The Paradoxes of Mobile Care Work: The Case of Aging Filipina Australians in a Digital Era

Earvin Charles B. Cabalquinto
Athena Charanne R. Presto

Abstract

This paper critically examines how 15 aging Filipina Australians in Victoria, Australia use mobile devices and online channels in their everyday care practices. Deploying in-depth interviews and visual methods, the study unravels the diverse modes of mobile care practices, including caring for oneself and for local and transnational networks. We apply an intersectional lens to identify and scrutinize the contradictory outcomes of mobile care work as shaped by interconnected axes of structural and digital inequality. The findings reveal the paradoxical and multifaceted experiences of these older Filipina Australians in embodying mobile care practices. We find that through mutually reinforcing factors, including gendered duties, familial responsibilities, economic and citizenship status, and digital access and abilities, care work is made easier yet is also made more imperative. These factors position our respondents unequally in the digital care landscape, highlighting the centrality of intersectionality in understanding their care

experiences. This paper contributes to the literature on the intersections of digital media, migration, and care by illuminating the gendered dimensions of mobile care work and its significance to transnational caregiving practices.

Keywords: care, digital media, transnationalism, Facebook, YouTube, caregiving burden, intersectionality, Filipina, older migrants, Australia

Introduction

In an increasingly digital era, ubiquitous digital devices, social media channels, and mobile applications have reshaped the ways gendered care practices are performed, embodied, and negotiated by aging migrants. To begin our discussion, we follow Tronto and Fisher's (1990) proposed modalities of care to articulate forms of care, including "caring about," "taking care," "caregiving," and "care-receiving." *Caring about* involves "paying attention to our world in such a way that we focus on continuity, maintenance and repair," while *taking care* refers to "taking responsibility for activities that keep our world going" (Tronto & Fisher, 1990, p. 40). The emphasis in these terms is thus on the relational dimension of care reflected in emotions (caring about) or as a form of work (taking care). In contemporary times, digital media use enables aging migrants to deliver care to their family members, relatives, and peers in their host and home country (Baldassar & Wilding, 2019; Baldassar et al., 2020). However, despite the multiple benefits activated by the mediation of care within and beyond borders, the uptake of digital devices compounds care burden and distress.

This paper aims to unpack the paradoxical consequences of incorporating digital media and online channels into how aging migrants' practice, experience, and negotiate care. We find that through mutually reinforcing factors, care work among older Filipina Australians is made easier yet is also made more imperative. Notably, *aging migrants* are individuals who have migrated to a new country and are now in the later stages of their life in a foreign country. This move is often accompanied

by changing roles and care-related responsibilities, particularly for women (see Alcid, 2003). The United Nations (UN, 2019) defines an older person as someone aged over 60. Our 15 participants in this research are aged 65 and above.

It is worth noting that the participants are already Australian citizens, achieved through marriage and long years of stay in Australia, with 11 participants migrating to Australia in the 1970s and 1980s, two in the 1990s, and two in the early 2000s. This citizenship status affords them access to social welfare programs, medical services, and pensions provided by the Australian government. In addition, 10 participants are retired, two are working full-time, one is working two jobs, one is working part-time, and one is volunteering to keep oneself busy and productive. However, regardless of these citizenship and economic status, our interlocutors observe migrant practices centering on fulfilling care duties and obligations to their networks by connecting via digital technologies (Baldassar, 2008; Cabalquinto, 2022a) as well as sending remittances and consumer items (Parreñas, 2020b). These transnational practices indicate forms of practical moral and financial care, often due to the marginality experienced by kin and peers in the home country (Parreñas, 2020b). Notably, these diverse practices and their drivers and outcomes also reveal the production of care burden within and beyond a household, often constantly navigated by older Filipina Australians in their everyday lives. Building on these articulations, the study addresses key questions:

1. What is the role of mobile devices and online channels in shaping the performance and experiences of care among aging Filipina Australians?
2. How do aging migrants experience and negotiate mobile care work?
3. What insights are revealed about the continuities of gendered caregiving practices in the domestic, digital, and transnational environments of older Filipina Australians?

We apply an intersectional lens to examine how aging Filipina Australians use digital technologies for everyday care practices. This approach highlights how intersecting and multiple axes of differentiation

such as age, class, gender, ethnicity, race, religion, and nationality, inform an individual's lived experiences (Crenshaw, 1991; Thimm & Chaudhuri, 2019). It foregrounds the interconnectedness of social identities and how they intersect to create unique experiences of oppression and privilege (Hwang & Beauregard, 2022). An intersectional perspective has been applied to examine the benefits and politics of everyday digital practices among certain individuals and groups. Several studies focus on how preexisting structural inequalities, hierarchies, and vulnerabilities impacting people's lives mediate the motivations and impacts of digital media use and nonuse (see Helsper, 2021; Nemer 2022; Hargittai, 2022). Drawing on this framework, we pay close attention to the intersecting social, economic, and digital domains that inform the mobile care work of older Filipina Australians: gender (Parreñas, 2009), age (Ong, 2015), citizenship status (Brandhorst, 2020; Alcid, 2003), ethnicity (Collins & Bilge, 2016), class (Panichella et al., 2021), and even their digital ability and literacy (Wilding, 2023). We use all these as guides to identify the burden of providing transnational care and how it intersects with expectations placed upon Filipina women of a certain age and citizenship. We recognize that, while some women experience increased agency through technology, others may find that it exacerbates demands upon them.

Review of Related Literature

Older Filipino Migrants in Australia

Australia is one of the leading countries of destination for Filipinos. Historically, Filipino migration to Australia has been divided into three waves (Espinosa, 2017). The first wave of Filipino migration to Australia indicated the emergence of Filipino workers in the pearling industry. The second wave was characterized by the influx of Filipino migrants to reunite with their family members or spouses. The third wave showed the prominence of professional and skilled workers who met the criteria set in the Migration Act of 1958. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2021), there were 293,892 Philippine-born in Australia. In terms of percentage, 61.5 were female and 38.5 were male.

There have been several studies that have shown the lived experiences of older Filipino Australians. For instance, the work of Lim (2023) highlights the ways older Filipinos in Perth, Western Australia reflect on their identities, transnational connections, and retirement plans as shaped by citizenship and migration regimes. It was only recently that a study by Cabalquinto (2024) has provided some insights on the ways older Filipino Australians use digital technologies to consume COVID-19 information and stay connected with their local and transnational peers. However, no extensive study has been made about the ways older Filipino Australians in Victoria use digital technologies as part of everyday care practices. Hence, our study is a key contribution to such gap within studies on Philippine migration, aging, and digital media.

In Australia, the term *older adults* refers to those 65 years old and above. Approximately 4.2 million people (16% of Australia's total population) were aged 65 and over in June 2020 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2021a). Notably, according to the ABS census, 1.2 million people aged 65 years and over were from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds in 2016 (AIHW, 2021b). In terms of data on older Philippine-born individuals, according to the ABS (2016), there were 17,353 older Philippine-born in Victoria, Australia, and these individuals are part of the long history of Filipino migration to Australia. In Victoria alone, there were 3,789 older Philippine-born or individuals aged 65 and over (Victoria State Government, 2016). Thus, older Filipino Australians belong to the growing population of Filipino migrants, considered the fifth largest migrant community in Australia.

On Digitalization: Connections and Controversies

Many studies have shown how the advent and widespread uptake of mobile devices, social media, and online platforms have reshaped the ways Filipina migrants enact care from afar (Cabalquinto, 2022a; Francisco-Menchavez, 2018; Uy-Tioco, 2007; Madianou & Miller, 2012; San Pascual, 2014; Parreñas, 2001). Several studies have begun mapping the gendered and familial care practices of older Filipina migrants, such as sending remittances and care packages back home or delivering in-person care when possible (Amrith, 2021; Ong, 2019; Parreñas, 2020b).

However, limited studies have unpacked how older Filipino women use digital technologies to enact diverse modes of caring practices in a local and transnational domain (Cabalquinto, 2020b). Within a growing body of work that examines how older migrants utilize mobile devices and online channels in enacting care, the focus is on how this cohort of people maintains multiple ties through digital technologies and online media (Baldassar & Wilding, 2019; Baldassar et al., 2020).

Digital transformations impact the reconfiguration of delivering and experiencing care at a distance (Baldassar et al., 2007). For instance, older migrants use digital technologies to connect with their family members and peers in their host country (Millard et al., 2018). Importantly, they observe grandparenting in a local (Baldassar et al., 2022; Ho & Chiu, 2020) and transnational domain (Da, 2003; Nedelcu, 2017). During the pandemic, older migrants also relied heavily on digital technologies to cope with the lockdowns, travel restrictions, and curfews (Cabalquinto, 2022b).

It is important to note that the impact of technology on migrants' family life is contested. On the one hand, communication technology helps migrant women to deliver care at a distance among their distant networks (Cabalquinto, 2022a; Madianou, 2012). Cabalquinto (2020a) refers to this broadly as "mobile care work," particularly highlighting the crucial role of mobile devices and online channels in mediating differential everyday care practices. On the other hand, technology is a vehicle by which relations of ruling are maintained (see Parreñas, 2005). Because mobile devices afford migrant women the accessibility of care provision from a distance (Ballarat & Lanada, 2022; Bemiller, 2010; Parreñas, 2001), the expectation that they perform care work stands. In this paper, we further unpack this theme by zooming into the care practices of Filipina Australians in their later years through digital media use.

Locating Sociodigital Inequalities Through Intersectionality

This study utilizes an intersectional framework in interrogating mobile care work. This approach asserts that we cannot understand people's experiences only by looking at one dimension of their identities (Desmond & Emirbayer, 2009). Having roots in Black women's criticism of both gender and racial categories simultaneously constraining their

lives (see Hooks, 1981), intersectionality has been widely adopted for feminist and transnational research (Thimm & Chaudhuri, 2019). An intersectional framework then interrogates and acts on the synergistic effects of different positionalities within various vectors of oppression (Collins, 1998; Crenshaw, 1991). These vectors are not unitary but are instead reciprocally constructing phenomena (Collins, 2015). For example, the concern that the family is a patriarchal concept that dangerously keeps women locked in may not necessarily capture multiple marginalized population's experiences (see Holvino, 2010). For women of color, the family may also serve as a space to exchange survival strategies and cushion against further systemic oppression outside the home.

Intersectionality as a framework is thus highly contextual—the interaction between simultaneous positionalities is unique among various individuals and social settings (Bürkner, 2012; McCall, 2005). In the case of older Filipina Australians, the context becomes even more complicated since digital disadvantages to enacting care are reproduced through limited digital access and abilities (Brandhorst, 2017; Cabalquinto, 2020a). Some studies show the difficulty of older migrants to keep up with digital trends. Such difficulty refers not only to the technical use of digital media, but also to the lack of time, linguistic skills, and education for technological activities (Le-Phuong et al., 2022). These outcomes primarily reflect the consequences of sociodigital inequalities (Helsper, 2021), exposing differing and intertwining social, cultural, and technological backgrounds that place some people at risk of being left behind, such as older migrants participating in digital communication. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that, while intersectionality acknowledges multiple disadvantaged positions in the social grid, it also recognizes that people's unique positionalities in the social grid may afford them some level of privilege.

Methodology

The study employed in-depth interviews and visual methods (Rose, 2007), including photo elicitation and photo documentation. Fifteen older Filipina Australians living in Victoria, Australia were invited to be interviewed. They were recruited through organizations for older Filipino

Australians. Initially, a call for participants was sent to the leaders of organizations, and this led to the recruitment of research participants. The project also opted for a snowball sampling (Creswell, 2013). Some participants recommended their contacts who were interested in participating in the project. The participant initially contacted their network. Their network then contacted the researcher, who explained the project. Upon confirming a person's interest in participating in the project, an interview was scheduled. The project was granted ethics approval from the Deakin University's Human Research Ethics Committee (DUHREC), with number HAE-22-130.

The participants came from diverse backgrounds. Seven participants were based in Victoria's regional areas (Geelong and Ballarat), and eight were from Metropolitan areas. Their ages ranged from 66 to 79 years (mean = 72). Seven had migrated to Australia in the 1980s, four in the 1970s, two in the 1990s, and two in the 2000s. The participants had moved to Australia for different reasons—five migrated as a partner of an Australian, five migrated due to a family reunification scheme, three for professional opportunities, one to escape the political chaos in the 1970s in the Philippines, and one to follow the husband who was hired for a job in Australia. These mobilities reflected the family reunification scheme implemented during the 1970s and 1980s in Australia (Espinosa, 2017). It was also during these years when several Filipina women migrated to Australia and married their Australian partners (Aquino, 2018). Eight of the participants are married and still living with their spouses, five are widowed, one is a single mother, and one has never married. All participants are Australian citizens, affording them access to social welfare benefits and medical services. In terms of employment status, 10 have retired, two are working full-time, one is working with two jobs, one is working part-time, and one is volunteering. Meanwhile, five are living alone, seven are living with their spouses, one is living with family members, one is renting with other people, and one is living with the son. To protect the participants' privacy, we used pseudonyms and blurred the faces in their photos throughout this study.

Table 1
A Table Summarizing the Relevant Backgrounds of the Participants

Name	Migration to Australia	Age	Education	Current employment status	Living arrangement	Digital devices	Online channel accessed and used on daily basis
Esther	1984	74	Under-graduate	Retired	Renting with other people A computer but will be sent to the Philippines	Smart-phone	Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube
Fiona	2003	72	Under-graduate; Master in social development studies; Master in Anthropology and Sociology; Development Management program	Working	Lives with eldest son	Two smart-phones (one for personal use and one for work) Laptop iPad Google Home	Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube Instagram WhatsApp Spotify Outlook Microsoft Teams Zoom Twitter

Name	Migration to Australia	Age	Education	Current employment status	Living arrange-ment	Digital devices	Online channel accessed and used on daily basis
Gigi	1976	71	High-school; Unfinished secretarial course	Retired	Lives alone	Smart-phone iPad	Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube Google
Olga	1986	78	High-school, vocational course/ skills training in Manpower (now TESDA)	Retired	Lives alone	Smart-phone iPad	Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube Google
Anna	1983	67	Under-graduate (unfinished)	Retired	Lives alone	Smart-phone iPad Laptop Apple watch	Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube Instagram Mobile app for remittances

Name	Migration to Australia	Age	Education	Current employment status	Living arrange-ment	Digital devices	Online channel accessed and used on daily basis
Rachel	1992	71	Under-graduate; Masters in Folklore (unfinished)	Working	Lives with husband (Caucasian)	Smart-phone Two iPads Google Home Smart TV	Facebook Facebook Messenger
Carmen	1973	79	Graduate study of Computers and Education; Graduate diploma in Computers and Education	Retired	Lives with husband (Caucasian)	Smart-phone iPad	Facebook Facebook Messenger
Minda	1985	71	Under-graduate	Retired	Lives with husband (Caucasian)	Smart-phone iPad	Facebook Facebook Messenger
Lisa	1985	66	Under-graduate	Retired	Lives with husband (Caucasian)	Smart-phone Smart TV	Facebook Facebook Messenger

Name	Migration to Australia	Age	Education	Current employment status	Living arrange-ment	Digital devices	Online channel accessed and used on daily basis
Jona	1987	69	Under-graduate; aged certificate 3, and then certificate 4, and drug and alcohol addiction and mental illness	Working (two jobs)	Lives with husband (Filipino)	Smart-phone iPad laptop Smart TV	Email Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube Google
Sarah	1970	73	One year pre-nursing under-graduate degree	Retired	Lives alone	Smart-phone Laptop Smart TV	Facebook Facebook Messenger
Yasmin	2008	67	Under-graduate	Retired	Lives with husband (Caucasian)	Two Smart-phones iPad Computer	Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube Instagram Whats-App Google

Name	Migration to Australia	Age	Education	Current employment status	Living arrange-ment	Digital devices	Online channel accessed and used on daily basis
							Online games Holy Bible app
Gina	1991	76	Under-graduate	Retired but doing volunteering	Lives alone	Smart-phone Three iPads	Facebook Facebook Messenger E-book reader
Olivia	1987	76	Under-graduate	Working one day for taxation	Lives with husband (Filipino) and children and grand-children	Smart-phone Tablet Laptop	Facebook Facebook Messenger YouTube Whats-App Google Viber
Rita	1975	75	Under-graduate	Retired	Lives with husband (Filipino)	Smart-phone iPad Smart TV	Facebook Facebook Messenger Online game

Data collection was done in March 2023. The study observed the ethics of care (Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018), noting the benefits, limits, and responsibilities of being a Filipino researcher and a cultural insider. Most interviews were conducted in the participants' homes to consider the participants' comfort and privacy. One participant was interviewed in her office due to her busy work schedule. Another participant was interviewed in a park due to a lack of space in her shared apartment. Complementing methodological interventions on examining the digital practices of older migrants (Baldassar & Wilding, 2019; Baldassar et al., 2020), the study applied qualitative interviewing to uncover the participants' migration history, everyday digital practices, social networks, and relations, as well as positive and negative experiences with the use and nonuse of digital communication technologies and online channels.

The first visual method, photo documentation, captured the ways the participants navigated the digital devices (Pink, 2007). This helped identify behaviors in digital usage and understand the specific ways that aging migrants utilize digital technologies. The nondigital objects shown by the participants, often deeply tied to their everyday lives, were photographed and this prompted further discussion on experiences of everyday caring practices. Consent was obtained before each photo was taken and the researchers made sure the participants were present when these photos were taken. The second visual method used was photo elicitation. Building on the work of Cabalquinto (2022a), this method allowed the participants to share five contents stored in their mobile devices and reflect on the rationale behind the creation and consumption of these contents. This method enabled the study to unpack the reasons behind the circulation and consumption of contents via digital media and online channels among the participants. There were question prompts (Harper, 2002) that assisted the participants in sharing and reflecting on the photos, including the contents' statuses (shared or received), meanings, and their feelings towards these. Interestingly, asking the participants to share contents stored in their devices showed the differential movements of accessing information in the digital device, and this revealed uneven access and use based on digital literacy. There were

103 photos produced through photo documentation, while 155 photos were captured through photo elicitation. Photos from photo documentation differed from one participant to the next, from a high range of 35 to a low range of one. In terms of photo elicitation, some participants provided more photos, from a high range of 26 to a low range of four.

The interviews and visuals were examined through a thematic analysis. The photos were coded based on purpose of use (personal, familial, and social), communication pattern (sent or received), and consequences (positive and negative). Deploying photo elicitation and photo documentation complemented and enriched the data collected through the in-depth interviews. The diverse themes of the qualitative data were coded (Lindlof, 2019), including "migration history," "demographics," "digital device," "online channel," "motivation," "kin relation," "benefits," and "challenges." The photos were also coded, producing themes based on "online channel," "produced," "shared," "received," "not shared," "benefits," and "challenges." These themes were then connected to interrogate modes of caregiving, such as self-care as well as caring locally and transnationally. The analysis from the two methods was combined because they mutually informed each other. For instance, some assertions from the interviews were reinforced through the photos that the participants showed the researcher. Additionally, applying an intersectional lens provided an entry point to investigate how intersecting structural domains (Collins & Bilge, 2016) produce contradictory outcomes of mobile care work among the participants.

Findings and Discussion

Older Filipina Australians' Sociodigital Lifeworlds

Contrary to the trope of older migrants being digitally disconnected, our findings showed that modern communication technologies and online channels occupy the everyday lives of older Filipina Australians. Most of the participants owned a smartphone, with several owning an iPad. Their commonly used platforms were Facebook, Facebook

Messenger, YouTube, and Google. Three participants used Instagram to access the curated contents produced by their children. Three participants accessed and used gaming mobile applications and one accessed a religious mobile application. Four participants had smart TVs, and two were using Google Home. Three had subscriptions to a streaming service such as Netflix, allowing them to access a diverse range of entertaining and informative media contents. Overall, these digital technologies and online channels were fundamental in enacting modes of care among the participants.

The participants' work and family life shaped the adoption of digital devices. For instance, 72-year-old Fiona, who works full-time in Regional Victoria, often checks her "corporate phone" to ensure she is on top of her work. She shared, "I use my corporate one because I must check emails via this [referring to the phone she was holding during the interview]. Then I also check on my appointments via this phone." At work, Fiona accesses a range of online channels, including Microsoft Teams, Outlook, and Zoom. She also maintains her work's Facebook page by documenting and uploading activities in the intercultural sector. It is important to note that Fiona is one of the participants who had several postgraduate degrees, and who argued that she learned to use most of her devices and online channels on her own. She was also a former teacher in a university in the Philippines prior to moving to Australia with her four children in 2003. At the time of the interview, Fiona was living with her son, who moved into her house after her hip replacement surgery. Notably, despite being active in using a range of online channels, Fiona spoke about her minimal use of social media for personal matters. She said, "I access Facebook at night just to check, but I am not very engaging." She elaborated on her conception of "not engaging," "It [using social media] must have a purpose. I access all these apps, otherwise, it will not be relevant to me. It must be relevant. What I am doing. What my kids are doing." This statement was reflected in the way Fiona remained updated with her children's activities, such as accessing the Instagram page of her son who is a professional photographer or the family group chat on Facebook Messenger. Fiona's conception of purposive social media reflects in managing her professional and familial life. Fiona's adeptness at digital

technology, prior work experience in a professional field, and current employment position provide both the material resources and digital skills needed to mitigate potential barriers to accessing care work online. While the digital divide is not overtly mentioned, we see how Fiona's intersecting positionalities make her access to technology less of a barrier than it might be for some older migrant women.

The interlocutors living with their spouses with health issues had minimal mobile device use. While care work through mobile communication takes a back seat in favor of caring for their spouses in-person, our research participants still found time to connect online with other family members who also receive care from them. This is the case of 79-year-old Carmen. Carmen moved to Australia in 1973, married to a Filipino. The husband passed away, and she eventually married an Australian. She worked as a high school teacher for many years in Regional Victoria before retiring. She has two children, both married. One is based in Queensland, and one is in Victoria. She has four grandchildren, aged 22, 20, 18, and 10. Currently, she lives with her husband who has a disability. Caring for her current Australian husband—a task both reflective of gendered expectations of caregiving and perceived to be foundational to fulfilling her care responsibilities—primarily informs her mobile phone use. Explicitly, it shapes the time and attention she can dedicate to mobile devices for care work directed towards distant family. She said, "I check my notifications, my messages. Sometimes I do not have the chance because what is in my mind is all the different things I must do. Caring for him, he is sick, with a disability. So, sometimes there is no checking of messages [from family and friends], but I see to it that I did during the day and answer them as promptly as I could possibly do." Carmen's statement points to the idea that despite the expectation to deliver care physically for family members who live with them, the practice of mobile care work for relatives living a distance away does not change. Lastly, the fact that Carmen's care work for her husband takes precedence reflects how, for some aging Filipina migrants in Australia, online care work is directly connected with, and influenced by, the expectation to still provide in-person physical care.

(Un)Limited Self Care

Most of the participants spent their days in their personal homes. Some participants spoke about using mobile devices and online channels to care for themselves while at home, such as exploring hobbies and interests or consuming religious and entertaining content. This is also evident in the photos documenting their interests and hobbies. While the participants spoke about pursuing hobbies and self-care, their motivations for engaging in such activities hark back to familial factors. Even their pursuit of self-care and leisure through digital technologies is shaped by their relations to their family members who receive care from them.

During the fieldwork, 71-year-old Gigi spoke about using Google to support her passion for cooking. Gigi had moved to Australia in 1976. She came to visit Australia through her cousin, and there she met the Australian she had been exchanging letters with for years. She married him and stayed on in Australia. She has three children, all of whom are boys. The eldest is 45 years old, the second is 44, and the third is 34. She has five grandchildren, two girls and three boys. Gigi lives alone but is sometimes visited by her family on weekends. So, on some days, she cooks and bakes. In fact, during the interviews, she showed her notebook containing recipes of dishes she made (see Figure 1) and recipes from magazines (see Figure 1).

Recently, Gigi's kids taught her to use Google through her mobile phone. This enabled her to access and learn new recipes. She said, "They told me, 'Mom, you Google it,' and then I learned—I Google it. Oh true, I can check this recipe. I do not have to look through my recipe book, because I got all the collection of the recipe book from the magazine. And since they told me to do it, I learned from that." Interestingly, Gigi checks and modifies the ingredients and steps of a recipe. "Any cooking recipe that I like to see what the ingredients are, just to get the idea. I do not really follow it [referring to the steps]. I just get a bit of idea what I need, and I just do it myself. Because I do not like step-by-step following the recipe, measuring, I do not like it." During the interview, Gigi also showed some of her creations, such as pavlova topped with strawberries (Figure 2) and bananas (Figure 2). When asked why she posted it on
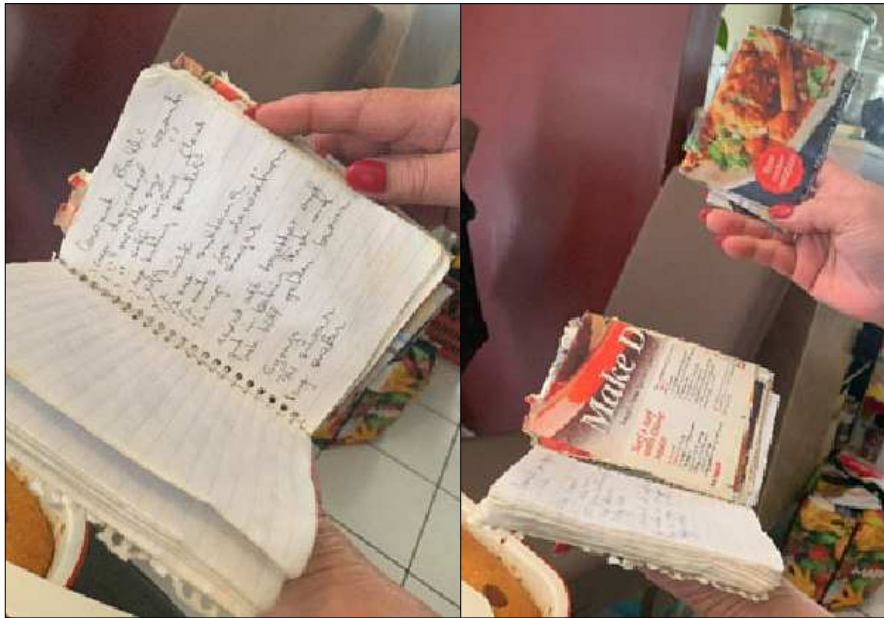
Figure 1
Recipe Notebook (left) and
Collection of Recipes From Magazines (right)

Facebook, she gleefully said, "So I can post it and show it. Boasting! . . . But I am proud to say that I made this one for a birthday." She added that her friends commented, "Oh very good! Can you make me one?" Gigi responded, "It is just a hobby."

Gigi's use of digital devices thus showcases that the intersection of digital technologies and care work is not the same for all the respondents. Gigi is not primarily concerned with connecting with relatives, but in performing care primarily through pursuing her hobbies under the guidance of the internet. Furthermore, while others gravitated to online platforms to connect with relatives and share experiences, some of our participants use the internet mainly to cope with stress. A case in point is 74-year-old Esther. Esther moved to Australia in 1984 through her Australian partner. She did not expect to stay long in Australia as she was on a tourist visa then. Her partner applied for a de facto visa. At the time of the interview, Esther was retired, and a widow. But she still

Figure 2
Pavlova With Strawberries (left) and With Bananas (right)

wished she was working. In her words, "To be a pensioner, it is very difficult. It is a hard life." When asked why, she explained, "It is enough [referring to the pension received from the Australian government] but not enough when you are supporting others." Despite receiving an Australian pension, Esther feels the constant pressure to send money due to the intersection of her gendered caregiving expectations and the economic disparity between her situation and her family's back home. Esther's case exemplifies the complexities of intersectionality. While her age and gender position her as potentially vulnerable in Australia, her status as a pensioner in Australia symbolizes a certain privilege that increases the expectation for her to provide care. Her status, compared to her family's situation in the Philippines, creates a dynamic burden of financial caregiving that transcends physical borders. In other words, she may experience being on a disadvantaged end in terms of gender and age, but her citizenship status puts her in a better position to support her family. Esther's financial support, driven by the ethics of care within her familial network, further highlights how gendered expectations intersect with economic precarity in transnational caregiving situations.

Esther has three grandchildren in the Philippines, with the middle grandchild having autism. Given her circumstances, she watches content that allows her to cope with the challenges of being away from her family and dealing with their condition. For instance, she watches an online Mass

(see Figure 3) whenever she cannot attend the Sunday Mass. She also explained, "I just want to hear the word of God. Whenever I watch it alone, I can concentrate. It is like I am in an actual Mass." When asked the effect of this activity on her, she said that she feels at peace and relaxed. Additionally, she watches entertaining videos on YouTube. For instance, she enjoys watching videos of animals. During the interview, she showed a video of an ostrich running around the city (see Figure 3). She said, "It relieves problems instead of watching a heavy drama movie. That is better [referring to the funny video] to watch." Indeed, Esther's case shows the role of an online channel to access content, enabling her to cope with the challenges of her family's condition.

Thus far, this whole section shows how even self-care and leisure are intertwined with caring for family. This might reflect the difficulty for migrant women of separating time for themselves from their care responsibilities. Furthermore, this section has also shown a paradox: some level of privilege engenders a greater burden to perform care work, especially vis-à-vis the precarity of left-behind families' situations in the Philippines.
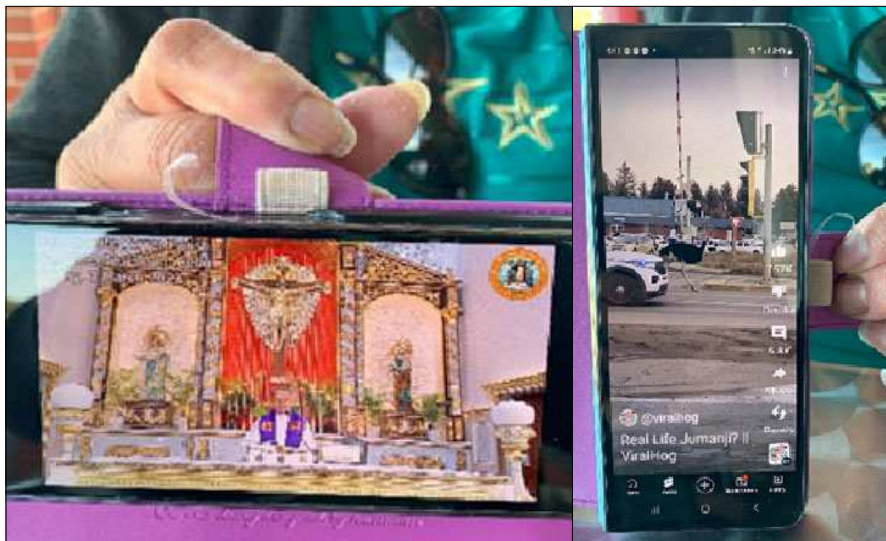

Figure 3
*An Online Mass in the Philippines (left) and
a Video of an Ostrich (right)*

Caring for Distant Others

This section provides a more nuanced take on technology and care work among aging Filipina migrants in Australia. Specifically, we see that technology becomes an additional dimension of care work (potentially one that is difficult to disconnect from) even when providing in-person care is the priority. Studies illuminate how older migrants care for their children and grandchildren in their host country (Baldassar et al., 2022). In our study, we observed that the participants used Facebook and Facebook Messenger to remain updated with the busy lives of their children and grandchildren. Digital technologies enable older Filipina Australians to provide care through "ambient copresence" (Madianou, 2016).

During the fieldwork, seven out of the 15 participants revealed that they are part of family group chats. The group chats serve as a space for familial interaction and belonging (Cabalquinto, 2022a; Ling & Lai, 2016). For instance, Fiona shared her positive experiences with a family group chat on Facebook. Fiona's children and their partners live across Victoria. It was only recently when her son moved to her house and opted to stay with her permanently because of her hip replacement. But on ordinary days and given their busy work schedules, a family Facebook group chat enables Fiona and her dispersed children to interact and remain connected. Fiona shared: "I have a group chat with my family. It is only made up of my kids and me. So, we exchange notes." Importantly, a group chat also functions as a space for addressing family concerns collectively. For instance, Fiona recalled her experiences benefitting from a family group chat to support her family. Here, we see how online information also becomes a prompt to deliver care. She expressed:

> If something happens, my eldest son went through a triple bypass. We shared notes. . . . So it is really more of a family-oriented group chat about different things or I run out of cash to pay out the rest, who can help? It is the practical daily life, chats.

Through the photos obtained, we noticed that the participants used Facebook to stay connected with their grandchildren in Australia. As a

form of grandparenting at a distance (Baldassar et al., 2022; Ho & Chiu, 2020), a participant such as Carmen, whom we met caring for her husband with a disability, accesses her grandchild's Facebook page and evaluated posts and looked and assessed online contents. During the fieldwork, Carmen showed a video of her Queensland-based granddaughter performing stunts on her skateboard (see Figure 4). For Carmen, Facebook allows her to see such content and makes her feel a sense of proximity to her distant granddaughter. Facebook use also compensates for the physical absence of her grandchildren, who visit her once a year. In sharing the video during the interview, Carmen explained her feelings, "It gives me some kind of anxiety, suspense, and fear!" But despite her worry, she said, when asked if she commented on the video, "I did not comment. I just put love [referring to a heart icon]." She added, "I think I have told her about my fear, how suspenseful it is for me, how I hold my breath, and how she is going to land."

Figure 4
*Carmen's
Granddaughter
Skateboarding*

In both examples, Fiona and Carmen express care to family members, such as their children and grandchildren. We observe that online channels facilitate *ambient copresence* (Madianou, 2016) or a peripheral awareness of networks through the flows of information in online channels such as a group chat or Facebook. Notably, these online channels allow the participants to move into another world and perform a gendered and familial caregiving role.

Studies have shown that Filipina migrants use digital communication technologies to connect and deliver care to their distant immediate family members (Cabañes & Acedera, 2012; Francisco-Menchavez, 2018; Madianou & Miller, 2012; Uy-Tioco, 2007). For the older Filipina Australians, connecting transnationally revolves around maintaining ties to their extended Filipino family network (McKay, 2007) via digital technologies. The participants utilize a messaging application to connect to their siblings, nephews, and nieces. Another case in point is 76-year-old Gina who talked about staying connected with her distant kin via Facebook Messenger. Gina moved to Australia in 1991. Her sister was already in Melbourne, and she asked Gina and their mother to visit Australia. By a twist of fate, Gina met an Australian, who eventually became her partner. Unfortunately, her husband passed away due to Parkinson's disease. They did not have a child. To date, Gina lives alone, but she remains connected to her siblings and their children via Facebook Messenger. She said, "On Messenger, with my siblings, we created a group chat. Our relatives on my father's side are part of the group. So, everyone receives the message." When asked how she feels about being part of the group, she said, "Of course, you enjoy it. You learn what is happening to others." During the interview, Gina also revealed that she felt supported through the group when she had an accident. She was walking on the pavement going to the train station to visit her sister in Victoria when she had a fall. She was hospitalized after her head hit the pavement. Through Messenger, she received messages of concern and care. She recalled, "They are all there and asking, 'How is Tita?' 'What happened?'"

Sending remittances is another way that transnational connections are sustained. Our data showed that most of the participants go to an

agent to send money to the Philippines. The participants send money to support their relatives as a form of practical care, reflective of the assertions made in the literature (see Parreñas, 2020b). However, sending money is conditional. Here, the participants sent money depending on the situation and considering their retirement and savings. For example, Carmen shared her experience of sending money to a sick brother in the Philippines. She explained, "I do not do it regularly, only when I feel I need to help and there is a chance because there is spare money, or there is spare that I could really extend to them." In some cases, the participants also sent financial support to their acquaintances. This was the case of 70-year-old Jona. Jona used to work in a bank in the Philippines prior to migrating to Australia in 1987. While still in the Philippines, she had housemaids who took care of her children. Now that she is in Australia, her former housemaid connected to her on Facebook. Sometimes, Jona would receive a message on Facebook from this former housemaid. She recalled, "They said, 'Life is hard at the moment,' especially during the pandemic, 'Jona, you know, if you have something . . . .'" The message was insinuating financial help. In response, Jona sent money. She said, "I pity them. . . . So, you know, even little [referring to sending money], it can make them happy." Jona admitted during the interviews that she does not mind helping others because she is financially stable, and she and her husband have savings and a property in Australia.

Despite the demands of in-person caregiving, Carmen demonstrates how even for women whose primary responsibility is a physically present loved one, the expectation and practice of mobile care work persists. Fiona and Carmen's experiences demonstrate how ambient copresence facilitates their fulfilment of traditional gendered roles as caregivers, even at a distance. Thus far, we see that gender and age play a role. Adding citizenship, economic status, and digital literacy into the mix, we can deduce that aging migrants are able to find support online, such as in the case of Gina. Furthermore, Jona's case also shows how care work remains "sticky," and the responsibility of the woman. In some instances, migrants abroad contract the services of other women back in the Philippines to take care of their family back home. We highlight that this is reflective of what Parreñas (2001) called the "care chain."

Negotiating the Burden of Mobile Care Work

Our study also reveals the disruptions experienced and negotiated by older Filipina Australians in using digital technologies for everyday care practices. First, some participants shared their frustrations in receiving unwanted ads as they used online channels in their everyday self-care practices. For instance, 67-year-old Yasmin recounted her experience using a free Bible app through her phone. Yasmin was originally from Singapore, moving there in 1981. She had an architecture firm in Singapore but eventually sold it. She has a son in Singapore from her first husband. The son is married to a Singaporean with two kids. She met her Australian partner in Singapore, and they moved to Australia in 2008. She currently lives with her husband in Victoria, Australia. As part of her everyday life, Yasmin reads the Bible. She also reads a daily devotion through an app. However, her practice is sometimes interrupted. For instance, an ad appeared when she launched the Bible app during the interview (see Figure 5). She said, "Look! This is an advertisement. Right away. I am frustrated." When asked how she deals with it, she said "When I get frustrated, I just close it." In this case, we see how disruptive and unwanted content undermines how participants care for themselves through digitalized religious routines.

An unstable internet connection also disrupts transnational connections, echoing previous studies on how the asymmetries of internet connection between the host and home country impede transnational communication (Cabalquinto, 2022a; Parreñas, 2005b; Wilding, 2006). For example, Jona and her husband usually contact their relatives in the province in the Philippines. However, communicating overseas using videoconferencing can be challenging. As she shared, "Sometimes the video is blurry. The camera froze. Sometimes, we can hear an echo." To deal with the situation, they often call back when they can and when their distant relatives are also available.

Importantly, connecting to distant family members stirs ambivalent experiences, especially when reminded of their precarious living condition (Cabalquinto, 2018). During the interview, Esther expressed her homesickness. The last time she was home in the Philippines was in 2018, prepandemic. Sadly, she could not go back home. In her words,

Figure 5
*Sample of a Pop-Up
Ad in the Bible App*

"I want to see my grandchildren, but I do not have money." She admitted that such a state results from her constantly splitting her pension to support her son and family in the Philippines. She shared in the interview that sending money back home to support her family is why she opts to rent a room in a shared house: "I am happy [referring to sending money back home]. That is the reason why I am renting a room. What will I get from paying for a beautiful and expensive house? I would rather save the money to help in the Philippines." In addition to this statement, she also reiterated the moral obligation of an overseas family member to networks back home (McKay, 2007). "Most pensioners help, especially when there are grandchildren. Of course, you cannot just neglect them." Esther also relies on video calls via Facebook Messenger to compensate for the separation. In zooming into the case of Esther, we see how gendered and familial care obligations are entangled in

precarity chains (Silvey & Parreñas, 2020). It is under a gendered expectation that even with just a pension for support, she is still providing financial care. We recognize that financial contribution is usually attributed to men, but in this instance, we argue that this financing is part of care work from afar, especially when done to compensate for not providing physical care in person. Esther's precarious state in later years is informed by the living conditions of her family members back home, and the continued management of precarity is sustained through stringent gendered and familial structures in a transnational terrain (Cabalquinto, 2022a; Uy-Tioco & Cabalquinto, 2020). Esther's case study thus illuminates how even women who receive a government pension may experience financial precarity due to the gendered expectation that they will provide for relatives—an expectation exacerbated by transnational ties and uneven development across nations.

Conclusion

As a contribution to the literature on the intersections of digital media, migration, care, and aging, this study thus far shows the contradictory and complicated experiences of older Filipina Australians in experiencing and embodying mobile care practices. This care work is defined by mutually reinforcing factors, including gendered duties, familial responsibilities, economic and citizenship status, and digital access and abilities. Most importantly, these mutually reinforcing factors, including gender, ethnicity, age, and socioeconomic status, intersect to create unique caregiving experiences shaped by the affordances and disadvantages of their position in the sociodigital grid.

Recognizing care work as a gendered phenomenon, this paper has underscored the paradoxical outcomes of everyday digital media use of older Filipina Australians in caring for themselves and their local and transnational networks. We find that, through mutually reinforcing factors, care work is made easier yet is also made more imperative. Here we highlight the benefits of utilizing digital technologies and online channels to enact hobbies, comfort oneself, deliver care for children and

grandchildren, and support by-blood or fictitious networks. However, the availability of these technologies, coupled with the participants being Australian pension receivers, increases the expectation on them to perform care work even from afar. Significantly, the paper has illuminated the caregiving burden experienced and negotiated by older Filipina Australians. It is by locating the disruptions and controversies—which are often exacerbated by the gendered burden of care work, as shaped by social and digital disparities—that this paper advances a problematization of caregiving among migrant women especially in their later years.

This paper has limitations, providing opportunities for further research. First, it focuses on a small sample. Future works can engage with a larger sample, which can generate complementary or new themes on mobile care work of aging migrants. Second, intersectionality can also be explored by examining the caregiving practices of other older cohorts. The findings can be cross-analyzed and may deliver further nuances on mobile care work. Lastly, the paper focuses on the current digital practices of the research participants. Future works can apply a lifecourse approach to capture the ways digital technologies have been embedded in and impacted older migrants' changing personal and social lives. This consideration will provide additional and crucial insights on the impacts of digital transformations and care reconfigurations.

In sum, the insights put forward in this paper are situated knowledge reflecting legitimated and socially reproduced subtexts (Collins, 2015), and we have endeavored to surface narratives possibly eclipsed in the dominant view of migrants, specifically older migrants. Through this approach, we critically interrogate the disruptions and vulnerabilities facilitated by existing structural and digital inequalities in contemporary times. In such a case, we set entry points to trouble our understanding of everyday mobile care work as embedded in and embodied by individuals coming from diverse backgrounds. Importantly, we hope to utilize our work as a springboard to inform public policies and better support the well-being of aging Filipina migrants in Australia and elsewhere.

Acknowledgments

Funding

References

Alcid, M. L. (2003). Overseas Filipino workers: Sacrificial lambs at the altar of deregulation. In E. Østergaard-Nielsen (Ed.), *International migration and sending countries: Perceptions, policies and transnational relations* (pp. 99–118). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Amrith, M. (2021). Ageing bodies, precarious futures: The (im)mobilities of 'temporary' migrant domestic workers over time. *Mobilities*, *16*(2), 249–261.

Anthias, F. (2012). Transnational mobilities, migration research and intersectionality. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, *2*(2), 102–110.

Aquino, K. (2018). *Racism and resistance among the Filipino diaspora: Everyday anti-racism in Australia.* Routledge.

Asis, M. M. B., Huang, S., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2004). When the light of the home is abroad: Unskilled female migration and the Filipino family. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *25*(2), 198–215.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016). *2016 Census quickstats country of birth—Philippines*. Retrieved January 15, 2018, from http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/5204_036

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2021). *Census country of birth quickstats—
Philippines*. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from https://www.abs.gov.au/
census/find-census-data/quickstats/2021/5204_AUS

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2021a). *Older Australians*.
Retrieved April 20, 2022, from https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/older-
people/older-australians/contents/demographic-profile

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2021b). *Older Australians—
Culturally and linguistically diverse older people*. Retrieved April 22,
2022, from https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/older-people/older-
australia-at-a-glance/contents/demographics-of-older-australians/
culturally-linguistically-diverse-people

Baldassar, L., Baldock, C., & Wilding, R. (2007). *Families caring across
borders: Migration, ageing and transnational caregiving*. Palgrave
Macmillan.

Baldassar, L. (2008). Missing kin and longing to be together: Emotions
and the construction of co-presence in transnational relationships.
Journal of Intercultural Studies, *29*(3), 247–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/
07256860802169196

Baldassar, L., & Merla, L. (2014). Introduction: Transnational family
caregiving through the lens of circulation. In L. Baldassar & L. Merla
(Eds.), *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care:
Understanding mobility and absence in family life* (pp. 3–24). Routledge.

Baldassar, L., Stevens, C., & Wilding, R. (2022). Digital anticipation:
Facilitating the pre-emptive futures of Chinese grandparent migrants
in Australia. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *66*(14), 1863–1879. https:/
/doi.org/10.1177/00027642221075261

Baldassar, L., & Wilding, R. (2019). Migration, aging, and digital kinning:
The role of distant care support networks in experiences of aging
well. *The Gerontological Society of America*, *60*(2), 1–9. https://doi.org/
10.1093/geront/gnz156

Baldassar, L., Wilding, R., & Worrell, S. (2020). Elderly migrants, digital
kinning and digital home making across time and distance. In B.
Pasveer, O. Synnes, & I. Moser (Eds.), *Ways of home making in care
for later life* (pp. 41–62). Palgrave Macmillan.

Bemiller, M. (2010). Mothering from a distance. *Journal of Divorce &
Remarriage*, *51*(3), 169–184.

Brandhorst, R. M. (2020). A regimes-of-mobility-and-welfare approach: The impact of migration and welfare policies on transnational social support networks of older migrants in Australia. *Journal of Family Research*, *3*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-374

Bürkner, H. J. (2012). Intersectionality: How gender studies might inspire the analysis of social inequality among migrants. *Population, Space and Place*, *18*(2), 181–195.

Cabalquinto, E. C. (2018). Ambivalent intimacies: Entangled pains and gains through Facebook use in transnational family life. In A. S. Dobson, B. Robards, & N. Carah (Eds.), *Digital intimate publics and social media* (pp. 247–263). Springer International Publishing.

Cabalquinto, E. C. (2020a). Standby mothering: Temporalities, affects, and the politics of mobile intergenerational care. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *18*(3), 358–376. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2020.1787049

Cabalquinto, E. C. (2020b). *The COVID-19 pandemic and ageing migrants' digital lives*. Disruptr. Retrieved December 12, 2020, from https://disruptr.deakin.edu.au/society/the-covid-19-pandemic-and-ageing-migrants-digital-lives/

Cabalquinto, E. C. (2022a). *(Im)mobile homes: Family life at a distance in the age of mobile media*. Oxford University Press.

Cabalquinto, E. C. (2022b). "Without technology we'd be very stuck": Ageing migrants' differential (im)mobile practices during a lockdown. *Media International Australia*, *188*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/1001177/1329878X221095582

Cabalquinto, E. C. (2024). Enclaved belonging: Ageing migrants staying connected by consuming COVID-19 information. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2023.2295491

Cabañes, J. V., & Acedera, K. (2012). Of mobile phones and mother-fathers: Calls, text messages, and conjugal power relations in mother-away Filipino families. *New Media & Society*, *14*(6), 916–930. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444811435397

Collins, P. H. (1998). It is all in the family: Intersections of gender, race, and nation. *Hypatia*, *13*, 62–82.

Collins, P. H. (2015). Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *41*, 1–20.

Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality, key concepts*. Polity Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6) 1241–1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229093

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.

Da, W. W. (2003). Transnational grandparenting: Child care arrangements among migrants from the People's Republic of China to Australia. *Journal of International Migration & Integration*, *4*(1), 79–103. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-003-1020-4

Desmond, M., & Emirbayer, M. (2009). What is racial domination? *Du Bois Review*, *6*(2), 335–355.

Espinosa, S. A. (2017). *Sexualized citizenship: A cultural history of Philippines-Australian migration*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Francisco-Menchavez, V. (2018). *The labor of care: Filipina migrants and transnational families in the digital age*. Marston Book Services Ltd.

Hargittai, E. (2022). *Connected in Isolation: Digital privilege in unsettled times*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, *17*(1), 13–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725860220137345

Helsper, E. (2021). *The digital disconnect: The social causes and consequences of digital inequalities*. SAGE.

Ho, E. L. E., & Chiu, T. Y. (2020). Transnational ageing and "care technologies": Chinese grandparenting migrants in Singapore and Sydney. *Population, Space and Place*, *26*(7), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2365

Holvino, E. (2010). Intersections: The simultaneity of race, gender, and class in organization studies. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *17*(3), 248–277.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., & Avila, E. (1997). "I'm here, but I'm there" the meanings of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender & Society*, *11*(5), 548–571.

Hooks, B. (1981). *Ain't I a woman: Black women and feminism* (1st ed.). South End Press.

Hwang, S., & Beauregard, T. A. (2022). Contextualizing intersectionality: A qualitative study of East Asian female migrant workers in the UK. *Human Relations*, *75*(4), 609–634.

King-Dejardin, A. (2019). *The social construction of migrant care work at the intersection of care, migration and gender*. International Labour Organization. https://www.ilo.org/publications/social-construction-migrant-care-work-intersection-care-migration-and

Leurs, K., & Prabhakar, M. (2018). Doing digital migration studies: Methodological considerations for an emerging research focus. In R. Zapata-Barrero & E. Yalaz (Eds.), *Qualitative research in European migration studies* (pp. 247–266). Springer.

Lim, C. (2023). Curtailed dreams and forced transnationalism: The effects of migration regimes on lived experiences of older Filipino migrants in Australia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *49*(5), 1389–1406. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1850245

Lim, S. S. (2014). Women, "double work" and mobile media: The more things change, the more they stay the same. In G. Goggin & L. Hjorth (Eds.), *Routledge companion to mobile media* (pp. 346–364). Routledge.

Lindlof, T. R. (2019). *Qualitative communication research methods* (B. C. Taylor, Ed.; 4th ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Ling, R., & Lai, C. H. (2016). Microcoordination 2.0: Social coordination in the age of smartphones and messaging apps. *Journal of Communication*, *66*(5), 834–856. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12251

Madianou, M. (2012). Migration and the accentuated ambivalence of motherhood: The role of ICTs in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks*, *12*(3), 277–295.

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2011). Mobile phone parenting: Reconfiguring relationships between Filipina migrant mothers and their left-behind children. *New Media & Society*, *13*(3), 457–470.

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2012). *Migration and new media: Transnational families and polymedia*. Routledge.

Madianou, M. (2016). Ambient co-presence: Transnational family practices in polymedia environments. *Global Networks*, *16*(2), 183–201. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12105

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *30*(3), 1771–1800.

McKay, D. (2007). 'Sending dollars shows feeling'—Emotions and economies in Filipino migration. *Mobilities*, *2*(2), 175–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100701381532

Millard, A., Baldassar, L., & Wilding, R. (2018). The significance of digital citizenship in the well-being of older migrants. *Public Health*, *158*, 144–148. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2018.03.005

Nedelcu, M. (2017). Transnational grandparenting in the digital age: Mediated co-presence and childcare in the case of Romanian migrants in Switzerland and Canada. *European Journal of Ageing*, *14*(4), 375–383. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10433-017-0436-1

Nemer, D. (2022). *Technology of the oppressed: Inequity and the digital mundane in favelas of Brazil*. MIT Press.

Ong, M. W. H. (2015). *"Happy in my own skin": Filipina migrants' embodiment of ageing in New Zealand* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland]. University of Auckland Research Repository—ResearchSpace. https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/docs/uoa-docs/rights.htm

Ong, M. G. (2019). Who Cares? The dilemma of care work in older Filipina migrants' narratives. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *50*(2), 200–225.

Panichella, N., Avola, M., & Piccitto, G. (2021). Migration, class attainment and social mobility: An analysis of migrants' socio-economic integration in Italy. *European Sociological Review*, *37*(6), 883–898.

Parreñas, R. S. (2003). At the cost of women. *Interventions*, *5*(1), 29–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698032000049789

Parreñas, R. S. (2005a). *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*. Stanford University Press.

Parreñas, R. S. (2005b). Long distance intimacy: Class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks*, *5*(4), 317–336. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00122.x

Parreñas, R. S. (2020a). *The aging of migrant domestic workers*. The American Prospect. Retrieved April 21, 2023, from https://prospect.org/familycare/the-aging-of-migrant-domestic-workers/

Parreñas, R. S. (2020b). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work* (2nd ed.). Stanford University Press.

Pink, S. (2007). *Doing visual ethnography* (2nd ed.). SAGE.

Rose, G. (2007). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.

San Pascual, M. R. (2014). Living through the parameters of technology: Filipino mothers in diaspora and their mediated parenting experiences. *Plaridel: A Journal of Philippine Communication, Media and Society*, *11*(1), 77–104.

Silvey, R., & Parreñas, R. (2020). Precarity chains: Cycles of domestic worker migration from Southeast Asia to the Middle East. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *46*(16), 3457–3471. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1592398

Thimm, V., & Chaudhuri, M. (2019). Migration as mobility? An intersectional approach. *Applied Mobilities*, *6*(3), 273–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/23800127.2019.1573780

Tronto, J., & Fisher, B. (1990). Toward a feminist theory of caring. In E. Abel & M. Nelson (Eds.), *Circles of care: Work and identity in women's lives* (pp. 36–54). SUNY Press.

United Nations. (2019). *World population ageing 2019.* https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/ageing/WorldPopulationAgeing2019-Highlights.pdf

Uy-Tioco, C. (2007). Overseas Filipino workers and text messaging: Reinventing transnational mothering. *Continuum*, *21*(2), 253–265. https://doi.org/10.1080/10304310701269081

Uy-Tioco, C., & Cabalquinto, E. C. (2020). Transnational digital carework: Filipino migrants, family intimacy, and mobile media. In J. V. Cabañes & C. Uy-Tioco (Eds.), *Mobile media and Asian social intimacies* (pp. 153–170). Springer.

Victoria State Government. (2016). *Philippines-born*. Retrieved June 12, 2023, from https://www.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2019-08/Philippines-Community-Profile-2016-Census.pdf

Wilding, R. (2023). Older migrants' use of information and communication technologies. In S. Torres & A. Hunter (Eds.), *Handbook on migration and ageing* (p. 333–343). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Wilding, R. (2006). 'Virtual' intimacies? Families communicating across transnational contexts. *Global Networks*, *6*(2), 125–142. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00137

Wilding, R., Gamage, S., Worrell, S., & Baldassar, L. (2022). Practices of 'digital homing' and gendered reproduction among older Sinhalese and Karen migrants in Australia. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *20*(2),1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2022.2046895