproduction of gender, which may shape the existing gender norms, ideologies and gender relations. Using Collins and Shields' argument, I will also explore how gender power relations contribute to the formation of identities of Dutch men and Filipino women. I will use Scott's approach to study the social roles to see how gender roles are assigned among Dutch-Filipino couples.

Through Said's Orientalism, I will analyse how the historical relationship of the Orient and the Occident created the perceptions of Dutch men and Filipino women prior to their participation to the online dating sites. I agree with Lewis's argument about the formed imaginations of the Occident regarding the Orient, thus, I will consider this to explain how the Oriental knowledge influence the construction of the Dutch-Filipino couples' "Imagined Other". More importantly, I will see whether Gender is influential in the formation of such ideologies embedded in the "Imagined other" of Dutch men and Filipino women.

With the help of Intersectionality, I agree with Collins & Shields's argument and will look at the background of Dutch men and Filipino women to analyse how their identities were formed, and how gender and its meaning are operationalized. Using (Lutz et al. 2011) this approach, I will examine how the intersecting power relations of class, age, gender and education contribute to their experiences of gender relations at home including the Dutch-Filipino couples' negotiation in their everyday life, their gender roles and ways of responding to marital issues and differences.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed the three theoretical approaches that will guide this research namely; Gender Power relations, Intersectionality and Orientalism. There was a detailed discussion of these three theoretical approaches to gain understanding for each. The chapter also indicated how these theories and concepts will be used in analysing the gender relations of Dutch-Filipino couples. Intersectionality was useful in examining the links and interrelatedness of power structures in the formation of one's identity and background. Gender Power relations was helpful in explaining the intersections of various power structures. Orientalism served as an analytical tool to explain and analyse how the relationship of Dutch-Filipino couples was situated in the historical relationship of the Orient and the Occident.

Chapter 4: The Orient meets the Occident

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an analysis of the fieldwork data around the discourse of gender relations in a Dutch-Filipino family setting using the analytical tools discussed in Chapter 3. In the first section, there will be discussions about technology specifically online dating sites as a physical platform where men and women could easily meet. I will explore how the perceptions of Dutch men and Filipino were influenced by their background and formed identities. Moreover, through the narratives and stories of my research participants, I will attempt to show how Orientalism influences the decision of Dutch-Filipino couples to marry. Specifically, I will present the perceptions of Dutch-Filipino couples which create their “Imagined Other” using the lens of Orientalism. I will also discuss how gender power relations and gender ideologies contribute to the formation of their “Imagined Other”, which will be discussed in two sections of this chapter.

4.2 Asian online dating sites: Bridging the Philippines and the Netherlands

The Asian online dating site served as the meet up point for Sita and Hilton. They shared that online dating sites were the easiest way to find a serious relationship without going to and from one place. The couple invested time, money and effort in this site which justified that each was serious in finding a relationship. While having a cup of coffee and a slice of cake in their house, they narrated their story:

My high school classmate told me that I should try dating sites and recommended an Asian dating site that I could try. I met Hilton and we maintained constant communications through video call while we were apart. After one month, he visited me in Northern Europe where I lived. I like how Dutch men are very responsible and hard-working individuals, unlike other European men which are violent. At the age of 40, Dutch men were already having a stable life because they prioritized work prior to marriage. I really felt these good traits with Hilton¹.

I had a previous marriage with a Dutch woman but, it did not work out. A friend of mine advised me to try the Asian dating site where I met Sita as I could probably have a second try in a relationship. There are a lot of Asian women and Dutch men in the online dating sites².

This was a dominant trend among my research participants, as 10 out of 15 Dutch-Filipino couples tried their luck in finding a relationship and partner through the online dating sites. These sites are very convenient for them considering the distance they have from each other; thus, constant communications are maintained. Technology such as the Internet serves as the meeting platform of Dutch men and Filipino women couples. It is a physical starting point wherein Dutch men and Filipino women invested in building their profiles. First impressions, initial contact and constant communications are established in the online dating

¹ Informal Conversation with Sita, The Hague Netherlands (16 June 2018)

² Interview with Hilton and Sita, Afternoon at the Garden, The Hague Netherlands (16 June 2018)

sites. Dutch men and Filipino women already determined each other's nationality as it was displayed in their profiles. These sites enable users to post their background such as employment, age, race, gender and even income through their personal profiles. These online Asian dating sites made various statements and promoted views about Filipino women the way foreigners such as European men see them. In a dating site, Filipino women never speak for themselves. Instead, technology such as the dating sites spoke for them and represented them. These representations are inventions of Orientalism about those colonized countries known as the Orient such as the Philippines. The notion of being a caring and supportive woman is not shown by Filipino women themselves but are purely part of European imagination of the Orient. These notions are product of Orientalism or part of Orientalist perspectives wherein knowledge and power were created through the existing European hegemony. Technology serves as the easiest platform to maintain these kinds of perspectives and hegemony about the Orient. These perspectives entice more Dutch men and Filipino women to register and participate to dating sites. Also, these perspectives show that the relationship of Dutch men and Filipino women are situated in the historical relationship of the Orient and the Occident. Prior to their engagement with a dating site, Dutch men created specific imaginations of their ideal women while Filipino women also created a picture of their ideal and imagined men. These imaginations and ideals are embedded in them as part of their expectations, thus, both knew what they are looking for in the dating sites. The next section of this chapter will further describe the imagined and ideal man and woman of these Dutch-Filipino couples.

4.3 “The Imagined Other”

The reason why I and other Dutch men like Filipino women is because Filipino women are caring, supportive, family loving person and they have their sense of “you and me” especially in the family. As I told you in our previous talks, a good relationship should be mutual with “you and I” also with respect. Although, there are others who marry for money and improvement of life conditions³.

When asked about the reason why Dutch men preferred Filipino women as their partners, the most common response coming from Dutch men revolved around Filipino women stereotypes such as being caring, domesticated and family oriented. As observed, Dutch men always compared Filipino women to Dutch women when questioned about the reason for marriage. Moreover, there were notions about other Filipino women who married Dutch men out of economic motivations and life improvement. These notions shared by other Dutch men are unpacked in this research to gain understanding on why such notions about Filipino women existed. Unpacking these realities, these are part of the long-existed Oriental descriptions about Oriental women. The notions presented about Filipino women are purely Orientalist in nature. Orientalism brings out the classical stereotypes of the Occident (West) against the Orient (Asia). According to Said (1993:233), domination, power and hegemony are complex parts of the relationship of the Occident with the Orient. Historically, the European understanding and descriptions of Filipino women evolve as part of how the Occident's perception of the Orient. These perceptions about Filipino women may be part of a European encounter which produced a widely influential model of a Filipino woman. As part of historical domination, the representations of women are made by foreign and wealthy men which speaks what they called the “typical oriental” (Said 1979:6).

³ Informal Conversation with Johnny, Kitchen Den Haag (16 August 2018)

On the contrary, Dutch women were described by some Dutch men as different and the opposite of Filipino women. Some Dutch men had relationship and divorced with their previous Dutch partners. Hilton shared his story:

I had a relationship with a Dutch woman for 15 years. She was not very feminine as she never wore dresses, only denim pants. She never wore make-up. She was very independent. She never took care of me which was a big difference with my current relationship with my Filipino wife⁴.

In the abovementioned example, Dutch women and Filipino women are compared with each other in terms of gender encompassing the features of femininity. The expectations of being “feminine” from a woman are not just gender constructs, but these are part of the expectations of the imagined other. According to Schippers (2007:88), there are constructs about white women as having self-confidence, being independent, and assertive. For Dutch men, Dutch women are independent, physically strong and preferred shared duties and responsibilities. These characteristics of Dutch women are detested by Dutch men because they do not correspond to the image of their ideal women. Feminine characteristics embodied by the Filipino woman encompassed the desire to be the object of masculine desire, physical weakness, or being subordinates which placed them under subordinated femininity. Subordinated femininity or Asian femininity resemble the European imagination about its victory over Asia.

4.3 “The Ideal Man”

Rod is very different from my previous Filipino husband as my former husband was a womanizer and he hit me physically. My previous Filipino husband was a violent and irresponsible partner, He did not help me financially at home. Rod never hit me as he is really a good man. He retired from work but still, he is very supportive, and he gives me whatever I want. He also buys food which I like to eat⁵.

The story of Minda comparing her previous Filipino partner and current Dutch partner was not the dominant story among my research participants, but this study finds it interesting to highlight two men of different nationality in comparison in this section. These comparisons lead to the imagined man which was encapsulated in a Dutch man image. Here, there are various representations of masculine stereotypes which could be attributed to the social formations of hegemonic masculinity. In the description of Minda, her previous Filipino husband exercised more power and authority than her in their marital relationship. Her Dutch husband manifested the qualities of being a man as the protector and provider of the family. Connell emphasized standard components of hegemonic masculinity such as physical strength, sexual performance and capacity to protect and support women (Tosh 2004:47).

In addition, the power over a woman is one of the principles of hegemonic masculinity that permit the ascendancy of men at the expense of the opposite sex. There are observable attributes of the ideal and imagined man when the comparison between Filipino men and Dutch men is highlighted. The imagined man must be a man who could be the responsible protector and provider of the family. At first, these traits may appear as stereotypes about Dutch men only, however, these are stereotypical representation of men everywhere. The inability to do house chores is another attribute to masculinity. Men are not

⁴ Interview with Hilton, Garden Den Haag (16 June 2018)

⁵ Interview with Minda, Home (29 July 2018)

expected to carry out house chores. Most often, men are expected to focus on employment to be better providers of the family, thus, house chores were not part of their roles. Those men who fail to comply with such expectations are considered dysfunctional and less than men. These may not always be the reality when speaking about masculinity and race. Mona has a different story:

When I go home to the Philippines for vacation, Robin does the house chores, but he lets our children prepare for their own breakfast. He helps me in the house especially if he has time or off from work. Sometimes, he does the laundry⁶

This was validated through my observation after my interview with Mona and Robin. I noticed Robin kept on roaming around the house, checking the different areas, cleaning the garden, folding the newly washed and dried clothes. Thirteen out of 15 Filipino women shared the same situation with Mona, thus, this was the most dominant description of the Filipino women about their Dutch husbands. Dutch men are passionate about their work, and at the same time, they were helping in the house chores if time permits. These characteristics correspond to the Filipino women's image of ideal men. Dutch men are perceived as perfect providers of their families and successful career-oriented men. On the contrary, Filipino men are expected to be breadwinners since they were considered as pillars of the home. Although, Filipino men doing house chores are discriminated and seen as subordinate to their wives, which go against the accepted notion of Filipino masculinity.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the perceptions and descriptions of Dutch men and Filipino women about each other prior to their engagement to the online dating sites. Technology served as the physical platform where the relationship of Dutch-Filipino couples started. Although, Orientalism unveiled that these couples' relationship was situated in the historical relationship of the Orient and the Occident. The focus of this chapter was on the creation of the "Imagined Other" which highlighted the imagination and expectation of what had to be the perfect woman and good wife for Dutch men. Also, the "ideal man" was discussed in this chapter which highlighted what needs to be of a perfect man and good husband for Filipino women. Analysing the "Imagined Other" and "Ideal Man, well-known gender stereotypes about men and women emerged from the findings. These two reinforce subordination for women and domination for men which maintained the inequalities of gender and dynamics of power relations. Dutch men and Filipino women detested those who failed to comply to their expectations of what had to be the imagined and ideal partner.

⁶ Interview with Robin and Mona, Northern Holland (22 July 2018)

Chapter 5: Who Gets What, and How? Gender Relations of Dutch-Filipino couples

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss more of the findings from the interviews, informal conversation and survey conducted in the fieldwork by employing gender power relations, intersectionality and Orientalism. The analysis in this chapter relating to Dutch men’s masculinity and Filipino women’s femininity is further expanded through the sections. The first section (5.2) presents the background of Dutch men and Filipino women who participated in this research. The next section (5.3) demonstrates their gender division of labour. The last two sections (5.4 & 5.5) discuss the gender roles of Dutch-Filipino couple in relation to employment, expenses and earnings, and their values towards the process of decision making concerning reproductive choices. The final section (5.6) summarizes the discussions in the chapter.

5.2 Background of Dutch Men and Filipino Women

Family	Marriage (yrs.)	Pseudo Name	Age (years old)	Highest Educational Attainment	Current Employment	Length of Employment
Family of Sita and Hilton	5 years	Sita	50	Nursing Graduate	Housekeeping Job	1 year
		Hilton	56	IT Graduate	IT position	31 years
Family of Teresa and Johnny	40 years	Teresa	63	Economics Graduate	Admin Staff	10 years
		Johnny	67	Naval History Graduate	Naval Historian	Retired
Family of Honey and Leon	3 years	Honey	53	Nurse Aid and Secretarial Course graduate	Care giver	20 years
		Leon	59	Nursing Graduate	Nurse	30 years
Family of Marie and Mario	29 years	Marie	53	Diploma in Teaching	Elderly Home Staff	20 years
		Mario	59	Mathematics Graduate	Insurance Staff	20 years
Family of Maria and Robin	21 years	Maria	44	Field of IT graduate	Academe Staff	15 years
		Robin	46	Science and IT graduate	Company Director	20 years
Family of Tanya and Leandro	10 years	Tanya	33	Nursing (non-graduate)	Part time cleaner	
		Leandro	42	Automotive graduate	Monitoring post	10 years
Family of Fe and Andi	27 years	Fe	48	Stopped during 1 st year in College	Cleaner	40 years
		Andi	63	Architecture Graduate	Building Company Staff	15 years
Family of Vanessa and John	10 years	Vanessa	41	Teaching Diploma	Assistant Book Keeper in her husband's company	Less than a year
		John	52	Finance Graduate	Own Company	More than 5 years
Family of Lina and Carlo	3 years	Lina	61	College Graduate	Part time baby sitter	
		Carlo	70	History and Nursing Graduate	Nurse	Retired
Family of Lanie and Nelo	16 years	Lanie	41	Social Work Graduate	Managing Assistant	10 years
		Nelo	44	International relations Graduate	Labour Union Sector	6 years
Family of Melissa and Lino	17 years	Melissa	47	Nursing Graduate	Medical company staff	Several years
		Lino	57	Science graduate	Medical company staff	Several years
Family of Monica and Emil	6 years	Monica	44	MA social psychology	PHD and part time academe instructor	Less than 5 years
		Emil	44	IT graduate	IT company trainer	New employee
Family of Marina and Rey	6 years	Marina	50	International Relations Graduate	Part time cleaner	N/A
		Rey	48	Security	Security Guard	20 years
Family of Cecilia and Joe	14 years	Cecilia	50	Nursing Graduate	Hotel Staff	
		Joe	59	IT Graduate	Own Company	35 years
Family of Leah and Raul	11 years	Leah	45	Non- Graduate	Housewife	N/A
		Raul	51	Graduate	Working	More than 10 years

The participants of this research are composed of Dutch-Filipino couples in the Netherlands. The background of my research participants was highly diverse that I found it important to summarize and significant to include in this chapter. Age, income, education, employment and years of marriage are significant in their experiences of gender relations. Moreover, their

backgrounds are useful in my analysis of the different gender relations vis a vis my own presumptions and newly acquired learning about gender relations.

Age is an important factor to consider in evaluating the social relations gender among Dutch-Filipino couples. Dutch men are older than their Filipino wives which meant they married during the latter age of their lives. These may be attributed to the way Dutch men carried out their career plans at a young age, thus their focus was to establish career stability during and right after their educational completion prior to marriage. Filipino women sought employment whether they completed or not their education because of their willingness to support and help their families. Dutch men have more stable careers compared to their Filipino wives, which was evident when they spoke about the length of their current employment and income. For Dutch men, income is also a determinant of one's social class⁷ or socio-economic positioning as stated by Mario:

I think as for the lower class, they have a consumption net salary of up to 1800 euros per month. From 1800-7000 euros is middle class. Above that is higher class⁸

Dutch men perceived income as the main indicator of class in a Dutch community. For Dutch men, income is the basis of one's capacity to afford clothes, luxury goods, houses and holidays. On the contrary, Filipino women highlighted that socio-economic positioning in the Philippines was highly based on food consumption, purchasing power and quality of education as narrated by Maria:

I think I am from middle class since we can eat three times a day, we were able to study, and we are also able to buy what we need⁹

The way Dutch-Filipino couples perceived, characterized and identified their class or socio-economic positioning is rooted in the intersections and complexities of class and gender. Social Class is gendered and perceived differently depending on one's origin. The complexities between power and status in a society may be understood through social class with gendered experiences in homes and workplace. Due to gender and class, people may exhibit different types of behaviours such as the other-oriented behaviour and the self-oriented behaviour (McGinn et al. 2017:84). This other and self-orientation is evident on how Dutch men and Filipino women speak for themselves when asked about the basis of their class. When questioned about the basis of class, Dutch men portrayed the self-oriented behaviour and the well-known stereotypes of men as powerful and autonomous when they emphasized the importance of one's income to attain individual interest and power-related goals. Filipino women resembled the well-known stereotypes of women as selfless, and other oriented behaviour when they discussed their basis of class. They characterized class through the language of family wherein they spoke about their family's daily purchase and consumption capacity.

Education is also an important indicator of one's social class as it served as an important marker wherein educated individuals regardless of gender are more likely to be employed than less educated individuals (McGinn et al.2017:84). Although, these circumstances

⁷ In scholarly literature, social class is a dimension of self that is rooted in material resources such as income, education, and occupational prestige with corresponding hierarchical perceptions compared to the others. Also, it reflects the mental representations of individuals concerning who they are, what their actions should be, and their ways to relate with the others (McGinn et al. 2017:84).

⁸ Informal Conversation with Mario, ISS Hague (21 July 2018)

⁹ Interview with Maria, Nijmegen (22 July 2018)

may not be applicable when educated men and women were compared because of the existing gender differences and expectations within the society. This was part of the reality of Dutch-Filipino couples who participated in this study. Twelve out of 15 Filipino women earned their educational degree in the Philippines, but their education was never a guarantee of employment opportunities when they came to the Netherlands. On the other hand, Dutch men finished their education, found employment and secured their career stability. Thinking through, the existence of such differences between Dutch men and Filipino women may be rooted in the perception about Filipino women in general rather than social class and education. Filipino women are associated to domestic work rather than professional field in various nations in Europe and Asia (Bakan and Stasiulis 1997; Catholic Institute for International Relations [CIIR] 1987; Constable 1997 stated in Parrenas 2000:560). These misconceptions are product of the relationship between the West (Europe) and East (Asia) with regards to power, domination and complex hegemony (Kim 2011:238).

The number of marital years is also significant to discuss because the length of marriage and partnership had a notable bearing in the formation of gender dynamics, marital issues and misunderstandings within these couples. Specifically, the couples time of being together may be influential among each other's everyday strategies and practices within the house.

5.3 Shared Does Not Mean Equal: Gender Division of Labor in Dutch-Filipino Family

To understand gender relations, the first point of discussion dwells around the discourse on gender division of labour. Gender division of labour is a major part of the everyday lives of Dutch-Filipino couples, which encompassed gender roles and responsibilities portrayed by couples in their daily life. As enumerated by Dutch-Filipino couples, gender roles within the house include the following: grocery shopping, preparing of breakfast, daily cooking, dish-washing, garbage throwing, laundry and ironing of clothes, child upbringing and child rearing.

In Netherlands, it's different because Dutch husbands usually help in the house chores especially if they have time. Leandro helps in the house when he has a day off from work but mostly, it was me since I spend more time in the house and I just do part time work. Sometimes, it is really tiring to the extent that you already don't know what to do first, considering that the children were always in the house and the daily responsibilities that I need to do in the house. I am lucky enough if I can sit while our children were asleep¹⁰.

The sentiments of Tanya are similar with the situations of 14 out of 15 Filipino women who participated in this research. According to Dutch-Filipino couples, the gender roles and responsibilities within the house are shared. In principle, shared may not necessarily mean equal sharing because the time allotted to house chores and responsibilities appeared to be very limited due to their employment. This was confirmed by several Dutch men who shared the same situation with Leandro:

Mostly, I am working but during my off and leave from work, I am usually home to rest and help Tanya within the house because the responsibilities in the house are shared¹¹.

¹⁰ Informal Conversation with Tanya, Preparing Dinner (23 July 2018)

¹¹ Informal Conversation with Leandro, Living Room (24 July 2018)

As a participant observer, I may conclude that gender roles and responsibilities are shared by Dutch-Filipino couples. In the case of Leandro and Tanya, I observed that Leandro took care of the children while I was helping Tanya prepared our lunch. Every after meal, the couple worked together in doing the house chores. Tanya assisted the children in cleaning themselves while Leandro re-organized the table, cleaned and arranged the dishes. This is also the reality of other Dutch-Filipino couples that I interviewed and observed. Majority of Filipino women's time were dedicated to housework and child-care; employment plans were postponed. The willingness to perform work outside home was expressed by Filipino women, but their roles and responsibilities as a wife and a mother prevented them. Therefore, there were instances that Filipino women engaged in part time work such as cleaning and baby-sitting which enabled them to generate income for themselves.

Twelve out of 15 Filipino women are currently working in the field of domestic and care work in a part time, contractual and full-time basis. The scope of their work is also gendered and related to their caring duties. Power relations are associated and sometimes reinforced in these kinds of experiences of Filipino women which could be best analysed through the concept of care chain. Global care chain as a concept is useful in understanding why domestic care services are provided by women from lesser developed countries for women in industrialised countries (Kurian 2006:150). These are mostly about those women who left their families and migrated to more industrialised country for domestic work. In this study, the global care chain could also be a useful concept to discuss why Filipino women were still engaged to jobs related to domestic and caring work. Here, Filipino women migrated to the Netherlands for marital reunification with their Dutch husbands. Whether they have a child or not, Filipino women are still engaged to domestic and caring work when they seek for employment opportunities either on a part time, full time and contractual basis.

It is more challenging for Filipino women to fulfil daily multiple roles such as work outside home, house chores and pregnancy. I felt the experiences of Filipino women which was narrated by Fe in her story:

Before, I felt like running daily. When I woke up, I must prepare the breakfast and children. I need to bring them to school, then, go back home to clean the house. In the evening, I need to cook again for dinner and bring the children home from school. It was very tiring¹².

Andi validated Fe's story by comparing their experience as a couple to the situation of his parents back when he was a child. Andi shared his story:

When I was a child, my father was working, and my mother was a housewife. It was the typical Dutch family in the early 1950s. My mother was a housewife who took care of the house chores while my father was working¹³.

The ideology and practice in relation to gender division of labour and gender roles within the house are constantly changing. Dutch-Filipino couples shared roles and responsibilities in the house, but shared does not necessarily reflect equal sharing, thus, women still portrayed multiple roles. Still, Dutch men spent limited time on house works as compared to Filipino women. The reason mainly relied on the amount of time dedicated by Dutch men on their employment which made them efficient providers of their family. Filipino women's caring duties are extended to their acquired work outside homes such as house-keeping, cleaning

¹² Interview with Fe and Andi, Kitchen Home (28 July 2018)

¹³ Informal conversation with Andi, Family Garden (28 July 2018)

jobs, baby-sitting and care-giving. The domestic sphere is still associated with women's capacities and expertise in the field of care and domestic work. The sense of selflessness and morality preserves women as wives and mothers to be confined in the domestic sphere which established moral reference points for their own family and the society (Williams 1991:71 stated in Crompton 2006:34). Filipino women referenced their actions to how their Filipino mothers portrayed their roles at home. Dutch men linked their current experiences of gender relations to the experiences of their Dutch parents. With these, Dutch-Filipino couples demonstrated different practices, thus, combining their practices together informed new sets of gender relations comprising the gender division of labour within and outside the house.

5.4 “Who dominates?” On Employment, Earnings and Expenses

In the previous section, the discussions on gender division of labour and gender roles among Dutch-Filipino couples were linked to the time being spent by Dutch men and Filipino because of their employment and career. Dutch men and Filipino women are both employed in the Netherlands, although there are differences when we speak about their individual economic stability. The dominant trend is Dutch men had higher income compared to their Filipino wives. According to Robin,

My tax is 52 percent and my wife's is 46 percent which gives me a higher income. With this, I contribute more and pay more to our savings and expenses¹⁴.

In relation to income, Dutch men did not disclose the exact amount, but they responded by saying their income was enough to support their family or by sharing their employment taxes. As a researcher, I had a struggle when it came to the question of income among Dutch-Filipino couples as income is a very private information of the family. In these instances, Filipino women confirmed the statements of their Dutch husbands by saying that their income is lower compared to their Dutch husbands as reflected in Lina's statement:

He took care of all the home expenses, but I am embarrassed sometimes which is why I share money for the grocery occasionally¹⁵.

With regards to employment opportunities, Filipino women posed some struggles in relation to finding employment in the Netherlands. Their educational degree and diplomas are not assurance of good and secured employment. Filipino women are required to learn the Dutch language prior to their employment application. Honey shared her struggles:

It was very hard to communicate and argue when you don't speak and understand their language. If you want to say something especially at work, you must speak the Dutch language. Sometimes, my officemates questioned me why I speak in English at work. After that, I switched to speaking the Dutch language¹⁶.

I heard these struggles and sentiments from the other Filipino women rooted from their experiences at work and within their husbands' Dutch families. Dutch language serves as a powerful structure as it was a medium to convey messages, make meanings and assert au-

¹⁴ Interview with Robin, Nijmegen (22 July 2018)

¹⁵ Informal Conversation with Lina, Den Haag (29 July 2018)

¹⁶ Interview with Marie, ISS Hague (21 July 2018)

thority. It may also indicate inferiority and superiority among Dutch-Filipino couples especially if the language acted as a barrier in expressing or understanding messages and meanings.

Among the 15 Filipino women I interviewed, there were three Filipino women who worked in the academe, office and private institution. The dominant trend presents that Filipino women are still engaged in doing domestic and caring jobs which gave them lower income compared to their Dutch husbands. The ideology of domesticity did not die, it evolved despite the increasing participation of women specifically mothers to employment. Still, women retained the primary responsibility for child care and domestic life (Crompton 2006:261). I may conclude that Filipino women received lower incomes and paid lesser expenses, thus, they dedicated more time for house work and chores and child care. Dutch men received higher income and paid more expenses, but their available time for house chores and child care were very limited. These patterns reflect the conventional gender roles of men and women wherein men remained the breadwinner and women were considered the head of the domestic sphere. These patterns may also be observed in the way Dutch men and Filipino women identified their own expenses.

Dutch men enumerated their expenses that covered the following: mortgage, electric and water bills, groceries, personal expenses (clothes, gadgets, services), occasional gifts, savings and children expenses (for those who have children). Filipino women's expenses include the following: occasional grocery contributions, children expenses (clothes, shoes), personal expenses (clothes, gadgets, shoes, and bags), personal savings and financial support to their Filipino families and relatives. In my observation, income is more complex than determining the amount, thus, it is gendered because of the familial expectation that men should always have the higher income compared to women. The expenses enumerated by Dutch-Filipino couples reflected their roles and responsibilities within their homes. The expenses of Dutch men covered all the needs of the family members which assured necessities and needs of family members. Filipino women's expenses highlighted their role as a wife, mother and as transnational daughters of their Filipino families since most of their incurred expenses covered their personal needs, husband and children needs, and Filipino family needs.

The situation of employment and financial management legitimates a hierarchical relationship among Dutch-Filipino couples. Earning and paying more could entail bigger responsibilities and privileges especially in the process of decision making and negotiation within the house. The ability to generate more income and capacity to pay more expenses reinforce power which may influence individual actions, behaviour, practices and gender roles.

5.5 Reproductive choices and decision making

Employment, earnings and expenses are vital to Dutch-Filipino couples especially in the discussion about having a child or not. For this section, there will be categories of Dutch-Filipino couples which composed of those who had a child or children, and those who did not have a child due to reproductive issues and constraints. The first category was the dominant experience of the Filipino women. Filipino women seek for fulfilment of their being as a woman through bearing and raising a child. Also, having a child completed the ideology of what a family looks like for them. Tanya shared her story:

At first, my husband opted not to have a child because we still need to save money for our future, and we need to prepare for it. He asked me to use birth control pills because of that. After few years, I told him that I badly want a child already since we

were married for a long time and I feel incomplete as a woman because we had been married for a long time and we had no child yet. He agreed¹⁷.

Post marital reunification, Dutch men maintained the focus on their career and employment while Filipino women started their integration to the Dutch community by learning the Dutch language. The primary aim of Filipino women is to search for an available job and acquire work experiences. Here, the reproduction of women is controlled by their husbands because of the obligations and responsibilities incorporated in child bearing and child rearing. These obligations may disrupt the career planning and building of Dutch men. For Dutch men, having and raising a child required proper planning and preparation. Johnny shared how they prepared for their children:

At the beginning of our marriage, everything was planned. I had envelopes where we put money for each as preparation for parenthood. I usually prepare for everything. I believe in a pyramid principle. I put my wife on top followed by our children, and then, my grand-children. I must carry and support them all the way¹⁸.

In having a child, Dutch men are still dominant in decision making because of the gender ideologies embedded on them. Still, men had more control over the family's reproductive choices and decisions. This statement has a disconnect with their egalitarian principle that is being practiced within their house. I may infer that egalitarian principle existed more as a principle rather than a practice.

On the other hand, the postponement of pregnancy provided a broader female emancipation for Filipino women which departed them from the aspects of reproduction and mother role (Van de Kaa 1987; Blossfield 1995 stated in Mills et al. 2011:849). During this time, Filipino women have more employment and career opportunities, and altered the patterns of being a wife, bearing a child and performing mother roles. Although, this is not an assurance that such patterns of roles will be completely detached from these Filipino women.

The other categories of Dutch-Filipino couples had problems with regards to child bearing due to reproductive issues and age-related decline of women's fecundity. Initially, these couples seek other options such as adoption, although adoption in the Netherlands requires time, process, money and responsibility. With these factors, Dutch men refused to pursue child adoption. Lino shared his take on this matter:

It is complicated to adopt a child in the Netherlands. It will require a lot of money and time to raise a child. I also don't want to adopt a child that is not related to us by blood. I prefer a child coming from my wife's relatives¹⁹.

The reproductive choice is dependent on the career, employment and finances of the couples, and the decision of the husband. The decision to have a child or not illustrate the different gender norms of Dutch men and Filipino women. The norm of men as dominant in the decision-making process was shown when they started considering the economic costs of having a child. Child care and nurturing behaviour are usually associated with femininity and not masculinity. Women are perceived as mothers who are responsible for their children and in control of their unwanted pregnancies. Men's behaviour showed not only dominance in the decision making but also in terms of reproductive autonomy. Their role in postponing

¹⁷ Informal Conversation with Tanya, Dordrecht (24 July 2018)

¹⁸ Interview with Johnny, Den Haag Dinner (19 July 2018)

¹⁹ Interview with Lino, La Place Roermond Outlet (8 August 2018)

pregnancy among women was limited in giving orders to take birth control pills, but they never get involved in the whole process of obtaining and proper selection of birth control methods.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the findings showed that the background of Dutch men and Filipino women made huge influences in their formed identities. Class, age, education and gender contributed to the way norms and ideologies of Dutch men and Filipino women were formed. Coming from different backgrounds and practice, Dutch men and Filipino women were used to different sets of social relations back in their respective roots. Bringing them together, new patterns of gender relations were formed wherein gender power relations were highly existential. There was a clear power relation which maintained the situations of gender relations characterized by male dominance and female subordination among Dutch-Filipino couples.

Dutch-Filipino couples reiterated that the gender division of labour and gender roles within the house were shared. Through the observations, this research found out that “shared” did not reflect equal sharing. Dutch men were still considered as the primary providers of the family. Although they began engaging to house works and caring duties, this was still dependent on their available time from their professional jobs. There was an improvement in terms of women’s participation to employment because Filipino women were already employed rather than housewives. However, the domestic spheres inside and outside the house were still headed by the Filipino women. In relation to decision making processes concerning expenses and earnings, Dutch men still generate more income and pay more expenses than Filipino women, giving them more privilege in allocating limited time to house chores and child care. This resulted to multiple roles among Filipino women that they must portray daily to comply to the concept of being a good wife. With regards to reproductive choices and autonomy, women capable of child bearing remains to be one of their valued capabilities. This goes along with the heteronormative gender roles inscribed on masculinity and femininity. Therefore, having a child remains to be valued more by Filipino women than Dutch men

Chapter 6: Supporting our Filipino Family in the Philippines: Why and Why not?

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will present two frameworks explaining the differences of Dutch men and Filipino women in the way they perceived the issue of financial support to extended family. The first section (6.2) will present the framework of Filipino women which focuses on their role and moral obligations as daughters of their parents. The next section (6.3) will discuss the framework of Dutch men which focuses on their responsibilities as good citizens of the Netherlands. The last section (6.4) presents the summary of this chapter.

6.2 The sense of moral obligation to my Filipino family

Prior to our marriage, I discussed with my family that my financial support to them may change because I will be getting married. I also don't want my husband to think that they are being too dependent on me. Although, I still support my family and relatives sometimes because I cannot abandon them, it will be a shame and it is part of our being as their daughter²⁰.

This was shared by Sita when I accompanied her in a remittance office to send money to the Philippines for her niece's birthday. This is an observable trend among all the Filipino women in this study. For Filipino women, the provision of financial support is perceived as their moral obligation because they were daughters of their parents.

This sense of moral obligation may also be rooted on how the Filipino women were raised by their parents. They were provided with love, care and support, and their education was funded by their parents. After education, Filipino women sought employment opportunities with the main goal of providing support to their parents and family. This is a widely accepted Filipino family practice. Prior to marriage, the first step taken by Dutch men was to personally meet the parents of these Filipino women whom they were about to marry. This was to assure the safety and security of their daughter. Moreover, this was an assurance that the role of Filipino women as daughters does not end after marriage. Melissa narrated her story:

When Lino and I decided to get married, he had to visit the Philippines first and meet my parents prior to our marriage. My parents were very strict, and they needed assurance from Lino that financial support to my family will be continuous²¹.

Despite circumstances, Filipino women strived harder to continue the financial support to their family. The sense of shame is also common if Filipino women as daughters fail to fulfil such roles and support to their family. This is part of their identity which can never be detach from them. Therefore, Filipino women carried their roles as daughters despite migration and integration to Dutch community. Thinking deeply, this practice was rooted from how family members relate to one another. As mentioned above, financial support was linked to the

²⁰ Informal Conversation with Sita, Den Haag Remittance Center (28 June 2018)

²¹ Interview with Melissa, La Place (8 August 2018)

sense of moral obligation embedded on these Filipino women, thus, this practice was more complex than culture.

Many times, this practice of financial support to extended family in the Philippines remains to be not completely acceptable for some Dutch husbands. As a participant observer, I noticed different level of responses from Dutch men and Filipino women. During the interview, Filipino women admitted that as a Filipino daughter, this practice is inevitable. On the contrary, Dutch men responded that this is not a common practice in the Netherlands, and this practice was permitted only if there were emergencies and health needs from their wives' extended family members. I observed that Filipino women provided very few responses when asked about financial support in front of their Dutch husbands. With these, I decided to explore this matter alone with the Filipino women. Thus, the most dominant response was that financial support to Filipino family remained to be an issue. Leah shared her story:

Sometimes, I support my family and relatives, but I don't tell it to my husband since it is my hard-earned money from part time work. Besides, this will generate argument and discussions between us especially that it is not a common practice here for Dutch families²²

Like other Filipino women, Leah handled this issue by hiding this practice of support from her husband especially if it involved constant remittances and huge amount of money. The role of Filipino women as daughters and their role as wives are conflicting roles as Filipino women were torn between being submissive wives or good daughters and siblings of their extended families in the Philippines. The struggles of Filipino women to portray these roles equally are evident in their stories.

Maintaining these two roles as a good wife and good daughters and siblings of their extended families in the Philippines created imbalances in their relationship with Dutch men. For Dutch men, their "imagined other" or good wife does not include the other role of Filipino women as daughters and siblings of their extended families. Filipino women felt the pressure on how to create balance between the two roles without affecting one or the other. With this, they showed resistance to the existing norms by either working hard outside of home or resorting from hiding all their remittance transactions from their husbands.

6.3 The sense of good citizenship to my country

On the contrary, Dutch men had a different perspective on financial family support. For them, it is a way to promote dependency of Filipino families and parents to their wives and to them. Similar with the perspectives of other Dutch men, Joe shared his case:

In the beginning, I was wondering why she needs to provide financial support to her Filipino family in the Philippines especially her parents. It was not okay but, if it concerns health and emergencies, and not for personal needs, it is fine²³.

Here, there are conditions which meant that the practice of support by Filipino women was not completely accepted. Dutch men reiterated that this practice was non-existent in Dutch families. This research built a framework which would best explain the perceptions of Dutch men towards this practice of financial support. The State provided support to Dutch citizens in the form of welfare assistance and benefits such as free education to Dutch children, good

²² Interview with Leah, Limburg (4 August 2018)

²³ Interview with Joe, Birthday at Eindhoven (17 August 2018)

welfare benefits, efficient transportation, safe water and secure environment as narrated by Mario in his story:

Life and environment in the Netherlands were very far from the condition of the Philippines, especially in terms of transportation, discipline and life conditions²⁴.

This perception about the Philippines is purely orientalist in nature because the representations were based on how a foreign man perceived the Orient based on his experiences. As observed, the statement had underlying meanings which posed relations of power and inferiority. Dutch men perceived the Netherlands as a better country when it comes to establishing family, acquiring employment and ensuring security. For them, Netherlands offered numerous employment opportunities, sustainable welfare benefits and better living condition. In return, Dutch men fulfil their roles as good citizens of the State by paying taxes and following the laws and policies. It is not necessary for Dutch men to support their families financially because the State provided good welfare benefits to cover all the needs and necessities of Dutch families. The framework of Dutch men is all about maintaining the cycle of good relationship with the State.

This may not be the reality of all Filipino women especially those who are struggling in finding a more stable employment with better income. This notion appeared to be individualist based on their own experiences alone. Moreover, these perspectives are part of their exteriority nature as Occident which makes them not part of the experiences of the Orient. Therefore, Dutch men responded differently when faced with issues of financial support of their Filipino wives. Dutch men expressed dis-agreement which prevented some Filipino women from sending money to the Philippines. Also, there were times that they were permitted and supported by their husbands on some conditions and circumstances, although the final decision depends on Dutch men. John shared his case:

Financial support to extended family was a big difference between Dutch and Filipino communities. At first, I do not agree especially if I find it too much. Sometimes, it becomes part of my expenses but not always. With this, I just worked harder²⁵.

The way Dutch men responded to this issue is still based on power and domination putting them in a more dominant position than their Filipino wives. Also, the decisions are based on their role as the primary provider of the family. Dutch men expressed that their decisions are dependent on their savings and hard-earned money. They provided financial support only if they have something to give or share to their wives' extended family in the Philippines.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the practice of financial support to extended family as one of the major issues and differences among Dutch-Filipino couples. Unpacking this issue, this chapter illustrated the roots of such differences by discussing the frameworks of Dutch men and Filipino women. Dutch men were concerned of being good and responsible citizens of the state. Filipino women were dedicated in fulfilling their roles as daughters of their parents because of the sense of moral obligation embedded on them. Both frameworks were rooted from their backgrounds, identities and gender ideologies which they carried with them. These frameworks showed the existing power dynamics which revolved around domination, oppression, and resistance.

²⁴ Informal conversation with Mario, Birthday Dinner (28 July 2018)

²⁵ Interview with John, Garden Dordrecht (23 July 2018)

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore the gender relations of Dutch-Filipino family in the Netherlands. With the use of Orientalism and the analytical concepts of gender and intersectionality, I attempted to give answers to how Dutch-Filipino couples negotiate their everyday life and gender roles within the family. In order to answer my main question, I asked questions regarding their socio-demographic profile, gender roles and how these gender roles are influenced by class, age, and gender, and their marital misunderstandings and solutions. I employed three different methods, which are participant observation, interview and informal conversation to understand the complexities of gender relations. These methods provided wider scope of knowledge on how gender relations were experienced and narrated in everyday life.

In this paper, I argue that Orientalism is perceived as a reason why Dutch-Filipino couples pursue marriage. Orientalism positioned Filipino women as women from the Orient, while Dutch men as men from the Occident. Drawing from Said's Orientalism, the historical relationship of the Orient and the Occident revolves around subordination and domination. Through orientalist position, Filipino women are represented as subordinates while Dutch men are portrayed as dominant. In Chapter 4, I reiterated this argument by discussing how Dutch men and Filipino women perceived each other prior to their engagement to the online dating platform. Filipino women are expected to embody characteristics that will show subordination such as being caring, domesticated, and family oriented. I called them the "Imagined other" because the representations about Filipino women are only part of imaginations and misrepresentations about the Orient. The expectations from Dutch men correspond to the principles and ideals of masculinity wherein they are expected to be the responsible protector and provider of the family, thus, I prefer to call them the "ideal men".

I also argue that Orientalism informs gender, class and race in the representation of Dutch-Filipino couples. In Orientalism, Dutch men maintained their dominance as white-middle class European men while Filipino women being Oriental women are subordinated and inferior to the Occident. However, I contend that this should not be the case considering the diverse background of Dutch men and Filipino women as shown in Chapter 5. Crenshaw's Intersectionality is a useful tool in identifying how the existing power structures influenced the formation of their identity. Their background proved that both are not homogenous groups, thus, expectations from Dutch men and Filipino women may differ because of their differences in terms of class, age and gender. The concept of gender relations, wherein the central concept is power, is useful in understanding how the representations created about Dutch men and Filipino women influence the way these couples relate with each other.

In terms of gender division of labour, Dutch-Filipino couples narrated that all the duties and responsibilities in the house are shared. However, I argue that shared does not necessarily reflect equal sharing. Filipino women still dedicated more time to housework and childcare despite their increased participation to employment outside of home. Dutch men allocated limited time to house works and child care due to their focus to career and employment. In relation to employment and financial management, Dutch men maintain a more stable job and remain to be the primary earner who takes care of majority of the family expenses while Filipino women paid less expenses because they are engaged to a less stable job in the field of domestic and nurturing work. With regards to reproductive choices, the decision of whether to have a child or not depends on career, employment, finances of the couple. Although, the primary responsibility of child care and nurturing is still dependent on the Filipino women as mothers.

Through these illustrations, I argue that there are two different gender ideologies that coexist in Dutch-Filipino couples. These are gender relations of subordination and dominance which continue to operate together and reinforce gender norms and gender roles. By complying to these gender norms and roles, power is influential in the concept gender relations wherein it may maintain gender inequalities or produce resistance to battle oppressive situations.

My last argument in this paper is that marital misunderstandings and issues arise when power becomes a form of resistance wherein one resist to the gender norms and fails to comply to the expected roles. As discussed in Chapter 6, financial support to extended family in the Philippines is the most dominant difference between Dutch men and Filipino women. Here, there is a certain level of pressure for the Filipino women because of their role as good wives to their husbands and good daughters to their Filipino parents. In solving this marital difference, Filipino women worked harder outside of home to earn more income and some resorted to hiding remittances transactions to keep the practice of financial support. Dutch men maintain their positionality as dominant men even in the process of solving marital issues which detest the financial support of Filipino women to their extended family in the Philippines.

Overall, my research contributed to the production of knowledge about Dutch-Filipino families and their gender relations, and how gender and existing power relations influence the way gender roles and everyday life is negotiated within Dutch-Filipino couples. More importantly as part of the discourse on gender, history and development, this research demonstrated how the historical relationship of the Orient and the Occident played an important role in the current relationship of Dutch-Filipino couples. I reviewed all available English language literature on the subject and, it showed that Dutch-Filipino families remained understudied. There were only two studies²⁶ found that touched upon the Dutch-Filipino couples, but none of them unfolded and detailed the gender relations and dynamics among Dutch Filipino couples and the other focused on the social aspects and economic ties of the Netherlands and the Philippines. Therefore, this research paper is the first ethnographic and detailed study written in English on gender relations on Dutch-Filipino couples. Ethnography provided deepness from the point of view of the participants which involved understanding, discovery, thick descriptions and interpretations which generated underlying frameworks and meanings (O’leary:2014:33). Ethnography was useful in understanding how gender relations are practiced in everyday life of Dutch-Filipino couples. Therefore, the present research provides new knowledge and deepness in the field of family and gender relations specifically in the field of Dutch-Filipino families.

Though I successfully addressed the research questions, future research study is possible by employing different methodologies, theoretical framework and analytical tools. Ethnography being useful in providing longer and larger network is recommended to immerse into and observe people’s lives over time. More importantly, this will bring a bigger picture of people’s reality with regards to their daily situation and a light to more insights. In my present study, I generated huge and rich amount of data which could be the basis of further study. In terms of theoretical framework, Scott’s four interrelated aspects of identity, symbol, ideology and institutions may also serve as analytical tools which could be further explored in the next studies.

²⁶ See literature review section, page 4. “Filipino Migrant Women in the Netherlands” by Gonzales (1988) and “Dutch Filipiniana: an annotated bibliography of Dutch publications in the Philippines” by Muijzenberg (1992).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guides for Dutch-Filipino Couples in the Netherlands

What are the socio-demographic profile of the Dutch men and Filipino women?
Socio Demographic Profile – Age , Gender, Class
Location of Home country (Filipino women) Location of Home city or Place of Origin in NL (Dutch Men)
Can you describe or compare the previous city you lived in with your current city?
What is your highest educational attainment?
How Orientalism and the analytical concepts of gender and intersectionality help us understand the way Dutch-Filipino couples negotiate their everyday life and gender roles within the family?
During your education, was it you or your family funded for your education?
What was the profession of your mother and father?
Do you have brothers? Sisters? Did they study in the same educational institution where you graduated? Or What was their highest educational attainment?
What are the professions of your brothers or sisters?
What are the gender roles of Dutch men and Filipino women within the family?
Who takes care of the house chores (cooking, cleaning, dishwashing and other duties and responsibilities at home as identified by the couples)
Who takes care of the children including their expenses? (if couples have a child)
Who pays the groceries? Who does the groceries
How does the intersecting power relations of class, age, gender influence the negotiation of their everyday life and gender roles within the family?
Are you currently employed? If yes, where and what is the nature of your job? How long have you been working?
**How is your income? Fair? Standard? Normal?
What are you expenses within the house?
How do you manage your finances and budget expenses within the family?
Do you have personal expenses? (self, shopping, extended family, others)
If you have personal expenses, is it okay with your partner?
How do Dutch-Filipino couples solve their problems when it arises within the family?
What is your usual routine in the morning from the time you wake up?
What is your usual routine before going to bed to sleep?
Do you usually have arguments or misunderstandings with you partner? What is the root cause?

How do you handle misunderstanding and reconciliation with your partner?
How do you solve the issues and misunderstandings within the family?
Do you take vacations? Alone? Together?
Do you go shopping alone? Together?

Appendix 2: Background of Research Participants

Family	Marriage (yrs.)	Pseudo Name	Age (years old)	Highest Educational Attainment	Current Employment	Length of Employment	No. of Children
Family of Sita and Hilton	5 years	Sita	50	Nursing Graduate	Housekeeping Job	1 year	None
		Hilton	56	IT Graduate	IT position	31 years	
Family of Teresa and Johnny	40 years	Teresa	63	Economics Graduate	Admin Staff	10 years	2
		Johnny	67	Naval History Graduate	Naval Historian	Retired	
Family of Honey and Leon	3 years	Honey	53	Nurse Aid and Secretarial Course graduate	Care giver	20 years	None
		Leon	59	Nursing Graduate	Nurse	30 years	
Family of Marie and Mario	29 years	Marie	53	Diploma in Teaching	Elderly Home Staff	20 years	2
		Mario	59	Mathematics Graduate	Insurance Staff	20 years	
Family of Maria and Robin	21 years	Maria	44	Field of IT graduate	Academe Staff	15 years	2
		Robin	46	Science and IT graduate	Company Director	20 years	
Family of Tanya and Leandro	10 years	Tanya	33	Nursing (non-graduate)	Part time cleaner		3
		Leandro	42	Automotive graduate	Monitoring post	10 years	
Family of Fe and Andi	27 years	Fe	48	Stopped during 1 st year in College	Cleaner	40 years	3
		Andi	63	Architecture Graduate	Building Company Staff	15 years	
Family of Vanessa and John	10 years	Vanessa	41	Teaching Diploma	Assistant Book Keeper in her husband's company	Less than a year	2
		John	52	Finance Graduate	Own Company	More than 5 years	
Family of Lina and Carlo	3 years	Lina	61	College Graduate	Part time baby sitter		None
		Carlo	70	History and Nursing Graduate	Nurse	Retired	
Family of Lanie and Nelo	16 years	Lanie	41	Social Work Graduate	Managing Assistant	10 years	2
		Nelo	44	International relations Graduate	Labour Union Sector	6 years	
Family of Melissa and Lino	17 years	Melissa	47	Nursing Graduate	Medical company staff	Several years	None
		Lino	57	Science graduate	Medical company staff	Several years	
Family of Monica and Emil	6 years	Monica	44	MA social psychology	PHD and part time academe instructor	Less than 5 years	None
		Emil	44	IT graduate	IT company trainer	New employee	
Family of Marina and Rey	6 years	Marina	50	International Relations Graduate	Part time cleaner	N/A	None
		Rey	48	Security	Security Guard	20 years	
Family of Cecilia and Joe	14 years	Cecilia	50	Nursing Graduate	Hotel Staff		1
		Joe	59	IT Graduate	Own Company	35 years	
Family of Leah and Raul	11 years	Leah	45	Non- Graduate	Housewife	N/A	4
		Raul	51	Graduate	Working	More than 10 years	

References

- Ashraf, N. (2009) 'Spousal Control and Intra-Household Decision Making: An Experimental Study in the Philippines' in *American Economic Review*, 99(4), pp. 1245-1277.
- Asis, M. (2002) 'From the Life Stories of Filipino Women: Personal and Family Agendas in Migration', in *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 11(1), pp. 67-93.
- Berg, Bruce L. 2004. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Pearson, London.
- Berkel, M. (1997) *Who Dominates When? Asymmetrical Patterns of Influence Among Dutch Husbands and Wives*. Nijmegen: Mediagroep.
- Bernardo, D. (2016). 'Study: Filipino couples are the most intimate in Asia'. Accessed on 30 April 2018 <https://www.philstar.com/lifestyle/health-and-family/2016/12/25/1656582/study-filipino-couples-are-most-intimate-asia>
- Brahic, B. (2018) 'Doing Gender' Across Cultures: Gender Negotiations In European Bi-national Couple Relationships', in Crespi, I., M, S. G. and Merla, L. (2018) *Making multicultural families in europe : gender and intergenerational relations*, pp. 39-53 Cham: Palgrave Macmillan (Palgrave Macmillan studies in family and intimate life).
- Brooks, R., Riele, K. & Maguire, M. (2014). Identity, power and positionality. In *Ethics and education research* (pp. 100-116). 55 City Road, London: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781473909762.n6
- Celenk, O. & Vijver, F. (2013) 'Perceived antecedents of marital satisfaction among Turkish, Turkish-Dutch, and Dutch couples', in *International Journal of Psychology*, 48(6), pp. 1165-1175.
- Cleaver, F. 2002, 'Men and Masculinities: New Directions in Gender and Development' in Cleaver, F (ed.) *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development*, London, New York: Zed Books & Cape Town: David Philip, pp. 1-27
- Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and Research in Psychology, in *American Psychologist*, 64(3), pp. 170–180. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564>
- Collins, P. H. (1998). It 's All In the Family : Intersections of Gender , Race , and Nation, in *Hypatia* 13(3), pp. 62–82.
- Connell, R. W. (2002). On hegemonic masculinity and violence :, 4806(200202).
- Crompton, R. (2006) *Employment and the family : the reconfiguration of work and family life in contemporary societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, K., Evans, M. and Lorber, J. (2006) *Handbook of gender and women's studies*. London: Sage.
- Eder, J. (2006) 'Gender Relations and bi-nationb Economic Planning in the Rural Philippines', *Journal of South East Asian Studies*, 37(3), pp. 397-413.
- Edlund, J. (2016). Who should work and who should care ? Attitudes towards the desirable division of labour between mothers and fathers in five European countries. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699316631024>
- Fresnoza-Flot, A. & Merla, L. (2018) 'Global Householding' in Mixed families: The case of Thai Migrant Women in Belgium' in Crespi, I., M, S. G. and Merla, L. (2018) *Making multicultural families in europe: gender and intergenerational relations*, pp. 23-36 Cham: Palgrave Macmillan (Palgrave Macmillan studies in family and intimate life).
- Gonzales, M. (1998) *Filipino Migrant Women in the Netherlands*. Quezon City, Philippines: Giraffe Books.
- Ghorayshi, P., Bélanger Claire and Bélanger, C. (1996) *Women, work, and gender relations in developing countries : women, work, and gender relations in developing countries : a global perspective / a global perspective*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press (Contributions in sociology, no. 118)

- Hopkins, P., & Noble, G. (2009). Masculinities in place: Situated identities, relations and intersectionality, in *Social and Cultural Geography*, 10(8), pp. 811–819. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360903305817>
- Judd, C. M., Smith, E. R. and Kidder, L. H. (1991) *Research methods in social relations*. 6Th ed. edn. Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Kabeer, N. (1991) *Gender, production, and well-being : rethinking the household economy*. Brighton, England: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (Discussion paper, 288).
- Kabeer, N. (1995) Necessary, sufficient or irrelevant? : women, wages and intra- household power relations in urban bangladesh. Brighton: IDS Publications (Working paper / Institute of Development Studies, 23)
- Kalmijn, M., Loeve, A. and Manting, D. (2007) 'Income Dynamics in Couples and the Dissolution of Marriage and Cohabitation', in *Demography*, 44(1), pp. 159-179.
- Koet, S., Valk, H. A. G. De, Brussel, V. U., Demography, I., & Hague, T. (2014). 'European Liaisons? A Study on European bi-national Marriages in Belgium 125 (February 2013), pp.110–125.
- Kraler, A., Kofman, E., Kohli, M. and Schmoll, C. (2012) '*Gender, generations and the family in international migration*'. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press
- Kumar, R. (1999) *Research methodology : a step-by-step guide for beginners*. London: Sage.
- Kurian, R. (2006) 'The Globalisation of Domestic Care Services', in T.D. Truong, S.E. Wieringa and A. Chhachhi (eds) *Engendering Human Security: Feminist Perspectives*, pp.147-168 London and New Delhi: Zed Press and Women Unlimited
- Lauser, A. (2006) 'Philippine Women on the Move: A Transnational Perspective on Marriage Migration', in *Internationales Asienforum*, 37(3-4), pp. 321-337.
- Lewis, R. (1996) *Gendering orientalism : race, femininity, and representation*. New York: Routledge (Gender, racism, ethnicity).
- Lorber, J. (1994) "'Night to His Day": The Social Construction of Gender', in *Paradoxes of Gender*, pp. 13-36. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 13-36
- Lukasiewicz, A. (2011) 'Migration and Gender Identity in the Rural Philippines', in *Critical Asian Studies*, 43(4), pp. 577-593.
- Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M. T. and Supik, L. (2011) Framing intersectionality : debates on a multifaceted concept in gender studies. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Pub, pp. 1-22.
- McGinn, K. L., & Oh, E. (2017). ScienceDirect Gender , social class , and women ' s employment. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 18, 84–88. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.07.012>
- Muijzenberg, O. van den (1992) *Dutch filipiniana : an annotated bibliography of dutch publications on the philippines*. Leiden: KITLV Press (Working papers / Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 9).
- Narayan-Parker, D. (2000) *Can anyone bear us? : voices of the poor*. New York: Published by Oxford University Press for the World Bank (Voices of the poor).
- Nash, J. C. (2008). Intersectionality, in *Feminist Review* 89, pp. 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2008.4>
- Nicholson, Linda. (1997) '[The Myth of the Traditional Family](#)' in Nelson, Hilde Lindemann (ed) *Feminism and Families*. New York: Routledge. Pp 27-42.
- Ogletree, S. (2014) 'Gender Role Attitudes and Expectations for Marriage', in *Journal on Research on Women and Gender*, 5, pp. 71-82.
- O'Leary, Z. (2014) '*The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project*', pp. 1-17 & 18-30. London: Sage.
- Parrenas, R. S. (2018). *Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and the International Division of Reproductive Labor* Author (s): Rhacel Salazar Parrenas Published by : Sage Publications ,

- Inc . Stable URL : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/190302> Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and the International Division of Reproductive Labor, *14*(4), 560–580
- Radtke, H.L., Stam, H.J. (1994). *Power/gender: social relations in theory and practice*. London, Sage. <http://books.google.com/books?id=pQa0AAAAIAAJ>
- Riano, Y. (2012) 'He's the Swiss Citizen, I'm the foreign spouse: Binational marriages and the impact of family-related migration policies on gender relations', in Kraler, A., Kofman, E., Kohli, M. and Schmoll, C. (2012) *Gender, generations and the family in international migration*, pp. 265-283 Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Roulston, K. (2008). Conversational interviewing. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 128-129). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.n70
- Said, Edward (1993) 'From Orientalism', in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds) *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, pp. 132-48. New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Shabanirad, E. (2015). Edward Said 's Orientalism and the Representation of Oriental Women in George Orwell ' s *Burmese Days*, *60*, 22–33. <https://doi.org/10.18052/www.scipress.com/ILSHS.60.22>
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other : masculinity , femininity , and gender hegemony, 85–102. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-007-9022-4>
- Sikes,P. (2004) *Methodology, procedures and ethical concerns: Doing Educational research guide for first time researchers/* Opie. London, Sage.
- Silberschmidt, M. (1991) *Rethinking men and gender relations : an investigation of men, their changing roles within the household, and the implications for gender relations in kisii district, kenya*. Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research (CDR research report, no. 16).
- Scott, J.W., (1986), 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis, *American Historical Review* 91:1053-75; Accessed 25 April 2018 <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00028762%28198612%2991%3A5%3C1053%3AGAUCOH%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z> (reprinted in Scott, J. W., 1988, *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York: Columbia UP, pp. 28 – 53; revised. Edition New York, 1999, pp. 28-52)
- Shields, S., (2008), 'Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective' in *Sex Roles* 59, pp. 301-311. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9501-8>
- Tosh, J., (2004), '[Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender](#)', in Dudinak, S. Hagemann, K & Tosh, J. (eds) *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering modern history*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 41-58
- Van De Vijver, F. J. R. (2007). 'Cultural and gender differences in gender-role beliefs, sharing household task and child-care responsibilities, and well-being among immigrants and majority members in the Netherlands', in *Sex Roles*, 57(11–12), pp. 813–824. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9316-z>
- Vazhappily, J. & Reyes, M. (2016) 'Couples' Communication as a Predictor of Marital Satisfaction Among Selected Filipino Couples', in *Psychol Study*, 61(4), pp. 301-306. doi: 10.1007/s12646-016-0375-5.
- Verbakel, E. & Kalmijn, M. (2014) 'Assortative Mating Among Dutch Married and Cohabiting Same-Sex and Different-Sex Couples', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76, pp. 1-12. doi: 10.1111/jomf.12084.
- Walby, S. (1997) *Gender transformations*. London: Routledge (International library of sociology).
- Walsum, S. (2012) 'Sex and the regulation of belonging: Dutch family migration policies in the context of changing family norms', in Kraler, A., et al. (ed.) *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*, pp. 57-76 Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

- Wesley, L. (2018). The Intersection of Race and Gender : Teaching Reformed Gender Ideologies to Black Males in the Context of Hegemonic Masculinity *The Intersection of Race and Gender*, 1(4), 63–84.
- West, C. and D. Zimmerman (1987) 'Doing Gender', *Gender and Society* 1(2): pp. 125-151
- Wickramasinghe, M. (2010) *Feminist research methodology : making meanings of meaning-making*. London: Routledge (Routledge research on gender in Asia series, 2).
- Willis, K. and Yeoh, B. S. A. (2000) *Gender and migration*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar (The international library of studies on migration, 10).