IMAGINING FUTURES

Youth Identities in Transnationally-Linked Villages in the Northern Philippines

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ABSTRACT

Each year a sizeable proportion of mothers leave their villages in the Philippines to work abroad. While they leave behind their families and onlookers who remain, attend schools, and work in the villages, the mother's connection and sense of belonging persists, reinforced through sending home gift boxes, remittances, and ideas. These women's left behind children and their peers are connected too – directly or vicariously – to the rest of the world because of the flow of these material and cultural goods into the villages. These create a complicated relationship between home and away that transforms the villages, making them into a new and different kind of place.

The disciplines that have studied this complex phenomenon include transnational, migration, diaspora, and youth studies, and have two general focal tendencies. First, they tend to be adult-centric such that experiences of migrant women are well studied from Barcelona to Taiwan while young people are framed as merely secondary to the struggles of their parents. Second, they are mobile-centric. The research literature teems with accounts of social and emotional challenges faced by immigrant children while left behind children are rarely studied. These focal proclivities render the left behind and onlooking children as not full subjects in terms of their stake in the emigration of their mothers, and their participation in emergent globalising processes, because of their age and of remaining moored in the villages respectively. Therefore, there is a need for scholarship to move beyond the dualism of the active and agentic, adult, mobile citizen in global cites and the passively receiving left behind children in rural areas.

This thesis is borne out of biographic and historical connections to transnational movements, a curiosity to understand young people's complex experience of it while they are moored in the villages, and a desire to engage with existing scholarship on transnational movements and rural youth. It enquires about the ways in which young people who remain in villages respond to the deluge of global forces; and more specifically, it examines how young people in the villages of the northern Philippines come to imagine the world and their futures, in light of the pervasive and different sorts of movements they experience.

By using conceptual resources drawn from the *mobility turn* and the *imaginative turn*, as well as insights from an ethnographically-informed study that mustered various approaches such as go alongs, focus groups, interviews, and use of student-generated materials, this thesis examines three salient domains of young people's lives: schooling, labour, and gender. This thesis found that young people respond to challenges brought forth by the transnational mobilities in these domains through the use of an imaginative capacity that I conceptualise as practices of *making do*. I argue that their responses possess tactical, creative, and calculative qualities yet are less eventful, or ordinary. They come in the form of affective grammatical practices, acts that disrupt conventional notions of logical responses, and at times, as playful responses. I show how these bundles of imaginative practices of *making d*o have significant material and discursive effects that, in turn, produce their village as locality.

This thesis seeks to contribute to theoretical discussions by opening a space for the possibility of operationalising imagination as a form of everyday practice, undertaken not by artists or activists, but by ordinary people. By focusing on young people's imagination of their futures in relation to mobilities and transformations in school, work, and home, the underlying costs and labour necessary for the work of the imagination are also surfaced. Overall, this thesis illuminates the complex, contingent, and dynamic character of transnational movements by highlighting their asymmetrical impact upon people and institutions in specific localities, and their tactical and creative responses.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This is to certify that this thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference is given in the text. The thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies, and appendices.

Signed: Elizer Jay Y. de los Reyes Date: 05 November 2019

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

> The road in the end taking the path the sun had taken,
> into the western sea, and the moon rising behind you
> as you stood where ground turned to ocean: no way
> to your future now but the way your shadow could take,
> walking before you across water, going where shadows go,
> no way to make sense of a world that wouldn't let you pass
> except to call an end to the way you had come...
>
> *– David Whyte, Finisterre*

It was June 1992 when I entered first grade in a small *barangay*[1] school in the northern Philippines. I met young kids like me who would eventually become my friends for more than twenty years. Among my classmates in that small village, there were three that stood-out significantly. The first was Ling-Ling who came on the first day wearing a dress, white stockings, doll shoes, and a bow on her head. She was remarkable because her dress was different from the often mismatched top and skirt or jeans that other girls wore. During recess, she would bring her colouring books out and the rest of the class would be drawn to watch her rub the crayons on the drawings. I can clearly remember her colouring books were of Disney princesses such as Snow White, Cinderella, and Sleeping Beauty. Apparently, none of the kids ever had colouring books. We would be content colouring whatever drawings our parents could doodle on the back of last year's calendar, or a used white paper.

Aside from Ling-Ling, I also became friends with Nina. That same day, she was wearing a blue velvety dress with polka dot prints from the waist down. She stood out from the rest because she looked different from all of us. She had a fair complexion and was in fact the whitest girl in school. She also had blue eyes, something that was rare in a village of pure Filipino ancestry where interracial marriages were uncommon. More than her physical attributes, she was also known to be the girl with the best art materials in the entire village. The moment it was art class, she would put on her desk a huge plastic case that contained 60 colours of oil pastels, watercolours, crayons, coloured pens and pencils, sharpeners, rulers, protractors, and many others. Her kit was the

[1] It is used to refer to the smallest political organization or local governance in the Philippines. The closest analogy of the term would be a village or a community.

object of envy of every kid in the village. During her birthdays, she would be absent in the morning and would arrive late in the afternoon before classes end. She would stand in front of the class wearing a fancy dress and fully made-up with red lipstick while the rest of us would sing a birthday song for her. Everybody liked her because she would invite all of us to her birthdays, including the teachers.

The third one who stood out for me was Emma, the one who always had Toblerone any time of the year. Every one of us would beg her to spare us a pyramid of that Swiss chocolate-nougat, which to us seemed like it was made from heaven. She also had a pencil case with Disney characters on it. Unlike the plastic pouches or tubes that most of us had, hers was glossy and had a magnetic lock. It was a double decker where she would put the small pencils on top and the colouring pens and eraser in the bottom. It even had a built-in sharpener on the side.

To the kids in our grade level, these three girls were the "it" girls, as they would be called today. By mere possession of superior school materials, they commanded attention, admiration, and respect. To us, they were the richest kids. None of the other kids' parents could buy a Disney colouring book, a complete case of art gizmo, a bar of Toblerone, or a magnetic-locked, double-decker pencil case anywhere in the village. At that time, we had to settle with whatever was sold in the local market, which would only open on Thursdays and Sundays.

In that farming and fishing village located in a fifth-class[2] town found at the northeastern tip of Luzon island, the lives of Ling-Ling, Nina, and Emma were exceptional. They are left behind children of emigrant rural women. In our graduating class of approximately 80 kids, these girls grew up in a different way from how the rest of us were raised. Their lives were remote from the usual upbringing of kids whose parents were cultivating *palay*[3], involved in paid seasonal harvesting jobs twice a year during the summer and the end of the wet season, fishing in the nearby river or sea, working in some government offices, or teaching in the public school. On the one hand, their material possessions were far-fetched for most of us. Their parents provided their

[2] In the classification of cities provided in Executive Order No. 249 of 1987, a fifth-class municipality or town is the second to the lowest class. A town falls under this category when its average annual income is between 5 and 10 million PHP (135,000-270,000AUD).
[3] It is the local term for rice which is a staple food in the Philippines.

needs and wants quite well. On the other hand, while wanting of many things, our intimate and vibrant familial experiences were their envy. Ling-Ling's and Emma's mothers both worked as domestic helpers in Hong-Kong. Ling-Ling's mother only went home once for the duration of grade school, while Emma's mother would return home each year. Nina's mother worked as a nurse in Canada while her father was believed to be someone from South Asia or the Middle East, which explained her physical attributes. She had not seen her mother for the longest time because she had not returned since the time she left when Nina was still a baby.

Today, Ling-Ling's mother has retired back to the Philippines while Ling-Ling is married to a British man. They now have a child and reside in the UK. Emma's mother is back in the village doing some farming and it is now Emma's turn to be a domestic helper in Hong Kong where she eventually married a businessman. After finishing a degree in tourism from an exclusive school in Manila, Nina has decided to stay initially in the province and managed vast tracts of farmlands her mother bought through the years of work in Canada. Eventually, Nina married a Taiwanese businessman and they are now based in Manila. While her mother would regularly communicate with Nina, she has still not come home.

The narratives of Ling-Ling, Nina, and Emma capture what used to be a rare and privileged experience for schoolchildren in the Philippines. For one, their parents' overseas employment afforded them material possessions and privileges and even a good education, the type of which a huge majority of children in the village could only dream. Their experience of schooling was transformed not only by the goods that their parents brought back to them from their host countries, but also by their relationship with their classmates and teachers. They were treated better by teachers and other students because of the status symbols they carried. Their reach to the world was several steps closer than most of us then. While we could only imagine what cable cars looked like in Hong Kong, or how thick snow was during a Canadian winter, they had photographs and stories from their parents that concretized these conjured images. They undeniably had access to possible lives outside the Philippines that were better than most of us who thought it was way too challenging if not impossible not only to leave the country but even the village. They were the ones who would know more about how people in the West or in the more privileged places in the world lived by virtue of

their everyday experience of wearing the trendiest clothes, writing with coolest pens, marvelling at photographed landscapes sent by their parents, and listening to vivid stories of their mothers recorded in cassette tapes or narrated over the phone through a regular visit at the local telephone company. While we knew these were possibilities for all of us, we held them with a certain distance.

Much later I realised that my relationship with Ling-Ling, Nina, and Emma was imbricated within transnational flows of bodies, boxes, cash, and images. It was not only childhood friendship, it also represented a kind of vicarious participation in the global world, as a spectator of how these girls were embracing their being intertwined in the flows of resources elsewhere. As I look back to twenty-five years ago, the lives of these three girls were a rarity if not an exception but today, their stories are now lived by many young people as more and more Filipinos have decided to seek opportunities abroad. The likes of me as bystanders to the unfolding global drama in the villages have declined in number as more and more households became connected to relatives elsewhere. More than that, free-trade has facilitated the easy if not unrestricted entry of imported goods to the Philippines. Technology has now bridged the distance between the inside and the outside world. Pentel and Crayola supplies, Toblerone, and Disney colouring books are now everywhere. From the rarity of the "it girls" narratives, young people in the Philippines are now undoubtedly even more connected transnationally – in the configuration of people, technology, capital, and knowledge which make a global life in the village not only a possibility but also in some senses ordinary, a more everyday phenomenon.

Fleshing out

Over the years, by reason of some surprising turn of events, I found myself at the other end of the convoluted relationship of home and away. As I became a body on the move, as I pushed my luck for graduate education in the United States, I found myself sending gift boxes back to my family in the village. My sense of intimacy became constituted by irregular video calls with loved ones back home, or through postcards I would send to my father's public school where he taught then. But while I started becoming a closer participant to an act I was once distant from, the story of Ling-Ling, Emma, and Nina continued to trouble me in various ways. As much as their story has

nudged me to reflect on how the future can be both predictable and unknown, how the moored will eventually move, and those away find their way back home, I in turn continued to trouble this narrative by dissecting it into bits and pieces. I did and continue to do so to understand not only what it meant to me then, or what it means to me now, but what these forms of movements mean to the Ling-Lings, Emmas, Ninas, or Jays of the present.

While much of what I've talked about in the preceding sections have been about movement, I do not mean to mislead, but this thesis is not a study on migration, and not an inquiry about what push or pull people to partake into transnational migration. This thesis is neither a study about emigrant mothers nor purely about their children left behind. This thesis is about young people's coming to terms and making sense of movement that they see and how it transforms their ways of thinking about their future.

Movement

As mentioned earlier, this story obviously occurs in the context of movement, and as such, more specifically, it is about the making sense of movements. It is a story of movement of its own kind or form, motivations, and trajectory. In terms of form, it is a movement of a specific group. It involves mothers leaving their children behind, under the care of their fathers or the closest of kin. It is a story that concretises as well as nuances the staggering number of Filipinos who are on the move but said from the perspective of the left behind. Had my friend's mothers remained in Hong Kong, except for Nina's mother who is now a Canadian citizen, they would have been part of the approximately ten million "Overseas Filipinos"[4] which constitute a tenth of the Philippines' aggregate population at present (Asis, 2017). But just as it were my friend's mothers who had to leave and work elsewhere in the early 90's which presupposes a highly feminised form of labour migration, the same pattern of movement continues today. Within the category of "immigrant workers"[5] for example, there are three Filipina immigrant workers for every four Filipinos leaving for work elsewhere (Commission on

[4] This is a general term used to refer to Filipino migrants regardless of their status as temporary or permanent, documented or not.

[5] The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (2017, p.47) uses this term to refer to employment-based immigrant visa holders.

Filipinos Overseas, 2017). This gendered pattern of movement within which Ling-Ling's and Emma's mothers were caught up also signifies the sustained and seemingly dominant position of "household service"[6] (Tingga, 2015) as a default occupation among newly hired Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWS), especially among women migrant workers.

Not only is my friends' story one of geographic movement, it is also a movement in the socio-economic pyramid, a form of aspired socio-economic leapfrogging or climbing. These leaps have the end goal of achieving better lives realised in the accumulation of material wealth through the mother's leaving and working elsewhere. Like most of us in class who envied our three classmate's better lives, it was also an easily held assumption by the village and the wider society. And why would we imagine Ling-Ling's, Emma's, or Nina's lives be otherwise when the cash remittances of OFWs reached as high as 28 billion USD in 2017 which constituted a tenth of the Gross Domestic Product of the Philippines (Schnabel, 2018)? The likes of my friends' households that received cash remittances from loved ones working abroad numbered at 446,000 in April 2018 (CEIC[7], 2018). The *balikbayan* box[8] or returnee box that facilitated the transport of Ling-Ling's dress, Nina's art materials, and Emma's Toblerone from their mothers' host countries to our remote village now number from 800,000 to 1.2 million boxes shipped during the peak months of November to December (Almonte, 2015), ensuring that they arrive at the migrant's family's doorstep in time for the holidays. These boxes of presents from hard-earned money of diasporic Filipinos were estimated to have an aggregate value of 48 billion USD in 2014 (Bongat, 2015), something that is higher than the estimated value of cash remittances sent in 2017. To us and to the rest of the Philippine society, the outward movement of mothers meant

[6] In 2014, according to the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 183,101 out of the 487,176 land-based OFWs occupied household service work. This means that almost half of the newly-hired OFWs that year were for household work (Tingga, 2015, p.12).

[7] The website of the organisation does not spell out what the acronym CIEC stands for.

[8] It is customary for diasporic Filipinos to send these boxes to their families in the Philippines. In the earlier months of the year, Filipinos start purchasing goods (shoes, clothing, chocolates, canned goods, perfume, toys, etc) in their host countries. Few months before the holiday season, they make arrangements with shipping companies for it to arrive (door-to-door) at their families' address approximately days before Christmas Day. In 2012, the cost of shipping a box (regardless of weight) from the U.S. Midwest to the northern Philippines was 100 USD. In Australia, the cost from Melbourne to the same destination is 120 AUD. It usually takes two to three months for the box to arrive.

inward movement of money and gifts that unequivocally symbolised an upward movement in the class pyramid of society.

But what moved are not only labouring bodies of mothers, or boxes that contain presents for Emma or Nina. In their mother's departure, in the entry of returnee boxes to the villages, in the transmission of remittances, feelings moved with them too. The vacuum left by their mothers was filled by the outpouring of cash or goods, a phenomenon profoundly captured by the famous remittance company MLhuiller in its tagline that says, "send my love home"[9]. Nina's 60 colours of oil pastels, Ling-Ling's bike, and Emma's double-decker pencil case contained and materialised their mother's love for them. These emotional remittances that my friends received were their mother's monetised hugs and kisses. They did not only sustain forms of intimacies between home and away, they also generated intimacy towards the aspired better life. For every dollar transferred by Ling-Lings' mother from Hong Kong to our village, her family was a step closer to the desired better life, making the remittance industry, *tulay ng Pilipino* (bridge of the Filipino), something MLhuiller, has beautifully dubbed as such[10]. Simultaneously, this abstraction of cash reminded everyone in our village of the distance between home and away that rendered the impossibility of hand to hand passing of cash, yet also forged intimacy between Hong Kong and the village. These senses of intimacy that breached distance between home and away is best captured by the phrase *"malayo man, malapit din"* (far yet still near) as popularised by the Filipino artist *Bayang Barrios* [11] (Villegas & Bayang Barrios, 2004).

Non-Movement

It is true that the arc of the opening story I narrated is dominated by movement. However, it is also about making sense of movement while in a condition of seeming non-movement. It is not only a story of being left-behind as a child to facilitate the family's getting ahead in the future. It is also about others who are moored and looking

[9] The complete phrase used by MLhuiller in their Christmas 2014 jingle was "send my love home this Christmas". The song was performed by Ogie Alcasid, one of the Philippine's respected songwriters and singers. See the complete video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QyPoUDXW8xg

[10] *"Tulay ng Pilipino"* is continued to be used in MLhuiller's advertising campaign at present. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrfItkgeIUc for a complete video of their commercial.

[11] See the official music video of the song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5z_kiOc-Wv4

from a distance. In short, it is not only my three friends' story, it is my story too. From my end, it is equally about being moored in the village and witnessing how labouring bodies of mothers left. I saw boxes and letters arrived as interruptions to our business as kids in the village. The postman's asking for direction to the recipient's house or the big returnee box's commanding presence caused uninvited gaps in our games, or sometimes, unwanted deferrals. In these intermissions, we saw how boxes arrived at our neighbour's doorstep, or how door-to-door cash remittances are received with smiles and pride. As dollars were wired, houses were transformed from the typical wooden hut to bungalows or two-storey house. Floors, too, are changed from the slippery mud during the wet season to marble covered ones that are much easier to sweep. As boxes arrived, Ling-Ling, Emma, and Nina did not have to settle with clothes, shoes, and school supplies in the local market. In our non-movement as moored onlookers, we saw what Western Union meant when it used the phrase "moving money for the better"[12].

The likes of me, those moored from a distance, witnessed how my three friends' families changed for the better, or at least, imagined it change for what we thought was better while other's lives remained the same. If these movements of bodies, boxes, and bundles of dollars were a spectacle that came with a promise, the only difference we had was where we were seated. My three friends were seated in the front rows of the stalls while the rest of us were in the balcony, seeing the action happen but more likely miss some nuances of expression, or details in the actors' movements.

Moored but moved

In the movement of Ling-Ling's, Emma's, and Nina's mothers, their families' leap towards the aspired better life, and in my status as a moored onlooker, I too, was moved in a different way. The material effects – the infrastructure and positive bodily manifestations – of abstracted money and outside goods sparked among the likes of me aspirations and desires to be in my friends' place. This making of aspirations, of

[12] This slogan was used by Western Union for its campaign in Canada in 2016. People were encouraged to take a selfie with the phrase "This is [NAME of immigrant], moving money for the better to [COUNTRY OF ORIGIN]". An article from Marketing magazine in Canada describes how the campaign was launched and the results as well (Harris, 2016). See http://marketingmag.ca/advertising/western-union-finds-new-faces-for-the-brand-183329/

imagining how it would be like to be in their place, is what connected and continues to connect me to the village where I was born and raised, to the places I have lived for the past years, the childhood that we once had, the present that we live in, and the future that we continue to work on. As such, our story is not only about movement in space, but a movement in time too.

Aspiration and dreaming mediated my relationship to my three friend's lives, the movements with which they were entangled with, and to the future. I aspired, just like many of us in the village, for the possibility of having the same material wealth and of becoming closer to other lives out there just as I thought the three girls had. This aspiration, however, was not purely fantasy or dreaming, it was tempered by the reality that there was no one in my family who has ever left, hence, while it is perhaps a possibility, it is undeniably far-fetched.

I surmise that the reason why I was moved while witnessing the moving out of mothers, and the moving in of dollars and boxes was a matter of perspective too, of being in the balcony and not in the stalls. Most of the kids in the village aspired to have the same lives as our three friends and this is because we did not have a better view of what it is like to have a mother away. We did not know what Ling-Ling, Emma, and Nina had to go through each day in exchange of the fancy things they received from their mothers. We did not know what goes on in Nina's mind as she stood in front of the class while we sang a happy birthday song to her. We did not have a better idea about how they celebrated their Christmas' or New Year's eve without their mother. What we only saw were the boxes and their possessions. Just as I was moved by what I saw from them, they too, perhaps, had to move, to mobilise personal and familial resources to deal with the loneliness of not having a mother, having to deal with domestic issues by themselves, or to settle with whatever help they could get from whoever was available in the family. From both our ends, to remain in the village was not purely non-movement, it was also about being moved, and moving things.

What my reckoning of the story points at, I believe, is the interrogation of the place of aspiration and the imagination in movement, as well as the place of movement in the imagination of possibilities. Put simply, I think that having troubled by as well as troubling my three friends' narrative was more about asking what is not in the story, the very spirit of imagination – the inhering of the out there. Specifically, it is asking

what Ling-Ling, Nina, and Emma made of these desirable material possessions, their mother's stories, their closer reach to the imagined better life out there. Was it Ling-Ling's plan all along to leave the Philippines because that was the way she was raised thinking as the better life? Did Emma grow up dreaming of following her mother's work in Hong Kong? Why did Nina not insist on leaving for Canada and remained content on managing their farms and being based in Manila? These are questions that remain inaccessible to me and would require labour of reconnecting with my three friends. On the other hand, it is also partly asking myself, how did I, as originally an indirect participant in these flows, become intertwined with it eventually, despite how far-fetched it actually seemed from the start? What did I make of my witnessing of my three friend's better lives? What other movements emerged from being moved by their story? While I can answer these questions from my end, I cannot from my three friends' end.

Pedagogies of movement

They say that context is everything. The context of this story is not just within the movement of bodies, boxes, ideas, and money in and out of the village where we grew up. Experiencing these movements closely as a child in the early 90's in rural Philippines was concretised and made more meaningful at places where we interacted as children from different familial setups. In my and my friends' case, aside from our games in the neighbourhood, it was the school – the art classes, recess and lunch breaks, morning rites – that facilitated the witnessing and engagement with these movements. At that time, while our schools had institutionalised practices that constantly reminded or nudged us to think about our future, or to aspire for one, it was not, as it seemed, explicitly conscious in doing so. Much of my aspirations were forged in unofficial interactions – in seeing how Emma's teeth sunk into a pyramid of Toblerone, how Ling-Ling pedalled her bike with confidence, or how Nina proudly pulled out her art materials set in class.

Times have changed. Schools are no longer as carefree or *laissez faire* as they were during the 90's. The standardisation of instruction, of curricular goals ushered in school reform that has also changed the place of schooling in the forging of young people's aspiration. No longer are schools the site of nationalist production where the

ghost of the nationalist rhetoric of the dictatorship from the 70's and 80's lingered. In the early 90's, our school buildings were still called *Bagong Lipunan* (New Republic) and we were taught songs such as *Ako ay Pilipino* (I am a Filipino). The built learning environment which constituted the where and what of my education in the village taught me that leaving the Philippines will cause "brain drain", or simply, an unpatriotic act. We were taught in school to stay and build the nation. On the flip side, the curriculum we went through and the classroom instruction that we received, despite their popular nationalistic undertones nevertheless gave us considerable ease to navigate the system on our own. While we knew that some of us will not make it to college, or that some of us will remain as farmers and fishermen as common-sense, our schools did not have direct and close involvement, in our pathways to the future which included among others, aspired work and the necessary preparation for it.

Recently, not only has the institution of schooling become more conscious of the movements that its students are seeing and experiencing. It also found itself caught up in the movement of people and ideas. Just like its people, schools too were moved, and therefore, had to move as well. It can no longer afford being moored. Through its consciousness of its place in the rearing of subjects that would eventually become workers of globalisation, and its own institutional aspirations to be like the better-off systems in the developed world, the Philippine government in June 2012 reformed its basic education by adding two more years of secondary school. At that time, just as I was preparing to leave and embark on graduate studies in the United States, while Emma was busy managing her employer's household in Hong Kong, and Ling-Ling was preparing for her wedding with her British husband, our younger counterparts were also entering a new era of being pedagogical subjects. By introducing a tracking system, the Department of Education promised that Filipino students will be prepared for their desired pathways to higher education and future work and also gave a bigger promise for young people's equal chances at succeeding (Department of Education, 2010). In this system, students would be given the choice to embark from an option of tracks such as academic, technical-vocational, arts, and sports.

No longer does the curriculum shy away from conversations of leaving for work elsewhere, it is now blunt about it. "Globally-oriented and locally grounded", is how the then Department of Education Secretary described the Filipino graduate in the K to 12

reform (Seameo-Innotech, 2012, preliminaries), signifying the education system's awareness of movement as a diacritic of the contemporary global condition. I told myself, should the Ling-Lings, Ninas, Emmas, and Jays of the K to 12 reform decide to leave, they will definitely feel much lesser guilt than we do who had to leave earlier and were educated in the popular-nationalist proclivities of the post-dictatorship.

Trajectory

I am using my reflections on movement, non-movement, and the official and unofficial pedagogies of movement that emerged from my shared story of growing up witnessing while moored the lives of Nina, Emma, and Ling-Ling unfold to engage with the meanings and effects of moving. Through my suturing of the issues that I raised from my opening story, I draw attention to how movement can possibly mean differently to each child depending on location just as it meant differently to Nina and to me. Or perhaps how different location in witnessing movements can also lead to a common form of potential future movement just as what happened to me, Ling-Ling, and Emma. In doing so, I point at how movement figures into young people's imagining of possible lives out there. Foregrounding this possibility of difference in the consumption of movement is also an invitation to ponder upon how young people relate to the future as the site of that better life, through the making of their aspirations, while they live as moorings of loved ones on the move. In doing so, the role of movements in young people's imagination of their possible futures, and the role of the imagination in future movements is also brought to the fore. At the same time, this implies troubling whether movement is as central a component in the making of aspired futures in contemporary times, just as they are produced within the ordinariness of movement. And equally important, aside from examining the role of movement as context, this highlights the role of the school as an institution, not only as a site within which young people mingle as they consume or witness the consumption of aspired goods, but also as an actor that plays quite a significant role in the production of desires and aspirations for possible futures.

These are the biographical and socio-historical resources, the heartstrings that I tug to shape this thesis. It is the multi-tiered doubleness of experiencing transnational movements – of being moored and unmoored; of being a recipient of the fruits of

movement and as a spectator to it – that I draw from. Each pull of these heartstrings is an in interrogation of the place of the imagination within the constancy and regularity of movement as well as how these movements and being moored figure into the making of young people's futures. These iterations that I have made are the ways in which I understand what C. Wright Mills (1959) conceives of intellectual craftsmanship. My and my three friends' story is what I use in this thesis, and I will do so continually in examining and interpreting the issues I have raised. On the one hand, tapping into these biographical resources, I believe, becomes a personal warrant, an index of the quality of my experience in relation to the issues of movement, young people's making sense of it, and how it figures into the production of aspired futures. On the other hand, it is also what shapes my capacity not only for future experience as Mills points out, but for a sustained engagement, and provides the stamina for the reckoning of these issues in my present and future intellectual work. These biographical bases, too, hint on the socio-historical foundations of this work that have strongly shaped the questions that I pose in engaging with the salient issues drawn from this narrative of movement and non-movement, the past that was once present, and the present that was at that time a future.

Key Research Questions

My unraised questions to Ling-Ling, Emma, and Nina that centred around our engagement with possibilities of a mobile or moored futures are what I use as scaffolding to raise more purposefully, certain questions that are not only relevant and responsive to the exigencies of the present state of local and global transformations, but also of the state of scholarship about it. As much as this thesis is about movement in space and time, it is also in itself a movement back in time. It is an act of looking for Emmas, Ling-Lings, Ninas, and Jays in the contemporary Philippine village and asking what follows as refurbished set of questions:

> First, how do young people respond to the deluge of global forces and connectivities to negotiate socio-economic and educational conditions they encounter, and in doing so, how do they imagine their futures?

> Second, and more specifically, how do Grade 11 senior high school students in the Cordillera Mountains in the northern Philippines, think about their place in the world and their possible futures, in light of their embeddedness in a transnationally-linked setting, partly resulting from many mothers working abroad?

The first question calls for an accounting of young people's ways of responding to the conditions from which movement and moorings emerge from, as well as those conditions that are emerging from what may be loosely considered as pre-existing - those that pushed mothers away, and those that rouse mobile desires among the onlookers respectively. It is in this question, too, that an interest is pursued about the place of the imagination – the thinking and working for a desired future – within the busyness of having to respond to conditions of the present.

In the second question, there is a pronounced interest in people who act as moorings, the likes of Nina, Emma, and Ling-Ling, as well as the likes of me, as opposed to young people who are on the move geographically. This interest in what may be considered as relatively moored youth also stems from an ethical and political stance that to account for the lives of those left behind, as well as those spectators of leaving and being left behind, is to acknowledge that they have a life that matters, and a life to live as well as to make. To do so also goes against the grain of scholarship that often elides the experience of the "non-movers" when studying migration or mobility.

I am hopeful that by now, it has become apparent that what constitute the arc of this thesis are the ways in which I approach and treat movement and non-movement, the imagination, and futures as the big concepts that animate it. Young people's witnessing and experiencing of movement while being moored in the villages is this thesis' exposition while what act as triggers and surprises are the unpredictability of how these movement and stasis figure in the imagination of aspired futures as a critical choice that young people make. The impending contradictions and ironies, disjunctures or confluence of unprecedented transformations in school, home, work, community, local, and global, and young peoples' ways of apprehending them make up this thesis' peak. And the acknowledgment, interrogation, and coming to terms with what an engagement with these issues may result into, or in reflecting about the messy

political and ethical consequences of accounting for young people's agency in an increasingly precarious world are its denouement.

Structure of the thesis

Having established in this introductory chapter the larger context in which young people imagine their futures within the imbrication of local and global movements and pedagogies of movement, the thesis will proceed as follows:

In Chapter Two, I examine available conceptual resources and use these to understand the emergent contextual exigencies of the Philippines. This chapter is a critical review of two significant bodies of literature from where inspiration and intellectual guidance for this work are drawn. First, I look at the bodies of work within the "mobility turn" (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Adey, 2006) to flesh out the ways in which notions of movements and moorings have been conceptualised, in relation to local-global or transnational relations. Second, I review works associated with the "imaginative turn" (Castoriadis, 1987; Taylor, 2004; Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2013; Burawoy, 2000a, 2005b; Anderson, 2006; Bottici, 2011) primarily to clarify the ambiguities with concepts such as "imagination", "imaginary", and the "imaginal". Third, I also identify the gaps and tensions within the two bodies of scholarship and use these to inform the ways in which the Philippine context, young people, and their practices towards the present and futures can be better understood. From these overlaps of conceptual and contextual resources, I point to some of the limitations in how imagination has been theorised especially in accounting for the case of marginalised young people in the villages of the developing world. I foreground that not only are the vocabulary within the imaginative turn ambiguous, they too, especially in the case of the imagination, at times wanting of a sense of "place" - both in the ways in which it is operationalised as a concept, and where it emerges from. As such, while the imagination within the context of mobilities teems with claims of its facticity especially among young people, it is yet to be better grounded and localised as a socio-practical quality of ordinary people's engagement with the world.

In Chapter Three, I lay out the methodological considerations underlying this work that draws upon qualitative and ethnographic approaches. I survey some helpful

significant traditions in ethnography that relate to my approach, such as "global ethnography" (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b), "macroethnography" (Appadurai, 1990; 1996), and "ethnographic imagination" (Willis, 2000), as epistemological lenses. From this methodological exploration, I situate this thesis within and among related epistemological stances, approaches, and strategies. I will also elaborate the ways in which fieldwork was designed. I provide a description of To'to [town's real name withheld], a mining and agricultural town in the Province of Benguet, Cordillera Region, in the northern Philippines where my fieldwork was conducted; an overview of my fourteen friends, the Grade 11 students who were the key research participants; and some ethical concerns, issues, and learnings that emerged.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six are the thematic and analytical chapters based on my fieldwork. These chapters are where I put the literature on mobilities and the imagination in more explicit conversation to answer the research questions I have raised in the beginning of this thesis. The chapters are divided primarily according to the most salient themes – schooling, labour, and gender – that emerged from my deeper engagement with To'to as a community, To'to High School, and To'to students. By focusing on the To'to young people's experiences of schooling, labour, and the construction of gender, the ways in which they are thinking about their futures through the lens of the imagination are explored. It is also in these chapters where I attempt to operationalise and localise the imagination, something I strongly point out in Chapter Two as a compelling conceptual endeavour given the issues I raise against the ambiguity and lack of socio-practical grounding of the imagination within the context of mobilities. I flesh out the way it operates, in more ordinary sense, in the thinking or making of futures as young people face challenges in the domains of schooling, work, and gender. I attempt to do so by looking for recurrent practices that allow young people greater contact with the difficult realities of village life, and at the same time, pose possibilities of negotiating these realities. This I hope to achieve by accounting for their acts of "making do", a socio-practical aggregate of their ways of working with the enabling aspects of contemporary social life, and around the constraints of their homes, school, community, locality, and globality. I do so with a consciousness that these acts are imbricated within wider mobilities that connect the village to the rest of the world, the home and away.

In Chapter Four, I look into young people's lives in To'to and how they are transformed by the transnationalisation of the Filipino family, informal work within the small-scale mining industry, and radical educational reforms. By focusing on their experiences of schooling and its relatedness to their home lives both of which are characterised often as conditions of deprivation and disadvantage, I examine forms of institutional and individual responses that figure roughly as ways of making do. I highlight the To'to young people's critical optimism towards schooling that is characterised first by an instrumental or utilitarian motive of obtaining certificates to secure employment; second, an intrinsic valuing related to self-discovery despite limited educational opportunities; and lastly, the waging of subtle critique against school administration, staff, and educational policy reform. Lastly, their practices of making do, which I argue comes with a consciousness of the future, are linked to imagination on the one hand as its localised form that has significant material and discursive effects in producing To'to as place, as locality.

In Chapter Five, I situate the place of work in the everyday lives of the To'to youth and in their negotiation of the present and aspired futures. I highlight the salient tensions integral to young peoples' engagement with work as a form of making do in the villages. These tensions include the contradiction between informal work and schooling, mine-work and other non-mining related work, and mine work and ecology. I take into account the ways in which young people respond to precarious village life by focusing on the temporal and spatial repertoire of their making do that are often exhibited with a sense of contingency while remaining attached to existing local and collective solidarities. However, these forms of making do also simultaneously employ forms of strategic identification and a calculative animus in reckoning local labour exemplars that figure in their imagining of alternative futures.

In Chapter Six, I problematize the youthful body as situated within the pedagogies of globalisation and locality. As such, I offer another way of looking at social reproduction beyond school and work which were explored in Chapters Four and Five respectively. I look at how the imagination is at work, in more playful and guileful terms, through practices of making do, within cultural reproduction specifically in young people's ways of engaging with and talking about the body. I provide a "placed" exploration of how gender is imagined among the To'to participants by focusing on their

encounter with heritage such as the wearing of the loincloth and the chewing of the betel nut among young men; and talking about bodily potentials and anxieties such as the loss of virginity and teenage pregnancy among girls. As such, young people's making do as forms of engaging with their schools' and communities' forms of initiation and disciplining towards certain gender categories, and global resources are explored. The imagining of possible futures is nuanced in this chapter by foregrounding the possibilities that young people's making do open, as well as the possibilities that they become anxious with in relation to heritage and their bodies respectively.

In Chapter Seven, I recall in hindsight how this thesis eventually impacted my understanding of the biographic and socio-historical resources that I have drawn upon, reflect upon the certainties that I brought with me to the field, and the painful crushing and unlearning of these certainties. More importantly, I outline the empirical, methodological, and conceptual contributions of this thesis. Among these include this thesis' contribution in terms of generating new insights about young people in contemporary global times; how it informs ways of investigating young people at the overlaps of the global and the local; and how it adds and nuances existing ways of understanding young people's lives while they are relatively moored in the villages of the developing world where transnational mobilities are equally pervasive. From these iterations of this thesis' contribution, I acknowledge and point out this thesis' limitations as well as offer potential ways of extending it by outlining openings for future research that this thesis has made and can further tap into.

I now turn to an engagement with theoretical concepts and empirical contexts that have inspired and nuanced the shaping of this thesis' directions. In Chapter Two, I locate the contribution this thesis seeks to make both from a conceptual level, and point out as well how these conceptual grounding or clarification can inform an illuminated and sobered understanding of contexts within which young people move and are moored.

CHAPTER TWO
CONTEXTS AND CONCEPTS

> The spider…would stay in one place waiting for its prey until…it shrivelled up and died…No confusion, no despair, no regrets. No metaphysical doubt, no moral complications. Probably. Unlike me. I move, therefore I am.
>
> -Haruki Murakami, *1Q84, 2009-2010*

> …It is no longer a matter of specially endowed individuals, injecting the imagination where it does not belong. Ordinary people have begun to deploy their imaginations in the practice of their everyday lives (Appadurai, 1996, p.175).

In Chapter One, I opened with a biographic note that told a story of migration, mobility and staying at home. I sutured these narratives to larger issues regarding the place of emigration in young people's imagination of futures, and imagination's place in potential departure or stay in the villages. In exploring the stories of Ling-Ling, Nina, Emma, and myself, I raised two main questions. First, I asked broadly, what are the ways in which young people in localities respond to the deluge of global forces, their negotiation of immediate socio-economic and educational conditions that are imbricated with emergent transnational formations, and in doing so, how they imagine their futures? In more specific and contextualised terms, I asked, how do the left behind children of emigrant women, and those whose mothers are not, think about their place in the world and their possible futures? These questions foregrounded young people's embeddedness in transnational movements – despite remaining in the village – as partly resulting from the feminised labour emigration from the villages.

Given the biographic and contextual exigencies from which the questions in this thesis are drawn, the key concepts I am engaging with concern movement or mobility, the imagination, and futures. These are the "what" of this thesis. The "who" of this thesis is the young people who remain in the villages, those who are left behind by their mothers who work elsewhere, and those whose parents stay with them in the villages. The "where" of this thesis is obviously the village as a site of origin and home, and of being anchored. This "whereness" is particularised too by looking at the school, home, and work that young people also inhabit.

To address and explore the key concepts and the foci of this thesis, this review of literature is divided into three parts. First, I consider studies of migration with specific attention to the Philippines and how young people have been studied within this context. I do this as a way of scanning the wider field where this thesis occurs and to illuminate why the research questions are framed in a particular way. This is also for purposes of establishing warrants as to why certain deliberate choices of participants such as left behind children and young people whose parents have not emigrated, and the location are made. It will be demonstrated through this review that the questions raised and choices made in this thesis are not only socially compelling, but are also relevant and significant in contributing to the advancement of transnational and diaspora studies. Second, after a perusal of the field of transnational and diaspora studies concerning the Philippines and the Filipino youth, the two significant conceptual resources for this thesis, the mobility and imaginative turns, are elaborated and the scholarly works on them reviewed. Lastly, I will be pointing out the imbrication of the two bodies of scholarship, some criticisms raised against them and possible trajectories of scholarly engagement, and the ways in which these concepts are going to be treated in this thesis.

Forms, Links, and Consequences of Movement

There are bodies of scholarship that look at movement within the context of globalisation specifically through the optic of transnationalism and diaspora. Recurrent themes in these studies are explorations on the forms of movement (what kinds of people and things are moving), trajectories and new connections that are forged, and the consequences of movement and connections in contemporary global formations. Exploring formulations about subjects and objects on the move, their vectorial qualities, and their impact to localities are important as a starting point in making a case for an inquiry that occurs within the field of transnational migration yet is invested on studying young people who remain in the villages. In other words, this initial scan of the field is important to establish ontological and epistemological validity for a study that claims itself to be about transnational movements but ironically studies a cohort of people who are not “actually” transnationally moving.

What's moving?

Movements are characterised by the different forms of what is moving or being moved. James (2014) classifies four types of movement namely: embodied globalization (movements of bodies); agency-extended (extension through institutions); object-extended (movements of objects); and disembodied extension where bodies become irrelevant in the interchange. In this classification of movement according to form, no longer is movement limited merely to bodies and goods, but it refers as well to disembodied forms (James, 2014, p. 212). This implies that within the notion of movement, there is a move from the concreteness and tangibility of those that move, towards their abstraction and virtuality. This trend towards abstraction and virtuality also aligns to what Hardt (1999) observed as the rise of "immaterial labor". This trend according to Hardt (1999) results from the shift from agriculture and mining to industry, and then to service jobs (p.91) that produce immaterial goods such as service itself, knowledge, or communication (p.94), hence, humanity's increasing dependency on information and communication technologies (Eriksen, 2007, p. 17) to meet the demands of everyday life. Given this, it appears that those that move are becoming increasingly immaterial in form just as those that facilitate their movement, such as economic production, have also relied equally on the increasing immaterialisation of labour.

While economies have shifted towards post-Fordism where acts, spaces, and times of production and consumption are blurred (Farrugia, 2017) (e.g. factory and the household), this same system that relies on immaterial labour to produce intangible goods, nevertheless remains dependent towards certain forms of embodied interchange. In order for contemporary economic globalisation to sustain its logic of producing intangible goods, it is reliant upon the mobilisation of bodies elsewhere to produce these goods. Such is the case in domestic or reproductive work. To meet the domestic demands of families in well-off nations for socio-economic mobility or sometimes, career advancement of women, bodies of Third World women are moved from the villages to global cities. At its incipient stages, Parreñas (2000, p.561) referred to this phenomenon as the "international transfer of caretaking" where reproductive work is transferred to and mobilised from lower-classed women in host countries, or

from developing countries. This phenomenon is popularly referred to as the "global care chain", as coined by Hochschild (2000), drawing from Parreñas' work.

The feminisation of labour migration interestingly captures the oxymoron of the forms of movements within contemporary globalisation. On the one hand, it is dominated by the extractive production and consumption of immaterial or reproductive capacities such as care and intimacy from elsewhere, yet on the other it also depends on the physical transfer of bodies that produce it. The very production of immaterial goods such as care, attention, and domestic upkeep, also signify that not only do these forms of immaterial goods circulate, they too result into other forms of embodied, disembodied, agency or object-extended circulation. As such, these forms of movements emerge from, as well as result in, or are facilitated by one another. Going back to the case of the global care chains, the feminisation of labour results from the increasing demand for immaterial labour in well-off countries, and consequently, engender the flow of remittances and gift boxes to the villages of the developing world. This forms part of context in which my study is located, the context of children left behind by emigrating mothers, and other young people who witness this phenomenon in the villages.

Moving from and to where?

The movements I have described in the preceding section also suggest that movements have a vectorial quality, that is, they are not only understood in terms of their quantifiable magnitude but also in what theorists like Stuart Hall (1995), Paul Gilroy (1993), and Clifford (1997) characterise as "roots" and "routes". This metaphor has been deployed by social scientists to capture the complex relations of people, place, and culture within diaspora and migration (Gustafson, 2001, p.670). Movements of people, for example, as Zygmunt Bauman observes, are understood through the lens of "emigration" that presupposes origin, "immigration" which implies destination, and "migration" that suggests movement from one place to a succeeding one (Bauman, 2017, p. 15).

Aside from trajectories and origins, movements have also been understood in terms of connectivities that are made. The terms "diaspora" and "transnationalism" become default referents not only in talking about mobile people's relation to their

country of origin and destination but also in new forms of relations that are made between people and institutions beyond national borders. While both concepts signify cross-border links, diaspora is often related to cross-border social formations that include religious, ethnic, and national groups and communities, while transnationalism, in addition to the formations connoted by diaspora, also as Faist argues, includes networks and social movements (Faist, 2010, p. 21) which in one way or another, may breach the limits of typical sources of affiliation or belonging. As such, transnational social spaces tend to have a wider scope than diasporic ones. This echoes Vertovec's (2009) distinction of "transnational" from "inter-national". For him, "international" refers to interactions between national governments, or the movement of people and goods from one nation-state context to another while "transnational" refers to connections and exchanges among non-state actors across national borders (e.g. NGOs, corporations, individuals) (Vertovec, 2009, p.3). The aggregate of attributes of these connections, their formation and maintenance, and their wider impact is what Vertovec refers to as "transnationalism".

Vertovec also provides an exhaustive list of transnationalism's premises. These include understanding transnationalism as: a social morphology (cross-border social formations), type of consciousness (identification), mode of cultural production (interpenetration and blending), avenue of capital (interest in transnational trade and business), site of political engagement (emergence of the global public space), and a reconstruction of place or locality (Vertovec, 1999). In short, from a transnational perspective, movements happen within the more pronounced interconnectedness between and among institutions (governmental, nongovernmental, corporation) and people understood through the frame of the nation-state. While on the surface, Vertovec's list of transnationalism's premises appear to be nation-centric, his inclusion of transnational cultural production, political engagement, and relation to space in fact direct attention to more specific sites of transnational experience such as localities. In this sense, despite having formulated more than two decades ago, Vertovec's take on transnationalism is supportive for the purposes of this study but as a concept, remains insufficient given the more recent theoretical developments in studying movements which I will elaborate in the succeeding sections.

Winners and Losers

Numerous studies have also addressed the practical and ethical aspects of movements that flow among nations, specifically that of labour migration from developing countries to better-off countries and its consequences for the former. Two metaphors encapsulate its economic and social impact to the developing world – that of "brain drain" and "care drain" respectively. The brain drain phenomenon in the Philippines, according to Alburo and Abella (2002), started in the early seventies with the emigration of highly skilled workers like physicians, teachers, and engineers.

This was sustained in the eighties but with the addition of mid-level professionals (e.g. nurses, paramedics). In the nineties, IT professionals left together with allied skills workers (Alburo & Abella, 2002, p. 1). Alburo and Abella report that in the nineties, there were more professional workers in the Philippines who left for work abroad than the number of professionals added into the domestic workforce. They also contended that in the same decade, a large portion of Filipino workers abroad were part of the most productive age groups compared to those who are working in the country (p.20). A more recent picture of this phenomenon is the "nurse brain drain" studied by Dimaya, McEwen, Curry, and Bradley (2012, p. 1). Their research shows that nurses constituted a fifth of all emigrating Filipino professionals between 2004 to 2010 which resulted in increased domestic hospital closures and high nurse turnover. Put simply, the brain drain argument stems from anxieties of not having sufficient skilled workers to sustain the needs of the domestic economy, which is benefitting the care worker's host country at the expense of their country of origin.

The emergence of care economies on the other hand, such as the provision of domestic work within the global care chains, has also engendered worries about care drain[13], where women from the developing world who are almost always delegated with domestic work of caring for children and the elderly leave a care vacuum when they go to other countries for work (Dumitru, 2014; McKay, 2007). Researchers such as Isaksen, Devi, and Hochschild (2008, p. 75) also describe this as a form of "desertification of

[13] Dumitru (2014) contends that Arlie Hochschild (2002) explicitly coined the term care drain as a female counterpart to brain drain. Dumitru critiques it of being a sexist stereotype, a misrepresentation and devaluation of care work, and as theoretically insufficient.

Third World care-givers and the emotional commons"[14]. Along this vein of care drainage, Parreñas (2005) documents how geographic distance strains intimacy among transnational Filipino families, especially for the left-behind children, while Battistella and Conaco (1998) account for the role of the extended family in the filling in of the care vacuum.

These studies on the impact of movement draw attention to conditions of sending families and communities within transnational migration and as such, provide grounds for why a sustained interest to people, specifically young people in these communities, the very context of this study, remains a compelling scholarly endeavour. While these studies are instructive, the brain drain and the care drain discourses have been heavily criticised as operating on fixity and have a tendency to be sexist respectively.

New Connections

Anxieties about the threat of drying up the developing world's skill and care reservoir appear to be preoccupied with the necessity for physical presence, both in skilled workers' servitude to the domestic economy and migrant women's household upkeep respectively (McKay, 2007). First, the insistence for skilled workers to remain in the Philippines operates on simplistic and myopic views of citizenship or a highly limited view of how one can make contributions to national development. Second, the worries on the desertification of domestic care on the other hand is a slippery slope because it might imply perpetuating notions of domesticity, the demonising of emigrant women, and a romanticised deficit view of left behind families. Put simply, what are elided in these drain-centred analyses are new forms of connections that are not dependent on physical presence (McKay, 2007, 2012) and that are made or sustained between the emigrant and those who stay behind.

In her extensive studies of the Cordillera Region in the northern Philippines, McKay contends that even when OFWs are catapulted away from their villages, they

[14] In Poland and Ukraine, the care drain discourse surfaced in 2008 due to the campaigns of NGO's such as "Open Ukraine" and "Ukraine 3000" along with politicians who included it in their agenda (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck (2012). In the Philippines, issues related to care drain and brain drain, are touched upon but are nuanced through multi-disciplinary study of migration at the Scalabrini Migration Centre in Manila ("Scalabrini Migration Center," n.d.)

remain "embedded within and intensify village social relations and affective ties" (McKay, 2012, p. 10). Levitt's (1998, 2001) earlier studies of emigrant Dominicans in the Boston Metropolitan Area in the U.S. gave an account of "social remittances"[15] and Siar's (2014) study of Filipinos in New Zealand and Australia demonstrate the salience of McKay's argument that migrants continue to participate in the economic, social, and political lives of their homeland. In these instances, new intimacies emerge, such as the sending of cash remittances as demonstration of certain feelings (McKay, 2007), the fulfilment of mothering roles through the use of mobile phones and the internet (Madianou & Miller, 2011a, 2011b), or the notion of "doing good" (Mariano, 2017) through philanthropic work that contributes to the development of the emigrant's village of origin (Opiniano, 2005; Salazar, 2015; Mosuela, 2018).

Demistifying the discourses of loss and gain due to physical absence as well as foregrounding the sustained connections and the making of new ones between emigrants and sending communities support why a study of transnational movement from the view of the left behind is equally important. However, these impact studies have not accounted for other forms of immaterial effects of cash and social remittances not only to remittance-receiving families but also to others who witness the receipt of these remittances. This is why this thesis is interested about the place of transnational movements and its apparent returns to young people (whether left behind child or not) in their making of aspirations which are beyond the quantification of GDP per capita, hours of skype calls, or charity contributions.

Movement from whose view?

The preceding discussion described the scholarly landscape of movement and migration in terms of its forms, trajectories and origins, scope, consequences, and connections and foregrounded important scholarship on transnationalism and the Filipino diaspora. This scholarship underlines that the objects on the move are now not only constituted by embodied forms but also by disembodied ones, although remaining reliant on the mobilisation of bodies. Movements, too, are understood through the optic of the nation and more specifically, home and destination. Discourses on the

[15] In an earlier account, Levitt defines social remittances as "ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving-to sending-country communities" (Levitt, 1998, p.1).

consequences of movements, specifically that of labour migration, are understood in dualistic terms (e.g. brain drain and care drain), but are nuanced by translocal studies of social remittances and intimacies that purport new forms of connections.

These scholarly works on migration, transnationalism, and diaspora provide valuable insights for my study, but there are also significant tendencies and silences that warrant more critical attention. First, even where there is interest in new connections between "roots" and "routes", the scholarship tends to gravitate towards issues experienced by the immigrants in their host countries, hence, still highly destination-centred. This includes research on the experiences and challenges of Filipina migrant workers in Hong Kong (Constable, 2007), Rome (Tacoli, 1999), Barcelona (Zontini, 2004), Taiwan (Lan, 2006, 2008), France (Fresnoza-Flot, 2009), Malaysia (Gan, David, & Dumanig, 2015), Denmark (Dalgas, 2015), Canada (Vahabi & Wong, 2017; Palmer, 2007), and China (Mendoza, Mordeno, Latkin, & Hall, 2017)[16]. Second, when home is studied, it comes as an accounting for the ways in which migrant women continue to fulfil their domestic work in their left-behind families, how the extended family provides support, or how emigrants develop their villages through philanthropic work. Within this strand, however, the work of Parreñas (2005) remains an exception in her consideration of the views of left-behind children. The point here is that tackling home and destination has been dominated by the perspective of the one who is on the move. When home is talked about, it is from the view of the emigrant and for destination, the immigrant. Few studies attend to those who stay behind but whose lives are transformed by the movements of others. Third, while there have been impressive studies on translocal and transnational connections between home and away, such as those of Parreñas (2005) and McKay (2007, 2012); or on immigrant women's navigation of new experiences in destination and expectations at home (Dalgas, 2015), the view of those who are not physically on the move, the left-behind, or those who remain appear to be less well accounted for, hence, less commonplace (Martin, 2015; Graham, Jordan, Yeoh, Lam, Asis, & Su-kamdi, 2012; Battistella & Conaco, 1998).

[16] I do not mean to discount in any way the rigor or the political work that these researches have done. I think they are important in exposing the dismal labour conditions in host countries and the need for policy to address it.

It is from this third point of contention where I open some provocation. Is it possible to give an account for villages of origin that goes beyond the view of the emigrant and beyond the trope of the vacuum, recipient, or the victim? How do we account for movement that acknowledges the role of the left behind in facilitating the movement of emigrants? And is it possible to do so by foregrounding the views and experiences of the sending-families, specifically left-behind children on the one hand, and the relative outsiders or onlookers' vicarious participation in these movements on the other? What theoretical lenses or handles are available that can help address these questions? I will take a pause from this provocation and do a detour to look into how young people are studied within the context of the diaspora and transnationalism. After doing so, I will link the emergent trends in transnational youth studies to what I have made as general observations on the scholarship of movement and use this to segue into the theoretical anima of this thesis.

Young people and transnational migration

Just like the scholarship on transnationalism and diaspora, studies about Filipino youth in the context of transnational movements teem with works about those who are geographically mobile. Usually, they are about children born in the Philippines who moved to their parents' host countries (e.g. Japan and France) and are usually referred to as "1.5 generation" (Nagasaka & Fresnoza-Flot, 2015; Tokunaga, 2011). There are also studies concerned with immigrant children's challenges, such as well-being or mental health (Beiser, Hamilton, Rummens, Oxman-Martinez, Ogilvie, Humphrey & Armstrong, 2010), or the ways in which they navigate home and host country (Tokunaga, 2011). Manalansan (2014), however, goes against this pattern of transnational movement with his ethnographic work on foreign-born Filipino children moving to the Philippines to seek fame and economic mobility.

When young people who are not on the move or the left-behind children are studied, it is mostly about the negative impact of their mother's migration to their well-being. Such works look at how their parents' absence impacts on schooling (Cortes, 2015, 2013; Fujii 2015) or as a push factor to child labour (Portner, 2011). They also make comparisons of impact on the one hand to children whose fathers are away against those whose mothers are (Parreñas, 2005; Cortes, 2015); gendered consequences of being left

behind among boys and girls (Portner, 2011); or net comparisons of negative schooling and child labour impact against the positive impact of remittances (Fujii, 2015). Beyond the discourse of impact upon the left-behind children, Theoharides' (2017) points at the larger human capital impact on provinces of origin by showing how increases in income in the emigrant sending provinces result to higher school enrolment. Theoharides (2017) argues that "for each new migrant that leaves the Philippines, multiple additional children enroll in high school"[17] (p. 1046).

Perhaps as a subset of transnational or Filipino diaspora studies, transnational youth studies mirror the same mobility-centrism and destination-orientedness as the former. Moreover, within these studies of young people on the move, children tend to be portrayed as passive, whose "voices are often heard as accessories" (Fassetta, 2011, p. 53) or whose agency have not been closely attended to (Nagasaka & Fresnoza-Flot, 2015, p. 4). When left-behind children are addressed, they are usually along the lines of the discourse of the "orphan", a victim of their parents' hunger for money (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2012), or being at the receiving end of the paradoxes of care in the global care chains (Parreñas, 2005).

There are surprisingly few critiques of the dominance of these destination, victim, and adult-centrism discourses, and even fewer studies addressing the dearth of youth voices in transnational studies. Key exceptions include Nagasaka and Fresnoza-Flot's (2015) edited volume that comprehensively illuminates the experiences of Filipino migrant children in the U.S., Australia, Toronto, France, Italy, and Japan by using migrant youth's narratives of the migration process. While their work addresses the adult-centrism of transnational studies, there remains a vacuum for the voices and views of the left-behind. One generative and instructive approach to studying the views of left-behind children is through an engagement with the concept of the imagination. The works of Gardner in Bangladesh and London (1993, 1995, 2015), and Fassetta (2011) and Coe (2012) on Ghanaian left behind children provide valuable sources of exemplars for such work.

Katy Gardner's (1993) work in Sylhet, Bangladesh describes how home is imagined as a site of spirituality and religiosity while abroad is imagined as the only

[17] Theoharides (2017), however, clarifies that the increase in school enrolment is not driven by increases in the expected wage premium but by the increases in income.

route to material prosperity. In her more recent work with Kanwal Mand (Gardner & Mand, 2012), they do not look into left-behind children but those of British Bengali children's relationship to Bangladesh and how they conjure images of it as a tourist site. They argue, however, that transnational relationships will not only depend upon the dictates of global capitalism but also upon children's role and that this is central in transnational social fields because of the ways in which children relate to, act upon, and change places (p. 984).

Cati Coe's (2012) work on the left behind children of emigrants from Akropong, Eastern Ghana also focused on how they imagine life abroad, their ways of thinking about the place of migration in their life-course, and their articulation of goals in migrating. She concludes that children's attitudes about migration may change over time. She however poses a caveat that her work does not account for the ways in which these attitudes are arrived at (p.928). Giovanna Fassetta's (2011) doctoral thesis on Ghanaian left-behind children of migrant parents account for their previously held imaginings of Italy on the one hand, and how children born in Italy of Ghanaian parents imagine and relate to Ghana on the other hand. She concludes that children play a central role in the maintenance of transnational ties and that they are able to share, resist, and play with various cultural expectations to negotiate adults' demands (p.5).

There are four significant points of challenges as well as openings I wish to raise regarding the works I have discussed above. First, they reveal a dearth of accounts on left- behind children's views and experiences in transnational studies, and thus point to the need for more scholarship of similar nature. Second, they lie outside the terrain of Filipino transnational youth studies which means that accounts of the left behind Filipino children remain unfortunately wanting. Third, there is limited scholarship on those who do not have immediate family members on the move yet witness and participate in these movements in different ways. I have not been able to find a published work that examines the conditions of being left behind or as an onlooker except Christopher Martin's (2015) exploration of labour migration as viewed from within. His work looks at young people's tripartite experience of migration as: having a relative (parent, aunt, etc.) who is on the move; possibilities of going overseas; and participation in migrations of their own through work or schooling (p.22). Martin's work is significant in providing accounts for the left behind or those who remain

especially within Filipino diaspora studies but unlike the work of Gardner, Coe, and Fassetta that engage with imagination, his work employs various other theoretical lenses in examining possible outcomes of schooling, kinship, future travel or work, and foreignness. While in so far as positioning is concerned, Martin's work is instructive. However, in so far as the key concepts of this thesis such as imagination and futures are concerned, his work appears to be less related. Lastly, they explore the ways in which young people relate to transnational movements through the imagination but only as a matter of conjuring of images of home and away (Gardner, 1993), making and sustaining of dreams and aspirations (Fassetta, 2011), hopes, expectations, and planning migration in the life-course (Coe, 2012). These works, while engaging with the concept of the imagination in rather loose and general ways, nevertheless create an opening for studies to engage with the concept in more systematic ways and in critical dialogue with mobility.

Mobility and Migration Processes in the Philippines

The previous section described the current state of studies in so far as movement as the context where this thesis occurs is concerned. It has focussed on key themes such as the what and who of movement, its vectors, winners and losers, transformations and the dominant vantage point where it is usually approached or viewed from. In retrospect, it has been discussed that while labour migration continues to be obviously embodied despite increasing opportunities for work remotely via some forms of disembodied interchange, the form of labour that is rendered remains dominated by immaterial or reproductive forms (e.g. global care chains or the international transfer of caretaking). Also, I have made apparent that there are insufficient conceptual handles that articulate the nuances of movements. There is a need to go beyond simplistic terms such as emigration, immigration, or migration that most often foreground the linear pattern of departure and settlement. In doing so, these terms elide the specificities of movement relative to class, labour group, and geographic location as well as its pedetic possibilities. In what follows, I specifically delve into mobility and migration processes that are specific to the Philippines. As such, I will point out what kind of movement forms part as context of this thesis, characterise it, and the various practices associated to it.

Contemporary labour emigration in the Philippines

In 2018, according to the Philippine Statistics Authority, there were approximately 2.3 million Filipinos who left the country for work elsewhere, most of whom were channelled into "elementary occupations" (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019d). Almost 40 percent of these emigrants fell into this category (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019d) and only a fifth of them occupied positions such as managers, professionals, technicians and associate professionals, and clerical support workers. The rest of the group that were neither part of the managerial, professional, or technical group, nor elementary occupations were service and sales workers, skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, craft and related trade workers, and plant and machine operators or assemblers (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019d). A closer look at the numbers associated with "elementary occupations" across gender is telling of tasks involved in these specific occupations. In 2018, only 10% of all emigrating men, while 59% of all women[18] were deployed into elementary occupations. Compared to emigrant women whose majority occupied elementary occupation, majority of the men were channelled into plant and machine operators and assemblers. What this tells us is that contemporary Filipino emigration is highly gendered on two levels: first, there are more women emigrants than men; and second, the occupations to which men and women are deployed continue to reproduce existing gendered imaginaries of work (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019d).

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (International Labour Organization, 2004), defines elementary occupations as consisting "of simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort". More specifically, the ILO provides three sub categories for elementary occupations namely: first, sales and services elementary occupations; second, agricultural, fishery and related labourers; and lastly, labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport. The first sub-group, sales and services elementary occupations, include minor groups and among them is minor group 913, domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers (International Labour Organization, 2004), and

[18] The Philippine Statistics Authority notes that the numbers may not add up to totals due to rounding.

most specifically, minor group 9131 called “domestic helpers and cleaners”. While there are no specific numbers provided by the Philippine Statistics Authority on how many Filipina emigrants occupy minor group 9131, it can be surmised that the 59% women emigrant in 2018 most likely landed on this minor group.

In general, the ILO (Gallotti, 2016, p. 7) defines domestic work as “work performed in or for a household” and a domestic worker as any person performing such work on an occupational basis or within an employment relationship. Earlier, the ILO also enumerated the tasks involved in domestic work such as cleaning the house, laundry and ironing, dishwashing, cooking, purchasing food, and performing other related tasks (International Labour Organization, 2004).

Aside from the salient characteristic of emigration in the Philippines as highly gendered, there too is a geographic element involved. According to the Philippine Statistics Authority, an overwhelming number of emigrants across different regions, roughly 86% to 97% of women (from National Capital Region, Luzon, Visayas, or Mindanao), were deployed in Asia. These estimates are considerably higher when compared to 60% to 77% of men OFWs (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019c). From 2012 to 2017, the Philippine Statistical Authority estimates that 92% of all women OFWs work in Asia. 61% were in Western Asia mostly in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, followed by 22% in East Asia mostly in Hong Kong (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2018c). This is important to account for because the geographic destination of emigrants, especially women, not only reflects the kind of work they are most likely occupying, but also the motivations and goals of the movement undertaken. This will be returned to after providing a glimpse of how earlier emigration from the Philippines was like.

Early Filipino emigration

While contemporary emigration from the Philippines obviously had a feminine turn on the one hand, and an Asian turn on the other, earlier waves of migration was not always feminised nor Asianised. Taking the case of immigration to the United States, the earlier Filipino emigrants, specifically pertaining to the first Philippine settlement in the US in 1765 were mostly men, often called “Manila men”. These men were believed to have escaped Spanish galleon ships between Philippines and Mexico

(Lawless, 2005, p. 245). In the first half of the twentieth century, the number of Filipino immigrants in Hawaii and the U.S. mainland grew dramatically from 2,361 to 52,569 and from 406 to 45,876 respectively (Lawless, 2005, pp. 245-246). If in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Filipino immigrants in the US were referred to as Manila men, in the early 1900s, they were known as *manong*, the local term for older brother in the Ilocos region of the northern Philippines where these men were mostly from (Lawless, 2005, p. 246). In fact, the farm workers of California, cannery workers in Washington, Oregon, and Alaska were men without families and as such, the ratio of men to women in the 1920s and 1930s was 20 to 1, or in severe cases, 40 to 1 (Lawless, 2005, p. 246).

The representation of Filipinas in the U.S. immigration scene became more pronounced with transformations in U.S. foreign policy to the Philippines, as well as domestic labour and social needs. For example, the *Pensionado* program or "government scholars" was enacted in 1903 that allowed for educated Filipino men and women to pursue higher studies in the U.S. and return to the Philippines to occupy significant government roles (Lawless, 2005, p. 247). The increase in the number of Filipina emigrants was also ushered in by the need for healthcare professionals, especially nurses (Choy, 1998) and other labour in urban areas in the U.S., and the popularity of international matchmaking agencies for European-American U.S. Citizens and Filipinas to get married (Lawless, 2005, pp. 246-247).

Because of almost half a century of American occupation of the Philippines resulting from the Spanish-American war in 1898, much of twentieth century international migration for Filipinos involved movement into the U.S. mainland or its Pacific territories (Asis, 2017). Outside the United States, however, specifically Canada and Europe, there were also increased number of Filipina immigrants that happened at the latter part of the twentieth century. Post-1962 easing of racially discriminatory immigration policies in Canada that targeted people of colour made possible the first wave of Filipino immigrants in the country who were mainly nurses. And in the 1970s, most garment factory workers were females, and the decades following it, the country admitted mostly foreign female workers. In the 1990s in Europe, 80% of Filipino immigrants were also women (Lawless, 2005, p. 248).

It is important to note that the feminisation of Filipino emigration in the second half of the twentieth century was not exclusive to countries like the United States,

Canada, and Europe. In recent decades, there have been an Asianisation of Philippine migration as well. This Asianisation is also closely linked to the feminisation of Filipino migration. Liu-Farrer and Yeoh (2018) observe that from the 1980s, women from countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia have increasingly taken significant stake in contract labour systems within Asia, especially in reproductive labour sectors (p. 5). In Hong Kong during the late 70s, as middle-class Chinese women participated in the labour force, there also came a need for domestic workers from elsewhere (Constable, 2007; Cortes, 2015). In the 70s and 80s in Japan, the number of Fiipina immigrants has also dramatically increased (Suzuki, as cited in Lawless, 2005, p. 249). These women participated in the Japanese work force occupying positions such as artists (Cortes, 2015, p. 68), or at times, as sex workers, or as *hanayome* (brides) to men living in highly depopulated communities (Suzuki, as cited in Lawless, 2005, p. 249).

Migration patterns

The configuration of contemporary Filipino emigration – who leaves, to where, and for what – have equally important implications in the patterns or trajectory of Filipino migrants. In retrospect, there are three important characteristics of contemporary Filipino emigration that are apparent thus far. First, Philippine emigration is highly gendered, that is, women are more likely to emigrate than men. Second, Filipino emigrants who are mostly women are moving to Asian countries. And third, the jobs they land on are categorised usually under "elementary occupations". In short, the who of Filipino migration is feminised, its where is Asianised, and its what is immaterialised. Given these trends, majority of Filipino migrants have lesser if not stand no chance of securing permanent residency in their host countries. This is especially true in the case of OFWS who are deployed in the Middle East. Because there are no pathways to residency in their host states such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates where 61% of women OFWs are working, the dominant migration pattern among OFWs tend to be temporary and at times serial.

Liu-Farrer and Yeoh (2018) contend that the key feature of contemporary population movement in the Asian region is "temporary labour migration". The temporariness of labour migration comes from both the receiving and sending countries. On the one hand, despite the immigrant workers' filling in some labour

vacuum in host states, they are often seen (especially the less-skilled) as threats to social order and national identity and as such, become subjects of control and precarious conditions (Liu-Farrrer & Yeoh, 2018, p. 4). On the other hand, the sending states, too, like the Philippines become a broker to this temporariness because of its expectations for its emigrants to return, mostly for economic reasons (Liu-Farrrer & Yeoh, 2018, p. 4). The case of the Philippines may not necessarily fit into what Liu-Farrer and Yeoh suggest because at present, there are 4.9 million Filipinos who are permanently settled in their host countries while there are only 4.2 million who are categorised as temporary migrants (Asis, 2017). While there are obviously more Filipino permanent migrants, the category of temporary migrants is a compelling feature of contemporary migration, not because of their number, but because they live more challenging conditions that require more serious government and academic attention. Among these include "illegal recruitment, contract substitution, illegal placement fees, long working hours, and no days off (in the case of domestic workers), among others" (Asis, 2017). The patterns of temporary migration such as this are well documented by scholars such as Paul (2011), Hwang (2018), and Parreñas, Silvey, Hwang and Choi (2018).

It should be noted, however, that Filipino migration was not always as "temporary" as it is today. In the post-1965 passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act in the U.S., permanent immigration of Filipinos to the United States grew. And along with the dismantling of pro-European immigration policies in countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the number of permanent residents of Filipino nationality grew as well (Asis, 2017). In contrast to this seemingly more stable, unitary, and settlement oriented trajectory of early Filipino migrants, contemporary Filipino migration is of another shade.

The sociologist Anju Mary Paul (2017) offers the term "stepwise international migration" to refer to "the process by which capital and information constrained labor migrants accumulate migration-related capital of various kinds while working overseas …to eventually gain access to destinations that had been out of their reach…when they originally left their home country" (p. 10). Paul (2011) describes this type of migration as a four-tiered hierarchy of target destination countries namely: the Middle East (bottom tier); Singapore and Malaysia (third tier); Taiwan and Hong Kong (second tier); and Canada and Italy (first tier). These tiers, according to Paul (2011), are temporarily resided

on by Filipino emigrants, usually starting from the bottom tier, moving on to the medium-tier, until finally, the first tier where they have higher chances for permanent residency. This is usually the case of Filipina domestic workers from Hong Kong who move to Canada to work as live-in caregivers. In fact, ex-domestic helpers from Hong Kong account for 51% of live-in caregivers in Canada who have international caregiving experience (Banerjee, Kelly, Tungohan, Cleto, De Leon, Garcia, Luciano, Palmaria, & Sorio, 2018, p. 923).

But migration scholars such as Hwang (2018) and Parreñas, Silvey, Hwang, and Choi (2018) argue that patterns of migration that continue to operate with the logic of settlement elides the precarity of many low-wage labour migrants. Instead, they forward the idea of "circular migration" and "serial labour migration" (Parreñas, Silvey, Hwang, & Choi, 2018). Circular migration refers to the labour migrant's repetitive movement between country of origin and destination, or between rural and urban region within a country (Parreñas, Silvey, Hwang, & Choi, 2018, p.234). This is documented in the case of Filipina sex workers in Hong Kong who often navigate border and visa regimes, by moving from one territory to another to prolong their stay and work (Hwang, 2017, 2018). But contemporary migration has gone beyond mere circular movements between origin and destination, and now characterised by migration to certain labour markets beyond previous destinations. As such, the circularity in labour migration is now replaced by seriality. As Parreñas, Silvey, Hwang, and Choi (2018) define, "serial labor migration refers to the multi-country, itinerant labor migration patterns that have emerged in response to temporary labor programs, prohibitive conditions of settlement, and limited income-earning options in home countries" (p. 253). They argue that temporary labour migrants, especially women from countries such as the Philippines are now more likely to migrate "to more than one destination in the course of their labour migration" (Parreñas, Silvey, Hwang, & Choi, 2018, p.234). It is this seriality, precarity, and temporariness of labour migration that has been mostly attended to by the Philippine state through its migration policy which is going to be discussed in the next section.

Managing migration

The primary motivator behind the government's management of and interest in labour export was to look for labor markets (Asis, 2017) that could accommodate the otherwise unused labour surplus within the domestic economy. As such, in the 1970s, the Philippine government executed a massive campaign for Filipino workers to be absorbed in the labour-short Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries (Asis, 2017). Along with the increase of workers, especially women, in the GCC countries who are from other countries of origin, also came issues such as poor working conditions and abuses which prompted the government to include in their labour migration management some mechanisms addressing migrant's welfare and protection (Asis, 2017). What can be surmised, therefore, from the Philippine state's approach to labour migration is that it is bi-directional such that on the one hand, it facilitates channels for Filipino emigrant's opportunities for work elsewhere while developing institutions, laws, and policies for their protection on the other hand (Asis, 2017).

From one president to another, several policies were enforced to facilitate and protect labour migrants. During the Ramos administration, the "Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act" (1995) that put in place "higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families and overseas Filipinos in distress" was enacted. As a landmark law, it provided protection from the OFWs' departure until their return to the Philippines (Asis, 2017). When the Arroyo administration took power, lesser attention was given to protection and instead, it was more invested on hitting deployment targets which at that time was set at one million workers every year (Asis, 2017). During the Benigno Aquino government, the 1995 Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act was amended with the passage of Republic Act 10022. This law strengthened the earlier law by restricting deployment of Filipino migrants only to countries that are certified as safe and have protection mechanisms in place (An Act Amending Republic Act No. 8042, 2009; Asis, 2017). It was also in 2016 when the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration amended its regulations over the recruitment industry to curb illegal recruitment practices (e.g. exorbitant placement fees and contract substitution) that harm Filipino migrants (Asis, 2017). Earlier and in line with this effort, the "Expanded Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act" (2012) and the Anti-Mail Order Bride Act (1990) was also amended in 2016 to include protection not only to women but also to men (Asis, 2017).

Because of the state's focus to respond to overwhelming labour abuse issues in destination countries and in ensuring successful reintegration of OFWs, its labour migration governance has been heavily criticised as disconnected to its development vision. More specifically, its development interests are usually couched along the tropes of economic benefits via remittances (Asis, 2017). As Asis (2017) states, "except in the case of remittances, policies in these areas were not linked, and the national framework was out of sync with local frameworks".

Pedagogies of migration

What has been discussed in the previous section are the obvert forms of facilitating labour migration and its simultaneous protection of labour migrants in their host countries. In relation to the second prong of governance, there are however, even more subtle policies in place in which labour migration, as the ticket to better life, is facilitated. Among these include the *Bagong Bayani Award* (BBA), the Dual Citizenship Law, and the *Balikbayan* tax waiver.

First implemented in 1984, the *Bagong Bayani Award* (BBA)[19] promotes recognition and appreciation of Overseas Filipino Workers (Bagong Bayani Foundation Incorporated, 2019). To date, BBA has awarded 203 landbased and seabased overseas workers (Bagong Bayani Foundation Incorporated, 2019). President Corazon Aquino referred to migrant workers as "heroes", while President Marcos earlier referred to them as *Balikbayans* (returnees) (Encinas-Franco, 2015). By capitalising on heroism – by shifting its differentia from a patriot to "warriors whose weapons are tears"[20] – the state normalised the risks of migration and downplayed the displacement of workers in the domestic economy (Encinas-Franco 2015, p. 72). At the same time, through the BBA as a calculated response to the new international division of labour, the job shortage in the country is temporarily responded to.

[19] This award-giving body was organised by Ramon Fuentes, transferred to the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) in 1983, and was eventually passed on to the private sector with the establishment of the Bagong Bayani Foundation Incorporated in 1989 (Bagong Bayani Foundation Incorporated, 2019).

[20] This description comes from the official sound track of the movie, 'Flor Contemplacion Story'. It narrates the circumstances of a Filipina domestic helper in Singapore who was executed by hanging because her ward drowned in the bathroom. One of the catchy verses is '*bagong bayani, na ang sandata ay luha, bigyan naman ninyo kami, kahit na akonting awa'* [new heroes, whose weapon are tears, please grant us even just little mercy] (Lamangan 1995).

The Citizenship Retention and Acquisition Act (2003) or Republic Act 9225 considers former Philippine citizens – who have acquired citizenship in another country – to not have lost the former and are qualified to reacquire it. What R.A. 9225 does is it makes dual citizenship possible. Appearing as a nationalist policy, it is well-calculated because it encourages OFWs to retain and acquire properties in the Philippines and eventually retire – hence contributing to national income – while reinforcing the glorification of migrant workers as new heroes on the other. It unified and made more coherent the notions of *balik* (return) and *bayani* (hero) respectively, shifting from transience to settlement.

The *Balikbayan Box* tax waiver along with some duty-free exemption cap also have explicit pedagogic effects. By law, OFWs can ship two boxes every year tax-free while returnees who purchased foreign goods below 1,000 USD are also declared tax-exempt (Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton, 1992). These tax-exemptions do not only put the government in a good light as an ally of migrant workers, it also makes the circulation of foreign consumer goods in villages possible.

All these laws, when combined, facilitate the making of desires for mobile living. They involve an informal training for an aptitude of self-sacrifice, lay mechanisms of institutionalised ties and settlement to the homeland, and facilitate free movement and circulation of global consumer goods. But aside from these policies that covertly rouse transnational migration, the Philippine state too has been cognisant of the power of education to facilitate transnational labour migration.

Education Policy and Transnational Migration

Prior to the K to 12 reform of 2012 which is the immediate educational backdrop of this thesis, policies such as the Technical Education and Skills Development Act of 1995, Education for All (EFA) Plan of Action 1990-2000 (UNESCO, n.d.), and Part IV of the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (2004-2010) (National Economic and Development Authority, 2004) were enforced.

Republic Act 7796 created the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) (1995) to manage the provision of technical and vocational education through consultation with industries and stakeholders, coordination from national to local, entering and implementing contracts (foreign and domestic),

approval of trade skills standards, and establishment of accreditation and training support mechanisms (Technical Education and Skills Development Act, 1995, Sec 8). TESDA's vision and mission is to be "the leading partner in the development of the Filipino workforce with world-class competence and positive work values" (Technical Education and Skills Development Authority, 2014, Corporate Information). It offers a competency-based curriculum[21] that hones skills to ensure the constant supply of workers in the global economy.

The EFA Plan of Action 1990-2000 stems from the country's commitment to the Education For All Dakar Framework aimed at ensuring that by 2015, all children have access to complete, free, compulsory and quality education (UNESCO, n.d., p.4). At the same time, the Philippine government was committed to the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) which include achievement of universal primary education. As such, the Philippines was prompted to formulate and implement the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (2004-2010) with its Part IV specifically tackling education and youth opportunity (UNESCO, n.d., p, 2; United Nations, 2013).

While technical and vocational education that were geared to generate a ready global workforce is in full-swing, basic education in recent decades was smeared with issues around quality[22]. Acting like a pedagogical state (Kaplan, 2006) pressured by external demands, the global labour market, and the increasing number of households relying on remittances, the Philippines conjured as a tactical response, the most-radical reform since 1901[23]. Prior to the implementation of the K to 12 reform, the Philippines followed a ten-year basic education structure. In this old system, pupils spent six years for elementary, and four (6 years elementary, 4 years secondary). With the K to 12 Program through the passage of R.A. 10533 or the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013, basic education now consists of twelve years (6 years elementary, 6 years secondary). The K10 system was a more general preparation for university while the

[21] Among the classes offered are game arts development, automotive, backhoe loading, barbering, bartending, beauty care servicing, caregiving, welding, food and beverage services, heavy equipment operation, housekeeping, and welding to wheel loading (Technical Education and Skills Development Authority, 2018). See https://www.e-tesda.gov.ph/

[22] In the 2003 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), the country ranked 34th out of 38 participating countries in Math, 43rd of 46 in science sampled from second year high schools (Grade 8); and 23rd of 25 in Math and Science for Grade 4 (Department of Education 2010, p.3).

[23] This was the year public education system was established under the American colonial government.

K12 program is more specialist-oriented. It includes a tracking system where students in their 11th grade are required to choose a specific track and sub-strand[24].

These policies, from basic education to technical education, resemble a portfolio of tactics that render the *maka-tao, maka-Diyos, maka-bansa, at maka-kalikasan*[25] (humane, god-fearing, nationalistic, and naturalistic) attributes of the Filipino citizen as obsolete (de los Reyes, 2014, p.170). It forwards another imaginary of a Filipino who possesses "21st Century Skills", able to meet the demands of the competitive and globalised world yet one who is locally-grounded (SEAMEO INNOTECH, 2012, preliminaries, 9-10). They are also tactical in a sense that they are the state's way of coping with the challenges of internal and external legitimacy by reappropriating global rationalities into local contexts where everyone seems to win. Through it, the state produces steady supply of workforce for the international labour market and children no longer need to go to college and are ready for the world of work. Most importantly, recruitment agencies, remittance and telecommunications companies have wider markets to profit from. Guevarra (2010, p. 8) articulates this confluence of sectoral interests when she highlights the "labour-brokering" practices of the Philippine government:

> …acting with employment agencies, as an art of government, those practices designed to govern individuals (who have "chosen" to work overseas) by an ability to affect their conduct, underscoring a disciplinary process through which Filipinos become appropriate subjects of labour and simultaneously appropriate citizens of the Philippine state.

In this section, I have presented the ways in which movements in general have been studied by pointing out the mobility-centrism and adult-centrism in migration, diaspora, and transnationalism literature. At the same time, I have also presented the emergent socio-economic, and political transformations that facilitate transnational

[24] The Academic track includes the Humanities and Social Sciences (HUMSS), Accountancy, Business and Management (ABM), Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM), and General Academic strands. The track on Technology and Livelihood Education (TLE) and Technical and Vocational-Livelihood (TVL) education offers Agri-Fishery Arts, Home Economics, Information and Communications Technology (ICT), Industrial Arts, and TVL Maritime. A Sports, and Arts and Design track is also offered (Department of Education n.d.).

[25] These were the characteristics of the ideal Filipino citizen enumerated in the *Panatang Makabayan* (Nationalist Oath/Oath of Allegiance) recited every morning during flag-raising ceremonies in schools.

migration in the Philippines by focusing on the policies and practices of managing transnational migration. Lastly, I have provided the empirical context of this thesis by tracing the historical transformations in the patterns and practices of transnational migration in the Philippines where I argued that the contemporary state of Philippine migration is that it is highly feminised, Asianised, and immaterialised.

Looking for appropriate lenses

What the earlier sections that constitute the first part of this chapter has done so far is to map out the state of studies on movement specifically transnational and diasporic movements and how young people have been studied in relation to these movements on the one hand. On the other hand, it also provided a historical, empirical, and policy context of migration. Both have been executed with specific attention to how the Philippines and Filipino youth figure in these two terrains – transnational and diaspora studies, and transnational youth studies respectively.

Concerning studies of transnational migration, I pointed out that there has been a general tendency among researches to gravitate towards experiences of immigrants in their host or destination countries. Also, I noted that analysis of home and away or emigrant and left behind relations are often understood in dualistic and asymmetrical tropes such as saviour-saved, gain-drain, and provider-recipient. Given these, there is a need to be more careful in approaching and designing studies of transnational movements such that: first, it accounts for the ways in which sending villages facilitate and sustain movement through various ways of mobilisation of resources in the villages; and second, that home and away are viewed in dialectical and non-asymmetrical terms.

Concerning works on young people in relation to transnational movements, I have pointed out how studies tend to not only be destination-centred (i.e. too focused on immigrant children in their host countries), they too are adult-centric with their portrayal of young people as passive and not having direct stake on the decision to move. Most importantly, I also pointed out the scarcity of accounts on the ways in which left behind children and those who remain in the villages act upon these movements. I acknowledge that the works of Gardner, Coe, and Fassetta, that engaged with young peoples' imaginings provide openings to better account for the agency of young people in sending communities. However, there is a need to foreground young people's views

about and acting upon transnational movements beyond the terms of images, aspirations, and dreams. We need more than that. What we need is to take imagination in more active and contingent terms such that it reflects more fully the changing times and spaces that young people inhabit. Approaching imagination that way may actually respond to Coe's (2012) point on lack of knowledge about how young people's attitudes about migration change over time, how they are arrived at, and are internalised. That way, we do not only make imagination work for us, we are also working for the nuancing of imagination as a concept.

Having pointed out the issues, challenges, and needs in both transnational and diaspora studies and transnational youth studies, there are two specific theoretical lenses that are most relevant and appropriate in addressing them. The first is the "mobility turn" that has scrutinised the territorial and sedentary assumptions of globalisation research (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006, pp. 1-3). It is a promising lens in foregrounding sending communities in non-asymmetrical and dialectical terms in relation to immigrants and destinations by accounting for the ways in which they move and mobilise resources to facilitate transnational migration. The mobility turn is evidenced in the emergence of what is dubbed as the New Mobilities Paradigm that cuts across the disciplines of anthropology, geography, and sociology (Sheller & Urry, 2006). The second important source of inspiration for this thesis is the "imaginative turn" in sociology and anthropology in which concepts such as "imagination", "imaginary", and recently, the "imaginal" are engaged to understand how globalisation works and is responded to in embodied and local ways (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b; Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Bottici, 2011). Tapping into the conceptual resources within "imaginative turn" opens a potential to highlight the capacity of left behind children and those that remain in the villages to make sense, act upon, and hopefully, navigate the consequences of movements to their present and future lives.

In what follows, I first review trends in the New Mobilities literature before turning to a critical reading of key debates concerning the imagination. In both discussions, I indicate links to the analysis I seek to develop.

The Mobility Turn

This thesis has acknowledged and emphasised how movement has now become a primary characteristic of contemporary societies (Nail, 2015). This is also the very reason why from the beginning, this thesis has been interested about how young people make sense and respond to the realities and consequences of transnational movements not only in the present but in thinking about their futures. Acknowledging such also implies departure from thinking about Ling-Ling, Nina, and Emma's narratives as exceptional but also recognising their continued desirability at present.

I have pointed out in the earlier sections, too, that movements of people, capital, goods, and ideas have been understood by default through transnational and diasporic lenses. Seen through these lenses, flows of migrants, money, gifts, and stories emerge from one nation-state and enter another, or from emigrant's home country to destination and circuiting back to home respectively. More importantly, sending communities who eventually become remittance receiving communities are positioned in politically asymmetrical terms *vis a vis* immigrant communities in their respective host countries. This is because sending communities are usually portrayed on the one hand as suffering from the depletion of skilled workers and care, and on the other hand as dependent receivers of cash and social remittances from emigrants. Given these issues against transnational and diasporic lenses, their ethical and political implications in accounting for the agency of sending communities, and this thesis's focus on left behind children and village youth who stay behind, the "mobility turn" becomes an apparent and immediate conceptual resource to tap into. More specifically, the New Mobilities Paradigm was deemed most appropriate optic that inspired the crafting of this thesis' directions and approach towards movement.

The New Mobilities Paradigm

The New Mobilities Paradigm (NMP) – usually associated with the *Mobilities* journal – addresses the complex relationship between mobility and relative immobility, often referred to as the "mobilities/moorings dialectic" and attributed to John Urry (Adey, 2006, Sheller & Urry, 2006). The NMP was deliberately chosen for it aligns with what this thesis has been motivated to study. On the one hand, it is more nuanced and has a wider understanding of mobility compared to the traditional study of social

mobility such that it is not only interested in human mobility but also of objects, information, images, capital, and many others (Sheller, 2012, p.1). Within NMP, systems of mobilities stem "from the multiple fixities or moorings, often on a substantial physical scale that enable the fluidities of liquid modernity" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 210). Examples of these are airports, petrol stations, transmitters as exceptional immobile structures that make mobilities emergent but are also reliant upon the mobilities of airplanes, or cars, to survive (Adey, 2006, p.89). In this sense, NMP moves beyond the sedentarist-nomadist debate that has dominated much of the mobilities literature by overcoming the attribution of normalcy to stability and place, and abnormality to change and placelessness (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208). At the same time, NMP also refuses a romantic reading and privileging of mobility. To an extent, NMP shares the same contention as Thomas Nail's (2015) call to move beyond viewing the migrant through the lens of stasis or place-bound membership to society. This is so because viewing the migrant this way renders him into a problematic status as a derivative figure, a person of lack – as an emigrant who now has blurred relations to his place of origin, and an immigrant who has uncertain membership to his would be host country (Nail, 2015, p. 3).

More broadly, proponents of the NMP urge social scientists to reflect on both their objects of inquiry "beyond globalisation and deterritorialisation of nation-states, and belonging" that are seen through the lens of geographic fixity (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p.212); and ways of knowing that are couched within disciplinary boundaries (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006, p. 4). NMP advances an understanding of mobilities that is cognizant of patterns of liquidity on the one hand, and of concentration on the other. As such, NMP is interested not only about cases of "splintering" (Graham & Marvin, 2001), where disconnection, exclusion, and inaudibility happen; but also about possibilities of connectivity, centrality, and empowerment (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 210).

Adey (2006) builds upon NMP's widened set of interests and approaches. For him, mobility is both differential and relational. It is differential in the sense that movement is a resource to which there are differences in access relative to status. It is also relational in that it means different things to different people and is defined in relation to its imagined antithesis (Adey, 2006, p. 83; Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 211). Movement, therefore, neither automatically implies empowerment, nor immobility

disempowerment. This differential and relational view on movement or non-movement also inevitably highlights the centrality of power in understanding mobilities. Ling-Ling's and Emma's mother's emigration can be understood as a ticket to better life but this same movement which constitutes an act of immigration to Hong Kong can be viewed negatively by locals there. Implicit in Adey's argument of relationality and differentiality of mobilities, therefore, are political motivations and consequences of where movements emerge from and result into respectively. More importantly, their weight varies when assessed with respect to their trajectory (origin and destination), duration, and whose gaze.

Overall, the general usefulness of NMP for my work is its powerful demonstration of the mobility and moorings dialectic, or the relationality between mobilities: that is, mobilities rely upon moorings in order to move; and, *vice versa*, relative mobilities and fixities may generate mobilities in order to support their relatively immobile character (Adey, 2006, p.87). Looking at movement as facilitated by certain forms of fixities allows us to shift our gaze away from what most transnational and diaspora studies have committed, that of destination and mobile centred accounting of movements. As such, within NMP's view of relationality, emigrant-sending households are treated not merely as passive recipients of cash and social remittances, but their ways of mobilising resources and managing themselves in order to facilitate and eventually sustain an emigrant member's movement. From a political and ethical angle, what this relational perspective makes possible is a narration of the stories of the left behind children, families, and community in non-asymmetrical or derivative terms. When this relational view is transversed by a differential view, moorings also become equally a resource just like mobility to which people may either find themselves in degrees of proximity to or distance from. After all, as Thomas Nail points out, even the emigrant, who is able to muster resources to leave his place of origin, remains to be viewed as insufficient in his status as an immigrant (Nail, 2015). Seen this way, an analysis that employs NMP deviates from straightjacketing non-movers or fixities to a position of being a homogenous category of dependents while the mobile, as agentic group.

Aside from its illuminative contribution in thinking about movement and relative non-movements in relational and differential terms, the New Mobilities

Paradigm also has significant implications for conceptualising space, place, and time. As Sheller and Urry (2006) maintain, "not only does a mobilities perspective lead us to discard our usual notions of spatiality and scale, but it also undermines existing linear assumptions about temporality and timing" (p. 214). They stress Massey's (1991) progressive understanding of place as "not self-closing and defensive but outward-looking" (p.24), and along with Lefebvre's (1991) notion of "place as relatively fixed points, movements, flows, and waves" (Adey, 2006, pp. 78-82) to depart from the places-people distinction and fixity in significant ways. First, the NMP argues for the complex entanglement of places and persons through their performances of and participation in certain events. Sheller and Urry (2004) use the metaphor "places to play, places in play" to signify how places are "made and remade by the mobilities and performances of tourists and workers, images and heritage, the latest fashions and the newest diseases" (p.1). Second, based from the assumption of relationality and entanglement of people and places, NMP also advances the idea of "places of movement", such that places move around, travelling in varying speed and distances, and within networks of both human and non-human agents (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p.214). Wong's (2006) analysis of street naming in Singapore is cited by Sheller and Urry (2006) to demonstrate the ways in which places move. In Wong's analysis, street names provide an impression of a politically coherent landscape on the one hand, but groups of people who live and experience streets provide varying names and references to the same streets, thus, highlighting that "colonial Singapore was always located elsewhere" (Wong, 2006, p.339). In sum, the NMP advocates for a view of the world as always dynamic, marked by openness, change and movement, through which material and social transformations constantly make it anew (Cresswell, as cited in Adey, 2006, p. 82).

New Mobilities and Philippine Villages

The major intention of this thesis has been to foreground the left behind's views on and experiences – whether direct or vicarious – of transnational movements while they remain in the villages. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, a theoretical lens that equally acknowledges sending communities' role in facilitating and sustaining transnational movements is needed. This is where NMP's general usefulness to this thesis is coming from. First, NMP allows an accounting for villages – including families,

left behind children, places of work, and schools – as moorings that make possible the emigration of women domestic workers elsewhere. Moreover, when the NMP is employed as an analytic of the village, the village is understood as a place.

Under NMP's premises, and to use Sheller and Urry's (2004) metaphor on place, the village and the villagers are entangled and as such the village becomes a "village to play in and a village in play", and a village of movement. Through this lens, Philippine villages can be understood as places to be immersed into and to experience possibilities. They are at the same time constantly being made and remade in relation to other places (Sheller & Urry, 2004). Left behind children and moored young people play in the village in various ways that make and remake their villages in relation to places elsewhere (i.e. Kuala Lumpur as a mother's workplace, California as a friend's new home).

In a similar fashion as how NMP disrupts the ontology of the migrant as saviour and agentic while the left behind are passive recipients, the NMP too has political implications in its ways of understanding the village. In employing NMP's gaze where the village is seen as a site of play and a place in play, we also respond to Smith's (2001) critique of the binary framework of global-local relations. In this global-local framework, the global is a site of dynamic flows while the local is the site for the production of cultural meanings and generation of movements or reactions. By accounting for the ways in which the left behind mobilise resources to facilitate movements of mothers, and the consequences of these practices to thinking about the village as place, an analysis that is inspired by the NMP disrupts this dichotomy.

The New Mobilities Paradigm when used to understand sending communities and villages also aligns with what theorists like Arjun Appadurai (1990, 1996) and Deirdre MacKay (2012) have already pointed out, that localities and villages are fluid and dynamic. For McKay (2012), villages are never discrete or bounded while Appadurai (1996) notes that localities are neither tightly territorialised nor culturally homogenous. These views contrast with dualistic optics of dynamism/fixity or rush/idleness, which as Smith (2001) points out, overlook the interrelatedness and groundedness of transnational networks of social practice within localities (pp. 14-15).

Recognising the emergent mobilities, relative mobilities and moorings, therefore, implies that to understand the Philippine village is to investigate its

constantly shifting borders and boundaries of difference and the power relations that cut across transnationally and translocally (p. 15). Through the gaze of the NMP and its allies, the village appears as an *octopus vulgaris* (Wood, 2016) anchored with a sense of "originary village" (McKay & Brady, 2005) yet with arms that extend elsewhere, and without a skeleton to limit its shape, thereby allowing it to be dynamic and responsive.

Beyond Mobilities

Undeniably, the New Mobilities Paradigm offers fresh ways of thinking about contemporary movements within globalisation that have clear and significant nuances to this thesis. On a conceptual level, the NMP has in fact, expanded notions of mobility. Scholarship that are engaged with the NMP study not only embodied but also disembodied forms of movement and seem to advance the "ubiquity and multiplicities of movement" (Leese & Wittendorp, 2018, p. 172). As such, the NMP does not only validate why it is important to look into left behind children, or youth onlookers in the villages. It also opens up possibilities of thinking of them as also in a condition of movement in the form of what Sheller and Urry (2006) conceive as forms of playing in the village. I acknowledge that this is something Adey (2006) has pointed out as a danger in NMP's expansion of the scope of mobilities. Adey (2006) states, "I still think that everything is mobile… However, if everything is mobile, then the concept has little purchase. It might not mean 'Nothing'…but it subdues the differences between mobilities and the relations between them" (p.76). Nevertheless, he proposes a relational and differential view of mobility, something I have already discussed in the earlier parts of this section and will adapt as a cautionary measure against mobilities' conceptual emptiness. To address this danger of conceptual vacuum, this thesis inquires about what transnational movements mean to young people, both in relational and differential term, and how it figures into their imagining of their futures. In this thesis, relationality is accounted for by looking at relations to mobility in terms of proximity such as having immediate family member abroad, or having none and as such, in a position of an onlooker of mobilities. Differentiality, too, is addressed by looking at how the varying relations to mobility among young people may shape resultant differences in attitudes towards present or future emigration. But most importantly, the very notion of how young people who remain in the villages can, in their own specificity be also on

the move will be explored. This is by looking into localised forms of mobilisation or their ways of moving resources, or themselves, to respond to the consequences of transnational movements. In short, the mobilities I am dealing with are the forms of grassroots mobilisation that take place among institutions and people who act as moorings to facilitate and sustain their loved ones' mobilities elsewhere, yet, at the same time have to respond to its consequences while remaining in the villages.

Also, while NMP studies movement, relative non/movement, and the dialectics between the two, it is still seemingly caught between the binary of movement and non/movement, only this time, cognizant of how the moored facilitates mobility, and the mobile changing the moored. That is why, in this thesis, notions of proximity as a spatial quality of movement, (i.e. degree of direct or indirect participation to movement), or affective relations among actors and with objects in mobilities – are accounted for. This implies that this thesis is more conscious of the variations among actors, like left-behind children, or active spectators, in so far as their making sense of movement, non/movement, and future possibilities of such are concerned. By accounting for young peoples' degrees of proximity to transnational movement and affective relations to spatial referents (e.g. Nicosia or Kuala Lumpur) as mother's workplace), this thesis also hopes to nuance how they impact notions of distance between home and away, or the village and the outside world. This way, this thesis hopes to look into how perceived distance between two places may vary depending on where one is located, what the object of movement is, and the subject's affective ties to the moving or non/moving object. In short, it is hoped that this thesis will not only look into how the dialectics of movement and moorings take place, but also how other spatial registers are altered and in turn, also unsettle conventional understandings of space.

While initially, NMP is invested on relations of movement, hence, a spatial accounting, it also unsettles ordinary thinking of time, as a linearity of past/present/future, or perhaps, notions of "homogenous empty time" of clocks and calendars that "passes in an eternal present which remains fundamentally the same" (Robinson, 2013). With the possibility of unsettling these fixities of time, NMP can potentially account for the ways in which the taken-for-granted universal, constant, synchronic, and identical characteristics of time[s] are impacted by movement, non/movement, and the dialectics in mobilities without becoming deterministic. For

one, temporal registers such as simultaneity, speed, duration, for example might also be nuanced in conversation with mobilities. More specifically, how the experience of moving from one place to another, or witnessing it, have significant impact on the ways in which time/s are viewed. To address this, this thesis in its analysis of fieldwork data, puts time in conversation with mobility in the hope of nuancing notions of differential times (i.e. in terms of speed or duration relative to place), or even bracketed times that are conceived even within the context of simultaneously occurring events. My point here is that while accounting for mobilities/moorings/dialectics is instructive and definitely transformative, complementing such an analysis with how mobilities interact with temporality and *vice versa* will provide even more nuanced ways of thinking about contemporary global formations, which in the case of this thesis are seen from the villages of the developing world. This expansion of the mobilities paradigm through a deliberate effort to put it in conversation with temporality also aligns with recent reformulation of the imagination as a way of producing place or locality, something I will be expounding on in the succeeding section on the imaginative turn.

Thus far, I have elaborated on the conceptual richness of the New Mobilities Paradigm and its appropriateness as an analytic in exploring the types of movements that young people in the villages grapple with; or as lens that illuminates how young people, even while they are moored could be in a condition of mobility. I have also enumerated some points of criticisms as well as potential and how this thesis addresses and maximises them respectively. For now, I will move on to a review of the transformations that have emerged within the imaginative turn, a complementary conceptual lens to the New Mobilities Paradigm.

The Imaginative Turn

Having elaborated on the mobility turn as a theoretical lens with which the context of this thesis is understood, I now turn into an examination of the other complementary conceptual resource: the imaginative turn. As indicated in the earlier sections, a central focus of this thesis is understanding how Filipino youth imagine the world around them and their futures within what may be called transnational mobilities in their status as left behind children of emigrant mothers or as onlookers to these movements in their villages. While I make sense of the spatialities of the village by

tapping resources from the New Mobilities Paradigm, I approach this interest in their ways of imagining their futures through critical engagement with an extensive literature on the imagination and the imaginary, including debates regarding the points of difference and overlap between the two concepts.

Distinguishing Key Concepts

I believe that the best way to start this review of conceptual resources within the imaginative turn is to distinguish the salient keywords – imagination, social imaginary, and imaginal – in broad and loose terms. This is so because part of the difficulty in understanding these three concepts is due to recurrent interchangeable use of them, especially between imagination and imaginary, or sometimes, reckless use of them. Previous projects that have similarly embarked on the task of clarification and distinction include the work of Savage (2012). He proposed a scalar distinction between sets of dispositions, perceptions, and ways of thinking at the individual or collective social grouping to refer to imagination, and the shifting sets of dominant and common-sense understanding underpinning broad collective social or political bodies to refer to the imaginary (p.25). I think that Savage's (2012) distinction is definitely sound and helpful in guiding me in this review. Nevertheless, I will proceed by distinguishing the three salient terms in broad strokes as a way to enter the landscape of the imaginative turn.

Imagination, as Higgins (2009) describes, "has been understood primarily as the capacity to picture that which is unreal or absent, as a power of inventiveness, and often in combination as a fictive capacity" (p.3). Social imaginary on the other hand is often understood in collective or communitarian tropes and as such, conceived as a "common set of beliefs or expectations, shared amongst a (historically or geographically) distinct group of people" (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, pp. 370-371). In short, imagination is a "capacity" (Higgins, 2009), "condition, faculty, or property of the psyche" (Tovar-Restrepo, 2012, p. 42) while social imaginary is a society's or epoch's "view of itself" (Castoriadis, 1987, p. 39) which "provides meaning to whatever presents itself" (Komporozos-Athanasiou & Bottici, 2017). As such, social imaginaries are the "necessary, [...] dissimilatory, and the transient, as well as the permanent network of meanings that make a society as society" (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, p. 370). Imagination,

therefore, is a quality of human action, which to me appears as a verb and an adjective. On the one hand, not all human actions are acts of imagination, and imaginative acts are qualified by other certain active properties such as creation and invention on the other. I understand social imaginary as a noun, a resource of beliefs, perspectives, notions of the good and bad, that are shared by a community of people at a certain time that make possible their co-existence and cohesion and a source of meaning for whatever acts they commit, including the acts of the imagination.

Imaginal, which is the most recent, among the three, is distinguished by Chiara Bottici (2011) from the two other concepts this way: "whereas imagination tends to be conceived as a faculty that individuals possess, and the social imaginary as the social context that, so to speak, possesses us, the imaginal is simply what is made of images and, as such, can be the product of both" (p. 1). I wish to elaborate more on Bottici's proposal for the concept of the imaginal despite this thesis' more pronounced investment on the imagination as a conceptual tool. I do this to acknowledge and bring to the fore recent reformulations of the imagination and the social imaginary. Her point on the imaginal as "what is made of images" (Bottici, 2011) traces back to the Greek term *phantasia* as the production of images (Bottici, 2016). This making out of images is possible through the interplay of the imagination as an "abundance of human creativity" on the one hand, and the social imaginary that in her words "possesses us" (Bottici, 2011) as a form of contextual limitations (nature, rationality, preceding symbolic constructions) (Komporozos-Athanasiou & Bottici, 2017; Castoriadis, 1987) on the other. As such, if imagination is the capacity to produce "both what is there and what cannot be there" (Bottici, 2016) and the social imaginary as the society's networks of meanings or social cognitions that hold it together (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, p. 370), the imaginal becomes an opening, perhaps, even a point of surplus between what we can produce within and out of what society's networks of meanings can offer. To demonstrate her point, she applies the concept within the context of contemporary politics, hence, the term, "imaginal politics". Doing so, the imaginal, becomes the "possibility to depict commonalities…to free oneself of one's own particularities by imagining what we might have in common with others" (Bottici, 2016). What Bottici advocates for is what Gilleard and Higgs (2013) have noted as salient in more recent reformulations of the social imaginary especially as seen in the work of Michael Warner (2002) on how strangers

become included within the public sphere. Gilleard and Higgs (2013) observe that "modern social imaginaries are…no longer shaped by a simple binary idea of an 'us' and a 'them' since 'them' can be treated/known/represented by a more general 'we' existing in a common imagined public sphere" (p. 370). The imaginal, therefore, can be understood, as the overcoming of the ironies of the imagination and the social imaginary. It connotes an escape from the silos of the imagination as an individual faculty (which engenders particularism however creatively prolific it is), and the straightjackets of the social imaginary (that unifies a cohort yet severs it from others, as in "us" and "them") towards a vista of a reformulated social imaginary of publics (Warren, 2002; Gilleard & Higgs, 2013).

Conceptual Transformations

The salient concepts within the imaginative turn – imagination and imaginary – have also gone through some forms of rescaling or widening their scope and space of operation. In the case of the imagination, for example, this comes as a form of widening the limits of the imagining subject and the imagined object. What I mean in this assertion is that the doer of imagination, or the one possessing the capacity to picture that which is not there widens from an individual subject to a wider collective. Concomitantly, to accede to this shift from an imagining subject to a community of imagining subjects means that even the objects of the imagination, that which is imagined are rescaled as well. In so far as the ways in which the objects of the imagination – that which is imagined or made present – are concerned, they too are increasingly becoming not only related to individual motivations and ends, but are sourced elsewhere and are also now thought of beyond individualistic terms. This is something I will elaborate on in the succeeding sections.

In the case of the concept of the imagination, it was initially thought of as an individual capacity, then a capacity of a community of people, and eventually, as a form of apprehending the exigencies of the globalised world. In more concrete terms, imagination, was thought of as an individual ability to make present what is absent as well as a schemata for possible human action, as seen in the writings of Kant (Ayas-Onol, 2015) and Arendt (Bottici, 2011) respectively. Subsequently, it was rescaled to refer to the ability of people to feel and act together as a nation (Anderson, 2006). And finally,

as ways of acting upon exigencies of global magnitude (Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b). Concerning the concept of the imaginary on the other hand, the collectively held social imaginary had recent reformulations too. Among these now include the "national imaginary" and "global imaginary" (Steger, 2008; 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), and to even more inclusive social imaginary of publics (Warner, 2002; Gilleard & Higgs, 2013).

Having laid out the landscape of the imaginative turn by roughly distinguishing them from each other, and pointing out how they have transformed, I will proceed by looking into the concept of the imagination deeply, and then to the social imaginary although with less attention than the imagination which is a more central analytic for this thesis. I hope to do so without making their properties and differences absolute, yet maintain their heuristic usefulness in providing conceptual clarity to this thesis.

The Imagination

In "A deduction", Kant characterises imagination as a primary faculty of the mind which bridges the two other faculties of sensibility and understanding (Ayas Onol, 2015, pp. 55-57). In contrast, in "B deduction", imagination is believed to be demoted to a mere function of understanding because it is a "faculty of representing in intuition an object that is not itself present (p. 58)." While Kant dwells on the faculties of the mind, Arendt on the other hand moves to the link between cognition and human action (Ayas Onol, 2015; Bottici, 2011). Arendt, as described by Bottici (2011), believes that imagination, which is the ability to make present what is not, is the foundation of possible action because it provides both "schemata for cognition and exemplars for action" (p. 60). With this in mind, Arendt believes that imagination is both emancipatory and subjectifying. For one, imagination involves "our capacity to remove ourselves from where we physically are located and imagine that things might well be different from what they actually are", but it is also the same capacity "to deny factual truth" (Arendt, as cited in Bottici, 2011, pp. 60-61). An important contribution of Kant's and Arendt's early theorising of imagination is their elevation of it to a certain level of significance, as a primary and powerful faculty, albeit a mere function of understanding, and foregrounding its potential for human action.

Based from Kant's and Arendt's descriptions of the imagination, key phrases such as "make present" and "remove ourselves from" denote imagination as verb while the words "ability" and "capacity" suggest its being a noun. Recent works from philosophy of education suggest a third way of looking at it. Instead of looking at it as noun or verb, Higgins (2009) proposes that "imagination is best understood…as a predicate, a quality predicated of persons along with their actions and works" (p.9). For him, it is a predicate that comes in both "adjectival and nominal forms". As such, for Higgins, it is better to look at imagination as a "virtue term", a kind of excellence that allows for human flourishing (Higgins, 2009, pp. 8-10). As an extension, Higgins also suggests that imagination should be thought of as a "skill in contacting the real world in its complexity" (Higgins, 2009, p. 13), as opposed to imagination as a form of escape from the world. This seeming disengagement with the world is what Higgins points out as the problem with both the notions of fantasy and banality, the making of an as-if world that distances itself from the real, and the rejection of talks of ideals respectively. In the end, Higgins describes imagination to be at work:

> In the posing of questions to the world, in the act of listening for a response, in the act of constructing interpretations. It is at work in the synthesis of pieces of knowledge, in the act of connecting such syntheses to the world before you, in the act of fitting a new element into your understanding (Higgins, 2009, p. 16).

These elaborations on what constitute imagination, the ways in which it should be viewed, and its operation are embedded within an individual imagining subject. The philosophical works of Kant, Arendt, Bottici, and Higgins are important to this thesis as a source of rudimentary conceptual handles to work with. However, as pointed out in the earlier sections of this chapter, imagination has also been reformulated to include as operating among communities and of global scale.

Imagined Communities

Aside from understanding imagination as an individual capacity, or more recently, as a virtue and a skill within philosophy, imagination in recent years have also been thought of as operating among communities and in relation to places elsewhere. These expanded ways of thinking about the imagination came from the disciplines of

history, anthropology, and sociology. Through their lens, imagination makes possible the maintenance of communal attachment in spatially and temporally challenged communities of a nation, and even beyond the boundaries of the nation-state.

This rescaling of imagination beyond the individual and as an activity of a community of people was popularised by Benedict Anderson (2006) when he coined the term "imagined communities". He explicitly moved beyond parochial understandings or applications of imagination when he discusses transformations in how the nation is made sense of or acted upon by people, even while they do not know each other personally, or are geographically outside their national territory. Central to Anderson's (2006) understanding of why the nation is an "imagined community" is his observation that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p.6). More particularly, Anderson argues that the style in which a nation is imagined is three-pronged. First, it is imagined as "limited" and bounded, such that beyond those limits lie other imagined communities. Second, it is imagined as "sovereign" because the community aspires for freedom, making the sovereign state emblematic of it. Lastly, it is also imagined as a "community" "because regardless of actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" of diverse people (Anderson, 2006, p7). What makes possible this imagination is Andersons' deployment of the concept of "homogeneous empty-time". For him, the homogeneous empty time is a "transverse, cross-time, marked not by pre-figuring and fulfilment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar" (p.24). Through this temporal coincidence indexed through specific dates and hours, there exists each person's faith in the shared "steady, anonymous, [and] simultaneous" acts despite the insufficient grasp of each other's activity at any given time[26] (p. 26).

Anderson contributes to the genealogy of imagination through his novelty of recognising the possibility of imagination beyond individual and parochial terms and adding further that imagination is not only the foundation of human action. Rather, it

[26] Anderson specifically cites an example close to heart and that is the first chapter in Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* where Captain Tiago hosts a dinner in his house in Anloague Street (see Anderson, 2006, pp. 26-28) which captures the imagined community of the Filipinos at that period of time.

is in the simultaneous performance of what may be considered as "imaginary" or collective understandings of citizenship that members are able to generate a sense of belonging or togetherness. In this sense, thought, affect, and performance are elements of the imagination.

Global Imagination

While Anderson's work on "imagined communities" sustains the significance of the nation as a collective, it is quite surprising that theorising on the role of the imagination in national cohesion was bypassed, or perhaps overtaken by a globalist thinking, and was only filled out in the latter half of the 2000's. It is my understanding that this may be attributed to globalisation's being *a la mode* in the 1990's after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Cold War in 1991. It is also during these times when much of intellectual attention was invested towards greater interconnectedness of nations and peoples around the world. This period was the release of writings such as David Harvey's "The Condition of Postmodernity" (1989) and Arjun Appadurai's "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" (1990) where concepts such as "time-space compression" (Harvey, 1989), and "scapes" (Appadurai, 1990) respectively were introduced. In this context, I will elaborate on two significant concepts that approach imagination beyond Anderson's imagined nation, to others with a more pronounced global view: that of Appadurai's "imagined worlds" (Appadurai, 1990, 1996), and Michael Burawoy's "global imagination" (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b).

Arjun Appadurai's (1990, 1996) work problematises the role of the imagination in a globalising context and argues that the nation-state is no longer the only frame of analysis of cultural formations and identities (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 35). He develops an analysis of "imagination as a social practice" and as "social fact" (Appadurai, 1990, 1996). Appadurai (1990) proposes the idea of an "imagined world", capturing his view of "imagination as a social practice". The imagined world for him is a landscape of collective aspirations and its building blocks are the different "scapes" such as ethnoscape, technoscape, finanscape, mediascape, and ideoscape (1990, pp.6-9). The foundation of this imagined world is the centrality of imagination in human will, such that within it, people are able to contest the "official and entrepreneurial minds" (p.7).

This is further explained in his later work (Appadurai, 1996) when he conceives of imagination as a "collective social fact", differentiating it from earlier connotation of imagination as artistic work and as fantasy. Instead Appadurai argues that imagination is a quotidian and ordinary property of the collective not only of a select few, and as a staging ground for action, instead of escape (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 5-7). This notion of imagination as a staging ground for action and contestation as opposed to a form of escape obviously goes along the same trope with recent philosophical reformulation of the imagination as a form of deeper engagement with the world (Higgins, 2009). Seemingly continuing the philosophical conceptions of imagination as *phantasy* (Bottici, 2011, 2016), the production of images or mental pictures (Higgins, 2009), Appadurai also believes that imagination is "tied up with images, ideas, and opportunities that come from elsewhere" (p.54). Moreover, imagination, too, is ubiquitous regardless of context (p.53).

One significant contribution of Appadurai to conceptualisations of the imagination is its dethronement as a privileged activity of the leisure class, or as a refuge from the real world, and its situating as a banal and ubiquitous activity that is powerful enough to generate inflective or disruptive collective action (Appadurai, 1996). By doing so, he rescales Arendt's idea of imagination as the foundation of human action (Bottici, 2011). More than that, he expands his analysis beyond Anderson's imagined nation to one that is cognizant of global dynamics yet still grounded in the local. In sum, by sticking to the power of imagination as ordinary, ubiquitous, banal, and quotidian, and as an act of sense-making that is larger than the self when taken collectively, he celebrates the power of small, like-minded localities in responding to globalisation (Appadurai, 1996).

Not so much distinct from Appadurai's concepts of the "imagined world" and "imagination as social practice" are Michael Burawoy's (2000a, 2000b) trichotomy of "global forces", "global connections", and "global imaginations" as foundational elements of what he proposes to be a "global ethnography"[27]. This type of ethnography according to Burawoy studies "the lived experience of globalization – how global forces,

[27] Burawoy seems to be working on the same trope as Appadurai's (1996) concept of *cosmopolitan ethnography* or *macroethnography* that is premised on greater number of people who embrace an increasing recognition of even wider set of opportunities of how they can live their lives.

global connections, and global imaginations uphold, accommodate, resist or contest the existing order" (Burawoy, 2000a, p. 344). As part of Burawoy's (2000b) analysis of globalisation, the concept of "global imagination" refers to the ways in which various "images of globalization are generated and circulated such that they inspire social movements in localities and in doing so, locals remake globalization from an all-too powerful force into a 'resource' that opens up positive opportunities for them" (pp. 31-34). Therefore, in the end, the ultimate aim of Burawoy's (2000a) project is what he also calls "grounded globalization" which is (p.349):

> [A] politics that can arrest or divert the tide of globalization, play off its different tendencies, and invent its new meanings [...] [G]lobalization cannot be reduced to an inexorable force; it is also a process in which we participate; it is a process embedded in imaginations we construct.

In summary, Burawoy foregrounds the centrality of "process" or the hows and the ways in which people understand and act upon globalisation in their own specific time and space as forms of imagination. More than looking at what images of globalisation are out there, Burawoy's' global imagination gazes upon their forms of production, distribution, and consumption. Most importantly, Burawoy points out that the real struggle of globalisation does not only happen in global cities, but in localities where people are not merely passive objects of inquiry or recipients of global forces, but are instead agents capable of resisting, and disrupting global architectures of power. These conceptualisations make Burawoy's work extremely important in this project, especially so in gaining insights about how young people interpret, negotiate, and respond to globalisation in specific localities. On this interest on localities, however, Burawoy also seems to resemble Anderson's and Appadurai's notion of imagination as social practices that are banal and ordinary, happening in small groups or localities.

I acknowledge that the research questions that I have laid out in the beginning of this thesis asked about the ways in which young people come to imagine their place in the world and their possible futures demand special attention on how imagination works within the context of mobilities. As such, the conceptualisations of Anderson, Appadurai, and Burawoy are what mostly I will be drawing from in so far as making sense of young people's ways of thinking and acting while they remain in the villages

are concerned. Nevertheless, I will tap into the philosophical reformulations on the imagination to scaffold the bigger conceptual task of this thesis, that of grounding the imagination. In the succeeding sections, I will be synthesising the scholarship within the imaginative turn and the mobility turn, putting them in more overt conversation, pointing the criticisms, gaps, and possible ways of going on. But before that, I turn to a quick recall of some scholarship on social imaginary, which, while less central than the imagination, remains an essential conceptual resource for this thesis.

The Social Imaginary

In my earlier task to distinguish the imaginative turn's keywords – imagination, social imaginary, and imaginal – as- a way of clearing the path for this review, I described the social imaginary as network of meanings that are place and time specific, and are often understood in collectivist terms as shared by a community of people. Two significant theorists dominate the literature on social imaginary: the Greek-French theorist Cornelius Castoriadis (1987, 1997) and the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (2004). In so far as this thesis' objectives in exploring the ways in which young people, whether left behind or not, are coming to imagine their place in the world and their possible futures, the social imaginary remains a significant analytic. This is so because within the context of mobilities, there are imaginaries that are constantly circulated aside from those that have been long held in the villages where the young people as participants of this thesis continue to live. The ways in which these imaginaries figure in the everyday lives of young people in the villages can never be divorced from an analysis of their ways of imagining their futures. So while the social imaginary may play less analytical role in this thesis, the works of Castoriadis (1987,1997) and Taylor (2004) require considerable amount of attention.

Castoriadis' work, according to Arnason (2014), was invested on going against the grain of an objective and determining basis of understanding society, and critiquing the superstructural reductionism of culture and politics by Marxism (p. 3). For Castoriadis, society cannot be reduced into mere rational and functional processes (Castoriadis, 1987, p.143; Tucker, 2005, 50), and equally, the human subject in totalising, deterministic, and fundamental sense (Tovar, 2001, p. 33; Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, p. 369). The social imaginary, therefore, can be viewed as Castoriadis' way, just like many other

sociologists, of "searching for an organising principle around which societies are structured – how they exist as well as the various and changing forms in which they exist" (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, p. 369). This search, as I see it, was executed at a distance as mentioned above from objectivist, deterministic, foundational, and reductionist proclivities. As such, Castoriadis (1987) describes the social imaginary signification as:

> …The gap…between…[1] the life and the actual organization of a society – and…[2] this same life and organization conceived of in a strictly "functional-rational" manner; as a "coherent deformation" of the system of subjects, objects and their relations; as the curvature specific to every social space; as the invisible cement holding together this endless collection of real, rational and symbolic odds and ends that constitute every society, and as the principle that selects and shapes the bits and pieces that will be accepted there [emphases added] (Castoriadis, 1987, p. 143).

Basic in Castoriadis' view of the social imaginary, as Straume (2014, p. 107) points out, is that they are "instituted meanings that hold a society together and are embodied in its institution". But these social imaginaries, as meanings or significations, are produced through the interaction of the actual or the experiential, and the rational (Arnason, 2014, p. 8). This, I believe, is why Castoriadis (1987) views it as a gap, a deformation, and a curvature. I view Castoriadis' take on the social imaginary as a refusal of the determinism of functions and reason to the ways society views itself, and views and acts upon the world. Thinking of the social imaginary in anomalous terms allows for an explanation for human action and thought that breach the warrants of calculative and instrumental logics, yet are still held acceptable or are valued by a community of people[28]. In the end, these expositions of society's act of meaning-making boil down to Castoriadis' view of man as a self-defining creature (p. 135).

Castoriadis' works are significant in this thesis on two significant points. First, Castoriadis' notion of the imaginary as a gap and a coherent curvature is a generative frame in understanding why young people in the villages may tap into or invoke endogenous or exogenous sources of meanings to understand the world despite their rational, functional, and actual insufficiency. Second, his view of man as self-defining

[28] See Arnason (2014, pp. 8-9) for a discussion of god as a social imaginary as neither a signification of something real, actual, or perceived, nor a signification of something rational that adheres to some coherent thought and behaviour.

aligns with this thesis position on young people as capable of thinking about and acting upon their imagined possible selves and futures.

In a similar vein to Castoriadis, Charles Taylor (2004) views the social imaginary as common understanding, a widely shared sense of legitimacy held by ordinary people about their social milieu, and are circulated and shared in images, stories, and narratives. Moreover, for Taylor, social imaginary is also about how people "fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met and the deeper normative notions…that underlie those expectations" (Taylor, 2004, p. 23). In other words, the social imaginary takes the form of a background understanding that makes communal life possible (Steger, 2008, p.6).

While the above characterisation of the social imaginary as background understanding may appear simplistic, Taylor elaborates that they are wider and deeper forms of understanding. He does so by distinguishing social theory from social imaginary. For him, social theory is both factual and normative because it is our sense of how things go and how they ought to go. Social imaginary, on the other hand, is more than that because it is neither explicit, limited, nor definite (Taylor, 2004, pp. 24-25). Social imaginary in a Taylorian view also raises important questions such as: how do we stand to each other? How did we get to where we are? And how do we relate to other groups (p. 25)? Most importantly, Taylor stresses that social imaginary has an "above sense of moral order" which for him is "more than just a grasp on the norms underlying our social practice […but it is that sense…] of what makes these norms realizable (p. 29)."

When taken together, common in both Castoriadis' and Taylor's formulations of the social imaginary are: first, social imaginaries operate at the level of meanings and understandings; second, they lie at the gap between the actual and the rational or exceeding the rational and normative limits of social theory; and third, they, despite their seeming incoherence at times, nevertheless act as social cement. These points of agreement between the two foremost thinkers on the social imaginary are important in this thesis by providing a shorthand to the sources of meanings that young people in the villages use to understand the world and evaluate their actions. At the same time, their point on the concept's curvature from or gap between actuality, functionality, and rationality, or excess from social theory, are productive cautionary breaks from

attributing condescending evaluations to what the young people as participants say, say they do, and actually do in the villages.

Before I move on to the next section on more recent reformulations of the social imaginary, I believe it is important to also pose a caveat about how the concept of the social imaginary should be distinguished from and not confused with the notion of ideology. In the latter parts of this chapter, I will be elaborating more on why this distinction is important in so far as the epistemological, ontological, and ethical premises and goals of this thesis are concerned. To put it simply, it is important in positioning this thesis' stance in the interpretation of young people's actions in the villages, that is, they are neither purely reification of structural habituation or as fully free exercise of the human will. This will become more apparent as I move on to tying the two conceptual resources of mobilities and imagination together and the directions I am threading in this thesis. But going back to this task of distinction, as a basic point of overlap, both social imaginary and ideology are society's ways of representing and understanding itself and the world (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, pp. 369-370). However, ideology, according to Gilleard and Higgs (2013, p.370), echoing Claud Lefort, is a system of meanings that reflect and sustain the relations of domination in society based on class, gender, race, or sexuality (Potocco, 2009). Furthermore, ideology is framed in terms of "discourses, narratives, and accounts" that mirror the structures of power in any given society (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, p.370). Because of ideology's inextricable link to structures and systems of power and domination, they too have the tendency to be deterministic of and fix meanings (Potocco (2009, p.3).

The social imaginary, in contrast to ideological representations according to Steger and James (2013) who echo Castoriadis, "expresses the creative excess of our human condition…[and] always exceed[ing] the possibilities of the material conditions of life" [emphasis added] (p. 30). This observation also aligns with what Thompson (1982) claims of the imaginary "as the creative core of the social-historical and psychic worlds, as the element that creates *ex nihilo* the figures and forms rendering 'this world' and 'what is' possible" (p. 674). In sum, social imaginaries are relatively more open significations located at the gap between or at a curvature of the actual, and the rational and functional (recall the god example of Arnason, 2014). Most importantly, they are "not located within any system of domination, nor…reducible to any particular

discourse of dissimulation" which are salient characteristics of ideology (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, p. 370).

Having clarified the fundamental characteristics of the social imaginary and distinguished it from ideology, I will now proceed to the more recent reformulations of the social imaginary.

National and Global Imaginaries

Just like the imagination that has been rescaled from a radical form that is conceived in an individualistic sense, the scope of social imaginaries too has been widened to not only refer to a community of people as a collective, but to more bounded and emergent spaces of sociality such as the nation and the world. As such, I will be elaborating on the notions of the national imaginary, and finally, global imaginary.

Steger (2008) defines "national imaginary" as a banal understanding that works as a political communal frame of the nation and the state or its affiliates (p. 9). At the same time, he also (2008, 2013) uses the word "global imaginary". As a basic premise of the national and global imaginary, Steger (2008) defines the imaginary as "a deep-seated mode of understanding [that] provide[s] the most general parameters within which people imagine their communal existence…constituting the macromappings of social and political space through which we perceive, judge and act in the world" (p. 4). As social and political macromappings, Steger argues that the rise of the global imaginary occurs on objective or material as well as subjective planes. Within the objective or material realm, the global imaginary amounts to the translation of social imaginary into "largely economistic claims laced with references to the global", and associated with terms such as global trade, worldwide flows of goods, transnational corporations, etc. (Steger, 2008, p.11). On the other hand, within the subjective plane, the global is increasingly made a frame of reference for thinking and acting without necessarily annihilating local and national attachments (Steger, 2013, p. 15). In this sense, global imaginary can be understood as "people's growing consciousness of global connectivity, or the emergence of "multiple and collective identities" made possible by the increased awareness of the link between the personal and the global (pp. 10 & 15). While departing from Castoriadian and Taylorian notions of the imaginary as exceeding the limits of the rational and the functional, or social theory respectively, Steger links the emergence of

the global imaginary to certain ideologies he calls "globalisms" (Steger, 2008). These include the ideologies of market globalism, justice globalism, and jihadist globalism as translators or articulations of the global imaginary in more concrete terms such as political programs and agendas (Steger, 2008, p. 13 and 104).

From his definition of the social imaginary as frame or parameters of reference, Steger demonstrates his affinity to Castoriadis and Taylor who view the social imaginary as broader and wider background understandings. This is evinced too in Steger's use of "macromappings" and "macrostructures" through which we see, discern, and act in the world (Steger, 2008, pp. 6-7). However, by linking the global imaginary to certain forms of ideology (e.g. trade, human rights and politics, and jihad) as articulations of it, Steger tends to deviate from Castoriadis and Taylor on this aspect.

More specific than Steger's account of globalisms is Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard's work on social imaginary in educational policy, which offers an equally rich resource for clarifying issues to do with theorising these concepts. For Rizvi and Lingard (2010), a social imaginary is a temporally and spatially specific collective social force that is always multiple and highly contested across communities (p. 35). It not only exists in discursive and material practices, but also in the subjectivities of individuals and communities in relation to the world, enabling them to suggest transformations to the *status quo* (p.34). As an example, Rizvi and Lingard use the concept of "neoliberal social imaginary of globalization" as a hegemonic trend manifested in education policy where an "unmistakable trend towards an acceptance of similar set of policy solutions to educational problems by a wide variety of nation-states that otherwise have very different social, historical and economic characteristics", or in other words, making neo-liberal precepts ubiquitous or a norm (2010, p. 178). Understanding the neoliberal imaginary as hegemonic, Rizvi and Lingard suggest that it is capable of both mustering political legitimacy through shared understanding of challenges, and at disciplining, guiding, and shaping people's conduct (p.36). Overall, Rizvi and Lingard's understanding of the concept of imaginary is linked to the rise of neoliberalism as a dominant and ubiquitous frame of reference in which analyses of globalisation are couched.

Based from the iterations I have made about the ways in which the social imaginary has been theorised through time, there is an apparent distinction between

the earlier accounts of it and its recent reformulations. Earlier accounts of social imaginary in Castoriadis and Taylor tend to have located the concept at a distance from the seeming determinism of ideology, hence away from a system of the dominant and the dominated, while recent theorising such as those of Steger (2008, 2013), Steger and James (2013), and Rizvi and Lingard (2010) put social imaginaries in more pronounced relationship with ideology and hegemony respectively. I understand this entanglement of ideology, hegemony, and social imaginary in Steger's (2008, 2013) and Rizvi and Lingard (2010) as an acknowledgment of the contemporary global condition where the dominant paradigm of neoliberal capitalism encroaches on and appropriates even the products of the creative core of our socio-historical and psychic worlds. As such, even when patterns of meanings at times breach the rational, functional, and the explanatory limits of social theory which are in Castoriadis and Taylor, the very core of social imaginary, these new ways of society's understanding of itself and the world tend to be subsumed, incorporated, appropriated, or swallowed by the neoliberal capitalist system as seemingly its own. This is shown in more concrete terms by Max Haiven's (2012) analysis of financialisation, the imbrication of finance in everyday life, as operating through sophisticated forms of cultural agency yet remains within an overarching logic of value sanctioned by global capitalism (p. 516). These ways of thinking about the social imaginary come in handy in this thesis in so are as they provide working frames to understand the extent of the sources of meanings that young people invoke to understand the emergent mobilities in the villages, their immediate or distant milieu, and in the making of their possible futures (i.e. how does the imaginary of nation or the world figure in their imagination of the future?). I will now proceed to clarifying how the social imaginary will be treated or used in this thesis and justifying why it is such.

In defense of the social imaginary

I have mentioned in the earlier sections that the social imaginary compared to the concept of the imagination plays less central role in this thesis yet remains significant. For one, this thesis examines the ways in which young people imagine their place in the world and their possible futures. Given this, the concept of the imagination, as a predicate with adjectival and nominal properties (Higgins, 2009) has more purchase for this thesis than the social imaginary. If this thesis asks how young people in their

continued residence in the villages come to imagine their futures, it is sound to invest more intellectual energy on the imagination as a quality of young people being "imaginative", and on the other as capacity or faculty to make present that which is not (Higgins, 2009). However, the imagination as Tovar-Restrepo (2012, p. 55) claims, has an "indissociable and irreducible relation" with the social imaginary. It follows then that to only account for the imagination would be conceptually myopic and thin. Tovar-Restrepo (2012) makes this link explicit by rearticulating Castoriadis' view of the imagination and the social imaginary when she says:

> …society works on the individual psyche to produce the subject [but] society is not merely the sum of individual psyches…[It] is the product of an anonymous collective and its instituting imaginary. What the radical imagination is for the singular psyche, the social instituting imaginary is for society. The latter is the social dimension of the former. Together…they create individuals and society [emphasis added] (Tovar-Restrepo, 2012, p. 54).

If, therefore, the primary onus of this thesis is to explore young people's imaginative engagement with the world and their possible futures through their acts of: "presencing" that which is not (Ayas Onol, 2015; Higgins, 2009); producing images (Bottici, 2011, 2016, 2017); and responding to global forces (Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b), then the resources that they tap into and eventually change should also be considered. In other words, exploring young peoples' ways of imagining the world and their futures necessitates, at least, a considerable attention to the ways in which social imaginaries, as networks of meanings or understanding that are circulated as images and stories (Taylor, 2004), socialise or habituate them. In doing so, we also reckon how young people are able to evaluate their day to day actions as ways of making their futures, and in turn, through their interactions with others and apprehending available imaginaries, make or remake their immediate or distant milieu.

Providing close attention to the work of the imagination among young people while remaining strategically cognizant of the role of social imaginaries also demonstrates a certain epistemological reflexivity. I believe that ensuring that social imaginaries in the villages are not elided because of closer attention to the imagination shows that fieldwork data are treated through a back and forth movement between imagination as individual and collective agency and social imaginary as forms of

structures that are neither deterministic nor fixed. At this point, I would also like to make explicit why it was imperative, earlier in this chapter to distinguish social imaginaries in Taylorian (2004) and Castoriadian (1987, 1997) vantage points, from the concept of ideology, and acknowledge how recent reformulations of the concept have had affinities with ideology and hegemony.

First, I wanted to ensure that by deploying the concept of the social imaginary, I am coming from an ontological position about society and young people as not inherently caught in a substructure-superstructure deterministic relations. Instead, I am of the understanding that society and young people view itself and themselves respectively by drawing from a network of meanings, representations, or significations that are not always in line with the criteria of actuality or reality, rationality, functionality, or in general, social theory yet are held close and rendered significant. I maintain the social imaginary's quality as a gap or a coherent curvature (Castoriadis, 1987), just as Rizvi (2014) describes how Malaysian international students in Australia "do not merely soak up every cultural message they encounter in the West" (p. 123), and how Anna Tsing contends that despite oppressive machination of the universal, there are still mobilisations that spring up in awkward, unstable, and creative ways (pp. 5-9). This is why as it will be more apparent in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, I will be demonstrating how young people's ways of consuming images, narratives, and goods from elsewhere also create other images and understanding of the world that in some ways breach even certain rational precepts or the imaginaries that adults themselves have intimately held.

From a researcher point of view as well, the purchase of remaining cognizant of the social imaginary is tripartite. One, this implies that I am not coming from a position of an all-knowing subject who can easily typify or categorise a phenomenon, people, or objects of study. Two, this shows that I view the actions of young people in the villages, as participants in this thesis, as not always in reference to a form of false consciousness. And three, that my interpretation of their actions, what I see as their ways of imagining their futures and the kinds of images that they make of it, are not coming from a deterministic, fixed, and most importantly, deficit perspective.

Second, by recognising that recent reformulations on the social imaginary such as those of Steger's (2008, 2013) and Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) that have used ideology

and hegemony as articulations of the imaginary, I acknowledge the dominance and powerful reach of global capitalism in the everyday lives of people in the developing world. Doing so also shows that I am not naïve and ignorant to insist on a universalising characterisation of the social imaginary as purely creative and agentic excess of the human condition. While the social imaginary's character as a gap or curvature between the actual, rational and functional is worth celebrating, it remains compelling to examine whether they gravitate towards society's dominant view of itself, or will potentially be subsumed into it if they have not already emerged from it to begin with.

Beyond Imagination

Just like the expanded concept of mobility, the imagination is a concept one can hardly find criticisms against. This is so because on the one hand, it is seen in a positive light as a faculty or condition or property of the mind (Tovar-Restrepo, 2012), and as a capacity or a virtue (Higgins, 2009). On the other hand, it is also treated as a quotidian and ordinary quality of a collective as a staging ground for collective human action (Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b). It is without a doubt, therefore, that as a concept the imagination is inviting as well as fortified against conceptual reckoning. However, I still believe that there remains a room with which imagination as a concept can still be expanded or transformed. Spaces for conceptual transformations are provided by the recent reformulations to it such as Burawoy's "global imagination", and Appadurai's "imagined worlds". These recent works that attribute to the imagination local people's ability to contest or stage action (Appadurai, 1990, 1996), or to turn the tides of globalisation to their advantage (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b) are important bridges of scholarship. As such, they seem to ground the concept of the imagination away from the artistic powers of a select few to a wider collective of ordinary people (Appadurai, 1996), and away from global cities to more localised settings (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b). These points are politically and ethically generative because on the one hand, they acknowledge that ordinary people possess and are capable of being imaginative, and are able to work against oppressive structures of global capitalism on the other. These ontologies of the imagination work to this thesis' advantage because of its alignment to my understanding of left behind children, and youth onlookers as equally imaginative

as other graffiti-making urban street artists in L.A. or Melbourne. However, I believe that the ways in which both Appadurai and Burawoy have grounded and localised the imagination can be grounded and localised even more. This is so because if, in their terms, imagination is the capacity to contest the official mind or to generate local movements to resist the ill effects of globalisation to the locals, I ask, how does the imagination work in these contexts? In other words, how is imagination operationalised in these localities? In appropriating these questions to this thesis, it means that to ask for how young people imagine the world and their futures while they are in the villages requires deeper examination of its localisation, its particularisation or the ways in which it is at play in young people's everyday lives.

I think that within the reformulations of the imagination, there are some promising concepts that are helpful in this task of grounding, localising, and operationalising the imagination. I am referring to Appadurai's (1990, 1996) notion of the imagination as a social fact and a social practice that denied it as a capacity limited to the "gifted". Instead, it was weighed down as a form of practice or work of ordinary people. Seen through the lens of the practical and ordinary, imagination becomes not only a form of production of the social subject, but of engaging with the world, and the making or remaking of one's immediate milieu (Ortner, 2006). Along this line, the social practical view of the imagination also aligns with what Higgins (2009) advocates for the concept as a capacity that allows for greater contact with the world, not an escape from it. The burden in grounding and localising the imagination, therefore, is to find everyday practices of ordinary people that allow them to be in greater contact with the realities of contemporary village life as brought about by the emergent mobilities flowing in and out of their villages. This means that if, imagination is not an escape but an engagement with the real world, and in its ordinary form, the site where it is operating must be situations that are non-exceptional, non-event or melodramatic (Berlant, 2008). At the same time, these rather flat situations pose and possess a sense of urgency if not emergency (Anderson, 2017) for some form of human action. This, thesis, therefore, is invested on looking into how everyday forms of imaginative practices among young people occur in what may be called the present continuous, or the "ongoing present" (Berlant, 2008).

The considerations mentioned above are instructive in grounding the concept of the imagination and especially through a position that accounts for the agency of young people in localities. However, aside from this conceptual task of operationalising the imagination through an accounting of local everyday practices, this should also come with an account for what it means to imagine within the conditions made by global capitalism while remaining in villages. Some scholarships on the imagination have portrayed it as a resource that should be tapped on the one hand (Whitton, 2018; Jackson, 2019; Robinson, 2011) but it also is an endangered faculty because of neoliberal educational practices (Robinson, 2010, 2007) on the other. I believe that there is a dearth of accounts of the imagination that recognises these oppositional and contradictory discourses, something which Haiven (2014, 2012) calls the conscription of the imagination. Engaging with the imagination that situate it as a promise, that despite being endangered, can provide solutions to social problems can elide the important behind the scenes happenings or what goes behind what we see as acts of the imagination. We need studies that account for the costs, not just the potentials of the imagination. Therefore, we need studies that are invested on the ways in which young people – raised in structural conditions that limit, the imagination, yet simultaneously demand for it – continue to exhibit imaginative practices and the mobilisation required to sustain it. I say so because to celebrate ordinary young people's ability to respond to global forces through everyday forms of practices is laudable, to account for its cost, is also necessary. As such, aside from exploring local practices of the imagination, this thesis will also take into consideration the forms of underlying labour and the material and affective costs that come with these imaginative practices. Doing so means we tick the boxes on the facticity of the imagination in the everyday lives of young people in localities; its "conscription" by global capitalism (Haiven, 2014); and the oxymoron between its liberatory promise and its cruelty (Berlant, 2011).

I have just elaborated how the imaginative turn provides conceptual thickness to this thesis; some points of further engaging it in studying young people in the villages; and how this thesis will address these. However, I have not pointed out how the imaginative turn as a rich conceptual resource is in conversation or at an overlap with the mobility turn, and most importantly, why they make such a generative tandem. As

such, in the succeeding section, I will elaborate how these two perspectives are complementary and are reinforcing each other.

Mobilities and the Imagination Nexus

The New Mobilities Paradigm (NMP) and the imagination – within the mobility and the imagination scholarship that I have just reviewed respectively – play significant interpretive and analytical role in the development of this thesis. It can be recalled that the NMP positions itself beyond the sedentarist-nomadist debate where normalcy is attributed to stability in relation to place, and abnormality to change and placelessness (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Overcoming this dualism, the NMP is instead most interested with the dialectics of mobilities and moorings (Adey, 2006): the ways in which institutions and infrastructure facilitate forms of movement, and in turn, how movements alter these moorings. On the other hand, the concept of the imagination has developed from an individualistic ability or faculty to produce images, picture that which is absent; to ways in which people relate as members of a nation or to places elsewhere; and finally, as a form of response to the exigencies of the global order (Bottici, 2011, 2016, 2017; Higgins, 2009; Anderson, 2006; Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Burawoy 2000a, 2000b). While at a glance, one appears to take the form of context, and the other as human activity that takes place within the context of movements and fixity, the NMP and the imagination literature are in conversation beyond these terms and in more complicated ways.

First, in terms of their foci, the NMP is obviously not only interested with what kinds of things are on the move, or where they are moving towards, but more so, where they have moved from and how their movements were made possible in the first place. At the same time, recent formulations of the imagination, specifically the concept of "global imagination" (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b) and the "imagined worlds" (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) have also advocated for more attention on the ways in which people in localities respond to the transformations emergent in a globalising world. The overlap therefore in terms of emphases is that NMP attends to moorings in the same way as recent works on the imagination attends to locality. This attention to moorings and locality coincides with, as well as provides warrant to this thesis' interest with how young people who are either left behind by their emigrant mothers, or remain in the

villages, come to imagine their futures. All these happen in schools, homes, and workplace as moorings located in the villages as a form of locality.

Second, aside from their focus on moorings and locality, the NMP and recent reformulation of the imagination also share the same interest in what may be loosely conceived as "movement while moored". The NMP examines various modes of mobilities and their combinations that are not just limited to corporeal or embodied travel, but also to "imaginative travel through images of places and peoples appearing on and moving across multiple media" (Sheller, 2017, p. 629). The works of Appadurai (1990, 1996) and Burawoy (2000a, 2000b) also align to this focus although deviates to some extent. While within NMP, imagination facilitates mobilities or travel through the consumption of certain images, in "global imagination" (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b) and "imagined worlds" (Appadurai, 1990, 1996), the imagination becomes a form of generation and circulation of images to inspire social movement, or to stage action against the deluge of global forces respectively. While NMP is interested in other possible ways of travel while remaining moored (e.g. imaginative and virtual travel), Appadurai and Burawoy advocate for an analysis of how the imagination allows for a different form of mobility, that of the movement of the collective to "uphold, accommodate, resist, or contest the existing [global] order" even while they remain in localities (Burawoy, 2000a, p. 344). I think this point of overlap between the two lenses is significant to this thesis because it coincides with the interest of this thesis on examining how the left behind and onlookers might be able to move through the imagination in differential terms. In doing so, the imaginative turn also nuances NMP's simplistic use of imagination for travel or movement, not just as a technology of movement, but an exercise of or requiring movement – of moving or being moved, affecting or being affected. On the one hand, this is achieved in this thesis by looking into everyday practices of young people that involves not only physical geographic mobility, but also of mobilisation of certain resources. On the other hand, this overlap also informs this thesis, in so far as imagination does not only mean travelling to a physical elsewhere, but also a movement to more proximate and desired temporal loci, which in this thesis' context are possible futures that are imagined or worked for in the present.

Lastly, both the NMP and recent scholarship on the imagination are in agreement on the ontological status of space. For NMP, drawing from the spatial turn, space is no longer just a container for social processes but is produced in an ongoing and dynamic sense (Sheller, 2017, p. 628). In the same way, the work of Appadurai (1996) points attention to the idea of locality in more "relational and contextual" terms rather than as "scalar or spatial" (p.179). For Appadurai (1996), locality is a dimension or value expressed in certain forms of "agency, sociality, and reproducibility" and should not be confused with situated actual, spatial or virtual communities which he calls "neighbourhood" (pp. 178-179). Just like space in NMP, locality for Appadurai is produced "by particular forms of intentional activity and…yields particular sorts of material effects", hence the phrase "production of locality" (p. 182). These imbrications of progressive ways of looking at space, and relational and contextual lens are supportive of this thesis' interest in the imagination from within or the villages as both a form of responding to spatial exigencies (e.g. transnational movements), and also a way of producing the village as a form of locality.

Conclusion

In summary, I have shown in this chapter not only the developments within the imaginative and mobility turns, but also their overlaps in terms of their scope of interest, type of phenomenon studied, and their ontology of space. I have also made apparent that not only are these two conceptual resources appropriate through their own internal theoretical soundness but also with respect to the particularities of this thesis: the phenomenon that this thesis is interested about, its location, and the treatment to this particular location. More importantly, these two lenses are also in a mutual and complementary relationship and thus, when taken together, pose generative analytical promise in studying young people's ways of imagining the world and their futures as a phenomenon, while they are in the villages as a location, and through their imagination produce locality not only as an actual community but as a set of relations.

Cognizant of these developments in both the mobility turn and the imaginative turn, it is this thesis' task, as a scholarship that occurs at the intersection of mobilities and the imagination, to invest energy on exploring young peoples' localised forms of imaginative practices as form of responding to opportunities or challenges posed by the

emergent mobilities that unfold before them and simultaneously, to account for its enlistment or deployment under conditions of duress among young people – whether as direct participants or recipients of remittances or as vicarious participants of it.

It is my hope that this chapter has provided significant amount of conceptual reckoning on mobilities and the imagination and the ways in which these concepts have inspired and will animate this thesis' trajectory. In the next chapter, I will elaborate how the phenomenon of young people's imagination of possible futures within the ongoing mobilities in their villages was investigated drawing from certain traditions of inquiry that are appropriate to the research questions, and the theoretical and conceptual resources that inform this thesis. I will now move on to a discussion of the methodology and design of this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

> Oh, do not ask, "What is it?" Let us go and make our visit.
>
> T.S. Eliot, *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock, 1915*

> But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas "the power of the good example" is underestimated (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.77).

At the cross sea

The phenomenon in question in this thesis is the imagination which when recalled from the iterations made in Chapter Two is a grounded human activity that is not restricted to a community of gifted few, but of ordinary people. The participants in this thesis are common people – left behind children of emigrant women domestic workers, and other young people who remain in the villages. The context of this thesis are typical mining and agricultural villages – not the gated communities of the wealthy few – in the northern Philippines and the transnational labour migration-induced mobilities that flow from, into, and through them. This thesis therefore is an investigation of an ordinary phenomenon that is the imagination as practiced by common young people in their everyday lives in typical villages of the northern Philippines. These qualities of the phenomenon, participants, and the field are the primary considerations for the ways in which this thesis has been framed and set.

When the question, "how do young people in the northern Philippines come to imagine the world and their possible futures?" was raised in Chapter One, it was not done so with a certainty of a disciplinary origin. As the goals and interests of this thesis developed towards the end of Chapter One and the conceptual resources of the imagination and mobilities were elaborated in Chapter Two, it became apparent that this thesis cannot be classified as coming from a clear-cut and known discipline. This thesis refuses to be straightjacketed as this or that. Instead, this thesis seems to occur at a "cross sea" where disciplinal waves from varying angles of interests meet. Just like the square patterns formed by the meeting of new and old waves at the cross sea, this thesis squares with some traditional disciplines and emergent fields. By inquiring about

what it means for young people to imagine the world, this thesis squares partly with youth studies and philosophy. By contextualising it within new mobilities and transnational movements emerging in the villages, it squares with geography, transnational, diaspora, and migration research, and to some extent, rural studies. Through its commitment to locate how the imagination of young people operate within social structures and social interaction (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2006, p. 367), and in relation to the wider "conditions and potentials of human life" (Ingold, p. 2017, p. 58), this thesis, most importantly squares with sociology and anthropology. In more specific terms, it has a loose sense of intimacy with, and is an interloper in the sociology and anthropology of education by way of its curiosity with how imagination is concretised in the ordinariness of young people's everyday lives, in institutions such as the school, in relation to home and their villages in the northern Philippines.

This thesis' situatedness at what I consider as the cross sea of the disciplines and emergent fields, also makes it inevitably occur at and engage in the debates within and across these disciplinal contexts. For one, it can be viewed perhaps as an intervention to the destination-centrism of transnational and migration studies. It interferes transnational studies' and youth studies' adult-centrism and urban centrism respectively. It also engages in the ongoing debates in sociology and anthropology in so far as its position in the accounting of the human condition is concerned. It acknowledges the darkness of power and inequality; recognises the place of imagination in hope and change; and takes into consideration forms of critique and resistance happening on the ground (Ortner, 2016, pp. 58-66). In reference to Ortner's (2016) "three anthropologies", it is not purely "dark" because of its attention to the production of the neoliberal youth subject in schools and workplaces. It is not purely "good" in its interest on young people's belief in the alterity of the ongoing present. It is not purely a "critique" because it foregrounds inequality and the violence of the global order. In other words, it is just like Leone's 1966 film. It is, a suturing of the good, the bad, and the ugly in young people's everyday lives in the villages of the northern Philippines through the lens of the imagination as practice.

But the point in trying to locate this thesis in some form of discipline or field is not to provide legitimacy or validity to it, or even perhaps, a home for it. The unstable conditions of the cross see do not allow such. If there is anything this exercise of looking

for a home in the turbulence of overlapping, merging, confluent waves of disciplines and fields, it is the foregrounding of its epistemological and theoretical horizons. This exercise behooves me to acknowledge and be transparent about the bodies of knowledge and the ways of arriving at them on the one hand, and the set of assumptions that I invoke as initial frames of explanation of the phenomenon in question on the other hand (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, pp. 13-14).

Given the elusiveness of arriving at a potential disciplinal home that can conveniently set the stage of this thesis, what provides clarity and rigor in assembling the *mise en scene* of tools of inquiry is by holding on closely to the overarching question posed in the beginning, and the initial conceptual frames laid about the phenomenon under investigation.

Investigating the everyday

In inquiring about the imagination that occurs at the cross sea of youth studies, transnational, diaspora, and migration research, and sociology and anthropology of education, the transversal line that cuts across these fields is the unity of the assumed site where imagination occurs, the assumed category of the phenomenon of imagination, the ontology of the imagining subject, and the perspective taken by this thesis in looking at the imagination. This site, category, actor, and lens that provides a sense of coherence and unity in this thesis is the "everyday". It figures in this thesis in the form of everyday village life as the site where imagination happens; everyday imagination as a category of human activity; common young people as imagining subjects; and the everyday as a perspective at the level of experience.

The everyday, as in "everyday life" is often viewed as a site of analysis. Fasil and Fernando, for example, in their study of how the "everyday Muslim" (Fadil and Fernando, 2015a) is articulated in various scholarly works describe it "primarily as a site of contestation and ambiguity" (Fadil and Fernando, 2015b, pp. 98-99). Veena Das (2010) characterises it as a site of routine and habit, resistance, or even "trance, illusion, or danger" (p.376). In this thesis, young people's everyday life – along with its demands to be understood or interpreted and its material challenges to go on living – is the site of the imagination as a way of engaging with the world.

The everyday, too, is thought of as a category of a phenomenon, that is, as Highmore (2018) describes, is the name for the concrete, low-key experiences that are not necessarily intense, or if they are, have become routinised (p. 116, p.123). Das (2010), echoing Braudel, also raises the idea of the everyday as "basic" or low level-occurrences as opposed to big events (p.396). Understood this way, the everyday, is the non-exceptional and uneventful aspects of human life. But the flatness of the everyday also often comes from its mode of occurrence. A phenomenon is considered as everyday if it happens "every day" or routinely (Highmore, 2018). In this sense, we recall Malinowski's (2014, p. 54) *imponderabilia of actual life*, or put simply, the "routine of a man's working day" (Fadil and Fernando, 2015a, p. 66). Everyday imagination then, are the localised or specific, subtle or low-key creative practices of young people in their day to day living in the villages.

This thesis has also veered away from the category of the genius or the gifted as the possessor of imaginative capacities. Instead, it assumes that if the site of the imagination is everyday life, and imagination is and happens in low-key instances and experiences, then the imagining subject too is an ordinary person. As such, this thesis looks at ordinary young people in the villages of the northern Philippines as the imagining subjects just as De Certeau looked at the "common people" as creative and tactical agents in their practice of everyday life (De Certeau, 1984).

Lastly, the everyday can also be considered as a perspective (Highmore, 2018) or a form of engagement with or understanding of the world (Dumm, 1999; Das, 2010). In Highmore's example of giving birth, the everyday is a view taken by actors involved in it such that for new parents of a newly-born baby, it is a special moment. But for the hospital staff, it is an ordinary one (Highmore, 2018, p. 114). Taken as a perspective, the everyday in this thesis is a treatment or approach to the ordinary imagination of young people. As such, as a social scientist, I treat these taken-for-granted practices a notch-higher than I would look at my instant coffee in the morning. Because just like the anthropologists who have always taken the everyday so seriously (Highmore, 2018, p. 115), I take the ordinariness of young people's imagination with high regard. When taken as a perspective that is not content in looking at the small and unnoticed rhythms of day to day living, the everyday too can be "a ground from which we may come to a better appreciation of events" (Dumm, 1999, p.21). In other words, this thesis looks at the

everyday as subtle but always promising, just as ordinary young people might possibly look at their deployment of low-key imaginative practices as the "antecedent life" of bigger events (Das, 2010, p. 396), or in more straightforward sense, possibly a site of alterity and transformation.

The everydayness of the imagination in the lives of young people in the villages of the northern Philippines also directs us to another aspect of it that needed to be accounted for. This is equally important to provide warrant for the deliberate methodological decisions that were made in this thesis. The research question, "how do young people come to imagine the world and their possible futures?", is a how question. It is one that demands a demonstration for the concrete and actual operation of the imagination in young people's everyday practices while they remain in the villages. It is, therefore, not only sufficient to assume and take the reformulations of the imagination in the literature as quotidian activity of ordinary people. The point is to examine how it works on the ground. This means studying young people's imagination as it is practiced or unfolds in their day to day lives at school, work, and other dwellings.

Taken together as a site, category of action, subject, and a perspective, the notion of the everyday is spread throughout and plays a central and unifying role, almost like a spine in this thesis. As such, it calls for a specific way of approaching it as an object of academic and scholarly inquiry. How, then, given the available repertoire of epistemologies, theories, approaches, and strategies (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005), should the imagination – assumed as an ordinary human activity that unfolds in and seen through the lens of the everyday – supposed to be studied?

Ethnographic Approach

It has become apparent by now, given the iterations on the everyday as the site, category, and subject of the imagination as well as a lens with which it is perceived, that there is no more appropriate approach to it than one that is ethnographic. To study imagination as it unfolds in uneventful ways in the ongoing present of young people means embarking on an inquiry that involves investigation and faithfully reporting of the reality of the everyday (Willis, 2000, p.viii; Willis & Trondman, 2002, p. 396; Beach, 2017, p. 18-19), hence, the obvious selection of ethnographic approach. McLeod and

Thomson (2009, p. 81) highlight ethnography's suitability wtih an investigation of the everyday because for them, ethnographic approaches are:

> Suited for observing routines and noticing disruptions to those routines, and for capturing change as it emerges and evolves. Its inclusive gaze allows attention to the unexpected, to micro-level interactions and dynamics in which social changes are felt and articulated, and to the coexistence of the biographical time of the researcher and the researched.

But notice that the use of "approach" instead of "method" as a *differentia* for such an ethnographic form of investigation is deliberate. By approach, I refer to the "loosely defined structures for conceiving, designing, and carrying out" a scholarly inquiry as opposed to "rigid templates of sets of techniques for the proper conduct of research" often referred to as method (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 17). As will be elaborated in the succeeding sections, ethnography in this thesis is not used as a method in a strict sense. Rather, my approach is ethnographic. The deliberate deployment of the word "ethnographic" performs an adjectival function with respect to the structure, design, and procedures undertaken in this thesis as opposed to a nominal one (as a noun) that implies a clear-cut category of a "method" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). It is instead ethnographic in so far as it resembles, inspired by, or draws from the tradition of ethnography.

In a general sense, ethnography is loosely understood as a researcher's writing up of other people's lives (Ingold, 2018, p. 22), or the reporting of the everyday (Willis, 2000). But in more technical terms, Willis and Trondman (2002) describe it as:

> a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents and of richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, representing at least partly in its own terms the irreducibility of human experience. Ethnography is the disciplined and deliberate witness-cum-recording of human events (p. 394).

In Willis and Trondman's (2002) definition of ethnography, the core organising premises are twofold: it is a contact of a specific kind; and it is a particular way of treating the encounter. The first premise is of crucial importance here. Contact for them has two requirements. It has to be direct and sustained. An ethnographer's contact with the field and participants had often been considered as "participant observation", that

is, "being there" and taking part in the everyday lives of people being studied (Schwandt, 2007, p. 219). But the other quality of observation is not just about being a participant in their day to day living. The ethnographer, too, has to be involved and engaged in a sustained, prolonged and relatively longer period that allows partial socialisation into the community under study (Willis & Trondman, 2002, p. 394; Schwandt, 2007, p. 219; Beach, 2017, p. 18). While I acknowledge that the meaning of the word "sustained" is highly debatable, going back to how it is internally understood and practiced in its disciplinary habitat might illuminate it. The idea of lengthy contact echoes the sociocultural anthropologists' advocacy to making itself as the "natural science of society" during the mid-twentieth century, hence, distinct from how other disciplines (e.g. sociology) have deployed it. For the latter, as the anthropologist Tim Ingold sees it, meant "any technique of questioning or interview capable of yielding qualitative data…even if it involved no sustained participation or observational engagement at all" (Ingold, 2018, p 151). This also aligns with the Penguin Dictionary of Sociology's definition of ethnography as "direct observation of the activity of a particular social group and the description and evaluation of such activity" (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2006, p.136).

I must admit that the explanation from Ingold and his distinction of how ethnography is interpreted within and without the field of anthropology is unsatisfactory and only makes obvious traditional ethnography's obsession with objective reality. But is there an exact sweet amount of ethnographic time that is sufficient to obtain such objective reality? What can explain the notion of prolonged and sustained involvement, engagement, and participation in the field is only the certainty that fieldwork takes so long and involves the ethnographer taking time, waiting for things to happen, and accepting what is offered when it is offered (Ingold, 2018, pp. 19-21). Because the observation "of" something is one thing, observing "with" or "from" is another (Ingold, 2017, p. 61). The intentionality of "of-ness" objectifies while the attentional character of "with-ness" sets up a participatory coupling of the observer and the observed (p.61). As to the exact length of sufficient contact, we can never tell. What we know is that it takes time to "make the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian" (Clifford, 1986, p. 2).

If ethnography, then, is the writing up of everyday human experience from a sustained and relatively prolonged length of time, then this thesis is an ethnography only in so far as two qualifiers are concerned. First, that this thesis involved my direct contact and first-hand experience with young people from and with whom I am studying how the imagination happens in their daily lives. Second, I am writing about their ways of life as I experienced it first-hand. Unfortunately, the situatedness of this thesis at the cross sea hinders any disciplinal mooring, and the insufficiency of time within which contact, engagement, or involvement could have been sustained prevent it from conveniently qualifying it as an ethnography. Thus, partiality of contact and the commitment to a faithful recording and reporting of the everyday render this work as "ethnographic in approach", and not methodically an ethnography in a strict sense. By using the word ethnographic, then, I mean, drawing from and being inspired by the premises and practices of ethnography to put together a bundle of ways of generating and analysing qualitative information gathered through some form of first-hand experience (Schwandt, 2007, p. 93; Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2006), and complementing it with strategies of collection and analysis of information gathered from the field (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 18).

Writing about the everyday

But aside from this thesis being inspired by ethnography's tradition of acquiring information through direct contact or engagement with participants, ethnography's tradition of treating qualitative information also significantly figures in this thesis' succeeding chapters. Direct contact or sustained engagement only partly defines an approach as ethnographic, the other part is the making of texts. So, in this thesis, aside from ensuring that the appropriate locality is selected, or that questions are well crafted to elicit quality responses, this thesis too, had to grapple with how to write about the ordinariness of the imagination. Put simply, it was a question of how to write about imagination's operation in the everyday lives of young people and while doing so, remain cognizant of the intricacies of emergent processes of mobilities.

Marcus and Clifford (1985) point out that despite the internal and external criticisms in the 1960s that challenged the epistemological and historical status of ethnography, the production of ethnographic texts has remained relatively stable such

that claims of transparency of representation and immediacy of experience persisted among ethnographers (p. 268). Among these strands of critique to ethnography include: internal confessions that demystified participant observation; French and German philosophers who challenged the conceptual models of culture and society; and the increased awareness of ethnography's role in implicating specific histories within the context of colonialism (Marcus & Clifford, 1985, p. 267). As such, even with the waging of critiques from various directions, ethnographic writing seemingly remained untouched so much so that in the mid-60s, the enterprise of producing cultural text meant "keeping good field notes, making accurate maps, 'writing up' results" (Clifford, 1986, p. 2). This is what the authors of *Writing Culture* argued against, that the making of ethnographic texts is more than record keeping or reporting. For them, the ideology of transparency has crumbled and the act of writing should be viewed as "properly experimental and ethical", cultural accounts are "constructed and artificial", and ethnography has its own historical predicament, that is, "it is always caught up in the invention, not the representation of cultures" (Clifford, 1986, p.2). I see this thesis in the same light of trying out conceptual ways to write about imagination as ordinary, yet at the same time treat it with a sense of eventfulness, or attempt to write it from a critical lens, without having to box young people's politics as this or that. This thesis is just as partly an invention of new ways of looking at young people's imaginative practices, as much as it is an attempt to represent these as theirs in the first place.

Writing Culture's impact to anthropology have been couched along different labels such as literary, postmodern, deconstructive, or poststructural turns that inevitably ushered in the confrontation and crystallisation of anthropology's subject matter, method, medium, and intention (Zenker & Kumoll, 2010, p. 1). But times and spaces of writing about culture have changed. We now live in the 21st Century where even the notion of a field has changed as well. This is something that George Marcus, in revisiting the book more than thirty years since its publication is cognizant of. He asserts that for the past decades, anthropology had to undergo some rethinking in relation to the macro social changes that have taken place under globalisation. For him, it meant more than just "recontextualising or renarrating the scenes…[but] moving in scapes or flows, reinventing the concept of the field, and reproblematizing the traditional object of study, and exploring new ones" (p. 430).

Considering that times and spaces of making ethnographic texts have changed, from the location of subject matter on the one hand and the geographic and disciplinal location of the ethnographer on the other, how, then, should a text about the everydayness of the imagination in a world of mobilities be written? How do we write this sort of text with a consciousness of the subject's changing place, and the shifting disciplinal boundaries of the work that we do? To take account of what is said and done by the participants is one thing. To evaluate it in relation to internal and external contexts is another.

The writing of this thesis as text, as an account for how young people imagine their futures in their everyday lives in the villages of the northern Philippines, has been informed by two specific ethnographic approaches that advocate for heightened sensitivity towards movements and connectivities in writing about culture in localities. These are Michael Burawoy's (2000a, 2000b) "global ethnography" and Arjun Appadurai's (1990, 1996) "cosmopolitan ethnography". These approaches should be understood as forms of responses to the calls made by *Writing Culture* for ethnography to rethink its ways on the one hand, and be conscious of the changing global landscape in the 90's and early 2000's. It is also important to remember that Appadurai's notion of the "imagined worlds" and Burawoy's "global imagination" played significant role in the framing of the imagination as discussed in Chapter Two. It is from these same formulations of the imagination that their proposition for ethnographically approaching such phenomenon are drawn from. Seen this way, Appadurai's "cosmopolitan ethnography" and Burawoy's "global ethnography" are their suggested approaches in writing about imagination as a social practice and of global imagination respectively. Drawing resources from Burawoy and Appadurai, therefore, in so far as the writing of the succeeding parts of this thesis is concerned, is definitely apropos.

Appadurai (1996) contends that the tradition of "thick description" in ethnography, something that precedes Clifford and Marcus, is insufficient and calls for the ceasing of "epistemic privilege" in old ethnography. It can be recalled that for Geertz (1973) who popularised the concept in ethnography, despite its origins in philosophy through Gilbert Ryle, is an intelligible description of culture where the ethnographer is able to grasp and eventually render the multiple layers of structures of meaning that are sometimes overlapping, and contradicting (Geertz, 1973, pp. 9-10; Abercrombie, Hill, &

Turner, 2006, p. 393). This is more popular in the analogy of being able to distinguish winks from twitches, or from their parodies. While Appadurai (1990) seems to be echoing what Clifford and Marcus have raised in the mid-80's, his proposal of an ethnography post-*Writing Culture* is noteworthy. Instead of thick description, he proposes "thickness with a difference" as "a practice of representation that illuminates the power of large-scale imagined life possibilities over specific life trajectories" (p.55). This is because for him, the power of imagination, linked to images, ideas, and opportunities that come from elsewhere, plays significantly in the fabrication of our social lives and should be the bedrock of an ethnography in a deterritorialized world of wider possibilities (pp. 52-55). I view his notion of thickness with a difference as both an inward and outward gaze, an attempt to construct reality not merely by digging through layers of available meaning in a contained field, but of linking it from other times and spaces.

If Appadurai advocated for a writing of culture with a consciousness of the externality of resources with which social lives are made through his critique of thick description, Michael Burawoy (1998, 2000a, 2000b) on the other hand, looked into the extended case method as a starting point for a different ethnographic approach. He describes the extended case method, as "an application of reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the "micro" to the "macro", and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building upon pre-existing theory" (Burawoy, 1998, p.5). Furthermore, he describes these movements as "great leaps across space and time, from singular to the general, from the mundane to the grand historical themes" (p.5). Burawoy (2000b) comments that the extended case method demonstrates four levels of extension: from observer to participant, observations over time and place, process to external forces, and extending theory. For him, every level of extension comes with risks such as a relation of domination among research participants which distorts mutuality of exchange, silencing when the contribution of some agents are underscored at others' expense, objectification of external forces that provide them artificial durability, and normalization when ethnographers discipline what their studying to conform to their framework (pp. 26-28).

In responding to the limitations mentioned and by focusing on the third form of extension, he proposes what he calls "global ethnography" with some sets of lenses and strategies to counter the danger of objectification. The first strategy is considering global forces as constituted at a distance and focusing on the resistance, avoidance, and negotiation of global domination. Second is seeing these forces as results of contingent social processes: flows and connections between sites. And lastly, seeing global forces and connections as constituted in imagination that inspire social movements to gain control over their immediate and distant milieus (p.29). Burawoy's concept of global ethnography was expanded by Kenway, Fahey, Epstein, Koh, McCarthy, and Rizvi (2017) in what they called "multi-sited global ethnography" of elite schools but since this thesis is focused on accounting for the view of the future and the world from within the villages as a site or field, their approach was not strongly relied on although was definitely informative.

Aside from the conceptual and epistemological alignment of the imagination and Appadurai's and Burawoy's proposed approaches, they too are attuned to current and emergent globalising processes, or connectivities that are characteristic of the times and spaces where the participants in this thesis are located. However, I am not deploying Appadurai's or Burawoy's ethnographic propositions as strict frameworks with which young people's imagination of their futures will be written. I am tapping into these approaches as handles, or as rough lenses to intelligibly grasp and render, in Geertz (1973) sense, without risking a siloed interpretation or analysis. This will be done by accounting for the connectivities between young people's inhabited site, and the elsewhere that it is linked with on the one hand. On the other hand, these approaches provide directives on what to look into, what to be wary with, and to foresee the political consequences of writing about youth imagination.

But the reason why I am also loosely deploying these two approaches in writing the imaginative cultures of young people is because while they are cognizant of the elsewhere, and the connectivities of different fields, there too is a tendency to attribute an inflated sense of agency to people in localities. They undeniably behoove me to think of how the practices of young people that I consider as forms of imagination can be seen through agentic tropes but I also have to be careful of the dangers of ventriloqui[zing] voices of postcolonial resistance from the margins (Smith, 2001, p.16).

So aside from thinking of connectivities as occurring horizontally, from one field or site to another, connectivities too need to be thought of vertically, that is, between what has happened in the field and the ideas that I brought and I used to make sense of it. In so far as contact between data and external concepts are concerned, it is bi-directional one, and not merely a ground-up approach. More than being inspired by "cosmopolitan ethnography" or "global ethnography", the making of this cultural text about young people's ways of thinking about their future and the world is an exercise of what Willis (2000) calls the "ethnographic imagination". In ethnographic imagination, aside from contact between the ethnographer and the field, the information from the field and the ideas that were brought to the field should be made in contact too. It is not only a matter of "researcher-field", "field-elsewhere" engagement, but also "field data-concept" contact that has to be taken into account. This to me is significant because it avoids the rendering all the actions of young people in the field as imagination on the one hand. And on the other hand, the superimposition of external concepts as truth over and against the practices of young people in localities. Put simply, the dynamics of the writing of this text in the following chapters is threefold such that what I write about the young people I have met and engaged with are "my understanding of their understandings of an understood (conceptually held) world" (Willis, 2000, p. xviii).

Interpreting and analysing culture

In more specific terms, the materials that were used in this thesis as objects of analysis such as field notes, interview notes, transcripts, and some publicly accessible documents and visual materials were analysed by deploying inductive analysis. In doing inductive analysis using the multiple forms of data, the aim was to find "recurrent themes and thematic relations" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 19) or to work from the data to more general conclusion (Schwandt, 2007, pp. 146-147). However, some forms of deductive analysis were also used specifically at times borrowing from discourse analysis strategies. In doing so, I was also interested in looking for some forms of "micro" patterns in the data for purposes of finding compelling and powerful exemplars in support of recurrent themes (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 19). While I acknowledge that oftentimes, qualitative analysis to which this thesis identifies itself with, is often believed as strongly committed to analysis by induction, the deployment

of inductive and deductive forms of analysis in this thesis was not only pragmatic. To some extent, it was also a way of bringing into action the bi-directional approach embodied in Willis' "ethnographic imagination" (Willis, 2000) of making data and external concepts in greater and meaningful contact. These back and forth movements from macro to micro, from data to theory and concepts, and from generalisations to exemplars figure in the succeeding chapters. To refer back to Willis' threefold dynamics of writing a cultural text such as this, the analyses that follow are mine, but are arrived at by relying on the interlocutor's understanding of the world on the one hand, and of existing concepts that explain the world they live in.

Looking back, what this section has accomplished thus far is to make a case for why an ethnographic approach is apropos in investigating and responding to the research questions that animate this thesis. It has also laid out the specific ethnographic lenses that inform how engaging and writing about the field shall proceed. In the next section, the specific practices and procedures involved in undertaking this thesis will be elaborated.

Research Strategies

The overall aim of this thesis was to understand and gain insights on the ways in which young people in the villages of the northern Philippines come to imagine the world as they are constantly exposed to mobile individuals, influx of remittances, and circulation of global goods. The overall approach in investigating this phenomenon was one that was ethnographically inspired. As such, the specific research "strategies" that were undertaken aligned to this ethnographic approach. These strategies can be thought of as practices and procedures that were deployed to collect and analyse data (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 18). This section, therefore, is sequenced by first elaborating the field where data was obtained, and then a discussion of the work that was done in this said field. But before that, I recall some of the salient issues I encountered in doing this ethnographically inspired work. These were used as motivational resources for progressively and iteratively focusing the exercise of fieldwork for this thesis.

Initial worries

The researcher and field relations are highly complex and sensitive. Beginning from the researcher approaching the field, engaging with it, and eventually leaving it, there are theoretical, ethical, and pragmatic issues to be taken into consideration. This is perhaps the reason why the word "work" is in "fieldwork". For one, there is labour in fieldwork because to approach, engage, and leave the field is never formulaic, mechanical, or impersonal. It is a matter of working one's way in, through, and out, without ever fully entering, being there, or leaving. It is work that seems constantly insufficient, always an almost but not quite.

From my end, one of the key skills and aspects of fieldwork that I had to learn and was cautious of was participant observation as a key tool for data collection. I was worried about the tension between my role as the researcher who is both a participant on the one hand, and as an observer on the other. Participation implies immersion, while observation implies detachment, something that Ingold (2018) distinguishes by using the pronouns "of" and "with" in relation to observation respectively. Crang and Cook (2007) comment that one way to deal with this tension is to perceive participant observation as a means to obtain "intersubjective understanding between the researcher and the researched" by not only striving to be as immersed in the community as one possibly can, but also to look at how both the researcher and the researched are immersed in communities outside them (pp.37-38). My movement in and out of the school and community from time to time during fieldwork allowed me to shift from embeddedness, to disembeddedness. In the same way, I surmise that the participants too have thought of me, perhaps as a "familiar stranger" from somewhere else. In reciprocal terms, as I asked them about their lives in the village, they asked me about how my life was growing up in the lowlands, and how life is in Melbourne.

I aimed to immerse myself in their community as much as I can and simultaneously capture their immersion - as well as mine – in wider national and global communities. I have learned that to be immersed in the community and the school was a matter of strategic navigation of available identities in the field. I tried as much as I can to not be identified as a teacher, student, or someone who is visiting for evaluation from a higher office. Navigating the identities available in the field involved not only deployment of certain speech acts and gestures, there were certain sartorial

considerations too. Our usual talk at lunch or on our way home in the afternoon was both my immersion to their world, theirs to mine, and together to the wider fields outside our worlds. We talked about the city that is close to them, their parents' host countries, Melbourne where I lived then, and places we have never been.

I found myself both a semi-insider and a semi-outsider to the villages in so many possible layers. On the one hand, I was able to relate with their experiences of Philippine village life, having been born and raised in a farming village in the far north of the country, and the pervasive challenges of public schooling as a publicly educated person myself. On the other hand, I was also alien, to some extent, to their lived experience of global forces as they continue to live in their own villages, and their cultural biography. Many of them are of Cordilleran indigenous[29] background. In contrast, I have lived a considerable amount of my life in the city and outside my country, and affiliate myself with the lowland Christians and the Americanised populace (Tiongson, 1995, p. 17).

At the initial stages of fieldwork, it was an oscillation from feeling resonant with how they were living their lives, to being alien of their conditions. Eventually, through their generosity and time, I was made to feel as one with them. In return, I too, had the impression that by being with them constantly, had better understanding of their stories.

In what follows, I describe the field and the steps undertaken in doing fieldwork. Each step is interspersed with concrete example of some salient issues encountered as well as the ways in which they have informed and transformed my work in the field.

The Field

In so far as what constitutes the field in this thesis is concerned, I understand it both from a traditional sense as the "physical place or site" where fieldwork was conducted on the one hand. And on the other, as combination of relations between the researcher and the researched, a relationship of commitment, disengagement, and

[29] I am aware that scholarly works produced in Australia and Canada usually spell the word as "Indigenous". However, because this refers to indigenous peoples in the Philippines, and indigenous scholarship in the Philippines do not put the "I" in upper case, it is a deliberate decision to spell it as such.

separation between them (Schwandt, 2007, pp. 113-114). I understand that my interactions and engagement with my friends in the villages were not contained within the physical boundaries of the village alone. They were made possible by some wider and narrower set of relations and were sustained even when I have left the physical space of the village.

Fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken at To'to High School, in the municipality of To'to, in the Cordillera Mountains of northern Philippines from January 2017 to April 2017, and a short visit in early 2019.

To'to High School

To'to High School (THS)[30] is located in a village with almost 8,000 population (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019a). It is one of the largest secondary schools in the town with an enrolment of approximately 600 students and an average class size of 34.4 (Graphiq, 2016)[31]. Compared to other schools, the population of To'to High School is ideal in so far as it is not as high as urban schools which may reach up to 10,000, or as low as 200 in highly remote schools where at some points, a multi-grade teaching approach is implemented. THS, therefore, represented a typical village school in so far as its school enrolment and location are concerned. In other words, To'to High School was selected because of its demographic and geographic characteristics.

Because the aim of this thesis was to gain insight about the ways in which young people imagine their futures in the context of mobilities, there were two primary consideration for the selection of a site: the presence of a specific cohort of young people and a village where transnational mobilities are present. Concerning the first criterion, it was a deliberate decision that the school as a site has to be a senior high school. I was specifically invested on looking for senior high school as participants because during the time of fieldwork, it was the first time ever that senior high school in the Philippines was being offered. On top of that, it was at this stage where students had to choose a track that prepares them for future work or university. This was important because if

[30] This is not the real name of the school. The school has been de-identified for ethical reasons.
[31] This reference was accessed on July 7, 2017. For purposes of protecting the school's identity, the retrieval link is not provided and the title of the post was changed to the pseudonym of the school in the reference list.

this thesis was interested about the ways in which young people imagine their future, the senior high school stage of their lives was pivotal in preparing for their desired futures. Concerning the second criterion of the presence of transnational mobilities, it was also a deliberate decision to recruit students who are children of emigrant women. I found out that in a class of 40 for the Grade 11 classes, an average of 20-25 had immediate family members, relatives, or friends who lived abroad.

To'to High School was also chosen because geographically, it is located in a village that assumes a pivotal role as a hub for other neighbouring villages in terms of education, economy, and social and cultural life. While it has considerable distance from the city, it has managed to acquire strategic access through transportation and telecommunication to and from Baguio City, the nearest and the most progressive city in the northern Philippines. In a sense, To'to High School's location allows students to navigate through the hustle and bustle of urban life along with the multitude of opportunities it offers, and maximize the affordances of village life without having to isolate themselves off from the neighbouring villages, cities, and the rest of the world.

Moreover, aside from demographic and geographic characteristics, To'to High School was chosen in consideration of some logistical and practical aspects of doing fieldwork. Since I was based in Baguio City, where my family residence is, where a university library was accessible, and a local anthropologist and historian who was willing to offer local guidance for my project, working at THS allowed me to travel back and forth every day. Its proximity also allowed me to access necessary academic and practical resources. Had I chosen other schools in To'to aside from THS, I would have had to travel for more than one-hour using public transport as well as walk for few more kilometres to reach other sites.

The villages of To'to

To'to High School is located in the town of To'to, Benguet Province, in the mountainous Cordillera Administrative Region of the northern Philippines. To'to is approximately 260 kilometres away from Manila, the capital city of the Philippines (5-hour drive by car); and approximately 20 kilometres away from Baguio City (20-minute drive) where I was based for the duration of the fieldwork (See Figure 1).

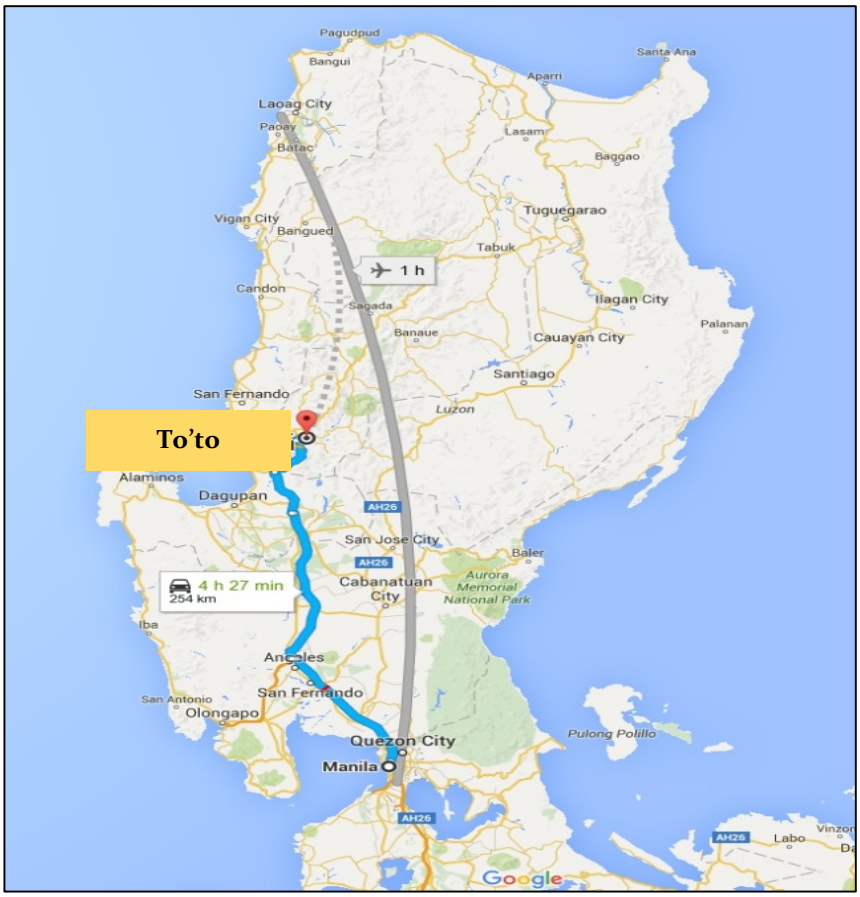

Figure 1. Distance from Manila to To'to

To'to is considered as a 1st class municipality[32] and has a population of 55,960 (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016a). It is also classified as an "urban"[33] municipality or town but this should not be confused with the way it is understood in the developed

[32] According to E.O. no 249 of 1987, a municipality is considered first class if it earns more than 30 million pesos of average annual income (see: http://www.lawphil.net/executive/execord/e01987/eo_249_1987.html)

[33] The new definition of urban barangays or villages according to the National Statistical Coordination Board is that: 1) any barangay or village with a population of at least 5000; 2) has at least one establishment with at least 100 employees; or 3) if it has 5 or more establishments with a minimum of 10 employees, and 5 or more establishments within the 2-km radius from the village hall ((Philippine Statistics Authority, 2004) (see http://nap.psa.gov.ph/pressreleases/2004/30Jan04_urban.asp. But originally or prior to 2004, a municipality was considered urban if 1) in its entirety has a population density of 1000 persons per square kilometre for all its barangays or villages; 2)central districts have a population density of at least 500 persons per square kilometres; 3) if the village does not fall in 1 or 2 but has, parallel or right angle street networks, has at least 6 establishments, or have a town hall, church, a public plaza, park, cemetery, market place, or a public building like schools or hospitals; and 4) when its primary livelihood is not fishing or farming (National Statistical Coordination Board Res 9, 2003).

world (Philippines Statistics Authority, 2019). The town is also known for mining, both large and small-scales as its main source of livelihood. Tourism has been on the rise in the town in recent years because of the emerging hot-spring resorts aside from the already popular mining tourism sites. Also, while it can only be inferred by virtue of it being part of the Benguet province, the town takes part in the deployment of 3,500 to 4,600 Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) from the Cordillera Region yearly (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016c, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b, 2019b). Above all, it is predominantly of indigenous cultural background with the *Kankana-ey* and *Ibaloi* tribes as the majority ethnic groups (National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2011; 2015).

In sum, To'to has a strategic reach to the city, has a significant number of mobile members of its population, and has a strong indigenous culture. These specific economic, demographic, and cultural characteristics of To'to undoubtedly made it a potentially rich field. The strong local culture and presence of mobilities hinted on a more pronounced interaction of local and global forces on the one hand. These characteristics too, were complemented by THS' own features which when taken together, not only satisfy the criteria set for the field but also make the context where To'to youth's imagination of their futures take place, an interesting and promising site for rich data.

Collection of Qualitative Data

As a qualitative research, the types of data that were gathered were observational, interview, and documentary (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 18) and as such, the primary strategies of collection were participant observation, interviews and focus groups, and use of the site's library. In what follows, I will describe briefly the steps undertaken during fieldwork.

Recruitment of Participants

Contact with To'to High School (THS) was made only after approval of my ethics application from the University of Melbourne. Through the help of Ms. M who teaches at THS whom I have met years ago through a colleague, I was able to approach the Principal, and eventually was granted approval to do this research in THS.

The participants were selected from Grade 11 classes of the senior high school department of To'to High School. At the time of fieldwork, they were 16 to 18 years old. There was a total of 14 students (7 boys, and 7 girls) which was intentionally in order to seek gender balance. This was proven wise eventually especially so that gender dynamics and gender re-articulations emerged as important themes during fieldwork, something that strongly animates Chapter Six of this thesis. The number of student participants was determined in consideration of the length of time I spent in the Philippines and the realistic and achievable targets of a PhD-level thesis. The reason why the student participants are from Grade 11 was, as pointed out in the earlier section, because this thesis aim was to consider how young people are using global and local resources in school and community in their imagining of possible futures. Grade 11 of their high school life is pivotal in making decisions for their future in so far as they were to make a choice for a track from options such as academic, technical-vocational, sports, and arts and design (Department of Education, 2010; Seameo-Innotech, 2012). As such, this moment of making a choice of track in school was definitely a decisive moment for their future

The participants were recruited in consultation with the Grade Level Adviser, Mr T. He introduced me to the different Grade 11 classes and also encouraged students to approach me. Mr. T and the other class advisers organised a short meeting with the students where I introduced the research I was doing and announced that I would be hosting an information session for interested students. I also went to each class and talked briefly about the project. In these classes, I handed the information sheets, plain language statements, and consent forms to interested student participants.

There were no other criteria set for the participants aside from grade level, age, place of residence, exposure to geographically mobile relatives or close friends, and experience of receiving remittances from abroad, all of which were easily fulfilled by most students in To'to High School. But familial setup in relation to transnational mobilities in To'to are varied. In other words, there were differences in terms of families' degrees of participation to transnational movement. It was surmised, therefore, that it would be more representative of To'to dynamics if the participants came from different familial set up in relation to transnational migration. In the end, the participants were a diverse group composed of left behind children of emigrant women, and others who

were not although have significant connections abroad through close relatives and friends.

Participant observation

With my role as a participant observer, I immersed myself – in some cases as a participant, and in some as a distant observer – into different school activities such as morning rites, flag retreats, quarterly convocations, intramurals, monthly Eucharistic celebrations, intra-school competitions, and school parties, to name a few. I observed the students in places inside the school such as canteens, corridors, libraries, computer rooms, workshops, school gates, playgrounds. I participated in some activities outside the school such as their homes, cafes, and in their places of work. As a caveat, while this study draws heavily from ethnographic approaches which usually employs living with the participants in the field, I did not stay in the village where THS is located for the duration of my field work. This is because the students came from different surrounding villages. Instead, I took time to visit their villages and their homes whenever possible. In all these instances, I did not take notes in plain sight from the participants. The jotting of notes was done on public transport while I was in transit back to Baguio City in the evening.

One significant instance of participation was my being asked to be a substitute teacher for two weeks in all the three Grade 11 classes where the participants are from. As a researcher doing fieldwork in THS, I was initially hesitant to accept because I was apprehensive of its possible disruptions to the rapport that I have built with the students. I was afraid that if I were to be identified as their teacher, the power relations that have been established early on would shift. I was worried that they will start treating me as a person of authority and that the quality of information they share to me, as well as my access to their activities would be risked. I eventually accepted the request as a way of reciprocating their generosity of opening THS to me. To mitigate my worries, I ensured the students that I will not be doing any marking for the class and that I will not have any stake in whatever marks they get.

Interviews and focus groups

Aside from participant observations, I also conducted focus groups, paired interviews, and individual interviews. I started with focus group discussions as a strategic move to build rapport and ensure ease of participation among the participants. It was planned to only have 3 focus groups of 4-5 participants each but because there were more than 20 students who turned out to be interested, I decided to do 5 focus groups to accommodate them all. After the FGDs, the series of interviews came, starting with pairs just for the students to feel more comfortable while succeeding interviews were done individually. Each interview lasted between 45 to 60 minutes. This is because most researchers agree that this range is long enough to establish rapport and to have sufficient discussion, and short enough to not overburden the students from their daily activities (Crang & Cook, 2007, p. 63). I planned to do 6 to 9 interviews in a week because I intended to be at the school 3 times a week and spent the remaining days transcribing and organising notes. This turned out to be a quite optimistic plan because the school was extremely busy during my visit, with Foundation Day preparations, and cramming for requirements before schools close. I had to go every day and at times, interview for a whole day.

The student interviews revolved around topics such as life goals, community life, future possibilities, feelings and attitudes on local, national, and international social issues. For one round of interviews, students were asked to bring some materials such as photos of things, places, or events, or favourite objects (e.g. gifts or souvenirs) that were significant to them as springboards for conversation. This was extremely helpful in breaking the ice and getting to know the students more intimately. In other instances, the students were asked to make vision boards using provided materials such as newspapers, coloured pens, and glossy papers.

All the interviews were done in Ilocano, the dominant language in Northern Philippines, and/or Filipino, the national language - both of which I speak fluently - depending on the preference of the interviewees. The interviews were recorded upon the consent of the participants and were anonymised in my field and interview notes.

Some parents were also interviewed for purposes of gaining additional information about the participants such as family history and their aspirations for their children. Initially, the target was to interview a total of 6 parents (3 fathers, 3 mothers).

However, due to the busy schedule of most parents, there were only four who were interviewed. There was also a focus group discussion that was held in the house of one of the participants one weekend.

In summary, these strategies of gathering information allowed me to have a direct contact with the participants and acquire observational, interview, and some documentary data that were used in the succeeding analytical chapters. The table in the next page shows a summary of the fieldwork activities that were accomplished:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">PARTICIPANTS</td><td colspan="4">DATA GATHERING TOOLS/SOURCES OF DATA</td></tr>
<tr><td>Source</td><td>Number</td><td>Participant Observation</td><td>Semi-Structured Interviews</td><td>Focus Group Discussions</td><td>Contextual Research</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Students</td><td rowspan="2">14 (7 boys, 7 girls)</td><td rowspan="2">Spread out across four months</td><td>a. paired interview
14 students/2 =7 interviews</td><td rowspan="2">5 (45-60 mins)</td><td rowspan="3">Socio demographic profiles, school and village history, livelihood and educational provision (all from public documents or artefacts)</td></tr>
<tr><td>b. individual interviews
14 students x 2 sessions=28 interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td>Parents</td><td>4 (1 father, 3 mothers)</td><td>0 hours</td><td>4 parents x 1 session =4 interviews</td><td>1 (45-60 mins)</td></tr>
<tr><td>TOTAL</td><td>18 participants</td><td>innumerable</td><td>39 interviews</td><td>6 FGDs</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Preparation, organization, and treatment of fieldwork data

In this thesis, analysis is broadly conceived as the organization, reduction, and description of information from fieldwork that continues through the generation of conclusions and warranting them (Schwandt, 2007, p.6). As such, the interview, observational, visual, and some documentary data gathered from fieldwork in To'to were initially prepared for analysis separately. For example, interview and focus group recordings were listened to repeatedly and notes were made accordingly. Based from the notes taken, the parts of the interview that were deemed potentially rich, in so far as they align to the heuristically emergent themes and resonate to the initial impressions and categories, were transcribed in verbatim. Observational data were prepared and organized starting from jottings at the end of each day of fieldwork.

Jottings were made using the phone on my way back to Baguio City where I was based. The more lengthy and interpretive field notes were either written at the end of a given fieldwork day or few days thereafter. Visual materials such as vision boards and photographs of personal belongings brought by the students were either scanned or stored securely respectively.

The analysis of these different set of data involved breaking each of them down into smaller segments by using coding techniques (Schwandt, 2007). No coding software was used for analysis. Instead, I relied on list of initial impressions, and recursive making of categories that involved drawing tables and filling them out with more specific empirical evidences (e.g. quotes, event, etc.) across the various forms of data gathered. This is the reason why, as discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, the analysis of qualitative data in this thesis is a simultaneous, if not a back and forth deployment of inductive and discursive techniques. On the one hand, it involved the threshing out of salient themes or generalization across the various forms of data. On the other hand, it required the identification of powerful and specific exemplars through more detailed and scrupulous reckoning of specific segments of the data.

As it figures in the succeeding chapters, the reassemblying of the smaller segments of the data to understand how young people's imagination of the world and their futures happens in rural Philippines, is by looking at three salient aspects of their everyday lives. These include schooling, work, and the making or doing of gender. In the end, these aspects of their life are put into conversation to understand or to arrive at a sense of wholeness of the phenomenon in question – young people's imagination of their futures in the context of mobilities.

In sum, the analysis of the data that took place is a recursive and iterative process of making sense of the voluminous amount of data from fieldwork, clarifying and explicating them, and eventually, putting them in conversation with relevant concepts and theories (Schwandt, 2007).

Some ethical reflections

The ethics application for this project was lodged in July 2016 and approved in January 2019. Going through ethics approval helped me to be cognizant of the larger ethical dimensions of researching young people: the risks, harms, and the strategies to

minimize them. I recognize that there were several sources of risks to both student and parent participants namely: psychological risk of emotional upset and social discomfort arising from observations.

I am aware that during interviews and discussions some students felt uncomfortable or upset, especially in talking about personal future aspirations, relevant family experiences, or reflecting on present challenges. Such feelings of distress are unintended consequences of the tasks involved and I addressed them within my means. When these issues emerged, participants were comforted and assured that the task would only continue when they were happy to do so. I offered them the possibility of re-scheduling the interview for another time and if appropriate, referred the participant to the school guidance counselor.

Aside from emotional distress, there were also risk of participants feeling some sense of intrusion of their privacy or their social circles. Since this project involved participant observation in on-campus and some off-campus activities, the participants inevitably felt some degree of discomfort having me around while they are doing activities that have become part of their daily routine. To respond to these, I explained the purpose of the study through an information session and made myself available for one-on-one sessions to ensure that they are fully aware of it and that they understand their role as a participant and their possible contributions to the success of the project.

In retrospect, I believe that having lived in that region for years, worked as a teacher with groups of the same age and of similar cultural background, and speaking the language predominantly used in the site fluently, I have brought sufficient understanding of and sensitivity to social norms and cues which emerged and were necessary in navigating the intricacies of life in To'to. There were times when I was excited to visit their homes, or their workplaces but some students did not want me too. There were instances when I wanted to interview their parents but some students brushed it off by saying their parents are too busy to do it. I respected these forms of dodging, or perhaps, signals of protecting their spaces.

But the most significant ethical and political aspect of the fieldwork in To'to was one the one hand, witnessing the difficulty of life that most of the participants lived. On the other hand, it is the matter of ensuring that my relationship with them was not extractive or predatory. Personally, I felt angry in silence seeing them struggle for some

basic things both at home and in school. If there is such a thing as a researcher's guilt, I was feeling it most of the time. I tried to respond to these issues by immersing myself as much as I can in simple ways. I listened. I stayed late with them when they worked on a group project. I drank the water they offered and ditched my bottled water. I ate the food they offered. I chewed the betel nut they rolled for me. I laughed with them when they were happy. When I was asked if I knew anyone in the city who could give them jobs, I gave them leads for possible jobs in the government or summer internships for students run by tech companies. In Ingold's (2018) terms, I accepted what is offered, when it is offered.

Overall, what assured me that the researcher-researched relationship we had was not ventriloquised was their being happy about being part of this project and the sustained friendship and communication we have had since. I have been asked by the participants themselves why I am interested about them. Some teachers in THS have asked me why I have chosen the participants I worked with. Why them? I have always responded by saying that everybody's story matters and the world deserves to know. When I was questioned why this student or that when he will just play around, I responded by saying that everyone has something to offer. I am secure that there exists, in Burawoy's words, a "mutuality of exchange" as evidence by the sustained relationship with them from 2017 to 2019, their random messaging me every now and then, and guarding myself, through frameworks available, from viewing this relationship from a deficit lens. This desire and insistence on mutuality of exchange is not only about my interactions with them, but also in writing about them in the succeeding chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter has made a case for why drawing from ethnographic methods was apropos for this thesis by foregrounding this thesis' interest for the everydayness of the imagination among young people. In doing so, it was clear from the onset that while some techniques employed in doing fieldwork were drawn from ethnography, this thesis never claimed it is an ethnographic work. What it has claimed to be is that it is located at the cross sea of disciplines and fields, and that it is only ethnographic in approach in so far as the quality of contact as direct, and the writing about the lives of young people are concerned. It is not ethnography *per se*.

In what follows, specifically Chapters Four, Five, and Six, where I discuss about the participants' experiences of schooling, work, and gender respectively, I try as much as I can to be reminded of the interconnectivities that exist between To'to and elsewhere. I also move between data and theory, through some form of inductive and deductive analysis to make external concepts and the realities in the field in conversation. I think of the succeeding chapters as not only the second part of an ethnographically inspired work which is to write about culture. I think of it as the extended concrete political and ethical work to respond to the exigencies in To'to and to ensure a mutuality of exchange between me and friends in the village, between field data and external concepts.

The next three chapters are what I think as ways of reciprocating the participants' generosity of opening their homes and lives to me. I cannot change their lives for the better in an instant. But perhaps by revealing their agency, and the intricacies of injustice with which they grapple on a daily basis, other conceptual and pragmatic possibilities may happen. I will now turn to their experiences of schooling in an era of radical educational reform and their ways of thinking about their futures.

CHAPTER FOUR
MAKING DO, IMAGINING FUTURES, PRODUCING LOCALITY

> Imagine all the people
> Living for today…
>
> John Lennon, *Imagine*, 1971

> Where you come from now is much less important than where you're going. More and more of us are rooted in the future with a present tense as much as in the past. And home we know isn't just the place where you happen to be born, it's the place where you become yourself…[it] isn't just the place where you sleep, it's the place where you stand.
>
> Pico Iyer, *Where is Home?*, 2013

The other everyday

It is only partly true that young people in the Philippines now inhabit a totally different world of unprecedented "mobilities" of varied forms and trajectories, or that their parents' departure for jobs elsewhere and their subsequent absence are a banality. I previously held this in its "full truth", unknowingly committing, perhaps, a basic logical fallacy of composition. On the one hand, this comes with no surprise, especially when literature on young people in relation to transnational movements has placed so much emphasis on those on the move, or in urban centres, as noted in Chapter Two. On the other hand, my memories of Nina, Emma, and Ling-Ling, as narrated in Chapter One, sustained the exceptionality of their lives from the rest of us. I brought this celebratory view of young people with me to the villages of To'to.

To'to and my friends directly or vicariously nudged me to confront my assumptions. I was, from the get-go, revelling in the idea that the non-stop clicking of the keyboard is music to young people; that their eyes glued on glossy smartphones as they exchanged messages and emojis with distant others is to them a default mannerism; and the swift transfer of abstracted remittance money that is eventually spent on the latest tech and fashion craze is the new currency. Just like many others circulated in the academia and the media, this notion unfairly subsumes young people the world over under an umbrella imaginary of a "well-off-facebook-dwelling-

hypebeast-mall-rat"[34] who kills time at a conspicuous spot in a Starbucks café, and is clothed in expensive branded urban apparel.

My engagement with To'to, without a doubt, taught me to imagine otherwise. As a starting point in making sense with the gravitas of fieldwork data, I open with a vignette that highlights what I think is a more informed imagination of the lives of the young people that I have talked to, walked with, and dined with over many months. Below, I narrate my To'to friends' own kind of everyday by drawing from my encounters with them and their narratives to set the stage for an analysis of young people's lives in To'to. Using the vignette that follows as a springboard for staging a counter-narrative to the celebratory view, I will proceed to discussing the overall aims of this chapter, and its place in the overall goals of the thesis.

THE OTHER STORY

> Somewhere in a mining town in the mountainous north of the Philippines, Ruby patiently waits for a slow second-hand computer to load a page on "biometrics" that she needs for her research paper. Her intoxicated father, joined by her doting mother for brunch, talks gibberish. A hundred meters away at the foot of a hill, Michael hears a snap in his back while carrying a forty-kilogram sack of ore to the top of the hill where it will be milled. He convinces himself that a *bilog*[35] can numb it so he can go back to school the next morning. He thinks of the fifteen-pesos (.45AUD) he receives for every sack he carries. His pain is reduced to pantomime. Tere, whose mother ran away with her text mate more than a week ago, drags two sacks of dirty laundry down the hill with her 10-year old brother who recently dropped out of school to work. They will spend the day washing, drying, and folding their neighbour's clothes there in exchange for 500 pesos (12AUD).
>
> On a school day, Dexter waits for a *jeepney*[36] to go home but it never comes. He walks for kilometres following the roads that skirt the mountains, climbing up and down the man-made steps to his village for hours. His father passed on a year ago from some respiratory disease. Across the Indian Ocean, a mother prepares olives, cucumbers, and tomatoes for lunch. She recently learned this when she arrived in Nicosia. She thinks of Judith, her daughter who is taken care of by an aunt while the father is away doing some odd jobs in the city. Below the West Philippine Sea, another woman in Kuala Lumpur rushes to the nearest Western Union centre to send money to her family. She hears her verbal exchange with her son, Mark. He revealed to her that her other son and husband use the remittances for alcohol and women. In Hong Kong, a mother weeps in a dark cell and worries about her children

[34] From the perspective of a millennial, a "hypebeast" is someone who is always in the fashion or in style, hence, the reference to "hype" (Anwar, 2015).
[35] A local term used to refer to a cheap locally-produced gin. It literally means "round" which describes the bottle's shape.
[36] Rodriguez (2010, p. 172) describes the jeepney as a World War II US military vehicle which was converted for public transportation.

> left to their father whom she has not spoken to for months, since the dark room enclosed in metal grills became her home.
>
> These intersecting narratives unfold as the light and darkness battle behind the burning forests that cover the mountains of To'to they call home; as multi-tasking mothers who have not yet left the village rush to cook dinner while they fold their laundry; and as men in dirty boots and low-grade hard hats walk home from their dark office located not in some business districts but in the bowels of the earth.

In "The Other Story", I show how within the celebratory narrative of the "well-off-facebook-dwelling-hypebeast-mall-rat" young person, the localised narratives of the To'to young people are sloughed off; and I allude to the varying layers of everyday conditions with which To'to folks grapple. These are at the intersection of the transnational and local, connectivity and disconnection, village idyll and insecurity, and promises and breach. For one, young people inhabit an idyllic village yet endure the decrepit state of their schools – uncovered "covered courts", leaky "water-sealed" toilets, and limited educational choices under a radical reform of the education system. To'to folks are strongly linked to the rest of the world through labour migration, gold trade, and the internet, yet are confronted by familial issues of "dysfunctionality", transnational visa regimes, and precarious work. My vignette foregrounded not only the otherness of their everyday from the romanticised imaginaries in the media but also the centrality of two institutions as ways of experiencing To'to and the world - the home and school.

Having set the stage, this chapter will situate the place of the imagination within To'to young people's everyday as "between a rock and a hard place". This is made up by the overlaps and interactions of school and home as significant institutions, both teeming with structural disadvantage that young people inevitably confront. In short, how does imagination figure in the everyday of movement, disadvantage, and deprivation? This chapter proceeds in four sections. First, I present the ways in which mobilities are evaluated in To'to by exploring the imaginaries circulating in the school, homes, and community. Second, I examine institutional challenges of school and home, and their forms of responding to these everyday challenges. Third, I highlight and evaluate the To'to youth's creative, tactical, and calculative ways in which they respond to educational and familial challenges. Lastly, I put these responses, which I refer to as ways of "making do", in conversation with their imagination of possible futures, and in turn their production of To'to as a locality.

Everyday imaginaries of mobility in the villages

If Veena Das (2010) considers the everyday as a site of routine, habit, or resistance, what I have witnessed in To'to is an everyday of ironies. Located in the developing world, where labour is a comparative advantage, To'to mothers are exported to distant lands to provide paid love and care to children they never bore. Fathers sustain cargo ships or use their brawn in the Middle East to build living spaces they'll rarely have a chance to stay at. Young men dig gold ores in unsafe tunnels while women process it, but both will unlikely wear it. Schools are drastically reformed with a promise of equal chances for success but offer uneven opportunities and resources. With these ironies that figure within geographic and policy mobilities in To'to, the question arises: how do the children left behind by emigrants, or others who see them from a distance, make sense of these familiar futures that await them? What does schooling mean to young people who experience and witness these flows, and the place of schooling in the forging of their futures?

The relationship of To'to to the rest of the world is also one of irony which can be summed up in the phrase "*malayo man, malapit din"* [so far yet still near] (Villegas & Bayang Barrios, 2004) and *vice versa* – feels near yet far. With almost 3 out of 10 households depending on remittances to sustain their needs (Ang, Sugiyarto, & Jha, 2009), the grass on the other side of the fence has always seemed greener. A transnational life is always desirable and worth aspiring for in this setup. During my first week in To'to High School, students asked me jokingly, "when are we processing our visa to Melbourne?". They asked about our flight dates or whether I was paying for their tickets. Teachers asked more about how I made it to Australia than my research project. Parents hoped that I would open opportunities for their child. Some even asked for visa sponsorship. School administrators and teachers hinted at the possibility of my donating something for the school. Some asked how much I was receiving as a scholar. They surmised that our house in the province must be big because of how much I was earning in Australia. These interactions foreground the romantic aspirations of experiencing a life outside the country that thrive in almost every Filipino's consciousness. These reinforce Deirdre McKay's (2012) argument on the imaginary of

labour migration as a ticket to a better life, one that often deliberately ignores the actuality of struggle and costs of transnational labour migration.

In general, even the customary shipment of *balikbayan* boxes (returnee boxes) filled with chocolates, shoes, or clothes from a labour migrant's host country buttresses the imaginary that life abroad brings forth material wealth. The tradition of *pasalubong*, a gift or souvenir given to family and friends by someone who travelled abroad or elsewhere ("Pasalubong," 2019) signposts the mentality that mobility is synonymous with reaping something good by the one moving, and an obligation to give back to those who remained through gift-giving[37]. Nancy, one of the student participants in this project, describes the brouhaha that happens when the *balikbayan* box sent by their older cousin in Dubai arrives at their aunt's house:

> When the box arrives, we fight over it. There are 9 from our family, hers [cousin Leonor] is 3, and mom's sisters. Once we know that the box has arrived, we badger our aunt to open it. We say, "auntie, lets open it now so we have chocolates. My clothes are already there". I get so excited. Especially with the bags! She once sent a Prada. We fought over it but it went to someone else, to my older sister. We'd swarm around the box but it's only our aunt who's allowed to open so we back off, sit, and watch her. But when the box is opened, we gather around it again until she tells us to move over. This always happens in December and all of us are called (Interview, 21 February 2017).

While these practices become events that occur regularly, there are more ordinary ones that also foreground the desirability of transnational migration. Robyn Rodriguez (2010, p. 1) describes the conspicuous display of transnational connections by decorating *jeepneys*[38] with names of places to indicate the host countries where the funds used to finance them are sourced from. It is not uncommon to see *jeepneys* labelled "*Katas ng Saudi*" (extracted from Saudi) or "Canadian" to signal the owner's connections to Saudi Arabia or Canada respectively. Houses of seafarers, too, bear anchors or helms to make their occupation known to passers-by. In To'to, a canteen cum karaoke place called "Texas Minimart" is adorned with car plates and pennants of Canadian and U.S. provinces and states respectively. A house hoists a U.S. flag on its porch to signify the owner's connections to America. When someone from Texas Minimart's owner's family

[37] Overseas Filipino workers are allowed to send 2 *balikbayan* boxes every year tax-free. A returnee is also given a cap of 1,000USD purchases to be duty-free upon entering the Philippines during the Corazon Aquino government (Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton, 1992).
[38] See footnote no. 26.

passed away, the relatives from the U.S. commissioned *jeepney* drivers so that people could take free rides to and from the city on specific days. This was their way of expressing gratitude to the To'to people for grieving with them.

These "systems of practice" (Levitt, 1998) of conspicuous material consumption and ostentatious display of transnational links discursively produce not only the distantiation and compression of time and space, where temporal and spatial relations are stretched (Giddens, 1990), or the overcoming of spatio-temporal barriers (Harvey, 1989). Not only do they make present Canada or the U.S. in Texas Minimart or a house porch, they also hint at the promise of socio-economic climbing, often along the tropes of "the good life is out there". This way, the imaginary of transnational life as the "better life" is circulated and sustained also by onlookers – people who do not directly have explicit transnational links but are exposed to them. I interpret this desire-making and sustaining as part of what Tadiar (2004) calls "fantasy-production", "a regime of accumulation and representation of universal value" where "material dreams are consequences of – as well as bear consequences for – that international order of political and economic dreamwork" (pp. 5-6). The flashy shoes and the remittances that flow through the "To'to-ROW" (rest of the world) network yield unprecedented results to those receiving it, and without a doubt, those looking in from a distance as well.

Despite transnational life's attractiveness and banality in To'to, it remains a distant reality to some. When Ma'am M, my primary contact, toured me around To'to High School, she mistakenly introduced me as her friend who is studying in California, which I politely corrected. One of the teachers exclaimed, "no kidding, for real?". She thought Ma'am M was joking. April, one of the participants whose mother was in To'to for vacation from Cyprus, reported that her mother thought I am a fake researcher from Melbourne.

In To'to, therefore, the "out there" swings from proximity, because of its desirability, to distance or *vice versa* because of its perceived exceptionality, despite the constancy of movements. The attractiveness of living abroad and its perceived distance propels the strong desire of many people in villages to partake of transnational living, investing as much as they can to make their dreams located elsewhere happen. As McKay (2012, p. 11) puts it, "people's desires are what create change in their world through their lived lives". In the case of To'to, it has always been this near yet so far, far

yet near feel with the greener grass over the fence that animate their everyday lives. But what lies within the oxymoron of the oscillation between proximity and distance, and possibility and exceptionality of transnational mobility in To'to, are the material conditions, between a rock and a hard place, that young people, households, and the school deal with every day.

The banality of disadvantage and scarcity, and the positive appraisal of moving out, therefore, are not merely contradictory. These two cohere to tell a compelling story, that lack of so many things never ends in To'to and always demands for things to be done. Is it wrong for To'to folks, then, to believe that the way out from their conditions of want is to leave the place they have always called home? These forms of desires for a transnational life will be returned to after I examine how institutions and individuals in To'to deal with the everyday ironies of their being between a rock and a hard place.

Everyday collective responses

I open this section by recalling that the overarching character of the everyday lives of the To'to folks is that of irony. And in this kind of everyday, I looked for spaces where the community responds to a life of lack and disadvantage. As such, I will provide a bird's-eye view of some general practices that figure in school, especially during communal events where students, parents, and teachers are confronted by challenges that require immediate responses. From there, I move onto more specific practices.

I noticed that in To'to High School, aside from learning "discipline" exhibited in forming straight lines per year level and section, and the habituation into the "disciplines" as primary intended goals of schooling, students also learn how to live with the everydayness of insufficiency. Informal practices that induct students into cultural learning and to living in and with the community, despite material challenges, seep through This is shown in the vignette that follows:

PASS AND RECEIVE

> The parent-teachers' meeting ends with a vote for parents of To'to High School students to shell out 10PhP (.25AUD) for each child enrolled so that every attendee to the Foundation Day celebration will be fed. This is customary in To'to because the potlach, a traditional feast where the better-off families feed the community, has always been practiced. During a potlatch, everyone must be fed

> and no one should leave and be left hungry. This was the reason why parents needed to pitch in, to ensure that everyone receives a full plate.
>
> The meeting is adjourned. Attendees stand up from their light-green Monobloc chairs and each start carrying the chair they sat on earlier. As they walk following the narrow concrete path back to the school, a line of chairs and people is formed. The day earlier, Grade 11 boys carried those chairs to the gym from the school but since it is impossible to organise the boys now, that is the best way to return them.
>
> After weeks of weeding gardens, repainting pergolas and gates, and rehearsing for ground demonstrations, the Foundation Day finally happens. Ma'am Cora stands at the podium and instructs everyone to proceed to the Home Economics building where food will be served. I stand few meters away from the crowd. The Grade 11 boys see me. They are busy cooking using big vats but they called me in. In the kitchen, the cookery students assemble the dishes on paper plates covered with cellophane bags. They have *pansit*, *dinuguuan*, and *adobo*[39]. They stack these plates on a table, plates over plates, and are set for distribution. Because the kitchen is too far, and the corridor is too narrow for people to pass through, Dexter, Tere, and the rest of their classmates form a line. As they do so, others in the kitchen pass each plate to the person nearest to the door, who passes it to another, and another, until it finally reaches the first person in the queue. This chain of "pass-receive-pass-receive" never stopped until every person, among thousands who wanted to eat, was fed.

The practices described in "Pass and Receive" emerge from conditions of shortage. In some respects they represent what Marcel Mauss (1990) characterised as "system of total services", although not in its full sense. In the To'to case, the provision of the chair by the school, through the labour of students who carried them for some hundred metres, merely required being reciprocated, hence, being returned by the user. The chain of passing and receiving the plate also foregrounds that in To'to's own version of a "system of total services", one is not only obligated to give, but also to receive, and what one receives, one must pass on. I do not claim that these collective creative practices of efficiency and expediency are unique to To'to. What I can only suggest is that they are practised there and can also be seen in similar logic as pass-receive strategies in sports or military relief operation that maximise limited resources. But more than the ethos of efficiency, community and reciprocity, I see these acts as first, a signifier of the constancy of collective improvisation involved in responding to shortage, scarcity, and disadvantage; and second, as emerging within a wider chain or relay of "strategies" and "tactics" (De Certeau, 1984) among bigger and smaller institutions,

[39] *Pansit* is the Filipino version of fried noodles; *dinuguan* is pork stew in pig's blood; and *adobo* is braised pork in soy and vinegar mixture.

powerful and less-powerful individuals. If this is so, then young people in To'to are raised in an environment that instructs or initiates them into a life of making ends meet by constantly tapping into collective creative and cooperative energies.

Conscription of the imagination in the everyday

I have shown in the previous sections how the To'to kind of everyday is a site of specific and localised material and discursive contradictions and struggles. The everyday is also a form of action carried out by certain actors and seen through a certain lens. As such, if the everydayness of ironies and difficulties are constantly being dealt with by To'to folks through routine improvisation, as seen in the previous vignette, then such responses can also be thought of as everyday. And since these are practised, not by special people in To'to, and are not viewed by them as something eventful, then the improvising subject and their ways of seeing are also everyday.

It is no surprise, therefore, that a fact of life in To'to, especially among my fourteen participants who I have worked with, is the constancy of deploying ways to make up for that which is wanting, to make those things that are not available seemingly there. In other words, the capacity to imagine, in situations such as the To'to kind of everyday, is always conscripted (Haiven, 2012) and as such, enlisted under duress by material and symbolic injustice. Among the To'to folks I have observed in school, home, and work, the imaginative capacity is something that is exhibited and deployed in conditions of apparent duress, and as such, figuring at times as not merely a free and autonomous creative play, but demanded by the circumstance of lack and the need to overcome it. In such conditions of conscription and duress, the ordinariness of imagination, as characterised by Appadurai (1990, 1996) and Burawoy (2000a, 2000b), becomes even more apparent as a form of social practice. My question is thus, if the imagination, as I am making a case for in To'to, is a form of everyday practice, in what concrete forms does it make itself evident?

For now, I will call this ordinary form of the imagination as "making do", drawing from how Michel De Certeau (1984) conceives of it. For De Certeau, making do can be thought of as:

> Innumerable ways of playing and foiling the other's game [...], that is, the space instituted by others, characterize the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups

> which, since they lack their own space, have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations. People have to **make do** with what they have [emphasis added] (De Certeau, 1984, p. 18).

A question immediately arises: if an imaginative practice as ubiquitous as making do is recurrent in To'to, why does it not have a name for itself? These ways of working with and around established structures of disadvantage occur in seemingly discrete yet coherent bundles of practices. Its logic and embodiment figure in a certain affective grammar, and ways of doing such as the pass and receive relay I mentioned in an earlier vignette, and which will be explicated as I move along. In the Philippines in general, there, too, are more generic and related concepts that refer to the same logic of action but they foreground highly urban sensibilities, such as those in imperial Manila. This is something that the making do in To'to does not perfectly sit with. For example, while the popular Filipino concept of *diskarte,* which is colloquially understood as resourceful ways of doing things, has a similar logic as making do, it is related usually to the urban poor who sometimes engage in tricky acts or flirtations with the legal system to get by. *Diskarte* can be thought of as almost synonymous to what Wacquant (1998) calls "hustling in the American ghetto" in his study of African-American men in Chicago. I deploy making do, therefore, because of its more generic and broad character, which allows for more conceptual expansion and exploration, and not because of the absence of localised versions of it in the Philippines or in To'to more specifically.

A caveat on appraising acts of making do is also required as it is my contention that while making do is ubiquitous and neither unique to To'to or to other civilisations, not all forms of making do are created equal. While an entrepreneur in Silicon Valley exhibits acts of making do to meet his production target, it is not the same as the making do of the young people I have worked with in To'to. Based on my fieldwork observations, acts of making do vary in terms of the degree of autonomy, gains, and the life span of these gains. These variables are also intersected or moderated by other sources and structures of power.

For the first point on autonomy, Haiven's (2012) notion of the financialised imagination as an everyday form of cultural agency is instructive. For him, while imagination offers some promising forms of social agency, it operates within an overarching logic of value where daily acts of imagination such as navigating mortgages,

loans, credit cards, or retirement become forms of social discipline (pp. 516-517). Seen this way, everyday imagination via making do is conscripted in so far as "the working poor must mobilize the imagination to devise ways of getting food on the table, of managing or avoiding creditors, of merely surviving in an age of neoliberal austerity" (p. 518). This conscription, too, figures in what he sees in people's inability to imagine ways of coming together, of the lost hope in changing the system and accepting it as natural, and in the orientation of actions towards the perpetuation of the *status quo* (Haiven, 2014, p.7). As opposed to what Senda-Cook (2017) calls "contrived making do" that is deployed almost in an artificial way in simulated environments such as thrill-seeking, the making do that I saw in To'to is one that does not choose when to exist. It simply just has to out of will to survive and overcome difficulty.

In so far as variations in gains and their life span are concerned, the making do that I want to understand is that of the marginalised, not those in Wall Street, or in some paid Escape Room. I distinguish the making do of the To'to young people from those of the privileged by putting it in proximity or affinity with how De Certeau (1984) conceives of "tactics". In other words, the making do that I am exploring as an ordinary form of the imagination is one that is tactical, in so far as:

> It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids. What it wins it cannot keep. This nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment (De Certeau, 1984, p. 37).

Compared to the winnings of the privileged or the contrived tactician, the winnings of the To'to youth are provisional. Within conditions of disadvantage and lack, their winnings are used to meet the demands of the present challenge, exhaust it, and wait for the next. But the provisional and seemingly presentist temporality of making do, something like John Lennon's "living for today" in a darker sense, should not be confused with ideas of getting by or coasting along. While it has that character, the making do of my friends in To'to has, on top of it, a sense of consciousness of the future, of maximising the provisional gains to prolong their effects. The previous iterations have been operating on abstractions and will be concretise in the succeeding sections.

I will now move on to a discussion about how institutions such as To'to High School (THS) deal with insufficient resources and opportunities, as well as incoming demands from higher structures of government by exhibiting acts of making do, and subsequently, look into how young people respond to the creative tactics employed by institutions and those brought about by their disadvantage. In doing so, I juxtapose disadvantaged To'to young people's ways of making do with local institutions' forms of making do as well.

Institutional and Communal Preconditions of Making Do

Like multilateral institutions and national governments, To'to High School (THS), with its approximately 800 students and more than 30 teachers, is at the receiving end of global rationalities funnelled through state policies and trickled down to schools. The School envisages challenges in the implementation of the new national curriculum, the K to 12 program[40] which has been the most radical and comprehensive basic education reform in the history of the Philippines. It is in a circuit of a tactical relay, something analogous to the "pass-receive-pass-receive" during the school's Foundation Day described earlier. In this relay, one manoeuvres to accommodate incoming demands as much as possible and then passes what cannot be dealt with to the next. Unlike the plate relay, however, THS is caught in a chain of passing and receiving problems, not food. And in this passing and receiving of challenges, the context teems with problems of greater magnitude. Local conditions of scarcity and deprivation are, I propose, and will be substantiated in the coming sections, the breeding ground of making do as a set of improvisational practices (O'Neil & Fontes, 2017) "to get by" when privileges are denied (Senda-Cook, 2017, p. 2).

THS is situated in a space set forth by the national government through reform policies and standards that should be met in response to multilateral and bilateral commitments. While these two institutions have unequal powers, the Philippine government and THS share a capacity to both accommodate what is actionable within their means, and then pass the rest on to succeeding stakeholders. Put this way, the national government, THS, and students are caught in a "pass-receive-pass-receive"

[40] See pp. 52-53 for a comprehensive background information on the K to 12 reform.

relay of challenges. Unfortunately, at the receiving end of the state's and THS' shortcomings to provide quality infrastructure and resources are THS students who constantly have to tap into "practical knowledge, informal processes, and improvisation" (Scott, 1998, p.6) to respond. For the K to 12 reform to work, therefore, schools like THS must make do, and subsequently, students, too, must deploy creative ways to get by. In this setup, it seems that there is an apparent conscription of the imaginative capacity through the demand for institutions and people to make ends meet.

During the THS' parent-teachers meeting in January 2017, the staff and parents discussed some issues faced by the school. The principal explained that the Senior High School does not have a building, not because there are no funds, but because there are bureaucratic hurdles that must be overcome. There is, for example, a problem with the title of the land where the Senior High School (SHS) building is supposed to be built. Mr. T, the Grade 11 coordinator explained that students also do not have enough books because of inefficiencies from the supplier. He added that the Department of Education (DepEd) delivers books on a gradual basis and come only quarterly. The crowd, however, became jubilant when they were told that 51 sets of new computers, an LCD projector, and a printer just arrived.

Aside from physical resources, THS is also beset with problems regarding the provision of educational opportunities in line with the K to 12 program. While the DepEd mentions that in general, academic (humanities, business, STEM), technical-vocational, sports, and arts, and design tracks are offered, schools need to apply and be accredited to offer these strands. Ma'am M informed me that they had applied for both academic and technical-vocational tracks in 2016 but only the latter was approved because they did not have sufficient resources to support the former.

With only technical-vocational track offered and with just three strands (home economics, information and communications technology, and industrial arts) in 2017, students who enrol at THS do not have many options. In the PTA meeting, Mr. T mentioned that they will try their best to add more options to the existing strands in

2018. Strands such as welding and automotive are their targets[41], which are still within the technical vocational track.

In one of my conversations with Ma'am B, an adviser for one of the three sections of Grade 11, she mentions the plight of the students given the limited school choices:

> Most students who take tech-voc cannot afford HUMMS [humanities and social sciences] or STEM that are offered in other schools in Baguio City or in the *poblacion* [town centre]. To do that means spending more on transportation and tuition if they go to private schools. DepEd gives vouchers but it is only PhP20,000 for tuition. Private high schools in the city charge around PhP39,000 which is too much for them. A state university in another town offers other tracks but it is even farther than Baguio. Students cannot do much. They can only embrace it (19 January 2017).

The last two sentences in Ma'am B's statement are striking as they describe the space within which To'to students can manoeuvre. What else can they do? Will they embrace it the way Ma'am B suggests? The conscription of the institutional imagination within the abrupt and unprepared K to 12 reform at times requires the deployment of tactics that are not always in good faith. From my conversations with the teachers and students, they highlighted the corrupt practices in the school involving a previous principal. Allegations include misuse of funds, hiring of kin as staff, and granting of concessions for school-based businesses to relatives.[42] These poor hiring practices have serious implications for the quality of instruction received by THS students. Brian, one of the male participants, says:

> They should assess the teachers they are hiring. It should not be about personality. It should be merit. *Basta kailyan, guyud-guyud* (as long as one is from the same town or area as school authorities, they always get hired) (FGD, 23 March 2017).

Brian was also previously the president of THS' Supreme Student Government and during his administration, he initiated a fund drive to buy rubbish bins for the classrooms but there were problems when the money reached their adviser. He says, "*imbulsa na*" (he put it in his pocket).

Creative survival

[41] As of this writing, Ma'am M has informed me that they are now offering the academic track.
[42] I eventually found out that one of the staff is the former principal's son, a teacher is her niece, another was her sister but is now working in another school, and the canteen concessionaire is her sister.

Faced with all the issues mentioned above, it is telling how THS has dealt with structural and physical limitations through the years. Just like most public schools in the Philippines which have insufficient resources, To'to has mastered the craft of generating funds. For example, it is surprising that the school, a public school, has the best health clinic in the town. The school nurse boasted about it during the PTA meeting. It is at par with that of the private Catholic school where I previously taught in Baguio City. Unlike the classrooms, the clinic's door is made of glass, the floor is tiled with marble, and has enough beds and medicines that are regularly replenished. These improvements were funded by donations from alumni, friends, and family.

Upon knowing that I came from Australia, the librarian and the Assistant Principal asked me if there is any way I could donate anything for the school. I was told that there was one researcher from the U.S. who donated an LCD projector while others gave books. During the search for Mr. and Miss Foundation Day, a pageant was held and Ma'am B who was the coordinator asked for help from the pre-service teachers to solicit donations from different influential people and establishments in To'to, Baguio City, and La Trinidad. The Principal, too, during the PTA meeting, asked if the Association could agree to pay an additional PhP10.00 to the amount that had already been solicited for food during the festivity. The parents agreed, despite DepEd's "no-contribution policy". Some schools, especially in the city and the lowlands, have come under fire because of these solicitations but it is interesting how the case of To'to does not create that sort of grievance and opposition.

The ways in which resources – money, people, and time – are pooled and mobilised are very telling of the creative *ethos*, the making do practised by THS. The school successfully undermines DepEd's policy on solicitation, which is part of the latter's drive to improve its own image[43], through its own parliamentary deliberation and democratic legitimation. For example, during the PTA meeting, someone has put Ma'am B's proposal for additional PhP10.00 contribution into motion. Once it is seconded, it is put it into a vote by *viva voce*. To fund the Foundation Day pageant, letters were also drafted to solicit from people and establishments and they are returned

[43] This is also part of a governmental response to decrease corruption in different agencies and improve its standing in the World Corruption Index.

in sealed envelopes to give the impression of transparency and business-like demeanour.

In retrospect, the most telling of these institutional tactics is that the To'to folks allow it to happen, perhaps because the community is still close-knit, despite the impact of geographic mobilities. Historically and culturally, the communities in the Cordillera region have mostly been considerably cohesive and tight as seen in reciprocal and cooperative practices such as labour exchange redistributive feasting (Sajor, 2004). The potlatch as a form of redistribution of wealth, and its more recent forms, such as contracting jeepney drivers to provide free transportation to and from the city, as the Texas Minimart's owners did, suggest that the vestiges of waning customary practices that foster social cohesion resurface every now and then. In the context of THS, therefore, the collective making do happens from both ends. On the one hand, people in authority strategically and conveniently cherry-pick what work in their favour. And on the other, the community, seeing it as necessary and for the common good, yields to these institutional tactics even if it means undermining national government policies.

Homes of Disadvantage

THS' use of some imaginative "tactics", as described above, in implementing the K to 12 reform, however, become "strategies" when received by students. This shape-shifting status of a strategy and a tactic (De Certeau, 1984) significantly reveals the embeddedness of power in the deployment and exhaustion of the imagination in the everyday, especially among unequal actors. As one is more proximate to power, there is less need to make accommodations through improvisation. On the other hand, distance from power conscripts and saturates imaginative capacities. In its static form, De Certeau (1984) differentiates strategies from tactics:

> A strategy [is] the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated… A tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus…It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow… takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them…what it wins it cannot keep… In short, a tactic is the art of the weak. (De Certeau, 1984, pp.35-37)

If this series of passing and receiving is a tactic-strategy chain unified by the logic of meeting demands and getting out of a bottleneck, then To'to students are one of the links. But are they a link that is connected to the other end? Or are they a loose link that is connected to none? The plate that students receive (recall Pass and Receive), something they neither asked nor queued for, contains not only institutional barriers – limited school resources and limited educational opportunities – but also issues of economic dislocation and social marginalisation that often begin at their own homes at an early age. The National government makes do with the expectations of the international community to which they are committed through policy reform. DepEd implements these in schools. Households try to grapple with the school's drastic change. In this succession of seemingly never-ending tactics and strategies, To'to youth receive the plate of school reform and home setup under duress. Will they pass it on too? Can they?

THS is not only where the To'to youth experience limited opportunities, and sometimes, denial of rightful privileges. Their homes, too, mirror the relentless and pervasive social and economic insecurity (Wacquant, 1998) that impinge on To'to people, leading them to constantly deploy imaginative acts to meet the demands of everyday life. In the succeeding, I will provide a glimpse of the types of households the participants are from and the household issues they face on a daily basis.

The fourteen To'to participants came from diverse homes that I categorise into three. The first group is of children in transnational households. Their mothers work abroad as domestic helpers. Their families are part of the "global care-chains" (Hochschild, 2000), "a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring" (p. 33). It is a pattern of global magnitude where women leave their children behind to attend to care work for better-off families in the Global North, and in turn, relinquish their care duties to other family members, or employ someone else. The second group are from families that have either lost a parent, or have absentee parents but are not transnationally mobile. Lastly, a few of them have both their parents in their homes, hence, an ideal Filipino nuclear family. In this case, either both or one parent works in the villages, nearby towns, or the city. The last two types of households also have connections to other countries through their relatives but can be generally described as "onlooking" because of their secondary or indirect links

abroad. In describing these types of households, I also introduce the participants by providing some salient information about each of them.

Desired Transnational Households

The story of the households with mothers who are away resembles the tragedy seen in popular Mexican *telenovela* or soap operas that dominate Philippine television but also simultaneously reify the imaginary of migration as a pathway to better life. The narratives of the left-behind children (LBCs) portray this quite vividly.

Michael was only 7 when his mother left for Israel. He was 12 when she left again for Hong Kong. Returning from Israel, Michael's mother was outraged upon seeing how their house remained exactly how it was when she left it. Michael's father took care of them but oftentimes used the cash remittances for alcohol. Since then, his parents have been constantly fighting.

Mark was only 12 when his mother left for Kuala Lumpur to work as a caregiver. They were left to their father who, in Mark's view, plays favourites. "He gives them all that they want while I have to work for what I need" (Interview, 07 March 2017), he says. His father has poor financial management skills, spending the remittances on vices. His brother, too, spends it on his friends (Interview, 07 March 2017).

Brian was only 2 years old when his mother left for Hong Kong. He was 4 when she returned. She left again when Brian was 12 and returned a year later. In February 2016, she left for the third time as a nanny in Kuala Lumpur. Brian says his mother leaves most of the time because she and Brian's stepfather are always fighting.

April narrates that her mother visited her in her boarding house in another province where she was a Grade 7 student and explained to her that she had to leave for their own good. Her mother has been working as a housekeeper in Cyprus for four years now.

Judith was only 8 years old when her mother first left. Judith had not been with her mother since she left for Nicosia in 2012 to work as a housekeeper. Before that, her mother worked for two years in Singapore, and earlier in Hong Kong and Thailand.

Being left-behind at a young age reflects the "circular, repeated long-term comings and goings" (Grill, as cited in Pine 2014) as a general mobility pattern among

migrant workers. This is also why the To'to LBCs have become so used to their mothers being away. Judith remembers telling her mother when she was leaving for Cyprus, "no worries, Mama, we understand that this is for us" (Interview, 7 March 2017). The case of care chains which presupposes the system of women leaving their children under the care of a relative – oftentimes a husband, grandparent, or aunt – to take care of other people's children in distant places (Parreñas, 2000, 2005) is common among the LBCs. This facilitates their mother's movement, and eventually, makes possible the family's economic survival.

In contrast to the promising imaginary of migrant work as the key to economic stability, the To'to LBCs' stories show continued economic struggle. While the continued decrepit state of Michael's house can be explained by the structural changes in the ways domestic workers are being paid in their host countries (e.g. declining wages), there are other local factors in play. For one, household dynamics can make or break social mobility projects of transnational families (Parreñas, 2005). Because the responsibility of looking after the child is relinquished to the nearest kin, the latter by default, also manages the finances of the household. Often, the adult ward, too, receives and decides over how the remittance money is spent. Brian's stepfather and Michael's father look after them and receive the money on their behalf. Mark's father and brother take care of him and receive the money too. April's father looks after her and is also responsible for managing remittances from her mother in Cyprus. In an ideal system where the "carers" are responsible, all will be well. However, the case of Brian, Mark, and Michael, who are left to their fathers, demonstrates that deeply rooted household dynamics, especially persistent forms of toxic masculinities – alcoholism, womanising, and irresponsible spending – can sabotage the transformative potentials of remittances. Brian narrates how his mother sent money to his stepfather for Brian's birthday but it was never handed to him. Mark, on the other hand, says:

> I feel so bad because my mother regularly sends money but we are not able to save and my father and siblings want her to come home. Every time they claim the money, they go straight for some drinks and come home drunk (Interview, 7 March 2017).

The story of April and Judith, who are left to their father and aunt respectively, show how migrant work through remittances can help families and children, when

managed properly. In April's case, money is allotted monthly for groceries, rice, gas, electricity, water, allowance, and tuition. While it is well spent and managed by her father, she also attributes it to her mother's remote management, sometimes involving listing of priority items to spend on. Judith's family is thrifty, and they stick to their budget, oftentimes resisting temptations to go to the city and spend. They also own a small *sari-sari* (convenience store) which helps them reduce their expenses on food and ingredients, and at the same time, earn a little. Both Judith and April recognize that their life is better than others due to their mothers' work in Cyprus. Judith says:

> Sometimes, when I compare our families, I see that I am not in the same situation as others. You know, when they say they are poor. I try to put myself in their shoes but I just pray for them so that hopefully they will also be better. God is always there anyway (Interview, 7 March 2017).

April on the other hand recalls her mother's story of how difficult their life was when they were growing up. But now she says that her parents tell her, "never mind those things [working and doing chores], just study". She adds, "even when we have to be austere, Mama is still able to provide for all our needs" (Interview, 8 March, 2017).

In contrast to April and Judith, the case of Mark, and Michael shows the opposite. Because Mark's father and brother are misusing the funds, he stopped asking money from them and decided to work *por dia* (per day) by doing *bunag* (carrier) of ore, or as a construction worker to provide for himself and his younger siblings. Michael on the other hand goes to the *usuk* (mine tunnels) every weekend where he receives PhP700 (20AUD) for two days. This amount is already more than enough for him for the entire week. He says that when her mother came home from Hong Kong after she was incarcerated for documentation issues, she resorted to borrowing money from people.

Aside from the economic challenges that some LBCs face because of remittance-mismanagement, other related domestic issues are also recurrent. "World War 3" is how Mark describes the scene every time he comes home from school. There are too many chores waiting for him, and his father gets angry at him for petty reasons. Brian, too, relates how, for no reason, his stepfather just kept shouting at him one time. His aunt suddenly walked into their house and witnessed what was happening. Brian's mother was informed and she assured them that she talked it through with the stepfather. Sometimes, as a way of getting back at Brian for reporting things to his mother, his

father calls him names such as "*gago"* (silly, stupid, dope). While the two have suffered from emotional and verbal violence from their fathers while their mothers are away, Michael has also suffered from physical violence:

> I go home late and he would always be very irritated. He is an alcoholic so he punches us when he is drunk. I am so afraid of my father. He hits us. When I fail in a subject in school, he hits me. That's probably the reason why I am hard-headed (Interview, 23 March 2017).

Michael seeks comfort from his uncles who tell him to be patient. His parents separated two years ago. He says that the last time he saw his father was in 2016. He believes his father lives in a city in Central Luzon, Philippines (Interview, 23 and 24 March 2017).

There is also a pervasive and recurrent emotional burden that the LBCs carry. While most of them are used to their mothers being away, they still report incidents of worrying, dissonance and regret, and sometimes, guilt. Judith knows her mother has not been taking care of herself. Judith says, "she lacks sleep because she has a lot of part-time jobs. She is sacrificing herself just for us" (Interview, 7 March 2017). Commenting on her mother's condition in Malaysia, Mark tells me:

> My mother cannot handle homesickness that's why I feel bad for her even when it has been five years since she left. I know she is still not used to it…She doesn't tell us but I feel it (Interview, 7 March 2017).

When April's mother was hospitalised for stomach ulcers, she says, "we can't communicate with her because she was not logging in, we were so worried" (Interview, 8 March 2017). Perhaps, among their stories, Michael's is remarkable. When his mother was working in Hong Kong, some of her legal and work documents expired and she was detained. Michael recalls the incident that happened when he was only 12 years old:

> We have not talked to her for two months and one day we received a phone call. She did not talk to our father but only to my older brother. She was just crying. After a few days, she came home empty-handed (Interview, 23 March 2017).

While there appears to be some sort of "care drain" within the "care chain" because of the child's affective labour from the mother's physical absence, it cannot be discounted that Mark, April, Michael, Brian, and Judith continue to experience a

different form of intimacy where mothers, despite difficulty, exhibit nurturing acts – either through constant communication or remittances or gifts (McKay, 2007). More importantly, LBCs also remotely care for their mothers and exhibit appreciation and understanding.

The Differently Left-behind Onlookers

Even if the second group does not have immediate family members working overseas, they too have their own experience of being "left-behind", although in different terms.

Tere grew up in her grandparents' home and considers them her own parents. Tere's mother is fond of meeting with text mates and occasionally runs away for some indefinite times. Her father, too, has his own family now. Tere has two other siblings, 12 and 10 years old, both of whom have dropped out from school to work. Because of their mother's frequent absence, Tere and her siblings rely on their *Lolo* (grandfather) who, despite his age and declining strength, continues to work in the mines. Tere works on weekends by babysitting or accepting laundry from their neighbours.

Steve on the other hand lost his mother from breast cancer when he was in Grade 2. He believes that his life would have turned out differently had his mother been alive today. Despite having an uncle, his father's brother, who is in the U.S., his family seems self-sufficient through his and their father's work in the mines. Steve recognises that his father is getting old and that in 5 years, will no longer be able to support his younger siblings. He has accepted that he will be the breadwinner of the family in the coming years. Steve engages in construction, mining, and as a crew member of a catering business on weekends or during summer vacation.

Dexter's father passed on a year ago from lung cancer. He tells me that despite their struggles, their family is a happy one. None of his siblings, all girls, are in school, and are working instead as *joiners*[44] in the small-scale mines. They encourage him to keep going to school and provide for his needs as much as they can. During their free time, the family likes to gather around and listen to radio drama because they do not have television.

[44] This term is used to refer mostly to women, or men who do mine-related tasks that do not involve entering the tunnels and carrying ore.

Moored but Ideal Households

The third group is the families that are often lauded by the community for remaining intact through the years. These families also have relatives who are working abroad and irregularly send money or gifts through shipped boxes.

Ruby's and Celine's families rent units in bunk houses that were built several decades ago for the staff of a commercial mine. These are old wooden two-story bunkhouses with approximately 16 units and shared bathrooms and toilets on every floor. Their experience of the Filipino family is one that fits the popular image. A father leaves for work in the morning. Kids go to school as their mother does household chores the whole day and waits for them in the afternoon. At present, Ruby's father is a taxi driver in Baguio city while her mother looks after the household affairs. However, Ruby's father has been an alcoholic since his small-scale mining venture closed-down and he lost his job as a driver in a mining company.

Celine's parents both engage in irregular jobs. Her father works in the mines while her mother cleans houses or accepts laundry. However, Celine's mother recently underwent surgery but as she recovered, she actively helped raise the family's income. Both Celine's and Ruby's parents, however, are proud that despite the economic difficulties they face, they try as much as they can to provide for their needs. They are also proud of being affiliated with the Seventh-Day Adventist church.

Cristina's father has a stable job in the government as a municipal driver while her mother is a vegetable vendor in the Strawberry Farms, a touristy site in a nearby town. During weekends, Cristina joins her mother in selling vegetables from 6 am until 5 pm. Cristina's recurrent issue is how her family pressures her to do well in school and constantly being compared to her cousins.

Bob is extremely proud of his parents for providing all his needs and for building their dream house which is almost finished. His father runs a small-scale mine and his mother is a community trainer for a beekeeping NGO. His family was supposed to migrate to New Zealand many years ago but their application was unsuccessful. Bob's family's major concern through the years was his health. His parents ensure that he does not do heavy work and that he is looked after. Among all the participants, Bob seems to be in the most comfortable state and is the most sheltered.

Nancy's father works as a driver for a local grocery store. He is always on-call for delivery but Nancy conveys that he is a loving and thoughtful family man. His mother works as a *joiner* but stays at home to be with the family on weekends.

Julius is a son of a local Pastor of a born-again Christian church. When Julius' father is not busy at their church, he dabbles doing mine-related work. Surprisingly, Julius admits that he does not go to church anymore. He was also raised in a family of policemen and that is why he is contemplating embarking on a different career in the future.

Common schooling disadvantage

While the participants come from diverse domestic setups, their families seem to have had common patterns of schooling participation and success. Only April's and Bob's mothers, and Julius' father have degrees from higher education institutions. April's mother has a midwifery degree but now works as a domestic helper in Cyprus because it pays better than practicing her profession in the Philippines. Bob's mother finished a degree in education but works as a trainer in a beekeeping foundation. Julius' father has a degree in theology and now leads the KKLMF church in To'to and also works in the mines sometimes.

The other parents have variously started a university education, finished high school, or elementary, except for one father who stopped after 4th grade. Celine's mother is just a semester away from finishing her degree in accountancy while Ruby's mother was a year away from completing her political science degree. Ruby's father dropped out from a flying school. At the time of my research, most of the participants' parents and older siblings were engaged in informal manual labour such as being a miner, a joiner, house cleaner, laundry woman, or taxi driver, with the exception of Bob's mother and Cristina's father.

Eleven of the fourteen participants will, therefore, be first-generation university graduates if they successfully enter university and finish. If this happens, they will also be the first from their families to land in jobs that are oftentimes considered by the community as respectable, stable, and better paying.

It was obvious that in school they bring with them pre-existing sets of disadvantage – emotional, physical, economic, social, and cultural – from their

households that have potentially counterproductive effects to their academic goals. THS on the other hand perpetuates their disadvantage in its attempt to tactically respond to outside forces, by providing insufficient educational choices, opportunities, and poor quality of instruction. This makes the schooling experience of the To'to youth even more challenging. The LBCs, for example, bring with them their identity as children of diasporic women who are expected to live better lives than most students, yet contradict it by having to engage in informal work on weekends, or sometimes on weekdays to make ends meet. In general, the participants attend THS in the hope of a better future, yet are offered scant resources, choices and alternatives, hence, in the end, potentially perpetuating an intergenerational succession of educational disadvantage.

This section has presented an account of the general issues and challenges that the To'to youth face both at home and school. It has described in broad strokes the characteristics of their households while the previous section has shown the ways in which institutions such as THS creatively deal with scarcity of material and symbolic goods. From these macro perspectives of institutions and their responses to limited resources and opportunities, I move on to exploring how young people in To'to respond to the challenges they face in school more particularly. I do this by focusing on their attitudes and dispositions towards their schooling in relation to their future. I examine these dispositions as resembling the general characteristics of making do as an operationalised and localised figuring of the imagination.

Attitudes of Making Do in School

In presenting the To'to young people's general attitudes towards their schooling, I foreground how young people in disadvantaged conditions, and facing limited resources and opportunities, exhibit attitudes of making do as a practical and grounded operation of the imagination. That is, coming to terms with whatever is at hand, and devising ways to change the conditions they are encountering. I argue that their stance towards schooling experience under the K to 12 reform is four pronged. First, it has a sense of optimism and wishful thinking which I call "promental animus", something I draw from Paul Willis' (1977, 2003) use of "antimental animus" as a shorthand for his working-class student participant's cynical attitude towards their schooling in Britain

during the 70's. The distinction between the two will be further clarified in the succeeding sections. Second, it embodies overt instrumentalism that acknowledges in realistic and practical terms the importance of finishing secondary schooling. Third, it recognizes the value of prolonged school time under the K to 12 reform in so far as its impact on bigger life decisions are concerned. And fourth, it is critical by pointing out flaws in their schooling experiences both at the policy level and its enactment in their classrooms.

To recall, the participants are the first cohort of the K to 12 reform that required them to choose a track from among options (e.g. STEM, HUMMS, Sports, etc). In 2017, only the technical-vocational track was offered in THS and not all students wanted to take this track. Some of them wanted the STEM track but it was not offered in THS. Michael, Mark, Brian, and Judith are in THS even if the technical-vocational track is not their first choice. Both Brian and Michael want to be an engineer so they wanted to take STEM. Dreaming of becoming a lawyer, Mark was keen to take HUMMS (Humanities and Social Sciences). And Judith, because she wants to be an accountant or a Bible woman, would have picked GAS (General Academic Strand). They also experience limited school resources such as good quality buildings and sufficient books. These issues are complicated by the varying levels of competence among the teaching staff and some corrupt practices of the school administration that hinder their full enjoyment of quality schooling. There is, therefore, a recurrent general discontent among students in THS with teacher quality and facilities.

"Ayos lang basta derecho": A (Pro)mental animus

The ways in which the students respond to the complex of disadvantage in school is through a disposition characterised by an opportunity-maximising logic and openness towards possibilities, yet maintains critical awareness and stance to commonly held sources of mobility – schooling and migration.

For purposes of contrast with a popular account of young people's attitudes towards schooling, their disposition seem to differ from the lads in Paul Willis account of *Learning to Labour* in Britain during the 1970's. On the one hand, it does not involve exhibiting "pleasurable set of practices of everyday resistance" (Ortner, 2006, p. 14) such

as having a "laff" instead of working for qualifications (Willis, 1977). And on the other, it does not mock students who exhibit the ideals of education. Instead, To'to students' taking the technical-vocational track think it may not be that bad after all. Judith admits that at first, she was not comfortable with the cookery strand but learned to love it (Interview, 16 March 2017). Even when Michael and Mark were interviewed separately, they gave identical responses on why staying at THS is still fine:

> MICHAEL *ayos lang basta derecho* (it's ok as long as we keep going) (Interview, 03 March 2017).
>
> MARK *ayos lang*, as long as I finish (it's ok, as long as I finish) (Interview, 06 March 2017).

There is a general agreement among Michael, Mark, Brian, and Judith, as well as among other participants that choosing to take the technical-vocational track as a "no-choice", hence, under duress is better than "timepassing" (Jeffrey, 2010) or killing time elsewhere. In the vernacular, this is referred to as "*istambay*" (stand by) (Farrugia, 2018, p. 54), a situation often put in analogous terms as counting posts or buses passing by. This is because Philippine society in general frowns upon people who timepass. In popular discourse, phrases such as *Juan Tamad* (lazy John) are used to mock people who do not work, or are just waiting for things to fall in their lap. This also aligns with the positive view of the participants on their classmates who work, referring to them as "model students". But more importantly, the Philippines, too, like many societies in the developing world continues to attach notions of progress and advancement to the acquisition of formal education (Valentin, 2006).

Unlike the "antimental animus" of the lads (Willis, 2003), their "*pro*mental" animus makes comparisons – although not in binary terms as mental and manual (Willis, 2003, p. 395) – to other possibilities (e.g. standing by). But this general affirmative attitude towards their schooling is nuanced by instrumentalism on the one hand, and a sense of value rationality on the other. I qualify, therefore, that the "pro" in my use of "promental" does not only mean an affirmative stance towards schooling but also has another sense. It is an orientation "toward the front" ("pro," 2019), or "in anticipation of" as the "pro" in "proactive" ("proactive," 2019). As such, this attitude towards schooling under the K to 12 reform exhibits optimism for their schooling's

importance to their future. However, as mentioned, this optimism also comes in instrumental terms. This is especially apparent in Michael's view of obtaining a high school diploma:

JAY What can you take away from your school when you finish?
MICHAEL The certificate that shows I finished because I worked hard for many years. Maybe because I hold something, a piece of paper that I obtained, so it's easier to apply for a job.
JAY Why is a piece of paper so important?
MICHAEL Uh…*kwa* [like]…It's a proof that I finished.
JAY Why? Do others doubt it?
MICHAEL Yes. They look for it. So, if you have it, you have something to show. While I am studying here, I notice that I am learning just a bit. As long as I get that paper, it will do (Interview, 03 March 2017).

This instrumental logic comes in two parts. First, it figures in Michael's reason to merely obtain the diploma to qualify for work and without regard to quality of instruction in THS. Second, it has a secondary instrumentality where they think that not only will finishing high school qualify them for jobs. These jobs, too, will allow them to save for a university degree, or work and go to college at the same time. Mark says he will use his computer hardware servicing certificate to get a job to fund his liberal arts degree. Michael says he will use his National Certificate in cookery when the mines close. These ways of instrumental thinking towards their diplomas resemble the logic of migrant students from Nepal to Denmark as documented by Valentin (2014). In the same way as the To'to students, the migrant Nepalese students also think of the diploma as instrumental for further professional and geographic mobility.

But the THS students can also see beyond the instrumental. In contrast to Michael's view, Julius thinks of taking the technical-vocational track under duress as something of value, although not solely in economistic and utilitarian terms:

JAY What do you want to be?
JULIUS (giggles) I don't have one yet *yah*. I am not yet ready to go to college, to be honest.
JAY How will the K to 12 help you?
JULIUS It will. Because of course it's like when you take a specialisation [track], like the one you took right now, like CSS [computer science systems] and you've tried it and you'll discover that you really don't like it. Then you'd realise I should have taken something else because at least I might

> be better at it. You'll eventually get the job you really want (Interview, 3 March 2017).

What can be surmised from Julius' claim is that there is an acknowledgement of an intrinsic value from the seeming "roundaboutness", the sense of giving time for effects to take place ("Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk," n.d.). In this case, what initially feels like a waste of time, becomes a site of self-discovery especially for students like Julius. But aside from how the K to 12 reform allows students to weigh their options, Julius highlights the place of trial and error, of being open to making mistakes as costs of "discovering what you really like" and an opportunity to "take something else" and be better. This reasoning not only affirms Julius' enrolment at To'to to avoid stopping, just like Michael and Mark who wanted to go *derecho*. It also nuances it by making apparent that social pressure and sanctions are not the only push factors for school enrolment under duress. There, too, are intrinsic motivations that drive students to go through what for others may just be sheer passing of time, or an acquisition of qualifications.

The To'to participant's instrumental logic towards their schooling which is characterised by a seeming acceptance of the technical-vocational track even if it is not what they want, but is believed to better than dropping out resonates with the logic of other disadvantaged groups although in different contexts. For example, their acceptance of having no choice and an acknowledgement that taking the technical-vocation track is not the worst resembles the maximising logic of displaced homeowners' making do in heritage sites in Taihuai, China (Shepherd, 2013). On one level, just like the To'to participants, these homeowners have come to terms with the reality of displacement. On another level, they continue to invest in renovating their properties to increase their compensation rates from the government (Shepherd, 2013, pp. 91-120). In the same way, caught in conditions between a rock and a hard place, the THS students acknowledge that they can only take the plunge in the present but maximise their hope, and whatever gains they can get from their conscription to the technical vocational track.

Their stance, however "promental" it is, is never void of critique. So apart from instrumentalism and valorisation of "roundaboutness", the To'to students are also critical about how the K to 12 reform is implemented in THS. Usually soft-spoken, Judith's comments exhibit critique of the K to 12 reform. She shares the same view as

held by Mark that they are just "experimental". I felt that they were referring to the unpreparedness of the government and teachers to provide their needs in the new curriculum. Mark adds further, "Baguio kids have better K to 12" (Interview, 16 and 6 March 2017). April and Judith also have strong opinions about the way the school is managed. For April, the school emphasises too much on building an image and protecting it (Interview, 03 March 2017). Judith also thinks that the school is "too self-centred, [and] they're too focused on themselves" (Interview, 06 March 2017). At the end of one of my interviews with her when I asked her to comment about the school and the K to 12, she drops the line, *pimpiman!* (pathetic) (Interview, 16 March 2017).

These promental, instrumental, value, and critical rationalities directed towards schooling do not easily fall within what Willis (2003) typifies as general themes of cultural modernity from below such as resistance, disaffection, and cultural expression. What can be an overarching characteristic of their disposition towards schooling, however, is the ambiguity of resistance because they neither exhibit outright anti-school practices as the "lads" nor a disaffected attitude towards the transitional nature of schooling to manual work, yet they voice criticisms. They have a sense of awareness that while their school is inadequate and they are treated like lab rats under the new curriculum, they maximise whatever opportunity they can get from it. This comes either as a springboard to qualify for a job, obtain certificates that will allow them to work and study at the same time, and to distinguish themselves from others who "waste" their youth. In doing so, they feel like they are moving closer towards idealised notions of citizenship despite disadvantage. These attitudes or dispositions of making do, of making choices under duress, and exhibiting an instrumental and critical optimism can also be thought of as putting together the instrumental rationality of modernity (Flyvbjerg, 2001) (e.g. "I just need the paper") and value rationality that hint on values such as desirability (e.g. It's better than timepassing, I'll discover what I want). But on top of these, they add an awareness about the asymmetries of power within the relations of schooling ("We are like an experiment/They have better K to 12") (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

I relate the wide-ranging attitudes and dispositions towards the K to 12 reform discussed above as reflective of how the capacity to imagine operates within conditions of disadvantage and deprivation. On the one hand, not only is it constantly deployed to exhaust other ways of thinking and feeling about the lack of opportunities. On the other

hand, it manifests itself through their insistence in being optimistic about the future. In this sense, their attitudes of making do as conscripts of a curriculum and recipients of second-rate schooling, suggest two salient points about imagination. First, it is the capacity to think of alternative ways given the limitations they face. And second, a sense of obstinacy that the otherwise can happen, hence, a sustained kind of hope.

In the next section, I will attempt to surface these dispositions and attitudes in an even more specific everyday practice of the To'to folks. I do so by focusing on what may be conceived of as a grammar of making do that they deploy in relation to the facticity of disadvantage and deprivation.

Anya ngarud: a grammar of making do

The instrumentalist and value rationalities towards their schooling in THS, as discussed above, also reflects their general attitude toward their being in between a rock and a hard place. This was made apparent to me through their recurrent use of a phrase that marks their relationship to their material conditions. My initial reaction to their limited school options, family issues, and economic insecurities was anger. I kept asking them why I do not see them expressing rage towards school authorities, their parents, or workplace. In these contexts, they oftentimes responded with the phrase, *anya ngarud*. The conversations where *anya ngarud* surfaced were always about the negative conditions that they are experiencing, and it was mostly a response to my inquiry about why they do not feel furious about it.

I understand the use of *anya ngarud* as one of affirmation, and as a call to possibility, both of which cannot be easily distinguished when the term is used. In its first use, *anya ngarud* reinforces or affirms a negative context (Ramoya, 2016). In this case, it is the decrepit school, incompetent teachers, irresponsible fathers, and financial insecurity. *Anya ngarud* is also invoked in Ma'am B's description of the disposition of To'to students towards tech-voc, "they can only embrace it". The closest pragmatic example of this in the English language is "tell me about it!", a statement used to affirm or express agreement to a statement describing something negative. But "tell me about it" is only a partial equivalent because it only reflects the first use of *anya ngarud*. This is because *"anya"*, when translated to English is "what?", and presupposes an interrogative use. When used as such, *ngarud* ceases to be an affirmation and instead

calls for a possible alternative. When combined, *anya* (what?) + *ngarud* (implying alternativity), can be translated as "what now?" or "what else can we do?".

Given that *anya ngarud* is a response to an affective inquiry, I consider it as an affective vocabulary, that is, part of an "emotional grammar", "a representational frame that specifies particular emotion-words as labels for complex affective experience" (Beatty, 2005 in McKay, 2007, p. 182). *Anya ngarud* among the To'to young people becomes an affective grammatical tool that comes in handy when they are pushed to respond in a specific and succinct manner, to a situation of negativity, even when it is too complex to be simplified. Not only is *anya ngarud* convenient, it is also ambivalent. It sometimes becomes a "shifter" where meaning swings from affirmation to interrogation. This is apparent when the phrase is taken in its second use, as "what now?" but when interpellated with the participants' tone, which in these instances was always sustained or downward, the interrogative sense is mellowed. This is a close flip but not identical to answering a question with a statement that is delivered in a question-like tone to indicate uncertainty. In this sense, *anya ngarud* becomes a "style" (Fairclough, 1992, 2003), a representation of one's identification – proximity or distance, affirmation or call for alternative – with a negative experience.

Anya ngarud as an affective grammatical practice shares the temporality and spatiality of the To'to young people's instrumental/value-rational making dos. On the one hand, by saying "what now?" or "what else can be done?", the presentism of the To'to young people's making do, of being always in a state of urgency to take an opportunity under duress and in a manner where one's best is constantly done (Wacquant, 1998), is brought to the fore. On the other hand, as opposed to Rickey's hustling, as described by Wacquant (1998) in the ghettos of Chicago where the "present becomes so uncertain that it devours the future and forbids that one conceive of it but in the form of fantasy" (p.16), the making do of the To'to young people does not lose sight of the future. The alternativity in *anya ngarud* reveals the temporal politics of the To'to youth, such that by asking "what else can be done?", they draw attention to what is possible, the potential of being otherwise (Zembylas, 2016, p. 398), the "else" in "what else can be done?". This temporal politics is quite clear in the tempered and calculative treatment of the future in their "promental animus" towards their schooling. Since *anya ngarud* shifts both as a question and a statement in its recurrent mode among my To'to

friends, it can also be seen in relational terms. In "what now?" or "what else can be done?", not only is alternativity foregrounded but also its sociality. It is not only a call to action, but also a recognition of a sense of "collective vulnerability" (Butler, as cited in Singh, 2018). It is a mode of responding to shared deprivation that acknowledges their own "vulnerability, dependency, and exposure" – that they are not "the human masters of everything" – in non-violent and retributive terms (Singh, 2018, p. 23).

The ways of using *anya ngarud* along with the THS participant's "promental animus", acknowledge vulnerability and calls for action and exploration of possibilities. It simultaneously maximises opportunity, focusing on gain and exposing unevenness respectively. When situated within wider relations of domination, these forms of attitudinal making do affirm Scott's (1990) view of people in conditions of disadvantage as able to "understand very well what is going on" and are "able to reflect on their circumstances and by implication to develop a certain level of critique and possible resistance" (Ortner, 2006, pp. 6, and 7-8).

If *anya ngarud* is representative of their making do, as a practice of working with and working against regimes of deprivation by routinely invoking acknowledgement and alternativity, then, it foregrounds the embeddedness of the future in everyday schooling in To'to. In short, the future is the prize for a war they are fighting in the present. As such, their making do comprises the tactics with which they deal with the everyday battles in school, guided by the general creative, optimistic, and insistent character of the imagination. Inevitably, their attitudes and dispositions apparent in their grammatical practices is on the one hand, their politics, and on the other, their ethics of the future. It is a politics in so far as it is their response to being at the receiving end of maldistribution of education as a public good, and as misrecognised subjects worthy to receive rightful educational opportunities (Fraser, 2009). In the same vein, it is also an ethics of possibility because *anya ngarud* as a grammatical practice "increases the horizons of hope, and expands the field of the imagination" (Appadurai, 2013, p. 295), by always invoking the what else. It foregrounds how the "capacity to aspire" which is a navigational capacity, might eventually change the terms of recognition that they are grappling with in the present (p. 290).

But I want to nuance the To'to youth's politics of making do, as seen in *anya ngarud*, as a form of resistance that, as Highmore (2006) describes, should not be

subsumed with the oppositional, liberatory, and the progressive. In my view, they are resistant to the systems and structures of education designed to perpetuate their disadvantage by constantly exhibiting obstinacy despite limited chances. In short, their promental, instrumental, value rationality, and critical logics, as seen in *anya ngarud* is admittedly a less heroic form of resistance. It however boils down to one basic point: it is a refusal to be "fully assimilated to the rhythms that want to govern and orchestrate" their lives (Highmore, 2006, p. 104).

In closing this section, I relate the To'to young people's grammar of making do by looking back at the case of Paul Willis' lads, who, in their outright resistance, were in Ortner's (2006) view "disabled from seeing how they are acting contrary to their interests in the long run" (p.14). Willis (2003) also points out that the lads' dichotomy of mental and manual made "hope for a second chance such as return to higher education much more difficult and unlikely" (p.395). In contrast, by exhibiting a promental animus and the ambivalence of *anya ngarud* as practices of making do, the To'to youth refuse to be check-mated by the disadvantage they never consented to. They, too, avoid deterministic dead ends by not closing doors for second chances, hence, less likely to be sabotaging themselves. While it is premature to ask and to answer, could it be that the To'to youth are more imaginative, if imagination is a capacity to aspire and hope, than the lads of *Learning to Labour*? I now turn to the ways in which they imagine their futures within these practices of making do and their experience of mobilities in various forms.

Making Futures, Producing Locality

In opening this chapter's final section, I clarify the temporality of the To'to young people's making do. When seen through their promental, instrumental, value-rationality, and critical inclinations, and in *anya ngarud* as a grammatical practice, it is obviously operating in the present yet has a strong consciousness of alternate possibilities. Again, it is "living for today" in so far as it is a proclivity to maximise present opportunity, but it also is living for the future in another sense. It goes against the grain of excessive presentism, attributed to practices of getting by, or surviving, often accompanied by the inability to see a future-otherwise. Instead, *derecho*, in Mark's and

Michaels's "it's ok *basta derecho*" (it's ok as long as I go straight) suggests proceeding without interruption, and *anya ngarud* calls for the "what else". The *modus operandi* of their making do, therefore, is the belief that by being obstinate in going on, they are making possibilities for alternatives. This not only renders in concrete terms, and nuances the power of the imagination "to make present what is not" and a "capacity to remove ourselves from where we physically are and imagine that things might well be different from what they actually are", as Arendt (as cited in Bottici, 2011, pp.60-61) has pointed out. It also suggests that this ability to imagine otherwise comes first with acknowledgment and recognition of how ugly the present is, and an unwavering hope that their imagined alternatives can happen. How, then, are these forms of making do shaping the ways in which young people are imagining their futures, and consequentially producing locality? By raising and responding to this question, the To'to youth's ways of connecting the dots between the everydayness of disadvantage and deprivation on the one hand, and the possibility of transnational migration on the other, through their various forms of imaginative practices are drawn.

Firstly, I contextualise their practices of making do within To'to as a locality strongly linked to the rest of the world through various forms of mobilities. As demonstrated earlier, and I will nuance further, To'to with its networks and traditions, has become central in their making do, in their concrete practices that attempt to make present what is factually absent, or to think otherwise despite the overwhelming present. Thus, not only is making do determined by To'to's spatio-temporal configurations, but it also is a way of engaging with To'to in ways that exceed what To'to has been. This imaginative capacity concretised in making do in To'to also affirms the place of imagination in the production of locality. As Appadurai (2013) contends:

> The local, quite independent of the conditions of the recent phase of globalization, was always a sustained work in process, an emergent that required not only the resources of habit, custom, and history, but also the work of the imagination…[it] is a vital resource in all social processes and projects, and needs to be seen as a quotidian energy, not visible only in dreams, fantasies, and sequestered moments of euphoria and creativity (p.287).

I will, therefore, look into imagination's place in the production of To'to as a locality via making do's impact in young people's aspired futures. Doing so ties up young

people's everyday life, the imagination, and potential mobile futures in relation to their exposure to labour migration.

Bracketing Time and Space

In several and distinct occasions, I asked about who the To'to students look up to, as my way of finding out significant and influential exemplars for them. Interestingly, the people they look up to are still very localised. Michael is impressed by his mother for taking care of all of them on her own. April is grateful to her father for looking after and guiding her while her mother works in Cyprus. Mark idolises his cousin who is now an engineer and has a good-paying job. Brian thinks highly of their Math teacher, Mr. T (Focus Group, 23 March 2017). These examples, despite the To'to youth's exposure to transnational economic and social remittances, share the same pattern of continued significance of place in young people's forging of aspiration. The To'to youth's case parallels what Farrugia, Smyth, and Harrison (2014; 2016) have observed with rural Australian youth and also in McLeod's (2000) account of Australian youth gender subjectivity, where she argues:

> We are not finding a revolution or reversal in the patterns and forms of young people's [...] subjectivity. Rather, any shifts are subtle and piecemeal, and are clearly linked to the location of individuals in particular social classes and regions (pp. 16-17).

I expected them to name sports and pop icons. The likes of Stephen Curry, or Taylor Swift, or successful entrepreneurs like Elon Musk or Jeff Bezos, given how strongly linked villages are to the global, were anticipated by me. But just as their transnational connections as left behind and onlookers have forged new forms of intimacies (e.g. remittances show feeling; brouhaha over shipped boxes) between origins and destinations; and as diasporic Filipinos, continue to frame and anchor their identities on localities (McKay, 2007), the To'to young people, too, although quite unexpectedly, continue to valorise geographically and affectively proximate individuals as exemplars.

I am, however, more interested with their perceived role, their agency, in the making of their futures, given the disadvantage they face. On the one hand, the To'to participants think that the future is their own making. On the other, they think of it as

larger-than-life that takes us by storm. April, in her vision board, emphasises the value of personal responsibility and accountability to our future. Phrases such as "own your world" and "behind a good plot is a prolific scriptwriter" are posted in a vision board I asked them to make. When asked why she chose those phrases, she says, "you and you alone are responsible for your future and what you will be someday" (Interview, 15 March 2017).

In contrast to April's seeming existentialism, Michael thinks and feels otherwise. He suffers from sleeping problems from thinking about what could happen in the future. He resorts to drinking to fall asleep (Interview, 23 March 2017). Brian worries about being like other young men in the village who become a father too early (Interview, 16 March 2017). Mark, too, believes that failure is just around the corner. He cites people who have worked so hard to earn and save but were scammed by others (Interview, 27 March 2017).

Their affective relationship with the future is characterised by personal accountability, something that echoes "reflexive modernisation', a way of relating to the world as choosing individuals (Farrugia, Smyth, & Harrison, 2014), or as a "human master of everything" (Singh, 2018, p.23) as seen in April's existential logic. But the seeming paranoia and worrying of Michael, Brian, and Mark also suggest that while they continue to hold on to local exemplars, and highlight the significance of place in their aspirations, this same emplacement makes their vulnerability and precarity apparent, and thus, "destabilise [their] daily living" (Millar, 2014, p. 35). Their talk on futures, I surmise, has always been a question of power in setting the pace, rhythm, and narratives, etc. (Jordheim, as cited in McLeod, 2017), of their place or location in it.

It is interesting that Brian and Judith view the future far from the short-term. Brian prefers to think in the long-run (e.g 10 year-time) because for him, that is the "real" future (Interview, 16 March 2017). Judith on the other hand thinks even farther. For her, "what is important is life-everlasting", and that she is afraid that some of her family members will not be saved when "rupture" happens (Interview, 16 March 2017). I understand these views of duration, the length of time it takes for something to flourish or to evolve in a Bergsonian sense (Fell, 2012) especially in Brian's reference to the long-run as "real" future, as indicative of the future orientation of their making do, and of their imagination.

Thinking about the future as a place, they talk about prospects of building a family, settling for work, or pursuing passions. April dreams of working in the hospitality industry in Hong Kong or Singapore so she can use her HRM (Hotel and Restaurant Management) degree (Interview, 15 March 2017). While remaining unsure where, Michael aspires to be an engineer abroad (Interview, 23 March 2017). Ruby, too, is optimistic about becoming a teacher in Korea.

Brian, Judith, and Mark, even when their mothers are abroad, wish to settle in the village. Mark wants a house in La Trinidad, a nearby town, where there is a nice view (Interview, 27 March 2017). Judith aims to be an accountant at the town hall while Brian is serious on not leaving and keeping his future family together, although wishing to travel to China and Japan eventually (Interviews, 16 March 2017). Dexter, too, wants to have his own hotel in To'to and Baguio City (Interview, 27 March 2017).

When asked about the possibility of leaving To'to, Mark and April responded affirmatively but qualified as only when needed, when there are no jobs for them in the country. In contrast, Judith and Brian have strong views about leaving. Judith says, "I'll have a family and no one can separate us" (Interview, 16 March 2017) and Brian says he will "get a job and nobody will need to leave. We will be complete" (Interview, 16 March 2017).

I analyse their insistence on being complete, and being moored in the villages with their consumption of risk and vulnerability narratives as social remittances (Levitt, 2001) that come with the transnationalisation of To'to families. Life abroad means too much struggle that their parents do not talk about as April claims. Brian thinks that to live abroad is to put oneself at risk of becoming a TNT or *tago nang tago* (always on the hiding), a case where workers' documents expire, hence, are supposed to return home but choose to remain as undocumented workers. This is the case of one of April's aunts in China who often loses her jobs because she has to go into hiding (Interview, 8 March 2017), thus failing to regularly send cash remittances. Cristina, too, narrates how her uncle's employer asked him to smuggle drugs but he was caught and is now incarcerated in Kuala Lumpur. She thinks that living abroad makes one prone to influences that can make or break one's character:

> Maybe it's tough to leave, its tougher when they have a family. But that is the way it is. That's the way to earn. We just have to get used to it…What if these things happen to me? I am afraid of it because I would be a stranger there… (Interview, 07 March 2017).

Aside from risks, they also think that life abroad means living a different kind of time. Khensin claims that people living overseas need to do too many jobs. Julius remembers how he does not talk to his best friend living in Canada regularly because the latter has to work so much. Judith points these out more concretely by contrasting the time in To'to against that of Cyprus where her mother works:

> Life is better here. When you get tired, you can relax. There, it's tough because they are very busy. People move 'double time'. You cannot take things at your own pace. Everything should be 'military moves'. My Mama tells me that time is more important. Time is running (Interview, 07 March 2017).

In Judith's distinction of time, she hints on speed as a temporal quality where time's passing in To'to is just right, while it is twice as fast abroad. She renders time: first, in seemingly anthropomorphic terms, as in "time is running", hence, to be chased in an uncanny fashion; and second, as a resource that keeps the To'to family economically afloat, but too little because it is "running" out. This doubleness of time can be problematized further by engaging with simultaneity as another temporal element. "Double time" can also be conceived not only as the presence of two spatial references of time (To'to and the abroad), or varying speed or acceleration of simultaneously occurring times. Instead, this doubleness implies temporal costs and gains – those saved, gained, or lost in time's passing and in chasing it. By time, Judith obviously means work time, and in trying to chase it, and through her mother's devotion and energy to chase time, the family gets by in an economy that commoditises time to facilitate both geographic movement and "chrono-historical movements of privileged forms of sociality" (Tadiar, 2009, pp. 151-152). These are the time of the better-off, in the developed world. Judith, therefore, unwittingly engages with the "homogenous empty time" (Anderson, 2006) of capital where a nation is imagined through simultaneity of shared practices. She foregrounds a different kind of simultaneity that exposes the corresponding temporal politics involved in migrant work where the question on the extent of migrant labourer's control over time on the one hand, and how time dominates their life on the other become compelling resources in thinking about movement as

future possibility for them. In pointing this out, Judith makes apparent Jordheim's (2014) contention that time is a question of power in so far as control over, or being controlled by it is determined by one's possession or proximity to power. In Judith's analogy of "time is running", her mother is viewed as always under the control of time, to always move in military fashion. Through this doubleness, simultaneity, and temporal politics, To'to is distinguished from Nicosia, To'to from Kuala Lumpur.

As left-behind and onlookers, the participants also distinguish To'to as their village, from the outside. As moored participants of globalisation, they have varying attitudes towards the "global". When asked whether they talk about international issues, Julius says, "that's their country. Why should we care? Am I the president?" (Focus Group, 21 February 2017). Brian and Mark believe, on the other hand, that we should be alarmed by terrorism, the refugee crisis, and other issues. However, they think that these issues do not have direct impact to To'to. Even Metro Manila, for Brian, is not compelling enough for him to be interested with:

> I am not interested with news. When people talk about it, I leave. Most news are about Manila. What happens in Manila won't happen here. [Asked about terrorism] It won't reach Benguet although we have NPA's [New Peoples' Army] here who also kill people (Individual Interview, 16 March 2017).

Different from the rest are Judith's and Steve's views. Judith thinks that young people like her should be empathetic to the issues of others around the world. She cites the case of malnutrition and hunger in Africa and the election of Trump as President of the US. She says, "there might be tougher immigration policy under him and that Filipinos who wish to settle in America might be affected" (Interview, 16 March 2017). Judith is active at a Baptist church and mission work that is why she is able to draw from her exposure there. Steve, among the male participants seem to be the most informed about global affairs. He tells me that he grew up watching Animal Planet and Discovery Channel with his grandfather. Today, he watches documentaries when he is not doing school work or at work. In one of the interviews, he suddenly became passionate when we talked about the refugee crisis:

> They are in a difficult situation. They should not be there. I saw a video of a little girl. The reporter was asking what her father's name is. She cannot remember it. Why do children have to suffer in this case? (Interview, 21 March 2017)

Julius' invocation of "that's their country. Why should we care?" and Brian's use of "reach" are telling about the affective spatialities of the To'to youth in relation to the global. At first glance, they remind us of Anderson's first proposition on how a community is imagined through boundedness and limitation such that there lies an inside and an outside (Anderson, 2006). However, when interpellated by transnational practices – desires, aspirations, fears – with the outside, and including imperial Manila, Brian's use of "it won't reach Benguet" creates an interesting contradiction. On the one hand, the transnationalisation of their families, engagement with the gold trade, and their potential of leaving in conditional terms suggest the perception of the global as "out there" and can always be accessed when needed. On the flip side, they think that the impact of global exigencies such as terrorism, refugee crisis, and stringent immigration policies will not reach the villages, or will not have direct impact to them. Put simply, when they think about To'to-outside connections, the outside is near and accessible. But in terms of outside-To'to connections, the outside world does not come to To'to directly or easily.

Their views of To'to in relation to the outside seemingly ruptures the often taken-for-granted view of distance as that length of space between two points that remains constant from one point to the other, or *vice versa*. This is so because when the subject is potential future opportunities located abroad, the disposition is to tap it, although conditionally, and the impression is that it is proximate. On the other hand, when threats and risks from the outside are the matters of inward movement, the world is far from To'to. But when these risks involve immediate family members and relatives elsewhere, the world out there is near again. Their intimacy to their mothers, kins, or friends, trigger empathy and curiosity with events outside the Philippines that have direct involvement or might impact people significant to them. For example, when the left behind children hear news about domestic helpers who are physically and verbally abused by their employers in their host country, LBCs immediately send messages through Facebook or text their mothers to check whether they are fine or not. This shifting and selective intimacy, however, contrasts with Judith's and Steve's seemingly genuine interest and sympathy for people they do not personally know.

If locality, is that specific configuration of time and space, then their notions of "double time" that require too much labour in host countries, or that of "reach" that rupture the stability of distance, is their contribution in the production of To'to as locality. In a sense, their thinking of simultaneously occurring times' speed in differential terms, as well as the asymmetries of distance between To'to and the world, makes apparent the contingency and relationality of time and space (Matus, 2016, p. 4), something that is at the core of the New Mobilities Paradigm (Adey, 2006; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006). This bracketing involves relating with the same time and same distance, conceived in universal terms, yet with different configurations as explicated earlier. But why this seemingly double standardisation of time and space? I believe that this speaks of their making sense, perhaps, their cognition of past and contemporary To'to, that become a resource in their imagination of possible futures, as Appadurai (2013) points out:

> The lives of ordinary people, the personal archive of memories, both material and cognitive, is not only primarily about the past, but is about providing a map for negotiating and shaping new futures. While state-generated archives may primarily be instruments of governmentality and bureaucratized power, personal, familial, and community archives-especially those of dislocated, vulnerable, and marginalized population-are critical sites for negotiating paths to dignity, recognition, and politically feasible maps for the future (Appadurai, 2013, p, 288).

What this bracketing of time and space do, more than unsettling their universality, is that it foregrounds the centrality of and referentiality to To'to in the youth's coming to terms with the outside world's time, and its distance. It demonstrates how their understanding of To'to, is always in contrast from an elsewhere by virtue of their exposure to transnational labour migration, and their consumption of negative social remittances. Cypriot and Malaysian times are contrasted with To'to's time just as Bhabha makes the "heat and dust of India; the dark emptiness of Africa" as England's "daemonic double" in the writing of the English nation (Bhabha, 1990, p. 319). Distance is measured not in miles or kilometres, but in degrees of intimacy to them and to To'to. Instead of numerical configuration, "it is an affective and sensuous relationship to space", to To'to and its people that scaffolds their experience of the world (Farrugia, Smyth, & Harrison, 2014, p. 1160). Perhaps, as moored participants, they too mirror what McKay has noted about labour migrants from the Cordillera regions:

> Rather than defining themselves by their Filipino nationality, my friends located their identities, motives, and dreams for the future within their village relationships. Thus not only their migration trajectories but also their self-knowledge and resilience continued to depend on village ties, even a decade or more after their initital departure (McKay, 2012, p. 12).

To bracket time and space is their making do of experience and expectation that unfolds in the present. Deprivation, lack, and the torrent of needs constitute their "space of experience", their "present past" (Koselleck, 2004, p. 259) that behooves them to conditionally seek out the world for opportunities, only when To'to fails them. Their hopes and desires for a better future, their "future made present" is their "horizon of expectation" that "direct them to the not-yet, to the nonexperienced, to that which is to be revealed" (Koselleck, 2004, p. 259). To think of the world as near when needed, far when it is risky, yet near when someone they love is in danger, is to hold on to their dreams, to wishfully protect To'to and their loved ones. As Koselleck (2004) continues, "hope and fear, wishes and desires, cares and rational analysis, receptive display and curiosity; all enter into expectation and constitute it." (p. 259). This imagination is where their present whose diacritic is deprivation (despite their parent's and kins participation to transnational migration), and their possible future-otherwise; To'to as their home, and the outside as the ticket to better life, converge or are negotiated. And in the end, they do it because as young people living in precarious conditions, To'to is their home, their resting place, that ironically constantly calls for making do. As Lauren Berlant (2007) argues in relation to the contemporary US.

> The desire for a less-bad bad life involves finding resting places; the reproduction of normativity occurs when rest is imagined nostalgically—that is, in the places where rest is supposed to have happened, a fantasy masquerading as screen memory or paramnesia. One might read these repetitions as nostalgia for nostalgia, a kind of desperate regression toward the desire to soon experience an imaginary security one *knows* without having ever had… (Berlant, 2007, p. 291)

To'to is produced as a locality in their imagination of their futures that is enacted in their ways of making do in the present. They produce To'to in *anya ngarud* that acknowledges how To'to has failed to be a home, yet one that always has potential to be, just as the outside world has provided better lives for April and Judith, but has cost too much for Michael and Mark. To'to is made through their interjections in the same

phrase that implies "what now?" or "what else can we do?" To'to is localised, specified, and made meaningful in the constancy of having to make do between deprivation and aspiration, proximity and distance, acceleration and stagnation, empathy and apathy, certainty and uncertainty, hope and risk, agency and destiny.

Conclusion

I close this chapter, therefore, by recalling that in the To'to young people's production of locality, what they demonstrate are concrete sets of practices that localise imagination. They stand as exemplars and as also equally worthy imaginative subjects. That imagination not only dwells in the virtuosity of an artist, the fantasy of the ignorant, or the will of the activist. Instead, what they have shown is that imagination is the ordinary "work" of young people like them who are constantly involved in "negotia[ting] between sites of agency and globally defined fields of possibility" (Appadurai, 1990, p.5). As recurrent in this chapter, their everyday is one that has always conscripted and exhausted their imaginative reservoir to come to terms with, and overcome structures of disadvantage and deprivation.

In this chapter I have examined how the imagination figures in their engagement with their school, their thinking about the future, and the production of locality. Chapter Five turns to elucidate how the imagination operates within the domain of labour. In doing so, labour will be approached both as a site and a form of making do that is invoked in grappling with their imagination of possible futures.

CHAPTER FIVE
LABOURING TO LEARN, IMAGINING OTHER FUTURES

> It is indeed the mark of all laboring that it leaves nothing behind, that the result of its effort is almost as quickly consumed as the effort is spent. And yet this effort, despite its futility, is born of a great urgency and motivated by a more powerful drive than anything else, because life itself depends upon it (Arendt, 1958, p. 87).

> …Let's accept the claim that children organize their optimism for living through attachments they never consented to making, that they make do with what's around that might respond adequately to their needs. They may even come to be in love with the promise of the promise that there will be a moment of reciprocal *something* between themselves and the world, if they're good, that is, *if they become a good subject of the promise*… (Berlant, 2007, p. 296)

Work to live or live to work?

Just as schooling is a default expectation for the young people of To'to, work, too, is more of a norm rather than an exception. Among the fourteen participants, engagement with informal work is rendered ordinary so much so that when asked, "to work or not to work?", the To'to young people would most likely, and almost instantly, respond in the affirmative. In Chapter Four, I argued that To'to young people's attitudes and dispositions of making do towards their schooling and their possible futures became forms of imagination's localisation and operationalisation. I extend this conceptual work by grounding imagination in even more practical terms in this chapter, by examining the To'to young people's engagement with labour in the villages. But the overarching purpose of this sustained investigation of how the imagination works through everyday making do practices of young people in their engagement with local labour, is to nuance the implications of what it means and takes to imagine. I believe this works on a prerequisite that imagination is in fact a practical activity of ordinary people, an argument I have laid the ground work for in the previous chapter. If imagination is a grounded human activity that operates through practices of making do, what are its drivers, burdens and costs? In more metaphorical sense, this chapter is about imagination in labour, and labour in imagination.

In light of the overall purposes presented above, this chapter's task is four-pronged. First, I will foreground the centrality of work in the lives of the To'to young

people, additional to the expectation that they should be in school. Second, I will argue that their engagement with work amounts to a form of productive labour and involves other unrecognised and invisibilised forms. I will do this by pointing out the tensions that exist between school and work, mine-related work and other work, mine work and ecological concerns, and their ways of navigating these. Third, I will make a case for labour among the To'to young people as a form and site of making do, hence, once again a localised enactment of imagination by emphasising the resources that they tap into, and their resourcefulness in finding and maximising available work. Lastly, I relate their experiences of and exposure to local labour available in the villages to their ways of imagining their future work or occupation. I do so by foregrounding how their material conditions behoove them to imagine alternative futures. In doing so, I somehow extend or nuance the imbrication of everyday life, the imagination, transnational mobilities, and futures which I have previously started in Chapter Four. I begin this chapter by recalling how I was introduced to the world of work that my To'to friends inhabit:

QUICK FEET

Michael leads us down the rugged hill to the mouth of a tunnel some hundred feet from where they live. Mark is just a meter behind him exhibiting the same agility as Michael's. Their feet's memory of the terrain – the random dents and bumps, fallen trees, and discreet desire paths – is becoming apparent. I have always believed I am athletic and can sprint my way up a mountainous trail but I am no match to these boys who know the place by heart. While I was trying to catch up with them, Bob paces slowly behind me. He says his mother will be angry when she discovers what he has been doing. He has always been a sickly boy and is prohibited from doing strenuous work.

We are now at the tunnel's entrance buttressed by logs. An able-bodied, middle-aged man comes out with a sack of ore resting on his right shoulder. *Nalakay ngem nabaked* [old but ripped], Michael exclaims. He tells me that most men in their village, despite their age, remain muscular and strong because of the kind of work they do. Michael picks up a piece of rock and on a metallic plate, he pounds it with a hammer. He pours on some chemical and swirls it. He says that is how they know whether the batch of ore they have gathered has some gold.

A few minutes later, guided only by my mobile phone torch, we are duck-walking through the dark and narrow tunnel. Our shoulder blades are now rubbing against the roof. Thirty seconds after I took my first step into the tunnel, I am now dripping with sweat. The lens of my eyeglasses is now covered with mist. The air is too thin. The smell of sulphur is suffocating. The thin air makes me want to breathe more, but the stench of sulphur discourages me from doing so. It's only been few minutes since I was outside and now I want to go back. They laugh and tell me they stay there for hours on weekends, interrupted only by an hour of lunch break.

What this vignette, "Quick Feet", does is signal how work is indeed a way of life among my To'to friends. Work is so ordinary with their workplaces just a stone's throw from where they live, or perhaps, a few meters under it. It has become routine that their feet have grown a mind of their own in navigating their workplace. Work foretells their future at the sight of their uncles and aunties, fathers and mothers whom they are colleagues with. But most importantly, it is one that is not easy to bear.

Among the fourteen participants in this project who continue their secondary education in To'to High School, only Judith, April, Brian, and Bob are not engaged in paid work. April and Judith are supported by their mothers – both working as caregivers in Cyprus – and their fathers who work in the city and the village respectively. Brian's mother, who works as a caregiver in Malaysia provides for him, as does his stepfather who works as a call centre agent in Baguio City, the closest major city only 30 minutes away from To'to by *jeepney*. But he, too, is required to work in helping his aunt in the elementary school canteen. Bob is exempt from doing any form of strenuous manual work not only because of his weak lungs but also because his mother who is a trainer for a beekeeping NGO, and his father who looks after their farm, support him.

If the participants were to represent an aggregate of To'to youth's engagement with paid work, two-thirds of young people in the villages are required to work, and only a third do not need to. The majority of the To'to young people, even those whose parents have left for work abroad to secure their future, juggle schooling and weekend works not only to provide for themselves but also for their younger siblings. Their work is wide-ranging from *usuk* (mining), *joiner* (processing of mining residue), laundry, babysitting, *bunag* (carrying ore), construction, house cleaning, selling vegetables in the market, selling rice cakes in school, catering, farming, or feeding pigs. The men who enter the publicly declared mining tunnels on weekends earn 700 PhP (20 AUD) if they complete two days of work while the women who accept laundry earn 250-300 PhP (7-9 AUD) per sack. Sleeping in on weekends as a reward for a tiring week of schooling is obviously beyond the imagination of my To'to friends.

The likes of the labouring To'to youth represent a considerable number of young people in developing countries who juggle informal work and schooling even at an early age. They are part of the 90 percent of people aged 10 to 24 who live in low- or middle-income countries (LMICs) (Blum and Boyden, 2018, p. 436). They constitute a subgroup

of these LMIC youth who, upon reaching the age of 15, "tend to do more work, either for pay or as part of family life, [as] primary carers of younger siblings or incapacitated adults…[or] principal breadwinners in their households" (Blum and Boyden, 2018, p.436). Unfortunately, despite the compelling concentration of young people in these regions of the world, 90% of research about them originates from high-income countries (Blum and Boyden, 2018, p. 435) or is metro-centric in its orientation (Farrugia, 2018a, p.46). With this tendency, young people in the developing world are deemed to be located "elsewhere" (Farrugia, 2018a, p. 47) despite their being highly implicated – directly or indirectly – by the current and emerging setup of global relations of capital exchange. While there exists an asymmetry on the geographies of knowledge on youth work produced in the academia, in To'to, even a disinterested stranger cannot miss the centrality of work among young people. For the young people in To'to, work is not only ordinary because almost everyone engages with it. It is also ordinary because they believe work, like *Kabunian*, the god, is ever-present.

Work is proximate to the To'to young people in a sense that mining tunnels are dug hundred feet from their homes, pass under their beds, or intersect under the school they go to. It is also ubiquitous because of the cracks on the walls of the basketball court they play at, or the streets they walk on. The view of the pool of mining wastes that resemble a crater, the gold-buying stations and mining hardware shops that pop up every now and then, the milling shacks, the columns of sacks of ore waiting to be milled, or the *luyut* (milling residue) dried along the streets never fail to make a point about what work is like in To'to. There is no day, no moment, no place where one forgets that mining is the default livelihood in the villages. With the strong sensory presence – the visual, olfactory, and affective – of mining work, and young people's engagement with it, mining work and work itself has also become a central organising concept of understanding daily and future lives in quite varied ways among the To'to young people. Steve, who lost his mother at an early age and works in the *usuk* on weekends exhibits profound recognition of work's dominance in their daily life:

JAY	What do you think is a good life?
STEVE	It's like, choosing between "work to live" or "live to work"
JAY	Which one will you choose?
STEVE	Work to live
JAY	Why?

> STEVE Perhaps because you'd have more time with it instead of the other one where you are constantly working. Just enjoy it.
> (Interview, 21 March 2017)

In this conversation with Steve, he foregrounds an important and overarching dilemma about what work means not only to young people but to the rest of To'to's labour force. On the one hand, "work to live" represents the incessant will of the To'to folks to provide for their families and their commitment to surviving their precarious lives in the villages. On the other hand, "live to work" presents a dark and miserable image of the case of many To'to workers, that of a life spent mostly, if not only on working in tunnels, or carrying sacks of ore. It is a suffocating image of a life where one wakes up only to prepare for the day's work, and rests in the afternoon only to gain energy for the next day.

But Steve's play of life and work invites important conceptual work relating to the labour-work distinction. When he invokes "work to live", Steve echoes what Veltman (2010) makes of Arendt's and de Beauvoir's notions of labour. Veltman contends that "both develop the insight that labour is an existential tedium, essential only as a means of living. Without labour, life cannot continue" (p.57). Working to live appears void of a higher reason to live other than to preserve life itself, especially when compared to what constitutes work in an Arendtian sense. For Arendt, labour emerges from necessity, while work exhibits the capacity to create. "It is not simply activity opposed to play or leisure; [it] produces durable artifacts and shapes a world-structure…[it] thereby transcends the perpetual consumptive processes of natural life…" (Veltman, 2010, p. 62). However, when Steve makes use of the word "work" in his distinction of the two scenarios, he technically refers to labour, and more specifically the transactional view of labour where one engages with productive exertions and receives payment in return.

When interpreting "live to work", then, bearing in mind that Steve means labour, Arendt once again becomes significant in so far as her notion of labour as "life itself" is concerned (Millar, 2014, p. 48). This is affirmed when Steve says, "you are constantly working" (Interview, 21 March 2017), and implies the lack of joy as one works. In "live to work", Steve also reminds us of how capitalism in global cities, and even in the villages of To'to, has harnessed the energies of the body and also pushed its limits. Steve's

metaphor of "living to work" also aligns with Harvey's (2000) description of the alienating effects of productive consumption of commodity labour:

> [...] the mobilization of 'animal spirits,' sexual drives, affective feelings, and creative powers of labor to a given purpose defined by capital. It means: harnessing basic human powers of cooperation/collaboration; the skilling, deskilling, and reskilling of the powers of labor in accord with technological requirements; acculturation to routinization of tasks; enclosure within strict spatiotemporal rhythms of regulated (and sometimes spatially confined) activities...separations between mental and manual operations and powers; and, last but not least, the production of variability, fluidity, and flexibility of labor powers able to respond to those rapid revolutions in production processes so typical of capitalist development (Harvey, 2000, p. 103).

My To'to friends, in fact, nuance Harvey's serialised account of the alienating effects of labour in capitalist regimes of work. The labouring To'to young people demonstrate this by making obvious how labour has colonised more than their weekends. It has taken over those parts of the day that they could spend trying to relax and be happy and recover their energies. When asked what they do for leisure, or what they do during their free time, they respond, *"agubra"* (I work) instead of watching TV or browsing through their social media feed. Like most of his peers, Steve has done quite a range of work and even moved quite a lot. He has not only entered tunnels, carried heavy sacks of ore, and been a construction worker. He has worked in the lowlands drying *palay* (rice grains), and been an all-around staff member of a catering business which, to him, is the worst thus far. His words acknowledge the centrality of labour in his and his peers' life. Working to get a life is not only an aspiration but is labour in itself: it equally animates the everyday lives of the To'to young people, and has some aspirational elements too. Somehow, this clarifies Steve's understanding of "work to live" even further, in that it has a sense of futurity. His engagement with paid work makes possible a certain sense of proximity to an approximated ideal life, that functions, almost in the same way as the logic of Sara Ahmed's "promise of happiness" (2010) where happiness emerges from partaking in acts that are deemed good. In Steve's case, it is labour.

The promise of enjoyment as a consequence of work is achieved by allowing To'To young people to afford both material and non-material acquisitions they would otherwise be unable to buy. The material possessions they consider meaningful and important are bought using money they receive from their informal work. Michael, who

aspires to be a musician and an engineer, brought the guitar he bought from doing *por dia* (per day, daily wage) one summer to one of my interviews with him. Julius also takes pride in his two thousand-peso, Spalding basketball for which he saved up from his earnings with his *aggiling* (milling) stint in a small-scale mine. Tere takes joy in buying the more expensive Wattpad pocketbook series from her earnings doing laundry and babysitting on weekends.

In fairness to their informal gigs, they receive higher than the 280 PhP (8 AUD) wage mandated by the Department of Labour and Employment for the province of Benguet (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017a). When they undertake an 8-hour a day weekend work in the tunnels, the boys can earn as high as 2,800 PhP per month (80 AUD), while the girls can earn 2,000 PhP (57 AUD) from laundry and babysitting, an amount that is somehow enough to support them for a month. Often however they are not able to spend this income on their own but hand cash to their younger siblings to help them get by. In short, through their participation in local labour activities, they not only sustain daily life but also experience life at some points through their acquisition of desired material goods.

This section has shown how the To'to young people's labour participation is couched around what Steve phrases as "work to live or live to work". On the one hand, it has become a way to survive and to make ends meet, hence, in itself, a form of making do. On the other hand, while it keeps them economically buoyant, it has dominated significant portions of their lives, if not defined them. In the next sections, I extend the discussion of this dualism of work and life by focusing on the risks involved in their work, especially among the boys, and how labour of young people is appraised positively by the To'to folks.

Half alive, half dead

Notwithstanding the rewards of informal work to the To'to young people, there are also physical and environmental risks involved in the work itself, which they openly acknowledge. Nevertheless, they continue to engage in these risky jobs, moving in on weekends and out when school days come, or sometimes when necessary, skipping a day or two of school for work. Perhaps, these are the To'to young people's enactments

of what it means to "work to live", to be compelled by the material conditions in which they live and the promise of better living conditions in the future. Despite its contextual difference, this resonates with what Laurent Berlant (2007) contends about the characteristics of post-Fordist labour:

> the everyday is a zone of constant labor explicitly oriented toward upward class mobility but actually something else…look[ing] forward to a condition of stasis, of being able to *be somewhere* and make a life, exercising existence as a fact, not a project [emphasis added] (Berlant, 2007, p. 291).

In Chapter Four, I showed how desires for a transnational life seep through everyday practices in To'to. Labour too, becomes a signifier of the To'to people's aspiration for a better life. "Drawn by gold, drowned in mud", sums an article published in a widely-circulated newspaper that reported about the fate of a group of small-scale miners in To'to who died when a landslide engulfed their encampment while typhoon Mangkhut shattered northern Philippines in 2018. Being always on the lookout for gold, aspiring, hoping, and working hard to find it is a way of life for most To'to folks. Again, as Berlant puts it, gold in many To'to people's imagination is a signifier of that "somewhere". The fantasy of finding gold is their way of living, drowning in mud is just one of the many ways to not only lose a living, but their life itself. If one does not die from collapsing tunnels or gas because they are on the surface of the earth, or have avoided mine work and opted for agricultural work, one dies from a deluge of mud rushing from the mountains. Such is life in the Cordillera Mountains where To'to is nestled. It is a life of irony. The earth above and below always poses a possibility to flourish, and at the same time, always a chance to perish. It is often only a question of when.

The boys use the metaphor "half of the body is buried" in describing how it is like to go to the mines. It is a phrase that suggests the constantly lingering threat. It alludes to the probability of an accident, *force majeur*, or a mishap that costs too much. Dexter, a male participant works as a *joiner* – someone who is engaged in the processing and drying of milled ore (Chaloping-March, 2017) – to avoid the risks that a "miner" often has. He says, "sometimes, rocks just fall, or you'll get suffocated because of gas" (Interview, March 7, 2017). Aside from that, the miners suffer from multiple back pains

from staying in an awkward position for a long time when entering narrow tunnels or when lifting heavy sacks of ore. Mark mentions how the sudden changes in temperature when one moves out from the hot tunnel that make them sweat heavily and encounters the sudden drop in temperature when they step out, could harm their health (Interview, 02 March 2017).

In truth, specifically to the To'to boys, mining is preferable not because it is the only form of work that is available to them but because it is also the most lucrative. There are other jobs that are not as risky but are also not as financially rewarding. In fact, they are viewed as equally if not more challenging. Sometimes, during summer vacation, they *"dayo"* (go to another place), mostly in the lowlands to do some agricultural work. While it is non-life-threatening, Steve recalls his work in drying rice grains in Isabela (a rice and corn-producing province in the North) as "extremely hot and full of mosquitoes" (Interview, 21 March 2017). This is because To'to's climate, the climate they have been accustomed to, is considerably cooler than the rest of the country because of its topography. Among all his gigs, he dreads being a staff member in a catering business:

> It is tough especially when your shift is understaffed. That's when I am really challenged because you become an "all-around". Among all the work I've done, it's the catering stint that is the most difficult. You wake up at five in the morning, and then sleep at ten at night. (Interview, 21 March 2017)

What explains this seeming attachment of boys to mine work despite its apparent risks and the availability of alternative work, is partly the physical proximity and accessibility of mine work to them. The convenience and the contingency derived from it appears to matter most to the To'to boys. To an extent, they echo the case of the *catadores*' (garbage collectors) "relational autonomy" in Jardim Gramacho, Rio de Janeiro who constantly leave and return to the dump site as a place of work. Millar (2014) describes the *catadores'* experience of relational autonomy derived from "going and returning" to the dump because for them, it represents a place "they can return to in difficult times and which affords them greater autonomy in their everyday lives" (p.35). The dark and suffocating tunnels, somehow, are similar to the dumps. However

risky it is, it is just always there. When a To'to boy needs money, he just goes to the *usuk* for a day or two on weekends and he will get by in the succeeding weeks.

More than the convenience of accessibility to the mines, the comparative financial rewards and labour relations in the mines also make it attractive to them. Like the *catadores* whose affiliation to the dump is "informal" or "illicit", the To'to boys too are loosely connected to the tunnels. Millar (2014) accounts for this contingency and convenience derived from engagement with irregular labour as "a form of resistance to degrading or onerous aspects of wage labor" (p. 38). In a similar light, Steve, for example, would rather endure long hours of duck-walking in the narrow tunnels along with the lingering thought of suffocation and getting trapped than to go to the lowlands and endure the extreme heat, or be an all-around staff member at a catering business and be sleep-deprived. Most importantly, the boys say that they are not discriminated against because of their age in so far as wages are concerned. They are paid as much as the uncles they are working with. Unlike other forms of jobs in the village, especially for the girls, working in the *usuk* remains attractive because of the relatively neutral work relations. In contrast to the experience of the To'to boys, Tere clearly remembers when she first accepted laundry. She was in Grade 8 then, could barely lift the clothes and had difficulty wringing them. She was paid 100 PhP (3 AUD) per sack of clothes when she was starting, but now it is as high as 250 PhP (7 AUD) per sack.

What this discussion reveals is that To'to young people's rather ambivalent intimacy with labour at an early age resonates with Steve's work and life distinction. On the one hand, the To'to young labourers acknowledge the risks involved in entering the tunnels but shelve these worries because they know that such work is still a better option compared to some alternatives on the other. What is interesting to consider also is how this engagement with work and its concomitant risks relates to how young people's involvement to labour is valorised in the villages.

With distinction

I have shown so far in this chapter that labour is ordinary for the To'to young people and this ordinariness, as a way to live and a way to die, generates mixed feelings and thoughts about what it means to work for them in To'to. Therefore, the ways in which the young people talk about and assess their labour participation is one of

"doublespeak". On the one hand, they think it is normal for them to be doing work. On the other hand, they also agree that it is a bit too much. To'to kids fetching water in the afternoons at the nearby well using small pails or empty soda bottles, for example, is considered normal and typical for children in the community and not regarded as a form of child labour. In the case of the To'to teens who work, they are part of the 170,000 young people (ages 15-24) in the Cordillera region who are working or are actively looking for work. They are part of the 46.3% of young people who are part of the labour force in the region (Philippines Statistics Authority, 2015, p. 180). The youth labour force participation ratio in the Cordilleras is a little higher than the national average, which might imply that young people's participation in labour is relatively pervasive in the region of which To'to is a part. Despite being commonplace, however, the To'to participants also think, along with some parents, that working in the mines is too much for their young bodies. Steve says that to work is acceptable but it should not be as physically exhausting and dangerous as going to the mines, or being sleep-deprived (Interview, 21 March 2017).

Paradoxically, however, despite it being ordinary and almost ubiquitous for the To'to young people, their engagement with labour gives them a sense of status and is a source of pride. For example, Ruby, despite being embarrassed initially for having to sell rice cakes, now feels proud whenever she is called "Miss *Puto*", a label used in reference to the rice cake she sells, *puto*. Cristina is also extremely proud of her classmates, especially the boys who go to the *usuk* on weekends and still appear on Monday for school. Steve, too, thinks that he is making good use of his time when he works on weekends. It is perhaps from their endurance of physical pain, and overcoming shame that they draw pride and honour in doing manual work. More importantly, by invoking their labour, they distinguish themselves from the *istambay,* people who wait for support or work, or hang around in public places (Farrugia, 2018a, p. 54). In this sense, labour also becomes an index of youth citizenship.

The necessity to work for survival as "work to live", and the bravado they exhibit in taking the risks of going under the earth and their recurrent departure and return as "live to work" also mirror the To'to young people's slippage between "labour" and "work" – reflecting perhaps a lack of discursive separation between the two. But the pride, fulfilment, and honour they draw from enduring the challenges of labour also hint, at

least, to a sense of "craftsmanship"; but only insofar as they find pockets of gratification from it. Their engagement with informal paid work, then, is neither purely "work", nor purely "labour". It is to an extent, a form of "craftsmanship" too, in the ways in which Mills (1951) thought of it. Much as it provides convenience and considerable control over their time, it also provides a sense of autonomy "to control [one's] own working action", and they are "able to learn from [their] work; and use and develop [their] capacities and skills in its prosecution" (Mills, 1951, p. 220).

In summary, for the To'to young people, labour is rendered ordinary through its pervasiveness as a way of life -- or to put in Steve's words, "live to work" because of its seeming colonisation of much of their time, even their leisure time. But it is also an esteemed form of accomplishment because it affords young people some material wants, and some symbolic rewards as well. As such, labour engagement also becomes "work to live". These two aspects of life and work, despite their seeming opposition are not mutually exclusive. They in fact cohere and overlap. In the end, what labour does to the To'to young people, especially among the boys is to make being alive partly like dying when risks are considered and eventually shelved, and also just partly living when the rewards are thought of and acquired.

Labour and its others

In the previous section, the distinction between work and life was teased out by highlighting the colonisation of the To'to young people's lives by work, and also its occasional material rewards. In this section, I extend this distinction further by looking into how young people's participation in local labour such as mining related work perturbs their commitment towards their school. Second, I consider how this same commitment interrogates the generally-accepted attractiveness of non-mining work. And lastly, how it unsettles their citizenship, despite the pride they take from it, by reason of mining's ecological harm. In short, I examine how their participation and exposure to certain forms of labour in the present, puts them in a situation that may threaten the promise of an imagined better life, or their chances of eventually getting out of the mining loop. But before I do that, I trace how gold became such a fixture in everyday To'to living.

Families and Labour in the Mining Industry

For more than a century now, gold has been a primary animator of everyday To'to life. With the arrival of the Americans at the close of the nineteenth century, commercial mines were established in the Cordilleras where To'to is part of. This was followed by several other commercial mines that opened in nearby towns. Infrastructure such as roads was built to expedite the transport of mining machinery from the lowlands. These roads also inevitably linked To'to to the lowlands (Habana, 2001, p. 8) and facilitated the influx of people who wanted to partake of To'to's riches. In hindsight, the opening of To'to to the Americans and outsiders in general brought about cases of land dispossession, displacement, and death, especially among those who worked on the construction of roads along the precipice of hills and mountains (Habana, 2001, pp. 8-11).

But in the late 1990s, some of the big multinational corporations, like the Benguet Corporation, ceased operations. This was partly because of initiatives from some local authorities to close large-scale mining in the Cordilleras due to environmental concerns. After implementing open pit mining activities, the mining companies left and caused, once again, the displacement of their employees and their families (Chaloping-March, 2017, p. 90). Despite this, or perhaps because of it, many local people resorted to "pocket mining", even settling close to the open pit area (Chaloping-March, 2017, p. 90). Pocket mining refers to the tracing of gold veins by entering the "extremely narrow cracks and clefts of the earth" called "pockets" (p. 83).

In effect, the once thriving and gold-bearing tunnels were abandoned by the corporations, and the lives in the bunkhouses were disturbed. Despite this, in recent years, there has also been an influx of migrants from various provinces of the Cordillera seeking out this work, making the pocket miners of To'to uneasy (Chaloping-March, 2017, p.90). This is something the young people have constantly invoked, even attributing peace and order problems to the increasing heterogeneity in the villages due to pocket-mining-induced local migration. Along with pocket mining as an alternative livelihood, other forms of work emerged, including international migrant work in which mostly women are involved.

The gold economy, therefore, as it is today even in its small-scale form, has always been a driving force in the ways in which early To'to was organised. From marriage, family relations, community labour, governance, and infrastructure, gold found its way to shine upon these domains. The To'to story of dispossession and displacement is a recurring one that started from the time of American colonial rule, through to the abandonment of multi-national mining corporations in the 1990s, and the continued fear of competition and being outnumbered by local migrants in the present. Yet it is also a story of accumulation, or at least an attempt to do so, that in one way or another, still revolves around a golden fantasy.

In the world of the To'to youth, mining-related work still dominates their parents' occupations, particularly their fathers. The majority of fathers has participated in mining work in the form of *usuk* (entering holes or tunnels) (Chaloping-March, 2017, p.90), *bunag* (carrying of ore), or *babad* (soaking). Some of them also started their own *usuk*, a small-scale mining venture by financing various mining related activities. Michael's father used to earn as much as 120,000 PhP (3,000 AUD) a month from their *usuk*. Ruby's father ventured into it as well and invested 2,000,000 PhP (52,000 AUD) which was allegedly swindled by his co-investors.

Even when fathers engage in other forms of work, they still dabble with mine work. Julius' father is a preacher but works as *agbabad* (soaker). Judith's father is a security guard but has previously worked in the mines. Mark's father makes *buybuy*, a soft broom made from grass, but also does *bunag* (carrier of ore). At present, only three of the fathers do work that is not connected to mining. Brian's stepfather works as a call centre agent for a Business Process Outsourcing company in Baguio City. Ruby's father is a taxi driver and was previously a driver of a mining company. And Cristina's father is a government employee at the town hall.

Their mothers' work appears to be more diverse than that of their fathers. The mothers of Brian, Michael, Mark, April, and Judith currently work or have a long history of working as domestic helpers abroad. Most of them have worked in places like Hong Kong, Malaysia, or Cyprus for several years and have even moved from one place to another. In contrast, the mothers of Ruby and Celine, who are neighbours and good friends, either accept laundry or clean houses in the village. Cristina's mother sells vegetables in the strawberry farms in La Trinidad, the capital of Benguet province, while

Bob's mom is a trainer for a beekeeping non-profit organisation. There are three mothers who work as *joiners* but according to their children, they only do it irregularly.

Aside from their parents, their siblings too are already working. None of Dexter's siblings are in school. The older ones chose not to go to college, even when they had scholarship offers, while his younger sibling dropped out. All of them now go to the mines every day, except for Dexter who joins them when their times permit. All of Tere's siblings, even those who are young, have also dropped out of school and now work in the mines. Both Dexter and Tere agree that it is the attractiveness of the earnings from mine work that lure them to drop out.

The engagement of the To'to participants' families in mine-related work signals not only their familiarity and history with such kind of work. It also shows an almost default-like relation to it. More importantly, aside from mine-work's colonisation of their weekends or leisure time, it also sometimes sucks them out from their schools. As such, the decision to work in To'to, despite its survivalist and often default affirmation, is not always an easy one. It always involves a conscious effort to choose from competing and compelling alternatives. Worst, a To'to youth's choice of one alternative over another inevitably comes with a cost. It is this condition of having to choose among possibilities of working full time and dropping out of school that I focus on in the next sections. I will examine the tensions between labour and schooling, mine work and other works, and mine work and citizenship, aiming to surface the invisibilised forms of labour that arise as a part of the To'to young people's participation in waged labour. By highlighting what happens "behind-the-scenes" of their ways of responding to demands from various domains of To'to life, such as school and work, I reveal how imagination in practice inevitably incurs costs too. It is only after these tensions are elaborated in the next three sub-sections that I will delve into a deeper engagement with how the To'to young people deploy their imaginative capacities in responding to these tensions via their tactics of making do.

"Life is tough, they'd rather work"

It appears that, although Steve's question, "work to live or live to work?", remains relevant, it is nevertheless complicated further by the familial experiences of students

like Dexter and Tere. The question also alludes to one of the overarching tensions that the To'to young people constantly have to confront – that of choosing between school and work. Dexter and Tere, just like most young people in the villages, are constantly grappling with whether to stay as full-time students and defer higher financial gains or drop out to earn more. In Dexter's view, it is the material conditions that push school leavers towards full time work in the mines. Yet, he does not appear to be swayed by the prospect of financial rewards:

> It's because life is tough that's why these teenagers get lazy with school and think they'd rather work. Even when they're still at school, they go to the mines every other day…All my siblings are no longer in school. I am not influenced to drop out because they keep pushing me to go to school. They provide money, usually 500 PhP (14 AUD) per month but it depends (Interview, 16 March 2017).

Unlike Dexter, dropping out of school has crossed Tere's mind. However, she was able to think through why it might not be a good decision in the long run. She shares, "I think about it and ask myself, what if I drop out too? But it's not permanent so it is not sure" (Interview, 15 March 2017). Just like Tere and Dexter, young people, especially those who are really engaged in *usuk* inevitably have to confront this question. This is true especially for Mark:

> I can't wait to finish school already. Sometimes, when I think about school and getting bored with it, I feel like working already. But once I work and won't finish school, I will find it hard to find a job in the future (Interview, 27 March 2017)

Unlike other students whose decision to go to school is made almost automatically without second thoughts, Dexter, Tere, and Mark, make this same decision in relation to weighting up many other considerations. This contrasts with the experience of privileged young people to whom the distinction between school and work remains considerably stable. For better-off families and young people, school continues to act as a site of transition to work. This function of schooling however, does not perfectly apply in the case of the To'to young people. In fact, their experiences challenge this linear construction of school to work pathways. Young people's experience of work in To'to resonates with what Morrow (2013) found among rural Andhra Pradesh youth, which is that work is no longer a marker of adulthood, and school to work transitions do not apply fully. Most of the time, as the To'to young people

show, school and work happen simultaneously. The significance of these fading distinctions between school and work, and youth and adulthood in light of economic instabilities, is examined by Farrugia (2018a) who argues that:

> One of the key consequences of global economic restructuring is the dissolution of employment as an institutional boundary between youth and adulthood, and a kind of detemporalisation of the youth period in contexts of high unemployment and rapid labour market change (p. 51)

While To'to is a first-class municipality with an annual income of 160 million PhP (4.5 million AUD) in 2013 (Municipality of To'to, 2019), the percentage of poor families has continued to rise from 4.3% to 6.3% in the period 2012 to 2015 (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016b). Given the increasing number of families experiencing poverty in the villages, more and more students could feel compelled to work while studying, or worse, drop out from school and work full time. At To'To High School where the participants are enrolled, a bulletin board at the Principal's office shows that between 2013-2016, the drop-out rate dangled between 1 to 2 percent. This amounts to between 11 to 16 students annually. While this appears modest compared to rates in the metropoles, this data nevertheless affirm the experiences of Tere and Mark who have thought of dropping out, and underscore the material reality of the school-work tension.

It is also interesting to note that this tension, as Cristina observes, more commonly arises among male students; in her view, boys are usually more likely than girls to drop out of school. She estimates that there had been at least five of her grade school classmates who dropped out (Interview, 21 March 2017). Brian, who went to another school, counts at least ten of his elementary school peers who had dropped out of school (Focus Group, 23 March 2017). Cristina adds that the reasons for them dropping out include family problems and lack of support or because school is simply not for them and they do not want to attend anymore (Interview, 21 March 2017).

A concrete example of what Cristina and Brian talk about is Michael. He dropped out of school for two years to work in a chili farm in Pugo, La Union, an agricultural town located at the foot of the Cordillera Mountains, just a few kilometres away from To'to. When I asked Michael about what he thinks of his decision, he says, "had I not dropped out, I would have been ahead of Mark. I would not have been affected by the

K to 12 curriculum reform. I would have finished high school in just four years, not six years" (Interview, 27 March 2019).

The reality of the school-work tension has serious implications not only for school completion, but also for To'to students' aspirations and sense of possible futures. In the following fieldwork vignette, I illustrate how familiarity with specific forms of work among To'to young people figures in their choice of school activities on the one hand, and on the other, in the making of aspirations.

"DREAMLESS"

> "Do you notice there are lesser number of students joining the speech choir performance?", Ma'am B.A. asks me one afternoon during the rehearsal days for To'To High School's foundation day. I am overseeing the students practice because Ma'am J, their research and English teacher who organised it asked me to. The students who participated are mainly Grade 11 students, some of whom are participants in my project. As Ma'am B.A. waits for my response, I struggle to find what she is hinting at. I respond, "most of the boys are doing the hard and manual work of painting, scrubbing, and carpentry work for the big day, maybe they need more people to work on that". She explains that this could be an indication of their life goals. She says the students might most likely prefer "just" manual work instead of professional work. A week before this conversation, I had a chat with her. I recall how she told me that my presence in the school is going to be helpful. "You will be an inspiration for the students to dream bigger especially for those "*walang pangarap*" (dreamless), she said.
>
> I keep pondering upon her claim, as students read the speech choir piece they are assigned, and silently ask myself: "so which among the students I am working with are "*walang pangarap"*? I recite in my mind the participants, one by one, their dream job, where they want to be. Steve…Tere…Engineering…ecology, law-enforcement, hospitality…Seoul…religious work, computing. Could it be that Ma'am B.A. is right? Or can it simply mean that the boys are interested in woodwork because it is similar to what they do at work?

In the vignette, "Dreamless", Ma'am B.A makes apparent the tension between manual and mental work and highlights that students, especially boys, tend to gravitate towards the former. This logic reflects not only the pervasive valorisation of mental work in Philippine society today but can be traced back to the American colonial management of education. Coloma (2009) argues that the use of a pedagogical template for racialised minorities in the U.S. South to educate the Filipinos during the American occupation of the Philippines, brought about pronounced distinctions among different groups. This, according to Coloma, involved "the production of a two-tiered educational

program for different segments and different destinies – a liberal arts focus for the select few and an industrial-manual one for the majority" (Coloma, 2009, p. 514). As a result, children from upper classes were trained to be professionals, while the majority were channelled towards "manual and vocational destinies" (Coloma, 2009, p.514). This, I, argue continues to linger today in the existing K to 12 educational policy reform due to the asymmetries of track offerings in different regions. Ma'am B.A. makes the manual-mental distinction by adding a gendered view. In this case, the To'to students are not only driven towards manual work because of the lack of other track options in THS. The To'to boys themselves, seem to voluntarily enrol into "vocational destinies" as seen in their co-curricular choices. Ma'am B.A. also implies that role models of what she thinks are accomplished people are lacking in THS. Lastly, she signals attention to the extent to which the To'to young people find their schooling offers attractive and rewarding for future use.

In thinking about the place of education in relation to their future work, some students point out that the new K to 12 curriculum and their work aspirations make college unnecessary. However, there are also others who think that what is currently offered in THS does not match their higher education prospects and their aspired work. Tere echoes what she heard from the television, "we do not need to go to college to find a job especially jobs abroad" (Interview, 6 March 2017). Most of them, like Ruby, April, and Cristina, believe that the K to 12 prepares them for work abroad. Nancy, who initially did not like to take the technical-vocational strand thinks that the cookery courses will help her achieve her dream of becoming a chef. She says, "I feel it is working" (Interview, 6 March 2017). Ruby also claims that she has been improving in her dressmaking skills which will help her in becoming a designer in the future. While there is optimism among the students that their school training provides sufficient preparation for future jobs particularly those who took the cookery strand, the rest feel that there is mismatch between what their aspired future work is and their current school track.

The To'to young people acknowledge that their schooling is not perfect. As discussed in Chapter Four, some of them did not willingly enrol at THS and are only there because of their lack of resources to go elsewhere for studies. With this, schooling somehow functions as an imperfect insurance policy for them such that while it does not fully cover them from risks, it is the best they can hold on to. Recall how Tere puts

her current work as a laundry washer as uncertain and not "permanent", and how Mark thinks it will be difficult to find a proper job if he does not finish school. Moreover, schooling also provides a sense of stability and direction, which are indices of a normal life for teenagers like them. Julius' and Michael's phrase, "it's ok *basta derecho*" (it's ok as long as I go straight), sums this kind of relationship to their school. In short, THS with all its imperfections and insufficiencies – decrepit facilities, lack of educational choices, and incompetent staff – remains an important institution where milestones can happen. While the school can only provide these aspirations in fragmentary terms, it allows them to experience a glimpse of a normal life. Berlant's (2007) analysis of the disjunction between "near utopian" and lived reality is pertinent here. While Berlant's analysis of post-Fordist affect centres around societies that are different from To'to in terms of socio-economic dynamics, some salient points nuance the To'to young people's case. These young people's investment towards their schooling, even if they do not want it or having to settle for an inferior choice, resonates with what Berlant (2007) calls "a feeling of aspirational normalcy" (p.28). For her, this constitutes "the desire to feel normal and to feel normalcy as a ground of dependable life, a life that does not have to keep being reinvented" (p.28).

In summary, because of the limited educational options in THS, there remain incidents of incongruence between the employment goals held by the technical vocational education strand in THS and the students' personal career aspirations. Tensions also exist between the state, community, and even individual desires to complete basic schooling and the compelling material conditions of disadvantage and deprivation that suck them out of schools into work. However, there are also non-disjunctural elements between school and work. First, the technical vocational track offered at THS mirrors the generational labouring that To'to young people have always known, that of surviving by using one's brawn. Second, and more importantly, To'to young people's navigation – of what I have characterised as school-work tension – through a loose relationship of moving out of one, and into another and *vice versa* appears to be a coherent decision. This is so not only because they ensure that they are able to live in the present through their participation in various forms of paid labour. Their insistence in going to school also provides a sense of normalcy to them, and a safety net that, through it, it is imagined that things will be better in the future.

Eternal Recurrence: Mine Work and its Competitors

In the previous section, I examined the values and logic behind To'to young people's simultaneous engagement with work on the one hand, and their sustained insistence on completing their basic schooling despite wanting other tracks. In this section, I examine another imbrication, that of mine work and alternative work available in To'to, and the ways in which my To'to friends relate to both.

To'to's local economy is plainly organised around the extraction, production, and distribution of gold. The entrepreneurial locals have carved out sources of income for their families through the establishment of their own ventures such as owning an *usuk*, or having a gold-buying station, or selling mining hardware such as ball mills. I was told by a convenience store owner who also buys gold in Toto, that a gram of gold costs 1,000 PhP (25AUD). Eventually, gold bought from To'to is later sold to other buying stations in Baguio City or the Central Bank's satellite buying station. Another researcher, however, told me that gold from To'to sometimes find its way to China through backdoor channels. In To'to, gold buying stations and hardware shops appear every now and then as one traverses the highway to the villages, along with some *sari-sari* – hole in the wall, family-run convenience stores – that provide the daily needs of the villagers in smaller portions instead of in bulk. For *sari-sari* store owners like Judith's family, it is a good way to ease some of their daily needs. While not as ubiquitous as the gold buying stations and *sari-sari* stores, computer shops, eateries, and karaoke places are also available. It can be surmised, therefore, that To'to's economy provides a variety of other options that people can venture into aside from mining-related activities, such as driving a jeepney or a taxi, BPO work, labour migration and small-scale businesses.

However, even though some alternative forms of work exist in To'to, the labour force continues to gravitate towards mining related work such as *usuk, bunag, joiner,* and *babad* despite the risks. Also, their loose relationship to risky mine work characterised by their moving in to tunnel work, then out towards other work, only to return to *usuk* again, remains interesting. In the following fieldwork vignette, I seek to

draw out some of the thinking that animates young people's relationship to the tunnels and other workplaces.

BRAVADO FOR THE JACKPOT

A few minutes after Michael, Mark, and Bob took me on a tour around the mills, we talked about their motivations and their hopes that orbit around their experiences in the mines. I ask, "why do you put yourself through those risks?" We just emerged from the narrow, dark, and suffocating tunnel that I could not stand to be in for more than five minutes. They narrate their fears of getting trapped and of inhaling gas. I surmise that the uncertainty between luck and risk, survival and death complicates what labour means for the To'to people in ways that I have not imagined earlier. It is a way of making or breaking lives. When one becomes lucky to *tumama* (hit the jackpot), the young men say life changes drastically. I recall how Michael told me once that the house we were facing at the compound where they stay was built because the owner once hit the jackpot. Like the one Michael showed me, the big houses in To'to are built mostly from gold money, if not from working abroad. The boys continue the conversation by recalling how some of their peers do not have to work because their parents were *timmama*.

Just as the fantasy to find the pot of gold rouses them to face the risks, the hit or miss logic of pocket mining breaks families and local lives too. Michael continues, "when miners are unlucky, they go broke because they won't get their invested money back. They end up drinking in the street." It is a common sight in To'to for men to be drunk. In one of my home visits, one father was intoxicated. There was even a time on my way to To'to that I sat beside an intoxicated man who fell from his seat, and was lying on the jeepney floor for a while, almost falling from the vehicle. This unpredictability of mining, in the eyes of the To'to youth, has impacted a lot of families and the peace and order in their community. Most issues of alcoholism and public disturbance that arise from being intoxicated are due to losses incurred in venturing into mining.

Michael recalls that his father used to earn as high as 120,000 PhP (3500 AUD) monthly from mining but would spend most of it doing "happy-happy" through drinking. He thinks his father put all the earnings to waste. Michael blames alcohol for their bad luck but at the same time, alcohol offers a way out from the difficulties of the present too. He confesses that he drinks "2 x 2", a famous local gin, to ease his body pains. He also goes out to the nearby *sari-sari* to drink some nights when he cannot sleep. He constantly thinks about the possibility of dying or feeling anxious of what may come in the future. It is only a question of when their turn for luck, understood at either of the ends of the spectrum, happens. As long as it is not there yet, the risks in the tunnels are numbed out by the hope that any moment, they just might hit a pot of gold.

This vignette draws out how the tension in small-scale mining between effort as a form of productive input and finding gold as productive output operates. The logic of time, merit, and certainty does not work in the *usuk*. It follows the logic of luck instead. In Michael's words, "if you get lucky, just a week of work is enough as long as you get

something. But if there's nothing at all, there's nothing" (Field Note, March 27). Given the basic technology they have in their small-scale mines, it does not matter how long they work or how fast they do it, what matters at the end of the day is that sweet spot of uncertainty between effort and luck.

At the opposite end of the spectrum of possibilities, as noted above, are risks as well. They villagers enter the mines with the thought that half of their bodies are already consigned to death but half of it hopes to withstand gas and evade suffocation, miss falling debris or rocks, and escape when tunnels collapse. In the case of the boys of To'to, it is either they get lucky to find gold, and lucky to get out; find nothing but be able to return to the outside, which is the most likely; or, at worst, finding nothing and be trapped inside. Newspaper articles during the rainy season teem with stories of miners getting trapped, and rescuers doing their best to save them. Another layer in this contradiction between effort and productivity is the disconnect between awareness of risks and cautionary measures to avoid it. When I was preparing to join the boys to enter the tunnels during the weekend, I asked them what I should wear. I was told to wear something that will allow me to move freely and something I will not mind getting dirty. I asked whether I needed to buy a hard hat to be safe and their response stunned me. I was told they do not wear protective gear, especially a hard hat, because it adds more weight to their bodies inside and can restrict their movement or slow them down. The extreme physical exhaustion not only from duck-walking for hours, or breathing thin air, but sometimes, having to carry heavy sacks of ore from the tunnels to milling shacks can break their backs. I asked Michael, "doesn't your body hurt from doing all this work?" He tells me, *kasla birbiruken ti bagik* (it's like my body is looking for it), which implies a certain form of bodily adaptation that the To'to mine workers have acquired through the years. This adaptive capacity helps them endure recurrent exposure to hard work, but may also mean the inability to adapt to other forms of employment (Millar, 2014, p. 43-44). Recall Steve's preference of mine work over being an all-around staff in a catering business or drying rice grains in the lowland and enduring extreme heat and itch. Mine work, therefore, is not only moderated by luck on one end, and risks that linger constantly on the other, but by physical, psychological adaptation somewhere in the middle. Income, therefore, appears to depend on a confluence of how much effort is exerted and on luck.

Two things are especially salient in the relationship of To'to young people with the *usuk* and other forms of labour in the villages or in the city. First, the reason they temporarily leave the mines and go elsewhere for work is simply that they feel they have ran out of luck, or when the earth does not give much up to them. Second, they return to the *usuk* with a three-fold scheme of motivations: they continue to hold on to the logic of luck, believing that they finally will get their chance for a moment of *tumama*; their bodies have adapted to the physical demands and look for it; or the working conditions, despite the risks, are appraised as still better than lacking sleep, enduring heat and itch, and having no autonomy in other forms of work.

I conclude this section with a quotation from Dexter that captures the varying levels of precarity in the small-scale mining industry:

> It is not every day that you get gold. There are times when you'll get some but they're in small amounts so you have to think of another business. Mining business can also be closed anytime. When that happens, there should be an alternative (Interview, 06 March 2017).

"That's the only work we can do": Labour, Citizenship, and Ecological Concerns

The previous two sections examined the ways in which the To'to participants navigated the demands of and expectations for schooling and work, as well as how they weighed options and shifting attachments to mine work and other non-mining related work. In this section, I examine how the To'to boys who usually enter the tunnels, grapple with the constantly lingering consequences of their work in their immediate environment and, with their roles as citizens of To'to.

Not only is mine work a double-edged form of labour - a source of living and partly a way to die. This work also becomes a form of violence, not only to young men themselves, but to their immediate environment and their community. The ubiquity of mine work is manifest in the tangible physical effects (both intended and unintended) – the cracks in the ground, the sight of blue green water in a crater of an abandoned site, and hole-in-the-wall mining hardware shops that dot the streets. These act as signposts of the harm brought by mining to To'to ecology but also the impending danger it may bring to the community. Mark points out the dismal condition of his

village's underground in one of my interviews with him, as we sat in the compound where Michael's family lives:

> You can see that there are cracks here [pointing to the cracks on the ground]. Under the oval are two tunnels that meet. A tunnel is also dug from our house to the cemetery. When pocket mining operators abandon the tunnels, they should fill it and plant trees. There are other operators who, when they do not get lucky, just leave it (Interview, 27 March 2017).

Through their participation in local pocket mining activities, the young men of To'to also have a stake, in one way or another, in the emergence of environmental hazards in their communities. They are not, however, nonchalant about the harm that their way of living brings forth. When asked how they feel about being part of the possible endangerment of their village folks, Steve says, "we cannot do anything. That's the only work we can do (Interview, 21 March 2017)." Mark points out, "I am not against pocket mining. When mining is gone, what are we going to eat?" (Interview, 27 March 2017). Not only does the tension exist between work, as a productive and exemplary human activity to earn a living, and destroying the environment and putting the lives of others at risk to survive, but there is also another complicated layer of contradiction. This is the opposition between the ideal of a good son, a good citizen who goes to work on weekends to sustain himself and bring himself to school on weekdays, against the image of a boy who will not mind participating in digging intersecting tunnels under their neighbourhood to earn a living. The boys of To'to negotiate and navigate these tensions by weighing between two competing ethical considerations and pointing out practices of accountability and responsibility. It is the ideal of working within what the existing legal framework allows them to do to survive, against the proximate yet impending danger which may or may not happen.

Aside from invoking lack of choice, the boys are quick to point out the bigger picture. They do this by comparing their stakes in the environmental destruction in contrast to that of others. The boys direct attention to the big mining operators and point out that those who own the *usuk* should be responsible for filling the tunnels or properly closing them. This way of pointing out the "real bad guys" resonates with how other individuals living in precarious conditions make sense of the contradiction between their acts of self-preservation and survival that are at some points at odds with

the law or some moral sensibilities. The To'to boys' act of shifting blame or responsibility resembles Wacquant's (1998) analysis of African-American "hustling" in the ghettos of Chicago. To "hustle" involves committing acts that range from the "innocuous and inoffensive", to the "felonious", and finally, the "downright criminal" (p.4). While far from committing criminal offenses, the To'to boys are like Rickey in Wacquant's study, in so far they put others at risk in their acts of self-preservation. Both Rickey and the To'to boys find peace by looking at and exposing others who do "more bad" things. In detail, as Wacquant (1998) recalls:

> Rickey does not complain about his youth, from which he learned in particular that there is always somebody more miserable that yourself: 'It's people doin' *worser* than me', often remark ghetto residents, including the most dispossessed of them, as if to conform themselves, innovating a double superlative that speaks volumes about the finely differentiated micro-hierarchies elaborated at the very bottom of society (p. 13).

In fairness to the boys of To'to, however, a visit to the villages where mostly large-scale mining has operated shows that the mines have not indeed been properly closed by the companies. This includes not only tunnels that were not covered or filled properly, but also open pits where chemical waste, rubbish, and rainfall mix.

When taken altogether, their engagement with mine work in relation to their schooling and other related work in the villages or in the city points not only to underlying tensions between these domains. The considerations that they reckon with also include school-work ("if life is too tough they drop out"), mine-work-others ("my body looks for it"), internal risks from impending danger in the *usuk* ("half of my body is buried"), and even work-ecological citizenship ("we cannot do anything"). In combination, these tensions suggest that young people's engagement with local labour opportunities cannot be understood simply within the frame of productive labour. Their experiences of navigating competing interests and expectations foreground that productive or material labour always accompanies other forms of labour, that are usually considered to be within the domain of "nonwork" (Virno & Hardt, 1996). This include immaterial labour (Hardt, 1999), such as activities that are not easily recognizable or considered as work (Terranova, 2000), the manipulation and production of affects (Hardt, 1999), or "embodied and affective interactions in the

service of social reproduction" (Boris & Parreñas, 2010, p. 7). All these forms of immaterial labour, as Hardt (1999) argues, "are spread throughout all labouring tasks as a component, larger or smaller, of all labouring processes" (p. 97). These forms of neglected and taken-for-granted labour that the To'to youth go through are elaborated in the section that follows.

Labour behind labour

In the case of the To'to young people, there is an underlying stamina that drives them to insist on going to school while one works. It is the constant movement from one job to another, only to return to the tunnels. It is the guilt that they endure about being a stakeholder in environmental destruction. It is the sleepless nights that Michael endures and deals with through some shots of gin. The eternal recurrence of leaving and returning to mine work is not sufficiently explained by the economic benefits they gain. Instead, the affective labour that involves holding on to the promise of a better life, of a "less bad-life" (Berlant, 2007, 2011), and clinging onto what was once a good life, as Michael and other adults in the community do, also nuances this attachment to mine work The boys' return to the *usuk* can also be because of the incessant hope that maybe in the next hours of staying in the tunnels, or returning the next day, it will also be their turn to *tumama* (hit the jackpot), turning their lives around. This way of looking at their forms of affective labour echoes how Lauren Berlant makes sense of young peoples' hope in situations of inherited disadvantage:

> …let's accept the claim that children organize their optimism for living through attachments they never consented to making, that they make do with what's around that might respond adequately to their needs. They may even come to be in love with the promise of the promise that there will be a moment of reciprocal *something* between themselves and the world, if they're good, that is, *if they become a good subject of the promise*… (Berlant, 2007, p. 296)

The To'to miners understand the irrationality of mine work, the incoherence between input and output, of effort and gain. But since luck governs their relationship with gold, the only way to deal with the uncertainty of time is to give more time: ever-trying, never quitting, always waiting. Their response to the promise of gold for a better life is also a promise to commit to that promise (Ahmed, 2010), however bleak it might be. It could also be seen as a form of mourning for what is lost, of holding on to the

good old days when miners earned big, when Michael's father used to take home 120,000 PhP (3500 AUD) every month.

When understood as a form of mourning, To'to becomes a parallel reality to lost economic dreams. Relevant examples include the "nostalgic longings for Fordist promises that never quite materialized" in Latin America and South Africa (Millar, 2014, p. 42) or the attachment to "strong welfare provisioning [...] and a stable work regime" in Italy (Muehlebach, 2011, pp. 63-64). In a sense, the temporality involved in the To'to boys' engagement with mine work not only revolves around the rarity of *tama* (luck), the omnipresence of risks, the recurrence of leaving and returning. It also involves the relationship of their biographies to the history of To'to, and its future possibilities. With that, the tunnels, however suffocating, and To'to's soil, however porous and unstable, is a "resting place" (Berlant, 2007) that allows them to "imagine rest nostalgically", right in To'to "where rest is supposed to have happened" (p. 291) on the one hand; and where rest remains a possibility on the other. Theirs is, therefore, not merely a nostalgia for the past, for a bygone era, but also for a future – an object of an optimistic belief for a prospective utopia (Boym, 2001). However, a caveat should be posed here. The fact that the boys diffuse their bet on mine work in relation to other competing work, and most importantly, to schooling, suggest that their forms of nostalgia has a sense of sophistication through its tactical and calculative logic. That is, the To'to young people's kind of nostalgia takes the form of a safety net, an insurance policy, or a "reciprocal something" (Berlant, 2007, p. 296). Their nostalgia mourns for what was once present, or what was supposed to have happened, hence it is "restorative" in its longing for a home (Boym, 2001) or a resting place (Berlant, 2007). On top of this, in light of the boys' understanding of the *modus operandi* of small-scale mining, or the precarious conditions people at the margins endure and overcome, their nostalgia is also "reflective" (Boym, 2001). It is reflective nostalgia in so far as it is conscious of the ambivalence of that home, or the longing for that home (Boym, 2001, 2011). In short, beyond thinking of the risks and physical pain that comes every time Michael enters the tunnel, he also thinks of the profits that his father squandered and other opportunities which, had they not been jettisoned, could have made a difference in his current life. It is, therefore, apparent that beneath the productive manual labour that the To'to boys

render are other forms of "immaterial labour" (Hardt, 1999). Not only do these forms of immaterial labour have to be endured, they too facilitate productive labouring.

In their relationship with To'to, young people inevitably work not only because they "merely feel" the villages as a space, they are in fact "spatialized" too when they "formed [an] affective relationship" (Farrugia, Smyth, & Harrison, 2016, p. 120) that involves an intimacy with To'to's past and futures. Physical strength, therefore, is not their only property that is extracted and appropriated. The boys' ability to rationalise, to calm their thoughts to be able to go to work, be headstrong enough to insist on going to school even if the lure of dropping out to earn more is strong, these are also productive inputs, some form of "currency" to belong and acquire utility (Berlant, 2007; Muehlebach, 2011, p. 74). Labour, therefore, in its varied forms (material and productive; immaterial, affective, and reproductive), is, as Herzig and Subramaniam (2017) contend, "a commodity and as the only activity that can produce other commodities" (p. 105). As the pressure increases for young people to acquire degrees, exhibit "soft-skills" (Urciuoli, 2008), and display citizenship in many ways, while supportive institutions for them "fall-away" (Tadiar, 2009); and opportunities continue to diminish, young people are pushed to the edge – to extract more from what they have – and hence labour even more.

I ask that you hold on to these arguments about the labour that is not usually seen when the young people of To'to take a duck-walk and brave the dark tunnels, or sling a backpack over one shoulder to school. Take the immaterial labour that they go through, their obstinacy for school and the promise of a less bad life, their departure and return to familiar work, and their ways of spreading themselves thinly across various domains as their insurance policy. Mark them as mental placeholders. These points will be returned to when making sense of the labour in imagination towards the end of this chapter. For now, I continue grounding how imagination works in labour through the young people's specific and concrete practices of "making do".

"That's What I Pulled, That's What I Saw": Temporality and Spatiality of Making Do

In the previous two sections, I explored how work becomes an ordinary experience among most of To'to young people, one that is simultaneously engaged with as schooling and imbricated with available alternative work in the villages. In engaging with school, mine work, and other available work, I have also demonstrated and argued that To'to young people not only exert physical forms of labouring, but also other forms such as affective labour. In this section, I focus on this usually taken for granted secondary or behind-the-scenes forms of human exertion. I delve into the more specific ways in which young people navigate the various domains that their being youth labourers of To'to is related to. In short, I look into the logic of action that they employ in navigating through the varying domains. I attempt to surface the role of the imagination via their practices of *making do* within the regimes of labour in the villages. I do so by highlighting the temporal and spatial qualities of their making do. I propose that this relates to imagination in so far as their forms of making do, as established in the previous section, are not only motivated by survival needs, but that they are also a form of spreading their chances to as many aspects of To'to life as possible. This serves as a form of safety net, an insurance policy to change the material living conditions they inherited and into which they are conscripted. As such, it also provides an image of something else that lies in a future place and time. In the fieldwork vignette that follows, I provide a snapshot of the ways in which labour is organised and the resources that are available in To'to to successfully navigate it.

TRIAL AND ERROR

I remember Ruby's father as the intoxicated husband who insisted that I interview him instead of *Manang* (older sister) Nora, Ruby's mother. I remember his voice, the incoherence and inaudibility of his words. I remember how he offered what is left of the over-easy eggs and sausages on their table when I arrived at their home for a visit. I remember him as the drunk taxi driver whom I interviewed as we drove around the city. I remember most of all, the discomfort, the suffocating feeling of being around him, the feeling of insecurity about what is going to happen next. I remember him as a decent man who had the humility to apologise for whatever troubles he has caused me.

Ruby's father is a frustrated pilot. He used to attend a flying school in Clark, Pampanga, Philippines but did not finish. He did not give up on this dream and continued taking aeronautical engineering courses in Baguio City. He remained unsuccessful. He ended up working as a driver for the biggest government-owned and controlled corporation engaged with energy provision. In 2012, while on a 48-hour driving shift, his boss asked him to drive at a speed of 90kmh which he followed. This speed is beyond the designated limit in that highway. Unfortunately,

> they were hailed by a traffic enforcer. When he pulled the brake, one of the passengers, a high-ranking employee who shared the vehicle with them that day, fell from his seat. He was fired thereafter due to his negligence. He would have been given tenure that year but his boss, the one who asked him to over speed, did not cover for him. Since then, he has driven *jeepneys* and taxis.
>
> He eventually ventured into some business with two others in Abra, a nearby province in the Cordillera Region, but was swindled by his partners. He lost 2,000,000PhP (52,000AUD) in that failed venture. His wife tells me that since then, he constantly drank to sleep after he arrives at dawn from a graveyard shift of driving a taxi.

The story of Ruby's father demonstrates two significant characteristics of the ways in which labour, as in itself a form of making do, is organised and managed in To'to. The first is the dispensability of blue-collar work that adds to the precarity that most To'to folks have to grapple with. The second is the reliance on local resources, such as collective ties, to respond to labour precarity that includes tapping into networks and connections to find work or put up business ventures. As such, not only is labour a form of making do, but in order to navigate it, one must deploy some creative energies too.

The falling-away of previously enjoyed labour benefits (e.g. full-time and life-long employment; security of tenure, etc.) within the neoliberal regime has significantly impacted social ties, belonging, or "the sense of having a place in the world" (Millar, 2014, p. 35), as seen in the lost opportunities of Ruby's father. With the increasing cut-throat competition and lack of suitable work, it is reasonable to believe that there is in fact, a "fragmentation of traditional, collective identities tied to places and the emergence of individualised, reflexive subjectivities that relate to the world as choosing individuals" (Farrugia, Smyth, & Harrison, 2014, p. 1153). The swindling of funds by the business partners of Ruby's father clearly resonates with what appears to be a "dog-eat-dog" brand of selfish individualism, and the concomitant instability that it engenders in those people affected. It is easy to see, therefore, that within the neoliberal globalised economy, "unstable work destabilizes daily living" (Allison, as cited in Millar, 2014, p. 35). However, I will argue in this section that the making do of the labouring To'to young people goes against the grain of documented labour conditions and subjectivities in the developed world. This is because they continue to hold on to traditional sources of security, that of local networks and resources, which I argue is an apparent spatiality of their kind of making do. Somehow, their case demonstrates what McLeod (2000, pp.

516-517) argues concerning shifts in patterns of youth subjectivity that are "subtle and piecemeal, and are clearly linked to the location of individuals". This suggests that there is an increasing place of "place" in making sense of young people's behaviour in labour in localities. This is the first aspect of their making do in labour that I delve into - the centrality of place-based resources that they use to respond to the destabilisation of daily life.

Local networks and ties make possible business ventures and employment opportunities in To'to. The practice of venture labour, of pooling money, and working together to establish one's own *usuk*, or to be a joiner and wait until the work is finished to get a share of the profit are strong examples of forms of collective solidarities that the To'to young people maximise. Establishing an *usuk* in To'to is a joint-venture among families or friends. Michael and his friends, for example, are planning to establish their own *usuk* someday. Often, the returns for *usuk* owners take months to recover, if they are fortunate. If not, it is a loss. Working *por dia* in the *usuk*, as the boys do, also relies on local connections. Michael goes to the *usuk* that is owned by his uncle. He goes there with Steve, Jade, Julius, and Trent, who are his classmates and friends. Being a *joiner*, someone who processes residue from the mills, also relies on the same connections. People who own an *usuk* employ their neighbours. Dexter, for example, becomes a *joiner* on weekends or whenever he and his siblings' schedules allow them to.

In non-mining-related work such as hospitality or technical work, the young people usually rely on referrals. Mark got his summer job as a food server at Baguio's skating rink because his aunt works with the lady who owns the food stand. On some occasions, Steve and Bob asked if I could refer them to people I know in the city for employment. The young people also tend to try their luck on some jobs with each other. For example, Celine, Brian, and Ruby, who are good friends went to the town hall together to apply for a clerical job for the summer.

The collective practices of tapping into "kinships and friendships as critical resources in strategies of daily survival" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 10) exhibited by the To'to youth affirm what Farrugia (2018a) claims as a pattern in several case studies he analysed. In these cases, he saw that:

> Engagement with the labour market means drawing on social networks and cultures of collective solidarity in a context of high levels of local unemployment, and the meaning of work is as a signifier for respectability rather than a means to personal fulfilment. In this case, changes in the social organisation of work produce not individualisation, but the reaffirmation of collective solidarities in a context of social change (p. 58).

The To'to young people's coming together and tapping into immediate networks demonstrates the continuing value of solidarity, despite the disruptive and individualising logic of modernisation. By coming together, the young To'to labourer's obstinate practice of conviviality becomes a way of resisting the individualising logics of modernisation.

The second resource that they tap into is time itself. Timing and chance are also significant organising mechanisms in the labour of young people in To'to. When I asked how often Julius works, he replied, "whenever someone calls then I go, whatever, *agbagkat*, *agbilag ti lugaba* (carry and dry throw-away residue)." (Interview, 08 March 2017). The accidental nature of labour is also observed with Michael. One afternoon during my go-along with him, he decided to accompany me to the *jeepney* station and on his way back, he got an offer of a painting job from the school canteen owner who he bumped into. Steve also got an accidental typing job from Ma'am B for the annual report of the student organisation that she oversees. Understanding this temporal dimension of labour, they take every job that comes their way. This also means being able to maximise the resources that do not come often or on a regular basis. Tere makes sure that whenever their water tank – with water sourced from the spring – is full that she takes as much laundry work as she can. This would spare her from going to the well and working there all day. This is also seen in Dexter becoming a *joiner* only when his siblings work on weekends so that he has company. In mining ventures, waiting and uncertainty play an important part. Not only do *usuk* owners gamble but also people who work as *joiners*. Dexter describes how being a *joiner* is also a form of waiting game. He says, "here, a month before you get the money, you have to work hard. You have to wait until the process is over and [your share] depends on the number of *joiners*" (Interview, 07 March 2017).

In relation to the temporal repertoire of their making do, the young To'to labourers also have to maximise their reach to other places. Mark says that he does not

choose work and sometimes, he goes to other places to look for work. He uses the term "*dumayo*" (itinerant worker) to refer to this movement to a place temporarily for work. This has been done by Steve when he worked in Isabela to dry *palay* grains and Michael when he stayed in Pugo to grow chili.

I make sense of the temporality and emplacement of youth labour in To'to by recalling what I think is a powerful representation of it in how Steve described a task I asked him to do. I once asked the participants to make a vision board using limited materials (cardboard, daily broadsheet, glossy papers, glue, scissors, etc.) that I provided in a span of an hour. "*Isu't naguyud ku, isu't nakitak* (that's what I pulled, that's what I saw), was Steve's response when I inquired why he chose certain images from a newspaper for his vision board. In "that's what I pulled, that's what I saw", selection and vetoing play a minimal part, with the need and intention to work dominating. Labour is intentional, incidental, or accidental. It is not just opportunity – it is the maximisation or the grabbing of every opportunity that comes along that demonstrates the overarching temporal character of labour among To'to youth. The order in "that's what I pulled, that's what I saw" also speaks volumes. In Steve's sequencing of action, the pulling precedes the seeing. In that case, given limited resources and time, one pulls whatever comes along, even before fully seeing it. Because in conditions of deprivation, disadvantage, and precarity, the temporality of provisions, of winnings are two-fold. First, they are "just in time" as Wacquant (1998, p.10) puts it to describe the "household universe" where women are almost always relegated the responsibility to stretch minimal provisions that breadwinners bring home. In other words, winnings are almost always in the form of "buzzer-beating". Second, provisions are also, of course, provisional in nature. As such, to pull before seeing is to take advantage of opportunities that one relies upon, before they disappear. And as De Certeau (1984) describes the tactical nature of making do, it "must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 37).

The sequencing of pulling before seeing also represents quite strongly the exigencies in how these young people work that is similar to Berlant's (2007) interpretation of Rosetta and Le Promesse's portrayal of children's approach to post-Fordist life with a sense of urgency. In these cases, "children are impulsive, act[ing]

urgently to calibrate life…and then make emotional sense of it later" (p. 277). That is, desperate young people in difficult situations tap into "immediately available resources in constant attempt to introduce order into a fragile and unpredictable existence" (Langevang, as cited in Farrugia, 2018a, p.60). Imagine the To'to young labourers in a quiz show where they press the buzzer even before fully hearing the question. That is how they labour.

In To'to, therefore, contingency, impermanence, and often, emergency, as temporal qualities, and collective solidarity as a spatial feature are what define the logics and resources specific to their labour subjectivity. In this sense, managing time and maintaining connections, and willingness to be mobile within the region are the "soft skills" (Urciuoli, 2008) that they constantly deploy and maximise.

Aside from time and place that provide structures around which labour relations are organised, gender too is an important concept and category that helps explain why To'to youth engage in different forms of work. All the boys, except for Brian and Bob, enter the tunnels, as *taga-bunag* (lifter, carrier), and also *agbabad* (soaker). Some girls, like Nancy, participate in mining-related activities by being *joiners* – the opposite of "miners" who dry the *luyut* (milling residue) or process the *lagaba* (throw-away bi-product). Dexter, who seemingly does not subscribe to heterosexual normativities, does not go to the *usuk* but acts as a *joiner* instead. His uncle, Jules, who happens to be a classmate and openly gay also works as a *joiner* like Dexter. Outside mine work, the men engage in construction, farming, and in hospitality as staff of a catering business. The girls accept laundry and cleaning jobs.

What is important to note in the labouring subjectivity of To'to young people is that they rely so much on pre-existing gendered labour opportunities that their parents and the community have carved out for them. Women take part as *joiners*, they do laundry and act as cleaning ladies, and more popularly, as domestic workers abroad. Among them, only the five mothers who work abroad, a vegetable vendor and a community trainer for an NGO, have full-time permanent jobs, while the others work informally and only when time allows them to do so. Men work as miners, drivers, farmers, or security guards and call centre agents. Not only are time and connection important in the *de facto* labour governance in To'to, but also pre-existing gendered

labour opportunities and gendered views held by men in power, as seen in Ruby's father who refuses to give his blessings to Ruby's mother to work abroad.

Becoming otherwise

In the previous sections, I examined the logics of the To'to young labourers' forms of making do in navigating mine work and school, and other forms of work. I argued that given their material conditions, the seeming illogic of pulling before seeing is perfectly coherent and is cognizant of the temporal and spatial characters of opportunity and resources respectively. Put simply, to navigate labour and school, one must also perform secondary forms of labour, often deploying creative strategies. And for what? I have alluded to this by invoking how young people in post-Fordist economies as analysed by Berlant (2007, p. 277) are seen as "impulsively acting to calibrate life", or by Farrugia (2018a, p.60) as "constantly attempting to introduce order". I extend this examination of their making do in this section by looking at how young people view work – in terms of its costs or what it takes away or forgoes, what qualifies as acceptable form of work, where ideal work happens, and its consequences – as shaped by their and their parent's labouring subjectivities. I do this to relate their forms of making do in labour to imagination.

I argue that the motivation behind the To'to young people's forms of making do are not only survival or getting by, but an attachment to a certain image of themselves, hence a futurity. And while this image may be unclear, it is, as Berlant (2007, p.287) puts it, "always a sense of something rather than something". As such, if imagination on the one hand is related to the images that we create as different from where and what we are in the present (Arendt, as cited in Bottici, 2011); and also a quality of human action, a practice of contacting and engaging with the world (Higgins, 2009) on the other, then it entails both an object and an action. I believe this is important to highlight in order to nuance how the young people's forms of making do not only operationalise imagination in more grounded and everyday terms. Following the object-action trope, it also surfaces the promises and costs of imagination. In the following, I explore this promise of something and the ways in which they arrive at it. I do so by examining their forms of identification to available work in the villages and their parents' work, and eventually present their imagined form of future labour. This is where I surface how

their everyday life of labour, and exposure to labour exemplars (e.g. emigrant mothers, and miner fathers) impact their imagination of their futures. In the succeeding paragraphs, I examine how the To'to young people make connections, in subtle terms, between their parents' work and their aspired future work, or even future partners' work. Moreover, the location of these imagined work also makes apparent the impact of existing transnational connections in their thinking about future mobility as well.

The ways in which the children refer to their parents' work is very telling as it marks a certain proximal or distant identification to it. The strategies of labelling and ambiguity are employed either to indicate a certain level of identification, as well as to counter dominant discourses that put their parents' work in a pejorative light. For example, the children of Overseas Filipina Workers (OFWs) who are involved in domestic work abroad do not use the term "domestic helper", which is a popular generic term to refer to women who take care of children or the elderly, or maintain households abroad. Instead, they either use the term "caregiver" or prefer to specify it by using *"agaywan ti ubing"* (cares for a child) or *"agaywan ti lakay"* (cares for an old person). Brian, for example, describes his mother's work in Kuala Lumpur this way: "She looks after a child. Sometimes, she helps her workmates cook" (Interview, 07 March 2017), which obviously implies domestic work. Mark also uses the same phrase while Judith whose mother has worked in Hong Kong, Thailand, Singapore, and now in Cyprus, prefers to use the term "housewife" (Interview, 07 March 2017). By using the term "caregiver", they avoid their mother's work being subsumed within the wider "domestic helper" category which implies an all-around house help. Instead, they associate their mother's work to the professionalised "caregiver" deployed in North America or Europe. By specifying it as someone who provides care to either the young or the old, or by clarifying the rarity of being involved in other household work such as cooking, they manage to distance their mother's occupation from that of a domestic helper. This is because in the wider society, there is still stigma towards the work of domestic helpers. I also understand Judith's preference to use the term "housewife" both as a form of evasion of the term domestic helper and a way of humanising or making the work more intimate and less condescending.

Another form of parental labour identification strategy is being vague about it. When I asked Cristina about her father's job, she described it as "*agwowork idjay*

munisipyo" (he works in the town hall). When I asked further what type of work he does, she said she did not know. I interpreted this as either an intentional subsumption of her father's work to the aggrandised civil service or a total evasion to clarify what it exactly the work was. As opposed to working on having their mother's intimate work recognised as equally valuable productive work where the separation of home and work, and work from labour is diminished (Boris & Parreñas, 2010, p. 2), they move beyond this work of conceptual clarification because they acknowledge that it is in itself a form of work. By using these strategies, they confront society's condescension towards intimate work, or blue-collar work, and forward alternative possibilities of thinking about it, simultaneously make it also work to their advantage by avoiding getting labelled as a child of a domestic helper.

In assessing their parents' jobs, they compare risks and costs, and contrast them to benefits. Michael, for example, despite his mother's previous incarceration in Hong Kong, still prefers that her mother works abroad instead of staying in To'to. This is because when his mother came home from Hong Kong, she was empty-handed. Moreover, he observes that, "now that mom is back, she is always borrowing money from others. It is better if she stays abroad. You can't have it all (Interview, 24 March 2017)."

Mark and Brian recognise that work abroad is tough. Mark recalls that there was a time when his mother was looking after a child and her boss was not nice to her and was not allowed to go out during her day off (Interview, 06 March 2017). Brian says that what makes his mother's work more challenging is her bad employer (Interview, 07 March 2017). Aside from the risk of being mistreated, they also see the problem of being away from each other as a down side of their parents' work. Brian says that what matters is that the family should be complete (Interview, 16 March 2017) which complements Ruby's claim that, even though her parents are "just" taxi driver and laundry woman, "at least we are together" (Interview, 15 March 2017). There is also a general agreement that their parents' or guardians' work, especially the men who are engaged in mine work is insufficient, something that has also been elaborated in the discussion of ideal husbands among the girls.

It can be surmised that their parents' work or the proximal forms of work that they are constantly exposed to, are evaluated by weighing up between long-distance

intimacy against financial freedom, especially among children with diasporic mothers. Local mine work is gauged in terms of its returns and stability. With these forms of appraisal to their parents' and proximal forms of labour among the young people of To'to, there are recurrent characteristics of ideal labour, or their sense of what good work is, that came up in my interactions with them.

The first is that labour should be stable and sufficient. The girls, in thinking about their future husband's work, specifically pointed out that they do not want a husband who works in the mines. Cristina says:

> CRISTINA Even if he is not working for the government as long as it is good and he can support the family.
> JAY What if he works in the *usuk*?
> CRISTINA That's what I don't like because there are too many bad… not so good yields from mining and it is very unsafe too. It is too risky. The income from mining if you have a family is not enough. (Interview, 21 March 2017)

Tere also adds that her future husband should have a permanent job. Aside from the insufficiency of income and its precarity, April says that her future husband's work, which should not be *usuk,* must be "decent and legal" (Interview, 15 March 2017). What the girls show is a sense of being calculative in setting standards for a potential spouse. While Willis (2003), drawing from more than two decades of research work on young people in Britain starting from the 70's to early 2000's, mentions that there is a decline (at least in the UK) in the number of young women using marriage to transition into new families through male earning power (pp. 401-402), the likes of Cristina, April, and Tere continue to hope that they will find a potential husband who does a different kind of work.

But if an ideal job is something that provides sufficient income, what can sufficient income afford? Most of them say that it should afford them the most basic needs of a family. Brian describes it as:

> As long as you have a house to go home to, it doesn't matter whether it is big or small…As long as I am able to sustain my family, it is ok…Three meals a day, and a complete family. With that, life is good (Interview, 16 March 2017).

Julius says that his work "should be able to provide everything no matter how many you are in the family. You do not need to be very rich, *sakto lang* [just right]" (Interview, 31 March 2017).

Aside from safety, the ideal work must also ensure that the family will be together. In terms of their future work, April and Brian have strong opinions about being separated from their family. April says, "I'll have a family and no one can separate us" (Interview, 16 March 2017) and Brian says he will "get a job and nobody will need to leave. We will be complete" (Interview, 16 March 2017). Others also see that a job that will separate them from their family is acceptable, but only with certain conditions. On the question of leaving, most of them said that they were willing to leave, except for Brian and Judith who are quite insistent on not leaving their families behind. Among those who said that they are open to the possibility of working abroad, they pose a caveat that it should be necessary such that there are no opportunities for them in the Philippines. There are also some safety nets that they mention to ensure that they are together even if they will work abroad. Ruby mentions that she will work in Korea but she will bring her family with her eventually (Interview, 07 March 2017). Dexter on the other hand says:

> Of course, I will also leave but I will not forget my family and it is a must because they are the ones who sustained you through the years…I want all of us to be together wherever we go (Interview, 07 March 2017).

The most immediate plan for them is to work in the Philippines but in order to avoid the precarity, risks, and costs of domestic work abroad or mine work in To'to, most of them are resolved to becoming entrepreneurs. Brian, because of his plan to be an engineer wants to have his own construction firm. Dexter, who is currently studying cookery, plans to establish his own hotel in To'to. Ruby, who is studying dressmaking, aims to produce her own clothing line in the future. Tere, who currently studies dressmaking and accepts laundry on weekends, tackles this question quite profoundly:

> JAY What if you're 30 and still doing the laundry?
>
> TERE [sighs]…That's possible. I will study hard even if I have to support myself just to get higher level of education. What I really want is a business. I want to be a producer in the clothing industry (Interview, 08 March 2017).

To make sense of the ways in which young people consume labour exemplars and their labour experiences in their villages, I recall Willis' (2003) basic argument in *Learning to Labour*. I do this with a caveat that: first, Willis was writing about working-class male students in the 1970's; the society within which his analysis is contextualised is an obviously more economically better-off society than To'to; and lastly, the labour referents are male-dominated industrial work. Given these generational, economic, and gendered variations between Willis' lads and my To'to friends, I draw on Willis' argument on intergenerational succession of labour that is: working-class kid's culture inducts them into low-status jobs, hence functions as a form of social reproduction (Willis, 2003, p.393). I will not deny the plausibility of this argument in To'to in light of the concession from the participants themselves that as Tere says, "that's possible" to stay on the same job they thought was just a transition to real ones. However, I am attuned to the ways in which the To'to young people demonstrate a sense of reflection and deeper engagement with the possibility of inheriting and being instituted to pre-existing labour regimes in To'to. This reflection and engagement is demonstrated in their possession of a certain degree of awareness that this intergenerational succession of labour is a possibility. At the same time, they employ calculative thinking and selectivity in assessing future work and partners in order to prevent this form of social reproduction, of intergenerational succession of labour.

The lack of certainty and autonomy in the kind of work they have experienced and the work that their parents have done leads the young people to look for work where they will be in control, and not at somebody else's mercy or disposal, whether it is a boss, mother nature, time, or luck. It is not technically a form of pre-figuration, because they are not embodying in the present, a desired future possibility. Instead, they exhibit in the present, certain calculative and strategic dispositions to avoid a clear and impending possibility of a future in which social reproduction unfolds. In many ways, their calculative and conditional reckoning of their parents' and fellow To'to residents' work evokes their expressions of desires for a different life, a resistance to a life they have never really consented to (Berlant, 2007).

To recall, imagination implies an image of something, an optimistic object of attachment (Berlant, 2011), and as such, a promise. It is that something that "follows if we do this or that" (Ahmed, 2010, p.14). The doing of this or that, the making do that I

have explored in labour is not only what constitutes how imagination works, but is also what is incurred while it works. It means that by reason of investments towards certain images of a better life in the future, such as becoming otherwise (staying in To'to, having a complete family, etc.), young people insist on imagination's capacity to generate images of other lives and the possibility of such lives. At the same time, their insistence or obstinacy oblige them to bear the costs. These costs come, as demonstrated in the earlier parts of this chapter, as immaterial labouring (Hardt, 1999). More specifically, this type of labouring come in the form of having to constantly spread oneself too thinly, in the fashion of "that's what I pulled, that's what I saw". This means having to split oneself to meet the demands of the future through school, and the present through work. It is like an insurance policy, or putting a bet on something that follows the logic: the more entries you send, the more chances of winning.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how labour among To'to young people is an ordinary way to live and, to potentially die. This inevitably engenders numerous tensions that emerge from the imbrications of mine work, other competing work, school, and their immediate physical environment. The young people of To'to respond to the falling-away of stable labour conditions by tapping into local resources and energy, that of collective solidarity and the tempo of contingency and urgency. In thinking and acting about their conditions of precarity that behoove them to work with a logic of collective contingency, they strategically identify with and distance themselves from pre-existing labour possibilities and experience, and arrive at these milestones of identification by employing calculation and comparison. In the end, their form of labour is one that works for, and aspires towards, a "sense of something" (Berlant, 2007) that is otherwise. In closing, I put forth what could be made sense of in the To'to young people's labour for this sense of something otherwise in relation to making do as a localized and specific operant of imagination. What this chapter has argued is that, for the To'to young labourers, the capacity to imagine entails a promise. More importantly, their insistence on this promise comes with costs – the constancy of making do as constitutive of layers of varying forms of labour that range from the material to the immaterial. In the end, it boils down to the fact that imagination on the one hand, despite the valorization of its

autonomy, is not always a "free" play of ideas. And the To'to young people's making do on the other, by reason of its awareness and attachment to a sense of something otherwise, is not always merely a form of getting by or coasting. Therefore, imagination is neither free from costs nor from constraints, and making do, as imagination in action and its cost, is neither indolent.

In the previous two chapters, I have accounted for the ways in which social reproduction operates in To'to by focusing my analysis on institutions such as home, school, and work. In Chapter Six, I will be examining the To'to young people's consumption of symbolic and cultural resources specifically their experience of heritage such as the wearing of the loincloth and betel nut chewing, and their ways of talking about the possibilities of their bodies. More specifically, in examining these practices, I foreground the character of their imagination via their making do as a guileful ruse. In the end, I attend to the ways in which gender is constructed among the To'to youth through their acts and speech relating to the loincloth, the betel nut, and their bodies.

CHAPTER SIX
BARE BUMS, BLOODY BLOTS, BLOATED BELLIES

Introduction

It takes a village to raise a child, not because families are insufficient, but because despite the rise of atomisation, responsibilisation, and new forms of dwelling such as the internet, villages continue to matter (McKay, 2012, p.7). In Chapter Four, I portrayed the village as a site where young people learn how to live with inadequate schooling resources and insufficient educational opportunities despite massive and radical education reform. It is where they see exemplars of possible ways of living future lives worth emulating. In Chapter Five, I examined the village as a place of labour. It is where young people learn to tap into proximate resources and solidarity to get by. In this chapter, the village remains a central analytic too. It is in the villages such as To'to where they see first-hand men in hard hats and rolled-up jeans go home after a long day of staying in the mining tunnels. The village is where young people see drunk men run amok in the streets and wake up on sidewalks the next morning. At home, they witness mothers, who despite the exodus of many women to work elsewhere still remain, prepare breakfast and make coffee for their husbands. At times, the village is where young people feel the absence of mothers who are busy taking care of other children in distant lands. It is in the villages where they first learn to be gendered. It is where young people come face to face with gender and gendered expectations, where they are habituated into hegemonic masculinities or emphasised femininities (Connell, as cited in Crawley, Foley, & Shehan, 2007, p. 54).

There are two key propositions that can be surmised from the discussions developed in the previous chapters on schooling and labour. First, the schooling of the To'to youth is gendered. The selection of strands within the technical vocational track in To'to High School channels boys and girls to certain pathways, such that girls are into cookery and dressmaking, while boys are into carpentry and automotive. Second, young people's experience of work is also heavily organised around gendered notions of productive capacities. Boys enter the mining tunnels and do *usuk*. Girls become *joiners* or take on paid domestic work such as babysitting, laundry, or cleaning houses. Even the wider context of mobilities in the villages are organised around gender too. Women

emigrants in the Cordillera Administrative Region, where To'to is located, have always been twice as many as men emigrants (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b, 2019b). As such, not only are school and labour gendered but so too is, transnational mobility.

The centrality of gender as a way of organising and managing schooling and labour pathways is magnified also by the rapid "falling away" (Tadiar, 2009) of freedoms and opportunities from various domains inhabited by To'to young people. For instance, they face the falling away of educational opportunities supposedly represented as an equally provided public good. At the same time, financial stability derived from secure labour continues to be threatened, not only by the flight of capital from multinational mining corporations, but also by the impending mining closure policies of the government. The school curriculum, too, in its attempt to champion multicultural and indigenous education[45], has increased policing of cultural practices in school through the issuance of policies such as the National Indigenous People's Education Framework (IPED). The more these opportunities and freedoms fade away, the more the To'to youth are confronted with, and have to confront, pronounced management not only of their bodies as source of labour power, or as educative subjects, but also of their being a male or female.

In Chapter Four, I highlighted the To'to young people's instrumentalist, value-rational, and critical dispositions towards their schooling, which I called a "promental animus". In Chapter Five, I accounted for how their imagination figures in labour, and in doing so, made explicit how labour is embedded in imaginative practice. This chapter will go beyond the dispositional character of making do, as well as its practical and survivalist aspects. It will instead delve into subtler yet equally compelling and contested domains of youth life, that of gendered social and cultural reproduction at the overlaps of heritage, community, and school. Despite this subtlety of context, this chapter will address an even more active and creative aspect of making do, as localised style of imagination among the To'to young people. Instead of looking at working with insufficient opportunities in school to make a future, or working in the mines to feed

[45] These efforts came as a response to the problematic and deficit representations of indigenous peoples in curriculum materials such as schools' textbooks. See de los Reyes (2016) for his analysis of the ways in which indigenous peoples are constructed in high school textbooks in the Philippines.

oneself, as forms of grounded imagination, I will examine making do as a form of "guileful ruse" (De Certeau, 1984, p.37). In De Certeau's terms, making do can be understood as a guileful ruse because it "vigilantly make[s] use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected". In other words, I will examine the ways in which the To'to young people's making do maximises opportunities to resist curricular and communal impositions, as well as test the limits of gender and cultural norms to their advantage by employing creative, clever, and at times, humorous tactics. But to what forms of surveillance is this character of the To'to youth's making do directed against and what are its resources?

To respond to the preceding questions, this chapter's task is fourfold. First, I will provide an account of gender relations in To'to in relation to mobilities and labour. Second, I examine how the active political work of imagination figures through some form of corporeal interactions. As such, I explore how beyond gendered experiences of labour, To'to young people engage in cultural politics through their making do with gendered governance and surveillance in various forms of normative cultural practices. Specifically, I look at the practices of wearing the *wanes* or the loincloth, and the chewing of the *moma* or the betel quid among men. Also, I consider the ways of thinking about "early pregnancy" – as it is referred to by the To'to participants themselves – among young women in light of existing forms of subtle social disciplining in the villages, such as gossip by older women. Third, by focusing on their talk about pregnancy, I problematize the gendered politics of the future. Lastly, I relate how young people's ways of playing, gentrifying, and laughing at certain norms and regulatory ideals also take the form of a different kind of movement within and among various zones of social life in the village. This movement, as will be elaborated, takes a different form from the already pervasive transnational mobilities that they partake of.

I begin by engaging with fieldwork data, and start by recalling an incident that foregrounds, quite significantly and vividly, how everyday life in To'to is gendered. I call this vignette, "Toxic Commute" to highlight the multi-layered toxicity of gendered encounters that at times arise unexpectedly. For purposes of context for the next vignette, I grew up in the lowland villages of the northern Philippines where my mother ran a small *sari-sari* (convenience store) and my father, a meat shop. These experiences

provided some background understanding for me of men and alcohol use. My mother's store catered to men emerging from the rice fields who dropped by for a glass of *arak* (local wine) before going home at dusk. My father's now defunct meat shop exposed me to the sight of butchers leisurely drinking in our kitchen after a day of slaughtering and selling pork. From my childhood, I assumed a certain sense of normalcy to having drunk men around me. However, the masculine toxicity that I encountered in To'to, nevertheless, unsettled me in quite different ways:

TOXIC COMMUTE

It is almost mid-day and I am halfway through my commute to To'to High School when a shirtless middle-aged able-bodied man hails the *jeepney* I am in. He struggles to hop on and almost misses a step. He drops his body heavily on the seat and leans against the rear wall of the vehicle. Half of his face is pressed against the metal wall and the other half covered by his long hair. Saliva drips from the corner of his mouth every time he mumbles words I cannot comprehend. From the smell of his breath, I am sure he is drunk. Every time the driver manoeuvres, the man slowly slides down, inch by inch, until his torso and his head are the only parts in contact with the upholstered seat. Minutes later, with his eyes closed, he gives in and allows himself to slide down until his body completely falls on the floor. He lies on his back, with both his feet pointed towards the driver. He moves left and right on the floor, his body following gravity, and the manoeuvring of the driver, left and right. The rattling of the loose floor, the subtle tossing and shaking gradually moves him until his head now hangs from the edge of the vehicle's entrance. He is going to fall any moment now. A man from the inner part of the jeep drags him in. His pants now barely hang around his lower hip exposing quite a significant area of his groin. People who were originally facing each other from each side of the *jeepney* now turn 45 degrees towards the front to avoid the view. I follow. The man remains nonchalant of things.

Few hours later, I am easing my way through the back alley of a bunkhouse where Ruby's family resides. A hole in the door shows a silhouette of a man. I hesitantly knock and Nelly, Ruby's mother, slightly opens the door. She shows only her face. No word but with a certain look. Her eyes and her flattened lips tell me it is not a good time. In a shaky voice, she tells me another mother in the barracks is available for interview. "I can come back next time, if that is alright," I tell her. The man speaks and mumbles, "who's there and what does he need?" Nelly opens the door fully, and I see a beer-bellied shirtless man with a thin beard and short goatee having his lunch. Nelly whispers, "I am so sorry but he is a bit drunk." The man insists that I should enter. I yield and take the empty seat adjacent to him. Nelly offers the remaining sunny side up eggs and slices of sausages. She introduces me as Ruby's teacher. The man mumbles, "did Ruby fail in class? I say no. In his incoherent string of words and mumbling voice, he insists that his role is to breed and earn while the mother's responsibility is to look after the children. Attempting to dodge accountability, he asks me, "if a child fails in life, whose fault is it?" I am now being interviewed by a drunk man whose stance was just made apparent. With hesitation, I reply, "we all have a stake in the failure of our kids." He weakly throws his hands in the air and laughs out loud.

I make sense of the Toxic Commute further by recalling my earlier point. Localities continue to matter not because they are insulated from global forces, or from the infiltration of hash tags that bring down seats of masculine power across the Pacific. They continue to matter as equally as the metropoles because they are just as global or transnational as the villages and cities of the Global North. It is in the villages, for example, where women, and gay folks look away from an unsavoury sight of a drunk man's crotch just as women commuters on a train in Melbourne move to another carriage to avoid interacting with an extra-chatty and tipsy man. From the villages to the city, from the local to the global, women and those other than men, have to make-do with what men do.

Women's making do is easy to find from examples around the world. Damascene women, for example, under Bashar al-Asad's regime tapped into kinship resources to buffer and shield themselves from the constraints of male power, and managed gender schemas that appeared acceptable within the constraints of available resources (Gallagher, 2012). During the Great Depression of the 1930s in Canada, women made ends meet through smart budgeting, checking prices, zero-waste initiatives, and avoiding debt (Baillargeon, 1999, p. 107). Chinese and Mexican women residents of Chinatown and Sonoratown in the early 20th Century Los Angeles also made do with limited dwelling space through their ordering of domestic and common spaces (e.g. courtyard and alleyways). In effect, the categories for home, city, and nation spaces as conceived by state and city agents were blurred (Quintana, 2015).

In To'to, the transnational face of women's making do is also intertwined with post-Fordist economies of care, in which women bodies are uprooted from villages to work in distant lands, a movement which can be traced back to as early as the 1900s. Mobility, as the geographic movement and displacement of people, as seen in the rise of women migrant worker, is not new to To'to. As the very site of the first large-scale mining operations in the Philippines, which go back to the early 1900's, To'to experienced some domestic migration as the gold rush grew, attracting people from Manila and as far afield as the southern Philippines. This made possible intermarriages between lowland and highland populations, hence transforming the typical To'to family by bringing economic security. In the late 2000s, multinational corporations found it

less profitable to continue operations in To'to so they moved elsewhere, forcing families to grapple with the sudden precarity, which eventually altered traditional notions of the nuclear family (Beech, 2018; Chaloping-March, 2017). Closures of the large-scale mines drove To'to families to make do, to find alternative ways of surviving. This making do involved women entering other forms of labour and becoming part of a global regime of "care chains" (Hochschild, 2000), a system where binaries of access to care exist. On the one hand, villages like To'to supply care work to families in the global north who can afford it. On the other, the vacuum left by the syphoned care work is filled in by husbands, grandparents, and aunts (Parreñas, 2000; 2005). In the Cordilleras where the village of To'to is located, there are many more women leaving for work abroad than men, almost double the number of men leaving, in fact (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b, 2019b). To'to women within the domestic economy also made ends meet by becoming primary earners for their families during this time of financial insecurity, with some raising household income by engaging in informal small-scale mine work at the abandoned sites.

Young people's experiences in the villages, given that gendered transnational connections are not remote or isolated, are therefore imbricated with other formations and transformations elsewhere. Calvin Klein clothing and hook-up culture equally impact young people's bodily practices in the villages, enabled by digital connectivity and the mass media. But what makes villages equally connected to other places elsewhere is the "style of cultural production" (Vertovec, 1999, p. 451) that emerges from these encounters. If transnationalism takes the form of a "social morphology", as exemplified in dispersed diasporas or transnational communities sustained by social organization, mobility and communication (Vertovec, 1999, p. 449) or some "originary sense" (McKay & Brady, 2005), then villages like To'to are as transnational as New York, Tokyo, Hong Kong, or Singapore. They are connected by the movements of people, communication technology, circulation of capital beyond the subsistence economy, or through transnational affective practices. I have argued in Chapter Four that locality is produced through the work of the imagination – aside from the "resources of habit, custom, and history" (Appadurai, 2013, p. 287) – through ways of making do. However, as an extension, it can also be argued that in young people's working with and around transnational connections and forces on the one hand, customs and history in their

thinking about gender, To'to too, becomes a locality in progress. As such, I look to sites of guileful making do within the context of gendered transnational flows and cultural production to explore young people's ways of doing gender. In doing so, the transnational flows of emigrating labourers, and goods and capital flowing in are put in conversation through the lens of making do as a form of grounded imagination.

I develop an analysis of gender by investigating the complexities of To'to as a place, by placing gender in To'to as a dialectic of "mobilities' and "moorings", of "local" and "global". This resonates with Messerschmidt, Martin, Messner, and Connell's (2018) understanding of the ways in which social science should reckon gender:

> Questions about gender concern our bodies, but not bodies alone; identities, but not identities in a vacuum; and relationships, but not just face-to-face relationships. Powerful social processes are also involved. Corporations, markets, governments, the mass media, and social movements are actors on the gender scene. On a world scale, gender is woven into the history of empire and modernity, into the current neoliberal economy, and into the daily conflicts that make the shocking headlines in our newsfeed (Messerschmidt, Martin, Messner, & Connell, 2018, p.1).

In my original plan, my research was never intended to focus on gender. Yet, as a work that was inspired by ethnographic traditions, and relied on go-alongs, focus groups, and interviews, I realised early in my fieldwork that I had to be loyal to my data if I were to provide a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of young people's lives in To'to. Just as places like To'to continue to matter, my data indicates that for the young people in To'to, considerations of gender are central to the social organization of everyday life, and thus recurred in my interactions with them. I argue then that the sustained significance of villages like To'to, both as physically bounded territories and imagined forms of sociality, provide possibilities of nuancing young people's encounter with expectations, structures, and constructs of what it means to be a gendered being (Ward, Tarrant, Terry, Featherstone, Robb, & Ruxton, 2017, p. 799). In doing so, we avoid the "ghost of masculinism" in the production and consumption of geographic knowledge, such that knowledge produced from the global academic metropoles are not the only ones viewed as theory, or that peripheral knowledge are not merely case studies (Berg & Longhurst, 2003, p. 356). The gendered narratives of young people in the villages are just as theoretically generative as those in the global cities.

In the next two sections, I nuance young people's experiences of gender by first exploring how young men, in situations of disadvantage also make do in their encounters with heritage or in cultural performances. The literature teems with studies on women's making do during times of crises, rendering the concept largely associated with women and domestic work. Instead, I explore how disadvantaged young men, usually stereotyped as making do within the domains of labour and school, are also making do within the socioscape (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) as they negotiate long standing traditions of masculinities imposed by the elders and the curriculum. In doing so, I distinguish their practices of making do from those they practise in dealing with the lack of educational opportunities and resources, as explored in Chapter Four, and their precarity as examined in Chapter Five.

In the next sections, specifically by exploring their gendered encounter with heritage, I highlight the To'to young people's making do as a guileful ruse, figuring as stealthy and creative forms of accommodations or resistance to communal and curricular gender ideals. This is different from the "promental animus", value-rational, and critical stance they exhibit towards their schooling, or the tapping of local collective solidarities, strategic identification to existing work, and the employment of contingent temporal and spatial repertoire within local labour relations. In short, I examine, on the one hand, their ways of gaming the communal and curricular restrictions, in ways that yield immediate results. On the other hand, I contrast the temporalities of gendered futures by looking into how the To'to young people talk about the possibilities of their bodies, in this case, early pregnancy, virginity, and fatherhood. These are the themes that strongly stood out in the analysis of fieldwork data and will be elaborated on in the succeeding sections.

From gendered labouring bodies to "bodies that gender"

It has been heavily emphasised earlier in this chapter that in To'to, masculinities and femininities inevitably emerge, not merely from the possession of physical attributes, but from imagined possibilities for and by these bodies. In this case, the possibilities for work and schooling trajectories are heavily framed by what is understood in To'to as what a body can do, and what it has always done. I do not intend to do a "she did this, he did that" narrative in this section. What I intend to do instead

is to consider what young people do with their bodies in relation to certain social and cultural conventions and how they talk about their bodies in ways that include the possibilities they imagine for their bodies. In doing so, I will attempt to look into their "doing" of gender.

Exploring young people's conduct and actions in various spheres where gender is constructed and contested suggests that neither masculinities are constructed by men alone nor femininities only by women. I base my analysis of gender in the interaction and relational treatment of and talks concerning bodily presence and possibilities. More specifically, I will consider how To'to young people navigate bodily disciplining in their school and community, in curricular activities such as performances, and in ordinary cultural practices.

Inevitably, I position the To'to young person's body as an "object and target of power", addressing how it is "manipulated, shaped, and trained" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 180) in the educational and communal spheres. More importantly, I also highlight how the young To'to bodies "act otherwise" such that it works within the terms of the regulatory ideal but at some points, saturates and breaches it. Because of this interest in the To'to youth's corporeal acts of being otherwise, I will draw on notions of "performativity" (Butler, 1988, 2011) and "mimicry" (Bhabha, 1984). These conceptually enrich making do's guileful ruse that the To'to young people exhibit with respect to their bodies. Gender, therefore, from a performative lens, as Butler (1988) views it is:

> A corporeal field of cultural play…a basically innovative affair, although it is quite clear that there are strict punishments for contesting the script by performing out of turn or through unwarranted improvisations. Gender is not passively scripted on the body, and neither is it determined by nature, language, the symbolic, or the overwhelming history of patriarchy. Gender is what is put on, invariably, under constraint, daily and incessantly, with anxiety and pleasure (Butler, 1988, p. 531)…

This view of gender as cultural play that does not look at the body merely as a vessel of gender scripts in a deterministic sense works well with the characteristic of making do that I intend to focus on, its being a "guileful ruse" through the ways in which young people make use and think of their bodies in relation to cultural and social practices (De Certeau, 1984). But aside from the conceptual agreement between gender as a "corporeal field of cultural play" (Butler, 1988, p.531) and making do as a "guileful ruse" (De Certeau, 1984), the temporal location of the participants also calls for a closer

look into the body. Being young implicitly refers to a body (Ferreira, 2016, p. 164), a physical state or condition possessed by people belonging to the normatively-inscribed social category of being young. More importantly, there exists a sense of "referentiality" and "reverentiality" towards the young body such that notions of what is physically appealing and desirable are attributed to being young (Ferreira, 2016, pp. 163-164). The young body, therefore, straddles the neoliberal economy's appropriation of youthful qualities such as the retail and sports industries (Farrugia, 2018) as well as the policing, disciplining, and scrutiny of people and institutions in power (Ferreira, 2016, p. 164). As such, the body becomes central in the construction or making sense of gender and what it is to live in a gendered way. As Anderson and Harrison (2010, p.7) put it, "the meaning of things comes less from their place in a structuring symbolic order and more from their enactment in contingent practical contexts". It is reasonable therefore to assume that the body, more than a vessel of cultural, economic, social and historical memory or "as an object of inscription, as a passive and secondary phenomenon" (Harrison, 2000, p. 504), it is equally a source and producer of new meaning.

So, instead of looking at the bodies of To'to young people as "gendered bodies", I am foregrounding them as "bodies that gender". As such, I look at To'to young people's embodied practices as they relate to notions and issues of gender. If the body is not just a clay tablet waiting for its meaning to be deciphered by a knowing subject, and instead, it is a body that can "do" something (Harrison, 2000, p. 504), then gender is among its possibilities. With this, somehow, gender becomes an "event", in the same way as Zembylas (2016) conceptualises race as always contingent and emerging from the entanglement of material, affective, and discursive elements, surfacing as something in one instance (e.g. fear), and as something else in another (Zembylas, 2016, p. 401) (e.g. community). It is in the interactions, of affecting and being affected, that gender is brought in, and emerges. In these interactions, "bodies are constantly being gendered – that is, encouraged to participate in (heterosexual) gender conformity" (Crawley, Foley, & Shehan, 2007, preface). Let me now engage fully to how the To'to young people "do" gender through their "guileful ruse" of making do.

Playing with heritage

In this section, I explore ways in which gender is enacted by the To'to young people by looking into two different domains: one, around the use of the loincloth and the wrap-around skirt; and two, the To'to young people's ways of talking about their bodies and its possibilities. As I examine these specific domains, I show how gender is "constructed through specific corporeal acts" that pose possibilities for "cultural transformations of gender through such acts" (Butler, 1988, p. 521). In what follows, I will look at specific instances of how regulatory ideals – norms, customary practices within young people's encounter with heritage, and bodily ingestions and anticipations – are reiterated and cited, and eventually reproduced, or produce differential effects. These acts, according to Butler are "renewed, revised, and consolidated over time" (Butler, 1988, p. 523). So, I ask, how does gender emerge in the ways a loincloth is worn? Or in the chewing of a betel quid? How is gender made in the wearing and the chewing, in the talking about the wearing and the chewing?

Exposed Behind

BRIEFED

From afar, the covered court where the students practice for their play "*Wigan and Bugan*" seems to look the same from how it was yesterday. Upon entry, however, even the most uninterested eyes will notice how much work has been done. Huge tarps borrowed from the village council cover the left, right, and back sides of the building to prevent light from coming in. Brian is climbing, or more appropriately "soloing" (in rock climbing jargon), the approximately four-meter column. Once he reaches the roof's collar beam, he wraps his legs around it and ties one corner of the tarp. Deep inside, I was screaming because an open livewire is just a couple of feet away from him. If he survives electric shocks, he might not survive the fall. Just one mistaken contact can cost his life. The leaky roof, stinky backstage, dilapidated benches, and the uneven rough floor are now out of sight. The students have successfully made a theatre, almost like a marquee with all the tarps as barriers to people, sound, and light. It is easy for me to forget that I am inside the unfinished and old covered court. I walk closer to the stage and see the students busy putting on make-up, donning their indigenous clothing, while the props and technical teams are putting on final touches and last-minute audio and light tests respectively. Michael, who is the assistant director of the play next to Ma'am Bernabe, their Philippine Arts teacher, frantically gives his final instructions.

The show opens with a traditional dance of the *Ifugaos*. The girls, in their *tapis* (wrap-around skirt) and the boys, in their *wanes* (loincloth) dance to the beat of the *gangsa* (gongs). The muscular and toned bodies of the teenage boys – one that gives the impression that it is made by long hours of sweat in the gym – speak of their toil in the mines, construction sites, and farms. The duplicity of their bodies' shape make it easy to spot the difference in their clothing, not in the patterns and colours, but something else. As they go on to tell the story of *Wigan* and *Bugan* who fought

> their love for one another against an evil god, series of questions just keep coming: *why are some men wearing briefs under the loincloth, and some are not? Are some men wearing flesh-coloured ones? Are they wearing anything and just perfectly concealed it?* The show ends well as planned. A performer approaches and asks if I can dance with them. It is time for community dancing.
>
> Michael comes out from the backstage as everyone was taking photos. He insists that we take a photo together. I stand beside him, ensuring I am far enough from him and not too close as we anticipate the click. One, two, three, he abruptly turns his back against the camera and shows both his butt cheeks drawn with a big smiley face and his upper back tattooed with what appeared to be a necklace usually worn by a community elder. I laugh and say, *loko ka!* (you're insane!).

In the vignette above, I foreshadow the contested character of the *wanes*, and the ways in which young people like the To'to boys wear it. Far from how it was several decades ago, young people's relationship to the *wanes* has been reconfigured. In the early 1900's, the *wanes* was a go-to apparel for men. It was ordinary by reason of its default position in the hierarchy of men's clothing. Photographs of Baguio City, the metropolitan area closest to To'to, taken in the 1930's show women and men wearing the *tapis* and the *wanes* respectively. Today, however, the *wanes* remain ordinary, only in so far as it is worn on certain occasions such as the *cañao* (potlatch), or some special school or community performances. The jersey, rolled up jeans and flip-flops now dominate men's closets. Men often resort to borrowing the *wanes* from neighbours who own one when needed. Michael, who is both the assistant director and a cast member, was still unable to find a *wanes* to borrow the day before the performance.

"*Sanay kamin!"* [we're used to it!], says Brian because they have always performed traditional *Igorot* dances in primary school, and in doing so, are required to wear it (Focus Group, 23 March 2017). For the girls, Jenny, says, "of course, you do not wear the *tapis* every day so there is a little discomfort and embarrassment but overall, you're proud of it. It's an accomplishment" (Focus Group, 23 March 2017). The *wanes'* temporality, therefore, at least among boys in To'to, seems to be a sense of "rare regularity". It is an awkwardly often one, worn every now and then as a cultural necessity, frequent but not quite, rare but not quite. The temporality of the *wanes* generates an ambivalence with its oscillation between regularity and rarity. Regular because it is expected on arbitrarily set but culturally understood occasions. Rare because it is unseated from its automation as a default masculine piece of clothing. Because of its rarity, people sometimes unwittingly put it under the category of a

"costume", while its regularity in communal and academic events, along with culturally sensitive sensibilities obliges people to consider it as apparel. Similarly, the *wanes'* rare regularity signifies not only its temporality (frequency) but also its spatiality (whereness), and alludes to the theatrical and non-theatrical contexts of performative acts. The students' interaction with the *wanes* and the *tapis* demonstrate the imbrication between the centre stage and backstage where the To'to participants differently relate to norms of cultural expression, and where interpretation of these norms (of ways of wearing the loincloth and adorning the body) also emerges . These varying contexts where the *wanes* and the *tapis* emerge and the To'to young people's differential treatment of it will be elaborated in the succeeding sections. Having set the stage for the discussion of the *wanes*, I now move on to examining the underlying cultural politics that is engendered by the rare regularity of the *wanes* and the *tapis*. And within this politics of the loincloth, I also explore the ways in which gender is "done", and thus its effects on the To'to young people's ways of thinking about gender too.

Make do to make it work

Contextualized within a play, as a performance done in a proscenium, the To'to High School students wanted to make it right. Referring to the *tapis,* one girl asked on their final rehearsal, "is it right over left, or left over right?" Ma'am B, their Contemporary Philippine Arts in the Regions teacher overheard it and answered, "there is an IPEd[46] rule that fashion has no room in culture". She also warned that if boys are not properly wearing their *wanes*, or girls wear jeans under their *tapis*, they will get deductions in their final scores. I silently asked, "but why does it matter for men to wear their underwear? Or for women to wear their jeans under the *tapis*?"

Looking at the *wanes* as a social practice, I noticed some ramifications of using or wearing it in relation to the briefs during the To'to student's performance. First, there were boys who opted to not wear their briefs and solely used the *wanes*. Second, there were boys who wore briefs but concealed it by folding the waist band, so it is hidden under the part of the cloth that is wrapped around the waist. Some of the boys

[46] This is a shorthand term for NIPEP which stands for National Indigenous Peoples' Education Program.

wore a *tanga* so it was easier to conceal but some who wore briefs with a back seam also folded it so that it is hidden behind that part of the garment that runs from the waist down to the crotch. Third, some, like Julius opted to wear bikini briefs under the *wanes* without any attempt to conceal it. For the girls, I noticed that nobody wore jeans under their *tapis* perhaps because it is not as revealing as the *wanes*. It covers the waist down to some 3 or 4 inches below the knees. I interpret the ways in which the boys wear the *wanes* and their briefs as practices of making do because they are simultaneously acts of concession, accommodation, and negotiation; and forms of resistance against the curricular and communal impositions of cultural purity.

The ways in which the *wanes* and briefs are worn are a form of making do in relation to cultural and curricular expectations. It operates as a performance on the one hand, and as performative on the other. As a social practice, it is a performance, in its insistence to stick to tradition, or conform to the customary ways of wearing a *wanes* at culturally sanctioned events. It is performative insofar as it is an adherence to norms that create a difference. I argue further that it is a performance in that there is a striking difference in the investment of the students from the rehearsals to the real show. For example, during their practice, the girls wore the *tapis* on top of their jeans and wore sneakers instead of being barefoot, which is customary when wearing their traditional clothing. The boys, on the other hand, were shirtless but wore denim jeans and with the loincloth on top. But during the performance itself, there was an obvious attempt to stick to culturally set expectations of gendered clothing. Women surrendered their jeans and sneakers; while men gave up their jeans. By reason of their raising the stakes and striving to create another world, they believe they are performing their cultural identities.

One thing stood out from that performance. The briefs have become a site for the performativity of gender, of breaching the limits of an idealised indigenous masculinity. The politics of the *wanes* unearths a continuum of possibilities and contingencies. On one level, it may demonstrate strict compliance (e.g. no briefs) while on another level, a compromise (e.g. hidden briefs). And most of all, it might also be an outright undermining of the set rules by the indigenous community, by the school system through the IPEd and Ma'am B (conspicuous briefs). The *wanes*, despite their taken-for-granted rare regularity, are in fact a politically contested piece of clothing.

Not only do the To'to boys have to deal with the curriculum, the likes of Ma'am B, and the elders of the community during these occasions, they also have to respond to the bickering and insistence of their girl classmates. In a conversation that follows, the To'to boys surface the inconsistencies and irregularities of the logics of cultural purity and fixity imposed upon them, and use the same logic to critique it:

IT'S A TIE!

JAY	Is it an issue to wear the loincloth?
JULIUS	No!
BRIAN	*haan!* (no!)
JULIUS	[looking straight at Jay] Understand? Understand?
BRIAN	Because we're proud that we are *Igorots*
JAY	So, if you're proud, why were you wearing briefs?
JULIUS	Well, Ma'am B did not tell us to take it off, had she told us then we would have taken it off. What? I can do it all the way!
JENNY	No, but really, by tradition, you shouldn't be wearing your briefs.
JAY	Yup!
JULIUS	Why? Did the women wear their panties under the *tapis* before? [Girls giggle]
DEMI	[laughs loudly] You should ask and you'll see.
JULIUS	It's a tie!
MARK	Wait, did they have panties before?
JAY	But are you shy that's why you wear your briefs?
JULIUS	No! But, of course, I am simply not comfortable not having a…. of course, in case of emergency! [giggles]
MARK	The dragon might escape!
JULIUS	There might be a bamboo stick falling from somewhere
DEMI	It looked like Michael did not wear his briefs.
JAY	Mark, were you wearing your briefs?
MARK	Yes, but it was not obvious. I hid it.
JENNY	Even Michael, yeah!

Beyond a performance task required in their Contemporary Philippine Arts in the Regions class, the students' performance of the play *Wigan and Bugan* has opened a conversation around the cultural politics of the *wanes* and the *tapis* as shown in the vignette, "It's a tie!". To an extent, the conversation of the To'to students around the norms governing the wearing of the loincloth has exposed the inconsistency, both of the cultural norm and the fixity of the curriculum that invokes it. In Julius' question,

"did women wear their panties before?'" and his rejoinder, "it's a tie", he exposes the inherent ambivalence and the double standard of the customary clothing. Implicitly, his question hints that if the concern of the customary law and the IPEd is cultural purity, then it should also adhere to principles of generality – a strong characteristic of the Roman law as practised in the country's legal system – that is, no one is above the law, and no one is excused.

Aside from exposing the inconsistency of the cultural norm and the curriculum's invocation, the conversation also alludes to another layer of cultural politics. This is customary laws' and the curriculum's "ocular-centrism", its gravitation, if not obsession towards what is visible. There is less concern about the jeans worn underneath the *tapis* or wearing panties than wearing the brief. After all, the law can only prosecute what it can see. Those concealed from the panoptic gaze of the cultural and curricular normativity are exempt from disciplining and prosecution. A pair of *Victoria's Secret* panties is beyond the scrutiny of Ma'am B's "there is no room for fashion in culture" governance, because they are hidden under the colours of the *tapis*. If the briefs are concealed well, then it "passes" as the proper way of wearing the *wanes,* and given as much weight as the absent brief. Similarly, the contestation over "to wear or not to wear" also reminds us of the taken-for-grantedness of the "hidden" as a result of the overemphasis put on the visible. I surmise there is less investment involved in ditching the jeans because the legs are covered by the *tapis* than giving up the briefs, which exposes quite a significant portion of the groin, hip, and buttocks. The To'to boys' playing with the interdiction to not wear the briefs by passing as "briefless", or successfully getting away from deductions even when they wore their briefs by reason of their superb performance, also signify what Ortner (2006) observes of domination: that it is "always riven with ambiguities, contradictions, and lacunae" (p.7). The realness of the issue goes back to the basic fact that one is willing to go on commando just as long as one is wearing jeans or skirts that ensure privacy. The girls had no qualms in giving up their jeans, the conversation around panties under the *tapis* was non-existent until Julius' question emerged, "did women wear panties before?"

Although it is situated as part of internal colonial relations between the mainstream and others, and not necessarily within a colonial context of a formal coloniser and colonised, the politics of the *wanes* somehow suggests Bhabha's notion of

"mimicry" (1984). This is so because it emerges from an interdiction and is played out "like camouflage, not harmonization or repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that differs/defends presence by displaying it in part, metonymically" (Bhabha, 1984, p. 131). The practice of trying to stick to the rules of the loincloth, the negative law – "you should not wear briefs" or "there is no room for fashion in culture" – created "prodigious and strategic production of conflictual, fantastic, discriminatory 'identity effects'" (p. 131). The concealment of the briefs is in itself puzzling. For one, if the briefs are successfully concealed, then the audience is given the impression that the performer is not wearing any underwear at all. It appears that if this impression or effect is produced, then there is no point for the performer to wear one, yet he insists in doing so. It seems that the concealed brief is a compromise between compliance to the normativity of the loincloth and personal comfort and security. It is somehow a way of gaming the loincloth where one's personal interest is successfully achieved, yet concealed from the gaze of the disciplining authorities. For Julius and many others who insisted on wearing their briefs without any attempt to conceal them, it is a defiance in mimicry such that the act of wearing the loincloth is an ambivalent act, a janus-face of partially representing material culture, and of partially partaking in a cultural experience by not being fully geared for it. This is why their ways of using the loincloth is a form of making do; it is on the one hand, a form of working with, and on the other, working around, established ways of doing things.

If the To'to boys' making do of the loincloth is understood as a speech, then it is "uttered between the lines and as such both against the rules and within them" (Bhabha, 1984, p. 130). In this sense, the concealed briefs, even in their concealment, and the conspicuous brief in all its glory, are disruptive of the authority of institutions, and people who are invested in sustaining its purity, and their disciplining of young people's bodies. The making do exemplified in mimicry as they wore the *wanes* also resonates with Butler's account of gender performativity in so far as its citationality – the adherence to existing culturally accepted ways of donning the loincloth – and its reiteration every now and then, are concerned. The temporal ambivalence of the *wanes*, its rare regularity, and its clear spatial dogma, "you should not wear briefs", make boys like Julius and Michael, perform masculinities within the context of duress, as Butler describes, or as always in interdiction as Bhabha contextualizes it. The space over which

Julius and Michael can manoeuvre is a continuum of concealment and indifference, with both having varying material consequences: deductions in marks, or ostracism from teachers and conservative elders. I elaborate the discursive and wider consequences of these acts in the succeeding sections. For now, I will examine how the To'to boys also show the guileful ruse attribute of making do in the school's and community's governance of chewing the betel nut.

Red Spit

In the previous section, I explored the ways in which the loincloth becomes a site of making do and how responses to communal and curricular corporeal disciplining emerge. In doing so, the forms of making do that the To'to young people exhibit, under duress or interdiction, generate mimicry and performative effects on the construction of masculinities. In this section, I engage with another long-standing practice of the To'to boys but this time, it is about the ingestion of locally produced ingredients – the *moma* or the betel quid that is ever ubiquitous with its bloody stains everywhere in To'to. In the vignette that follows, I introduce how this is practiced by the young males of To'to as well as how I was introduced to it.

JOY TO MOMA

An hour has passed since we started the interview, but Michael's arms are still wrapped around his guitar. He plays Michael Buble's "Home" and sings, "another summer day has come and gone away." He stops and says, "*ay, nalipatak, adda gayam momak* [Oh, I forgot, I have *moma*]." He pulls out a transparent plastic pouch from his pocket. He undoes the overhand knot, pulls out a betel leaf, and lays it flat on his left thigh. He dips his fingers into the pouch and pulls out a quarter of a betel nut and lays it on the leaf. He tears a square inch of *pandan* and tobacco, sprinkles some *apug* (lime), and rolls the leaf just like how I wrap my grilled pork and kimchi during a *samgyupsal* dinner with friends. He goes back to the Buble song exhibiting his virtuosity in plucking, only to be interrupted every now and then by some movements of his jaw to chew the quid. He reaches for an empty plastic water bottle behind him, twists the cap and as it parts with the bottle, he lands his lips on the lid and spits the red mixture from his mouth. In silence, I tell myself: so that is the cycle of a quid. It is something I have limited familiarity with through a parody of the Christmas song, "Joy to the World":

Joy to *moma*, *gawed, ken bua* [Joy to moma, betel leaf and nut]
Adda pay apug na [it also has some lime]
Ngalngalem ket ngalngalem [when you keep on chewing it]

Ngalngalem ket ngalngalem [when you keep on chewing it]
Samu'n tu itupra, Samu'n tu itupra [and then you spit it out, and then you spit it out]
Kitaem, kitaem, nalabbaga [see it, see it, it's red]

Days after that, in one of our afternoon walks along the public road, where the asphalt softens because of the early summer sun, Michael brings out his pouch again. But this time, he is not going to chew alone. He hands me a betel leaf then picks an unpeeled nut from the plastic bag. He gets rid of the fibrous covering and bites it to break it into smaller pieces. He hands a quarter of a nut to me. "Just the betel leaf, nut, and lime will do", he says. He is concerned I will not like the taste of tobacco mixed with the three other ingredients. In another place and time, with the hygienic sensibilities of the West that I have been habituated to, I would have said no but I understand it as a gesture. I take the rolled leaf, and chew it until I can hold it in my mouth. Then I spit, not just the juice, but everything on the sidewalk. We all laugh at the sight of insufficiently red splatters on the road that signal my being an incompetent quid chewer. And as we walk, I settle, Michael did not just make me chew the quid because he wants me to know how it tastes, or how it feels. It is more than that.

The chewing of *moma* in the Cordilleras appears in Bielouss' (1938) description of wedding ceremonies in the journal, *The Primitive Man*. In her account, she categorises the people of the northern Philippines, to which the To'to folks mostly belong at present, as "Malays of the Northern Group of Islands" (p. 38). Bielouss asserts that betel-chewing is of Malay origin, not *Negrito*, and is recorded in only three tribes, which she unfortunately does not name. According to the locals, however, *moma* is not particular to the Cordilleras. They say that it has its origins from the lowlands. What is interesting is that in the lowlands where I come from, both the elderly men and women chew the *mama* as we call it. In To'to, only the older men do it. It is not my intention in this section to look into the history of how the practice of betel nut chewing emerged in To'to. I believe that requires another body of scholarship to do so and is beyond the scope of this project. Of importance, though, is to observe how the act of chewing, as a way of using the body, opens ways of making or doing gender among young people in To'to in contemporary times.

On the surface, *moma*-chewing is a highly masculine practice. In all my observations in the school and community, neither girls nor older women chewed *moma*. In this sense, the *moma* becomes an important site where the construction of gender identity happens. Through my months of moving in and out of To'to, I remained interested in the practices associated with *moma* in addition to it being a highly

masculine space. There were some barriers to understanding this that I had to overcome as someone who does not fit the mould of a typical *moma*-chewer. Michael, who worked in the mines at an early age with his uncles, recalls that he was in primary school when he started chewing. He describes:

> I have always seen my uncles chew *moma*. When I first tried it, I felt dizzy because there was too much *apog* [lime]. [laughs] The next time, I controlled the tobacco and the *apog* and it tasted better. Most of the uncles here chew *moma*. I have thought of stopping but nothing happened. When I am not doing anything, I chew it just like my friends in Grade 10 before I was accelerated to Grade 11 (Interview, 24 March 2017).

Boys learn how to chew *moma* from their significant male others like fathers, uncles, and older brothers. Steve, who does not chew it, says his father also does not chew it. This is also reinforced at workplaces, such as construction sites or the *usuk* (mining tunnels) where the teenage-boys mingle with men as workmates. When asked at which times the boys chew *moma*, Steve says, "they chew it so they won't feel tired" (Interview, 27 March 2017). He also estimates that there are approximately 6 or 7 out of 10 men in his community who chew *moma*.

Among young people like Michael, I infer that *moma* is a protected space that outsiders like me cannot easily enter. During my first few weeks in To'to, on one of our walks with Michael, Julius, Steve, and other boys, I started asking what the ingredients are for the quid. Michael said it has five to six ingredients, namely: *bua* (betel or areca nut), tobacco, betel nut blossom, *apug* (lime), *pandan* leaves, and *gawed* (betel leaf). These terms did not fall easily on my lap. When they were explaining what the green leaf was to me, they started using the term *wed-ga*, a reversed form of *ga-wed*, assuming that I did not know it. Sam, on the other hand said it was guava leaves. But during my final weeks of fieldwork in To'to, Michael explained it to me again, and demonstrated in a more serious way how it is done. I understood the initial toying with the names of ingredients as ways of guarding the space occupied by *moma* in their lives. For one, I am a researcher from Melbourne, somewhere foreign. Second, I identify as queer and dress up quite differently to them, often in loud, coloured clothing. Whether it was meant to mislead me or not, I understand that interaction to signify a protective and territorial stance among To'to's young *moma*-chewers. For me to know more intimately the intricacies of their chewing practice or to take part in it, I

first had to earn it because I am not "fully male"; and second, because I am not from there.

It is also interesting how the territoriality of *moma*-chewers contrasts with how the boys construct chewing as a form of connecting with other men, sometimes, even strange men, which I assume to be heterosexual men. Steve describes it as a conversation starter for men who do not know each other. He says, "suppose you're a chewer and you saw someone who has *moma* in a public place, you can actually ask him for some. And when somebody asks you, you should not be selfish. It's the start of a good chat (Interview, 27 March 2017)." On a more practical note, it is not that challenging to spot a *moma*-chewer because one does not have to be conspicuously carrying a pouch. One only has to look at another man's teeth to tell who is into *moma* or not. The social and cultural importance of betel quid chewing among men is also documented in the study of Murphy and Herzog (2015) among present and former chewers in Guam.

But, the spatiality of *moma* is seemingly not only an exclusive practice among men, but also even *within* the men of To'to. While it appeared to me that *moma* is a protected space among its chewers, it is also an unwanted, condescended territory for other men. Steve, for example, while doing it in a subtle way, has strong opinions about his peers who chew *moma*:

STEVE	I have tried it but only to test how it is like. I did not continue it.
JAY	So, what is your stand?
STEVE	It's their trash, their spit. It's like…When I tried it, it actually tasted ok. But it's just… really, the spit, and how it is so messy. When they spit it out in a place, it feels like they just left their trash there. They should've disposed it properly.
JAY	You don t want to be associated with them?
STEVE	Not really. I just don't like the idea. It's ok as long as they are responsible. Sometimes, it's the unpleasant smell too (Interview, 27 March 2017).

It is interesting how Steve positions the red spit in metonymic terms with trash or rubbish that is not disposed of properly. By doing so, *moma* chewers are viewed as irresponsible men who throw their garbage just anywhere they find. This view is shared by school authorities and the village councils. In fact, *moma*-chewing is not permitted within the premises of To'to High School and in public spaces in some villages. In THS

specifically, the school handbook categorises it as a "less grave offense". Punishment as stated includes four hours of school service and a notice sent to parents or guardians for the first offense; and for the second, eight-hours of school service and a conference with parents or guardians, including the signing of a MOA (Memorandum of Agreement) regarding future behaviour (To'to High School Student Handbook, n.d.).

The response of young chewers like Michael and Julius to these forms of disciplining include the use of creative and innovative strategies. Most of them continue to chew it within school premises but make some compromises. Students and adults who chew *moma* get away with it by reusing a plastic water bottle container as a spittoon. Sometimes, men also add *pandan* leaves in their mixture to mitigate the unpleasant smell of the tobacco and betel nut.

Girls also find this practice to be dirty. When I asked Michael what his female classmates tell him about his habit, he says, *"yucks da nga yucks"* (they keep saying "yuck!') but added that he will stop chewing when he has a girlfriend (Interview, 24 March 2017). THS has also invited dentists and health experts to discuss the risks of chewing *moma* which range from poor dental hygiene to oral cancer. Thus, in the existing conversation, *moma* is not only dirty and chewed by irresponsible men, it is also unhealthy and comes with risks.

The implications of the discourses around chewing the quid also have much to do with gender relations. The dirty red spit, stained teeth, the pungent smell of the ingredients when chewed, and the red splatter on the roads and walls create categories of To'to men. First, it distinguishes men who are responsible from those who are irresponsible; clean as opposed to dirty; healthy against unhealthy; upper class versus working class. Second, it also signifies the difference between desirable men from the undesirable and "yucky", at least, in the eyes of To'to teenage girls. It is important to note too, that not only does the word "yuck" an attitude that signifies revulsion towards a state of being dirty, but also highlights the transnational origins of the hygienic and health sensibilities that the word carries are from. "Yucks", as often invoked by girls, according to Michael, is not a local term, but one that is borrowed from popular culture. Most importantly, just like the loincloth, *moma* also becomes a site or an object of the biopolitical in a sense that men who chew *moma* are often at the receiving end of regulation, ostracism, and condescension. Given all these, I understand the seeming

protectionism of the young chewers as a defensive stance against the ostracism they receive from other men and women. And the *pandan* and the plastic bottle, as material forms of making compromise with governing authorities, their peers, and girls. These operate as ways of being proximate to the idealised and acceptable forms of maleness in the villages.

When confronted about their chewing, however, *moma*-chewers also respond in seemingly rational terms to the value-judgments made by people around them. One afternoon, while I was walking with Michael and another classmate who chews *moma*, I inquired about their reasons for chewing. They told me they need it to keep their body warm. I responded by proposing other ways of achieving such by saying, "why don't you just do push-ups?" Feeling like they were pushed against the wall, Michael responded, "at least it's not drugs." In my conversations with other *moma*-chewers, they also said that for them, *moma* is better than drugs. Their distinction of themselves, as *moma*-chewers, from other men, those usually deemed as more desirable than them is an appeal to look at male "vices" in transitive terms such that *moma* is better than alcohol, alcohol is better than drugs, ergo, *moma* is better than drugs (moma > alcohol > drugs). In doing so, they expose what they see as the illogic behind the everyday ostracism directed towards them.

In a focus group discussion, the drug issue came up and the participants started talking about what should President Duterte should do in relation to several issues faced by young people:

BRIAN	Instead of using their money for allowance, especially so that they don't have enough allowance, they use it for their vices.
JENNY	[looking at Julius] They're hinting it's you!
JULIUS	What about? I don't have any vice. I don't do drugs!
[…]	
JENNY	The Duterte government should have stricter [*sic*] implementation of…[interrupted]
JULIUS	Drugs! Drugs! Drugs!
JENNY	…laws on drinking
JULIUS	That's rubbish, yeah. We'll end up fighting each other if that's the case. [grins] (Focus Group, 23 March 2017).

Julius, just like Michael, is fond of *moma* and at some points, at the receiving end of negative labels associated with chewing. In the conversation above, Julius responds to Jenny's prodding that the comment on vices was directed to him though vehement

denial with the categorical statement, "I don't do drugs!" Along with his interruption of Jenny's opinion on stricter laws by repeating the word "drugs!", this appears to be Julius' way of differentiating himself from others. More importantly, by doing so, he suggests that the disciplining authorities should focus on drug-use more than *moma*. In "at least it's not drugs" or "it's better than drugs" as forms of defences against social judgment directed to *moma*-chewers, Michael and Julius foreground the inconsistency of disciplining bodies, and their communities in ostracising them. In fairness to them, drunk men are just as conspicuous as the red splatters on the ground and bushes, except their presence is relatively short-lived compared to the long-lasting stains. However, some alcoholic men (see the Toxic Commute vignette in the beginning of this chapter) often make spectacles of themselves and disrupt public spaces, often instigating fights with random people. And in these hierarchies of aesthetisised masculinities, the *moma*-chewers appear to be the most willing to make do (e.g. using empty bottles as spittoon, adding *pandan* leaves) in order to be closer to what has been construed by the teenage girls, their school handbook, and the village council as the "desirable man".

The politics of the *moma* chewers, then, is one that makes do with disciplining authorities that include their schools and village councils, alcoholic men and drug-addicts, and teenage girls who think of them as "yucky". Their politics of making do, therefore, is a politics that involves recognition and acceptance of the logic behind prohibition, by addressing the laws' rationale through concrete means (e.g. empty bottle as spittoon). Their making do is also persistent in making compromises, dodging social judgment by looking at vices in transitive terms and simultaneously displacing this ostracism towards those they deem to be more undesirable. As such, they make an appeal to be deemed as ideal as those men whose teeth are as white as pearl or whose breath is as fresh as peppermint.

I provisionally leave these iterations on the *wanes* and the *moma* with some remarks on the overarching characteristics of the disciplining and management that the To'to youth experience in school and their community. First, the nature of governance is that it is highly ocular-centric. The briefs that disrupt the cultural purity of indigenous maleness and the red stains of *moma* make the order and cleanliness-obsessed disciplining authority uncomfortable and always on the lookout. Second, this ocular-centrism of corporeal governance also suggests that for young people on the

socioeconomic and cultural margins by reason of their poverty and indigeneity, the creative and guileful character of making do must always be deployed, whether in material or rational terms. As such, it appears that for marginalised youth, not only is the imaginative capacity always on active mode in school and work, it also always must be on the defense and in a negotiating mode in the sociocultural domain. The political implications and consequences of these forms of discipline and responses from To'to young people will be elaborated in a coming section. For now, I will delve into young people's talk about bodily futures, this time, with emphasis on how girls view the possibilities of their bodies.

Laughing seriously at bloating

In the earlier sections of this chapter, gender was "placed" in To'to by taking into account the exigencies particular to the villages and to how masculinity figures in these relations. I also delved into how heritage such as the *wanes* and the *moma* were embodied and through their banality or rare regularity, gender was talked about or emerged in the ways in which the young To'to boys make do with communal and curricular idealised gender norms. While in the earlier section, the To'to boys' making do with heritage was foregrounded, for this section, I will shift the gaze to emphasise the forms of girls' making do with gender expectations as articulated in some communal forms of disciplining. I do this by considering the temporalities of gender by exploring how bodily potentials or possibilities are talked about and the implications of this for young people's imagining of their futures and its gendered aspects.

When I asked Nancy, one of the female participants to describe the To'to youth of today, she said, "some say we are the hope, some say we are *tangsit* [stubborn]. They say lots of things because drugs are everywhere and they're into it. In our place, early pregnancy is rampant too" (Interview, 21 February 2017). In her words, Nancy foregrounds the overarching tension of being a To'to youth. On the one hand, the imaginary of the "youth as the hope of the fatherland", a platitude usually invoked by adults, stands as a pressure to do well while the stigma of being rebellious and hard-headed lingers as a threat on the other. This is so because as Valentin (2014) points out, for young people "more than any other age category, [there is an] ascribed

transformative potential and is therefore a central point of symbolic investment for families, communities, and even nation-states" (p. 118-119). As such, along these possibilities for change expected from young people, are pressures or anxieties that they have to bear.

Beyond the politics in what is worn, or ingested and expelled by the body, such in the case of the *wanes* and the *moma* respectively, the purity of the body and the normative temporality of child-bearing also become central to young people's understanding of how possible futures inhere in the present. In what follows, Jenny, Avril, Julius, Brian, and Mark talk about what they call "early pregnancy"[47], the reasons behind it, and some possible ways to deal with it.

BLOATED

JAY	What is the biggest issue faced by young people in To'to right now?
JENNY	Early pregnancy! [both giggles]
JULIUS	
BRIAN	Both of them have tried it that's why.
JAY	Why is it such a major concern?
JENNY	Based on surveys, the number of teenagers getting pregnant in the Cordilleras increased.
JULIUS	There really are so many girls who've gotten pregnant here. Just in *Sungad* until *Baru* [anonymised names of villages], there are so many who got the bulge too early [laughs]. How much more if I got the whole data for the town. There definitely would be more girls in the Cordil…[laughs]
JAY	But why?
JULIUS	Because…kwa [uhm/like], I don't really know.
BRIAN	Curiosity!
JULIUS	But really, it's emotional problems. What's that again?
JENNY	It's when they get easily swayed by their emotions.
JULIUS	That's why there are so many who do not finish and they have to work early for their children.
JAY	So what should be done?
MARK	Proper use of…
JULIUS	I'll lend them my…
BRIAN	Is it abstinence?

[47] I am using the term "early pregnancy" in this section because it is the phrase used by the participants to refer to what could also be synonymously called as "teenage pregnancy". I acknowledge that other authors also use "unintended pregnancy" or "adolescent pregnancy" (Sax, 2010) to describe the incident of pregnancy during teenage years. My deliberate use of "early pregnancy" in this section emerges out of respect to the data and also because it is conceptually rich and generative in problematizing its temporality.

JAY Can you do it?
JULIUS I can do it. I am 19. I can!
MARK Yup! It's doable. I am already 17 and it can be done.
JENNY Do what?
BRIAN *agpigil* [abstinence]
MARK *Kaya! Kaya!* [We can! We can!]
JENNY It's really just self-control.
JAY How about contraception?
BRIAN Nooooo!
JULIUS There are condoms but even when you say it's in perfect condition and has no holes, some girls are still *nabutyugan* [bloated/pregnant].
MARK It's too sharp!
JULIUS Or they might have used it repeatedly!
[everyone laughs]
JENNY No way!
AVRIL Perhaps, it will lessen it but it's not so nice using it. Just because condoms are available, young people now engage in premarital sex.

In the conversation, the gravity of "early pregnancy" in the town and the Cordillera region is brought up. Julius, who studied this phenomenon for his mini-thesis in his research class, and Jenny, who refers to survey results, both demonstrate their awareness about the seriousness of the matter. However, there is also an outward sense of it being talked about in a rather funny or laughable manner, somehow, a seeming disjuncture about its discursive weight and the stylistic distance that these teenagers are exhibiting. The citation of statistics by Jenny and Julius, followed by a duet of giggles or the exhibition of will in the boys' pronouncement of *"kaya!"* (we can!), and the laughter after Julius describes a defective condom as used repeatedly, all demonstrate that young people are aware of how serious the problem is but would rather talk about it in a humorous way.

The To'to youth's humour over "early pregnancy" occurs in conversation among girls, or in mixed gender settings such as the focus group, or in the recollection of the participants. Poking fun at getting pregnant is, therefore, not a private talk, but something that everyone does among the To'to youth. For example, Julius' use of the term *"butyug"* (bloated) or *"nabutyugan"* (made to bloat) is drawn from making fun of either being too full from eating too much or being fat and having a big belly. Another phrase related to being bloated used to refer to pregnancy is "she swallowed a watermelon" which aligns with Julius' *butyug*. From a humour theory lens, Julius' source

of comic amusement is the incongruity of bloating, and by extension, pregnancy, to an existing framework of how a To'to girl at their age should be (Carroll, 2014). While it can conveniently be surmised that this kind of talk among boys has definitive discursive weight, girls too approach pregnancy in the same way. As well as juxtaposing the idea of "early pregnancy" with cases that are generally considered funny such as having a big belly, girls also treat teenage pregnancy as an object of fun. This is seen in Tere and her girl friends' treatment as she narrates in one of our interviews:

JAY	Do you talk about pregnancy often?
TERE	When I am with Krissa and Nisha, we mostly talk about teenage pregnancy. We joke about how the first to get pregnant will give us a treat.
JAY	But what if you're the first to get pregnant?
TERE	My cousin went ahead of me already [grins] (Interview, 15 March 2017).

In Tere's recollection, "early pregnancy" becomes something one can put a bet on and at the same time, an openly acknowledged object of humour as seen in her phrase "we joke about it". In both Julius' and Tere's humorous treatment of teenage pregnancy, I argue that these acts do not diminish the seriousness of teenage pregnancy's impact to their lives. Instead of thinking of their humour acts as innocent, diversionary, or evasive, I suggest that humour among the To'to young people can be thought of as a cultural institution, where pregnancy becomes politicise and becomes "serious" (Ridanpaa, 2014, p.140). For example, in Tere's and her friend's use of "early pregnancy" as an object of a wager, they construe pregnancy as something that they will potentially experience, and by using treating the rest who did not get pregnant as a punishment, they also discursively render pregnancy as something unwanted at their age. Underlying the girls laughter about pregnancy is in fact serious and collective avoidance and conditioning strategies that are going on among girls. Using the vignette "Bloated" and Tere's story of betting, it can be surmised that the To'to youth's humour in relation to pregnancy becomes a site where young people signify, or get alerted about the relevant social norm (Carroll, 2014, p.77) governing women's bodies.

As will be elaborated on in the succeeding paragraph, the playing with the idea of pregnancy also becomes a form of making do among the To'to young people. This can be seen in accommodating the need to talk about "early pregnancy" and its potential

threat to their future. In this sense, their humorous talk about pregnancy acts in the same way as to how Berlant and Ngai (2017) make sense of comedy's pleasure as coming "in part from its ability to dispel anxiety" (p.233). Thought of in this way, the laughter around pregnancy acts on the one hand as the easier and more convenient way of coming to terms with their anxieties as potential mothers and fathers of unexpected children. On the other hand, the To'to young people's shared humour around pregnancy also signifies a sense of collective or of being together. As Berlant and Ngai (2017) put it, "comedy helps us figure out what it means to say 'us'…what lines we desire or can bear" (p. 235). After all, the reason why we laugh, as Palmer (1994) explains is a shared understanding of "what is going on, either in the mind or in the thing that we find funny" (p.5). Put simply, the humour around teenage pregnancy among To'to young people, therefore, is just a tip of how "humour is serious" (Ridanpaa, 2014) or how they are taking "humour seriously" (Palmer, 1994) in their conversations about pregnancy. This was confirmed in my last trip to To'to when I conducted a group discussion about my initial findings and asked them why they mostly talk about pregnancy in a humorous way. April who was seated beside me while we were having lunch, said, "that's the only way we can talk about it" (17 January 2019).

The seriousness of teenage pregnancy to the To'to young people can be seen in their general use of "early pregnancy" as a shorthand. As a label, the phrase suggests that pregnancy *per se* is not wrong. When it occurs among the To'to young people, it is normatively wrong because of its untimeliness. As such, it is for them an anachronism in so far as it is a misplaced milestone in a To'to youth's life course. Julius' description, *nasapa nga nagbutyug* (too early to bloat) highlights this anachronistic aspect of pregnancy, or when April invokes, "we're too young, right?"

The seriousness of teenage pregnancy also stems from how it forces young people to become adults even when they are not ready. This is shown when Julius points out that many students do not finish school and have to work early for their children, highlighting the disruptive and abrupt nature of "early pregnancy". The disruptive and abrupt aspects of teenage pregnancy have caused some serious thinking among the To'to girls. Recalling that her greatest lesson from her mother, who now works as a domestic helper in Cyprus, is "books first before boys", April shares what she is most anxious about as a teenage girl:

APRIL It's getting married too early. When this happens, what kind of life will your child have? What about your dreams? These are all attached to it. When you marry too early, your dreams are over.
JAY What if this happens to you? What will you do?
APRIL What will I do? I'll have to look for a job.
JAY Will you give up your dreams?
APRIL Yes. Sideline, it is!
(15 March 2017)

April emphasises the disruptive effect of pregnancy in "your dreams are over". In other cases, too, in the Philippines, girls are forced to get married once they get pregnant as a way of saving face for themselves and for their families. In another conversation, the reasons behind the disdain for early pregnancy are revealed to be along the moral and cultural notions of the female body and the uncertainties that come with it. This comes with no surprise given the history of colonial biopolitics in the Philippines. As Coloma (2012, p. 250-251) argues, during the American colonial rule of the Philippines, brown women's bodies were regulated by white women along the lines of Victorian femininity. This emerged from white women's failure to discipline white males' desires in the colonies, and their perception of brown women's standards of honour and moral ethics as lower than white women, thus, needed moral refining. Even prior to the American occupation, Canon law and Spanish colonial policies also imposed strong control and restrictions over women's bodies (Ruiz Austria, 2004, p. 96). These colonial biopolitics linger today in Philippine society through the "strong, and widespread importance [...] ascribed to women's virginity" (Manalastas & David, 2018, p.23) despite increasing sexual liberalisation or progressive views proliferated in the media. In more concrete terms, and worse, even women from upper classes continue to impose restrictions to other women by invoking religious tropes as seen in President Arroyo's revocation of reproductive health and family planning policies of her predecessor (Ruiz Austria, 2004, p.96) by invoking religious and moral tropes. Although in a different context, these notions of femininity along Victorian and moral lines also seem to occur intergenerationally, between younger and older women as documented by Karver, Sorhaindo, Wilson, and Contreras (2016) among indigenous women in Oaxaca, Mexico. Among young and old Oaxaca women, "virginity continues to be

determinant of a woman's worth" (p. 845). This strong valorisation of virginity also appears to continue among the To'to girls as shown in a focus group below:

JAY	What do you value the most as young people?
JENNY	Dignity, virginity, respect. Just these. You can lose material things but when you lose those, you cannot easily get it or take them back…
AVRIL	Virginity [everyone giggles] …Of course, because we're too young, right?
JAY	Why is it a big deal?
AVRIL	You're too young and assuming you get pregnant, you can never be sure if the guy will stand up for you.
JAY	Because sometimes they don't think about it?
MARK	*imas lattan* (just pure pleasure!) [together]
BRIAN	
	(Focus group, 21 February 2017)!

Aside from pregnancy as indicative of a loss of a prized possession which in this case is the To'to girls' virginity. The pregnant woman's body, too, is condemned, not only because it bloats too early, but because it bloats for the wrong reasons. When Mark and Brian exclaim, "*imas lattan"* (just pure pleasure), they imply that the pregnant woman and the man with whom she had intercourse, shelved rational thinking during intercourse because they were swayed by emotions (*nagpapadala sa emosyon*), or because to engage in such an activity means someone has "emotional problems" (See the vignette, "Bloated"). In a sense, early pregnancy and losing virginity mean setting aside, and going against their community's "scale, object, and modality" of control (Rabinow, 1984, p. 181). What this means is that when the To'to young people engage in pre-marital sex, they not only denigrate the boundaries of control which in this case is the woman's body, they too, set aside the object of control which is the use of reason over emotional pleasure. Most importantly, they go against the governing internalised modes of control such as "books first before boys" or "you can't take it back". These forms of going against Philippine society's conventional views of the woman's body and taking the path of disobedience (Foucault, 1977, p. 138) come with costs. Not only would they have to give up both their dreams, but they will likely be unable to finish school because they have to work for their child. This is intensified by anxieties that the man who got them pregnant will stand them up and not support them. In Avril's words, "you can never be sure if the guy will stand up for you." What Avril suggests is that this uncertainty is related not only to the father standing up for her honour and reputation,

but also marrying and supporting her and the child materially. In another conversation, Tere, worries about the possibility of getting an irresponsible father of her child:

> I am bothered when I think about the possibility of getting pregnant. There are so many girls here who get pregnant. What would my life be? It's really tough *yah* [yeah] especially when the father is…that's another problem because you'll also have to think of what to feed your baby and other needs (15 March 2017).

The To'to girls are not the only ones preoccupied by pregnancy as a future possibility. The boys, too, are worried about it but are quite straightforward about what they would do if it happened to their girlfriend. Brian says, "I am not like other boys who run away. I will support the baby. Will look for a part time job to be able to help…I might have to stop from school so I can feed my baby" (Interview, 16 March 2017). Unlike Brian, Steve is more optimistic about the possible consequences of having a baby. In one of the interviews, he laid out several plans (A, B, C) that include ramifications of career choice, place to settle down and many others. For him:

> It is not a hindrance because before you start doing it, you should thoroughly think about it and its consequences. You just have to be responsible. When you make a mistake, just do it all over again and go back to this [points his Plan A in the vision board] (21 March 2017).

The temporal regimes of causes (lack of reason, emotional problems) and effects ("it's the end of it"), that come up in their conversations about pregnancy mirror some forms of disciplinary practices, often coming from adult neighbours, or their parents. For April, Cristina, and Ruby, rumourmongering aunties are the faces of discipline in their communities, aside from their parents. April says, "we're not doing anything wrong and they would gossip even early in the morning" (23 March 2017). In an earlier interview, she remarked:

> In our village, older people look at all young people as *agpada-pada* [one and the same] because there are girls there who are drunkards. They go to the city for some shots…I just go with them once in a while because when daddy finds out, he gets really infuriated (Interview, 8 March 2017).

The other girls respond to communal forms of disciplining such as gossip quite strategically but with some sense of caution. Cristina, who is a community youth leader,

often facilitates events in their village and at times, inevitably has to raise her voice but finds herself at odds with other people:

> At school, it's normal that I raise my voice but when I go to our community, people get shocked and ask, "is she angry?". So you just lower your voice and be patient with them. As long as you can hold it back, hold it. But when it is too much, I answer back (Focus Group, 22 February 2017).

On the other hand, Ruby, who exhibits a sweet demeanour and is often soft-spoken, describes her ways of dealing with them as:

> …Even if we [young people] yell at each other, because we live in a bunkhouse. Even if we are all chatty, for us, young people, we are *tambays* [on stand by] and we might get pregnant so we don't go out anymore. We also get scolded most of the time by our neighbours so we say, "auntie, it's not like that" (Focus Group, 22 February 2017).

Their making do in these contexts oscillates from resistance to accommodation, hence a form of "working with" and "working against". Answering back and staying at home are the responses of April, Ruby, and Cristina to the disciplining of nosy adults in their community. It becomes apparent that answering back becomes a last resort when the adults go overboard. On the other hand, not going out is often the consequence. The young women, at the receiving end of disciplining from the aunties, as a consequence, wish that the gossipy aunties themselves could be disciplined. April says, "I wish they pass and enforce an anti-*chismis* [gossip] law just like in Pangasinan (a nearby province)" (Interview, 15 March 2017).

In the talk about pregnancy, the gendered differences of external disciplining are revealed. Aunties gossip about younger girls while boys are initiated into drinking and the chewing of *moma* by the uncles. But more importantly, their talks about pregnancy and virginity also foreground the asymmetries of responses to corporeal governance among the To'to boys and girls. The consequential forms of self-discipline, "hold it as long as you can", or "I don't go out often" show that girls are more often than not, likely to exhibit self-regulation because of the frequent communal disciplining they receive compared to the To'to boys. This aligns with what Manalastas and David (2018) have found in their analysis of valuation of women's virginity in the Philippines. They argue that compared to men, women endorsed even more restrictive views (e.g. linking virginity to a woman's worth) and thus, supporting the argument that "women

themselves may endorse cultural belief systems that restrict female sexuality" (Manalastas & David, 2018, p. 23). Overall, in their humorous talk of pregnancy and virginity, what is apparent are different layers of control over the To'to youth's bodies. On the one hand, it is the community's control. On the other hand, their control over their own bodies. For example, abstinence is the solution advocated by religious and governmental campaigns in response to teenage pregnancy and population control. At the same time, abstinence is also valorised among the To'to participants, because in their words, "it's really just about self-control" and condoms are unreliable, or its distribution in schools[48], an immoral act.

In summary, just as the To'to boys exhibit guileful ruse of the loincloth and gentrification of the *moma* as their forms of making do with communal and curricular ways of governing their bodies, humour too, has figured as a significant way of making do with the moral and communal regulation of women's bodies. In short, laughing about pregnancy and the loss of virginity is their way of taking the bitter pill, the harsh realities of excessive disciplining by their community, and the difficulty of bearing the consequences of it when they are unsuccessful in preventing it from happening. Aside from this, I have also noted the temporalities of early pregnancy which specifically revolve around the ways in which the To'to girls respond to the *de facto* forms of disciplining they receive from their community. In what follows, I surface the girls' perceived role and agency in thinking about potential pregnancy and its impact to their future.

Gendered Politics of the Future

As demonstrated in the previous sections, the To'to young people's conversations around pregnancy foreground their consciousness over certain temporal normativities such as the ideal time to get married, or gendered ideals such as boys should be man enough to stand up for their child, or that both boys and girls should abstain from sex. Their conversations also point to the gendered politics of the future which is forged by what they do in the present. This includes notions of control over

[48] The Department of Health of the Philippine government initially launched a campaign to distribute condoms to secondary school students. This has faced considerable opposition from religious and moralist groups.

the future, and agency or will to insist on their personal goals. For the To'to girls, pregnancy always means an uncertainty with their baby's father standing up for them, or to support the needs of their baby. On the other hand, the To'to boys' default response is that they would not run away and would stay and stand up for the mother and the child. In so far as responsibility over sexual intercourse is concerned among the To'to young people, the girls seem to have to bear the burden if they were to have control over their future, or if they were to have a responsible husband. This include choosing a responsible sexual partner – someone who'll also be a responsible father and husband, and someone who will not run away. In their minds, if they were to be certain about their future, they should abstain, and if they cannot, they have to choose the right one.

In general, the To'to girls feel less optimistic about their imagined capacity to bounce back after pregnancy. Unlike Steve who thinks it is never a hindrance to be a father in achieving personal goals, (although he acknowledges one may have to defer some plans and resort to another), most of the girls think of pregnancy as the "end of it". When the To'to girls are asked to imagine what their lives will be if they get pregnant, some are too preoccupied with thinking about having to find a job to support the child, or worry about whether the father will run away or stay. This is not surprising given the pervasive sanctions imposed upon teenage girls who get pregnant that come in the form of stigma, discrimination, or being forced into early marriage by their families not only in the Philippines but also in other developing countries (Nkwemu, Jacobs, Mweemba, Sharma, & Zulu, 2019). The To'to girls' views about pre-pregnancy and post-pregnancy can therefore be situated in two instances: pre-pregnancy and post-pregnancy. These two scenarios show a shift or change in the To'to girl's imagined stake or control over their lives. While during intercourse, the uncertain consequences of pregnancy behoove a girl to be preoccupied with so many considerations (abstinence, choosing the right guy, etc.), this stake in foresight and control is imagined to be diminished once she gets pregnant. This is seen in the girls' thinking that it will be more difficult for them to bounce back to their original plans and that they have to devote their time to their baby.

Within the discourse of early pregnancy, imagining futures is undeniably gendered. To get pregnant is in the first place such a corporeal experience, which comes

with guilt because it implies the desecration of the pristine feminine body, and the consequential bloating which marks the end of dreams. Aside from this, the To'to girls understand that in villages where intimate labour (Boris & Parreñas, 2010) is a primary export commodity delegated to them as females, their imagined domestic intimacy with their future baby will not count as labour, will not be paid, but will inevitably consume them. So, while it is easy for the likes of Steve and Brian to get on with life, the girls understand it is not that easy for pregnant women to do so. As opposed to their ways of imagining futures within the context of school and work where they often exhibit a "promental animus" and interject precarity with *anya ngarud* that foregrounds alterity, the To'to girls' imagining of their futures shifts or at a disjuncture when located within potential pregnancy.

What the To'to girls' imaginings of their shifting stake in the two different stages involving pregnancy suggest is that teenage pregnancy, despite the imaginary of it as a definitive state of failure for women (e.g. it's the end of it), is also a negotiated process. As described by Sax (2010, p. 330) among shantytown girls in Porto Alegre, this negotiation takes place on two levels. First, it is a negotiation over the girl's body; and second, over her moral standing in the community. This negotiated aspect of pregnancy becomes apparent among the To'to girls' preoccupation with their control over their desires (e.g. abstinence or pleasure, books vs. boys) or in choosing the right guy to have intercourse with. Also, this figures in their worries about their potentially diminished purity, their futures put at risk, and their capacity to bounce back.

In the To'to girls' thinking about pregnancy, hope's anticipatory illumination of potentiality (Coleman, 2017) is changed into an anticipation of actuality such that what is affirmed is no longer a possibility, but the probability of risk and suffering. When linked back to the affective verbal registers they employ in talking about pregnancy, the amount of investment a To'to girl gives to avoid it, and the invisible labour it requires, signify that bloating is definitely something to avoid. And as pessimistic as it may sound, despite the boys' demonstration that there still lies a "spark or flicker that might take [them] somewhere else" (Coleman, 2017, p. 533), for the To'to girls, this imagined experience of pregnancy also make apparent "biggest affective reality that the future is a trauma inflicted in the present by the arrival of crises" (Appadurai, 2013, p. 299).

This section has argued for the gendered imagination of the future in the To'to youth's talk about pregnancy. It has shown that compared to boys, the To'to girls imagine going back to their personal goals after pregnancy as more difficult than boys and because of that, the girls tend to be preoccupied by anxiety, discipline and self-control to avoid getting pregnant. In relation to the earlier section on humour, the girls' imagined difficulties and challenges of getting pregnant also become a significant explanatory lens when they approach the matter as their way of making do.

Making Do and Performativity

The curriculum says, "there is no room for fashion in culture". Simultaneously, the school and community prohibit chewing betel nut. Aunties are always in the know about the juiciest of gossips. These are the sources of discipline for To'to's young people. Just like Bentham's "panopticon" (Foucault, 1977), when the curriculum insists on purity and fixity in the name of cultural pride; when the community restricts the chewing of the *moma* for hygiene and health; or when aunties gossip about and tell on young girls; they, together generate a multi-dimensional view of To'to youth's bodies. And because discipline in a panoptic sense relies on the technology of the "optic", of a certain leverage in sight, the object of these forms of disciplines has always been the visible. Whatever the panoptic gaze of the disciplining authority sees, it disciplines. As seen in the case of the *wanes* and the *moma*, visibility then becomes the primary requisite for an act to be pointed out. This helps explain why the boys' bodies are more likely to be monitored during cultural presentations when they have to wear the *wanes* than the girls who wear the *tapis*. This is the same logic that explains why *moma*-chewers are more heavily criticised than the alcoholic, or the drug addict. Perhaps, it is the same rationale why girls, in the conversation about pregnancy, are heavily preoccupied thinking about so many things in comparison to the boys. Briefs under the *wanes* are more visible than panties underneath the *tapis*. The stinky red spit and stained teeth are more conspicuous than the intoxicating scent of gin. It is also the girl who bloats and bears a child.

The briefs, the red spit, and bloated belly materialise gender in so far as they being objects of discipline, they stabilise and create seemingly natural categorical boundaries (Butler, 2011, pp. xviii-xix) – being a To'to male or female through the

citation and reiteration of curricular and communal norms and ideals. When Ma'am Bernabe invokes "there is no room for fashion in culture" to remind the boys to properly wear their *wanes*, she inevitably alludes to forms of masculine distinction – the proud *Igorot* male against the traitor. When the school and community prohibit the chewing of *moma*, and go as far as inviting health experts to discuss the risks that come with chewing, they too distinguish the clean male from the unclean, the healthy from the unhealthy. When girls say "yucks", or when they are *"yucks da nga yucks"* [keep on saying yucks], they subtly create boundaries that separate the desirable from the undesirable. When aunties gossip about the village's recent pregnancy, or when girls choose to stay at home to avoid committing mistakes, they reinforce and perpetuate the distinction between a pure woman and a morally lose one. These are the lines that the To'to youth have to cross, or sometimes push against in their ways of gaming the loincloth, gentrifying the betel quid, and laughing about pregnancy.

Therefore, the To'to boys and girls, even when they are geographically moored in the villages while bodies and boxes are shipped abroad, also occupy the "borderlands" (Anzaldúa, 1987) of cultural and social reproduction. What this suggests is that, in relation to the dichotomy of the moored and the mobile, the moored is not only facilitating the emigrant's movement. The moored also moves within these borderlands of cultural and social reproduction. As such, looking at the existence of the gendered lines of aesthetisation that cut across the loincloth, betel nut, and pregnancy, that the To'to youth must grapple with not only demonstrates their ability to make do, but to also rethink the meaning of being moored and movement in a village where transnational mobilities of labour, capital, and ideas take place.

With these borders that confine the ideal To'to girl or boy, "subjectification" – the privileging of the proud *Igorot* male who does not wear brief under his *wanes*, the male whose teeth are as white as pearl, and the girl whose body remains untouched – becomes inevitable. On the flip side, this same subjectification also makes possible forms of "abjectification", in so far as there is a "simultaneous production of a domain of abject beings, those who are not yet "subjects", those that dwell in the "unlivable and uninhabitable zones of social life" (Butler, 2011, p. xiii). As such, the operation of discipline that creates gender categories through exclusionary means, however ironic, simultaneously makes possible the emergence of a form of gender politics that talks

back to the hegemony of the privileged subject - the culturally proud male, the clean male, the pure woman. Butler (2011, p.xx) describes:

> It will be from the exterior regions of that boundary (not from a "position," but from the discursive possibilities opened up by the constitutive outside of hegemonic positions), and it will constitute the disruptive return of the excluded from within the very logic of the heterosexual symbolic.

By lying outside the ideal, the To'to young people engage with the norms – "you shall not wear briefs", "you shall not chew *moma*", "you shall not get pregnant" – through their forms of making do. These forms of making do are constituted by their distinct ways of wearing the *wanes*, of chewing and spitting *moma*, and their distinct ways of talking about pregnancy. In doing these, they cite and reiterate the norms and ideals but only to disrupt it, to ruse it (Butler, 2011, p. xxiii). In their attempt to adhere to the norms, the To'to young people differently work, use, and talk about their bodies, such that these "different embodiments create[d] openings for new possibilities, a kind of witnessing through which we are exposed to the potential of being-otherwise, *with* others" (Zembylas, 2016, p. 398) just as when they exclaim *anya ngarud* to signify alterity. When Julius wore his brief under the *wanes*, or when Michael hid his and drew smiley emojis on his bum, they were trying to adhere to the norms. On the one hand, they fulfil the expectation that boys should continue to wear the *wanes*. On the other hand, the expectation that when one does, it should be the same as how the earlier *Igorot* men did is being parodied. These same boys, who chew *moma*, also cite the hygienic considerations when they use an empty bottle as a spittoon, or when they add *pandan* to minimize the stinky smell of their spit and mouth. When girls jokingly do a wager on whoever will get pregnant first should give them a treat, or when boys make fun of poked condoms, they in fact recognize the seriousness of early pregnancy, hence cite its disruptive nature to the life course.

It is also in their citation and reiteration of these norms that they disrupt and expose the illogic and inconsistency of these norms. In asking, "did the girls wear their panties before?" or in saying, "at least it's not drugs", as ways to justify the brief and chewing respectively, they expose the flaws behind the reasoning of these norms. When they make fun of pregnancy, a very serious matter, they do not mean to dismiss its

gravity, but only to come closer to its centrality, as it is the only way they think they can talk about it. It is therefore in their wearing of the briefs that they reckon the rule, it is in the chewing of the *moma* that they saturate the taken-for-granted privileging of the alcoholic and the drug-addict, and it is in laughing about it that they come to terms with how serious pregnancy is.

What the To'to young people then imply in their doing and talking about their bodies – in their forms of making do exhibited in their wearing of the loincloth, the chewing of the *moma*, and in thinking about pregnancy is that:

> The body is not passively scripted with cultural codes, as if it were a lifeless recipient of wholly pre-given cultural relations….so the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives. (Butler, 1988, p. 526)

In a world where "bodies of young people [increasingly] become objects of social observation and contemplation, vigilance and celebration, scrutiny and evaluation" (Ferreira, 2016, p.163), the To'to young people engage with discipline with a sense of vitality, and thus, put forth a politics that responds to wider discursive formations. The guileful ruse of the *wanes* opens up conversation on cultural pride. That being proud of one's culture does not rest solely on the "proper" wearing of the loincloth. In their persistent chewing of the *moma* and their forms of legitimation such as "at least it's not drugs" or the use of an improvised spittoon, they confront "hypermasculinities", "extreme practices of behaviour of dominance […] which have potential to be harmful both to men and others (Connell, as cited in Ward et. al, 2017, p. 803) (e.g. the alcoholic who runs amok in the street, or the drug addict who sexually assaults a neighbour) and their communities' subtle condonation to them. They are saying as if, "we're not the tree you should be barking at". The humour that they exhibit when talking about pregnancy as a possibility, symbolically raises a "so what question", that does not diminish its seriousness and gravity but also puts forth a way of talking about pregnancy as a concept, or as a possibility, instead of it as a person, as the aunties in the villages do. To laugh about it, is the easiest way to talk about it.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined a different aspect of making do, distinct from the foci exhibited in the earlier chapters. In Chapter Four, I discussed the To'to youth's attitudes and disposition of making do that figured as some form of affective grammar in relation to limited educational opportunities. In Chapter Five, I examined labour as a form and a site of both productive and affective forms of making do. In this chapter, I surfaced making do as a guileful ruse as shown in the ways in which the To'to young people play with and negotiate curricular and communal management of heritage and corporeal possibilities, something that is more closely related to how imagination is more popularly understood.

What can be surmised, therefore, from the corporeal practices of the To'to young people, that I have elaborated on in my discussion of the *wanes*, *moma*, and teenage pregnancy is that despite their "abjectification" (Butler, 1988, 2011) in curricular and communal disciplining, and their adherence to it under duress, they are still able to produce quite significant discursive effects. First, they expose the inconsistency, illogic, and flaws of the discourse of discipline imposed upon them (e.g. "It's a Tie", "At least it's not drugs"). Second, despite exposing the illogic of the disciplining they receive, they continue to partake in the life of the community through their partial concessions and compromises to curricular and communal expectations (e.g. gentrification of the *moma*; concealment of the briefs). Lastly, their making do is also a form of insistence to be recognised as full participants in school and community life despite their perceived academic and cultural deficiencies. Again, what this says about making do as a form of young people's imaginative practice is that it is not merely a form of coasting along, or directed towards merely getting by, but even when it is in its playful state, it also reaps discursive consequences. Most importantly, aside from the immediate and potential productive and affective effects of their making do, the discursive consequences of their guileful ruse also reinscribe, to some extent, the inherited social and cultural norms and the terms of recognition (Appadurai, 2013; Fraser, 2009) from the curriculum and their community.

I will now move on to Chapter Seven, the concluding chapter, where I first recall the biographic and social motivations behind this thesis. As I move along, I outline the empirical, methodological, and conceptual contributions of this thesis in terms of

existing information about, investigation of, and theorising about young people's lives and ways of grappling with the challenges of mobilities that they face while moored in the villages of the developing world.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSIONS

In hindsight

The question of "how do young people come to imagine the world and their possible futures in settings characterized by growing levels of transnational mobility and connectivity?" has propelled this thesis from its incipient stages until its completion. This question, too, has strong imbrications with my biography, and awareness of local history and unprecedented global upheaval. The genesis of this question was a biographic culling of childhood friendships, contextualised within the emerging global care chains in the early 90s, and a fascination with the "double-ness" of experiencing globalisation – as direct and vicarious – as I lived in the villages then. My friends Ling-Ling, Nina, and Emma were direct recipients of accumulated wealth within the post-Fordist model of tapping into labouring bodies for care and intimacy in a transnational space. I was a spectator of this valorisation of material accumulation derived from the extraction of care as I looked at their intertwined lives with the rest of the world that to me, was too far to reach.

This thesis was partly a project of looking for the Ling-Lings, Emmas, and Ninas whose families continue to be objects of envy among the village folk, due to their assumed financial security, as people living the imagined better life "elsewhere". It was partly in search for the likes of me, onlookers of this fascinating yet painful movement of bodies and boxes, or worst, bodies in boxes. It was partly in search for the idyll of the village where we grew up. This is partly how I got to know Michael, April, Mark, Brian, and Judith as the Ling-Ling, Emma, and Nina of this generation. It is how I came across Dexter, Tere, Julius, Steve, Nancy, Celine, Bob, Ruby, and Cristina as the Jays of today. This is how To'to became my village. These biographic motivations relating to how the likes of the three girls, and the likes of me come to imagine their place in this increasingly interconnected and precarious world, and the possibility for futures-otherwise, are complemented by the sustained, if not intensified torrent of global forces as a reality. This thesis, too, was partly a way to understand villages as localities within the inflow and outflow of bodies, money, boxes, and narratives. And because in these times of unprecedented mobilities, locality is produced as a "new and different sort of

place" (McKay & Brady, 2005), this thesis also became a search for the ways in which young people respond to these global forces. My interest in the forms of responses from young people while they are "moored" in the villages brought me to a deeper conceptual engagement with the construct of the imagination.

Given these biographic, historical, and conceptual drivers, this thesis' purpose was to offer a way of thinking about young people's imagination of their future by looking at it through their everyday endeavours – as left-behind and onlooking – in the context of mobilities in the villages of the northern Philippines. I was able to do what I conceptualised as young people's "making do" as a salient characteristic of their ways of navigating the impact of mobilities in various aspects of their lives, and their ways of reinventing and reinscribing inherited historical, social, cultural, and most importantly, economic conditions. As such, I looked at how their making do became a way of grappling with the consequences not only of the "global care chains" (Hochcschild, 2000, 2008), but the changing and diminishing opportunity for work in the villages, and the insufficiency of educational opportunities available to them. From these emergent transformations, I became attuned to three specific domains that are salient in young people's lives in the villages: school, labour, and gender. By looking at these three specific and highly contested aspects of their lives in Chapters Four, Five, and Six respectively, I start this concluding chapter by summarising key insights and findings from this thesis.

This thesis arose not only at the "cross sea" of disciplines and fields. It has also arisen at the cross sea of the global care chains, radical educational reform, and shifting labour conditions in the villages. What this means is that the context, characterised by the constancy of transnational and translocal movements, which young people's lives revolve around, is complex, contingent, and dynamic. It has become even more complicated, not because there are more forces (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b) to deal with that previously did not exist. Rather, the complexity comes from the unprecedented consequences of these transnational movements for institutions that are significant to young people. The narratives of young people in this thesis suggest that the contexts in which they grow up now are far from stable. Homes are destabilised with mothers leaving, work opportunities are diminished by multinational corporations' race to the

bottom, and educational opportunities are undermined by the same radical reform that promises to equalise it.

The specificity of interaction of these overlapping, and at times, reinforcing transformations in the villages also demonstrate that the consequences of transnational mobilities are contingent. While "things fall away" (Tadiar, 2000) at work, school, and home for young people, the impact of mobilities for them is neither fully determined by these sloughed off chances nor by the glossy transnational aspirations of their families, or the curriculum that instructs them. And despite its complexity, transnational movements' contingent nature also suggest that it is dynamic. While young people face recession of material privileges and gains, they continue to tap into what remains in localities to respond, and by doing so, continue to hold the line within their means. Given these, neither the romantic and celebratory view of, nor the hyper-critical and negative ascriptions to transnational movements are tenable normative judgements.

Because this thesis is also situated within the enterprise of studying educational transformations, it seeks to offer insights on the impact of the transnational mobility of ideas and practices in local schools that continue to be significant to young people's making and being made (Valentin, 2006; Carney & Rappleye, 2011). The specificity of To'to young people's experience of schooling at the incipient stages of the K to 12 reform instituted by the Aquino government shows and affirms what has been found in many cases the world over. It is that policy prescriptions that stem from a national government and implemented in local areas generate various unintended outcomes. These consequences, more often than not, in fact exacerbate the existing marginalisation of disadvantaged groups (Valentin, 2006; Carney, Bista, Agergaard, 2007, p. 611; de los Reyes, 2013, 2014). As such, not only are transnational mobilities complex, contingent, and dynamic, they too have asymmetrical consequences for various groups of people. This affirms Adey's (2006) argument on the differential and relational nature of mobilities.

These insights on transnational movements are elaborated below, where I outline the thesis' empirical, methodological, and conceptual contributions.

Empirical, methodological, and conceptual contributions

This thesis' contributions encompass generating new ways of understanding young people in this particular age of global cataclysm; informing ways of investigating these concerns with a consciousness of local and global transformations; adding to or nuancing existing theories and concepts relating to young people's lives in localities where pervasive mobilities also take place.

Empirical contributions

I wanted to find out how young people are responding to the deluge of global and local transformations, and simultaneously, their ways of imagining possible futures. In more specific terms, I sought to understand how young people are impacted upon by the allure of global work and the dispersal of care or affective relations within the New International Division of Labour that have severely affected their villages. Also, I aimed at finding out how changes in opportunities for work and the effect of radical educational reform had also changed their lives, including their ways of responding to these changes.

First, while transformations in the different domains of young people's lives are expected given the pervasive exceptionalism of neoliberal logic (Ong, 2006; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), being attuned to these changes in examining young people's responses helped to generate significant empirical contributions in this thesis. Not only did the village become a site where young people experienced previous sources of social and economic stability recede. This same locality also became a site where ways of responding to emergent challenges were generated. As mothers left for work abroad and young people looked for work to make ends meet because of the insufficiency of remittances, young people tapped into immediate local collective solidarities to seek support, turning to their social networks in the villages and the city to find work. As such, despite the pervasive allure and valorisation of transnational work that render the village less attractive than the global cities, the case of villages like To'to affirm what previous scholarship has argued: localities continue to be a significant site and resource for responding to the challenges that mobilities and transnational migration bring forth (Farrugia, 2018a; McKay, 2007, 2012).

Second, the continued significance of locality for young people also signals the salient characteristic of their responses to socio-economic challenges they face in the

villages. Other studies have shown that young people are able to respond to the torrent of global forces through the generation of social and collective movements (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2013; Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b; Bayat, 2013). In my study, the quality and nature of young people's responses was the focus. I identified responses characterised by tacticality, creativity, and calculation that are best encapsulated in their practice of "making do". As such, it is significant to note that young people are also able to respond in less eventful, hence, more everyday terms than what has been typically accounted for. Their responses to challenges in school, labour, and gender should not be underestimated in terms of their rational and practical qualities, despite their quotidian character. Allow me to recall how their imaginative capacities figured in their everyday forms of making do.

> To'to young people "made do" with curricular and domestic limitations by employing affective grammatical practices (e.g. *anya ngarud,* tell me about it, that's the way it is), and developing dispositions and attitudes that exhibited an instrumental rationality (e.g. "I just need the diploma to find a job"), but which were not devoid of either value rationality (e.g. "I'll discover what I really want by staying in school") or critical rationality (e.g. "We are like experiments!"; "Our K to 12 is pathetic!"). These affective grammars and dispositions, when taken together as forms of making do at the imbrication of academic and domestic lives, reinforced a "pro-mental" attitude towards their schooling. This attitude is characterised by a critical optimism of the possibilities that might emerge from their schooling.
>
> The logic behind their making do in labour is best represented in the phrase, "*isu't naguyud ku, isu't nakitak"* ("That's what I pulled, that's what I saw") which not only signified the temporality and spatiality of making do as practice, but also disrupts conventional notions of logical response. This phrase distorts the chronology of expected action such that the pulling precedes the seeing. On the one hand, it suggests that within situations of precarity, limitation, and deprivation, young people have to keep pulling every opportunity that comes along, even before they can discern it. On the other hand, the spatiality of pulling and seeing did not only mean movement

to seek opportunities elsewhere, or tapping into proximate resources which, among others, were the collective solidarities in the villages. It also includes strategic identification through forms of finessed labelling of their mother's work abroad, or their father's in local government or small-scale mines. These styles of identification were arrived at not in some haphazard terms but through some rough cost-benefit analyses.

Their making do in gender surfaced in relation to how the To'to young people worked around norms of material culture such as the *wanes* (loincloth) and *moma* (betel quid), and their distinct ways of talking about the female body. Examples of making do that were accounted for were creative concealment of the briefs in wearing the *wanes*, or its outright and conspicuous display which is a response to communal and curricular expectations for cultural purity as seen in the phrase "there is no room for fashion in culture". Concerning betel nut chewing, much of the making do has been to accommodate prohibition of chewing in public spaces through strategies of creative gentrification of chewing practices (e.g. use of empty bottles as spittoons, addition of *pandan* leaves in the mixture to minimize pungent smell). The deployment of humour among young people's talk of pregnancy and virginity became a form of making do and coming to terms with its impending disruption to their life course and its impact to their future. These forms of making do became ways of navigating the discursive categories of masculinity emergent from *moma:* clean vs. unclean; healthy vs. unhealthy; desirable vs. undesirable.

These changes in young people's socio-economic, educational, and cultural milieu and their responses show that as young people's home, school, work, and cultural lives in the villages are perturbed by transformations of global magnitude, the pressure and demand to generate immediate and creative responses, and its stakes also become even higher. Nevertheless, these material and discursive conditions are constantly being renegotiated and reinscribed by young people in their own ways.

Third, from these localised forms of responses unified by the logic and practice of making do also emerged new found ways of young people's thinking about locality

and globality and its significant material and discursive effects. Among such effects is the particularisation and, at times, generation of novel ways of thinking about time and place as registers with which they distinguish the village from the rest of the world. Much of the production of locality includes young people's double or bifocal understanding of village time and foreign time, and the constant shifting of the abstracted boundaries that separate the village from the rest of the world. For example, by referencing social remittances from abroad, young people think of village time as relaxed and one where people have control over. In contrast, they think of foreign time as work time where one chases it by rendering "military moves". The boundaries of the village and abroad, therefore, are destabilised or shifted because of young people's affective relationships to both home and away. The village is near to the rest of the world when the subject of employment opportunity, or missing loved ones residing in the latter is talked about. However, when emergent global challenges such as terrorism, pandemics, and the rise of ethno-nationalist politics are brought to the fore, the village suddenly becomes distant from the rest of the world. In the end, young people's relation to the outside world is couched in conditional (e.g. "I will leave if I can't find a job"; "I will leave if I can bring my family") and comparative terms (e.g. "You keep on working when you're abroad"; "You can rest when you get tired in the village") where neither leaving nor staying become default or automatic choices.

These empirical insights when put together not only suggest that the material, social, and cultural landscape of the village are changing in relation to the transnational mobilities it is intertwined with. They also show that young people's responses tend to deviate from the tropes of valorisation of leaving and the underrating of the village, or the atomisation or individualising tendencies of post-Fordist economies. Most importantly, as a result of the changing conditions in the villages, young people's construction of it also disrupt the conventional imaginaries that previously distinguished the village from foreign lands.

Methodological contributions

It was possible to generate the insights I have elaborated in the previous section because of the approach adopted in this thesis. This allowed for ways of thinking about young people's imagination in more everyday terms, while at the same time cognizant

of the mobilities that link them and their villages to other places. This meant adopting an ethnographically-informed approach that generated a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of their everyday lives as moored in and onlooking from the villages. At the same time, in interpreting their everyday imaginative practices, their connections to global forces (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b) and the "elsewhere" (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) were equally attended to. From this design, the following methodological contributions of this thesis are outlined:

First, this thesis has deviated somewhat from the epistemological proclivities of fields and disciplines with which it is associated. It has veered away from the mobility-centrism, destination-centrism, and adult centrism of transnational, migration, and diaspora scholarship. As such, this thesis has contributed to generating perspectives from the left behind, moored, and onlooking young people in emigrant-sending communities, yet remained attuned to the complexities of home and away relations. Because of this thesis' desire to look at imagination as ordinary human "practice" (Ortner, 2006), it also deviated from attending to notions of youthful imagination through the lens of creativity of young people in the Arts (Higgins, 2009, p. xiii, &17) or an accounting of their agency through the mobilisation of social movements or oppositional acts (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b: Appadurai, 2013). Instead, it advanced a middle, if not a third way to think of the imaginative subject. By focusing on the creativity of left-behind and onlooking young people in their everyday lives, this thesis has provided an alternative account of imagination as a basic and routine capacity of ordinary young people, in low-level occurrences (Das, 2010), not in global cities but in the villages of the developing world. In short, the mode of investigation that this thesis employed allowed it to move beyond the optic that privileges the global city over the village, the mobile over the moored, the artist and activist over the layperson.

Second, stemming from this thesis' deviation from the epistemological tendencies of related fields, it has also shown simultaneous conceptual and methodological localisation, while cognizant of external dynamics. A "multi-sited global ethnography" (see Kenway, Fahey, Epstein, Koh, McCarthy, and Rizvi, 2017) was not feasible within the time and resources limitations of a PhD thesis. In response, this thesis has combined a deep dive methodologically (e.g. ethnographic in approach, go alongs, etc.) and conceptually (e.g. localising the imagination), and hence it has attempted to refine a

focus in the particular or microscopic. It also sought to remain conscious of the "elsewhere" to which the particular set of social relations in the villages where fieldwork was conducted are connected to, hence macroscopic. This was accounted for by focusing on the left-behind and onlookers' ways of consuming material, cultural, and informational resources from elsewhere while they remain in the villages and how this affected the imagined elsewhere.

Third, in relation to grounding imagination via making do as a conceptual project of this thesis, making do has also figured in this thesis methodologically as a form of a researcher's iterative practice for investigation. By being ethnographically informed, this thesis employed strategies such as "go-alongs" and ethnographic interviews, combined with focus groups, paired and individual interviews, and even timed tasks required from the students.

Put simply, the design of this investigation that puts mobilities and imagination in conversation, in ways that focused on the left-behind and ordinary people, allowed for the surfacing of previously elided voices and places. By doing so, the narratives and everyday lives of the To'to young people were not rendered merely as "case studies" but were in fact generative for building theory (Berg and Longhurst, 2003). These methodological decisions inevitably generated various conceptual openings or vistas that have significant consequences in terms of thinking about the dialectics of imagination and movement, home and away, mobile and moored. I elaborate on this below, discussing the conceptual contributions that derived from both the empirical and methodological dimensions of the thesis.

Conceptual contributions

The empirical and methodological contributions elaborated above also made possible a nuancing of imagination and mobilities through engagement with key concepts such as labour, practice, affect, temporality, and place.

First, this thesis offered not only an operationalised and localised way of thinking about imagination but also put forth an alternative way of thinking about it beyond the image of the artist or the activist as imagining subjects (Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b). Existing scholarship on imagination and education has been inclined to situate the former as an unlimited free play of ideas (see Robinson, 2008; Higgins, 2009),

often framing it as a resource that can easily be tapped into by students. At the same time, young people's imagination in localities is couched in much literature (Burawoy, 2000a, 2000b; Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2013) as being able to inspire social movements that resist global forces. These ways in which imagination have been thought of have elided the "actuality" and "behind-the-scenes" of what it means to imagine. In response, this thesis accounted for the resources that young people mobilise in order to generate creative responses. By doing so, this thesis has surfaced that there are underlying costs to imagination that the imagining subject must bear. More importantly, this thesis has highlighted how, in conditions of disadvantage and precarity, imagination appears to be a conscripted human capacity (Haiven, 2012). Empirical evidence, as previously discussed, show that among the costs that young people bear are productive and affective forms of labour in the domains of school, work, and gender. Worst, given the jettisoning of previously enjoyed rights and privileges among the disadvantaged population (Tadiar, 2009), the capacity to imagine is constantly under pressure to respond. In recognition of the underlying costs and labour behind imaginative practices, this thesis aims to contribute to existing conceptual debates on imagination by offering a view that as a capacity, imagination is not always free from cost, and is neither unrestricted nor unlimited.

Second, by focusing on the underlying labour and costs of imagination that are both material and affective, this thesis has also contributed to thinking about imagination as practice (Ortner, 2006; Higgins, 2009), as a way of engaging and having greater contact with the world. As such, this thesis has attempted to add to ways of conceiving imagination beyond nominal (noun-like) terms or being "image-oriented" (e.g. images of home and away, dreams, aspirations, expectations, etc.). Instead, it highlighted the affective and productive "making" of these images as the bulk of imagination, hence more in active terms, as a human capacity that happens in less eventful or ordinary occurrences in young people's lives. As such, the thesis is in response to Appadurai's comments on the history of anthropology: that it is "replete with the testimony to the work of the imagination…but rarely connected to the quotidian social labour of producing locality" (Appadurai, 2013, p. 287). This social labour of producing locality is also elaborated in the third conceptual contribution of this thesis.

Third, by investigating imagination in conversation with mobilities, attention was given to the imagination of the left behind and onlookers. In doing so, I have tried to nuance the production of locality as a "new and different sort of place" (McKay & Brady, 2005). By examining the affective labouring and relations of young people to other places as a component of their imagination, and relating it to significant concepts in mobilities literature, such as time and distance, this thesis offered a way of understanding locality not as a stable, consistent, and rigid configuration of time and space. This thesis has interrogated temporal and spatial concepts by using young people's everyday imagination of other places where their friends and loved ones live in relation to their village. Their novel ways of thinking and feeling about the "elsewhere" suggest a breach and disruption of existing notions of time and distance between home and away. Their affective understandings of home and away relations suggest that temporality and spatiality are highly nuanced by what people make of them, and not merely in the constancy and universality of distance from one point to another, or the speed or duration it takes to move from "here" to "there" or *vice versa*.

Fourth and in relation to the third contribution on the place of affect and imagination in the production of locality, this thesis has also engaged with recent works on the place of the future in cultural activity (see Appadurai, 2013). Empirical evidence from this thesis suggests that in young people's imaginative practices of making do that involve affective grammar, mobilisation of proximate material and social resources, or "anti-chrono-logical" forms of responses (e.g. pulling precedes seeing), the future is always there, although in varying degrees and quality. It appears as an overt and explicit component of young people's aspiration as configured in the "where-ness" (To'to or abroad) or "when-ness" (short-term or long-term) of their dreams that is arrived at in some forms of calculation and comparison. In their everyday practices of making do, it subtly appears as a form of hope and promise that even when the consequences of making do in school and work are piecemeal and for subsistence, the future figures as the potential "otherwise" and an object of obstinacy. These are not new to thinking about the future. But what these figurings of the future in young people's everyday life demonstrate, at least conceptually, is that the occurrence or construction of the future is not always large-scale or big milestones. Sometimes it comes with less determinism and certainty, but with more hope for alterity.

Lastly, and most importantly, putting imagination and mobilities in conversation in this thesis has also tried to open up spaces for thinking about what it means to move and to be moored, or the relationship between the mobile and the left-behind. This thesis has veered away from the asymmetrical attribution of agency between the mobile and the moored in scholarship, where the former is portrayed as the provider and the saviour, and the latter as a passive recipient of remittance. Instead, I have shown how within the global care chains, the left-behind not only facilitate the movement of their mothers, they too move in differential ways. This includes not only geographic movement locally, the mobilisation of resources to respond to the consequences of transnational migration, but also their disruption of conventional ways of thinking of locality. And within this reinscription of boundaries and limits of locality simultaneously comes a movement across "borderlands" (Anzaldúa, 1987) of discursive categories relating to being a young person in the villages. As such, even in their being moored, young people move and navigate discursive categories of being an indigenous and gendered left behind child. From this conceptual contribution also emerges a "new" way of thinking about home and away, mobile and moored relations in dialectical and non-asymmetrical terms where both facilitate and affect each other in different ways. This last point will be a spring board for an elaboration of future research directions.

Limitations and Future Directions

I have outlined in the previous section the various empirical, methodological, and conceptual contributions that this thesis sought to make. However, this thesis, as with all investigations, has its own set of limitations.

First, this thesis' field, as both temporally and spatially bound, is undeniably limited. For one, fieldwork was conducted in the villages of a mining town in the northern Philippines. Also, the duration of fieldwork was over several months, spaced over two visits. The participants in this thesis were mainly students that included left behind children of women domestic workers, children of single parents, and those from traditional families where both parents are in the village. The main participants were not teachers, mothers, and grandparents although some of their insights were taken only in supplemental and complementary terms.

I acknowledge that these limitations of design and scope will have had an impact on the findings from the thesis. However, from the very beginning my aim was clear: it was never to generate generalizable empirical insights across localities, class, and even generations. Instead, it was to provide new knowledge about the experiences of young people at the intersection of transnationality and home, precarious local work and the global care chains, and radical educational reform.

Despite these limitations, this thesis has opened avenues for further research. This includes the realisation that in addition to scholarship that tends to focus on adult migrants in their host countries, or my emphasis on the left behind in villages, there is now a need for a deeper accounting of the relationship between those at home and away. Given the centrality of affect in young people's construction of locality, this directs us to look into how affective relations between those at home and in destination countries co-produce home and away. But more than these, there remains a need for studies that account for home and away relations in non-asymmetrical and in covalent terms, and across different spatial and temporal locations. First, it must be an account that neither condescends being differently mobile and privileges the geographically moving, nor elides the derivative quality of migrancy (Nail, 2015). Second, it must be an account that not only acknowledges the power of social and economic remittances in shaping sending communities, but also considers how left behind people reshape not only the experiences of immigrants in their host cities, but in wider scale, the social and cultural milieu in these places too. Lastly, aside from accounting for multi-sitedness, it will also be generative to account for this co-production of locality and globality across different time periods. This means going back to the participants in this thesis in the future, or designing a future study that accounts for patterns and shifts in home and away relations in different times. This way, movement in place as a significant concept in the New Mobilities Paradigm will also be put in conversation with movement in time.

Looking back, this thesis was motivated by a curiosity borne out of my biography, history, and experiences of contemporary global formations. I have embarked on an investigation of how concepts such as movement, imagination, and futures were intertwined. I found out how movement figured in young people's imagination of their futures, and in turn, how this imagination also figured in imagined future movements. I found that imagination is not purely free play nor free from costs. For the

disadvantaged like the young people of To'to, labour is embedded in imagination, and thus, can happen in subtle and less eventful ways. I learned that movement can be understood differently and that young people, despite their being moored as left behind and onlookers, move and are capable of moving things in various ways too.

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