



BRICK by BRICK
Building Cooperation between the Philippines
and Migrants' Associations in Italy and Spain





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Fabio Baggio
Editor



Scalabrini Migration Center
Manila Philippines

2010





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Scalabrini Migration Center
#4, 13th Street
New Manila, Quezon City
Philippines

ISBN 978-971-8789-16-2
Printed in the Philippines





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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of the three-year, three-phase, three-country Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development (MAPID) Project rested on the contributions of several institutions and a great many gracious individuals.

The financial support of the European Union's Aeneas Programme (Aeneas Grant Contract No. MIGR/2007/130-548(11)) was key to making the project possible. We extend special thanks to the officials and staff of the European Commission in Brussels and Manila who readily provided support and assistance in various ways. Camilla Hagström, Deputy Head of Operations of the European Union Delegation to the Philippines, and Romina Sta. Clara, who was previously with the same office, offered advice, encouragement and keenly participated in MAPID activities.

The Scalabrini Migration Center cooperated with the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, Fondazione ISMU in Milan, Italy, and the University of Valencia in Spain in realizing the project. The core team of committed and dedicated country coordinators and project assistants – Maruja Asis and Golda Myra Roma in the Philippines, Laura Zanfrini and Annavittoria Sarli in Italy, and Edelia Villaroya Soler and Alessandro Tedde in Spain – walked the proverbial extra mile to translate MAPID's goals into reality.

The MAPID team is grateful to the partners and cooperators in the Philippines, Italy and Spain, who engaged us in dialogue and reflection in the course of conducting the research, the capacity building programs and the dissemination activities. Thank you for the trust, inspiration and the shared hopes to build – brick by brick – communities of solidarity and cooperation.

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1

Introduction

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The Migration-Development Nexus

In the current discussions of the migration-development nexus, it is possible to identify three main different positions. The first is called “developmentalist optimism” and it entails substantial confidence in the positive effects of international migration on local development. The second position is labeled “structuralist and neo-Marxist pessimism and skepticism,” which underlines the negative side of the nexus - it is of the view that migration results from the lack of development and the former is unlikely to promote the latter. Recently, a third position appeared which has been influenced by recent studies on migration and transnationalism. Aiming at a more balanced assessment of the nexus, this position affirms the ambivalence of the migration-development nexus (De Haas 2008).

In the last five years, the discussion on migration and development became global and gained special consideration in the political agenda of many sending and receiving countries. Different factors contributed to such interest. By the end of 2003, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan decided to establish the Global Commission for International Migration (GCIM), whose task was to elaborate a consistent, comprehensive and global response to



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the problem of international migration (GCIM, 2003). In October 2005, the GCIM presented its final report. Among the different recommendations, the Commission affirmed that “International migration should become an integral part of national, regional and global strategies for economic growth, in both the developing and developed world” (GCIM, 2005:4). In September 2006, the UN High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development focused on the migration-development nexus, particularly highlighting the economic benefits effects of international migration in developing countries. As a result of the UN dialogue, a small group of concerned countries (which identified themselves as “Friends of the Forum”) proposed the creation of an independent forum to continue the discussion on the migration-development nexus. The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) was established and six editions of the forum were planned, from 2007 to 2012 (Belgium, Philippines, Greece, Argentina, Spain and Morocco). Despite their “not binding” nature, the first three editions of the GFMD succeeded in involving governments and civil society groups in a global discussion on migration and development.

During the first decade of the 21st century, the World Bank started publishing reports on the huge bulk of remittances that migrants sent annually to their home countries. The flow of billions of dollars from the receiving countries to the sending countries captured the attention of governments, international organizations and financial institutions. The discussion on migrants’ remittances and their impact on local development sometimes bordered on enthusiastic considerations, generating dangerous misinterpretations. One of them is the “mythicization” of remittances, i.e., the idea that remittances are the panacea for all the development problems of the sending countries (García Zamora, 2009). This simplistic consideration led many developing countries to adopt or reinforce their labor export as a development strategy. Another misinterpretation of the migration-development nexus is the relegation of development responsibilities to migrants and diaspora groups.

If one looks at remittances only, the numbers are indeed impressive. The International Organization for Migration (2008) estimated around 200 million international migrants worldwide, corresponding to three percent of the world population. In the same

year, the World Bank (WB) calculated that international migrants sent US\$328 billion in remittances through formal channels. The main recipients of the money flow were India, China, Mexico, Philippines and Poland. In many sending countries, remittances constituted a great portion of their GDP. In Tajikistan, Tonga, Moldova, Lesotho and Guyana, remittances accounted for between 26 percent and 46 percent of the GDP (Ratha, Mohapatra and Silwal, 2009). In many countries of origin, remittances were larger than the amount of foreign aid received in 2008 (IOM, 2008).

Individual remittances comprise only one of the channels of migrants' contributions to the development of their home countries. There are also "collective remittances" that are constituted by the philanthropic donations in money and in kind sent by migrants to their communities of origin. Moreover, one should consider the economic investment initiated by overseas workers, immigrants and returnees, both individually and collectively, which is not registered under remittances. Another channel of migrants' cooperation to development is knowledge exchange by which skills, technologies and professional expertise acquired abroad are transferred to the home countries. Finally, there are also examples of international cooperation aid undertaken through diaspora groups, as in the case of co-development practices promoted by some receiving countries.

In terms of development, all these migrants' contributions constitute a huge potential whose underestimation by policy makers would be a big mistake. Nevertheless, according to different recent studies, the development impact of international migration in many sending countries seems ambivalent (Asis and Baggio 2008a; Castles, 2007; De Haas, 2008; Delgado Wise and Guarnizo, 2007; and García Zamora, 2009). The unleashing of the development potential is not automatic and benefits may be overshadowed by costs. Moreover, gains and losses of international migrations are to be considered not only in the economic sphere. Benefits and costs are obtained and paid also in the social and political realms.

There are evident positive transformations brought about by international migration at the economic level. In receiving countries, foreign workers and immigrants constitute an effective re-



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sponse to the economic challenges of their demographic winter. Migrants increase the active population and substantially contribute to sustain the social welfare. They fill labor vacancies, both in the low-skilled and highly-skilled sectors, and they are often instrumental in decreasing labor costs. Because of their creativity, industry and enthusiasm, migrants are likely to increase local and international competitiveness. Through their transnational networks, foreign workers and immigrants are sometimes helpful in expanding the markets for exports. Particularly in the big cities, migrant communities boost the economic growth of some local sectors like housing, restaurants, travel agencies and communications.

Some positive transformations at the economic front are also evident in sending countries. Labor export has contributed to reducing unemployment and underemployment rates. Migrants' remittances help their home countries fight inflation and pay foreign debts. The huge inflow of overseas earned money induces beneficial effects. Remittances contribute to increase the GDP and in some cases, they exert positive results on the poverty index (Adams and Page, 2005). Remittances benefit migrants' household enhancing their purchasing power particularly for basic needs. In some cases, remittances and savings are used for income-generating investments. In some local communities there are beneficial multiplier effects. Philanthropic donations and other infusion of capital coming from the diaspora, either spontaneously or through organized channels, promote the development of communities of origin (Levitt, 2001; Orozco, 2007; Asis and Baggio, 2008b).

As mentioned earlier, receiving countries benefit from international migration because, among others, it helps address demographic challenges, such as the aging of their population. The presence of migrant communities could also enrich the cultural makeup of receiving societies. From a wider perspective, the co-existence of different cultures, languages and traditions constitute a unique opportunity for cultural exchange (GCIM, 2005). Where opportunities are granted, migrants can experience social mobility. The employment of foreign workers overqualified for their job generally improves the quality of services. In many receiving societies, migrants fill labor shortage gaps which enable receiving societies to



effectively respond to the needs of the care of children, the elderly and the sick.

Sending countries also have social gains from international migration. Thanks to the deployment of many workers, social pressures due to unemployment are diminished. Migrants' acquisition of new skills and the quality education provided to the children left behind are likely to increase the human capital of the population in the origin country. Due to their increased purchasing power, migrants' families are less likely to use state-run social assistance services, thereby easing the demand for such services. Increasing levels of female migration worldwide initiated new gender dynamics, promoting the renegotiation of traditional roles (Smits, 2003; Kadioglu, 1994; Peleah, 2008). Transnational families found ways to cope with separation, generating new practices of being family (ECMI/AOS-Manila, SMC and OWWA, 2004).

International migration also produces positive political changes in receiving countries. The manifestations of xenophobia and racism, which are on the rise in many receiving societies, represent a worrisome resurrection of ancient fears. Nonetheless, they are leading to the reconsideration and reaffirmation of democratic ideals beyond citizenship. The design and implementation of programs of integration and social inclusion for immigrants used to favor the local population. The increasing presence of migrants' children in schools compels local authorities to review and rethink traditional educational programs with the incorporation of enriching intercultural elements (Adams and Kirova, 2006). The arrival of significant numbers of migrant workers represents an opportunity for traditional trade unions to revitalize and "globalize" their mediation work (Taran and Demaret, 2006). The human and gender rights' questions raised by the presence of foreign workers and immigrants have become the main advocacy of many local NGOs offering new avenues in the dialogue between civil society groups and governments.

Sending countries also appear to benefit politically from international migration. Thanks to their diaspora, they often become valuable interlocutors in the receiving countries, increasing their international prestige. Absentee voting represents a new form of

political participation in many sending countries. Realizing the political significance of their diaspora, countries of origin have developed new outreach programs for their nationals abroad. The political participation of migrants is fostered by modern technology - thousands of web sites, chats and blogs collect opinions, views and suggestions of citizens residing abroad. In some cases, migrants and returnees become politicians back in their countries of origin and even founders of new political parties (Pandita, n.d.).

International migration, however, also entails significant costs in the three spheres, particularly for sending countries. As regards the economic dimension, several scholars argue that remittances produce ambivalent impact on migrants' households. In some cases, remittances do not seem to constitute a real "net income" and they are not able to drive migrant' families out of poverty (Canales, 2008; Carling, 2006; García Zamora, 2009). In some sending countries, such as the Philippines, remittances seem to have contributed in increasing household inequality. The hoped-for multiplier effects are not that evident. The inflow of overseas earned money has benefited only the communities of origin of migrants, enhancing the disparity among regions/provinces in the same country (Baggio, 2009). The adoption of labor export policies has increased the dependence of sending countries' national economies on remittances and foreign economies. At the micro level, migrants' households have become more and more dependent on overseas earned money and in some cases, such dependence expands to extended families. The establishment of a very lucrative migration industry (recruitment agencies, brokers, migration consultants and travel agencies) increased the economic costs of migration. Aspiring migrants are often compelled to resort to loans in order to fulfill their dreams and a great portion of their remittances goes to repaying debts. For many of them, circular migration becomes just one round of a vicious circle.

In the social front, an overall assessment of the costs of international migration for the sending societies is still due. Some initial studies focusing on temporary migration underlined the vulnerability of transnational families (Scotland, 2006; Uhn, 2005; Weiss, 2009). The above mentioned renegotiation of traditional



gendered roles is indeed a positive phenomenon, but in some cases perceptions about the negative effects on the care of children persist (Carandang, Sison and Carandang, 2007). The long-term negative effects of parents' absence on children left behind are difficult to assess, particularly in the emotional sphere. In the future, the dynamics of the migration chains will also raise the problem of the elderly left behind, whose care in many sending countries is traditionally entrusted to younger relatives. The conviction that the global market is the only chance for personal and professional success pushes many people to migrate (Asis, 2006). This culture of migration is likely to produce negative effects on national development.

International migration also poses political costs. The adoption of labor export as a development strategy may prevent governments to design and implement local sustainable development policies. Several states involved in massive labor export cannot adequately protect and assist their many nationals working overseas. The increased number of countries involved in the massive deployment of workers has also generated stiff competition in the "marketing" of their nationals, which can jeopardize civil and labor rights (Baggio, 2007). In some sending countries, recent policies aiming at enhancing the deployment of skilled migrants result in the worrisome exodus of professionals, resulting to brain drain. In some cases, the educational policies (or by default, the educational practices) of countries of origin are shaped more by the needs of the global labor markets rather than the local needs. In my view, the perception that their home country is "pushing them out" has tragic consequences in migrants' trust towards their institutions and their interest to cooperate to national development.

On the basis of the considerations listed above, it appears that international migration has an ambivalent impact on the development of the countries involved. It also seems that the benefits of the migration-development nexus are generally shared between countries of origin and destination, while the costs are shouldered mainly by sending countries. Policies and programs aiming at enhancing the benefits and reducing the costs may help to overcome such hindrances, but they should not be governed by an



instrumentalist understanding of the link between migration and development.

In many cases immigration and emigration policies seem to respond more to economic - and unilateral - concerns rather than to ethic and humanistic principles. Benefits resulting from the abuses, exploitation and discrimination of migrants are questionable. Moreover, the interests of the receiving countries and sending countries generally do not coincide and this lack of correspondence has negative implications on the effectiveness and consistency of migration policies and regional dialogues. As far as international migration is concerned, due to the asymmetry of the right to migrate, receiving countries have the power to dictate the rules of the game.

From an ethical perspective, there is an evident inconsistency between the principle of no-discrimination among human beings, which has been ratified by 178 countries (GCIM, 2005), and the actual migration policies and practices of many of the same countries. Such policies and practices are often inconsistent with other principles upheld by signed and ratified international conventions, national constitutions and legislations and labor codes (Baggio, 2007).

According to the author, the discussion on the migration-development nexus should include the principle of co-responsibility in the development of the whole human community. Grounded on the universal destination of the earth's goods, this principle calls on countries to go beyond the concept of national sovereignty, acknowledging everybody's right to have access to resources where they are. Moreover, the same principle dispels the myth of the 'generosity' entailed in the international cooperation promoted by the more industrialized countries, recalling the duty of sharing to those who have more resources.

Another ethical principle that should be considered in the discussion on the migration-development nexus is the principle of subsidiarity. Grounded on the respect of the autonomy of local communities and institutions, this principle should be considered in the initiatives for international cooperation undertaken by receiving countries – in other words, promoting sustainable develop-



ment should be respectful of local history and culture (“incul-tured” development).

The inclusion of the principle of democracy in the discussion on migration-development nexus is also crucial. According to this principle, the discussion leading to the elaboration of migration policies and programs should include all the stakeholders through duly recognized representatives.

Finally, no political exercise can neglect the centrality of the human being understood in his/her individual and collective dimensions. The clear identification of the main beneficiaries of migration policies and programs reaffirms the inviolability of human rights beside visas and passports. The defense and promotion of human dignity cannot be jeopardized by economic or security concerns.

Migration and Development in the Philippines

In 1906, the first batch of Filipino migrant workers deployed to Hawaii marked the beginning of labor migration, which became a real exodus in the 1970s, when large-scale and more organized labor migration started to supply the need for manpower by the oil-rich Gulf countries. The low economic growth vs. high population growth in the Philippines and the inability of the Philippine government in providing decent jobs to its constituents pushed millions of Filipinos to look for greener pastures overseas. During the last 40 years, the outflow of Filipino workers has progressively increased in number and expanded geographically to almost 200 countries (Asis, 2006).

As of December 2008, the Commission for Filipinos Overseas (CFO) estimated that 8,187,710 Filipino nationals were living overseas, comprising nearly 10 percent of the national population. Among the major countries of residence, the United States was leading with over 2.8 million Filipino immigrants, followed by Saudi Arabia with more than one million Filipinos, almost all of whom are temporary workers (i.e., overseas Filipino workers or OFWs). Table 1 offers a breakdown of the overseas Filipino population by continent, highlighting the countries with a stock of over 100,000

TABLE 1
STOCK ESTIMATE OF OVERSEAS FILIPINOS AS OF DECEMBER 2008

Region/Country	Permanent	Temporary	Irregular	Total
Africa	1,986	44,303	8,265	54,554
Asia, East & South	247,097	581,330	256,622	1,085,049
Malaysia	26,002	89,681	128,000	243,683
Japan	141,210	60,020	30,700	231,930
Singapore	32,820	66,411	56,000	158,231
Hong Kong S.A.R.	23,507	125,810	6,000	155,317
Asia, West	5,599	2,144,625	112,700	2,261,924
Saudi Arabia	351	1,072,458	20,000	1,092,809
UAE	713	541,666	32,000	574,379
Qatar	15	224,027	5,600	229,642
Kuwait	500	136,018	10,000	146,518
Europe	294,987	299,468	98,624	693,079
United Kingdom	91,206	102,291	10,000	203,497
Italy	27,003	77,087	13,000	117,090
Americas	3,101,941	250,595	166,163	3,518,699
Canada	533,826	73,632	6,135	613,593
United States	2,552,034	128,616	155,843	2,836,493
Oceania	257,232	44,325	11,235	312,792
Australia	233,943	23,926	7,975	265,844
Seabased workers		261,613		261,613
World Total	3,907,842	3,626,259	653,609	8,187,710

Source: <http://www.cfo.gov.ph/pdf/statistics/Stock%202008.pdf>, accessed on 24 July 2010

Filipinos classified into three different categories: permanent, temporary (i.e., legally deployed OFWs) and those in an irregular situation.

Permanent emigrants still represent the majority group with over 47 percent of the stock of the overseas Filipinos. Nonetheless, since the mid-1970s the number of temporary migrants has been progressively increasing reaching 44 percent of the stock of overseas Filipinos in December 2008. The latter are involved in the contract worker system. The 2008 estimate of 653,609 irregular Filipinos overseas reveals that unauthorized migration still con-

TABLE 2
TOP TEN COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION OF LAND-BASED FILIPINO WORKERS, 2009

Country	OFWs
1. Saudi Arabia	291,419
2. UAE	196,815
3. Hong Kong S.A.R.	100,142
4. Qatar	89,290
5. Singapore	54,421
6. Kuwait	45,900
7. Taiwan	33,751
8. Italy	23,159
9. Canada	17,344
10. Bahrain	15,001

SOURCE: POEA, 2010

stitutes a problem for the Philippine government. However, it should be recognized that recent efforts to curb irregular migration promoted by both the Philippines and the receiving countries succeeded in reducing the numbers of unauthorized migrants, who were estimated at 648,169 in 2007 and 1,039,191 in 2004.¹

According to the official figures prepared by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA, 2010), during the year 2009, 1,422,586 Filipinos were deployed abroad as regular migrant workers. Despite the negative forecast due to the global economic crisis, the figure shows a surprising increase from the 1,236,013 deployed in 2008. However, it should be clarified that in the case of land-based workers the increase was seen only in the category of rehires, which constituted over 50 percent of the total deployment. The hiring of sea-based overseas workers registered an increase of 26.3 percent. As for the destinations of the OFWs' flow, for the last years, the Middle East and East Asia had been receiving a great portion of the Filipino exodus. Table 2 presents the 10 major countries of destination of newly hired landbased Filipino workers who were legally deployed in 2009.

¹ Based on unpublished revised stock estimates provided by the Commission on Filipino Overseas. The methodology for the estimation of the stock estimates was modified for 2008 and the four years preceding it.

TABLE 3
LANDBASED OFWs, NEW HIRES BY TOP TEN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND SEX, 2009

Occupational Category	Male	Female	Both Sexes
1. Household Service Workers	1,888	69,669	71, 557
2. Nurses Professional	1,599	11,866	13,465
3. Waiters, Bartenders and Related Workers	4,978	6,999	11,977
4. Charworkers, Cleaners and Related Workers	2,140	7,916	10,056
5. Wiremen Electrical	9,709	43	9,752
6. Caregivers and Caretakers	507	8,721	9,228
7. Laborers/Helpers General	7,105	994	8,099
8. Plumbers and Pipe Fitters	7,702	20	7,722
9. Welders and Flame-Cutters	5,870	40	5,910
10. Housekeeping and Related Service Workers	908	4,219	5,127

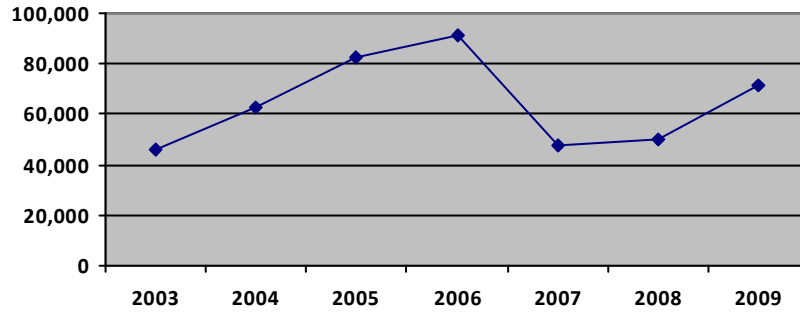
SOURCE: POEA, 2010

From 1990 to 2004, there was a notable feminization of the Filipino exodus; in some years women constituted up to 70 percent of all new hires among landbased workers (Baggio, 2008). This phenomenon was mostly due to the increased job opportunities in the domestic and care-giving sectors, where a female worker is normally preferred. However, in the last five years a clear variation from the established pattern was noticed. In 2009 only 53 percent (or 175,298) of all landbased new hires (331,752) were women (POEA, 2009). In 2007 the female contingent comprised 47.8 percent of the total new hires' deployment (POEA, 2008).

As for the occupation of the landbased OFWs, the data referring to the new hires collected by POEA in 2009 show a clear preponderance of two sectors: service, which engaged 138,222 of newly deployed Filipino workers or 41 percent of the total new hires, and production, which employed 117,609 Filipino workers or 35 percent of the same contingent (POEA, 2009). The third major occupational category comprised professional, medical, technical and related workers, who numbered 47,886 or 14 percent of the total new hires. Table 3 presents the 10 top occupations of newly hired landbased Filipino workers deployed overseas in 2009.

From 2003 to 2006, the deployment of new hires in the household service sector registered a progressive growth. Such tendency was abruptly reversed in 2007, due to the implementation of new hiring policies by POEA aiming at increasing the protection of Fili-

FIGURE 1
DEPLOYED HOUSEHOLD SERVICE WORKERS, NEW HIRES, 2003 - 2009



Source: POEA, 2010

pino domestic workers. However, as it is clearly shown in Figure 1, in 2008 and 2009 the numbers are on the rise again.

As for the international seafaring sector, 330,424 Filipino seafarers were deployed in 2009 and, in the same period, 435,515 sea-based contracts were processed by POEA (POEA, 2010).

Many European countries have been receiving thousands of Filipino migrants and immigrants since the 1970s. As it is shown in Table 4, the total stock of overseas Filipinos in Europe constantly

TABLE 4
STOCK ESTIMATE OF OVERSEAS FILIPINOS IN THE TOP SEVEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF RESIDENCE, 2004-2008

Country	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total Europe	548,072	577,005	616,436	674,121	693,079
United Kingdom	116,321	133,095	165,564	203,035	203,497
Italy	138,461	123,386	128,080	120,192	117,090
Germany	55,628	55,917	53,995	54,336	54,794
Spain	25,292	24,944	26,505	41,780	50,680
France	32,084	45,325	47,745	47,075	47,170
Greece	25,146	26,209	27,043	29,344	38,600
Austria	25,973	35,200	29,818	29,657	29,691

Source: Based on unpublished revised estimates provided by the Commission on Filipino Overseas.

TABLE 5
LANDBASED OVERSEAS FILIPINO WORKERS BY COUNTRY, NEW HIRES AND REHIRES,
DEPLOYED TO THE TOP SIX DESTINATION EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 2003-2009

Country	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total Europe	37,981	55,116	52,146	59,313	45,613	51,795	47,409
Italy	12,175	23,329	21,267	25,413	17,855	22,623	23,159
United Kingdom	13,598	18,347	16,930	16,926	9,525	9,308	7,071
Ireland	5,645	5,533	5,710	5,439	4,740	4,916	4,527
Spain	1,258	1,452	907	1,720	2,619	4,114	2,826
Cyprus	1,637	2,134	1,890	2,055	2,812	2,385	2,660
Greece	1,880	991	1,656	2,977	1,770	2,372	2,102

Source: POEA, 2010

increased until 2007, but in 2008 it registered a significant decline. The preferred destinations of Europe-bound Filipino labor migration and emigration are the United Kingdom and Italy, which in 2008 hosted 46 percent of the total stock. From 2003 to 2008, the number of Filipinos residing in the United Kingdom and Spain doubled.

The deployment of Filipino workers to European countries has been quite stable from 2004 to 2009. The United Kingdom, which was the preferred destination of newly hired OFWs in 2003, showed a progressive decline in the number of landbased overseas Filipino workers from 2007 to 2009. As presented in Table 5, from 2004, Italy became the top destination of Europe-bound OFWs; in 2009, it absorbed almost 50 percent of the total inflow.

In 2009, overseas Filipinos remitted through legal channels about US\$17.3 billion, which made up 9.3 percent of the total GNP (Table 6). The remittance inflow marked an increase of 5.5 percent compared with the US\$16.4 billion recorded in the previous year (POEA, 2010). The landbased migrants remitted US\$13.9 billion, while US\$3.4 billion came from Filipinos employed in the international seafaring sector (BSP, 2008). The inclusion of the money sent by Filipino migrants through informal channels may increase the total by 20 percent or even less, since, according to the findings of a fairly recent study, 80 percent of overseas Filipinos use formal channels to transfer funds to their families (ADB, 2005).

TABLE 6
REMITTANCES OF OVERSEAS FILIPINOS, 2003 – 2009 (IN THOUSAND US\$)

Area	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008*	2009*
Asia	894,310	918,329	1,172,373	1,496,120	1,543,173	1,883,996	2,078,241
Americas	4,370,705	5,023,803	6,605,231	7,198,212	8,244,344	9,213,372	9,307,781
Oceania	44,470	42,600	54,573	85,610	12,417	149,423	212,983
Europe	1,040,562	1,286,130	1,433,933	2,061,067	2,351,704	2,658,726	3,061,625
Middle East	1,166,376	1,232,069	1,417,491	1,909,208	2,172,417	2,502,639	2,665,031
Africa	11,371	3,439	4,517	10,272	16,027	17,746	22,282
Others	50,664	44,001	887	819	846	952	109
TOTAL**	7,578,458	8,550,371	10,689,005	12,761,308	14,449,928	16,426,854	17,348,052

Source: POEA, 2010

Notes: *Preliminary figures.

**Breakdown may not add up to totals due to rounding off.



The potentials of international migration to promote development in the origin countries have yet to be examined in Asia in general, and in the Philippines in particular. Up until now, migration management and regional discussions on migration in Asia have yet to delve into migration and development. The reflection and action on the links between international migration and development have not received research, policy and advocacy attention in the Philippines.

While the state has succeeded in promoting Filipino workers as global workers and in developing good practices to promote the protection of its nationals abroad, there is mixed to minimal evidence to indicate that international migration has contributed to development in the Philippines. Between macro indicators suggesting the contributions of remittances to foreign reserves and micro indicators implying improvement in the economic well-being of migrants' families, the impact of migration on the development of local communities is not well-established. There are concerns that international migration may increase the disparities between migrants' families and non-migrants' families, as well as apprehensions that the country as a whole and migrants' families in particular may have become dependent on remittances.

A review of the Philippines' policies on international migration and development reveals a glaring disconnect between migration and development. That is, development policies are drafted without as much reference to international migration (except remittances and the target to deploy a million workers every year); similarly, migration policies are formulated with minimal or no links to development. To date, labor migration policies are still largely oriented to facilitating the deployment of workers. In the future, the government aspires to deploying more highly skilled and professional migrants. Higher levels of deployment (and higher volumes of remittances), however, will not necessarily result in more sustainable development. State intervention through appropriate legislations, policies, and institutional mechanisms is necessary to make migration work for the country's development. The passage of the 2003 Citizenship Retention and Reacquisition Act (or Dual Citizenship Act) and the 2003 Absentee Voting Act is a step in this



direction. However, the state has to take a more proactive stance in engaging with the Filipino diaspora to encourage and assure overseas Filipinos that their investments, donations, and other transfers of resources will go to the intended purposes. As the major partner in development, the state and its institutions must demonstrate readiness, transparency and sound governance to build an enabling environment.

The MAPID Project

Based on the conviction that migration has development potentials beyond remittances, in 2007, the Scalabrini Migration Center (SMC) decided to elaborate a project proposal to be submitted to the European Union. The proposal was tendered as a response to the 2007 call of the Aeneas Programme (Financial and technical assistance to third countries in the field of migration and asylum). In November 2007, the project proposal was approved and in December 2007, SMC started implementing the project.

The full title of the project is “Capacity Building of Migrants’ Associations in Italy and Spain and Government Institutions in the Philippines to Promote Development,” Contract No. MIG R/2007/130-548(11). The short title of the project is “Migrants’ Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development” (MAPID). The project aims at building and strengthening the partnership between government institutions in the Philippines and migrant communities (particularly through migrants’ associations) in Italy and Spain. Being a three-country project, SMC decided to partner with the Commission on Filipinos Overseas in the Philippines, the Fondazione ISMU (Fondazione per le Iniziative e gli Studi sulla Multietnicità) in Italy, and the University of Valencia (UV) in Spain.

The project focuses on Filipino migrants’ associations in Italy and Spain. Filipino migration to these two countries presents evident similarities. Italy and Spain rank among the more hospitable places for OFWs. Both of them offer the possibility of long-term residence - and eventually citizenship to migrants - and family reunification. Filipino migration in Italy and Spain was pioneered by women who took up domestic work. The state was not involved in



organizing their migration. During the first two decades, Filipino communities in Italy and Spain were highly feminized. Since the 1990s, there is a sizable male population, a second-generation, and an emerging cohort of elderly members.

The overall objectives of the MAPID project are: (1) to advance the understanding of the migration-development nexus among migrants' associations and in Philippine institutions as a key factor in promoting national and local development, and (2) to promote cooperation between migrants' associations and national and local institutions in the Philippines. The specific objective of the project is to build the capacity and partnership of migrants' associations in Italy and Spain and key national and local institutions in the Philippines in promoting development in the home country.

Although the Philippines has close to 40 years of experience with international migration, except for remittances, the links between migration and development have not received research, policy and advocacy attention. The proposed project examines the role of Philippine government institutions and the Filipino diaspora in promoting development in the home country. Overseas Filipinos, either individually or collectively through migrants' associations, have been providing assistance to various relief, humanitarian and development projects in the Philippines. To date, the cooperation between overseas Filipinos and Philippine institutions has largely been as donors and receivers, respectively. The cooperation can be strengthened and amplified by enhancing stakeholders' understanding of the migration-development nexus and their roles as partners for promoting development in the Philippines. Thus, it is important to pay equal attention to building the capacity, interest and readiness of migrants' associations on the one hand, and Philippine institutions on the other, to prepare them as development partners.

The action entailed two different training programs: one for migrant leaders and one for policymakers, development and migration officers. Various training programs have been provided to Filipino migrants, migrants' associations, and to some extent, the left-behind families in the Philippines. Most of these initiatives have



focused on livelihood training, skills training, financial literacy, or enterprise training. Capacity-building programs, thus far, have not explored the potential role of migrants' associations as social actors in relation to institutions and other stakeholders in the host and home countries. Given the interest of migrants and migrants' associations to support projects in the Philippines, providing them with training enhances their understanding of their roles and options as development partners of Philippine institutions. The capacity-building targeted leaders of migrants' associations, who are expected to disseminate the information and skills they have learned to their members and to other migrants' associations.

On the Philippine side, the capacity-building is deemed necessary due to the limited discussion of migration and development issues in the country. The capacity-building targeted policymakers, development and migration officers, with a view towards promoting more integration and coordination of migration and development policies. The training program was proposed as an intervention to prepare national and local institutions in the Philippines in cooperating with the Filipino diaspora to promote development. It was also envisaged that the core group of trained policymakers, development and migration officers would pass on their training to other actors in the policy arena.

The MAPID Project has two distinctive features, which constitute its innovative character. Firstly, it highlights the responsibility of all the stakeholders in unleashing the potential of the migration-development nexus. Secondly, it promotes the integration and participation of the Filipino communities in receiving societies as factors fostering the development potential. Given these two features, the choice of Filipino migrants' associations and Philippine institutions as main beneficiaries of the action is easily explained.

While abroad, Filipinos tend to form groups and associations. The variety of Filipino migrants' associations is notable. Filipinos organize around the basis of shared interests (sport, music, etc.); region/language group, province or hometown; school graduated from; profession; and various other permutations. This organizing tendency has contributed to Filipino migrants' ability to access protection and support. It has also proven helpful in emergency



situations. Based on initial studies on migrant giving in the Philippines, a variety of migrants' associations have been contributing to diverse humanitarian, relief and development-oriented projects in the Philippines for some time. Regardless of the purposes, objectives or origins of Filipino migrants' associations, many of them have demonstrated an interest in contributing to various projects in the homeland (Asis and Baggio, 2008b). The MAPID Project intends to build on this interest by enhancing the capacity of migrants' associations to represent migrants' concerns and interests more effectively, particularly in relating to Philippine institutions as development partners. Filipino migrants' associations are not, by nature, development-oriented associations. Migrants' associations have been formed and sustained without capacity-building. Therefore, on the basis of the resources that they have mustered, it is important to provide their leaders and active members with opportunities to develop organizational, community-building, advocacy and educational skills in order to enhance their effectiveness in representing the concerns and interests of Filipino communities. Such skills also serve to foster the integration and participation of the Filipino communities in the Italian and Spanish societies with beneficial effects on the unleashing of the potential of the migration-development nexus both in the sending and receiving countries.

Given their role in development planning, policymakers, development/planning officers and key migration officers are critical in shaping policies that do not ignore the development potentials of migration, particularly the contributions of the diverse Filipino diaspora. In the long run, development policies that acknowledge transnational dimensions and migration policies that are mindful of development implications contribute to more proactive migration and development policies that maximize the gains and minimize the costs of international migration for the larger Philippine society. International migration is expected to intensify in the coming years, suggesting that "national" and "local" development plans are increasingly going to have transnational dimensions. Thus it is important to provide key government officers with a better understanding of the development opportunities and costs implied by

international migration. They can promote the discussion of migration and development in national and local development planning, considering the contributions and participation of overseas Filipinos.

The major activities of the project were divided into three phases to be implemented over three years, from 2008 to 2010: research (2008), capacity building (2009) and dissemination (2010).

Upon signing of the contract with the European Union on 21 December 2007, SMC appointed Fabio Baggio as project director. At the beginning of January 2008, SMC appointed Maruja M. B. Asis as country coordinator for the Philippines. ISMU selected Laura Zanfrini as country coordinator for Italy. UV selected Edelia Villarroya as country coordinator for Spain. Upon the request of SMC, CFO assigned Golda Myra Roma as project assistant for the Philippines. ISMU selected Annavittoria Sarli as project assistant for Italy, and UV appointed Alessandro Tedde as project assistant for Spain.

In January/February 2008, the three country coordinators started reviewing the literature (including web-based information) on Filipino communities in Italy and Spain; Filipino migrants' associations and collective remittances to the Philippines; and government, NGO and private sector initiatives to partner with migrants' association for development projects. The three country coordinators prepared a report of this literature review, which was presented in the first annual meeting.

On 17-19 March 2008, the first annual meeting (research and planning) was held in Quezon City. It was attended by the project director, the three country coordinators, a representative of CFO and a documentor. After the presentation and discussion of the three country reports, the participants elaborated the final version of the research plan, research instruments (guide questions for key informant interviews; organizational profile for the mapping of migrants' associations; and interview schedule for the survey of migrant-respondents), project timeline for the three years of the implementation of the project and a workplan for the first year.

To undertake the research activities, interviewers in Italy, Spain and the Philippines were selected, hired and duly trained.



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The training of five Spanish interviewers was conducted in Valencia on 5-7 May 2008. The training of 17 Italian interviewers was conducted in Milan on 10-12 May 2008. Each session was organized by the respective country coordinator in Spain and Italy with the collaboration of the country coordinator in the Philippines. Seven Filipino researchers attended a training and orientation session in Quezon City on 30 May 2008 organized by the country coordinator in the Philippines.

The collection of quantitative and qualitative data in Spain took place between May and September 2008. For the survey, a total of 200 immigrants were interviewed, 100 in Barcelona and 100 in Madrid, as well as 13 in Valencia. In addition, interviews with 40 key informants and 10 officers of organizations or associations of immigrants were conducted. For the survey, the interviewers used the questionnaire specifically elaborated to collect information necessary to be able to describe the characteristics of the Filipino immigrant community, their migration history and integration in the host society, and their implications for the associations and involvement in supporting development projects in the Philippines. For the key informant interviews, a specific interview guide was adopted. The interviewers also mapped the Filipino migrants' associations in Spain on the basis of an original list provided by CFO. Ten associations, six in Barcelona and four in Madrid, were selected and profiled through the administration of a questionnaire combined with some open and qualitative questions.

In Italy, the research activities were conducted between May and November 2008 by a team of seventeen interviewers and researchers operating both in Milan and in Rome, the two urban areas explored by this research, where the largest Filipino communities in Italy are located. For the migrants' survey, the same questionnaire used in Spain was administered to 200 respondents, 100 in Milan and 100 in Rome. Twenty-five in-depth interviews with key-informants were conducted, 10 in Milan and 15 in Rome. The interviews were addressed to people who were knowledgeable of the situation of the Filipino community from a particular and privileged standpoint. The mapping of Filipino migrants' associations in Italy adopted the same instrument used in Spain. Forty inter-



views were carried out, 20 in Rome, and 20 in Milan. Forty associations were selected and profiled.

In the Philippines, most of the data collection was undertaken between June and September 2008. Data for the national context were obtained from reviewing new reports or literature and interviews with representatives of migration and/or development government agencies, NGOs, academe, and the private sector. In addition, SMC and CFO conducted interviews with representatives of relevant national government agencies. For the regional and local context, seven researchers carried out the study in the 12 out of 17 regions in the Philippines. Data collection in the Philippines involved the review of secondary data (development plans, annual reports, etc.) and the collection of primary data through key informants' interviews. The researchers also documented examples of development projects supported by overseas Filipinos, investments by overseas Filipinos, and examples of cooperation between local institutions and overseas Filipinos.

Key informant interviews and other qualitative data gathered in Spain and in Italy were transcribed, under the supervision of the respective country coordinators. The encoding/transcription of quantitative and qualitative data was completed by the end of November 2008. During the following two months, a complete country report per research site – Italy and Spain - was prepared by the respective country coordinator. In the Philippines, the seven researchers prepared a research report according to an outline which was furnished by the country coordinator. Drafts of the seven reports were delivered by the end of November 2008. In the next two months, the country coordinator prepared a summary of the seven reports. The major findings of the research activities in Italy, Spain and the Philippines are discussed in the chapters of this book.

During the month of January 2009, the three country coordinators collected information, materials and resources which were deemed useful to draft the design of the training programs for the two target groups. CFO started liaising with the Philippine missions in Italy and Spain to secure their cooperation in the implementation of the training programs. The three country coordinators iden-



tified potential local resource persons and prepared suggestions on the schedule, methodology and logistics of the training programs.

The second annual meeting (assessment and planning) was held on 3-6 February 2009 in Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental. The three-day meeting started with the presentation of the three country reports. Subsequently, on the basis of the suggestions presented by the country coordinators, the topics for the capacity building programs in the Philippines, Spain and Italy were identified. It was decided that the training programs in Spain and Italy would follow the same structure, but a country-relevant approach would be used in the selection of the resource persons, the preparation of the reference materials and the dynamics of the presentations. Tentative lists of candidates for the capacity building programs in the Philippines, Italy and Spain, were presented by the respective country coordinator. The training programs were scheduled between August and November 2009.

In March 2009, under the supervision of SMC, the three country coordinators started the development and production of training materials. Initially, the action envisioned only two sets of training materials: one set for the capacity-building of migrants' associations; another set for the capacity building of policymakers, development and migration officers. However, the outputs of the MAPID research activities in Europe suggested producing two different sets of training materials, one for Italy and one for Spain.

The training program in the Philippines was divided into nine modules distributed into four days. The topics of the eight modules were as follows: 1) background and context of the migration-development nexus; 2) international migration and development: policies, practices and perceptions by government institutions; 3) Filipino migrants as transnational actors; 4) the role of transnational communities in local development (the LINKAPIL program); 5) the role of transnational communities in local development (other examples); 6) private sector participation in transnational development; 7) civil society participation and governance; 8) learnings from other countries; and 9) stakeholders' forum. Given SMC and CFO's engagement and expertise in migration and development issues, several modules were prepared by the project director, the



Philippines country coordinator and the project assistant. The other reference materials were entrusted to other selected experts. The training materials were submitted, edited and reproduced before the training programs commenced.

The training program in Italy was divided into thirteen modules distributed into four days. The topics of the modules were as follows: 1) presentation of the MAPID Project; 2) human resources (organization empowerment); 3) human resources (conflict mediation); 4) organizations in action; 5) opportunities and projects (association building); 6) opportunities and projects (project development); 7) networking and visibility; 8) understanding the international migration-development nexus; 9) financial literacy (the Italian side); 10) financial literacy (the Filipino side); 11) Philippine institutions for development; 12) entrepreneurship (microcredit and sustainability); and 13) entrepreneurship (business planning). Several modules were entrusted to SMC and CFO. Two modules were prepared by the Italian country coordinator and the project assistant. The preparation of the training materials for the remaining modules was assigned to other selected experts. By September 2009, all the training materials were delivered, edited and reproduced.

The training program in Spain was divided into thirteen modules distributed into four days. The topics of the twelve modules were as follows: 1) presentation of the MAPID project; 2) understanding the international migration and development nexus; 3) presentation of major findings of MAPID research activities in Italy and the Philippines; 4) presentation of major findings of MAPID research activities in Spain; 5) human resources; 6) economic/financial management of an organization; 7) recognition of Filipino association by Spanish authorities and project development; 8) network building; 9) financial literacy and investment opportunities; 10) mapping of different agencies involved with migration and development; 11) entrepreneurial training; 12) presentation of best practices. Several modules were entrusted to SMC and CFO. One module was prepared by the Spain country coordinator. The preparation of the training material for the remaining modules was assigned to selected experts. In September 2009, all the training materials were delivered, edited and reproduced.



In the Philippines, the names of potential candidates for the training programs were sourced from suggestions that came out from the research activities, supplemented by active recruitment. The research phase uncovered that many representatives of government institutions were interested in participating in the training programs. Invitations were sent to potential participants in June 2009. In Italy, from February to March 2009, all the candidates for the training programs, who were identified by the key informants, the associations' members or leaders interviewed and the names indicated by the survey interviewees, were contacted and then invited. From among those who answered positively to the invitation, the Italy country coordinator and the project assistant selected the actual participants. In Spain, from February to May 2009, potential candidates for the training programs, who were identified from the interviews with the key informants and the members or officers of the associations who were interviewed, were contacted and invited. From among those who answered positively to the invitation, the Spain country coordinator and the project assistant selected the actual participants.

In the Philippines, the training programs were jointly implemented and managed by SMC and CFO. The first program was held in Davao City on 3-6 August 2009 and was attended by 54 representatives of government institutions from the barangay to the regional levels. The second training program was organized in Tagaytay City on 17-21 August 2009. It was attended by 62 participants. The training programs were live-in arrangements, which allowed many opportunities for informal discussions, network-building, and provided some opportunities for social activities as well.

To maximize the participation of the selected participants in Italy and Spain, the four days of the training programs were distributed into two weekends (Saturday and Sunday). The programs were organized in a live-out setting.

In Spain, the first training program was held in Barcelona on 19-20 September and 3-4 October 2009. The first weekend was attended by 25 participants while the second weekend counted only 18 participants. The second training program was held in Madrid on 26-27 September and 17-18 October 2009. The first weekend was attended by 15 participants while the second weekend counted

17 attendants. All the participants were representatives of Filipino associations and faith-based organizations in Barcelona and Madrid.

In Italy, the first training program was organized in Milan on 10-11 October and 7-8 November 2009. The first weekend was attended by 26 participants while the second weekend counted only 19 participants. The second training program was held in Rome on 17-18 October and 14-15 November 2009. The first weekend was attended by 19 participants while the second weekend had only 12 attendants. All the participants were members or leaders of Filipino associations or communities in Milan, Rome and Turin.

In the months of November and December 2009, the three country coordinators prepared their annual report to document and assess the capacity building process and experiences that transpired during the year.

On 2-4 February 2010 the third annual meeting (assessment and planning) was held in Boracay, Aklan. The three country coordinators presented their respective country reports. The content, structure and timeframe for the production of the final report in book form were discussed and approved. The contents and timeframe for producing the policy briefs and press releases were also clarified. The MAPID dissemination activities in the Philippines, Italy and Spain were planned in the second half of 2010.

As a matter of fact, two activities of dissemination were conducted in 2009. On 22 May 2009, the Scalabrini Migration Center organized a research forum titled, "Filipino Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions as Development Partners: Possibilities and Constraints." The forum discussed highlights from the research phase of the MAPID Project focusing on findings from the Philippines. On 9 October 2009, ISMU organized a conference in Milan to launch the volume "Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development. Italian Report," authored by Laura Zanfrini and Annavittoria Sarli. The book collated the major findings of the MAPID research activities in Italy.

From March to July 2010, each country coordinator prepared one chapter of this volume. In August 2010, SMC took care of the final editing of this book. During the same period, SMC, CFO, ISMU and MIM-UV took care of the preparation of six policy briefs, intended for specific audiences (migrants' associations, the Philippine

government, local governments in the Philippines, governments of Italy and Spain, and international organizations).

In August 2010, SMC and CFO co-organized four dissemination activities in the Philippines. On 12 August 2010, a policy summit was held in Mandaluyong (Metro Manila), with the involvement of representatives from national government agencies, particularly those directly responsible for migration and development policies. A special executive summary of the MAPID project was prepared for the event. Between 18 and 24 August, three regional dissemination workshops were organized, one in Cebu (Visayas), one in Davao City (Mindanao) and one in Naga (Luzon).² These workshops discussed the major outputs of the MAPID Project and were attended by representatives of regional and local government agencies, local chief executives, migrants' groups, academe, NGOs, and the private sector.

In Spain, UV will organize two dissemination workshops in Barcelona and Madrid in October and November 2010. In Italy, ISMU scheduled two dissemination workshop, one in Rome and one in Milan in December 2010. All these events would serve as venues to launch this volume. The MAPID Project will officially close at the end of 2010.

The feedback collected in the different phases of the project led the implementing institutions to expand the range of activities beyond the original project proposal.

SMC and CFO decided to come up with the publication, *Transnational Bridges: Migration, Development and Solidarity in the Philippines*. Published in June 2010, it was launched in August 2010 during the dissemination activities in the Philippines. The volume documents migrants' donations, migrants' investments and partnerships between local institutions and overseas Filipinos. Part of the volume presents highlights from LINKAPIL's two decades of experience; the other half features good practices documented by the MAPID research team in the Philippines. Highlights from the MAPID research in the Philippines will be published by SMC. Titled

² The regional workshops were made possible with the cooperation of the University of San Carlos, Office of Population Studies in Cebu City; the Department of Foreign Affairs, Regional Consular Office-Davao in Davao City; and the Ateneo de Naga University, Social Science Research Center in Naga City.



Minding the Gaps: Migration, Development and Governance in the Philippines, the publication will be launched in December 2010.

Since September 2009, SMC has started offering assistance to LGUs and NGOs in developing project proposals on migration and development. Moreover, SMC, in collaboration with the University of Radboud (in the Netherlands) and the Stichting Mondiale Samenleving (SMS), initiated the implementation of the project titled, "Transnational Synergy and Cooperation for Development" (TRANSCODE), which consists of two workshops on migration and development with the involvement of government institutions, migrants' organizations, the academe and the private sector in the Philippines and the Netherlands. The first workshop was held in the Philippines in June 2010; a follow-up will be in the Netherlands in October 2010.

From November 2009 to February 2010, Fondazione ISMU assisted some Filipino migrants' associations in Milan in the preparation of a joint project proposal in response to a co-development call by of the Municipality of Milan. The proposal was submitted in February 2010. During the following months, Fondazione ISMU initiated an assistance desk for Filipino migrants' associations in Italy in order to help them properly register with the Italian government and to develop new project proposals.

UV, with the cooperation of Fondazione ISMU, will organize a joint meeting of the participants in the training programs in Barcelona, Madrid, Milan and Rome in order to establish a broader network. The two-day meeting will be held at the end of October 2010 in Toledo, Spain. Moreover, with the aim of promoting the social inclusion of Filipino youth in Spain, UV will organize another meeting of youth representatives of the Filipino communities in Barcelona, Madrid and Valencia which will be held in Toledo in October 2010.

The following chapters of this book, authored by the three country coordinators of the MAPID Project, discuss in detail the outputs of the different activities undertaken in the Philippines, Italy and Spain. Several concrete recommendations have been included at the end of each chapter and in the conclusion, paving the way to the development of further actions aimed at unleashing the development potential of Filipino international migration.

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2

Eyes on the Prize: Towards a Migration and Development Agenda in the Philippines*

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Introduction

The inauguration of Benigno Simeon Aquino III on 30 June 2010 as the 15th President of the Republic of the Philippines heralded the promise of a new beginning. In drawing attention to the frustrations, hopes and dreams that he shares with ordinary Filipinos, he did not fail to mention the large-scale migration of Filipinos and what his government plans to do about the phenomenon:

* Numerous individuals and institutions were part of the three-year journey of MAPID-Philippines. We acknowledge with profound gratitude the cooperation and support which was generously shared by the following: the research team of MAPID-Philippines, the key informants and other resource persons who took part in the research, the participants to the capacity-building programs, the participants to the various MAPID-Philippines conferences, the writers and resource persons who shared their expertise in the training programs, the officials and staff of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, and the dedicated staff of the Scalabrini Migration Center.



I am like you. Many of our countrymen have already voted with their feet – migrating to other countries in search of change and tranquility. They have endured hardship, risked their lives because they believe that compared to their current state here, there is more hope for them another country, no matter how bleak it may be. In moments when I thought of only my welfare, I also wondered – is it possible that I can find the peace and quiet that I crave in another country? Is our government beyond redemption? Has it been written that the Filipino's lot is merely to suffer?¹

He promised to lead a government that “works for the welfare of the people.” In response to the unabated migration of Filipinos, he indicated that:

Our goal is to create jobs at home so that there will be no need to look for employment abroad (italics added). However, as we work towards that end, I am ordering the DFA (Department of Foreign Affairs), POEA (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration), OWWA (Overseas Workers Welfare Administration), and other relevant agencies to be even more responsive to the needs and welfare of our overseas Filipino workers.

The reference to migration as a symptom of failed development and the realization of development as a necessary condition for Filipinos to consider staying home has been a central theme in the discourse on migration and development in the Philippines. In fact, when labor migration was launched by the government in the 1970s, it was envisioned as a temporary measure, which was expected to end with improvements in the country's economic conditions. Since the economy did not improve, labor migration simply continued and until recently, this was the understanding of the migration-development nexus in the Philippines. The turning point

¹ Inaugural speech of President Benigno S. Aquino III in English, <http://www.philstar.com/Article.aspx?articleid=589090>, accessed on 5 July 2010. (He delivered the address in Filipino.)

– not just for the Philippines but for the international community – was ushered by the (re)discovery of remittances and their contributions to the development of migrants’ home countries (Castles and Delgado Wise, 2008; Carling, 2008; Asis, Piper and Raghuram, 2010).

The interest of global institutions such as the World Bank on the development potentials of remittances and the recommendations of the Global Commission on International Migration² spurred further research, discussion and policy attention to migration and development, which were important precursors to the holding of the first United Nations High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development in September 2006. The global discussion continued via the informal and non-binding Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) which has been conducted annually since 2007, with the venue alternating between a receiving and sending country.³ The renewed and closer scrutiny of the development impact or potential of migration uncovered other beneficial contributions of migration to origin countries, such as social remittances, migrant giving and brain gain, among others.⁴ Significantly, the appreciation of the migration-development nexus in other settings has expanded beyond the valuing of remittances. The role of overseas Chinese in investing in China, the contributions of returning scientific talent to the development of South Korea (Lee, 2005) and Taiwan (O’Neill, 2003) and the rise of Taiwan’s ICT sector – and recently, India’s and China’s as well (Saxenian, 2006) – are held up as examples of how migration, through investments and brain gain, furthered development in these countries. Indeed, lessons from the experiences of Taiwan and South Korea as former

² Launched by the UN Secretary-General and several governments in December 2003, the GCIM was composed of 19 commissioners who were tasked to provide a framework for a comprehensive and coherent global response to international migration. The commission’s report, *Migration in an Interdependent World: New Directions for Action*, was released in 2005.

³ The GFMD has been held in Brussels (2007), Manila (2008), Greece (2009), and Mexico (2010). For an overview and assessment of the GFMD, see Rother (2009).

⁴ The excessive focus on the benefits of migration to origin countries and the lack of discussion (and acknowledgment) of the contributions of migration to destination countries is one of the criticisms of the current discourse on migration and development.

emigration-turned-immigration countries suggest that development did not come about on account of the deployment of workers and remittances alone (Asis, 2006a).

The links between migration and development, other than those connected to worker deployment and remittances, are less appreciated in the Philippine context. To date, the country's migration policies and development policies are oblivious of their implications on each other. Migration policies in the Philippines are specifically about labor migration while development policies are not fully informed by the country's international migration realities. This state of affairs was among the reasons that urged the Scalabrini Migration Center to organize a conference on migration and development in 2007. The book, *Moving Out, Back and Up: International Migration and Development Prospects in the Philippines* (Asis and Baggio, 2008), features selected papers and proposals to maximize the role of migration to contribute to development. To move forward, stakeholders need a better understanding of the migration-development nexus and to develop policies, perspectives and partnerships that will activate the development drivers of international migration. In other words, the development outcomes of migration are not inevitable – policies, institutions and mechanisms must be established to set things in motion. The Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development (MAPID) Project aims to unlock the factors and processes that would translate the potentials of international migration to contribute to development in the Philippines. Focusing on two key stakeholders – Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain and government institutions in the Philippines – the MAPID Project carried out parallel research and capacity building activities across the three countries in 2008 and 2009. The final year, 2010, is dedicated to dissemination activities – launch of publications, conferences and fora, consultations – to share the results of the MAPID Project with stakeholders and the general public.

This chapter presents the results of the research, capacity building and dissemination activities of the MAPID Project in the Philippines (hereafter MAPID-Philippines) and their implications for moving forward. MAPID-Philippines was implemented by the Scalabrini Migration Center (SMC) in cooperation with the Commis-

sion on Filipinos Overseas (CFO). It integrates the findings culled from the regional reports of the MAPID-Philippines research team, the proceedings of the capacity building programs, and discussions and reflections with different stakeholders. To situate the MAPID Project and what it hopes to achieve, the first part of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of the Philippines' migration experience from the 1970s onwards, presented alongside the country's development performance. The second part presents the objectives and organization of MAPID-Philippines and highlights from the research conducted in 2008 among national government agencies, regional government agencies, and local government institutions. The third part focuses on the second phase of MAPID-Philippines, i.e., the preparation, implementation and assessment of the capacity building programs directed at representatives of government institutions. The fourth part provides a summary of lessons learned from the MAPID Project and their implications for policy, research and advocacy in the area of migration and development. An epilogue has been added to provide additional information on recent developments.

I. Migration and Development in the Philippines: Two Divergent Tales

Demand-side and supply-side factors

With an overseas population estimated at 8.1 million (stock estimate as of December 2008) and an annual outflow of more than a million overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) from 2006,⁵ it can be rightly said that migration has become ordinary and commonplace for many Filipinos (Box 1). The eight million-strong overseas Filipino population consists of permanent migrants (those migrating for permanent settlement in other countries), temporary migrants (those migrating temporarily for employment), and irregular migrants (those who are in irregular situation abroad) who are present

⁵ We use the term overseas Filipino workers or OFWs to refer specifically to Filipinos who migrate for overseas employment. The term overseas Filipinos or OFs, on the other hand, refers more generally to Filipinos based overseas, OFWs included.

BOX 1
FILIPINOS IN MOTION

Data from the Commission on Filipinos indicate that a total of 1,686,970 permanent settlers have left the country between 1981 and 2009. During this 29-year period, on the average, 58,171 emigrants leave the country every year.

Among those leaving as permanent migrants are Filipino nationals who are migrating for marriage, largely women. Between 1989 and 2007, a total of 352,108 Filipinos married foreign nationals.

According to the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 3,897 OFWs were deployed daily in 2009.

Filipino seafarers comprise some 20 percent of the annual deployment of OFWs. Worldwide, Filipino seafarers account for 25-30 percent of international seafarers.

Women are a significant part of labor migration from the Philippines. From 1992 up to 2006, the majority of new hires among the landbased workers were women. The balance tipped in favor of male migrants in 2007 and 2008. In 2009, more women than men were deployed as the demand of household workers picked up. When both landbased and seabased workers are considered, the gender composition of OFWs is about equal.

The Philippines has data on the OFWs who leave, but none on those who return.

in all corners of the world, with large concentrations in some countries, foremost of which is the United States of America (Tables 1 and 2). These three categories of international migrants used by the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, the government agency tasked with coordinating the annual stock estimate of oversea Filipinos, broadly reflects the major currents of international migration from the Philippines in more contemporary times. While migration is certainly not new to Filipinos, international migration since the 1970s represents a break from old patterns. Since the 1970s, international migration from the Philippines has become larger, more diverse in terms of the composition of migrants, it has encompassed the whole country, and Filipino migrants are widely distributed throughout the world. Much of these changes were shaped by the participation of Filipinos in labor migration, which expanded the Philippines' engagement with the world and wrought many transformations at home.

First, the demand-side factors that shaped the phenomenon of international migration from the Philippines is outlined below.

TABLE 1
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF OVERSEAS FILIPINOS (STOCK ESTIMATE AS OF DECEMBER 2008)

	Permanent	Temporary	Irregular	TOTAL
WORLD/TOTAL	3,907,842	3,626,259	653,659	8,187,710
Africa	1,986	44,303	8,265	54,554
Asia, East & South	247,09	581,330	256,622	1,085,049
Asia, West	4,599	2,144,625	112,700	2,261,924
Europe	294,987	299,468	98,624	693,079
Italy	27,003	77,087	13,000	117,090
Spain	32,435	14,190	4,055	50,680
Americas & Trust Territories	3,101,941	250,595	166,163	3,518,699
Oceania	257,232	44,325	11,235	312,972
Seabased		261,613		261,613

SOURCE: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

• The 1970s opened opportunities for international migration which were hitherto non-existent. International migration for permanent settlement accelerated from the 1970s, thanks to the revamping of immigration policies that opened the gates of immigration to people of non-European origin in settlement countries. Dubbed as the “new immigration” (in contrast to the “old immigration” which favored European migrants), Filipinos ranked among

TABLE 2
TOP 10 DESTINATION COUNTRIES OF OVERSEAS FILIPINOS
(STOCK ESTIMATE AS OF DECEMBER 2008)

1.	United States	- 2,836,293
2.	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	- 1,092,809
3.	Canada	- 613,593
4.	United Arab Emirates	- 574,375
5.	Australia	- 265,844
6.	Malaysia	- 243,683
7.	Japan	- 231,930
8.	Qatar	- 229,642
9.	United Kingdom	- 203,497
10.	Singapore	- 158,231

SOURCE: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

the largest national groups admitted to the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand via family reunification or needed workers/professionals. The departure of professionals, including doctors and nurses, generated concerns over brain drain. The declaration of martial law in the Philippines on 21 September 1972 added another strand of migration – the migration of political figures, activists and the middle class, mostly to the United States.⁶ The Philippines also experienced refugee migration in the 1970s when residents of Jolo, Sulu sought refuge in Sabah, Malaysia.⁷ For the most part, immigration for permanent settlement was driven mostly by family reunification. In addition to immediate family members following or accompanying immigrants or citizens in the settlement countries, permanent migrants also include Filipino nationals – mostly women – who marry foreign nationals.

• Temporary labor migration also commenced from the 1970s, triggered by the huge demand for workers in the oil-rich Gulf countries. Although it was conceived as a temporary measure (both on the part of the Philippines and the destination countries), it continues to this day because of the structural demand for migrants. However, in the case of less skilled migrant workers, their work and residence in the destination countries is premised on temporary arrangement which is attained through the following: limited work contract (usually two years at a time), tying workers to a sector/employer, and no family reunification.⁸ Initially male-dominated (because of the demand for construction workers in the early years), the completion of infrastructure projects by the 1980s

⁶ The assassination of Benigno Aquino, Jr. on 21 August 1983 signaled a reprise of the departure of the middle class. Until quite recently, Filipinos who left the country during the martial law years were regarded as having “betrayed” the homeland, i.e., they left the Philippines during a difficult time (Vergara, 2009). The same view or sentiment does not apply to OFWs, whose departure is viewed as not fully voluntary and as a sacrifice. The discourse of OFWs as new heroes (*mga bagong bayani*), whose origin is attributed to President Corazon Aquino, speaks of the great sacrifice OFWs have to endure in order to support their families in the Philippines. Through their remittances, the country is also “saved” from economic doom.

⁷ The flight was instigated by the burning of Jolo in 1974, which was connected with the conflict in Mindanao. The first cohorts of migrants were recognized as refugees by the Malaysian government. Later migration was regarded by Sabah as economically motivated and mainly unauthorized migration (Asis and Abubakar, 1997; Asis, 2005).

⁸ Note that these restrictions do not apply to highly skilled and professional migrants.

changed the profile of migrant workers. In addition, new labor markets emerged in East and Southeast Asia in the 1980s, which drew on human resources from the Philippines. Furthermore, women started to participate in labor migration with the new demand for other workers in the Gulf countries and the need for domestic workers and entertainers in Asian labor markets. By the 1990s, the need for nurses in various destinations intensified female migration. By 1992, female migrants comprised about half of the new hires among land-based workers, and from 1993 to 2006, they were the majority among this category of OFWs. The implementation of reforms in the deployment of domestic workers in 2007 resulted in a drastic reduction in the number of domestic workers deployed that year. The increasing trend noted in 2008 and 2009, however, seems to suggest that the decline may be temporary.⁹ Table 3 presents the yearly outflow of Filipino workers since the 1970s and the corresponding inflow of remittances. It is significant to note that although OFWs have ventured into more than 200 countries and territories, they are concentrated in Asia (Gulf Region and East and Southeast Asia) (Tables 4 and 5).

- Migration to Europe followed a distinct pathway. Although it also started at about the same period as the state-led labor migration to the Gulf region in the 1970s, it remained an invisible movement for some time because it was largely unauthorized migration undertaken by individuals, mostly women, who moved across continents to take up employment in the domestic work sector in Italy, Spain and Greece. Thanks to several regularization exercises (particularly in Italy and Spain), many were able to legalize their status, after which they could bring their spouses and minor children to join them. From a very feminized migration in the 1970s through the 1980s, labor migration to Southern Europe transformed into family reunification, which contributed to the changing profile of Filipino communities. Although females still comprise a substantial proportion of the Filipino population in Southern Europe, family migration in the latter years increased the

⁹ Known as the household service worker reform package, the Philippine government introduced policies to enhance the protection of domestic workers by providing the following conditions: setting the minimum age at 23 years old, no placement fee, minimum monthly salary of US\$400, and cultural/language training prior to departure.

TABLE 3
ANNUAL DEPLOYMENT OF OVERSEAS FILIPINO WORKERS BY SECTOR AND REMITTANCES,
1975-2009

Year	Land-based	Sea-based	Total Deployed	Remittances, US\$ (000)
1975	12,501	23,534	36,035	103.00
1976	19,221	28,614	47,835	111.00
1977	36,676	33,699	70,375	213.00
1978	50,961	37,280	88,241	290.85
1979	92,519	44,818	137,337	364.74
1980	157,394	57,196	214,590	421.30
1981	210,936	55,307	266,243	545.87
1982	250,115	64,169	314,284	810.48
1983	380,263	53,594	434,207	944.45
1984	300,378	50,604	350,982	658.89
1985	320,494	52,290	372,784	687.20
1986	323,517	54,697	378,214	680.44
1987	382,229	67,042	449,271	791.91
1988	385,117	85,913	471,030	856.81
1989	355,346	103,280	458,626	973.02
1990	334,883	111,212	446,095	1,181.07
1991	489,260	125,759	615,019	1,500.29
1992	549,655	136,806	686,461	2,202.38
1993	550,872	145,758	696,030	2,229.58
1994	564,031	154,376	718,407	2,630.11
1995	488,173	165,401	653,574	4,877.51
1996	484,653	175,469	660,122	4,306.64
1997	559,227	188,469	747,696	5,741.84
1998	638,343	193,300	831,643	7,367.99
1999	640,331	196,689	837,020	6,794.55
2000	662,648	198,324	841,628	6,050.45
2001	662,648	204,951	867,599	6,031.27
2002	682,315	209,593	891,908	6,886.16
2003	651,938	216,031	867,969	7,578.46
2004	704,586	229,002	933,588	8,550.37
2005	740,632	247,983	988,615	10,689.00
2006	788,070	274,497	1,062,567	12,761.31
2007	811,070	266,553	1,077,623	14,449.93
2008	974,399	261,614	1,236,013	16,426.85
2009	1,092,162	330,424	1,422,586	17,348.05

SOURCES: POEA and BSP as cited in Asis (2008); data for 2006 and 2007 are from www.bsp.gov.ph/statistics/spei/tab11.htm and www.poea.gov.ph/stats/2007stats.pdf, accessed on 11 September 2008; data for 2008 and 2009 are from POEA (2010), *2009 Overseas Employment Statistics*.

TABLE 4
TOP 10 DESTINATION COUNTRIES OF LANDBASED OVERSEAS FILIPINO WORKERS,
NEW HIRES & REHIRS, 2009

1. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	- 291,419
2. United Arab Emirates	- 196,815
3. Hong Kong	- 100,142
4. Qatar	- 89,290
5. Singapore	- 54,421
6. Kuwait	- 45,900
7. Taiwan	- 33,751
8. Italy	- 23,159
9. Canada	- 17,344
10. Bahrain	- 15,001

Source: Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

male population. Also, the age profile of the Filipino community diversified with the arrival of the children of migrants. Presently, the young generation – comprising of the Europe-born and raised, Europe-born but raised in the Philippines, Philippine-born and reunited with their families to Europe – is sizable and as discussed in the Italy and Spain chapters, the diverse “second generation” is a cause of concern for first generation Filipinos. A generational shift seems underway as the pioneers and earlier cohorts of migrants are aging and approaching retirement. It should be mentioned that Filipino communities in Europe are not monolithic. In Italy and Spain, Filipinos are mostly in domestic work, while in other parts of the continent, the occupational profile is more varied. In the United Kingdom, many Filipinos are health care professionals; in the Netherlands, seafarers, Filipinos married to Dutch nationals, and political figures are part of the Filipino community. Their migration history and their incorporation in the destination countries are crucial in defining the experience of Filipinos in Europe (e.g., see Hoegsholm, 2007). As of 2008, the stock population of Filipinos in Europe, as estimated by the Philippine government, stood at 693,079. The top five countries hosting Filipino migrants are: (1) the United Kingdom – 203,497; (2) Italy – 117,090; (3) Germany – 54,794; (4) Spain – 50,680; and (5) France – 47,170.¹⁰

¹⁰ Taken from <http://www.cfo.gov.ph/pdf/statistics/Stock%202008.pdf>, accessed on 7 July 2010.

TABLE 5
MIGRATION POLICIES & INSTITUTIONAL LANDMARKS SINCE THE 1970s

1974	→	Passage of the Labor Code of the Philippines, launched the overseas employment program
1977	→	Creation of the Welfare and Training Fund for Overseas Workers
1980	→	Creation of the Welfare Fund for Overseas Workers or The Welfund, which expanded the services of the Welfare and Training Fund for Overseas Workers
	→	Creation of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, mandated to promote the concerns of permanent migrants
1982	→	Creation of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (assumed the functions of the Overseas Employment Development Board, the National Seamen Board and the overseas employment functions of the Bureau of Employment Services), mandated to promote overseas employment and monitor and protect the conditions of OFWs
1984	→	Establishment of the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (to promote the welfare of OFWs and their families)
1987	→	Reorganization of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
1995	→	Passage of the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act or RA 8042
2003	→	Passage of the Overseas Absentee Voting or RA 9189 Passage of the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act or RA 9208 Passage of the Citizenship Retention Reacquisition Act or RA 9225
2006	→	RA 9422 was passed, amending RA 8042, to strengthen the regulatory functions of the POEA
2010	→	RA 10022 was passed, amending RA 8042, to further strengthen the protection of OFWs and their families and overseas Filipinos in distress

The Philippines is a State party to the following international instruments related to international migration:

- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
- Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children
- Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air
- 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol
- ILO Convention Concerning Migration in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) (No.143)

We turn next to an overview of the supply-side factors that originated and sustained international migration. As highlighted below, the participation of the state in international labor migration was the visible hand that transformed the Philippines into the home of workers for the world, which changed many aspects of life in Philippine society. Although international migration from the Philippines is not confined to the movement of workers, it has invited the most attention in terms of policy, research and advocacy. For the most part, the overseas Filipino worker or OFW is the most iconic figure of Filipinos on the move.

- Economic factors were the classic explanation behind the Philippines' foray into international labor migration in the 1970s. Beset with unemployment and balance of payments problems (made worse by the oil crisis at the time), the government turned to overseas employment for temporary relief. When the Philippines embarked on overseas employment in the 1970s, the country's population in 1975 stood at 42.1 million;¹¹ 35 years later, in 2010, the Filipino population is projected to reach 94 million.¹² The country's growing population on the one hand, and a fragile economic base on the other hand create emigration pressures which, along with other factors, have resulted in the relentless outmigration of Filipinos. OFW deployment helped reduce unemployment pressures while remittances boost the country's foreign reserves (see Table 3). After decades of instability, the economy showed signs of growth in recent years. 2007 was a particularly good year when, "(f)or the first time in thirty-one years, the country posted an impressive growth rate of 7.3 percent driven by strong private consumption and a surge in investments" (cited in Asis and Baggio, 2008:1). However, the country's impressive economic performance does not generate enough jobs for a growing and young population. Hence, Filipinos continue to set their sights beyond the Philippines to find jobs and/or better income.

¹¹ Taken from the National Statistical Coordination Board, http://www.nscb.gov.ph/secstat/d_popn.asp, accessed on 24 September 2010.

¹² Taken from Quickstat (as of September 2010) of the National Statistics Office - it is based on the medium assumption of population projection. See <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/quickstat/qs1009tb.pdf>.



• Where the Philippines failed in sustainable development was compensated by its success in responding to the ever-growing demand for Filipino workers. In the process, the Philippines became adept in developing institutions, policies and mechanisms that enabled it to deploy and protect OFWs. These developments are outlined in Table 6 (for further discussion see Asis, 1992, 2006a, 2008a; Battistella, 1995; Gonzales, 1998; Sto, Tomas, 2009). This deploy and protect formula earned praise for the Philippines as a model in migration management.¹³ Civil society organizations played an important role in urging the government to step up its efforts to respond to protection and welfare issues. In 1995, the Philippines became the first country in Asia to pass a law aimed at protecting migrant workers – Republic Act (RA) No. 8042, known as the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 – “an act to institute the policies of overseas employment and establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families and overseas Filipinos in distress and for other purposes” (for details, see Gonzales, 1998).

Of interest is the statement in RA 8042 indicating that “(w)hile recognizing the significant contribution of Filipino migrant workers to the national economy through their foreign exchange remittances, the State does not promote overseas employment as a means to sustain economic growth and achieve national development” (Sec 2.c). RA 8042 also provides for “the deployment of workers only in countries where the rights of Filipino workers are protected” (Sec 4). Not long after, in 1997, the Asian economic crisis hit the region, and the Philippine government’s intent to implement selective deployment wavered. By the 2000s, pronouncements by government officials signified a turn to a renewed interest to pursue deployment. The statement to send a million workers every year in the *Medium Term Philippine Development Plan, 2004-2010* and its update in 2008-2010 was unprecedented. When the global financial crisis struck in the last quarter of 2008, Administrative Order No. 247 called for providing assistance to OFWs who had been displaced by the crisis, but at the same time, Administrative Order No. 248 instructed the Philippine Overseas Employment Ad-

¹³ Rodriguez (2010) offers a critique of the Philippines as a “global broker of labor.”

ministration to go full blast on deployment and intensify the search for new labor markets.

Looking back to the 1970s and coming to the present, the government has basically maintained the well-trodden path of labor deployment. Although the government has also paid attention to protecting the rights of OFW (and enhancing their political rights in the home country; see Boxes 2 and 3), the resolve to do so can buckle under less favorable circumstances. An assessment of the key government agencies involved in labor migration – the Philippine Overseas Employment and Administration and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration – finds that balancing these twin goals is indeed fraught with difficulties (Agunias and Ruiz, 2007; Agunias, 2009). As had been shown by experience, in times of economic crisis, increasing worker deployment and the search for labor markets can threaten the government's resolve to protect OFWs (e.g., Asis, 2010).¹⁴

- Other institutions in the Philippines have also acquired savvy in responding to the demands of the global labor market. The migration industry keeps track of developments in foreign labor markets to place Filipino workers. Educational institutions are quick in developing programs that promise to produce “world-class workers.” The proliferation of nursing programs is one example of how external labor demands can influence educational and career choices in the Philippines. Recent changes in the recruitment policies of foreign nurses in the United Kingdom and the United States have stalled the outflow of nurses – at least for the time being. Meanwhile, job prospects in the hospitality sector abroad are attracting large numbers of students in hotel and restaurant management, and it is emerging to be the new “hot” course.

- Uninterrupted outmigration in the last forty years had created and firmly established a culture of migration in Philippine society. Going abroad to work has become normal (Asis, 2008a; 2006b). The momentum for future migration is set as young children already harbor intentions to work abroad someday. A 2003 study found that some 47 percent of children in the ages 10-12

¹⁴ Like the 1997 crisis, worker deployment and remittance inflows did not decline in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis (POEA, 2009).

BOX 2**EMPOWERING FILIPINO MIGRANTS THROUGH OVERSEAS ABSENTEE VOTING**

In recognition of the role of overseas Filipinos in nation-building, the 1987 Philippine Constitution mandated Congress to enact a mechanism for qualified overseas Filipinos to vote in absentia. The enactment of the Overseas Absentee Voting or OAV (Republic Act 9189) in 2003 enabled overseas Filipinos to register and vote in national elections. In the same year, the Citizenship Retention and Reacquisition Act (Republic Act 9225), which granted former Filipinos to reacquire their Filipino citizenship consequently expanded the coverage of the overseas absentee voting law. Subsequent decisions of the Supreme Court upholding the right of dual citizens to vote without having to establish physical residence in the Philippines further affirmed the intention of the law to enfranchise as many qualified overseas Filipinos as possible. Overseas Filipino communities applauded the passage of these two landmark legislations in one year. It took 15 years of lobbying to get these two laws passed.

When the OAV was first implemented in 2004, only 359,297 registered out of a projected one million registrants. Although the overseas Filipino population in North America numbers about 2.9 million of the total migrant population, it garnered the lowest registration at only 4 percent of all registrants. Of those who registered, only 65 percent (233,092) voted (Comelec, 2010a).

Many problems surfaced in the 2004 elections. For one, about three million immigrants or Filipino permanent residents were disqualified from registering in 2004 unless they filed an affidavit stating that they will resume actual physical residence in the Philippines within three years upon approval of registration. Other problems were the short registration period (two months); lack of voter information and education; difficulties in registering and voting in person; errors in the certified list of overseas absentee voters; inability of seafarers to register and vote; wasted ballots in postal voting (28 percent of postal ballots were returned undelivered or invalidated); and cynicism and apathy over the election exercise (Rojas, 2010).

Innovations were introduced in the 2007 OAV, but these did not translate into more votes cast. In fact, voter turnout nosedived to 16.22 percent (Comelec, 2010b). Out of 503,896 registered voters, only 81,732 cast their votes (DFA, 2010). An assessment conducted by Filipino organizations in Hong Kong and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia revealed that lack of voter education and mobilization and coordination gaps between Filipino communities and the diplomatic posts as reasons for the low voter turnout (Rojas, 2010).

Two major changes were launched in the 2010 OAV: allowing dual citizens to vote even without residence in the Philippines, and the automated counting of votes in Hong Kong and Singapore. For the 2010 elections, the Comelec delisted 132,817 names which registered for the 2004 elections but did not vote in the 2004 and 2007 elections. On the other hand, there were 224,884 new registrants, bringing the total number of overseas voters to 568,733, of whom 153,323 (26.96 percent) voted (DFA, 2010). Although 2010 was a presidential election, voter turnout was still not that remarkable. By region, voter turnout for 2010 was highest in Asia and the Pacific (32 percent), followed by the Americas (29.75 percent), Europe (28.8 percent), and the Middle East (26.96 percent) (DFA, 2010).

The reasons for the less than remarkable turnout must be explored and addressed.

years old had plans to work abroad someday; the percentage rose to 60 percent among children of OFWs. The most popular responses choices on what they would like to be when they grow up – to be a nurse among girls and to be a seafarer among boys – are jobs in high demand in the overseas labor markets (AOS-Manila/ECMI, SMC and OWWA, 2004). Often, these aspirations have the support of family members, including those who are part of the Filipino diaspora. The 8.1 million overseas Filipinos represent the personal links to the outside world for Filipinos in the homeland and are conduits of information and support to potential migrants.

To reiterate, from its inception in the 1970s to the present, the template of government policy on labor migration has hardly changed: it is mostly labor deployment, along with protection and worker empowerment measures. By design, it was intended to be temporary, but the failure of development in the homefront and the unrelenting demand for workers in the global economy kept Filipino migration going. Although the Philippine migration model has contributed to promoting the development of OFW households and strengthening the country's foreign reserves, evidence of sustainable development is suspect. A purposeful approach to broaden international migration policies beyond labor deployment, and to consider migration policies vis-à-vis the country's development policies is sorely needed to chart the Philippines' development agenda in the age of migration.

II. Organization and Methodology of the MAPID-Philippines Research

From the insights of the 2007 conference (see Asis and Baggio, 2008), the MAPID study sought to examine issues that needed further discussion or elaboration. MAPID-Philippines employed two methods of data collection: (1) a review of literature, migration policies, development plans and annual reports; and (2) the conduct of key informant interviews. SMC developed the instruments and the protocols for data collection, identified the target provinces, provided guidelines for the conduct of the case studies, and outlined the organization and structure of the report. The guide questions for the key informant interviews probed into the follow-

BOX 3**DUAL CITIZENSHIP: EXTENDING THE NATION TO OVERSEAS FILIPINOS**

There are some four million Filipino immigrants and permanent overseas, more than half of whom have acquired the citizenship of their host countries. Republic Act (RA) No. 9225 or the Citizenship Retention and Re-acquisition Act of 2003 grants natural-born Filipinos who have lost their Filipino citizenship through naturalization in a foreign country to retain or re-acquire their Filipino citizenship.

More popularly known as the Dual Citizenship Law, RA 9225 provides that “[t]hose who retain or re-acquire Philippine citizenship under this Act shall enjoy full civil and political rights and be subject to all attendant liabilities and responsibilities under existing laws of the Philippines” (Section 5).

The Dual Citizenship Law is a landmark legislation in the government’s efforts to maintain its ties with its citizens overseas and in promoting their rights and welfare as Filipinos. Under the law, those who have retained and re-acquired their Filipino citizenship shall enjoy the following (CFO, 2006):

1. Right to suffrage;
2. Right to be elected to a public office;
3. Right to be appointed to any public office;
4. Right to practice his/her profession in the Philippines;
5. Right to own a property in the Philippines;
6. Right to engage in business or commerce reserved for Filipinos and to exploit natural resources; and
7. Right to travel with a Philippine passport.

Reports from the Bureau of Immigration (BI) indicate that as of 2009, 85,109 individuals have filed an application to regain their Filipino citizenship at the BI or Philippine Embassies and Consulates. The applicants are mostly Americans (60,987 or 71.6 percent), British (7,470 or 8.6 percent) and Canadians (5,858 or 6.9 percent). Other nationalities include Australians, Chinese (mostly from Hong Kong and Taiwan), Koreans and Swiss.

According to informants who took part in a mail survey conducted by the Commission on Filipinos (CFO) in 2009, loyalty and patriotism to the motherland and the economic opportunities provided by the law (e.g., the right to purchase real estate properties and to fully engage in business in the Philippines) motivated them to apply for dual citizenship. One provision that they wish to repeal is the requirement to renounce their foreign citizenship should they decide to run for or to be appointed to public office. They also suggested that there should be more information campaigns to raise awareness about the law and its provisions, particularly the benefits that dual citizens can avail of. The respondents included CFO cooperators and partners – Linkapil donors, service providers, Presidential awardees and clientele – who completed a mail questionnaire sent to them.

In its efforts to raise awareness about the law, the CFO discusses RA 9225 during the pre-departure orientation seminar for emigrants. It also published the book, *Invest in the Philippines*, a compendium of various business and investment opportunities in the Philippines in CD format in 2004. Now on its 3rd edition (2010), new business opportunities in the coconut industry, health and wellness, jewelry, garments and electronics are included as well as an updated list of business opportunities identified by the Department of Trade and Industry.

A comprehensive study assessing whether the law has met its intended objectives would be timely and instructive.

ing; perceptions of development challenges and prospects in their area; policies, office/department/personnel in charge of international migration; references to migration in development plans; contributions of migration to development, adverse impact of migration on development; perceptions concerning dependency on remittances, widening disparity between migrants and non-migrants, brain drain, and social costs; policies and programs concerning return migrants; migration patterns in the locality; policies to maximize the gains and minimize the costs of migration; engagement with overseas Filipinos and the nature of their cooperation; knowledge about migrants' investments and migrant giving; building trust in government institutions; exploring ideas on cooperation between government and overseas Filipinos;¹⁵ and suggested topics and participants for the training programs.

An orientation meeting for all the research partners was held at SMC on 31 May 2008. The instruments and protocols were finalized within a week after the orientation, taking into account the comments and suggestions presented by the research team. Once data collection was underway, consultations were conducted by email, progress reports were submitted at specific intervals, and visits were made to three sites.

Data collection proceeded at two levels: national and sub-regional (i.e., regional government agencies and local government institutions). Research involving national government institutions was undertaken by SMC and CFO. A total of 30 key informants representing 14 national government agencies, three organizations of local governments, and three other stakeholders (academic, professional organization and a management organization) were interviewed. In the case of the National Economic Development Authority, the answers to the questions conveyed to SMC and CFO via e-mail. For the regional and local government institutions, SMC cooperated with a team of researchers to carry out the study in the different regions and locales (Table 7). The MAPID-Philippines re-

¹⁵ Part of the question probed awareness of Mexico's *tres por uno* program – a system wherein for every dollar that is contributed by a migrants' association, the local, state and federal government of Mexico contributes a dollar each. Some explanation about the program was provided for informants who have not heard of the program.

TABLE 7
THE RESEARCH TEAM AND AREAS COVERED: MAPID-PHILIPPINES

Principal Investigator	Institutional Affiliation	Region(s) & Provinces Covered
Nenita Villarama	Don Mariano Marcos State University - La Union	<i>Ilocos Region</i> (Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union & Pangasinan)
Alicia Follosco	University of the Philippines Baguio	<i>Cordillera Administrative Region & Cagayan Valley</i> (Benguet, Cagayan, Isabela & Nueva Vizcaya)
Ildefonso Bagasao and Jorge Tigno	Economic and Resource Center for Overseas Filipinos and University of the Philippines, respectively	<i>Central Luzon</i> (Bataan, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac & Zambales)
Jorge Tigno	University of the Philippines	<i>Calabarzon</i> (Cavite, Laguna, Batangas & Rizal)
Cristina Lim	Ateneo de Naga	<i>Bicol Region</i> (Albay & Camarines Sur)
Alan Feranil	Office of Population Studies, University of San Carlos	<i>Western, Central & Eastern Visayas</i> (Iloilo, Bohol, Cebu Negros Oriental & Leyte)
Chona Echavez	Xavier University	<i>Northern & Southern Mindanao & Soccsargen</i> (Misamis Oriental, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur and South Cotabato)

search team covered 12 out of 17 regions in the Philippines and 29 out of 80 provinces. Regions and provinces in the three major island groupings – Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao – are represented in the study (Figure 1).^{16, 17} A total of 394 key informant interviews were conducted in all the regions and localities covered by MAPID-Philippines (Table 8). The data collected in the Philippines sought to provide a portrait of migration and development policies and practices at the sub-national levels, which have not received as much attention as national-level policies and programs. Also, the study sought to document examples of development projects supported by overseas Filipinos, investments by overseas Filipinos, and examples of cooperation between local institutions and overseas Filipinos.

FIGURE 1
REGIONS (*) AND PROVINCES (●) COVERED BY MAPID- PHILIPPINES



¹⁶ The excluded regions are: Metro Manila or National Capital Region (NCR), Region 4-B or Mimaropa (Oriental and Occidental Mindoro, Marinduque and Palawan), Region 9 (Zamboanga Peninsula), CARAGA, and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao. Due to time and financial constraints (and peace and order concerns in some areas), the study had to limit the coverage to regions which have substantial international migration. The NCR registers the highest outmigration rates, but it was excluded because the study aimed to expand the focus beyond Metro Manila. Also, government agencies and recruitment agencies that aspiring OFWs have to contact are concentrated in Metro Manila and it is very likely that those who are identified as Metro Manila residents actually come from the provinces.

¹⁷ Geographically, the Philippines is divided into three major islands: Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. In terms of geo-political subdivisions, it is divided into 17 regions (including the Cordillera Administrative Region and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao), 80 provinces, 138 cities, 1,496 municipalities, and 42,025 *barangays* (as of June 2010). The *barangay* (village) is the smallest political unit in the Philippines (www.nscb.gov.ph, accessed on 16 September 2010).

TABLE 8
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS BY REGION AND INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION

Region	RGAs	LGAs	LGUs	Migrants et al.	NGOs	Total
1	9	3	26			36
2	9	6	24	1	3	43
CAR	7	2	9	15		33
3	7	5	17	4	3	38
4	3		15	2		20
5	9	3	17		1	30
6	5	1	4	2	1	13
7	13	4	28	19	2	66
8	10	2	8	2	1	23
10	6	1	3	8		18
11	8	8	18	6*	5	45
12	8	2	13	3	1	27
Total	94	37	182	62	17	394

NOTE: "RGAs" = regional government agencies; "LGAs" = local government agencies; "LGUs" = local government officials and key staff of local government units; "Migrants et al." = migrants, migrants' associations, beneficiaries or staff of migrant-supported projects or investments.

Given the time and resource constraints, the research limited the coverage to major origin provinces per region. The provinces were identified from the membership data of the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration.¹⁸ A second step, the identification of cities or municipalities within provinces which are major source communities of OFWs, was a challenge as there were no readily available data that identify such places. Information on investments, development projects and models of cooperation which involved the participation of overseas Filipinos were even more difficult to come by. Researchers were provided with a list of projects supported by overseas Filipinos through CFO's *Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino* (LINKAPIL) Program. Another useful starting point was the mapping of diaspora-supported projects in the Philippines undertaken by Opiniano (2005) and the projects profiled in (www.ofwphilanthropy.org). In some regions where it proved to be difficult to identify projects involving overseas Filipinos, the LINKAPIL list and

¹⁸ For information on the distribution of OFWs by province, the membership data of OWWA are the most readily available. The Survey of Overseas Filipinos is another potential source, but the published reports present data only for the regions, not provinces.

the projects profiled by Opiniano (2005) were useful in providing leads. Researchers used the preliminary information as baseline data, which were supplemented by additional details for the case studies. For the most part, researchers had to start from scratch so to speak – they had to conduct a great deal of asking around to complete the write-up of each case study. At times, after further investigation, promising leads did not turn out to be fruitful.

The data collection and preparation of the research report were carried out between June 2008 and January 2009. As mentioned, supervision by SMC was mostly done through e-mail and telephone calls. A visit to selected project areas was also conducted. Most of the data collection in the different regions was completed by October and the rest of the time was devoted to the preparation of the reports. Several problems were encountered during the field work, which caused some delay in completing the reports. A major challenge was the lack of materials concerning migration and development, which meant that the interviews with key informants became the primary source of data. Most researchers covered 4-6 provinces. In the case of three researchers, they covered more than one region, which implied more coordination with an array of potential respondents in various locations. It was difficult to set up appointments with the target informants, and even if appointments had been obtained, they were frequently reset. Not a few interviewees expressed that they were not knowledgeable about migration and development issues, and this was probably a factor in the seeming reluctance of key informants to participate in the study. Weather conditions were another cause of delay. The data collection period coincided with the rainy season in the Philippines. Typhoon Frank devastated Western Visayas in June 2008 and the researcher had to wait for the province of Iloilo to recover from the calamity before resuming the interviews. The Ilocos Region was also affected by several typhoons. In Mindanao, data collection in South Cotabato was adversely affected when conflict broke out between government troops and the MILF over the contentious issue of the Bangsamoro Juridical Entity. Two members of the research team met with staffing-related problems. In Region 3, data collection extended beyond the original time frame due to various

problems. Additional interviews were conducted in the region in June, September and December 2009 to complete the study.¹⁹

The research phase of the MAPID Project was ongoing when the global financial crisis surfaced in the last quarter of 2008. In the Philippines, many key informant interviews had been completed by the time the crisis started to unfold, hence, references to the crisis (except for the response coming from the national office of the National Economic Development Authority) did not emerge in the data collected. Also, it is interesting to note that the Philippines' hosting of the 2008 Global Forum on Migration and Development (which was held in the last week of October) did not figure in the interviews, including those involving respondents from the migration-related agencies.

In reflecting on the contributions of the research in the Philippines, although the study did not have awareness raising goals, the study contributed to raising awareness about migration and development among the respondents. In the course of the interviews, many respondents came to realize that international migration was a missing element in their development plans, including localities which already had a long history of international migration. MAPID-Philippines was also pioneering in its nationwide scope and coverage, and in attempting to provide a multi-level perspective of the migration-development nexus: national, regional and local. As envisaged, the study not only provided important inputs in the development of the training programs and references, but it also helped promote interest in the training programs and in identifying potential candidates.

In the presentation of the findings based on the key informant interviews, the government institutions are identified but the names of respondents are not provided for ethical reasons. In instances where individuals are identified, we had the consent of informants to mention their names.

¹⁹ Golda Myra Roma, Jose Edison Tondares and Rodrigo Garcia of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas and Jorge Tigno of the University of the Philippines conducted additional interviews for the MAPID research in Central Luzon. The latter co-authored the report on Central Luzon.

III. Summary of Major Research Findings

A. National Context

Before presenting the key informant interviews, highlights from the *Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP), 2004-2010* and the *Updated Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan, 2008-2010* are discussed to examine how the blueprint charting the country's development considers the migration-development nexus. The onset of the global financial crisis in the last quarter of 2008 called for an update of the MTPDP so that the government can draft an action plan to mitigate the negative impact of the crisis and to strategize for economic recovery.

The *Updated MTPDP 2008-2010* and its earlier version are road maps to translate the Arroyo administration's ten-point agenda, namely (NEDA, 2009:xiii): "(a) creation of 6-10 million jobs; (b) balancing the budget; (c) digital and transport networks linking the entire country; (d) education for all; (e) electricity and water to be provided to the entire country; (f) the decongestion of Metro Manila; (g) making the Subic-Clark Corridor as the most competitive international service and logistics center in the Southeast Asian region; (h) automation of the electoral process; (i) working towards lasting peace; and (j) closure to the divisive issues of EDSA."²⁰

The National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) expressed optimism about the country's growth prospects. In its response to the MAPID-Philippines guide questions, the national office of NEDA identified the growing service sector, currently the backbone of the economy, as the likely source of growth. In the short-term, i.e., over the next three years, the business process outsourcing (BPO) industry is one of the primary growth drivers in this sector. The current global financial turmoil may even expand this sector as companies in the developed countries may turn to

²⁰ EDSA 1 refers to the 1986 people power revolution that ousted Ferdinand Marcos and the start of the presidency of Corazon Aquino; EDSA 2 was another show of citizens' protest in January 2001 which resulted in the removal of Joseph Ejercito Estrada and the assumption of Gloria Macapagal Arroyo as the new president; and EDSA 3 refers to the riots staged by Estrada's supporters, who believed that he was unjustly removed from office. The protesters did not succeed in wresting the presidency from Arroyo.

emerging economies, like the Philippines, in order to save on operation expenses. In the industry sector, the growth in construction is expected to escalate with the government's focus on infrastructure development and the high demand in real estate. The performance of the agricultural and exports sector, however, may weaken over the short term on account of the global financial crisis. Filipino exporters will have to contend with increased global competition, the need to diversify and to develop new products and services with higher value-added, and to expand their markets. Apart from the crisis, the hike in food prices and volatile world oil prices could pose difficulties to attain the growth target for 2008. Although NEDA expected remittances to decline, remittance receipts in 2008 and 2009 defied the forecast – despite the crisis, remittances registered a modest growth in the two critical years (Asis, 2010).

There is no specific section in the MTPDP that is devoted to international migration; rather, it is integrated in the discussion of various sections or chapters of the document.

- The chapter on Trade and Investment (Chapter 1), discusses the potential of OFWs to invest in small income-generating projects and small and medium enterprises. As such, the chapter proposes to link OFW families to entrepreneurship programs. To promote the transfer of remittances through formal channels, the chapter discusses measures to lower the cost of sending remittances.
- The chapter on Labor (Chapter 9) specifically mentions the target of deploying one million workers every year (p.8) as part of efforts to generate jobs. In addition, the chapter discusses measures directed at enhancing the protection and empowerment of OFWs and their families at all stages of labor migration. Policies and procedures should be streamlined to facilitate overseas employment. The government should continue to forge bilateral agreements and to involve the private sector in promoting the protection of OFWs. The use of new technologies should be encouraged to facilitate communication between OFWs and their fami-

lies. Support for the establishment of OFW enterprises and OFW Groceries involving OFWs and their families was mentioned in connection with reintegration programs.

- The chapter on Foreign Policy (Chapter 24) draws attention to developing policies aimed at reducing the vulnerability of overseas Filipinos and the responsibility of foreign service posts to provide consular and legal assistance to Filipinos abroad and to strengthen welfare mechanisms for OFWs.

The *2008-2010 Updated MTPDP* reiterated that the government shall continue to facilitate the deployment of one million OFWs per year. In view of the crisis, specific interventions were also formulated to provide safety nets for affected OFWs. The government drafted an Economic Resiliency Plan allocating P300-billion worth of assistance to OFWs who were displaced by the crisis. Although the crisis was felt globally, the impact was uneven. Although the crisis was felt globally, the impact was uneven. Most of the affected OFWs were repatriated from Taiwan, where industries were severely battered by the crisis (*see also Asis, 2010*). The Department of Labor and Employment and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration were tasked to undertake the following:

- Monitoring overseas labor market displacements;
- Monitoring contracts of job orders to determine any decrease in overseas labor demand;
- Worker registration;
- Providing re-deployment services to other emerging labor markets;
- Identifying and developing new market niches;
- Repatriation assistance;
- Expanding livelihood/business formation programs; and
- Strengthening reintegration, business counseling services, and skills upgrading and retooling services.

Thus, although international migration is referenced in several sections or chapters of the MTPDP, the treatment is piece-meal and the integration with development is not that explicit. Given the

rather limited and narrow consideration of international migration in the MTPDP, it is not surprising that the same approach is also reproduced in the development plans crafted by regional development councils and local development councils, if international migration is ever mentioned.

Next, we turn to the main themes that came up in the interviews.

Labor migration will increase; the government will continue to facilitate OFW deployment

Key informants affiliated with national government agencies generally regarded overseas employment primarily as a strategy for employment generation and secondarily as a means of poverty alleviation. Officials of migration agencies typically expressed this view and considered their offices as facilitating the employment of Filipinos seeking jobs abroad. International migration was expected to increase in the future. Aside from economic factors, several key informants referred to the onset of a culture of migration, especially among young people, which inclines them to set their sights to foreign countries.

The government, particularly the POEA and the DOLE, are just facilitators of migration. Whether we are here or not, migration will take place. That is not only a national phenomenon but an international one as well. Citizens are moving beyond their national boundaries. If the government will not facilitate it, our people would move... and find their own employment. When they are unprotected, they become a welfare problem for the country... we are simply managing the flow of migration.

Interview, Department of Labor and Employment,
17 September 2008

... The county is not yet at the peak of its overseas employment program. Whatever happens, people will migrate. Migration should always be an option, but it should not be overly promoted. The term *bagong bayani* (mod-

ern-day hero) is overly promoting/glamorizing working abroad.

Interview, Private Sector, 3 October 2008

There is already a culture of migration, of students wanting to go out, hastened by their exposure to technology and the Internet.

Interview, Department of Education, 31 October 2008

The influence of overseas job prospects in shaping educational aspirations is considerable. There is a need to examine the country's human resource portfolio in the next few years, especially since in some colleges, 60 percent of students are enrolled in nursing.

Interview, National Institutes for Health,
11 September 2008

The present and future prospects of nurse migration received the most comment when the discussion turned to highly skilled and professional migration (*see also* Lorenzo, et al., 2007). Some informants remarked that apart from nurses, other health professionals are also leaving the country or may also consider migrating in the future. There was some debate on whether nurse migration is brain drain. The office of the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) cited a study by Filipino economist Ernesto Pernia which found that the departure of workers caused some disruption in the workplace. Moreover, even if replacements can be found, the country stands to lose the better trained and experienced workers (E-mail communication from NEDA, 24 September 2008). Another key informant brought up by the issue of sustainability:

The loss of mentors and professors poses more dangers. Who will train and teach? We should have enough skilled workers to sustain our health care system.

Interview, National Institutes for Health,
11 September 2008

The loss of experienced nurses and the loss of mentors may be considered as a form of brain drain. However, other key informants were of the view that the departure of professionals and the problems besetting the country's health care system is not just a brain drain issue.

In terms of absolute numbers, the country still has an excess number of nurses. A lot go out because of lack of jobs. The impression that some nurses who are left in the country are not that good is partly true. Host countries now require that Philippine nurses should have a minimum of two years' worth of experience.

Interview, Department of Health, 3 September 2009

Similarly, migration is not the culprit for the shortage of teachers in public schools:

The country is not suffering from a brain drain of educators. The problem lies with the number of positions that the government can offer to licensed teachers. There is a surplus of teachers, and I welcome the move of unemployed teachers to work abroad to lessen unemployment. The Professional Regulatory Commission estimates that there is close a million LET (Licensure Examination for Teachers) passers who cannot find a job related to their profession. The DepEd (Department of Education) can only accommodate a limited number owing to budget constraints.

I wish to clarify that not all who leave are highly qualified. Majority of those who leave are young and are seeking greener pastures. These people usually possess the minimum of five years of teaching experience here, which is the requirement of most overseas teaching jobs.

Interview, Department of Education, 31 October 2008

The management of migration needs to be more comprehensive

According to key informants, prospects of more migration in the future should alert the government to develop strategies or approaches aimed at creating alternatives to migration. While it is indeed important for the government to respect the right of the individual to migrate, it must also do something to encourage people to stay or to return to the country. They noted that the management of migration thus far is limited to economic considerations (exporting Filipino workers to solve domestic unemployment and to generate remittances) and is myopic of other concerns and dimensions (economic gains vs. social costs).

... it is the right of an individual to further his/her skills for development, sustain himself or his family. It is a government policy not to prevent anyone from leaving. What we need to address is how we make them stay here. It is very timely to revisit the Philippine Medical Act of 1959 and other related laws. It is more than a money issue. It can also be an issue of geographical concentration of health professionals. They can be concentrated in a certain area only. Are we able to provide decent jobs to them? Are we building the right hospitals needed in an area? Is medical practice [in the country] conducive enough for doctors to practice their profession (here)?

Interview, Department of Health, 3 September 2008

There is a horizontal movement of people who are highly mobile. The field has a high attrition rate. After a year of work, they move around because of the nature of their profession. Are we losing a good number of them? Yes, but we have the appropriate pool of manpower. The problem lies with the "experts" in the field who are leaving and their number is limited. There is a high turnover rate. We keep on training and training only to lose them abroad. Our industries should offer incentives and at-

tractive trainings to these people to prevent them from leaving.

There is no exact figure on the number of DOST (Department of Science and Technology) scholars who went abroad for their masters or PhDs. They tend to gravitate abroad because the environment is conducive to research, the lure of better environment and the latest equipment.

Interview, Department of Science and Technology,
8 October 2008

Several informants pointed to the lack of good governance as one of the root causes of the Philippines' economic woes, which, in turn, compel Filipinos to search for opportunities in foreign lands. For these informants, the issue was not just about managing migration but about good governance. This reflection was a theme that ran through the roundtable discussions with stakeholders which were conducted in connection with the SMC-organized conference on migration and development in the Philippines (Asis and Baggio, 2008).

Key informants remarked that the government can and should do more than facilitate labor migration. In engaging with destination countries, the government needs to actively secure better terms for Filipino workers and development benefits for the country.

We need to manage and harness migration better. Currently, it is market driven and (it is mostly an) economic strategy; it does not take into consideration social and other consequences.

We also want to encourage temporary migration and re-integration as opposed to permanent migration. We want to follow the Indian model which provides incentives to returnees. Competitiveness is also an issue. Some possible venues to increase this are through medical tourism, and also through following other models of healthcare that currently do not exist in the Philippines, including home care and transitional care.

I don't know why we don't use the leverage that we have. We have the human resources, and other countries need them more than we do. However, we are not using this leverage to gain benefits for the nation.

Interview, National Institutes for Health,
11 September 2008

The forging of bilateral agreements, which is also advanced by the MTPDP, has not been neglected by the government (see Box 4). The Philippines has negotiated various bilateral agreements and memoranda of agreement with receiving countries (and with two origin countries – Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic). An interesting development is the recent memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed between the Philippines and some provinces in Canada (Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Manitoba and Alberta). Aside from provisions on worker deployment, the MOUs also include a stipulation to support human resource development in the Philippines. However, as the statement below suggests, the human resource development provisions of these agreements are more geared to meet the needs of the destination countries while oblivious to domestic priorities.

... The Philippines wants foreign governments to give something to the country also because eventually, our students will work for them after they graduate here and that they will be beneficiaries of our work. Thus, they might as well invest in us.

Interview, Department of Labor and Employment,
1 September 2008

The discussion on brain drain and brain gain invariably turned to the contributions of scientific talent to human resource development. Scientific talent, as described by a key informant, tend to be mobile but those who had left may be enjoined to share their expertise with their homeland through knowledge transfer schemes such as the Balik (Return) Scientist Program (this will be discussed further in another section).

BOX 4**PROTECTING OFWs THROUGH BILATERAL LABOR AGREEMENTS**

In the Asian region, the Philippines is considered to be the most successful among the labor-sending countries in its efforts to negotiate bilateral agreements or BLAs (Go, 2006). Since the overseas employment program began in 1974, the Philippines has forged BLAs with only 20 countries (18 labor receiving countries and two labor sending countries). In Europe, such agreements had been signed with Norway, Spain and United Kingdom. The limited number of bilateral labor and social security agreements attests to the difficulty of such an undertaking.

The BLAs between the Philippines and other countries are of two types: labor recruitment and special hiring agreements, and (2) labor, employment, and manpower development agreements (Go, 2006). The former focuses on the terms and conditions concerning the employment and mobilization of Filipino workers or the exchange of trainees, while the latter covers exchange of information that would enhance employment promotion and labor administration between the two countries and forming a joint committee review the agreement and its implementation (Go, 2006).

In 2003 and 2005, the Philippines signed a BLA with two labor-sending countries: Indonesia and Lao PDR. The two agreements aimed to consolidate joint efforts at promoting and protecting the welfare of migrant workers.

In 2006 and 2008, the Philippines signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with four Canadian provinces: Alberta, British Colombia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Aside from the usual provisions on recruiting and protecting Filipino workers, the MOUs also seek to establish cooperation in human resource development. The host governments will encourage support and assistance to improve education and training in the Philippines, and to enhance the reintegration of returning overseas Filipino workers. The promotion of sound, ethical and equitable recruitment and employment practices was also emphasized. The MOUs are valid for two years. Only the MOU with Saskatchewan provided for the automatic renewal for another two years.

In the area of social security, the Philippines has signed BLAs with eight countries: Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, The Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. According to the Department of Foreign Affairs, an agreement with Portugal is expected to be signed by the end of 2010. Such treaties provide for mutual assistance between the two parties, equality of treatment of each other's nationals, export of social security benefits, totalization, and prorated payment of benefits (Go, 2006).

As of June 2010, the Social Security System of the Philippines reported that relative to the implementation of the agreements, 7,736 Filipino claimants were granted benefits, 5,221 (67 percent) of which were from Canada (SSS, 2010).

Local government units have yet to take up the management of migration

As discussed previously, the Philippines has established institutions and crafted legislations, policies and programs that has enabled it to manage the different phases of labor migration. Indeed, the national framework for managing migration is in place. However, the same level of institutionalization is lacking or haphazard at the regional and local levels.

According to key informants connected with three organizations of local governments – League of Provinces of the Philippines (LPP), League of Cities of the Philippines (LCP) and League of Municipalities of the Philippines (LMP) – migration issues had not been part of the agenda of the leagues. The LMP recently started an initiative to promote the protection of OFWs. In 2007, it launched an advocacy program to enjoin municipalities to promote the protection of OFWs coming from their areas – the initiative carried the message, *Sa mga mahal naming OFW, may munisipyo na gagabay sa inyo* (To our beloved OFWs, there is a municipality that will guide you). The three leagues indicated their interest in the MAPID Project and the planned training programs. The LPP and LCP were interested in partnering with SMC and CFO to pursue migration and development issues in their respective constituencies. Similarly, the LMP saw the migration and development platform as a rallying point for advocacy among municipal governments.

Remittances, including social remittances, are important to the economy, but social costs are equally important to consider

Civil society organizations concerned with the adverse impacts and social costs of international labor migration tend to view the government as promoting the export of Filipino workers. The government, for its part, says that as a matter of policy, it only aims to manage overseas employment in a manner that is consistent with national development objectives. Labor mobility is provided for in the 1987 Constitution and RA 8042. In the MTPDP 2004-2010, the policy towards OFWs is centered on the ‘facilitation’ of overseas employment, i.e., fast processing of papers and a reintegration

program designed to assist returning workers, among others. It also emphasizes the protection and welfare of OFWs and cultivating bilateral ties with labor receiving countries. For this purpose, the government shall pursue the forging of bilateral agreements, in cooperation with the private sector, to secure the employment, security and protection of OFWs (see also Box 4).

The appreciation of the development impact of international migration was mostly seen in terms of remittances and their contributions to the country's economy. Remittances are the main reasons why the country continued to register a current account surplus despite the weak economies of its major trading partners. The inflows of remittances also contributed to the development of financial markets and other sectors of the economy, such as the property sector. At the macroeconomic level, remittances became an important factor in boosting national income since 2003. When spent on education and health services, remittances help develop the country's human resources. If invested in productive activities, remittances can create business opportunities and help improve the domestic economy. Remittances enable families to save, invest in property, or start businesses.

On the other hand, respondents expressed concerns that dependence on remittances can give rise to a culture of consumerism and create a moral hazard problem. The widening disparities between remittance receiving households and non-recipients can also widen inequalities in Philippine society. According to NEDA, data indicate that families receiving remittances are from the top income deciles. In 2000 and 2003, 19.5 percent and 20.7 percent of the 9th decile and 17.2 percent and 20.3 percent of the 10th decile received remittance income, respectively. Pernia's (2000) analysis shows that richer households tend to benefit more from international remittances than poorer ones - which further suggests that remittances may increase inequality across households. Moreover, more remittance-receiving households are in regions with lower poverty incidence which may also create a wider income gap in the country (Email communication from NEDA, September 24, 2008).

The Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) has been at the forefront of introducing policies and interventions to facilitate the in-

flow of remittances, measures which have increased the use of formal channels. Aside from banking systems, formal channels have expanded to include remittance service providers. Banks are also actively promoting their remittance services by establishing tie-ups with non-bank financial institutions. Furthermore, rural banks now accept dollar accounts which have expanded overseas Filipinos' options and mechanisms for remittance transfers. BSP's four-fold approach concerning remittances include: (1) to increase competition through transparency; (2) to improve the settlement/payment schemes to facilitate the transfer of moneys from one point to another – this will further reduce transfer costs; (3) to improve the quality of service, i.e., to speed up the transfer of remittances; and (4) to allow the use of technology to facilitate the transfer of remittances (Interview, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas, 5 September 2008).

As mentioned earlier, the infusion of migrant investments in China and India is one of the arguments pointing to the beneficial impacts of migration on development. The goal to attract investments by overseas Filipinos is in fact one of the motivations for the passage of the Citizenship Retention and Reacquisition Act of 2003. However, data on investments by overseas Filipinos are not available; also, there are no data thus far suggesting increased investments on account of the dual citizenship law. The Board of Investments (BOI) had assisted a few overseas Filipinos in selling or disposing assets, but most of these are not investment-related. The key informants from the BOI commented that most overseas Filipinos want hassle-free investment where they will just invest their money and be guaranteed of earnings. They characterized overseas Filipino investors as cautious, tending to choose investments that are deemed "popular" or "surefire." Most overseas Filipinos tend to invest in real estate and condominiums, investments which do not generate employment. There is also a lack of information or advocacy about possible investments they might want to invest in. There is a need to convince overseas Filipinos to invest in existing national or regional businesses. The best example is through the Department of Trade and Industry's OTOP (one town one product) program. In the early 1990s, the BOI had a program to promote investment among OFWs; currently there is a plan to revive the program. The BOI has been tasked to develop investment programs

for overseas Filipinos (Interview, Board of Investments, 4 September 2008).

Concerning remittances, it is interesting to point out that the appreciation of remittances is mostly confined to money transfers sent by migrants. The notion of social remittances – introduced by Peggy Levitt in her book, *Transnational Villagers* – refers to “ideas, knowhow, practices and skills” that migrants bring with them when they migrate to a new destination and what they send back to their origin communities, which may promote or constrain development (as cited in Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2010). Compared to economic remittances, social remittances were not readily acknowledged by most informants, including those in the regions and local governments.

If there are benefits from migration, informants were as quick to comment on the social costs, of which the primary concerns are the strains and tolls exacted by the separation of family members. Fears of marital discord, the breakup of families, and the adverse impacts on children were frequently associated with the downside of overseas migration. In particular, anxieties over the migration of women – which are intimately connected the welfare of young children – can lead to considerations of restricting women’s migration.

There are a lot of negative effects associated with migration, especially if women are involved. These include various social costs such as deterioration of values among family members, dysfunctional family structure, teenage pregnancy, and drop-outs in schooling.

Interview, Department of Education, 31 October 2008

The feminization of migration entails a huge social cost on the children and those left behind. Women should not get out and work abroad if they have children below 12 years of age. These are the formative years of the children where parental guidance is needed utmost by these children. I suggest that one should only migrate if it includes the whole family.

Interview, Department of Foreign Affairs,
September 16, 2008

The SPPR IV [State of the Philippine Population Report IV] also cites that the separation of family members causes family dislocation, marital discord and broken families, and behavioral problems in children. Although altered relationships and family roles resulting from overseas migration are not exactly harmful, often these give rise to conflicts affecting family unity and the children's development. It was also observed that the spouse left behind and the other members of the family no longer exert any effort to earn or find a job, relying completely now on the migrant's worker's income to support the family.

Email communication from NEDA, 24 September 2008

Even as there are concerns about migrants' protection and the social costs of migration, informants acknowledged that the Philippines is not yet in a position to encourage OFWs to return at this time. Reintegration programs must be set in place to support returning workers and to offer options to re-migration (POEA's data on rehires indicate the tendency of OFWs to extend their employment overseas as long as possible). Data on return migrants, their needs and/or the resources they bring with them are essential in formulating reintegration programs. This is one of the important data gaps in the migration information system in the Philippines (Asis, 2008b).

Several government institutions have initiated migration and development programs and have cooperated with overseas Filipinos as development partners

Despite the lack of a migration and development framework, several government agencies have introduced programs which involve cooperation with overseas Filipinos and Filipino migrants' associations. The oldest is probably the Balik Scientist Program (Return Scientist Program) which was established by Presidential Decree 819 on 24 October 1975 in order to "encourage overseas Filipino scientists, professionals and technicians to return or reside in the Philippines, and share their expertise in order to accelerate the



scientific, agro-industrial and economic development of the country."²¹ The program was slated to run for a period of five years, 1975-1980, but was extended to 1986. It was revived by President Fidel V. Ramos and was placed under the Department of Science and Technology. The program was revitalized in 2007. The criteria were updated and the program sought to link up with professional organizations of Filipino scientists to reach scientific talent who might be encouraged to participate in this knowledge transfer program. Previously, the program mostly relied on Philippine embassies and consulates to promote it. Under the revitalized program, it targeted to bring in 100 scientists by 2010. As of 2008, 42 scientists had participated in the program.

The Balik Scientist Program was initially promoted through the Philippine Embassies and Consulates but it was not effective and it did not draw the expected number of applicants. However, when the DOST linked up and tapped PAASE (whose members are eminent in their respective professions), applications increased. Ninety percent of the Balik Scientist Program participants are PAASE (Philippine American Association of Scientists and Engineers) members. The arrangement between PAASE and DOST was very casual. There was verbal agreement only.

Interview, Department of Science and Technology,
21 October 2008

The Department of Foreign Affairs also launched some programs to link with Filipino scientists based abroad. In 1987, the Department of Foreign Affairs initiated the establishment of Science and Technology Council (STAC) to promote networking among Filipino scientists and professionals abroad and to encourage them to contribute to the development of the Philippines. Together with the United Nations Development Programme, the Department of

²¹ Taken from the website of the Department of Science and Technology, http://bsp.dost.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=64.

Foreign Affairs implemented the Technology Transfer through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) between 1988 and 1994.

The Balik Scientist Program was launched at a time when the international community was concerned with the trend of the highly trained and professionals migrating from developing countries, such as the Philippines, to developed countries in the west. The loss of human resources to the west, known as brain drain, also included those who pursued post-graduate studies in the United States and other countries and decided to remain overseas. Similar programs, such as TOKTEN and STACs, also bank on ties to the homeland to motivate expatriate scientific talent to participate in knowledge transfer to benefit the Philippines. We will revisit the issue of skills and knowledge transfer in the final part of the chapter.

Another long-running program is the *Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino* (literally, Service to Fellow Filipinos, also known as the Link to Philippine Development or LINKAPIL). Launched by the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) in 1989, LINKAPIL matches the donations of overseas Filipino associations with programs that meet the needs of disadvantaged communities and sectors in the Philippines. LINKAPIL targets to mobilize and cooperate with overseas Filipino associations, although donations by individual Filipinos are also welcome. As the bridge between donors and recipients, the CFO endeavors to enhance better coordination among the stakeholders, implements an effective and responsive monitoring and feedback system, and strives to foster genuine collaborative partnerships between overseas Filipinos and those in the Philippines to promote development in the country.

Between 1990 and 2009, LINKAPIL has received donations totaling Php2.35 billion benefitting some 14.6 million Filipinos throughout the country. Up until now, most of the donors are US-based Filipino associations or individuals. Donations received by LINKAPIL have supported relief, humanitarian, health and education-related programs. By comparison, livelihood projects – which have the potential to promote long-term human development – do not attract much donor support. LINKAPIL turned 20 years old in 2009. In the years to come, the CFO will stress donor education campaigns, establish links with Filipino communities in other re-



gions, and maintain and nurture ties with overseas Filipinos to improve LINKAPIL.²² It will also continue to find ways to solve customs-related requirements that pose difficulties for material donations (e.g., transfer of donated equipment from abroad). In recognition of their contributions, Filipino individuals and associations overseas who have contributed to the promotion of the welfare of Filipino communities abroad, or contributed to development in the Philippines, or have brought honor to the country are conferred Presidential Awards. This biennial global search for outstanding Filipino individuals and associations, which was instituted by Executive Order No. 498 issued in December 1991, is part of the month-long observance honoring overseas Filipinos every December.²³

A major challenge CFO faces in implementing LINKAPIL and its other programs is its limited resources. It does not have a presence (in the sense of having a dedicated staff) in Philippine Foreign Service Posts, not even in the US where most Filipino permanent migrants are based, and this is one of the constraints in furthering its bridge-building with overseas Filipino communities. In Italy and Spain, participants in the MAPID capacity building programs were not aware of CFO and its work. Considering that permanent migrants are the mandate of CFO, it needs to make its programs and services known more to its target clients.²⁴ At the least, CFO needs

²² For more details, see Asis et al. (2010), *Transnational Bridges: Migration, Development and Solidarity in the Philippines*. Manila: Scalabrini Migration Center and Commission on Filipinos Overseas. See also Roma (2008) and http://www.cfo.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=240&Itemid=43.

²³ There are four categories for the Presidential Awards for Filipino Individuals and Associations: Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino (LINKAPIL) Award is conferred on those who contributed to reconstruction, progress and development in the Philippines; Banaag Award is given to those who contributed to the improvement of a sector or community in the Philippines or overseas Filipino communities; Kaanib ng Bayan Award is for foreign individuals or associations who contributed to development in the Philippines or overseas Filipino communities; and Pamana ng Pilipino Award is conferred on overseas Filipinos who brought honor and recognition to the country in the pursuit of their work or profession (CFO, 2010a).

²⁴ One of the participants in the capacity building program in Spain shared that even if she had already acquired Spanish citizenship, she continues to consider herself a Filipino. She said that when she approached the Philippine Embassy, she was told that she should approach Spanish institutions instead. Many participants in Spain and Italy were interested in CFO's programs such as LINKAPIL, Filipino language online and programs for the second generation.

to explore new technologies to reach overseas Filipinos and to inform them about its programs and services.²⁵

In 2003, the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) spearheaded the program, "Classroom Galing sa Mamamayang Pilipino Abroad" (CGMA, i.e., Classroom from Filipino Citizens Based Abroad), to support the building and improvement of public school classrooms. According to the DOLE, there are some 12,000 Filipino migrants' associations in the different regions of the world. It thought of tapping the cooperation of these associations as sponsors and it partnered with the Department of Education, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Filipino-Chinese Chamber of Commerce in implementing the project. The program aimed to build 10,000 classrooms by June 2004. As of the 31 August 2008 update, the program had built 568 classrooms. In retrospect, the program's target to build 10,000 classrooms was ambitious and unrealistic. Between its launching in 2003 and the target date, 2004, the program gave itself just a year to build so many classrooms.

In 2007, the DOLE inaugurated the National Reintegration Center for OFWs (NRCO) in response to the challenge of providing a viable reintegration program for returning migrant workers.²⁶ Compared with earlier attempts, which were focused on providing assistance to returning migrants workers (i.e., loans to start a business, assistance to secure local employment), the NRCO encompasses migrant giving and brain gain. As will be elaborated in the concluding section, the NRCO can play an important role in expanding the skills and knowledge transfer program.

The Department of Tourism has been designated to administer the *Balikbayan* [returnee to the country] Program, an initiative to encourage overseas Filipinos to visit the Philippines, as provided by the 1989 Republic Act (RA) No. 6768, which was later amended

²⁵ In the Philippines, CFO has two offices – the main office in Manila and a satellite desk in Cebu City. Many participants in the MAPID training programs in the Philippines were also not aware of CFO and its work; many were happy to learn about CFO and the possibility to present proposals for assistance in the LINKAPIL Program.

²⁶ Generally speaking, this challenge is common to many origin countries (e.g., Battistella, 2004).

by RA 9174 in 2002.²⁷ The program includes a *kabuhayan* [livelihood] provision: “The program shall include a *kabuhayan* shopping privilege allowing tax-exempt purchase of livelihood tools and providing the opportunity to avail of the necessary training to enable the balikbayan to become economically self-reliant members of society upon their return to the Philippines. The program shall likewise showcase competitive and outstanding Filipino-made products”(Sec 1). In 2001, under the Volunteer 12 or V12 Program, the Department of Tourism, called on overseas Filipinos as partners in promoting tourism to the Philippines. The program was so-called because volunteers were encouraged to invite one foreign visitor a month or 12 tourists in a year to visit the Philippines. Not much was heard about the program. In 2004, the Philippine Medical Tourism Program was launched through Executive Order 372 as a public-private sector initiative, which was followed by a congress, expo and grand launch in 2006. Any developments since then are also not known.

To date, the Department of Health does not have a program of cooperating with Filipino migrants’ associations, but the key informants did not rule out this possibility in the future. The Philippine Nurses of Association of the United States, for example, is willing to participate in skills transfer programs. Also, it can explore cooperation with overseas Filipino groups which may be interested in donating resources to upgrade public hospitals. During the interview, the key informants expressed an interest to partner with the CFO wherein the Department of Health will identify public hospitals in need of financial and material assistance which may be met by resources from the LINKAPIL program. The CFO actually coordinates with the Department of Health in securing permits for the conduct of medical missions and clearance for donated medicines.

Although it is not so much about overseas Filipinos, mention must be made of the Bureau of Immigration’s program to attract foreign investments for jobs creation. The Bureau of Immigration

²⁷ The Marcos government started the program in 1973, inviting overseas Filipinos to visit the country as part of the campaign to show that the Philippines was faring well under martial law. It was administered by the Ministry of Tourism.

introduced the Special Visa for Employment Generation (SVEG), a facility which enables the foreign holder to stay indefinitely in the country for as long as his or her investment subsists and generates local jobs. The SVEG was launched following the signing of Executive Order 758 in November 2008 for the purpose of attracting foreign investors and generating jobs. It is issued to a foreigner with an interest in a company or entity that employs at least 10 full-time and regular jobs for Filipino workers.²⁸ At least 33,000 new jobs were created for Filipinos in 2009 after more than 400 foreign investors and their dependents were issued the SVEG visa. The top three foreign nationals who availed of the SVEG visa were Koreans (120), Chinese (41), and Taiwanese (17) (Bureau of Immigration, 2010).

Of the various government-led initiatives involving overseas Filipinos, the LINKAPIL Program has been the longest running and the most sustained. The Balik Scientist Program has been in existence for decades, but the scale and scope had been confined to the upper echelon of scientists. Also to create the programs needs more links with private sector and other critical institutions in the country. Some programs, such as CGMA, were time-bound, i.e., once the target is met, the program ceases. In the case of CGMA, the program seemed to have died a natural death when it lagged far behind its target. A thorough review of government-led initiatives and visioning exercise is in order to have a better grasp of how these can be improved.

NGOs have developed innovative migration and development projects

NGOs' involvement with migrants' issues have traditionally focused on the promotion and protection of migrants rights. In the 1990s, some NGOs operating in the Asian region thought of taking a different approach by focusing on preparing migrant workers for a successful return and reintegration in their home countries. By empowering migrants economically, migrants can have an option to overseas employment. With this in mind, the Hong Kong-based

²⁸ For details about the SVEG, see http://immigration.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=469&Itemid=104.

Asian Migrant Centre (www.asian-migrant.org), Migrant Forum in Asia (www.mfasia.org – with headquarters in Quezon City), and Unlad Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation (www.unladkabayan.org – based in Quezon City, with offices in Davao City and Iligan City) started organizing migrants to form savings groups while they are working abroad and to offer them training on financial management and entrepreneurship. Parallel programs are also offered for the families or communities of migrant workers in the home countries. In the Philippines, Unlad Kabayan promotes and supports social entrepreneurship with the involvement of migrants – either as sources of capital to fund entrepreneurial activities in their home communities or as beneficiaries of training, mentoring or capital for a livelihood venture.

Atikha Overseas Workers and Communities Initiative, Inc. (www.atikha.org) is an NGO based in San Pablo City, Laguna and Mabini, Batangas, which provides social services to OFWs and their families in the Philippines. It engages in a variety of migration and development projects: social enterprise development, financial literacy trainings of migrants and their families (including an innovative program called Batang Atikha Savings Club, which encourages savings among the children of OFWs), and training local government units in establishing OFW centers. In September 2010, Atikha launched two new programs: Organic Weekend by the Lake (Samaloc Lake, San Pablo City) to help farmers sell their produce and to support organic farming, and Ekolife Tour, a packaged tour for local and international tourists, which includes a homestay with OFW families who were provided training in running a bed and breakfast service.

An interesting development in the NGO community is the formation of an alliance between migration-oriented NGOs and development NGOs. The Philippine Consortium for Migration and Development (Philcomdev) was formed in 2007. It is a consortium of three networks: INAFI Philippines, Philsen and Migrant Forum in Asia-Philippine members. In October 2008, Philcomdev joined forces with several local governments and the Asian Institute of Management to form Convergence; the group aspires to cooperate on migration and development projects.

As migration-oriented NGOs venture into development, it is interesting to note the new alliances and convergences that have occurred in a short period of time, an indication that the field of migration and development is a meeting ground of multiple stakeholders.

The private sector has also carried out migration and development initiatives

Ayala Foundation (www.ayalafoundation.org) of the Ayala Group of Companies is one of the oldest Philippines-based foundations engaged in socio-cultural development. The foundation went transnational in 2000 when it created Ayala Foundation USA (AF USA), a US-IRS registered public charity organization based in San Francisco, USA, to mobilize Filipino communities in the United States to support development initiatives in the Philippines. Initially, it was donor-driven, i.e., the contributions were directed to projects according to the donors' preferences. In 2005, it started a campaign for the Gearing up Internet Literacy and Access for Students (GILAS) initiative, which aims to "provide Internet access to all public secondary school students in the Philippines, thus giving them an opportunity to a brighter future" (www.gilas.org). This campaign suggests another approach - that of inviting donors to support a pre-defined need or initiative. Later renamed into the Philippine Development Foundation USA (PhilDev USA), it continues to serve as "the bridge between US-based Filipino individuals and communities, and Philippine-based social development institutions." PhilDev USA provides its donors with the following services: "a menu of development projects that can be supported in the Philippines; various mechanisms on how donations can be sent; tax deductibility benefits to donors; the assurance that recipient organizations perform with due diligence; and progress reports on supported projects" (<http://www.phildev.org>).

Another form in which businesses engage in migration and development initiatives is by offering services geared to migrants and their families. In recognition of the contributions of OFWs to the country and to promote their welfare, SM Supermalls, a highly



popular chain of malls nationwide, launched the Global Pinoy Center in December 2009 in SM Mall of Asia. Later, other branches also opened their own facility. The center offers a one-stop shop of various services to Global Pinoy card holders: information (such as investment opportunities, access to government agencies, legal information); easy access to OFW remittances; and free Internet, chat and videoconferencing. Members can also avail of discounts in SM Supermalls and tuition fee discount in SM-affiliated educational institutions. Membership is open to OFWs with an active contract.

B. Regional and Local Contexts

This section presents highlights from the research conducted in the 12 regions and 29 provinces.

International migration is not mentioned in regional and local development plans

An examination of regional and local development plans reveals the absence of consideration of international migration in policy-making. Some exceptions are the development plans of Region 6 (Western Visayas) and Region 7 (Central Visayas). The 2004-2010 development plan of Region 6 acknowledged the contributions of OFWs to the economy. In Region 7, “the regional plan specifically recommended that concerned government agencies implement advocacy programs to encourage overseas Filipinos to come back and help in the region’s growth and development efforts.” In the chapter on labor, the regional plan indicated strategies and recommended programs and activities to address the migration of workers and professionals who are also needed in the local labor market. Finally, in the chapter on trade and investments, the plan also promoted the development of entrepreneurship programs for overseas Filipinos.²⁹

²⁹ This information came from the response of NEDA-Region 7 during the dissemination forum in Cebu City on 17 August 2010. This information was not available at the time of data collection in 2008.

Among the local government units covered by MAPID-Philippines, only the development plan of Batangas Province (2004) noted the contributions of OFWs via their remittances. As had been mentioned earlier, it was during the course of the MAPID interview that informants were made aware of the contributions of migrants to their localities. The questions about migrant giving and migrants' investments helped them realize that these initiatives had been going on in their communities, but since they were unrecorded, they tended to be forgotten. Apart from development plans, other documents – such as ordinances, resolutions and the like – also provide some hints about the incorporation of migration-related concerns in the policies and programs of local governments. For example, the ordinance in Leyte to create a provincial OFW council recognizes the contributions of migrants to the Philippine economy and the abuses and vulnerabilities they face (Ordinance No. 2008-06, Series of 2008). The establishment of Davao City's OFW Center under the Office of the City Mayor was also made possible by an ordinance. In the Declaration of Policy, the ordinance states that the City of Davao is committed to "...pursue and implement programs and policies that shall afford the protection of OFWS and their families, to promote their interest and safeguard their welfare taking with consideration their vulnerabilities and for their efforts of empowerment and self-determination, and adopt and implement measures for the ultimate protection and promotion of their rights." In addition, City Ordinance No. 5004 and Executive Order No. 24 or the Women Development Code of Davao City and its Implementing Rules and Regulations include two provisions mentioning support for overseas contract workers, particularly women OFWs. The provisions are as follows:

Section 85: Overseas Contract Worker (OCW) Wives and Children Support

The Local Government of Davao City shall conduct at the *barangay* level a survey of overseas contract workers, results of which shall serve as basis for special support to women and children.

Section 86: Special Course on OCW

A special course on overseas contract work primarily to orient women on the issues and concerns relative to migration shall be systematically introduced to all women especially at the *barangay* level.

In the Municipality of Bansalan (Davao del Sur), the engagement of the municipal government with overseas Filipinos has led to many cooperative ventures (for details, see Asis et al., 2010). Bansalan's Municipal Investment Code includes specific provisions targeting OFs as potential investors.

Across all regions, key informants concurred in citing jobs generation as the primary challenge facing the regions and their localities. The search for employment was, in fact, cited as the main reason why Filipinos continue to migrate in large numbers. Although they identified certain areas as growth prospects, they remarked that the employment possibilities were not sufficient to meet the needs of their working age populations. The growth prospects tend to be similar across the regions – agriculture, tourism, and services. In the 12 regions, the role of manufacturing as an employment-generating sector has receded from the picture (which is the same for the country as a whole).

In view of limited employment prospects in the country, most informants stated that it was not advisable to encourage Filipinos to return to the Philippines at this time. In fact, informants envisioned more migration in the future, citing economic reasons as the primary driver of increasing levels of overseas employment. The social and cultural dimensions of continuing migration did not emerge as salient factors in the responses of key informants in the regions. There was a perception though that going abroad has become common. One of the reasons why it was difficult to identify specific communities where migration was pervasive was the perception that it was common everywhere. Many acknowledged the feminization of migration and the problems that arise when women, especially mothers, leave and work abroad.

Data on international migration are lacking at the local government level

Across all regions, data on international migration are not produced by regional and local government agencies. Data on international migration come from national government agencies, mainly the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, and the National Statistics Office. Some regional-level data on OFWs are available from the POEA and OWWA; below the regional level, data are difficult to come by.³⁰ Even provinces that have long been involved in international migration do not collect data on international migration. Information about migrant sending areas, migrants' characteristics and migrants' destination countries were not available. Also non-existent were data on migrant giving and migrants' investments.³¹

Few structures are dedicated to international migration

In the local government units, there were few existing offices or desks that were dedicated to migration-related issues. The typical approach was to integrate international migration-related functions in existing structures. For example, the holding of jobs fairs, including information on overseas jobs, may be coursed through the public service and employment offices (PESOs). Although some

³⁰ Part 3 of the *Philippine Migration and Development Statistical Almanac* (IMDI, 2008) presents socio-demographic and overseas migration data per province compiled from data generated by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, Commission on Filipinos Overseas, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas, and Department of Tourism. The migration data per province include: overseas migrants per province (temporary and permanent migrants, by sex); estimated remittances; number of families receiving cash, gifts and other sources of income from abroad, overseas Filipino tourists in the province, overseas Filipinos' donations to the province coursed through LINKAPIL. Part 1 of the Almanac consists of administrative and survey data produced by Philippine government agencies – permanent migrants, temporary migrants, irregular migrants, migrant households, remittances, and migration and development outcomes. Part 2 presents socio-demographic indicators, remittances, and data on Filipinos present per country of destination (IMDI, 2008:vi-vii).

³¹ This is a common difficulty SMC encounters in conducting migration research in communities. We had seen some examples though of data collection efforts in some *barangays* and municipalities which can be developed into a system for collecting basic data on migration.

localities had experiences in coordinating medical missions organized by overseas Filipinos, in most cases, the local government's approach was ad hoc.

A few LGUs had established a structure to deal with migration-related matters. The province of Isabela and San Pablo City (in Laguna) had established a Migrants' Desk; the province of Leyte and Davao City had formed an OFW Council. In some LGUs, discussions or proposals to establish an office to take care of migration issues are underway. At the time of data collection in 2008, a proposal for an interagency council to address migrants' concerns was under review in the province of Rizal – the proposal was prompted by the suggestion of the Diocese of Antipolo. The structures mentioned above have a strong focus on protection and welfare issues affecting OFWs and their families, although they may have other functions as well. For example, aside from welfare, the functions and responsibilities of the Provincial Council for the Protection and Welfare of Leyteño Overseas Filipino Workers also include maintaining an updated list of Leyteño OFWs, conducting campaigns on new job opportunities abroad, and facilitating programs on entrepreneurship, livelihood and financial management.³² The provincial government of Bohol is one of the few local governments that has set up a structure to deal with migration and development issues. In South Cotabato, the positive experience of the Provincial Health Office, which received donations from overseas Filipino associations to improve the provincial hospital, encouraged the local government to explore cooperation with overseas Filipinos. The lobbying of local stakeholders – NGOs, the Catholic Church, POEA and OWWA, and local officials who champion the cause of migrants – has been instrumental in the emergence of OFW centers. One reason why local governments have not established an office or personnel dedicated to migration concerns may also be related to funding and staffing constraints. A key informant representing one of the leagues of local government units had suggested this possibility:

³² Taken from Ordinance No. 2008-06, Series of 2008, An Ordinance Creating a Provincial Council for the Protection and Welfare of Leyteño Overseas Filipino Workers and for Other Purposes.

DOLE Secretary Marianito Roque discussed the proposal to set up migrants' desk in every provincial capitol. While it is a good idea, LPP has concerns about its implementation, particularly on where to get the funds for it.

Interview, League of Provinces of the Philippines, 7
October 2008

Overseas employment generates positive and negative assessments

Key informants' views of migration revealed ambivalent perceptions of international migration. On the positive side, they cited remittances as beneficial to migrants and their families. Many pointed to the changed landscape of communities with many migrants, particularly the emergence of more durable and beautiful houses. In the case of Batangas, some municipalities have become known as Italian Village or Spanish Village in recognition of the many residents who had migrated to Italy and Spain, respectively. On the negative side, they expressed concern over the growing dependency of families on remittances, thereby eroding initiative, industry and self-reliance. Concerns over the destabilizing impacts of separation on families were frequently mentioned – fears about the break-up of marriages, juvenile delinquency and the dangers of children falling into drugs were frequently cited as social costs stemming from migration. These dualistic notions of the positive and negative impacts of migration came up frequently in the assessments of informants.

Overseas Filipinos can be development partners – but the decision is up to them

Key informants were retrospect in their views about the idea of overseas Filipinos as partners in promoting development in the Philippines. Some informants felt that they can be development partners, while others felt that it was entirely up to overseas Filipinos to decide whether they wish to support development projects in the Philippines. The latter view implies that overseas Filipinos do not have an obligation as such to contribute to the country's development project.

During the interviews, informants shared that apart from remittances which directly benefit OFW families, overseas Filipinos had also made contributions which benefit the larger community. Such sharing derives from the deeply held Filipino value of *bayanihan*, of people uniting together, sharing and helping each other to achieve a common purpose. Also, the motivation to support projects in the country is infused with the notion of sharing one's blessings – this was also among the findings of a study of migrant giving by Filipinos in Italy (Baggio and Asis, 2008).

You can see their (migrants') big houses. They were able to send their children to private schools. Most important, they are contributing to some *barangay* projects. They contributed to the purchase of one ambulance, one (welcome) signage, and contributed to the construction of the chapel. They are organized (and one time) they were able to contribute P2 million to be spent for the fiesta. They are mostly (working in) Barcelona. They were able to contribute a lot to the LGU without relying on the municipal government (at least minimal reliance). The bulk of the cost for these projects came from the migrant workers themselves. They have an organization there and they are also thinking about having an education program for out of school youths but they have not started. Their funds so far are for the ambulance, chapel, and signage (welcome sign).

Interview, Batangas Province

Nobody told them to help address the problems of health care in the province but they saw the condition and they were moved by it. That makes them really exemplary. I know that this is the kind of heart our overseas Filipinos have. But few have the opportunity to really help. You see, there are times when the help they send back home are not put in the right place, then they are gone. That is why we made sure that what they gave us would really help the people they wanted to be helped.

Informant, South Cotabato

Several key informants recognized that the local government is the one responsible for sustaining the initiatives which were started by overseas Filipinos.

There are already efforts from the OFWs but the problem is that the LGU cannot pick up and carry on with the continuous program of partnership in implementing a long-term program. The overseas Filipinos are very interested in helping.

Informant, South Cotabato

They are already involved with the development of the province. Aside from their remittances, there are development efforts that we have failed to recognize. We in government service should do our part, especially in sustaining what they have started and recognize them in their efforts.

Informant, South Cotabato

In the discussion concerning local counterparts, informants were asked whether they were aware of the *tres por uno* program. Almost all of them were unaware about Mexico's model of cooperation between Mexicans abroad (through the hometown associations and federations of hometown associations) and the different levels of the Mexican government. Many informants expressed an interest in knowing more about the model. On whether the model may be replicable in the Philippines, many informants qualified that this needed further study as there may be conditions in the country which may not make it workable. An informant from a regional office suggested that whatever model will be adopted in the Philippines, the scheme would work best at the local level:

At the local level, if they are sold out to that concept or scheme, they could easily implement it because they have local autonomy. They could just come up with an ordinance for it to be included in the plan and budget. They could initially appropriate some funds for it. (Moreover), they are more knowledgeable of the situation and



they have direct (contacts) with the people and the families in their respective areas. So in terms of operationalizing the scheme, I think it would be easier to do it at the local level rather than including other levels. Probably it would be different if the policy originated (from the national) level. However, we all know that even with the policy coming from the (regional and national) offices, our memorandums and circulars are not a must.

Interview, Region 7

Different examples of migrant giving were documented in the regions and localities

MAPID-Philippines brought to light many examples of migrant giving at the local level. These donations had been taking place, even in the absence of government involvement for the most part. Lacking records and written reports, the identification of projects supported by migrants were put together based on the information provided by various informants. The information provided depended a great deal on the knowledge and memory recall of informants. The projects identified by MAPID-Philippines are far from comprehensive; nonetheless, they provide a fair indication of the range, diversity and nature of support extended by overseas Filipinos to their communities of origin, as well as the contributions of local partners and beneficiaries. Some of the examples cited here (and also examples of migrants' investments) are drawn from the profiles included in the book, *Transnational Bridges* (Asis et al., 2010); some additional examples were taken from the regional reports. In the case of the latter, names are not mentioned unless they had been identified in other published materials.

An examination of the projects supported by overseas Filipinos in the study areas bears a strong resemblance to the profile of projects supported by overseas Filipinos under CFO's LINKAPIL Program. Across the regions, migrant giving was evident in support of humanitarian projects (medical missions are very common), disaster relief, community celebrations (e.g., town fiestas), education-related projects (scholarships, book donations) and equipment donation (e.g., computers or medical equipment for health cen-

ters or centers). Less popular projects were those pertaining to infrastructure and the least popular was support for livelihood projects. Typical examples of infrastructure projects are the construction or renovation of classrooms and school facilities (i.e., outside of the CGMA Program), churches, health centers, or training centers. In recent years, overseas Filipinos have been drawn to support *Gawad Kalinga's* community-building projects for poor communities.³³

Based on the data gathered by MAPID-Philippines, most of those who engaged in migrant giving were overseas Filipinos based in the US, who are mostly permanent migrants. In part, this can be explained by the long history of Filipino migration to the US, the large presence of Filipinos, and mechanisms, such as the LINKAPIL Program or the Philippine Development Forum, which provide possibilities for donating to the Philippines. Hometown or place-based associations are indeed common (see also Silva, 2006; Powers, 2006; Opiniano, 2005), but it is worthy to mention that overseas Filipinos also form faith-based, professional, recreational, or alumni associations. Cyber communities have also emerged, making possible the creation of ties among members located in different parts of the world. The Association of Bansaleños Worldwide is an example of a hometown association comprising members scattered in different countries who came together as a community, thanks to the Internet. One of the interesting case studies documented by MAPID-Philippines demonstrates the significance of alumni associations as a source of collective and social remittances. This was highlighted in the various resources transferred by the US-based alumni groups of one university in the Visayas. Over the years, the alumni groups had supported the construction of a commercial building (which will generate additional funds for the university), donated funds for the construction of a new building for the College of Nursing, provided book donations, sponsored scholarship

³³ *Gawad Kalinga* (or GK to give care) started as a project by Couples for Christ, a Catholic Church-inspired organization, to work with the poor, especially young people, in slum communities in 1995. It evolved into a comprehensive community building and development project. Volunteerism is a big part of the GK way. It has attracted the support of many overseas Filipinos. The GK has also been introduced to other countries. For more details, see <http://www.gk1world.com>.

programs and leadership awards, and donated equipment to the university hospital. Apart from financial and material support, there was also some evidence of transfer of knowledge with the participation of some alumni (notably in the College of Nursing) in curriculum development and mentorship.

Examples of migrant giving by OFW associations were also documented. An example is the toilet construction project in Piat, Cagayan, which was underwritten by the Piat Overseas Workers Association (POWA) of Hong Kong. Through their fund-raising activities, domestic workers in Hong Kong collected P50,000 in 2007, which they donated for the construction of public restrooms in Maguili Junction, a stop area for travelers. The total construction cost was P80,000; the P30,000 was the counterpart of the municipal government. At the time of interview in 2008, discussions were underway between the association and the municipal government of Piat to cooperate on another project – the expansion of the public cemetery. According to key informants in Piat, the community appreciates the contributions of the OFWs. Although domestic workers do not earn much, they support projects that benefited the community. Another group of domestic workers in Hong Kong, the Bohol Hong Kong Association, organized in 1992, has been supporting charitable work, medical missions and scholarship programs in various communities in Bohol.

The study documented one case of a participant of the Balik Scientist Program. Dr Norberto Ison, a US-based statistician, had a one-semester stint at the University of the Philippines Baguio. During his stay, he taught two undergraduate classes, introduced new approaches in the teaching of statistics, recommended the setting up of a wireless access point in the library and introduced ICT-related innovations, which were implemented by the university.

The return of migrants who had gained expertise during their stay abroad constitutes another form of knowledge transfer. Mr. Bernardino Custorio spent 20 years working overseas in the field of ICT. He was at the peak of his career when he decided to return home. His work enabled him to provide well for his family and to secure their future. But he felt the call to serve God and to give something back to his community of origin. Although it was not easy to give up the comfortable life that he had led and not know-

ing whether the Philippines was ripe for the ICT business he had in mind, he returned to Koronadal City in 2002. He had to make many adjustments upon his return. Among others, he started and headed an ICT association in Koronadal City. The group conducted seminars and fora on ICT, which was something new to Koronadal at the time. He acknowledged the help of local government institutions in supporting the group's information campaigns, which paid off. In time, he and some partners were able to establish transcription schools and production houses (where actual transcriptions took place) in Koronadal and surrounding provinces. In 2010, he put up his own outsourcing business.

In Bohol, the research documented an example of a returnee whose contributions to her community may be regarded as "political" remittance. The returnee was a former domestic worker who spent 21 years abroad (11 years in Hong Kong and nine years in the US). When she was in Hong Kong, she was active in the Bohol Hong Kong Association, which was referred to earlier. Her experience in the association, which promotes the welfare of Boholano OFWs in Hong Kong and supports development and tourism in Bohol, benefited her when she got elected as barangay captain (village head) upon her return. She later got elected as president of the Association of Barangay Councils in her municipality. As an elected official, her advocacies as an OFW informed her support of migrants' issues and livelihood/enterprise development so migrants can opt to return home. She also mentioned that she would be interested to link with government institutions and NGOs to develop these kinds of programs for OFWs.

As the above mentioned cases and other examples cited in *Transnational Bridges* (Asis et al., 2010) reveal, migrant giving tends to be directed towards migrants' hometowns and institutions (such as schools) with which migrants have some connections. Since migrants generally come from more developed areas, it has been argued that the development impact of migrant giving may not be that significant. Migrants' tendency to support humanitarian or welfare types of projects, according to some observers, may not contribute to improve the life chances of disadvantaged groups or communities. Income generating or livelihood projects would be ideal, but these types of project receive less support. These obser-



vations and the debates they generate are not unique to the Philippines. Diaspora-supported projects in other parts of Asia also tend to be social development or welfare projects rather than income or employment-generating initiatives (Bevacqua, 2008).³⁴ In a way, the different views on the impact of migrants' contributions to development are reminiscent of the debate surrounding the productive use of migrants' remittances. It would be good to remember that migrants and migrants' associations are not development agencies. Moreover, they are not and should not be held responsible for promoting development. CFO's long engagement with overseas Filipinos through the LINKAPIL Program and our dialogue with overseas Filipinos in Italy and Spain in connection with the MAPID Project confirm the sense of solidarity that overseas Filipinos have a vis-à-vis the less advantaged in the Philippines. This good will suggests the potential of overseas Filipinos as development partners. To realize this potential, findings from the MAPID Project suggest that institutions and actors in the Philippines must be prepared to do their share to make the partnership work.

Migrants are venturing into investments and businesses that generate jobs

Unlike migrant giving, migrant investments specifically refer to businesses put up by overseas Filipinos. Migrant investments were extremely difficult to trace and track down because there were no records about them. The cases documented by MAPID-Philippines were constructed from information gathered by asking around and following up on leads. The documented investments are largely those that were identified with known migrants and it is possible that MAPID-Philippines was not able to document businesses which were in the name of migrants' business partners. Another caveat

³⁴ The *tres por uno* model is not an exception. Until quite recently, the initiatives supported by *tres por uno* are solidarity projects which promote social development. A transition to move towards productive projects is underway. According to Rodolfo Garcia Zamora (2008:287-288), solidarity projects are motivated by the emotional bonds of migrants to their communities of origin, productive projects while productive investments are spurred by profit. He suggests that *tres por uno* remains as solidarity projects whereas the state and national governments should assume more responsibility in steering productive investments.

that must be mentioned is the delimitation of considering migrant investments to those that generated some employment. Given this criterion, investments such as variety stores, tricycles and jeepneys were not considered. OWWA informants mentioned the Groceria Program – an interest-free loan assistance package extended in the form of merchandise goods worth fifty thousand pesos (Php50,000) per qualified OFW Family Circle (OFC) beneficiary – as an intervention to create livelihood and self-employment opportunities for OFWs and their families. However, the Groceria Program in the regions covered by MAPID-Philippines suffered from non-payment and eventually, government losses. This indicates the challenges in fostering entrepreneurship as an income-generating strategy and as an alternative to overseas employment.

Like migrant giving, most migrant investments were made by permanent migrants, mainly those from the US. Most of the businesses that require considerable capita were initiated by individual Filipinos rather than by groups. The businesses they have started are commercial buildings (including apartments), hospitals, schools, review centers, and hotels/resorts. The infusion of migrant investments in hotels and resorts is an interesting development and it can be read as a variation of investing in commercial buildings for rental or lease. From what can be gauged from the motivations of investors, they also wanted to provide the community with amenities for recreation and venues to hold social events such as weddings. Also, hotels/resorts generate job opportunities. In Nabua, Camarines Sur (Bicol), the Macagang Business Center, an investment by a US-based migrant, Mr. Florencio Regala, is a welcome facility in the community (see www.macagangbusinesscenter.com).

An example of a successful migrant investment that combines income generation, jobs generation, use of indigenous and local materials, and concern for the environment is the Bohol Bee Farm, established and ran by Ms. Vicky Wallace, formerly a migrant to the US and erstwhile nurse. Upon returning to the Philippines in 1996, she started organic farming with just four workers and from capital drawn from the household budget. Her farming venture has grown and expanded to include a bee farm, restaurant and bed and breakfast place (see www.boholbeefarm.com). As of 2008, the Bohol Bee Farm employs 128 workers and is worth about P10-

15 million. The business also demonstrates good practices in inculcating work ethic and solidarity among the workers.

Ms. Myrna Padilla of Davao City was a former migrant worker who was able to start and sustain a business that provides local employment. As a domestic worker in Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong, Ms Padilla availed of various training opportunities in order to prepare herself for reintegration in the Philippines. In Hong Kong, her place of employment for 12 years, she was the Convener and Founding Chairperson of the Mindanao Hong Kong Workers Federation (MinFed), one of the largest federations of migrants' associations there. MinFed includes 12 associations composed of Mindanaoan OFWs based in Hong Kong. The organization worked not only to advance the rights of OFWs, but it also evolved into a charitable organization providing support to various projects in the OFWs' hometowns. She was introduced to the IT world when her employer gifted her with a laptop, an Internet connection and a phone line, in order to help her with her advocacy work. Through self-study, she was able to explore the many uses of the Internet. She "stumbled" into bug-testing when she sent her detailed comments about the problems she encountered and offered suggestions on how to make the website more user-friendly. She got a reply from the company thanking her for her comments and an offer to work for them. This introduced her to online job possibilities. She decided to return to the Philippines when she was diagnosed with an illness. With her separation pay from her employer, she opened Mynd Consulting, an information technology consulting business, in Davao City (see www.myndconsulting.com). She met some problems initially, but she was able to rise above her difficulties. Her company provides bug testing services and has expanded into website development. She also opened a portal, www.bangonfilipino.com, to provide a platform to exchange ideas with overseas Filipinos. For her many achievements and inspiring example, OWWA honored her with a Most Outstanding OFW and Achievement Award in 2007. She also received the Most Inspiring and Outstanding Award from the Davao City Chamber of Commerce and Go Negosyo in 2009.

Other remarkable examples of former OFWs who succeeded in establishing a business in the Philippines upon their return in-

clude Mr. Miguel Bolos, who put up a mall in his hometown and a spa in Manila; Ms. Teresita Perez Villanueva established Pervil Cosmetics, which specializes in skin whitening products; Mr. Norberto Bajenting, also of Davao, transformed his transport business into the Southeast Mindanao Transport Cooperative; and the decades long *Kamiseta ni Julio* [Shirt by Julio] built by Julio Lozada, of Tacloban City. Beyond starting a life as an entrepreneur or investor after their OFW experience, these returnees also continue to advocate for migrants' concerns. These and other case studies are detailed in *Transnational Bridges* (2010).³⁵

Local partners of diaspora-supported projects are not passive recipients of assistance

Two important findings that emerged from the MAPID-Philippines research are: (1) the variety of local or Philippines-based institutions cooperating with overseas Filipinos, and (2) the variety of counterpart arrangements in these partnerships. Receiving communities or institutions in the Philippines are not just passive recipients of resources coming from overseas Filipinos, but they also contribute to the project, either financially or in kind. The following models of cooperation and partnership had been mapped out from the cases documented by MAPID-Philippines:

1) Overseas Filipinos and local government units (LGUs)

The support given by LGUs in coordinating medical missions is relatively well-known (although documentation is lacking). We highlight here several examples of LGU cooperation which shows commitment and contributions provided by LGUs.

The city government of Ormoc played a proactive role in the establishment of the Ormoc City E-Learning and Research Center. The idea for such a center came up in one of the visits of Mr. Manuel Baylon, Jr., a US-based Filipino. He noticed the lack of access to Internet resources by students from public schools. To

³⁵ Less successful cases were also documented by MAPID Philippines and important lessons can be gained from these experiences.

enable public school students to avail of knowledge and information from the Internet, he offered to donate computers which he wanted to be housed in a facility that will ensure students' access to them. In a discussion with the city government, he was able to secure the following commitments: space, personnel to staff the center and to maintain the equipment, and payment of utilities. For his part, Mr Baylon committed to donating 50 computers, printers and switches. On 24 October 2007, the city government passed Ordinance No. 136, An Ordinance Establishing the Ormoc City E-Learning and Research Center (CeLRC) and for Other Relevant Purposes Relevant Thereto. The ordinance provided for the creation of a board of trustees, chaired by the mayor, whose functions include the procurement and administration of funds and other resources necessary to run and maintain the center. Funding for the center's operation and maintenance shall be provided by a separate appropriation in the regular city budget and from donations coming from various sources (Section 8). More importantly, the ordinance ensures the continuation of the center even with the change of officials. The center was launched in 2007, equipped with an initial set of 20 computers and related equipment. Students can avail of free use of computers, access to the Internet and printing their papers, free of charge. Some 60-70 students come to the center during school days.

Other cases of support extended by LGUs are exemplified by the Municipality of Naguilian which provided office space to the Bannuar Ti La Union-Naguilian Chapter to enable the organization to operate their action center for OFWs. In addition, the municipal government also extended a loan of Php300,000 for the organization's enterprise development program for return migrants and OFW families. Another example is the Municipality of Magsaysay, Misamis Oriental, where the local government donated a 1,000-square meter lot where a women's market was built in connection with the "Maria Goes to Town" Project, with Damayang Pilipino sa Nederland as the donor.

2) Overseas Filipinos and Universities/Academic Institutions

Giving back to one's alma mater motivates Filipinos to lend support to the educational institutions that played a role in their

training. The philanthropic activities of various alumni associations of a Visayan university were presented earlier as an inspiring example of the transfer of collective remittances and social remittances. There are many of individually overseas Filipinos giving donations to their former schools. An example is the support provided by Diosdado Banatao, a successful technopreneur in Silicon Valley, California, to the public school where he came from, Malabac Elementary School, in Iguig, Cagayan. An IT center was constructed in the school, computers were donated, and the school's library received books in science and math, all of which were made possible by the networks and contacts of Mr. Banatao. The local government was also a partner in this philanthropic project; it committed to pay for the electricity costs.

3) Overseas Filipinos and Media Partners

Several media companies in the Philippines have developed a philanthropic arm, setting up foundations or special programs to support sectors or communities in need. In times of disaster, the media have been quite effective in mobilizing resources to meet pressing needs and to support longer-term rehabilitation programs. Although the focus of these calls for support is addressed to the local population, the global reach of Filipino media companies has also invited donations from overseas Filipinos. The following account suggests the role of media as a trusted partner in the implementation of solidarity projects.

The Ilonggo Association in Southern California (ISCA) was moved to do something to assist the victims of Typhoon Frank, which battered the province of Iloilo in 2008. ISCA collected clothes, wheelchairs and walkers for distribution to the needy in Iloilo. The group approached the radio station, Bombo Radyo, to take care of identifying the beneficiaries. The group chose to partner with Bombo Radyo because they were assured of transparency in the donation process. To identify beneficiaries, Bombo Radyo asked interested parties to send a letter to the station and to state why they were to be considered. Once the recipients have been identified, the wheelchairs and walkers were distributed to the chosen beneficiaries on 8 November 2008, the same day that Dugong Bombo was held, the radio station's blood donation campaign. According to the sta-



tion manager, they will consider participating in similar partnerships in the future as part of their public service.

4) Overseas Filipinos and NGOs

Locally based NGOs can provide a linking role between donors and recipients. This is demonstrated by the partnership forged between local NGOs - Soroptimists International of Albay Magayon (SIAM) and the Bicol Small Business Inc. - and the US-based Albay Services Group (ASG). The latter wanted to help the communities that were badly affected by Typhoon Reming, with a special focus on empowering women. ASG linked up with the two NGOs to conceptualize the “Best for Women Program,” which intended to promote livelihood development women’s rights and well-being. At the time of data collection, the Livelihood Training Center has been constructed in the Anislag resettlement site; this was made possible by a \$5,000-donation from ASG. SIAM aims to raise half a million pesos to realize the other components of the Best for Women Program.

The Catholic Church can also serve as catalyst or mediator in initiatives involving overseas Filipinos. Findings from an exploratory study on the transnational practices of Filipinos in Italy found that the Catholic Church enjoys the trust and confidence of migrants, which contrasts sharply with the distrust of migrants towards Philippine government institutions (Baggio and Asis, 2008). Among Filipino migrants, the Catholic Church does not only represent a place of worship but also a place of community (where they can find and connect with other Filipinos) and empowerment (where they can avail of assistance and support). Particularly in Italy, the Catholic Church has organized many programs for the care of Filipino migrants, which helps explain the high regard of Filipinos in Italy for the Catholic Church and why many of them would prefer to cooperate with the Church should they decide to support projects in the Philippines.

In the homeland, one case study illustrates how the Catholic Church played a leading role in involving overseas Filipinos to support projects promoting livelihood and good governance. In one municipality, the parish priest organized a forum attended by US-based Filipinos, who had supported a project to renovate the church.

At the forum, which was also attended by community leaders, the parish priest discussed the challenges facing the community. The discussion led to a call for action by the participants and an association of US-based Filipinos was formed, with the Church designated as its local partner. The association came up with proposals for a library/museum and raising funds to support livelihood programs. At the time of data collection in 2008, the two projects were in the fund-raising stage. An interesting project initiated by the group was to promote the use of the Internet to enhance community participation in governance matters. The group also lobbied the local government to make a regular report to the community. The governance project shows an atypical but significant contribution that overseas Filipinos can make to their hometown.

5) Overseas Filipinos and the Private Sector

Motivated by the ideal of corporate social responsibility, other local businesses in the Philippines have developed services and facilities for OFWs and their families. The research in Calabarzon documented the example of Robinson's Malls in Imus and Dasmariñas, Cavite (a major source province of migrants), which opened an "OFW Family (Family) Center" in late 2007 to provide a one-stop shop of services to migrants and their families – money changers, remittance centers, travel agents, Internet access are some of the services that cluster in the Center. The Center also has training rooms which can be used for seminars and trainings. In March 2008, the mall signed an arrangement with the Provincial Cooperative, Livelihood, and Entrepreneurship Office for the conduct of livelihood seminars mainly for the benefit of OFW families (mostly the wives). These seminars teach income generating skills such as soap and candle making, baking and cooking lessons, and promotes other possible sources of livelihood. In the Dasmariñas branch, the local government set up a satellite office where documents and certifications needed for passport application can be secured. The mall's management was well aware that majority of their customers (including their real estate business) were OFW families, thus, the center was a business decision that also offered other benefits. The participation of the local government added a new dimension to the programs of the center.



In all of these partnerships, the role of overseas Filipinos has been recognized by the receiving communities or institutions through such gestures as holding a *Balikbayan Night*, or a special program, such as *Balikbayan Forum*, which are often part of *fiesta* celebrations. The visits made by overseas Filipinos to their home communities help raise awareness about community needs. Where projects are underway, the visits provide donors opportunities to monitor project implementation or to assess the project's impact. Also, where resources or opportunities permit, representatives of local institutions visit Filipino communities abroad. In general, however, these efforts have been spontaneous or sporadic. A more systematic approach in acknowledging the transnational dimensions of Filipino society and possibilities for cooperation with overseas Filipinos can lead to more meaningful policies, programs and partnerships.

At the conclusion of the research phase, MAPID-Philippines decided to conduct a forum on 22 May 2009 to continue the conversation on migration and development in the Philippines based on the MAPID research.³⁶ The forum also served to introduce the next activity of the project, i.e., the conduct of the capacity building programs.

IV. Capacity Building Programs in the Philippines

Preparatory Work

In 2009, the MAPID Project was devoted to the preparation, implementation and assessment of the capacity building programs in the three countries. The design and development of the training programs were discussed and drafted during the Second Annual Project Meeting held in Dumaguete City, Philippines on 3-6 February 2009.

In summary, findings from the MAPID research revealed significant gaps that the capacity building programs should take note of. A top priority is the need to enhance the appreciation of the

³⁶ For details about the forum, see <http://www.smc.org.ph/MAPID%20research%20forum/mapidforum09.html>.

migration-development nexus by Philippine government institutions at all levels — national, regional and local. Such understanding is germane to close the disconnect between migration agencies and development agencies. Another main concern is to promote the coordination of national, regional and local government agencies in the pursuit of a migration and development agenda. The lack of data on international migration at the regional and local levels has rendered the phenomenon “invisible” in the realm of local policies and programs.

The following observations were additional flash points that informed the design of the capacity building programs for representatives of government institutions:

- Local communities and the country as a whole have benefitted from migrant giving and migrants’ investments.
- Existing migrant giving initiatives confirm the interest of overseas Filipinos to contribute to the development of the home country, especially their hometowns.
- Evidence of transfer of knowledge was relatively rare. The Balik Scientist Program is the only scheme that has been operational for some time. There is a need to develop other schemes to links to industries and LGUs should also be considered.
- Migrant-giving has been largely donor-driven. To respond more effectively to the development needs of sectors or communities, there is scope for awareness raising campaigns aimed at donors.
- In general, local partners often have raising contributions to migrant-supported projects. Aside from contributing resources, Philippine-based institutions also need to involve overseas Filipinos in project development, implementation and assessment.
- In general, there are many possibilities to enhance cooperation between overseas Filipinos and local institutions. The national government and LGUs have to be more proactive in exploring transnational cooperation for development may be achieved.

Based on the research findings, including those from the research in Italy and Spain, the following were identified as themes or topics to be covered in the training program in the Philippines:

1. Promoting the understanding of international migration (history, trends and future prospects);
2. Promoting the understanding of international migration and development (migrant giving, migrants' investment, remittances and knowledge transfer);
3. Examples of the contributions of international migration to local development beyond remittances
4. Models of cooperation between overseas Filipinos and local institutions (examples from the regions);
5. Views of overseas Filipinos on Philippine institutions and trust/confidence building;
6. Presentation of successful programs linking migration and development;
7. Information on migrants' associations; building partnerships with migrants' associations;
8. Financial literacy training targeting migrants and their families; and
9. Leadership training.

After further review and reflection of the MAPID results, insights from the broader literature and good practices in the international community, we modified the topic outline with a view to address the significant gaps in the appreciation of migration and development by government stakeholders.

When the syllabus was finalized, the training program was organized into nine sessions or modules and four workshops distributed across a four-day live-in program (Table 9). The training materials and references were prepared by academics and advocates engaged in migration and development. Related materials produced by the Scalabrini Migration Center and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas were also part of the reference materials. Also, given the immersion of both institutions in migration and development issues, we contributed to the preparation of the training materials. Some of the materials used in the Philippines were

TABLE 9
MAPID-PHILIPPINES TRAINING PROGRAMS: SYLLABUS*

Session	Module*	Number of Hours	Presenter
1	Background and Context a. An Overview of the Migration-Development Nexus b. International Migration in Philippine Society <i>Workshop 1: Exploring the neglect of migration and development in local contexts</i>	1.5 1.5	MAPID Project Director MAPID-Philippines Coordinator
2	International Migration and Develop Policies, Practices and Perceptions by Government Institutions in the Philippines a. The National Picture b. Regional Profiles	1.5	MAPID-Philippines Coordinator & Project Assistant MAPID-Philippines research team
3	Voices of Filipino Migrants in Italy and Spain	1 1	MAPID Project Director
4	The Role of Transnational Communities in Local Development, Part 1 a. The Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino or LINKAPIL Program: CFO's Experience b. Overseas Filipinos as Development Agents: Findings from the Regions	1	Commission on Filipinos Overseas MAPID Research Team
5	The Role of Transnational Communities in Local Development, Part 2 a. Overseas Filipinos as Development Agents: Findings from the Regions <i>Workshop 2: Engaging with overseas Filipinos</i>	1 1.5	MAPID Research Team
6	Private Sector Participation in Transnational Cooperation for Migration and Development	1	Mario Deriquito, Ayala Foundation
7	Civil Society Participation and Governance	1.5	

TABLE 9 continued
MAPID-PHILIPPINES TRAINING PROGRAMS: SYLLABUS*

Session	Module*	Number of Hours	Presenter
	a. Enabling Migrants to Contribute to Their Local Communities (prepared by Ma. Angela Villalba)		Ma. Angela Villalba, Unlad Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation
	b. International Migration for Development and the Role of Sub-National Institutions: The Importance of Governance (prepared by Jorge Tigno)		Jorge Tigno, University of the Philippines
8	Learning from Other Countries a. Transnational Cooperation for Development: Lessons from Good Practices in the International Community (prepared by Dovelyn Rannveig Agunias)	1	MAPID Project Director
9	Stakeholders' Forum	1	Resource persons representing migrants, local governments, NGOs, international organizations
	<i>Workshop 3: Addressing the lack of trust in government institutions</i>	1.5	
10	<i>Workshop 4: Learnings, challenges and proposals for moving forward</i>	1.5	
	Synthesis & Future Prospects	1.5	Presentations by SMC and documenter

NOTE: *Unless otherwise noted, the papers and reference materials were prepared by the MAPID Project Director, MAPID-Philippines Country Coordinator and Project Assistant, and the MAPID-Philippines research team.

also used in the capacity building programs in Italy and Spain and vice-versa. (For a list of reference materials used in the capacity building programs in the Philippines, see Box 5). The MAPID Project produced a "CD-ROM titled, *Capacity Building Programs in the Philippines, Italy and Spain - Reference Materials,*" which compiles all the reference materials used in the training programs in the Philip-

BOX 5

**CAPACITY-BUILDING PROGRAM REFERENCES & RESOURCE MATERIALS
2009 MAPID-PHILIPPINES**

- Agunias, Doreen Rannveig
2009 "Transnational Cooperation for Development: Lessons from the Good Practices in the International Community." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.
- Asis, Maruja M.B.
2008a "How International Migration Can Support Development: A Challenge for the Philippines." In *Migration and Development: Perspectives from the South*. Edited by Stephen Castles and Raul Delgado Wise. Geneva: International Organization for Migration. Pp.175-201.
- 2008b "The Philippines," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 17(3-4):349-378.
- Asis, Maruja M.B. and Fabio Baggio, eds.
2008 *Moving Out, Back and Up: International Migration and Development Prospects in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center.
- Asis, Maruja M.B. and Golda Myra Roma
2009a "Voices of Philippine Government Stakeholders." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.
- 2009b "A Guide to Key Concepts, Terms, Institutions and Policies on International Migration (with a special focus on the Philippine context)." Reference material prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.
- Ayala Foundation USA
"Engaging Filipinos in the US to Support Philippine Development." Power point presentation prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.
- Baggio, Fabio
2009 "Voices of Filipino Migrants in Italy and Spain." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.
- Baggio, Fabio and Maruja M.B. Asis
2008 "Global Workers, Local Philanthropists: Filipinos in Italy and the Tug of Home." In *Global Migration and Development*. Edited by Ton van Naerssen, Ernst Spaan and Annelies Zoomers. New York and London: Routledge. Pp. 130-149.
- Echavez, Chona and Mark Anthony Brazil
2009 "Executive Summary: Davao Region (Region XI)." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

BOX 5 CONTINUED
CAPACITY-BUILDING PROGRAM REFERENCES & RESOURCE MATERIALS
2009 MAPID-PHILIPPINES

Echavez, Chona and Adonis Gonzales

2009a "Executive Summary: Northern Mindanao (RegionX)." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

2009b "Executive Summary: Region XII." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

Feranil, Alan

2009 "Executive Summary: Visayas." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

Follosco, Alicia

2009 "Executive Summary: CAR and Cagayan Valley." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

Lim, Cristina

2009 "Executive Summary: Bicol." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

MAPID-Philippines Research Team

2009 "MAPID Chronicles: A Compilation of Good Practices Involving Migrants, Overseas Filipinos and Philippine Institutions." Reference material prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

Tigno, Jorge

2009a "Executive Summary: CALABARZON (Region IV-a)." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

2009b "International Migration and Development and the Role of Sub-National Institutions: The Importance of Governance and Institutions." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

Villalba, Maria Angela

2009 "Enabling Migrant Workers to Develop Their Local Communities." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

Villarama, Nenita

2009 "Executive Summary: Ilocos Region." Paper prepared for the 2009 MAPID-Philippines Capacity-Building Program. Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City.

pires, Italy and Spain. The training materials may also be accessed from the website of the MAPID Project (www.smc.org.ph/MAPID/mapid/html).

The methodology for the training program consisted of presentations and inputs by resource persons and contributions from participants via workshop discussions. For the workshops, the participants were divided into small groups to discuss the questions or case studies posed for them. Each group chose a moderator, who managed the discussion, and a secretary, who presented the group's output in the plenary session. Four workshops were organized, one per day (see Table 10 for the workshop questions). The live-in format fostered interaction, exchange of information and good practices, camaraderie, and network building among participants.

As proposed, two training programs were carried out in the Philippines: one in Davao City (St. Charles Borromeo Retreat House) on 3-6 August, for participants coming from the Visayas and Mindanao, and another one in Tagaytay City (CBCP-NASSA BEC Development Center), on 17-20 August, for participants from national government agencies and Luzon. The choice to conduct the training outside of Metro Manila was intentional, i.e., it was in keeping with MAPID's goal to emphasize the role of local government units (LGUs).

The training programs targeted 100 participants, i.e., 50 participants per venue. The actual number of participants, 116, exceeded the target – the Davao training drew 54 participants while the Tagaytay training had 62 participants. Overall, there were slightly more women than men. The participants were identified via the research conducted in 2008 and an active recruitment process that was undertaken prior to the training dates. The research in 2008 included questions on training needs and interests and also sought suggestions on likely candidates for the MAPID capacity building programs. The invitation and confirmation of participants was a challenging part of the preparation. Based on the research in 2008, there were many who were interested in participating in the training programs – they were given the first priority. Representatives of government institutions from other provinces and regions who did not participate in the research were the second priority.

TABLE 10
WORKSHOP QUESTIONS

Workshop 1

The MAPID-Philippines study highlighted the neglect of international migration issues in the formulation of regional and local government unit (LGU) policies and programs.

- a. What do you see as the reasons for this neglect? (to highlight the 3 most important ones)
- b. What would you propose to “mainstream” international migration concerns in regional and LGU policies and programs? (to highlight the 3 most important ones)

Workshop 2

Different groups were assigned to tackle three different case studies which aim to clarify the process of engaging with overseas Filipinos.

- Case 1 (Groups 1 and 2): A migrant association approached your city government with a proposal to conduct a medical mission. Your records show that several medical missions have been conducted in the city. Based on your needs assessment, medical missions will not respond to the urgent needs of your community. How will you respond to this proposal? How would you reconcile the wish of the migrant association and the urgent needs of your community?
- Case 2 (Groups 3 and 4): Your agency has received a go signal (and the corresponding budget) to create an international migration desk. You have been tasked to: (1) formulate the functions of the migration desk; and (2) map out how the migration desk will work with other government agencies and stakeholders.
- Case 3 (Groups 5 and 6): A migrants’ association based in Italy approached your agency with a proposal to collaborate on a livelihood project. From your end, what principles and terms of conditions should be covered in your memorandum of agreement?

Workshop 3

Overseas Filipinos are interested in supporting development projects in the Philippines. However, concerns over corruption, red tape and general distrust in government institutions discourage them from cooperating with government partners. If ever, they would rather work with non-government organizations, including faith-based organizations.

- a. (Groups 1-3): Develop an action plan to raise awareness of these concerns and prompt action among *local chief executives and government officials*.
- b. (Groups 4-6): Develop an information-education campaign aimed at *overseas Filipinos*: what will be your key messages to this audience?

Workshop 4

The groups were asked to identify: three most important learnings or lessons from the MAPID training program, three most significant barriers or challenges in the pursuit of the migration and development agenda, and three proposals for moving forward.

We sent out about 104 and 107 invitations for the Davao and Tagaytay trainings, respectively. Confirming the invitations was slow because of difficulty in getting approval from the head of offices (some of the letters were addressed to the mayor, governor or regional director). Seeking approval usually required several days, especially for invitees in regional offices, who needed to seek approval and funds from the national agency. Another issue was the limited budget of some agencies. While the training program was free, the transportation to and from the training venue were borne by the participants' offices (MAPID-Philippines also considered this as the "counterpart" of government institutions).

The follow-up was done through various means: telephone/fax/email communication, involving MAPID researchers in the regions to follow up with the potential candidates, and visits to the regions and provinces with the most number of likely candidates. This multi-pronged approach had to be taken because the candidates were distributed throughout the country. The personal visits were effective and helpful in securing the commitment of potential participants. During the visit, the purpose of the training program became clear to the heads or officials, and this helped them in identifying the appropriate person to represent their institutions. The visit also provided the organizers the opportunity to know the potential candidates and to better gauge their interest and motivations in participating in the program. We received requests from NGOs in Mindanao to participate in the training program. We accommodated a few participants from NGOs, people's organizations and the academe which had links with government institutions to join the training program.

Assessment of the Capacity Building Programs

One major source of data comes from the evaluation form completed by the participants. There were 38 and 41 participants from the Davao and Tagaytay trainings, respectively, who completed the evaluation forms.

As Table 11 shows, female participants were the majority in both training programs. Majority of the participants held manage-

TABLE 11
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

	Visayas /Mindanao (N=38)	Luzon (N=41)	Total
<i>Gender</i>			
Female	71.0	68.0	69.5
Male	29.0	32.0	30.5
	100%	100%	100.0%
<i>Institution represented</i>	Visayas/Mindanao (N=38)	Luzon (N=41)	Total
Regional/National Government	44.0	27.0	35.5
Provincial/Local Government	45.0	48.0	10.0
Others	10.0	24.0	17.0
	99%	99%	100.0%
<i>Main responsibility/function</i>	Visayas/Mindanao (N=38)	Luzon (N=41)	Total
Management and supervision	52.0	41.0	46.5
Administrative functions	10.0	10.0	10.0
Research	10.0	17.0	13.5
Training	16.0	4.0	10.0
Planning	3.0	20.0	11.5
Polymaking	0.0	2.0	1.0
Information, education and communication	5.0	5.0	5.0
Community organizing	3.0	0.0	1.5
	99%	99%	100.0%
<i>Ever attended a migration seminar</i>	Visayas/Mindanao (N=38)	Luzon (N=40)	Total
Yes	23.0	20.0	21.5
No	76.0	80.0	78.0
	99%	100%	100.0
<i>Awareness of international migration issues?</i>	Visayas/Mindanao (N=38)	Luzon (N=40)	Total
Very limited to none	24.0	40.0	32.0
Fairly extensive	66.0	50.0	58.0
Very extensive	10.0	10.0	10.0
	100%	100%	100.0

ment and supervisory positions such as regional director, director of certain divisions or units, or administrators.

For the majority of participants in both training programs (78 percent), MAPID was the first migration and development training program that they had attended. However, majority of them (58 percent) reported that they had “fairly extensive” knowledge and awareness about international migration issues (Table 11). Asked

on how they would rate the degree of learning from the training, no one answered “minimal.” The responses were “some” and mostly “much.” Overall, about nine out of 10 participants said that they learned much from the training program.

Aside from the overall assessment, the questionnaire probed into the usefulness of each topic and most participants, which received ratings of useful or very useful (table not shown). Similarly, participants stated that the workshops were useful/very useful (table not shown). We observed that the workshops were lively and the group outputs reflected thoughtful discussions. The participants expressed that they did not mind working overtime because of the lively group discussions. We noted though that more efforts at transcending departmental lines are needed. The issues of concern to participants were highly influenced by the mandate of their agency or the nature of their work. For example, for PESO officers, who were typically involved in job fairs, their questions and suggestions centered on labor and employment promotion while planning and development officers expressed more interest in involving overseas Filipinos to support local development. The tendency to focus on agency-mandated concerns sometimes kept participants from adopting a broader migration and development framework.

Since the training programs only reached a limited number of government participants, the evaluation explored whether participants had plans to re-echo or share the MAPID training program with their respective agencies – 92 percent and 95 percent of the Visayas/Mindanao and Luzon participants, respectively, answered in the affirmative. All the participants unanimously said that they will recommend the MAPID training to government officials and staff.

The participants were also encouraged to share additional comments, observations and suggestions. On the whole, the comments were appreciative and congratulatory. Some examples are:

Thank you for the knowledge gained; it will be an important tool and armor in establishing /creating more development programs for the migrants.

Participant, Davao Training

The training was very productive and I learned a lot of things that are very vital in the affairs of the LGUs (local government units). I will try to do my way to include programs on OFWs in our 2010 Annual Investment Plan.

Participant, Davao Training

The activity was an eye-opener for me as a development planner because never in the past that international migration issue was taken up in the past development process (at least in our region). The results of the research studies are very rich sources of legislative agenda for LGUs and good references in policy analysis/development and program development. It is highly recommended that the final copy of the output of MAPID will be distributed to LGUs, RDCs (Regional Development Councils) and all other policy making bodies in the country.

Participant, Tagaytay Training

The invitation to attend/participate to this capacity building program is so timely and an opportunity/venue to learn and provide wider /additional inputs on migration especially for me and my agency who deals with OFs (overseas Filipinos) and families. I hope that this would not be the last capacity building program, especially for direct workers or those who plan and execute policies of the government for the migrants. I thank you for making me a part of this activity. Good luck for the great effort you made not only for the training but also in your materials/publications. They help me in my work with the migrants in the region. I pray that you'll send us more, especially in the region.

Participant, Tagaytay Training

Many suggested that the training program should be offered to local government units and to reach out specifically to local chief executives.

MAPID project is a great step forward in making LGUs [local government units] more aware and understand more the relationship of international migration and development and not view migrants or OFWs as solutions to poverty problem and as 'geese that lay golden eggs' but as partners. My participation in this training has equipped me in introducing to our LGU the need to seriously consider the plight of the overseas workers in our city with a view of reciprocity – i.e., not only to view the OFs [overseas Filipinos] as outgoing residents but as 'coming home' residents who will also have needs to be addressed.

Participant, Davao Training

The program is very good. However, it would be very appropriate if this will be replicated at the LGU level (local chief executives) since they are the right persons who can decide on what strategic directions they can take. However, they have to be reminded first that migrants are just there waiting to be tapped. Another item which I will point out is the LGUs' role in helping OFs (permanent and temporary migrants through the provision of programs and projects beneficial to them. The LGU should not focus on the migrants' ability to help them but rather on the LGUs' ability/opportunity to provide services to the migrants. Migrant giving is only an added bonus.

Participant, Davao Training

It is strongly recommended that MAPID will cascade this program to the local chief executives at all levels of LGUs. National government should also include in the national, regional and local development framework the aspects of international migration in the country. Thank you very much to SMC and CFO. We look forward to more collaboration in the future.

Participant, Tagaytay Training

Several participants also shared the need to step up the advocacy campaign with the national government and LGUs and proposed interesting ideas on how to move forward:

1. Conduct trainings/seminar/conferences on a regular basis at all levels and among various stakeholders.
2. Pursue effective IEC [information, education, communication] and policy advocacy strategies/activities for greater understanding and promoting concrete action agenda in addressing migration and development course.
3. Find a champion for strengthening networking/linkages and pushing for reviewing existing policies and programs, as well as, for relevant policy formulation, program development, monitoring and evaluation.

Participant, Davao Training

CFO should bring this activity down to the provincial level – more advocacy activities, briefings to provincial/city officials and heads of national agencies at the regional level. CFO and other government agencies, NGOs and funding institutions like the EC (European Commission) should continue to advocate with high government officials including the President of the Philippines to mainstream migration and development in the guidelines on development planning. This is timely for the next planning period under the term of the new president. Continue also to advocate with the different leagues.

Participant, Davao Training

1. If MAPID could formulate a tool which could help the LGUs to conduct baseline survey on migration matters. Help identify what data should be generated useful in data profiling and how to analyze it.
2. MAPID should establish constant linkage with LGUs regarding international migration and other issues to enhance advocacy.

3. The capacity building program is very well organized. Congratulations to the organizers.

Participant, Davao Training

1. Identify agency to champion the migration sector to maximize the potentials of the sector for development.
2. Improve structure to enhance collaboration between the national and local levels.
3. Encourage entrepreneurship to migrant workers and entrepreneurial mindset to national and local government units.

Participant, Tagaytay Training

1. There should be a mechanism for continuity where everything agreed upon and or discussed in this project shall be put into action.
2. To be able to attain comprehensive development in the area of international migration, the agencies in the migration loop should be expanded other than the regular ones.

Participant, Tagaytay Training

We also received comments that would be useful to consider for similar training programs in the future – to invite other government agencies (e.g., Department of Social Work and Development, Department of Agriculture), to include more group dynamics, to combine lectures with other methodologies, to include more presentations on the programs of national agencies for the benefit of LGUs, to have more discussions on government legislations related to migration, and to have more details on the processes behind good practices by different stakeholders. Many suggested the conduct of follow up trainings:

I hope there will be a follow-up training/seminar again like this and I am hoping that you can invite us again. This is really a very good training /exchange of ideas especially for us LGUs who, in one way or the other, can

gain knowledge from this training and be able to use it in our local development planning.

Participant, Davao Training

I shall look forward to another convergence like this. As we have started it now, it would be most fitting to craft a follow-through of this program.

Participant, Davao Training

The last session of the training program, "Learnings, Challenges and Moving Forward," added insights to the participants' assessment of the capacity building exercise. Based on what were identified as lessons learned, barriers to address, and recommendations for moving forward, the training program had significant inputs in raising participants' awareness about the many facets of the migration-development nexus in the Philippines. In sum, the various sources of assessment indicate that the capacity building programs were relevant, useful, and provided ideas and good examples that government institutions can learn from and apply in their work.

The training programs in the Philippines exceeded our expectations. Our participation in the training programs conducted in Italy and Spain also provided us an opportunity to witness how the initiative was received by overseas Filipinos. As envisioned by the project, the capacity building programs across the three countries contributed to achieving the objectives of (1) promoting an understanding of the migration-development nexus by representatives of Philippine government institutions and leaders and active members of Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain, and (2) building cooperation between the two stakeholders.

In fact, the capacity building program not only opened prospects for transnational cooperation, but it also built bridges of cooperation among stakeholders within each country. Particularly in the Philippines, the live-in format of the training programs gave participants from different government agencies who were operating at different levels (national, regional and local) more opportunities for interaction and exchange during the four-day event. The

capacity-building programs were enriched by the presentation of evidence-based data from the research phase of the MAPID Project. Findings from the research among Filipinos and migrants' associations in Italy and Spain were communicated to the participants in training programs in the Philippines, and vice versa. This exchange of information helped clarify where each stakeholder was coming from and narrowed information gaps about each other. For example, the cases of cooperation between overseas Filipinos and local institutions provided participants in Italy and Spain a more positive view of responsive and effective government institutions. Philippine participants, on the other hand, heard about the views and perceptions of Filipino migrants which, among others, drove home the importance of building trust in government institutions.

Participants' Suggestions and Proposals

Proposals for future activities and projects emerged from the discussions during the training programs. SMC acted on three concrete proposals advanced by the participants: to publish and to disseminate more widely the cases profiled in "MAPID Chronicles: Good News and Good Practices;" to publish the national and regional findings of the MAPID-Philippines research; and to hold more regional fora during the dissemination activities in 2010.

The first proposal has been realized with the publication, *Transnational Bridges: Migration, Development and Solidarity in the Philippines* (released in June 2010). The Commission on Filipinos Overseas funded the publication of book. Half of the publication is devoted to profiling long-time partners and examples of livelihood projects developed over 20 years of the LINKAPIL Program (1989-2009), the other half features selected cases documented by MAPID-Philippines research (many of which were included in the earlier version, MAPID Chronicles). Many more examples of good practices did not make it to the book because we were not able to get the consent of the concerned individuals. The consent taking took a long time and we had to decide on a cut-off date to proceed with the production of book.

The second proposal also resulted in the transformation of the lengthy regional research reports into abridged articles – these,



together with the national overview, will be published into a book, *Minding the Gaps: Migration, Development and Governance in the Philippines*, which will be ready by the end of 2010.

For the dissemination activities, the original plan was to hold a policy summit to be conducted in Manila and one joint Visayas/Mindanao forum. In response to the advocacy of the participants and in keeping with the focus of the project to mainstream migration and development in local governments, we decided to hold three regional fora – one each in the Visayas (Cebu City), Mindanao (Davao City), and Luzon (Naga City).

SMC also immediately took up the proposal to include in the MAPID website information on Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain on the one hand, and information on programs by local institutions on the other hand. However, this has been delayed due to the process of seeking permission from the migrants' associations in Italy and Spain to have their profiles posted on the web.

V. Charting Future Action

The MAPID Project brought to light many issues which have implications for policy, advocacy, research and capacity building. Following is a shortlist of recommendations:

- To integrate international migration in the formulation and implementation of national, regional and local development plans; similarly, development plans must be informed by the opportunities and threats to development posed by different types of migration

Given the magnitude and significance of the 8.1 million-strong overseas Filipino population, international migration issues cannot be ignored in policymaking in the Philippines. The different profiles, migration histories and destination contexts of overseas Filipinos have varying development implications.

The government is enjoined to review its labor deployment policy and to situate it in the context of national, regional and local development plans. Continuing deployment policy and worker protection strategy will relegate the country to being the training ground

of workers for the global labor market; it is an approach that will render the Philippines hostage to external factors. The reliance on overseas employment will also result in the neglect of the needs of the domestic market. The oversupply of seafarers and nurses in the country and the short supply of meteorologists and pilots is symptomatic of the distortions this policy has unwittingly created in the domestic front. This example underscores the need to know the country's current and projected human resource profile and the skills needed by the various economic sectors. This will require synergy involving different government agencies, notably the National Economic Development Authority Department of Education, Commission on Higher Education, Department of Labor and Employment and Department of Trade and Industry. Interagency coordination is important, but the coordination should also extend to other stakeholders, such as the academe, the private sector and other relevant actors and institutions.

Other than labor deployment, the return migration of OFWs should receive more attention and focus, starting with the collection of basic data on return migrants. Maintaining links with permanent settlers and improving mechanisms to encourage their ties and contributions to the Philippines must be pursued. Migration policies should also include international migration to the Philippines.

In the short-term (ideally, by June 2011), MAPID proposes that each government agency draft a vision and strategy paper on migration and development, which will then form the basis for a coordinated national migration and development plan. The same exercise is also proposed for local government units, particularly provinces that are significantly affected by international migration.

- To cultivate and strengthen the coordination of migration and development policies involving different agencies and institutions operating at different levels

The National Economic Development Authority is the designated government entity with the mandate to coordinate development planning. When it comes to migration, various agencies are involved, each with a specific mandate. For labor migration, the

main agencies are the Department of Labor and Employment (the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration and Overseas Workers Welfare Administration) and the Department of Foreign Affairs (the Office of the Undersecretary of Migrant Workers Affairs; for permanent settlers, the main agency is the Commission on Filipinos Overseas; for foreign nationals in the country, the agency responsible is the Bureau of Immigration.

The MAPID research in the Philippines has confirmed that the involvement of different government agencies in international migration is bounded by departmental mandates. Crossing departmental borders to deal with migration per se is already a challenge; adding migration and development into the picture confounds the interagency cooperation. Which government agency will be the lead agency in migration and development?

There are at least 15 countries which have a specific ministry dedicated to diaspora (p.3); the Philippines was classified as a country with sub-ministry level diaspora institutions (p.7) and having a diaspora institution at the national level (p.9) (Agunias, 2009). India, which has a diaspora population of 20-25 million, created the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs in 2004 for the purpose of connecting the Indian diaspora to the homeland. The ministry is organized into four functional service divisions: Diaspora Services (which deals with matters concerning overseas Indians not covered by other ministries or other divisions within the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs), Emigration Services (in charge of policies, programs and services concerning labor migration), Financial Services (promotes investments in India by overseas Indians), and Management Services (deals with the management of ministry staff).³⁷ This example is mentioned for the purpose of illustrating how the Indian government conceptualizes a policy response to sub-populations of the Indian diaspora.

Another relevant example is offered by the Mexican government, which created the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME) for the purpose of increasing the “visibility of Mexicans and strengthen their voice, not only within their country of origin but also in their adopted land” (Gonzales, 2009:89). IME is under the Secretary of

³⁷ See Ministry of Indian Affairs - <http://moia.gov.in/services.aspx?mainid=6>.

Foreign Relations and it operates through Mexico's foreign service posts all over the world, but especially in the US (where most Mexicans are based) and Canada. IME is represented by the Office of Community Affairs in each of the 50 consulates in the US and six in Canada in establishing links with Mexican and Mexican-American leaders in their areas of jurisdiction. These leaders are part of the 128 members who comprise the IME Consultative Council - they are elected by the communities they represent; they serve for a three-year term (one term only); they are not salaried. The Mexican government covers their travel expenses to participate in two plenary sessions every year. The Council provides recommendations to the Mexican government on policies concerning the diaspora (Gonzales, 2009:89-90).

The need to establish a specific agency that will oversee and coordinate all international migration-related policy matters and programs has been raised in various discussions in the Philippines. At this juncture, the division of labor among the migration institutions is clear cut, but the links with the development agencies have yet to be established. In the policy summit of MAPID-Philippines (12 August 2010), rather than create another agency, the call was more for better coordination between migration agencies and development agencies.

- To improve the system and coordination of collecting, processing and utilization of international migration data

The Philippines has made some headway in setting up a system for collecting a variety of labor migration data and stock estimates of overseas Filipinos, but significant data gaps remain, notably basic data on the profile of the Filipino diaspora and return migration. Also, the coordination and harmonization of different data collection systems could stand further improvement. A national migration survey (which will also include internal migration) has not been undertaken. It is time to have one baseline migration survey, which may be supplemented by smaller, more focused follow up studies in the future.

At the level of local government units, there is much work to be done – advocacy and capacity building – to develop a system

for the collection, processing and utilization of migration data in policymaking.

- To promote awareness of the migration-development nexus in local government units and support capacity building programs to enable them to manage migration and development

Local governments are important links in realizing the development contributions of migration. So far, these links are largely non-existent or very weak as indicated by the lack of appreciation for migration in local development plans and the informal, ad hoc approach to requests for assistance by OFWs and their families or offers of assistance by overseas Filipinos. As the locale where migrants originate and where many return to or visit, local governments are at the forefront for the delivery of programs and services, such as pre-employment and pre-departure information programs, anti-illegal recruitment campaigns, anti-trafficking drives, assistance to OFW families, and reintegration programs. Unless links, dialogue and cooperation are established with local governments, “national” migration-related programs will remain ideas.

Awareness raising about migration and development issues of local chief executives and capacity building of planning and development units in local governments are essential to secure the commitment and cooperation of local governments as partners in migration and development programs. Capacity building of local government units can start with the setting up migration structures, programs and basic data collection system.

- To expand knowledge and skills transfer programs and to institute mechanisms to enhance their effectiveness and sustainability

The Balik Scientist Program of the Department of Science and Technology is the main scheme for tapping the contributions of overseas Filipinos to knowledge transfer. The long running program has been revamped in recent years in an effort to attract more scientific talent to share their expertise with their homeland. So far, grantees of the program had been few in number. Since visiting scientists do not normally stay for a long period of time,

some institutional interventions on how to facilitate, retain and nurture the transfer of knowledge would be necessary. In other words, the brain gain program should adopt a long-term view. Adding or strengthening the mentoring aspect of the program will enhance the process of knowledge transfer. For example, the formation of a core team of local counterparts working with the visiting scientist may be set up to ensure continuity. Also, schemes for mentoring-across-the miles with expatriate scientists and experts (and other resource persons), which is now possible through the Internet, should be looked into.

In the brain gain schemes implemented in the Philippines thus far, the main driver has been national government agencies with minimal or no participation by local governments. China's successful knowledge transfer schemes involve the participation of the private sector and local governments, insights which are relevant to consider in the design of brain gain initiatives in the country. In several towns, a Balikbayan Night is part of fiesta celebrations. Often, this is a get-together of overseas based residents who are home for the festivities. This can be part of the initial steps to build a data base, which can be supplemented later by a more systematic search. Also, aside from social events, alternative events may be planned during the visit or return of overseas Filipinos – for example, an investment forum may be had with visiting entrepreneurs, or a lecture by a visiting scholar may be organized in a local university.

As it is envisioned, the National Reintegration Center for OFWs (NCRO) also has a window to encourage knowledge and skills transfer of returning OFWs. However, like other programs under the umbrella of the NCRO, the skills transfer component seems to remain in its idea or incubation stage. Details have to be worked out, which may be filled by basic data collection, consultations with stakeholders, or exploratory research. Nonetheless, the idea to harness the contributions of returning OFWs who have gained expertise and experience in various factors should be looked into. This will expand brain gain beyond the Balik Scientist Program to include other returning talents. In the case of returning OFWs, the possibilities for mentoring and sustaining the process of knowledge and skills transfer will benefit from the presence of return



migrants. Several strategies must be developed in order to reach returning OFWs – e.g., establishing and designating an office that will handle the registration of returning OFWs – who wish to participate in knowledge transfer programs, linking with professional organizations and alumni associations, and involving local governments.

Another area that NCRO also needs to consider is how to involve return migrants as volunteers. Several participants in the MAPID training programs in Italy and Spain were interested to render volunteer services in the Philippines. Likewise, in our encounters with Filipino migrant workers, particularly those who are thinking of returning home for good, the more successful ones conveyed wanting to be involved as volunteers in their communities.

- To rethink or to elaborate the mission and approach of Philippine Foreign Service Posts in light of the profile of overseas Filipinos and their conditions in the destination countries

Outside of the national borders, the Philippine Foreign Service Posts are the face of the Philippine government. As provided in RA 8042 (and its amendments, RA 9422 and RA 10022), the protection and welfare of overseas Filipinos are the utmost concerns of the Philippine Foreign Service Posts (Sec. 27), which will be achieved through the one-country team approach (Sec. 28).

Sec 27 – Priority Concerns of Philippine Foreign Service Posts. - ... The protection of the Filipino migrant workers and the promotion of their welfare, in particular, and the protection and the dignity of the Filipino citizen abroad, in general, shall be the highest priority concerns of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Philippine Foreign Service Posts.

Sec. 28. Country Team-Approach. – Under the country-team approach, all officers, representatives and personnel of the Philippine government posted abroad regardless of their mother agencies shall, on a per country basis, act as one country-team with a mission under the leadership of the ambassador...

For the Philippine Foreign Service Posts in Italy, Spain and other countries in Europe, at this juncture, Filipino communities in these destinations have already acquired a history and have evolved from predominantly female labor migration towards long-term residence and settlement. The migrants who arrived in Italy and Spain in earlier decades have raised families, migration for family reunification has been underway for some time, the young generation is growing, and the pioneer migrants are aging. Filipinos in these countries now grapple with integration issues, the challenges of engaging with the young generation, and the possibility of settling for good in their adopted countries. At the same time, many Filipinos maintain their ties to the Philippines, as indicated by the sending of remittances, regular visits, and the interest to give back something to their homeland. In other words, in these countries, labor migration-related issues may no longer be the main concern of Filipino communities. Philippine Foreign Service Posts in these countries will increasingly have to deal with a more transnational population – i.e., Filipinos with ties to the homeland and to their host society – which will require a different engagement. As such, Philippine embassies and consulates will have to be attentive to the changing needs of changing Filipino communities, and to develop programs and services accordingly. Faced with a constituency that harbors distrust of government, Philippine embassies and consulates also have to exert more efforts in terms of building trust and confidence in government institutions.

To realize the development potentials of international migration will require a coordinated policy environment, thoughtful perspectives, and viable partnerships. This agenda cuts across different levels – from local to national to transnational. It is important to keep our eyes on the prize: the ultimate objective is to achieve sustainable development for all. International migration is an important piece of the development puzzle, but it is just one of the many pieces needed to complete the whole picture. The MAPID Project strongly suggests that transnational possibilities for cooperation exist, but fundamentals in the home front – governance and strong public institutions – are vital in steering the country's development.

Epilogue

As part of the MAPID Project's dissemination activities, MAPID-Philippines held a policy summit in Manila and three regional dissemination fora in August 2010. In the Visayas, the forum was held in Cebu City, in cooperation with the University of San Carlos Office of Population Studies; in Mindanao, the venue was in Davao City and it was co-organized with the Department of Foreign Affairs, Regional Consular Office; and in Luzon, the forum took place in Naga City, with the Ateneo de Naga University Social Science Research Center as the co-organizer. The policy summit and the regional fora were well attended by representatives from government agencies, civil society, migrants and migrants' associations, academe, private sector, international organizations and the media. Like the research and capacity phases, the dissemination phase of the MAPID Project was characterized by dialogue and exchange with the various stakeholders. The summit and the fora served not only to disseminate highlights and recommendations of the MAPID Project, but also to discover new partners and new developments in the institutions which had been part of the MAPID Project in the earlier phases. To cite an example, in the forum in Cebu City, the National Economic Development Authority in Region 7 shared that: "The MAPID Project has provided us development planners a better perspective of looking at the integration principle of migration and development. the project has definitely informed the NEDA-7's development planning approach, with the principle: migration should be a matter of choice, and not of necessity, and that the government will be there to provide support to them."

The dissemination activities of the MAPID Project in the Philippines coincide with the start of a new government. In all the fora, expectations ran high for a possible policy breakthrough in migration and development under the Aquino-led government.

The Aquino government will inherit the latest amendments to RA 8042. On 13 August 2010, just a day after the policy summit, Republic Act No. 10022,³⁸ came into effect. Several provi-

³⁸ The full title is, "An Act Amending Republic Act No. 8042, Otherwise Known as the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, As Amended, Further Improving the Standard of Protection and Promotion of the Welfare of Migrant Workers, Their Families, and Overseas Filipinos in Distress, and for Other Purposes."

sions in RA 10022 provide a basis for reinforcing the migration and development agenda in the Philippines:

- The proposal to strengthen the **National Reintegration Center for Overseas Filipino Workers** is supported by Sec. 10 (amended Sec. 17 of RA 8042), which provides for the establishment of the Center,³⁹ and Sec. 11 (amended Sec. 18 of RA 8042), which defines and expands its functions. Among others, the Center is tasked to “(d) develop and support programs for livelihood, entrepreneurship, savings, investments and financial literacy for returning Filipino migrant workers and their families in coordination with relevant stakeholders, service providers and international organizations;” and “(c) coordinate with appropriate stakeholders, service providers and relevant international organizations for the promotion, development and the full utilization of overseas Filipino worker returnees and their potentials.” In RA 8042, the mandated office was called Re-placement and Monitoring Center.
- The call to improve interagency coordination on **data matters** is elaborated in Sec. 13, which amended Sec 20 of RA 8042, i.e., the establishment of a Shared Government Information System for Migration. In RA10020, the membership of the interagency committee has been expanded, with the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Labor and Employment as co-chair. Sec 20(d) as amended specifically mentions sharing data bases on masterlist of departing/arriving Filipinos.
- The role of **local government units** is a significant addition in RA 10022. Sec 16(d) mentions local government units as a partner in the fight against illegal recruitment, which

³⁹ “Sec. 17. Establishment of *National Reintegration Center for Overseas Filipino Workers*. – A national reintegration center for OFWs (NRCO) is hereby created in the Department of Labor and Employment for returning Filipino migrant workers which shall provide a mechanism for their reintegration into the Philippine society, serve as a promotion house for their local employment, and tap their skills and potentials for national development.”



“shall take a proactive stance by being primarily responsible for the dissemination of information to their constituents on all aspects of overseas employment.” To fulfill this task, local government units will provide a venue to POEA and other stakeholders for the conduct of pre-employment orientation seminars and to establish overseas Filipino worker help desk or kiosk in their localities.

Another development is the newly formulated 22-point Labor and Employment Agenda of the Department of Labor and Employment (2010). As an overarching goal, the agenda aims to “invest in our country’s top resource, our human resource, to make us more competitive and employable while promoting industrial peace based on social justice.” It is instructive to note that 11 of the 22 items pertain to overseas employment; these items tackle protection-, development-, and management-oriented issues (see Box 6). Overseas employment, thus, will remain important for the country’s immediate future. The much-awaited Medium Term Philippine Development Plan, 2010-2016 of the Aquino government will hopefully set the conditions for realizing sustainable development, so that the country can move closer to making migration a matter of choice.

BOX 6

OVERSEAS EMPLOYMENT IN THE 22-POINT LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT AGENDA

PROTECTION

- “Review the continued employment of workers to countries, which are high- and medium-risk areas, as well as the continued deployment of workers in high-risk occupations.” (item 9)
- “Work with the DFA [Department of Foreign Affairs] to transform Philippine embassies, consular offices and Philippine Overseas Labor Offices (POLOs) into centers of care and services for overseas workers by assigning more foreign service officers to posts where there are many OFWs and train them in the needs of the communities they serve.” (item 12)
- “Fully implement the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003. Pursue and prosecute those engaging in illegal and predatory activities, including fixers, scammers and especially traffickers that target women and children.” (item 14)
- “Address the social costs of migration by working closely with communities and families of OFWs to provide effective social welfare services such as counseling and pre-departure orientation seminars. Support the creation or strengthening of community-based support groups for families of OFWs.” (item 16)
- “Improve the seafarers’ upgrading program, credit/loaning program, self-insurance coverage program, which includes life insurance, burial, disability and dismemberment benefits, and reintegration program.” (item 17)

DEVELOPMENT

- “Invest in the formal and regular skills training and upgrading of our service workers with TESDA and utilize returning OFWs to conduct training so that they may transfer skills learned abroad.” (item 13)
- “Assist OFWs in achieving financial stability through training, investment and savings programs.” (item 15)
- “Complete a global trading master plan that aims to establish worldwide trading posts that rely on the labor, knowledge and entrepreneurial spirit of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs).” (item 18)
- “Facilitate the reintegration of returning OFWs by favorable terms of investment, tax incentives, access to government financial institutions and other benefits that are offered to foreign investors.” (item 19)

MANAGEMENT

- “Create an efficient “one-stop shop” for processing applications for overseas work and seeking redress for grievances.” (item 10)
- “Audit the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration to rationalize the management of its funds in terms of the benefits provided as well as how the funds are invested.” (item 11)

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3

What are the Opportunities for Mobilizing the Filipino Diaspora in Italy? Lessons from the MAPID Project

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According to the most recent estimates (1 January 2009), the number of Filipinos in Italy is around 145,000, or 3.1 percent of all non-Italians coming from countries with a strong migratory presence in this country (Fondazione Ismu, 2010). The total number of non-Italians residing in Italy is close to five million, mainly owing to the effects of an exceedingly strong influx in the space of a few years from countries of more recent emigration (in particular those of East Europe). In this light, although the size of the Filipino community is constantly growing, its percentage share to the total number of immigrants has been in diminution for more than a decade, so that today it ranks as the sixth largest group behind Romania (968,000), Albania (538,000), Morocco (497,000), China (215,000) and Ukraine (200,000).

Reinforcing the steady and uninterrupted growth in the number of the non-Italian population – which has made Italy one of the main countries of immigration in the contemporary international

* Laura Zanfrini is the author of the introduction and of sections 1, 2, 3 and 6. Annavittoria Sarli is the author of sections 4 and 5.



scene – is the strengthening of the tendency towards settlement of the immigrant population over the last decade. This development is making immigration a significant component of the country's demographic situation whose population is among the "oldest" in the world. Suffice it to say that the non-Italian population has a birth rate that is well over double the Italian population's, and has a lower death rate (due to the effect of the different age distribution). Consequently, the rate of natural growth takes on a negative value for Italians (-0.9) but a decidedly positive one for non-Italians (10.6). In this light, it is no wonder that one of the most relevant phenomena is the emergence on the public scene of the second generation of immigrants (i.e., those who were born in Italy or joined their families in Italy). More than one non-Italian in five residents in Italy is a minor, and, in the school year 2008-09, the number of non-Italian students enrolled in school reached a figure of 627,007, equal to seven percent of the total student population (Filipinos make up the sixth biggest community, with more than 17,000 students).

At the same time, however, the migration flows continue to be characterized by the entry of labor migrants, who comprise a little fewer than two thirds of all newcomers and are attracted by the extraordinary capacity of the Italian labor market to absorb immigrants. Among others, this results from the highly multi-ethnic nature that characterizes the non-Italian workforce in Italy,¹ the pull exerted by a diffuse underground economy. The recent recession, despite claiming its own victims from among immigrant and native workers alike, has affected in an altogether marginal way the sectors employing immigrant labor particularly female labor (i.e., domestic workers and caregivers). A fact that should be borne in mind when accounting for the good (not to say excellent) workplace performances that have continued to characterize immigrants from the Philippines even during the worst stages of the crisis.²

¹ For an in-depth analysis of the subject of immigrant labor, see the sections authored by Laura Zanfrini in the ISMU Annual Report on Migration. The English online edition can be accessed at www.polimetrica.com.

² Suffice it to say that, according to the data of the *Osservatorio Regionale per l'integrazione e la multiethnicità*, as of 2009, the unemployment rate among the Filipinos in Lombardy is practically nil (cf. Zanfrini, 2010a).

Finally, as for the attitude of Italians towards immigration, the most recent surveys reveal a picture that is sending ambivalent and contradictory signals. In the first place, it is by now well-known that non-Italians take on important roles – and in many ways irreplaceable ones – within the Italian labor market, enabling firms to satisfy their professional needs and, above all, guaranteeing families a labor pool that could provide them with valuable welfare services. The perception of immigration as being a problem of public order has reappeared on the scene as a consequence of the apprehension generated by the steady influx of migrants and significant involvement of non-Italians in deviant activities. Corollary to this, once dormant concerns on the competition between locals and foreigners for jobs and migrant laborers' benefits have begun to resurface.

The consensus on the potential cultural enrichment brought in by immigration has diminished, while there has been a decided rise in the expectation that immigrants should adapt to Italian culture and traditions. But, at the same time, the willingness to grant rights – even political ones – to legal residents has been heightened, confirming the openness of Italian society to the prospect of extending the country's membership, facilitating the naturalization of non-Italians and recognizing their political rights (although regarding both questions, Italy has at present a particularly restrictive regulatory regime). However, there are two critical areas exerting a negative impact on the attitude of Italians that risk compromising the future of interethnic co-existence: the persistent overestimation of the number of non-Italians that commit crimes, which is also at the root of the growing support for those political forces that make most reference to this in their propaganda – and a migratory dynamic that continues to a large extent to develop outside the procedures of the law, strongly influencing the relationship between immigrants and the Italian society and contributing to the decreasing sense of legality in a country this has chronically lacked it (Zanfrini, 2008).

It is in this scenario that the process of Filipino immigration to Italy belongs, since it has always been one of the most successfully integrated groups (if indicators such as the employment rate,



salary levels or the exceedingly low level of involvement in deviant activities) and has always been at the top of the list of groups most appreciated by Italians. However, as we shall see, the traditionally positive factors of the Filipino integration model today are being transformed into elements of weakness, with potentially negative effects on the younger members of the community, and above all – and this is what we have to deal with first and foremost here – counterproductive consequences on the Filipino community to take advantage of the new structure of opportunity that has arisen with regard to the prospect of co-development.

This chapter is based on what has been achieved in the course of the three years of activities of the MAPID Project in Italy, and in particular:

- on the research activity carried out in the first year (2008), consisting of the reconstruction of the statistical and documentary sources relating to Filipino immigration to Italy (within the wider context of the migratory phenomenon in Italy and its evolution); the formulation of a survey given to a sample of 200 Filipinos in Milan and Rome (selected from respondents who were at least 18 years old and with at least three years' residence in the respective cities); the carrying out of 25 in-depth interviews with key informants (Philippine government officials, members of the Filipino migrant community with a special profile or life experience and representatives of Italian institutions working in connection with the Filipino community) and the conduct of a survey on the Filipino associations in Milan and Rome (undertaken by means of a mapping operation and the staging of 40 semi-structured interviews with leaders of associations)³ (see Sections 1, 2, 3 and 4);
- on the critical evaluation of all the stages of the training course that was done, from planning to follow-up, that in-

³ This chapter provides a brief synthesis of the data gathered. The complete report on the research is published in the volume by Laura Zanfrini and Annavittoria Sarli, *Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development. Italian Report*, Quaderni ISMU 1/2009, which those interested can request for free by writing to the email address: ismu@ismu.org.

cluded both the participants and the various stakeholders of different institutions (see Sections 4 and 5); and

- on the formulation, on the basis of this experience, of a series of indicators that refer to the various respondents involved in the mobilization of associations by initiatives of co-development (see Section 6).

I. Filipino Immigration to Italy: A History of One of the Best Established Groups

The Filipino community is one of the earliest immigrant groups in Italy, with the first arrivals having taken place at the beginning of the 1970s, a time when Italy was primarily an emigration country. Some of the reasons that promoted Philippine immigration, although almost always economic, included facilitating conditions such as the regularization of entry into Italy through official channels stipulated between the two governments and inserted in a specific “sponsorship and recruitment” program; the familiarity of Filipinos with Western culture (which has acted as a real and proper agent of anticipatory socialization); the Philippines’ Catholic tradition, and closely related to this, the intermediation of Catholic Church-related institutions and actors. It is precisely the role played by the Catholic missions in the Philippines and by the religious institutions in contact with Italian parishes that has contributed to shaping one of the main characteristics of the Filipino immigrant community in Italy: the high percentage of women inserted in the Italian labor market (some scholars have referred to this phenomenon as “genderization,” a constitutive trait of a complete model of integration –cf. D’Ottavi et al., 1998; Pojmann, 2007). In fact, the religious institutions acted as guarantors for the reliability of Filipino women (a requirement extremely necessary for certain types of work such as those of domestic workers and more especially for those whose task is to care for the elderly or children), provided them with substantial material support (access to work and a place to stay) and places to congregate and worship together. At



the same time, they helped keep these women maintain a low-key presence in Italian society at large, contributing to the positive stereotype that female migration (and Filipino migration) did not create problems for the host society, especially in terms of public security.

Most of the studies and research papers referred to in this review of literature present a three-part chronology of Filipino migration in Italy, from the 1970s to the 1990s, to which we can add a fourth, corresponding to the most recent period.

In the First Phase (between the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s), single females or married women or mothers arrived on their own without their husbands, sons and daughters (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). They entered Italy with tourist visas; some had a contract to work as domestic worker workers obtained under the direct hiring scheme (Zontini, 2001). Some of them remained in the employ of the diplomats, managers or engineers who had been stationed in the Philippines (Tacoli, 1999), or were employed by some well-to-do families who spent time in the Philippines for tourism or business reasons and had decided to return to Italy together with their domestic worker (Cominelli, 2004). Many of these women left for Italy without any definitive migratory plans in mind: Italy was seen as a transit point (for North America), a chance to earn and save something to send home, as well as an important opportunity to experience autonomous and independent life.

The absence of well-defined laws on migration, the frequent amnesties to legalize those illegally working and residing in Italy (see Zanfrini, 2008), and the consequent reputation of Italy as being easy to enter and live in even as an unauthorized immigrant have all contributed to its desirability as a transit country (Greco, 2004). Only in the case of married women is it possible to hypothesize the existence of a better-defined migration plan, shared with the husband, and directed towards the support and maintenance of the nuclear family. During this period, Filipino women were generally isolated socially, also due in large part to their situation of having to work and live full-time with their employers (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). Little by little, however, occasions to meet and congregate began to take place, either spontaneously in the piaz-

zas and streets of the city, or as a result of the efforts of some Church organizations; thus, these informal networks began to evolve into formal structures of community assistance (Cominelli, 2005; Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; Lodigiani, 1995).

It is also important to mention in this stage the considerations of invisibility in the public space which will continue for some time to characterize Filipino immigration. If in general terms female migration poses unanticipated challenges for the receiving society (Sassen, 1996), in the specific case of the Filipino female migrants coming to Italy, the ease of their insertion into the job market, the high number of women continually arriving on their own and the notable mobility between the country of origin and the country of destination would have given local administrations the mistaken idea that they could be people without any particular needs or demands that must be met (Zontini, 2001). At the same time, on the Filipino community front these initial characteristics have contributed to the development of a migratory culture oriented towards accumulation and towards the safeguarding of the myth of returning rather than effective integration in Italian society.

During the Second Phase (by the mid-1980s), the migratory flow became more pronounced (particularly between 1984-87, during a serious economic crisis in the Philippines). Whereas networking among co-nationals arose occasionally previously, family networking began to take hold (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). Italy was still seen as a transit point, but at the same time it was beginning to evolve as a place for long-term settlement (Palidda, 2000). This change, together with the adjustment in the work schedule from full-time to work by the hour, allowed for the construction of independent nuclear households: some of the women had their husbands join them in Italy, found them work through the intercession of their employers, who agreed to hire the husbands as helpers, drivers, guards or gardeners, and let them live in the same house together with their spouses (Greco, 2004; Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). In the course of the 1980s and 1990s, the men, through the process of family reunification, arrived in a steady flow. Along with the regulations that governed family reunification, the arrival of the men stimulated a more widespread settlement in the area, the creation of new nuclear families and the consequent

emergence of the second generation (Zontini, 2002). Having found emigration a productive and economically advantageous strategy, within this decade, a growing number of single women already established in Italy went back to the Philippines, got married, and then returned to Italy to continue helping out their families with their earnings and savings (Palidda, 2000). This was also the period that saw the rise of clandestine immigration, through “quasi-official” channels or fly-by-night agencies which pretended to organize trips for small groups of “tourists” (Greco, 2004). At times, these self-styled agencies worked in tandem with Italian “contractors” using this scheme: the would-be migrant was provided with an airline ticket to a country at the border of the European community (such as Hungary or the former Yugoslavia) as well as the necessary visa for these countries, and the eventual transfer to Italy (Palidda, 2000). At the end of this decade, a marked increase in entry was noted, probably due to the intensified activities of many intermediary agencies in view of the proposed amnesty of 1990, the effects of which continued in the years that followed (Lodigiani, 1995).

The clandestine Filipino emigrations were abetted by the very same factors that helped legal immigration, including the presence of relatives and friends who served as a foothold (or bridgehead) for their assimilation (D’Ottavi et al., 1998). It must be said, however, that although Filipino unauthorized migrants continued to come to Italy in subsequent years, this group was never stigmatized for how they arrived in Italy. In the collective mind of the Italian community, the Filipino stereotype never took on the image of an unauthorized immigrant (Palidda, 2000). Even more relevant is the observation that this group was subjected to a more lenient treatment by the authorities and public security, compared to other groups of unauthorized workers, and were subject to a very different stigmatization (Cominelli, 2004) - phenomena that further reinforced the substantial invisibility of this community.

During the Third Phase (beginning from the onset of the 1990s), the reunification of families saw a notable increase. Certainly, this was made possible by the appropriate legislation in force that allowed family members to join their spouses or parents in

Italy, although even before this law took effect, there had been neither obstacles nor objections to *de facto* family reunions (Greco, 2004). Even though unauthorized immigration never ceased, for a very rooted community such as the Filipino community in Italy the presence of family networks had paved the way for legal migration, thanks to the opportunity to use sponsoring systems (family reunification procedures) that gradually reducing the incidence of unauthorized immigration. Also, Filipinos, especially in the past, took advantage of the "recruitment from abroad" clause within the framework of the annual law on the quotas of migrants who are allowed to enter the country. Individual migrations continued (including those of the clandestine type), but with the difference being the new arrivals could count on the social network in existence to direct them to more remunerative choices (for example, to help them get hired for work by the hour instead of full-time).

Saving one's earnings remained a fixed and essential idea, but various studies conducted in Milan, for example, indicate that Filipinos sent home the highest remittances among migrant groups (Zucchetti, 1995; Palidda, 2000). In fact, although Filipinos worked by the hour for their families, they would spend their free time working at another job to be able to earn more (D'Ottavi, 1998). Their remittances not only served to comply with their obligation to support their families in the Philippines financially, but also took on a symbolic value that keeps alive the migrant Filipinos' ties to the motherland and also sustains the social prestige that they enjoy as "the new and real national heroes" (Lodigiani, 1997:35).

Towards the end of the 1990s, Filipinos (like immigrants from other countries) began trying to set up business enterprises mostly geared to service the needs of their compatriots (mainly call centers, freight/cargo forwarders, informal organizations not always officially recognized as specializing in sending remittances, etc.). These autonomous initiatives emerged more in the north than in the south, and in general were thinly dispersed. The statistics gathered in Lombardy, where for the last 10 years a system of monitoring the living and working conditions of immigrants has been in operation (*Osservatorio Regionale per l'integrazione e la multietnicità*), reveal that despite the appearance of entrepreneurial activi-

ties in recent years, the Filipino community remains the least represented in terms of autonomous work or self-employment in comparison with other major nationalities.⁴ In large part, what inhibits Filipinos from setting up their own businesses is the ease with which they find employment in the domestic work sector, which does not subject them to the risks of prolonged unemployment (Zanfrini, 2006). This limited planning for their future in Italy is what characterized the first generation of migrants. In fact, it is possible for some immigrants, after having tried an autonomous activity, to return to domestic work, which has become a “refuge sector” (Greco, 2004:75).

As to Italy no longer being perceived as an immigration make-shift solution or transit point (despite the difficulties involved, North America remains a destination of preference for family members reunited with their loved ones in Italy or in newly formed unions, especially for those with relatives and friends already established there), the stay in the country is considered a functional one because it allows for the accumulation of savings that could be reinvested in the Philippines in preparation for their eventual return, an aspiration or a myth largely adhered to by the first generation. In this connection, the rather low applications for Italian naturalization from this group despite long years of residence in Italy is hypothesized by many scholars to be indicative of their plans to return home (although findings from the MAPID research in Italy suggest otherwise). According to some researchers (Palidda, 2000), the arrival or birth of children does not substantially alter their migration plans, at least for the long haul. Many couples decide to send back their newly born children to the Philippines, delegating their care and education to the grandparents for a variety of reasons, either in view of their eventual return or to maintain their ties to their culture, or out of the fear that their children would encounter too many difficulties integrating and being emancipated within Italian society (Liamzon, 2007). In any case, it is true that the enlargement of the family, and especially the presence of children,

⁴ On this subject, see the sections by Laura Zanfrini included in the Annual Report of the *Osservatorio Regionale sull'integrazione e la multiethnicità della Lombardia* (www.ismu.org/oriv).

contributes to the changes, to a certain extent, in lifestyle and consumption patterns: a certain tendency to follow the Italian model and a poor readiness to accept sacrifices and conditions of hardship have been noted (Greco, 2004). As will be discussed in a later section, the second generation's issues have become a central question in the most recent studies and research, contributing to the emergence of this theme in the Italian context and attracting the attention of the scientific community (see for example, Valtolina and Marazzi, 2006).

A characteristic of the most recent stage of Filipino immigration in Italy – or, to be more precise, what has captured the attention of researchers at this fourth stage is precisely the familial nature of the immigration process. In this regard, it should be mentioned that, recognizing the right of immigrants to be reunited with their wives, husbands and under-age children, Italian legislation begs comparison with a migratory model potentially in contradiction with the “guest worker” model promoted by the country of origin. The energetic growth of the second generation in Italy – thanks both to new births and to family reunions – in fact represents a migratory model which is totally different from that of the temporary overseas worker template celebrated in the Philippines as the new national hero because of his/her remittances that keep its economy afloat. It is not by chance that it has caught the attention of the Philippine government. At the same time, the processes of familiarization oblige the host society to rethink the Filipino integration model in Italy. It would be rather naïve to imagine this convenient situation continuing to eternity, ignoring the possibility that the decades-old presence of the Filipino population in Italy, so far silent, may now claim its right to a substantial integration, increasing, in the first place, its demands for services:

The effect is that of a presence that up to now has filled a gap in the agencies of social reproduction (thanks to its conspicuous insertion into care-work with families) and is now in a situation where it feels a need to respond to the call for reproduction, modifying greatly, at least in perspective, the limits of its participation in our socio-economic system (Zanfrini, 1998:153).

Indeed, exactly as has happened in other European countries, it is precisely the emergence on the public scene of immigrant and second generation families that imposes on Italian society the need to come to terms with a kind of “historical paradox” (Zanfrini, 2010c) of the European situation: the attempt to reconcile the “economistic” – and intrinsically discriminating – logic at the basis of the system of regulation of immigration with that of solidarity which affirms the inviolability of the rights of the person and equal access to social rights and opportunities.

Moreover, the opportunity to reunite families does not only have the effect of reinforcing the self-propulsive nature of emigration, but also affects the development of the individual’s or family’s migratory plan, breaking away from the logic of the overseas worker, which is always followed by a persistent myth of return. But it also poses some new questions about the future of the Filipino migrants’ children in Italy. In this context, the second generation⁵ issue has thus taken on an unprecedented significance. First of all, it is of great interest to observe how the children of the first generation of migrants relate to Italian and Filipino cultures. Filipino children have the opportunity to come into contact with the language and the culture of their country of origin, or that of their parents (depending if they were born in the Philippines or in Italy), not only within the family environment but also at festivities during special occasions and the get-togethers promoted by the community associations (Greco, 2004). According to various studies, the Filipino community tends to be closed and barely exposed outside of it, and the children can suffer from this situation as a consequence, not only because they are in greater contact (generally more than their parents) with Italian society but also because they participate in the cultural models of their Italian peers. Many in the first generation, despite long years of residence in Italy, still find it difficult to express themselves in Italian, not only for lack of interest (given their fixation to eventually return to the Philippines), but also be-

⁵ We shall use the expression “second generation” in a wide sense, to encompass the second generation “in the strict sense,” i.e., those born in Italy, the “improper” second generation, composed of those who arrived in Italy at school age, and the “non-pure” or “spurious” second generation, made up of those who came to Italy as adolescents. The English terms are literal translations of Italian terms.

cause, in a concrete way, the occasion for social encounters is rather rare for them. Domestic work certainly does not afford them the chance to practice speaking the language or establish relationships beyond the superficial. The children and the young, in contrast, go to school, attend after-school events, play sports and therefore have more possibilities of interacting with their Italian peers. This, to some extent, takes them away from their own culture, although a real and actual breakaway would be difficult to imagine. The surveys conducted in Milan in this regard are very revealing; there are several youth groups that came about from the initiative of adult leaders connected with the Catholic Church and coordinated by the Milan Filipino Youth Group Council of Advisers. What is interesting is that these associations, which dedicate themselves to sports, dance and other social activities of every kind, deal mostly with newly arrived Filipino youths born and raised in the Philippines, and consequently they reproduce the kinds of social structures that expressed their group dynamics in the Philippines (Roncaglia, 2003). The leaders of some of these associations, voicing the concerns of many parents, and indirectly also of the Philippine government, try to promote more attractive initiatives for the young, which combine typical Filipino activities with the prevailing codes of youth culture, or attempt to be less exclusionary (and open up to the Italian community or to those of other nationalities) in their events, all in the attempt to prevent a general and definitive turning away from the traditional culture. The Pentecostals and the *Iglesia ni Kristo*, among all these institutions, are distinct in their rigorous rules that exercise a strong social control through their sporting, cultural and social networks, which are carefully monitored and supervised by the church leaders (Palidda, 2000).

A number of scholars suggest that these efforts directed at young Filipino immigrants, beyond the obvious patriotic rhetoric, hide the utilitarian motives of the government in Manila. By reinforcing the Filipino identity (presented as a safe haven against the perpetually closed doors of Italian society) in the minds of these young people, keeping alive the idea of the emigrant as the new hero, and reminding them insistently of the values of solidarity and reciprocity, the government tries to guarantee that these young Filipinos would continue the practice of sustaining the Philippine



economy through their remittances. This kind of orientation, however, ignores the fact that the daily experiences of these young people, the problems they are confronted with, and the issues closest to their hearts are lived out in Italy, and not in the Philippines, thus carrying the “risk of contributing to the perpetration of a double dynamics of exclusion” (Roncaglia, 2003:209).

It is, in fact, the second generation, and in particular those born and schooled in Italy, who have less difficulty envisioning that they would remain in Italy permanently. This is in contrast to their parents, who find it difficult to extricate themselves from the idea of going home to retire, although something is changing in this attitude (D’Ottavi et al., 1998). It is legitimate to assume that the children will have different plans and goals from their parents; for one, they would not be as predisposed to engage *en masse* in domestic work. This attitudinal shift would probably lead to the collapse of the integration model for Filipino migrants, which up to now has been seen as an advantage to the host society, where Filipino domestic workers have been servicing collectively (Cominelli, 2005). Many of these young people, especially those born in Italy, are ashamed of their parents’ type of work and suffer from comparisons with their Italian peers to such an extent that they abandon their schooling prematurely to go to work in areas that they believe are less competitive (Roncaglia, 2003).

The children of migrants are also the focus of the research conducted in 2005 by two partners of the MAPID Project – Fondazione ISMU and the Scalabrini Migration Center, whose cooperation gave rise to a parallel study carried out in both the area of origin and the area of destination, taking on a transnational perspective (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006). In the Philippines, a study on adolescents and children of overseas workers based in Italy who were on the verge of reaching the age of majority (that is, the age limit to rejoin their parents in Italy using the procedure of family reunification) was undertaken. In Italy, a research study was carried out on the condition and perspectives of those children who had joined their parents, or were, in fact, born in Italy, as they reached adulthood as part of the second generation. This parallel study revealed a situation that, on the surface, seemed less inclined to support previous analyses that pointed to migration as the cause of the

break-up of families. In particular, the study dealt with a series of indicators (beginning with scholastic performance) that enabled an evaluation of whether parental migration affects the lives of the children. One conclusion is that, in general terms, the performance of children left behind was better than that of sons and daughters who had rejoined their parents in Italy.

In brief, data collected do not support the idea that the Filipino community in Italy does not value the education of their children, although the "non-pure" second generation is the most problematic. In fact, the respondents who arrived after 18 years of age were found to have higher levels of schooling, there being a good number of college graduates and a considerable number of high school graduates. Even for those who had been in Italy since birth, the schooling prospects appear positive: almost 60 percent attended high school, 11.6 percent left school after getting their high school diploma, and a quarter made the transition to university (which a number had already completed). Only seven percent dropped out during high school; however, all interviewees who had been in Italy since birth enrolled in high school. The picture changes for the interviewees who arrived in Italy during early childhood or their adolescence: the number of people leaving school after compulsory education increases, the number of high school drop-outs doubles, and those pursuing university is even fewer. The age group in the middle is most likely to risk not attaining a high level of education. Having emigrated between the ages of 14 and 17, they are "too old" to be successfully put in school, especially if there had not been adequate Italian language preparation prior to arrival. But at the same time, they are deemed "too young" to have completed their studies, which would enable them to work.

On the other side of the migratory process, one of the most important findings from the research conducted in the Philippines reveals stories of young people who are probably erroneously but suggestively referred to as "orphans of emigration" must be reinterpreted from a transnational perspective owing to certain factors that bind them indissolubly to both countries of destination and origin. Among the most interesting findings is that the children were not really "left behind." On the contrary, migration is part of their lives, and they remained familiar with the place where one or



both parents lived. Some of them were, in fact, born in Italy and then sent home to be raised by relatives. Others spent their vacations in Italy, while some were still waiting for their petitions to join their families in Italy. Besides this, the costs of migration can be evaluated also by looking at the experiences of those who, at a certain point in time, joined their parents abroad. If these children had enjoyed a better standard of living and a privileged relationship with other family members when they were still living in the country of origin, they must now reinvent an entirely new existence in their new environment, probably different from what they had imagined, and take on more responsibilities.

In the testimonies collected for the study, the element of intergenerational conflict, a recurring theme in existing literature on the families of immigrants, was missing. What happens in Italy is the contrary. Aware of the enormous sacrifices and efforts of their parents, the filial respect towards them that they are expected to observe, and a modesty that prevents them from expressing themselves about their future, these youths accept passively, or come to accept whatever plans their parents have in mind for them. Interviewed in their country of origin, the children of international emigrants have aspirations that are moderately higher than those of their peers. They have the opportunity of attending better and more prestigious schools that, in turn, open up more possibilities. They look at their future with almost total optimism and the prospects of emigrating themselves, also because many of their parents voluntarily omit to inform their children of the difficulties they had to contend with. Once these children reach Italy, especially if they are no longer as young, they end up accepting a way of life that is not only decisively harder than that of their Italian peers, but, paradoxically, compared to their peers in their own country. They then manifest a certain reticence in expressing their future expectations. In other words, the right to live alongside their parents is repaid by a difficult adjustment to the new environment and a temporary setting quite different from their own desires for the future.

The experiences of children born in Italy to Filipino parents, or of those who came to live with their parents in Italy during the earliest phase of their lives (although many of these children are

still of school age) is different. Experiences in school, the exposure to Italian culture and the relationships with their peers certainly contribute to making their experience less homogeneous than that of the first generation. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that they would have the same experience of adjustment and emancipation as their "older siblings." There is reason to believe that those who were born in Italy and socialized within a context where individual liberty and self-realization are emphasized will be less weighed down by the prevailing ethics of sacrifice and responsibility towards the family group. This group could become the means for radically renovating the model of incorporation that the Filipino community has been following so far. As the perception of social distance diminishes and racial markers blur, maintaining one's prestige and status may become a problem for those who feel threatened by the breakdown of previous hierarchical relationships among social groups and resort to what could be racist behavior. The experience of the younger Filipino migrant may be considered emblematic since Filipinos, as we have already mentioned, have historically been considered the best integrated national group in Italy, without the problems of unemployment, marginalization and deviance from the norm, enjoying a good reputation that has been translated into work advantages, albeit limited to domestic work. The problems may emerge at that point in time when some members of the group demand equality – legal and social – in the access to various opportunities (beginning with work), asking for jobs that had previously been closed off them (thus entering into competition with the locals) and shedding off the immigrant stigma. At that moment, legitimate pride must reckon with the persisting prejudice.

In order to place the results of our inquiry more precisely in the field, which we shall deal with in the next section, it is worth mentioning here that the processes of familiarization of Filipino immigration with the growth of the second generation have gone side-by-side with the persistent influx of labor migrants, almost inevitably directed towards that which, now as before, and despite the increased presence of migrants of different origin, continues to be the main job prospect of Filipinos in Italy. As has already been mentioned, Filipino immigrants in Italy have never had prob-

lems of finding work and, in general, have experienced only brief periods of unemployment. They rarely engage in seasonal or occasional work, often working for more than one employer at a time (Bonifazi et al., 2003). In Lombardy, according to the data of the *Osservatorio Regionale per l'Integrazione e la Multiethnicità*, Filipinos have always been the group characterized by the best occupational performance. In 2009, only two percent of men said they were unemployed (by far the lowest percentage among all the groups considered, as well as being well below the unemployment rate in Lombardy), all women said they had work, and only 3.7 percent of Filipino women referred to themselves as homemakers, confirming the extremely high rate of activity which characterizes this group (Zanfrini, 2010a). The ease with which they can find employment in Italy is due in large part, now as before, to the efficiency of the religious and lay organizational structures and their own networks of co-nationals. Also, this is a result of a persisting but prejudicial view of the Filipinos' professional vocation as domestic workers and to the positive stereotype of the Filipinos as honest, reliable and exemplary workers. It is important, however, to keep in mind that this reputation and image is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, Filipinos have benefited and used it to their advantage in finding work. But, on the other hand, it has also created a prison of sorts by severely limiting employment options within the domestic work sector where the Filipino's perceived docile and servile character seems to be the only qualifications s/he can show (Basa and De La Rosa, 2004).

Certainly, for many men and above all, women, to come to Italy and work as domestic workers or as janitorial staff must have been traumatic, especially coming from another lifestyle (that is, having been part of the middle class – many were promising students, teachers and nurses, even managers) in their own country (Bonifazi et al., 2003). On the demand side, the age-old problem of legally recognizing the educational qualifications of Filipino immigrants (many have high school diplomas or university degrees) has rendered Filipinos more inclined towards the domestic labor market as a consequence of informal discriminatory practices or forms of statistical discrimination (Greco, 2004; Tacoli, 1999). Practically all the Filipino workers engaged in the domestic work sector

had passed, after a certain period of time, from being employed full-time to working part-time (Zontini, 2001; Tacoli, 1999), which benefits in large part the new arrivals (D'Ottavi et al., 1998). This is the only employment mobility observed for this group, even though, a closer look suggests that part-time work is really a full time job because it involves eight to 10 hours of work daily (it is only called part-time to differentiate it from the work that includes living in the home of the employer).

It must be emphasized that the length of residence has no bearing whatsoever on the work situation, although (in terms of unemployment rates, permanence of employment, etc.) compared to other nationalities, even the new arrivals among the Filipinos fare better and are treated the same way as Filipinos who had been in Italy longer. Filipino immigration conserves a strong ethnic connotation in its assimilation in the job market for its heavy concentration in what is considered women's work (i.e., domestic work and assistance), notwithstanding the constant change to which the reality of foreign work specialization is subjected, based on the changing composition and structure of new migrations.

The most recent data, indeed, reveal an ongoing process, at least concerning the male component, of dispersion into new occupational areas (especially work in industry and services, and in particular in the cleaning sector, which, however, can also be considered an "extension" of housework). But this is a process that does not yet appear to have affected an association that is still deeply rooted in the minds of the Italian public (i.e., the link between Filipino immigration and cleaning work) – and that this continues, as we have seen, to guide the incoming migratory flows. For those about to leave for Italy, in fact, their occupational fate seems to be already sealed, and with it the objectives of a migratory project aiming in the first place to save money in view of their return. This is a phenomenon that goes well beyond the classic terms of occupational segregation; it clearly emerged in the course of our project that it deeply affects the relationship between the Filipino community and Italian society, also having repercussions on the possibility of mobilizing the Filipino diaspora in Italy in projects of co-development. The strong propensity for saving is certainly a fundamental factor in this light, although not the only

one, and the model of integration plays a role that is often undervalued, first and foremost by the immigrants themselves. We will study this issue in greater depth in the subsequent sections, but not before providing a general overview of the Filipino community in Milan and Rome on the basis of what has emerged from our inquiries in the field.

II. *Major Findings of the Study Conducted in Milan and Rome*

As previously mentioned, the Filipino community is one of the largest immigrant groups in Italy; it is also the biggest in Milan and the second most numerous (after the Romanian one) in Rome. Over time, it has taken on a permanently based and familial character, becoming an integral part of the population of the two urban centers where our study took place. In this section, we shall deal with the main results regarding living standards and work, putting off until a later stage a more in-depth examination of transnational practices and the associational experience.

The sample of our survey was composed of 118 women (59 percent) and 82 men (41 percent), in accordance with the gender composition of the Filipino immigrant community in Italy and, in particular, in Rome and in Milan (the same gender distribution was observed in both urban areas). The age of the respondents varies from 18 to 72 years, with a concentration in the age bracket of those born in the 1960s, forming nearly 30 percent of the sample. The mean age – 40.42 years, and specifically 41.42 for women and 38.97 for men – is quite high, but mirrors the situation of the Filipino community living in Italy, whose migration history is older than that of most other ethnic groups. In any case, if we take into account the aims of our project, we are dealing with a suitable age, with the milestones of the transition to adulthood (for example, that of giving birth to children) having been achieved and plans for work and the future already consolidated. The people who were born in Italy are all concentrated in the youngest age bracket and none of them were married. Yet, similarly, the youngest age bracket is almost fully composed of people who were born in Italy. The mean age of the people who were born in Italy – the second generation in the strict sense – is 21.19 years, while those who were

born in the Philippines (including both those who emigrated alone and those who emigrated to rejoin their parents) is 43.07 years. Among women, we observed a higher presence of older respondents (23.1 percent of all women were 50 years or older, while only 13.6 percent of all men were of the same age), replicating the effect of the migration history, as has been mentioned, where women served as pioneers.

Although the share of respondents who were born in the Philippines is largely prevalent (87.9 percent), the 12.1 percent of the second generation, that is, the people who were born in Italy, cannot be disregarded. This is an indication of the degree of rootedness of the Filipino community in Italy. This rootedness, nevertheless, does not imply a break in the ties with the homeland, given that only 10.6 percent declared they did not have any hometown in the Philippines. The ten most identified provinces were: Batangas (21.5 percent), Manila (8.5 percent), Laguna (8), Ilocos (4.5 percent), Mindoro (4 percent), Davao (3 percent), Albay (2 percent), Pampanga (2 percent), Bulacan (1.5 percent) and Quezon (1.5 percent). It is noteworthy that nearly all those who arrived in Italy between six and 18 years of age had no hesitation in indicating their Philippine hometown.

Concerning marital status, although a slight majority was married (56.8 percent), the percentage of unmarried people was still quite high (37.2 percent), whereas the number of divorced or widowed people is much lower. The number of unmarried women (42.4 percent) is decidedly higher than that of unmarried men. This is accounted for, once again, by the peculiar migration history of this group, where many men arrived through family reunification, while a large number of women were assigned by their families of origin the role of breadwinners, and presumably, many of them had to drop the plan of having a family. In fact, nearly a quarter of those who arrived in Italy in their adulthood – after 18 years of age – never got married. Finally, the people who were born in Italy are all unmarried, which suggests a trend towards an assimilation of the Italian behavior models, which envisage a higher marital age than the prevailing one in the Philippines. It is also interesting to note the high level of endogamy, as indicated by 95.2 percent of the respondents who had a partner coming from



the same country. As could be expected, the few mixed marriages all involved Filipino women and Italian men (nine percent of the women interviewed had an Italian husband), and were mostly concentrated in Milan. Endogamy definitely prevails – in about eight cases out of 10 – also among respondents born in Italy (considering the nationality of the boyfriend/girlfriend), a datum which indicates that this trend is not likely to change in the future, also considering that almost none of the people who arrived in Italy between six and 18 years old chose an Italian partner.

Only 33.5 percent of the respondents had no children, a number which has to be related both to the age distribution of the sample, and, mostly, to the distribution of the respondents' marital status. Comparing the two data, it can be inferred that a meaningful number (16 percent) of unmarried people have some children, and in all the cases we are dealing with, children born in Italy. Among those who had children, the modal number was two (a third of the cases), although the incidence of parents who had only one child is still considerable (30.1 percent). In the other cases, the number of children was three (20.3 percent), four (13.5 percent) or five (3 percent). Even if we take into account that many of the respondents with children were still of in the reproductive ages, it can be affirmed that the respondents' reproductive behavior showed a tendency to conform to the Italian patterns. Nonetheless, the mean number of children found within our sample (1.5) was moderately higher than the mean number of children per woman in Italy which, after slumping to an all-time low of 1.25 in 2001, is now, according to the latest available data (2009), 1.33 (for non-Italian residents in Italy, the mean number of children is 2.05).

The percentage of children living in the Philippines is 45 percent, a figure that is sufficient to indicate the dramatic dimension of the problem known as "orphans of migration." Moreover, if we take into account that about 60 percent of the children in the sample were born in the Philippines, it could be concluded that only about two out of 10 children born in the Philippines were reunited with their parents in Italy. This is a sign of a migratory culture, which, evidently, is by now legitimizing the model of the family divided by migration, also as a consequence of migration to those countries

(i.e., Asian countries) which do not recognize the right to family reunification of less skilled migrant workers.

Eighty-five percent of the respondents indicated they were Roman Catholics. There are also adherents to the *Iglesia ni Cristo* (3.5 percent) and some nine percent claimed to be Protestants. Among the people who were born in Italy, one out of four declared their non-Catholic affiliation.

The distribution according to education shows a relatively high average educational attainment: 21.7 percent of respondents completed high school, 18.7 percent started university studies without completing them, with the remainder obtaining a college/university diploma (37.9 percent) or continuing through the postgraduate level (4.5 percent). For some reasons which, once again, are linked to the migratory history of this community, women are, on average, better educated than men. Among women, in fact, 67 percent started university studies (compared with 55.7 percent of the men). Some 17.7 percent of men did not have any diploma in all levels compared with 10.4 percent of women. In fact, based on fieldwork done in the Philippines, migration could serve as "a way out" of school dropouts, likely more for men than for women. The collected data, though we are dealing with a relatively small statistical sample, suggest that there is a smaller percentage of second-generation migrants who finished schooling than their first-generation counterparts. The conditions of the second generation are disadvantaged compared to those of the first, or, to be more precise, that there has been a reduction in the number of people who reached a college/university, that is, 70.7 percent of those who arrived in Italy in their adulthood, but only 27.5 percent of those who were born in Italy or who arrived before 18 years of age (a reduction that is still significant even considering their age distribution).

Among those who had a high school or university diploma, only a small number (4.3 percent) obtained it in Italy, while just 12.3 percent had a diploma recognized in Italy. The large majority had some diplomas obtained in the Philippines that did not require any legal recognition in Italy (a problem which, of course, does not exist among the members of the second generation in the strict sense). This could explain the problem of "brain waste," which was

frequently mentioned during the interviews and is perceived as a significant price to pay as legal recognition of educational qualifications entails undergoing complicated bureaucratic procedures .

Concerning legal status (remembering that the criterion for selection was focused on authorized migrants), the sample was composed of 9.1 percent of respondents without a permit or waiting for a permit, while 53.8 percent of the sample had a temporary permit (*permesso di soggiorno*) and 37.1 percent were either naturalized Italians or held an unlimited residence permit (*carta di soggiorno*). Among holders of a temporary permit, a majority (in almost eight cases out of ten) were workers, while family reunification was a less commonly cited reason (16 percent). The reasons linked to studies or to independent work were irrelevant percentage-wise.

Also taking into account those who were born in Italy, about a quarter of the sample had been living in the country since the 1970s-1980s, another quarter since the first half of the 1990s, a little over 25 percent since the second half of the decade, and the remainder were more recent arrivals – a distribution which confirms the long duration of stay of Filipinos compared to many other groups which compose the migratory population in Italy (in fact, about a quarter of the sample had been living in Italy for more than 20 years). At the same time, the persistence of this migratory flow which, even if it is decreasing over time, does not show any signs of stopping, making Filipino migrants a constant presence in all phases of Italian migration history. Among women, the percentage of the arrivals before 1986 is 13.6 percent, and 4.2 percent for men, confirming what we had already asserted concerning the gender composition of the flows coming from the Philippines.

What were the reasons that prompted our respondents to migrate? When asked about this, they commonly gave answers which concerned their responsibilities towards their family: helping their family (43.2 percent of the first answers) and ensuring a better future for their children (22.2 percent). These two responses alone make up two-thirds of the sample already, much bigger than other responses such as looking for a job (which represents only 13.1 percent of the answers, attesting to a migratory strategy geared more towards emancipation and improvement in standards of liv-

ing than towards survival, strictly speaking) and searching for higher income (10.8 percent). Even smaller was the role of reasons related to family reunification (6.3 percent of responses) or the desire to experience a new culture.

In contrast with traditional gender stereotypes, there were more women in the sample who cited helping the family as a reason for migrating than men (45.2 percent for women and 40.8 percent for men), and providing a better future for their children (26.8 percent for women, 19.2 percent for men). Curiously, there were more women than men who identified experiencing another culture or adventure (5.8 percent as opposed to 1.4 percent).

What emerges very clearly from these data is that – in general and even more with respect to the Filipino experience – the migratory choices and strategies can be understood only by taking into account the economy of the family, of its framework of reciprocal obligations and strategies of accumulation and risk differentiation, according to what the migration studies highlighted. Nevertheless, in the description made by our respondents, even if migration is conceived as a family event, it is primarily the effect of individual volition, especially if we consider that 62.6 percent of the entire sample (and 66.7 percent of women) declared that this decision was taken mostly by the respondents themselves. In contrast, only 22.2 percent of the cases involved a decision made jointly by the respondent and his/her relatives.

Attesting to a spontaneous migratory process, which has taken place regardless of the presence of any legal procedure, more than 11.5 percent of the respondents entered Italy without having any permit, while 60.3 percent used a tourist visa. This is higher than the percentage of respondents who had permits linked to work (16.1 percent), family reunification (9.8 percent) or study (2.3 percent). Perhaps, it was because 52.3 percent already had one member of the family living in Italy, or since a good 73.6 percent had other relatives in the destination country. Confirming the peculiarity of the Filipino migration experience with respect to the wider migratory population in Italy, 70.4 percent of men could rely on the presence in Italy of some immediate family members, compared to only 48.3 percent of women prior to their arrival in the country.

The existence of well-consolidated migratory chains is attested to, moreover, by the fact that 82 percent of the interviewees declared that, at the time of their migration from the Philippines to Italy, it was fairly common (44.1 percent) or very common (37.6 percent) for people from their province to migrate to the southern European nation. Currently, the balance of the migratory choice is surely positive: when asked to compare the condition of Filipino migrants in Italy to Italian people, other immigrants in Italy and Filipinos in the Philippines, the interviewees had no hesitation in declaring that their situation was comparatively better than that of other migrants (or sometimes the same, whereas only a few people – 3.6 percent – consider themselves as being worse off). Compared to Italians, the relative majority declared that Filipino migrants had the same standards of living, while a significant number said they were at a less advantaged situation. Surprisingly, a relevant portion (16.7 percent) of respondents felt Filipinos were better-off than local Italians. Finally, in the comparison with Filipinos in the Philippines, most of them did not hesitate to affirm that the condition of Filipinos in Italy was better.

In the comparison with both other migrants and local Italians, the number of women who thought their situation as worse than the two other groups mentioned were slightly more than men, perhaps confirming the reality that migrant women often had fewer opportunities than their male counterparts. In contrast, the number of women who viewed their situation as better than that of Filipinos back home was larger than those of male respondents, which may indicate emancipatory outcomes of migration for women. The differences between the first and the second generation are numerous: we found some sort of polarization of opinions. Nearly all the respondents born in Italy were convinced that the condition of Filipinos living in Italy was better than that of other migrants (although this consensus diminishes if we consider the answers of respondents who arrived in Italy between six and 18 years of age, an age group that does not always favor integration in the host society), although none thought they were better off than Italians. Respondents born in Italy were nearly unanimous (83.3 percent) in their conviction that the condition of Filipinos in Italy was better.

We should add that, currently, the opportunities available for Filipinos in Italy are progressively decreasing, mostly due to the exponential growth in the number of migrants living in Italy, which has increased the competition in the labor market and the problems and conflicts in interethnic society. This aspect was repeatedly mentioned by the key informants, together with the concern for the future of the Filipino community in Italy, and the possibility to limit the inflow of migrants, in order not to encourage an involution in the integration route of migrants to Italy. According to the key informants, these concerns are accompanied by those related to the reforms in the legal framework of migration that have been introduced, and by an atmosphere which has become, for them, more hostile to immigrants, who are often considered as undesirable guests and who are prisoners of a short-sighted bureaucracy. What is feared in particular is that the current existing opportunities to formalize irregular situations linked to irregular or unauthorized entrance, or to find a job while failing to meet the prerequisites required by the Italian law, will no longer exist.

Concerning housing arrangement, the most striking fact is that almost a quarter of those interviewed live in their own house (in Milan, a full third of the sample did). It is true that this is still lower than the general average – considering that around 80 percent of Italians live in their own houses – but it is a percentage modestly higher than that of the immigrant population as a whole in Italy. In any case, most of those interviewed live in rented accommodation, alone or with relatives or usually with a proper contract (29 percent), although a sizeable proportion did not have a contract (12 percent), indicative of an alarming and unfortunate phenomenon. Cohabitation with the employer, a solution that was very common at the start of the migration process, is nowadays much less frequent, involving “only” 11.5 percent of the sample. This is part of a process of emancipation that has characterized Filipino immigration. Of less significance, although not to be overlooked, is the incidence of alternative solutions – rented accommodation, with or without a contract, or cohabiting with non-family members – prevalent among subjects without a family in tow, interested above all in cutting costs so as to be able to save as much money as possible to send home.

The typical household set-up consists of five people residing in the same house. Only 4.7 percent lived by themselves (whereas in the Italian population, according to the data from the last general population census of 2001, one-person units numbered a full 25 percent, with even higher percentages in big cities such as Rome or Milan); 14 percent were in households with two people, 16.1 percent stayed in three-person set-ups, 32.1 percent in four-member arrangements and 33.2 percent of five people or more. The presence of non-relatives in the household was more frequent for women, who were more likely to be living with their employers.

Families separated by migration – in other words, transnational families – represent the norm in the context of the Filipino community. Only 20.4 percent of those interviewed claimed that not a single original household member remained in the Philippines. In general, the number of family members who remained in their country of origin ranged between one and five, with a mathematical mean of 3.8. Two-thirds of those interviewed also said at least one family member – the mean being equal to 1.12 – was in another foreign country, a fact that pointed to the extent and breadth of the Filipino diaspora. Also, those born in Italy stated belonging to a transnational family, on a level with those who came here at a young age: both are well aware of belonging to transnational communities and families.

The situation of divided families has ethical implications, above all when it involves the separation of parents from their children. This phenomenon was significantly widespread, emerging even in a sample composed of people with relatively strong levels of integration into Italian society. In fact, six percent of those interviewed had children aged 0-5 living in the Philippines, on average one child but occasionally a bit more than one. The number of those interviewed who left children between 6 and 10 years of age in the Philippines increased to 10 percent, only slightly lower than the proportion of parents separated from children aged 11 to 14 (12 percent). Almost as widespread was the presence of adolescent children from 15 to 17 left behind, (8.5 percent), whereas a good 13 percent of respondents had children already of age – i.e., 18 years old and above – living in the Philippines. Although emigrant fathers were moderately more numerous among those

separated from their children (the male respondents who said they had young children in the Philippines were around twice the number of female respondents), the problem of leaving children behind was shared by the mothers themselves as 15.4 percent of mothers had been separated from children 0-5 years old. A further 23.1 percent of mothers did not live with children aged 6-10 and 38.5 percent of mothers had children from 11-14 living apart from them. There are quite a few indicative percentages regarding the dramatic proportions of the problem.

However, on the basis of the data relating to family income and to the use of resources, it can be affirmed that the decisions concerning family reunion take shape considering not only plans to emigrate but also the economic situation of the family and the ability to meet the needs of its members, both in the country of origin and in the host country. As we shall see later, the second generation members belonged to household with adequate incomes – or judged as being such by the respondents – capable not only of sustaining relatives outside Italy but also of setting aside money for the future. It is thus foreseeable that, in compliance with a shared culture of emigration that condones and legitimizes separation from one's children, the reunification of the family is put off until the "optimal" conditions are reached, avoiding situations of marginality and exposure to the risk of poverty, relatively recurrent in other immigrant groups. Family economy is confirmed as being a key element in migratory strategies.

Concerning the employment situation, our survey merely confirmed the salient characteristics of the Filipino incorporation model. First and foremost, there is a very high rate of activity and of employment, both for men and for women, more limited only among the members of the second generation in the strict sense (among whom there is a prevalence of students). Hence, there was a concentration of subordinate workers employed as domestic workers, carers for the elderly or babysitters by Italian families. The latter were the employers not only of nearly six women out of 10, but also of a little under a quarter of men, despite the feminine stereotype associated with this kind of job. Even in this case, nevertheless, the difference between the first and second generations seems to be considerable, given that none of the members of the latter

were currently employed in this field. Among the few who were working – considering the predominance of students in this group – the most frequent jobs were those of a manual kind which, nonetheless, indicated a will to distance themselves from their parents' jobs. Furthermore, there was a process of "brain waste" which, as has already been mentioned, involved a sizeable number of those migrants with a high education level. In fact, only one respondent out of 10 among those who had some college or university education could accede, at least, to an occupation of a clerical kind. At the same time, the most educated component of the Filipino community in Italy was concentrated in the field of domestic work (59.3 percent) and manual labor (18.6 percent). Finally, independent and entrepreneurial work was definitely not widespread, at least if we relate it to the long time this group has spent in Italy and to the good reputation assigned to it in Italian society (which is an aspect that certainly favors its members' access to credit and to customers). Only 5.3 percent of men and none of the women interviewed were employed in this kind of work. As had emerged many times from the key informants' interviews, the fact of setting up a business seemed to be restrained, not by structural obstacles, but by a mindset tending to avoid the risks and responsibilities implied by independent work, restricting, at the same time, any professional aspirations.

The undeniable downgrading that has sealed the fate of many Filipinos was confirmed by the respondents' occupational condition before emigrating. Nearly one-third of the interviewees were not actively employed (i.e., homemakers, students); those who, instead, were employed in some kind of occupation were usually employed in autonomous and entrepreneurial businesses (15.4 percent), in work of an intellectual nature and of a clerical kind. In contrast, manual work in industry and services carried a modest weight. Besides, if we excluded the people who were born in Italy, 15.7 percent of respondents had a past experience of work in a country other than Italy, a datum which attests to the permeability of the international labor market for Filipino migrants. In any case, this process did not imply that, for many of them, emigration did not represent an improvement in their and their families' general living standards. When asked to "compare their (personal) overall

situation and their family's overall situation before they came to Italy to their – and their family's – present situation..." 86.7 and 82.5 percent, respectively, had no hesitation in answering that it was better than before. For the others, the situation was usually perceived as being the same as before, considering that only a little more than a percent indicated a worsening of their personal or their family's situation.

As a consequence, despite a step down in status from the work they did before emigrating, 77.3 percent of the sample indicated they were wholly satisfied (71 percent) or even very satisfied (6.3 percent) with their work experience in Italy. Only 2.8 percent were very dissatisfied. The very high level of satisfaction could be accounted for by a decidedly realistic level of expectation and by the capacity to appreciate – perhaps partly as a means of self-consolation – the positive aspects of their work experience. Even more interesting, they cited the attitude of their employers, whom they often described using expressions that evoked intimacy and reciprocal attachment, rather than their rights and the appreciation of their talents. The satisfaction in their work seemed to be driven by the awareness that the fate of an immigrant lay in finding a hard job without any other prospects, to the point that the most appreciated employers ended up being those who gave them more work opportunities, that is, those that gave them extra work.

In contrast, those who said they were not satisfied highlighted the difficulties in finding a job encountered by those who had some kind of disadvantage due, for example, to their age or their poor knowledge of the Italian language, and even lack of ability to perform a job that did not involve cleaning work. They also cited the low wages, but above all the impossibility for their investments in training and their skills to be recognized, stressing the point that this was the main form of discrimination undergone by such an apparently "successful" group as that of the Filipinos in Italy.

But what, according to those interviewed, were the main reasons why Filipinos were concentrated in the domestic work sector in Italy? The replies given to the corresponding open question, once traced back to more recurrent modalities, yielded the following. Over a quarter of those interviewed (28.5 percent) frankly admitted that "it's the easiest job to find for Filipinos in Italy", almost



as if to highlight the modest investment that those belonging to this community can expect in their search for work, being able to take advantage of a sort of monopoly in the access to this type of employment, not even affected by the incessant arrival of emigrants from other parts of the world willing to do the same kind of work for less money. On these same lines, a further 8.5 percent observed that “it’s the easiest way to earn money” or that “it is a very sought-after job.” According to some key informants, this relatively easy access to domestic work would also seem to have the effect of influencing the composition of the emigration flow towards Italy, diverting the more ambitious emigrants to other destinations. Another sizeable group of respondents (14.5 percent) showed that the Filipinos’ concentration in the domestic sector was due to the fact that their educational qualifications were not recognized/evaluated, underlining once more the existence of an extensive process of “brain wasting” which precluded their access to work for which they were more qualified. Only five respondents, however, referred explicitly to racist or discriminatory attitudes on the part of Italian society. The fact remains that the process of “disqualification” is so generalized that it appeared to be a “normal” characteristic of the Italian model of incorporation, often accepted with resignation.

Other respondents revealed the existence of those mechanisms of pre-categorization on an ethnic basis that were amply demonstrated in the sociological literature. The good reputation of Filipino workers (5.5 percent), together with the processes of intergenerational-inter-ethnic transmission of the trade (3 percent) were in fact a precious form of social capital (in the form of external and internal trust, respectively) accessible to Filipinos as Filipinos, which although on the one hand rendered their admission to the Italian labor market relatively easy, on the other hand had the effect of blocking the pathways to professional mobility. Indeed, this mechanism of accreditation inside the group could in the long run produce the effect of discouraging investments in human capital, with repercussions on the children of the immigrants who come to Italy in their adolescence with the prospects of themselves in their turn becoming domestic workers, if not of falling into deviant circles or self-damaging behavior as a consequence of their frus-

tration at the opportunities denied to them. Finally, the existence of deficits was mentioned by a minority of respondents who referred to the inadequacy of the linguistic and professional competence (10.5 percent), rather than the more banal fact – although perhaps this is one of the most likely explanations – that “they don’t try to do anything else” (1.5 percent).

All that has so far been said accounted for why 38.5 percent of those interviewed have planned or taken steps to take on a different type of job in the next five years. When pressed to explain their answer, however, those interviewed manifested low-profile planning skills lacking in real strategies for professional mobility. Indeed, most of those interviewed limited themselves to the formulation of general statements such as “I want to do something else,” or indicated the simple aim of earning more, possibly with less effort, distancing themselves from the almost inevitable prospect of domestic work, or expressing the desire for a job related to their educational qualifications and skills. Only a minority had more definite plans. Some were thinking of a professional future predominantly in the health and social-educational fields (such as working as a nurse), in the commercial sector (such as working in a shop), and only rarely in the self-employment area. For others, the horizon of their expectation was defined by their pension/retirement, or by a more or less illusory return to the Philippines, or by an equally illusory move to another country. Finally, for many, the uncertainty surrounding effective opportunities of finding a better job surfaced.

An indication already emerging from the previous research work, *Pride and Prejudice* (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006), would thus appear on the whole to be confirmed in relation to the difficulty in developing convincing strategies, also in the light of personal biographies and those of family members who were to a large extent torn between Italy and the Philippines (and, at times, other possible destinations), and between the reassuring prospect of returning and the necessity to continue to earn money, and between the refusal to take on an unsuitable job and the perception of the obstacles in the way of a different and better job. The only ones with slightly clearer ideas about what to do were those who still had not overcome the obstacles to obtaining a “decent” job – a residence



permit, a proper work contract or a level of competence in the Italian language that is at least sufficient. The same goes for those who said they were happy and satisfied to do, or at any rate resigned to doing, a job that was perhaps not something they expected but that in any case enabled them to achieve their personal financial goals. The more enterprising in this respect were the women, either because they were even more exposed to the risk of remaining confined to domestic work, or because on the whole they had attained a higher degree of familiarity with the Italian society because of their length of stay in Italy.

In our view, the most interesting aspect concerned, as had already been seen, the fact that none of those who were born in Italy were employed by families. Similarly, even among those who arrived in Italy when they were between six and 18 years of age (the so called "improper" second generation), only a few were employed in the same field as their parents. This phenomenon, to a certain extent, is a salient one, but has the potential to change, in the future, the model that up to now has been the most widespread model of incorporation of Filipino migrants in Italy. This is, in fact, the expectation largely shared by our respondents.

Indeed, although the attitude of those interviewed appeared to be characterized by a considerable adaptability to more easily accessible opportunities, with a low propensity for planning for the job prospects of their children (or of other young Filipinos) in Italy, almost eight out of 10 people interviewed think that most of them will engage in different kinds of work, a percentage that expressed clearly that the strategies of social (and professional) mobility were planned with the future generations in mind, in accordance with the hypothesis of the Straight Line Theory. Only 2.5 percent of the sample thus considered that the job prospects of young Filipinos would be concentrated in the domestic work sector, thanks to the transmission of the trade down through the generations and because of human capital deficits. The great majority of those who foresaw engaging in different kinds of work point out, in the first place, the relevance of investments in education acting as a driving force to obtain a job that did not involve domestic work (a conviction shared by over a quarter of the sample). Others limited themselves to stating the hope and promise that their children

would not have to engage in the same job as they themselves did. Only a small minority underlined the importance of integration – linguistic, cultural and legal – into Italian society as a way forward to a better job. Lastly, many confined themselves to asserting that “we are able to do other jobs,” almost as if to emphasize that domestic work is not fate assigned by nature to Filipino workers.

Finally, concerning the strategic levers that, according to the respondents, a young person could use in order to have a good future in Italy, the responses left few doubts. To master the Italian language and to complete a university education are unquestionably the priorities, confirming an expectation of professional and social mobility planned entirely around the second generations and entrusted to investments in human capital – the importance of which, as has been repeatedly underlined, is central to migratory plans. Naturalization – that is, equality in the juridical-legal sense – is certainly of importance, although only 18.8 percent of the sample considered it a way of securing a good future in Italy. And especially striking is the scarce importance attached to the acquisition of training for skills that were in demand and to start working as soon as possible. Engagement in business – commonly considered the main chance for mobility for first generation emigrants living in Italy – is placed at the bottom of the list, confirming that the strategies of self-employment –which is low among the Filipino community compared to other national groups, even those of more recent arrivals – for the moment assumed a modest role in the promotional strategies of the Filipino community in Italy.

But above all, it is the passage from the first to the second generation that redefined the classification of the desired strategies. A good 83.3 percent of those born in Italy said the acquisition of Italian citizenship was important, while 91.7 percent felt it necessary to complete a university education in Italy. Only 12.5 percent considered it useful to acquire training for skills that were in demand. In other words, the young descendants of Filipino immigrants embraced with conviction a prospect of equal rights (sealed by naturalization) and equal opportunity, considered it a priority to invest in education at the university level and manifested the same good level of autonomy regarding the labor market as do their Italian peers. Whether or not the Italian labor market will be ca-



pable of acknowledging the expectations of these “children of immigration” is a moot point, and a motive for apprehension on the part of their parents who, as we have seen, entrusted to them the realization of a project of emancipation with very high human costs – a feeling of apprehension that came out repeatedly from the interviews with the key informants. In fact, their parents identified the so-called “non-pure second generations,” who arrived in Italy when their school career was already at an advanced stage, as being the most vulnerable subjects.

As to the level of economic well-being, when all earnings of the household from various sources were added up, the total monthly income averaged 1850 euros,⁶ ranging from 800 to 3000 euros, but also related in any case to the number of household members. This is a modest income level that – although a certain reticence to declare the true income is to be expected – was often judged as being inadequate to cover the needs of the family. Contrary to expectations, income did not appear to depend on the length of stay of the migrant, probably because the question pertained to family income and not to individual income. The men interviewed said they belonged to households with moderately higher incomes. Also, the second generation members came from wealthier households than did the first immigrants (among those born in Italy, for example, in no case was the income lower than 2000 euros a month).

The available income was judged as being just enough to cover household expenses in Italy by around seven out of 10 interviewees (which becomes almost all of them in the case of those born in Italy), whereas 23.6 percent felt it was not enough (only seven percent responded that it is more than enough). The percentage pertaining to the adequacy of the income to support the original household in the Philippines was similar (although 28.2 percent did not consider it adequate). Yet, despite this condition, under half of the families still managed to set aside money for

⁶ It can be seen, however, that the missing cases are equal to a full 47 percent of the sample due to a certain reluctance to state the real income but also to the fact that the members of the second generation often said they did not have any information regarding these measures.

savings, a figure that reached 70 percent in the case of the families of respondents born in Italy and around 80 percent for families of respondents who came to Italy between the ages of six and 18. The conditions of income were more precarious, however, for those coming to Italy as adults. They often had to rely on their own resources, and while equally being satisfied as those coming here at a younger age, they obviously have higher expectations. As was to be expected, the few respondents without legal documents lived under decidedly more precarious conditions, and above all very few of them were able to save money. Significantly, however, almost all of them used money for their children's education, and a good two-thirds said they were satisfied with their personal earnings, which would almost seem to suggest their awareness that their illegal status did not allow them to have high expectations. Finally, the longer the length of stay in Italy, the greater the possibility to set aside money for savings.

All in all, a good three-fourths of the respondents said they were satisfied (71 percent) or even very satisfied (3.4) with their earnings in Italy, bearing out a level of expectation in line with the opportunities available. Albeit modest, their income was indeed greater than what they could expect in the Philippines; moreover, they reported having good relationships in the workplace. In a lot of cases, the income levels were judged as adequate to meet their own needs and those of their family members, who often included, as we have seen, those remaining in the country of origin. For those who did not aspire to anything, their earnings in Italy amounted to something. Others (the minority, as already stated), in contrast, were not satisfied with their earnings, especially in relation to the quantity of work required of them or because they considered themselves being unjustly discriminated against in comparison with other categories of workers. Some respondents perceived their wages as being totally insufficient for their needs, particularly when they were the breadwinners, and especially as a consequence of the rise in the costs of living and in relation to the expectations they had before emigrating.

We shall complete our analysis with some considerations relating to the relationship between Filipino immigrants and Italian



society. The first aspect to be confirmed by our research is the tendency of Filipinos to interact with their fellow countrymen, indulging in a kind of intra-community withdrawal, which many privileged witnesses interpret as a defence strategy against the risk of “contamination” by a culture which could undermine the most important values of their own traditions. Although neighborhoods (and for the youngest those at school) were evidently characterized by a prevalence of Italians (over two-thirds of those interviewed affirmed that the majority of their neighbors were Italians) and their work context often included the presence of immigrants of other nationalities (which confirms the pronounced “ethnicization” of the Italian labor market) their elective company – friends and above all church members – consisted overwhelmingly of Filipinos. Even members of the second generation, generally immersed in mainly Italian environments, persisted in frequenting religious centers dominated by Filipinos, a circumstance which requires careful reflection on the role of the Church in facilitating integration or, in contrast, bolstering the self-reliant attitude that characterizes this group. The risk lies in the fact that what has been an extraordinary factor of support in Filipino migration in Italy will now be translated into an element which, albeit involuntarily, inhibits effective integration into Italian society.

Regarding the respondents’ level of familiarity with Italian society, and specifically with the language, when asked to evaluate their level of competence in understanding, reading, speaking and writing Italian, they tended to place themselves at an intermediate level, with only a small percentage admitting their deficiencies, in particular in written Italian. Although all those born in Italy rated themselves, as was expected, as having a higher level of competence, those respondents coming to Italy aged between six and 18 years presented a distribution evidencing decidedly fewer deficits, albeit just as disconcerting as those of the “older” respondents, in consideration of the differing professional expectations that characterized the two groups. Overall, the picture of linguistic skills acquired by Filipino migrants confirmed a general weakness, especially in their ability to write in Italian, a circumstance that undoubtedly explains –together with many other factors – their difficulty to

pass for a type of work that entailed more qualifications, even among those with high-level educational attainments. Moreover, this deficiency seems to us to be an aspect that has, on the whole, been underrated by those involved; an aspect which, as we shall see, clearly emerged also during the course of training.

The other aspects included in the questionnaire regarded cultural consumption (or, to be more precise, the use of mass media), the language used at home and eating habits, although use is made above all of the Italian mass media (as could easily have been imagined). As to language spoken at home and food customs, most of those interviewed seemed to favor a *métissage* based on the alternation between Italian and Filipino codes and models. Among the families of those born in Italy, the use of the mother tongue has begun to break down, surviving only in combination with Italian. Italian food has become more popular and local media have been utilized by 95.8 percent of respondents. On the whole, the replies showed that the modal model of family functioning is of the *transitional* type, in which elements of the culture of origin are combined with others adapted from the culture of adoption.

Regarding the relationship between Filipino families and the institutions of Italian society, respondents have made use of the right to health services (53.5 percent), participated in the school-university system (52.5 percent), attended Italian language courses (46 percent), and placed their children in nursery schools (43.5 percent). Decidedly significant is the number of families who have taken out bank loans (40.5 percent), and even more so the number of families who have taken advantage of skills learning and professional training (35 percent). Consistent with a population still concentrated in the active age group, only five percent of the families included members who had received from retirement benefits, and an even lower number of families (four percent) partook of unemployment benefits (although, in this case, we must consider the very poor diffusion of such benefits in Italy). A third of the sample has had a serious illness since coming to Italy that required them to be admitted to hospital for at least one night. When they were not feeling well, the majority (55 percent) consulted a doctor,



17.5 percent took a rest, 12 percent took medicines brought from the Philippines (14.4 percent of females and 8.5 percent of males), 10 percent bought non-prescription medicines in Italy, and 5.5 percent did not do anything. Those born in Italy, on the other hand, behaved in a decidedly "Italian" way – nine out of 10 (91.7 percent) consulted a doctor and the remainder had some rest. With regard to contacts with representatives of Italian institutions, teachers and religious leaders were the groups with whom those interviewed decidedly have the most contact. However, relations with Italian civil organizations (voluntary associations, trade unions and so on) were very weak (in almost eight cases out of 10, those interviewed had never had any contact with such institutions), although these organizations were very much involved in assistance to other groups of immigrants. At an intermediate level were public administration agencies – central, local and other – with which immigrants had dealings "imposed" by bureaucratic needs.

As to the level of satisfaction with life in Italy, the main concerns involved, above all, the achievement of those basic goals represented by work and family, especially when the family was together in Italy. Hence, the possibility to achieve the aims of migration and to be able to satisfy the expectations of family members in Italy and/or in the Philippines, among which the most important is investment in education, was given importance. Others mentioned gratification linked to their work experience, but what they appreciated mainly was the pay or, even more, the attitude of their employers and their tendency to treat the domestic worker as a member of the family, rather than the intrinsic aspects of the work. Others referred to specific aspects of Italian society and of life in Italy, or more frequently the beauty of the scenery and aspects with cultural and religious similarity to their country of origin. Many appreciated the quality – and above all the free nature – of welfare services, and also the possibility to live in a democratic country. Finally, some referred to the possibility of cultural enrichment that living in a foreign country offers, and some others cited friendships with Italians and Filipinos as an element of the quality of their life. Those born in Italy emphasized the natural sense of belonging to the country in which they were born and grew up.

On the other hand, there were also some aspects that made respondents unhappy about living in Italy. First of all, the respondents missed family members, their children, husbands, boyfriends and friends, together with their hometowns, and sometimes even the weather in the Philippines. A second point was the lack of work (for the very few who were unemployed) and economic difficulties, due both to low salaries and to high fiscal pressure. Some highlighted problems of racism and discrimination, and overwork, which was on the same level as the lack of appreciation of their competence. Finally, they cited the excessive bureaucracy, at times accompanied by vexing attitudes on the part of officials.

When asked about their feeling of belonging in Italian society, a little under a third of the sample placed themselves on the higher rung of a metaphoric ladder, and only a minority rated themselves on the lowest levels. Obviously, from a psychological viewpoint, these judgements of satisfaction with different aspects of life in Italy (such as a "good" job, a good wage, being considered as a part of the employer's family, having rejoined their family, earning enough money to buy a house and to pay for education for their children), helped us to explain this feeling of belonging to Italian society. This is a sense that, as we will see later (Section 3), did not imply a severance of ties with the country of origin. This is the phenomenon known as "double belonging," common to those who were born in one country and, after migrating, find "success" in another. Most, however, were gathered around the intermediate scores, almost as if to suggest a condition of semi-belonging in accordance with the typical sentiments of the first-generation immigrants. However, those born in Italy or who arrived here during their childhood were all concentrated around the higher scores, even though this was a closed community with a tendency to self-reliance. The fact of being born in Italy or of arriving here at a very young age strongly influenced the processes of identity building, inducing the respondents to declare themselves as belonging fully to Italian society notwithstanding their physical features that distinguished them from the majority, their parents' concentration in specific niches of the labor market, and the tendency of Italians to see them as foreigners. Moreover, the individual biography was

certainly more influential from this point of view than was the formal status of citizenship, which, as we shall see, represented a step that had a predominantly instrumental significance.

Coming to this latter aspect, it should be noted that the number of naturalizations has increased, especially after the introduction of the new regulation, which no longer oblige Filipinos to give up their Filipino citizenship. In the case of our sample, more than two-thirds considered that having Italian citizenship made a difference in the lives of Filipinos in Italy, although 23 percent harbored doubts about this, and only 9.5 percent considered this step to be practically irrelevant. Supporters of citizenship saw it in essence as a means of facilitating access to a better job and to other resources and opportunities, of gaining access to rights, opening up the possibility to travel and cross borders freely, and as a means of strengthening the sense of integration into the society, rendering them more similar to Italians and opening up new prospects for the future. Common among those who were undecided were the few that were informed as to the consequences of naturalization, although there was no lack of those who believed that, independently of equality in the face of the law, foreigners will still continue to be considered different. Finally, dominant among those who were undecided was the idea that the differences remained, in the way of behavior of the people but also in their treatment even after Italian citizenship had been granted. The same held true for the conviction that it was the migrants' children (the second generation) who were the "natural" candidates for naturalization. It was above all – or rather only – for members of the second generation that Italian citizenship assumes a significance that is not merely instrumental but truly evocative of a sense of belonging to and identification with Italian society.

From the in-depth interviews, it could be concluded that dual citizenship was seen by the respondents first and foremost as an important means of facilitating their movements between the two countries – besides being a "passport" for access to the other labor markets of the European Union. This is essential for a people whose experience has taught them to brace themselves to face the strict bureaucratic procedures for the issuing of visas. In other words, dual citizenship is considered as a means of keeping intact their

link to the Philippines. Hence, naturalization ends up being seen, paradoxically, not as a choice that in some way cuts off their ties with the native land but, instead, as a strategy for further consolidation of their position, precisely because of the possibility of leaving Italy temporarily without repercussions. In the cost/benefit ratio of naturalization – where one side highlights the bureaucratic burden involved and the other, the facilitations it offers – it is meaningful to observe the complete lack of any reference to the aspects of identification with the society in which one lives and in which one has chosen to stay. In any case, naturalization, whatever the motive for which it is requested, does not imply at all a severance of ties with the homeland.

Finally, we asked the respondents to indicate the factors that helped them the most in Italy. "Faith in God," which was listed by 37.2 percent of respondents, well expressed the difference between Italian and Filipino societies in terms of level of secularization, taking into account the pervasiveness that the religious aspect takes on for Filipinos and Filipino immigrants in particular. But this is a preference that could also bring with it an attitude of strong adaptability or even of resignation (as some key informants have been quick to point out). Next, with the consensus of around a quarter of those interviewed, was family support, the incidence of which superseded self-reliance (20.4 percent), which in turn is typical of an individualistic culture. The support of friends (7.3 percent), which was so much touted by the literature on so-called "ethnic resources," scored very modestly, even lower than employer support. Men rated family support higher, whereas women attached greater importance to self-reliance: a result that is in certain respects counter-intuitive, but which accurately reflects the picture of Filipino emigration to Italy. But, there are factors that distinguish the first from the second generation. The vast majority of those born in Italy did not consider any one particular factor that best facilitated their transition in Italy (82.6 percent). They assigned a decidedly modest role to "faith in God" (8.7 percent) and family support (8.7).

To sum up the relationship between Filipino immigrants and Italian society, we can observe, partly on the basis of the key informants' remarks, that the strong point of this community lies in



“not creating problems,” thanks to their own work ethic, their respect for promises given – which seems to have much more value than respect for immigration laws – and in the essential avoidance of its members of deviant behavior (with the exception of self-abusive behaviors such as drug abuse, which, however, do not appear to create problems for Italians, since this is a problem that is fundamentally unknown). All this makes for a good reputation, which enables them to steer from some of the obstacles that make daily life difficult for many immigrants of other nationalities. But it also makes for a low-profile integration model which, despite the almost rhetorical affirmation of the process of professional “disqualification,” ends up remaining firmly anchored to the frame of thought that has led to the term “Filipino” becoming synonymous with domestic workers in Italy.

It is in the light of this low-profile integration model that we can account for the objectives that those interviewed set themselves to achieve in the future, for themselves and for their families. Some of them imagine going back to the Philippines to have a quiet life and to spend their old age there (following in the footsteps of the many former emigrants who have gone before them) or, more simply, to see their own family reunited. Others aim to find a better job, or even think about starting up a business activity, maybe in Italy, although more often in the Philippines. The majority, however, think of stabilizing their economic and patrimonial situation in Italy (and of buying their own homes) or of reinforcing their savings capacity in order to meet the needs of the family left behind.

But mostly the desire emerges – as simple as it is shareable – to achieve, in some way, in Italy or in the Philippines, a good “family and working balance,” better earnings enabling a better use of their time so as to devote themselves more to the family. In brief, drawing up the balance of a life spent in working, often compelled to a forced separation from their loved ones, what is mostly desired is the chance of having a peaceful life, being able to put material concerns behind them and dedicating enough time to the affections which have been unwillingly neglected. From this perspective, the emphasis on responsibilities towards the family, and in particular towards their children, is understandable when voiced

both by those who were forced to separate from their families and by those who, in varying degrees have had the experience of being an “orphan of emigration.”

Even the youngest people who have more ambitious plans do not give up on the idea of uniting work and family, of combining professional success (or at any rate a job compatible with their studies) with the peacefulness of family life. These are essentially the two objectives which remained unfulfilled in the experience of their parents. Money, health, happiness, success, well-being and peace completed the list of desires.

In accordance with the central role which the family plays in Filipino culture, personal desires nearly always involve the field of the responsibilities towards the family, shaping a list where restricted space is reserved for aspirations to self-realization in love and in work – typical of an individualistic culture – and a large portion is devoted, instead, to the sense of duty towards relatives and the aspiration for a peaceful future which nearly always also involves other family members. The list of aims to achieve in the future for the family thus tends to replicate that of personal objectives, with a marked emphasis on the desire to guarantee a good education for the children so as to allow them to have a better job, higher earnings and financial stability, but mostly with a constant emphasis on good health, peacefulness, long life, and happiness. In short, they wish for their children what they themselves could not have, first and foremost the peace of mind that can only be guaranteed by being definitively freed from the conditions of economic hardship.

Before concluding, there is an aspect which needs to be remembered, because we are dealing with a point that was unexpected, but which emerged repeatedly and was underlined in the interviews with the key informants. This is not at all accidental, as, given that the Filipino community in Italy is one of the “oldest,” it was natural to expect the issue of the transition to retirement age of a significant proportion of immigrants to arise. Indeed, those interviewed reminded us that the welfare systems and their accessibility have an important role in affecting the individual and family migratory projects, and that, in order to decide on a future return, the possibility to transfer to the country of origin the pension rights

acquired in Italy is crucial. These have to be analyzed in detail, by both the home country and the host country, in order to search for governing systems able to enhance the contribution of migrants to their well-being, while at the same time giving due consideration to their rights and legitimate expectations.

III. *Transnational Identities and Practices*

As we get to the heart of our project, we shall concentrate in this section on the transnational practices of the Filipino communities in Italy and, in their context, on their orientation towards all those phenomena referring to the theme of co-development.

We shall begin by observing that, according to the existing literature, the transnational character could be considered one of the main characteristics of Filipino migration to Italy. By applying a transnational perspective to the study of Filipino migration to Italy, we can in fact observe the actions of these migrants within their economic and social dynamics involving, at the same time, their context of origin and the place where they are currently settled. This is due to the links which, through their emigration, are continuously tied and reproduced between these two areas and which, inevitably, affect their behavior and actions (Opiniano, 2002).

As is well-known, the possibility of creating transnational spaces where immigrants can communicate and act freely is strongly enhanced by the development of modern communications and technology, which has literally revolutionized the means by which immigrants keep alive and well their ties with their motherland and families they leave behind. Nowadays, the widespread use of mobile phones and the Internet allow for the exchange of news and information in real-time and for keeping in constant touch with loved ones (Stocchiero and Ceschi, 2006; Zanfrini, 2007a). Also significant in this respect is the fact that long distances can nowadays be covered in very short times with relatively affordable costs, allowing emigrants to make frequent visits to their country of origin, as is encouraged by the special laws enacted by the Philippine government.

Within this context, Filipino migrants can be observed as members of a household which has a transnational character, in

both the material and the symbolic sense, with family members not only in the country of origin, but very often also dispersed elsewhere, as we have also been able to demonstrate from what has emerged from our research (as discussed in Section 2). The migratory act of one member of the household, in fact, is often the result of a decision – individual or collective – which is made in the framework of a family strategy of accumulation and of differentiation of risks. Hence, the migrants' households keep working as units of production and reproduction even if their members are geographically dispersed.

The first and most tangible manifestation of this phenomenon is the flow of remittances. Remittances constitute one of the most relevant relational indicators, or those phenomena that lend particular visibility to the relationship between country of origin and host country with regard to migratory flows, expressing in a concrete way the continuity of the ties with family members and relatives left behind in the native country (Zanfrini, 1998). Remittances constitute a means for meeting the needs of the family left behind or for making investments. But they are also an instrument for preserving the cohesion of the transnational household and for reorganizing the power relations within this unit (Zucchetti, 1997). Research in this respect shows that one of the most powerful motivations which contribute to prolonging the migratory projects and affect the professional choices of Filipino emigrants is the need to send remittances to their nuclear or extended family or, in some cases, their community of origin. This aspect is deeply analyzed by UN-INSTRAW (2008), who observed that regular remittances are used in order to cover basic household needs in terms of clothing, electricity and ordinary healthcare needs, especially of elderly parents, as well as the costs linked to the hiring of nannies or domestic workers to cover for the absence of the caregiver who had migrated. Even if remittances are primarily used for the daily consumption of the household, there are some kinds of investment that are quite important in structuring the migratory projects of many immigrants living in Italy: firstly, the education of the children left behind; secondly, the purchase of lands for the construction of residences or the establishment of small businesses; and thirdly, healthcare or pension plans. Moreover, irregular remit-

tances are usually used to finance extra expenses due to debt, illness or accident, natural disasters or periods of low profits. Finally, random remittances, which are usually sent through religious organizations or donated to local community councils, are generally used to spend for the costs of collective celebrations or the fulfilment of infrastructural needs on a local level, such as the renovation of public buildings and the construction of schools. The authors also underlined the importance of observing the phenomenon of remittances from a gender-awareness point of view: women and men seemed to have a different behavior with respect to the sending, receipt and administration of remittances.

Scholars have different views concerning the impact of remittances on the immigrants' context of origin, as well as the effect, in general, of their contribution to the social and economic development of their home country (Stocchiero and Ceschi, 2006; Opiniano, 2002; UN-INSTRAW, 2008; Zanfrini, 2007a). What is generally agreed on, however, is the fact that detailed analysis must be carried out in this respect in order to have a deeper knowledge of how the actions of immigrants can benefit the social and economic situation of their country of origin and to create a solid basis for some policies to be implemented to this end, both in the country of origin and in the host country. In particular:

Remittance-based development in the Philippines cannot be left solely to emigrants and their households. It is the shared responsibility of numerous stakeholders and, therefore, the involvement of all types of protagonists in any remittance-based development initiative in these provinces is imperative in order to reach the goal of establishing positive relationships between emigration and development. These protagonists include international agencies, Filipino and Italian policy-makers and government offices, financial institutions, immigrant associations and non-governmental organizations, as well as individual immigrants and their families (UN-INSTRAW, 2008:39).

Moreover, continuous support for Filipino migrants' associations must be considered as one of the most important areas for enhancing the role of immigrants in the positive transformation of the social and economic situation of their country of origin.

Besides the classic theme of remittances – well-known for being the object of renewed attention in view of their extraordinary volume – researchers have in recent years directed their scrutiny, both in general and specific terms, to the processes of reorganization of the roles and responsibilities within the productive and reproductive family unit, and in particular to the theme of the care of children left behind (ECMI et al, 2004); the transformation of roles and gender balance (see, for example, Parreñas, 2004); the constitution of practices of “distance parenting” and even new forms of social inequality that may arise because of the recourse to paid caregivers (see, for example, UN-INSTRAW, 2008).

For the purposes of our analysis, one of the most relevant themes, in this context, is the keeping of ties with the country of origin also down through succeeding generations. This is a particularly delicate theme considering that – as has already been underlined (in Section 1) – this objective has up to now constituted an integral part of the policy of the Philippine government, and considering the emerging role of the issue of second generations in the life of the Filipino communities of Milan and Rome (see Section 2). In this regard, the research available shows that one of the most significant means that contribute to consolidating these links is the frequency of visits to the Philippines, which gives the parents an extraordinary opportunity to transmit their own culture to their children and for the children to acquire enough familiarity and knowledge to be able to operate in different cultural contexts and construct a composite identity. All this has some implications, still to be studied, for the second generation, who maintain ties with the country of origin of their parents and with their extended family in a way that was unimaginable in the past. From this point of view, their experiences are, therefore, profoundly different from the experiences of the children of European migrants who grew up in the United States of America in the 1950s and 1960s. Keeping typical elements from earlier affiliations may be the natural consequence

of this circumstance beyond the dichotomy of elective choice and reaction in view of the host society's discrimination. Hence, we can talk about a transnational second generation (Zanfrini, 2007a).

Finally, a third aspect to be considered is an extremely complex theme that can be synthesized using the expression "transnational membership" (see, for example, Zanfrini, 2007b), the most significant manifestations of which are the rise in the number of holders of dual citizenship, the exercise of their political rights by citizens residing abroad and the tendency to form associations arising from immigration.

The rise in the number of holders of dual citizenship is an emerging phenomenon on the international scene, due to the legislative changes introduced in various countries of emigration and immigration (which no longer require those applying for naturalization to give up their citizenship in the country of origin), the rise in mixed marriages and births of children of mixed couples, and the laws on gender equality (which no longer oblige women to give up their citizenship when they acquire that of their husbands). Dual citizenship is often interpreted as the legal manifestation of the so-called "identities with a hyphen," where the expression that precedes the hyphen indicates an ethnic appurtenance, and that which follows a political one. To acquire dual citizenship thus means recognizing the symbolic value of one's ethnic identity (Bauböch, 2003) and, for the countries of origin, keeping alive the patriotism and the ties of its emigrants overseas (and implicitly their willingness to send home remittances), without necessarily encouraging their return, indeed perhaps even favoring their integration into the wealthier countries.

The recognition, also on a permanent basis, of the right of citizens resident abroad to vote in elections represents a further way of promotion "from above" – that is, by the initiative of the State – of transnational membership. This is a much-debated choice, particularly in cases in which it is the second or third generations descending from immigrants that have the right to vote. Indeed, whereas transnational political practices are in general exercised by first generation immigrants (or rather, by some of them), transnational rights and political appurtenance are a much more widespread phenomenon, which may even involve descendants, espe-

cially if they have dual citizenship. In the case of Italy, for example, the vote of its citizens abroad (often involving descendants of immigrants from way back who hence no longer have any meaningful ties with Italy) has played a decisive role in the outcome of some elections. Moreover, the vote from abroad is often surrounded by controversy, accusations of electoral fraud and fears of exploitation – phenomena that, as we shall see, are also widely reported by the Filipino diaspora in Italy.

Finally, the tendency to form associations arising from immigration represents one of the most significant manifestations of the construction of a transnational citizenship “from below,” i.e., an initiative by the immigrants themselves. We shall be dealing with this theme in the next section.

In the light of the objectives of the MAPID Project, our research has dedicated special attention to the ties and linkages with the respondents’ home country. As has already been stated (see Section 2), despite the long presence and the transformation into a permanent presence of a sizeable percentage of Filipino immigrants in Italy, almost nine out of 10 interviewees declared they had a hometown in the Philippines. Aside from emotions and sentiments, such a high percentage can no doubt be accounted for by the strong ties with the Philippines. Around 91 percent of the sample claims to still have active ties/links with the Philippines. Immediate family members (87.9 percent), other relatives (85.2 percent) and friends (80.2 percent) are the main connections they had with the Philippines. Even among those born in Italy, 70.8 percent claimed to have active ties/links with the Philippines, confirming that, given the current international scenario, the adjective “transnational” can also be applied to the second generation. The other major kinds of ties are of a non-material nature (such as love for their country, 73.6 percent; or nice memories linked to the Philippines, 70.9 percent). Current (15.4 percent) or planned (12.6 percent) investments/businesses, together with the support of some projects in the Philippines, have a minor role, although it must be underlined that they involve a significant number of Filipino migrants in Italy (if we relate these percentages to the Filipino community in Italy). In all these cases, male respondents are more often involved than female interviewees.

As has been seen, a family divided by emigration represents the norm among the Filipino communities in Milan and Rome, to the point that eight out of 10 respondents still had family members resident in the Philippines. At the same time, around two-thirds affirmed that their available family income was sufficient to support the original household in the Philippines, leaving to the imagination the importance of the flow of remittances to the Philippines from Italy. The main channel for their transfer is the bank, utilized by around 70 percent of those interviewed (or, to be more precise, by 86 percent of those who send money to their home country). Only 10 percent used money transfer services, and almost none employed informal channels (bringing the money when they visit the Philippines or through family/friends visiting the Philippines), which a few years ago was much more widespread. All in all, men were less likely to send home money. And when they did, they were more likely to utilize channels other than banks. As was to be expected, the tendency to send money back was almost non-existent among those born in Italy.

Remittances were mostly used for the family's subsistence (an aim indicated by around three-fourths of the respondents), although as many as one in two said they also funded their children's education (and, for a few cases but nevertheless still high, that of other family members), confirming the role of emigration in supporting the growth of human capital in the Philippines (at least partly capable of counterbalancing the consequences of the brain drain). The buying/renovating of their house was indicated by around a third of those interviewed. A quarter of them indicated the purchase of durable goods and an even lower number reported using remittances for business/investment. According to our results, the use of remittances was similar for men and women, although the latter tended to use their savings for the necessities of the whole family, whereas the former invested more in the education of their children and in buying/renovating their house. These differences could be explained by the higher incidence of married men. Although contemporary literature tends to attach great importance to the gender factor, the tendency to send money home, and its use, reflects firstly the role of emigrants within the family economy

and that family's migratory plans. This is seen in the fact that it is the immigrants coming to Italy as adults who cited the various uses of the money sent home specified in the questionnaire (in particular, family members' subsistence and education), followed by those leaving for Italy before the age of 19, and only at a great distance by those born in Italy. In the same way, being married had a positive influence on the willingness to use money sent back home for family needs (and for the children's education).

As to the styles of family functioning, we have already pointed out that the migratory culture of reference embodies and legitimizes the idea of families divided by emigration, in the same way we have referred to the transitional models immigrant families tended to conform with in their daily lives. In this light, we can here add further indications regarding transnational dynamics that involved those interviewed and their families. Let us begin by observing that the large majority of the sample (85.5 percent) tried to be constantly informed about events and happenings (outside family matters) in the Philippines through news from family and friends (88.3 percent) and newspapers/magazines produced by Filipinos in Italy (65.5 percent) or sold in Italy (43.9 percent) and through the Internet (54.4 percent). The use of Filipino TV channels is more uncommon, but in any case fairly widespread (32.3 percent), as was the gathering of information through international broadcasts and media (36.3 percent). Finally, more than half of the sample was informed about current events by visiting the Philippines.

Which aspects of Filipino life do the immigrants follow? First, as could be expected, were family matters, indicated by over 90 percent of respondents, an indication of the transnational nature acquired by most of the families, some of whose members were involved in emigration. At second was the hometown's events and news, followed by nearly three quarters of the respondents. However, the other aspects which are taken into account in the questionnaire – national and/or local politics, business opportunities, sports and show business – were of less interest to respondents, which showed that the nature of transnational linkages is mostly related to the family and local community. From another standpoint, although a minority, the percentage of those who showed

some interest in business opportunities (27.3 percent, rising to 35.6 percent among men) constituted quite a significant group of immigrants.

The persistence of the linkages with the homeland is attested to by the fact that, for over 80 percent of the sample, their last visit to the Philippines dated back to 2004 onwards (i.e., at most four years before the interviews were conducted in June and July 2008). For about half, it was between 2007 or 2008 and for 35.2 percent of the sample, the last visit took place in 2004-2006. The presence of the spouse in Italy did not seem to reduce the propensity to make periodic visits to the Philippines, which, however, was constrained by the presence of young children. Even most of those born in Italy were able to visit the Philippines, and for them, their last visit usually dated back to very recent years (only about a third of those born in Italy or who arrived before the age of six had never visited their parents' country).

Over the past three months since the time of interview, only 5.4 percent of the respondents (which reached a third among those born in Italy) had not communicated with their family. In most cases, communication was more or less weekly (74 percent), sometimes even daily. Whereas among those born in Italy, it tended to be monthly. The most recurrent means of communication, used by 91.6 percent of the respondents, was the phone or computer (land line, cell phone, Internet), which speaks of the relevance modern means of communication in the daily life of immigrants and their families. SMS/text messaging was also very popular, used by over 45 percent of the sample, similar to e-mail/chatting (48.9 percent). The sending of audio-video tapes involved only 4.2 percent of the sample, and letters – which, in the past, were actually the only means of communication between migrants and their families – were used by a modest 8.9 percent. Decidedly more numerous were those who relied on their regular visits to the families left behind (36.8 percent), or on the visits of relatives who came to Italy (26.3 percent).

Decidedly illuminating, for the purposes of our reflections, are the data regarding the individual perception of the sense of belonging. First of all, when asked if they felt more at home in either the Philippines or in Italy, the large majority of the sample

cited the Philippines (58.3 percent). Of course, the more recent the moment of emigration to Italy, the stronger the attachment to the country of origin, so that among the newcomers (those who arrived in Italy from 2004 on), 85 percent declared that they felt more at home in the Philippines, a percentage which strongly decreases (29.4 percent) among those who arrived in Italy before 1986 (the majority of the latter answered "in both countries"). But most of all, what is striking is the very large proportion of members of the second generation who felt most at home in the Philippines. More than four respondents out of 10 who were born in Italy or who arrived before six years of age, and six respondents out of 10 who arrived in Italy between six and 18 years of age said they were more at home in the Philippines. These are percentages that seem to indicate the capacity of conveying to different generations the sense of belonging to the country of origin.

Those who felt more at home in the Philippines justified it by mentioning that their family and loved ones were in the Philippines. But they also referred to their origins and to the nostalgia which, anyway, is always present in the migrants' life, with much pride, while stressing the difficulty to really feel integrated in Italy (the impression is that of being treated as second-class citizens). Those who felt more at home in Italy pointed out, instead, that their family was by now rooted in the country and that they were able to recreate a "normal" life. Those who felt at home in both countries remarked that homesickness was the price to be paid in order to be able to benefit from the opportunities offered by living in a country such as Italy.

Concerning self-definitions, the large majority considered themselves as Filipinos (56.9 percent), a percentage which largely exceeds all the others: Filipino-Italian (31.5 percent), Italian-Filipino (10.2 percent), and, lastly, Italian (1.5 percent). As could easily be predicted, self-definition was closely related to the length of stay in Italy, so that the longer the period spent in Italy, the less common the proneness to consider one's self Filipino and the more marked the tendency to resort to the so-called hyphenated identities. These identities were, moreover, strongly favored by those who were born in Italy, 65.2 percent of whom identified themselves with the expression Italian-Filipino, and 26.1 percent with

the expression Filipino-Italian. Only two respondents, born in Italy, chose the expression Italian in order to describe themselves, which reminds us that the experience of the second generations and the processes of identity construction of the latter – especially within a community distinguished for its strong cohesion and, in some cases, for its self-contained character – cannot avoid the logic of a double belonging. In contrast, two-thirds of those who were born in the Philippines chose the adjective Filipino and another third Filipino-Italian, highlighting a very strong attachment to the homeland. The naturalized Italians themselves – in particular those who had only Italian citizenship – were divided between those who chose the expression Italian-Filipino (seven cases out of 10) and those who picked Filipino-Italian (the remaining three cases).

Regarding the complex question of the organization of the care of the young children left behind, almost eight cases out of 10 involved a primary carer, and only in the remaining two cases was more than one carer found. Those looking after children left behind were, in around four cases out of 10, female relatives (aunts, grandmothers, cousins etc.). At the same time, 42.4 percent of the men interviewed alluded to their own partner as the primary carer of their children left behind, whereas 35.1 percent of the women responded likewise. These data are to be interpreted bearing in mind that, in numerous cases, both father and mother are immigrants. Although in every case, the picture that emerges is of an organization of care on a family basis, with emphasis on the female, as is indeed well demonstrated by previous research. Recourse to paid help was practically non-existent (declared by only 1.5 percent of respondents), as was requesting older sisters to take care of their younger siblings (2.9 percent). Nevertheless, our research work contradicts the commonplace that the fathers are substantially disengaged with respect to care-giving tasks. Although the relative majority of immigrant mothers entrusted their children to other female relatives, more than a third designated their partners as primary care givers of their children left behind, with a further 10 percent reporting other male relatives as filling that role. Hence, it would seem that the process of crossing traditional gender borders is reaching a high degree of evolution with regard to

the reproductive functions, showing the great potential of transformation implied in emigration.

Regarding the sphere of participation in the political life of the country of origin, the data we have collected provide us, in the first place, with some information regarding the immigrants' awareness of their own rights and propensity to vote. Only 28.5 percent of respondents said they had voted, usually only once (22.5 percent). It must be noted that none of those born in Italy voted in the Philippine elections, usually because they did not have the right (86.4 percent). In addition, and for the same reason, (indicated by 90.5 percent) none among those interviewed who acquired Italian citizenship had ever voted. But most of all, it is striking that, among those who did not vote, the relative majority (34.8 percent, which rises to half of those who had fewer years of formal education and to 62.5 percent of respondents who arrived in Italy between six and 18 years of age) did not do so because they were not interested in voting in the Philippine elections or because, even if they were registered, they did not get to vote (13.3 percent). A large percentage was aware of absentee voting but did not register (26.7 percent). The remaining percentage did not have the right to vote (14.1 percent) or did not know about absentee voting (11.1 percent). What needs to be underlined above all is that the inclination to vote did not seem to be related to educational attainment, and that, even if we considered only the respondents who arrived in Italy as adults – that is, the group that, referring to nearly all the indicators, was found as the most strongly linked to the country of origin – the percentage of the people who vote remained low: a little more than a third of this group.

The reasons for this low level of political participation can be easily understood by considering the interviews with the key informants. Firstly, the high rate of corruption which notoriously characterizes political life in the Philippines represented a significant deterrent to voting, especially for those who, being far away, had the strong impression of being used. Another problem concerned the substantial distance or lack of familiarity of the migrants from the political life in the Philippines, especially of those who had been away for many years. Hence, it seemed that the law



on absentee voting did not yet enjoy legitimization, which would require a more transparent and democratic situation of Philippine political life. As was remarked controversially by numerous respondents, the expectations of the migrants revolved around a perceived apathy on the part of government authorities, not only through some formal acts, but through the effective comprehension of their needs and difficulties as well. In fact, an objective analysis cannot avoid detecting a certain activism by diplomatic and consular authorities (if we are to believe the declarations gathered during the interviews), albeit not sufficient to dissipate the criticism and sense of frustration regarding thwarted expectations.

Concerning the question of citizenship, our research confirmed the significance of dual citizenship as an instrument of mediation between the objectives of individual emancipation (which can gain impetus from naturalization) and the sense of loyalty to one's own forefathers. Within our sample, only 13.5 percent of interviewees acquired Italian citizenship (in about three cases out of 10, renouncing, at the same time, their Philippine citizenship; the number of respondents with dual citizenship is, in fact, three percent of our sample). Among the people who were born in Italy, only a minority (12.5 percent) did not have Italian citizenship, although they had requested it. This datum itself is sufficient to contradict the stereotype that Filipino migrants are somewhat disinterested to acquire Italian citizenship. Certainly, this attitude did not apply to members of the second generation. Concerning those from the first generation, the opportunity to keep the citizenship of the origin country seemed to have totally dispelled any resistance, even from diplomatic authorities (according to what we were able to ascertain during the interviews).

Citizenship acquisition by our respondents usually occurred in recent years, with a concentration between 2003 and 2006. Moreover, 28.7 percent of those who had not yet been naturalized thought they would be in the near future, once the conditions were acquired. A smaller percentage (26.9 percent) did not discount this possibility. Among those who were born in Italy, the incidence of those having acquired Italian citizenship is very high at nearly 87 percent. In contrast, only one among the respondents who arrived in Italy between six and 18 years of age acquired dual citizen-

ship. In fact, only 44.4 percent of those not naturalized (or, in other words, 38 percent of the whole sample) declared that they were not interested in becoming Italian citizens, a percentage which definitely contradicts the hypothesized unwillingness of Filipino migrants to make this essential step towards integration into Italian society.

Finally, our research yielded some interesting indications regarding the propensity of Filipino immigrants to invest resources in the economic and social development of their communities of origin. Since they came to Italy, nearly a third of those interviewed had received requests for assistance to support some community project in the Philippines, and nearly 40 percent supported some project or activity in the Philippines (by contributing money, service or in kind). Over half said they planned to contribute to supporting a project or activity in the Philippines while nearly 40 percent intended to start a business in the Philippines. We can thus identify a very large number of people who can be mobilized for supporting development projects or initiating investments in the Philippines. Another striking fact is the large consensus that these statements found among the members of the "non-pure second" generation, maybe because of a dissatisfaction with the level of integration that they had achieved in Italy, which drove them to search elsewhere for the realization of their aspirations.

The requests for assistance to support some community project were devoted to the following: building churches; building and maintaining schools; supporting children and orphanages; financing emergency support projects; contributing to medical assistance. Other aims included scholarship grants, homes for aged people and water pumps. But the list of planned or intended interventions in the future was definitively longer, comprising of houses for homeless people, children's and poor people's assistance, aid to women victims of violence, the promotion of tourism, calamity relief, medical centers, infrastructure projects and livelihood assistance. Many people, in any case, remarked that the honesty and reliability of the proponents were indispensable conditions in persuading migrants to contribute to these initiatives, considering that the experience has induced many to be cautious in their donations (see Section 4).



Finally, the projects to start a business in the Philippines were concentrated in the commercial field and catering. Many people planned to open a restaurant, a shop (a grocery, a baby dress shop, an Internet café, a bakery, etc.) or a supermarket. Some intended to open a tourist agency, or to run a piggery, a chemistry, gasoline station, resort or a beauty center, or to invest money buying apartments that could be rented. With respect to all the options of involvement, women were those most involved (as could have been expected in view of their special role in the Filipino migratory process in Italy) as 32.5 percent of them had received requests to support some community project, 44.7 percent supported some project or activity, and 57.4 percent planned on starting a business in the Philippines. As a whole, what emerges from the data is a willingness to invest the savings coming from their work in projects and initiatives geared towards the well-being of their families and communities of origin, along with the necessity of reinforcing the support activities addressed to migrants for a real enhancement of their savings.

Although the possibility to act as agents of development for their country of origin is not necessarily linked to the possibility of their return, it is worth reflecting on what can be considered as a further relational indicator, represented by return emigration itself. Concerning the projects for the future, only 18.7 percent excluded the possibility of staying in Italy for a long time; the remaining part of the sample was equally divided between those who were sure of staying Italy (40.4 percent) and those who answered "don't know, it depends" (40.9). Respondents who had lived in Italy for a longer time who opted for a prolonged stay in this country. The tendency to stay in Italy for a long time was shared by 47.1 percent of the migrants who arrived in Italy before 1986; it falls to 37.8 percent among those who arrived between 1986 and 2003, and to 25 percent for the newcomers who arrived in Italy from 2004 onwards. This makes it evident that, regardless of the initial projects and intentions, the migratory routes are redefined over time, owing to life experiences, and not only to available opportunities. Thus, it seems reasonable to think that a proportion of those who nowadays are reluctant to accept the possibility of staying in Italy for a long time may, within a few years, acquire such a level of adjust-

ment to Italian society that may prompt them to delay their return. It must also be remembered that those immigrants with the longest migratory histories are the "survivors" of their cohort compared to the many who have gone back to the Philippines. Of interest, furthermore, is the fact that a large group of people who were born in Italy (33.3 percent) were uncertain concerning this aspect.

Evidently, the answers to the following question were symmetrical: those interviewed were asked if they were considering returning to live in the Philippines at some point, to which 40.6 percent answered "yes," 17.3 percent, "no," and a significant 42.1 percent replied "I don't know" (and again it is striking that 22.2 percent of those who arrived in Italy between six and 18 years of age planned to return to the Philippines). A modest 18.2 percent had short-term return plans by 2010. The modal proportion intended to return by 2018, most likely because that marks the 10-year mark after the time of interview.

Among those who were planning to go back to the Philippines, we found a large proportion of people who planned to start a business, together with those who had first and foremost the aim of rejoining their family or of going back to spend their retirement there after many years working in Italy. Finally, there are also those who simply evoked nostalgia for their own land ("It's my homeland;" "I'd like to bring my family back;" "There is no place like your home town"). The percentage of those undecided was quite high (17.7 percent had no plans of returning), and they could potentially be involved in a program for assisted return.

The large number of undecided respondents often referred to the plans of their relatives and especially of their children, but also of the uncertainty of future events and of the opportunities that may be available in the future (in relation, for example, to the evolution of the economic situation in the Philippines, to the success or failure of their scholastic and professional training, or to the fulfilment of their goals of saving in reasonable times).

Those who, instead, ruled out the possibility of going back to the Philippines referred to their rootedness in Italy or, more seldom, the plan of moving elsewhere (in general to the United States). Many people emphasized that the Philippines will always be the



choice for a holiday, but also a place unthinkable to return to as the conditions of the country did not make it an advisable choice or, because by now, they had “become Italians.” Finally, those who were born in Italy affirmed that, for them, it was totally natural to stay here – an orientation to stabilization that, despite the assumptions that have informed the MAPID Project, should not necessarily be considered prejudicial to the aims of mobilizing the Filipino diaspora in Italy for the development of the country of origin.

IV. Associational Life

Most of the literature concerning the Filipino community living in Italy takes account of the issue of the tendency to form associations, considering it as being one of the features of its life within the host society and an effect of the culturally determined tendency of Filipinos to community life (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006).

Majority of the research on the topic explores it in connection with other issues, for example the integration of Filipino migrants into Italian society or in certain urban contexts (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; D’Ottavi, 1998), their incorporation in the labor market (Lodigiani, 1995), the second generation (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006) or their involvement in co-development (UN-INSTRAW, 2008). In fact, given its central role in the Filipino migrants’ life, the tendency to form associations has important functions with regard to all these themes and needs to be analyzed in order for us to have a deeper comprehension of many different aspects of the Filipino community life.

Effectively, also from our research, associational life emerges as the main form of presence – which goes beyond participation in the labor market – of the Filipino community in the public sphere, even though, as we shall see, this presence remains almost totally invisible outside the confines of the ethnic community. It is precisely for this reason that a thorough knowledge of the associational phenomenon is needed for the planning and implementation of policies and interventions aimed at a better integration of the Filipino community into Italian society (in addition, of course, to those for the promotion of co-development).

The origins of Filipino migrants' associations based in Italy date back to the 1970s, when the migratory flows to Italy started and were consolidated. The pioneers of this migration, mostly women, in order to find affective support, adjust to the host society and find a job, started weaving thick and efficient networks of self-help, which linked together friends and migrants coming from the same place and, in a few cases, family members who had emigrated to Italy. At the beginning, we dealt with informal networks which, step-by-step, reached a higher level of formalization and institutionalization (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; Lodigiani, 1995).

These first Filipino associations were established within a Catholic context, since, as has already been mentioned, the Church and the missions played a central role in the promotion of Filipino migratory flows directed to Italy. Mostly since the 1990s, and as a consequence of the increase in the migratory flows and of the intensification of the networks based on family links, some religious Protestant associations had been established, as well as various lay associations (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006).

Especially in the urban areas of Rome and Milan, where, as we have seen, most of the Filipino immigrant population in Italy is concentrated, the number of associations is quite high. In particular, the associations and religious communities based in Rome were quite well structured and lively. They were very often supported by the Catholic Church. Sometimes, they were also supported by some bodies of the Philippine government working for the protection of Filipino migrants (D'Ottavi, 1998). All the Catholic religious communities based in Rome are coordinated by the Catholic Filipino Chaplaincy or the Centro Pilipino linked to the Basilica of Santa Pudenziana, which is also a landmark on a national level, since it coordinates all the Filipino Pastoral Councils based in Italy (D'Ottavi, 1998).

In Milan, there are also numerous religious communities and cultural, sports, music and social clubs. Also in this context, Catholic religious institutions play an important role in the community life of Filipinos and are the centers for some of their groups, such as the Parishes of Santa Maria del Carmine and San Lorenzo. These institutions are often the only places where Filipino associations can conduct their activities (Lodigiani, 1995).



Usually, these groups are organized in a hierarchical way and it is the group itself that assigns to certain members a specific position, usually through democratic processes (UN-INSTRAW, 2008). Having the leadership of one of these groups is considered by Filipino migrants as an opportunity to gain, within the ethnic community, the social recognition which cannot be achieved through professional success (D'Ottavi, 1998). This search for personal recognition through the exploitation of the associational phenomenon is one of the mainsprings of the continuous process of constitution, splitting up and reconstitution that characterizes this associational fabric (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; Lodigiani, 1995; D'Ottavi, 1998; UN-INSTRAW, 2008).

Apparently, the effective mobilization that the Filipino community is able to put into effect in order to support its members, being incapable of sparking off processes of integration of a higher profile compared to those usually experimented with by this community – for example, by creating for Filipino migrants new, more satisfactory routes of incorporation in the labor market – attempts instead to enhance their opportunities for recreation and gathering (Lodigiani, 1995; UN-INSTRAW, 2008). In turn, this represents a form of distraction and compensation for the frustrations caused by migration that are much deeper given the model of integration which does not allow for a complete and balanced expression of the individual in all his/her social, intellectual and psychological dimensions.

In reality, the community and recreational opportunities offered by associational life certainly have the added function of perpetuating in the land of immigration the value and behavioral systems of the culture of origin and of keeping active those processes of construction and reproduction of identity based on the ethnic group, which help them adjust to the day-to-day life in the host society, but is strongly marked by asymmetry and the tendency to place the immigrant from the Philippines in a constant position of subservience (Zanfrini, 1998).

With reference to the second generation, to which the MAPID experience aims to dedicate particular space and attention, it is necessary to mention the important social function that the associations provide in preventing the risk of isolation, solitude and

maladjustment faced by young Filipinos (especially those who joined their parents in Italy after a certain time of separation), and in preserving the Filipino cultural identity also among the second generation (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006; Liamzon, 2007). As we have already observed, the latter function responds both to a need felt by the adult generations, greatly concerned by the possible negative effects that the impact of the culture of the host society could have on the good conduct of their children, and to the dependency of the Philippines' national system, whose equilibrium is in large part based on the continuing input of economic resources from emigrants that could be jeopardized by a definitive stabilization of emigrants in the host society implying, with the passing from one generation to another, a severing of the ties with the country of origin. Without going too deeply into the issue, already examined at length in Section 1, let us limit ourselves to drawing attention to the fact that, yet again, far from representing a privileged route towards integration, the associations tend to become the instrument of a kind of pressure contributing to the creation of a distance between young Filipinos residing in Italy and the social context of reception, running the risk of intensifying rather than alleviating the existential toil of lives that right from the start are marked by the traumas of emigration.

In the picture thus far drawn, the outlines are being traced of an associational world marked by a self-contained attitude and its non-permeability, which are emphasized by the social control wielded over its members and strengthened by the segmentation and isolation of the different networks existing in its bosom (Palidda, 2000), all aspects that we shall subsequently have the occasion to examine in depth on the basis of the results of our research.

However, before embarking on the illustration of our findings and analyses, we refer to an important aspect that has remained almost entirely unexplored by the scientific literature but which, being placed at the very fulcrum of the objectives of the MAPID project, has been one of the crucial points of our research: the relationship between the associations arising out of Filipino immigration to Italy and the development of their country of origin.

The findings of many international research studies reveal the high potential of immigrant associations for promoting



transnational interventions of co-development. Among the several phenomena linked to international migration and capable of fueling the exchanges and relationships between different national contexts, in fact, the formation of associations is particular for its capacity to structure activities and objectives, of creating a means of intermediation between individuals and institutions of the host and of the receiving country, and of generating and reproducing social capital (Stocchiero and Ceschi, 2006).

The knowledge of the role played in this context by the closely-woven associational network of the Filipino community is, as we have said, extremely sketchy. An important – and for now isolated – contribution that we would like to cite in this context is the research work promoted by the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) in partnership with the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Filipino Women’s Council, a Filipino immigrants’ association based in Rome. This study focuses on the phenomenon of remittances and their impact and potential in promoting development in the contexts of origin, based on a multi-situated qualitative research study on the Filipino community living in Rome and on a number of associations based in Italy (Rome). It reveals that there are few groups promoting initiatives geared towards the Philippine context and that these interventions are only seldom continuous ones based on an organic project. They are, much more often, sporadic actions that are not able to produce real change in the context that benefits from them (UN-INSTRAW, 2008).

As will subsequently be illustrated in detail, our analysis tends largely to confirm this interpretation of the phenomenon, not without unveiling some of its intrinsic potentialities and putting forward some ideas for the working out of strategies designed to bring out these strong points (see Sections 5 and 6), which, up to now, are mired in a situation of stasis but has its roots, first and foremost, in the conditions of integration of Filipino immigrants into Italian society.

Let us now examine closely the results of our research, attempting first of all to analyze the nature of the weave of functions

at the basis of the flourishing associational experience of this community.

The objectives of Filipino associations overseas (FAOs),⁷ as emerging from the research, are numerous, and often superimposed within the same FAO: solidarity and social assistance, the creation of an orientation and reference point, spiritual assistance and the sharing of the word of God, the promotion of fellowship among members through recreational activities, the fostering and preservation of Filipino culture within the Filipino immigrant community, mostly among the second generation, and helping people in the Philippines – an analysis of the latter objective is being shelved for the moment, to be developed in connection with the discussion of the relationship between FAOs and the development of the country of origin in the conclusion to this section.

In an attempt to bring out the deeper meanings connected to the above listed objectives, we would first of all like to show that the objective of sharing in the precepts of the Catholic faith and cultivating the spiritual sphere of members has to be interpreted by taking into account one of the fundamental values of the Filipino culture, expressed by the Filipino word *maka-Diyos*, meaning devotion to God or deep and constant faith. This is perceived by Filipino migrants as one of the most particular and distinguishing features of their identity and is one of the most effective social bonds in the Filipino immigrant community (Greco, 2004). Hence, it is difficult, in the majority of cases, to distinguish the aim of sharing the Catholic gospel from that of preserving the Filipino culture in the emigration context. In the light of this interpretation, the importance of the role played by religious communities and associations in the mobilization of the community around numerous events in celebration of national festivities of the country of origin becomes clearer.

Besides, this marked religiousness which permeates Filipino community life is closely interwoven with another important value of this culture: the sociality and importance of community life. For

⁷ The acronym FAO (Filipino Associations Overseas) is used in this work to refer to every group with a minimum level of institutionalization composed mainly of Filipino migrants.



this reason, the idea of cultivating the spiritual sphere usually goes along with the notion of sharing convivial and recreational moments to be spent in the community.

This is why, very often, one of the main activities of religious communities is the organization of recreational and social events. This social activity, of course, is the basis for the creation of social networks capable of supporting immigrants who are in difficult circumstances, an objective that, in the majority of cases, is pursued without recourse to systematic and structured methods and instruments, basing itself exclusively on a sense of interpersonal solidarity available within this social network and on the resources that are spontaneously made available by its members on an *ad hoc* basis.

As has been seen, the four dimensions of sociality, religiousness, identity and solidarity are very closely interwoven, providing the basis of Filipino intra-community life, also in the functional sense, as is emphasized in the literature and confirmed by our research. This influences the members of the community, in particular the young ones, as a form of social control functioning to prevent deviance.

Some respondents, moreover, referred to some specific areas of action of FAOs in the field of integration of immigrants into Italian society. This is an objective that, in addition to being recognized as pertaining to a minority of associations, remains, in reality, incontestably disregarded, given the apparent inability of Filipino associations to relate to Italian society and in particular to its institutional structure.

Let us now take a look at the composition, in terms of nationality, of the associations contacted during the research study. Significantly, although Filipino nationality is not one of the most frequent prerequisites for being included in an FAO, about three quarters of the FAOs interviewed are, in fact, composed only of Filipino members. Moreover, of those remaining there are exceedingly few that include a significant number of people of other nationalities. The impenetrability of the Filipino associational world to the local component of the population is very revealing in the social distance that separates the two groups, which, while cohabiting in the same territory and meeting daily in the workplace, have not man-



aged to create means of community building, formal or informal, involving Italians and Filipinos together. In this regard, it should be observed that the lack of interaction with their surrounding social context does not stir in Filipino immigrants the need to increase their linguistic competences in order to go beyond the limited abilities needed to break away from domestic work. The fact that their comprehension of and expression of Italian language tend to be basic to poor levels, as will be repeated below, has considerable repercussions on the capacity of the associations to help them access the opportunities present in the destination country.

Furthermore, the homogeneous composition, from the point of view of nationality, of the Filipino associations reveals clearly once again that associational choices very often boil down to the fact of being together among similar people and having a point of reference which satisfies practical and emotive needs. In fact, about two-thirds of the survey respondents cited as their reason for becoming members of an association the desire to spend time with fellow Filipinos, confirming that the mainspring of the vitality of the associational phenomenon in the Filipino community is above all the need to deal with homesickness and the search for reassuring affiliations that help Filipino immigrants, in their few moments of free time from work, to “feel at home.”

Indeed, although participation in “ethnic” associations is a widespread experience – a third of those interviewed in the survey were members or officials of a Filipino organization – the same surely cannot be said for local associations. In contrast, the life of aggregation of the Filipino community in Italy is seen to be to a large extent centered on the community of the group itself, and with an evident propensity in favor of associations on an ethnic basis over “Italian” or “mixed” ones.

Legal status does not necessarily broaden the objectives of Filipino associations. Filipino migrants, both legal and those in an irregular situation, tend to form faith-based associations. Moreover, it seems to us opportune to bear in mind that the second generation in the strict sense, consisting of those born in Italy, were basically not involved in the associational experience, because of lack of time, but also of interest and of need. This shows that the associations do not know how to respond to the need to invent new



pathways of integration into Italian society and more novel strategies of social mobility and professional differentiation, a need felt with particular force and urgency by the second generation.

Let us now describe the projects or activities undertaken by the Filipino organizations. We find, above all, religious activities, cultural-recreational-social activities and support services and assistance (legal, health, counselling, etc.) – actions that, as was previously pointed out, are usually carried on in an informal way.

The decided prevalence of this type of activity once again confirms the need to preserve institutions and traditional values put at risk in the interactions with Italian society while according refuge from the stress caused by migration. These are strongly perceived as being more urgent than the objective of integrating into Italian society and of promoting some authentically empowering actions in that direction.

For example, it is actually more frequent for associations to work as a mechanism of accreditation for access to employment or to some other social opportunities which are already largely controlled by the Filipino community, rather than to facilitate a change in the model of incorporation. In fact, significantly, the service of job referral is provided, usually in an informal way, by many FAOs, which, function as a repository for Italians of reliable domestic workers. This mechanism, in fact, is a powerful way of perpetuating the professional condition of Filipino immigrants, who are protected from unemployment but who seem to be unable to avoid the univocal occupation as domestic workers. In return, as we shall later see more clearly, the associations themselves suffer from extremely limited human resources and from highly demanding work, which tends to isolate and fails to stimulate intellectual growth.

About a third of the FAOs interviewed, besides, had youth-related projects, mainly aimed at preserving Filipino culture among the second generation and preventing them from maladjustment and deviance. As previously asserted, those using these programs were part of the “non-pure second generation,” those most affected by the feeling of rootlessness and the difficulty to integrate in the context of migration, which they have to face precisely during the critical phase of adolescence. Most of the FAOs interviewed inter-

vened in order to improve the situation of young Filipinos by organizing religious or recreational activities such as sports, music, dance or theater. Nevertheless, although the concerns about young people were very widespread and perceived as an essential matter by most of the FAOs, the initiatives needed to be enhanced and empowered, strengthening first and foremost the systematic collaborations with Italian society which young Filipinos feel the need to belong to fully.

About half of the FAOs interviewed, moreover, carried out information campaigns about the policies and programs of the Italian government for immigrants. Also in this case, we are not always dealing with formal campaigns, conducted on a large scale and in an organized way, but often with a word-of-mouth process supported by the social network existing within the organization. Based on the MAPID experience overall, and in particular from reflections on the implementation of the training programs (see Section 5), these are activities whose efficacy is extremely limited, given the disinformation within the community concerning the functions of Italian institutions and the Italian language itself, the opportunities available in the country and the rights and duties of immigrants in the public sphere.

Similar considerations can be developed concerning the FAOs (about a third of our group) that promote information campaigns about the policies and programs of the Philippine government for overseas Filipinos, functioning as intermediaries between the governing institutions of the Philippines (in particular the Philippine Consulate General and the Philippine Embassy) and the community.

If, as shown by the analysis as a whole, the FAOs effectively work as a conduit between the representatives of the Philippine government in Italy and the community, the range of topics discussed, in most cases, do not include aspects essential for exercising Filipino citizenship rights, but instead revolve around marginal questions linked, for example, to the organization of national celebrations. A case in point is the disinformation within the community concerning the law on dual citizenship, or the disaffection for participation in the political life of the country of origin, which is fuelled to a significant extent by the indifference that those we

interviewed had perceived from the Philippine government regarding their needs and difficulties (see Section 3). Evidently, therefore, although the associations could certainly constitute an important channel for the transmission of information from the top down and vice versa, they have so far remained passive and unexplored.

A few immigrants' organizations, moreover, promote training and conduct seminars or forums in order to improve the Filipino community's knowledge on various matters. Here, there exists a limited number of associations that have embarked on interesting training initiatives in financial literacy or social entrepreneurship.

We cannot omit, however, to emphasize the residual attention assigned to the activities relating to the collection and management of financial funds and entrepreneurial promotion (that is, the aspects mainly pertaining to our project).

Furthermore, mention should be made of the small but noteworthy number of FAOs working to improve the condition of Filipino immigrants through the implementation of projects of different kinds (for example, pressure for obtaining the transfer to the Philippines of pension rights accumulated in Italy, multiethnic nursery schools or research activities). In addition, some associations, albeit only a few, carry out advocacies and international lobbying in order to promote immigrants' concerns. Finally, there are some FAOs or bodies whose aim is to coordinate and create a network among all the FAOs in order to produce, as a whole, a more organic and complete action addressed to the Filipino community.

We shall concentrate later on the interventions carried out by the FAOs in the Philippines when we analyze in detail the relationship between the associational world and the development of the country of origin. Let us now focus on the difficulties emerging from the research as the biggest constraint for the Filipino associations based in Italy. Lack of finances was indicated as one of the main difficulties by more than half of the FAOs interviewed. If we attempt a more in-depth illustration of the aspects linked to the available financial resources, we can see that nearly all the FAOs interviewed had recourse to membership contributions, which in most cases were voluntary, for collecting funds for their activities.

To this end, more than half of them organized fund-raising activities, and a quarter of the FAOs received donations from the private sector – usually the Filipino private sector (Filipino shops, banks or businesses). A problematic fact which is worth underlining, however, is that only a tiny number of the FAOs interviewed had grants from the Italian public sector.

This situation is part of a wider picture that depicts a lack of knowledge and communication, as has already been mentioned previously. In fact, the synergies with the institutions of Italian society are rather weak, also as a reflection of that self-regarding attitude that has been noted. Significantly, a little under a half of the FAOs contacted had no links with Italian institutions. Besides, most of the closest collaborations of the FAOs with the Italian context involved local parishes, which provide the Filipino communities a place to meet and conduct their activities. Other cases involved occasional, non-systematic relationships with local associations, unions or organizations, as well as sporadic participation in conventions, demonstrations or recreational events promoted by some Italian institutions.

A fact that seems very important to underline apropos of this is that only about a third of the FAOs interviewed were registered with the relevant offices in Italy, with most of them officially recognized only by the Philippine Embassy or Consulate. Certainly, what has contributed significantly to this situation of distance is the serious lack of linguistic competence of the Filipino community, which creates a barrier between Filipino organizations and Italian institutions in general, strongly restricting their opportunities for empowerment. According to some informants, moreover, this situation is aggravated by a cultural tendency of Filipino people, linked to their colonial history and to the youth of democracy in the Philippines, towards a certain lack of mastery in dealing with democratic institutions.

Our research shows that the experiences of institutional cooperation of the FAOs involve to a decidedly prevalent extent the Philippine Embassy/Consulate. Not without a certain amount of rhetoric, the vast majority of associations affirmed this was a precious form of collaboration. However, as we previously observed, an opinion which frequently emerged from those interviewed about



the General Consulate and the Embassy was their inclination towards issues like organizing national celebrations through the collaboration of FAOs. This partnership is often used with the aim of promoting the consent of the community and its participation in initiatives launched by the Philippine government, but rarely produce real benefits for the FAOs and their members.

A fundamental element of weakness of the FAOs, besides, lies in the fact that the level of involvement of affiliates, and above all their willingness to carry out demanding projects, is strongly inhibited by the limited time available for a population which puts at the center of its objectives the generation of income from work. With regard to the working conditions of Filipino immigrants, another fact which has already been briefly mentioned emerged from the interviews. By far, the most prevalent occupation of Filipino immigrants is domestic work, which is less-skilled labor that involves isolation from the public sphere and does not require or stimulate intellectual growth or any effort to integrate into the institutional context of the host country, having negative repercussions on the human capital available within the FAOs.

Hence, we can begin to see that the integration of the Filipino community in Italian society has a considerably negative influence on the capacity of the FAOs to stand as effective agents for development.

Moreover, as shown by the survey, of the individuals affiliated to the associations, the percentage of officers (41.7 percent) is not much lower than that of members (58.3 percent), witnessing a process of "inflation" of the associations induced by the need for personal visibility and affirmation – a phenomenon repeatedly referred to by the key informants. This phenomenon is also present in other communities of immigrants, although in the case here examined it is in blatant contrast with the rhetoric of solidarity and union often cited as a characteristic of Filipino culture. This situation, the result of a cultural attitude commonly defined within the Filipino community as "crab mentality," emerges in the research as one of the weaknesses of Filipino associations, a cause of internal conflict in the FAOs and an obstacle to collaboration among different groups.

This phenomenon goes hand-in-hand with “localism,” that is, the tendency to aggregate according to a criterion that reflects the common geographical origin rather than common interests, an attitude which definitely contributes to the further weakening of the Filipino associational fabric, accentuating its fragmentation.

Finally, some key informants pointed out another weakness of FAOs in the form of their strongly prevailing focus on socialization and entertaining activities, and their incapacity to acquire a higher degree of professionalism and to differentiate their programs and organize well-defined activities capable of encouraging higher-profile processes of integration. Again, it is precisely the main aim of the various forms of associational aggregation – what we have defined as the function of compensation for the stress produced by migration – that ends up by representing a fundamental point of weakness, circumscribing the horizons of their projects and contributing to inhibiting a process of full integration of the Filipino community in Italian society.

Nonetheless, in this shadow-filled portrait, some promising signs are worthy of note. In particular, the vocabulary of those responsible for associational organizations shows, at times, a shift from the rhetoric of solidarity and altruism to the necessity to renew the competences and the instruments that make for more effective management and valorization of savings.

Moreover, as has been seen, the need is beginning to be felt for a “professionalization” of the associational structures, which would mean the involvement of paid professionals and not only voluntary workers, in the awareness that this would be a fundamental step towards the undertaking of more ambitious projects. Some associations have taken steps – such as enrolment in the register of associations that Italian law stipulates as a prerequisite for participating in public competitions – that enabled them to avail of funding opportunities, thus being able to guarantee a greater degree of continuity for the activities they undertake, and also to start up more wide-ranging projects.

Others have even embarked on a new concept of ethnic associations, which is seen as a resource not only to support the integration of emigrants in Italy and the well-being of the families



and the community of origin, but also for the host society itself. As observed by the assistant councillor of the Board of City Councillors of Rome (one of the rare examples of a Filipino immigrant who has assumed a political role in Italian society), the associations arising out of immigration can become a resource also for the territory in which the immigrants live, thus broadening the concept of “agent of development” to include the host society itself.

There are, therefore, some experiences at the cutting edge of the Filipino associational world that are represented by some active agents prompt to grasp the promotional opportunities offered by the external context, although we are dealing with some sporadic cases which do not always play a driving role with respect to their countrymen. Thus, there is still much ground to be covered, the Filipino community of Milan being in a position of disadvantage compared to that of Rome, whose associational fabric, thanks to better internal coordination and to a more efficacious link with local institutions, shows more marked potentialities. Not to be underestimated, however, is the role that the few but significant successful experiences could play in leading the course of empowerment involving the entire associational world. And this is one of the directions in which, as we shall see in the next section, the development of training activities is pointed to.

But let us finally deal with what, as has been said, represents one of the crucial questions that have guided our research activity: the propensity and capacity of the Filipino associations based in Italy to themselves become promoters of the development process of the country of origin and the modality most frequently enacted for this purpose.

First of all, our findings reveal that a third of the associations could be considered transnational. Of these, some are religious communities or movements, often non-Catholic Churches (Evangelical or Jesus Is Lord) which are all linked to other Filipino churches around the world, where Filipino immigrants have founded them, and especially in the Philippines, where these denominations have deep roots. Besides, some FAOs which are not only based in Italy are part of fraternities that extend to many other countries, mainly constituted by Filipinos living in the Philippines or overseas. In addition, some of these FAOs are lay associations affiliated to lay

organizations in the Philippines. Finally, there are some FAOs, interested in promoting co-development initiatives, which have founded an organization in the Philippines in order to have a local partner for the implementation of these interventions.

Some interesting observations can be made concerning the institutions considered by the FAOs of our group as most suitable to become their partners in the promotion of a development project in the Philippines. Nearly half of the group considered the Catholic Church as the most reliable partner, followed by NGOs, the private sector and non-Catholic churches. Only a quarter of our group, however, would choose as a partner the relevant local government units, or national government agencies. In addition, some interviewees would rather refer to their local counterpart, which is an association affiliated to their FAO in the implementation of development projects on a local level, or, otherwise, to the international association based in the Philippines, they are affiliated with. Finally, some FAOs considered as reliable partners what they call "people's" or civic associations, that is, non-profit organizations working for the benefit of local communities.

What can easily be deduced from these data is the lack of trust in the Philippine government (in particular the national government, as there is a tendency to prefer local government units) which, in addition to being accused of corruption and inefficiency, according to many of those we interviewed, did not exert enough effort to promote the development of the Philippines, limiting itself to maintaining a precarious balance based exclusively on remittances and a dependence on mass emigration.

The interest of the FAOs in the promotion of activities capable of supporting the process of development in the Philippines is extremely high. It is interesting, however, to note that the modalities with which the associations of immigrants pursue this objective are manifold, ranging from activities designed to produce endogenous changes with a possible long-range impact, such as scholarship grants, knowledge transfer or financial literacy programs, information campaigns, projects for business and investment promotion or for the support of infrastructures, as well as activities intended for social assistance, such as relief or calamity assistance programs, or else religious, social and recreational ac-

tivities. As can be seen, though, many FAOs lack a sense of reflection and awareness of the meaning of the concept of development and of the instruments needed to take part in an active and efficacious way in a process of change with medium- and long-range effects.

This consideration is supported by other data emerging from the research. Three quarters of our sample, in fact, thought that FAOs had an important role in supporting development in the Philippines. Many, however, explained this opinion by referring to the important function that migrants have for the Philippine economy through their remittances. The rhetoric widely promoted by the Philippine government, which assigns to Filipinos overseas the role of national heroes, is mirrored in these answers and clearly affects them. In fact, some members of FAOs interviewed thought of development as a process that single individuals sustained by sending remittances to the Philippine government, which, in turn, should use this money to improve the national economy and social conditions – a perspective that, strictly speaking, would render the associations devoid of any function or responsibility whatsoever in the process of development.

Moreover, a large number of respondents seemed to share the conviction that associations could and should contribute to the development of the Philippines by improving the political situation in the Philippines through lobbying campaigns, coordinating some fund-raising activities, setting up businesses which could create employment in the Philippines and promoting tourism and transnational investments that linked both Italy and the Philippines. But, at present, only a few of them did it in a meaningful way, as their most frequent activities in the Philippines consisted of assistance activities or donations, interventions unable to catalyze endogenous change on the local level.

The data emerging from our findings confirmed this interpretation. Around three quarters of the FAOs interviewed carried out some activities in the Philippines. By far the most frequent activities were relief or calamity assistance programs (conducted by around half the associations contacted), followed distantly by feeding programs (undertaken by around a fifth of the FAOs). Even

more sporadic were scholarship grant programs, medical missions, donations of educational or medical equipment, and livelihood projects. Finally, only a small number of FAOs engaged in infrastructure projects and knowledge transfers such as capacity building. All these initiatives are based on a universally known virtue of Filipino emigrants: their generosity towards those who are neediest, and their willingness to act above all when the organizers of fund-raising campaigns put some kind of local or religious pressure on them surfaces, with the support for the needy of the community of origin serving to fortify a link and a sense of belonging.

Regarded with detachment by an outside observer extraneous to the dynamics of the community is the generosity of Filipino emigrants – which is confirmed, for example, every time a collection or a fund-raising campaign is organized to face an emergency – and has its limits in the “familial” spirit that is a characteristic trait of a culture and of a society. Here, the weakness of institutional intervention and the spirit of democracy compete in burdening the family – in its extended meaning – with the task of seeing to the present and future needs of its members, investing the emigrants with a task they then cannot shirk doing.

A recurrent explanation for the incapability of FAOs based in Italy to meaningfully contribute to the development of the Philippines alludes to the social and professional conditions of Filipino immigrants, who, because of all their daily problems in fulfilling their basic needs, do not have the time and the opportunity to acquire the competences for putting into effect a meaningful initiative of co-development. Once again, it is the fault, in a more general sense, of the conditions of inclusion of the Filipino community into Italian society, the result of an integration model that, based as it is on the centrality of work as an element justifying and legitimizing their residence in Italy, nurtures a form of participation in public life that is limited to the professional sphere. A similar approach in which the dimension of incorporation in the labor market results as being hypertrophied compared to all the others, leaves no space for an adequate investment in training (which will be explored in more depth in Section 5), and leads the community towards a situation of invisibility in public and political life and to a

state of isolation that considerably limits access to information and opportunities and to the possibilities for action.

Hence, although immigrants from the Philippines display good earning and saving capacity as well as a marked propensity for the starting up of interventions designed to improve the living standards of their communities of origin, an abundant supply of strategic contacts and remarkable competences in the managing of experiences on a transnational scale, these resources remain for the most part, dead letter potentials since they do not find corroboration in adequate, organizational competences, in analysis of the contexts and prevention of risks and long-range planning or in the indispensable capacity to interact with the institutions of the host country.

Moreover, as has already been seen, there is no adequate clarity as to the meaning of the concept of development, a concept that, in many cases, is not devoid of contamination of nationalistic rhetoric promoted by the Philippine government and by the logic of excessive welfare informed by a certain Christian tradition.

V. The Training Program: What Lessons Can be Learned?

As illustrated in the preceding pages, the research carried out through the MAPID Project has highlighted several weaknesses which pervade the entire Filipino community, markedly corroding the associational fabric and hence the capacity to promote interventions of co-development. In this light, the training initiative envisaged in the project was seen as a basic step, indispensable for pursuing the general aim of the activities in Italy: to strengthen the capability of the Filipino associations to interact with the institutions of the countries of origin and destination to promote the development of their communities.

First of all, we will give some basic information about the structure of the training activity of the MAPID Project. This involved the implementation of two training courses, one in Rome and one in Milan, of 32 hours each, subdivided into various modules. Their content, as we shall subsequently illustrate, was based on the needs of the Filipino associated as indicated by the research.

The course was intended for 50 active members of Filipino associations, 25 in Rome and 25 in Milan, a number which could not be reached because of difficulties encountered at the recruiting stage. Each course was spread out between four days, as a longer duration would have meant a less efficacious initiative. The training activities took place during weekends, a time when, according to what emerged from our research, the availability of the Filipino immigrants was highest and their work engagements least demanding. The lessons were conducted almost completely in Italian, apart from a few sessions when English or Filipino was used for clarity, in order to stimulate an awareness of the importance of good competence in the Italian language for the development of the training participants' personal capability.

The teachers were selected from among some qualified members of the MAPID Project, some professionals in the different sectors who had previously and successfully collaborated with the MAPID partners, experts suggested by Italian institutions who were well known as particularly qualified in the fields dealt with in the course, and some migrants – including Filipinos and other nationalities – who are founders of well-established associations with roots in Italy or they have successful co-development projects. In addition to their presentations, the contents of which were defined in collaboration with the national MAPID coordinator with the aim of guaranteeing unity and coherence, the teachers were invited to prepare a written contribution, which would reflect the notions conveyed verbally during the course. Through the collection and systematization of all the written contributions, a set of notes and materials was created, both in English and Italian, in order to make it easier for the participants to work through the contents and to have copies ready to be shared with other interested parties. The availability of an Italian translation of all the materials written in English was considered fundamental, both to further encourage the participants to learn the language and to create an instrument that could be re-utilized in the future for the implementation of similar training initiatives designed for immigrants of other nationalities.

We would now like to report on some reflections that influenced the process of planning the training initiatives and emerged



from the analysis of the direction of its evolution. Indeed, the training experience, the reasoning behind the orientation of its planning, the difficulties met and the criticisms observed all have considerable heuristic value.

The needs in terms of training explicitly expressed by the FAOs contacted for the research were extremely widespread and diversified. They ranged from the strengthening of human resources (improving abilities in terms of leadership, teamwork and conflict management, which are inevitable for associations constantly affected by situations of internal division, fragmentation, contests for leadership and lack of coordination) to the enhancement of technical competence for greater professionalism and specialization (the need to strengthen the fund-raising activities and competence in the context of planning emerged as being of particular urgency), and the improvement of communication with external institutions in order to extend collaboration with public and private organizations on a national and transnational level. The need for better information to promote integration of the community in the context of migration, particularly the second generation, was also forcefully expressed.

From a profound reflection on the insights revealed by the research as a whole, there emerged a number of implicit training needs. First of all, the importance of organizing a training program was outlined, which, although ultimately directed towards associations, could also promote a means of empowerment of the individual. Indeed, the research shows that a negative influence is exerted on the associational world by many factors of weakness linked to the conditions of the life of Filipino immigrants, the result of a "subordinate" model of integration. From this perspective, the need to reflect on possible new ways of incorporation into the labor market, and in particular to promote the culture of entrepreneurship, which was decidedly weak in the Filipino community in Italy, surfaced. Still with a view on working on the empowerment of the single individual to act indirectly on the associational sphere, it appeared essential to transmit some notions of financial literacy. The aim was to optimize savings and promote investments in a community, which in the face of over-investment in the objective of work as a means of generating income, shows minimal compe-

tence in the management of accumulated earnings, which often offers good opportunities for action but is rarely accompanied by a sufficiently deep financial knowledge.

Coming back to a point more directly involving the associations, research has highlighted a serious lack of knowledge about and contact with the territory of residence, in particular its institutional context, and a lack of information as to the opportunities available where they are. In particular, the importance and usefulness of obtaining official recognition of FAOs by registering them with the pertinent Italian institutions was seen as an issue to be strongly enhanced, being one of the main channels of communication with Italian institutions, which only a small minority of the associations contacted knew how to tap.

In addition, to get the FAOs to play an active role and to be aware of the promotion of development, the importance of the relationship between migration and development had to be highlighted, shedding light on the concepts of sustainable development and co-development. In fact, as indicated by the research in the Filipino community, these concepts are still mired in ambiguity, verging on the borders of nationalistic rhetoric and conceptions of social assistance, and supported by a deep-rooted ethic of altruism and generosity, but not by planning skills and far-sightedness.

Furthermore, it seemed worthwhile to promote, during the training program, the exchange of best practices in local development, with an attempt to involve the promoters of both national and transnational initiatives. This could be the occasion for activating a network involving both Filipino migrants and those of other nationalities interested or involved in co-development initiatives, and some significant Italian stakeholders. This idea was rendered practicable thanks to some contacts consolidated during the research stage. In particular, some associations of retired entrepreneurs and managers working as volunteer consultants in social enterprises and non-profit organizations in general offered their services, not only for leading a discussion period during the training course that yielded possible ideas for planning to be developed after the end of the course, but also for assisting the associations in achieving these proposals. The basis was thus laid for a possible follow-up activity.



A similar initiative had been particularly advocated by the key informants during the research stage. The concern had, in fact, emerged that the MAPID training program would not have any real effect on the life of FAOs as, after its conclusion, participants would be inundated with their daily economic problems and the demands of their heavy and time-consuming jobs. The implementation of a follow-up activity could have prevented this risk.

The participant selection stage confirmed many of the problems that had emerged from the research, and in particular the tendency to conceive of time as a resource to be used almost exclusively for generating immediate and regular income. The predominance, in the scale of priorities, of work as a source of earnings takes on overwhelming proportions compared to every other planning strategy with the future in mind. A marginal value is attributed to investment in training, whose profits in monetary terms are neither quantifiable nor immediately tangible. The opportunity to realize this strategy tends to be taken into consideration only when it does not interfere in any way with work commitments. This behavior is not consistent with the general expression of discontent at the difficulty of obtaining recognition of personal skills in terms of human capital in the professional sphere. In fact, the limited resources invested in training is a factor that contributes to the further inhibition of the already limited possibilities of professional promotion and social mobility.

The participants were therefore chosen, not without a certain degree of difficulty, from among members of Filipino associations available to attend the whole course who had a significant position within the community, and who showed good motivation or a certain experience in the subjects to be dealt with.

In addition, an attempt was made to create, as far as was possible, a group with a good degree of competence in the Italian language based on the conviction that this was essential to promote development actions of a certain importance and impact.

Great importance was attached to the presence of the second generation, for whom it is desirable to create an incentive for active participation in the associational world given their inclination, emerging from the research, to experiment with new ways of

integration into Italian society. Effectively, the interest shown by numerous second generation migrants in the MAPID training initiative, as well as their positive approach to participation, confirmed these expectations, underlining once more that the members of the second generation, given their potential bilingualism and likely capacity to manage transnational and transcultural experiences, are suited to take on a special role in the promotion and management of co-development interventions.

From an analysis of the interventions and the project ideas of the group – whose participants were invited to reveal their own points of view throughout the course (in particular, during its concluding moments, which were devoted to discussing the proposals for interventions to be developed in the future) – the point on the urgent and unequivocal need to improve the conditions of the Filipino community's integration in Italy was stressed, even taking precedence over the widely shared need to realize the dream of improving the living standards of their communities in the homeland.

Great enthusiasm was shown regarding themes such as the culture of entrepreneurship, microcredit and financial literacy, subjects that for many associations were completely new despite the training possibilities in Italy. This is further confirmation of the fact that, despite its length of stay, this migrant community is not aware of the opportunities at its disposal in Italian society. Through the MAPID training program, some new possible routes of integration were laid out, and a strong desire to go along them was shown.

In particular, above all during the concluding moments of the course, many first and second generation participants expressed the desire to intervene in support of the situation of Filipinos emigrating to Italy at a young age, whose existential course and integration into the host society are often full of obstacles on account of the uprooting effect of emigration as well as the reduced support provided by their families, who are completely absorbed in earning their living.

Nonetheless, the will to study in greater depth the relation between immigration and development, expressed with a certain force by the group, also has to be taken into great consideration as

a way of giving concrete form to the tendency of Filipino migrants to establish and keep solid and close transnational ties between their host societies and their societies of origin.

The idea of starting up, on completion of the course, an activity of mentorship addressed to the participant associations interested in carrying out projects of co-development, gained new momentum from the interest shown by the course participants, and from a concrete opportunity that arose precisely at the closure of the training program, when the City Council of Milan announced the second edition of "Milano per il Co-Sviluppo" ("Milan for Co-development"), a call for proposals addressed to non-profit associations interested in promoting co-development initiatives in which immigrants would play an active and crucial role. In confirmation of the picture thus far outlined, the analyses carried out by the promoters of the first edition of "Milano per il Co-Sviluppo" revealed as one of its critical points the lack of participation of the Filipino community, which was surprising considering their number and duration of their residence in Milan. Thus, the extra incentive represented by the necessity emerging from these findings gives rise to a consulting service geared first and foremost to guiding the associations interested towards the presentation of a project in the context of this call for proposals.

Three associations took part in this initiative. After a series of meetings led and coordinated by several MAPID operators, during which each association spoke about its field of interest, its available resources and some proposals for potential development, certain homogeneity of objectives and of the complementary nature of the group's project ideas became clear. The meetings thus led to the creation of a partnership between the three associations, headed by the most organized one, for the presentation of a project in response to the Milan City Council's call for proposals.

The idea shared by the associations was, in fact, to join forces and project proposals in a coherent whole, consolidating a work-group method in which more organized bodies could transfer their own organizational competences to weaker ones less rooted in the Italian context. This method was also adopted after the presentation of the first project, when the consulting service set the objective of gathering new project proposals to accompany the associa-



tions not only in the process of official registration, indispensable for participation in calls for proposals, and in the search for funding opportunities, but also in the actual working out and implementation of the projects.

Inspired by this proposal of mentorship, the associations based in Rome took the initiative of constituting a coordination group that would act as a link between the institutions and the associations involved and as a channel for the transmission of competences and resources between the organizations represented.

The concrete results of these initiatives are still at an early stage and can thus only be verified at a future date. What at once emerges clearly, however, is the extreme need to insist on similar forms of mentorship. An encouraging factor is the enthusiasm shown in the possibility of immigrants contributing to the process of development of their own communities, together with the creativity and the wealth of contacts, above all in the Filipino context, emerging as cards to be played in the implementation of development interventions. There is, however, an evident lack of ability to relate to the language, schemes and rules such as those imposed by calls for proposals and by funding institutions, which appear obscure to most of the immigrant associations. The aptitude for group work also needs to be strengthened and guided towards greater efficiency, professionalism and planning capacity.

The idea of tapping the ability, also in terms of the involvement of their fellow countrymen, of the few but noteworthy successful associational experiences would appear to be a promising way of lending new impetus to the associational fabric of the Filipino community.

Moreover, the use of a training program involving field training and hands-on experience would seem to be a means of motivation aimed above all at obtaining tangible and immediate results, also in terms of recognition on the part of the direct beneficiaries of the interventions promoted. It is hoped that the carrying out of some successful co-development initiatives will act as a driving force to sow encouragement involving the Filipino community as a whole, promoting the consideration of greater awareness and farsightedness in planning initiatives, also on a transnational scale, for its own future.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations to the Various Stakeholders

The objective of making the management of human mobility more functional to the development of the countries of origin is certainly not new, at least as regards the European experience. In the 1970s, immediately following the advent of policies to curb immigration, some countries launched programs which provided financial incentives, the refund of travel expenses, the transfer of pension contributions, initiatives for professional training to facilitate reinsertion into the labor market, the granting of loans to buy a house or to start a business and various forms of support for the development of immigrants' home countries. This was in many ways a failure and was to influence profoundly the judgment of the role that, on the basis of their experience, immigrants and former immigrants can play in the development of their own country. And yet, we should not let this fact prompt us to dismiss this possibility too hastily, if for no other reason than that it plays a role in the new scenario delineated by transnationalism, prompting an examination of the opportunities connected to circular migration, to the diasporas and to the networks connected to them.

Despite historical evidence which would seem to show that it is quite rare for a successful immigrant to decide to return permanently to his own country (Böhning, 1975), scientific studies and reports promoted by international agencies persist in placing much emphasis on the role of immigrants as agents of innovation, change and development for their countries of origin. It is not the intention of this work to enter into an in-depth scrutiny of the advantages for the society of origin of return migrations as they have been theorized starting from the classic interpretations and further confirmed by some recent research studies;⁸ nor does it set out to explore in depth the multiplicity of factors that inhibit their full potential. It is sufficient here to dwell on four aspects of particular

⁸ We need only recall the role of Indian emigrants to Silicon Valley in the development of the information technology industry in their own country (cf. Saxenian, 2006).



relevance that define the reference framework in which to place our project and the final considerations that we are preparing to develop.

In the first place, although it is true that the economic impact of return migration, if measured by means of indicators such as the creation of new enterprises or jobs, results as being of generally modest proportions,⁹ its effects on the communities of origin should not be interpreted only from the economic viewpoint since this would underestimate the contribution that immigrants and former immigrants can make towards the prospect of development in the wider sense, for example by introducing more modern lifestyles, new approaches to education, behavioral patterns that promote better health, care of the environment, family planning practices, experiences of participation in the trade union movement, functional family models leading to greater equality between men and women, and so on. In this regard, the perspective of gender taken up by some of the most recent research studies – although care should be taken to resist the temptation to overestimate the differences between men and women – also points to some interesting specifics, for example, the greater propensity of women to invest their personal experience and savings in initiatives in the social field. Through this, it is perhaps also possible to find a way of recomposing the effects of return migration that the literature tends to consider in a disjointed manner: the effects on the wellbeing of the families and on the development of the community, the region or the country of origin. It is in paying attention first and foremost to the cultural impact of emigration that we must see the significance of the MAPID Project, the kingpin of which was precisely an intervention in training, in the hope that such an experience could pave the way for building up the knowledge base and competences of the participants.

⁹ The return of immigrants often takes place near retirement age, and is motivated by the desire to enjoy in the country of origin the fruits of individual sacrifices. Moreover, returning immigrants are on the whole reluctant to reinvest their financial and human capital in entrepreneurial initiatives that have an effective impact on productive capacity and on the employment situation. When they invest in self-employment projects, they look in general at areas such as the trade sector, and tend to start up initiatives with a modest turnover and a poor capacity for creating new jobs.



On the other hand – and this is the second aspect that we wish to tackle – the success of systems and actions for development cannot be defined *a priori*. More than 30 years of reflection on the subject of local and endogenous development (cf. Zanfrini, 2001) have taught us that it is the “quality” of an area that renders it receptive or otherwise to the contributions that can come from various factors, by which we mean not only its material and infrastructural properties but also factors such as the rootedness of democracy, the presence of an enlightened ruling class, the vitality of civic society and a stratification open to individual mobility. Hence, the potential role of immigrants and diasporas is measured using these characteristics, and in the final analysis it is on them that its impact depends, beyond the efficacy of individual actions. In non-favorable contexts, it runs the risk of being thwarted by restrictions or inertia.

Concerning the third aspect, the principal discontinuity compared to the approaches of the past is represented in theorizing the relationship between migration and development by an insight into the reality of the diaspora itself, even leaving aside the possibility of repatriation, a driving force in the processes of development of the countries of origin. Thanks to their knowledge of opportunities, distribution channels and outlet markets, their bilingualism and the information at their disposal regarding the customs and laws of the countries involved, transmigrants are capable of acting as facilitators and guarantors of interchange, as individuals or through informal networks, or else by means of the associational structures resulting from immigration. In this way, they can give a sizeable boost to trade flows, investment and the creation of enterprises, the transfer of new technologies and the circulation of cross-cultural competences. Hence, although up to now the idea of immigrants as agents of development has laid predominant emphasis on the temporary nature of migration, the idea of the diaspora shifts the focus of our attention to different targets, whether these be permanent expatriates, second generation immigrants, or immigrants who acquire the citizenship of the country in which they reside, while maintaining their ties to their country of origin (Ionescu, 2006).



It follows – and here we come to our fourth aspect – that the concept of co-development implicitly acknowledges an important and to a certain extent revolutionary fact: the success of the process of adapting to the host society, and even its completion through naturalization, does not erode the attachment to the country of origin. If anything it renders emigrants strategic actors for the modernization of the home country.

In the light of these affirmations, and on the basis of what emerged during the course of the MAPID Project, we propose in these conclusive notes to stress once again the potential of the Filipino diaspora in Italy, but above all to single out the critical points identified and to develop a series of indications addressed to individuals, to the communities and associations, and to the government authorities.

Even if, from the perspective of the home country, the Filipino community in Italy may appear but a drop in the ocean in the overall emigration picture, the country is one of the principal destinations in Europe. Above all, as we have pointed out more than once, in recognition of the right of family reunification, Italian legislation favored the emergence of a migratory model totally different from that of the strictly temporary labor migration dominant in Asian destinations. Such circumstances make for a particularly interesting study of the role of the Filipino diaspora in Italy in the development of the communities of origin.

As we have already had the occasion to point out, the Filipino community living in Italy presents some characteristics that favor its mobilization in co-development projects. In the first place, there is the rich and consolidated migratory know-how that has led to the conservation over time, despite the steep growth of immigration to Italy and the cyclical behavior of the economy, of a good occupational performance and a relatively high earning power, and hence a steady tendency to save and to send home remittances, fitting in with what continues to be the institutional image of the figure of the immigrant according to the iconography of the country of origin. In addition, the tendency to form associations is alive and widespread, representing the principal way of envisaging the presence of the Filipino community in the public sphere. Finally,

there is the strong attachment to the communities of origin and a close network of ties and relationships, going hand-in-hand with the attempt on the part of the Philippine government to mobilize the diasporas by means of various measures and initiatives, already referred to in other parts of this work (cf. Asis, *infra*). As to the initiatives and concrete achievements for the development of the communities of origin, the MAPID Project has enabled us to report a reality characterized by potentialities that remain latent on account of the fragilities that have been brought to light in the course of this chapter. Yet, it is also a situation that is decidedly richer than that which is perceived by Italians, who are in general complacent about the good "integration" of a community marked by the traits of working, saving, and above all, not wanting to cause problems, and as such are substantially invisible.

It is precisely in the relationship between the Filipino community and Italian society that we can develop some crucial considerations. As we have already pointed out several times, in the eyes of Italians, Filipino immigration has been synonymous, at least up to now, with a hard-working and unobtrusive presence, almost invisible because they are cloistered within the thousands of homes where the majority of these immigrants work as domestic workers or carers. Over time, the community has been able to establish a reputation for reliability, which has permitted them to command significantly higher wages than other immigrant workers doing the same kind of work. They are loyal and cohesive within their own social groups, with whom they socialize regularly, congregating in meeting places historically defined as such. The term "*filippina*" has become synonymous with domestic worker, regardless of actual nationality or work role, a loyal and deferential all-around worker, obedient and servile to the mistress.

Indeed, the concentration of Filipinos in domestic work, so pervasive as to serve as an archetype of the predictive force of an ethnic character (the very fact of being a Filipino) on the professional destiny of an individual, exemplifies one of the main problems in the literature concerning return migration. The characteristics of the post-Fordist models of incorporation of immigrant labor give rise more often to "brain wasting" processes than to the devel-

opment of new professional skills transferable to the country of origin. This is a problem which, in the eyes of the Filipinos interviewed, takes on two aspects. The first of these is the awareness of the waste of human capital that emigration to Italy involves, an awareness that precedes immigration, going as far as to route towards Italy precisely those willing to accept employment for which they are underqualified vis-à-vis their professional status in the Philippines. The second aspect is the apprehension on the part of the young generations born in Italy or those who have joined their parents here about their working future, and who resolutely refuse to contemplate following in their parents' footsteps, but compared to whom they harbor many uncertainties and preoccupations concerning both the (unlikely) hypothesis of returning home and their definitive settlement in Italy.

However, the Filipino community does not appear to have an adequate strategic capacity in relation to either of these phenomena. Hence, although on the one hand, there is unanimous and justified complaint about the impossibility of having their study diplomas – often university degrees – recognized in the country they have emigrated to, on the other hand there appears to be scant information regarding the procedures to follow and even fewer attempts to start the process of recognition. Within our sample, among those who have a high school diploma or university degree, only 12.3 percent had a diploma which was recognized in Italy (and only a few, 4.3 percent, had a diploma obtained in Italy). All the others – the large majority – had some diplomas acquired in the Philippines that they did not obtain or even seek any legal recognition¹⁰ for. Moreover, aware as they were of finding domestic work, thanks in particular to their good reputation, Filipinos invest very little in actions – starting from the effort at improving their linguistic competences – that could serve their professional mobility, and are almost totally extraneous to entrepreneurial initiatives, differently from the case of many other decidedly more

¹⁰ In short, the number of years of study necessary to obtain a university degree in the Philippines is decidedly lower than that envisaged in the Italian educational system, in which the university career normally starts at the age of 19, the basic degree being obtained after three years of study and the master's degree after a further two years of study.



enterprising groups of immigrants. Although 38.5 percent of those interviewed claimed to have taken steps or planned to take on a different type of job in the next five years, they manifested less concrete planning skills when pressed to explain their answer. The plan of putting up a business, expressed by many interviewees, was not corroborated by any concrete steps to explore another sector to enable us to prefigure a route which could be emulated by others. Finally, despite experiencing a decline in occupational status relative to the work they engaged in before emigration, almost eight respondents out of 10 declared they were wholly satisfied or even very satisfied with their work experience in Italy, identifying reasons for their satisfaction that had very little to do with modern work culture or with ambitions of professional development. But instead, as we have seen, these reasons had to do with the “family” nature of their relationship with their employers and the possibility of working overtime, aspects that reveal an attitude towards their work that is in great contrast to the need on the part of the young generations to have reference models that can help them get ahead in the Italian labor market. It needs to be underlined that it is with the future generations in mind that those interviewed expressed their strategies of social and professional mobility, with a great willingness to invest in the education of the children left behind in the Philippines and those living in Italy, but without the necessary awareness of the long-term consequences of a model of incorporation Filipino immigrants had carved thus far. In this regard, the training stage of the project turned out to be particularly enlightening. Already at the selection stage, there emerged the extremely strong constraints posed by an existence dominated by the objective to earn. For example, there was an immediate perception of an ambivalence regarding capital and investment in training. The very candidates who complained about the discrepancy between their working conditions and qualifications were the ones reluctant to “give up” a few hours of paid work (or, to be more precise, overtime) in order to take advantage of an opportunity for empowerment in the form of a MAPID training program.

Moreover, the training program represented, for those who took part in it, a chance to become aware of the costs involved, on

an individual and community scale, in a model of integration forged by the pressures of conformism compared to a “successful” behavior whose key elements are hard work and intra-community reliance. First of all, the participants experienced “hands-on” their linguistic deficiencies, and the difficulty, for many insurmountable, to translate into an adequate code language items going beyond domestic jargon, for example those necessary for interacting effectively with the institutions of Italian society or, even more so, for drawing up a project or formulating a request for funding for co-development. Concerning financial literacy, the enviable capacity for saving and the familiarity with the ins and outs of money transfer are not matched by a sufficient level of knowledge of the financial instruments and investment options available in Italy. With great interest, the participants in the MAPID course took part in lessons on entrepreneurial development, but revealed in turn their substantial lack of knowledge regarding the training possibilities on offer in the area.¹¹ Also, adherence to the work ethic and the abnegation of personal duties seemed to be more deep-seated in the framework of values of Filipinos in Italy, than respect for legality, with an evident underestimation of the consequences of illegality not only for the society of residence but also for themselves and their families. This was suggested by the casualness with which some participants referred to the practice of declaring only part of their income, with no awareness of its repercussions on their insurance and social security position.

There are thus some indications that can be gleaned from the MAPID Project concerning the level of individual empowerment. There are three in particular.

¹¹ Both in Rome and in Milan, there are various agencies – in particular the Chambers of Commerce – that offer immigrants training courses in the areas of business planning and self-employed entrepreneurship, often accessible almost free of charge (only a nominal enrolment fee is requested). Moreover, in Rome, the Association Pilipinas OFSPES, in collaboration with the Philippine Embassy, the Ateneo School of Government (ASoG), and the POLO/OWWA, promoted in 2008-2009 a one-year Leadership and Social Entrepreneurship (LSE) Training program for Filipinos in Rome. The Pilipinas Association OFSPES and the Filipino Women’s Council, both based in Rome, are working towards the diffusion of financial literacy within the Filipino community by means of various training initiatives in Rome, with plans to conduct such programs in other Italian cities, including Milan.

First of all, there is a need to strengthen linguistic competences. As has been said, the Filipinos' degree of written and oral knowledge of Italian is on the whole decidedly weak considering the length of time of their presence in Italy. Only the members of the second generation in the strict sense, those born and educated in Italy, have adequate command of Italian language, whereas the first immigrants show serious deficiencies even compared with non-Italians of other nationalities. Despite its "family" nature, the type of work prevalent among Filipinos does not appear to have facilitated their mastery of Italian (partly because of the request on the part of many employers for them to speak English). But what was striking was the underestimation of the problem by many Filipinos among those we met during the project, almost as if to suggest that the type of existence that they lead in Italy requires a level of competence in the language of the country that is sufficient for their everyday activities. The associational experience, an integral part of a life of fundamentally intra-community aggregation, in turn acts as a debilitating factor towards the objective to strengthen communication competences to aspire for professional advancement and to interact in a more efficacious manner with the institutions and the various agencies in the area, with a view to an overall improvement in their conditions of inclusion. It is significant in this regard to note that attending the MAPID course instilled in a number of participants the desire to improve their level of competence in Italian, partly by taking advantage of the training opportunities available in the area (in addition to an online learning platform accessible through the Fondazione ISMU website).

The second indication concerns financial management, which unexpectedly emerged during the course as a particular weakness. In spite of their capacity to earn a substantial income and the size of their savings, numerous participants showed a low level of knowledge and competence, above all appearing unaware of their negotiating powers in the face of financial institutions, both as individuals and all the more so as organized groups of fellow countrymen. If anything, the habit was observed of turning, to a large extent uncritically, to the same agencies – for example, banks or insurance companies – already "accredited" or recommended by a fel-

low Filipino. Financial literacy should thus become a priority for the Filipino community to assist families who will decide to stay in Italy to better manage their assets of families and to promote the fruitful use of savings to be invested in the Philippines at some future date.

Another particularly delicate subject is the management of pension schemes. The myth of returning home, which continues to influence the lives of many Filipino immigrants, together with the trust placed in practices of reciprocity (which instills in family members the obligation to take care of the elderly ones), has induced an underestimation of the importance of pension contributions and proper work contracts (the latter being indispensable to guarantee an adequate level of contributions). On the other hand, however, individual awareness and strategies cannot free the relevant authorities from their duty to plan institutional solutions that adequately manage the transition to pensionable age of a sizeable component of the Filipino community in Italy. Not by chance, in the course of our research the question of the transferability of pension contributions repeatedly surfaced, revealing itself as a crucial point around which immigrants organize their migratory plans and decision on a possible return to the Philippines. However, along with this, we need to consider the question of the so-called “complementary pension schemes” – only recently introduced in Italy – and its advantages and potential many immigrants appear to disregard. More than just traditional solutions, these schemes offer workers the possibility to personalize their pension plans, reconciling the demands of cash flow with those of accumulating capital. Naturally, the subject is so delicate as to create, alongside the necessity of immigrant contributors to familiarize themselves with the instruments available, the need for vigilance and control in an expanding market and in which less expert clients run the risk of becoming easy prey to unscrupulous operators (in recent years, newspapers have reported numerous “incidents” of this type involving Filipino immigrants).

The third indication pertains to citizenship and the rights and duties that go with it. As we have seen, our research has corrected the misconception that Filipinos are not particularly interested in

acquiring Italian citizenship. The legislative reforms that have legalized dual citizenship were effectively a watershed compared to the past, all the information gathered pointing to a probable sharp rise in the number of Filipinos becoming "Italianized." If anything, we noted that a sizeable component of the community possesses an inadequate level of knowledge of the regulations, a problem that is certainly not foreign to the role of the consulates, whose staff are not always adequately prepared in this subject, revealing themselves as not having accurate and timely knowledge of the necessary prerequisites, sometimes even failing to clearly understand the difference between the status of a naturalized person and a holder of an unlimited residence permit.

Nevertheless, aside from certain cognitive grey areas definitely worthy of intervention, it appears that it is precisely the question of the rights and duties of citizenship that should be brought under scrutiny. The substantially instrumental attitude of first generation Filipino immigrants towards Italian citizenship is surely debatable, although it is identical to that of many other immigrants, not excluding Italians living abroad (cf., for example, Colasanto and Zanfrini, 2009). What seems to us to be a greater problem is their attitude regarding the rights and duties that define the status of citizen, independent of the fact of "becoming" Italians or not. Evidently, the "quality" of democracy in their country of origin, and, in the same way, the impact on Italian society that is well known in the European context for its poor culture of legality and weak sense of the state, are certainly not optimal premises for developing a sense of civic consciousness. Despite this – or rather, precisely because of it – civil education should be considered an integral part of actions devoted to the Filipino community and its members, with the aim of transmitting the idea that being a citizen of a society is not only a formal status that opens doors, but a fact that involves greater awareness of their rights – starting from the right to be treated as equals – and their duties, for example that of contributing to the welfare system by means of social security payments (even if work with a proper contract may not seem worthwhile over the short term). It also entails the duty to participate in the social, cultural and political life of the country by contributing their own ideas, competences and projects.

In this regard, it is useful to bear in mind that, over the last few years, the issue of immigration in Italy – a country which was accustomed to considering and representing itself in the role of home country – has undergone a sort of normalization concerning both its indissoluble link with the daily functioning of society and the attitude of public opinion, which, in a way, “metabolized” the migratory phenomenon as a structural aspect of Italian society. Although Italy is preparing to think about some reforms (regarding citizenship and the political rights to be granted to foreign residents), Italian society, at the same time, is qualified by an attitude of strong and widespread concern with respect to immigration, one fuelled by the feeling of an overall incapacity to govern the phenomenon (as suggested by the number of undocumented immigrants, and the high incidence of those without legal status among the newcomers, attesting to a spontaneous migratory process which is taking place autonomously, regardless of any legal procedure), the large presence of immigrants engaging in petty and organized crime, and by the worry that immigrant workers may compete for jobs with Italian workers, especially within the framework of the current recession. Within this context, the processes of mobilization of immigrants in the public sphere is acquiring a strategic function, that of enhancing an image of immigrants as subjects who do not shirk the duty of participation and undertaking responsibilities also on a collective level. It is noteworthy, in this concern, to remember – besides the considerations made about Filipino associations – that only about 3.5 percent of respondents involved in our research are members or officers of non-Filipino organizations, a fact that illustrates the hesitance to participate in the public life of Italian society that could be observed in this immigrant community.

The model of integration of Filipinos in Italy shows its limits all the more if we consider the theme at the heart of our project, situated in the European strategy for co-development, but also in light of the semantic extension of this idea proposed in the introduction of the present volume, where it also comes to include the valorization of the contribution of immigrants to the development of their society of destination. Albeit in constant growth – if we consider its overall proportion – the population of Filipino immi-

grants in Italy, as has previously been pointed out, has diminished in terms of percentage of the total number of immigrants. Considering the specificities of the Filipino integration model, this evolution contributed, for Filipinos, to a loss of centrality within the migratory Italian landscape. Moreover, the initiatives of mobilization put into effect by Filipino immigrants within the public context are sporadic, and decidedly not very conspicuous. In contrast, in very recent years, activism by other groups of immigrants, mostly for the claiming of their rights and the denunciation of xenophobic episodes, has been exponentially increasing. In a period in which the Italian administration is starting to involve, much more frequently compared with the past, immigrants' networks and associations, the "invisibility" of the Filipino community risks becoming a major disadvantage. The reflection on associational practice is therefore strategic given that associations are not only the main form of the Filipinos' presence in the public sphere but also the emerging interlocutor of Italian local administrations. It is therefore worthwhile underlining some of the main critical aspects emerging from the analysis of association-forming.

In the first place, it should be noted that the tendency towards self-reliance that characterizes the associational life of the Filipino community in Italy ends up contributing to the perpetuation instead of the destruction of social processes which inevitably put this community in a position of subservience. According to the most critical of the readings that we collected in the course of the MAPID research, the salience of religious jargon in the ways in which members and leaders of associations describe the purpose of their associations would seem to be a sort of metaphor for their latent function, that of maintaining conformity to models of behavior which, all things considered, have proven to be advantageous and above all coherent with the idea of a community that is diasporic but yet strongly attached to their origins, distinctive values and institutions. Even if we do not embrace this drastic interpretation, it should certainly be pointed out that what emerged from our research is an immigrant community decidedly more heterogeneous – from the standpoint of living standards and of income levels, but also, and mostly, concerning plans for the future – than what we are usually led to think, partly due to a self-representation, not

devoid of some rhetorical elements, of a homogeneous community with a high degree of cohesion. From our standpoint, the desirable evolution of the Filipino associational practice – so as to enable it to fulfill needs and expectations not restricted to associational aims or objectives of mutual support at the most difficult phases of the migratory experience – should therefore undergo a gradual departure from its purely ethnic elements and its exclusive focus on the dimension of the context of origin, moving towards an increasingly functional specialization. It is true that ethnic factors and local identities constitute a formidable means of identity-bonding, and as such are able to catalyze the willingness of the participants to invest in the good of the community. But it is also true that these end up almost inevitably by engaging the associations in “folkloric” or cultural activities, and above all by nurturing a self-representation that inevitably discourages their members from the associational experience that are potentially most capable of offering an effective contribution to the renewal of the Filipino model of integration and the relationship between the diaspora and the society of origin.

In particular, concentrating on the attempt to keep alive, or at least to simulate, the existential and reference models of a pre-migratory past, the Filipino migrants’ associations do not know how to put themselves forward as a point of reference for the second generation, and in particular to those born in Italy. In the associational world, too, worry as to the fate of the second generation emerges as a priority, although the ability is lacking to promote targeted and structured programs capable of representing real opportunities of empowerment and integration for young Filipinos. The most meaningful initiatives so far promoted concern babies and young children. Particularly worthy of mention is the opening in Rome, on the initiative of a Filipino association, of a multiethnic day nursery that takes in Filipino children but also children of Italian and other nationalities. Concerning initiatives aimed at adolescents, noteworthy is the experience of “Un viaggio verso le nostre origini” (“A journey towards our origins”), which enables a group of 15 Filipinos born in Italy or who emigrated in the first years of their life to spend a month in the country of origin of their parents without the cultural and linguistic intermediation of the latter. The fact



remains that also during the course of training, in Milan and in Rome alike, the awareness of the participants regarding this matter was to emerge repeatedly, and it is precisely in this direction that some of the most significant planned initiatives surfacing are headed. Supporting these initiatives is of considerable importance, both because of their concrete purpose and for their symbolic value, since they constitute a sort of “bridge” between the past and future of Filipino immigration in Italy.

Pursuing this line of reasoning, a further desirable evolution – which concerns the world of associations but which also goes beyond it – is what could be defined as an evolution of the culture of migration. As is illustrated by the experience of the generation of those born in Italy (none of whom, significantly, is involved in associational practices) and as is more evident from the experience of the members of the “non-pure” second generation (wavering against their will between two worlds which both appear to them as extraneous), *the widespread culture of migration, at least shared by those affiliated to the associations*, seems not to have transformed in concomitance with the changing of the features of the Filipino presence in Italy. The fact speaks for itself that, after a 30-year history of migration to Italy, in the description of the associations’ features and main aims, the function of aggregation and compensation decidedly prevails over the claim for participation in Italian society. Although there exists some experiences at the cutting edge of the Filipino associational world, represented by active agents prompt to grasp the promotional opportunities offered by the external context, these are sporadic cases where the agents do not always play a driving role with respect to their fellow Filipinos. A widening of the spectrum of their interlocutors to include, in particular, the institutions of Italian society represents another much-needed step in order for the associations to be able to play a more significant role in the integration of immigrants from the Philippines and all the more so in promoting the development of the communities of origin.

It must be borne in mind that – as has been hinted at – the emerging attention towards immigrants’ associations has transformed the structure of opportunities for Filipino associations. But it is precisely the Filipino associations that risk staying at the mar-

gins of this unfolding of events, as their statutory aims do not lend themselves to avail of potential opportunities. The real expectations of the members concerning the associational experience are revealed by the phenomenon of the mushrooming of associations which is fuelled by the search for personal visibility on the part of aspiring leaders, revealing the lack of a democratic culture and, above all, the incapacity to see in the associations something which goes beyond the life of their members. Certainly, there are some exceptions to this, and the follow-up activity which took off at the end of the MAPID training program reveals an incipient interest, on the part of the network of associations, in moving in directions that are up to now barely explored. However, to set off decisively in this direction means to take into account the necessity for a renewal of associational practices and, for those responsible for the associations, to redefine the intensity of their commitment. In this regard, we cannot but notice that, once again, it is the same model of integration, with its considerable emphasis on work, that deprives the associations of the possibility to turn themselves into something more than simply a place to meet in the little free time available. In this light, it is significant to note that the more active associations in the Italian scene are – not by chance – those that can boast of members and officials that have risen above domestic work and adopted more “normal” lifestyles founded on a better balance between work and life. There are even some (albeit constituting a small minority) which, having at their disposal a steady income, can employ personnel with a proper salary who can dedicate full-time work to the activities of the association.

Finally, concerning the associations’ role as agents of development for the Philippines, only a few – around one out of five – were involved in some type of initiative of a philanthropic nature aimed at improving the living conditions in the country of origin. These are, in particular, initiatives of aid in emergency situations (such as the typical case of a natural calamity, unfortunately all too frequent in the Philippines) or connected with school or health contexts. Nonetheless, the upper limit would not appear to concern so much the number of associations involved in this type of initiative as their fragmentary nature and low level of institutionalization. Although the potential for mobilization of the Filipino



diaspora is rooted in the great altruism of this community, with a firm religious basis and not without a vein of patriotism, the main limits are the difficulties to transform these traits into institutionalized practices of socialization of the risks and into the promotion of a self-driving development in the communities of origin. The true leap forward would appear to be the capacity on the part of the Filipino diaspora to act as a real stimulus for initiating a process of institutional innovation able to widen and enrich the welfare system of the country of origin, in the context of which families and civic society undoubtedly play a complementary role to that of the public sector – in the perspective of the “welfare community” – without, however, taking the place of the latter. While this is what we would wish for, we cannot help but affirm, once again, that the model of incorporation of the Filipinos into Italian life, characterized as it is by the very low level of participation in the political life of Italian society, undoubtedly does nothing to encourage the achievement of this type of capacity. The idea of welfare as being for the common good, which implies a sense of belonging to a “collectivity of redistribution” (Ferrera, 2005) that functions in accordance with the logic of mutuality and produces consensus among those who administer the common resources, is if anything less than ever part of the vision of most Filipinos, who without doubt appreciate the quality of Italian welfare – as compared to that of their society of origin – but invariably assign to their family the task of guaranteeing present and future protection to its members, showing poor involvement in all forms of institutionalized support.

The third set of considerations pertains to actors and institutions in charge of the management of immigration and the processes of integration.

In the first place, in Italy as practically everywhere else, the incorporation of immigrants into the labor market answers primarily to the needs and demands of the country of destination. Save for some initiatives of an exceptional nature, it is this principle that shapes migratory policies. In short, the model of integration of the Filipinos in Italy is, all things considered, in keeping with the expectations of Italian society, which, not by chance, looks particularly favorably upon this component of immigration. Indeed, we

could go as far as to say that Filipino immigration has up to now exemplified the features of an integration model based on their insertion into the labor market as highly “ethnicized” compartments, on a mobility hampered by the lack of universalism that informs society and the labor market, on limited access to the rights of citizenship (with a tendency towards equality with Italians in the granting of social rights but exclusion from political rights) and on a relationship with the institutions mediated by organizations of the Italian civic society, which frequently persist in attitudes of over-protective paternalism and welfarism towards immigrants or else nurture, albeit involuntarily, a “predatory” attitude.

Taking up again some considerations already examined in other works (Zanfrini, 2010b), it is perhaps not out of place to inquire also about the role played in recent years by the various organizations of civil society, including trade unions and lay and religious associations. This is a role that is qualified and indispensable for the reception of immigrants and the promotion of their rights – also through their undisputed capacity to influence both the production regulations and the professional activity within the public services and bureaucracy. However, on more than one occasion it seems to have contributed not only to the shirking of responsibilities of the institutions (acting as a functional substitute for an untimely and inadequate intervention), but also to their delegitimization whenever the safeguarding of the immediate interests of the migrants win over respect – formal and substantial – for legal principles and procedures. In its relationship with the immigrants, Italian society seems to have revealed its weakest side, just where the efficacy of the sought-after accommodation in the interstices of the regulations has impeded a rooting of the awareness of the importance of their rights (Sayad, 1996) and generated heavy costs in terms of institutional returns. The multiplication of centers and services dedicated to immigrants, in the absence of an adequate program of integration policies, has in its turn ended up complying with a particularistic and “ethnicized” logic by introducing in Italy polemical subjects that have already emerged in other countries, where the definition of some social categories as “problematic” serves above all to legitimize the development of the wider sector of research and social work (Noiriel, 2001). In this way,

while the theme of immigration control continues to fire political debate – with the persistent temptation to tamper with legislative reform every time there is a change in government – the impression is that Italian society has neglected the costs which the discrediting of legality has incurred – and will continue to incur in the years to come – for social cohesion and for the quality of coexistence.

Hence, there is a need to examine the question of immigration and integration policies. First of all, it must be pointed out that the insistence in public and in the mass media on the legitimization of immigration through work has the inevitable effect of encouraging in both the autochthonous community and the immigrant communities a conception of partial citizenship. In this regard, we have only to consider that it is precisely those social and political forces most amenable to immigration that have made constant reference in recent years to the need for immigrant labor (“to do the work that Italians are no longer willing to do”) so as to justify the demand for policies showing a greater openness to new entrants and, on this basis, to sanction the right of immigrants to stay in Italy and have access to collectivities of redistribution represented by the welfare systems. In addition to all the other consequences – which are bound to become more obvious in times of recession such as the present one, when this need becomes more debatable – this approach contributes to the creation of integration models that are economically unbalanced. Instead of legitimizing the granting of more rights and above all greater opportunities to immigrants to participate in the social, cultural and political life, there is a risk of relegating them to the sidelines of public life, confining them to environments of ethnic connotations that certainly do nothing to further their integration as Italian citizens. In other words, although the tendency toward self-reliance that characterizes the Filipino community has contributed to its marginalization, we must not underestimate the influence of the orientation of the institutions of the host society and civil society.

Hence, although it is true that in the wake of the initiatives of the European Union a certain interest has arisen on the subject of co-development and in an increasingly direct involvement of immigrant associations in the management of the issues relating to inte-

gration, the fact remains that most of the services and initiatives in this context continue to be managed – or even monopolized – by powerful Italian organizations of the third sector that are well-established in the area as well as being historical interlocutors of local institutions. The renewal of a certain integration model also takes place through a more decided will to promote the role of associations arising from immigration and from other expressions of ethnic minorities in the public sphere, and their sense of responsibility towards the society in which they reside.

Another unresolved issue that cannot be avoided is that of political rights. The law on migration, approved by the Italian parliament in 1998, although structuring quite a wide framework of protection and civil and social rights for foreign people staying in Italy, did not solve the issue of the right to vote, initially provided for by the bill, but removed during the process of the approval of the law. Consequently, immigrants who do not come from a European Union member-state have a very limited right to political participation, consisting of the right to enter local government units as members of committees with only a consultative power with regard to the decision-making committee, and usually only concerning the sphere of immigrant and ethnic minority integration. In any case, the imminent naturalization of great numbers of Filipino immigrants (if the intentions that we have recorded in our research are anything to go by) who have by now accumulated the length of residence required by Italian law will transform them into potential voters like many other immigrants of different nationalities. What is in sight is an unwanted and unplanned transformation of the electoral body, and above all one not preceded by an “accompaniment” to the exercise of the rights and duties of citizenship. It is sufficient to remember the paradox that Italian legislation is one of the few in the world not to require even an obligatory language test for the concession of citizenship. The above written words should be borne in mind regarding the necessity to invest in interventions of training and mobilization of the associations arising from immigration, including those aimed at proper education for citizenship.

But above all, the experience made possible by the MAPID Project confirms the limits of a “nationalistic” conception of migratory policies and policies for immigrants. In a scenario in which the

life of the migrants increasingly takes shape as thought out, planned and lived, symbolically and materially, on both sides of the migration process, it is indispensable for the juridical-institutional bodies to be able to abandon the purely nationalistic viewpoint on which they are based, and adopt a transnational one, capable of promoting, efficacious policies and measures founded on the effective interconnection between country of origin and country of destination. As far as we are concerned, this prospect obviously has implications both for Italy and for the Philippines.

Regarding Italy, it is worth pointing out that one of the limits that can be formulated regarding migration management policies (and in particular labor migration policies) concerns precisely the underestimation of the dual dimension of migratory policies. In fact, migration policies are characterized as having:

A *national* or domestic dimension, which includes rules, regulations and devices concerning migrant recruiting, entry and integration procedures, and an *international* dimension, which includes measures intended to counter irregular migrations, international cooperation in border control matters, and policies aimed at strengthening the connection between migrations and development of the countries of origin. After the season of bilateral agreements in which Italian diplomacy was engaged in “weaving” agreements in which the offer of privileged quotas was exchanged for the cooperation of the countries of origin in fighting irregular migration, the latest debate seems to be imprisoned in a unilateral and short-sighted vision of migration policies, as though the mobility of human beings could be solely and simply managed as “immigration.” On the other hand, in history, there is a tendency in recruitment to focus on the actions and initiatives undertaken by the countries of destination, and to underestimate the fact that the countries of origin, too, have their own migration policies and pursue their own strategies. Besides calling forth, with a good deal of rhetoric, the need to go beyond a unilateral conception of the government of migrations, the current debate

betrays a presumption that the international labor market may be controlled by the countries of destination, without giving the right weight, even within an international order in which power is asymmetrically distributed, to the capacity that the countries of origin also have to exert influence on the direction and the composition of migration flows (Zanfrini 2009:124-125).

To embrace with force this new conception of migratory policies, decidedly more in keeping with the current configuration of the processes, means to give up, at least in part, its symbolic value and the "spending power" of the immigration issue on the "marketplace" of electoral consensus.

The second implication alludes to the attitude of Filipino authorities, a subject dealt with in depth in the first chapter of this volume, but which we would here like to approach "from the point of view" of the Filipino diaspora in Italy. If it is true that the impact of immigration on the development of the countries of origin depends in the first place on their "quality" (by which is meant above all the quality of their institutional efficiency), there is more than one reason to account for the perplexity which prevails among the Filipino migrants. Our research has given ample voice to their disillusionment towards the conduct of the ruling classes and of their own diplomatic representatives in the countries of emigration, to the point that the presence of the Philippine government among the promoters of a certain type of initiative almost inevitably sparks a certain amount of suspicion. We encountered this ourselves, during the course of the project, whenever we mentioned the composition of the partnership of the MAPID Project. It is thus fundamentally important, if we truly wish to take advantage of the extraordinary reserve of availability that the Filipino diaspora in Italy represents, to guarantee, first and foremost, the "quality" of the human resources employed in the various governmental administrations working with immigrants abroad through truly meritocratic recruitment and career processes.

A further aspect to be mentioned is the opportunity for a renewal of the institutional representation of the figure of the immigrant. As we have already pointed out, the growth and stabiliza-



tion of the Filipino community in Italy have profoundly transformed, in accordance with non-planned modalities and within certain terms that were not foreseen, both the characteristics of this community and its plans for the future. It is a transformation that would appear, in accordance with what we have been able to establish in the course of the project, not to have been adequately appreciated by the authorities of the country of origin, crystallizing around the idea of an emigration with a defined time and purpose benefiting above all the families and communities of origin, and hence with a fate indissolubly linked to the society left behind. To “metabolize” this transformation means, first and foremost, for immigrants to open themselves up to communication and to a more active collaboration with the Italian authorities, in the awareness that diasporas cannot remain indefinitely self-reliant microcosms incapable of interacting in an efficacious and reciprocally advantageous way with local institutions and actors in the destination country.

A good testing ground in this sense would seem to us to be, once again, the issue of the new generation. As we have said, this is an issue emerging in the Italian scenario and is at the center of the concerns of a community that has willingly undergone so many sacrifices in order to guarantee a better future for its children. There is a deep and widespread interest and availability to invest in this direction on the part of the Filipino associations in Italy. Sustaining this interest is also the task of the authorities – both Italian and Filipino – with the awareness that an important challenge has been laid down for the maintenance of social cohesion, both in the society of origin and in the host country. Speaking of this, in the hope that the unilateral approach to migratory policies will be replaced, a central place should be assigned to the issue of families divided by emigration, and in particular of the children left behind. Our research has reasserted the extraordinary proportions of the phenomenon of the “orphans of immigration” which, involves almost half of all children of immigrants. It was no accident that the lively discussion involving the participants at the end of their training course centered around this problem, revealing a glimpse of the apprehensions, hopes and dreams of parents physically separated from their children but insistently focusing on them and their future. Thus, there is reason to affirm that it is precisely this issue

that will spark off the most ambitious projects down the road of co-development. However, it would be imprecise and unwise to expect the families themselves and possibly the associations to take sole charge of a problem that cannot but involve the authorities of the countries of emigration, as well as those who import labor from abroad in disregard of the ethical implications that every social process inevitably brings with it.

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4

Filipino Migrants' Associations in Spain as Potential Agents of Change

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In the last three decades, Spain's migration landscape has changed considerably. In the past, when one speaks about migration, it was of Spaniards moving to other European countries or to America, or of small populations moving from one area to another within the country. At present, when migration is discussed in the context of Spain's situation, one talks of migrants who have arrived and continue arriving from all over the world. According to the data from the Permanent Observatory of Immigration, during the mid-80s, the annual migratory flux started to be favorable for Spain, that is, more immigrants were arriving every year than the number of emigrants who left for other countries. One must wait for the first years of the 21st century to see if the number of foreigners residing in Spain is greater than that of Spaniards living abroad, and to see if Spain also turns into a country of migration from this perspective. This phenomenon has without doubt caused a major change in Spanish society. The number of immigrants has increased from less than 500,000 to four million in the past 10 years. Since 2000, the number of foreigners residing in Spain has grown to 3 million, which reflects an average annual increase of 300,000 people. There-



after, Spaniards saw that they now live in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society.

The current economic crisis (not just in Spain but worldwide) has led to negative perception about immigrants. A certain extreme right-wing ideology emphasized the increase in unemployment and removing or reducing social services that provide essential assistance (e.g., accommodation, employment benefit, health care, educational assistance, etc.) in view of the economic crisis. Unfortunately, this message has gotten its way into the public and has contributed to an increase in the tension generated by the crisis.

The number of immigrants in Spain, according to data from the Permanent Observatory of Immigration as of 30 July 2010, exceeded four million people (4,744,169). Of the total immigrant population, Filipinos coming from the Asian continent are the third most numerous community and represent 0.65 percent of the total immigrant community in Spain. It can be seen that in the last ten years, the Filipino community has almost doubled its presence with a small but constant growth. Majority of the Filipino migrant population (59.14 percent) in Spain are female. This is due to the fact that in the beginning, Filipinos were employed in domestic work. In this work, women are preferred over men. In the last ten years, the percentage of women migrants has slightly declined (in 1998, it was 63.23 percent).

The two main provinces where Filipinos are concentrated are Madrid and Barcelona – 72.74 percent of the Filipino community in Spain are in the provinces. The explanation leads back to an earlier analysis that the first Filipinos to arrive in Spain, who are mostly women, went to Madrid and Barcelona, which are also the biggest and most prosperous Spanish cities. The Filipinos who arrived successively chose the same places, thanks to their contacts with friends and relatives and through family reunion.

The specific objectives the MAPID study in Spain are: a) to discover the capacity of the associations of Filipino immigrants in Spain in promoting development in the Philippines, b) to examine the capacity of the associations in supporting themselves and governmental organizations in the Philippines, c) to explore the capacity of the associations in relating with Spanish governmental orga-

nizations, d) to describe the role of the migrants' associations in the Filipino community in Spain, and e) to examine if the current status of the community, along with its level of integration, can affect the establishment of links for local and national development in the Philippines.

With regard to data collection, the main sources of data and modes of data collection are as follows:

In order to achieve the objectives, there is a need to map out and profile the Filipino community in Spain. The first step consisted of interviewing the Philippine Consulate General in Barcelona and the Philippine Embassy in Madrid. Both institutions were actively involved by providing access to meetings of various community organizations in Barcelona and Madrid. Our presence in these meetings, where we found most of the representatives or leaders of Filipino associations, was favorable and timely because it happened in the midst of the preparations for the celebration of Philippine Independence Day. The research team was presented with details and information about the Filipinos and their associations. Appointments for meetings and interviews commenced following the meetings with consulate and embassy officials.

From then on, field work started. We searched for information in the churches, where we asked priests or ministers whom we can interview, and places of leisure, shops, hairdressing shops or salons, and restaurants which are often visited by Filipinos. We also asked the "pioneers" of the two communities to get in touch with us. The interviews with the key informants were semi-structured with open-ended questions. We carried out the structured interview with the presidents or leaders of the associations. We interviewed the immigrants in general. The access points were Sunday worships in different churches of different denominations; choir meetings; meetings of associations of immigrants; hairdressing shops or salons; other shops; streets; and places of leisure. In many cases, the reception was "cold." The places where the interviews took place were the migrants' houses, cafeterias, bars and churches.

The period of collection of the survey of 200 Filipinos started with the first encounter with the Vice Consul of the Philippine Con-

sulate General in Barcelona on 4 May 2008, and was finished in the first fortnight of September of the same year. Two hundred immigrants, 40 key informants and 10 officers of migrants' organizations or associations were interviewed.

This chapter is composed of five parts which present the most relevant outputs of the MAPID activities in Spain:

- Filipino migration in Spain: historical excursus, trends and profiles – this presents the contextual description of the migratory phenomenon of Filipinos in Spain. The presentation breaks away from the historical approach and concentrates on a socio-demographic description of the Filipino community in Spain;

- Major findings of the MAPID research in Spain and comments on the statistical data on the socio-demographic profile of the Filipino community; aspects relevant to the migratory project; quality of life in Spain; associational life in Spain; and links with the Philippines;

- The capacity building programs, comprising a brief description of selected findings from the study that guided the content and development of the training program in Spain; the assessment of the training programs; the reflections on whether the training programs contributed to meeting MAPID objectives; and the proposals/follow-up activities suggested by the training programs;

- Lessons learned from MAPID, which includes the analysis of the future prospects of Filipinos in Spain; their strengths and weaknesses as a community; and migrants' associations as potential agents of change; and

- Conclusions and recommendations: advocacy, policy and research recommendations – the findings are analyzed in the light of two questions: how can institutions in Spain and the Philippines support the associations of migrants; and what recommendations can be sourced from the MAPID study so as to foster migrants' associations as potential agents of change.

I. Filipino Migration in Spain: Historical Excursus, Trends and Profiles

History of Filipino Migration in Spain

The links between Spain and the Philippines date back to the 16th century when Spain colonized the Philippines. In 1565, it became a Spanish colony. Spanish rule lasted more than 300 years. At the end of the 19th century, the Filipino nationalist movement led a revolution against Spain and declared independence on 12 June 1898. However, in spite of this long colonial period, the Spanish cultural influence on the Philippine language is limited to the existence of some words in the vocabulary.

According to Martin (1998), the historical references to the presence of Filipino immigrants in Spain before the 1960s focused on the arrival of students sent by the missionaries in the Philippines and domestic workers. It was not until the latter part of the 19th century when Filipino settlement in Spain developed, with the arrival of politicians, businessmen and students in Madrid and Barcelona. Another significant group of Filipinos at this time came from a group of former inmates whose origins were mainly the Philippines and Cuba and had met their sentences in Spanish prisons in northern Africa (Ceuta and Melilla), some of whom eventually settled in Spain (Martin, 1997). The independence of the Philippines marked the end of the possibility of entering as residents in Spain. However, a small number of Filipinos who collaborated with the colonial regime decided to move to the Spanish mainland. It was not until the 1960s when Filipinos reappeared as servicemen for US military bases in Spain. Almost immediately, they are required by the Spanish upper class for domestic work. The Filipino community has been the largest immigrant from Asia until the second half of the 1990s, giving rise to a number of studies related to it (Berger, 1993; Molina, 1994; Comamala, 1994, 1998; Ribas, 1994, 1999, 2005; Ribas and Bear, 2005, as cited by Beltrán 2006).

The historical links between the two countries affect the situation of the Filipinos in Spain via Spanish politics, with an impact on their working and living conditions.

To understand the context of Filipino diaspora in relation to Spain, there is a need to understand historical facts.

Until the introduction of Spain's Immigration Law of 1985, Filipinos could enter the country without a visa and with a possibility of changing their tourist visas into work permits.

The three programs of regularization carried out in 1991, 1996 and 1999 worked with the contingency system, since before 1991, the hiring of foreign workers was only allowed in the domestic work sector and farming activities.

The Philippine Embassy in Madrid said that there were 40,750 Filipinos in Spain at the end of 2003. This figure only included those who registered with the embassy (POLO Madrid, 2003). According to the estimates of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the population of Filipinos already reached 50,000 in the mid-1990s (Pe-Pua, 2006).

Filipino domestic workers are highly sought-after and preferred over those of other nationalities for their good reputation and versatility in performing all kinds of work. They are not conventional domestic workers as they have higher levels of educational achievement and previous professional or work experience. For example, 41 percent of the Filipino migrant workforce in Spain (the majority being women) have completed or reached university level¹ and many have had professional jobs in the Philippines before moving to work in Spain (CFMW & KAIBIGAN, 1995; Lobera, 1993; Zlotnik, 1995).

Main Issues Concerning the Filipino Immigrant Community in Spain

After illustrating the relevant historical facts and the demographic data of the Filipino community in Spain, their relations and adaptation to their new environment will be analyzed. Castañeda (2007), who worked for two and a half years as a rector in the parish of *San Agustín de Barcelona*, relied on his impressions, research findings and data from official sources in commenting on the social fiber of the Filipino community. According to Castañeda (2007:284-285):

¹ Includes those who have training/diplomas in commerce, education, economics, dentistry, medical technology, obstetrics and nursing.

... in the earlier years,² most Filipinos lived in the homes of their Spanish employers and spent their free time in some public places (plazas). There is a popular joke among Filipinos in Barcelona that even the doves in Plaza Cataluña, during that time, could speak Ilocano. Nowadays, more Filipinos are renting or buying their own apartments and spending their free time there with their family, relatives and friends. Because of this, Filipinos who arrived in the later years prefer to work as "interna" than as "fija" (live-in rather than residing outside of the host family's home). Aside from "oferta de trabajo" (direct hiring), the coming of Filipino men is mainly because of the "reagrupacion familiar" (family reunification). Although some of them also work in domestic service, the arrival of Filipino men opened the market of "hostelería" (hotel and restaurants) to the Filipinos. All the articles I consulted observed two common traits among the Spanish Filipinos: their religiosity and their love for gatherings.

Unlike the Spanish faithful, Filipinos continue to fill the churches during Sunday services. In Barcelona, I celebrate two Sunday masses and in every celebration, there are at least 600 persons. I also observed that a number of Filipinos drop by the churches or adoration chapels for some moments of silence, recollection and prayer. Some still make the sign of the cross as they pass by the church building. Most of them still do the custom of getting my hand for a blessing (mano po). Aside from attending Sunday services, the Filipino faithful come to my office to ask for a date for the blessing of their apartments, cars, rosaries and other religious articles. Many of them also invite me to attend their fiestas at home or in a restaurant (many times, in a Chinese restaurant). This will lead us to trait number two: the Filipinos' love for gatherings.

² The author refers to the first period of massive arrival of Filipinos, which happened in the '70s.

Most Filipinos spend their free time at home playing card games, bingo games, cooking pancit (noodles) or karaoke singing. It is seldom that you can find a Filipino apartment without a Magic Sing equipment (a brand of videoke entertainment). Hence, the usual complaint of their neighbors against Filipinos is their noise-making. Other traits observed by Comamala (1994:87) among Filipinos in Barcelona are the following: the Filipino community is heterogenous. It is composed of more than one ethnic group (the most numerous are Tagalogs, Ilocanos and Bicolanos); they help one another; they easily use the word amiga (friend); home is very important; they speak Spanish more than Catalan; and the religious practice is an important force.

II. Major Findings of the MAPID Research in Spain

In this section, the results of the survey of 200 Filipinos will be presented. The discussion will be organized as follows: the general socio-demographic aspects and issues related to their immigrant status and employment issues; areas related to the migratory project and their life in Spain (especially mentioning their experience and participation in different associations and the links which they maintain with their country of origin); and their future prospects and where they are planning to develop them.

Profile of Respondents

In Table 1, the frequencies and percentages of the socio-demographic profile of the interviewees are presented. Of the 200 respondents, 68 percent were women and 32 percent were men. This gender distribution reflects the fact that Filipino immigration in Spain and other European countries is highly feminized, especially if we take into account the composition of the immigrant groups that arrived from the 1960s until the present. The mean age of the sample was 42.67 years (S.D.=13.03). Fifty percent of the group was between 18 and 41 years and 80 percent had reached at least 56 years old. Only eight people were over 65 years of age. Almost

TABLE 1
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

		Number*	Percent
Gender	Female	136	68.0
	Male	64	32.0
		200	100.0
Age	Mean:	42.67	
	SD:	13.03	
Place of birth	Philippines	192	96.0
	Spain	8	4.0
		200	100.0
Is there a place respondent considers his/her hometown?			
		171	89.1
		21	20.9
		192	100.0
Marital status	Single	69	34.7
	Married	104	52.3
	Separated/divorced	11	5.5
	Widowed	15	7.5
		199	100.0
Nationality of spouse			
		110	83.3
		16	12.1
		6	4.5
		132	99.9
Number of children			
		74	37.8
		71	36.2
		41	21.0
		10	5.1
		196	100.1
		1.5	
		1.62	
Highest education completed			
		17	8.5
		18	9.0
		36	18.0
		47	23.5
		82	41.0
		200	100.0
Country where respondent studied			
		32	39.0
		40	48.8
		6	7.3
		4	4.9
		82	100.0
Religion	Roman Catholic	177	88.5
	Protestant/Iglesia ni Cristo/Other	23	11.5
		200	100.0

NOTE: *There were 200 respondents in the survey. The Ns are at times less than 200 because of missing information. This holds true for all tables unless otherwise indicated.

all were born in the Philippines; in fact, only eight interviewees (4 percent) were born in Spain. In terms of marital status, 52.3 percent were married and 43.7 percent were single. The rest were separated or widowed (5.5 and 7.5 percent, respectively). In total, 132 had a partner at the time of interview and 83.3 percent of them were of Philippine origin. Only 12.1 percent ($n=16^3$) were with Spanish partners. A total of 122 respondents had children and about half (49.5 percent) had between one and three children. In 51.6 percent of the cases, they were not born in Spain. However, 41 (33.6 percent) of the interviewees had given birth to a child in Spain and 16 had up to two children in Spain. Only two respondents had three children born Spain.

The predominant religious affiliation of the respondents was Catholic (89 percent), distantly followed by followers of Iglesia Ni Cristo (6.5 percent) and Protestants (3 percent). Only three people indicated that they had no religion.

Regarding the level of education, more than half of the sample started university studies (60.5 percent) and 37 percent finished them. Of the 82 people who finished their university studies, 72 did so in the Philippines. Only six (7.3 percent) studied in Spain, of whom, three were immigrants and three were born in Spain. Of the four other remaining university students, one each attended a school in Austria and the United States, and the other two did not specify the country where they studied.

When they were asked whether they considered that they had a "home" in the Philippines, 89.1 percent ($n=171$) answered affirmatively and only 21 (10.9 percent) immigrants responded negatively. It is striking that two of the six interviewees who were born in Spain considered the Philippines as their home.

Table 2 shows the results referring to the work status of the 200 interviewees. The distribution of the frequencies for the type of occupation shows that the most common are: "domestic employment" (37 percent) and "restaurant employment" (26.1). Some 9.8 percent worked as drivers ($n=5$); shop assistants ($n=4$); nurse assistants ($n=3$); technicians-installers ($n=3$); hairdressers, ($n=1$);

³ Of the six interviewees who were born in Spain, only three have a partner and are Spanish.

TABLE 2
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

Main Occupation	Number	Percent
Working		
Domestic worker	68	37.0
Restaurant worker	48	26.1
Unskilled worker	18	9.8
Clerk	11	6.0
Teacher/ professional/religious	7	3.3
Independent	10	5.4
Not Working		
Homemaker, retired, student	17	9.2
Unemployed	5	2.7
	184	100.0
Full-time or part-time employment		
Full-time	145	86.8
Part-time	22	13.2
	167	100.0
Regular employment?		
Yes	148	89.2
No	11	6.6
Other	7	4.2
	166	100.0

masseuses (n=1); dressmaker (n=1). The least common were of-office workers (5.4 percent), and independent or self-employed workers (5.4 percent). Lastly, there were small percentages of civil servants (2.2 percent), religious workers (1.1 percent) and professionals (0.5 percent). Only 10 interviewees had a business. The diversity of responses at this point is evident, although the type of business had a lot to do with offering services to the Philippine community (travel agents, hairdressers, clothes shops, video stores of Filipino movies). These businesses had either no paid worker (in five out of 10 cases) or had one worker (in the other five cases). Around 86.8 percent of employees (143 cases) are full time and 89.2 percent are regular workers. The unemployment rate was very low (2.7 percent), which reinforces what the key informants said about Filipinos being considered as valued workers and especially sought-after. Additionally, the Philippine community itself is aware of the positive reputation of the community in Spain, as indicated by views expressed by some of the key informants:

In Barcelona, there are many migrants from all over the world, but the people from Barcelona never criticize the Philippine people. Here, there are stereotypes (such as to be careful in *Las Ramblas* because you might get robbed) but they never say "Oh, he is Filipino, it's a gang of Filipinos!" and when I go somewhere like the hospital or to the mayor, they don't say, "Ah, what cheek! There are already a lot of you here, don't you think?"

Key informant, Barcelona, 6 September 2008

[In] the case of the Middle East where they hire thousands of Philippine people, they have loads of Philippine people because they're known for being very good workers.

Key informant, Madrid, 1 June 2008

The issue of integration I think is not difficult for Philippine people; they are respectful of Spanish regulations and so they integrate easily. They don't have many work problems because most arrive with a job waiting for them already.

Key informant, Valencia, 28 May 2008

We haven't encountered problems about integration or with other ethnic groups like Pakistanis or Moroccans because Filipinos are in a separate sector, in a very closed community and with Spain, I think that [the] Spanish government is particularly generous to the Filipinos considering the cultural ties that we have.

Key informant, Barcelona, 30 May 2008

Immigration Background of Respondents

In this sub-section, we will focus on the aspects pertaining to the "legal situation" of the immigrants who were interviewed (Table 3). We found only two respondents without residence permit; the rest had their "papers in order." We also found that out of 143 immi-

TABLE 3
IMMIGRATION BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

Legal Status	Number	Percent
With Spanish citizenship or independent	143	75.0
Limited visa	42	22.0
Waiting for visa/without visa/others	6	3.0
	191	100.0
Citizenship		
Filipina	79	39.5
Spanish	57	28.5
Dual	62	31.0
Other	2	1.0
	200	100.0
Year acquired Spanish citizenship		
Before 1990	9	9.0
1990-1994	19	19.0
1995-1999	18	18.0
2000-2004	21	21.0
2005-2008	32	33.0
	99	100.0
Registered with the local council		
No	3	1.5
Yes	196	98.5
	199	100.0
Aware of Philippine Law on dual nationality		
Yes	167	93.3
No	12	6.7
	179	100.0

grants (75 percent), 79 (39.5 percent) had permanent residence permit; 57 (28.5 percent) were Spanish citizens and 62 (31 percent) had dual nationality. We can affirm also that 42 interviewees (22 percent) had renewable residence permits. The reasons for obtaining residence permits were⁴ employment or work related (58.6 percent, or 17), family reunification (10, or 33.3 percent), and one case each for studies and self-employment. Two respondents were waiting to obtain permission at the time of the interview.⁵ Lastly, another two interviewees are of Dutch and Austrian nationalities.⁶

⁴ There were 13 people who did not wish to give reasons for their residence permit.

⁵ Of the nine who did not answer, eight were born in Spain and have Spanish nationality.

⁶ In the “other” category in the table, they appear as much in the variable “renewal of documents” as in that of “nationality.”

Of those who had acquired Spanish citizenship, the earliest was in 1965. More than half had become Spanish citizens between 2000 and 2008. Of the 79 immigrants who did not have a Spanish nationality, 61 (79.2 percent) said they had already taken the first steps towards obtaining it and 16 (20.8 percent) seemed not to be thinking about it or applying for it.

From our findings, we can see that almost everyone is registered with the local council (n=196; 98.5 percent). Additionally, we observed that it is a community with little movement within Spain. Almost everyone, 97.4 percent had been staying in the first place they arrived in, which in this case were the cities of Madrid and Barcelona.

Lastly, it is significant that 167 of the interviewees (93.3 percent) stated that they knew of the 2004 Philippine law that allowed them to obtain dual nationality. If we focus on the distribution of nationality per year, it can be seen that there is a slight increase after 2004. However, it is not exceptional. In fact, as the table shows, only 62 interviewees stated that they had dual nationality, with only 35 mentioning the year of nationalization.

When we asked the key informants about this matter, 24 (60 percent) out of 40 considered double nationality as a good option; that is, four (10 percent) responded negatively, one (2.5 percent) did not know and 11 (27.5 percent) preferred not to answer.

Moreover, of the 24 who see it as a good option, only 14 are capable of explaining why. It seems at first glance that there is no unanimity in the enthusiasm for this new possibility. However, some of the key informants explained the reason why. The possible reason is that, before 2004, most Filipinos kept their Philippine passports after acquiring Spanish nationality simply not notifying the change to the Philippine authorities. Moreover, this law is inconvenient for them at present because if they try "reacquiring their nationality," it might entail additional cost. The most frequent complaint (according to one key informant) was the need to get their original birth certificates in the Philippines (as it is required when reacquiring Filipino citizenship) and therefore paying people to obtain them.

(...) Yes, but we have to pay, for the reacquisition of nationality, about 62 euros and something. You (Spanish people) pay for the process, but not so much (...) another reason why my fellow patriots wanted to change nationality, because with the residence there (in the Philippines) is a lot of hassle, a lot of steps to take and one loses money and they rob you. And we have been robbed a lot. Moreover, they rob us and they rob us a lot. One has to pay some money and the documents take a long time. One has to ask for documentation in the Philippines in the embassies. And one has to ask for more documentation when you have children here as they don't know where the children's surnames came from (laughs). It's because they change them.⁷

Interview, 7 June 2008, Madrid

An explanation very similar to this one was given by another key informant, in Barcelona, answering the question related to absentee voting in the Philippine elections, who states that:

I do not vote here in Barcelona, I don't have Philippine nationality. It is very expensive to apply for it, it lasts only 5 years and costs double than that of the Spanish one which lasts 10 years, I prefer to have just one. I renounced the Philippine one long ago."

Interview, 31 May 2008, Barcelona

On a different note, another key informant hinted at the economic benefits of dual citizenship for the Philippines.

The idea of double citizenship for Filipinos is a recent fact 3-4 years. The Philippine government through the Congress decided to approve this law because when Fili-

⁷ The text has been edited for language in order to be more comprehensible in the English translation.

pinos have already been in Spain for a long time, they can apply for citizenship and many do and they lose their Philippine nationality. The government recognizes that we are losing citizens who could invest, because of course in the Philippines, one cannot sell land to foreigners. Well, it's a way of regaining the rights of the Filipino citizen and many of them make the most of the Philippine passport which shows double nationality and who still keep contact with the country. There have been many ideas. It's a recent phenomenon. We have arrived at a point where we have to admit that the number of Philippine immigrants is huge. When migration started in the seventies, more or less, the focus was the Middle East for its oil. They started hiring engineers and there was no need to think of a law of double nationality as the Filipino people after two years return because it's a temporary job. But nowadays, they are almost everywhere, almost seven million Filipinos abroad, or rather, they are very well off and it's good to have that option.

Key informant, Madrid, 1 June 2008

Having been a former colony of Spain, Filipinos with legal status only need a two year-residence (residence permit) in order to apply for Spanish citizenship. For other nationalities, the general rule is 10 years of legal residence. In fact in Spain, since the Constitution of 1931, one of the principles of the Spanish legislature is *"the opening of the Historic Community of Nations."*⁸ The reform of the Civil Code in 1982, reproduced in 1990 and 2002, provides: "The acquisition of the nationality of Ibero-American countries, Andorra, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea or Portugal is not sufficient to produce in accordance with the section, the loss of the Spanish nationality" (art.24.1CC). The Law 36/2002 allowed legal dual nationality for any national of an Ibero-American coun-

⁸ The Historic Community of Nations is composed of former Spanish colonies. This principle is reflected in the Spanish legislation concerning the "Derecho de extranjería" (Right of Foreigners) and "Derecho de nacionalidad" (Right of Nationality).

try, Andorra, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea or Portugal. Article 23 CC, which states the requirements for the validity of the acquisition of the Spanish nationality as an option, letter of nativity or residence, establishes in its words (b) that the natives from the aforementioned countries stay "safe from the declaration of renouncement (of) from their previous nationality."

Immigration to Spain

In this sub-section, we will attempt to offer a general panorama of aspects related to the experience of Filipino migrants prior to emigration. Data were obtained concerning preparations before migration, who made the decision to migrate, what was the objective and principal motivation for migration, the conditions under which they left the Philippines and the time of migration. We also identified if there had been a family reunion, and if there had been mobility within the new country. In summary, we identified how the "migratory project" was organized and its evaluation by the migrant several years after.

Thirty-three percent of the emigrants had no work prior to emigration. Of those who had paid work before leaving the Philippines, the highest percentage was made up of respondents with "unspecified jobs" (29.8 percent), followed by 14.3 percent who had administrative jobs and 8.9 percent who were self-employed. A lower percentage (6.5 percent) worked in restaurants. Only 6.5 percent were teachers or civil servants. Among those who were not working before migration, six people (3.6 percent) were university students (Table 4). In addition, 19.9 percent stated they had worked in another country, which meant that they had a migration experience prior to their arrival in Spain.

These data indicate that the most representative occupations of Filipino immigrants in Spain—domestic employment and restaurant work (see Table 2)—did not correspond with their pre-migration work in the home country.

In this light, we will show the results that refer to this matter in particular, although the question refers only to whether domestic employment will be the primary job in the near future.

TABLE 4
PRE-MIGRATION OCCUPATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

	Number	Percent
Employed	113	67.2
Unspecified jobs	50	29.8
Clerks	24	14.3
Self-employed	15	8.9
Officers/teachers	11	6.5
Restaurant workers	11	6.5
Domestic work	1	0.6
Religious	1	0.6
Unemployed	55	32.8
Not working	49	29.2
Students	6	3.6
	168	100.0

The most frequent motives for migrating to Spain (based on multiple responses), as shown in Table 5, were: “to help the family” (61.1 percent); “to have a better salary” (46.4 percent) and to provide a better future for their children” (39.6 percent). Less frequently cited were “to experience another culture” (23.4 percent); “to find work” (20.3 percent) and “to reunite with the family” (18.8 percent).

TABLE 5
REASONS FOR MIGRATING TO SPAIN*

Reason	Number	Percent
To help the family	118	61.1
To have a higher salary	89	46.4
To provide for children’s future	76	39.6
To experience another culture	46	23.4
To find work	39	20.3
To be with family	36	18.8

NOTE: *Based on those who said yes to a specific reason relative to N=192, i.e., the eight respondents who were born in Spain were excluded.

TABLE 6
WHO MADE THE DECISION TO MIGRATE*

	Number	Percent
Mostly respondent	76	41.8
Respondent with family	80	44.0
Mostly family	20	11.0
Other	6	3.3
	182	100.1

NOTE: * Based on N=182 (the eight respondents who were born in Spain were excluded; in addition, there were ten missing cases).

In eight out of 10 cases, the respondent had a role to play in decision to migrate (see Table 6): it was taken with the family in the case of 80 people (44 percent), but another 76 interviewees (42 percent) were the sole decision-makers. However, 20 (11 percent) people stated that their relatives made the decision for them (this was the case of 14 women and six men). It seems that in most cases, the family plays an important role in planning the migratory life of the emigrant. In the category "others," there were six people who indicated that the decision was taken and determined by: the church (n=2), the employers in the Philippines (n=3), and "my brother-in-law" (n=1).

Regarding the period and volume of arrivals in Spain and the duration of residence of the Filipino immigrants in our study (Table 7), the earliest was in 1965 and the most recent was in 2005. The sample is distributed almost uniformly from year 1965 until 1998, with some years appearing with a slightly greater frequency (years: 1980; 1981; 1984; 1989; 1990; 1992 and 1996) in the decade of the 80s and 90s. The increase becomes constant from 1999 until 2005, when we can see an average of 12 immigrants per year. In terms of length of stay in Spain, it ranges from three to 43 years. The mean number of years of permanent residency is 14.54 (SD=9.59). As can be seen in Table 7, most respondents or 29.7 percent had resided in Spain for 5-9 years.

At their time of entry, the most common type of visas obtained for getting to Spain were work (37.8 percent) and tourist

TABLE 7
ARRIVAL AND YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN SPAIN*

	Number	Percent
Year of arrival		
Before 1975	8	4.2
1975-1984	35	18.2
1985-1994	45	23.4
1995-2005	104	54.2
	192	100.0
Years of residence in Spain		
Less than 5	26	13.5
5-9	57	29.7
10-14	25	13.0
15-19	31	16.1
20-24	17	8.9
25 and more	36	18.8
	192	100.0

Note: *The eight respondents who were born in Spain were excluded from N.

visas (36.7 percent). Only 11.7 percent arrived for family reunion. The others had a diplomatic visa (n=3), two were nationals of a member-country of the European Union, and religious purposes.

As for "irregular" entry, some key informants said that irregular immigration did not exist in the case of Filipinos. However, a key informant in Barcelona (Interview in Barcelona, 4 May 2008) suggested that irregular migration of Filipinos in Spain was mostly brought about by Filipino sailors who arrive at the port in Barcelona. The same can be said about Valencia,⁹ according to a key informant:

We calculate that there are some 50,000 (Filipinos) but half have the Spanish nationality and normally have a visa and are not illegal... well some are, but very few, I'd say less than five percent as there is tight control. It is hard to get a visa at the Spanish Embassy. Sailors are

⁹ Barcelona and Valencia have busy ports which have a high volume of international commercial activities; these two cities are common gates of entry to Spain for Filipino sailors.

classic examples as they arrive at the ports and have a way of getting out, and they find other Filipinos and decide to stay. In Marbella, there is an interesting experience, the majority come from the Middle East, their bosses have houses there and take their employees who decide to stay due to the environment, because the social support is very important for Filipinos, who are individualists but they don't like to live alone. They like to be in group. This tendency is good for the Embassy because a Filipino who doesn't belong to any association is more likely to have problems.

Key informant, Valencia, 28 May 2008

With respect to the province of arrival, more than 93 percent of respondents arrived either in Barcelona or Madrid (50 percent and 43.6 percent, respectively) (Table 8). As mentioned earlier, Filipinos rarely migrated out of these two cities. Only 18 respondents had ever changed residence since they arrived in Spain.

Regarding the family migration history of respondents, the study probed whether they had family members and relatives in

TABLE 8
TYPE OF VISA UPON ENTRY TO SPAIN AND PROVINCE OF ARRIVAL*

	Number	Percent
Type of visa		
Work	71	37.8
Tourist	69	36.7
Family reunion	22	11.7
None	13	6.9
Study	7	3.7
Other	6	3.2
	188	100.0
Province of arrival		
Barcelona	95	50.0
Madrid	83	43.7
Other	12	6.3
	190	100.0

NOTE: *The eight respondents who were born in Spain were excluded from N.

Spain. A total of 103 people said they had immediate family members in Spain before their arrival (53.37 percent) and another half (46.6 percent) did not have any. A similar pattern was observed concerning the presence of other relatives: a little more than half said yes (52.1 percent) and the other half (47.9 percent) said no.

Lastly, we were interested in the subjective assessment of the interviewees with respect to the migration phenomenon. Respondents were asked how common was international migration in their community of origin. According to Table 9, less than half (44.6 percent) said it was not that common; the majority considered migration either as fairly common (25.4 percent) or very common (29.9 percent).

TABLE 9
VIEW OF THE MIGRATION PHENOMENON*

	Number	Percent
Not common	79	44.6
Fairly common	45	25.4
Very common	53	29.9
	177	99.9

Note: *The eight respondents who were born in Spain were excluded from N.

Comparing their personal and family situation before and after migration, the overwhelming majority of respondents considered themselves (84.7 percent) and their families (86.3 percent) better after migration to Spain (Table 10). Thus, it seems that the majority had a positive perception about their life in Spain and experienced better life conditions as a result of their stay in the country.

Life in Spain

In this part, more emphasis will be put on the aspects related to the concept of "quality of life" of immigrants and their families. The interviewees answered questions about the type of housing, possible over-crowding, the immediate family environment, and

TABLE 10
COMPARING PERSONAL AND FAMILY SITUATION: BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION*

	Number	Percent
Personal situation		
Worse	8	4.2
The same	21	11.1
Better	161	84.7
	190	100.0
Family situation		
Worse	2	1.1
The same	24	12.6
Better	164	86.3
	190	99.9

NOTE: *The eight respondents who were born in Spain were excluded from N.

issues related with their children such as where they were, who looked after them, etc. Also, in this sub-section are the areas related to the economic resources which were at their disposal, their degree of satisfaction, the types of management of income, remittance and investments, and work prospects for the second generation. Lastly, we will discuss the networks of social support and evaluate the level of integration in Spanish life with questions that bring up the use and access to different services, cuisine, language at home, and the level of participation in Spanish life in general.

Concerning accommodation, in general, it seems that most respondents lived either in their own house (34.5 percent) or rented together with relatives (32.5percent). Only eight percent shared the rent with non-relatives and another 9.5 percent were subleasing with non-relatives. Only 11 percent were "interns," i.e., they live in the home of the employer.¹⁰

The average number of people who lived in a house was 4.50 (SD=2.00). The average number of people who formed the "household" (i.e., in terms of sharing the expenses) was 3.71 (SD=1.99). The mean number of household members who were

¹⁰ The remaining percentages are minimal: two percent represent people who live with relatives without a rent or contract, one percent live in guesthouses and one percent are "others" (persons who live in an inherited house from their parents and a priest who lives in the seminary).

close relatives was 1.62 (SD=1.70); the mean number of those who were distant relatives was 0.61 (SD= 1.25), and that of members who were "non-relatives" was 0.48 (SD=1.18).

Thirty-four respondents lived alone; 75 did not share their home with immediate family members; 146 did not live with other relatives either; and 35 lived with non-relatives.

Almost half of the interviewees (40.5 percent) had no close relatives in the Philippines and 79 percent did not have them in other countries either. Those who left their relatives in the Philippines was represented by a mean of 3.14 (SD=5.75). In the case of the 42 who had relatives in other countries, the most numbers were those between one and three.

With respect to children who lived in the Philippines, the incidence was minimal. Only 3.36 percent of the interviewees had children under five years; six 5.88 percent were between 6 and 10 years; 9.24 percent were between 11 and 14 years; 8.4 percent were between 15 and 17 years; and 17.65 percent were children over 18 years. Therefore, although it can be said that the majority of the children were not born in Spain, it can also be stated that majority of them do reside in Spain.

With respect to the people who looked after their children, majority of the children did not have nannies; 8.4 percent had someone entrusted to attend to them; and 6.72 percent had various careers. That is to say that only 18 immigrants had people who were taking care of their children in the Philippines. In most cases, it was the husband or wife who attended to them.

The aspects relating to family economy will be analyzed next. As shown in Table 11, the modal income category (41 percent) was between 1000 and 2000 euro. A little more than a third (36 percent) had household income below 1000 euro. Some two-thirds (67.22 percent) considered their income sufficient to cover expenses in Spain while 18.89 percent affirmed that it was insufficient. A shade below two-thirds (64.81 percent) said their income was enough to maintain the expenses of their relatives in the Philippines, but 25.35 percent said that it was not. Only 9.88 percent thought that it was "more than enough." Lastly, in Table 12, 57.79 percent say that their income did not allow them to save and 35.71 percent

TABLE 11
MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Monthly earnings (in euros)	Number	Percent
Below 1000	57	35.63
1000-1999	65	40.63
2000-2999	21	13.13
3000-3999	7	4.38
4000-4999	2	1.25
5000-5999	5	3.13
6000 & up	3	1.88
Total	160	100.00

stated that they could save. Regarding the satisfaction perceived with the money they managed, it seemed that on the positive end, we find 62 percent who were satisfied, on top of 14 percent who were “very satisfied.” On the other hand, at the negative end, there were about 20 percent who were not happy with their income (19.50 percent = unsatisfied and 1 percent = very unsatisfied).

TABLE 12
LIFE IN SPAIN

Earnings enough to	Number	Percent
Cover expenses in Spain		
Not enough	34	18.89
Just enough	121	67.22
More than enough	25	13.89
Total	180	100.00
Support family in the Philippines		
Not enough	41	25.31
Just enough	105	64.81
More than enough	16	9.88
Total	162	100.00
Have savings		
Not enough	89	57.79
Just enough	55	35.71
More than enough	10	6.49
Total	154	100.00

TABLE 13
REMITTANCES AND THEIR USES

	Number	Percent
Send remittances to the Philippines?		
Yes	168	87.5
No	24	12.5
	192	100.0
Uses of remittances*		
Family's daily needs	138	69.0
Education of children, other family members	91	45.5
Buy/renovate house	39	19.5
Purchase of durable goods	29	14.5
Investment	14	7.0
Other	11	5.0

NOTE: *Based on multiple responses; each yes is considered in relation to N=200.

However, in Table 13, with the exception of 24¹¹ respondents (12.5 percent), the rest of the respondents sent money to the Philippines. Among the remitters, the most common way of sending money was through the banks (70.2 percent). Interviews with key informants connected with banks which operate in Barcelona and Madrid confirm the popular use of bank channels for sending remittances.

... As we started 14 years ago, our presence as a representative office is already acknowledged by the Filipinos. They know us. In the past, I had to go all over Spain where there are lots of Filipinos in order to meet them to do marketing and the bank of Spain has seen that we are a representative bank for the channelling of the remittance of the Filipinos here. But they did not come here to send us their money directly. They went to the Bank of Spain and deposit it in Bank A account but now they can come here directly. We are working with Spanish Bank 1 and Spanish Bank 2, which are in the Canary

¹¹ It is significant to remember that eight of the interviewees were not born in Spain and seven stated that they did not send the remittances directly, as their parents did this.

Islands. For example, they go directly to the bank and pay into our account, and they call us to say who it is for. There are many who have up to 20 beneficiaries, and they mention the name to identify who it is for.

Key informant, Madrid, 23 June 2008

... Bank B is one of the members of *Emprendedores* and as a remittance center, we provide services to the Filipino community; we receive their money and send it to the Philippines. We have a good relationship with the Filipino community here in Barcelona.

Key informant, Barcelona, 14 June 2008

Employees of banking institutions would contact influential Filipinos, who would then introduce the banks and their services to the Filipino community. In the course of conducting the research, we found women who had been in Spain for 30 years and who knew many immigrants. One of these women was interviewed as a key informant and she confirmed her collaboration with Bank B.

The second most popular method for remitting to the Philippines is through money transfer organizations, which were used by 28 percent of respondents and are also used by the other communities of immigrants. At this time, less formal means of remitting to the Philippines have become insignificant – less than two percent of respondents claimed that they sent their remittances through other means, including sending them through family members.

Associational Life in Spain

The activities of the associations are very varied, encompassing religious, sports, business, artistic and educational activities. A peculiarity of the Filipino community is the organizational structure of the associations. It is characterized by the fact that, although there are numerous associations, the majority of these are associated in a network. It turns out that there are associations in different areas, which belong to one umbrella association, which incorporates all of them and where the board of directors consists of



representatives of the most important associations. However, it was not like this since the beginning of the arrival of Filipinos in Spain. While since the 70s, migrants' associations were established, particularly by migrant women, only in the last decade one can see the creation of umbrella organizations. This is due to the strong will of the representatives of the Catholic Church in the main cities. It should be noted that the most decided and significant attempt of unification was undertaken in Barcelona. We found two attempts of networking of Filipino immigrants, namely, KALIPI in Barcelona and TAHANAN in Madrid. However, their establishment and structure are different. KALIPI was established as an attempt to unite different groups with no distinction of creed or kind of activities. On the opposite, TAHANAN works only within a Catholic environment. For instance, while KALIPI meets in the new building of the Philippine Consulate in Barcelona, TAHANAN meets in the Parish of Nuestra Señora del Espino. Nevertheless, both in Barcelona and Madrid, the main activity of the two umbrella organizations is the organization of the celebration of "Independence Day." The only difference is the fact that in Madrid, the group is not formally established as an umbrella organization, although they all work as a community, where all the groups are represented. In both Madrid and Barcelona, the Philippine Embassy and the Philippine Consulate General play a uniting role.

To achieve one of the main objectives of this study, several questions looked into the associational life of the study participants. Thus, we collected information on aspects such as how many associations respondents were part of; their role in the association and their level of involvement; and major projects or activities of the association both in Spain and the Philippines. The second set of issues concerned respondents' assessment of the association's success in achieving its goals, problems encountered, and identification of training needs. Lastly, we inquired on their membership with non-Filipino associations, motivations for joining such associations, and cooperation with the Philippine Embassy/Consulate, the Spanish government, and membership in non-Filipino associations, i.e., associations of other immigrant groups.

More than half of the respondents (57 percent) were either members or officers of a Filipino organization, which leaves a fairly

TABLE 14
REASONS FOR JOINING A FILIPINO ORGANIZATION*

	Number	Percent
To be with other Filipinos	63	55.3
To help other Filipinos	63	55.3
To be involved in projects of Filipinos in Spain	57	50.0
To be informed about issues re Filipinos in Spain	41	36.0
Was recruited by a family/friend	38	33.3
To have people to turn to	34	29.8
To be informed about issues in the Philippines	32	28.1

NOTE: *Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=114, the number of respondents who were members of a Filipino organization.

substantial 43 percent who were not part of any Filipino association. According to Table 14, the major reasons for joining a Filipino association were linked to respondents' interest to be with other Filipinos, to help fellow Filipinos and to know about issues concerning Filipinos in Spain. The response pattern suggests the strength of intra-ethnic links and mutual support. A smaller percentage (around 30 percent) answered that it was due to motives like the need to access information both in or about Spain or the Philippines, or the option of having something to do in their free time. Also, 33.33 percent stated that they have been recruited by a relative. Therefore, for the group, its survival and the possibility of being together determine membership with a Filipino association (see Table 14). Just as we will see in the concluding section where we comment on the results of the key informants much more thoroughly, we can see that what we have just confirmed clearly tallies with the responses of 40 key people in the Filipino community – that is, the Filipinos join associations in order to be together and help each other mutually.

To complete this descriptive panorama, the study also examined the range and extent of respondents' involvement with various Filipino associations. We asked respondents whether they belonged to several associations and whether they were members or officers in these organizations. As presented in Table 15, the majority (75.4 percent) were involved in one association; 18.4 percent were part of two associations; and 6.1 percent belonged to

TABLE 15
TYPE OF INVOLVEMENT IN FILIPINO ASSOCIATIONS

	Number	Percent
Involvement in only 1 association	86	75.4
As an officer	16	
As a member	70	
Involvement in 2 associations	21	18.4
As an officer in both	4	
As an officer in 1, as a member in the other	8	
As a member in both	9	
Involvement in 3 associations	7	6.1
As an officer in all 3 associations	0	
As an officer in 2, as a member in the other	3	
As an officer in 1, as a member in the 2 others	1	
As a member in all 3 associations	3	
Total	114	99.9

three associations. Of the 114 interviewees who joined Filipino associations, 25 were officers of one association and seven were officers of two associations. What is more, among these 25, 16 were not members or officers of other associations; eight were members of another association; and one was a member of two other associations. With respect to the seven officers of two associations, three were members of a third association, while four did not participate in other groups. Although there were a few respondents who were members of more than one association, the amount of participation, time and energy exerted by these few individuals is still surprising.

To complete the issue of greater or lesser participation than expected of the Filipino immigrants, we need to add the greater or lesser number of associations, and the level of involvement in the activities carried out. We asked directly how involved they were in their organizations. Eighty out of 114 respondents who participate in an association consider themselves active while only 21 respondents participate a little. As expected, the more associations one is a part of, the lower is their percentage of active participation. Although one must admit that there is a high level of involvement of the Filipino immigrants in the different activities of their associations.

The nature of the main projects that are carried out by the associations was examined. Based on the answers provided by 98 respondents (i.e., based on the first organization mentioned), the number one activity pursued by most organizations (66.3 percent) were religious activities; a far second, at 19.4 percent were cultural activities; and the remaining 14.3 percent were engaged in various activities – e.g., sports, services, financial programs or educational activities, mostly providing information about Spain or the Philippines.

The study was interested to know whether Filipino migrants' associations had some projects specifically addressing young Filipinos. According to the 114 respondents who were members of Filipino associations, only about half (51.75 percent) had youth programs while the other half had no such initiatives. Moreover, only 40 percent of key informants declared that the youth is a priority concern for them. This seems to be still a small percentage given the sizable population of second and third generations of Filipinos in Spain.

With respect to respondents' assessment (N=99) of the success of organizations in meeting their objectives, most of the respondents rated their organization "somewhat successful" (49.5 percent) to "very successful" (46.5 percent) in their programs. A small minority – four percent – assessed their organization's performance as "somewhat unsuccessful." Respondents' ratings were also asked about the second and third organizations to which they belonged. Only the results for the first organization are reported here since there were not too many cases for the second and third organizations.

Those who replied that the activities of their organizations as "somewhat successful" or "very successful" were asked about the factors that accounted for this outcome. Along these lines, the participants of the study were asked about the possible problems encountered by the Filipino organizations. Among the arguments put forward with great strength (64 percent) was the lack of financing (Table 16). In fact, majority of Filipino organizations are not even registered, that is, that they are not officially recorded with the Spanish government bodies, which leads to very limited access to economic resources. Effectively, when the leaders of the

TABLE 16
PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY FILIPINO MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS*

	Number	Percent
Lack of funds	73	64.0
Lack of support from members	39	34.2
Lack of support from the Filipino community	35	30.7
Relational problems among members	26	22.8
Lack of leadership	21	18.4
Ill-defined projects	21	18.4
Management problems	17	14.9

NOTE: *Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=114, the number of respondents who were members of a Filipino organization.

associations were asked what their main economic resource was, most of them said that they were financed by membership fees which range from 50 to 60 euros monthly. Other possible causes were the lack of support of members (34.2 percent) and the Filipino community (30.7 percent). The inter-personal problems between the people integrated in these organizations (22.8 percent) were also mentioned. It is interesting to point out that the interviewees make an effort for self-criticism when choosing the negative aspects related to the members, given that only 25 of the 114 respondents are officers, and that the options of "lack of leadership" and "management problems" which fall directly on the job of the leaders, were not selected from the choices.

When key informants were asked for their views (N=40) on the strengths and weaknesses of Filipino migrants' associations, they identified similar issues as the survey respondents, although the rankings differed. The negative aspects according to the majority were internal conflicts between members (58.3 percent); the lack of active participation of these members (16.7 percent); and the lack of financing (12.5 percent). Interestingly, it seemed that the leaders of the community felt that the lack of economic resources was not as fundamental as the relational aspects of the organization.

When the respondents were asked if the associations of immigrants need training, almost all of them are convinced that there is a need for such (88.6 percent). However, when asked to specify

TABLE 17
TOPICS ON WHICH FILIPINO MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS NEED TRAINING*

	Number	Percent
Financial management	63	55.3
Leadership	57	50.0
Project development	56	49.1
Communication skills	55	48.2
Networking	54	47.4
Links with government: Spain	51	44.7
Fundraising	50	43.9
Information technology	45	39.5
Links with government: Philippines	43	37.7

Note: *Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=114, the number of respondents who were members of a Filipino organization.

the topics on which migrants' associations needed training, the answers were varied - there is no answer greater than 55.3 percent nor lower than 37.7 percent in favor of one type of training as opposed to another (Table 17). As may be recalled, respondents pointed to financial matters as the primary problem of associations. Financial management topped the list of topics for the training of migrants' associations (55.3 percent). More concretely, the demands referred to the need to be instructed on aspects of management, fundraising and the search for economic resources, leadership and management, project development, communication skills, and the use of information technology. Also mentioned were collaborating and working with other networks, along with social skills necessary for building relationships with other institutions both in Spain and the Philippines. Therefore, the results indicate that this group of interviewees knew of these needs and gave them similar importance. The key informants (n=40) gave similar responses, though not identical. They stressed the need to enhance associations' knowledge of legal aspects necessary for legalizing the association (20 percent); application for resources¹² (20 percent); increasing leadership skills (20 percent); making investments

¹² Included in this category is training on application for projects as this implies a search for resources for financing the activities of the organization. Also implicit was the maintenance of the structure of the organization itself.

(16 percent); organizational concerns and communications technology (16 percent); and their capacity to contributing further to the better integration of Filipinos into Spanish life (8 percent). It seems that two new aspects emerged when we asked the community leaders: information on investments and setting up own businesses, and increasing knowledge of Spanish society.

When we asked about the cooperation of the Philippine Embassy with the Spanish government and other immigrant associations, the answers were not very encouraging. Not even half (45.61 percent) of the organizations listed first that they collaborated with the embassy and about 30 percent confirmed their cooperation with the Spanish government and other associations.¹³ As mentioned earlier, most associations are not registered as such in the "general record of associations" nor in the autonomous entities (Councils of Public Administration), let alone the state agencies (Ministry of Public Administration). However, being recognized by the Philippine Embassy is considered a plus by a far greater percentage (74.56 percent). In this aspect, 83.3 percent of the key informants say that the role of the Embassy is positive. This is shown by the following responses from the interviewees:

...They support us in the sense that we present a project and they want to see it in order to help us present it better, to follow the protocol and have it approved.

Interview, Barcelona, 20 June 2008

...The consulate, in collaboration with the church, is in charge of sending everything (donations) there (Philippines)

Interview, Barcelona, 16 June 2008

...They (Philippine embassy and consulate) help us to communicate among ourselves and to create links.

Interview, Barcelona, 17 May 2008

¹³ Since the organizations mentioned as second and third involved a few cases, the discussion is limited to the first organization.

TABLE 18
PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN BY FILIPINO MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES*

	Number	Percent
Livelihood assistance	23	20.2
Calamity assistance	22	19.3
Support to infrastructure projects	19	16.7
Educational materials & equipment	11	9.6
Feeding programs	5	4.4
Scholarship grants	3	2.6

Note: *Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=114, the number of respondents who were members of a Filipino organization (first organization only).

Another issue of interest for the MAPID research consists of knowing whether the associations have undertaken projects or activities in the Philippines.

As Table 18 suggests, in general, there is a low involvement in Philippine concerns. The projects that associations supported in the home country were those involving livelihood assistance (20.2 percent); assistance in times of disasters or natural calamities (19.3 percent); support to infrastructure projects (16.7 percent); and provision of school supplies or equipment (9.65 percent). Only the projects of the first association are reported because of the negligible observations for the second and third associations. Given the number of Filipino migrants' associations, the transnational linkages of their members and their registration with the Philippine Embassy, one would have expected more in terms of development projects supported in the Philippines by the same associations.

To go into this in greater depth, one will ask if this clear tendency to associate that the Filipino community possesses translates into active participation in Spanish associations. In this sense, we can confirm that this participation does not exist. In fact, only 14 people (7 percent) form part of a non-Filipino association. Of these, 11 do it only in one and 3 in two organizations. Among the reasons given to justify their membership are: to get involved in community projects and activities (57.1 percent); and to meet and help other people (35.7 percent).

On the investigation into the reasons for this lack of participation in non-Filipino associations, the most common justification

TABLE 19
REASONS FOR NOT JOINING A NON-FILIPINO ASSOCIATION*

	Number	Percent
No time	101	54.3
No information about the association	35	18.8
Not interested	27	14.5
Has not been approached or recruited	23	12.4
Doing well on one's own; does not see need to join	18	9.7
No other Filipino members	17	9.1

NOTE: *Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=186 respondents (14 did not provide information).

was "lack of time" (54.3 percent), followed by "lack of information on associations" (18.8 percent); or they were not interested (14.5 percent). About 12.4 percent said that they have not joined yet. Only 17 people (9.1 percent) do not need an association as they are surrounded by relatives and friends (Table 19).

Lastly, we asked about the respondents' general opinion on the usefulness of being in associations, both in the Spanish and Philippine environments. The interviewees felt that to belong to an association was beneficial to advance the concerns and interests of the Filipino community in Spain (78.5 percent) and that the associations can help in carrying out development projects in the Philippines (73.5 percent). Moreover, 64 percent of respondents agreed that a Filipino association is in a better position to help in development efforts in the Philippines compared to individual efforts. However, it was still remarkable that 36.5 percent of the group thought that an association could do more than individuals in supporting projects in the Philippines. According to the respondents, development in the Philippines depends on other factors, a view shared by many key informants, including those who were not members of an association. A comment by one of the key informants highlighted the role of the government:

...Why? Why do I have to help if the Philippines receive millions of dollars? The government is the one who needs to act. We have our own problems here.

Key informant, Barcelona, 31 May 2008

TABLE 20
LINKS TO THE PHILIPPINES*

	Number	Percent
Immediate family members	167	92.8
Other relatives	130	72.2
Friends	122	67.8
Love of country/ being Filipino	100	55.6
Good memories of the Philippines	98	54.5
Supporting some projects in the Philippines	50	27.8
Investments/businesses (planned)	30	16.7
Investments/businesses (actual)	24	13.3

Note: *Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=180 respondents (20 did not provide information).

Ties and Linkages with the Philippines

This section discusses the relationship of Filipino immigrants with the Philippines. The respondents were asked about the type of links that they maintained with their relatives and friends, the frequency and type of contacts they had with them, visits to the Philippines, participation in absentee voting, investments or plans to invest in the Philippines, and projects supported or plans to support development projects in the future. In summary, these questions are aimed at providing some indications on family ties and social engagement with the home country.

The first issue consists of determining the existence (or lack thereof) of relations with the Philippines. Except for 20 respondents (10 percent), the overwhelming majority reported to maintain links with the home country. Table 20 provides a picture of links and ties that Filipinos in Spain nurture in the Philippines. We also asked which types of ties. In this sense and as expected, the results are more conclusive when dealing with "emotional links." Thus, the closer the emotional ties, the larger the percentage: 93 percent indicated maintaining relationships with immediate family members; 72.2 percent with other relatives; 67.8 percent with friends; 55.6 percent keep ties due to a sense of belonging to the country of origin and regarding the Philippines as their home; and 54.4 percent had good memories of the Philippines. When we inquired whether economic plans had bearing on maintaining links

with the Philippines – notably if they had investments or were planning to invest – these were not as strong a link as the emotional ties: 13.3 percent and 16.7 percent, respectively, said they continue to have ties to the Philippines because of investments or plans to invest in the country. Similarly, having a philanthropic project in the Philippines was a factor in their links with the Philippines for about 28 percent of respondents.

Aside from these initial points, and according to the order of importance for the Filipino community, we go on to discuss more specific issues.

In Tables 21, 22 and 23, we find the frequencies of incidence relative to the issues about family in the Philippines. We can see in Table 23 that the majority of the sample has travelled to the Philippines in the last five years (78.5 percent). This indicates that they travel quite frequently to the Philippines, in spite of the enormous distance and economic cost. However, all of them keep contact with their family in the Philippines and most do so on a weekly basis (Table 24). With respect to the frequency of contact with their relatives, of the group as a whole, we found that the majority are three times a week (51.6 percent).

As seen in Table 25, the most popular method utilized for making contact is the telephone (93.8 percent), followed by e-mail (48.7 percent) and SMS messages (39.5 percent). Another method used, although less frequently, are the visits to the Philippines (25.13 percent). Less common methods of communication are: letters (7.7 percent), visits by relatives to Spain (7.7 percent) and videos (3.6 percent).

From this data, it appears that our group of interviewees keeps strong emotional ties with their relatives in the Philippines.

We now go on to discover the possible economic and socio-political links.

Firstly, we were interested in knowing if this closeness with relatives was due to interest in social events in the Philippines (Table 21); thus we found that 94.5 percent of the group was interested in hearing news from the country. The most usual way of receiving them is via news from friends and relatives (72 percent). The second is “the Internet” (49.2 percent), and the third is the Philippine

TABLE 21
MEANS OF MAINTAINING LINKS WITH THE PHILIPPINES*

	Number	Percent
News from family/friends	136	72.0
Internet	93	49.2
Subscription to Filipino TV channels	68	36.0
Visit to the Philippines	67	35.4
International broadcast and media (e.g., CNN, etc)	62	32.8
Newspapers/magazines produced by Filipinos in Spain	49	25.9
Filipino newspapers/magazines sold in Spain	32	16.9

NOTE: *Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=189 respondents (11 respondents who said they had no time or no interest in keeping track of events—outside of family matters - in the Philippines were excluded).

TABLE 22
LAST VISIT TO THE PHILIPPINES (AS OF DATE OF INTERVIEW IN 2008)*

	Number	Percent
Less than a year (2008)	33	17.6
1-2 years ago (2006-07)	73	39.0
3-5 years ago (2003-05)	41	21.9
6-7 years ago (2001-02)	23	12.3
8 years or more (2000 & earlier)	17	9.1
	187	99.9

NOTE: *Based on N=187 (13 respondents who had never visited the Philippines were excluded).

TABLE 23
ASPECTS OF PHILIPPINE LIFE OF INTEREST TO FILIPINOS IN SPAIN*

	Number	Percent
Family matters	171	87.2
Hometown events and news	113	57.5
Show business/celebrities	60	30.5
Politics (national/local)	54	27.6
Business opportunities	52	27.6
Sports	39	19.9

NOTE: * Based on multiple responses; each yes was relative to N=196 respondents (4 respondents who said they had no time or no interest to follow events in the Philippines were excluded).

TABLE 24
FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH FAMILY IN THE PHILIPPINES*

	Number	Percent
Once a month	53	28.8
1-3 times/week	95	51.6
4-7 times/week	28	15.2
More than once a day	8	4.3
	184	99.9

NOTE: *Based on N=184 (16 respondents who do not communicate with their family were excluded).

TABLE 25
MEANS OF CONTACTING FAMILY IN THE PHILIPPINES*

	Number	Percent
Telephone call	183	93.8
Email/chat	95	48.7
Texting/SMS	77	39.5
Visits to the Philippines	49	25.3
Visits to Spain	15	7.7
Letters	15	7.7
Video/tapes	7	3.6

NOTE: *Based on multiple responses; each year was relative to N=195 (5 respondents who did not provide information were excluded).

television channels (36 percent) and visits to the Philippines (35.45 percent). In fourth place is the “other non-Filipino television channels” (32.8 percent). Lastly, they contact relatives “by means of written communication,” both written by Filipinos in Spain going to the Philippines (25.9 percent) and brought from the Philippines for their relatives in Spain (16.9 percent).¹⁴

Secondly, we wanted to know what types of issues and current affairs in the Philippines are the most interesting for Filipinos in Spain. The top three topics (Table 22) that are of interest to respondents pertain to family matters (87.2), seconded by news

¹⁴ The five people who gave other responses said replied that they received Philippine news from “what my parents tell me,” “what my mom tells me,” “through the church,” “through the embassy of the Philippines” and “through the Spanish press.”

TABLE 26
PARTICIPATION IN ABSENTEE VOTING

	Number	Percent
Participated in absentee voting (2004, 2007)?		
Yes, at least once	26	13.3
No	170	86.7
	196	100.0
Reasons for not participating in absentee voting		
Not interested	65	42.8
Cannot vote/Spanish citizen	42	27.6
Did not register	29	19.1
Did not know about it	16	10.5
	152	100.0

and events concerning their hometown (57.5 percent), followed by news about showbusiness and celebrities (30.5 percent). Lesser interest was recorded for politics and business (27.6 percent) and sports-related news (19.9 percent).¹⁵ In general, therefore, respondents were drawn to updates that are in the realm of things that are most familiar to them, primarily their family circle and communities. This is also heavily influenced by the frequent contacts migrants have with their families in the Philippines.

Continuing with the links and ties that are maintained with the Philippines, a concrete expression of the perceived civic responsibility would be voting behaviour. Hence, we asked if they had voted in the Philippine elections since the enactment of the law on absentee voting in 2003. At the time of the study in 2008, there were two national elections (2004 and 2007) which provided opportunities for qualified overseas voters to cast their votes. The frequencies indicated in Table 26 show an extremely low participation in the political life of the Philippines. In fact, 86.7 percent did not vote; only 11.2 percent had done so at least once (four respondents voted in 2004 and 2007). Those who did not vote gave the following reasons, given in order of importance, for not exercising their right to vote: not interested (42.8 percent); not registered/

¹⁵ Only one interviewee gave an "other" response, which pertained to news about economic recovery.

Spanish citizen (27.6 percent); did not register (19.1 percent); and did not have information about it (10.5 percent). In light of these results, it is clear that there is not much interest in exercising the right to vote.¹⁶ Interviews with key informants revealed the positive and negative light in which absentee voting is regarded in the Filipino community in Spain. All the key informants were asked directly about the contributions of the law on absentee voting in strengthening the links of Filipino migrants with the Philippines. The result was that 40.06 percent or 13 key informants see this possibility as positive. However, the immigrant community, or at least those whom we interviewed, does not see these issues as clearly positive. It is also true that 11 key informants (34.4 percent) doubt the efficiency of this manner of voting. Some of the positive and negative aspects they gave are given below.

Those who viewed absentee voting positively gave the following reasons:

Voting is important as Filipinos from here contribute a lot to life in the Philippines with their remittances, thus, they have the right to participate in the politics.

Key informant, Barcelona, 31 May 2008

We have been working for the right of the migrants to vote for years, but it seems we don't have a voice until we have the vote.

Key informant, Barcelona, 31 May 2008

We can do it and this makes us feel closer to our country.

Key informant, Barcelona, 16 June 2008

Those who were sceptical or negative about absentee voting expressed the following views:

¹⁶ The interview with a key informant (31 May 2008, Barcelona) was cited, wherein the disadvantages of applying for Filipino nationality were related.

Of course, up to a point, I don't know how many voted nor how many could, but I think there is some indifference, I think it was a worldwide failure, as they thought many would vote but no, no. I think it is due to despondency, as it is happening there and they think the same.

Key informant, Madrid, 14 June 2008

It doesn't help me at all, as to who are you going to vote for if you don't know, how can you decide? Us? We only know their names, nothing else.

Key informant, Madrid, 20 June 2008

No, no, no but the Embassy is only interested in the organizations when there are fiestas, like the one you saw, as they (organizations) work as volunteers. Vote in the Philippines? I don't know but...no, as I think everyone who comes here doesn't care as the government is not important. Survival is important and that their family survives there.

Key informant, Madrid, 25 June 2008

Well, no, as they call us when they want something. Voting means nothing to me as I'm far from the Philippines.

Key informant, Madrid, 15 June 2008

No, it will help, I don't know, to gain votes but what advantages does the law have for those who are living here? Vote for someone in another country, yes, but in principle, I have not voted.

Key informant, Madrid, 24 June 2008

In summary, it can be said that there exists a fair amount of distrust and pessimism, including those who see the right to vote in their country of origin as positive.

TABLE 27
MIGRANT GIVING AND INVESTMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

	Number	Percent
Had received requests to support a project in the Philippines?		
Yes	71	35.5
No	129	64.5
	200	100.0
Had supported a project in the Philippines?		
Yes	81	40.5
No	119	59.5
	200	100.0
Plans to support a project in the Philippines in the future?		
Yes	115	57.5
No	85	42.5
	200	100.0
Plans to start a business in the Philippines?		
Yes	85	42.5
No	115	57.5
	200	100.0

Table 27 provides additional insight on other possible links – through migrant giving and investments – migrants have with the Philippines. A little more than a third of respondents (35.5 percent) had received requests soliciting their support for projects in the Philippines. Some 40 percent said they had actually provided support to projects back home. In the future, 58 percent of respondents had plans to support Philippines-based projects. With respect to their interest in possible investments, it could be described as moderate. Some 43 percent said that they were planning to start a business, either individually or as part of a group. It is significant to note that the interest to give back something to the home country is greater than the interest in lucrative economic investments, although both are a lot greater than interest or participation in political issues of the country.

III. The Capacity Building Programs

Topics Covered

During the second meeting of the MAPID Project in the Philippines in February 2009, the topics to be developed in the capacity-build-

ing seminars were decided upon. The research findings presented by the coordinators in Italy and Spain manifested common aspects of the Filipino community in the two countries. Speaking of Filipino associations overseas (FAOs), the limitations observed in both countries were lack of leadership, internal conflicts, and a dearth in economic resources which greatly reduced the effectiveness of the local and transnational activities of these organizations.

Another trait shared by the Filipino communities in both countries can be seen in the very strong ties with the families they left behind as manifested by regular remittances and donations in times of disasters. In the two countries, the rate of undocumented immigrants is insignificant and the local population generally regarded Filipinos in a very positive light.

The difference between Italy and Spain could be found in the activities carried out by Filipinos. In Italy, the majority are employed as domestic workers while in Spain, a significant number have found work in the hotel and restaurant sector and some even consider this job as freelance work. The level of integration is higher in Spain and more Filipinos had acquired citizenship, which is facilitated by the easy access in obtaining Spanish citizenship as the Philippines was once Spain's colony. In fact, almost two-thirds of respondents had Spanish citizenship, and only very few were interested in having dual citizenship. The majority of the associations were not recognized by Spanish institutions although the respondents expressed a desire to cooperate with local autonomous and national governments.

During the brainstorming, the project team deliberated and decided on the topics to be discussed in the sessions. After gathering all the proposals which came up during the meeting, the ones which got the highest assessment from the working group were selected. The suggestions of the coordinators from Spain and Italy were fundamental in coming up with a decision, considering the similarities as well as the differences in the research findings in the two countries.

The topics were divided into three sections. The introductory section was devoted to presentations about the project and the principal findings of the research. The second part was dedicated to the strengthening of the organizations and the third part focused

on migration and co-development. Each section was broken down into different modules that delved in-depth into the various aspects. The details of each module by section are the following:

- Introduction (2 hours)
 - o Registration of selected candidates
 - o Presentation of the MAPID Project (Project Director and Country Coordinator)
 - o The link between international migration and development: increase of independence, sustainable development, co-development (Project Director and Country Coordinator)
 - o Presentation of the principal research findings in Italy, Spain and the Philippines (Project Director and Country Coordinator)

- Strengthening of the Organization(14 hours)
 - o Human resources: conflict mediation, strategies of work groups, leadership management, transparency and results, communication skills (4 hours)
 - o Economic and financial management of an organization, accounting, organizational management and logistics (2 hours)
 - o The processes of official recognition of Filipino associations by local authorities, project development, implementation and evaluation, presentation of different sources of financial opportunities, fund-raising (6 hours)
 - o Creation of networks among Filipino associations and with different actors (institutions from the Philippines, institutions in Spain, trade unions, local NGOs, etc.), increase of visibility of the Filipino community (for example, websites, communication skills, cultural presentations, participation in local events, etc.) (2 hours)

- Migration and Development (10 hours)
 - o Financial knowhow, investment opportunities, remittance channels, savings and special programs and options for

- Filipino workers, insurances, retirement programs, real estate, etc. (existing and prospective initiatives) (4 hours)
- o Mapping of different agencies involved with migration and development, presentation of the services offered, assessment of practices (workshop), dual citizenship, absentee voting, new structures of consultation (2 hours)
- o Business knowhow, business capacity-building, feasibility studies, tutorial programs, microcredit and other credit opportunities, social enterprises, programs offered by Spanish institutions (2 hours)
- o Presentation of "good practices" (those documented in MAPID-Philippines and other examples, such as Mexico's *tres por uno* program) of local development and co-development through networks and establishment of networks of mutual cooperation among the different actors (2 hours)

Assessment of the Training Program

With the objective of evaluating the course from the perspective of the participants, a questionnaire was formulated that included the following sections: General data on the participants (sex, age, position in the Filipino association, previous trainings attended); overall evaluation of the course; organization of the course; venue and facilities; quality of the contents; usefulness of the sessions and the topics discussed; usefulness of the application of the contents in their organization; resource speakers and feedback of the seminar (evaluation of the capacity building to work with other Filipino associations, Philippine institutions, Spanish institutions; it also evaluated the structural improvement of the organization and capacity building to cooperate with the Philippines). The evaluation also gathered information on the level of satisfaction on the various aspects.

In summary, it can be said that the great majority of the participants were fully satisfied with the sessions and found them thorough, as evidenced by their questions and interests. The assessment was positive: the participants took advantage of the sessions

and thought of using the knowledge acquired to facilitate their work. One can say that the great majority of the participants learned a lot and gained knowledge which can be of use in the work of their associations in promoting and contributing to Philippine development.

The evaluation form also invited participants to share other qualitative comments about the training program. Although not everyone provided information,¹⁷ those who did made comments about the capacity building in general, the facilities, the organization of the training program, content of the program, and the resource speakers; they also offered suggestions and recommendations. In general, the content of the qualitative data is highly positive. A summary of the information gathered will be detailed below.

The MAPID training program was the first ever seminar attended by some participants. Those who had participated in other training programs considered their training limited or different to the MAPID seminar: "I have participated in activities like this but they have been very limited", "I attended a seminar on starting companies and cooperatives last year", or "The other topics that have been dealt with are completely new for me."

About 72 percent of the sample expressed some opinion on the general evaluation of the capacity building program. The answers given reflected a positive evaluation of the organization of the program, the contents, the speakers, and the topics that were tackled. Some comments stood out: "Very well organized," "...it is a guide to improve more," "I like it," "very satisfactory," "...all the professors answered clearly and precisely our questions," etc.

With regard to the organization of the program, a couple of congratulatory remarks are worth mentioning: "Well-organized and flexible," "Congratulations," "I'm satisfied with the effort of the organizers of the course." Only three of the 23 comments gave a constructive criticism, urging that more time and other suggestions to improve the training: "limited resources for the workshops," "lack of time to develop the content"; "more time is needed to digest all

¹⁷ Only 50 percent of respondents.

the materials presented," "more time is needed to develop this activity; "to understand more and better, we lacked time for discussion..."

Majority of the participants considered the facilities adequate, as indicated by comments such as "perfect, especially the lunch time;" "good enough," "yes, the room and the facilities were adequate..." "adequate" and "perfect."

The same was true about the responses on the contents: "very good"; "I have learned good ideas on human resources"; "very good, the contents are very interesting;" "...the presentations were well explained." The not so positive evaluation of the contents, as found in one of the comments, had been influenced by the participants' level of Spanish: "The presentations in Spanish are a bit tedious, perhaps because there are words that I don't understand. I should attend more conferences in Spanish."

The participants planned to make use of the information and the resources of the program in their organization: "Yes", "of course. I would like to share my knowledge of this seminar to my fellow members in the association"; "Yes, because they are essential for the resources;" "Yes, to improve and contribute with what I have learned."

Fifty-three percent of the sample provided some qualitative data to describe the resource speakers. Their comments revealed great satisfaction not only in their professionalism (comments like "excellent;" "very good;" "...good enough;" "the speakers have been very effective, good communicators") but also in terms of their interpersonal skills, through remarks such as "all the speakers have been very attentive and they motivated us;" "...they have been approachable to us."

In the section "Feedback on the Seminar," those who expressed their opinion all agreed that all the topics tackled in the seminar have increased their motivation to network with other Filipino associations: "With this seminar I have realized that we should unite together and cooperate. We should also recognize other leaders and groups"; "This has motivated me more to work with other associations"; "...the success of one is the success of all, it is enjoyable to work together." They also declared that the matters tack-

led in the seminar had boosted their desire to work with Philippine institutions (“yes, there is a lot of support for the Filipino community”; “can motivate for growth”; “Yes. It has provided good information and examples”) and their Spanish counterparts: “It has motivated us to move forward;” “We need more information about the programs of the Spanish government”; “Right now, I don’t know but later on I will.”

Moreover, the topics taken up in the training program have increased the capacity to strengthen the structure of their own organization: “very good;” “yes and much more;” “support to strengthen an organization to obtain better results;” “I need to work more for the group so we could advance our objectives;” “If an organization is more or less in order, at least this seminar has given us accurate knowledge as compared to those which are just transmitted by word of mouth and our objectives.” These statements provide indications that the seminar increased the associations’ interest to promote the development of the Philippines.

Lastly, participants were invited to give their other observations and suggestions. A number of positive observations were noted: “The seminar has helped us a lot, we hope that this is not the last;” “I have learned a lot in this four-day seminar and I hope to participate in the next seminar.” “All the organizers and the professors are excellent;” “I thank MAPID for this seminar which has enlightened me in many things”; “Very interesting. Very informative and helpful to increase productivity.” The suggestions mentioned showed the demand for more related seminars in the future: “Please start similar activities very soon!” and “Please make a monitoring plan.”

Major Outcomes of the Training Programs

Our assessment is that MAPID had fully accomplished its objectives. As a pioneering effort to establish ties with the Filipino community in Spain with the expressed aim of imparting knowledge and building the capacity of Filipino associations, MAPID not only accomplished transfer of knowledge, but it also encouraged Filipino associations to work together. This was clearly captured by proposals advanced by the participants and which will be realized

in the next few months. We saw how the participants started developing projects and activities based on information that they themselves gathered.

The last part of the evaluation of the capacity building program provided indications on future what participants wanted to achieve in the future. These are outlined below:

A. Increase in motivation to network with other Filipino associations

During the seminar, some problems that impeded the cooperation and interrelationship among organizations were noted and therefore umbrella organizations in both cities (TAHANAN in Madrid and KALIPI in Barcelona) were having a hard time carrying out their respective functions.

In the workshop, the following problem areas, with a view to strengthening local networking, were threshed out:

Barcelona: lack of communication; selfishness; lack of confidence; lack of sincerity; weak network connections; diminished identity; lack of time; competition; personal and religious differences; discriminatory attitudes; and "regionalism."

Madrid: lack of unity among organizations; lack of communication; lack of time; sporadic work habits; preference to work over membership in organization; fear of forming groups and organizations due to legal status in Spain; lack of information dissemination among Filipinos; lack of funds in some organizations; language barriers; lack of support and moral convictions; mistrust; arrogance and defensive attitude; superiority complex; spreading rumors; tardiness; lack of good projects; system deterioration; loss of popularity; and organizational politicking.

In the same workshop, the participants expressed some setbacks in establishing relationships with umbrella networks in other countries, namely:

Barcelona: lack of financial resources; lack of training; lack of human resources; overworked leadership; lack of awareness about legal matters and migrant rights; discrimination: moral, racial, labor and social (internationally); immigration laws; European and Spanish laws; right-wing governments; immigrants as scapegoats of the global recession.

Madrid: lack of information and communication among Filipino groups and organizations in the international community and in the Philippines; lack of funds; lack of time among Filipinos; lack of commitment; cultural attitude: envy of successful ones; lack of resolve; self-serving and power-hungry attitude; difficulty in unification due to ideological differences; relationship problems among group members; lack of confidence; lack of coordination; and lack of support from Filipino institutions.

After a thorough reflection and analysis of the situation, the participants expressed interest in participating in other seminars and similar for where they could share their problems and build a better functioning organizational network. As stated, 97 percent affirmed an increase in motivation to do networking with other Filipino organizations. Besides, during the second half of the workshop designed to carry out the proposals geared towards creation of programs jointly with development, the participants' response was encouraging. Most of the participants completely agreed rather than just agreed with carrying out this proposal jointly among all organizations in attendance. In addition, the creation of links with Filipino organizations in Italy was also proposed.

The positive, supportive and inspiring attitude was also shown in the workshop. When the strong points of the organizational network, nationally as well as internationally had to be verbalized, the following were noted:

Barcelona: Local-national network: cooperation; better relationship; unity; open communication; sharing of learning experiences; member and non-member benefits.

International network: voluntarism; united culture among Filipinos; the important role of the Catholic Church to foster unity; network establishment among Filipinos in Europe and at home; proper representation, active participation especially in matters of immigration in Europe.

Madrid: Local-national network: Filipino hospitality; the value of the family (with respect to physical and economic support); piety; the importance of faith; humanitarianism; unity; hardworking; creativity and ingenuity; developing projects to support the Filipino community and reform of the political system to create a more appropriate social environment.

International network: hospitable and generous; spiritual values; concern for others; hardworking, versatile and flexible especially to those who work outside of their country of origin; necessity to be in a group; need to identify self with a group.

B. Increase in the motivation to network with other Filipino institutions

In general, it can be stated that the present situation of the Filipino community in Spain is characterized by a lack of cooperation among the different organizations and in relation to the Philippine government agencies. In fact, the programs and activities carried out by the Filipino associations are focused on the Filipino community present in Spain, and had minimal attention that will benefit the country of origin. The only sort of cooperation that we have been able to detect among Filipinos and the community in Spain consists in sending money and funds through remittances in case of natural disasters or other emergencies.

The deep and collective migrant mistrust towards the Philippine institutions has resulted in the absence of dialogues between the two parties. The activities organized by MAPID have become a venue for gathering the entire community and the representatives of the Philippine government in Spain, setting the basis for future collaborative efforts. This is not only seen in the organizations but also among the Philippine institutions, as shown by the comments

and suggestions indicated by the participants, such as the following: "how to deliver aid through different entities;" "whom to count on;" and "agencies that work for the sector." Three participants were interested to know "how to receive adequate information from our partners" and how to "work more on the situation of the Filipino community."

From our perspective, one of the most important achievements of the capacity building program lies in the fact that everyone, in spite of misunderstandings and conflicts, was able to sit down together in order to devise projects to be participated in by Filipino associations and also by government representatives.

The participation of a representative from Commission on Filipinos Overseas (one of the MAPID partners) helped reduce the misconceptions of the Filipino community in Spain about government agencies back home. The presentation of the programs developed by the CFO has roused the interest of the leaders who participated in the training programs. The comments in the evaluation confirmed this trend. All participants who replied completely agreed rather than just simply agreed with the fact that these activities have increased the motivation to do networking with Philippine agencies (100 percent). The same level of interest was expressed in relation to other Filipino organizations (77.14 percent 'totally agreed' while 20 percent 'just agreed'). The activities of the participants were focused on projects which could be carried out with the CFO or other bodies, with the aim of favoring Philippine development as well as seeking more information and knowledge about co-development.

C. Increase in the motivation to network with Spanish agencies

During the seminar, it was found and confirmed that efforts in contacting Spanish agencies were very limited due to difficulties encountered in dealing with the bureaucracy, specifically with communication, since most of the Filipino associations did not possess adequate mastery of the Spanish language. Similarly, another difficulty was the lack of know-how on Spanish laws, further complicating the matter. One of the most frequent requests for future

seminars was the inclusion of practical activities focused on the possibilities for finding resources, recognition of organizations, businesses, projects, investments, etc. The possibility of economic strengthening and increasing human resources by means of establishing cordial ties with Spanish social agencies and agents encouraged many participants. Many (93.34 percent) said that the seminar opened avenues to build working relationships with Spanish society.

D. Increase in the capacity to strengthen the organizational structure of Filipino associations

As stated earlier, the response to the activity that was presented to the participants has been highly positive, especially the part aimed at strengthening the structure of the organization itself. Some commented that "the reinforcement of an organization helps to obtain better results"; "I need to work more for the group in order to make progress in our objectives"; "It's good that an organization is put, more or less, into order, at least it has given us accurate knowledge on the subject as against those transmitted by word of mouth...". In fact, (97 percent) almost everyone agreed that what was learned in the seminar will make their organization stronger.

In a workshop identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT), qualitative information relevant to this sub-section was gathered. The fragility of Filipino associations was attributed to the following causes:

Barcelona: work is a priority; earning to help the family back home; takes precedence over functions in the organization; some leaders protect self-interest before that of the organization; some leaders are members of several organizations; some organizations do not want to participate in common activities, and demand exclusive membership and are isolated from the rest; indifference; criticisms and negativisms (instead of accepting the success of others, they are being criticized negatively and feel slighted and disheartened); some newly arrived leaders construe that their ideas and opinions are being rejected for lack of con-

fidence; new leaders have the tendency to try to adapt norms and experiences which may not be acceptable in Spain; strong and domineering personalities; information is localized and does not reach all; belief in gossip; lack of orientation and training; lack of interest and apathy; lack of a spacious venue for the activities of the different organizations; possibility of having contact with radio and television; pre-existing prejudices – unpleasant experiences about some leaders; rejection; submissiveness to what others say; divisiveness; ineptness; pride; oversensitivity and negative reaction towards constructive criticisms.

Madrid: Lack of information and training of association officers; legal processes of associations; incompatibility with their work; lack of means; lack of integration; lack of project planning; lack of funds; no location for development of activities; lack of execution and implementation of projects and divisiveness in the association.

However, on the other hand, there are also reasons for optimism, which can be attributed to the following aspects:

Barcelona: cohesion as a group of immigrants and Filipinos abroad; commitment to work and appointment; capacity of leaders; the majority of Filipinos are concentrated in *Ciutat Vella* (which makes it easy to mobilize the community); announcement in the Church reaches a lot of the faithful; the primary objective of the association is to provide services to the most needy; the leaders are open and available for dialogue; there are many subsidies available for joint projects; recognition on the part of the Spanish population; the common goal is to give Filipinos an honorable image.

Madrid: collaboration and coordination among associations when there are catastrophes; capacity to find human and economic resources; cooperation to reach a common goal; solidarity during difficult and problematic situations; capacity to help people in times of need; desire to embark on

new projects; strengthening of associations; visibility and participation in the local, national and international scene and positive contribution to the receiving country and organization and capacity to work for the common interest.

E. Increase in the motivation to promote development in the Philippines

According to participants, the MAPID training provided them and their organizations knowledge and enhanced their capacity to in promote development in the Philippines. In fact, all the participants affirmed that the seminar motivated them to develop projects in the Philippines.

Since their birth, Filipino associations have lived up to its role in uniting the community. However, the internal conflicts in different associations, together with lack of time, resources and information have prevented the organizations from attaining significant achievements. Activities in the form of support programs, especially to those who have just arrived in Spain, are fundamental. The same goes with activities that preserve the culture, language and Filipino customs. The ideal activity could serve as a stepping stone and a support towards Philippine development with more organized programs which do not limit themselves to remittances or donations during calamities but instead increase the possibility to be protagonists or partners in Philippine development so that future generation can have the option to stay or migrate not because of necessity.

One of the direct effects of the MAPID Project could be found in the willingness of the leaders to commit to the programs they themselves expressed interest in. The MAPID seminars were only the start. Soon after, meeting took place in Barcelona, to discuss future plans. The follow-up meeting on 10-11 November 2009 included some leaders of the community in Barcelona and in Madrid, Dr. Edelia Villarroya (Spain coordinator) and Dr. Maruja Asis (Philippines coordinator) to discuss future collaboration. The concerns over the children and the youth were the central theme of the dialogue. In particular, those who were present underscored the importance of setting up an intervention and psycho-social pro-

gram, with the possible involvement of schools, Filipino associations, the Church, Spanish and Filipino government institutions and universities. Aside from this proposed intervention, another result which emerged during this meeting was the proposal to organize a meeting among youth from Barcelona and Madrid to establish links among them and to encourage the youth to develop programs that meet their needs. The tentative date for this activity was originally planned for February 2010 – it has since been re-scheduled. Most likely it will be held in Toledo.

Proposals for Follow-up Activities

Lastly, we would like to highlight that the stimulating discussion and interest of Filipino associations in the two cities produced specific, feasible and inspiring proposals for the future. We would like to describe them in the form of conclusions from two years of work, which started with a research about the Filipino community, which is more or less unknown, at least for the local Spanish population, and concluding with several proposals presented below.

After attending the meeting undertaken in Barcelona on 19-20 September and 3-4 October 2009, the signatories declared their intentions to implement the following joint proposals, which were formulated in the workshops and plenary sessions:

First: The need to externalize effectively those which were learned during the seminar and to continue with the deepening and developing of SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis among associations and network of associations considered was highlighted.

Second: There was a request to extend the MAPID Project in order to carry out a monitoring process of strengthening the development of associations and provide a structural possibility of continuing these meetings among leaders and support future networking.

Third: The need to organize seminars, courses and workshops was reinforced. For these, it is necessary to look for a venue which

allows for these kinds of meetings. The primary topics proposed were leadership management and capacity-building and basic legal knowledge on labor and migratory issues.

Fourth: To assure better dissemination of information and promote mechanisms of exchange of opinions, the creation of a newsletter and website was proposed.

Fifth: The importance of involving the whole Filipino community in this educational process, especially the youth, was given primacy.

Sixth: It was proposed to have additional training of association leaders in Madrid, Milan and Rome. A first meeting was suggested to be held in Rome/Milan or Valencia.

Seventh: It was proposed to establish an "observatory" which could monitor the changes within the Filipino immigrant community.

Eight: The promotion of Filipino culture and the defense of dignity of immigrant Filipinos as well as the search for resources for projects of cooperation with the Philippines by Filipino associations was proposed.

Similarly, after attending the meeting undertaken in Madrid on 26-27 September and 17-18 October 2009, the signatories declared their intentions to implement the following joint proposals, which were formulated in the workshops and plenary sessions:

First: The call was made for a follow-up training for leaders which was started by the MAPID Project. More seminars, courses and workshops, roundtable discussions and movie-forums should be organized in the future.

Second: The participation of different institutions in the training of immigrant Filipinos was deemed essential. An updating of topics of interest to the Filipino community and the need to set up a permanent training on legal issues were proposed.

Third: To assure the permanent flow of information in the community, the need for a magazine and a Web site, in which the different activities of Filipino associations are published, was put forward.

Fourth: The intensification of links among different institutions and agencies (Filipino and Spanish) and the associations of Filipino migrants in order to achieve the same goals and future projects was urged.

Fifth: It was proposed, on one hand to strengthen the links among Filipino associations in Spain, and on the other, intensify networking with others that can be found in other countries. A first meeting with other Filipinos in Spain and Italy was proposed.

Sixth: The need to dedicate efforts to projects and activities intended to improve the quality of life of the youth, especially the second generation, was considered.

Seventh: The need to establish a cultural-civic center where different activities can be organized such as providing legal and financial information as well as organizing meetings and other cultural activities was brought up.

Eighth: The desire to promote Filipino values and culture, taking into account the unity the Philippines possesses amidst its cultural diversity, was also tackled.

Ninth: It was concluded that it would be desirable to create an atmosphere of fellowship and acceptance, promoting healthy competition.

Tenth: It was suggested that the Filipino leaders in Europe maintain permanent contact with local authorities and NGOs in the Philippines.

IV. Lessons Learned from the MAPID Project

Once the data from the research part have been analyzed, we turn now to reflect on the findings and insights and what they suggest about the participation of immigrants in associations and the Filipino community in promoting and supporting development in the Philippines.

First, it is important to know more about the community of Filipino immigrants in Spain, their situation in the country, the expectations they foresee in the future, the level of solidarity they have within their group, and their level of integration in Spain's social life. The objective is to understand what type of relations are maintained with Filipino and Spanish institutions and above all, the influence of the associations of immigrants in all these aspects.

Second, it is fundamental to know the conditions that promote or paralyze the transnational practices of individuals, either on their own or as members of groups, and which circumstances should be present in order to make the immigrants more active agents in the development of their country of origin.

The final objective is to discover the determinants that influence the associations to be active agents of development. Because of this, a reflection is needed on the strengths and weaknesses of these associations, and on the representation of and influence they have on the community. We are especially interested in discovering if their "view" is pointed towards their country of origin with hope for change.

Current Conditions and Future Prospects of Filipinos in Spain

If we do a systematic portrayal of the Filipino immigrants in Spain,¹⁸ we can say that it is a group where there are more women than men, and with an average of 40 years of age. Almost all respondents and key informants are of the first generation. Around half are married with mainly Filipino partners¹⁹ and the other half are

¹⁸ As earlier indicated, we were dealing with 200 immigrants and 40 key informants only.

¹⁹ As will be recalled, only 12.1 percent have a Spanish partner.

single, separated or widowed. Some 62 percent have children and the majority was not born in Spain. Almost all have religious beliefs and most are Catholic, and more than half of the respondents in the survey went to university.

Their current work oscillates between domestic employment and restaurant work. Regular employment prevails (full-time work). Business enterprise is very infrequent. There is very little unemployment as well. Filipinos are considered to be hard workers, and highly valued by their new country. Their jobs before leaving their country of origin were fundamentally in less skilled and administrative jobs, but in no case did they work in domestic employment before. For the majority, their migration to Spain was their first experience of migration. Their legal situation is stable. In fact, 57 of the survey respondents were Spanish and 62 had dual nationality. About 80 percent of those who did not fall in either category said they were "in the process" of obtaining Spanish nationality. The others, apart from two, had permanent residency permit. Although they were aware of the possibility of having dual nationality, at least as provided for by the Filipino government since 2004, very few have benefitted from this possibility. Based on the inputs of the key informants, many who kept both nationalities (30 people stated that they have double nationality) got the Spanish one before 2004.

Coming from a former colony of Spain, Filipinos have a shorter residence requirement – two years – to apply for Spanish citizenship without a doubt, this facility should aid Filipinos towards full integration into Spanish society, at least with respect to the Spanish government.

Regarding the migratory project, it appears that the main motive was to earn more money and help the family. The family plays a very active role in most cases. The various modes used in entering Spain were through a tourist or work visa. The incidence of irregular immigration is very low. Generally, it is only the sailors who arrived at Spanish ports or immigrants from other European countries who came to Spain when the period of allowed stay in those countries has expired and they become irregular migrants. The first immigrants in the study arrived in the mid-1960s and were mostly women. The arrival of the "major component" of the present

community occurred in the 1980s and 1990s. The average number of years of stay is 14.54 years. The provinces of arrival were Barcelona and Madrid and the consequent movement of this group was minimal. Thus, they have stayed in the province of arrival up until now.

Most of the migrants owned a house or rented a house/apartment with relatives. Only 23 people lived as "interns" in the houses of their boss or employer. The houses and expenses were usually shared with relatives.²⁰ To summarize, more or less half of the respondents lived with relatives while the others did not. Yet, almost half had not left relatives alone in the Philippines. The incidence of children living in the Philippines is minimal. Only 18 immigrants had tasked people to look after their children in their country of origin and it was usually the husband or wife who did so.

Their monthly income ranged from 1000-3000 euro, and the majority felt that this was sufficient to cover their living costs in Spain and help their relatives in the Philippines.

In general, the migratory experience was viewed positively. The current situation was viewed as far better than that before leaving their country of origin, both as individuals and for their families.

Regarding the future perspectives perceived by the community, it could be said that over half was satisfied with their work and was not thinking of changing their occupation in the future, although 40-50 percent still thought of doing so. It appears that the community was divided in terms of social and work mobility. Some of the most common reasons given to justify the immobility, at least with respect to domestic work,²¹ were lack of knowledge about the language and the ease in finding that type of work, which was seen as safe and economical in the short-term.

However, this hesitation to change occupations disappears among the second generation. In fact, the hopes of the young are directed towards change in occupation. Still, this is not always the

²⁰ The average number of people per house is 4.5 and mainly consists of the husband and children. There are 30 percent who live with one or two siblings and few with their parents (22.4 percent), although we also find immigrants who live alone (17 percent).

²¹ As earlier indicated, only 37 percent of the respondents were domestic workers.

case. Rather, this is one of the important concerns expressed by the community. Among the "advice" they would give to the young people is to go to university, learn Spanish, and acquire Spanish nationality and professional training. It is obvious that the first generation immigrants and/or parents have aspirations for their offspring, but it seems that they are of little influence to them and this continues to be alarming for them. Above all, one should keep in mind the level of studies obtained by the community of the first generation, as almost all of them (87.5 percent) had attained relatively higher education levels. This was confirmed by the key informants when they said that the long working hours of the parents had led to a loss of authority and a poor transmission of values and beliefs to the younger generation. These are expressed by key informants below:

There is also a problem about the education of children because the father works in a restaurant and the mother works in the house as a domestic worker. So the children are at home alone, no parents to tell them the correct values, no parents to tell them to go to school so what we see are problems with the second generation.

Key informant, Barcelona, 30 May 2008

Well, in my family, the first to arrive was my husband and a year later he brought me here and after 12 years we brought our four children here. We got them into schools here. It was difficult, this is the problem. At first, the ministry of education of the Philippine government and that of the Spanish Government did not agree about education, thus it was very hard to get into the schools here and to continue with the studies of our children. You have to start again, as with my son, who had started his architecture studies in the Philippines but he cannot finish it here, so he started here again and as he was getting older when he was here studying for three years, he returned to the Philippines to finish there. But now

he is here again. This is the problem of the Filipinos who have an education..."

Key informant, Madrid, 7 June 2008

The most important thing is that nowadays, the young do not want to work at home. They are studying to get their degree and work as a doctor, teacher and all that. And it is good. We are in a good time for the young as we can no longer study. The new generation does not want to follow their parents working at home and this is good thinking for the young. Regarding integration we are totally integrated.

Key informant, Barcelona, 28 June 2008

According to the key informants, the issues concerning the elderly were not among those that the Filipino community in Spain worried about. However, we found the following concerns from the respondents in the research in order of importance: work (50 percent), young people (40 percent), and integration (32.5 percent).

At the level of the individual, the immigrants thought of success, finding happiness and having a business as objectives for the future.

In terms of goals to achieve for the family, they worried about the future of their children and the well-being and financial stability of their families, both in the Philippines and in Spain.

Regarding the future of the Filipino community in Spain, according to the key informants, 78 percent expected immigrants to keep on arriving and one of the reasons was that the country was a good destination as it facilitated the acquisition of nationality. Thus, one could gain mobility throughout the European Community via Spain. About 44 percent of the key informants foresaw positive changes for the community; and 85 percent stated that more highly skilled Filipino immigrants would arrive. These expectations are underscored by the following comments:

Professionals are coming, but not all have the patience to start studying again to validate their degrees.

Key informant, Madrid, 24 June 2008

There are already many engineers. Many come from Singapore. They are Filipino and are working for Singapore. Probably for agencies here that get workers, there are lesser requirements if they come from Singapore than if they come from the Philippines. I do not know why. It seems to be because of the agency, the agency charges a lot, I do not know how much."

Key informant, Madrid, 23 June 2008

Integration in Spain

Until now, all that was said in the previous points indicate that there is a good perception of life in Spain. It is a subjective indication, at least with respect to the satisfaction perceived in the realization of the migration project. In this section, we will discuss descriptive details which imply further reflections. In discussing integration, are we referring to a greater or lesser adaptation to the environment? This would lead us to define which "environment" we are dealing with, as there are various and different connotations if we talk about adaptation by the Filipino community. It would create its own sub-society, or the adaptation to a more extensive environment, which is that of Spanish society in general. In this case, integration will entail active participation in Spanish society with the full enjoyment of rights and duties this brings, although there is no doubt that part of the subjective well-being of the immigrant could be due to the "endogamic" group which provides support. In this respect, it could also be interpreted as positive psychological adaptation of the immigrant. However, we do not have sufficient psychological data to prove this, only the perception of subjective well-being.

We summarize here the data of the variables which indicate integration, bearing in mind the distinction between objective and subjective indicators.

Regarding the objective indicators, adjusting to Spanish society, we can state the following about Filipino immigrants:

- They have stable and positively valued work conditions.
- Most of them have or will soon have Spanish nationality.
- They have access to health, education and bank services.
- Their friends and their church associates are mostly Filipino.
- The main points of contact with Spanish society are NGOs and religious leaders.
- Spanish media are important.
- At home, both Spanish and Filipino are spoken and both cuisines are part of the everyday fare.
- Their level of knowledge of the Spanish language is intermediate to high.
- The Filipino immigrants, although recognized as partners of NGOs, do not actively participate in Spanish associations.

Thus, it can be stated that, in terms of objective indicators, the Filipino immigrants in Spain are well integrated, especially if we bear in mind that the participants of the study belong to the first generation. Yet, although social insertion is appropriate insofar as choosing friends, they prefer to relate with other Filipino immigrants. Similarly, in churches, the “faithful” are of Filipino origin. Those who belonged to associations, most of them are members of Filipino associations. Thus, it can be said that we are dealing with an “endogamic” community who are active in their ethnic networks and religious groups; they are not fully participating in Spanish society.

Transnational Practices and Ties with the Philippines

A third important point of reflection for the MAPID research consists in discovering which transnational practices and links are maintained in relation to the Philippines. To facilitate the reflection, we offer a summary of the results obtained in this respect,

following the distinction between contributions of individuals and collective ones.

Regarding Filipino immigrants, at the individual level, it can be stated that:

1. Almost all had ties with their country of origin. They are primarily emotional.

- The most important ones are with family and friends. Half maintain ties because of their sense of belonging to their original country while the other half have good memories.
- They travel often to the Philippines.
- Weekly contacts are maintained with their families in the Philippines.

2. With respect to socio-cultural links:

- There is great interest in keeping up to date with current affairs in the Philippines.
- The ways of being up-to-date are primarily through their family and friends, followed by the Internet and Filipino TV (channels) shows.
- They are most interested in news about their families and about their locality (city, municipality or barangay) of origin.
- They also seek "cultural products" for their leisure time (films, music, television shows).

3. With respect to political links, the participation in "absentee voting" is extremely low. The reasons for not participating are:

- Lack of interest and related to this, not being registered, and lastly being Spanish.
- Apart from opinions shared by respondents, it can be said that there is distrust and pessimism with respect to the political situation of the country of origin.

4. With respect to economic ties:

- Sending money to the Philippines is almost standard.
- The most common method is by bank, followed by the use of money transfer organizations. The main use of remittances is for the subsistence of their families, followed by financing the education of relatives and third is investing in a house.
- The possible “economic investment” in the Philippines, at the individual level, for Filipinos living in Spain is not attractive (only for 7 percent or 14 people). In fact, 20.5 percent expressed the goal of starting a business in the Philippines as a condition before returning. When asked about future aims, 16.5 percent replied “to have a business” as a personal goal for the future. When asked if they had investments in the Philippines, only 13.3 percent had this objective, while 16.7 percent were planning on investing.

On the other hand, when we evaluated the possible collective contributions of Filipino immigrants, there is no doubt that this prospect arises because of belonging to groups or associations. Following are some notable observations about participation in projects in the Philippines:

- 40.5 percent have been approached for assistance and had supported a project in the Philippines at least once throughout their whole stay in Spain.
- Slightly over half (57.5 percent) are thinking of supporting a project in the Philippines in the future.
- 42.5 percent plan to start a business, either individually or collectively.
- The current incidence of participation in development projects or investments is low (less than 20 percent).

As discussed earlier, the main projects which were, are or will be participated in, are very similar. The support provided was

mostly assistance in times of natural disasters and support of infrastructure projects, such as the construction of houses undertaken by Gawad Kalinga or the building of churches, and support for small infrastructure projects. Many would like to help marginalized children in the future. Regarding the type of business foreseen, there is a high preference for the food industry (shops and restaurants), followed by shops in general, Internet cafés and schools.

As had been mentioned, the immigrants themselves felt that joining an association was a good way of contributing to development initiatives and projects in the Philippines: 73.5 percent of the sample felt that the associations of immigrants were capable of carrying out development projects in the Philippines, and 63.5 percent believed that the associations were more effective than individual efforts in contributing to the development in the Philippines.

Regarding the possible contribution of other institutions, of interest is the collaboration between the Philippine Embassy and the associations of immigrants, and if they considered the result to be positive and favored the creation of development projects.

Only half of the immigrants who were members of associations stated that their organization had links with the Embassy/Consulate of the Philippines. However, 74.6 percent of members felt it was positive that the associations were recognized by the Philippine Embassy/Consulate for a number of reasons: they provide assistance in solving their problems (n=12); to provide a legal status for the organization (n=6); the embassy's recognition increases their visibility (n=4); sponsorship (n=3); coordination and information (n=4); the organization originated in the Philippines (n=1); and respect for authority (n=1). Those who answered negatively considered the Embassy/Consulate as "useless."

At this point, we will reflect on the conditions in which transnational practices did not happen. In presenting this, we must make two distinctions. First, if at any given moment, they were undertaken and terminated, and the second is no engagement ever happened at all. We must also consider, across the board, if we are referring to practices carried out individually or collectively.

What could be the reason that will make an immigrant stop sending remittances and/or collaborate with the home country?

We have discovered that, for this group of immigrants, it is very common to send remittances to the country of origin. The primary reason for discontinuing remitting is when their immediate family members have joined them in Spain.

On the other hand, what are the reasons that prevent an immigrant from collaborating with the country of origin, or stop doing so? The most common reason given is the distrust and the concern that the donations are not used properly, either by the national government or local entities. There is a profound pessimism in the political possibilities of the country. The perceived corruption erodes the philanthropic intentions of the immigrants. The only organizations that inspire trust are religious ones. For this reason, they prefer to help their family members or friends. Also, they help when natural disasters occur, and generally, via churches.

In spite of the vote of trust in the potential role of associations in Philippine development and the many respondents and key informants who shared this notion, it is still interesting to look into the opinions of those who did not agree. About a quarter (26.5 percent) of the respondents felt that the migrants' associations were not capable of carrying out development projects in the Philippines. The reasons given were: individuals can also help or contribute to development projects, Filipinos in Spain must be helped first, associations only help in times of disaster, or associations will need the support of government. Further, 36.5 percent thought that the associations were not more effective than individual efforts for contributing to development in the Philippines. The two respondents who provided reasons for their response mentioned corruption in the associations and the conviction that individual efforts were better.

Migrants' Associations as Potential Agents of Change: Prospects and Limitations

As discussed earlier, over half of the Filipino immigrants believed in the ability of the associations to cooperate in development projects in the Philippines. This leads us now to explore in-depth the role that they could undertake. It would be desirable for them to play an important role as a catalyst for individual philanthropic

aspirations, as well as to address the needs of the communities of origin.

In this last section, we will attempt to combine the results from our three sources of data: the interviews with the officers of the associations, the interviews with the key informants and some of the issues considered with the immigrants in general. Thus, we will first give a summary of these results which will guide our conclusions and suggestions for future action.

Based on the data generated by the research, the profile of the associations in Spain (Barcelona and Madrid) is fundamentally religious and/or spiritual. The majority were organizations that dedicated themselves to offering advisory services and support to the Filipino community. They aspired to contribute to the integration of immigrants and maintain unity within the Filipino community, and preserve the cultural legacy of the original country. However, leaving aside this concept expressed by the leaders of the Filipino associations, the specific activities carried out were of a celebratory, cultural, sport-related and religious nature. The events considered to be most successful were the celebration of festivities²² and the organization of meetings.²³ Activities carried out for the young consisted of sports festivals, religious training, Filipino classes and singing competitions.

Their activities and organizations were democratic. Decision-making was arrived at through assembly meetings, which could be affected by interpersonal conflicts. Although 40 percent of Filipino associations had a mixed composition of Filipinos and Spaniards, the majority of the members were of Filipino origin. The officers did not have specific training for management and leadership. Among the requirements to be a leader that stood out were their availability and visibility in the community. That is, the leaders were leaders because of their dedication to their vocation. They were aware of lacking training in different aspects of managing an association. When asked about their training needs, their interests were directed not only towards training for developing project proposals

²² Examples include the celebration of Independence Day, reunions, and Christmas party.

²³ Only the association "Entrepreneurs Pinoy" was considering holding training seminars.

and project management, but also training for leadership, fund-raising and community work.

We also found that for associations not affiliated with any church group, the main source of income was the members' contributions.²⁴ Although almost all had statutes, they were not properly registered with the pertinent Spanish organizations, although they were with the Philippine Embassy/Consulate. Only the Filipino associations that were intimately related with religious organizations came from the Philippines. The associations of immigrants (strictly speaking) were local, with the exception of "Orgullo Ng Lahi" (literally, Pride of the Race) and "Amistad Mujeres Filipinas"²⁵ ("Friendship Filipino Women"), which are Europe-wide.

All that has been said so far refers to Filipino associations in Barcelona and Madrid. The data on Filipino associations we have gathered in Valencia shared many similarities with those in the two other cities. It is reasonable to assume that other Filipino associations in Spain are likely to have similar characteristics. One conclusion that can be advanced is the religious nature of Filipino associations in the country and emphasis on recreational and cultural initiatives by these associations.

Vis-à-vis the Philippines, what are the prospects and limitations of the migrant associations as partners for development in the home country?

The difficulties mentioned by the leaders of the associations of immigrants unanimously refer to lack of economic resources.²⁶ Secondly, they emphasized the lack of collaboration of the members and of the Filipino community. Thirdly, they spoke about the conflict between members.

Nonetheless, the officers of Filipino associations generally felt optimistic about the role their organizations play in the development of the Philippines. Their proposals for community action showed a special sensitivity towards projects for the young and

²⁴ Part of the income was dedicated to remunerating the president of the association, and this was seen as a source of possible conflict.

²⁵ The leader of this association was interviewed as a key informant.

²⁶ This constraint was mentioned by survey respondents, interviews with officers or members of associations, and key informants alike.

helping the needy. As one officer of an association noted, Filipino associations can also play a role in raising the awareness of Philippine institutions.

Four Filipino associations provided some details on the projects they had supported in the Philippines – transfer of knowledge and provision of educational, medical and food supplies. These projects were part of efforts to alleviate the conditions of communities which were affected by natural disasters.

Regarding plans to collaborate in the future, it seems that the possibilities are somewhat limited, mainly scholarship grants and constructing houses (under Gawad Kalinga). The training program could devote specific attention to increasing the motivation to participate and initiate development projects in the Philippines with new and attractive proposals.

In terms of preferred partners in the Philippines, the most frequently mentioned is the Catholic Church. This underscores the need for Philippine government institutions to build their credibility with overseas Filipino communities by looking at the example of the Catholic Church and seeking to increase the collaboration with faith-based organizations. Spirituality and religion are important to Filipinos and these are conserved in the migratory process.

Data obtained from the survey of Filipino immigrants concerning their associational life in Spain provided the following insights:

- The reasons for seeking membership in Filipino associations were motivated by migrants' desire to be with other Filipinos, to help each other, and to participate in projects and activities of the Filipino community in Spain. The key informants shared similar views. Data from interviews with officers of Filipino associations suggest that the primary objectives of these organizations were to support or promote religious activities, to support Filipinos, to maintain unity within the community, and to preserve the Filipino cultural heritage.

Most respondents belonged to only one Filipino association.

- There is a high level of involvement of the members of the associations. At least, this is what we are led to believe by the

immigrants interviewed. The officers of the Filipino associations emphasize the lack of involvement of the members as a possible cause of problems. Religious activities tend to attract more participation compared to other activities.

- Most of the Filipino associations' projects are religious and/cultural. According to 83 percent of the key informants, the activities of the organizations are carried out in Spain. The officers of the Filipino associations confirm this point, and they also mentioned recreational festivities and sporting activities. Half of the Filipino associations have projects for the young. Most of the officers affirm that they carry out projects for the young.

- Informants assessed their associations' success in achieving their objectives between somewhat successful and very successful.

On the other hand, they also reported various problems encountered by associations, namely:

- The lack of funds was identified as a major problem for the moderate success of the activities of the Filipino associations. All the officers who were interviewed for the study referred to this problem.

- Respondents in the survey reported that they themselves participated actively in their associations. However, a third of the respondents stressed the lack of support of members and the Filipino community as one of the problems besetting their associations. While the officers of associations also acknowledged this lack of member or community support, in their view, the lack of funds was more problematic.

- According to the key informants, internal conflicts of members were the main reason for the less successful outcomes of the activities of Filipino association (58.3 percent); for them, the lack of funds was also a problem, but it is of lesser importance (12.5 percent). In other words, for the key informants, avoiding interper-

sonal conflicts and keeping unity in the association was far more important than addressing the lack of economic resources. In comparison, for the officers of Filipino associations, their rankings of the problems encountered were as follows: (1) lack of finances, (2) lack of support from the members of the Filipino community; and (3) conflicts between members.

- Officers of the associations recognized their lack of training in managing their organizations. This factor may also contribute to the moderate success of these organizations to successfully meet their aims. Based on the survey, the areas in which training was desired included the following: fundraising and identifying funding sources; leadership and management, and elaboration or preparation of projects or proposals. Other topics proposed for training were effective communication skills and use of communication technology, social skills, and establishment of better relationships and cooperation with institutions, both in the Philippines and Spain. While the same areas were also mentioned by officers of Filipino associations, their priorities were different. For them, the priority areas, in order of importance were: project development and management, leadership, and fundraising. They also mentioned community organizing as a training need, although with less emphasis. Meanwhile, the key informants added to the list of necessary training topics knowledge of legal matters and training on investments and setting up one's own business.

In fact, only a third of the immigrants who are members ($n=34$) stated that their association collaborates with the Spanish government or NGOs and with associations of other communities of immigrants. Thus, there is not much networking with the Spanish government or NGOs. About 55 percent of the key informants stated that the support of the Spanish government is positive, while 21 percent said that it is negative. Yet, 24 percent replied that they had never sought it. About half of the officers of Filipino associations reported having a working relationship with Spanish institutions, specifically the local government, NGOs and the Catholic Church. Overall, forging more contact and cooperation with Spanish institutions would be necessary.

As we have already presented, the collaboration with the Philippine Embassy is only confirmed by 45.6 percent of the respondents. They stated that it is positive and beneficial if the associations are recognized by the Philippine Embassy (74.6 percent). Regarding the evaluation of the support of the Philippine government, when the key informants answered this question, 44.4 percent said that it is positive while 36 percent said that it is negative, leaving 19 percent who said they were not sure. Almost all the officers of the associations stated that they had cooperated with the embassy or consulate in the celebration of Independence Day.

In addition to the perceived usefulness of the associations as development partners in the Philippines, becoming a member was also described as beneficial in order to promote and defend the interests of the Filipino community in Spain. The associations, according to survey respondents, play an important role in providing support and information about living in Spain, promoting fellowship and unity in the Filipino community, and promoting Filipino culture. In addition to activities and projects in Spain, officers also expressed optimism in the role associations can play in supporting development in the Philippines. In relation to this, officers agreed on the importance of networking with other Filipino associations. About 90 percent work or have worked with other Filipino associations.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

Concerning integration and their participation in Spanish society, it can be said that the Filipino community generally sees itself as equal with the Spanish population. While Filipinos value joining associations, very few Filipinos sought membership in Spanish associations. In other words, the social networks established by Filipinos in Spain are "endogamic." Filipino immigrants relate mostly and primarily with other Filipinos. In terms of their long-term goal, over half expressed their desire to return to the Philippines someday.

As a general conclusion, we can state that the Filipino community in Spain does not possess a significant level of state-related transnational practices with the Philippines. However, they keep

very strong emotional and family ties. The very high level of sending remittances to their families in the home country is another expression of these enduring ties. Related to this is the fact that they are interested in keeping themselves informed of "local" news from the area where their friends and relatives live. They also visit the Philippines regularly.

The supportive and philanthropic activities of the migrants are more evident than their political participation. The political linkage, understood as interest in absentee voting is insignificant. To date, economic investment in the Philippines is minimal. Collaboration in projects up until now is very low and when it is done, it is fundamentally to help during natural disasters.

Of all that has been said, it can be stated that if the fundamental problem impeding the strength of the associations of Filipino immigrants is the lack of financing, which was included during the training. In fact, if the associations did not heavily rely on monthly membership dues, perhaps some of the friction detected would disappear. Moreover, having the possibility of external subsidy allows for a greater field of action and the long-term stability of the interventions or projects that the association carries out, both in the Philippines and in Spain.

Advocacy, Policy and Research Recommendations

On the question of how institutions in Spain and the Philippines can support Filipino associations, this can be addressed by asking what Filipino immigrants hope for or expect from the Spanish and Filipino organizations.

According to the leaders of Filipino associations, there is a level of contact with Spanish institutions, such as the local government, the NGOs and the Catholic Church. They considered these collaborations as useful and fruitful. Officers hope for access to timely and accurate information, and more access to other resources, including funds.

On the other hand, participation in the events by other associations of immigrants can be an educational experience, above all due to the exchange of experiences, which facilitates the task of accessing information. Also, they can have more access to eco-

conomic resources offered by the different public, local and national administrations. Also, their inclusion in larger umbrella associations of immigrants could contribute to the greater visibility of the Filipino community, thus giving their opinions, needs and suggestions a platform to be heard by local and national authorities. In short, the Filipino associations can enhance their participation as active agents in the process of social representation with the different communities of immigrants in the society of the new country of residence. Encouraging this type of activity was part of the training program.

One of the roles that could be fulfilled by the Philippine government consists in encouraging and taking advantage of the willingness of the community to meet up, uniting the widest networks of associations possible. In fact, the organization of the celebration of Philippine Independence Day serves as a good example of how the embassy and/or consulate can promote working together with the Filipino associations; almost all of the associations emphasized that it was an event of utmost importance. The two umbrella-associations – KALIPI in Barcelona and TAHANAN in Madrid – participated actively in the organization of the celebration of Independence Day. The function of the Philippine embassy/consulate is not perceived by all as positive, yet we believe that their role as an entity that brings together the community is important, and it has been performing it well in recent years.

Other examples where Filipino associations collaborate together, such as in religious event or cultural festivals, would indicate that with adequate motivation and support, it would not be hard to get the different organizations to work together in order to achieve common objectives.

The leaders of Filipino associations would like the Philippine government to provide more information, fewer bureaucratic obstacles, facilitation of the good use of remittances, and greater recognition and support for Filipinos abroad. Also, they ask for improvement in the provision and management of public services, greater transparency and to undertake the fight against corruption.

In response to the current limitations of Filipino migrants' associations to realize their potentials to be agents of change, the following steps may be undertaken:

- Acquiring knowledge on how to register the associations in the relevant Spanish institutions;
- Collaborating with organizations and associations of other immigrants in Spain;
- Training members on proposal or project development to be presented for financing to local and national organizations;
- Acquiring knowledge on resource management and increasing financial assets; and
- Conducting training on group management, conflict management and enhancing the social and interpersonal skills of both leaders and members.

Our other proposals consist of stating the greater strength and maturity of the associations, more financial and relationship stability, and better and actual possibility of intervening in the development of the Philippines, as well as improvement of the conditions of the Filipino immigrants in Spain.

- a) To encourage the inclusion of the Filipino associations in the platforms (groups) of immigrants in Spain.
- b) To encourage the image of the Philippine Embassy/Consulate and that of the Filipino Government via boosting networking within the Filipino associations overseas.
- c) To increase motivation and participation in development projects in the Philippines, supporting themselves with the local and national Philippines institutions.
- d) To define and promote the role of the "awareness-raisers"/promoters for the Philippine government which could be developed together with the Filipino associations overseas.

- e) To propose the creation of reliable channels of information between Spanish and Filipino institutions and Filipino associations overseas.
- f) To design possible strategies of cooperation between the Filipino associations overseas and the Filipino Government (both in the Philippines and Spain) using the Catholic Church as a mediator.

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5

Conclusion

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Internal and external assessments of the different phases of the project's implementation show that MAPID achieved its two overall objectives: 1) to advance the understanding of the migration-development nexus by two important stakeholders: Filipino migrants' associations and Philippine institutions; and 2) to promote cooperation for development between Filipino migrants' associations in Spain and Italy and national and local institutions in the Philippines.

Through its research and dissemination activities, MAPID contributed to identify concrete ways to unleash the development potential of international migration (i.e., the migration and development exercise or "M&D exercise") in the three countries involved in the project. Through its training sessions, MAPID provided Filipino migrants' associations in Spain and in Italy and national and local institutions in the Philippines with some of the capacities that are deemed necessary to initiate the M&D exercise.

Beyond its original scope, MAPID offered assistance to Filipino migrants' associations towards their official registration with the relevant authorities in Italy and Spain. Within the MAPID framework, Fondazione ISMU mentored some of the said associations in the elaboration of co-development project proposals, which were submitted to the City Council of Milan, and the University of Valencia -Masters in International Migration assisted some Filipino migrants'

associations in the preparation of project proposals addressing the specific needs of the Filipino communities in Barcelona and Madrid. All MAPID implementers set the basis for the establishment of a formal network between Filipino migrants' association in Spain and in Italy. The Scalabrini Migration Center (SMC) and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) included selected migrant and development NGOs in the training programs and dissemination activities in the Philippines.

The outputs of the research activities largely confirmed initial assumptions about the lack of appreciation of the migration-development nexus among the two key stakeholders. However, the implementation of MAPID constituted a continuous learning experience for SMC and its partners. Several new elements of the migration-development nexus, which were not originally envisioned in the project proposal, were brought to the attention of the project director and country coordinators and were promptly considered in the implementation of the succeeding actions.

In the Philippines, the MAPID research activities were undertaken at the end of the long administration of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. The outputs contributed to the assessment of the impact of the Philippine labor deployment policy on the national, regional and local development. They also served as inputs for the formulation of new national, regional and local development plans, which are currently entrusted to the new administration headed by Benigno Aquino III. The MAPID research confirmed the mixed consequences of international migration on sustainable development in the Philippines. Moreover, it revealed the evident disconnection between migration policies and development policies in the Philippines at the national, regional and local levels. The research outputs highlighted the growing dependence of the Philippines on the global labor market with the corresponding neglect of the needs of the domestic labor market. The MAPID researchers pointed out the limited coordination among government agencies mandated to coordinate development planning (the National Economic Development Authority) and international migration (the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, Overseas workers Welfare Administration, Office of the Undersecretary for Migrant Workers Affairs and Bureau of Immigration). Their in-

volvement is strictly bounded by departmental mandates; crossing departmental borders to connect migration and development constitutes a serious challenge. The research mapped out and documented several good examples of the M&D exercise in terms of remittances (e.g., financial literacy programs and cheaper possibilities of remitting), philanthropic donations (e.g., CFO's LINKAPIL Program and diaspora giving by the Philippine Development Forum), and migrants' investments (successful initiatives commenced by migrants). Nonetheless, very little evidence of the M&D exercise was found in terms of skills and knowledge transfer. The Balik-Scientist Program of the Department of Science and Technology needs further improvement. The establishment of the National Reintegration Center for OFWs (NCRO) under the Department of Labor and Employment in 2007 has not made any substantial change in the overall picture. Finally, given the geographical focus of the MAPID trans-national study, the research findings highlighted the need to expand the vision and functions of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Philippine foreign posts. The focus on labor migration-related issues does not encompass the concerns of many Filipinos who have already become permanent residents or citizens of other countries and yet maintain their ties to the Philippines.

The different modules of the MAPID training programs in Davao City and Tagaytay City were shaped according to the needs and gaps unveiled by the research activities. During the various sessions, participants from local government units acknowledged their limited knowledge of international migration *per se* and the migration-development nexus. Provided with essential information concerning the setting up of structures and programs to initiate the M&D exercise, all the participants were invited to share experiences and insights. The workshops' discussion was instrumental in envisioning new ways of cooperation and networking among the different institutions involved. Some ideas for an effective M&D exercise were presented and the proponents committed to develop them into project proposals. The same discussion also underscored the importance of including NGOs and faith-based organizations in any M&D exercise because of their pioneering programs and the trust they inspire among the different stakeholders.

The interest concerning the results of the MAPID study in the Philippines, which was repeatedly expressed by many stakeholders, led SMC to organize a special dissemination forum in Metro Manila in May 2009. The contributions of the participants in the open forum were considered in the preparation of the training programs. Upon the explicit request of many participants, SMC decided to publish the final report of the MAPID research activities in the Philippines and the documentation of the good practices in M&D for wider dissemination. CFO took care of the latter. It was also decided to increase the number of regional dissemination fora from one to three (one in Luzon, one in Visayas and one in Mindanao) in order to enhance the possibilities of reaching a broader audience. On 12 August 2010, the MAPID Policy Summit titled, "Realizing Migration and Development: Charting New Policies, Perspectives and Partnerships" was able to gather representatives from all the sectors involved in the M&D exercise. The discussion led to the identification of necessary transformations in the Philippines' M&D policies and promising partnerships among the stakeholders. The regional dissemination fora held between 17 and 24 August confirmed the success of MAPID in enhancing the awareness and concerns of the public, private and civil society sectors on the migration-development nexus. Some concrete examples of integration of international migration in regional and local development plans were introduced by invited discussants as resulting from the MAPID Project. An example is the setting up of a special migrants' assistance desk in one municipality which had participated in the MAPID Project. All the dissemination activities indicated that, despite the massive outflow of Filipinos, the M&D discussion in the Philippines has yet to be mainstreamed. More activities aiming at M&D information dissemination, capacity building and shared planning should be promoted at the different levels.

The MAPID studies in Italy and Spain contributed to enhance the knowledge on Filipino migrant communities in these countries. The outputs of the research activities highlighted many similarities between the two communities, but also some differences. Among all the interesting findings presented in the corresponding chapters of this book, there are some elements which seem particularly relevant in the context of the M&D exercise.



According to the studies, in Italy and Spain, Filipinos are generally considered as “good immigrants” by the locals. Concentrated in the domestic sector, they are mostly regular migrants who are active in the labor force with relatively high incomes. Many of them had obtained tertiary education in the Philippines and they are generally overqualified for the job they are doing. Family reunification possibilities offered both in Italy and Spain favored the arrival of many family members. However, several spouses and children are still in the Philippines and transnational families are common among Filipino migrants. Despite their good reputation (hard workers, quiet, respectful and diligent), Filipinos show little participation in the public life of the Italian and Spanish society. They tend to stay among themselves, with few contacts with locals and other migrant groups. Their knowledge of the local language is quite limited, especially in the case of Filipinos in Italy. Both receiving countries offer migrants the possibility of citizenship; however, according to the studies, Filipinos avail of this possibility more in Spain than in Italy. In both countries, Filipino migrants reported being satisfied with their job. They do not invest much in professional mobility and show little interest in entrepreneurial initiatives. They are generally good in saving money and they regularly send remittances to their families in the Philippines. They continue to be strongly attached to their communities of origin and they frequently travel to the Philippines to visit relatives and friends. Majority of them intend to go back to the Philippines for good some time in the future, but they reportedly have limited investments in their home country. Filipinos in Italy and Spain expressed some bias in relating with the Philippine government, showing substantial diffidence towards initiatives promoted by Philippine government institutions. Filipino migrants are generally characterized by a great sense of altruism and generosity, which are grounded on their strong religiosity and sense of solidarity with the home country, especially in times of disasters.

The MAPID studies in Italy and Spain reveal that Filipinos tend to establish associations. The MAPID researchers profiled several Filipino migrants’ associations in Barcelona, Madrid, Rome and Milan. Ethnic aggregation and emotional coping are the main objectives of majority of them. Through different activities, many of



them aim at keeping alive – or at least simulating - the context of reference migrants used to have back in the Philippines. While some of them – particularly in Rome and Barcelona - offer different kinds of social services to their members, majority are generally engaged in traditional sports, cultural and religious activities, leaving little space to non-traditional pursuits. Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain do not seem attractive to young Filipinos, perhaps partly because very few associations offer programs aimed at the empowerment and integration of young Filipinos. The MAPID researchers noted that Filipino associations in both receiving countries are subject to sudden and frequent changes (dissolution/split of old associations and establishment of new ones). This phenomenon is mainly due to disagreements among members, particularly those occasioned by election-related disputes. Some key informants remarked that the quest for personal honor is still a major motivation in the decision to become a member of a migrant association. Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain inform the Philippine diplomatic posts about their existence, but only few of them are officially registered with the relevant local institutions. In both receiving countries the involvement of Filipino migrants' associations in the M&D exercise was minimal. Few initiatives of philanthropic nature targeting the country of origin were reported and most of them were in terms of relief in case of natural disasters and financial/in-kind contributions for scholarship programs and health programs.

The MAPID studies in Italy and Spain revealed the limitation of unilateral approaches to migration and development policies. In both countries, as well as in the Philippines, there is still little consideration for the transnational interconnectivity between sending and receiving countries in the M&D debate. On one side, Spain and Italy do not seem to promote consultation with the Philippines – as well as many other sending countries – in the formulation of immigration and co-development policies. Beside the “generous” reunification programs, no political reflection has been initiated on the transnational responsibility towards families left behind by migrant workers. On the other side, Philippine migration policies seem wedded to viewing migration as temporary. This is not a com-

plete picture. The reality of Filipino migrants in Italy and Spain, for example, speaks of transnational linkages and multiple belongings.

The MAPID training programs in Spain and Italy gathered 87 leaders and members of Filipino migrants' associations. The different sessions confirmed the findings of the MAPID studies and highlighted new elements. The difficulty by many participants to forego some hours of work (and income) in order to attend the training programs – offered for free – revealed their limited appreciation for possibilities to contribute to their professional mobility, enhance their participation in the life of the host society, and improve their interaction with local institutions. Through the MAPID training programs, some Filipino participants were able to realize the implications of their linguistic deficiencies, particularly in developing a project proposal and dealing with Italian and Spanish institutions. During the session dedicated to financial literacy, the organizers observed the gap between Filipino migrants' saving capacity and their insufficient knowledge of the financial instruments and investment options available in the Philippines, Italy and Spain. The lack of awareness about training programs on entrepreneurship and micro-enterprise development offered by public and private institutions was also apparent. Regarding Filipino migrants' associations, the participants confirmed the internal problems of management, which were discovered during the research phase, due to lack of leadership skills. All the associations lamented financial constraints that limited the development of activities. Most of their income comes from membership fees and some voluntary contributions. The participants acknowledged their lack of knowhow in developing project proposals to be submitted to funding agencies and institutions. Moreover, many Filipino migrants' associations are not eligible applicants because they are not registered with the authorities in Spain and Italy.

In Italy and Spain, the MAPID dissemination activities will be held between October and December 2010. Four dissemination workshops – one each in Barcelona, Madrid, Milan and Rome – will gather representatives from local institutions, Philippine diplomatic posts, private sector, Filipino migrants' associations, academe and

other civil society groups. The presentation of the results of the MAPID Project, the main contents of this book, are expected to contribute to the discussion on the migration-development nexus in Italy and Spain, the formulation of more proactive policies, and the establishment or strengthening of partnerships among the stakeholders.

In the three chapters of this book, the country coordinators formulated a list of recommendations addressing the different stakeholders of the M&D exercise. Some of these recommendations have been discussed in the policy briefs prepared for the dissemination activities. From his own experience, the project director would like to focus on four recommendations, whose relevance seems to go beyond the MAPID Project.

1) Information and training are keys to success

Despite the recent proliferation of research and publications on the topic, the discussion on the migration-development nexus seems to be far from reaching the grassroots, where the main agents of the M&D exercise are. Planning officers of local governments often lack basic knowledge about international migration and essential information about the diaspora is not collected or processed. Many migrants' associations stay on the fringes of the discussion as passive spectators, stuck in their traditional ways of "giving back" to their communities of origin. In the past years, many receiving and sending countries developed policies and programs aiming at fostering the M&D exercise, but these have been addressed to a few stakeholders. Several NGOs, private companies and individuals started successful M&D initiatives, but they are seldom documented and/or publicized. While the production of abundant and understandable information is the task of all the stakeholders, it should be underlined that mass media play a central role in the dissemination of such information at all levels.

Despite the good will MAPID researchers detected in the different sectors, capacities for an effective M&D exercise should be built. In the Philippines – as in any sending country – relevant training programs should be developed and offered to local stakeholders, starting with the development planners of the local govern-

ments. There are some good training initiatives on financial literacy, micro-credit and entrepreneurship addressing migrant households' members, but they should be multiplied and promoted by the competent authorities. Local NGOs and cooperatives interested in the M&D exercise should be involved as both trainers and trainees. Both in Spain and Italy many training possibilities are offered to migrants' associations and individuals. Such programs cover most of the relevant topics and are generally offered for free by local institutions or NGOs. Nevertheless, some migrant communities, like the Filipinos, do not avail of these opportunities. To draw their participation, the organizers of such training activities should involve migrants in the development, publicity and implementation of the programs. In sending and receiving countries, the training initiatives should be complemented by easy-to-access assistance for the development, implementation and assessment of M&D projects.

2) The multi-stakeholder approach should be promoted

Other than the recognition of the valuable initiatives started by the different stakeholders separately, the multi-stakeholder approach appears to be the best answer to the complexity of the M&D exercise, where all sectors, with different responsibilities, are called to contribute their share.

The national governments of the Philippines and other sending countries should engage in solving the common disconnect between migration policies and development policies, formulating long-term development plans where remittances, diaspora donations, migrants' investment and knowledge transfer and co-development possibilities are properly considered and fostered in order to make them work towards sustainable development. In particular, government agencies should focus on the following: improving the collection and dissemination of international migration data, conducting research on migration-related issues, providing training before migration, enhancing the protection of nationals abroad, increasing the positive engagement with their diaspora and, elaborating different reintegration programs according to the different categories of returnees.

The national governments of the receiving countries should rethink the link between migration and international cooperation policies in light of the new immigration-driven transnational responsibilities. While promoting the integration of migrants and the second generation in receiving societies, local institutions should foster the bonds with migrants' countries of origin towards a nonschizophrenic "multiple belonging," which would facilitate to unleash the M&D potential.

The MAPID Project highlighted the crucial role of local governments in the Philippines. They represent the ideal partners for diaspora groups in the M&D exercise. Together with the national government, they are tasked to build the "conducive environment" which will be explained in the following point.

Local governments in the receiving countries also play an important role in the M&D exercise, particularly when the design of co-development programs is entrusted to them. They are the main referent for migrants' associations for registration, training and presentation of project proposals.

Migrants are major stakeholders and therefore they should be involved in all the phases of the M&D exercise, from planning to assessment. It is only upon the realization of their central role that their transformation from mere "donors" into "agents" of development would be possible.

In the same way, the members of the families left behind should be considered as special partners in the M&D exercise. Parents, spouses and children are the main interlocutors of migrants' transnational practices. They are called to initiate and manage profitable investments financed by migrants either individually or collectively. Moreover, they should be directly involved in monitoring the implementation of the development projects supported by the diaspora.

Both in sending and receiving countries, NGOs play an important role in the M&D exercise. Their advocacy has often been instrumental in the recognition and protection of the rights of migrants and members of their families. Their services offered at different levels serve to fill the gaps of state-run assistance. In the Philippines, NGOS have initiated innovative and successful M&D initiatives and their expertise should be tapped.



The role of the academe in the M&D exercise is crucial. Academics are called to deepen the knowledge of the migration-development nexus through scientific studies on the different migration-related issues, disseminate the results influencing the policy making exercise, document the best practices and collaborate in the development of training programs.

The task of mass media in the dissemination of information has already been mentioned. They are also called to bring the M&D discussion to the grassroots, with no concession to politically driven pessimism or enthusiasm.

Also the private sector plays an important role in the M&D exercise in both sending and receiving countries. Employers, recruitment agencies, brokers, banks, money transfer companies, communications firms, insurance companies, and real estate agencies should be models of corporate social responsibility through the sponsorship of programs that will uncover the development potential of international migration.

Regional bodies (e.g., the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the European Union), United Nations agencies (e.g., International Labour Organization) and international organizations (e.g., International Organization for Migration) play an essential mediation role among nation-states aiming at promoting co-responsibility, transnational solidarity, and sustainable development for all. Drawing from their wide experience, international organizations should promote dialogue between the different stakeholders in order to achieve a deeper understanding of international migration and to develop more effective responses. Using their resources, they should also facilitate the exchange of knowledge and offer capacity building opportunities to government institutions and civil society groups.

3) The M&D exercise needs a conducive environment

Some years ago, during a conference in Mexico, one of the speakers described the M&D potential like a big plane that needs a big airport to land. The airport analogy clearly refers to the conducive environment which should be generated in order to make the M&D exercise possible, effective and beneficial to all people involved.



Such an environment is built firstly by economic and social infrastructures. In the Philippines as well as in many other sending countries, migrants' individual and collective investments would be possible only if good roads, electricity, water and communication facilities are provided by the competent authorities, with the involvement of private companies when deemed necessary. Special offers of tax exemption or reduction should be made available to micro and medium enterprises initiated by overseas-based nationals, the families left behind and returnees. Customs authorities should enact special channels to facilitate the import/export of goods sent or received within the M&D exercise. Learning from the *tres-por-uno* programs in Mexico, national and local governments should secure funds, personnel and structures to match donations and investment coming from the diaspora. The establishment of cooperatives, social enterprises and NGOs who can be proactive in the M&D exercise should be encouraged and supported by competent authorities. Following the example of some local and provincial governments, more migrants' assistance desks should be created in the different regions. In the receiving countries, special arrangements and incentives should be offered to migrants willing to invest back in their countries. The portability of social security programs should be assured and institutionalized through bilateral agreements. The import-export of goods within the M&D exercise should be provided with more favorable arrangements.

The suitable environment should be generated also at the political level. In the case of the Philippines, overseas Filipinos generally do not trust their public institutions. Bad governance, self-interest and corruption are major concerns that prevent migrants from partnering with government agencies in M&D initiatives. There is an urgent need to promote different activities that would serve to re-build trust among migrants. National and local governments should increase their contacts with the diaspora, using the tools provided by modern technology. They should enhance their programs of assistance to would-be migrants, the families left behind and returnees, without expecting political pay-backs. They should increase the participation of migrants, migrants' families and returnees in the development planning exercise and in the implementation and assessment of projects. Above all, national

and local institutions should overcome the evident disconnect between development and migration policies. Moreover, they should promote the development of a “M&D culture” introducing special modules in the curriculum of secondary schools and colleges curricula, pre-employment orientation seminars, pre-departure orientation seminars and other training possibilities offered to migrants, families left behind and returnees.

4) Long-term planning and coordination are necessary to the M&D exercise

In the Philippines there are several government agencies dealing with international migration and development, particularly at the national level. Their programs and initiatives are often well-intentioned but seem to lack long-term planning and coordination. Some of these initiatives may be motivated by the political interests of government officials, which do not promote sustainability. Also, the collaboration and coordination among government agencies - particularly those involving different departments - are quite rare. Such a disconnect diminishes the effectiveness of otherwise promising initiatives. At the national level, the M&D exercise requires synergy among the National Economic Development Authority, the Department of Education, the Commission on Higher Education, the Department of Labor and Employment and the Department of Trade and Industry. At the local level, the regional/provincial offices of the mentioned institutions should coordinate their efforts with local government units. Moreover, the national and local coordination should also extend to other stakeholders, such as international organizations, the academe, the private sector, and NGOs.

Because of its transnational nature, the M&D exercise requires long-term planning and coordination beyond national borders. Receiving countries may have coherent and durable policies and programs, but sending countries are seldom involved in their formulation. Bilateral consultations and planning meetings with the involvement of all the stakeholders would benefit the M&D exercise. In the long run, transnational cooperation resulting from consultations and dialogues would contribute greatly to building trust and building a shared future of sustainable development for all.



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