



Food Practices of Filipina Migrant Women Married to Polish Men and their Sense of Identity

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Main Supervisor: Jasmina Lukic
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Abstract

This study of twelve Filipino migrant women married to Polish men wish to explore on the complex ways that they make sense of their identity after migration which can be examined through their food practices. As there is limited literature on Filipinas in Poland, this study explores on their distinct experience in food making through which existing theories on food, migration and identity can be affirmed and examined. The thesis investigates on the role of food in explaining Filipino women's connection to the home through nostalgia and how the women's various categorical positions of gender, race, age, employment and marital status shape their food making and their identity.

The study argues that through food, Filipino migrant women assert their strong ties to the Philippines and recognize changes in identity constructions after migration to Poland, which put the women in ambivalent positions and establish multiple notions of who they are. Exploring on the claims of Gwen Chapman and Brenda Beagan (2013), in this study of Filipina migrant women, food acts as a way to determine the multiple positioning of Filipina migrants and how these categories shape and is being shaped by the ways they prepare, consume and give meanings to their food.

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1. Introduction

Her eyes glowed with joy upon seeing the big bottle of Datuputi soy sauce in my bag. Datuputi is a brand from the Philippines, mostly used in marinating the meat and arguably, the secret ingredient in sautéing the Philippines dish- adobo, meat with soy sauce and vinegar. My friend grabbed the bottle and exclaimed : “I miss this soy sauce, I thought I’ll never taste this again after I moved here. Now I can cook real adobo! I just need to get the meat and potatoes here. Thank you for bringing me this present!” Such reaction made me smile. Such reaction that cannot be simply explained by citing homesickness or cultural shock and adaptation. It is more complicated than that. Because as I look at her, I feel I share the same feelings even though I have just visited the Philippines recently. Such joy that cannot be captured by words. I can only describe: the sweet bubbles of the soy sauce, the aroma of the adobo in a wooden kitchen in one humid day in the Philippines..(from a conversation with a friend, February 2013, Lodz, Poland)

While the Philippines’ massive diaspora has reached an estimate amount of 10,455,788 - 13,500,000 (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2011), it is never a common topic as to how the Filipino migrants make sense of their food consumption and how it impacts their sense of identity after migration. While there is abundant literature on migration ranging from abuse against Filipino migrants (Sherry, 2004; De Guzman, 2011) to brain drain (Joyce and Hunt, 1982) to care crisis and impact on families (Parrenas, 2006), there are only a few academic researches focused on Filipino food and identity upon migration. There has been a few existing literature about

Filipinos, food and identity such as the studies conducted by Lisa Law (2001) among Filipina domestic helpers in Hong Kong and Nota Magno's (2000) research on food and Filipinas married to Japanese men. These studies display knowledge productions in Asia but an interest in how Filipinas negotiate the role of food, its practice and sense of identity in Europe, particularly in Poland can further enrich what is already a bountiful sea of claims. In Poland alone, the Philippine embassy states that there are around 500 Filipinos living in the country (Philippine Embassy in Warsaw, 2012). As per information from the interviewees, a big chunk of this population are the Filipinas with Polish husbands. While researches on Filipina women in Poland is uncommon, it is this study's interest to investigate how Filipina migrants make sense of their identity through food practice.

In discussing the case of Filipino migrants in Poland, I will pose the central question: how do Filipina migrant women negotiate their sense of identity through food practices after migration? In answering the main question, consecutive questions will be asked: what is the role of food in identity construction of Filipino migrant women in Poland? How do Filipino migrant women's multiple vectors of identity- their class, race, gender, marital status, employment and age affect influence their food practices and shape their identity? The main argument of the study is that through food practices, Filipino migrant women affirm their roots and connection to the Philippines and recognize transformations after migration to Poland, which put the women in ambivalent positions and facilitate multiple notions of who they are. Exploring on David Bell and Gill Valentine's (1997) claim that 'we are where we eat', in this study of Filipina migrant women, food acts as a way to which complexities of Philippine identity can be understood. Affirming Gwen Chapman and Brenda Beagan's (2013) claim that food is an expression of identities and of multiple

positions of migrants, the Filipino women's food practices shape and is being shaped by the ways they make, eat and give meanings to their food.

This research is based on twelve interviews of Filipina migrant women in Poland. Structured interviews both face to face and on Skype, observations and informal chats are utilized to gather data. The study is structured in three chapters:

The fourth chapter where I begin to discuss the main body of the thesis will focus on theoretical discussions on identity and how theories on identity apply to the case of Filipino migrants in Poland. The chapter assumes the conception of identity as incomplete, continuously in process and a kind of production (Hall, 1990). The ways in which Filipino migrant women in Poland attach themselves to the Philippines but acknowledge their migrant experiences in Poland is explained using Stuart Hall's (1992) concept of a 'suturing' Philippine identity that binds the women despite differences in order to have a more solidified sense of who they are. The complexities of designating Philippine national food is also discussed relying on Bell and Valentine's (1997) claim that a national food and single food culture is an 'imagined commensality' which for the authors, is a problematic claim. The chapter provides an overview of the discussions on migration in transforming identity constructions that can be seen in discussing food practices.

The fifth chapter looks into the extent of longing for the Philippines and the various approaches that women use to cope up. The chapter illustrates Filipino migrant women's food practices that rely on the senses in order to have a feel of the home they left behind. The visceral approach, or one that pertains to the senses in remembering the home (Longhurst et. al, 2001) and

the concept of culinary nostalgia (Swislocki, 2009) are used to analyze the women's connection to the home and more critical take in constructing identities through reflective nostalgia (Boym, 2001).

The sixth chapter discusses how Filipino migrant women's categories of identity- their gender, race, their class, marital status, employment and age shape their food practice. Using the claims of Chapman and Beagan (2013), multiple positioning of the Filipino migrant women has influenced and has been influenced by the ways they make and eat their food. The chapter illustrates how migration to Poland has impacted gender roles and beliefs, economic status, and how power operates in food practices in the home in Poland.

2. Supporting Literature Review

There are several major works that my study will draw upon.

As my research is centered on sense of identity, I will draw support from the claims of Stuart Hall. Stuart Hall argues that identity is a ‘production, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation’ (Hall, 1990). This conception of identity will be the main framework for my analysis in this thesis. Additionally, since this research is a study on how the Filipina migrant women make sense of their identity, I will utilize Hall’s (1992) claim that a national identity is a ‘discursive device’ wherein differences are ‘sutured’ in order to have a representative sense of identity (pp. 297-299). Hall’s theory will help explain the ways Filipina migrants attach themselves to a Filipino identity and examine the markers of a national identity that are according to them, constitute their being Filipino.

As the concepts of identity have been discussed in various ways, this study will focus on food practices. Food has been pronounced to be a marker of cultural identity (Chapman & Beagan, 2013) but at the same time, talking about food has broad political, social, and cultural importance (Deutsch and Miller in Brady, 2011). In discussing food practices of Filipinas, I rely closely to the claims of David Bell and Gill Valentine (1997). Bell and Valentine utilize food in talking about different geographies- the body, the home, the community and the nation, landscapes that can impact on one’s sense of identity. The authors argue that ‘we are where we eat’. In relating food and the home, Bell and Valentine claim that food practices in every home is characterized by webs of power relations between household members (p. 61, p.84). For the authors, family members engage in food making and consumption practices that shape and are shaped by the

manner in which household relationships and identities are articulated (p. 61). The claims of Bell and Valentine would be beneficial as I start to unravel the kinds of power, control and the meanings of these relationships and the identities that are being established in a Polish Filipino home.

For Bell and Valentine (1997), looking at food practices enables one to determine membership to a community and to the nation. The authors claim that the practice of eating food together and food's association to its place of origin evoke a sense of community that the members can strongly identify with (pp. 92-93, pp. 103-109). In a larger context, the authors argue that talking about 'the history of any nation's diet is the history of the nation itself' (p. 168). Bell and Valentine explores on Benedict Anderson's (Anderson in Bell and Valentine, 1997) 'imagined communities' to assert that 'there is no essential national food', instead what occurs is an 'imagined commensality' among individuals who identify themselves to belong to a nation (p. 169). These claims will sufficiently support the ways in which Filipina women identify food that has a 'Filipino origin' and how these beliefs make its impact on their sense of identity.

Understanding from Bell and Valentine (1997) how food making is crucial in understanding the home and the nation, it is interesting to inquire about what happens to food and cultural identity when one moves to another place or country. There has been a decent amount of literature on the food practices of migrants after moving to a new place. In a research by Robyn Longhurst, Lynda Johnston and Elsie Ho (2009) about migrant women in New Zealand, they were able to introduce a visceral approach in cooking, of creating a space to stay connected with their 'old home'. The authors speak of "thinking through the body" by paying attention to "the sensations, moods and ways of being that emerge from our sensory engagement with the material

and discursive environments in which we live” (p.334). The authors claim that talking about food and the ways it arouses the visceral introduces a kind of thinking that includes the body, the meanings attached to it and the ways it constructs identity of the migrant (Longhurst et. al, 2009).

Complicating the subject more, Martin Manalalansan (2004) speaks about his of longing for Filipino food after migrating to the United States, he states that longing is simply not about understanding an emptiness and food not simply a vehicle to remember, instead proposes a non linear process that speaks of longing and hunger. Food and nostalgia would be a significant part of my study as I intend to document the meanings of missing home that enmeshes in food practice among Filipino migrants married to Polish men. Since I will link longing to national identity, I will be using the claims of Svetlana Boym (2007) whose work on nostalgia assert that nostalgia is not simply an individual medical disease but a yearning for a different time (p.8). Boym (2007) identifies two typologies of nostalgia- restorative and reflective. For Boym, restorative nostalgia is the type that wishes for ‘reconstruction of the old home’ and stick up for traditions. Boym (2007) explains reflective nostalgia as the type that ‘dwells on ambivalences of human longing and belonging’, it does not operate in a singular plot but sees multiple ways of occupying places and time zones (p.13). The author claims that this type of nostalgia knows the impossibility of ‘mythical return’ (p. 12) and assumes critical thinking can be utilized while being nostalgic (p. 15). Boym’s claims will be beneficial in citing the Filipino women’s experiences of remembering and approaches in making sense of their ties to the Philippines through culinary traditions and customs.

Applying nostalgia in food, Mark Swislocki (2009) defines culinary nostalgia as ‘the recollection or purposive evocation of another time and place through food’ (p.1). Exploring on

identity and culinary nostalgia, Anita Mannur (2007) claims that culinary discourse is ‘ambivalently coded and complexly situated’ as it unravels the depths of food, nostalgia and one’s sense of national identity (p. 28). She argues that remembering the homeland through food can be ‘limiting, emancipatory and typically both at once’ (p.28). Her claims would help explain the ways in which Filipina women find themselves uncertain of their culinary practices and whether they consider it a positive or negative feat of food making.

Since I will be studying about Filipina, I would also make reference to works that speak about the food practice of the migrant Filipinos.

Lisa Law (2001) in a study of home cooking of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong claims that food is entangled with ‘corporeal and material relations’ (p. 267) and that the senses activated by food maps out ‘alternative geographies of employment, work, travel and life experience’ (p. 276). Law explains the role of space- the corporeal and the material and how certain food practices can change the landscapes and impact on construction of identities in a foreign country.

In a seemingly parallel research to this study about food ways of Filipina women married to Japanese men, Nota Magno (2000) concludes that food practice and consumption is negotiated by the self and by making sense of existing ‘structures, rules and resources’ (p.52). Magno’s study deals specifically with the role of migration and marriage and how perspectives on food and identity change as a Filipino woman enters a racial intermarriage and moves to another place.

Unfortunately, in terms of existing works about Filipino migration in Poland, the language barrier becomes a limitation in my research and the lack of literature on Filipinos in English in this country.

Lastly, the most recent work on food practices and transnational identities that my research will draw upon is Gwen Chapman and Brenda Beagan's (2013) work on Punjabi families in Canada. Chapman and Beagan (2013) claim that food is more than just a 'marker of cultural identity', but is also implicated in transnational identities and is used to articulate the intersectional positioning of individuals- class, age, gender and race. This claim significantly shapes the concern of my study in attempting to encapsulate categories such as gender, class, marital status, race, employment and age as important considerations in deriving substantive findings and analysis in my study.

3. Methodology

This thesis intends to offer a general view on the ways the Filipino migrant women make sense of their identity in Poland. The specific focus of this study is on the ways food making practices of Filipina women is related to their ties to the Philippines, the effect of migration and their various categorical positions in their identity and the ways it manifests in their food practices. Food practice is defined as the ‘manner in which we actively and wholly engage with all aspects of food, eating and gathering that takes place around a dining table’ (foodpractice.com,2014). In this study, food practice covers shopping, preparing and cooking, table arrangements and behavior, preferences and food gatherings. Deriving support from Chapman and Beagan’s (2013) claim that multiple positioning influence food making in a new place and migrant identities, the interviewees’ vectors of identities and its relationship with food are explored. Since many academic literatures in Poland are in Polish, I was never in the position to explore whether there was any previous literature in Poland on this topic. The information that this study is the first they have encountered on food came from the women themselves. It is emphasized that this research seeks to provide information on this aspect of migration of Filipino women in Poland and lay basis for another way of understanding migration issues and provision of services for the migrants.

The study aims to add information and support existing theories on food, identity and migration by highlighting the applications of the theory in the case of Filipina women in Poland. The case of Filipino women appears to be interesting for the researcher as a result of a year spent studying in Poland. During this period, I had a considerable exposure to life in Poland as a Filipina -including food practices, challenges and the opportunities to meet and maintain regular friendly contact with two of the interviewees. I acknowledge the position that my exposure in living in

Poland and my personal knowledge and relationship with two of the interviewees might pose bias in conducting this research. The food practices become an interesting topic for the researcher as I became aware of the absence if not lack of Filipino stores in Poland. This leads me to assume that this lack of supply of Filipino food might be a huge factor impacting the Filipino women's migrant experience coupled with a different language, different weather and existence of a multicultural family upon marriage. This study only focuses on the women and slightly touches on other members of the family only when the women implicate them during interviews and only when the family members affect the ways the interviewees perceive their identity.

The study relies on face to face and Skype interviews with Filipina women married to Polish men. The women are residing in different cities in Poland- Warsaw, Krakow, Opole, Katowice, Lublin and Kolobrzeg. As the women are located in far away locations and due to time and financial limitations, four of the women were interviewed via skype. There are only five hundred registered Filipinos in Poland (Philippine Embassy in Warsaw, 2012) so the selection of interviewees begin with a broad category that they need to be Filipina migrants married to Polish men. The women were contacted with the help of a group facebook page, *Pinoys in Poland* which also serves as a point of information and support for all Filipinos in Poland. The communication was facilitated by the fact that the researcher is also a member of this website.

During interviews, the women are given the choice of language they prefer. The women speak in Filipino and Taglish (Filipino with many English phrases). Since the interviews are translated, the risks and limitations of my translation are recognized. The interviews are partially recorded even though discussions would continue after the formal questionnaires were being

asked. The interviews and informal talks lasted from an average of hour and half for skype interviews to a whole day for those women who offered me accommodation and invited me to participate in their activities. I stayed in one interviewee's house for two days and observed and tasted her dishes while I accompanied three interviewees in their daily activities such as eating out, doing groceries, meeting with friends and even visiting a wellness center. The informal talks proved to be more informative as it reveals the more distinct ways that women prepare their food and even their personal relationships with household members. One interviewee refused a formal interview and recording. During interviews, the women would use words such as 'we', when referring to being Filipinos and residents of Poland. The use of 'we' means that the interviewees assume that I am considered an insider with the same perspectives as Filipinos but at the same time I recognize the distancing required since I am in a different position as a temporary resident in Europe, as a student researching on this study and as an individual who has no first hand access to the experience available to the wife of a Polish man. The women were very open, sharing personal familial information such as conflicts with mothers in law and their husbands so I had to clarify and inform them that I am going to include the disclosures in my study. In discussing cases of conflict with the husband and in laws, I would use the terms she and her in order to hide their identity.

The questions range from the women's demographic information, migration history, food preferences and gendered culinary roles while in the Philippines and in Poland, preparatory migration strategies and coping mechanisms and adjustments pertaining to food in Poland, the culinary associations and identifications to the Philippines, the extent of missing food, their distinct ways in preparing dishes, and meanings attached to identity and how it manifests in food. There

are several times when I needed to contact the women again for clarifications while writing the thesis.

In analyzing the statements, I paid attention to the presence of themes such as nostalgia, their definition of Philippine and Polish food culture, food and its relations to the body, and the markers of identity that plays a crucial role in food making. My assumptions on what defines Polish and Philippine food culture took on a more complicated meaning as I face the need to confront the dangers of essentializing Philippine identity. Using the claims of Stuart Hall and Bell and Valentine, I will be discussing the reasons why there is a strong tendency for Filipino women to assume a unifying Filipino food culture while recognizing that the women speak from different positions.

The women are assured that their personal details will be kept confidential. In this study, attempts to hide the women's identities are done by changing their names and concealing their geographic data so that recognition is highly unlikely.

3.1 Brief Background of the Interviewees

The twelve women interviewed are all married to Polish men. Eleven women migrated for marriage while one was already in Poland when she got married. Most women developed their relationship long distance only joining the husband when they are about to get married. There are cases of internet dating and meeting the husband while the husband was on a holiday and business in the Philippines. Most of the women perform cooking for the husband and children except for one. Three of the women do not have children. The number of children range from one to three. The women are from different parts of the Philippines with majority coming from the Central

region. Three of the women have paid employment. Most of the women know each other and gather regularly for food parties.

A longer description of the women's backgrounds can be found in the appendix.

Chapter 4. Contextualizing Food, Identity and Migration: The Case of Filipina Migrants in Poland

4.1 Problematizing Identity

I am a Filipino, in and out. I don't think anything can change that.

Question: What makes you a Filipino?

A long pause ...

The above line seems too familiar. Something that can be heard in many migrant narratives. Such is a claim that is shared by some Filipino migrant women in Poland that I have interviewed. The pause signals the difficulty of the question being asked and shows that the answer is not answerable by a simple yes or no, nor can be addressed by a simplistic enumeration of characteristics that makes one a Filipino. However, the claim of the woman is firm and assertive despite the difficulty to answer the follow up question. To put a theoretical explanation to her belief, her claim on identity is evocative of John Locke's argument that sees the self as a kind of subject that "remained the same" (Locke in Hall, 1992, p. 283). Such is a problem that I wish to illustrate here. But first I will start with a short description on how the question on identity has been put forward. In doing this I will be able to show the contours on the question of identity, then in the latter part of the chapter, proceed to the kinds of statements from the Filipino migrant women that contrasts this unified unchanging form of identity.

Stuart Hall (1992) presents three ways in which to conceptualize identity. He describes the first as the concept of identity as a subject of enlightenment that sees the human as a sufficient, cohesive, armed with the capacity of reason. The human as discussed by Hall, in this perspective, is born with consciousness, the capacity for action and develops with these capacities but remains essentially unchanged throughout the human's whole existence (p. 275). The second concept for Hall is the sociological which sees identity as being formed through a person's 'significant others' and these relationship facilitates the 'values, meanings and symbols- the culture' that one will possess (p. 275). Hall (1992) explains that in this view, the identity is "sutured" in the outside social and cultural structure. He emphasizes that even though the identity is in constant interactive dialogues with the outside world, there is still an 'inner core or an essence' (pp 275-277).

The third approach for Hall (1992) is the upshot of structural and institutional changes. He describes the postmodern subject has no predetermination and permanence, identities that is not coherent and shifting at different times (p. 277). However, Hall positions that a 'narrative of the self' gives a sense of a unified identity (Hall, 1990) but identifications could result to multiple identities that only happens in a temporary manner (p.277).

So how did this shift from the enlightenment to the postmodern subject take place?

Hall (1992) writes that there are social theories that 'decenters' the Cartesian claim. He enumerates:

- 1.) *the Marxist thinking that introduces social relations that rejected universal essence possessed by all men (Althusser in Hall, 1992, p.286)*

- 2.) *Freud's theory of the unconscious which introduces the 'psychic and symbolic processes' of identity whose concept hugely differs from reason. (Hall, 1992, p 286)*
- 3.) *Ferdinand Saussure's(as cited in Hall, 1992 p. 288) which argues that individuals 'are not in absolute sense the authors of the statements' because 'language is a social, not individual system'.*
- 4.) *Michel Foucault which introduces the 'disciplinary power' that controls, surveys and administers populations, individuals and bodies (Foucault in Hall, 1992, p. 289)*
- 5.) *The fifth is the role of feminism in the decentering of the enlightenment and sociological concepts of identity. Feminism challenged the stable concept of identity by 1.) interrogating the divide between the private and the public claiming that the private has also political implications, paving the way to talk about arenas of family, domestic work, sexuality and so on. 2.) the genderedness of subjectivities and identification 3.) problematizing how sexual and gendered identities are formed 4. Problematizing the term mankind and introducing discourses on sexual difference. (Hall, 1992, pp.290)*

To put it in a straightforward manner, without disregard that these are very complex processes, Ted Turnau (2014) outlines the manner in which changes in late modernity crumbled identity's stable concept. He enumerates:

1. *Urbanization weakened the ways in which a traditional community constructs identity, the community now features a set of fluid relationships*

2. *Paid work changed the structure of the family arising to the division of the public (work) and the private (home)*
3. *Values such as value of efficiency and technique displaced traditional ethics*
4. *privatization of meanings and identity. Here, the writer speaks more of individualization.*
(Turnau, 2014)

In addition to Hall's three ways in theorizing identity, there are other literatures presenting other conceptions of identity. Following on the concept of the dialogue, Nira Yuval - Davis (2010) discusses a kind of identity theorizing about this dialogues, that she calls the 'dialogical identities' (p.271). Yuval-Davis states that this approach involves an 'in-between perpetual state of becoming' and involves understanding the ways that identities are constructed in a shared context to comprehend the complexities that power plays in a collective. For Yuval-Davis, this process avoids committing the mistake of perceiving group members in the same position and avoids identity politics (p.271)

Judith Butler (1990) introduced the 'performativity' in constructing identities. Marek Wojtaszek and Dorota Golanska, (2009) in discussing Butler, explains that "gender is a performance, a theatrical act, a cultural significance codetermined through various acts and their cultural perception which is being incessantly rehearsed" (p.181).

What is established here is that identity is a concept that has a long history and occurrence of contestations (Yuval-Davis, 2010). In this study, the main framework that will operationalize is the postmodern claim of identity as a 'production, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation' (Hall, 1990). Moreover, the dialogical and

per formative conception of identities will also come into play as I examine the identity construction of the interviewees in the context of migration.

4.2 Imagined National Identity: Is there a Philippine Identity?

In this portion of the chapter I will discuss several of Hall's elements of a national identity and explore how concrete examples of this concept of national identity are manifested in the women's interviews. As Hall problematizes the concept, I will discuss how in the words of the women themselves that Hall's claims on the problems of identity are being affirmed.

When one claims to be a Filipino what does it mean? I myself have to say it many times. When asked as to what Filipinoness mean, I quote one of the interviewees, Rachel, when she said:

So what becomes of us, if we are not Filipinos it obviously shows in my appearance, my skin color, my nose, it is very Filipino.

Her statement reveals a kind of unimaginability and nonexistence if she is not categorized to be a Filipino. Hall (1992) describes this occurrence as a kind of thinking that one's national identity is of fundamental nature (p. 291).

When asked, if 'Filipinoness' refers to a certain kind of nose structure and color, she responded:

Of course not. Many Filipinos do not have a nose like this, especially those with foreign blood.

Rachel's statement affirms Hall's claims in saying that a certain kind of physical traits such as nose structure cannot sufficiently account for the all those who are identified to be Filipinos.

Hall (1992) claims that identity is not based on genes but instead relates heavily to ‘representation’. He describes national identity as a ‘system of cultural representation’ and a national culture as a discourse that shapes the way people in a particular culture provide meanings and understanding of themselves (pp. 291-292). Borrowing the term from Benedict Anderson, Hall affirms a national identity as an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson in Hall, 1992, p.293). Hall (1992) enumerates the elements that feature of this imagined national identity which is present in the ways the Filipinas think of identity:

First is the existence of the ‘narrative of a nation’ shared and enforced ‘through national histories, literature, the media and popular culture’ that sets up a ‘set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals’ that embodies the nation (p. 293).

This was evident in the interviews that I made wherein ‘Filipinoness’ signifies representations of sharing the same images, stories, understanding, experience, successes and grief of being a Filipino away from the country as bonded by a national narrative.

For example, in talking about what she means by identity, Frida starts to talk about how she thinks Filipino women make great wives to their husbands. She said:

We are *maasikaso* (thoughtful, though this can be translated more as someone who will always be attentive to the needs of the other), loving and of course hospitable.

When asked what she means by “of course, hospitable”, she begins to narrate the image of the smiling Filipino which is even promoted in national tourism campaigns emphasizing the Filipino as one of the warmest and most hospitable tourist host in the world. She assumed that I

know and have seen this. She continues that this is something that has been learned by the Filipina as she grows up, teachings from the parents, from the Church.

Indeed when she attributes the Filipina traits as a learning from the church, her statement is affirmed by some literature. According to Carolyn Brewer (Brewer in Andaya ,2002), the nurturing wife is a product of the 300 year Spanish conquest of the Philippines upon their introduction of Catholicism. As explained by Andaya, values like wife's faithfulness to the husband, valuing virginity, women as nurturers and admiration for the Virgin Mary are introduced and reinforced through songs, sermons and other religious activities. Jose Rizal, the national hero wrote the *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch me Not) which is considered to be the 'Bible of the Nation' (nationalbookstore.com.ph). One of the main characters is that of 'Maria Clara (Noli me Tangere, 1912) who has been depicted by Rizal as "demure, self-effacing beauty whose place was on the pedestal of male honour" (Yoder, 1999). Bella Elwood Clayton (2006) writes that Maria Clara has become the symbol of the virtuous Filipino woman (p.6). Frida's conception of the nurturing wife can then be related and traced back to the extent to which the Maria Clara image has been playing out dominantly in the Philippines.

Not only with the assumed shared image of the woman, the duties and understanding of an overseas family member and family ties are assumed to be shared and understood by Filipinos abroad.

In an informal chat after interview, I was asked if as a Filipino working abroad if I am sending money to my family back home.

Gail said:

Don't we Filipinos, including the Filipinos here in Poland send money to the Philippines? Working hard here and there. All for the family.

Her statement describes a kind of trend in Philippine migration, even though it is not a phenomenon that only exists among Filipinos. Three thousand four hundred Filipinos leave the Philippines on a daily basis for employment abroad and sending massive remittances to the country (San Juan Jr, 2009, pp.99-100). This imagery of the Filipino financially supporting the family is acknowledged and emphasized in many forms of media in the Philippines - from remittance company commercials to movies even from the station ID videos of the biggest television networks in the Philippines. Since I have identified myself to be a Filipino, it is imagined that *we* -her and the rest of the Filipino migrants in Poland, understand, if not share the same understanding of an overseas worker.

Secondly, Hall (1992) states that a national cultural identity highlights 'origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness' (p. 294).

This is illustrated when an interviewee spoke about how the Filipino family is gathered during Christmas. Michelle said:

The Filipino Christmas is the best. Christmas in our country is always a happy occasion.

Even though Christmas is a much celebrated event in many parts of the world, even in Poland, she spoke of the occasion in the Philippines as always a happy occasion, unchanged by time, unfazed by new and crucial societal events. I will further discuss the risks of relying on origins and traditions in the next chapter, using the same example of Christmas.

Third, Hall (1992) speaks of national identity based on ‘pure, original people’ (p.295). An example can be found at the beginning of the chapter when my interviewee claimed her Filipino identity, that nothing can change, an assertion of pure Filipinoness. As the women continued their stories, the statements began to corrode their initial claims. When Frida continues her imaging of the thoughtful, loving Filipino wife, she noted:

But this is not every Filipina, not all Filipino women share the same trait.

What she says actually is a generalization, an imagined projection of the Filipina. She continued:

Of course it also depends on the husband and wife, and their lifestyle.

Her statements then highlight the differences among Filipino women and the uniqueness of each household. There is an awareness of the differences among women yet, the claim of being Filipino and a prominent imaging of what it is remain strong.

Hall (1992) explains that a huge range of social classes, gender and ethnic groups make up the population of a nation and doubts the idea of a unified national identity (p. 297). More than this, the Philippines has many regional groups, languages, religions etc.

Applying Halls’ claim in Frida’s statement, the projection of the loving and thoughtful Filipina wife can be a generalizing claim and also shows the gendered aspect of the Filipino national identity. Hall (1992) asserts that ‘national identities are strongly gendered’ (p. 297). In analyzing the story of revolutions in the Philippines, Yoder (1999) wrote of great Filipino revolutionary leaders such as Andres Bonifacio to have displayed ‘male chauvinism’ while stories of women’s victimization were heavily explored in histories. For Yoder, the women to be a revolutionary played the role of wife or the cook, while the revolution is a ‘society for men’. Again,

Frida's statements can be traced back to a gendered telling of Philippine history that eventually results to how Filipino women like Frida view themselves today. As Hall (1992) gives the example of the concept of 'Englishness' is attributed to the male and the women play supporting roles, the history of the Philippines that was spread throughout the country, for Yoder (1999) is also saturated with male dominated figures and an imaging of women who are in the supporting and caring roles. The image of Maria Clara as the ideal, spread extensively through the national narratives such as Noli Me Tangere tell greatly about the conceptions of femininity that became central to the ways Filipinos make sense of their identity (Yoder, 1999; Clayton, 2006). Frida's statement can be concluded as a product and manifestation of these gendered conceptions of Philippine identity.

Affirming the claims of Hall about differences in a country through another example, Michelle added:

But during Christmas season, there is always a disaster, like last year there is a typhoon (referring to typhoon Haiyan who hit the country in November) that was a sad Christmas.

Her statements contradict the assumed unchangeability and eternalness of the occurrence of the Christmas tradition that was first evident on her first statement. She acknowledges that the Philippines had undergone many challenges such as natural disasters which certainly affect the ways people perceive Christmas. In the same manner, the southern part of the country is dominated by Muslims, estimated number to be five million (halalguide.com, 2010). How does an unchanging happy Christmas tradition represent the whole Filipino people? Actually, there is a long history of Muslim-Christian conflicts in the Philippines leading to inequalities against the Muslim people (Victor, 2005). This includes the long practice of celebrating Christmas as public holidays while Muslim holidays were only proclaimed since 2002 (publicholidays.ph, 2014). This brings us back

to Hall when he explains that most nations are united by conflicts that silenced the differences (p. 296).

Hall (1992) broadens his critique of the unified national identity as a “discursive device” to solidify differences- stating that nations are ‘cultural hybrids” (p.297). Yet, he adds that even though national identity is never built out of one entity, there is still an insistence in using the identity to ‘stitch up’ the differences (p. 299). In the case of the Filipina migrants in Poland, the identification to a Philippine identity supported by its imagined traditions is pertinent, yet there is also an awareness of the differences. The interviews glide into this ironical position of being a Filipino even though Filipinoness is never a standard and unified form.

4.3 The Interrelationship of Identity and Migration

So how does migration complicate the conception of identity?

There are numerous theories on migration and the ways an individual construct an identity after moving to a new place can be explained in many ways. Jutta Konig (2009) explains that one of the known concepts in the study of migration is the notion of acculturation. She claims that the most known work is John Berry’s (Berry in Konig, 2009) four strategies of acculturation– “integration, assimilation, separation and migration”, wherein integration seems to be the most useful way. Konig (2009) perceives Berry’s approach as insufficient as it fails to explain multiple cross cultural migration. Konig offers, instead of acculturation, an approach that accounts for ‘situated, negotiated and contested trajectory’, where a dialogical process produces a multicultural subject (p. 99).

Disproving the assumption that migration is a singular and simplistic movement from one place to another and is assumed to conclude after integration, Rina Benmayor and Andor Skotnes (2005) argue that migration is a continuing process of negotiating difference, identity and affirming the claim to prosper incessantly in a given context. Furthermore, they claim that global migration has interrupted and challenged the ways identities are conceived, cultural stereotypes and homogeneity. The authors explain that migration has made nations rethink of its stronghold of a ‘cultural unity and racialized purity’. For Skotnes and Benmayor, the existence of a generation, of children from cross racial and cross cultural marriages has disrupted the norms and indicated a complicated sense of constructing their identity. The authors explain that a cross cultural marriage is a site where in the migrant identities are constructed, reconstructed and continuously changed (pp.8-9). Benmayor and Skotnes (2009) emphasized that scholarships on migration has established “a multicultural and more complex understanding of national and ethnic identities (Hudson and Reno,1999) intersected by gender (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003) generation (Chamberlain, 1998) and racial constructions(Cordero-Guzman and Smith, 2001)” (Benmayor and Andor Skotnes,2009, pp.viii-ix)

In the context of the Filipino migrants who moved to Poland, Eden cites an example. Eden speaks on how marriage and moving to Poland has changed many aspects of her life. As Eden speaks to me she sometimes utter words in Polish then she apologizes. She said she has been using the Polish language too much that so it has become her everyday language and the language she speaks at home. Her marriage and her learning of Polish have changed her understanding of many things- it gave her the ability to survive in public places and have work and understand the ways in a country other than the Philippines. She is now a dual citizen. She now has two passports, a

feat she is able to acquire through migration and intermarriage, she uses them strategically when the situation calls for it. She uses her passport depending on where she is – airports for instance. She enjoys the legal rights of both countries. She would still identify herself a Filipino but would not disregard the ways in which she is both Polish and Filipino. What can be deduced from her statement is a new way of being a Filipino- which contradicts the way a nation would speak of homogeneity as what Benmayor and Skotnes (2005) theorized. In this manner, her story has showed how the changes in her identity caused by migration has disproved the unified national Philippine identity.

However, in the context of migration, as the dominant group builds the ‘subordinate groups as outsiders, the foreigners as strangers’, racialized ethnicity is being defined and redefined (Benmayor and Skotnes, 2005, p. 7)

Tina said that when in the Philippines, she knows that people are divided into regional groups. She considers herself *Tagalog* (a regional group in the Philippines), but never the less she would not attract attention because she thinks she looks like everyone else. Walking in Poland by herself made her think of her difference from others, being stared at by other people which accentuate how different she is. She states that the stares make her more aware that her color is brown and that she is smaller in height than many people in Poland. She now understands what it is to be different from within your own race and how difference feels when one is a foreigner.

Indeed, the Filipinos in Poland given their small number sought to find each other and have been communicating and meeting up regularly. Their small number of five hundred (Philippine Embassy in Warsaw, 2012) formed what is being called the Filipino diaspora in Poland.

A diaspora refers to ‘almost any group living outside its country of origin’ (Ien Ang,2004). A diaspora for Ang is an opportunity for the migrant group to have ‘positive identification’ by giving a strong sense of ‘transnational belonging’ and ties with migrant populations of similar roots (p.2). However she warns how diasporic identity can be both positive and negative- as it unifies the migrants but can be an arena for oppression (p.3). Ang (2004) reasons that diaspora operates in a ‘protonationalist’ form assuming both internal similarities in a group and its external uniqueness (p. 4). She contrasts that unlike the territorial premises of state nationalism, ‘diasporic nationalism’ assumes a community that is symbolically unified despite being deterritorialized. The diasporic identity for Ang, can be bounded by strict imagined borders that only members can permeate and prioritizes ancestry than the current place of living (p.5).

This double edged element of diasporic nationalism that Ang (2004) claims, prove to be true in the context of Filipinos in Poland. Echoing the claims of Ang in migrating in Poland, these women call themselves Filipinas in Poland to which they portray a certain sense of community. In fact, I was able to meet these women through thepinoysinpoland web group. Through groups like this, they are able to maintain a sense of ‘Filipinoness’ even though they are aware that they are no longer living in the homeland. Filipinos in Poland communicate to know the latest news that concerns both countries, latest movie, entertainment gossips, all these possible through the internet, new job opportunities, opportunities for learning Polish etc. this group provides support and latches a strong identification force among Filipinos.

However, in the same manner that Ang (2004) exemplifies a kind of absolutising difference among the Chinese (p.5), Filipinoness in the diasporic community in Poland can also be homogenized and thought to exist in a unified manner.

An example of this is when Eden complains as to why some Filipinos would speak to her in English or Polish and not in Filipino. She cited an instance when a Filipina talked to her in the airport and spoke in English. She believes that it is a form of arrogance, of forgetting the roots by refusing to speak the language. In the case of Eden, disregarding the experience and language preferences of the person she met in the airport, speaking Filipino is a must.

Recognizing the problem of ‘absolutisingChineseness’, Ang (1994) proposes for a ‘postmodern ethnicity’ no longer conceived from ‘tradition and ancestry’, rather a ‘partial and provisional site of identity which can be (re)negotiated and (re)invented’ (p.18).

4.4 Why Food? Is there a Filipino National Food Culture?

So what then is the relevance of food in constructing identities in the context of migration?

First I will cite the reasons why in discussing food that the theoretical and socio-political issues of identity can also be discussed. These theoretical frameworks will also become my guide in discussing food in a separate chapter.

Explaining the academic importance of talking about food, Jennifer Brady (2011) writes that food has been a less researched topic in the academe (p.322). She enumerates the cited reasons as to why food is a marginalized topic: Food is trivialized and perceived to be in the arena of

domesticity, therefore not worthy of research (Deutsch and Miller in Brady, 2011). The inattention to talking about food reflects the ‘binary thinking of Western Cartesian philosophy’ that prioritizes reason over emotion (Curtain & Heldke in Brady 2011); Hence, as food relies on the senses-smell, taste and is therefore a turf for women and not for men, this reliance relegates the food scholarship into a marginalized status (Antoniou, 2004; Heldke, 1992 in Brady, 2011).

Furthermore, food is increasingly becoming a topic of inquiry that speaks of its huge political, social and cultural significance. (Deutsch & Miller in Brady, 2011). Cooking, for Brady can be a form of inquiry wherein bodies and identity can be further explored (pp. 322-323)

Therefore, in problematizing food in the context of Filipino women and the ways that their cooking relates to the body and how cooking is a turf for women, this study is to affirm the kind of epistemological claim that Brady is proposing. Talking about food, then would emphasize the ways in which discussing food is pertinent to identity construction of the Filipina migrants.

Claude Fischler (1988) states that food is fundamental in determining notions of who we are. The author adds food cuts through an individual’s identity and in ascertaining how a group of people eat would expose the ‘diversity, hierarchy organization, oneness and otherness’ (p.275). Talking about food then, would render how in the case of Filipino women the ways in which their differing positions and their migration and changing culinary practice has shaped their sense of identity, and how these food making has interacted with the ways they perceive themselves. Fischler (1988) adds that a study on food can equip us to understand the interconnectedness of the material and the imaginary (p. 278). As a cuisine plays out in the realm of the imagination, Fischler (1988) carefully simplifies the transfer of nature to culture, of by cooking raw natural materials, when it becomes a cuisine it becomes- ‘stamped, labelled, and recognized’ (pp.281-282). Fischler

means that from simply being an ingredient without a known origin, cooking gives it an ‘identificatory function’. For instance, from being potatoes, sautéing the potatoes with meat, soy sauce and vinegar, makes it adobo, a known dish in the Philippines.

In the context of migration, Lisa Law (2001) states that food is entangled with ‘corporeal and material relations’ (p. 267) and that the senses activated by food outlines different maps of employment and life experience (p. 276). In studying food, the Filipina migrant women’s mapping of work, family and other aspects of social life can be understood. Not only with the material, talking about food with Filipina migrant women in Poland can help to grasp the ways they identify certain culinary smells, texture, touch related to the Philippines and how alternative meanings are formed in the context of migration in Poland.

In talking about food we can understand the nation, Bell and Valentine (1997) write that “the history of a nation’s diet is the history of the nation itself” (p. 168),. Bell and Valentine (1997) assert that “there is no essential national food, the food which we think of characterizing a particular place always tells stories of movement and mixing, as deconstructions of individual food histories’ (Delamont, 1995; Visser, 1986; in Bell and Valentine 1997, p. 169). Using Benedict Anderson’s (Anderson in Bell and Valentine, 1997) claim on an ‘imagined community’, Bell and Valentine then proclaims that a ‘nation’s diet is a feast of imagined commensality’ (p.169). This means that in talking about food, the curves and lines of the Philippine as a nation can also be spoken about, including migration and how this boundaries illustrate itself after one experiences moving from the Philippines to another place. Nira Yuval- Davis (2010) explains that an

individual's sense of belonging is only threatened and needs to be asserted' (p.266), this then applies to food making of Filipina migrant women as well. The ways in which to understand the 'imagined community and the imagined commensality' (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.169) in the context of national identity will be further explained as I allocate a chapter on nostalgia in the following sections of this study.

In talking about changes and disturbances in food, Fischler (1988) claims that through food, the disruptions of identity can also be analyzed. Fischler explains that changes in eating habits, advances in food technology and eating food without known origin and identity has been disturbing for eaters (p. 291). Fischler's claims lay down the importance on how this uncertainty of the origins of what we eat is related to the complexities of constructing identities.

Since I will be using throughout the whole study the term Filipino food, as it is used by the interviewees, it is crucial to explain how the concept of the Filipino national food and an idea of a standard Filipino food culture are both problematic conceptions.

So what does it mean then to have a 'Filipino national food?' In all interviews, the dishes, *adobo* (marinated dish from vinegar and soysauce), *lechon* (roasted pig) and *sinigang*(sour soup) compete to win the title of the 'Philippine national food'.

When asked what dish they like to cook most,

Mia said: adobo. Of course. That cannot be missing from our meals.

Tina's answer fully encapsulated this issue on the Philippine national food.

Tina stated: Adobo, our national food.

So how then the three dishes are positioned to be the national food?

When asked how they thought of the three dishes, Mia answered because Filipinos eating it and everyone knows about it. She thinks that adobo can be the everyday food, that when you think of it and see it, you know it is Filipino food. She speaks about how through a shared experience –by eating adobo, it gives the meaning of being everyone’s food and comes to represent ‘Filipinoness’. That when you say adobo, there is actually a law, House Bill 3926 pending in Philippine Congress to declare the dish as national food to (congress.gov.ph, 2014). Another website about the Philippines also endorses lechon and sinigang as national dishes (<http://travelfoodanddrink.com>).

However, the narrative of adobo as a national food is one example affirming Hall’s (1992) criticism of the notion of national identity as ignoring the difference of the people in a culture (p.297). Eddie Barrita (2014) in an online article presents a case wherein a Muslim from the Philippines would resent this idea of a pork adobo as a national dish. Additionally, even though fish and seafood can also become the main ingredient other than meat (Tayag,2012), it’s most popular imagery (as tested through the internet) is that with pork, a commodity in the Philippines whose price can hardly be afforded by the four million two hundred thousand Filipinos below the poverty line (nscb.gov.ph, 2013). In this light, the Philippine national food such as adobo and lechon that the interviewees are claiming does not represent everyone, since it pays no attention to the class and religious differences of Filipinos. Nevertheless, as the Filipino migrant women speak,

the representation of the ‘adobo culture’ or the adobo as the national food serve as a strong component on how they identify themselves as Filipinos.

Chapter 5. Food Nostalgia in Constructing Identities

In this chapter, I will discuss the degree to which Filipino women long for the food associated in the Philippines. I will present their different strategies that they utilize when they miss the food at home. In discussing the interview statements, I will use Longhurst, Ho and Johnston's (2009) concept of the 'visceral' and Svetlana Boym (2001) and Anita Mannur's (2007) claims on nostalgia. Using the concept of the 'visceral experiences of food' or the 'tastes, textures and aromas' attached to the old home (Longhurst et.al, 2009, p.333) I will present how the Filipino migrant women are able to manifest their ties to the Philippines through food making. Maintaining their visceral connection to the Philippines shapes the way they perceive their being Filipino despite living in Poland. The visceral food experiences also evoke a relationship to the body through senses (Longhurst et. al, 2009, p. 334) which has an impact on how the Filipino women perceive themselves. Through the Filipino women's experience of visceral connection with the Philippines even though they are in Poland, the ambivalence of their identity will be explained. Using Boym and Mannur's theoretical arguments, the Filipino women's experience of food nostalgia will highlight the problematic tendencies and positive aspects of nostalgia and ties to the Philippines.

5.1 The Extent of Missing Home and Mechanisms of Coping

Like many Filipino migrants in many parts of the world, missing the food from the Philippines is an ongoing theme throughout the interviews with Filipino migrant women in Poland.

The ways in which they negotiate longing for food however varies greatly and speaks a great deal about the ways food practices becomes a ‘vehicle for reconnection and transmission of memory’ (Hubbell, 2013, p. 1) and a manifestation of their continuing association with multiple identities after migration (Chapman and Beagan, 2013, p.367).

The ways that the interviewees express and give meaning to missing the Philippines and the food associated with the country take various shapes and highlight different themes. One key theme is missing the food that relates to the ‘home’. As Gail said:

I always knew the things that I would miss once I am in Poland, one of them is food. I don’t really like the food here, I miss the food from home. The food here is so different. So I make sure I cook Filipino food when I miss it. I like to cook rice. Rice is a staple food in the Philippines, something I cannot live without. I would cook *nilaga* (boiled meat with cabbage) but it does not taste the same. That disappoints me because I cannot make it taste the way it is supposed to taste. The ingredients are not available here so it is not the same, this is not the Philippines.

Another interviewee, Rachel, stated:

Food is the easiest solution when I miss the Philippines. It is not that easy to find someone who speaks with you in Filipino, but the food is just in the kitchen ready to be cooked anytime. Cooking Filipino food for me is always about home. It is my way to feel at home. When I cook Filipino food, it reminds me of my family in the Philippines and the good times when we share the food at the table.

Indeed, as Martin Manalansan (2004) states in his contemplative essay on food and longing after migrating in the United States, eating Filipino food is a ‘way to go home’ at least for some time after moving to a new place (p.365). Both the interviewees mentioned above think of food as an access to ‘home’ they left behind.

When asked what they mean by home, both answered that they refer to the Philippines. The country they currently reside in is also considered home, where they live with their husbands and children. In this sense, the two Filipinas description of the home operate as two entities, the

new and the old, the home in the Philippines and the home in Poland. Cooking Filipino food in the new home is what Robyn Longhurst, Lynda Johnston and Elsie Ho (2009, p.342) call a recreation of the old home that they miss in the new home. By making food that reminds of the Philippines, they are able to gain access to the old home.

How complicated then is this concept of home in the context of migration? As Rachel explains home for her, is hugely connected to her family, to the practice of sharing a table and eating together. Food then, or more specifically sharing a meal acts as a basis of familial ties and unity (Lupton in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 66). As Rachel resonates remembering food with good times with her family, food acts as a channel to the home parading as a haven, characterized by love and happiness (Sommerville in Bell and Valentine,1997 p. 68). Indeed as Bissel (Bissel in Hubbell, 2013, p.3) puts it, food does a good job in keeping and communicating ‘happier times’. However this does not mean that the new home is a less happy place, the two women answered, that even though they are satisfied in their current home, the thoughts of the old home simply cannot be forgotten.

Indeed, as Kumarini Silva (2009) writes, the home is crucial in understanding diasporic identities. The home for Silva is the ‘most elusive, seductive possession of the diaspora’, whose memories follow the migrant like a sticky smell that becomes much treasured and hard to get hold of in time (p. 694). What can be deduced in Rachel’s case is how she makes and eats food associated to the Philippines so that she can come home, a home whose meaning is filled with thoughts of her family. A family who is far away that she can access by eating what they used to eat as a family. But in Gail’s case, coming home is not fully successful, because as she recreates Filipino food that does not taste the same, the home becomes what Silva describes to be ‘elusive’.

Gail mentions that she attempts to cook *nilaga* (boiled meat with vegetables) but failed to produce the same recipe that she taste in the Philippines. As Manalansan (2004) notes, food can be utilized as a strategy for migrants to make it to a new place but it can also ignite numerous disappointments. He adds that this is the ironically humorous aspect of food in longing – it is a source of ‘comfort and protection’ in times of yearning for the home, but the comfort is fleeting and always curtailed (p.364). Gail is able to reproduce a recipe that reminds her of the Philippines but since the taste is not the same, it comforts her longing for a moment but disappoints through the failure to exactly replicate the recipe from the ‘old home’.

Apart from the concept of home, loss also becomes a theme that was mentioned in the interview. In another interview, Tina said:

Food for me is a way to fill a space. I came here without knowing anybody. I don’t have my family, my friends, my neighborhood, even my husband is away. In preparing Filipino food, I can have a feeling of my family again. Of sharing a table, of laughs and chats during meals.

What is evident in her story is not just the connection of food remembrance and family, but a sense of something that she lost. When she came to Poland she is no longer physically able to see her family, she is away from her significant others and can no longer have physical access to the activities that are associated with them. Here, she speaks of a certain hole that is being filled up when she eats the food reminiscent of the home.

As Ward (2009) states that migrating in a new country entails a psychological challenge for the migrant (p. 423). The individual has to deal with a feeling of numerous loss- ‘loss of home, family, community, friends, food, language and customs’ (Garza-Guerrero in Ward, 2009 p. 423).

Tina further adds another negotiation she does when she misses the Philippines and her family, she said:

Since I don't like the food that we have at home and when I cannot eat the food I like, I sometimes do not eat. It helps with my dieting, this is good because I lose weight. It helps with my looks, helps me gain the weight I want for myself.

Here, she speaks of how her missing home has a certain effect on her body. As Bell and Valentine (1997) explain, the food is a tool to which an exploration of the 'geographies of the body' can be performed. They explain that food is a means to which the manner in disciplining the bodies and the manners of boundaries people make for the body can be understood (p.24). What can be concluded in Tina's case, is that her refusal to eat food in Poland is double edged. It is unfortunate that she cannot eat what she wants and refuses to eat the food prepared in her current residence because she longs for the food in the Philippines. But she thinks it is also an advantage, since she can have a slimmer figure. The way she sees the negative and the positive in her food practice can be a manifestation on how she negotiates her situation, her identity and the food that she puts in her body. In her case it is an affirmation of her being a Filipino by opting to eat Filipino food but also giving in to the dominant ideal that are set on women's bodies. In terms of the ideal body, Bell and Valentine discuss that an image of the normative weight has made women discontented with their own bodies thus, minimizing eating to follow the ideal (pp. 27-28). In another angle looking at Tina's case, it is not just about losing weight, her not eating the food at home, which she characteristically describe as 'mostly Polish' is her way of somehow expressing her reluctance to integration by maintaining certain culinary cultural aspects of her old country and the subjectivities associated with it (Goldman in Longhurst, 2009,p.342).

In terms of the relationship of the body and missing food at home, the case Filipino migrant women is complex.

In contrast to the feeling of loss as cited in Tina's case, longing is not about brazening out a gap for there are no void 'free of temporal and spatial images'- what is there is a 'hunger for poignant periods suffused with odors , sounds, smell, and food'(Manalansan, 2004). This kind of remembering for Manalansan, is a non linear approach to understand locations and instances that articulates longing- one that is sated with uncertainties and not so unpleasant details (p. 362).

Following this statement from Manalansan (2004), in dealing with missing home, the migrant women utilize a kind of negotiation that heavily involves the body and through what Robyn Longhurst, Elsie Ho, Lynda Johnston (2009) calls 'visceral experiences of food –the tastes, textures, aromas' which 'can tell a great deal about the emotional and affective relations with place". They explain that by cooking, the women can keep their visceral connections with the old home and the site where the body feels at home is an important aspect in understanding the migrant subject (p.333). I will further discuss how in the case of Filipino migrant women that they are able to have visceral experiences and bodily sensations through food that make them connected to the place they long for- the Philippines.

5.2 The Visceral Approach in Understanding Longing

Longhurst, Johnston and Ho (2009) would describe the visceral approach to refer to the 'sensations, moods and ways of being that emerge from sensory engagement with the material and discursive environments in which we live in' (p.334). They highlight that migration is also about knowing the corporeal and visceral aspects of the body such as 'different languages, gestures, textures, sounds, smells, tastes and culinary practices'. Food making then, for the authors,

is a significant part of keeping in touch with the home- through the ‘visual, auditory, tactile but also smell and taste’ (Longhurst, Ho and Johnston, p. 342)

The connection of food and the senses that affects the body has been consistently mentioned during the interviews. It is apparent that the women use the strategy of viscerally connecting to the Philippines through the senses that reminds them of the home they left behind. This visceral connection proves to be an important approach on how the Filipino women make sense of their bodily reactions and ties to the Philippines.

Not only with words, the women’s faces light up mentioning about the food that serves as a completing nourishment for their body. The women share that talking about food is a pleasurable experience for them especially the food connected to the Philippines. As I have described in the section on methodology, this study involved a lot of eating during interviews and takes the form of what Longhurst, Johnston and Ho (2009) call ‘research led by the stomach.’”(p. 336).

Rachel said:

When I eat pancit (noodles), I feel that I’m in heaven. I’m so happy. The smell of the roasted garlic does it for me, a warm smell that penetrates the nose.

Tina said:

When I miss home, I look at pictures in facebook. It makes me salivate, I’m thinking about its tastes and smell, and since I cannot have them, it gets frustrating.

Evident from their statements are the kind of sensations- of smell and images (even though in the screen of a computer) that gets activated upon cooking the food that they miss from the Philippines. Not only with the senses aroused by the ‘home’, other associations such as geographies and weather in the Philippines also prove significant in remembering food. Ana said:

My day is not complete without rice. I have been used to eating it since I was young. Rice reflects the Philippines landscapes, its tropicality and the land where the rice find it most fit to grow.

Tina said:

Toyo-mansi (soy sauce and citrus) is a taste distinct to the Philippines, it is a tropical smell and is loved by many, so I put it in my meal when I miss home.

Other themes that came out are comparisons of their bodily reactions in terms of eating in Poland and eating in the Philippines. Gail said:

I will never get tired of eating adobong atay (marinated chicken liver). It is the food that completes my body. I feel more refreshed and I don't get angry easily after eating it. My body feels like it is about to whistle. My husband would ask me if I'm happy after eating it and I would happily reply yes. The dishes we have here are boring. I eat it just to live. I don't even run to the table when it is time to eat. I do not get excited.

Her statement 'I eat it just to live' evokes a particular interest for the researcher. This statement is different from other negotiations such as adjustment or reluctance to integration that was previously mentioned. What Gail's statement appears to present is survival- of acknowledging that the body needs to feed even if one does not like what she eats. Since her body only survives, there is no excitement, an excitement she only feels when eating Filipino food. This statement demarcates the intensity of her comparison of food that she associates with Poland and the Philippines. Survival then becomes a strategy she utilizes in making it to her new country (Manalansan, 2004, p. 364).

Not only with what they eat, the manner of eating also prove to be reminiscent of the home in the Philippines:

Maja said:

I feel so happy when I eat using my hands, without utensils. The way that I would grab the rice with my hands. It reminds me of the Philippines. I cannot fully explain,, but maybe the taste of the hand or the smell of it, makes the taste better.

When the food associated with the home in the Philippines is not available, the Filipinas resort to more imaginative strategies:

Tina said:

Everytime I miss the sinangag (fried rice) and dried fish, I would eat rice and mushroom omelette with cheese. The salty taste of cheese reminds of the dried fish and the bad smell too. I love it. This food gives me comfort.

Ana said:

When I miss the food in the Philippines, I draw pictures of the lapu-lapu and color it with many colors. I do it to express my feelings of sadness and missing the Philippines. I also write about it in a blog.

Through drawing and use of substitute ingredients, the smell and taste and sight of the food in the Philippines were able to suffuse the women with home. Indeed as Martin Manalansan (2004) puts it, the immigrants have their own negotiations on dealing with missing and appear to be a daily endeavor to make it to a new place (p. 364). But what is central to the abovementioned strategies of Filipina women is the role of the senses and its connection to the body in remembering. As Fullivole (Fullivole in Zinchenko, 2012, p. 71) notes, the bodily sensations are a hint on the embodiment of the place in an individual, some sort of an imprinting on the body. Being away from the Philippines, can be an emotional and a bodily loss as she loses the senses that she experiences in her old country (Zichenko, p. 71). Longhurst et. al (2009) call it ‘ a kind of sensory deprivation’ (p. 340). This loss could lead the immigrant to occupy a place to do the

transition and while transitioning needs to hold on to the familiar (Grinberg in Zinchenko, 2012, p.72).

The senses however are never ‘innocent’ , it is a practice that look at positions on the ways bodies experience place and culture (Law, 2001, p.266). To discuss how it applies in this study:

Rachel said:

I have been moving from one place to another because there is a certain taste, there is a Filipino food that I want to eat but cannot recognize. But maybe it is also because of my upcoming menstruation. When I’m pregnant, my longing for Filipino food is much intense.

When asked to explain further, she believes that other than hormones it would be nice to undergo pregnancy with her family in the Philippines for more support during pregnancy.

Her sensory remembering of the food is not only indicative of the food and her family from the Philippines but it also involves a link on the female body. It is not innocent as theorized by Law, in the sense that her senses is operating in a context of her female body and linked to her family and the Philippines. Food then becomes a tool to think of different axes – telling something about the migrant experience by informing the way that the body and subjectivities are connected (Probyn in Longhurst, 2009).Not only is the senses ‘situated’, in talking about the visceral- the biological, the social, its relationships and connectedness can be tapped possibly (Probyn in Longhurst, 2009,p.335).

The extend of missing the food in the Philippines and the ways they perform the ways to deal with it are not only done in solitary ways, there are “social strategies “that involves the others (Ward & Styles, 2005, p. 426). This means that when they miss home, they gather with people that can be associated with home. In fact, food parties and gathering have been a consistent part of the Filipina migrant women’s social life in Poland. This however is mediated by their geographical

closeness to Filipino communities as other women would most often than not, unable to attend gathering due to distance. Warsaw having the most numbers of Filipino migrants has the most frequent parties.

Frida said:

It feels home when I meet a Filipina friend or when we gather together. We talked a lot, we laugh a lot. We teach each other recipes.

Tina stated:

I am very thankful there are other Filipinas here, or else I would have gone crazy. It is a big help for me.

As told by the interviewees, the infrequent access to Filipino parties however makes longing for the Philippines much stronger for those women who would only resort to individual Filipino cooking as compared to those who can interact with other Filipina migrants in food parties.

When asked what the role of food is during these parties, Ana shared:

It is to be hospitable to the guests coming, and a way to entice people to come. It is a way to show that you really welcome them. That's for the host, for the attendees, bringing potluck means you share and accept the people and your relationship with people in the party.

Mia described:

It cannot be without food. But other than eating, we sing magic sing (a kind of videoke from the Philippines) and chat in Filipino.

The statements from the Filipina migrants highlight the 'communicative role' of food (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 106) during gathering as it is a medium to which they chat and share stories and during parties but at the same time, these parties can be a way wherein they reminisce and

assert their ties to the ‘home’, they identify to be the one in the Philippines (Magno, 2000). As Magno explains, Filipina migrant women gather and recreate food imagined to be from the Philippines to bond their group identity (p. 56). Mia described that these parties are fun for her as they can chat in a language they all understand, eat the food from home, be loud as much as they want, talk gossip that their husbands don’t have an idea of. She adds that the place is where all the ‘stinky food and exotic food’ can be put on the table, no one will complain as most of the attendees know about it.

Having all these specific characteristics of the food party, the gathering becomes a space in the middle of Poland, where the Filipina migrant women married to Polish men transform space and map out an alternative layout of their life. As Lisa Law (2001) explains, food has the capacity to stir up a ‘multifaceted experience of home’, for by consuming Filipino food, various experience of home and the Philippines is disbursed (p. 267). For a moment, certain practices in Poland are casted off like speaking English or Polish, to savor the senses of the home that is the Philippines. Here, Law’s (2001) theory is very much applicable, as she expresses that this ‘sensory practice is situated’ - for in consuming the tastes and aroma, the food on the table that they characterize to be Filipino undergoes a process where it becomes a tool for identity signification (p.266).

Tina explains that gathering in the Philippines is different than the parties in Poland because the parties that they hold in their new country is a way to remember home.

Her statement gives the element of the impact of migration and what it does to food and identity in the context of missing and remembering. Food, after migration goes through a process of establishing a national identity that does not happen in the Philippines for in moving to a new

place, a certain distancing is created from the food at home, and through remembering and recreating the food, it creates a new meaning of identifying with the nation (Law, p. 278).

5.3 Culinary Nostalgia in Constructing Identities of Filipina Migrants

I have established that home is a central theme for Filipino migrant women in Poland, that there is an element of sensory loss that needs to be recreated after migration and that missing can be connected to different axes such as the body in the case of Filipino women. Now that I have established the ways in which women express and make meaning to their missing the home through food, what are the implications to their sense of identity, specifically to their Philippine identity?

What then is the risk of an identity that is heavily geared towards a remembering of the ‘old home fueled by loss’ through food making?

What the women described so far in remembering the Philippines would fall under the definition of nostalgia. Svetlana Boym (2007) describes nostalgia as ‘a longing for a home that no longer exists or never existed’ (p.7) Contrasting the medical take on nostalgia, she describes it as ‘a historical emotion, not a longing for a place but a yearning for a different time- the time of childhood, the slower rhythms of dreams’ (p.8). For Boym, nostalgia is about ‘the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups or nations between personal and collective memory’ (p.9).

In linking food and nostalgia, Mark Swislocki (2009) would refer to culinary nostalgia as ‘the recollection or purposive evocation of another time and place through food’ (p.1). Affirming this definition and the bodily ways of remembering food, the Filipino migrants gave food the role connecting the ‘sensual link’ (Hubbell, 2013, p.4) to the Philippines. Furthermore, eating food associated to the Philippines evokes sensual memories, but Hubbell (2013) warns food nostalgia cannot be untied to its context. Hubbell explains that a process of remembering is always saturated with a circumstance and a perspective in seeing the past (p.3).

In trudging the roads of the past, Salman Rushdie warns of nostalgia and the tendency to idealize what had transpired (Rushdie in Mannur, 2007). Nostalgia intervenes to ‘decolorize or colorize’ the past resulting to an imprecise telling of a memory (Mannur, 2007, p. 12). In recreating the past, nostalgia dismisses ‘difference, paradox and conflict by constructing a harmonious past’ (Lupton in Hubbell, 2013, p.3). In Hubbell’s (2013) study on nostalgia in Algeria, while food serves as a tool to sustain an identity, stereotypes can happen distorting the reality which can nauseate an individual, turning into what she calls an ‘inedible’ Algeria (pp. 16-17).

Nostalgia despite its negative impression can be classified into two typologies- the restorative and reflective (Boym, 2001). Boym (2007) argues that reflective nostalgia offers a more critical approach since it is the kind of remembering that doubts the truths and does not cage itself to a single plot (p.13). In contrast, restorative nostalgia is geared towards the goal ‘protecting the absolute truth’ and ‘return to origins’ (Boym, 2007). The use of the two classifications of nostalgia are crucial in the case on how the Filipino migrant women make sense of their identity.

Applying the claims to this study, I will use a statement given in the previous chapter about the Christmas tradition.

Not only Christmas was described to be an always happy occasion, Michelle tells of Christmas in the image of Filipino jingles, abundant food in the table, chats and laughter from family and friends, with *putobungbong*(a Christmas pastry in the Philippines),of *lechon* in the table as the star of the table, *simbanggabi* and the humid-cold December breeze of the season. The description is replete with landscapes of senses, smell and colors of her memory of Christmas. But there is always the tendency of ‘colorization of the past’ as Mannur (2007) puts it, of the Christmas tradition, as nostalgic significance takes it strongest effect only after migration to Poland. After experiencing a different tradition in Poland, with the cold temperature in Poland, the absence of food ingredients and away from the family, a yearning for a different time, of the past can recur.

If one is to insist that the Christmas tradition is one happy timeless tradition shared firmly and uniformly by all members of a community, disregarding the complex ways the members of a community are positioned, then one commits what Boym (2001) would call as restorative nostalgia, where one would wish to look for ‘restoration of origins’, ‘universal values and truth’ (Boym, 2007, p13-14). Thinking about Christmas in the Philippines suffused by colors and sensory experience might be a form of a more progressive individualized remembering, but to extend such memory to other Filipinos might be a case of cultural homogenization and perpetuation of a traditional national culture, which I have stressed to be problematic in the previous chapter.

Boym (2001) further explains that restorative nostalgia sees the home as in danger of vanishing and therefore needs to be defended (pp. 43).

If the Christmas tradition is to be analyzed using Boym's framework of restorative nostalgia, the Polish winter bestowing a unpleasant experience of Christmas for instance, invokes a discomfort leading to think of the Christmas in the Philippines as the better celebration, forgetting that the tradition in the Philippines itself is never an invariable event. Christmas as a long time tradition for Michelle has never been the same for all Filipinos, but since losing the elements of Filipino Christmas such as being with the family or warm weather, one wishes for a repetition, claiming how Christmas in the Philippines is always a much better experience than the one in Poland. Experiencing the Filipino Christmas becomes something that is already lost, something that needs to be reclaimed by asserting for an idea of a happier Filipino Christmas celebrated uniformly throughout the Philippines.

Boym (2001) however offers that restorative nostalgia can be two things- tied up with national memory or can open up an array of possible meanings of communities that has a positive impact (p.42). When Michelle acknowledges that Christmas is changing over time, it is acknowledging the weakening of the single plot of Filipino Christmas. What comes out then in the case of Michelle is an individualized form of remembering Christmas in the Philippines.

The ways in which the Filipino women deal with food nostalgia however can be ambivalent and could mean different meanings.

In terms of authenticity for instance:

Frida in cooking tinola (chicken soup with papaya and chili leaves) in Poland, would replace the vegetables with green bell pepper. She thinks that the food is authentically Filipino and

would pass as tinola even though it is being cooked in Poland and the ingredients are not from the Philippines.

In the same question, Gail believes that the food is not authentic as the ingredients are not the same. The taste is different, she would not even recognize if it is still the food thought to originate in the Philippines.

So how does this authenticity complicate the concept of a cuisine yoked to the home that is the Philippines?

Mannur (2007) speaks of the way a migrant would feign authenticity of food could be a way to recreate a sense of home with an original essence, to replicate the things were never present, of seeing the claws of the 'nation' despite the realities of migration(pp. 15-16). But at the same time Frida's declaring authenticity over food that is obviously made out of ingredients not from the Philippines is emancipating. The ethnically coded *tinola* proves that authentic tinola can be made even though the ingredients are not from the Philippines. Where the immigrant is most perceived as the 'inauthentic versus the real citizens 'or those who still stays in the nation, declaring the food as nevertheless authentic 'distorts the hierarchy of the home nation and diaspora' (Mannur,2007, p. 23).

What is interesting in the interviews with Filipino women is that nostalgia does not only talk of intercountry migration, but can also happen as one transfers from one city in Poland to another.

Gail said:

I remember when I was working in another city in Poland, it was better because I can choose what to eat as my boss would buy it for me. I would request to buy ingredients then I can cook Filipino food. Now my husband is poor, we can only eat what our budget can afford. Rice is a hardly afforded commodity, we stick with potatoes as it is cheaper.

Nostalgia in this sense what Kathleen Stewart describes as ‘ a cultural practice, not a given context, its forms, meanings and effects, shift with context- it depends on where the speaker stands in the landscapes of the present’ (Stewart in Mannur, 2007, p. 14). In her case, she was nostalgic of a time wherein she can eat the food she likes. There is a change in context as she had a change in circumstances- from a worker to a housewife, and her purchasing capacity changed as she got married. In her case nostalgia operates in two contexts- one when she was still working in a different Polish town and when she was still in the Philippines, where she explained that nostalgia after she got married and transferred to another city is much stronger than when she was not yet married.

5.4 Reflective Nostalgia: Approaches of Filipino Women

Reflective nostalgia as described by Boym (2007) dreads return and is oriented towards individual narrative filled with details and ‘cherishes shattered fragments’. Boym acknowledges that one can be critical and compassionate in the process of remembering (p.15).

As mentioned above, women remember food with details and state their narratives according the meanings they attach to food. However, there are particular statements that undoubtedly shows the ways that their remembering becomes reflective instead of restorative.

Ana in cooking *dinuguan* (pig blood dish with meat) showed me a picture on how her dish turned into a kind of soup. She laughed and called her dish ‘dinuguan with a Polish touch’. She also thinks it maybe not dinuguan anymore. It maybe not Polish or Filipino, it is what it is, what it has become.

Her statement display what Anita Mannur (2007) calls a ‘culinary transmogrification’ does to the cultural identification of food. A culinary transmogrification is an attempt to renounce the narratives declaring authenticity of the food tied to the homeland (Mannur, 2007, p. 20). In saying that the food is what it is, it stresses that food has left the borders.(Mannur, 2007, p. 19). In a parallel claim, the food that Ana prepares affirms what Fischler (1988) claims, that in talking about disturbances about food, the complexity of the identity tied to it is also explored and made complex (p. 291).

Ana added:

I eat and cook Filipino food when I miss it. But eating Filipino food does not make you a Filipino. I don’t think food has something to do with being a Filipino. What I mean is, it doesn’t mean that you’re a Filipino you have to eat all food that is Filipino. If that is the case then I eat Polish, Filipino, Italian, Chinese. I eat and like all those. So who am I? Even my husband who is Polish eats Filipino food. Food is important but it does change according to taste and maybe my coming here contributed to it too.

Her statement affirms what Bell and Valentine (1997) says that ‘we are where we eat’, and Lisa Law (2001) adding that you are where food is being prepared and given meanings (p.275). In her case, since the food can no longer be identified as Polish or Filipino, it also signifies how she could no longer simply establish what and who she is. She is what she is and what she has become. The *dinuguan* signifies how from being a Filipino coded dish, she became unidentifiable after

migration to Poland. Ana speaks of a position where her food practice is ‘ambivalently coded and complexly situated’ (Mannur, 2007, p. 28). Ana’s way to remember food and consuming what she prepared then is not limiting as it allows identity to move and take the shape that it wants to occupy, whatever shape it means.

In another example about the complex identity of Filipino migrant women reflected in food, Rina explained:

I describe my cooking as half Polish-half Filipino. I think I’m still a Filipino, I still eat rice but I won’t eat it all the time. I miss the food, the taste and smell and all, but not the Philippines. I only miss my family because they are there. I know that I will be here for good so I miss my family.

Here, she speaks of a kind of food nostalgia wherein food in the Philippines is being missed but not the nation. She speaks of a kind of cutting ties in the same manner as Mannur (2007, p. 28) describes being ‘nostalgic for Indian food without being nostalgic for India’, Rina speaks of another way of being a Filipino through food that is filled with ambivalence, of knowing that a return is not in the near future, if possible at all. As Boym (2001) points out, nostalgia could also ‘offer multiple imagined communities and ways of belonging that depends on national principle’ (p.42). Filipina migrant women in Poland are able to stay away from the claws of a powerful Philippine identity by opting to explore more individual scripts of remembering.

Chapter 6. Food Making in Poland

After establishing how nostalgia puts the Filipina migrant women in ambivalent and varied positions in making sense of their identity, what are the specific ways in which food making is being entangled with other vectors of their identity such as class, gender and employment after moving to Poland? In this chapter, I will present the ways that various categories such as gender, class, employment, age, marital status and race are implicated in food making in the case of the Filipino migrant women in Poland. I will discuss the interviewees' perspectives on food making and their identity after their migration to Poland. The second part consists of the household relationships and food making arrangements that operate in the current home where the Filipino women reside and how it impacts on their sense of who they are.

What is evident during interviews is that the Filipino women each have a unique and different experience of negotiating their perspectives after migration. While food is crucial in understanding the relationship with the home and the nation (Bell & Valentine, 1997; Hubbell, 2013; Mannur, 2007), food is also tied to other identity categories as it becomes a means and an articulation of the ways migrants define and redefine identity (Chapman and Beagan, 2013, p. 367). During interviews, it was apparent how moving to Poland has made an impact on their food practices and their notions of who they are.

6.1 The Wife as the Cook

All the women perform the role of the cook in Poland for their families and themselves at the very least. However, the ways in which a role of food making becomes relegated to the Filipina have different trajectories and impact on the interviewees.

Mia said:

When I was in the Philippines, I didn't really cook. My father cooked for us, all I was told to do is to study. People call me a spoiled brat jokingly. Then I got married and moved to Poland. I did not really prepare for this role, all the cooking and house chores so I am learning, which is difficult. I sometimes would call my father on Skype to ask for instructions.

Mia went through a change in food making roles upon marriage and migration. As Elizabeth Crespo (2005) asserts in her study of Puerto Rican women's migration, migration alters gender roles (p. 149), Mia, from the being the daughter who is used to a male cook in her family in the Philippines and being mostly a consumer of the food rather than the cook, is now the wife who cooks for herself and her husband. When asked why she was assigned the role of the cook, she answered that because her husband is working while she stays home so she has the time. She added that she does not believe that because you are a woman then you have to be the cook, even though in Poland, most of the Filipinas do the cooking.

Her statement reveals an awareness of the role of the cook being assigned to mostly women but would refuse that it is naturally given. She emphasized that in her home, her father who is a male, was the cook. When asked why, she explained that because her father is the better cook and

her mother's job did not permit her to cook regularly for the family. Her case though is an exceptional one as what Magno (2000) has claimed that majority of Filipino women are the main cook in their homes in the Philippines (p.57). Mia's family's case can be attributed to the fact that in food making as Chapman and Beagan (2013) has explained in their study, that it is not only gender that shapes the practice- other factors such as employment and skills intersect with gender in food practice. The main expectation is still with Mia's mother but since she cannot cook due to employment constraints, the father took charge. The fact that people call her a spoiled brat is an affirmation that she being a non-cook is an aberration to the norm in the Philippines. She is the lucky one and yet being called a brat in the Philippines insinuates that it is not supposed to be like that. It is interesting though as to why the role of cooking was never passed on to Mia. Mia attributes that perhaps her father do not want her to be distracted from school work. She took on a time consuming degree and her availability to learn to cook prove to be a factor as to why she never performed food making. A hasty generalization as it may sound, the observation that education is a much valued matter in the Philippines (Dolan, 1991) deserve a comment as to why Mia's degree is much emphasized than her learning to cook.

From Mia's case, it can be deduced that upon migration she becomes exposed to a cooking set up different from what she was accustomed to. Her case proves that food making is able to illustrate the change brought by migration as it becomes a space where gendered food norms are 'reproduced, challenged and reinvented' (Chapman and Beagan, 2013, p. 367). As she transforms the role of being the wife and the cook, she gets exposed to a new set of gender norms and she struggles to cope up with a new set of gendered arrangement in cooking. This culinary adjustment as she calls it, has made her family life and migration experience in Poland challenging

even though tolerable. While her food practice in Poland can be considered reinvented, there are still aspects though of the gendered belief in cooking from the Philippines that are reproduced. It can be deduced that Mia still believes that men can do the cooking too. This was the setup she was accustomed to growing up in the Philippines. This is not to assume that Mia came to Poland carrying what she has from the Philippines and rejected and accepted what can be useful for her once in Poland. As Chapman and Beagan (2013) explain, more than the rejection and acceptance processes, migrants negotiate and identify themselves by navigating multiple attachments through food making (p. 367). In Mia's case, she navigates between the cooking practices that she was used to in the Philippines and the new role as the cook after she migrated and got married.

As the wife with the cooking role, she struggles learning how to cook, as a migrant she faces the challenge of what ingredients and dishes to cook since she is not familiar with the food in Poland. In her case, it is apparent how the intersection of her being a woman, the wife, her familial exposure in cooking and as a migrant are playing out in her food practice. As to how these intersections is connected to her identity, Mia identifies herself in accordance to the roles she now occupies- she is now a wife, she is now the cook, a Filipina married to a Pole - identifications that gives a sense of who she is. Even though she thinks that food and food making are not the only source of her difficulty upon migration as she also cited language and winter, she believes that food is central to her migration experience in Poland.

Another interviewee who went through transformations in some similar fashion is Eden. She said:

I never cooked in the Philippines but I had to learn how to cook here when I got married and have children. My mother was the cook and I only had to wash dishes because my brothers are lazy and they could get away with that (sigh). I don't know what to tell you but that's how it is. Now, I work in wee hours which made cooking for my kids very difficult. Before, I didn't cook because my mother had a maid who helps her. Here when I couldn't manage with the cooking, I ask other people to make us food, I buy food from them and ask the help of my mother in law.

What could also be analyzed in Eden's case is how paid work had made her food making tasks more challenging because she has to juggle her time in both the home and the working place. Eden is one picture on the woman whose work never ends, or one who does a 'second shift' after paid work (Hochschild, 1989) and one who resorts to the service economy (through a maid or paying someone to prepare the food) to resolve her massive domestic duties (Oropesa 1993), even asking the help of the mother in law. Food making and domestic chores in this sense is tied to gender as it highlights the ways that women are expected to do most of the work (Chapman and Beagan, 2013, Bell and Valentine, 1997). What can be deduced from her case is the gendered aspect of cooking shown in one Filipino family, her family in the Philippines, which could give a glimpse on how cooking norms play out in Philippine society. She did not cook, but still do things attached to food making such as washing dishes. It shows how in her family, the cooking was relegated to the mother because she has more skills and because she is older, how cleaning is assigned to Eden while her brothers can be lazy. This affirms what kitchen has 'taken on a feminine gender identity' as it is mostly women who are given the role (Lowe et.al in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 72).

However, what is more interesting for Eden is how she makes sense of the food that her mother in law prepares for her kids as she compares to the little time she can cook for the children when she is off work. She makes a comment on how her children are eating more Polish food because the mother in law cooks more for them. The elder child rarely eats Filipino food while she

described the younger child to be ‘half- half’. But with the older child, she would explain how she makes *adobo* and orient the child about it. This reflects the role of the woman/mother and domestic space in ‘reproducing’ the nation (Yuval Davis in Stapleton, 2004, p. 47) and in reproducing (Mannur, 2007 p. 14) and ‘strengthening’ national identity (Beoku-Betts, 1995, p. 536) and how not having the children eat more Filipino food is considered to be an ‘annihilation of one’s very identity’ (Chatterjee in Chapman and Beagan, 2013, p. 381). Eden frustrates over the fact that her children eat more Polish food and thinks that they are more Polish than Filipino. In this aspect, food making for Filipino migrant women in Poland is not only gendered, but is associated with one’s sense of national identity tied to the homeland as theorized by Mannur and affirmed by the case of Filipino women. Food making is also laced by Eden’s positioning as a paid worker with shifting schedule, her being a cook and a mother with children and a migrant, affirming the claims of Beagan and Chapman (2013, p. 367).

However, Eden explains that the ways her children consume food disprove that eating Filipino food makes one a Filipino. Her children are half-half as she describes them, occupying an uncertain position- a generation of Filipinos who does and does not eat Filipino food, or a generation of Poles who may and may not like Polish food- a kind of identity echoing what Avtar Brah (2006) claims to be an identity that is ‘both’, when asked whether she is a African or Indian, (p. 2). As shown in Eden’s and her children’s case, the presence of cross cultural children with practices that cannot be steadily identified to one culture disrupts the prevalent national conception of ‘racialized purity and cultural unity’ (Skotnes and Benmayor, 2005). For the authors, the existence of a generation, of children from cross racial and cross cultural marriages has disrupted the norms and indicated a complicated sense of constructing their identity (pp.8-9).

Expounding more about Eden orienting her children about food and its implications on identity, the dinner table is an important site for socialization including the values enforced while eating (Bell and Valentine, 1997 p. 63-64). Most of the interviewees said that they are trying to teach the children the same rules that their parents taught them. Most of the women with children require their children to share a meal together for the family to reinforce its value of being together (Charles and Kerr in Bell & Valentine, 1997, p. 62). This rule enforcement is not always successful as Frida added:

It saddens me that my children would not eat with me all the time, it's the internet, television and computers that would grab their attention, they would rather eat in their rooms while surfing the internet. Back in my days when we had no internet and not too much technology to use so we are able to eat together. Now they have all the technology so it is different.

While she sounds nostalgic in her statement, her food practice of socializing her children to eat together (Bell and Valentine, 1997 p. 66) is meddled with technology such as computers (p. 82) that gets more available upon the family's migration and financial capacity and enmeshed with age and generational differences (Chapman and Beagan, 2013, p. 373). What can be concluded in Frida's case is that she acknowledges that technological advancement happens rapidly and thinks that her children adapt to it better than she does. She is aware that her and her children's difference in age, economic status, generation and growing up in Poland are important factors in shaping the way they think and the way they eat their food. Frida, then speaks in a position acknowledging the crisscrossing of her age, of her being a mother, a Filipina migrant with her cross cultural children in the family's food practice.

In another situation, Gail would orient her children to eat vegetables as she was taught while growing up but the ways that is performed by the children are different. She explains:

I teach them to eat vegetables because it is healthy. In the Philippines, we want children to be healthy. But the way they eat is different, they eat tomatoes, cucumbers like a goat, which to me is really funny, that is what they learned here in Poland. In the Philippines, the vegetables needed to be cooked first. If they grow up in the Philippines then, they would eat food the same way as me.

This shows how the migration has offered Gail to see how her family's food practice can be different even though they belong to one family. Changes in identity is reflected in plates (Bell & Valentine, 1997, p. 77) as changes in food patterns changes the ways the family is understood (Goodman & Redcliff in Bell & Valentine, 1997, p. 77). Gail consumes food and thinks of food differently from her children. In this sense, food consumption can be a way to describe the ways 'postmodern families' operate as it debunks the homogeneous conception of a single food practice that exists in the home, instead introducing the ways that the family engages in more diverse food consumption (Stacey in Bell & Valentine, 1997, p. 76). The food practice of the children and their mother have an element of Polishness and Filipinoness or maybe more even more, even though the emphasis to health may not solely be a distinct Filipino practice, but in her case she believes it is. The food practices of Gail and her children affirm what Bell and Valentine (1997) describe to be a space to understand construction of 'hybrid identities' as the children's practice take the form of a fusion of multiply attached food practices (p. 83).

However, Mia and Eden's cases are isolated as for majority of the women, cooking is a role that they have been performing since they were young and even after marriage and migration. Indeed, most of the women described that cooking is never a hard activity since living in the

Philippines they are already equipped with cooking skills. Since they have been cooking for a long time, many women do not appear to question as to why women not the men are carrying out the role of the cook. Their statements can reveal what Chapman and Beagan (2013, p. 367) assert that migration can reproduce gendered norms in food making.

In one case, Maja explained:

In the Philippines my mother cooked as my father is macho same as my brothers. I help my mother cook. My father comes home, we run to him to offer slippers while he waits for dinner. It is the same situation I am in. now, my husband is macho and does not even think of himself cooking. I cook but he doesn't. It is okay for me, I do not really think about it. What becomes difficult sometimes is the food here because I have to get used to it.

The statement of Maja also speak of how food and cooking arrangements can be learned through socialization in the family (Bell & Valentine, 1997, p.63). It can be deduced that migration in her case only reproduced what she was accustomed to, she grew up with a macho father and the existence of a macho father was reproduced in the person of her husband. However, there is a reinvention that takes place as she becomes a migrant who has to learn new cuisines and ingredients in Poland. Her familiarity with cooking might not be a difficulty for her but her unfamiliarity with the food in Poland pose challenges for her. In her case, her gendered role of being a cook intersects with her being a migrant, which determines as to whether food making is a difficult or an easy task for her. When asked what facilitates this reproduction of the cooking norm in Poland, in her case, Maja's not having a paid job and her husband being used to women cooking for him play out to be factors that allow for the cooking role to be assigned to her in their home in Poland.

Indeed as Filipino migrant women in Poland dominate food making, many of the interviewees state that their husband has minimal role in food making.

Tina explained:

He does not cook but would only help in the barbecue sometimes. I do the cooking.

Her statement confirms that more than the husband, the main task of cooking is relegated to her. Indeed, women have been historically relegated the roles of food making for the family- including shopping, preparing and cooking (Murcott in Bell and Valentine, p.70). Bell and Valentine argue that when men participate in cooking, they only perform simple and menial tasks. Other factors in preference include the feminine and masculine aspect relegated to food such as masculinity of the meat (Shapiro in Bell and Valentine, 1997 p. 72) and masculinity of barbecuing (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.72). Bell and Valentine also explain that cooking can be analyzed in terms of space and how it is gendered considering the outside barbecuing that can be connected to men's love for the outdoors (Watson in Bell and Valentine p. 73) and the hidden private kitchen for the women where detailed and intricate parts of food making- the feminine aspects can be done (Bell and Valentine, 1997,p. 72).

In one interview, Frida's statements encapsulate the women dominated aspect of cooking in the Philippines (Magno, 2000). She adds:

We grew up thinking what the elders tell me that as a girl I will just get married so there's no need to study and finish school. Studying cooking and chores are the only thing to learn. It is like this in our country right?

In fact, that the majority of women grew up in a home where the mother is the cook says something about the ways the gendered and women dominated cooking practice operate in the Philippines (Magno, 2000). However, upon migration, ‘gender relations can be reaffirmed, negotiated, and reconfigured’ (Gender Immigration, 2002). Migration equates to ‘opportunity, of class and cultural distance and mobility’ (Chamberlain, in Skotnes and Benmayor, 2005, p 128) as in the case of Frida. Frida added:

But I did not follow what they told me that I only need to learn to cook and get married. In fact after marriage and migration I was able to do a lot of things since my husband can fully support the family. I was able to find a job and earn more money. I now cook different cuisines since my husband and I move a lot.

In Frida’s case, even though the cooking role continues to be assigned to her, migration and marriage became spaces to contradict the statement that her elders told her while growing up. Marrying a Pole and migrating to countries opened a different kind of understanding for her. Cooking then becomes an explorative activity for her as she learns different cuisines. Her migration to Poland challenges the ways identities are conceived as well as cultural stereotypes (Skotnes&Benmayor, 2005, p.8) as she challenges the stereotype of being the destined uneducated wife who only cooks for the husband as her elders were telling her.

Another factor that affects the Filipino migrant women that can be displayed in food practice is paid employment. The possession of a job has different meanings for the Filipina migrant women. Cooking for the family and taking up employment in Poland are negotiated in various ways for the Filipina migrants in Poland.

Gail is the cook in the family and she works shift hours. Cooking and working for her is a juggling of time and energy every day. She finds it tiring many times. She described:

I have to wake up earlier so I can prepare the food for my husband and children. It is hard because it takes a toll on my body, but I would not stop working because we need the money and since during salary day it allows me to buy and cook what I want.

Financial independence places women in a space of personal freedom, (Crespo, 2005, p. 145) which is also seen in the way Gail can choose her food that her job entitles her. Employment is challenging for Gail since it requires hard work but at the same time it gives her the financial opportunity to put food on the table and choose her own food.

For Filipina migrant women without paid jobs, food making can be spent in a more relaxed manner since they have ample time to cook and learn new recipes. Ana explained:

I do it when I have nothing else to do. I explore recipes. This becomes my leisure activity.

However, while staying at home and not having a paid job provide a more unperturbed time for the housewife, lack of personal income For Filipino migrant women can also be a reason not to demand for the food that they want. As Tina said:

Since I have no work, I sometimes feel that I cannot demand for things. It happens with food too, I have this shyness not to demand since I do not have a job.

She explained that when she was in the Philippines, she was the one doing the budgeting for her family's food as she is the breadwinner. Since she recently married and is still looking for work, she needs to adjust. This shows how migration has introduced her to a new definition of

social roles (Crespo, 2005, p. 149) that migrants like her needs to struggle with – the change from being the breadwinner to the housewife who does not have an income.

Not only with employment, food making also speaks about the class positioning of the migrant women (Chapman and Beagan, 2013, p.373). What is evident in the interviews is how migration and marriage impact on the Filipino women's financial capacities which also translates to the ways they make their food and the decisions and demands they can make within the family. Gail:

My husband and I do not earn much so we have a small budget in food and can barely afford to eat what we really like. It is hard, my husband is poor but I married him still, I stand by this decision. It's not like I'm used to a comfortable lifestyle in the Philippines. I need to send money to Philippines too, which is hard because I do not have enough. Cooking isn't really something I love, I was assigned the cook in the Philippines because my siblings were lazy and my mother was abroad so she cannot cook. Here I am the cook, I cook polish food because it is cheaper, I cook that's okay as long as they do not force me to eat it. and in cooking what I want it has to fit in the budget. So when I buy chicken, I cut it into parts and decide which goes to this recipe or that recipe. My husband does not cook, he would try sometimes but that's rare.

Her statement reflects the way in which gender and class, migration and marital status intersect and can be understood through food making (Chapman and Beagan, 2013). It shows how she experiences the complicated difficulties of being assigned the cook in the Philippines, that continued after marriage and migration and how food making becomes more difficult for her as she acquires other roles- that of a mother, financial provider, wife, and worker and as a migrant who cannot choose the food she likes due to financial constraints.

For those who are in a better position, I will use for a second time, the case of Frida whose family has more income. She explained:

If you want Filipino food, as long as you have dollars there should not be any problem. We can look for shops to find what I like and since we travel a lot I can bring buy in those places and bring them home. I don't know how to budget really. It is a pleasure cooking. When I was in the Philippines, we weren't rich, the aunties cook in the regular days, the uncles during big occasions. My father works so my mother cooks. Our meals are meager, *pandesal*(common breakfast bread in the Philippines and rice. I did work but the finances never afforded us a good lifestyle. In the Philippines, cooking is easy but not the budget. Here I can buy what I want. I think that's something good in living abroad, rich or poor you can eat the same as you buy in the same store.

Her life changed after marriage and migrating to Poland as she gets the comfort of having enough money from her husband's earnings.

What I have established in this part of the chapter is how migration impacts on the cooking beliefs and practices of the Filipino women after migration. Before moving to Poland, the women each have their own experience in cooking. Upon migration, these food making practices of Filipina migrant women are either continued challenged and reinvented as it intersects to their experience of migration, affirming the claims of Chapman and Beagan (2013).

6.2 Power and Control in Food Practices in the Home

Interviews and informal talks with Filipino women married to Polish men show that the food practice in the home is characterized by diverse sometimes conflicting power dynamics that household members negotiate and plays a fundamental part in structuring relationships and identities (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 61 and 84).

Most Filipinas believe that their coming to Poland as an additional family member for Polish extended families, changes not only the dynamics of the home but of food making and

consumption. They came to Poland with an awareness of her and her husband's differences including the food they eat. The food practice in the intermarriage becomes a space where identities are negotiated and defined (Magno, 2001, p. 52). However, these negotiations are not the same for these Filipino women, because the food that is being served on the table depicts the household relationships and reflects the specific complex power play that operates distinctly in each home (Bell & Valentine, 1997, p.61).

Eleven of the twelve women interviewed have the main role of cooking for their family in the home, however who they cook the food for and what they cook greatly vary. Most interviewees prepare for their husband's food. There are cases when the husbands would specify what they like and what they do not while some simply depend on what the wife prepares.

In an actual observation, while staying at her home, Ana asked her husband what he wants to eat for dinner, she asked if pasta is for dinner okay. The husband would only eat pasta if no meat goes in it as he is not fond of meat. She added:

I feel happy when my family likes what I prepared. When I cook, I look forward to the praises of my family, if they like it or not.

In another interview, Tina stated:

My husband basically eats anything that I prepare, food that I characterize mostly as Filipino. But he does not prefer those with vinegar. So I have to control my vinegar use. I like it more with vinegar but he needs to be able to eat the food too.

Gail said:

I make sure that the Filipino dish I prepare is 'eatable' for my husband.

While acknowledging that the husband and wife have different preferences on how they want their food to be, the consideration on how the husband would like the food is evident on the statements. Charles and Kerr (Charles and Kerr in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 73) write that men, even without any participation in the cooking pot, controls what goes inside it. More elaborately, Devault (Devault in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 73) theorizes that women put the food preferences of other members of the family, especially the partner, before her own.

The wife's privileging of the husband's taste might appear for her as an act of duty and affection (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.75). Murcott (Murcott in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.75) describes that women obtain pleasure and identity in cooking dinners that family members love. However, this giving in to the wants of the husband cannot be viewed simplistically as in the case of Tina, the use of vinegar shows that she favors the husband but never the less her continued use of vinegar, speaks of a kind of negotiation that does not entail completely giving up on her preferences, instead a compromise so that both food choices are resolved. In her case, it is affirmed that food also speaks of boundaries, are 'outlines of social give and take' (Ardil in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.13). Her husband might not like a big amount of vinegar but she is still able to cook adobo which reflects that she still has a say on the way the couple consume food.

In some cases, the domestic politics of food in the home bear gender inequality (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 14). To put an example of this unequal gender relationship displayed in food choices, one interviewee stated:

We had a difficult start here in terms of our relationship. We always had verbal fights even with food that we eat. But now I realized I want to work it out. So with

food, I cook what he wants. I no longer want to look horrible in front of him .I no longer complain.

When asked what they used to fight about, she replied:

We used to fight about his excessive drinking, I would nag him but he does not listen, so I just let him be. I have tried everything, from telling him how unhealthy it is to getting angry but nothing works. When I don't nag him, we do not fight, then it is much better.

From not voicing out her food choices, her case becomes an arguable case of psychological violence. Psychological violence is defined as “acts or omissions causing or likely to cause mental or emotional suffering of the victim” (Republic Act 9262). While her relationship and experience with her husband is not captured entirely by the abovementioned narrative, her statement displays a clear presence of the husband’s dominant behavior pertaining to food making and eating, where the husband dominates over their meals and she follows his food choices. When she asks her husband to refrain from drinking, her husband would not listen. These statements reflect the polarity of their positions, where one asks and the other listens, when it is the other’s turn to demand, she is not being heard. While drinking and domestic violence would entail a more complicated reading as its relationship is still subjected to debates (Leonard, 2005), the comparison being made in this example is in terms of the husband’s bodily relationship to drinking, to which heavy drinking can be one of them (Bell and Valentine,1997, p. 14). While the husband can have a big input in what the wife eats as she considers her preferences more than her own, she cannot stop her husband from heavy alcohol consumption. She adds that she is not particularly happy about their situation but she refuses to leave her husband since she wants to keep her marriage.

Among her reasons are lack of financial resources and thoughts that no opportunities await her in the Philippines if she leaves.

In another case, the interviewee explains a time when she had to work out of town away from her husband.

I had to come back since my husband keeps drinking and is not managing on his own. I started doing the chores again, including cooking for him and he changed. He needs me, he is much better when I look after him. I sometimes feel that he needs a caregiver and a cook instead of a wife but this is the life that I chose.

Both women recognize the food considerations they do. In the second case, she feels that her position of a wife is demoted to that of a paid worker- a cook or a caregiver. Being demoted to such position entails that she is relegated to a position with less power and control, as compared to the wife who is supposed to share the decisions in the home with the husband, including food. Food making, then in her case, serves as a manifestation of the power play in the Filipino Polish home, where the husband holds most of the control and the wife yields to this influence, the kind of identities that are constituted according to the influence one can exert in the house (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.61).

However, giving in to the husband's wishes is not an everyday phenomenon. The first interviewee tells that when they dine out, she sometimes chooses where to eat.

This proves that the food consumption in a family can take multiple forms and cannot be defined in one single account (Delphy in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 76).

Eating alone is another response when the women do not like the food that is being served on the table.

Two of the women interviewed would prepare separate food for themselves. These women prefer individualized cooking and eating since they do not want to consume the food which they describe as mostly Polish that is on the table.

One interviewee stated:

My husband works far away so I stay with my husband's family. They would always prepare Polish food that I do not like to eat all the time, so I prepare my own.

Another interviewee said:

After my mother in law finishes cooking, I would start cooking my own food. I eat their food as well but I got tired of it since it is the same dishes they serve every day. My husband likes the food that his mother prepares, so I only have to feed myself.

Yet again, the statements of the two women depict that a home is 'never a single consumption unit' (Delphy in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.76). In the abovementioned cases, the women eat individually. They take delight at the fact that they can say no to the shared family meal and have the choice to cook whatever they want. While both do not have the control to decide the shared food that lands on the table, they have the control on what goes inside their stomach, affirming the claim that boundaries in food can be established on what to eat and what to reject (Ardil in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 13).

While it is already a challenge working on differences with their husband in terms of food, half of the women live with their mother in law. For Filipina migrant women in Poland, the presence of in laws add a more complicated dynamics in the home. While some women do not

have a problem with in laws, there are interviewees who shared about conflicts between them and their mother in law. Once the designated cook in the home, this task is now shared if not passed thoroughly to the son's wife, the new member of the family. One interviewee stated:

I always argue with my mother in law about food. One time I cooked spring rolls and she frowned at the sight of it .she has not even tasted it but she rejected the dish right away. She would want me to eat the same food she eats. Sometimes she would complain as to why I always buy rice. She even laughs as to why I eat potatoes with rice, because here it is weird to do that. But in the Philippines potato is a vegetable that you can eat with rice. She always complains about the smell and the Filipino food I cook so one time I told her: I am a Filipino so you better respect that Filipino food that I eat!

Another interviewee said:

When my mother in law saw me making a *tortangtalong* (eggplant omelette), while I was grilling the eggplant, she said yuck. Many times she would say disgusted comments about my cooking. I get offended sometimes, I told her, do you want me to pour this on you? But that was with a smile, I was offended but she is still my mother in law, I have to reprimand her jokingly.

These issues on food can be explained using Terri Apter's (2009) claim that the mother and the daughter in law compete over the position of the home's main woman, this includes the one who controls the pot. In these kinds of scenario, Filipina migrant women explain that the husband usually puts himself in between the mother and law and the wife. While this clash appears to be a phenomenon that could happen in many households, the food issues in the intermarriage is much more complicated than what it appears since the women are from different contexts (Magno, 2000,p. 60).

Magno (2000) notes that difference is the context in which food practices and identities are constituted (p. 52). In the context of the Filipina migrant women's home, the food characterized

to be from two different locations- Poland and the Philippines, are differentiated and a kind of tension occurs when members declare what is disgusting and what is delicious. Magno explains that when food practices from two locations meet, the situation becomes more complicated as a struggle takes place in a new context (p.60).

In a stronger view of the mother-daughter in law food issue, Narayan (1995) speaks of the meanings attached to 'ethnic food' in the western context as a form of 'culinary imperialism'. If I am to use Narayan's assertion, the Polish mother in law accustomed to 'European' or 'western' culinary practices extends her food preferences to the Filipino daughter in law, where the mother in law's preference is the standard, the Filipino daughter in law's food is viewed as the 'smelly and the weird'. However, the term culinary imperialism might be too strong of a statement and inadequate because in explaining this case, I also need to take note of multiple positions such as food preference, socialization, age and foodmaking experience in understanding the complexities of food practices (Chapman and Beagan, 2013). Since I was only able to interview the daughter in law, I do not make general claims. What can be deduced more appropriately about the mother in law's reaction is a 'cultural transgression of cultural norms in eating' (Bell and Valentine, 1997. p. 45) which the mother in law finds disgusting. The mother in law has not been exposed to Filipino food and ways of eating so her reaction upon seeing it is revolting. This could also apply to the case of Filipino migrant women who complain about food available in Poland.

In another explanation to the issue with in laws, the wife's preference of Filipino can be viewed as a means to address dislocation in an unfamiliar place by seeking for the familiar meal (Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 19). Discussed throughout this study, using Boym's (2001, p. 10)

concepts of nostalgia and defending the home, the Filipina wife feels that the identity attached to the Philippines through food is threatened so there is a need to assert for it, that lead to a form of conflict in defending the food reminiscent of home. The two Filipino migrant women in the case above, upon receiving criticism of her food feel the need to defend her food against her mother in law.

While there is no doubt that the Filipino women can also express dislike in Polish food or respond to the negative comments, the manner in how it is verbally expressed is different.

One interviewee spoke:

When she told me Filipino food is smelly I told her, I feel the same with Polish food.

The woman was laughing when she told her story. However, she said she has to stop herself from going on a full on verbal fight with her mother in law.

She is older. And still she is my mother in law. Even though she is at fault I cannot be too disrespectful.

What can be understood in these cases is that the Filipino women still recognize the mother in law's authority based on her position in the house and her age. In negotiating how they could make their voice heard in the home's food practice, these considerations still come to make an important role for the Filipino women. In this case, it is visible how her being a daughter in law, being a Filipina and being of a younger age intersects and shapes the way she responds to her mother in law.

In this portion what I establish is that in some of the homes of these Filipino women, the mother in laws exert power and control in food making, and the wife responds to this form of control which again constitutes the identity she holds in the household.

Eating a meal displays the manner in which the rules and protocols surround consumption of food in the table (Whitehead in Bell and Valentine 1997, p. 62).

One woman further explained:

My husband works for away and goes home occasionally, so I live with my in-laws. I realized how different we are. Since we cook our own food, it also meant we do not eat together. This makes me really sad, you know how we are, as Filipinos we are used to eating together, here, I eat alone. I wish we can eat together so that will make us more of a family. It is not as if I can demand to them that we eat together. I cannot do that. But me eating alone can also be a good thing, when I am alone I can eat the rice with my bare hands and without utensils. I do it when they are not around. I fear that if they see me grappling the rice with my hands, they would no longer accept the food that I will offer them. They might feel disgusted. Not that they accept the food I offer them all the time, generally they do not like it.

In this case, she speaks of an affirmation of the connection of shared meals and family and how the family ideology is being enforced by sharing a table (Charles and Kerr in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p. 62). When asked if her mother and law and sister in law eat together, she said they do. A shared meal distinguishes who are the acquaintances and close relationships, it defines the relations in the home including the family and the ‘outsiders’ (Douglas in Bell and Valentine, 1997, p.62). Her not eating with her in laws isolates her and in a manner she is relegated to the ‘outsider’ for not eating the shared food on the table. Even if she wishes to share a table with them, she is not in the position to make the demand. The fact that she has to hide from her family members when she eats using only her hands is again another example of the eating standards that

is somehow extended to the Filipino migrant woman. Magno (2000) explains that eating with bare hands is a feature of a 'pure Philippine identity' as it is widely practiced in the country but may appear as a disparaging practice for others (p. 58).

Not only with daily food consumption, power and control over food practices are also exhibited in celebrations in Poland as told by the interviewees.

An interviewee recalled:

When I got married, I did not know all the traditions, I was a bride who followed all they want. That was sad.

Not knowing the culture silenced her tongue however, she continued.

But on my child's baptismal, I had been here for a while. I wanted to make pancit (Filipino kind of noodles). In our culture, we make pancit to wish the celebrant a long life but they would not let me. Their reason was because the Polish guest might not eat the food. But it is not about them eating the food, I want to wish my child well.

Here, she despairs over her lack of influence in celebrations. Familiarity with food and traditions did not change the dynamics of her home, she still holds the position of the household member who obeys the prevailing decisions in the home.

In a different light, not all the women's food making practices is portrayed with giving up their preferences. Some women that I interviewed continue to cook Filipino food in Poland and take delight that their husbands are not choosy and would eat whatever they serve.

Frida described:

My husband loves Filipino dishes so I did not have a lot of adjustments on what to eat. He gives me the budget while I decide and prepare what to eat for the whole family. When he does not like the food, it's either he eats or he gets hungry!

Frida's statement and tone of voice exudes confidence and control of the nourishment that enters her family member's bodies. When she jokes that her husband can get hungry, she speaks of a kind of influence that is being recognized at the home. She believes that even though it is the husband who finances the meals, she is the one who decide on what to feed the family. In this aspect, food making becomes a "space of control" (Magno, 2000, p. 59) for Frida wherein she is able to utilize rules and resources in the arena of cooking that turns beneficial for her. Magno(2000) adds that food practice becomes a means to convey Filipino women's independence from rules in the home (p.66).

Frida's story contests the belief that cooking being relegated to the women of the house is a space where women oppression occurs (Ahrentzenin Longhurst et. al 2009, p. 338). While the kitchen being a space of control or comfort and relaxation remain a debatable claim (Longhurst, 2009, p. 338), more importantly, what it does in this study is highlight the way that power exists in a Foucauldian sense. Contrary to the perception of power concentrated on the hands of the husband as discussed in the first two examples, or in the case of the power exerted by the mother in law, Frida's case adds another story that speaks of the nature of "power that can be everywhere, comes from everywhere' (Foucault, 1998,p. 63; powercube.net). Rather seeing power as the negative, power becomes a positive force (Gaventa, 2003, p. 2; powercube.net).

In Frida's case, her husband's money does not automatically translate to control over the dining table. The manner of eating however with Frida and her children is another matter. She relates:

I decide what we eat but when and how my children would consume the food does not depend on me. If it was me, I want us to eat together but they prefer eating in their room sometimes.

Frida's statement shows how control is diffused in the home, what she can control what she cannot. At the same time, these food practices gave us a picture of how food making and eating decisions circulate in her home, where control and power circulates and does not stay in one family member's grip.

Another example where cooking is seen positively is Ana's case.

Ana said:

Cooking is a relaxing activity for me, a time for myself, an activity that I love to do.

Ana's statement is another example contrasting the assertions of some feminist work declaring the kitchen as a 'jail' that drives women away from paid work (Christie in Longhurst et. al, 2009, p. 338). Ana's statement displays a certain woman's understanding of an act that gives her pleasure. Cooking then becomes an arena for rejuvenation, a pleasurable activity (Hopwood in Bell & Valentine, 1997, p. 13) indeed a positive view of the foodmaking activity (Longhurst et. al, 2009).

What I conclude in this portion of the chapter is that in Filipino migrant women's homes in Poland, power and control can be seen through the ways they perform their food making and

consumption, affirming theories by Bell and Valentine. The interviewees negotiate these control and food dynamics differently and these negotiations shape the way their home life and their household identities are constituted.

7. Conclusion

This study is a contribution to the existing body of literature on food, migration and identity. It analyzes the ways in which food shapes the identity of Filipino migrant women and the ways food practice is influenced by transformations of identity upon migration to Poland. There has been numerous studies looking on identity through food, but this particular study presents a specific case and scenarios of Filipino women who migrated to Poland and who are married to Polish men. It shows how Filipino women view food as an important part of their Philippine identity and how it is implicated in making sense of the identity after migration. This particular study has a number of affirmations and contributions:

I argued in this thesis that in the case of Filipina migrants in Poland, food practices is a space to examine the ambivalent positions related to the Philippines and the Filipina migrants' various positions of race, class, gender, age, employment and marital status. While the Filipino women have different categorical positions, what is shown in the interview is how their being Filipinos, how their being women, wives and mothers, as being the cook, as being in paid employment or not, have big influences on how they perform their food practice and how they perceive themselves. Furthermore, in this study, the problematic claim of having a unified national Filipino identity is explored supporting the claims of Stuart Hall. The Filipina migrant women claim of being Filipinos and rely on a common ground such as Filipino values and tradition that are seen to be shared but the women are also aware of the social and economic differences that might cause dissimilar perspectives on how Filipino values and traditions are celebrated and

upheld. As Stuart Hall (1992) explains, a national identity stitches up differences to formulate a unified identity which is crucial for people to have a sense of who they are. Filipino migrant women in Poland display a strong identification to the Philippines reflected in the ways they prepare, consume and think of their food. While the ties to the Philippines is strong, it also shows during the interviews that Filipino women's food practice can be different from each other and that they are aware that the unified form of national identity designated through food might not always represent all Filipinos.

Interviews with women disclaimed the problematic concept of a Philippine national food or the existence of a single Philippine food culture. This study affirms what Bell and Valentine (1997) explains that an essential national food does not exist, what exist instead is a kind of 'imagined commensality'. While the Filipino migrant women in Poland are quick to identify dishes such as *adobo*, *sinigang* and *lechon* because of its strong presence in many Filipino dining tables, declaring the abovementioned dishes as national food may commit a disregard to the country's differing buying capacities, food choices and group differences in the Philippines. While it can be concluded that each society is composed of differing groups, this study affirms what Hall (1992) has argued that despite countries being composed of dissimilar cultures, difference is suppressed for a unified national culture to exist. Through the application of Hall's claims to some specific conditions of the Philippine society, this thesis has another contribution to this claim, as it affirms the problem of designating a unifying national food despite the diverse characteristics of Philippine population.

Upon migration, Filipino women begin long for the food associated with the Philippines. Exploring on Mark Swislocki's concept of culinary nostalgia, recreating food associated to the Philippines through taste, smell and sights - what Longhurst, Ho and Johnston (2009) call the 'visceral approach', Filipina women reproduce their ties to the Philippines. This process of remembering the food, laced with experiences of migration in Poland has profound implications on the ways the Filipina women construct their notion of who they are. The interviews reveal the ways that Filipino women has the tendency to engage into what Boym (2001) call 'restorative nostalgia' by insisting on unchanging traditions and solidified Filipino culture but at the same time, the shifting perspectives on Philippine identity is also apparent. The Filipina women's engages in critical ways of remembering or what Boym (2001) calls 'reflective nostalgia' which for Boym has a more progressive and flexible approach to nostalgia. Filipina women identify changes in their culinary practices and see themselves changing, with ambivalent ties to the Philippines which reflects the kind of identity that Stuart Hall (1990) defines to be 'never complete, always in process'. I have established in this study the distinct positioning of the Filipino migrant women who is aware of the complexities of identity yet maintaining ties to the Philippines to give importance to their roots. This study of Filipino migrant women's identity in Poland using the concepts of nostalgia and the visceral as far as my knowledge is concerned, makes one of a few distinct case contributions in academic literature.

Talking of nostalgia and senses aroused by food, the Filipina women's relationship to their bodies is briefly explored. Other than feelings of fulfillment when they consume Filipino food when they long for the Philippines, women also speak about the relationship of food and longing to menstruation, to pregnancy and even dieting and ideal bodies. It proves that in the case of

Filipina migrant women, food and longing for the Philippines can take shape in many forms and trail in different directions. It affirms the theory that food is a tool to think of different plots– in this study, it speaks of the ways that food relates to the body and migrant experience (Probyn in Longhurst, 2009). While this research supports existing theories, it presents the specific strategies and approaches that Filipino migrant women utilize in connecting to the Philippines and making sense of their migration to Poland.

Filipino gatherings in Poland appear to play an important role for Filipinas as it provides a venue to assert their ties to the Philippines. During gatherings, Filipino women are able to enjoy a time and space and temporary forget the customs associated to Poland. This affirms the relationship of food to space, wherein food provides a venue to experience a ‘multifaceted experience of home’ which is the Philippines, and becomes a device to assert national identification (Law, 2001).

As the Filipina women moved to Poland, they acknowledged the transformations, reinventions and continuations of the norms, beliefs and practices evident on the ways they make and eat their food. Exploring on Chapman and Beagan’s (2013) claim on the ways that multiple categorical positions influence migrant’s identity and food making, this study affirms that migration to Poland sustained, altered and discontinued the genderedness and classed practice of food making in the case of Filipino migrant women. The gendered roles of being the cook for the family practiced in the Philippines are reinforced and continued as the women entered marriage and upon migration to Poland. These reproductions and reinventions however play out differently in each Filipino woman’s case. These processes of change and reinforcement have an impact on

how they see themselves. There are cases when migration to Poland opened opportunities for women in terms of employment, travel, culinary skills and food experiments and even altering gendered beliefs that they have learned in the Philippines. There is a difference between a housewife's food making to that of a paid worker among Filipina migrant women married to Polish men. Employed Filipino migrant women in Poland face challenges and requires more time and energy balancing employment and home chores. It is being concluded in this research that there are Filipino migrant women who would have more time for food making being housewives, but employment provides a kind of freedom in choosing the food that the women want to eat. In this study, the socialization of children through food becomes a venue to discuss the link of a woman's cooking role and ties to the Philippines. Exploring on the claims of Stapleton et. al.(2004) and Mannur (2007), the Filipina migrant who has the role of the cook assumes the task of reproducing her Philippine identity and ensuring that her children are adequately socialized to it. However, the existence of cross cultural children, in this case Polish-Filipino children, with culinary attachments to both Polish, Filipino and other food associated to different cultures, appear to break the pattern.

In order to highlight the more complicated food practices and relationships among members in the Filipino-Polish household, the concept of power that operates in food making is discussed. The relationships and food preferences of the Filipina migrant women to their husband and their in laws show how food becomes an arena where power dynamics in a home can be examined (Bell and Valentine, 1997). Filipina women handle the food conflicts, give in to the wants of other members, assume influence over food practices and take pleasure in making food for their family. The case studies prove that Filipina women in Poland negotiate differently in their

food practices and these negotiations are being shaped by their multiple positions inside the home affirming the theories of Chapman and Beagan (2013).

To sum up, the case of the Filipina migrants in Poland affirm theories that claim that food is a venue wherein complexities of their identity's multiple categorical positions can be investigated (Beagan and Chapman, 2013). Through food practices, Filipino migrant women pronounce their connection to the Philippines and understands identity transformations after migration to Poland, which puts the women in an ambivalent positions and facilitates multiple definitions of who they are.

This study is a general overview of the food making practices of Filipino women married to Polish men and an attempt to shed a light in this seemingly unexplored population of migrants in Europe. There are a number of areas that this research did not touch on and further research is highly encouraged.

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Appendix 1

The Filipino Migrant Women

Rachel has been married and has been living in Poland for three years. She has a child and has a paid job. She speaks, Filipino, English and basic Polish. She holds a university degree and before coming to Poland was employed. Migrating in Poland for her did not require a lot of adjustments because it was never her first time to move out of the country. She holds on to her motto of expecting the worst and hoping for the best when she left for Poland. For her, this state of mind helped her a lot. Rachel described herself as always been the cook. She was cooking as early as five years old with the help of family members. Her mother was the cook until she was nine, then the role shifted to the stepfather when her mother started a time consuming job. When the stepfather left abroad, she became responsible cooking for her siblings. She describes eating rice all the time together with what she describes as ‘Filipino food’ such as *sinigang* (sour pork soup), *adobo* (marinated meat) while in the Philippines. In Poland, she is the main cook. She still cooks dishes like *adobo* and *sinigang* but in general she cooks what she has decided on whether ‘Polish food’ or ‘Filipino food’. She describes that her husband eats whatever she serves most of the time. She does not identify any issue in cooking as they try to work it out in the home. She narrates that she misses the food ‘at home’ and every now and then cooks her cravings to deal with her homesickness.

Joanna has been married for three years and has children. She speaks Filipino and English and is still learning Polish. Living in Poland is her first time to move out of the country. She finds

the weather in Poland terrible but takes delight that Poland is a Catholic country like the Philippines. She believes that Poland is similar to the Philippines in terms of being family oriented. She does not have paid employment. She learned to cook in the Philippines based on what she has observed from her parents. She narrates that cooking is not her interest but she feels the need to cook since she is now married. When she misses food from the Philippines, she looks at pictures from the internet. Her everyday meal consists of rice and this practice continues in Poland. She thinks that Philippine dishes is much complicated to prepare since Polish recipes does not require too many tedious task.

Frida has been married for a long time and has children. She has a long story of migration and has been exposed to different cuisines. Her husband has a high paying job that enables the family to live in comfort which includes buying and eating all their food preferences. Cooking for Frida has always been a pleasurable activity and she enjoys experimenting and making food associated with different cultures. She learned to cook in the Philippines. She describes her cooking as mostly Filipino, dominated by rice and adobo. She has learned to appreciate the food available in Poland and she names kielbasa (sausages) and rosol (clear soup) as her favorite. She narrates that at first it was hard not eating what she is used to in Poland but she feels that since she does not have a choice, she would eat whatever is there. She believes it is very important for migrants to share stories and spend time together. She describes that she feels a different kind of happiness when meeting with her Filipino friends.

Gail has been married for several years and has children. She has a paid employment that requires her to work irregularly. She has been living in Poland for years but she still complains

about the food and explains that she could not get used to eating them. She admits that her income affects her food choices since the food she buys must fall within their budget. She loves rice but could only eat rice during salary day. Her husband does not complain about what she cooks but would sometimes ask her to learn to cook Polish food. She would usually refuse to learn to cook the food at first but later on had to learn. She describes that foodmaking and working are difficult to balance since it requires her to wake up very early in the morning and prepare the meals when she is already tired and sleepy.

Michelle has been married for several years and is without a child. She is a housewife. She describes that her inability to speak Polish is the biggest obstacle in finding a job. She performs the tasks of a housewife including foodmaking. She finds staying at home and doing chores boring. Cooking for Michelle has been a lifelong skill as she learned it since she is still in the Philippines. She narrates that migration to Poland has changed her a lot. She believes that living in a new place has made her exposed to other people so different from her. She also describes that she really misses her family and would sometimes think of coming home.

Tina has been married not long ago and has no child. She describes that she is in the early stages of adjustment in Poland which she finds difficult. She is in the process of applying for a job and as per the time of interview she is positive she will be hired. She admits she does not like cooking and even if she learns she believes she has no talent in foodmaking. Before migration, she merely prepares simple dishes for herself. Her main role was providing and budgeting food for her family in the Philippines. She explains that she misses her family in the Philippines and Filipino food. She claims that Filipino food is hugely tied to Filipino values such as family orientedness,

sharing a table and strong religious beliefs. She adds that she is surviving in Poland because she as a Filipina it is one of her defining characteristics. She believes that the Filipina identity and image in Poland is unpleasant. She thinks that people in Poland think of Filipinas as flirtatious and would steal someone else's husband. She based her thinking on what she hears and observes. She says she finds herself subjected to judgmental glances from people around her even when she is walking around.

Mia is a young wife who has been married recently. She has no children yet. She has no paid employment. In Poland she spends her time doing house chores and learning Polish. She explains that cooking is new for her because in the Philippines, she did not cook. Now that she is learning to cook, she finds the task challenging. When she needs instructions, she would search in the internet or would call her parents for cooking lessons. She is grateful that her husband does not complain whatever she prepares. She prepares the simplest recipes for her family such as adobo, fried chicken and rice. She loves to meet up with fellow Filipinas. She narrates that when she is with her Filipina friends, they share migration stories and teach each other recipes.

Rina has been married for a long time and has no child. Her husband knows how to cook but she performs the role of the main cook in her home. She has no children. She learned to cook when she was still in the Philippines. She learned dishes such as sinigang from her mother who cooks for the family. She narrates that her father never cooked. She recalls that her family especially her father love eating pork bone soup and karekare, a dish with vegetables, meat and peanut butter. She worked as an employed before and explains that her family from the Philippines is not well off. Now that she is abroad, she had the opportunity to travel with her husband.

Eden has been married for many years and has children. She has a good paying job. Poland is not the first migration experience. Since she is working, she finds cooking difficult because of the time it consumes. When she has the time to cook for her children she makes sure that they learn to eat and appreciate food associated to the Philippines. She believes the importance of the children knowing the roots through food.

Ana has been married for a long time and has children. She stays at home most of the time doing chores. Since she stays at home, she is able to explore and experiment in foodmaking when the children are in school. For Ana, food making is a relaxing activity, a hobby more than an obligation. She finds joy whenever her family praises her dishes. She has been exposed to food making when she was younger. She believes that this exposure paved the way for her big interest in cooking and the development of her culinary skills. Now that she is living in Poland, she states that she misses the food in the Philippines. When she longs for Filipino food, she would recreate the dish even though the ingredients are different. She also uses imaginative ways to deal with longing for Filipino food through drawing and writing. Ana believes that eating Filipino food does not make one a Filipino because people nowadays eat food from different national origins, she explains that the consumption is much complicated than what it appears.

Maja married has been married for a long time and has children. She spends her time doing childcare and domestic chores. She is only responsible in cooking for herself and her child. She describes that she cooks the food she learned in the Philippines. Her husband prefers eating the food that his mother prepares. Maja misses the food prepared in the Philippines and wishes that

the ingredients can be purchased in Poland. She considers that Filipino food taste better than Polish food.

Lora has been married for several years and has no children. She has income but most of the time she spends her time doing the tasks of a housewife. She explains that she cooks Filipino food most of the time and is glad that her husband does not complain whatever she cooks Filipino food. Adjusting to the food available in Poland is not a difficult task for Lora. She explains that even though the ingredients from the Philippines cannot be bought in Poland, vegetables and the meat are abundant. She believes that as Filipinos, eating together is an important value. She grew up in a family where strict rules are being enforced in the dining table.

Appendix 2

Interview Guide

I. Personal Information

Name, age, address, marital status, gender, nationality/citizenship, number of children, ethnicity/regional group, languages spoken, name of husband, Education, work/profession

II. Migrant History

Discussion on when she started living in Poland, how she finds living in Poland, migration patterns, reason for migration, any plans to change citizenship, what are the main advantages and challenges of living in Poland- in terms of economic, social, cultural and physical aspects

III. Cooking history

Her earliest food making experience and food routines discussions on their staple food, who used to cook back in the Philippines, if she did she cook/ learn to cook with her family, when did she learn to cook if she knows how, who taught her how to cook, who did she cook for and if men and women cook in the family

Describe food shopping practices- where they shop and cook, when and how. Describe washing dishes, setting the table, grocery arrangements and budget for every meal.

Does cooking feel as a burden or a relaxing activity or a space to empower herself having control over what she eats?

How many times do they eat, what they usually cook and eat, who she eats with, what food making and eating means to her and her family?

Does she have any special or favorite Filipino food? The smelly, ‘exotic food’? comfort food, celebration food? Food that is loved by the whole family? Food that reminds her of the Philippines?

What she eats at home, school and other places she went to?

What she means by Filipino food? Does eating ‘filipino food make her a Filipino’? or a marker of her ethnicity? why?

What does this role/practice means to her and her being a Filipino, a woman or a member of her regional group?

What she thinks is the connection of food and Filipinos?

Food that she hates? Food allergies?

IV. Transition:

Any preparation she did in terms of foodmaking before migrating to Poland? Did she make a research or start learning to cook Polish food? What does she feel at that time? Did she carry a lot of Filipino food /ingredients with her?

Did she feel that she was prepared enough in migrating to Poland in terms of food?

What was her mindset? Who gave her an orientation in terms of the culinary practice in Poland?

Were there challenges?

V. Foodmaking and eating in Poland

Does she cook in Poland? Where? What she cooks? For whom? Does she like it? Explain her observations about food practices in Poland.

Does she shop for ingredients? Where she does her shopping? Budgeting? Who decides what food to buy and eat for herself? For her family/husband/partner?

Is cooking easy? What are the ease and difficulties of foodmaking, and eating in Poland?

What tools does she use in preparing food and eating?

How they decide what to eat? Cooking arrangements and food rules? Their usual meal? Any favorite food that she likes to eat or prepare?

Does she eat the same food as her husband? Any issues in foodmaking and eating in her home?

Has foodmaking and eating been a cause of conflict in the home?

Is cooking a task for the women at home? Does she look after her husband's food needs?

Does her husband/partner cook?

VI. Food and Acculturation

Compare cooking and eating in the Philippines and Poland.

What she has adapted and what she rejected?

Does she resist cooking Polish food and stick to Filipino food? Does she integrate the two and what it means for her? Conforming to the ways food in Poland is eaten and prepared or she pushes for attachments to Filipino cooking?

Cooking and in laws? Does she like cooking by herself. With other people?

What does she eat more- Polish Filipino food etc? what she prefers more?

What it does to her being a Filipino? Discuss.

VII. Food and Nostalgia

Does she miss Filipino food? What does she do when she misses home? When does she miss Filipino food? Describe the feeling.

What role does food play when she longs for home?

Does she cook with other people? Other Filipinos? Where? Why? Collective food sentiments?

Does she attend regular eating parties with other Filipinos? What do these food parties mean to her?

How she juggles cooking with other activities such as work, school, taking care of the baby if there are children?

What she eats at work and her foodmaking practice in relation to her work? does she cook before work or after work? school? How she cooks while taking care of her children?