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**A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE
MIGRATION EXPERIENCES OF
FILIPINO & THAI BRIDES
IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA**

B.J.Greensill

1994

USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MIGRATION
EXPERIENCES OF FILIPINO AND THAI BRIDES
IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA**

By

B. Greensill B. Arts

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of

Bachelor of Arts, Honours

at the Faculty of Arts, Department of Aboriginal & Intercultural
Studies, Edith Cowan University

Date of Submission : 2 nd November, 1994.

ABSTRACT

Bride migration which includes unpaid labour migration is a new development in international labour migration. The factors which have contributed to recent increases in bride migration from developing countries in the South East Asian region to post-industrialised countries include changes in the international economic system and the international division of labour, and popular stereotypes of Filipino and Thai women, and conservative notions of women's domestic roles which are prevalent in Australia. This study focuses on Filipino and Thai bride migration to Western Australia within the context of international labour migration.

Most of the literature on Filipino and Thai female migration has concentrated on their participation in temporary migration patterns as contract domestic labour. Australian studies have generally focused on settlement issues and problems of these women as bride migrants. To date there has been little written on Filipino and Thai bride migration within the context of international labour migration. As well, there have been no studies of Thai brides immigrating to Western Australia .

This thesis provides a survey of the entry of Filipino and Thai brides to Western Australia in the past decade. It argues that, because of current immigration laws which prevent the entry of contract domestic labour under the skilled labour category, Filipino and Thai brides who enter under the family re-union category as fiances or wives of Australian

residents, can be seen as participating in international domestic labour migration as unpaid labour. The evidence on which this argument is based is drawn from a range of secondary sources, unpublished and published data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics , a quantitative survey of 9 Filipino and 16 Thai women and qualitative interviews with 5 Filipino and 5 Thai women. Because of the limitations of the Western Australian data, this thesis can be seen as a pilot study which raises questions and provides directions for future research .

Overall, the results of the pilot study concur with the literature reviewed. Both Filipino and Thai bride migration incorporate unpaid domestic labour migration and is therefore part of the global feminisation of migration.

DECLARATION

" I certify that this thesis does not incorporate with acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institute of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text"

Signature :

Date: 2nd November 1994

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To my supervisor Dr. Anne Atkinson. Thank you for your assistance, support and patience and for encouraging me to always question how, why, what, when and who. To my family and friends who have been there for me.

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CHAPTER 1

Since the second world war, industrialisation and modernisation have generated increases in mass migration and international labour migration (Giddens,1989:p.269;Sarmiento,1991:p.195). From the 1980's , new developments in global labour migration patterns have resulted in more women than men dominating labour migration flows. Women from Asian regions like the Philippines and Thailand dominate overseas labour emigration flows as domestic and hospitality workers (Zlotnik,1993:p.40). These trends are termed the 'feminisation of migration' (Castles,1993:p.32). Global economic, structural, social and cultural changes have impacted on societies like the Philippines and Thailand. This has resulted in the large increases in Asian female domestic and hospitality labour emigration to regions like the Middle East, Western Europe, Japan, the United States and Canada (Lindquist,1993:p.76). As well, there has also been increases in Filipino and Thai women migrating to Western Australia as marriage partners of Western Australian residents. Bride migration incorporates unpaid domestic labour.

Prior to the second world war, the main type of migration pattern was rural to rural migration which involved forced labour and permanent settlement migration for the purposes of colonisation (Sassen,1988:p.32). Since then, global economic and social changes have produced new types of migration patterns. The contemporary migration patterns are permanent migration which involves settlement in a new country, temporary migration which includes people who

emigrate to countries as visitors, students and workers, labour migration which includes the temporary and permanent movement of skilled and unskilled workers, family re-union migration which involves the sponsorship of relatives and friends and refugee migration which is a result of wars and political upheavals (Castles,1993:p.32; Salt,1991:p.431).

One feature of post-war global migration is that the majority of people have moved from countries with less developed capitalist economies to countries with more developed capitalist and industrialised economies (Castles,1993:p.33;Roberts,1989:p.677) . Countries like Indonesia, The Philippines and Thailand have become the "primary senders of emigrants and countries like the Middle East and the United States have become the primary receivers of migrants " (Appleyard, Nagayama,Stahl,1992:p.59). The increase in migration streams from less developed capitalist economies to more developed capitalist economies is also a consequence of global changes and economic development which has caused the modernisation of less developed capitalist economies (Castles,1993;p.33).

Industrialisation and modernisation has transformed the Philippine and Thai rural economies to urban industrial economies (Aguilar,1989:p.511;Fawcett,1989:p.656) resulting in changes to women's roles and their socio-economic position in society. Industrialisation has transferred women's roles from the household as

unpaid domestic labourers to the service sector of the labour market as paid domestic labourers (Pedraza,1991:p.308;Porpora,et al,1989:p.289). This has led to structural problems of unemployment, underemployment and overpopulation. The governments' promotion of service industries and contract overseas labour migration is a response to easing domestic unemployment pressures, stimulating economic growth and reducing debt. The income - remittances and foreign currency exchange that is generated from female labour emigration is seen as a solution to these structural problems. (Lindquist,1993:p.75;O'Malley,1988:p.99).

In Philippine and Thai society, emigration to developed regions represents a means of increasing one's economic opportunities, social status and achieving a better quality of life. Colonisation and military intervention in developing regions have also influenced peoples' views about western lifestyles and decisions to emigrate. As well , labour emigration enables women to send remittances to families and enables women to meet familial and economic responsibilities. (Parpart,1993:p.448;Porpora,1989:p.283;Pedraza,1991;p.3;Zlotnik, 1993:p.16).

These structural and cultural changes have been influential in Filipino and Thai women choosing to emigrate to developed regions as paid domestic labourers to escape poverty, achieve occupational mobility, acquire skills and training, reduce control of fathers, obtain better pay,

accumulate savings and achieve autonomy, improve self-esteem and gain political freedom or join relatives overseas (Pedraza,1991:p.308: Zlotnik,1993: p.57). One aspect of contemporary global female labour migration is bride migration where women migrate as unpaid domestic labour. During the last two decades, a feature of Filipino female emigration to Australia is that most have migrated to Australia as spouses of Australian residents (Hugo,1992:p.117). From " 1988-89 to 1990-91, the Philippines was the second largest source country to provide the greatest number of spouses and fiances to Australian residents"(Iredale, et al ,1993:p.19).

The rapid growth of international trade, tourism and immigration are factors which contributed to the increase in the number of Filipino-Australian marriages (Ahuvia & Adelman,1992:p.452;Castles,1993: p.33;Kaminskas & Smith,1990;p.9). One other factor contributing to increases is that in 'First World' nations like Australia, the marriage market intermediaries expanded business activities into undeveloped economic regions such as the Philippines and Thailand (Hugo,1991;p.121). The growth in these industries is part of " the international expansion of the capitalist economic system". It is also a response to new social and economic trends in male consumer demand for females from third world countries as sources of marriage partners because of popular stereotypes which characterised them as being " subservient females and good housekeepers " used to male domination (Castles,1993:p.33). The other reason for the increase in Filipino and

Thai bride migration to Australia is because of Australian immigration policy. The family re-union category is gender selective (Kissana,1990:p.25) and, in contemporary Asian migration flows to Australia, females dominate the family re-union category (Birrell,1990:p.28; Hugo,1992,p.119). As well, Australian immigration policy like the skilled occupational category and the employment category selection criteria has become highly selective of the 'type of labour it requires' (Misztal,1991:p.27) and may exclude many single females like Filipino and Thai women from gaining entry and permanent residency in Australia because single women do not qualify as suitable applicants as they lack the desired labour market skills (Birrell,1990:p.15;Cooke,1986:p.37). Filipino and Thai women migrate to Australia as brides because domestic service is not an employment category which is part of migration assessment of the contemporary Australian immigration policy selection criteria (Broinowski,1993:p.22) . Contemporary Australian immigration policy laws and family re-union categories appear to be servicing the Australian male demand for new sources of marriage partners from Asia. This encourages some marriages of convenience and serial sponsorship activities which operate within the boundaries of the current Australian immigration policy (Hugo,1992:p.100;Iredale et al , 1993:p.59) .

Contemporary Australian immigration laws have prevented a labour market developing for paid female contract domestic labour from

overseas countries. Intercultural marriages function to create a demand for Filipino and other Asian women's unpaid labour. Asian bride migration which involves unpaid domestic labour is a new development in the global feminisation of migration. These are issues which to date have not been addressed by the studies looking at Filipino-Australian marriages.

A post-modern Marxist feminist theory argues that the reason why Asian women dominate domestic labour migration flows is because of sexist ideologies that justify women's low status position in the political, economic and social spheres of their societies (Porpora et al,1989:p.272). The cultural tradition in most societies continues to stereotype women as being biologically inferior to men and this creates the popular idea that domestic and hospitality labour is women's and not men's work (Zlotnik,1993:p.43). The theory of women in development argues that industrialisation and the expansion of the capitalist economic system created a new international division of labour between men's and women's paid and unpaid work. The new division of labour is 'international, patriarchal and sexist' (Fawcett,1989:p.655).

A post-modern Marxist feminist approach to these issues is missing from the national studies about bride migration. Castles, (1993) theory of the 'global feminisation of migration' is the only approach which views bride migration from an international perspective and links bride migration to the changes in the global female migration patterns and

changes in the international labour market. This study adds a new perspective to theories about women in migration because the role of women as marriage migrants and unpaid domestic labour is analysed.

This study explores the increase of Thai bride migration occurring in Western Australia and its relationship to the recent developments of the global feminisation of migration, changes in the international labour markets and the international division of labour and contemporary Australian immigration policy selection criteria. In order to achieve this purpose this study has used quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews. The survey is designed to obtain biographical information from 30 Filipino and 30 Thai women. The purpose of the interviews is to compare the social and economic reasons Filipino and Thai women migrate as paid domestic labourers to more developed capitalist countries to the reasons given by 5 Filipino and 5 Thai women who migrate as unpaid domestic labour or spouses of Australian residents. To date no studies have investigated the increase in the number of Thai-Australian marriages in Western Australia. The study will help to establish whether Filipino and Thai bride migration is part of the global feminisation of migration.

The study was devised in order to examine the recent developments in the feminisation of migration. It assesses how the international labour market and the international division of labour created a new demand for paid and unpaid female domestic labour. Also examined, is how the

social and economic conditions in Philippine and Thai society influence female labour emigration flows. The study investigates whether there are common economic and social reasons why Filipino and Thai women marry Australian residents. It examines why Filipino and Thai female labour migrants and marriage migrants perform similar kinds of labour in developing countries. It looks at the similarities and differences in the employment and educational backgrounds of Filipino and Thai women who migrate to developed countries as paid and unpaid domestic labourers. The study questions why Australian immigration policy selection criteria encourages Filipino and Thai bride migration and examines how the selection criteria discourages paid Filipino and Thai female domestic labour migration. As well, it questions whether sexist stereotypes about Asian women and women's labour roles in Western Australian society influence the demand for Filipino and Thai women as marriage partners and sources of unpaid domestic labour. Whether factors like ethnicity, class and gender influence marriage migration decisions and if these factors affect the migration experiences of Filipino and Thai brides in Western Australia is also explored. How unpaid domestic labour influences the settlement experiences of Filipino and Thai brides in Western Australian society is also investigated.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There have been a number of theories advanced for changes in global migration. Three of the more significant theories are the classical push-pull theory of migration by Lee (1966), the development theory (1970's) by Frank (1969) and the structuralist theory by Sassen (1988). The push-pull theory of migration by Lee (1966) argues that there are push and pull factors which attract or repel persons to migrate. The push factors like economic conditions, lack of access to land, lack of employment, famine and drought, 'repel' people to emigrate. The pull factors like urbanisation and employment opportunities attract people to countries (Jackson, 1986:p.13). The basic 'tenet' of this theory is that immigrants make individual migration decisions after they examine the "advantages and disadvantages of migrating." (Ishi, 1987:p.282). However, the push-pull classical theory is inadequate because it does not explain changes in global migration patterns (Jackson, 1986:p.13; Pedraza, 1991:p.306). As well, the theory assumes, that all labour migration flows originate from less developed capitalist economies and second, that labour flows from less developed countries to more developed countries are a result of global inequalities between 'poor and rich' nations (Portes, 1989:p.607). So, international labour migration flows are not only a result of economic systems and the laws of supply and demand but also of social factors like personal networks which create increases in international labour migration (Portes, 1989:p.612).

The development theory of the late 1970 period argues that the increase in global migration streams is a result of changes in the

economic modes of production in developing countries. The theory also suggests that people from less developed capitalist economies will benefit from overseas labour migration because working in developed countries is viewed as a way of providing immigrants with the means to achieve better standards of living. Economic and educational opportunities and the chance to earn foreign currency and return remittances to their family is also a perceived benefit. (Heyzer,1986:p.3;Lindquist,1993:p.78; Sarmiento,1991:p.196).

Development theory does not view the increases in global migration streams as a result of global economic and social changes which occur in more developed as well as less developed capitalist countries. One other problem with the theory is that migrant workers in more developed countries do not always achieve better standards of living. For example, migrant women employed in informal sectors of more developed capitalist economies as domestic workers, have jobs which are characterised by long working hours, low pay and low status (Zlotnik,1993:p.58). Cohen's study argued that female migrant domestic workers in Canada were also "deprived of both full labour rights and citizenship" (1991:p.198).

The structuralist theory advocated by Sassen (1988) of global migration argues that the effect of the economic and social changes during the late twentieth century has caused increases in poverty , underemployment , unemployment and overpopulation in certain countries among particular groups of people. These are conditions

common in less developed capitalist economies like the Philippines and Thailand and are viewed as contributing to increases in the rapidity and volume of international migration flows to more developed capitalist economies (Pedraza,1991:p.307).

The problems with push-pull, development and structuralist theories of migration were that the roles of women in migration and international migration flows, as well as the roles of women in less developed capitalist economies and more developed capitalist economies migration streams were either ignored, underanalysed or universalised (Pedraza,1991:p.303). It was assumed, that women's primary reasons for migration were familial, for example, to accompany husbands or families . It was also assumed that settlement would be permanent. In addition, some of the contemporary United Nations and International Labour Organisation literature about female migration fails to provide an analysis of women's economic and social roles in both intraregional and international migration flows (Zlotnik,1993:p.52). Another failure is the lack of accurate data (Aguilar,1989:511;Matthews-Brown,1993:p.4). For example, during the 1980's , South East Asian countries like Indonesia, and Malaysia and Korea precluded information about female rural-urban and urban-urban migration patterns from national censuses. This was because the governments were more concerned with 'pursuing industrialisation than gathering information about female migration patterns'. (Zlotnik,1989:p .44) .

Recent studies , for example, Castles (1993) and Ishi (1987) have emphasised the role of women in migration. One study of women in development and the new international division of labour by Karim assumes that all women from less developed countries who migrate as paid labour are "uniformly poor , powerless and vulnerable" and that they have similar class, socio-economic and national backgrounds (1993:p.107). Therefore, it portrays female labour emigrants as passive 'victims' of the international capitalist economic system and labour markets (Cohen,1991:p.211) and neglects women who make independent decisions to participate as labourers in international labour markets (Zlotnik,1989:p.40). However, the extent to which their decisions are independent is unknown because there is insufficient research about female migrants' decision making processes (Zlotnik,1989:p.41). The decision to migrate is not an autonomous one because institutional factors and economic and social changes impact on migration decisions (Gardner & Hugnet,1992:p.267; Gibson & Graham, 1986: p.131).

Contemporary international labour markets are segmented and comprised of many separate groups of female workers who have different class and educational backgrounds and occupy various positions in the labour market sectors. This is why women's experiences of inequalities in international labour markets is varied (Parpart,1993:p.443;Sassen-Koob,1984:p.1145). Sassen-Koob argues that Filipino women and other third world brides are part of the "warm body export of marketable commodities" that are transferred from "east

to west nations" (1984:p.1148). This view portrays all brides as victims of structural and social forms of sexism and commercialism (Aguilar,1989:p.516).

Australian studies about Filipino bride migration all provide quantitative and qualitative information on the numerous individual settlement problems experienced by Filipino women who migrate as marriage partners to regions throughout Australia. The studies which include Ungson,1982:p.10;Cooke,1986:p.14;Farmer,1992:p.1;Hugo,1986:p.48; Scaramella,1988: p.22 and Jackson & Flores,1989:p.92, mention that some Filipino brides are victims of exploitation and institutionalised gender inequalities. The limitation with these studies is that there is no exploration of this issue and no theoretical analyses of bride migration. This is because the studies and reports were designed to provide basic demographic and descriptive data about Filipino brides in Australia so that both government and non-government organisations could improve settlement services for Filipino brides . Clearly, further academic research is required .

One factor which contributed to the increase in bride migration to Australia is the family re-union category in Australian immigration policy selection criteria. (Matthews-Brown,1993:p.1). For many women from countries like the Philippines and Thailand, emigration and marriage with Australian residents, using the family re-union category makes it easier for them to migrate (Kabala & Jupp,1993,p.610). However, there are two main problems with the

family re-union category. The family re-union category is selective according to social and economic criteria and does not include the assessment of women's educational qualifications (Castles,1993:p.558;Kissane,1990:p.25;Hugo,1986:p.22). Some single women who possess professional qualifications may experience discrimination as a woman's eligibility to enter and remain in Australia is assessed on the basis of their 'dependency' relationship with an Australian male (Young & Madden, 1992,p.7-8; Misztal,1991: p.31).

Australian immigration policies have historically favoured single women's emigration from English speaking countries for social and economic purposes such as population growth, maintaining the balance of the sexes and labour market expansion (Castles,1990:p.12; Wooden et al,1990: p.73) . Australian governments were traditionally opposed to Asian immigration including labour and permanent settlement migration because the goals were to keep the population " white and homogenous " (Cooke,1986:p.15) . After the second world war, Australian migration policies and programs changed in two ways (Jackson,1986:p.27;Stahl,etal,1993:p.105). A significant change occurred in 1973 when immigration policies based on racist ideas were abolished, allowing the entry of previously prohibited people from Asian and African countries. (Hugo&Channel,1986:p.3;Jayasuriya,1987;p.17).

Current Australian immigration policy categories are the family re-union, skilled and business, independent and concessional , special eligibility, refugee and humanitarian categories (Collins,1988:p.269).

During 1991-1992, a total number of 107391 persons arrived in Australia under all these categories . The most utilised categories are the family re-union and the skilled-business ones . Most female settlers to Australia arrive under the family re-union category (Birrell,1990:p.28;Hugo,1992:p.119; Kaminskas & Smith,1990:p.3).

Table 1.1

Most utilised categories of Australian Immigration Policy 1991-1992

<u>Category</u>	<u>Total intake</u>	<u>% National intake</u>
Family Re-Union	48648	45.3%
Skilled Business	40379	37.6%
Total	89027	83.0%

(Source : adapted from Jupp & Kabala,1993:p.6).

There are commonalities in the reports and studies on why Filipino women marry Australian residents such as Ungson (1982), Vogel (1984), Cooke (1986), Kaminskas & Smith (1990) and Scaramella (1988). However, there are disagreements about which reasons are the most important. The majority of studies and reports mention the socio-economic and cultural reasons why Filipino women marry Australian residents, but do not analyse the diversity of reasons.

Filipino women marry Australian residents for personal , economic and cultural reasons . There is some debate over the predominant reason for marriage and the " underlying reasons why Filipino women choose to marry Australian men are complex and sensitive issues" (Hugo,1986:p.30). Ungson's report suggests that Filipino brides marry Australian residents first, for economic reasons and second for love (1982: p.v) Vogel reported that love and migration were of equal importance (1984:p.54). Cooke's findings are reversed with Ungson's and contrast with Vogel's, first for love and second for economic reasons (1986:p.3) . Kaminskas & Smith (1990:p.3) findings are similar to Cooke's. Scaramella's report suggests that Filipino women marry Australia residents first for love and second for migration (1988:p.28) . Jackson & Flores did not study Filipino brides' reasons for marriage because they considered it was a sensitive issue and would affect the response rate in their study (1988:p.66).

The qualitative interview findings were that three of the five Filipino wives , stated

"love" as being the primary marital reason .

This finding is similar to Scaramella's (1988) study on Filipino brides in Western Australia (1988:p.28).

The secondary reasons from the pilot study are

"readiness, good treatment from the husband and compatibility ".

Three of the five Thai women married Australian men because of "love and because they were treated well " by their husbands.

One Thai wife stated she married for " economic reasons " .

Another Thai married for

" opportunities and for a better life in Australia " .

The Thai women's secondary reasons for marriage to an Australian resident were

" economic security, to improve status and to escape from working in bars " .

A minority of Filipino and Thai women choose marriage in order to enter Australia and reside here permanently because they believed

"there is no other way for them to remain here".

Whether these women are "opportunists" or "escapists" as Jackson & Flores (1989,p.93) suggested, was not a finding of the pilot study.

The Australian literature on Filipino brides and the literature on Filipino women who emigrate as paid labour indicates that similarities exist in the socio-economic and cultural reasons for migration. For example, financial factors, employment, loneliness, having children, social and cultural mobility and the lack of opportunity for marriage in one's country (Aguilar,1989:p.514;Birrell,1990:p.32 ;Cooke,1986:p.35; Kaminskaz&Smith,1990:p.5;Vogels,1984,p.52). The Australian studies and reports do not discuss why there are similarities between Filipino

women who emigrate as paid labour and Filipino women who emigrate as brides .

Because of the limitations of the studies of migration experiences and settlement needs, and the qualitative and quantitative literature available on the Filipino bride migration in Australia, means that the literature reviewed does not include critical assessments of details of bride migration . These details include cultural attitudes to intermarriage, the role and the function of international marriage market intermediaries , the role of international tourism and the role of international economic capitalist systems.

What these studies have demonstrated is that both government and non-government organisations needed to improve the settlement services for Filipino brides in Australia. As well, the studies demonstrate the range of sources, methodologies and arguments, utilised to analyse the Filipino bride groups migration experiences and settlement needs. The official Australian Bureau of Statistics data, and Department of Immigration data along with secondary literature sources and qualitative descriptive exploratory research methods were used to study the Filipino bride groups migration experiences and settlement needs. Iredale, Innes & Castles, (1993) used a combination of one-to-one interviews and questionnaires. This study adopts similar methods of qualitative and quantitative inquiry in comparing Filipino and Thai bride migration to Western Australia.

METHODOLOGY

A combination of mixed methodology incorporating quantitative Australian Bureau of Statistics data, quantitative survey questionnaires and qualitative interviews was used for this study. The unpublished Australian Bureau of Statistics data about Filipino and Thai brides and their grooms included data relating to age, ethnicity, and date of arrival in Western Australia. The Australian Bureau of Statistics data was analysed using the variables like the ages of Filipino and Thai brides and Grooms of Filipino and Thai brides at intervals of 2 years from 1981-1991, the ethnicity of Grooms of Filipino and Thai brides at intervals of 2 years from 1981-1991, the duration of Residency in WA of Filipino and Thai Brides at intervals of 2 years from 1981-1991 and the Duration of Residency in WA of Filipino and Thai Grooms at intervals of 2 years from 1981-1991. This data was subjected to a comparative statistical analysis to obtain information about the Filipino and Thai female population in Western Australia. This data was compared with statistics from the national secondary literature. The analysis of demographic data allowed the researcher to identify that differences exist between state and national data relating to the Filipino women.

The data indicates firstly, that the increase in Filipino and Thai bride migration and the increase in the numbers of Filipino-Australian and Thai-Australian marriages in Western Australia began during the early

1980's period. The data also indicates that Filipino bride migration to Western Australia began during 1980. During 1981, 65 Filipino and 13 Thai women arrived here as spouses of Western Australian residents. By 1991, the number of Filipino women increased to 91 and the number of Thai women increased to 44. The Australian Bureau of Statistics data did not include information about the country of marriage, the duration of marriage and the employment and educational qualifications of either Filipino and Thai brides and grooms in Western Australia.

Additional information was gained through a quantitative survey to get an overview of the main demographic characteristics of Filipino and Thai wives in rural and metropolitan regions in Western Australia and their partners. The demographic data was compared with previous qualitative studies' data about Filipino brides. Survey questionnaires were sent to 30 Filipino and 30 Thai women aged 20-55 married to Western Australian residents. The total response rate from Thai women was eleven out of 30 or 36.6% and for Filipino women, four out of 30 or 13.3%. The surveys contained 24 questions which covered age, education and occupational qualifications, duration of residency in WA, languages spoken, settlement service usage, marital status, and marital reasons. Questions also obtained basic demographic data about the male spouses. (See Appendix A for a copy of the survey questionnaire)

Approval was given by the Higher Degrees Committee at Edith Cowan University, before copies of the questionnaire were given to Filipino and Thai Grant-in-Aid workers. Following this, alterations to the questionnaire were made. A total of 60 surveys were distributed throughout the Perth metropolitan and Bunbury rural regions of Western Australia. Each survey was distributed with a stamped, return envelope. A total of 20 surveys were distributed in the Bunbury region, 10 to Filipino and 10 to Thai women. A total of 40 surveys were distributed in the Perth metropolitan region, 20 to Filipino and 20 to Thai women. Questionnaires were distributed by Filipino and Thai Grant-in-Aid workers in Bunbury. Grant-in-Aid workers at Filipino and Thai community organisations in Perth distributed surveys to the Filipino and Thai women. The researcher also distributed 10 surveys to the qualitative interview participants in Perth and Bunbury.

The response rate from the rural mail out surveys for Thai women was two out of 10 or 20%. The response rate from rural Filipino women was nil (0%). The response rate from the metro mail out surveys for Thai women was nine out of 20 or 45%. The response rate from Filipino women was four out of 20 or 20%. The reasons for the low response rate were because of distribution difficulties in rural areas and because some Thai and Filipino brides were reluctant to participate. Some Filipino and Thai brides may not speak, read or write English and would not be able to complete the survey. Due to the low response rates from the mail out surveys, the survey data from the qualitative

interviews was combined in order to produce a basic demographic profile of Filipino and Thai wives.

A qualitative interview schedule containing open-ended questions was designed in order to obtain information about the migration experiences of Filipino and Thai women who marry Western Australian men. Their answers were used to support or refute the thesis argument. Ten subjects participated in the pilot study qualitative interviews and the sample selected was one of non-random selection. The sample consisted of 5 Thai women and 5 Filipino women married to Western Australian residents. The participants were aged 20-55, and were from both English speaking and non-English speaking backgrounds. Two interviews were conducted with rural Filipino and Thai women. Eight interviews were conducted with women in metropolitan Perth regions, four with Filipino women and four with Thai women. This is a small sample size, however, there are " no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry " (Quinn-Patton, 1992:p.461).

The interview schedule contained four sections of open questions about structural conditions in the Philippines and Thailand, Australian immigration policy, reasons for migration and intercultural marriage, familial backgrounds, domestic labour and childcare. (See Appendix B for a copy of the interview schedule). Confidentiality was assured and

ethics guidelines adhered to so as to protect the participants from being identified by other Filipino and Thai community members. The interview schedule was used as a guideline for the qualitative research and covered such issues as immigration, marriage and migration experiences. The results suggest that Thai women experience more problems with Australian immigration policy and laws than do Filipino women. The findings from the interviews suggest that there are similarities between Filipino and Thai groups marital and migration reasons. These results are also similar to the secondary literature about reasons for intercultural marriages and the national studies about Filipino bride migration. It seems that the increase in both Filipino and Thai bride migration is also a result of socio-economic and cultural conditions in their own societies. Filipino and Thai women who migrate to Western Australia appear to experience migration differently because of differences in education and occupational backgrounds. The interview data collected has allowed an analysis of the differences and similarities between Filipino and Thai brides migration experiences. This data demonstrated that industrialisation and development are factors which influence bride migration. The Filipino and Thai bride migration flows can be viewed from both national and international perspectives.

There are several limitations concerning this study. Firstly, the poor response rate meant that this study can only be seen as pilot study which can raise issues and suggest areas for future research but cannot be seen as providing a total overview of Filipino and Thai brides in Western Australia as it can only represent a small group of wives in Western Australia. Moreover, participants were not randomly selected. However, to conduct research about the total number of Thai and

Filipino brides is not practical because of time constraints, limited financial resources and the fact the researcher would need to relocate in order to gain qualitative data from participants residing in remote rural areas of Western Australia. If several researchers were to develop the methods to suit the study of a much larger sample population of Filipino and Thai brides in Western Australia then these problems could be overcome.

CHAPTER 2 : FEMALE EMIGRATION

South East Asian bride migration represents a new development in global female emigration patterns and is part of contemporary global female labour emigration patterns which incorporate both paid and unpaid labour migration streams. Castle's theory of the 'global feminisation of migration' argues a recent development in global migration patterns is that women "play an increasing role in all regions and all types of migration" (1993:p.33). International migration supplies the demand for South East Asian women as sources of exploitable cheap labour for the Australian state and Australian resident males . By staying at home, Filipino [and Thai] women are "contributing to Australia's economic development through the production of unpaid labour for free" (Cooke,1986:p.36) . Therefore, marriage emigration is part of the global feminisation of migration which also reinforces gender inequalities of female and male labour roles.

The unpublished Australian Bureau of Statistics data indicate that from the period 1981 to 1991 , a total of 737 Filipino and Thai women arrived in Western Australia as marriage partners of Western Australian residents. The majority 550, were Filipino, whilst 168 Thai women immigrated . Table 2.1 demonstrates that Filipino and Thai female marriage migration streams to Western Australia exist and are increasing, however they are small in comparison with paid labour migration to other countries.

Table 2.1

Number of Filipino and Thai Females Married to WA Residents1981-1991

YEAR	TOTAL	FILIPINO	%	THAI	%
1981	78	65	83.37	13	16.66
1983	104	87	83.65	17	16.34
1985	104	90	86.53	14	13.46
1987	148	11	77.70	33	22.29
1989	168	102	60.71	66	39.28
1991	135	91	67.40	44	32.59
<u>1981-91</u>	<u>737</u>	<u>550</u>	<u>/100%</u>	<u>168</u>	<u>/100%</u>

(Source: ABS WA unpublished statistics 1993)

This is because of entry restrictions built in to the contemporary Australian immigration policy selection criteria and because there is no demand in the contemporary service sector of the Australian labour market for South East Asian women's paid domestic labour or contract labour. The family re-union category, however allows women to enter Australia as marriage partners in unpaid domestic labour situations.

An important feature of global migration patterns during the late 1940s to 1960s was male labour migration from European countries to countries like the United States, Australia and the Middle East (Appleyard, 1991: p.611). One definition of labour migration is the 'migration of economically active people' like employers, individual employees, salaried employees, wage earners and unpaid family workers

who migrate for either temporary or permanent settlement (Bohning,1984:p.3). Labour migration is also 'migration characterised by a human resource transfer' (Bohning,1984:p.33). For example, migrants skills are transferred from one country to another. Labour migration flows are dominated by unskilled, semi-skilled and professional workers . (Salt,1991:p.431). During the 1970s to 1980s male construction workers from less developed capitalist countries, like the Philippines, dominated South East labour migration streams to the Middle East (Gibson&Graham,1986:p.138; Gardner& Hugnet,1992: :p.252). In the 1980s-1990s however, the statistics indicate that Filipino female domestic workers are the primary South East Asian group who dominate migration streams to the Middle East. During 1989, 523,000 Filipino men and women and 125,300 Thai men and women were employed in overseas countries as "contract workers"(Gardner& Hugnet,1992:p.253 ; Shah et al ,1991:p.485 ; Lindquist,1993:p.77).

Both structural and economic factors have determined emigration flows from South East Asia. The structural conditions such as unemployment and overpopulation in many less developed capitalist countries like the Philippines and Thailand meant that these regions became international labour source nations for more developed capitalist countries. In the Philippines for example, during 1983, 4.9 % of the population of the Philippines were unemployed . By 1991 this had increased to 9 %. As well, from 1983 to 1991, Filipino women,

was 2.9%. By 1991 the rate increased to 3.1 % . Similar to the Philippines, from 1983 to 1991 the unemployment rate was highest for Thai women (*Yearbook of Labour Statistics*,1993:p.650;*Monthly Review Bangkok*,1993:p.32). The increasing pool of unemployed labour was used to supply more developed capitalist economies and labour markets with 'cheaper, semi skilled and unskilled male and female labour' from Asian regions (Sassen,1988: p.39) .

The two factors that contributed to these changes are the globalisation of labour markets and the expansion of international capitalism. The globalisation of labour markets occurred when there were increases in international labour market demand for service labour (Castles,1993:p.32). The more developed capitalist countries create the demand for 'unskilled' female labour, particularly in the domestic service sectors of the more developed capitalist economies labour markets. Aguilar suggests that the expansion of the international capitalist economic system created a new international division of labour (1989:p.522) because the more developed countries required specific kinds of female labour like domestic and hospitality labour which is not usually performed by migrant males.

Therefore this type of migrant labour supplied the requirements for cheap labour in more developed capitalist economies, thus incorporating 'domestic service labour' into the international capitalist economic system . The majority of male and female labour emigration streams were initiated by employers in developed capitalist countries or

by governments acting on their behalf to recruit workers (Massey, et al 1993:p.444). The globalisation of labour markets also created increased levels of political and economic competition by supplying the 'cheapest male and female labour' as well as creating greater levels of interdependence between more developed capitalist economies and less developed capitalist economies for both male and female labour (Appleyard et al,1992:p.59). Another consequence of the globalisation of labour markets is that there has been an easing of overseas visa regulations in some ASEAN nations. This also contributed to interregional and international labour migration as well as making it easier for men and women to emigrate from underdeveloped to developed regions (Chandler, Sullivan, Branson,1988:p.56 ; Jupp & Kabala,1993: p.19)

The expansion of multinational corporations is another factor which causes changes in labour migration flows. This process occurs when firms from more developed capitalist countries enter less developed capitalist countries and establish assembly plants and export processing zones, to take advantage of low wages. The demand for low wages strengthens local labour markets and weakens traditional production relations (Massey,et al,1993:p.447).

In 1989, 14% of the total Filipino female labour force of 8.1 million were employed as domestic service workers (Aguilar,1989:p.519). Domestic service is the main paid employment option for unskilled Filipino and Thai women. This makes it easier for them to migrate to

more developed capitalist countries as domestic labour because they already possess the required employment skills (Zlotnik,1993:p.54). During 1983 the number of Thai women employed as 'service workers' which include jobs such as barwork, maids, clerks and shop assistants in Thailand was 411,5100 or 48.8% . By 1990 this increased to 623,0000 or 57.8% (*Yearbook of Labour Statistics*,1993:p.500).

Filipino and Thai women do not emigrate as professional workers because more developed capitalist countries labour markets only require 'cheap and unskilled' female labour. Social closure exists among 'professional labour groups' in the more developed capitalist countries and within labour markets (Ishi,1987:p.286) . Women can not emigrate as paid professional labour because of immigration policy selection criteria in some countries. For example, Australia which protects local labour markets and professional labour groups. As well, immigration policies are often designed to meet existing labour market requirements. If there is no demand for professional women's labour then selection criteria will reflect this.

Contract labour migration is defined as "employment in overseas countries for specific time periods" or "the flow of workers unassisted by foreign investment" (Gibson & Graham,1986:p.130 ; Lindquist,1993). In 1990, there were more than one million contract workers from South East Asia employed in the Asian regions and three million in the Middle East (Appleyard,1992:p.58). There are three main features of contemporary contract labour migration from Asia . The

contemporary contract labour migration streams start from the Asian countries, ending in more developed countries and the majority of labour emigrants are either " unskilled or semi-skilled". In the 1990s , global contract labour migration streams are dominated by women. The other feature of contemporary international contract labour emigration is that in 1986, 33% of labour emigration resulted in temporary settlement. (Appleyard,1992:p. 59) rather than permanent settlement. In 1965, for example , 1000 Asian women were employed as service workers in Kuwait. By 1980 the number had increased to 20000 and by 1985 this increased to 72505. During this period the major "exporters of female domestic labour have been Sri Lanka, India and the Philippines" (Shah et al, 1991:p.467).

Fawcett argues that these changes in female labour migration are part of the new international division of labour which distinguishes men's work from women's work and between developed and underdeveloped countries with capitalist economies. The modern international division of labour is " patriarchal, and sexist " (Fawcett,1989:p.655). The consequence of the more developed capitalist countries demand for cheap and unskilled female labour is that it creates and reinforces the structural oppression or institutionalised sexism against most migrant females (Porpora, Lim,Prommas,1989: p.272).

At present, about 2 million Filipino women are working in more developed capitalist countries as non-professional, 'unskilled' domestic servants. During 1989 there were 85000 Filipino women workers in European countries and 118000 worked in the United States, Britain and Canada (Foreign Correspondent,1994 ; Ishi,1987:p.293 ; Pedraza, 1991: p.314). Female labour emigration has increased in other regions of South East Asia. For example, in 1980, 21,000 Thai women were employed in the Middle East as domestic servants and entertainers. By 1989, the numbers had increased to 125,000 (Appleyard,1991: p.65).

Women's domestic labour is required in industrialised capitalist countries because the local population is a highly skilled and educated workforce who are employed in "high production industries and professional industries" (Massey et al,1993:p.447). In more developed capitalist economies there has been an increase in women's paid labour force participation and as a consequence, women have less time for domestic labour chores and childcare. The "negative qualities that persons in more developed capitalist economies attach to low wage, low status jobs creates employment opportunities for migrant women" because there are limited supplies of local domestic workers in more developed countries like Canada (Cohen,1991:p.197;Porpora, et al, 1991:p.269;Sarmiento,1991;p.195). The governments of more developed capitalist countries have created gender specific immigration policies that allow the permanent or temporary entry for unskilled and semi-skilled women who migrate as domestic and hospitality workers. (Appleyard,1992:p.59;Shah,et al,1991:p.484; Zolberg,1989: p.406).

Generally, there are similar historical, economic and political conditions in both the Philippines and Thailand which influence Filipino and Thai women's emigration decisions. The historical reasons why Filipino and Thai women emigrate as paid domestic labourers, hospitality workers, entertainers, nurses and teachers to more developed capitalist countries are due to colonisation and military intervention. A finding from the pilot study in Western Australia which is not discussed in the secondary literature is that Filipino and Thai women also migrate because of environmental conditions in the Philippines and Thailand, such as earthquakes, volcanoes, air and water pollution and monsoons.

Colonial exposure and the economic globalisation of Philippine labour markets influenced emigration decisions (Cooke,1986:p.19; Massey et al,1992;p.446). The Philippines, for example, was colonised by the Spanish in 1598 and remained so until 1898 when it was colonised by the Americans who ruled until 1946 when the Philippines gained independence. Aguilar argues that American "neo-colonialism" continues because of United States involvement in Philippine political and economic affairs (Aguilar,1989:p.515). The Americans established their military bases in the Philippines and United States tourism created a labour market demand for Filipino female labourers in tourism and hospitality sectors of the economy. The American values also influenced Filipino economic, political and cultural ideas resulting in the general Filipino populations' "receptivity to foreign models".

The impact of foreign investment, the increase in tourism and the integration of Philippine and Thai economies into the global economy are also influences on women's migration decisions and factors which generated increases in Filipino and Thai female paid labour emigration streams to global regions (Jones, 1992:p. 16; Roberts, 1989:p.678) . The creation of export processing zones and the " influx of capital, goods and information" from more developed regions, altered the economic and social structures of Philippine and Thai societies (Ishi, 1987p.281). Export processing zones in the Philippines and Thailand, for example, have not " improved women's status " because the management is usually male and women experience discrimination. Women are concentrated in low paid, low skilled jobs characterised by long hours, job insecurity and little chance of occupational mobility. As well, most men own and control the means of production (Aguilar, 1989:p.520; Boyd, 1989:p.658). Many Filipino and Thai women are passing from the " patriarchy of the home to the factory" (Zlotnik, 1993:p.54). The creation of export processing zones in these countries increases women's labour force participation rates. During the 1980's 74% of women were employed in Philippine export processing zones (Zlotnik, 1993:p.52). These developments have changed Filipino and Thai women's labour roles and also altered the socio-economic positions of Filipino and Thai women. For example, there is a gender division of labour in Philippine and Thai labour markets "which assigns women and their labour roles to a secondary status " (Boyd, 1989:p.65).

Filipino and Thai women also migrate as marriage partners. The personal factors which encourage their emigration are synonymous with those influencing Filipino women's paid labour emigration (Parpart, 1991:p.305; Porpora, 1989:p.283; Zlotnik, 1993:p. 58).

Like Filipino women, Thai women migrate as either single or married women to countries such as Australia because they believe that more developed capitalist countries provide women with better social and legal rights. The economic and social status of both Filipino and Thai women in their own society is generally low, few women occupy positions of power in their societies (Aguilar, 1989:p.515). In the Philippines women have no land or property rights and no legal rights to divorce and contraceptive birth control because of the Catholic Church's doctrines (Cooke, 1986:p.32; Jackson & Flores, 1989:p.61; Kaminskas & Smith, 1990) . Thai women have divorce rights but few have property rights (Thorbeck, 1988:p.110) .

In contemporary Australian society there are divorce laws and women in defacto or marital relationships have legal rights to one-half of the males' property (Migration, 1988:p.10) .Many women view intercultural marriage as a way to improve their class and status (Cooke, 1986:p.29; Hugo, 1989:p.32; Ungson, 1982;p.37; Jackson Flores, 1989:p.61).

The general findings from the qualitative interviews about marriage values were that Filipino women believe they should "follow their husband" who already has "property" - land and houses in Australia.

The Filipino women who did migrate here as marriage partners mentioned that their husbands were unable to find employment in the Philippines. Also, two of the five women stated other major influences on their migration decisions were the opportunity to go overseas and that they "believed they would be better off in Australia financially and socially". The findings about Thai women who also migrated as spouses or fiances of Australian male residents suggest similarities to Filipino women's reasons. Three of the five women stated that the reason they migrated to Australia was to "follow their husbands". One of the five women migrated to Australia in order to "escape the structural conditions in Thailand". These findings are similar to Vogels' (1984) report of Filipino brides in Western Australia. It appears that "immigration to another country plays an important decision to marry a man from a different culture" (Vogels, 1984:p.53).

One important feature about Filipino and Thai female immigration to Australia and Western Australia is that the majority of women are not emigrating as either paid domestic labour or contract labour. The responses from the Western Australian surveys suggest that, although the majority of Filipino and Thai women possessed tertiary or university qualifications and spoke, read and wrote English, they did not enter as paid labour migrants.

Table 2.2.Education Level Wives & Spouses 1994 in WA

Education Level	Filipino	%	Filipino Spouses	Thai	%	Thai Spouses	%
Primary School				3	18.75	1	6.25
Secondary School	1	11.11	2	5	31.25	4	25.00
Technical / Trade			4	3	18.75	5	31.25
Tertiary / University	8	88.88	3	5	31.25	6	37.50
TOTAL	9	100	9	16	100	16	100

(Source: Survey questionnaire).

Table 2.3Number of Languages : Read, Written & Spoken by Filipino and Thai women 1994 in WA

Language	Filipino	%	Thai	%
English	9/9	100	11/16	
Thai			16/16	100
Filipino/Tagalog	9/9	100		
Filipino dialect	2/9	20		
Spanish	3/9	30		
Japanese			1/16	10
Arabic			1/16	10
TOTAL	9	100	16	100

(Source: Survey questionnaire).

During 1989-1990, Filipino and Thai women represented 60% of all female marriage emigrants to Australia (Broinowski, 1993:p.21). During

1987-1988, 6147 Filipino women migrated to Australia as spouses of Australian residents (Hagan, 1989:p.23) representing approximately one percent of all Asian immigration intake quotas. Asian settlers in Australia comprise eight per cent of the total Australian population (Castles, Cope, Kalantzis, Morrisey, 1988:p.25).

The published 1993 Australian Bureau of Statistics indicate that Filipino and Thai male and female immigration to both Australia and Western Australia are small in terms of the total number arriving here and compared with the total numbers of arrivals from other South East Asian regions like Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia (*ABS, WA Yearbook 1993:p.118*).

Table 2.4

Total Number of Permanent settler Arrivals to Australia from South East Asian regions 1992

Total Australia	Filipino men & women	% Aust total	Thai men & women	% Aust total
17995	4993	27.7%	823	4.5%
Total Western Australia	Filipino men & women	% Aust total	Thai men & women	% Aust total
1930	221	4.4% *11.5%	112	13.6% * 5.8%

N.B. 1. South East Asian emigration to Western Australia is about 10% of the national total. 2. * = % of the WA total
(Source : adapted from ABS: WA Yearbook, 1993, p.118-9).

Thai and Filipino women migrating as brides enter Australia through the family re-union category of Australian immigration policy. The family migration category consists of two streams, preferential family and concessional family (Jupp & Kabala,1993;p.9). During 1987-1988 , 53% of women arrived under the family re-union category of Australian immigration policy. During 1991-1992, 56% of women arrived under the same category. By 1992-1993 , the percentage of women had increased to 58% (DIEA:Annual Report,1993:p.277). Filipino and Thai women use the spouse/fiance provision of the Preferential family reunion category to enter Australia and Western Australia. (Wooden et al, 1989;p.72). From 1982-83 to 1988-89 41.4% of Filipino women entered as spouses of Australian males and 31.8% entered as their fiances (Iredale et al, 1993;p.19). By 1993, spouses were the largest class in this category comprising 50.1% and fiances comprise around 21.1% of the total 71.2%. The major source cities which process visas for these categories are Bangkok and Manila (DIEA,1993:p.35). The Preferential family reunion category also provides for the entry " unmarried dependent children and aged dependents".

Table 2.5

Immigration policy category used to enter Australia in WA

Category	Filipino	%	Thai	%
Family Reunion				
Spouse	5	55.55	14	87.5
Fiancee	1	11.11	1	6.25
Sponsorship/visitor	2	22.22		
Sub Total	7	88.88	15	93.3
Skilled Worker/ Employment Migrant	1	11.11		
Assisted Passage			1	6.25
TOTAL	9	100	16	100

Table 2.5 shows that six out of nine Filipino women entered Western Australia under the preferential class of the family re-union spouse fiance category of immigration policy and fourteen out of sixteen Thai women also entered via this category. Despite the high percentage of Thai and Filipino women entering Australia as fiances and spouses, not all enter Western Australia as spouses or fiances of Australian men. Two single Filipino women utilised the visitor category to enter Australia. These women, met their partners here and married them. This was one way for single women to obtain permanent residency and paid employment. Other South East Asian women may be entering the country through the same category. Iredale et al identified that some Filipino women enter as visitors who are sponsored by Australian male residents (1993:p.24).

It appears that the marriage migration process has changed the status of Filipino and Thai women in the paid sector of the Western Australian labour market. Prior to emigration, the majority of Filipino women were employed as professionals in the Philippines and the majority of Thai women were employed as service workers in Thailand.

Table 2.6

Occupations before settlement in Australia 1994 in WA

Occupation	Filipino	%	Thai	%
Professional	1	11.11		
Management	1	11.11		
Teacher	2	22.22	1	6.25
Clerical/ Sales	4	44.44	2	12.50
Maid			2	12.50
Housewife			4	25.00
Waitress			1	6.25
Govt. officer				
Tour Guide			1	6.25
Hairdresser			1	6.25
Hostess/ Bar			1	6.25
Not working	1	11.11	3	18.75
Total	9	100	16	100

(Source: Survey questionnaire)

Filipino and Thai women who emigrate here as brides often end up performing unpaid domestic labour. Unpaid domestic labour in the household is one example of the structured inequalities which exist between men and women in Australian society. Domestic labour or unpaid work is defined as "any activity which involves the production of goods and services" for no money (Castles, b:1993:p.149). Domestic labour is undervalued and unpaid because of gender discrimination and the perception that women's work in the home is not of value to the Australian economy and the Australian state. "In Australia women do four times the amount of housework compared to men, three times the amount of food preparation and cleaning up and eight times the amount

of laundry. In contrast, the only unpaid labour category in which males dominate is mowing lawns and fixing cars " (Castles,b:1993:p.149).

So, both Australian and migrant women experience similar forms of institutionalised sexism because of their gender and their domestic labour roles (Misztal,1991:p.31). This is also the case in Western Australia . During 1992, there were 280000 men compared with 460000 women who were employed as helpers or unpaid workers. This is referred to as the 'feminisation of unpaid labour'.

Estimates of the value of unpaid domestic labour, if it were to be included in the Gross Domestic Product figures, is that it represents between 28-34 % of Gross Domestic Product (Castles,1993:p.151). In contemporary Australian society housework or domestic labour does not " compute in Gross National Product " (Broinowski,1993:p.22). However, Castles (1993) mentions that the Australian Bureau of Statistics proposes to produce estimates of unpaid labour for inclusion into labour market statistics (Castles,1993:p.151). This suggests that women's and migrant women's unpaid domestic labour *is* recognised as labour which is of value to both the Australian economy and society.

In conclusion, Filipino and Thai women who migrate here as marriage partners to work in the household as unpaid labourers are trebly disadvantaged because of their gender, their country of origin and institutionalised gender inequalities. Unpaid labour is part of the marriage migration process which reinforces gender inequalities.

CHAPTER 3 : MIGRATION

The relationship between Australian immigration policy selection criteria, the role of marriage intermediaries and stereotypes of South East Asian women as good housekeepers results in gender inequality. The demand for South East Asian women as marriage partners for Australian men and the international marriage migration process reinforces institutionalised sexism because South East Asian women migrate to Australia as unpaid labour. This type of migration reinforces traditional gender roles between men's and women's work. This means that some Filipino and Thai brides in Western Australia are relocated to the role of unpaid labour in the household and assigned secondary status or, because of discrimination and prejudice in the Australian labour market, are employed in unskilled, low paid work or are unemployed .

Table 3.1 shows that some Filipino and Thai wives who are now residents in Western Australia are unemployed or unpaid domestic labourers compared to their husbands who are employed as 'skilled labour'.

Table 3.1

Present occupations wives & husbands 1994 In WA

Occupation	Filipino	%	Filipino	%	Thai	%	Thai	%
			Spouses				Spouses	
Professional	3	33.33	2	22.22	1	6.24	5	31.25
Management							1	6.25
Teacher			1	11.11	2	12.5		
Clerical/sales	1	11.11			1	6.25		
Tradesperson			1	11.11			1	6.25
Labourer							6	37.50
Pensioner			2	22.22				
Farmer							1	6.25
Housewife	1	11.11			4	25.00		
Waitress					1	6.25		
Govt. officer	1	11.11	3	33.33			1	6.25
Student	1	11.11			1	6.25		
Not working	2	22.22			6	37.5	1	6.25
TOTAL	9	100	9	100	16	100	16	100

(Source : Survey questionnaire)

In theory, contemporary Australian immigration regulations are "gender neutral" (Wooden,etal.1989:p.57) but in some cases their applications are discriminatory in that the assumption of male residents as breadwinners and females who migrate here as dependent spouses "can be explicitly built into immigration policy" (Boyd,1989:p.659). The contemporary Australian immigration policy is discriminating against paid female domestic labour migration by allowing the entry of unpaid female domestic labour through the family re-union category as brides (Young & Madden,1992:p.7).

Reasons:

Filipino and Thai women for example, do not migrate here as paid labour because the policy does not have a 'guest worker' category. Domestic service or paid contract labour is not an employment category which is part of migration assessment or immigration policy selection criteria (Broinowski,1993: p.22). This is not the case in other capitalist economies like the United States and Canada, where immigration policies allow both single and married women to migrate as paid labour via a 'guest worker' category (Broinowski,1993:p.23). This is one explanation why most Filipino and Thai women migrate to Australia as marriage partners. The immigration policy also appears to be servicing the demand created by Australian males for new sources of marriage partners from both Asian regions like the Philippines and Thailand as well as other global regions like Russia (Birrell,1990:p.28 ; Cooke,1986:p.37 ; Hugo,1992: p.119 ; Kaminskas & Smith,1990:p.3 ; Misztal,1991:p.28;" You can't buy a wife can you ?":1992). Young and Madden, (1992,p.7) have argued Australian immigration policy selection criteria is an important factor which contributes to increases in South East Asian female marriage migration flows because it contains a hidden gender bias that discriminates in favour of marriage migration.

As well, the language categories and point systems discourage many non-English speaking background migrants from settling in Australia (Collins,1988:p.283). So it is not easy for Filipino women to migrate to Australia as single or married 'workers' in the paid labour market (Birell,1990:p.15-7;Cooke,1986 : p.37; Hugo,1991:p.21). These are all factors which have created gender inequalities between men and women within the Australian immigration policy selection criteria.

The ten Filipino and Thai women interviewed were asked " what do you think about the Australian immigration policy" ?. None of the women commented that they had experienced gender discrimination because of Australian immigration policy selection criteria. However, two women were aware that Australian immigration policy was selective. One Filipino woman stated :

" the immigration department should advise migrants that their qualifications may not be recognised in Australia"

Another Filipino commented that

"it was easy for me to migrate to Australia during 1975 " because she had the required labour market skills and 'good employment references'

All of the five Thai women interviewed migrated to Western Australia to marry. Two of the five Filipino women interviewed entered Western Australia as visitors but consequently, married Australian men. This finding about Filipino women is unlike the findings from the other studies which argue most Filipino women arrive as marriage partners.

The published literature to date reveals that the majority of Filipino women migrating as marriage partners to Australia are aged 25-37 years, have few English language barriers, possess professional qualifications and have attained secondary or tertiary levels of education (Cooke, 1986:p.20; Jackson&Flores, 1988:p. 44; Hugo, 1986;p.22; Ungson, 1982:p.18). The unpublished Australian Bureau of Statistics data

reveals that the mean ages of Filipino women in Western Australia is around 30 years and Thai women is 28 years. The spouses of both Filipino and Thai Bride Groups are, on average 10-12 years older than both Filipino and Thai wives. This suggests that age is a factor which influences Australian resident males' decisions to marry Filipino and Thai women.

Table 3.2

Mean ages of Filipino and Thai wives of Western Australian Residents 1981-1991

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Filipino</u>	<u>Husbands</u>
1981 to 1991	550	30.40 yrs	42.76 yrs
		<u>Thai</u>	<u>Husbands</u>
1981 to 1991	187	28.59 yrs	38.25 yrs
1981 1991 =	737		

(Source : ABS , Western Australia, unpublished statistics :1993)

Table 3.3

Mean ages of Filipino and Thai females married to Western Australian Residents 1981-1991 6 year Interval

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>FILIPINO</u>	<u>SPOUSES</u>	<u>+/- AGES</u>
1981	66	30.53 years	44.02 years	13.49
1983	87	29.55 years	41.10 years	11.55
1985	90	29.99 years	42.18 years	12.19
1987	115	30.53 years	44.85 years	14.32
1989	102	31.05 years	44.41 years	13.36
1991	91	30.23 years	41.59 years	11.36
1981 - 91	550			

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>THAI'S</u>	<u>SPOUSES</u>	<u>+/- AGES</u>
1981	13	28.23 years	44.46 years	16.23
1983	17	28.06 years	33.88 years	5.82
1985	14	28.43 years	39.21 years	10.78
1987	33	29.56 years	41.15 years	11.59
1989	66	29.62 years	37.58 years	7.96
1991	44	27.05 years	38.30 years	11.25
1981 - 91	187			

NOTES

The trends apparent in Table 3, subjected to data analysis, on a yearly basis (1981,83,85,87,89,91), indicate the trends evidenced are consistent over 6 years.

(Source : ABS, Western Australia : unpublished statistics : 1993)

The Western Australian quantitative survey data indicate that the majority of Filipino wives ages are between 40 and 55 years and that most Thai wives ages are between 31-55 years. The majority of husbands or fiances of both groups have similar ages to their wives or partners.

Table 3.4

Ages of Filipino and Thai Women & their Spouses 1994 in Western Australia.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Filipino</u>	<u>Fil Spouse</u>	<u>Thai</u>	<u>ThaiSpouse</u>
20-25			1	
26-30	2		1	
31-40	3	1	7	6
40-55	4	8	7	10
TTL	9	9	16	16

(Source: Survey questionnaire).

Due to the small response rate of 25 out of 80, these results are not representative of the total population of Filipino and Thai women who marry Western Australian men. The unpublished WA ABS data indicate similarities with the findings from studies (Jackson & Flores, 1988 :p.19; Scaramella, 1988:p.3; Vogels, 1984:p.32) about the ages of Filipino wives and this data provides a more accurate and representative demographic profile of the population of Filipino wives in Western Australia. The ages of Filipino and Thai women may be a factor which contributes to the increase in their demand as marriage partners, however, it was not a finding of the pilot study.

The reasons for single and married Filipino and Thai female migration are similar with the findings from the Western Australian data which suggests that Filipino and Thai unpaid labour migration is not the result of autonomous decisions. Gender and ethnicity plays an especially important role in Filipino and Thai women's decisions to marry

Australian residents and migrate to Australia because they come from non-English speaking countries with less developed capitalist economies.

The stereotypes of Filipino and Thai women is one other factor which creates an increase in the demand for them as marriage partners and unpaid domestic labourers , especially in Australian society. The secondary literature suggests that during the 1970s - 1980s period , several sexist and racist 'myths' emerged regarding Filipino women who had married Australian men and who had obtained residency in Australia. The media and popular stereotypes and images of Filipino women characterised them as being; "young, uneducated, former bar girls and prostitutes, unable to speak the English language" (Cooke,1986:p.2) . Some Filipino women were perceived as being 'deviant opportunists' or 'escapists' who sought entry and permanent settlement in Australia through arranging marriages of convenience with Australian men.

Ungson (1982:p.10), Cooke (1986:p.2) and Jackson & Flores (1989:p.9) have also listed the numerous negative and racist stereotypes of Filipino brides which are held by many Australians . Australian men appear to be attracted to Thai and Filipino women because of popular stereotypes which depict these women as being 'loyal, sexy, subservient and good housewives who are traditionally family oriented' (Cooke,1986:p.12;Iredale et al,1993:p.33). There are popular notions that Filipino women are less "demanding, nagging and materialistic than Australian women" (Kissane,1990:p.24;Matthews-Brown,1993:p.14;

Robinson,1982:p.167;Watkins,1982:p.82). Some men still hold traditional conservative attitudes toward women and marriage, and think that Filipino women are more accepting of tradition and will stay at home (Cooke,1986:p.12;Kaminskas&Smith,1990:p.6)

Robinson (1982:p.169) and Bottomley (1984:p.168) both agree that stereotypes do influence the demand for women from less developed capitalist economies and that stereotypes of Filipino women will "continue to motivate the behaviour of men seeking Filipino brides" (Robinson,1982:p.170). I agree with their assessment.

The interview findings suggest that Western Australian male residents marry Filipino and Thai women because they want 'traditional wives' . They believe that these women are 'good budgeters, hardworking and sexy'. Some husbands believe that Asian women are unlike Australian women, because many Asian women do not drink and smoke. One Thai woman commented that her husband thought that

"Thai women make good housekeepers".

These findings about a small group of brides are consistent with the secondary literature which argues that stereotypes do create an increase in the demand for Asian women as marriage partners in Australian society.

One other factor which influences women's marriage migration decisions is the decision to approach an international marriage market agency . There has been a predominance of females using international marriage agencies because of the growth of marriage intermediaries. There has been little demand for men from South East Asian or global regions with less developed capitalist economies as marriage partners because they usually do not perform unpaid domestic labour and because there are few stereotypes about them in Australian society. .

There was also a popular misconception that all Australian-Filipino marriages were contracted via a 'mail order system' of written correspondence where sexist advertisements for brides appeared in several newspapers and magazines. However, in most cases, Australian men obtained wives by using social network systems and marriage market intermediaries (Ungson,1982: p.v) . The number of Australian males who use marriage market services to specifically find Asian marriage partners has been increasing along with the numbers of Australian males and females who are not seeking 'Asian' marriage partners. "The growth of marriage market businesses in Australia reflects structural changes in the tertiary sector of the Australian capitalist economy and Australian society " (Hugo,1991:p.120).

The functions and activities of marriage market intermediaries are diversified and include searching services, singles advertisements,

introduction schemes, video dating , pen pal clubs and bride tours. The marriage market operates at both national and international levels and is part of the international capitalist economic system , where " economic and interpersonal assets are exchanged "(Ahuvia &Adelman,1992:p.452). The Thai and Philippine governments have allowed the expansion of international marriage intermediaries into their economies . The consequence is that Filipino and Thai women have been exported as 'marriage commodities' to more developed capitalist countries like Australia. The contemporary international trade in women as workers and or wives, reinforces and legitimates women's biological, and ethnic and economic inferiority. Many Filipino and Thai women for example, are traded and treated as "commodities" within the international capitalist economy, bought and sold for domestic labour,and sexual and marriage purposes (Aguilar,1987,p.459).

There have been discussions in Australian society about the role of marriage intermediaries. During the late 1970s and early 1980s in Australia, Filipino bride migration was highlighted by the media because of marriage intermediaries' involvement with arranging Australian-Filipino marriages using mail order catalogues and social introduction services (Ungson,1982:p.5). The main issue was that several international and national introduction agencies were alleged to have been involved with assisting Filipino women to migrate to Australia by arranging illegal "marriages of convenience", thereby contravening Australian immigration law (Payne,1990:p.74). Some of these marriages

to Australian male residents ended in divorce once the Filipino woman had obtained citizenship status (Migration,1988:p.13). The other issues concerned the activities of marriage market businesses, several tourism agencies and marriage intermediaries which were operating "Bride and Sex tours" in the Philippines, catering for men's demands for women (Hugo,1992:p.120) So, marriage market intermediaries operating in underdeveloped regions do play an important economic and social role in arranging marriages between western males and Asian females especially from the Philippines and Thailand (You can't buy a wife can you? : 1992) .

The growth of international marriage markets caused increases in global Asian bride migration flows especially to regions like Australia (Birrell,1990: p.28). These companies have created ' market niches ' for unpaid female labour migration by catering for persons with specific interests such as Australian males who seek Asian female marriage partners to perform unpaid domestic labour. These industries also profit from the sale of female marriage migration (Aguilar,1987: p.513;Hugo,1991:p.120). So, the growth of marriage market businesses contributes to reinforcing inequalities against women from less developed capitalist countries who resort to marriage and unpaid labour migration in order to escape the structural conditions in their own societies.(Iredale,et al 1993:p.24;Rodell,1982;p.13 ; Wooden, et al, 1990: p.71).

Although, Australia wide, marriage intermediaries arrange 26.6 % or one-third of Filipino-Australian marriages (Jackson & Flores,1999:p.68), the Western Australian research indicates that their role in arranging both Filipino-West-Australian and Thai-West-Australian marriages is minimal. None of the five Filipino and five Thai women and their partners used marriage introduction services. Filipino women met Australian or English speaking background men whilst the women were working in the Philippines and in overseas countries. Two Filipinos met their husbands in the Philippines and three of the five Filipinos met their husbands elsewhere. One woman met her husband whilst she was working in Britain and two women in Australia, under the visitors category met their husbands while looking for work or working . Four of the five Thai wives in Western Australia confirm that they met their husbands or fiances in Thailand. This contrasts with the findings of Filipino wives who were overseas when they met their husbands. Also in comparison with Filipino husbands, four of the five men married to Thai women or who were fiances met their partners whilst on holiday in Thailand. Only one Thai wife met her husband whilst on holiday in Australia , via social networks.

However, although intermediaries did not feature in the pilot study, intermediaries do operate in Western Australia (Vogels,1984:p.17). Marriage market intermediaries in Western Australia contacted by the researcher were not willing to discuss their involvement in arranging Filipino and Thai intercultural marriages. The extent of the marriage market intermediaries' involvement in mail order marriage systems is not investigated by most studies and reports. Ungson (1982) Cooke (1986), Hugo & Channel (1986) , Jackson & Flores, (1989) Migration

(1988) and Payne (1990) mention that there are prostitution and immigration rackets. The writers do not analyse the extent of exploitation and illegality associated with the marriage market business and intercultural marriages because it was not considered as the purpose of their exploratory research or reports and because it is a clandestine operation too difficult to research.

The type of Australian men who use marriage market services may exaggerate their personal wealth, personal qualities and status (Cooke, 1986:p.28; Migration, 1988:p.11). The perception of Australian men who marry Filipina women and who do not utilise introduction services are that they are undesirable to Australian women. Some men have physical disabilities and are from non-English speaking backgrounds and may not be considered as suitable marriage partners by Australian women (Cooke, 1986:p.12). Other men who were married, some with children from previous marriages, in Australia view Filipina and Asian women as alternative sources of marriage partners. (Kaminskas & Smith, 1990:p.5; Ungson, 1982:p.11).

Other factors which motivate some Filipino women to marry Australian residents relate to changes in divorce laws in Australian society as well as changes in social attitudes toward marriage. In contrast to Philippine society, divorce laws exist in Australian society and, unlike in the Philippines and Thailand, Australian women in defacto or marital

relationships have legal rights (Jackson, & Flores, 1989:p.61; Migration , 1988: p.10) .

The Western Australian study found that Filipino and Thai brides are aware of the stereotypes which exist about them. The survey data and the comments from the interviews reveal that the women have also experienced discrimination in employment and in the household because of the negative connotations of mail order brides. All of the Filipino wives interviewed emphasised that they were :

" personally independent individuals, not passive and submissive, non-subservient, not shy and meek, were well educated and that they were not the typical mail order bride Filipino".

All of the Thai wives stated that they were

" independent, did not want to be treated like housemaids and slaves, were non-subservient"

One Thai wife commented that

" she did not arrange marriages of convenience in order to migrate to Western Australia."

As well, some wives mentioned that

" they did not migrate here in order to obtain social security benefits".

CHAPTER 4 : INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE

The increase in the number of international marriages and intercultural marriages between Australian men and Filipino and Thai women has occurred because in Australian society, the social institution of marriage has altered in "structure, nature and function " (McDonald,1989: p.101). For example, people choose marriage for individual rather than economic reasons, more people choose de facto relationships and delay marriage till a later age , and the traditional values about the idea of marriage being for a lifetime have changed because of divorce laws.(McDonald,1989:p.102). Intercultural marriages are not new in Australian society because the country has a diverse population of people from varying national origins who have historically displayed exogamous marriage patterns. One feature of these patterns is the increase in the number of exogamous marriages between Australian men and women from South East Asian regions, particularly the Philippines and Thailand (Jackson & Flores,1989:p.93).

Some studies suggest that inequalities exist between men's and women's roles in marriage, for example, females have dual roles as productive and reproductive labourers (Kadiyoti,1991:p.274). The roles of motherhood, childcare and housework is labour which is often unpaid and devalued because it is considered as non-work. In marriage, women provide unpaid labour in exchange for their upkeep (Garminikov,1989:p.132). Within the household, there is a gender

division of labour and many women are disadvantaged because they perform more labour tasks than men .

Bonney & Love (1991) argue that marriage transforms women's work roles to those of domestic labourers. Before marriage women are independent, possessing their own careers or paid employment. After childbearing, and marriage women continue in employment. It is after having children, women leave work. Therefore, marriage changes women's labour market status to unemployment or unpaid labourers (1991:p.347) .

In Australia for example, during 1991, the average duration of unemployment for married women was 42 weeks. In comparison, the duration of unemployment for single women was 37 weeks (ABS, Social Indicators,1992:p.190). The ABS data indicates that 81% of Australian women leave the paid labour market to have children and 45% leave to get married (ABS, Social Indicators,1992:p.193). During 1990, 85% of a total of 137,400 persons who re-entered the paid labour force were females aged between 25-34 years. Australian women re-entered the paid labour market for financial (60%) and boredom (15%) reasons (ABS: Social Indicators,1992:p.192).

There is also a popular assumption that egalitarianism exists in marital relationships. This is not necessarily the case. Many women from both less developed and more developed capitalist economic regions experience inequality in either mono or intercultural marriages because of the belief that a women's place is in the home and because domestic work is considered as ' women's labour. Spade (1994) has argued that "

research indicates that traditional gender roles in work and the family persist despite the increase in women's labour force participation rates and educational attainments" (1994,p.17).

A Marxist analysis of marriage and women's position in marriage suggests that marriage is a contract by which men appropriate women's labour power. A domestic mode of production exists in the household, where the husband controls and owns the wives labour power (Garminokov,1989:p.131). The domestic mode of production is different to the capitalist mode of production because labour depends on the free sale of labour power. This occurs when women transfer ownership and control of their labour power to men. There is no exchange value because the male is viewed as the primary wage earner. In the capitalist mode of production, women receive wages in exchange for their labour power. So, married women are victims of "patriarchal exploitation " because they are expected to perform free domestic labour services for men (Garmarnikov,1989:p.132) .

This theory could be useful to analyse the position of Filipino and Thai women in marriage in Australia. The theory is problematic because it generalises women's marital roles as being universal and assumes that inequalities between men's and women's labour and social roles in marriage are the product of inequalities within the capitalist economic system . The inequalities between men and women are also a result of other non-economic factors like educational and occupational qualifications .

Kadiyoti (1993) argues that women experience different forms of patriarchy, sexism and labour exploitation because they have different class, caste and ethnic backgrounds. Not all married women are 'victims' of patriarchy and sexism. Some women adopt various strategies to resist or accept oppression and their strategies are shaped by constraints such as resources, rights and responsibilities. These factors influence women's labour market and domestic options (Kadiyoti, 1993: p.275-286).

There is one theory of intercultural marriage by Gray (1987). He suggests that the two main factors which determine intermarriage rates are 'opportunity and preference'. This theory argues that people choose intercultural marriages if individuals from different 'religions, racial and ethnic groups are available and if the individuals have similarities in culture, language and educational backgrounds'. Australian males, for example who believe that Filipino [or Thai] females have attitudes similar to their own traditional marital values will choose them as partners, despite racial and cultural differences (Matthews-Brown, 1993:p.4). Jones (1991) argued that two methodological problems exist with Gray's theory. First, it is difficult to decide on ways of measuring intermarriage. Secondly, there are problems with the mathematical procedures used to interpret the data. Jones suggests that in order to develop a theory of intermarriage we require qualitative analysis of migration patterns, social history, demographic situation, and socio-economic conditions in Australian society and details of the groups changing cultural practices (Jones in Cope et al, 1991:p.42).

The researcher agrees with Jones' argument, however, the qualitative exchange theory is more relevant to an analysis of Australian-Filipino and Australian-Thai marriages. The problems with contemporary theories of intercultural marriage are they do not analyse factors like sexism, and do not explore issues of domestic violence and serial sponsorship. The theories also ignore the role of marriage market intermediaries and immigration policies in facilitating intercultural marriages.

Marriage is defined as " a contract between two individuals based on profound romantic love between them" and a " socially approved sexual relationship between two persons"(Giddens,1989:p.728; Robinson,1982:p.167). Marriage is also a "means of social mobility or maintaining membership of the class women were born into " and it reflects concerns with matching assets such as education , occupation , status and wealth (Charles,1990:p.48;Pateman,1991:p.216). Some argue there is no difference between mono and intercultural marriages. Intercultural marriages , are "ordinary specific marriages" which involve the crossing of community boundaries (Barbara,1989:p.196). Also, the values of " long term and success" are cultural universals in the institution of both mono and intercultural marriage (Rohrlich,1988:p.52).

However, there are differences between mono and intercultural marriages. Intercultural marriages often involve female migration to the

male spouses' or defacto's country of residence (Khoo,Fawcett, Smith,1984:p.45). and as well, the social institution of marriage between less developed capitalist countries and more developed capitalist countries is different because there are cultural variations on male and female economic interests, social beliefs and work roles in marital relationships. There is a common perception that people who marry interculturally have similar personalities and similar motives for marrying . However, there is no one type of 'intercultural spouse'. Romano (1988:p.5-13) argues that people who marry interculturally can belong to one or more of the categories of "outcasts, escapists, rebels, mavericks, compensators and adventurers". Barbara (1989:p.15) argues that many women from less developed capitalist economies marry for the purpose of migration. Ungson's report suggests that Filipino brides marry Australian resident males first for economic reasons and second for love (Ungson,1982:p.v). Cooke's findings are reversed, first for love and second for economic reasons (Cooke,1986,p, 3). Kaminskas & Smith (1990,p.3) agree with Cooke. There are also differences in property laws and marital status of women from less developed capitalist economies and more developed capitalist economies. In the Philippines for example, women can not obtain divorces and have no property rights. This is not the case in Australia. (Jackson & Flores,1989:p.61;Kaminskas & Smith,1990: p.5).

A role is " any pattern of behaviour involving certain rights, obligations or duties which as individual is expected, trained and

encouraged to perform in a given social situation " (Reber,1987:p.656) . There are usually differences between men's and women's roles in marriage in contemporary Australian society. The female marital roles are: the wife, mother, and domestic labourer (Garminokov,1989,p.132). The traditional marital beliefs in Australia were that a woman's place is in the home and that domestic work was of little value (Pettman,1992:p210). These beliefs justified which types of roles and labour were suitable for females . So one consequence of these beliefs was that employment in the paid sectors of the Australian labour market was not viewed as the best option for single women, marriage was. This was a traditional marital belief held by the majority of both Australian males and females. In contemporary Australian society these are beliefs held by both men and women as well as the view that males are the dominant partners in marriage-the breadwinners, and that married women should work in the paid labour market only if they have to (Cooke,1986,p.15).

Payne argues the marital roles of Filipino women in the Philippines are " the budgeters who hold the pursestrings" (Payne,1990: p.3) There is a popular belief that women are " queen of the home" because they are 'responsible for activities in the domestic sphere'. (Aguilar,1989:p.427). It is assumed by many in Philippine society that Filipino females derive their power from their economic and social roles within the family and not from the paid labour market (Zlotnik,1993:p.590).

Examining international female marriage migration from less developed capitalist economies to regions like Western Australia that have more developed capitalist economies requires a comparative analysis of the monocultural and intercultural marital roles, attitudes and values of these groups and to question the similarities between groups of Australian, Filipino and Thai women.

In the pilot study of Filipino women in Western Australia, Filipino women believed that in their society the male is the "breadwinner and the female is the head of the household" and that women are "the queen of the home", even in Western Australia. Thai women's marital roles are unlike those of Filipino women. In Thai households, for example, married men usually have more 'power and control of the finances than women' (Thorbeck, 1987:p.110). However, in the paid labour market, there is a contradiction: women are "the family breadwinners" as well as men (O'Malley, 1988:p.100). In the pilot study on Thai women in Western Australia, Thai women commented that their marital roles are those of "childbearing, motherhood, wife and housekeepers".

Filipino and Thai female marital values and roles may be more traditional or culturally different, compared to the majority of Australian women. However, "there are general similarities in both the marital roles of Australian women in monocultural marriages and South East Asian women in intercultural marriages" (Cooke, 1986:p.28). These are in the roles of the wife, motherhood and caretaker of the family (Watkins, 1982:p.92).

In Australian society changes have occurred in men's and women's marital roles, attitudes and values. "The introduction of equal opportunity policies in the paid labour market as well as divorce law rights for women, the availability of contraceptive technology and better educational opportunities" have altered women's social roles and their position in marriage (McDonald,1989:p.101). It is now acceptable for married women to " work in the paid labour market, further their own career and earn their own income, to choose not to have children or to delay childbirth , and to decide who, when and if they will marry " (McDonald,1989:p.102). These changes improve both the status and position of Australian women in the paid labour market and in the household.

There are similarities in the reasons why people choose both monocultural and intercultural marriage. The general reasons for monocultural marriages are physical, psychological and economic ones (Matthews-Brown,1993:p.5) like " preferential attachment, security, identity, romanticism, having children and normative pressures" (Charles,1990:p.48) .

The values held by most Filipino females are ones of "economic security and social mobility" (Vogels,1984:p.70). These influence decisions to marry Filipino as well as men from more developed capitalist economies such as Australian men. Thai women's decisions to

marry Australian men are also influenced by similar values. The values held by Filipino women in Western Australia concerning marriage are

"the family comes first before career and personal goals, and that it is better to marry when young-for example, if you are not married by 30 you are viewed as an " old maid ".

One Thai woman explained her marital roles as

" that wives should discuss everything with husband first"

Another commented that wives should

" respect the husband, but not too much".

There is a popular view that Thai women marry to have family and children who can support the parents in old age (Thorbeck, 1987:p.67). The majority of Thai women stated that they believed that intercultural marriages were no different to marriages with Thai males. One woman commented

" it does not matter to the family or in Thai culture whether the male partner is from another culture".

One issue which is not mentioned in the secondary literature but arose in the discussions with Filipino and Thai women was that of discussing marriage problems with immediate family members. Both groups held the common view that one should not discuss intercultural marriage problems with family members back home because to do so would bring "shame" upon the daughter and her family.

One other commonality between the groups of women is the role of the unpaid domestic labourer in the household. The expectations of husbands based on stereotypes can mean that Filipino and Thai women compared to Australian women may remain in traditional marriage roles of unpaid domestic labourers, wives and mothers. The major factor which affects the migration and marital experiences of Filipino and Thai women in Western Australia is the attitude of Australian male residents toward women, especially in regard to domestic labour roles in the home. All of the five Filipino women interviewed do most of the housework and occasionally the male helps. Two women "had to learn how to do housework here" - because in the Philippines, the women "had maids" to perform domestic labour.

The findings relating to Thai women show that three of the five did most of the housework, while only one spouse helped with the cleaning, washing up and shopping.

One woman stated (her husband)

"thinks housework is a woman's job".

One Thai woman does "all of the housework"

Only one Thai woman had maids in Thailand and generally, "siblings assisted with housework" in Thai society.

So, the marriage migration process alters Filipino and Thai women's labour roles. When Filipino women were in their home country as single women, they were not domestic workers and in Thailand, other family members assisted the Thai women in domestic labour tasks. Now in Western Australia the majority of Filipino and Thai wives perform most of the unpaid domestic labour tasks in their household. The results from the Western Australian pilot study suggest that the migration process changes both Filipino and Thai women's labour roles.

The secondary literature, reports and studies suggest that migration and settlement difficulties are also factors which affect success rates of intercultural marriages (Barbara, 1989:p.209). For example, factors like cultural differences, financial problems, physical violence, inequality in decision making, homesickness and English language barriers have caused the breakup of some Filipino-Australian marriages (Payne, 1990:p.3;Robinson, 1982:p.168;Vogels, 1984:p.24). Two important factors which affect women's migration and marital experiences are how women are treated by their spouses or fiances and coping with their roles as marriage partners and unpaid labourers in Australian society.

Iredale, et al (1993), Cooke, (1986) Ungson (1982) and Rodell, (1982) provided evidence which suggests that many Filipino brides were subjected to particular kinds of physical and emotional forms of abuse by their Australian husbands who justified the abuse and exploitation because of patriarchal views of a woman's subordination to a man.

Some men treat Asian brides as their "property" because the females come from less developed countries and the males believe that they have rescued the female from a life of poverty by bringing them to a more developed capitalist country like Australia (Cahill,1990,p.338: Migration,1988: p.11).

The marital or relationship problems experienced by WA Filipino and Thai women occurred because both partners held conflicting marital roles and values. Filipino women experienced marital problems because of : ' lack of co-operation with housework; conflict over male and female social and work roles; adaptation to a new marriage and Australian society ;different cultural traditions and customs; taking on new responsibilities of childcare and motherhood ; trying to make the marriage a success ; nursing a dying husband ; dealing with expectations of subservience; and coping with children from the husbands' previous marriage . The general marital problems experienced by Thai women were : language barriers, which made communication difficult ; new responsibilities of childcare ; one spouse became an alcoholic ; another spouse would not allow his wife to visit and socialise with other females from Thailand and make new friends ; and coping with the defacto's children from his previous relationship. Three Filipino-Australian and two Thai-Australian marriages ended in either separation or divorce because of the problems. However, the remainder of the ten Filipino and Thai women were "happy" with their marriages and the treatment by their spouses.

Settlement problems and expectations of marriage and settlement life were factors that contributed to intercultural marriage and relationship breakdowns. The settlement problems experienced by the majority of Filipino women were the non-recognition of overseas professional qualifications, followed by finding a suitable job and discrimination in education and the labour market in Australia. The majority of Thai women indicated that English was a major problem. The second problem was finding a job and discrimination.

Table 4.1

% Other Comments Filipino and Thai women 1994 In WA

Comment	Filipino	%	Thai	%
English Language Problems	1/9	11.11	8/16	50.00
Finding Employment	3/9	33.33	2/16	12.50
Non-recognition Overseas qualifications in Australia	8/9	88.88	1/16	6.25
Discrimination	1/9	11.11	2/16	12.50
Friends & Family	2/9	22.22	2/16	12.50
Food	1/9	11.11		
Australian Culture	2/9	22.22	1/16	6.25
No comment	3/9	33.33		
TOTAL	9	/100	/16	/100

N.B. Each respondent indicated several choices for other comments

(Source: Survey questionnaire)

In response to their expectations about married life in Western Australia, Filipino wives commented that

" I did not expect to work in paid employment, I did not expect husband to be traditional in marital values and religion, I did not expect to do all the housework".

One wife

" didn't know what to expect" ,

and another had

"no expectations of marriage".

The Thai wives comments were that

" I knew I had to work in Australia and that my husband was not rich".

"I don't think life would be hard here- having to do all the work on the farm and in the house, "

" I was surprised, I was not expecting problems with caring for my defacto and his children from his previous relationship" .

The analysis of the expectations of marriage suggests that " the biggest stress on intermarriages is cultural differences because the female has to adjust to both married life as well as a new country " (Matthews-Brown,1993:p.9). This is one explanation for the breakdowns with Filipino-Australian and Thai-Australian marriages. These findings are also consistent with the reports conclusions that Filipino-Australian marriages often end in separation or divorce because of differences between partners like age, education, language and religion (Cahill,1990: p.357) .

The pilot study findings do not support the popular stereotype portrayed by the media that many Filipino-Australian marriages are unsuccessful and result in divorce or separation (Payne,1988:p.11 ; Wooden et al,1990:p.74). Jackson & Flores (1989) study found that Filipino-Australian marriages had lower divorce rates and separation

rates compared with rates for the Australian population (1989:p.32). Broinowski (1993:p.21) also reports that Filipino-Australian marriages divorce rates were "no higher than the national average". The interview and mail out survey findings about Filipino and Thai wives in Western Australia are that most Filipino and Thai women are still married. A minority of Filipino and Thai women are separated or divorced. One defacto relationship had ended .

Table 4. 2

Marital Status : Filipino and Thai Women 1994 In WA

Status	Filipino	%	Thai	%
Married	5	55.55	11	68.75
Re-married				
Fiancee/defacto			1	6.25
Separated			1	6.25
Divorced	3	33.33	3	12.50
Widowed	1	11.11		
TOTAL	9	100	16	100

(Source : Survey questionnaire).

The Australian Bureau of statistics on divorce rates do not distinguish between monocultural and intercultural marriages. As well there are no Australian statistics on the numbers of Filipino-Australian marriages contracted overseas. One reason for the limitations with the data about intercultural marriages is because the data source is usually marriage registrars offices. These do not collect information on the ethnicity and

national origins of clients (Hwang & Saenz, 1990: p.58). In Western Australia, the marriage registrars office collects this data, but it does not provide it to researchers because of reasons of "confidentiality". Therefore, it is not possible to compare the research findings with other data about the Filipino-Australian and Thai-Australian divorce or separation rates in Western Australia.

To summarise, institutionalised inequalities between men and women's paid and unpaid labour roles appears to play a significant role in international marriages. Australian men who marry Filipino's and Thai's reflect the changing role of women in Australia in marriage as it becomes more egalitarian because more Australian women are entering the paid labour market (Matthews-Brown, 1993:p.18). Filipino and Thai women are unaware that both marriage migration to Western Australia changes their status to that of unpaid domestic labourers in the household. Some Filipino and Thai wives had problems adjusting to settlement and married life and coping with unpaid domestic labour roles in their marriages. In this way, the international marriage migration process exploits women. This process is like paid domestic labour migration, where women are usually unaware of what to expect, and how much financial payment for their services and labour they will receive. In this context, intercultural marriages can be potential sites for women's exploitation and subordination. While intercultural marriages assist Filipino and Thai wives to 'assimilate' into Australian society and are successful, non-exploitative marriages which may improve social relations between diverse cultural groups in Australian

society. Those intercultural marriages between Australian male residents and Filipino and Thai women that involve physical and psychological abuse, serial sponsorship and unpaid domestic labour, function to reinforce social relations of dependency and domination .

CHAPTER 5 : CONCLUSION

During the last three decades in Australia, the new developments in female global migration patterns is bride migration which incorporates intercultural marriages and unpaid domestic labour. The pilot study in Western Australia has found that there have also been increases in the numbers of Filipino and, in particular Thai women emigrating to Australia as marriage partners. These trends are part of what Castles terms as the 'feminisation of migration' (Castles,1993:p.32). Global economic , structural , social and cultural changes have impacted on societies like the Philippines and Thailand. The study found this was also a reason for increases in Asian female migration to Western Australia. The growth of international trade, tourism and immigration are factors which contributed to the increase in the number of Filipino-Australian and Thai-Australian marriages. The other factor which creates increases in Filipino and Thai bride migration in Western Australia is Australian immigration policy.

A post-modern Marxist feminist theory argues that the reason why Asian women dominate domestic labour migration flows is because of sexist perceptions that justify women's low status position in the political, economic and social spheres of their societies (Porpora et al,1989:p272; Parpart,1993;p.443). This thesis has shown that both Filipino and Thai bride migration is a new development in the global feminisation of labour and that Filipino and Thai bride migration can be

seen within the context of international domestic labour migration as unpaid labour.

The limitations of this study are that the data collected reflects an exploratory study. The data obtained using qualitative and quantitative methods in this case only represents a small group of non-randomly selected Filipino and Thai brides and fiances in Western Australia .

The survey data indicates that there similarities in South East Asian women's reasons for paid and unpaid labour migration to more developed capitalist economies. The studies by Cooke (1986), Hugo (1986) and Jackson & Flores (1988) argue that the Philippines and Thailand are countries with less developed capitalist economies and these countries have similar structural problems of unemployment, underemployment and overpopulation. A finding from the Western Australian study is that Filipino and Thai women also migrate as unpaid labour because of these economic conditions. One finding not mentioned by other studies is that the recent environmental disasters in both Philippine and Thai societies have also been influences on women's emigration decisions.

A summary of the demographic characteristics of Filipino and Thai brides from the Western Australian survey data shows that Filipino brides are aged between 40 and 55 years and Thai brides are aged between 31 and 55 years. The majority of Filipino and Thai women

possess tertiary and university qualifications and are literate in English. Before settlement in Australia, most of the Filipino women worked in clerical and sales occupations and most Thai women worked as maids or housewives. In Western Australia, the majority of Filipino women are presently employed, compared to the majority of Thai women who are not working and remain at home. None of the Filipino and Thai women who were surveyed and interviewed entered as mail order brides. As well, the women did not use marriage market businesses to arrange marriages with Western Australian residents. A summary of the settlement problems is that the non-recognition of overseas qualifications in Australia is a major problem for Filipino women, while English language is a major problem for Thai women. Both groups had similar problems adjusting to settlement in Western Australia and married life. Despite this, the majority of Filipino and Thai women remain married, although Filipino women displayed higher divorce rates than Thai women.

This study indicates the main reason for both Filipino and Thai female migration to Western Australia is because of marriage to Western Australian males. The majority of Filipino women married for love and Thai women married Australian men because they treated them well. The finding about Filipino women is consistent with all the studies and reports on Filipino bride migration. This study has found that there are differences between Filipino and Thai women's reasons for marriage to Western Australian residents. This is probably because Filipino and Thai women do not have the same cultural values and attitudes toward intercultural marriages.

The main personal reasons why Filipino and Thai women choose to emigrate to Western Australia as unpaid domestic labourers or marriage partners are because they want to follow the husband, escape poverty, achieve occupational mobility, acquire skills and training, obtain better pay, accumulate savings and achieve autonomy, improve self esteem and gain political freedom. These findings are similar to those in other studies.

Another finding from the Western Australian study which is similar to the national and local studies and reports about Filipino bride migration is that structural conditions in Philippine and Thai society also influence Filipino and Thai women's migration and marriage decisions. Colonisation and military intervention in the Philippines and Thailand has influenced women's views about western lifestyles and decisions to emigrate. The study found that marriage immigration to Western Australia also represents a means of increasing both Filipino and Thai women's economic opportunities, and improves social status in their country of origin and enables women to achieve a better quality of life. Moreover, marriage enables Filipino and Thai women to send remittances to families and to meet familial and economic responsibilities.

Unpaid domestic labour is also a factor which creates intercultural marriage problems for both Filipino and Thai brides in Western Australia. It appears that the marriage migration process alters women's

status and their paid labour market roles. This is not a finding of the previous studies and reports about Filipino bride migration.

Ethnicity, class and gender are also factors which influence Filipino and Thai women's marriage migration decisions and these factors have affected the migration experiences of Filipino and Thai brides in Western Australia . A finding of this study was that sexist stereotypes about Asian women and women's labour roles in Western Australian society influence the demand for Filipino and Thai women as marriage partners and sources of unpaid domestic labour.

Australian immigration selection criteria , such as the family re-union preferential category , creates increases in Filipino and Thai bride migration to areas like Western Australia. The category assesses women's eligibility on the basis of their relationship to an Australian male. The category does not assess women's employment and educational qualifications. This makes it easier for Filipino and Thai women who are from both English speaking and non-English speaking backgrounds to enter as marriage partners or fiances of Western Australian males. So, contemporary Australian immigration laws have prevented a labour market developing for paid female contract domestic labour from overseas countries. The reason why Filipino and Thai women do not enter as paid domestic labourers is because domestic labour is not an employment category of Australian immigration policy that women can use to enter Australia. So, intercultural marriages function to create a demand for Filipino and Asian women's unpaid labour.

The most important limitations to the present study were the small number surveyed due to time , limited financial resources and the necessity for the researcher to relocate in order to gain qualitative data from participants residing in remote rural areas of Western Australia. If several researchers were to develop the methods to suit the study of a much larger sample population of Filipino and Thai brides throughout Western Australia then these problems could be overcome.

The study was unable to determine the extent of Western Australian, Philippine and Thai marriage market intermediaries involvement in arranging Filipino and Thai-Australian marriages. However, identification of the existence of such agencies and that their activities in the marriage market generate increases in Asian female bride migration to Australia and Western Australia indicates an aspect suitable for further study .

One other area for future investigation is serial sponsorship and Australian immigration policy. The researcher notes that there has been an increase in serial sponsorship of Filipino and Thai women by Western Australian male residents. This is occurring especially in remote areas of North Western Australia. As a follow up to the study it would be hoped to examine in more detail the migration experiences of larger numbers of Filipino and Thai who arrive as marriage partners of Western Australian residents. This would provide more data on how the marriage migration process encourages unpaid domestic labour migration flows.

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APPENDIX A

Subject No : []

SURVEY**THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCES OF FILIPINO & THAI
WOMEN IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA 1994**

Purpose:

This questionnaire is designed to examine the migration experiences of Filipino and Thai women. Your help in completing this questionnaire may assist in improving settlement services for women.

Confidentiality:

No names are required and the subject number allocated to each questionnaire is for data coding purposes only.

How to Answer:

You are required to indicate your answers by placing a **TICK** [] in the box which best identifies your response. **OR** by completing the space **OTHER-PLEASE SPECIFY** _____

Thankyou for your participation

Q. 1 What is your age ?

20-25	[]
26-30	[]
31-40	[]
40 and over	[]

Q. 2 Which country were you born in ?

Thailand	[]
Philippines	[]
Other-please specify _____	

Q. 3 How many years did you live in your country of birth?

1 - 5 years	[]
6 - 10 years	[]
11 - 15 years	[]
16 - 19 years	[]
20 + years	[]

Q.4 Which region of The Philippines / Thailand were you born in ?

Please specify _____
for example : city/country

Q. 5 How many years did you reside there ?

Please specify _____

Q. 6 How many years have you lived in Western Australia ?

1 year or less []

2 - 5 years []

6 - 10 years []

11 - 15 years []

20 years or more []

Q. 7 What is your marital status?

Married []

Re-Married []

Fiancee []

Separated []

Divorced []

Widowed []

Q. 8 What is your religion?

Catholic []

Buddhist []

Other- Please specify _____

Q. 9 What level of education have you completed in The Philippines / Thailand or in another country?

No formal schooling []

Technical / trade qualification []

Primary school []

Secondary school []

Tertiary /University qualification []

Q. 10 Which of these languages can you speak, read and write?

English []

Tagalog []

Thai []

Other- please specify _____

Q. 11 What was your occupation before you arrived in Australia ?

Management []

Teacher []

Nurse []

Clerical/Sales []

Tradesperson []

Maid []

Self Employed []

Housewife []

Not working []

Other- please specify _____

Q. 12 What is your present occupation in Western Australia?

Management	[]
Teacher	[]
Nurse	[]
Clerical / Sales	[]
Tradesperson	[]
Maid	[]
Self Employed	[]
Housewife	[]
Not working	[]
Other-please specify	_____	

Q. 13 Which category of Australian immigration policy did you use to apply for a visa to enter Australia?

Family re/union category	[]
Skilled worker/ employment	[]
Refugee	[]
Employer Nomination	[]
Other - please specify	_____	

Q. 14 If you are married, which country were you married in?

Australia	[]
Philippines	[]
Thailand	[]
Other - please specify	_____	

Q. 15 Do you have any children, if so, how many ?

Please specify number of children _____

Q. 16 Have you used any of the following services whilst in Western Australia ?

Migrant Hostels	[]
Welfare Services	[]
Counselling/ Social worker	[]
Department Social Security	[]
Commonwealth Employment Service	[]
Translating and Interpreter	[]
Immigration Department	[]

Q. 17 How did you find out about these services?

Friends	[]
Relatives	[]
Husband	[]
Children	[]
Social Workers	[]
Work	[]

SECTION 2 : ABOUT YOUR HUSBAND**Q. 18 What is your husbands' age?**

20-25	[]
26-30	[]
31-40	[]
40 and over	[]

Q. 19 Which country was your husband born in?

Australia /WA	[]
Other-please specify	_____	

Q. 20 How many years has your husband lived in Western Australia or Australia?

less than 1 year	[]
2 - 5 years	[]
6 - 10 years	[]
11 - 15 years	[]
20 years or more	[]

Q. 21 What is your husbands' religion?

Catholic	[]
Christian	[]
Buddhist	[]
Other-please specify	_____	

Q. 22 What level of education has your husband completed ?

No formal schooling	[]
Technical / Trade Qualification	[]
Primary School	[]
Secondary School	[]
Tertiary/University	[]

Q.23 What is your husbands' present occupation?

Professional	[]
Management	[]
Clerical/Sales	[]
Tradesperson	[]
Labourer	[]
Self-Employed	[]
Pensioner	[]
Not Working	[]
Other - please specify	_____	

Q.24 Would you like to make any other comments or add any information about your experience in Western Australia?

For example :

You may wish to mention special problems you have had - finding work living in Australia, language, food, loneliness, transport problems, or things which you miss about your home country.

END

APPENDIX B**QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

The purpose of this is to compare the political, social, and economic reasons why Filipino and Thai women who migrate as Domestic Labourers to the reasons given by Filipino and Thai women who migrate as marriage partners.

General

How old are you?

Where were you born? Have you lived there all your life?

Can you tell me about your life in the Philippines/Thailand?

Can you tell me about your family life in the Philippines & Thailand?

Do you miss your family? why?

Do you have any children? do they live in Australia?

Why did you leave x area of Thailand/Philippines?

Why did you choose to live in Western Australia?

Are there other reasons why you left the Philippines/ Thailand? Can you tell me about these reasons?

How have the conditions in the Philippines and Thailand affected you and your family?

Do you think that the Philippine and Thai governments make it easy for women to emigrate to western nations?

Would you sponsor other relatives to Australia? Why/not?

Employment

What kind of work did you do in the Philippines / Thailand ?

Do you have paid work in Western Australia? What kind of work do you do?

Did you ever consider migrating to another country as a domestic worker?

Meeting Husband

How did you meet your Australian husband?

Why did you marry an Australian man ?

What does your family think about you marrying an Australian man?

Remittances

Do you send money home to your family in Philippines/Thailand? Why?

How does you husband feel about you sending money home to the family?

Migration experiences

What is your opinion about unemployment,overpopulation and poverty in the Philippines / Thailand ?

Do you think international economic changes like technological developments and industrialisation and tourism, have changed the lives of Filipino/Thai women Why?

Do you feel these developments changed men's and women's labour and social roles in the Philippines and Thailand? Can you give me some examples?

Settlement Needs

Have you attended English classes in Australia ?

What are some of the barriers to learning English?

What is your opinion about the services that the Filipino/ Thai community organisations provide for women in WA?

What should the government do to assist women from other countries who marry or will marry Australian men?

Labour roles

Do you think women should go to work or stay at home? What does your husband /fiancee think about women who go to work and women who stay home?

What kinds of work do you think women are best suited for?

Do you have qualifications, are those qualifications being used at work?

At work, how you are treated by other workers and by your boss/es ?

Are there things you do not like about working in Western Australia?

Is settlement life in Western Australia what you had hoped for?

Domestic Labour

Who does most of the housework?

Marriage

Do you feel that women and men are treated as equals in the Philippines/ Thailand?

What is your opinion about women's and men's marriage roles in the Philippines / Thailand?

In your opinion, why do Asian women marry men from western nations?

What do you think are Australian men's attitudes toward marriage?

How do you feel about childcare?

Immigration Policy

Which category of Australian Immigration Policy did you use to enter Australia/why?

What do you think about the Australian Immigration Policy?

How do you feel about the Immigration Department in Western Australia?

How do you feel about the Australian Immigration Department in the Philippines ? / the Australian Immigration Office in Thailand?