Philippine Journal of Social Development

Volume 2 2010

Philippine Copyright @ 2011 by University of the Philippines, Diliman

ISSN 2094-523X

All rights reserved.

No part of this journal may be reproduced in any form or by any means without the written permission of the copyright owner and the publisher.

Issue Editor Mary Lou L. Alcid

Managing Editor Josefina M. Rolle

Published by
College of Social Work and Community Development
University of the Phillipines
Diliman, Quezon City
www.cswcd.upd.edu.ph/

Disclaimer

The views and opinions expressed in this journal are solely the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of the College of Social Work and Community Development.

Philippine Journal of Social Development

Volume 2

2010

Table of Contents

	Page
Editor's Note	
Book Review: Revisiting Development as Freedom	
vis-à-vis the Right to Mobility	
Yolanda G. Ealdama	1
Filipino Seafarers: How Are They Faring? (A Situationer)	
Thelma B. Magcuro	11
A Social Protection and Integration Strategy	
for Children of OFWs: A Case Study on the	
Psycho-Social Support Program of	
BUNGA Foundation, Inc.	
Mark Anthony D. Abenir	37
Reunification of Filipino Families in Italy:	
What the Youth Have to Say	
Cristina M. Liamzon	59
Realizing the Development Potential of	
Filipino Diaspora Philanthropy	
Augustus T. Añonuevo	
Estrella Mai Dizon-Añonuevo	83
An Assessment of the Materials and Methods	
Used in Disseminating Information on	
Human Trafficking in Two Barangays of	
Quezon City	
Leticia S. Tojos	103
The Politics of Migration Multiculturalism in	
Australia, Japan, and Malaysia	
Jorge V. Tigno	130

Editor's Note

The UP College of Social Work and Community Development has identified priority development concerns around which research clusters have been formed, i.e., Migration, Disaster Risk Reduction, Governance, and Social Protection. These concerns translate into a series of thematic issues for the Philippine Journal of Social Development, beginning with this one on international migration.

International migration was already a feature of Filipino life even before Spanish colonialism in the sixteenth century. In 1974, the institutionalisation of the overseas employment program by the Marcos government paved the way for the massive deployment of Filipino workers globally. Overseas employment has since become a lucrative industry with the active participation of the private and public sectors. The government plays multiple and conflicting roles as market developer, recruiter and sender of workers, regulator, and duty bearer. Under the Arroyo government, the educational system was even re-oriented and restructured to produce graduates for the global market. Today, at least a million women and men leave the country annually with working visas. Tens of thousands more leave on other kinds of visa but actually intending to pursue employment.

The current Aquino Administration has yet to resolve the issue of whether the status of the Philippines as one of the world's Top 5 labor-sending countries should be a source of pride or concern. It has only gone as far as saying that it would like international migration to be a product of free choice, not of economic necessity.

The articles in this issue examine aspects of international migration from different angles and lenses. They reflect ironies, contradictions and challenges in the lived realities of Filipino migrants and their families, and society in general. Moreover, they underscore the right to migrate as a fundamental human right, and the obligation of governments of source and destination countries, as duty bearers, to recognize and protect this right as well as other fundamental rights of migrants and their families, including social and cultural rights. They not only analyse; they also recommend concrete courses of action to the government and civil society stakeholders.

We start with the concept of development as freedom. Yolanda G. Ealdama revisits Amartya Sen's book "Development as Freedom" in relation to the right to mobility. Using discourse analysis, she argues that Sen's concept of

development is framed by the notion of a nation-state where mobility is a given. This may explain why it is silent on the freedom of mobility. Ealdama asserts that freedom, in a globalising world, has also assumed a global dimension; thus, the need to analyse development as freedom beyond the nation state.

Thelma B. Magcuro's article on Filipino seafarers provides an overview on the relatively less known maritime industry and its workers. It describes the significant contributions of the industry to national and global development, and the ebbs and flows of a seafarer's life. It is ironic that as an archipelago, the Philippines has an underdeveloped maritime industry and hence, has to rely on the foreign market for the employment of skilled seafarers.

Children are among the reasons parents decide to work abroad temporarily or permanently. By going abroad, parents hope to earn enough to nourish and educate their children in the best way possible, thereby ensuring a good future for them. Ironically, the well-being of children is often among the social costs of migration. Studies show that children's needs are complex and certainly not limited to the material and financial. Mark Anthony D. Abenir's article entitled "A Social Protection and Integration Strategy for Children of OFWs: A Case Study on the Psycho-Social Support Program of BUNGA Foundation, Inc." provides a review of existing literature on how Filipino children are affected emotionally and psychologically by the emigration of one or both parents. It gives us an example of a programmatic and innovative response by a non-governmental organisation (NGO) at the micro and meso levels aimed at assisting children to address the adverse effects of "care drain" in partnership with schools and communities.

The second article on children indicates that family reunification in a destination country does not automatically resolve the psycho-emotional and communication problems arising from the emigration-related separation of parents and children. Cristina M. Liamzon discusses the difficulties faced by Filipino youths between the ages of 14-20 years in the process of reuniting with their parents and, in some cases, siblings in Rome, and the adjustments they had to make in their family, in school and society in general. She underscores how the migrant youths' inadequate pre-departure preparation for life in Italy, including speaking and understanding the Italian language, impeded their capacity to cope with the challenges of living and interacting in a new socio-cultural and political context. The migrant youths demonstrate resilience, human agency and determination in hurdling the obstacles and their longing

for loved ones and friends left behind in the Philippines so they could remain with their parents in Rome.

In addition to remittances, there are other ways by which overseas Filipinos maintain their links to the homeland. They contribute time, money, services and other resources to various socio-economic endeavours at the local and national levels. Augustus T. Añonuevo and Estrella Mai Dizon-Añonuevo's article addresses the problematique of how diaspora philanthropy can be effectively utilised to achieve sustainable development in the Philippines. It examines the strengths and limitations of current forms and practices of diaspora philanthropy. Furthermore, it identifies the obstacles and challenges to strategic philanthropy and offers ways of responding to them, by among others, citing exemplary cases. Through strategic diaspora philanthropy, overseas Filipinos become catalysts and agents of social development.

The long history of Filipino emigration, specially for employment, as well as increasing impoverishment has inadvertently made it easy for human traffickers to pursue their trade. The Philippines is not only a major source country for trafficking; it is also a transit and destination country. Access to correct and adequate information on human trafficking by frontline service providers and community residents is seen as one way of raising people's awareness and capacitating them to combat trafficking. Using a human rights perspective, Leticia S. Tojos assesses the materials and methods utilised by the Quezon City government (through its Social Services and Development Department and Barangay Councils) in disseminating information on human trafficking in Barangays Botocan and Escopa. She discusses the outcomes of past efforts and areas for improvement. Recommendations are put forth to the local government and to community organisations working in partnership with NGOS.

What could be a more fitting way to end this issue than with a call for states to embrace the reality and positives of multiculturalism, particularly as compounded by immigration. Jorge V. Tigno interrogates the ways by which "migration multiculturalism" has been interpreted, contested, rejected or affirmed by states, with focus on Australia, Japan and Malaysia. He shows how states have adopted restrictive policies even in midst of globalisation processes that, among others, have facilitated the international movements of peoples at an unprecedented scale. He concludes that while there is more tolerance and openness now towards ethnic minorities in an increasing number of nation-states, resistance to pluralism is still the norm in others. Much work remains to be done in creating democratic and multicultural societies.

Book Review

Revisiting Development as Freedom vis-à vis the Right to Mobility

Yolanda G. Ealdama

Development as Freedom

by Amartya Sen. New York: Anchor Books. (2000) 366 pages

Development as freedom has been propagated by Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen (Sen, 2000) who wrote a book with the same title. Sen's book, Development as Freedom tackles economic, political, and civil rights in general. But, it is not explicit about the freedom of mobility. Freedom of mobility is one of the fundamental freedoms. And, in this age of globalization and migration, freedom of movement has become a development issue. Migrant rights advocates have been advancing the rights of migrant workers in general but have not been explicit in advancing the right to mobility beyond the borders of nation-states. Governments of sending countries are also trying to protect the rights of their workers overseas. But, the fact is, one nation-state cannot impose its own laws on another nation-state. The United Nations Development Program Human Development Report 2009 used 'development as freedom" as a framework (United Nations Development Program, 2009) even if Sen is silent on mobility, migration, and cross-border labor migration.

This engagement with Sen on development as freedom in relation to cross border mobility uses discourse analysis. In the concept of discourse, "meaning" is neither objective, given nor neutral. It is frequently contested and contradictory as well as embedded in complex social processes. Discourse analysis, therefore, is a study of how meanings are produced and which meanings prevail in society (Clegg and Bailey 2008). This examination of the dominant discourse on mobility hopes to contribute to the advocacy of enlarging people's choices (Sen, 2000) and expanding people's freedom (Sen, 2000) in this age of globalization, specifically in relation to the right of workers to cross national borders.

Development as Freedom

Sen's book has been lauded and quoted by writers and development practitioners alike. But, easy reading it is not. The author tends to be verbose, describing concepts and ideologies in a philosophical way. Simple though the language of the book may be, it is not meant for beginners in development studies. One must have some grounding on the different paradigms, development issues, and even development discourses to fully grasp and fully appreciate the whole book. S/he has to read between the lines, behind the lines and even beyond the lines. Sen transposes the concept of development into the philosophical plane, then brings it into the material plane by inserting some historical data to illustrate his point. This style of writing is a mark of Sen who, as an economic philosopher, questions all kinds of fundamentalisms without directly attacking them. "Development as freedom," both as a book and as an idea, is a gift to the discursive space. In his preface, Sen presents the aim of the book, i.e. "this book is presented mainly for open deliberation and critical scrutiny. I have, throughout my life, avoided giving advice to the 'authorities. 'Indeed, I have never counseled any government, preferring to place my suggestions and critiques- for what they are worth-in the public domain" (p.xiv).

Development as freedom is premised on the liberal philosophy which puts primacy on individual freedoms. Within this framework, Sen advances the capability approach to development. Poverty is seen as the deprivation of capability. This means that people are poor because of the constraints to their personal agency to develop themselves. Though he puts primacy on individual freedom and wellbeing, Sen does not preclude the role of government in laying out the necessary foundations and mechanisms for enhancing one's freedom. He acknowledges the importance of markets but is critical of the unfettered market. He argues that, "(I)t is hard to think that any process of substantial development can do without very extensive use of markets, but that does not preclude the role of social support, public regulation, or statecraft when they can enrich – rather than impoverish-human lives" (p. 7).

Sen explains that the different kinds of freedoms, e.g., political, economic, and social, are interrelated and reinforce one another. Freedoms are both the ends and the means of development. When he posits "poverty as capability deprivation", he draws the reader's attention to the so-called social determinants of poverty. He takes to task welfare economists who look at poverty only in terms of income. People are poor, according to him, because they are deprived of the freedom to access education, seek employment or access health care either through culturally constructed social exclusion or deficiencies in social policies. Economists, he asserts, are too concerned with efficiency, neglecting the equity aspect.

Sen's concept of capability is something that should be cultivated by enhancing the social environment. He argues that, "(C)ombining extensive use of markets with the development of social opportunities must be seen as a part of a still broader comprehensive approach that also emphasizes freedoms of other kinds (democratic rights, security guarantees, opportunities of cooperation and so on).... the identification of different instrumental freedoms (such as economic entitlements, democratic freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security is based on the recognition of their respective roles as well as their complementarities" (p.127).

Sen espouses human capability rather than human capital. For him, the human person should not just be viewed as a capital to enhance production. Rather, the human person should be valued as a person.

Development as Freedom vis-a-vis Mobility

It is worth noting that Sen discusses economic freedom extensively, relating it to political and social freedom. But, he is silent on freedom of mobility. This glossing over of mobility as a fundamental freedom that enhances a person's capability may be due to the fact that Sen's context was the nation-state. Mobility is not seen as problematic within a nation state; it is a given. In this age of globalization, however, freedom has also assumed a global dimension. There is, therefore, a need to broaden the analysis of development as freedom beyond the boundaries of the nation state.

Development as freedom, together with the capability approach, can be made operational beyond the context of the nation-state, as gleaned from important statements in the book, to wit:

- "Social arrangements may be decisively important in securing and expanding the freedom of the individual. Individual freedoms are influenced, on one side, by the social safeguarding of liberties, tolerance, and the possibility of exchange and transactions." (pp. 41-42)
- "Development can be seen....as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy." (Introduction)
- Development as a "friendly process" in contrast to the "toughness and discipline" of some states... (p. 35)
- Expanding/enhancement of human freedom (pp. 3, 36, 37, 41, 53)
- Advancing freedom of other types (p.3)

Mobiity and International Covenants

If Sen explains development as freedom as a philosophical treatise, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly instituted fundamental freedoms and rights of human beings through the different International Human Rights Instruments. This section looks into the way the UN instruments frame the concepts of mobility, work/labour and migration. The linkage of "human rights" and "development as freedom" enrich their advocacy component because, according to Gasper (2004) "(T)he capability/capabilities approach offers justifications for specific human rights, and also must work through such legal instruments."

A review of the International Bill of Human Rights (United Nations, 1988) is included here since it embodies the fundamental freedoms and rights of human beings. Although the Bill is composed of four documents, it is taken as one because it is believed that human rights are indivisible.

If Sen discusses *freedoms* from an abstract plane, the International Bill of Human Rights sets the standards for the fulfillment of freedoms; and through its Covenants, transforms the standards into a force of law for those who ratify them. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families which entered into force on July 1, 2003, is also reviewed. The Migrant Workers' Convention is considered as the principal human rights instruments for the protection and advancing the human rights of migrant workers and their families.

Review of Particular Provisions of International Human Rights Documents

On Mobility

PROVISIONS	REMARKS
Art.13: 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. 2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country	The assumption here is that the right to mobility is accorded to every citizen of the nation-state. Freedom of mobility includes leaving one's own country. This, however, does not guarantee that one will be accepted in the country of destination.
Art. 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the right and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.	This provision is part of the last three provisions of the UDHR, a visionary provision which, as early as 1948, already foresaw the emergence of an international rights advocates in lobbying for the recognition of human rights of irregular migrant workers.
Art. 12.1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence. 2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own. 3. The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedom of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant. 4. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country. Art. 13. An alien lawfully in the territory of a State party to the present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and represented for the purpose before, the competent	This is a reiteration of Art. 13 of the UDHR. Article 12.2 provides freedom to leave one's country but does not give assumance that one will be accepted in the destination country. Art 12.3, however, provides for restrictions on mobility due to the reasons outlined in the provision. Art. 13 provides for the expulsion of an alien provided proper procedures are observed.
	Art. 13: 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. 2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country Art. 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the right and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized. Art. 12.1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence. 2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own. 3. The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedom of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant. 4. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country. Art. 13. An alien lawfully in the territory of a State party to the present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and represented for the

HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS	PROVISIONS	REMARKS
International Covenant on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families	Article 5. For the purpose of the present Convention, migrant workers and members of their families: a) Are considered as documented or in a regular situation if they are authorized to enter, to stay and to engage in a remunerated activity in the State OF Employment pursuant to the law of that state and to international agreements to which that State is a party. b) Are considered as non-documented or in an irregular situation if they do not comply with the conditions provided for in subparagraph (a) of the present article. Article 8. 1.) Migrant workers and members of their families shall be free to leave any State, including their State of origin. This right shall not be subject to restrictions except those that are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present part of the Convention. 2.) Migrant workers and members of their families shall have the right at any time to enter and remain in their State of origin.	The International Covenant on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families, an instrument considered to be the MAGNA CARTA of Migrant Workers does not deviate from the conventional way of looking at freedom of mobility. It echoes the conventional statements in the International Bill of Human Rights which state the freedom to remain, leave and return to one's country of origin but does not mention the right to enter and remain in another country. Article 5 explicitly states that entry to a country other than one's own should be in accordance with the laws of that country. This shows that even if the Migrant Workers Convention articulates the other human rights of migrant workers, it still follows the Westphallian state/citizenship framework in terms of looking at mobility.

On Work/Labor

HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENT	PROVISIONS	REMARKS
Universal Declaration on Human Rights	Art.23.1 Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.	This provision does not explicitly state the domain of the application of the rights. However, in actual practice, this has been confined within the borders of the nation state.
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	Art.6.1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right. 2. The steps to be taken by a State Party to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.	Since States Parties are explicitly mentioned, it is assumed that they provide the opportunities to enable persons to work. Art. 6 actually lays out concepts akin to the capability approach espoused by Sen. In this provision, the substantive freedom to choose one's work is explicit.
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	Art. 2.1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave trade in all their forms shall be prohibited. 2. No one shall be held in servitude. 3. a) No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.	This provision is clear about the domain of the application of rights. It has been used by migrant rights advocates in calling the attention of receiving countries and employers in receiving countries to address the appalling conditions of semi-skilled and unskilled migrant workers.

On Irregular Labor Migration

HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENT	PROVISIONS	REMARKS
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families	Art. 68.1. States Parties, including states of transit, shall collaborate with a view to preventing and eliminating illegal or clandestine movements and employment of migrant workers in an irregular situation.	The provisions assume that irregular migration is bad; therefore, it should be contained and managed. While enshrining the human rights of migrant workers and their families in countries of employment, the Convention fails to question and challenge the dominant discourse of mobility, i.e. mobility within the confines of the borders of one's own nation-state.

Conclusion

Migrant workers contribute to both countries of origin and destination. Governments, especially of destination countries, should recognize their economic and socio-cultural contributions and adopt measures to protect and advance their human rights, including the right to mobility. Stringent cross border laws do not decrease migration. Rather, they lead to the flourishing of the illegal recruitment trade. Illegal recruitment and human trafficking generate up billions of dollars annually. Enhancing cross border mobility, especially among countries within the same regions or countries sharing borders, will hopefully diminish these illicit trades; hence, desperate migrant workers need not seek help from illegal recruiters.

Even if mobility is one of the fundamental freedoms, cross border mobility is governed by stringent laws. Liberalization of services in the age of globalization and mobility favor professionals and skilled workers. Unskilled and semi skilled workers, who, among others, have the most reasons to migrate and are actually economically needed by destination countries, are often unable to meet the strict requirements of immigration.

This engagement concludes that even if the conceptual domain of Sen's "development as freedom" is set within the border of a nation-state, "development as freedom" as a concept has the potential to expand freedom of mobility beyond national borders as advanced by the UNDP 2009 Human Development Report. Freedom of mobility across national borders, though, demands political will, at least among regional conglomerations (International Organization of Migration, 2007). Ironically, the most often quoted documents by migrant right advocates, the documents which supposedly advance human rights of migrant workers are framed in the dominant discourse of mobility, a discourse which confines mobility within the borders of the nation-state.

Yolanda G. Ealdama, is a member of the Faculty of Social Work of U.P. College of Social Work and Community Development. She teaches Social Work and Migration. She used to work with Migrant Forum in Asia, a network of migrant workers' organization and migrant workers' advocates in Asia. She is currently a member of the Board of Trustees of Unlad Kabayan Migrant Workers Services, Inc.

References

- Discourse. (2008). In C. Stewart & J. Bailey (Eds). International encyclopedia of organizational studies. (Vol.1). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Gasper, D. (2004). The ethics of development. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- International convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families. http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cmw.htm
- International Organization for Migration. (2007). International dialogue on migration. Free movement of persons in regional integration processes. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Sen, A. (2000). Development as freedom. New York: Anchor Books.
- United Nations. (1988). The international bill of human rights. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Development Program. (2002). Human development report 2002:

 Deepening Democracy in a fragmented world. Retrieved March 20, 2010
 from http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR 2002 EN_Complete.pdf
- United Nations Development Program. (2009). 2009 Human development report: Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development. New York: UNDP.

Filipino Seafarers: How Are They Faring? (A Situationer)

Thelma B. Magcuro

The article gives an overview on the local and international seafaring industry, and the situation of its primary workforce, the seafarers. It shows the crucial role of the seafarers in local and international development and their significant contributions to the country as one of the highest contributors of remittances. Furthermore, it examines major issues confronted by the Filipino seafarers by virtue of the nature of their work amidst a changing global seafaring industry.

Introduction

There are a number of seafarers in my family and I have seen the extent of their efforts to do their job well in service of the people and their country. I have shared in many of their struggles and issues in their personal and professional lives. I have a brother who has been a seafarer for 22 years and three cousins, two of whom are third mates, who have been seafaring for an average of 19 years. In the last two years, three nephews have come on board.

Far from the common notion that seafarers and their families live a life of comfort and financial stability, my experience with my relatives and their circle of friends who are mostly seafarers too, shows a cycle of financial highs and lows. While they are on board, which can be from six months to two years, there is relative financial stability for the family because of the monthly allotment or remittance. A few months after the contract ends, cash becomes scarce and families start to borrow from various sources. Or they sell appliances and other assets. The duration of living off loans is contingent on how fast the seafarer can get a new contract. As contractuals, seafarers have no job security and are at the mercy of manning agencies and/or shipping companies.

Apart from financial concerns, seafarers and their families also contend with loneliness and a sense of isolation. There are stories of husbands and wives who engage in extramarital relationships, or turn to alcohol, and/or throw away money in casinos to compensate for the loneliness arising from long periods of separation. These situations give rise to family problems which the whole clan helps to resolve as in the case of some of my relatives.

In my search for academic materials on seafarers, I discovered that, unlike landbased overseas Filipinos, not much has been written about them. My interviews with ordinary people to determine their familiarity with the situation of seafarers (or seamen as they are popularly called) revealed that little was known about seafarers apart from two common impressions. One was the running joke that says" in every port, report; in every place, replace" which refers to seafarers having a woman in every port. The second was that they earn big dollars. While the two impressions may have some basis in fact, there is much more to know about their contributions to the country's development and their important role in global development.

This article presents a general picture of the seafaring industry, the profile of Filipino seafarers, and their contributions to national and international development. Moreover, it discusses the current issues and challenges they face as a sector, and government programs meant to benefit them and their families. Data were obtained from secondary materials, personal interviews and three focus group discussions (FGDs) with seafarers. The FGDs were conducted on September 21, October 11 and 18, 2010 with six, eight and ten participants, respectively.

An Overview of Filipino Migration

Various history books claim that as early as the 1400s, Filipinos were already trading with Asian neighbors like China, thereby encouraging mobility Ang, 2006).

Likewise, in the 1700s, some trade galleons plying the Manila-Acapulco route were manned by Filipino seafarers, a number of whom would later settle in

the bayous of Louisiana in the United States (US). Organized migration, however, came at a much later date, in the early 1900s, during the American colonial period, with the high demand for plantation workers in Hawaii (Bautista, 2002).

Overseas migration of Filipinos is said to have happened in waves. The first wave consisted of the massive transport of Filipinos to Hawaii as agricultural workers and the deployment of a significant number of scholars or "pensionados" from the elite segment of Philippine society as part of the US colonial government's strategy to win over influential groups to its intent of establishing a commonwealth government.

The 2nd wave took place after World War II when the US government opened its doors to Filipino soldiers who served in the US armed forces, and their families. This privilege extended to Filipino brides of American servicemen. The same period was also marked with unprecedented reforms in the immigration laws of the governments of Canada, Australia and the US, specially in relation to Asian immigrants (Ang. 2008).

The 3rd wave began in the 1970s, a period of severe unemployment in the country, specially among professionals. Martial law did not bring the promised New Society. From 1971-1975, the average unemployment rate was 11.72% (DOLE, 2003). The oil boom in the Middle East led to many economic opportunities, particularly in infrastructure development, that created a demand for skilled and semi-skilled Filipino workers and professionals. The Marcos dictatorship favorably responded to this by instituting the overseas employment program in 1974.

The 3rd wave continues to this day. It includes the subsequent deployment of tens of thousands of women and men workers to newly industrialising Asian countries like Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan, and other countries all over the globe. The nature of jobs started to diversify, too- from construction and engineering services to domestic or household labor, to entertainment and more recently, to health and other allied services. A common running joke is that, "wherever you go in the world today you will surely meet a Filipino, from the North Pole to the South Pol, and in all points of the equator."

Overseas Filipinos may be categorized into three: permanent or settler immigrants (about 3.5M in 2006), such as those in the US, Canada, Australia, and Germany; overseas contract workers (3.8M) whose stay abroad is temporary and dependent on a work contract such as those in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea; and undocumented workers (800,000+) who emigrated for different reasons, living and working abroad without proper documentation (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2006).

There are push and pull factors that affect an individual's decision to seek work abroad. Three major reasons can be considered: more job opportunities, better income, and good welfare and social services in the host country.

More job opportunities for higher income are available overseas, attracting not only the unemployed but also the employed in the Philippines. Many Filipinos leave permanent jobs to go abroad for better pay. Nurses, for example, have been leaving the country by tens of thousands. A nurse's initial gross monthly salary in the Philippines can go as low as US\$174.00. It pales in comparison to what s/he stands to earn in the US, i.e. US\$3,000 (gross income) or 129,000 pesos (http://www.payscale.com). Nowhere in the Philippines can a nurse earn that much.

Another reason could be the availability of efficient social and welfare services. Others opt to work abroad hoping to go to another country with very good social services (e.g., health, education, housing) with the intent of bringing the whole family.

The Philippines has a very poor social service system. The government does not allocate enough resources for social welfare services. Education, health and housing costs are prohibitive and are borne mainly by individuals and families.

Hence, overseas migration offers possibilities of putting oneself and his/her family in a strong position to attain a better quality of life.

The Seafaring Industry

The international shipping industry is responsible for the carriage of 90% of world trade; hence, it is considered as the lifeblood of the global economy (ISF-world trade flyer.pdf). Without shipping, it would be almost impossible to conduct intercontinental trade. The bulk of raw materials cannot be transported to parts of the world where it is needed, import and export of food and other products cannot be done. As a result, half of the world could starve and the other half could freeze to death (ISF-world trade flyer.pdf). It is the availability of low cost and efficient maritime transport that has made possible the large shift towards industrial production in Asia which, in turn, has led to recent improvements in global living standards. Virtually all sectors of the industry have benefited from the recent global shipping boom (ISF-world trade flyer.pdf).

Between maritime nations, there are about 10,000 shipping companies involved in international trades operating about 50,000 ships. The ships are of various types, providing different services. They may be categorized into four:

- Container Ships- carry most of the world's manufactured goods and products, usually on scheduled liner services. The latest generation of container ships can carry the equivalent of 10,000 heavy trucks.
- 2. Bulk Carriers the work horses of the fleet, transporting raw materials such as iron ore, coal and foodstuffs, and are identifiable by the hatches raised above deck level which cover the large cargo holds. The largest bulk carriers can transport enough grain to feed nearly four million people for a month.
- 3. Tankers transport crude oil, chemicals and petroleum products. More than 70% of the world's oceangoing tankers now have double hulls. The largest tankers can carry over 300,000 tons of oil, enough to heat an entire city for a year.
- 4. Other ships that include car carriers, gas carriers, heavy-lift vessels and ships supporting the offshore oil industry. There are also a large number of smaller general cargo ships. Ferries and passenger ships which usually

perform shorter journeys for a mix of passengers, cars and commercial vehicles. Many of these ships are Ro-Ro (roll on-roll off). The number of luxury cruise ships has also expanded greatly in recent years (http://www.shipping facts.com).

A typical ship has three departments, i.e. deck, engine and steward departments. The following compose the crew of each department:

A. Deck Department

- Master/Captain is the person in command of the vessel and all its departments. S/he is usually in-charge of the payroll, paperwork, on bridge for entry and departure on ports and checks on navigational watches. S/he is almost always a day worker except during emergencies or crises.
- Chief Mate directly supervises the Bosun, 2nd and 3nd mates during all deck evolutions (cargo, maintenance/repairs/drills). On most ships, s/he keeps watch over the navigation, which is done both day and night.
- Second Mate is responsible for all aspects of navigation, which
 includes voyage planning, chart/publication correction, navigation
 equipment maintenance, cargo watch and recently communications
 responsibilities as well. At port, s/he is responsible for the safe and
 efficient transfer of cargo.
- Third Mate is responsible for all safety inspections, is usually designated as a medical officer, maintains navigation watch while at sea and is in-charge of cargo watch while at port.
- Deck Cadet is usually a student from a Maritime Academy doing a sea apprenticeship to become a Third Mate.
- Bosun/Boatswain is the highest unlicensed rating that supervises all Able-bodied (A/B) seamen usually during deck maintenance and repair.
- Able Bodied Seaman (A/B)/Leading Seaman/Quartermaster is responsible for keeping a lookout for other vessels, land masses, etc.

- and steering the vessel in and out of port. Deck maintenance usually include chipping rust, painting, lubricating fittings, cleaning various areas and splicing line.
- Ordinary Seaman (O/S) is almost the same as the A/B but they are not allowed to do steering job and the concentration of work is cleaning the vessel.

B. Engine Department

- Chief Engineer is in-charge of the Engine Department and is responsible for most paperwork, ordering, maintaining spare parts inventory and directly supervises critical engine repairs.
- 2. 1st Assistant Engineer is in-charge of all engine room repairs and maintenance. S/he maintains overtime records, and can either be a watch standee or day worker for the same reason as a Chief Mate.
- 2nd Assistant Engineer- maintains an engine room watch and is responsible for the smooth operation of all engine room system. S/he also checks on engine room systems.
- 3rd Assistant Engineer- maintains an engine room watch and is responsible for the smooth operation of all engine room system. S/he also checks on engine room systems.
- 4th Assistant Engineer maintains an engine room watch and is responsible for the smooth operation of all engine room system. S/he also checks on engine room systems.
- Engine Cadet is usually a student from a Maritime Academy doing apprenticeship to become a Third Assistant Engineer.
- Electrician is responsible for anything on a ship's electrical system.
- Mechanic is responsible for taking apart of machinery and their repairs
 usually under the supervision of the day engineer.
- Motorman makes rounds in the Engine Room and reports to the Engineer on watch, and assists as directed.
- Oiler/unlicensed Junior Engineer makes rounds, cleans and assists as directed.

 Wiper – is responsible for cleaning various engine spaces and assists as directed.

C. Steward Department

- Chief Steward is in-charge of the steward department, create daily menus, orders and stocks sufficient amounts of food for the voyage, cooks, bakes and prepares food.
- Chief Cook cooks, bakes and prepares food.
- General Steward Utility/Bedroom is responsible for cleaning officers' staterooms and cleaning gallery areas around meal hours (General Information on Seafaring. Martin's Seafaring Page). Hiring of seafarers to man various shipping vessels are based on the various positions outlined above.

Current Profile of Filipino Seafarers

Filipino seafarers are in high demand in the global seafaring industry. They account for 20 percent of the world's total merchant fleet of over 1.2 million. Figures from the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) show that 330,424 seafarers were deployed in 2009, posting a 26.3% change from the previous figure of 261,614 in 2008 (Flores, 2010). This 2009 total also accounts for 23 per cent of the 1,422,586 Filipinos (including landbased ones) deployed in the same year.

The increase in deployment figures from 2007-09 indicates that the shipping industry has already started to recover from the effects of the global recession. Said recession resulted to the decline in international trade, forcing some companies to shut down or streamline its operations, and cancel contracts for cargo handling.

By flag of registry, Panamanian-registered ships took in a little over a fifth (20.4 per cent) of the base figure of 329,728 seafarers. They are followed by

ships registered with the Bahamas (10.9 per cent), Liberia (9 per cent), Marshall Island (5.4 per cent) and Singapore (4.7 per cent). Ships registered with European countries (Malta, Norway, United Kingdom, Cyprus and the Netherlands) account for 16.8 per cent of seafarers in 2009, (Refer to Table 1).

Table 1. Deployment of Seafarers by Top Ten Flag of Registry: 2007 - 2009

	2007	2008	2009
Total	226,900	244,144	329,728
1. Panama	51,619	53,912	67,361
2. Bahamas	29,681	29,177	36,054
3. Liberia	21,966	21,632	29,796
4. Marshall Island	9,772	11.859	18,068
5. Singapore	10,308	12,130	15,674
6. Malta	7,513	11,025	14,786
7. Norway	8,188	8,883	11,447
8. United Kingdom	8,172	8,232	10,313
9. Cyprus	7,052	7,446	9,425
10. Netherlands	7,017	7,796	9,281

Source: 2009 Overseas Employment Statistics, Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

At least 96 per cent of Filipino seafarers are men. (See Table No. 2) Table No. 3 shows the top 10 occupations they are in. Those working as able seamen constitute the biggest segment at 14 per cent in 2009, followed by oilers.

Recently, there has been an increasing number of women joining the seafaring business serving as service, technical and administrative employees, particularly in passenger and industrial ships. In 2006, a total of 6,436 female seafarers registered with POEA, increasing slightly to 6,619 in 2007.

Table 2. Deployed Seafarers by Sex, 2007, 2006

Sex	OFW Deployment			Share to Total	
	2007	2006	Growth rate	2007	2006
Male	216,874	222,575	-2.6%	96%	97%
Female	6,619	6,436	2.8%	3%	3%
Not Stated	3,407	1,011	237.%	2%	0.4%
Total	226,900	230,022	-1.4%		

Source: Overseas Employment Statistics 2007, Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

Table 3. Deployment of Seafarers by Top Ten Occupations: 2007 - 2009

-	2007	2008	2009
TOTAL	226,900	244,144	329,728
1. Able Seaman	31,818	34,563	45,338
2. Oiler	19,491	20,941	27,483
3. Ordinary Seaman	17,355	18,715	23,737
4. Chief Cook	7,778	9,022	12,651
5. Second Mate	7,873	8,694	12,119
6. Bosun	7,737	8,603	11,555
7. Messman	7,810	8,320	10,536
8. Third Engineer Officer	7,056	7,995	11,307
9. Third Mate	6,559	7,349	9,857
10. Second Engineer Officer	6,369	6,878	9,557

Source: 2009 Overseas Employment Statistics, Philippine Overseas Employment Administration Data from the POEA for 2009 indicate that 38 per cent of seafarers are in bulk carriers and passenger ships. (See Table No. 4) Passenger ships include cruise ships which, compared to other types of vessels, require more personnel.

Table 4. Deployment of Seafarers by Top Ten Vessel Type: 2007 - 2009

	2007	2008	2009
TOTAL	226,900	244,144	329,728
1. Bulk Carrier	42,357	46,732	62,229
2. Passenger	47,782	44,866	61,705
3. Container	31,983	36,614	44,276
4. Tanker	25,011	24,056	30,459
5. Oil/Product Tanker	14,462	15,702	22,366
6. General Cargo	10,754	11,763	14,695
7. Chemical Tanker	7,902	10,891	17,179
8. Tugboat	6,610	7,205	10,347
9. Pure Car Carrier	5,743	6,398	7,918
10. Gas Tanker	3,471	4,235	6,187

Source: 2009 Overseas Employment Statistics, Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

Filipino seafarers are reportedly in demand because of their industriousness and relatively good communication skills. They also have a good attitude towards work and high level of adaptability to various situations. Compared to other nationalities, Filipinos are one of the groups capable of establishing good interpersonal relationships, even with co-workers of different nationalities and culture.

Seafaring and National Development

The seafaring industry serves a vital function in the arena of global development. It plays a very important role in the delivery of goods such as oil, chemicals and machineries that are needed in the operations of important industries, and the production of food and other basic needs of countries and economies. Without it, many countries will suffer problems in running their industries, programs and services, eventually leading to chaos.

In the case of the Philippines, the seafaring industry is doubly important particularly in view of its archipelagic nature and the economy's import dependence and export orientation. Much of the country's needs come from overseas because it purportedly does not have the capacity nor the capital to produce basic machineries for industrial development. In fact, even rice and other agricultural products are already imported inasmuch as large tracts of agricultural lands are rapidly being converted into residential and commercial ones.

Seafarers play a key role in domestic trade and passenger shipping. They are largely involved in the operation of domestic shipping for river, coastal and inter-island trades, and passenger shipping. Without seafarers, goods and services cannot be transferred from one location to another and the domestic economy will slow down tremendously. Products will be spoiled, local industries will stop and basic goods and services that people need will not be delivered on time. Such a situation will have serious repercussions to people's health and their everyday life and could lead to serious problems on peace and order.

Seafarers are not only required to man domestic shipping but they are also important in harbor craft, and ports as well as a range of commercial marine-related services. These include personnel in government transport ministries, marine departments and agencies, port operations and management, rescue vessels, cargo surveyors, shipbuilding and repair, cargo agents and freight forwarding, offshore oil exploration and production and a host of other marine-related activities.

As overseas contract workers, seafarers, particularly those on foreign merchant ships, are a significant source of remittances. In 2009, they wired home a total of US\$3.4 billion, up by US\$366 million from \$3.034 billion in 2008. The 2009 remittance figure reflects a 12.06 percent growth which was nearly three times faster than the 4.15 percent or \$555 million year-on-year increase in the cash sent home by their land-based counterparts (Inquirer.net, Nov. 2, 2010). Overseas Filipinos' remittances keep the Philippine economy afloat, specially amidst global economic and financial crisis.

Issues and Problems

Contrary to the common belief that seafarers live a privileged life, the truth is they are one of the most vulnerable groups of workers. They are exposed to the physical dangers of life at sea, unscrupulous ships' masters and a life of boring routine and constant loneliness. It is a life of severe peril and exertion Terry, 2009). While many of the sea vessels have modernized, they are still affected by climate changes and movements of the sea. The system that operates in the seafaring industry have evolved, too, giving rise to a host of problems for seafarers (Terry, 2009).

The three focus group discussions conducted by the author reveal the following issues and problems of seafarers:

 Increasing exposure to danger as a result of the rise in piracy and other transnational crimes like trafficking in drugs and in persons, and smuggling

Many Filipino seafarers are either languishing in jails in other countries, having been involved wittingly or unwittingly in said crimes, or are being kept as prisoners by hijackers who constantly attack sea vessels, especially those that pass by the South China Sea, East and West Africa and the Indian Ocean.

According to the report presented by then Administrator Ma. Elena H. Bautista of the Maritime Industry Administration in July 2009, a total of 20 sea vessels were attacked and robbed by pirates from April of 2008 until April 2009. Of the total crew members affected, 257 were Filipinos.

This situation creates fear among seafarers and political tension between nations as well. But, perhaps the greatest effect is on family members and relatives, not only in terms of stress but also in the interruption of economic support, or at worst, the loss of life of the seafarer.

 High level of health hazards (occupational, psycho-social, STDs/ HIV-AIDS)

Occupational

Although the number of accidents and disasters at sea has dropped over the years, occupational hazards remain a challenge to seafarers because of the very nature of their work and work environment. Ships founder during storms, typhoons and heavy gales. Collisions at sea occur because of poor visibility.

Accidents happen even during good weather. There have been fatalities due to falls inside and into cargo holds; asphyxiation or exposure to hazardous chemicals; or accidentally being stricken by cable wires or equipments aboard.

Psycho-social

Seafaring is associated with work-related mental, psychosocial and physical stressors. Most contracts of Filipino seafarers are from 8 months to 12 months, and in some cases, up to 2 years at a time. So, the seafarer is away from his/her family for long durations, and the only social group s/he is in constant contact with are other crew members and officers (Olderburg,

et al., 2010). Contact with family members may be limited by the absence or the high costs of offshore telecommunications. Consequently, a deep feeling of isolation sometimes develops among seafarers. It could lead to psychological and emotional stress which, in extreme cases, end in suicide. One FGD participant related that one of his crewmates was found dead by hanging in his cabin. Another participant had a friend who also committed suicide a week after he returned home. Although the suicide did not happen in the ship, he believes that the trigger may have started in the ship. A few months before disembarking, crewmates already noticed some unusual behavior from his friend.

This sense of isolation and loneliness may sometimes push seafarers to resort to alcohol. Alcohol consumption is high among seafarers. People accept it as a natural consequence of being away for a long time and as a necessity by those who are assigned to cold countries. But, according to the FGD participants, they usually drink to entertain themselves, to put them to sleep or simply to forget their loneliness.

STDs and HIV-AIDS

Seafarers have a culture of risky sexual behavior which includes having multiple sexual partners. Unlike their Western counterparts, Filipinos have a low consciousness about protecting themselves. They prefer to engage in unprotected sex in the belief that using condoms and other protective methods lessen the pleasure of sex. They are also fond of having penile implants, again with the notion that these increase the sexual pleasure of both partners.

The tendency to engage in reckless sexual activity is a result of interlocking factors. Due to the nature of services of the shipping industry, seafarers are very mobile, moving from one location to another at a fast pace; hence, the length of stay at ports of call is limited, and does not leave much time for rest and leisure. This uncertainty as to when the next

opportunity for rest will come explains the their tendency to enjoy to the fullest their rest days in between travels, most of the time making them reckless and irresponsible in their sexual behavior.

The FGD participants said that sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) are very common among them. In fact, STDS are just like an ordinary cough or fever which is no cause for alarm. When one of them contracts an STD, the simple solution would be antibiotics. Even HIV-AIDS does not scare them. As of December 2007, seafarers accounted for 33% of all OFWs infected with Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). Seafarers are often one of the hardest hit by the economic and social impacts of HIV infection. They are also more likely to transmit the virus to their wives or female partners and children (ACHIEVE, 2005).

3. Decreasing job opportunities as a result of limited capacity to respond to fast-changing international standards in seafaring

With the modernization taking pace in the international seafaring industry, changes in standards that are being implemented have adversely affected Filipino seafarers in terms of job opportunities. Although the Philippines remains to be the number one source of seafarers for international vessels, it is starting to be challenged by other Asian countries like China and India. China and India have been more aggressive compared to the Philippines in upgrading the quality of education provided by their maritime schools, as well as the knowledge and skills of their graduates so they can be competitive and at par with international standards.

According to the Drewry Annual Manning Report of 2008, there is a global shortage in deck and engineering officers by as much as 34,000 and this could double by 2012 given the rate of growth of commercial vessels worldwide (Manila Bulletin, April 21, 2008). Unfortunately, the Philippines cannot immediately respond to this opportunity given its limitations in producing qualified seafarers. Such limitations result from weaknesses of

training institutions which may be considered sub-standard in their instruction and facilities.

De-skilling and depersonalizing of seafarers as a result of intense global competition

The international seafaring industry was one of the sectors hardest hit by the recent global recession. Compared to previous years, the last 3 years has been marked by closures and folding up of a significant number of multinational companies. This has greatly reduced the volume of business of the shipping industry which consequently prompted ship owners to streamline its operations resulting to the retrenchment of some seafarers.

Modernization is also being done continuously for greater efficiency and optimum profits. As a consequence, many ship owners have also been doing retrenchments and reductions in crewing levels. Such changes have exacted a heavy toll on the remaining crew because of overload, longer working hours, and shortened sleeping time and rest period. Ideally, seafarers should render a service of 8 hours a day or a maximum of 10 hours a day. Today, many seafarers work 80-90 hours a week, specially on busy waterways. This is a dangerous situation because over fatigue and information overload could lead to serious miscalculations and accidents (Binghay, 2007).

Lack of standard policies to protect and promote the rights and welfare of Filipino seafarers resulting to discrimination and abuse.

"In the last ship where I was assigned, I found out that there were plenty of illegal things that the captain and the chief mate were doing. They were not giving us (Filipino crew) the right amount of basic supplies that were supposed to be provided to us. They were not providing us also with enough and quality food, and we were not allowed to communicate with our families. Later we found out that that they had better food (the officers and the other crew who were of the same nationality with them), they had over supplies and

they even had their own parties in one of the officers' cabin. There were several occasions too when our salaries were delayed, and our families back home were already in debt." (Jorge, A Visayan seaman)

There is discrimination between Western and Asian crew. It is not only manifested in terms of food and supplies but even in salaries and working hours. Filipinos are oftentimes assigned longer working hours and heavy workloads.

Within the Philippines, there is also a practice of abusing marine graduates applying for a job in a manning agency. There is a widely accepted practice of getting new graduates as "utilities" in the office with the promise that if a job opening becomes available then the "utility" can be considered a priority in terms of being hired. In practice, however, many of the so called utility personnel become forced and unpaid laborers not only of the office but even for personal use of some officers and staff of the manning agency.

"When I was applying for work, I started as a "utility" doing errands for the office but most of the time serving as a personal driver to the children of 'Capitan', I did it for almost two years. I had free food and sometimes I was given some cash, but most of it was volunteer work. Ironically, it was another company which gave me the first opportunity to work onboard."(Dan, Able/ Seaman).

Many seafarers are contractual in terms of employment. As such they are vulnerable to abuse of officers and even by manning agencies. While there are existing unions among seafarers, the greater number of seafarers are not unionized, therefore it is very easy to abuse them and to threaten them. The nature of employment in seafaring is such that the word of the Master or Ship Captain is the rule and any negative remark from the captain can make or break a seafarer's career.

There are numerous abuses by ship captains but much of it is not checked because of the culture of silence among seafarers. They specially fear being "blacklisted". When a seafarer is blacklisted his/her name is circulated among the shipping lines telling ship owners and manning companies not to entertain and to hire said person because of several reasons which can be made up specially if the person got the ire of his/her previous officers.

"I preferred to go home rather than quarrel with my Captain, although I really wanted to wring his neck. He was always mad at me and I didn't know why, and it came to a point where we almost had a boxing spree. I thought of reporting his abuses to the ship-owner and some organizations of seafarers but after a consultation with some fellow crewmembers, the common sentiment was to let it go for fear of my being blacklisted and losing the chance of another contract in the future." (Rod, Bosun)

Conclusion

The Filipino seafarers play a very significant role not only in the country's development but also in international development. They are instrumental in the transfer of goods and services vital to the needs of people, industries and communities and nations in general. In terms of resources, they were able to contribute US\$ 3.4 Billion to the country's (Philippines) coffers for 2009. However, while they are making significant contributions to development, in general, they are beset by problems affecting their personal lives and that of their families as well as their professional lives.

If their significant role and contribution to the country's development is to be sustained, then the right support and environment should be provided to allow their sector to grow and develop at par with the needs of the international seafaring industry and equal if not better than the quality of its international competitors.

Recommendations and Way Forward:

 Lobby for a government's strong support to strengthen and develop the local shipping industry The Philippine government developed a Maritime 2000 Program which served as a blueprint for the Philippine maritime industry to include shipbuilding, repair and manning and accelerated implementation of Republic No. 7471, s-1992 (Act to Promote Development Overseas Shipping Company) which exempts companies in overseas shipping from import duties on vessels and spare parts.

To date, only a limited output in upgrading our domestic fleet have been achieved, the maritime industry continues to be beset with problems. The Philippine merchant fleet engaged in international shipping is continuously declining. Seafarers' organizations and other development advocate groups should lobby for a stronger government support to strengthen and expand the Philippine Maritime Industry so that more jobs can be created both for local and international destinations for Filipino Seafarers. An improved maritime industry will eventually lead to a more dynamic trade and industry with better shipping capacities. More government financing programs for shipping undertakings will encourage and strengthen local investors' capacity to compete with foreign-funded and owned companies.

2. Streamline agencies and policies related to the maritime industry.

There is a number of agencies expected to coordinate on matters of maritime industry. On safety policies, the agencies include the national Disaster Coordinating Council, the Philippine National Police (PNP), the Maritime Industry Authority (MARINA), Philippine Ports Authority (PPA), Department of Local and Interior Government (DILG), Department of National Defense-Armed Forces of the Philippines (DND-AFP). With so many agencies involved, it has created confusion as to which agency should take the lead. There are overlapping functions, therefore certain interventions has to be done to help rationalize things.

3. Strengthen and standardize learning institutions for seafarers

There is quite a number of learning institutions for seafarers in the country both for formal (4 year courses) and for skills upgrading purposes. However, there is no monitoring and regular evaluation of said institutions to ensure that the quality of instructions are indeed at par with acceptable standards nationally and internationally. With the ongoing changes happening in the local and global maritime industry, the quality of graduates being produced should be capable of taking on the evolving challenges of seafaring.

Include new courses which can help prepare future seafarers adjust and work well with crew of multinational origin. Such knowledge and skills will help establish good rapport, effective communication and strong teamwork under ordinary situations and crises situations.

Strengthen medical and psychosocial support services for seafarers onboard and off-board.

This should include facilities for rest and recreation, services for proper medical information and treatments e.g. HIV-AIDS, other medical concerns. New maritime competencies can also be developed to produce seafarers who are competent on medical and safety functions.

Enhance government's services and resources for Filipino seafarers and their families

Considering the amount of contribution of seafarers in terms of remittances, the government should give equal importance to the needs of the seafarers and their families. Efforts should be made to assist seafarers who are detained abroad for whatever reason. Upgrading programs for seafarers should be developed and made available, insurance coverage program, which should include life insurance, burial benefits, disability and dismemberment benefit and reintegration program, livelihood programs.

The government must also address policy decisions which work against seafarers like the new standard employment contract and the application of local wages to Filipino seafarers working for international-bound vessels, the practice of blacklisting and watch listing and the protection of seafarers in cases of bankruptcy and abandonment of principals.

6. Strengthen bilateral relations and push for stronger and fairer partnerships

These will foster equal support for seafarers no matter what their nationalities are in terms of salaries and wages, benefits and other support services. This should include support in times of disasters at sea as in the case of piracy and ship robbery.

7. Push for the passage of Senate Bill 214, "An Act Instituting the Magna Carta of Filipino Seafarers"

This bill will help bring together the various provisions on seafarers scattered in various laws, institute well-meaning reforms in the maritime industry and create a holistic approach to recognizing, emphasizing and advancing the issues and concerns of Filipino seafarers.

At present, there is no law addressing the specific needs and concerns of Seafarers. The major sources of Filipino seafarers' legal rights are:

- The Philippine Constitution of 1987 mandating the State to "afford protection to labor, local and overseas, organized or unorganized, and promote full employment and equal employment opportunities for all."
- The Philippine Labor Code of 1974 which sets provisions on overseas employment of our workers, the hiring and employment of seafarers, the creation of the National Seamen's Board or NSB, operations of crewing agencies, unionism, dispute settlement, the right to collective

bargaining, the right to strike, and related aspects which have implications on seafarers

- The Philippine Republic Act 8042, otherwise known as the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipino Act of 1995, which is an essential source of legal rights for our seafarers. The Act provides for specific policy thrusts such as the guarantee of migrant workers rights; deregulation or phase out of regulatory functions of specific government agencies, stricter rules on illegal recruitment and the corresponding penalties for such activities, selective deployment, repatriation of workers, and reintegration programs for return migrants.
- The contract is the most important document concerning seafarers' employment. Philippine laws require that the POEA should approve the said contract before seafarers begin to work overseas. Shipping companies and employment agencies are required to use the Revised Standard Employment Terms and Conditions Governing Employment of Filipino Seafarers On-Board Ocean-Going Vessels, this is designed to protect seafarers' rights, or a collective bargaining agreement that meets or exceeds the minimum requirements of the POEA Standard Employment Terms and Condition. Any deviations from the terms of this contract shall be made only with the approval of the POEA (Center for Seafarers' Rights, 2001).

Looking at the above-mentioned legal mandates it could be observed that the policies were general and actually covers migrant workers in general, and has not made mention of specific concerns and issues of seafarers.

Internationally, there is no standards in terms of salaries and wages for Filipino seafarers. The rate of salaries and benefits are defined by the company or employer.

8. Aggressive and continuous advocacy and organizing of seafarers

There are existing seafarers' organizations in the Philippines. Among them are the Philippine Seafarers Union (PSU), Mariners and Allied Transport Employees Union (MATEU), United Filipino Seafarers (UFS), International Seamen's Mutual labor Association (ISLA), Master and Mates Association of the Philippines (MMAP). Despite the number of seafarers organizations a lot of seafarers remain un-unionized and therefore unprotected. Despite the challenge of organizing seafarers due to the nature of being scattered geographically, it is still imperative and should be a task by advocates and friends to continuously look for them and reach out to them.

Seafarers should be united not only in the Philippines but with all other seafarers globally. The task is gargantuan but it is the only way to push and demand for the issues and concerns of seafarers. The union is the only viable instrument that can truly help protect the rights of the seafarers.

Thelma B. Magcuro is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Commity Development, UP College of Social Work and Community Development. She has extensive exposure to community development work, particularly in the field of socio-economic work. She is also actively engaged in gender and development work-related projects and has worked with families of overseas Filipino workers on sustainable livelihood projects. Among her other interests are community education, participatory action research, and project monitoring and evaluation.

References

- ACHIEVE. (2005). A qualitative study of the risks and vulnerabilities of Filipino seafarers to HIV infection and an assessment of current intervention policies and programs. (2nd draft).
- Ang, D. (2008). Philippine international migration: Causes and consequences. Lecture At Dalhousie University, Canada 16 April 2008. Retrieved September 18, 2010 from http://www.cfo.gov.ph/pdf/messages/DAA%20speech%20 on%20migration.pdf
- Ang-See, T. (2006, May 25). From king to peasant. The saga of the Sultan of Sulu. The ManilaTimes. Retrieved September 15,2010 from http://www. highbeam.com/doc/1P3-104189848.html
- Bautista, V. (2002). The Filipino Americans: Their history, culture and traditions (2nd ed.). Naperville Illinois: Bookhaus. Retrieved September 12, 2010 from http://www.msc.edu.ph/centennial/bautista.html
- Binghay, V. (2007). Ensuring occupational health and safety for overseas Filipino seafarers. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, School of Labor and Industrial Relations.
- Commission on Filipino Overseas. (2006). Filipino seafarers' rights under Philippine law. Retrieved October 15, 2010 from http://www.seamens.church.org/CSR%20Website/philippines.htm
- Flores, R. (2010). Deployment of RP seafarers continues; many from Cebu.

 Retrieved October 15,2010 from http://www.sunstar.com.ph/cebu/
 deployment-rp-seafarers-continues-many-cebu
- General information on seafaring. Martin's seafaring page. Retrieved on October 12, 2010 from http://www.dieselduck.ca/seafarer/index.htm
- http://www.payscale.com. Retrieved September 20, 2010
- http://www.shipping facts.com retrieved October 11, 2010
- Inquirer.net. Retrieved November 2, 2010 from http://globalnation.inquirer.net/ region/Philippines/view/20101102-301025/Filipino-sailors-remittances-up-250M
- International shipping-carrier of world trade. ISF-worldtradeflyer.pdf. Retrieved October 2, 2010 from:http://www.dieselduck.net

- Oldenburg, et al. (2010). Occupational risks and challenges of seafaring. *Journal of Occupational Health*, 52, 249-256. Retrieved January 20, 2011 from http://joh.med.uoeh-u.ac.jp/pdf/E52/E52_5_01.pdf
- Philippine Department of Labor and Employment. 2003 yearbook of labor statistics. Retrieved September 25, 2010 from http://www.dole.gov.ph/about/moving.htm
- Ramos, F. (2009). The maritime industry. mb.com.ph: Manila PUblishing Corporation. Retrieved February 10, 2011 from http://www.mb.com.ph/ articles/211570/the maritime-industry
- Terry, W. (2009). Working on the the water: On legal space and seafarer protection in the cruise. Retrieved October 18, 2010 from: http://online library. wiley. com/doi/10.1111/j.1944-8287.2009.01045

A Social Protection and Integration Strategy for Children of OFWs: A Case Study on the Psycho-Social Support Program of BUNGA' Foundation, Inc.

Mark Anthony D. Abenir

There is limited literature on how government and non-government agencies conduct psycho-social support programs and how effective these are in helping children left behind by overseas Filipino workers (OFWs). This paper addresses the gap by analyzing the ANAK program of BUNGA Foundation Inc. It makes use of auto-ethnography since it draws from the author's phenomenological experience as part of said Foundation for five years and as one who, from birth until graduation from high school, was an OFW child. Additional data gathering methods included desk review of documents, participant observation, and informal interviews with key informants.

The study describes the components of the ANAK program of BUNGA, some of its gains from the perspective of the children themselves, and deviations from the design. It found the program to have had positive effects on the children, particularly in helping them regain familiarity and intimacy with their parent(s) and positively manage psychosocial and emotional strains. However, the ANAK program needs improvement in terms of operationalizing the children's right to participation, and its involvement of teachers and parents left behind and other caregivers. Teachers and parents/caregivers represent basic pillars in ensuring a holistic approach to care drain, and program effectiveness and sustainability. Recommendations are given, specially on how children's right to participation can be fulfilled by reinforcing the organizing component of the ANAK program. A framework for organising OFW children is part of the recommendations.

This paper is important for those who are looking for innovative strategies on how to design and implement a psycho-social support program for OFW children.

^{*}For ethical considerations, the real name of the NGO is substituted with BUNGA.

Introduction

In the Philippines, about 10% of the total estimated population of 90 million works abroad (CFO, 2007), combining their productive labor with the needs and resources of receiving countries to benefit themselves and their families. Because of this, the country is largely regarded in the world as a sending country of migrant workers, and its government a model in the management of international labor migration (Patricia Santo Tomas in International Organization for Migration, 2005).

On the other hand, the social costs of labor migration, particularly on children left behind, are a cause for great concern. It is believed that as children of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), they are forced to endure the absence of one or both parents. This has led to psycho-emotional and psycho-social risks and vulnerabilities. According to Parreñas (2002; 2005), the left-behind children of OFWs suffer from what she calls care drain. Care drain is characterized by:

- Unfamiliarity and loss of intimacy between the left-behind child and the OFW parent(s) due to extended years of separation (2002).
- The struggle to experience quality care of the children of OFWs due to lack of responsibility for care work by the left-behind male parent or care giver (2002).
- The burden of accepting gender role reversals due to the migration of the mother because a woman who works abroad is perceived by her children "as oppositional to the interest of the family and acceptable only if done in desperation" (2005, p. 66).

Other researches on the effects of parents' migration on children left behind suggest that their experiences cannot be neatly categorized as either positive or negative. Nevertheless, recommendations almost always indicate the need to help children strengthen or improve their coping skills to be able to sustain quality communication, intimacy, and affection vis-à-vis their parent/s abroad over extended periods of geographical separation (Edillon, 2008; Ang 2008; Baggio, 2008; ECMI, SMC & OWWA, 2004; Parreñas, 2002; Asis, Huang, & Yeoh, 2004; Anonuevo, 2002). Some government agencies such as the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), and Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Philippine National Red Cross, Atikha, Inc., UGAT Foundation, Inc., etc. have responded by developing programs that address the social protection and integration of families left behind by OFWs. Many of them address the care drain experienced by OFW children through psycho-social support programs.

There has not been much research done on the design and implementation of psycho-social support programs and their effectiveness. This study is a contribution to the limited literature. It focuses on the psycho-social support program of BUNGA Foundation, Inc. It describes the program, and assesses it using the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Because the author has been working with said NGO for the last five years, the study used auto-ethnography. It contains a synthesis of the author's personal reflections as one of the consultants, resource persons, and facilitators of the program for a two-year period starting late 2008.

Other methods of data gathering were the review of program documents, participant observation, and informal interviews with key informants, i.e. the program director, three (3) program consultants, and four (4) program mentors or gabay.

Effects of Labor Migration on OFW Children: A Review of Literature

The popular Philippine movie entitled ANAK that was shown in the year 2000 depicts a stereotypical image of what happens to the family when the mother leaves for overseas work, and the tensions she and her children experience

when she returns for good. The returnee discovers her children have become materialistic, ungrateful, and delinquent due to the lack of parental care and guidance. How closely does this movie reflect reality? Does it represent the situation of all OFW families?

Different researches on how the absence of one or both parents working abroad affects children left behind reveal that OFW children left behind do not necessarily become *delinquent* nor are their families necessarily *broken* as portrayed by Philippine media. Their experiences cannot be neatly categorized as either positive or negative. The children are able to make sense of the challenges and opportunities presented by their parents' migration, and to grow and learn from the experience (Ang, 2008; Scalabrini Mirgation Center, et. al., 2005; Parreñas, 2002; Battistella & Conaco, 1996). Asis (2000) also did not find any empirical evidence to prove that children of migrant workers are more likely to engage in juvenile delinquency than children of non-migrants. The presence of strong social support systems from other family members and relatives is said to facilitate social adjustments by children left behind (Scalabrini Migration Center 2003).

Nevertheless, children of migrants feel lonely, angry, unloved, numb, afraid, different from the other children, and worried compared to all groups of children, including non-OFW children (Battistella and Conaco, 1996). Compared to children of non-OFWs, they are more vulnerable to psycho-social strains due to the physical and geographical separation from their parents, especially mothers (Edillon, 2008; Aldaba & Opiniano, 2008; Baggio, 2008; Ang, 2008; Scalabrini Migration Center, et. al., 2005). Children at ages 13–16 years old appear to be worse off since adult attention and money given to them lessen and they handle bigger responsibilities in the household, e.g caring for their younger siblings (Edillon, 2008).

The Battistella & Conaco study (1996) reveals that children with absent mothers show poorer social adjustment and experience impeded psychological development. One study asserts that "children of migrant fathers"

are more likely to say that their father left the Philippines to provide for the family, whereas children of migrant mothers more commonly claim that their mothers left to escape poverty" (Parreñas, 2006). Thus, in cases where women emigrate, leaving husband and child/ren behind, the shift in the father's role, from main provider to nurturer, has an adverse impact on children (Pingol, 2001). Children reportedly become confused, and resentful. They struggle with the lack of male responsibility for care work (Scalabrini Migration Center, et. al., 2005; Parreñas, 2002; Go & Postrado, 1986 in Opiniano, 2008), feeling neglected and abandoned. Fathers pass on the care work to other women in the family, more often to the eldest daughter (Asia, 2000). This immense responsibility ,in turn, adversely impacts on the daughter's school performance (Parreñas, 2006).

On a positive note, the absence of the mother is supposedly a strong incentive for children to remain in school and study hard (Ang. 2008). Children tend to join academic organisations and extra-curricular activities, and receive awards, both academic and otherwise (Edillon, 2008). However, most of them do not feel that they have active participation in family decision-making. Their participation in community and civic organizations outside school is lower compared to children of non-OFWs (Edillon, 2008).

Extended years of separation result in unfamiliarity among family members (Edillon, 2008; Scalabrini Mirgation Center, et. al., 2005; Asis, Yeoh, & Huang, 2004; Parreñas, 2002). Children suffer from the loss of family intimacy. But, advances in information and communication technology, a different level of intimacy which also strengthens the linkage and nurturing is being established among migrant families. This is what Tanalega underscores in his book, Global Parenting (2002). Parenting becomes a long distance love affair. The absence of either or both parents is bridged by different technological devices (e.g. mobile phones, emails, video cams), thereby making their presence felt by their children. Nonetheless, this "techy" parenting is still not able to replace the emotional bond forged by daily face-to-face interactions. Overseas parents miss out on the critical milestones of the growing up years of their children and on their value formation.

Material benefits from remittances have created dependence on the part of families left behind and have made children themselves consider international migration to pursue their own dreams of a better future (Aldaba & Opiniano, 2008; Baggio, 2008; Ang, 2008; Scalabrini Mirgation Center, et. al., 2005). These data are reinforced by Añonuevo's study (2002) which shows that children aspire to work abroad like their parents. Although they intend to obtain a college diploma, the children are already conscious of the fact that a college education is not necessary to earning a high salary abroad.

The foregoing review of literature presents both positive and negative effects of parents' migration on children left behind. It also underscores the importance of strong support from other family members in order to mitigate the negative effects of absent parents and help the children achieve their full human potential. Other social systems such as schools and communities can also be an sources of support and nurturance of OFW children.

The BUNGA Foundation Experience: Addressing the Care Drain Phenomenon

The BUNGA Foundation, Inc. conducts its ministry with the disadvantaged sectors of society through psychological interventions and family system approaches. One of its programs for OFW children is Anak ng Nangingibang bansa, Aruga at Kaagapay (Care and Support for the Children of OFWs). It is implemented in partner Catholic secondary schools in Cavite and in some parts of Manila with a significant number of enrollees whose parents are abroad. The target beneficiaries are those between the ages of 13 to 16 years. Figure 1 shows the design of ANAK.

ANAK has four phases. Phase 1 involves the conduct of three seminars: GABAY Seminar, ANAK and KAISA. GABAY (Guide) Seminar is for volunteer school teachers, specifically the home room advisers. It is an eight-hour seminar on basic counseling to enable the teachers to help the OFW children address migration-related problems. It is conducted a week before the next seminar, i.e., ANAK.

The ANAK Seminar is for OFW children. It is a one day seminar (6 to 8 hours) on the realities of migration. The participants are given the opportunity to ventilate personal issues and concerns regarding their overseas parents through small group counseling sessions. The small group counseling sessions are facilitated by well-trained counsellors of BUNGA and teachers who have undergone the GABAY seminar.

The ANAK Seminar is one of the first projects of the Foundation since its establishment fifteen years ago. It has undergone testing and refinements through the years.

The third seminar -KAISA - is for the parents left behind and/or the care providers of the OFW children. It is conducted simultaneously with but separately from the ANAK seminar. Like ANAK, the realities of migration are discussed and the parent/care providers are given the opportunity to ventilate their issues and concerns through small group counselling sessions. The counselling sessions are facilitated by trained counselors of BUNGA. Towards the end, the participants of the ANAK and KAISA seminars come together in a session meant to help both parties reinforce love and support to one another in living with the realities of migration.

Phase II of the program involves support modules for the OFW children to further help them deal with their personal issues and concerns at home and at school. The modules are packaged into four child-friendly journals which they are encouraged to read and answer at the pace of one journal per week. The journals address issues on being a child of an OFW, their treasures within and without, and their personal vision and mission for the future. Assigned volunteer teachers who have attended the GABAY Seminar help facilitate and monitor the children. BUNGA keeps copies of the accomplished journal for monitoring and evaluation purposes.

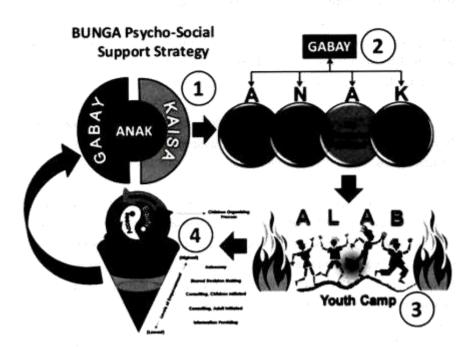


Figure 1. ANAK's Psycho-Social Support Program Flow Chart

Phase III involves the conduct of the ALAB Youth Camp. OFW children from the different partner Catholic schools who are able to complete their journals are actively encouraged to attend and participate in the camp. ALAB stands for Antigin ang Landas at tuklasin and Alab ng Buhay mo! (Ignite your Destiny and Discover the Flame in You!) This is a three-day youth camp where the children learn leadership and teambuilding skills, develop camaraderie, strengthen their spirituality, and reinforce their personal vision and mission.

Phase IV pertains to school-based or community-based children's organizing. After attending the ALAB youth camp, the children are encouraged to form a local club in their respective schools or community for two main purposes: through their organized and collective efforts, they can address their

personal issues and concerns, and help other children of OFWs in the process; and they can encourage other OFW children in their school or community to participate in and benefit from the ANAK Program.

BUNGA assists OFW children who are willing to form a local school or community club since it has a standing memorandum of agreement with parents and school authorities.

In the actual implementation of the ANAK program, some of the components have not been followed. Firstly, the GABAY Seminar eventually involved project-based counselors, not the targetted school teacher. The participation of school teachers could not be sustained due to its voluntary nature. It was difficult to obligate them since there was no monetary benefit involved. Moreover, training permanent sets of counselors was a more economically sound option for BUNGA compared to spending on the training of a new set of counselors per school and giving them allowances or stipends as school-based care givers.

Secondly, the Kaisa seminar has yet to be implemented. It was very difficult to get the involvement and commitment of the parents left behind and/ or the care givers to attend the seminar. They were preoccupied and the schools claimed they had no authority to require them to attend the seminar.

Thirdly, children's organizing has not been carried out as designed. School - based children organizing was started in one school. But the organizer of BUNGA Foundation quit in the middle of the process due to personal reasons. Subsequently, according to the program director, the management of BUNGA Foundation lost interest in school - based organizing. The reasons cited for this were the lack of technical know-how to sustain the endeavor, and the difficulty in hiring an organizer who lives in Cavite. However, recent developments in the Foundation have led to a shift to community-based organizing of OFW children who attended the ANAK seminar and ALAB youth camp. Four mentors from the trained project staff have been hired for this purpose.

Based on the foregoing, BUNGA Foundation decided to channel more of its resources to other aspects of the program where they are more adept, i.e. the continuous refinement of the implementation of the ANAK seminar, ANAK modules, and the ALAB youth camp.

Children Speak on the Benefits from the Program

ANAK Seminar

"ANAK helped me see the reality of our situation. This prevented me from becoming rebellious. In that seminar my awareness and my heart were totally opened. I completely understood all the answers to the questions that were given to me. I continued to be determined in facing life instead of holding resentment against my father. He did not want to be separated from us and I know that if given the chance, he would not give up the opportunity to be with us in our formative years. I totally came to understand why he had to go instead of continuing to work here in the Philippines. He made those choices because of his love for us."

- Flor, 28 (not her real name)

"ANAK helped me understand my father in his work abroad. I felt lighter. I can already understand myself and I was able to find kindred souls who shared the same experience. I realized that I wasn't alone and that there were many others who were undergoing what I was facing. I felt happy not only because I was able to express what was deep inside me but also because I was able to share with others what I felt and had learned in the workshop. Right now, I have become a volunteer counselor in the ANAK Seminars."

- Melanie, 34 (not her real name)

The ANAK seminar was powerful enough to help participants become aware of their situation, accept it, and take the step towards reconciliation with their OFW parents. This is important since, prior to attending the seminar, most participants often expressed feelings of loss and guilt due to the absence of one or both parents. They felt neglected which in turn produced anger and hatred towards themselves and their overseas parents. As one of the participants puts it:

"Ang Tatay ko po ay nagtatrabaho bilang isang construction worker sa Saudi Arabia. Bilang anak ng isang OFW, marami din akong mga nararanasan na hindi magandang nangyari sa sarili ko. Marami akong hindi naiintindihan at mahirap sa akin na maunawaan ang pagkalayo ng aking ama. Nakadama ako ng galit sa aking ama dahil sa kanyang pagkalayo, malayo ang loob ko sa kanya at minsan naiinggit din ako sa aking mga kaibigan na kumpleto ang pamilya. Galit ako sa aking ama dahil minsan lang kami magkasama at hindi ko masyadong naramdaman o naranasan na naging malapit kami sa isa't isa."

(My father is a construction worker in Saudi Arabia. As a child of an OFW, I experience many things which I do not understand. I find it difficult to understand why my father is far away. I have felt anger because my father is far away. I am emotionally distant. Sometimes, I envy my friends with complete families. I am angry with my father because we only had few moments together and I could not feel or experience any intimacy with him.)

- Juliet, 16 (not her real name)

ANAK Modules

There is no detailed documentation of this component since the journals become the property of the participants. Initially, the teachers who attended the GABAY seminar followed up the children's accomplishment of the journal

once a week for a period of one month. But, since teachers were no longer trained to become *para*-counsellors, the hired project-based counsellors, called mentors, are now the ones who monitor the progress of the children with their journals. Lately, the Foundation has incorporated the modules as part of the community organizing strategy in two select communities in Cavite.

Based on the recent evaluation with the four (4) mentors, incorporating the journals as part of a community organizing strategy has effectively helped the children form loose associations. The children get to see each other on a weekly basis and have become peers who support one another not only with OFW parent concerns but on other personal issues as well such as friendship, school, and love life.

ALAB Youth Camp

The ALAB youth camp, according to the participants, is the most exciting and enjoyable phase of the ANAK program. They have great fun and learning for three days and two nights. Guided post-camp evaluations have yielded the following results:

a. Most important learnings:

"Forgiveness of those who've hurt me!" - Lovely, 13 yrs old

"One should not give up in challenges and not to cheat." - Gerd, 14 yrs old.

"Everyone is a winner and that my being born in this world is not a mistake." - Belle, 15 yrs old.

"Tiwala sa sarili (trust in oneself), always do your best, magkaroon ng (have) positive self-image at higit sa lahat ay yung mag-try ka nang mag-try (and most of all that you keep on trying) and don't lose hope." - Angel, 16 yrs. old

b. Learnings about self

"Mas mabuting anak na ako ngayon at natuto akong magtiwala sa sarili na kakayanin ko ang lahat at si Kuya Ben (the camp facilitator) ang nagturo sa akin kung pano maging ganyan. (I have learned to become a better daughter and learned to trust in myself that I can endure everything. Brother Ben (the camp facilitator) was the one who taught me that.)" – Lyka, 13 yrs. old

"Natuklasan ko na kaya ko palang magdesisyon at manindigan dito. (I discovered that I can make decisions and that I can stand for it.)" - Princess, 14 yrs old.

"Malakas pala ako at kaya kong magtiwala sa sarili ko. (1 realized that I am strong and I can trust myself.)" - Yza, 15 yrs. old

"Dati di ako marunong makisalamuha at umintindi sa ibang tao pero ngayon ay kaya ko na at lahat ng nakasakit sa akin napatawad ko na. (Before, I don't know how to socialize and relate with other people but now I already know and I have already forgiven all those who have hurt me.)" – Daniel, 16 yrs old.

- c. Five things they are determined to do to attain their life goals
 - Hindi na ako makikipag-away sa mga kapatid ko at magiging responsable na ako. (I will not quarrel with my siblings and I shall be a responsible person.)
 - Ako ay magiging masipag na sa bahay at ititigil ko narin ang pagmumura. (I'll be hard-working at home and I'll stop cursing.)

- Ako ay magiging madasalin at bukas ang loob sa Panginoon. Sasabihin ko sa kanya ang lahat na nangyayari sa akin. (I will be more prayerful and open to God. I'll tell Him all that's happening to me.)
- ✓ Mag-aaral na ako ng maigi (I will study hard.)
- Hindi ko na ikukumpara ang aking sarili sa iba at hindi ko narin titingnan ng mababa ang aking sarili. (I will not compare myself to others; I will not demean myself.)

- Grace, 13 yrs old.

The ALAB youth camp helped participants to trust and forgive themselves, to persevere and not lose hope. The participants also learned to socialize and relate well with others, and deepen their connection with God. These are very important in coping with the absence of their overseas parent(s).

A Critique of the BUNGA Foundation's ANAK Program based on the Framework of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989) incorporates four categories of children's rights (Edillon, 2008; Ansell, 2005; Van Bueren, 1998; Candelaria, 1997):

- 1) Right to Survival the right to life, good health and nutrition;
- Right to Development the right to education, play, care, and nurturance to develop completely;
- Right to Protection every child has the right to protection against neglect, exploitation, and all forms of abuse;
- Right to Participation the right to privacy, freedom of expression, right to opinion, freedom of association, and practice religion of choice.

Although children are recognized complete human individuals, with identities distinct from their parents, they are not considered able to exercise said rights themselves. Hence, the rights are translated into duties and responsibilities toward children by the family and the state as primary duty bearers and by the community, school, and civil society groups as secondary duty bearers (Ansell, 2005).

Using the framework of the CRC, BUNGA Foundation is a secondary duty bearer in addressing the protection and development rights of OFW children. The right to survival falls outside BUNGA's purview as it is the responsibility of OFW families. Through the ANAK program (specifically the ANAK seminar, ANAK modules, and ALAB Youth Camp), BUNGA is able to address issues of neglect experienced by the OFW children. In this way, children develop psychosocially and emotionally amidst the problems they face and in turn, learn the skills to effectively engage migration-related issues and concerns in various contexts- families, schools, and the communities.

However, BUNGA needs to improve on providing an enabling environment to the exercise of the right to participation. The ANAK seminar, ANAK modules, and ALAB Youth Camp are, without doubt, helpful stepping stones to social protection and integration. But, all of them are externally initiated interventions that require no proactive participation from the children in the planning, implementation, and evaluation phases. The opportunity for participation is found in school-based or community-based organizing. Through organising, the children can participate directly in their own development and chart the course of their future. Participation is a prerequisite to empowerment.

Teachers and parents left behind as well as care providers are indispensable partners of BUNGA Foundation Inc. in ensuring the fulfilment of the rights of OFW children. They interact daily with the children, and play a critical role as guardians and significant influences in the children's value

formation, and psycho-emotional and social development. Thus, the shift in target participants of the GABAY seminar and the non-implementation of the KAISA seminar seriously impede the creation of an enabling environment for the protection and promotion of OFW children's rights. Moreover, left-behind parents and other caregivers also have their own issues and concerns in relation to migration. The KAISA seminar is highly relevant to their own situation. It can help them become better parents/caregivers.

Conclusion and Recommendations

One of the problems faced by the children of OFWs is the psychosocial and emotional strain as an outcome of care drain. The ANAK program of BUNGA Foundation is a commendable social protection and integration strategy aimed at helping OFW children regain familiarity and intimacy with their parent(s) and positively manage any existing psychosocial and emotional strain due to the physical and geographical separation from their parent(s). However, the ANAK program of BUNGA has not been fully implemented as designed. Its KAISA seminar has not been implemented due to difficulties in getting the participation of parents and other caregivers. Its GABAY seminar, on the other hand, has stopped targeting school teachers.

The ANAK program contributes to the promotion and protection of children's rights. But, it needs improvement in the area of the right to participation. The children have yet to be proactively engaged in setting up their own local school or community club to address their own issues and concerns. Further, it needs to strengthen its links with indispensable partners for program effectiveness and sustainability: teachers and parents left behind/caregivers. GABAY seminars must be given to the teachers of the OFW children, not to external agents. KAISA seminars should also be conducted as designed. In this way, the circle of support network of the child is not only in the school but also in the home. BUNGA together with the school administration should take this up in the Parents-Teacher-Students Association to get the involvement and commitment of left behind parents and other caregivers.

BUNGA should pursue a memorandum of agreement with school authorities to provide the mandate and the necessary logistics and other forms of support to help the OFW children set up their own local school club.

It must also develop its technical knowledge in the field of participatory development in order to effectively support the community-based organizing of OFW children. The organizing process should consider integrating the children's abilities and strengths in its design and implementation. It should also use participatory methodologies during appraisal, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. By so doing, children are given the opportunity to reflect on their situation and recognize their collective ability to influence the external environment. They are given the power to decide what they want changed, in the manner they deem appropriate. This becomes an "empowering situation" for them.

Two key concepts are essential to any participatory process. These are access and equity (UNICEF, 2004). Access refers to the right of children to use current and future resources, benefit from the services, and be given transparent information by people or institutions wanting to work with them for development purposes. Equity pertains to involving the children in the appraisal, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of children-related policies, programs and services in order to make such programs be more relevant and effective for them.

The author proposes a framework for organizing OFW children based on the principles of access and equity. (See Figure 2) OFW children, after being trained in community organizing and advocacy, will define their issues and agenda, and eventually form a children's organization. The latter will be the vehicle for undertaking their own development activities, learning to take responsibility for actions and their outcomes, and determining courses of action to alter power relations and create positive institutional change in their communities. It will be the means to develop leadership, and individual and collective empowerment.



Figure 2. Children's Organizing Framework

There are four overlapping phases in the process of children's organizing, namely, identifying the target children, appraisal and planning, organization formation and membership recruitment, and project implementation and evaluation.

The target children, in this case, are OFW children. As children with rights, including the right to participation, they must be encouraged to get involved in collectively addressing their needs and problems. The entry age for children's organizing can be between 13 and 16 years. As pointed out earlier, OFW children in this age bracket are disadvantaged in that adult attention and money given to them lessen as they are made to assume bigger responsibilities in the household, including caring for younger siblings.

In the Appraisal and Planning Phase, the children are engaged in awareness building activities through group discussions on personal, family, community, and global issues, and how these affect their lives. They can validate their experiences and reflections by conducting a guided assessment or appraisal of the pressing problems facing OFW children in the community. Conducting their own assessment enables them to crystallize their understanding of their unique needs as OFW children which can then be the basis for planning. During this phase, they develop skills in critical thinking as they analyze and prioritize needs and issues. They also learn to facilitate meetings and articulate their positions.

The phase on organizational formation and recruitment of membership. involves the actual setting up of a club or an association, and recruiting members who are also OFW children. As an organization, it must formulate a vision, mission and goals. Over time, policies, structures, and partnerships may evolve and be institutionalized.

The last phase, Project Implementation and Evaluation, pertains to the implementation of identified strategies to meet organizational goals. These strategies may be in the form of projects or programs that range from peer counseling to health, education, and ecological initiatives. At the end of each project or program, the organization should devote time and resources to reflect on, evaluate and synthesize the work. The process ensures analysis and learning as a basis for improving, strengthening, and consolidating the organization.

Mark Anthony D. Abenir is a faculty member of two separate departments in Philosophy and in the Social Sciences, and community development worker of the Office for Community Development of the University of Santo Tomas where he attained his degree in AB Philosophy. He accomplished his degree in Master in Community Development at the University of the Philippines, Diliman and is currently taking up his Doctor in Social Development in the same institution. His research interest is on Community Development and on Children-left-behind by migrant workers.

References

- Aldaba, F. T. & Opiniano, J. M. (2008). The Philippine 'diasporic dividend': Maximizing the development potentials of international migration. In M. M. B. Asis and F. Baggio (Eds.). Moving out, back and up: International migration and development prospects in the Philippines (pp. 127-162). Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center.
- Ang, A. P. (2008). Determining the social costs of overseas Filipino workers' remittances: A check through education indicators. Research monograph, Manila, Philippines: University of Santo Tomas Social Research Center.
- Ansell, N. (2005). Children, youth and development. New York: Routledge.
- Añonuevo, E. D. & Añonuevo, A. (Eds). (2002). Coming home: Women, migration and reintegration. Balikbayani Foundation, Inc and Atikha Overseas Workers and Comminuties Initiatives, Inc...
- Asis, M. M. B. (2000). Migration and families in Asia. Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 9 (3).
- Asis, M. M. B., Huang, S. & Yeoh, B. (2004). When the light of the home is abroad: Female migration and Filipino family. Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, 198-215.
- Baggio, F. (2008). International migration and development at the household/ community level. Philippine Institute for Development Studies: Development Research News, XXVI (5), 9-10.
- Battistella, G. & Conaco. M. C. G. (1998). The impact of labour migration on the children left behind: A study of elementary school children in the Philippines. Sojourn, 13 (2), 220-241.
- Candelaria, S. (1997). (Ed.) The convention on the rights of the child and the Philippine legal system. Manila: Ateneo Human Rights Center.
- Edillon, R. (2008). The effects of parent's migration on the rights of children left behind in the Philippines. Quezon City: Asia-Pacific Policy Center.
- Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People-CBCP/ Apostleship of the Sea-Manila, Scalabrini Migration Center, and Overseas Workers Welfare Administration. (2004). Hearts apart: Migration in the eyes of Filipino children. Manila: ECMI CBCP/AOS- Manila, SMC and OWWA.

- Migrante-Anak Pamilya Foundation. (2005). Public issue, private joy, public gains, provate gains.
- Parreñas, R.S. (2002). The care crisis in the Philippines: Children and transnational families in the new global economy. In B. Ehrenreich & A. R. Hochschild (Eds.). Global woman: Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy. New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, LLC.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2005). The gender paradox in the transnational families of Filipino migrant women. Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 14 (3), 243-268.
- Parreñas, R. S. (2006). Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Pingol, A. T. (2001). Remaking masculinities, power and gender dynamics in families with migrant wives and house husbands. Quezon City: University Center for Women Studies.
- Republic of the Philippines. Commission on Filipinos overseas. Retrieved from www.cfo.gov.ph
- Reyes, M. (2009). Migration and Filipino children left-behind. Quezon City: Miriam College Women and Gender Institute (WAGI) for the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).
- Rollin, J. & Gabriel, A. (Eds.) (2002). Hands on! A manual for working with youth on sexual and reproductive health. Eschborn: GTZ.
- Sto. Tomas, P. in International Organization for Migration (2005). World migration 2005: Costs and benefits of international migration. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration.
- Tanalega, N. E. (2002). Families on the move. Ugat Foundation, Ateneo de Manila.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2004). Making commitments matter—A toolkit for young people to evaluate national youth policy.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2007). Increasing the impact of remittances on children's rights: Philippines paper, division of policy and planning, UNICEF, New York, January 2007. Retrieved July 31, 2008 from www.unicef.org/ policyanalysis/files/Increasing_the_impact_of_remittances_on_childrens_rights.pdf

Van Bueren, G. (1998) Children's rights: Balancing traditional values and cultural plurality. In G. Douglas and L. Sebba (Eds). Children's rights and traditional values (pp. 15-30). Hants: Dartmouth Publishing Company.

Reunification of Filipino Families in Italy: What the Youth Have to Say

Cristina M. Liamzon

Filipinos are among the first migrant groups that came to work in Italy, starting from the late 70s. The first wave of migrant workers, majority of them women, did not bring their families with them. But the family reunification program of the government has recently encouraged more Filipinos to bring their children to Italy, especially before they reach 18 years of age. Children who are brought to Italy, the so-called 1.25 and 1.5 generations, i.e., from about 10-18 years old, seem to experience more difficulties adjusting and integrating into Italian schools, even in re-connecting to their parents in Italy.

This study undertook a literature review of the situation of migrant children and youth in the United States (US) and in Europe, particularly Italy, in terms of their integration and performance in school and in their families, and their identity formation. Two focus group discussions were also conducted with eleven (11) Filipino youths aged 14-20 who were petitioned by their parents to join them in Italy.

Findings from the FGDs support previous studies that show the emotional difficulties faced by migrant children as indicated by communication problems and lack of closeness with their absentee parents. Further, the lack of adequate grounding in speaking and understanding the Italian language as well as socio-psychological preparation greatly impede the migrant youth's capacity to cope with school and to socialize with the Italian natives. They experience difficulties in schools and recognize the advantages of the Philippine educational system. Nevertheless, they firmly intend to remain in Italy so they could be with their parents. They have definite ambitions to finish their studies in order to find good employment and take over the income-earning responsibility from their parents.

Key words: migrant youth, integration, family reunification

(Ma tu ti senti italiana o filippina? Eh, un po' tutti e due... mi sento filippina perché, cioè, dall'aspetto fisico, poi però di mentalità mi sento un po' italiana... cioè mi sento di tutte e due... non credo di fare una scelta... o sono filippina o sono italiana... no, non la voglio fare perché comunque sono attaccata a tutte e due... ma ormai non ci faccio neanche più caso a questa cosa dell'italiana o della filippina, cioè, io preferisco avere queste due culture diverse più che scegliere.) (Jeremie, genitori filippini) (Bosisio, R. et al. 2005)

But do you feel Italian or Filipina? Well, a little bit of both...I feel Filipina because of the physical aspect, but then, in mentality I feel a bit Italian...I mean...I would say my feeling is both of them...I won't care to make a choice...being a Filipina or Italian...no, I don't like the idea of choosing because anyway, I'm personally attached to both identities...by now I don't even think of being Italian and that of being a Filipina, this is because, I prefer having two different cultures than having to choose (Jeremie, Filipino parents) (Bosisio, R. et al, 2005).

Introduction

Filipinos are among the first ethnic groups of labor migrants into Italy, starting from the late 70s and accelerating in the 1980s (Chell, 2000; Tettamanzi, et al, 2005). Chell cites that by 1981, Filipinos in Italy numbered some 15,000 and by 1990, this had more than doubled to 35,000. The number of Filipinos continues to grow with more workers now bringing their families, especially their children under the Italian program on *ricongiungimento familiare* or family reunification. Italian law allows the entry of spouses and children below 18 years of age to join their parents as long as parents are either gainfully employed or have acquired Italian citizenship.² More babies are also being born in Italy of either one or both Filipino parents. In the 2001 census data, out of 13,298 Filipino children in Italy, 19.5 percent were first generation children and 80.5 percent were second generation (UNICEF, 2009).

According to Dazzi (2010), some 60,000 Filipino children and youth currently live in Italy. About 12,600 of them are studying in Italian schools. It appears that while the first generation of Filipinos in Italy lacked a desire to bring their families to Italy, this has now changed with increasing numbers of Filipinos petitioning for their spouses and children. More Filipinos, likewise, appear inclined towards a long-term stay in Italy by getting a carta di soggiorno (residence card) or taking on citadinanza Italiana or Italian citizenship.

Studies on the effects of long separations between Filipino migrant parents and children, particularly between mothers and children, indicate increasing numbers of breakdown of relationships and parental authority, and the development of rebellious and risky behaviors, such as dropping out of school, both in the Philippines and in the host countries, including Italy.³ Negative consequences are more likely to occur when mothers are the migrant workers (SMC, 2004; Asis,1995 and 2003; Battistella & Conaco, 1998 as cited by Edillon, 2008).

The effects have not all been negative. Some studies have shown that children left behind in the Philippines with relatives and other caregivers in many cases have also been able to cope positively with their parents' long absence. Factors such as constant and meaningful communication from a distance and support by family members caring for the children appear critical for ensuring relatively smooth relations between parents working abroad and their children in the Philippines (Aguilar et al., 2009).

The family reunification program in Italy provides what may be viewed as a very positive step in addressing the drawbacks of the separation of migrant parents and children. But there is increasing anecdotal evidence on the inability of Filipino teen-agers and older ones to adequately integrate into Italian society, particularly in its school system, and in finding meaningful employment, or even re-establishing parent-child relationships.⁴

Background on the Study

Objectives

This study focuses on the issues of Filipino migrant youths in relation to re-connecting with parents and/or siblings who may have been raised in Italy; the school and educational system that is vastly dissimilar from that of the Philippines; the identity formation that each young person goes through in the process of individuation; and for some, employment. These issues may be viewed as factors that can determine the successful integration of the youth into Italian society.

The study follows and complements the previous one done by the author (Liamzon, 2005), given the paucity of research in this area, in exploring the situation of the Filipino youth in Rome. It aims to capture some of the youths' hopes and dreams for themselves and their perceptions of the challenges they face in coming to Italy.

The study hopes to contribute to a better understanding and definition of the conditions and challenges facing the Filipino youth who reunite with their parents in Italy, and what may be done to assist them to develop a strong identity or 'hardiness of spirit'. This 'hardiness of spirit' can help them overcome the hurdles of integration and acculturation into the host society, and more importantly, work towards the fulfillment of their own dreams.

There are potential critical ramifications if the Filipino youth in general, and those who come to reunite with their families in particular, are unable to adequately grapple with integration issues in the host society. More of them could drop out of school, engage in delinquent and other risky behaviors including teen age sexual relations leading to early and unwanted pregnancies, and deadend, low-income jobs such as domestic services. Already, in the past few years, news reports abound of 'baby gangs' composed of both Italian and non-Italian teen-agers. Operating in big cities like Rome and Milan, some of these gangs

include Filipino immigrant youth who get involved in fights, beating up Italian or other ethnic youth.⁵

For many children and youth who were born or grew up in Italy for the bigger part of their lives (the Generation 1.75 and 2.0), the dilemma is not as pronounced given their facility in the use of the Italian language and the longer exposure to non-Filipinos or native Italians in the schools.

Thus, the study focuses on Generation 1.0 to 1.5 (Rumbaut, 1997) or those between 10-17 years of age who came to Italy under the family reunification program.

Methodology

The study was conducted during the summer of 2010, from June to September. Primary data were obtained from two focus group discussions (FGDs) with eleven Rome-based Filipino youths (six males, five females). While a large number of research literature on migration is quantitative, in recent years, there has been a growing interest in qualitative approaches for issues on migration such as the role of social capital and social networks, identity formation and change as they can be better analyzed and understood with qualitative methods.

The first FGD was held on August 19, the second on September 25. Two criteria were used for selecting the participants: their parents petitioned for them under the family reunification program, and they came to Italy as preteens or in their teens. Most of the youth were contacted through the Sentro Pilipino Chaplaincy, the Catholic parish of the Filipinos in Rome.⁶

The FGDs brought together youths coming from a shared experience of having spent a significant part of their lives in the Philippines away from their parents. This is, to the author's knowledge, one of the first attempts to actually obtain data from the youths themselves on what they have experienced in coming to Italy as well as their thoughts and feelings.

The study also reviewed recent literature on immigrant children and youth in the European Union but with focus on Italy. In this way, some comparisons can be drawn from what have emerged from researches in a new immigration country such as Italy compared with the older immigration countries such as France, Germany and certainly the USA.

Limitations

The study was conducted during the summer of 2010 when large numbers of Filipinos, as with most Italians and other nationalities, were away for holidays or accompanied and worked for their employers on their vacations. These included many youths who thus could not be available for the FGDs.

Moreover, as in previous experiences, several attempts to invite young people who have joined their parents under the family reunification program did not yield the expected numbers. There were constraints of time to conduct the study as well as limited resources that did not allow for a wider net of Filipino children and youth covering not only Rome but also other parts of the country.

Review of Related Literature

Immigrant Children and Youth in Europe and the USA

Rumbaut (1996) provides the following categorization of migrant children and youth based on their arrival in the host country which is useful for understanding more specific groups of children and youth, rather than a generalization of all children and youth.

Generation 1.0 - those who arrived in the host country as adults;

- 1.5 those who have arrived at a young age;
- 2.0 children born in the host country of two immigrant parents;
- 2.5 children born in the host country of mixed native and immigrant parents.

Rumbaut's subcategories include the 1.25 generation or children who have immigrated between the ages of 13 and 17, the 1.5 generation (children who began primary education in the country of origin, but completed it in the country of settlement) and the 1.75 generation (children who immigrated before they had reached the age of compulsory schooling).

While research on young migrants in Europe is fairly new and sparse, there has recently been increasing concern for the second generation with these children and youth getting older and becoming more visible, especially in countries such as France and Germany.

The general view from various researches across the different European countries has been that migrant youths tend towards underachievement (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Bosissio, 2005; Queirolo Palmas, 2006). Available studies point out that second generation migrants are apt to lag behind the children of non-immigrant families in their schooling; they have higher dropout rates; they repeat grades more often, and they are concentrated in the least challenging educational tracks, opting to finish their education as soon as possible (Crul and Schneider, 2009).

These studies, however, also show that there have been children of guest workers such as those from Turkey in countries such as Germany since the 1960s and 1970s who have succeeded in the educational ladder. Crul (2005, 2009) argues that the factors for success depend to a large extent on the background characteristics of the immigrant families such as their socio-economic standing.

One of the proven hypotheses is that migrant children starting kindergarten and primary school in the host society have higher opportunities to finish with higher educational degrees. Those arriving after 12 years old are more likely not to obtain a high school level diploma. This is clearly shown in the experience of recent immigration countries where migrant pupils are overrepresented in the "1.5" generation (Gobbo et al, 2009). The same study cites that there is a lack of inclusion of immigrant children in the school environment based on the experience of the new European immigration countries and that immigrant children encounter hostility and difficulties at school.

In the United States (US), more studies on migrant children and youth are available with its longer history of large waves of immigration. As Filipinos are among the largest nationality groups in the US and generally regarded with other Asians as model minorities, more studies have been conducted on the integration into American society of Filipino migrant children and youth (Root, 2005; Su Yeong Kim et al, 2009). One such study delved into the experiences of recently-arrived young migrant female adolescents in Hawaii with regard to their families and their integration in American schools. It found out that these youths underwent difficulties in the integration process. The young Filipinas reported frequent experiences of physical and verbal discrimination from classmates and unfair treatment by teachers in the schools. In Hawaii, Filipinos have the lowest percentage of high school graduates at just over 50 percent and the second lowest percentage of college graduates (11%). The study cited that the girls remained close to their families, especially their mothers, strongly recognizing and appreciating their parents' struggle and sacrifices in migrating to Hawaii for the sake of the family. Despite their negative experiences in school, they still viewed academic success as a primary means to getting good employment to help their families (Su Yeong Kim et al., 2009).

Newly arrived Filipino youths in the US also suffer socio-psychological effects, often, 'culture shock', in having to adjust to a new environment and culture. As the second generation youth assimilate into American society, conflict emerges between generations with the clash of traditional Filipino and American values (Root, 2005). Problems among adolescents in the Filipino-American communities, according to Root, are high pregnancy rates, high rates of high school drop-outs, and suicidal ideas and attempts. These appear to echo some of the same issues currently appearing among Filipino youths in Italy.

Immigrant Children and Youth in Italy: An Overview

Data from the Italian 2001 Census show that there were more than 900,000 children from zero to 17 years old or 10 percent of all children in the country who were born abroad or had at least one parent born abroad. (Mencarini,

et al., 2009) About 400,000 of them were born in Italy. In 2006 alone, 52,000 migrant babies were born (Caritas/Migrantes 2006). Of the 500,000 immigrant children, one or both of the parents came from developing countries.

The study of Mencarini, et al. (2009) provides a situationer on immigrant families in Italy and their children. It shows that majority of the migrant children grow up with both parents, though one-parent households are also common, and that immigrant families live in overcrowded housing. In terms of schooling, there are less migrant youths aged18-24 years old who are in school, with only 25 percent versus 40 percent for native Italians. Large numbers of migrant youths also tend to choose and enroll in the vocational/technical/'professional' courses compared to their Italian counterparts. A high percentage, some 60 percent, especially among recent arrivals, enrolled in technical or vocational schools which are the fast-track and easier means to finish schooling and obtain jobs (MIUR 2008). In Milan, many immigrant Chinese and Filipino students were found to be both working and studying (Cologna & Breveglieri, 2003 as quoted in Mencarini, 2009).

Likewise, immigrants are in less qualified jobs in the labor market. While women/mothers report high rates of economic activity, this is basically relegated to domestic and home services and generally, on part-time arrangements.

Mencarini et al's study also identifies the factors that strongly influence whether children will continue with their studies after middle school or choose to find jobs instead. It cites Queirolo Palmas' (2006) finding that family socio-economic status (SES) is a strong determinant of whether students choose to go to the academic track (licei) or the technical/vocational schools. This relates closely to Crul's finding in other European countries as earlier cited. Those from middle to upper class backgrounds tend to choose the academic track while children from blue-collar families take up vocational or technical courses. In relation to migrant children in Europe, Queirolo Palmas offers the explanation that the overrepresentation of migrant students in vocational/technical courses

may be a result of their parents' experiences. Despite their university degrees from their home countries, many have failed to find jobs that are related to their educational qualifications. Thus, many parents conclude that there may not really be advantages in pursuing academic courses.

Filipino Children and Youth in Italy

According to Dazzi (2010), when parents and children reunite in Italy after a long period of separation, the children are thrust into a society that is not really prepared to assimilate immigrants. This makes living in the new country very difficult and challenging. She highlights that this is quite a contrast from living back in the Philippines where, despite the physical distance from their parents, these youths were able to attend private schools. They also had a privileged relationship with other family members, particularly grandparents, and had little responsibility, thanks to the sacrifice and economic sustenance of their parents.

Upon arrival in Italy, many of these youths, particularly those in high school and college, are asked to contribute to the family income. Thus, they take on small jobs, such as baby-sitting, while they continue with their education. Often, like other immigrant students, they choose the vocational track so that they can find work immediately after their studies.

It was in the 1980s that Filipino migrant workers began to enter Italy for work. Most of the workers initially planned to return to the Philippines after accumulating sufficient savings. They also wanted their children to complete their education in the Philippines. Consequently, the children remained in the Philippines. However, in recent years, Filipino migration has become more stabilized with the Italian government giving occasional amnesty to previously undocumented migrant workers. More parents are deciding to petition for their children to join them in Italy. Being in Italy means children must integrate into a different culture as well as resume a relationship with family members whom they deem, to some extent, as strangers (Tettamanzi, et al., 2005).

Liamzon's (2005) exploratory study of the situation of the Filipino youth in Rome distinguishes four types of Filipino youths in Italy for purposes of identifying the specific issues for each group. These are: a) those born and/or raised continuously in Italy starting at a young age; b) those under 18 years of age who are reunited with their parents; c) the youth who come to Italy primarily for employment reasons; and d) those with mixed parentage. The author opines that the category of children and youth who were claimed by their parents at an older age (the 1.75 generation), having spent a certain length of time in the Philippines under the care of relatives, has experienced the most difficulties and challenges in living in Italy.

The same study reveals that Filipino migrant youths tend to be ambivalent about leaving the Philippines. They were eager to reunite with their parents but anxious about losing their childhood friends and adjusting to a new country.

In Italy, they may or may not want to continue their studies as their new country presents opportunities to work without a college degree, and entails major adjustments to a different educational system. Furthermore, they tend to experience high stress in adjusting to living in a new country, especially in learning a new language.

The inability to cope adequately can lead to a loss of self-confidence. This may be exacerbated by the negative image of Filipinos in Italy arising from their concentration in domestic services and the low social status attached to it.

The migrant youth also experience difficulty in communicating with their parents from whom they lived apart for long periods and can even become emotionally distant from them. As a result, many could rebel against their parents and engage in socially undesirable behaviors in the new country, e.g., smoking, drinking, and drug use.

Discussion of Findings

Profile of the FGD Participants

Except for one who came from the Visayas (Cebu/Leyte), the youths and their families were from Luzon. Three were from Central Luzon, four from Southern Tagalog, and one from Bicol.

Ages ranged from 14 to 20 years with 17.5 years as the average. There were two pairs of siblings. Three have been in the country for less than six months while one has stayed the longest at nine years. The average length of stay for the rest is over five years.

All 11, therefore, spent the longer portion of their childhood in the Philippines. Several were already in their mid-teens when they finally left for Italy. Thus, everyone could understand and speak good Filipino and relatively good English.

A few had come to Italy previously to spend their vacation with their parents.

The youths' families in Italy generally consisted of both parents although two had only their mothers, and some had siblings in Italy. Of those over 18 years, two were in the *liceo* track (which includes linguistic, scientific, classical and art) while four were studying in the vocational/professional tracks, such as tourism, hotel management and mechanics. Six of the youths said they were members of certain organizations or communities, two of which were church-related.

Family Issues

Almost all the participants were either infants or toddlers when their mothers/ fathers left for overseas work. They were left in the care of grandparents (the *lola* and *lolo*) although one had a 'yaya' (nursemaid) and an aunt as parental substitutes. They said they understood that their parents had to leave and work abroad for their benefit, sacrificing and undergoing hardships to do so. Grandparents contributed to this awareness, specially to soften the children's adverse reactions to their parents' emigration. Nonetheless, three participants, two of whom were females, felt angry about their parents' absence. This anger was aggravated by a lack of real communication with their parents.

Most of the children's parents tried to bridge the distance through phone calls and regular (e.g. annual) home trips. They stayed for a month or so to ensure that they and their children got to know each other through the years. But these vacations were clearly not enough to prevent adverse outcomes of long periods of separation. Two participants said that when they were younger, they did not recognize their parents when they visited. Based on his own experience, another participant said children can get used to their parents' absence and be actually happy in the Philippines with their friends. Another lamented that as she rarely saw her mother, she did not know her at all. She could communicate her love to her mother over the phone but not face-to-face.

Children left behind also learn to hide their real feelings to avoid worrying their parents. A male participant said he felt confused when his parents reunited in Italy. But, he put on a happy face so there would be no need for them to return to the Philippines. He tried to be courageous and 'thick-skinned.'

In Italy, the youths felt mixed emotions: happy and content to be with their parents after many years of separation, but also lonely and sorely missing relatives and childhood friends in the Philippines. A male participant disclosed that his parents gave him the latest gadgets to make him happy in Italy and compensate for uprooting him from the Philippines.

Reunification does not automatically mean all would go well between parents and children. The participants had difficulties, even conflicts, with their parents, especially their mothers. They were not able to relate easily with parents as they had not developed the means to express their feelings when they were still in the Philippines. In part, this may be due to the lack of bonding arising from the years that they did not live together as a family. This inability to relate to parents, particularly mothers, despite the desire to do so has led to frustration on the part of two girl participants.

School and education-related issues

The youths experienced different types of problems, albeit in varying degrees, in adjusting to their schools. This was primarily because of their inadequacy in communicating effectively in Italian, enrollment in school without sufficient preparation and for some, inadequate support in school to help them cope with the classes.

In general, they coped by keeping quiet, some to the point of making themselves "invisible," and simply listening to the lessons. They admitted vacillating between wanting and not wanting to go to school. They were also shy and embarrassed towards teachers and classmates because of their inability to speak Italian. English was their medium of communication. They were upset and irritated by classmates making fun of their attempts to speak Italian. Some even stopped reciting in classes. Only one, a girl, dismissed and ignored such behavior.

Another female participant responded by showing off her ability to understand and speak English which her Italian classmates could not do. She had done a few months of college education before coming to Italy.

This kind of an attitude supports an observation by a male participant that it may be better for other Filipino youths to finish secondary education before coming to Italy so they can have the confidence to respond to the challenges of the educational system.

In addition to self-confidence, the youths' determination and a supportive environment were critical to a successful adjustment in school, specially in the case of

female participants. One learned to speak Italian after only four months, thereby impressing her classmates in a school run by nuns. She attributes her success to her courage, confidence and determination to learn. She also had an enabling environment. Her mother took time and effort to help her systematically learn the Italian language. Her teachers and classmates also gave her much support during her adjustment period.

Another girl, also enrolled in a school run by nuns, often stayed up late at night to study her lessons, particularly on the Italian language. She had very little preparation before going to regular school. In fact, she had to be in school barely 24 hours after arriving in Italy. She was determined to succeed because she wanted to stay in Italy with her parents and siblings.

A third girl participant put in an extra hour for Italian language lessons. This was a service provided by the school for newcomers after regular classes. Italian schools have the discretion to provide this service or not. Unfortunately, this service has been offered haphazardly and irregularly.

A male participant decided to enroll at a separate Italian language school. He arrived in summer and had time to take a basic language course before the start of classes. But, this was not enough.

The participants mentioned that they had some classmates, including Filipino and other non-Italians, who showed concern and helped them with lessons. They tend to bond more easily with other Filipinos or with other foreigners with whom they share a common experience of being new and different. One example is that of a male participant who went to a tourism school with many foreign students like himself. His classmates were welcoming, making his adjustment less stressful.

There were mixed feelings towards discrimination. Several spoke about being teased and bullied. More girls than boys mentioned being teased by Italian boys. A recent arrival was angry with male classmates who sent her love notes to irritate her.

Girls reacted to teasing and bullying differently from boys. A girl participant said she simply tolerated the bullying and teasing whereas a boy who was bullied actually fought back. Consequently, he got into trouble with the school authorities. But, appearing to be a 'tough guy' brought him acceptance and recognition by the gang of 'bullies.' Eventually, he became the 'leader'.

In starting their education in Italian schools, one had to repeat her grade level; another failed in his last year of school no longer as a result of adjustment problems but a lack of diligence.⁷

Teachers have been generally accommodating and helpful to the newcomers, telling them to just try their best. One newcomer, however, found it disconcerting that teachers always seemed to be shouting. She found them strict. At times, she was scared of them.

Other comparisons were made between school systems in the Philippines and in Italy, and between Filipino and Italian students. In Italy, exams could be given everyday and recitation is graded. Initially, the oral examinations were in English.

The school system in Italy provides a sense of being more free for the Filipino youth. One participant even lamented the fact that he had to study for ten years in the Philippines. In his first few days in an Italian school of tourism, he did well in his mathematics and engineering subjects as these did not require oral communication skills. He and one other male participant prefer the way schools are run in Italy compared to the Philippines despite difficulties encountered in school and in learning a new language.

But there are also features of the Philippine educational system that some youths missed. One would be the strict and efficient teachers and system. Another is the conduct of graduation exercises which is not done in the Italian system. The participants viewed Italian students as much more liberated than their Filipino counterparts. Many of them expressed surprise, if not shock, at the disrespect shown by some Italian students for their teachers (or parents) and getting away with it. They deemed this unthinkable back in the Philippines where, they argued, there is much more respect for teachers and more discipline among students.

Italy or the Philippines?

Given what they have experienced, would the participants prefer to remain in Italy or return to the Philippines for good? All stated that they wanted to go back but solely for vacation. They missed their relatives, especially their grandparents or other caregivers, and their friends. They would like to stay in Italy mainly because they want to be with their parents. One boy recalled how wonderful it felt to spend his first Christmas, New Year and birthday with his parents.

For the older participants who have been studying in Italy for several years, they want to stay in Italy because they have already "made their name", i.e. they have been able to prove that they survived and made it. This is something they would not have been able to accomplish in their homeland.

The participants had mixed views on what they left behind in the Philippines. One boy said he found people in the Philippines to be rather narrow or closed-minded. But, he was also critical of the "disorder" in Italian society as manifested in the vices among the youth.

Another male participant shared the information that, in the past, he wanted to return to the Philippines. But, now that he has lived in Italy for several years, he can actually live and adjust anywhere.

When asked if they felt they had adequate preparation before emigrating to Italy, the responses were in the negative, particularly in relation to the Italian

language. One recalled how his parents told him as a young boy that living in Italy would be nice and cold, and nothing more. Others said they had been waiting for the opportunity to go to Italy for a long time so, in a sense, they were psychologically prepared. This was particularly true in the case of one boy who had visited his parents in Italy for vacations.

The youths aspire to complete their studies, and then look for a good job so they can eventually take over the role of income earner from their parents. The older ones expressed interest in hotel and restaurant management, tourism, engineering, medicine or nursing, and architecture. But, the general tendency is to go into the technical/vocational/professional track rather than the academic one. This would be consistent with an identified pattern among immigrant youth in the European countries (Crul, 2005; Mencarini, 2009; Queirolo Palmas, 2006). One youth who has not done well in school, nevertheless, expressed his determination to finish his schooling and live up to his parents' expectations. He cited that he did not want to follow in the path of other Filipino youths in Italy who, according to his parents' friends, "lahat ng mga nag-aaral dito, hindi natatapos, napupunta sa mga supermarket" (all those who study here are unable to finish their studies; they end up in the supermarket – (as bag boys – author's addition).

Conclusions

Reunification does not automatically lead to smooth family relationships as exemplified by the persistence of communication problems with parents, especially mothers. Long years of separation have created a vacuum and distance in terms of relationships between parents and children. Earlier studies on Filipino transnational families support this finding (Asis, Huang & Yoeh, 2004 as cited in Edillon, 2008).

Reunification also evokes mixed emotions. While happy to be with their parents in Italy, the youths also expressed sadness and loneliness in leaving behind in the Philippines family members who took care of them for most of their lives, especially their *lolas* (grandmothers) in the Philippines. The type, quantity and quality of preparation for the youth to easily adjust to life in Italy were very inadequate on the part of parents and Philippine-based family members. Of particular concern is their lack of proficiency in the Italian language. This is a major reason behind the youths' adjustment problems in school. Another reason was the lack of sufficient support in Italian schools to help them cope with their classes.

Those with proactively supportive family members, teachers and classmates managed to overcome the challenges of learning and adjusting to a new language and a new school. An equally critical factor came from within: the determination to succeed as motivated by the desire to remain with their families in Italy. The determined ones put in additional hours and resources learning and practicing the Italian language. Their success eventually made a difference in building confidence and perseverance.

The youths who were motivated to do well in school, including becoming proficient in the language, did perform better. Or they perceived themselves as being able to perform school tasks instead of feeling insecure and unable to fully participate.

As newcomers and foreigners, they also had to contend with bullying and teasing as well as discrimination in school. They forged friendships with kindred souls - fellow Filipinos and other migrant nationalities.

Recommendations

A. Parents who wish to bring their children to Italy should consider the findings of numerous studies that show migrant children integrating more easily to the host country school and its educational system at a younger age. If and when children are petitioned at an older age, parents should provide adequate preparation to them in terms of formal language instruction prior to the start of regular schooling, proper orientation on what to expect in Italy and most importantly, emotional and socio-psychological support. These children will be uprooted from the relatives who were their primary caregivers for long periods and their friends who have been part of their moral and emotional support system. Hence, parents, despite their heavy workload, must take the time and the effort to reach out to their children who have to cope both as migrants and as youths still in the process of identity formation.

- B. Italian schools and Italian authorities can assist in a more smooth and facilitative integration of newly-arrived migrant youth into the Italian educational system by providing lessons in the Italian language prior to the start of formal schooling and augmenting them with extensive remedial/ tutorial classes for the period needed to allow them to cope with their courses than what is currently being offered.
- C. The Philippine government, through the embassy and related agencies, and the religious communities in Italy should actively bring to the attention of Filipinos in Italy the concerns of the Filipino youth, and identify concrete steps that can be undertaken as a migrant community to show moral and social support to their integration, particularly those who may have dropped out of school, are unemployed or are engaged in non-productive behaviors. To ignore the youths' concerns is to do so at our peril for the youth will be the citizens of not only Italy but also the Philippines.
- D. Researches should investigate the Filipino youth's performance. This is especially urgent for those in the 1.75 to 2.0 generations who have the advantage of having been born or raised in Italy at a young age and gone through its educational system from pre-school. It is this generation of children and youth who would have experienced an easier transition, integration and acculturation into Italian society. How would this 'new' generation of adolescents fare in relation to the educational and career tracks as compared to their parents or other migrant youths or their native Italian classmates? Would they find themselves much better integrated, in fact, assimilated into Italian society, relegating their Filipino roots and culture into the background as they transform themselves into Italians? Or would

many of them, as the Filipina quoted in the beginning of this paper, view themselves as being both Italian and Filipino, appreciating both cultures and neither wishing nor needing to choose to be one or the other? Hence, parents, despite their heavy workload, must take the time and the effort to reach out to their children who have to cope both as migrants and as youths still in the process of identity formation.

A last note of concern that confronts Filipino as well as other migrant workers in Italy, as in several other countries in Europe, is the financial crisis that started around 2008. Said crisis is likely to continue, thereby constraining the labor market available for migrants, and resulting in tighter immigration laws throughout the continent. What the impact will be on migrant workers, including Filipinos and their families, has yet to be fully seen and felt.

Cristina M. Liamzon has been involved for over 30 years on issues of agrarian reform, food security and rural development, gender and development, civil society organizations (CSOs) and networking, and since the mid-1990s, migrant concerns. More recently, she has been working on the empowerment of overseas Filipinos as the program coordinator of the Leadership and Social Entrepreneurship (LSE) Training Program for Filipinos. This is a collaborative program of the Associazione Pilipinas OFSPES (Overseas Filipinos Society for the Promotion of Economic Security), an NGO which focuses on the socio-economic and cultural empowerment of overseas Filipinos in Italy, the Ateneo University School of Government, the Philippine Embassy in Italy, the Philippine Overseas Labor Office and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration. She was until 2010, also co-director of the Family Ministry of the Sentro Pilipino Catholic Chaplaincy in Rome.

She has a PhD in Social Science from the Pontificia Universita Gregoriana (PUG) in Rome, a MPA from Harvard University in Cambridge, a MSc in Human Settlements Planning from the Asian Institute Technology (AIT) in Bangkok and a BA in Economics from the University of the Philippines in Diliman. She has been living in Rome, Italy since 1990 and is finally returning to Manila in 2011.

References

- Ambrosini, M. (2007). Figli dell'immigrazione in cerca di identità. Focus. www.enaip.it/enaip/enaip-docs/contenuti/.../03_2007_ambrosini.pd
- Bosisio, R. (2005). Stranieri & italiani Una ricerca tra adolescenti figli di immigrati nelle scuole superiori, www.sociol.unimi.it/ricerca_pubblicazioni. php
- Caritas/Migrantes. (2006). Immigration Statistical Dossier. Rome.
- Chell, V. (2000). Female migrants in Italy Coping in a country of new immigration. In F. Anthias and G. Lazardis (Eds). Women on the move in Southern Europe. NY: Berg.
- Crul, M. (2005). The second generation in Europe. Paper presented at the Conference: Seconde generazioni in Italia. Scenari di un fenomeno in movimento. Milan. May 20, 2005.
- Crul, M. & Schneider, J. (2009). The second generation in Europe: Education and the transition to the labour market. TIES Policy Brief.
- Crul, M. & Vermeulen, H. (2003). The second generation in Europe. Introduction to the special issue. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 965-986.
- Dazzi, Z. (2010, August 11). ORIENTE MIGRANTE Sono nove milioni quelli che lavorano all'estero. Spediscono i soldi guadagnati a casa, per mantenere le proprie famiglie. E per sostenere l'economia nazionale (La Repubblica Web).
- Edillon, R. (2008). The effects of parent's migration on the rights of children left behind in the Philippines. UNICEF Working Paper, NY.
- Ghaffar-Kucher, A. (ed) (2006, December). Assimilation, integration, or isolation? (Re-) framing the education of immigrants. Current Issues in Comparative Education. 9 (1).
- Gobbo, F. et al. (2009). Strategies for supporting schools and teachers in order to foster social inclusion. Independent Report Commissioned by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Education and Culture. DOCA.
- Liamzon, C. (2007). Filipino migrant youth in Rome, Italy -A view of their issues and concerns. In F.M. Hoegsholm (Ed). IN DE OLDE WORLDE: Views of Filipino migrants in Europe. QC: Philippine Social Science Council and Philippine Migration Research Network.

- Mencarini, L. et al. (2009, October). The situation of children in immigrant families in Italy: Changes and challenges. Special Series on Children in Immigrant Families in Affluent Societies, IWP-2009-15, UNICEF Italy.
- MIUR Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca. http:// www.istruzione.it/web/ministero
- Queirolo Palmas, L. (2006). Prove di seconde generazioni. Giovani di origine immigrata tra scuole e spazi urbani. Milan: Franco Angeli.
- Ricucci, R. (2005, Agosto). Ricerche e studi su societa e politica in Italia. Polis. Issue 2.
- Root, M. (2005), Filipino families. In M. McGoldrick, et al. (Eds). Ethnicity and family therapy (pp.319-331). NY, NY: Guilford Press.
- Rumbaut, R. (1996). The crucible within: Ethnic identity and assimilation of children of immigrantsî. In A. Portes (Ed). The second generation. NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Scalabrini Migration Center. (2004). Hearts apart: Migration in the eyes of the Filipino children. Manila: SMC.
- Su Yeong Kim, et al. (2008, December 1). Children of Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i: Adolescent girls' experiences at home and at school. *Journal of Immigration and Refugee Studies*, 6 (4), 591-598.
- Tettamanzi, M. et al. (2005). ñFratture e Svolte nelle Narrazioni di Adolescenti Immigratii *Universito Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano*. http://www.psicotraumatologia.eu/symbolon/pubblicazioni/2005/48-fratture-e-svolte-nelle-narrazioni-di-adolescenti-immigrati.html

Endnotes

- Annaliza Bueno helped to translate the Italian text into English.
- ² The European Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 focuses on the right to family reunification. This has been adopted by the Italian government as written in the Gazzetta ufficiale n. L 251 del 03/10/2003 pag. 0012 0018.
- ³ One such study was done in 2005 by C. Liamzon for the Sentro Pilipino Chaplaincy, Rome and the Associazione Pilipinas OFSPES. *An Exploratory Study of the Situation of Filipino Youth in Rome*. The study can be found at www.pilipinas-ofspes.net. A shorter version entitled "Filipino Migrant Youth in Rome, Italy -A View of their Issues and Concerns" is found in: IN DE OLDE WORLDE: Views of Filipino Migrants in Europe. (see References).
- * The author's work with the Sentro Pilipino Commission on Family and Youth relates precisely to these types of issues and concerns of the youth that arise in many Filipino communities in Rome.
- ⁵ Bjorn Thomassen cites the highly publicized case of the son of Rome mayor, Alemanno being beaten up by a group of Filipino and other migrant youths in Rome.
- The author would like to acknowledge and thank the FGD participants and the following for their support and assistance in the conduct of the FGDs: the Sentro Pilipino Chaplaincy (SPC) staff Fr. Romeo Velos, CS; Sr. Gloria Bonghanoy, RVM; Sr. Gloria Agagon, FMA; Fr. Orven Gonzaga (SPC Youth Ministry); Sr. Ruby Sampang (SPC Youth Ministry); volunteers of the Family and Youth Ministry: Rochelle Manabat, Hazel Ycaza, Riza Almoneda, Mayeth Gonzalez, Nellie Bernardo, Lonia Samson.
- ⁷ For the majority, other Filipinos who were not necessarily classmates became the peer group that they have bonded with and who have helped them to cope with their new surroundings. For some, attending a national youth encounter organized by the Sentro Pilipino Chaplaincy helped them to relate with other Filipino youth and they continue to communicate with some of them.

Realizing the Development Potential of Filipino Diaspora Philanthropy

Augustus T. Añonuevo Estrella Mai Dizon-Añonuevo

Financial, material, and other contributions and donations of overseas Filipinos are largely sent to their communities of origin in the Philippines. Such philanthropy of the Filipino diaspora remains predominantly characterized by charitable giving focused on providing immediate assistance to those most in need in the Philippines. There are, however, emerging practices of strategic philanthropy of overseas Filipinos. The Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium (2007) defines strategic philanthropy by diaspora populations as "investments that fund longer term and sustainable solutions and social change in home countries, as opposed to charitable giving that addresses immediate needs, and beyond remittance transfers that fulfil familial obligations". The study cited several examples of Filipino diaspora organizations in partnership with NGOs, foundations, and/or local and national government agencies engaged in strategic philanthropic investment aimed at sustainable development and social change. The cases of Ayala Foundation-United States of America, Answer for the Cry of the Poor/Gawad Kalinga and their partner overseas Filipino organizations and individuals were discussed and analyzed as exemplary efforts of strategic diaspora giving/philanthropy. The paper also cited the challenges that must be addressed and put forward recommendations for Filipino diaspora philanthropy to achieve significant scale and scope, and create meaningful impact on Philippine development.

Interest in the relationship between overseas Filipino migration and national development has been growing steadily for many years. Academic institutions, government agencies, and non-government organizations seek to understand the complex connections between the movement of people and the development of their home countries. Most of these efforts focus on the impact of remittances on migrants' countries and communities of origin. The largest

share of remittances is sent home to support families and relatives, and this is where research has focused on. However, there are unaccounted portions of remittance transfers that are intended for "public good". These monies are often referred to as "diaspora philanthropy", a phenomenon that has only recently begun to receive closer attention.

Opiniano (2002, as cited in Association of Foundations, 2005) defines diaspora philanthropy as the "process in which migrants or immigrants abroad, in forging and sustaining their relations with their origin societies, allocate a certain portion of their remittances to fund development projects in the country of origin" (p. 5). Johnson and Sedaca (2004, as cited in Silva, 2006) comment that although their reasons for going abroad vary, most overseas migrants maintain affinity with and keen interest in matters related to their countries of origin. Further, they say: "When this interest becomes engagement, whether collective or individual, émigré and diaspora communities can use their financial, time, and intellectual resources to help reduce poverty, contribute to the expansion of the private sector, and enhance global competitiveness of their countries of origin" (p. 6).

The optimism of Opiniano, Johnson, and Sedaca in the development potential of diaspora philanthropy is shared by a number of scholars. Yet, whether the current practices of diaspora philanthropy have actually contributed to the development of home communities remains an open question. Filipinos direct an important portion of overseas remittances to help those beyond their immediate families. However, it remains uncertain whether these migrant acts and contributions have developed into a more substantive engagement contributing to social change and development. It is to this discussion—migrants' current and future role in effecting social change in the Philippines—that this paper seeks to contribute.

The research for this paper involved the conduct of key informant interviews among migrant leaders, personnel of government agencies, and nongovernment organizations involved in the fields of migration, philanthropy, and development. It also surveyed overseas Filipino organizations and their current practices in diaspora giving. Moreover, it pinpointed best practices in strategic diaspora philanthropy and made case studies of the best among them, some of which are presented in this paper.

This paper briefly characterizes the current practices of Filipino diaspora philanthropy and cite reasons why there is no widespread engagement in strategic giving; highlights some best practices in strategic diaspora philanthropy; identifies the challenges; and offers recommendations to realize the development potential of Filipino diaspora philanthropy.

Characterizing Current Practices of Diaspora Philanthropy

Filipino diaspora philanthropy remains predominantly characterized by traditional charitable giving, focused on providing immediate assistance and relief to those most in need. There has been no significant, widespread shift to a more strategic approach to giving that would focus on underlying issues, sustainable solutions, and social change. Silva (2006, p. 42), in a study of Filipino hometown associations in Canada, comments:

Because of the irregular nature of the collective remittance flow to the Philippines, the development impact is not as great....While development projects undertaken are typically tangible in nature, they are not targeted towards a specific objective within a community. Projects end up as small contributions to an array of different problems which do not entirely provide holistic impact on development.

The Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium (APPC) defines strategic philanthropy by diaspora populations as "investments that fund longer term and sustainable solutions and social change in home countries, as opposed to charitable giving that addresses immediate needs, and beyond remittance transfers that fulfill familial obligations" (APPC, 2007). Ayala (2006) emphasizes that the term "strategic" is not meant to denigrate what is often called "charity," because

such donations are just as important, especially to people who are in need of immediate assistance, but suggests that philanthropy must also attempt to address the underlying issues creating the need for charity.

Strategic philanthropy to the Philippines appears to be limited in large part by a donor's desire for swift and tangible results, and the lack of access to partners in the Philippines who are committed to sustainable development approaches and outcomes. It is observed that Filipino migrants want to see that their contributions are used for the intended purpose and want to be able to distinguish concrete outcomes. "Consequently", according to Silva (2006, p. 37), "projects geared towards economic development are quite rare since results relating to this type of programming are often difficult to measure and observe by migrants themselves."

Strategic giving is further limited by the lack of information on potential partners and development initiatives readily available to donors. For the most part, the migrant population is unaware of the myriad of worthy development initiatives, programs and projects in the Philippines. Few donors have links or partnerships beyond those with their own village. Tessie Alarcon, president of Feed the Hungry (FtH), a foundation based in the United States, said in an interview on October 20, 2007: "We would like to fund more sustainable projects such as livelihood projects and microfinance projects, but our problem is the lack of partners who will monitor these projects and ensure their sustainability."

Discussions with NGO leaders point out the following obstacles to more widespread engagement:

- Most NGOs are familiar with and focused on traditional funding agencies and have not yet recognized the Filipino diaspora as a source of funding; and
- Most NGOs do not have the social capital, skills, and resources required (e.g., mounting fund raising campaigns in diaspora communities) to mobilize donations from overseas Filipinos.

Emerging Practices in Strategic Philanthropy

Although the lion's share of overseas contributions is directed to traditional charitable endeavors and local communities, there are several examples of diaspora organizations -- in partnership with NGOs, foundations, and/or local and national government agencies -- engaged in strategic philanthropic investments aimed at sustainable development and social change. It would be presumptuous -- or premature at best -- to suggest an "emerging trend" of strategic diaspora giving. But, cautious optimism for the future of diaspora giving may be appropriate.

Notably, the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), an agency under the Office of the President of the Philippines is actively encouraging more strategic and sustained giving from donors. In 2006, the CFO shifted its focus to fewer, more sustainable projects. Regina Angela Galias, former project director of Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino (LINKAPIL), has said: "In 2006, we campaigned to our donors not only to provide relief to those affected by typhoons and other disasters but to provide funds for rehabilitation of their means of livelihood" (M.R.A. Galias, personal communication, August 17, 2007). This policy shift was responsible for the significant increase in donations going to livelihood projects. In 2006, \$3.6 million of the \$4 million generated went to livelihood programs (CFO, 2007).

Several smaller-scale initiatives further illustrate the emergence of strategic philanthropic practices among diaspora communities and their local partners:

 The NGO Atikha engages the Filipino diaspora in social enterprise projects. Its Save a Tree of Life campaign mobilized diaspora donations to start up a community-based business enterprise, Coco Natur. The campaign was undertaken in partnership with the Overseas Filipinos Worldwide-Mutual Benefit Corporation (OFW-MBC), an organization of professionals based in San Francisco, California and Seven Lakes International, a federation of overseas Filipino hometown organizations with members from San Pablo City, Laguna. The initial \$17,500 investment from the diaspora has leveraged an additional US\$95,000 from the Philippine Department of Trade and Industry and individual donors. Coco Natur has developed into a fair trade social enterprise of coconut farmers and overseas Filipinos, transforming coconut farmers into producers, instead of just being suppliers of coconuts (Atikha, 2006).

- Romblon Discussion List Culture Livelihood Educational Assistance for Romblon (RDL-CLEAR) is a virtual hometown association of former and current residents of Romblon, with about 70% of its members residing outside of the Philippines. RDL-CLEAR organizes and engages the dispersed hometown population through the internet and occasional sanrokan conferences in Romblon, which bring together local government officials, the academe, and NGOs to discuss and propose interventions to key problems facing the province. One of the key priorities recently identified was the preservation of coral reefs in the town of Calatrava in Tablas Island, Romblon which were being destroyed by rampant dynamite fishing. With a donation of \$2,900 from the diaspora community, RDL-CLEAR coordinated the participation of the local government, academe and the fishermen in protecting the coral reefs. While the investment was modest, it increased the municipality's 2005 coastal management budget of \$4,800 by 60% (Powers, 2006). The area has now been declared a fish sanctuary, a growing variety of fish are seen on the coral reef, and fishing in the area has become more abundant (N. Fajutagana, personal communication, October 5, 2007).
- The Damayang Pilipino sa Nederland (DAMAYAN), an organization which aids Filipinos in the Netherlands and in the Philippines, and the Association of Bansaleòos Worldwide (ABW), a virtual hometown association of former Bansalan residents, launched a joint fundraising

drive among Filipinos in the Netherlands to promote both microenterprise and literacy in Mindanao. DAMAYAN and ABW provide
mothers with start-up capital so that they can set up small microenterprises, increase their household income and eventually send their
children to school. The two organizations were able to raise a total of
\$5,265 from the Netherlands-based diaspora. This initial contribution
leveraged several other contributions for the program from the Wild
Geese Foundation in the Netherlands, local government and provincial
government of Misamis Oriental (L. Rispens-Noel, personal
communication, September 15, 2007).

Two additional organizations provide further examples of strategic philanthropy. The Ayala Foundation-United States of America's (AFUSA) support of the Gearing up Internet Literacy and Access for Students (GILAS) Project and the Answer for the Cry of the Poor (ANCOP) and Gawad Kalinga (GK) partnership are considered exemplary because (1) the supported programs represent strategic interventions to problems of national scope and concern; (2) the resource mobilization campaigns for the projects are able to integrate national needs with donors' preference for hometown or local giving; and 3) the organizations have successfully used diaspora funds to leverage additional contributions from local governments and private corporations, allowing projects of a far greater scope and scale.

Ayala Foundation USA (AFUSA): mobilizing philanthropy for a 21st century education

AFUSA was established in 2000 to broaden the U.S. donor base for social development programs in the Philippines. In its initial years of operation, AFUSA was fairly "donor driven," with most contributions directed towards the preferences of individual donors. In a departure from this pattern, in 2005, AFUSA began campaigning among the diaspora for support of a specific program of national importance, the GILAS (Gearing up Internet Literacy and Access for Students) initiative.

The GILAS project was initiated by a consortium of corporations, government agencies, public schools, NGOs, and overseas Filipinos to address the acute scarcity of technology resources in public high schools in the Philippines. The program aims to put computer laboratories with internet access in all 5,789 public high schools by 2010 (Garchitorena, 2007).

AFUSA actively promoted GILAS through presentations and networks throughout the United States. Volunteer groups composed of about 100 Filipino-Americans in ten states raised funds for the program through events such as golf tournaments, benefit dinners, marathon runs, grant proposals, and book sales. Individuals requested that their friends donate to GILAS in lieu of personal gifts. Others requested that their companies, such as Citigroup and Microsoft, match individual contributions to the GILAS project (C. Cruza, personal communication, January 21, 2008).

Filipino-American companies also helped AFUSA raise funds. Seafood City, a Filipino-American- owned supermarket chain, assisted through donation boxes and co-branding of their "Pamana" brand products. The amount raised was matched by Seafood City management, resulting in contributions of over \$37,000 in two years.

AFUSA's success in mobilizing resources for GILAS "is based on its capacity to respond to the priorities and aspirations of the Filipino donor" (Garchitorena, 2007, p. 18). The campaign was able to convince donors of the critical need to equip Filipino students throughout the country with computer and literacy skills. The donors were also given a free hand to support and become involved with a particular school in their hometown. Through the new computers, they could communicate with their beneficiaries and could even opt to be online mentors to teachers and students in the Philippines.

The GILAS consortium has also used the diaspora contributions to leverage government funds, convincing officials to match funds raised from the private sector and overseas Filipinos. According to Mario Derequito, Executive Director of Ayala Foundation (personal communication, January 21, 2008) the total amount generated for the GILAS project from January 2005 to December 2007 was \$3.75 million, which benefited 1,670 public high schools and approximately 800,000 underprivileged youths in the Philippines. Of the \$3.75 million, Chiara Cruza, Senior Development Officer of Ayala Foundation (personal communication, January 21, 2008) said that AFUSA raised \$564,187, or about 15% of the total, directly from Filipino-Americans.

AFUSA's GILAS campaign is an impressive example of mobilizing diaspora philanthropy for a remarkably strategic initiative. Introducing computer technology to individual schools enhances students' learning and increases their opportunities for better paying employment.

ANCOP and Gawad Kalinga (GK): Addressing poverty and transforming communities

Johnson (2001, p. 4) defines global social investing as "the strategic and systematic investment of private philanthropic resources to address complex, inter-connected manifestations of chronic underdevelopment". An example of social investing within the context of the Filipino diaspora is ANCOP's mobilization of resources for GK, an ambitious project designed as an integrated, sustainable, and holistic program to alleviate poverty in the Philippines and transform communities of the poor and homeless. The GK 777 program aims to build 700,000 homes in 7,000 communities in seven years.

ANCOP was established by the Couples for Christ, a faith-based organization in the Philippines, to generate awareness and mobilize resources for the GK initiative. ANCOP USA was established as a 501(c) (3) organization in 2003 and the organization has established additional bases in Australia, Canada, and other countries.

According to Eleonor Chichioco (personal communication, December 7, 2007) Program Director of ANCOP USA, ANCOP has developed a variety of

different ways in which donors can support the GK initiative. A donor can support a house for \$1,500 or a village for \$59,000 (aside from house construction includes funds for day care, health services and other projects). Small donors pool their donations to collectively sponsor a house or village, which can be named after the donors. Donors can also choose the location of the house or village they wish to support. In addition, ANCOP raises funds through special events such as concerts, marathons, and benefit dinners.

From 2003-2007, Chichioco reported that ANCOP USA raised approximately \$12.45 million to build over 300 GK villages. Rhona Cuaresma, Coordinator of ANCOP Australia, reported raising \$1.583 million, which established 23 villages. Manette Acero, Coordinator for Finance of ANCOP Canada, stated that they raised around \$2.5 million and established 82 GK villages (personal communication, December 7, 2007). From just these three countries, ANCOP has been able to generate \$16.53 million and establish about 405 villages since they were established in 2003. According to Myra Ortega, ANCOP's Officer-in-Charge of Coordinating International Affairs, ANCOP has chapters in about 28 countries, but 95% of donations comes from the US, Canada, and Australia (personal communication, January 23, 2008).

ANCOP also encourages non-monetary support from its donors. Volunteers and partners are asked to assist directly in the construction and activity of GK villages (E. Chichioco, personal communication, December 7, 2007).

As of June 2007, GK had built and transformed more than 1,200 communities in the Philippines and provided homes and economic opportunities to approximately 26,299 families (R. Cuaresma, personal communication, December 7, 2007). About 35% of these GK communities were established with donations from the Filipino diaspora.

Several factors have likely contributed to ANCOP's success in raising money. The GK builds on the donors' charitable impulse to provide assistance to the poor and homeless. Couples for Christ has a solid overseas membership which both contributes directly and serves as volunteers. As a Christian group, it has also been able to attract donations readily from other Christian groups. And GK's early, tangible community-based accomplishments raised confidence among donors.

Diaspora Members as Agents of Social Development and Change?

The foregoing examples of strategic philanthropy illustrate the growing role of the Filipino diaspora as change agents in communities in the Philippines. Many in the Filipino diaspora have accumulated relatively substantial financial and social capital; have gained expertise in specialized fields such as finance, business, health care, development and the environment; and have been exposed to new philanthropic practices. They are poised to play an important role in the development of their communities of origin.

Overseas Filipinos have not only mobilized resources for development; they have also, at times, leveraged additional aid from development agencies and corporations in their host countries. For instance, Tessie and Pabito Alarcon, together with other Filipino-Americans in Washington, D.C., raised \$1.57 million for various Feed the Hungry projects in depressed communities. About 30% of the funds they raised annually come from corporations and organizations such as World Bank, Microsoft and CISCO (T. Alarcon, personal communication, October 20, 2007).

Overseas Filipinos can be catalysts for change by making full use of their acquired knowledge and skills for the benefit of their communities of origin. Innovative ideas, new technologies, international networks, and new markets are all critical resources that the Filipino diaspora bring to these communities. Micro-enterprises in rural areas are able to develop innovative products, improve product packaging, and become linked to the global market through the ideas and networks of the Filipino diaspora. Leila Rispens Noel, who is based in the Netherlands, helped to establish the virtual organization of Bansalan residents, and mobilized her townmates abroad and the local government to support

sustainable development projects. The organization is now promoting the products of community-based enterprises in Bansalan globally, through the internet.

Diaspora communities also have the potential to contribute to their home communities in less direct ways. They can influence local politics, encourage transparency and accountability in government and community organizations, and even promote local activism. The RDL-CLEAR experience shows how virtual hometown associations (HTAs) are able to influence policy makers and local government executives in crafting policies and programs that are responsive to the needs of the community. RDL-CLEAR is now engaged, together with other organizations in Romblon, in stopping mining operations in one of the province's islands.

Another important role of the Filipino diaspora in effecting change in communities is through investments in enterprises, at times seeking a combination of financial and social return on their investments. Nestor Duldulao and Art Claveria, entrepreneurs based in San Francisco, mobilized Filipino diaspora donations in Northern California to develop community-based coconut enterprises in Laguna. The intention is to provide jobs for coconut farmers and their families. Others are investing in credit cooperatives and microfinance organizations to provide much needed capital for micro-enterprises in the rural areas.

These experiences remain few. But, optimistically, the number of overseas Filipinos actively engaged in strategic giving will continue to expand. One critical ingredient for growth will be the development of an enabling environment to encourage and facilitate such giving. This challenge is examined in the succeeding section.

Issues and Challenges

Strategic deployment of Filipino diaspora philanthropy remains limited in scope and scale. Although — as this paper illustrates — there are several exemplary efforts, they remain few and far between. Much must be done — by the government, NGOs, and the business sector — to create an enabling environment for a widespread and consistent interest in strategic giving. In addition, the following issues and challenges need to be addressed to generate a significant shift from charitable giving to strategic giving by overseas Filipinos:

Broadening the Donor Base

The diaspora donor base for strategic giving remains relatively small. Efforts have not reached a significant number of overseas Filipino organizations. Facilitators and nonprofits have not engaged a substantial number of overseas Filipinos to give back to the Philippines. Furthermore, knowledge and skills transfer from the Filipino diaspora remains scarce and limited.

The challenge is to engage a broader section of the Filipino diaspora — especially second generation Filipinos, those who are not associated with groups, and those involved in traditional charitable giving — to contribute to strategic causes in the Philippines. This challenge calls for creative forms of reaching out to Filipinos overseas, e.g., making full use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and informing them of the needs of the communities and the development initiatives in the Philippines. This challenge entails finding "...means and ways that will make it easier to give, offer sufficient choice and options to diaspora donors, and make it possible to track the impact of what was given" (Najam, 2007, p. 146).

Building Partnerships

The Association of Foundations (2005) has stressed that because overseas Filipinos are "absentee investors/donors/entrepreneurs," they are in need of reliable partners that will help them identify development projects, viable investments, and businesses opportunities in the country. Since migrants are not by nature development oriented (Orozco, 2003), the challenge is to find development partners in the Philippines who will assist them in project identification, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation.

Another challenge is to build partnerships among the various stakeholders — including overseas Filipinos, NGOs, government, business — and merge their initiatives towards strategic giving. This challenge will require new forms of cooperation, collaboration, and mechanisms through which to pool efforts and resources.

Accommodating Donor Preference

Powers (2006, p. 54) views the philanthropy of overseas Filipinos with its hometown bias as a "highly inequitable funding mechanism for development (that may) overlook the areas most in need of assistance." Yet, the Filipino diaspora should not be expected to take the place of government and development agencies in ensuring equitable development. At best, it should augment government and development agencies' efforts towards 'equitable' development.

The challenge is to craft "equitable" development programs and projects that accommodate the Filipino donors' hometown bias and preferences. In addition, this means encouraging hometown beneficiaries like churches and local governments to develop projects that strategically address the problems in their communities that their townmates abroad can support.

Pooling and Leveraging of Diaspora Funds

There is a need to both pool and leverage diaspora philanthropy in order to attain scale and have a significant impact on the lives of people in hometown communities. Vasconselos (2007) points out that if migrant remittances and, we might add, diaspora donations are not leveraged, economic activities and employment opportunities in these communities will remain low.

The challenge is how to pool the resources of the Filipino diaspora and leverage them with development agencies, foundations and the Philippine government. It entails convincing overseas Filipinos, who are more comfortable with handling their donations themselves, to give to a pooled fund. It also requires efforts to help

development agencies and government units recognize the importance of complementing diaspora philanthropy for social and economic development.

Recommendations

Diaspora philanthropy should be linked to a comprehensive strategy of harnessing diaspora resources to sustainable development. For diaspora philanthropy to achieve significant scale and scope, and create meaningful impact on development, the following key recommendations are proposed:

Create a GO-NGO working group on migration and development

There should be a coordinating body composed of government and NGO representatives -- a "GO-NGO" partnership -- that crafts strategic programs and projects and coordinates initiatives of the various stakeholders on migration and development, both in the Philippines and abroad. Representatives from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of Labor and Employment, Commission on Filipinos Overseas and the Department of Trade and Industry should participate in this working group. NGO representatives may come from alliances of NGOs involved in migration and development, such as the Philippine Consortium on Migration and Development, Association of Foundations, League of Corporate Foundations, International Network of Alternative Financial Institutions and the Philippine Social Enterprise Network.

This working group could facilitate coordination and complementation of initiatives to avoid competition and duplication. It could also promote the development of strategic projects, such as GK and GILAS that could be implemented in various towns and provinces.

Build networks of overseas Filipino organizations and NGOs

Considering that overseas Filipino organizations are relatively small and informal, and usually give small contributions, building networks of overseas Filipino organizations is key to the pooling of diaspora efforts and donations. These networks could spearhead advocacy of strategic philanthropy and reach out to the broadest section of overseas Filipinos. They could use Filipino channel television to reach out to overseas Filipinos. They could help devise mechanisms for pooling diaspora contributions. Since the organizations lack resources for organizing and capacity building, facilitators like AFUSA and CFO could initiate networking among the various organizations. They could also equip the leaders with skills in organizing and fundraising.

At the same time, networks of NGOs in the Philippines advocating for strategic philanthropy should be forged. These networks, such as the Philippine Consortium on Migration and Development, should reach out to overseas Filipinos, NGOs, government organizations and the business sector; advocate for the leveraging of diaspora philanthropy from the national and local government units and development agencies; and assist in crafting development programs that could be funded through diaspora philanthropy. They should link NGOs in key communities with high concentrations of overseas Filipino families with hometown associations in different countries. These networks should also help identify development-oriented local governments and executives, and assist in identifying social enterprises that could be scaled up and replicated in various provinces.

Establish community foundations and develop community-based ICT materials

Community foundations that recognize the hometown preference of overseas Filipinos should be established. A community foundation (CF) is a private, non-profit organization which mobilizes local resources for grant giving in a defined geographic area. A CF aims to improve the quality of life in a particular community by addressing its diverse and changing needs in a participative manner — building community spirit and strengthening community leadership as local citizens come together to solve problems and create a common vision for the future (AF, 2004, p. 6).

There is a dearth of information on the important role of community foundations and the mechanisms of setting them up in the Philippines. The Association of Foundations could spearhead the advocacy of and help set up community foundations in areas with high concentrations of overseas Filipinos.

Community foundations could work to become the recipients or intermediaries for hometown associations (HTAs) giving. They could leverage these donations with the local government and other sectors of the community. They could also assist HTAs in selecting strategic projects and ensuring equitable distribution of resources in a given community.

The setting up of a community foundation should be complemented with the development of communication materials and mechanisms that can reach the families of overseas Filipinos and other members of the community. Hometown websites, local radio stations, and cable televisions hooked to the internet will help update the HTAs on community issues and initiatives.

Conduct research and develop data bases of stakeholders

There is a need for empirical studies on Filipino diaspora philanthropy, and the migration and development nexus, so that strategies can be put in place to mobilize diaspora resources towards sustainable development. Projects funded by the Filipino diaspora should be evaluated to gain insights on strategic philanthropy practices and their impact on the communities. Results of such evaluation should be disseminated to the various stakeholders. In addition, databases of various stakeholders in the Philippines and abroad should be developed as mechanisms to link overseas Filipinos with partners in the Philippines.

Overseas Filipinos can contribute substantially to change and development in their communities of origin. With their monetary resources, knowledge and skills, they are, without a doubt, an important development resource. But the development potential of diaspora philanthropy can only be realized if government and development organizations step forward with the commitment and resources to create an environment conducive to strategic giving, investment and development.

Augustus T. Anonuevo is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of the Philippines-Los Banos. He and Ms. Dizon- Anonuevo edited the book Coming Home: Women, Migration, and Reintegration and wrote the Philippine country paper on the diaspora philanthropy commissioned by the Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium. He was a recipient of six professorial chair awards from the University of the Philippines, three of which lectures that he delivered were on the field of migration and development.

Estrella Mai Dizon-Anonuevo is the Executive Director of Atikha Overseas Workers and Communities Initiative, Inc. She finished her Masters in Entrepreneurship for Social and Development Enterprises at the Asian Institute of Management. She has been involved in several researchers on the social costs and development potential of overseas Filipino migration. She co-authored the books Ein Traum vom Besseren Leben (A Dream of a Better Life) and Migration of Women: The Social Trade-Off and helped develop training modules on the social costs of overseas migration and financial literacy for overseas Filipino workers and their families.

References

- Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium. (2007, December). Writers' Terms of Reference: Conference Background Papers Diaspora giving: An agent of change in Asia-Pacific Communities?
- Association of Foundations. (2004). What you should know about a community foundation.
- Association of Foundations. (2005). Diaspora philanthropy by Filipinos. Quezon City: Association of Foundations.
- Atikha. (2006). Atikha progress report 2005: Mobilizing overseas Filipino resources for the development of overseas Filipinos, their families and communities in San Pablo City. Laguna and Mabini, Batangas. [Unpublished material].
- Ayala, J.A.Z. (2006). The challenges of Asian philanthropy in the 21st century. Retrieved January 10, 2008, from http://www.wingsweb.org/forum06/ presentations zobel.cfm
- Commision on Filipinos Overseas. (2007). Lingkod sa kapwa pilipino/Link for Philippine development program: Harnessing overseas Filipinos as partners in national development. [Unpublished material].
- Garchitorena, V. (2007, May). Diaspora philanthropy: The Philippine experience.
 Retrieved October 1, 2007 from http://www.tpi.org/downloads/pdfs/
 Philippines Diaspora Philanthropy Final.pdf
- Johnson, P. (2001, May). Global social investing: A preliminary overview.
 Retrieved December 28, 2007 from http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~acgei/PDFs/
 PhilanthropyPDFs/Phil_Global_Soc_Investing.pdf
- Najam, A. (2007). Diaspora philanthropy to Asia. In B. Merz, L.Chen & P. Geithner (Eds.), *Diasporas and development* (pp.119-150). Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Global Equity Initiative.
- Orozco, M. (2003). Hometown associations and their present and future partnerships: New development opportunities? Retrieved December 1, 2007 from http://socrates.berkeley.edu:7001/Events/conferences/Morelia/briefing/ HTAManuelOrozco.pdf

- Powers, S. (2006, May 31). Bayanihan across the seas: Diaspora philanthropy and development in the Philippines. Retrieved September 3, 2007 from http://www.filipinodiasporagiving.org/Attached%20files/Shawn%20 Powers%20 study.pdf
- Silva, J. (2006). Engaging diaspora communities in development: An investigation of Filipino hometown associations in Canada. Unpublished manuscript, Simon Fraser University, Canada.
- Vasconcelos P. (2007, November 7). Sending money home, migrant remittances to developing countries: Remittances as a development instrument. Paper presented at the International Network of Alternative Institutions International Conference on Microfinance, Remittances, and Development. Contonou, Benin.

Endnote

* This article includes the introduction and a shortened version of a section of the paper entitled *Diaspora giving: An agent of change in Asia Pacific communities? (Philippines).* This was written by the authors in 2008 as commissioned by the Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium.

An Assessment of the Materials and Methods Used in Disseminating Information on Human Trafficking in Two Barangays of Quezon City

Leticia S. Tojos

Given the importance of popularizing human trafficking as a human rights issue, this study looks into the initiatives of local officials and non-government organizations in Barangays Botocan and Escopa 3 in Quezon City to disseminate information among residents. The assessment covered the following areas: messages or content of the materials, methods and media for disseminating information, consumers and extent of dissemination, and effects on receivers of information.

Data gathering was done by reviewing available information dissemination materials, interviewing key informants, and conducting focus group discussion with selected residents.

Findings show that the Quezon City government has a number of instructive materials on human trafficking that have targeted its social workers and other frontline service providers, and barangay officials and residents. The materials promote the human rights perspective. However, the contents or messages have not been fully understood by barangay residents. Methods of dissemination have also not facilitated comprehension and retention of information. This was because human trafficking as a topic was only one among several inputs to the barangays without benefit of discussion.

Positive outcomes of the efforts include the improved handling of human trafficking cases by direct service workers and local officials as well as reporting of cases by residents.

Introduction

In its 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report, the State Department of the United States of America put the Philippines on its Tier 2 watch list for the second straight year. A Tier 2 classification means that a country has a very significant or a significantly increasing number of trafficking victims and/or its government has failed to show improving efforts to stop human trafficking (Panti, & Samonte, 2009).

In the Philippines, the government and non-government organizations (NGOs) estimate that there are between 300,000-400,000 victims of human trafficking, seventy per cent of whom are reportedly women. Women are trafficked for labor and sexual exploitation to West Asia (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain), Southeast Asia (Malaysia, and Singapore), East Asia (Japan, Hong Kong), South Africa, Europe and North America (US State Department 2006 Trafficking in Persons Report-Philippines).

Indeed, international trafficking in the Philippines remains to be a serious social concern despite the enactment of R.A 9208 or The Anti Trafficking of Persons Act in 2003. Increasing impoverishment and more than three decades of the government's overseas employment program are factors to be considered in understanding why people are vulnerable to promises of high-earning jobs overseas. Another explanation is the country's strategic location, facilitating the transport of people to other countries. One of the published articles identified Southern Mindanao as "the traditional crossing point to nearby Brunei, Indonesia and Malaysia" (Pinoy Press, April 21, 2010).

The US State Department report cites pervasive corruption (e.g. antitrafficking law enforcement personnel receiving bribes and allowing offenders, explicitly or tacitly, to continue trafficking activities) and an inefficient judicial system as severely constraining the prosecution of trafficking cases. Of 228 cases referred by law enforcement agencies to the Department of Justice, only eight individuals in five sex trafficking cases have been convicted. These convictions include two who remain at large.

It is no secret that organized crime syndicates, both national and international, are involved in human trafficking, particularly in the sex industry. This is more reason for the national and local governments as duty bearers to intensify efforts to combat human trafficking. One way of doing this is to get families and communities involved through awareness raising programs. The latter is an integral albeit neglected component of current initiatives to address human trafficking, according to a key informant who is assisting survivors.

Because of devolution, local government units (LGUs) are the primary duty bearers in informing and organizing families and communities to combat human trafficking. And some LGUs have indeed launched information campaigns among communities. This study was undertaken to assess such initiatives from a rights perspective in order to identify both good practices and areas for improvement.

Background of the Study

Objectives

The study aimed to identify the messages, format, and modes of popularization of the materials used by the Quezon City government through its Social Welfare and Development Office. It also sought to determine who the target recipients were and their access to information. Furthermore, it looked into the perceived outcomes of these efforts in two communities in Quezon City. Based on the findings, recommendations on how information dissemination can be more effective are put forth.

Scope

The study considered the target audience and content of the information materials disseminated by the Quezon City government. In relation to content, it wanted to determine if the materials contain the important information about the issue: nature, causes, mechanisms, sites and extent of human trafficking, its perpetrators and victims, and responses, including where and whom to contact for legal and other support services for survivors and families. Of critical concern is whether the materials effectively explain human trafficking from a human

rights perspective. Do the materials present trafficking as a human rights violation and a crime? Do they inform the audience about the local government's role as duty bearer to create a safe environment for them to work and provide accessible protective and legal services, and the citizens' own responsibilities?

The study also looked into the language and format used in the materials, whether they facilitate understanding of human trafficking.

Methods and structures of information dissemination were also assessed based on effectiveness and compliance with existing laws such as Section 16 of RA 9208 which provides for the setting up of the Migrant Advisory and Information Network (MAIN) desks in municipalities and provinces involving the Philippine Information Agency (PIA), Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), Commission on Filipinos Overseas, non-government organizations and other concerned agencies (Primer on the Anti Trafficking in Persons Act, p. 16).

Benefits as well as gaps in information dissemination activities and the materials, from the point of view of the receivers, were also identified. Specifically, the study wanted to know if the materials and activities had any effects on people's awareness and understanding of human trafficking, and if they were motivated to take action, individually and/or collectively.

Significance

In highlighting the positive aspects as well as gaps in current practices regarding the conduct of effective information campaigns to combat human trafficking, the study can provide local government executives feedback on what they did well and what more ought to be done. This is crucial since traffickers target low income communities as sources of people to be recruited.

The results can also motivate other localities to undertake activities to popularize the issue of human trafficking more actively using participatory

methods. Furthermore, they may be the basis for concrete program and policy recommendations on awareness raising and information dissemination at the barangay level.

Review of Literature

The materials reviewed for this study indicate the magnitude and scope of human trafficking as well as the programs and services being done by government and non government organizations. They underscore the necessity of addressing the issue and carrying out information campaigns at the barangay level to create more impact.

Available literature provides basic information on human trafficking: what is it, why and where is it happening, to what extent, who are the perpetrators and who are the victims as well as what actions are taken to arrest the problem and who or what agencies or organizations are involved. There are also cases of survivors cited and the assistance given to them. With the belief that timely discovery and deterrence will definitely help in curbing human trafficking, the government undertook different advocacy and education initiatives. Similar activities have been done by non-government organizations. However, there are very few studies on the effects of information campaigns on human trafficking in a given locality.

The Research and Action Final Report prepared by the Coalitions against Trafficking of Human Beings in the Philippines covers the Philippines, Malaysia, Japan, Italy, and Australia. The findings on Malaysia, Japan and the Philippines show "that the initial contact with respect to recruitment often takes place through family, relatives, or friends" (www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/human_trafficking/coalitions_trafficking.pdf, 2003, p. 22).

Said report gave the researcher an idea on the syndicates' intricate system of operation, including the types of trafficking, the networks involved and the processes from the country of origin to the country of destination. It also contains the interventions provided by government and non government organizations,

their appraisal of these initiatives as well as recommendations for improvement like "prevention and awareness raising campaigns must target not only population at risk, but (also) families of young men and women" (2003, p. 22).

Addressing human trafficking is complicated. Nonetheless, features of successful initiatives have been identified, namely:

A holistic and multidisciplinary approach. In the article Strategies
against Human Trafficking in Human Beings, Anna Kalbhenn
enumerated the components of the holistic approach: the promotion and
protection of human rights, especially victim support; the prevention of
trafficking by means of investigation and prosecution of cases involving
trafficking; criminalization and punishment of traffickers; national and
international law enforcement cooperation and assistance; awareness
raising; research and evaluation (Kalbhenn, p. 4).

Primary consideration is given to the survivor and his/her welfare. More concretely, it includes the following:

- 1.1. prevention: tackling the root causes as well as the demand side in the countries of destination, ensuring research and policy evaluation, awareness raising, training, (and) administration of controls;
- 1.2. assistance, protection and social inclusion of trafficked persons: identification of victims, adequate residence status, appropriate witness protection, (and) compensation scheme;
- 1.3 specific care for child victims; (and)
- 1.4. law enforcement: sufficient financial and human resources to be allocated, THB investigations to be considered as priorities and to be done by specialized personnel, (and) adequate rules against money laundering and corruption (Summary: December 22, 2004: Trafficking in Human Beings, Brussels).

 Coordinated involvement of international, national and local government agencies, communities as well as other stakeholders. The involvement of stakeholders in the campaign against human trafficking is part and parcel of the holistic and multidisciplinary approach.

Cheah cites some legal bases for coordinated action by various stakeholders. These include the 2003 Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of the Philippines which mandates 13 concerned government agencies to work together with non-government and other organizations to provide support services to survivors and their families, engage in policy and program advocacy, and disseminate information to communities. Section 16 stipulates the development and implementation of preventive, protective and rehabilitative programmes.

Cheah also mentions the 1999 Bangkok Declaration on Irregular Migration which stresses the need for international cooperation in the promotion of sustainable development in the countries of origin as a strategic option to address irregular migration (para. 9 and 10, Part 1 at http://www.thaiembdc.org/info/bdim.html 21-23, Apr., 1999 p.56); and the Asian Regional Initiative against Trafficking in Women and Children (ARIAT) which directs attention not only to the criminalization of trafficking, but to enhance inter-agency cooperation, the role of civil society, socio-economic measures and victim protection (ARIAT, par. 8 available at http://secretary.state.gov/www/picv/trafficking/riarap.htm accessed 29-31 Mar. 2000, p. 56).

3. Community involvement and the use of ethical discourse in information dissemination and awareness raising to the public Information dissemination is not simply relaying the information to community residents but engaging them in discussions to enable them to share their own experiences, ideas and understanding of human trafficking. This interactive method will strengthen the residents' understanding and broaden their perspective about the issue.

Klaus Krippendorff (1992) termed this exchange ethical discourse. Considered to be emancipatory, this discourse has the following elements:

a) "respect for the cognitive autonomy of the participants, i.e. individuals, social groups and whole societies admit to themselves that they interactively construct or collaboratively create their own realities; that from within them, each of these constructions are coherent, rational, plausible, obvious, (and without denying continual processes of reconstruction and internal drifts) held as such until proven non-viable";
b) self referential reality constructions which indicate that their own cognition is a circular process of continually constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing the reality one sees including the perspective from which one is looking at it; and c) ability to shift one's own position into reality constructions of others and see one's own through the others' eyes (pp. 31-32).

The experiences of some regional organizations involved in antitrafficking initiatives reflect the aforementioned strategies. An example is the
work of the Salvation Army World Service Office (SAWSO) in Indonesia, China,
Hong Kong, Taiwan and Sri Lanka which integrated education and community
awareness into their other programs and services to reduce the incidence of
trafficking (www.humantrafficking.org/programs/INTERNATIONALANTIHUMANTRAFFICKINGhtm).

In Albania, the six-year USAID-funded anti-trafficking program of the Coordinated Action against Human Trafficking (CAAHT) has yielded very good results. (www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/HT-toolkit-en.pdf). It was able to get local government and civil society representatives to initiate projects directed at rehabilitating and reintegrating survivors into mainstream society, and raising community awareness, including those at risk. It successfully created structures like the 12 Regional Committees in the Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings and provided funding to 22 civil society groups nationwide to help survivors and decrease the incidence of human trafficking. Furthermore, it

established temporary shelters for survivors and provided counseling services to more than 2, 800 marginalized girls, boys and young women.

Other interventions include organizing fora, workshops and conferences, and publishing a tool kit on the conduct of anti-trafficking campaign.

CAAHT's information campaign reached almost 60,000 girls and boys, women and men. Six months after the conduct of the campaign, 90 per cent of the people remembered the messages. Other significant outcomes are increased knowledge on human trafficking and how to prevent it; "improved exchange of information techniques and strategies among different stakeholders, especially civil society and local government actors outside the capital and other major cities"; and the "increased the availability of information on the responsibilities of the government actors at the central and local levels" (USAID, 2004, p. 1).

The comprehensive assessment of CAAHT partner activities is a valuable material for this study because it provides guideposts in determining the messages and methodologies that should be used in raising awareness. In recommending that consciousness raising be done in an interactive and participatory manner using a combination of different tools and through a series of sessions (p. 2), it promotes Krippendorff's concept of ethical discourse which is part of the study framework.

In the Philippines, one good practice is the government's conduct of awareness raising in the form of advocacy, information and education on women and children's rights among policy makers, communities and other groups (humantrafficking.org/). Similarly, NGOs have also proactively engaged in said initiatives, and more. They have organized fora, conferences, symposia, and trainings, and published advocacy materials directed towards migrant workers and their families, government agencies, private sector and other civil society groups. Abby Kirkbride in Newsbreak also reported on the establishment of a Samar Satellite Office that would conduct "raising awareness in communities"

and work closely with the public justice system to hold the traffickers accountable" (May 28, 2009).

Noting the Filipinos' limited knowledge on human trafficking, USAID Regional Mission Director for Asia, Olivier Carduner, has underscored the importance of information dissemination in the fight against human trafficking. The non-governmental Coalition against Trafficking of Human Beings and the Visayan Forum Foundation share this view. To strengthen information dissemination, particularly in potential recruitment sites of traffickers, Mr. Carduner's office funded a broadcast campaign project with MTV to reach the general public (www.humantrafficking.org/updates/690).

Conceptual Framework

This study views human trafficking as a human rights issue. As such, it is the government's responsibility as duty bearer to protect its citizens, prosecute traffickers, and prevent human trafficking. This is embodied in legal instruments, both local and international. In this regard, the State is obliged to create and operationalize the necessary structures and mechanisms, including legal remedies, as well as allocate required resources to address the problem effectively. Such is the essence of the 2003 Anti Trafficking in Persons Act. Section 2 (Declaration of Policy) of said law states that "... the State shall give the highest priority in the enactment of measures and development of programs that will promote human dignity, protect the people from any threat of violence and exploitation, eliminate trafficking in persons, and mitigate pressures for involuntary migration and servitude of persons not only to support trafficked persons but more importantly to ensure their recovery, rehabilitation, and reintegration into the mainstream of society (para 2).

Trafficking survivors as claim holders should assert their right to available and accessible protective, preventive and rehabilitative programs and services to enable them to recover from their trauma, and reintegrate themselves into society. Moreover, they should be actively involved in developing themselves

and their communities. Thus, opportunities to develop their capacities must also be provided by duty bearers.

As a preventive measure, information campaigns and community awareness about human trafficking are crucial. Knowledge is a powerful tool in transforming one's self and situation. In the article, Empowering Domestic Workers, the Visayan Forum Foundation Inc. acknowledges the value of the participation of LGUs and source communities in reducing, if not totally eliminating the incidence of trafficking. Increasing their knowledge leads to a local policy environment that is responsive to the vulnerabilities of children and women. Thus, it is important that communities have access to information that would make them understand the issue with a human rights perspective. By so doing, they can make informed choices, individually and/or collectively. This will protect them from the entrapment of unscrupulous recruitment and trafficking syndicates. Concomitantly, they must regard survivors not as criminals but as people who have been victimized by human traffickers.

The method of disseminating information is also quite critical. Those who provide needed information should provide spaces for community residents to discuss, share their knowledge, experiences and suggestions. Such exchanges are fruitful because the interaction increases people's appreciation of the nature and scope of the problem and possible courses of action. In Krippendorff's concept of "ethical discourse", this process of interacting with each other, bringing into the open certain notions or practices which have become untenable can create opportunities for people to self-reflect and discover new ways of looking at their situation. Holding community assemblies or conducting home visits can be venues for challenging their views and reconstructing their perspectives on human trafficking.

Methodology

The study chose two low income urban areas where the Quezon City government through its Social Services and Development Department (QCSSDD)

has disseminated information on human trafficking. These are Barangays Botocan in Project 2 and Escopa in Project 4. They were selected in consultation with Kanlungan Centre Foundation, Inc. (KCFI), an NGO working for the promotion and protection of the rights and interest of overseas Filipino workers and their families. The bases for selection were a) the existence of human trafficking; b) presence of a people's organization-SAMMAKA or Samahan ng Manggagawang Migrante at Kapamilya in Escopa, and KAMIGMA or Kanlungan ng mga Migranteng Manggagawa at Kapamilya, registered in 2005, and composed of former overseas workers and families of overseas workers in Botocan - addressing international migration concerns, including human trafficking, in partnership with KCFI; c) the city government's efforts in disseminating information on human trafficking; and d) the willingness of the communities to participate in the research.

Most families in the two communities are informal settlers whose members have worked or are presently working abroad.

Materials on human trafficking that were distributed to the two barangays were assessed based on the adequacy of the content, format or design (comprehensibility to the residents) and accessibility to information and knowledge about information technologies.

Key informants were interviewed. They were two Quezon City government social workers, three barangay officials, and four officers of KAMIGMA and SAMMAKA. The research team used a structured interview guide to determine the extent of the problem in the community, their initiatives in popularizing human trafficking as a human rights issue, their method for dissemination and the perceived results on the residents.

One focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted in each barangay. A total of thirty - seven adult residents from the two identified communities participated in the FGDs. The participants were chosen with the assistance of the SAMMAKA and KAMIGMA officers. The criteria for selection were at least five years residence in the barangay and willingness to participate in the study.

Through the FGDs, the research team asked what the participants knew about human trafficking, where they got the information, how they viewed the efforts of their local government officials and other organizations in informing them about the issue and the effects of the information on them. Their recommendations as to what and how vital information can be better understood by the residents were also elicited.

Definition of Key Concepts

Human trafficking - "recruitment, transportation, transfer or harboring, or receipt of persons with or without the victim's consent or knowledge, within or across national borders by means of threat of use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or position and taking advantage of the vulnerability of the person" (RA 9208).

Popularization - the attempt at making the issue of human trafficking understandable to the community residents through clear and simplified use of messages and interactive methods.

Preventive strategies - methods that are used by government agencies and non-government organizations to minimize the occurrence of human trafficking in the Philippines

Informed choice - the decision arrived at after weighing pertinent and adequate facts, in this case on human trafficking, to avoid victimization

Results of the Study

A. Available Materials on Human Trafficking:

 The available materials at the Quezon City Social Services Development Department were:

1.1. Two sets of manuals

The first set is composed of the training materials prepared by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) in partnership with the International Labor Organization (ILO) aimed at increasing the awareness of direct service workers on human trafficking and improving their capacities to respond to the needs of survivors. The collection includes:

- 1.1.1. Training Manual on Psychosocial Recovery, Social and Economic Recovery of Trafficked Persons
- 1.1.2. Coaching Returned Victims/Survivors of Human Trafficking Toward Gainful Careers: A Manual for Coaches
- 1.1.3. Catalogue of Skills and Livelihood Training Programmes and other Support Services
- 1.1.4. Referral System for the Recovery and Reintegration of Trafficked Persons

The second set includes DSWD instruction booklets, namely "Manual on the Recovery and Reintegration Program for Victims-Survivors", and "Philippine Guidelines for the Protection of Trafficked Children."

2.1. Primers

The primers - one prepared by the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), Solidarity Center and USAID, the others by the

Sentro ng Alternatibong Lingap Panligal (SALIGAN) and the Coalition against Trafficking in Women-Asia Pacific - contain basic information meant to increase readers' appreciation of the issue.

- 2.1.1. Selected Documents to Implement the Philippine Anti-Human Trafficking in Persons Act
- 2.1.2. Let's Get to Know RA 9208
- 2.1.3. Anti Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003
- 3.1. Video entitled "Coming Back and Moving On: Life after Human Trafficking"
- Quarterly Newsletter of the ILO in the Philippines entitled "Decent Work for All"

Basic information about human trafficking are included in the materials reviewed such as the definition of concepts; a description of perpetrators, how and where they operate; a description of victims and the abuses they suffer. They also identify the various agencies providing assistance to survivors. In addition, the manuals and the primers explain at varying levels, the pertinent human trafficking legislations as well as some processes involved in the application of the law. After the introductory discussion of human trafficking, the manuals focus on the development of specific skills to rehabilitate the survivors and enable them to recover and reintegrate themselves in the mainstream of society. The quarterly newsletter and the video illustrate actual cases of trafficking who have been assisted by their country agencies with support from international bodies.

The intended consumers are social development practitioners addressing human trafficking. The topics, particularly in the manuals and primers, indicate the need for protecting the victims-survivors, prosecuting the perpetrators and preventing the occurrence of the crime. The government as duty bearer is reflected in the national agencies' assigned functions, and

the programs and services they should implement. The creation of an interagency committee against trafficking supports the view that holistic and multidisciplinary interventions are needed to tackle the complexity of the problem.

The documents, all in English, give service providers a good foundation to understand human trafficking. The manuals and the primers, more particularly, are meant to broaden their perspective and sharpen their analysis of trafficking cases. The iterative technique in the presentation of the basic information about human trafficking in each material provides the reader greater opportunity for knowledge retention and reflective learning.

The detailed explanations of the programs and services aim to build the direct service workers' capacities to assist victims - survivors recover and take action towards improving their status and wellbeing. They also put across the message that one need not risk one's life just to earn a living abroad because there are opportunities for productive endeavors in the Philippines.

The information in the primers and newsletter may also be disseminated to communities provided they are translated into Filipino and are presented in a popular form.

The materials are of relevance and value to social workers who work at the district and barangay levels.

However, missing in the materials examined was information on how to build the service providers' capability in information dissemination and awareness raising.

At the barangay level, the materials shown to the researchers by the officers of SAMMAKA and KAMIGMA included posters, a primer and comics. They were given by their partner NGO, the Kanlungan Centre Foundation Inc. for community education purposes.

Although the two communities had the same set of materials, Botocan had additional posters mounted in their barangay hall.

Posters

The posters commonly found in the two communities are in English and contain one line slogans with symbols or images that can easily be associated with human trafficking. However, the text did not have much impact since the messages were not clearly understood by the residents.

The additional posters in Botocan are written in Filipino. They contain helpful information that enlighten the public about what an illegal recruiter does and who a legal overseas worker is.

Primer

Entitled "Saan Ka Man Naroroon" (which, in English, means "Wherever You May Be") the primer was published by Kanlungan Centre Foundation Inc. Written in Filipino, it uses a question and answer format to impart basic information every prospective overseas worker should know, including his/her rights as contained in existing laws.

Comics

The comics, also in Filipino, discuss how traffickers operate. The format is reader friendly and may easily be understood by both adults and youth.

The materials cited above are intended for community residents and the general public. The primer, comics and the posters in Botocan are valuable materials for the intended audience since the contents are a "must know" for those interested to work abroad. They equip the people with knowledge on what questions to ask from a labor recruiter to lessen vulnerability to illegal recruiters and traffickers. They also provide a human rights perspective to understanding human trafficking.

B. Methods of Information Dissemination

According to the key informants and the FGD participants, several methods of providing information about human trafficking were used. They include the conduct of orientation sessions, seminars, home visits, trainings, and distribution of materials.

The most common method was the conduct of an orientation on human trafficking during meetings, general assemblies and special community celebrations because they could reach a bigger number of people. For instance, the LGU social workers would inform the parents of day care students about human trafficking at least once a year. Barangay officials, on the other hand, informed their constituents, on different occasions, about legal provisions and their role in assisting survivors in partnership with other government agencies.

The activities were done with some regularity, e.g once or twice a year, once or twice a month or every first Monday of the month for general assemblies. Announcements were made at least 3 days before the event to enable the residents to attend. This was usually done by mobilizing area leaders to spread the information in their vicinity, posting announcements in places where people usually converge, and going around the community to spread the word about the scheduled event through the use of a sound system.

KAMIGMA and SAMMAKA also conducted orientation sessions on human trafficking among their members. Their leaders hoped that the knowledge they imparted would be used by the members to protect themselves from perpetrators, and would be shared with relatives and friends.

Apart from orientation sessions, city officials also conducted trainings and workshops together with or under the sponsorship of their national and international partners. The participants were LGU implementers such as social workers, and officials of community organizations.

C. Results of the Information Dissemination Initiatives

The responses of the LGU social workers, barangay officials and community leaders indicate positive results that came out of their information dissemination efforts. The orientation sessions created and/or enhanced awareness on human trafficking. This may be gleaned from residents reporting cases of human trafficking to the Barangay Council and to the LGU social workers.

The trainings led to an improvement in the capability of LGU social workers and barangay officials to respond to the needs of survivors. The social workers and barangay officials could now explain the conduct of rescue operations, their respective roles, and the mechanics of case management. They have also coordinated with each other in the rescue of reported victims of human trafficking as well as in the provision of protective and legal services through referrals to concerned agencies.

Initially, a significant number among the community residents in the FGDs could not recall efforts by their local officials to disseminate information on trafficking. It was the community leaders in the FGD who helped the participants recall that the trafficking was discussed, albeit in a limited way. In Botocan, the orientation sessions conducted by KAMIGMA, were more significant to some participants. However, the latter did not know that the activities were jointly undertaken with the Barangay Council.

Neither were some community residents aware of the barangay officials' efforts to rescue victims of trafficking, and to link up with non-governmental and people's organizations for referrals. However, in the course of the discussions, they remembered instances of cooperation between barangay officials and leaders of people's organizations.

There is unevenness as well as gaps in the way key informants and FGD participants understood the concept and features of human trafficking, pertinent legislation, and available programs and services (refer to Table No. 1).

The FGD participants did not seem to fully understand what trafficking is. For instance, child abuse cases or the employer's withholding of a worker's benefit were given as examples of human trafficking. This might be due to the dovetailing of the topic with the discussion of the different committee reports and the tackling of other concerns by the barangay officials. With a minimum of 150 to 200 people attending each general assembly and the variety of topics discussed, the participants could not even remember that human trafficking was taken up. The LGU key informants admitted that their information dissemination activities were not focused, intensive and had to be combined with other activities, thereby inadvertently diminishing the importance and impact of the messages. One barangay official remarked that what people usually remembered was the distribution of goods rather than the information that were imparted to them.

Another area for improvement is the method of dissemination. The FGD participants said that, based on their experience, just reading the materials they received from the fora did not automatically increase their knowledge. There were no opportunities for *ethical discourse* or sharing of experiences and ideas, clarifying, or questioning. Many of them agreed that there should be venues to discuss, clarify, and share ideas, opinions, experiences and their understanding of the information they acquired in order to say with confidence that they clearly understood the issue.

Table 1. Results of the Information Dissemination Activities

Subject Areas	LGU Social Workers	Barangay Officials	Officials of People's Organizations	FGD Participants
Concept and features of human trafficking	Could define the concept but in their examples, they confused the issue with VAW or child abuse cases; believe that individuals who continue selling their bodies chose that option; had awareness that the operation is syndicated but also recognized the role of kin in the perpetuation of the problem	Could define the concept in very general terms; identified victims based on actual cases they handled; named individuals, friends, and relatives as providing the worker	Many of them could explain the issue together with some of its features; identified victims based on actual cases they handled; named individuals, friends, and relatives as providing the worker	Most of them had a general notion about the issue; do not have a clear understanding about its manifestations and operations
Existing legislations and referral to legal services	Have knowledge about the existence of the RA 9208, but not its provisions; they refer cases for legal services	Are aware of the existence of the 2003 RA 9208 Anti Trafficking in Persons law, not its provisions	Know about the existence of RA 9208 but not its actual provisions; they refer cases for legal services	Most are not aware of the existence of the legislation.
Available programs and services for victims-survivors	Are knowledgeable about existing government programs and services; are involved in rescue operation; and implement programs and services for survivors	Have knowledge about existing government as well as NGO partner's programs and services	Have knowledge about existing NGO partners' programs and services	Except for a few, the rest are not aware of the programs and services for survivors

The posting of advocacy or campaign materials was also not effective. In Botocan, no one, including the research team, noticed the posters in the dark corner of the Barangay Hall where they were mounted. A community leader said the posters had been there for some time. But, the FGD participants were surprised to know of their existence. Although quite informative, the posters were text-heavy. There was in fact a suggestion to post materials in spots where many people congregate. The materials should also use catchy, easy to recall messages to get people's attention and make them curious enough to continue reading.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study shows that there are available materials on human trafficking at the level of the city government and Barangays Botocan and Escopa. Information dissemination activities have also been undertaken by the local government for its frontline social workers, barangay officials and constituents. But, they have not been done on a proactive and programmatic manner. As a duty bearer, the local government must proactively address human trafficking. It should set up the necessary structure and mechanisms, and allocate resources to protect constituents, prosecute offenders and prevent human trafficking. Some of the research participants recommend that community residents should be the main target of information campaigns. Of particular importance are the mothers who are usually the family care providers, and teenagers since they are the targets of traffickers.

The available materials on human trafficking reflect a human perspective in describing the meaning and nature of human trafficking, and providing information on where to go in case one is trafficked. However, advocacy and awareness raising as functions of the local government officials and direct service workers were not mentioned in any of the materials.

The materials need improvement in terms of language and attractiveness. The research participants were one in saying that print documents must be attractive and colorful. The messages must be written in simple and concise Filipino. This is why comics and primers are the preferred forms for information dissemination.

Posters failed to deliver their message because of their obscure location. Hence, the recommendation to post them in spots where the public can easily see them.

Videos are a popular form of communicating information. Since they were not among the available materials, the participants recommend that videos on human trafficking be produced and distributed to communities. A public showing can also be arranged. This will surely draw in crowds as Filipinos enjoy watching movies. The methods of disseminating information varied. But, in the main, among social workers and barangay officials, they took the form of trainings. At the barangay level, the local government as well as concerned people's organizations (POs) such as KAMIGMA and SAMMAKA conducted orientation seminars. The participants remembered those undertaken by the POs more than the ones sponsored by the city government. But, their understanding of human trafficking was uneven and incomplete. One factor to explain this is the absence of discussion, of ethical discourse in the conduct of information dissemination.

Despite their sporadic and input-heavy nature, the information dissemination initiatives did yield positive outcomes. The knowledge acquired by the direct service workers and the barangay officials enhanced their capability to address the needs of survivors and to coordinate with other agencies. Also, community residents now report cases of human trafficking to barangay officials.

Overall, the findings show that so much more needs to be done by the city government and community organizations to combat human trafficking. The first step is to raise public awareness about human trafficking, followed by concrete initiatives involving the collaboration of government and non-governmental actors. As duty bearers, it is the elected officials' obligation to initiate and sustain such programs, and to offer hope as well as socio-economic alternatives to communities.

Amidst all these, the local government social workers' role in advocacy and information dissemination is central. Thus, in addition to enhancing their knowledge, attitude and skills, they have to practice reflective learning. The manuals can guide them in their work. But experiences can be learning opportunities as well. It is, thus, a challenge for them to develop creative, and participatory ways of informing and engaging potential/actual source communities in addressing human trafficking.

Leticia S. Tojos, Ph. D. is a University Extension Specialist of the Research and Extension for Development Office, College of Social Work and Community Development. She has a doctorate degree in Communication. She is a researcher, trainer and an active advocate having a wide range of interest including labor, environment, migration and other gender concerns.

References

- Anti trafficking in persons act 2003: An act to institute policies to eliminate trafficking in persons especially women and children (RA # 9208) May 26,2003. Retrieved August 8, 2010 from www.lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2003_9208_2003.html
- Awareness raising about trafficking in persons. Retrieved May 16, 2010 from www.caaht.com
- Borderick, E. (2008, July 24). Trafficking: The need for a human rights based approach. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Inaugural Anti-Trafficking Forum. Sydney: University of Technology. Retrieved May 25, 2010 from www.antislavery.org.au
- Cheah, W. L. (n.d.). Assessing criminal justice human rights models in the fight against human trafficking: A case study of the ASEAN Region. Retrieved August 17-20, 2010 from projects.essex.ac.uk/EHRR/V3N1/Wuiling.pdf
- humantrafficking.org: A web resource for combating human trafficking. Retrieved May 4, 2010 from www.humantrafficking.org.Philippines
- Kalbhenn, A. (n.d.). Strategies against trafficking in human beings. Dialogue on globalization briefing papers, FES Geneva. Retrieved August 10, 2010 from http://www.unhchr/women/focus-trafficking.html
- Krippendorff, K. (1989). The power of communication and the communication of power: Towards an ethical theory of communication. ICA '89 Conference, San Francisco May 25-29, 1989.
- MTV network in Asia and Pacific and MTV Europe foundation launch youth focused anti- human trafficking campaign, August 12, 2007. Retrieved May 4, 2010 from www.humantrafficking.org/updates/690
- Panti, L.T. & Samonte, A.S. (2009, June 18). Trafficking worsens in Philippines.
 Manila Times Internet Edition. Retrieved May 4, 2010 from www.manilatimes.net/
- Republic Act No. 9208, Anti trafficking in persons act. Retrieved May 23, 2010 from wewonline.org./pdf...PhilippinesRepublicAct9208Anti Trafficking.pdf

- Rijken, C. R. J. J. & Koster, D. (May, 2008). A human rights based approach to trafficking in human beings in theory and practice. Retrieved May 25, 2010 from papers.ssrn.com
- Salvation Army World Service Office (SAWSO). (n.d.). Anti trafficking world wide activities, International anti trafficking. Retrieved May 23, 2010 from www.humantrafficking.org
- Sarmiento, B. (2008, March 7). Human trafficking in the Philippines: Victims' kin part of the problem and solution. *Pinoy Press*, April 21, 2010, p. 1. Retrieved May 13, 2010 from www.pinoypress.net
- Stop sex trafficking of Filipino women and children: A primer on sex trafficking.

 Retrieved from http://www.member.tripod.com/
- Summary: December 22, 2004: Trafficking in human beings (Brussels), Trafficking in human beings. Retrieved August 16, 2010 from europa-euun.org/articles/en/article-4175-en.htm
- The Albanian initiative: Coordinated action against human trafficking. Retrieved May 25, 2010 from www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/HT-toolkit-en.pdf
- Tojos, L. S. (March, 1999). The social construction of power among selected categories of married couples. Ph. D. dissertation, College of Mass Communication, Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- Toolkit to combat trafficking in persons, global programme against trafficking in human beings. UN, NY, 2006. Retrieved May 25, 2010 from www.unodc.org
- VC Publication Consultants. (n.d.). Primer on the anti-trafficking in persons act. Retrieved July 30, 2010 from www.trafficking.org.ph/papers/ ra9208primereng.pdf
- Visayan Forum Foundation, Inc. (n.d.). Empowering domestic workers. Human trafficking in the Philippines. Retrieved May 16, 2010 from www.visayan forum.org/

Endnote

* The research team was composed of: Leticia Salvador-Tojos, Ph. D. as project leader; Josefina M. Rolle as researcher; Catharine E. Adaro and Mary Antonnette F. de Leon as research assistants.

The author acknowledges with gratitude the assistance and support of the following: the UP CSWCD Migration Research Cluster, Kanlungan Centre Foundation, Inc., the Quezon City Social Services Development Department Officer in Charge Ms. Fe Macale, the barangay chairpersons, Hon. Benjamin A. Erediano of Botocan and Hon. Delia M. Bongbonga of Escopa; and Ms. Querobin J. Sermino, President of KAMIGMA, and Ms. Nimfa M. Melegrito, President of SAMMAKA.

The Politics of Migration Multiculturalism in Australia, Japan, and Malaysia

Jorge V. Tigno

The world has seen a dramatic increase in immigration levels towards settler countries like the United States, Canada, and Australia. Such levels of immigration are likely to exacerbate the multicultural concerns of states and societies in the world. Migration multiculturalism is the focus of this paper. It looks at the way that migration impacts upon the cultural diversity of many communities today. Does migration multiculturalism pose a serious challenge to the development of society? Does migration multiculturalism represent a threat upon states to foster a singular and coherent national community? States have become the primary gatekeepers to determine who gets to enter and stay as well as be entitled to citizenship rights. Looking at the conditions of multiculturalism in Australia, Japan, and Malaysia, the paper argues that destination countries are grappling with the problematique of how their states will reconstitute their respective societies given the increasing influx of other Asians and non-Whites as well as the reality of their declining fertility rates and the need to transform their economies to maintain overall competitiveness in the global market.

Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. Among a people without fellowfeeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist.

> John Stuart Mill Considerations on Representative Government 1861

Multiculturalism is about diversity, not division — it is about interaction not isolation. It is about cultural and ethnic differences set within a framework of shared fundamental values which enables them to co-exist on a complementary rather than competitive basis. It involves respect for the law and for our democratic institutions and processes. Insisting upon a core area of common values is no threat to multiculturalism but its guarantee, for it provides the minimal conditions on which the well-being of all is secured.

Malcolm Fraser

Former Prime Minister of Australia
30 November 1981

Introduction

At the most basic level, there can be two different but equally compelling views of multiculturalism. One sees multiculturalism either as a challenge (at its best) and a threat (at its worst) to the state. The other sees multiculturalism as an opportunity and a boon for society. One looks upon multiculturalism as divisive. The other welcomes diversity. On the one hand, multiculturalism poses a threat to social cohesion and "the primacy of the nation" (Wright, 2009, p. 8). The "threat" upon the state and society that emanates from multiculturalism is that the granting of multicultural rights undermines the sense of loyalty to the nation as determined by the state. In not a few cases, the undermining is blamed upon immigrants and newcomers who either find it difficult or refuse to be assimilated. In other cases, multicultural policies are also faulted for breaking down the national consensus and widening cultural divides (Wright, 2009). The collapse of long-standing regimes has led to the emergence of simmering ethnic / religious rivalries such as in Somalia as well as the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union. On the other hand, it can also be argued that a multicultural perspective can narrow these cultural divides, i.e., provide the basis for unity in diversity - e pluribus unum. The recognition of tolerance, and respect for differences can create a condition where all members feel appreciated and comfortable in the midst of a larger community. Minorities will not feel threatened and will have no reason to be assertive that often leads to intolerance, tensions, and conflicts between cultural communities (Wright, 2009). What these two views illustrate is that multiculturalism has emerged as one of the key questions of the present millennium for both societies and states.

Multiculturalism has been compounded by migration. The world has also seen a dramatic increase in immigration levels towards settler countries like the United States, Canada, and Australia. Such levels of immigration are likely to exacerbate the multicultural concerns of states and societies in the world (Castles and Miller, 2003). Moreover, the increasingly recognized problem of low fertility rates among the native-born in many developed areas making largescale immigration (particularly from the world's less-developed and high-fertility areas) a key aspect of their continued survival and prosperity indicates the growing challenge of multiculturalism in these places which must be confronted directly by both their respective states and societies (Wright, 2009). The growing cultural diversity brought about by immigrant flows in many places of the world adds to the complexity of the challenge. At the same time, assertions of identity and religious / moral ascendancy by certain groups concretely manifested in the events of 9/11 have led to an insecure social and political environment. Globalization and the end of the Cold War have caused the resurgence and an intensification of ethnic or nationalist movements for self-determination. Moreover, the increasing importance attached to an international human rights regime that values the collective rights of minorities has also "strengthened the legitimacy of ethnic minorities' claims for self-determination" (Koenig and Guchteneire, 2007, p. 8; Tsutsui, 2004). In a world that has become globally integrated at every level, where immigration flows take place at unprecedented levels, and cultural and political landscapes have changed (and continue to change) dramatically as a result of immigration, "the question of how to achieve civility and inclusive citizenship in deeply plural societies is today a near-universal one" (Hefner, 2001, p. 4). Cultural diversity is the norm. "The 'average country' has about five ethnic groups that are larger than 1% of the population, with half of the world's countries having between 3 and 6 such groups" (Fearon, 2002, p. 16).

[A]bout 70% of the countries in the world have an ethnic group that forms an absolute majority of the population, although the average population share of such groups is only 65%, and only 18% of countries are *homogenous* in the weak sense of having a group that claims 9 out of 10 residents" (Emphasis not mine. Fearon, 2002, p. 17).

It is now difficult to find a place in the world "that is not the site of some significant controversy over whether and how its public institutions should better recognize the identities of cultural and disadvantaged minorities" (Gutmann, 1994, p. 3).

This paper looks at the way that migration leads to the condition of multiculturalism in selected destination areas. The way that migration impacts upon the cultural diversity of many communities today is referred to in this paper as migration multiculturalism. Migration can affect the degree of cultural diversity in a polity and vice versa. The in-migration of a cultural group can complicate the sense of cultural homogeneity of a society. At the same time, the forced out-migration of a specific cultural group out of a polity can be the result of tensions and conflicts brought about by the persecution of a particular culture or cultural group. In turn, the paper examines how this migration multiculturalism impacts on states and societies. Does migration multiculturalism pose a serious challenge to the development of society? Does migration multiculturalism represent a threat upon states to foster a singular and coherent national community? This paper intends to respond to these questions by critically interrogating the notion and practice of political multiculturalism in three countries - Australia, Japan, and Malaysia. Interrogating the politics of multiculturalism looks at the ways in which the state is able to maintain social cohesion in the midst of migration multiculturalism through the effective use of policy. Ethnicity and culture are treated as synonymous terminologies in this paper. Both refer collectively to practices, traditions, and beliefs exercised and emanating from a distinct group or community which may or may not comprise the numerical majority in society. Political multiculturalism refers essentially to ethnicity-affirming policies. Wright (2009) defines political multiculturalism as "specific government policies designed to help minorities maintain their specific cultures and practices while at the same time integrating them into public life" (Wright, 2009, p. 6). Policies that are culture-affirming include acts against racism, the allocation of public funds to encourage and preserve cultural practices as well as fiscal incentives for minority groups.

Why look at the state in relation to migration multiculturalism? The politics of multiculturalism is such that (since the 15th century) states have become the primary gatekeepers to determine who gets to enter and stay as well as be entitled to citizenship rights. Over the centuries, states have come to understand the polities within their jurisdictions as singular nations. The traditional conception was that of mono-culturalism and the one-to-one correspondence between society/nation and the state was the norm, i.e., that the territory where the state is sovereign is one that must be culturally and linguistically homogenous. For obvious reasons, this condition is no longer the case; in fact, it is being challenged in many settler areas today. Why look at the three countries? The discourse on political multiculturalism in the case countries observed in this paper is more nuanced compared to North America and Western Europe, partly due to their respective colonial experiences. Australia and Malaysia are members of the British Commonwealth. Japan once occupied Korea and Taiwan. As will be made evident in the discussions below, the colonial experiences of these countries have in many ways created the conditions for migration multiculturalism to unravel, compelling the states to examine questions that address the matter of cultural accommodation in the midst of diverse cultures. Countries have been heavily influenced by the state's "national and founding myths" which are codified in their respective citizenship and nationality laws and immigration regulations (Hollifield, 2009, p. 210). Australia, Malaysia, and Japan are, no doubt, grounded in such myths in varying degrees, making the examination of the nexus between multiculturalism and immigration all the more compelling.

Multiculturalism Defined

Multiculturalism embraces the principle of diversity, openness, and tolerance. The concept represents a complex set of other ideas and principles.

Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviors that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their sociocultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society (Underscoring not mine. Rosado, 1996, p. 2).

As it is about "beliefs and behaviors" Rosado's definition of multiculturalism above takes into account the importance of norms that are actually the motivators for behavior. Consistent with this understanding, Joppke posits that multiculturalism can have several dimensions - as a challenge (or threat?) to the homogeneity of nationhood; as an ideal and a quest for the recognition and equal treatment of "historically disadvantaged and discriminated groups in society" or minorities; and "as a generalized form of anti-colonial discourse and struggle" (Joppke, 1996, p. 450). These dimensions readily convey a challenge to the fixed and limited nation-state concept. A key element of multiculturalism is the recognition of diversity. Parekh specifies three types of diversity - subcultural, perspectival, and communal. Subcultural diversity is where the members of society "broadly share their society's spaces for their society's dominant system of meaning and values and seek to carve out within it spaces for their divergent lifestyles. They do not represent an alternative culture but seek to pluralize the existing one." Perspectival diversity is when "some members of society are highly critical of some of the central principles or values of the prevailing culture and seek to reconstitute it along appropriate lines." Communal diversity is when societies "also include several self-conscious and more or less wellorganized communities entertaining and living by their own different systems of beliefs and practices" (Parekh, 2000, p. 3). Multiculturalism is generally used to refer to a society that exhibits all three as well as other kinds of diversity (Parekh, 2000, p. 4).

Gutmann (1994) posits that multiculturalism has conventionally been seen as an endemic problem in liberal societies. Liberalism was thought to run contrary to multiculturalism – the former emphasized the individual while the latter emphasized the group or community.

... it was widely assumed that liberalism, by definition, was hostile to any ideas of multiculturalism or minority rights, since liberalism rested on 'individualistic' premises whereas multiculturalism reflected 'communitarian' values (Kymlicka, n.d., p. 40).

However, the reality is that political multiculturalism (by way of ethnicity-asserting policies) has become the norm in many liberal societies especially in the West. Indeed, political multiculturalism has become the *sine qua non* for liberal societies establishing the term liberal multiculturalism as a "short-hand" for practices that facilitate the empowerment of minorities.

[These] include a wide range of policies relating to many different kinds of ethno-cultural diversity — from accommodation rights for immigrants, to official language status and regional autonomy for sub-state nationalist groups, to land claims and self-government rights for indigenous peoples (Kymlicka, n.d., p. 40).

This paper argues that the way that states in supposedly liberal societies have responded to the challenges of migration multiculturalism is that of undertaking more illiberal or restrictive policies which refer broadly to practices that restrict the engagements of minorities, including indefinite detention of third-country nationals, border controls, and serious impediments to acquire citizenship rights and entitlements. While some kind of liberal multiculturalism may be evident in the three cases, the norm has been that of illiberal or restrictive multiculturalism. It is also important to understand at this point that cultures are not fixed and absolute. In this context, immigrants and immigrant communities have a modernizing potential as they "fight for equality and equal treatment" in the society they are a part of. This situation implies that the cultural integration project is often inherent in political multiculturalism. As a normative stance, multiculturalism can have a positive or negative connotation. On the one hand, it can invoke a sense of tolerance and the right of minorities to maintain

their cultural identity and their right to equal treatment and access. On the other hand, it can connote a more negative view or agenda in the sense that it "threatens" the homogeneity of society and puts those in the *minority* in a position of vulnerability relative to the *majority*. In its negative context, "the term represents a recipe for the destruction of national identity and the breakdown of social cohesion" (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2004, p. 3).

The Politics of Migration Multiculturalism

While it can be said that migration affects only a small percentage of the world's total population, there are also compelling reasons why the phenomenon must be taken seriously from the perspectives of political multiculturalism and migration multiculturalism. Globally, there are about 125 million migrants - less than 1 percent of the world's total population of 6.7 billion. This would indicate that the greater majority of the people in the world are sedentary. In contrast, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) estimated that there were 880 million international tourists worldwide generating around US\$ 852 billion in export earnings. International migration phenomena provoke "a sense of crisis" whether from a sending or receiving area perspective (Hollifield, 2008, pp. 185-186). In anthropological terms, it might be called a fear of "the other" and would, thus, fuel a certain degree of xenophobia and fear of an unknown. It can also be argued that migration places a serious strain on a country's resources (economic and social) and may be perceived as a threat to existing national institutions (language, culture, and religion). There is a fear that migrants will become a burden to the state. In sending areas, migration can be seen as a drain in precious human resources. Migration also represents a threat on the integrity and capacity of the state to determine who gets to enter and leave and the need to protect borders. International migration is often conflated with other issues and concerns such as integration, diversity, tolerance, and multiculturalism; citizenship and identity; and security and border protection. Not only can migration affect the stability of individual states but it can also have implications on international stability and security (Weiner, 1995).

The world has become increasingly characterized by the proliferation of different actors in the global arena such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multi-national corporations (MNCs), transnational networks of epistemic communities, financial institutions, among many others. Multiculturalism within the complex context of globalization should be a non-issue. Yet (despite globalization) migration multiculturalism has and continues to be on the agenda of the state. The state provides the distinctive rallying point to ensure national survival within an inherently violent and chaotic world frame. This is especially so in the context of the demands to establish societal cohesion in the midst of ethnic diversities and disparities.

Faced with the prospects and challenges of migration multiculturalism, the society is confronted with two possible trajectories. One is to welcome, cherish, and embrace diversity and to "make it central to its self-understanding and respect the cultural demands of its constituent communities" while the other is to fear diversity and impose homogeneity through hegemony in which the different cultural communities are made to assimilate into the "mainstream culture either wholly or substantially" (Parekh, 2000, p. 6). As such, there can be two ways of understanding the notion of multiculturalism - as a fact and as a norm. The former declares the existing situation of cultural diversity while the latter works towards establishing cultural diversity. There is a peculiar relationship between these two expressions of multiculturalism. The former can be used as an instrument to challenge the latter. Multiculturalism (fact) can be used as an excuse to resist multiculturalism (norm) through nationalism and greater monoculturalism. In the normative sense multiculturalism can be used as a scapegoat to describe the erosion or the growing / impending vulnerability of the dominant population or cultural group. This situation can lead to the suppression of debate or the limiting of the space for considering alternatives that respect the rights of minorities relative to the dominant cultural group, e.g., the Malays of Malaysia; the "Whites" of Australia; the Javanese in Indonesia; and those from Honshu island in Japan. It also involves a desire to return to "the way things were" as a nation.

The state is expected to utilize all its capacities to undertake its mandate of nation-building especially in the context of a globalizing and increasingly multi-ethnic setting.

... liberal-democratic states have historically been 'nation-building' states in the following sense: they have encouraged and sometimes forced all the citizens on the territory of the state to integrate into common public institutions operating in a common language. Western states have used various strategies to achieve this goal of linguistic and institutional integration: citizenship and naturalization laws, education laws, language laws, policies regarding public service employment, military service, national media, and so on. These are what I call the tools of state nation-building (Klymlicka, 2002, p. 1).

Kymlicka refers to the dynamic relationship between the state asserting its mandate and the minorities asserting their communal rights and identity as "the dialectic of state nation-building and minority rights" (Kymlicka, 2002, p. 2). Castles specifies three ideal types of responses to multicultural situations: differential exclusion, assimilation, and pluralism. Differential exclusion is "a situation in which immigrants are incorporated into certain areas of society ... but denied access to others (such as welfare systems, citizenship, and political participation" (Castles, 2000, p. 135). Assimilation is the incorporation of "migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation: immigrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural, or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population" (Castles, 2000, p. 137). Pluralism is "the acceptance of immigration populations as ethnic communities which remain distinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture, and social organization over several generations" and "implies that immigrants should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their diversity" (Castles, 2000, p. 138).

The Rise and Retreat of Multiculturalism

"From the 1960s to the 1990s multiculturalism was in vogue" (Calhoun, 2009, p. 223). In the post-9/11 world, it seems no longer fashionable to push for multiculturalism and cultural tolerance even in societies that used to welcome diversity. In place of multicultural acceptance, religious intolerance seems to be on the rise in many parts of the West. Plans to build mosques and Muslim community centers in communities in places like Australia, Russia, and the United States have been met with opposition. The state of Arizona in the US has initiated local regulations that make it difficult for undocumented migrants to become part of the community. Lately, a number of countries in Europe have deported their respective Roma Gypsy populations. These occurrences reinforce the argument in this paper that supposedly liberal polities are responding to migration multiculturalism in ways that are illiberal or restrictive.

During the late 1980s, there was a celebration of a new-found sense of multiculturalism in Australia that sought to transcend the "ideology of nationhood" and embracing "a community without nation" (Castles, et al., 1992, p. 148). At the time, many Western states had begun to embrace cultural diversity. This sense of optimism towards multiculturalism was not unanticipated. Castles, et al. (1992) argued that only a few countries can truly claim to be culturally monolithic and that the old way of characterizing Australia as predominantly white was no longer the case. Indeed, such a traditional characterization was no longer enough to describe Australia. The authors spoke of a "nation without nationalism." Today, nothing can be further from the truth as nationalism takes a front seat forcing a retreat of multiculturalism not only in Australia but elsewhere in the world as well. In the United States where multiculturalism had been the norm, more and more Americans are "harboring ambivalent or conflicting attitudes toward immigration and immigrants [and] overwhelmingly resist any conception of multiculturalism that discourages immigrants from quickly learning and using the English language" (Schuck, 2008, p. 250). Much of this ambivalence is colored by fear - "arguably the most sinister of demons nesting in the open societies of our time" (Bauman, 2009, p. 119). There is the fear that

multiculturalism can "damage" society and make the state weaker such as in Bosnia and Somalia. As such, multiculturalism has come under attack in many Western (liberal) societies such as France, Germany, and the United States.

Cultural diversification has been greatly accelerated by globalization and vice versa. The rapid as well as extensive manner by which capital, goods, and people (combined with intense Westernization) are transported across geographical spaces in a short period of time heightens the awareness of the existence of an "other" that can raise concerns for all publics. Globalization and transnational migration present the face of a new set of challenges to states and societies. Foremost among these is the question of how to maintain cohesiveness in the face of social and cultural diversities alongside ethno-economic disparities. As a consequence, new social movements have emerged that are based on ethnic, linguistic, or religious differences that "demand full and equal inclusion in society, while claiming the recognition of their particularistic identities in the public sphere" (Koenig & Guchteneire, 2007, p. 3). What is strongly implied in such demands is their criticism of "the assumption of congruence between political unity and cultural homogeneity which was characteristic of the classic model of the nation-state" (Koenig & Guchteneire, 2007, p. 3).

Like globalization, multiculturalism and migration pose serious challenges to states. The main traditional orientation of the state has been on how to ensure cultural homogeneity where the identity recognition claims are "routinely seen as a threat to state stability and to national cohesion" (Koenig & Guchteneire, 2007, p. 4). This assumption is now increasingly being contested.

Policies of assimilation or of differential exclusion are increasingly considered as illegitimate, both at domestic and international levels, while pluralistic policy responses, as exemplified by anti-discrimination legislation, affirmative action programmes or special minority protection, have gained momentum (Koenig & Guchteneire, 2007, pp. 4-5).

For many countries in the developing South, the colonial system produced a stratified order based on a kind of division of labor with different groups from various places of origin performing different functions. Colonial society was essentially a multicultural society serving the purpose of maintaining and enhancing the capacity of the colonial power.

There would be the representatives of metropolitan government, entrepreneurs, farmers and workers from the metropolis; there would be religious missionaries from the metropolis; there would be secondary colonialists coming from other countries than the metropolis and engaging in those forms of trade which were unacceptable to or insufficiently profitable for metropolitan entrepreneurs; and there would be slaves and indentured labourers (Rex & Gurharpal, 2003b, pp. 109-110).

The colonial experiences of a society greatly impacts on the multicultural project (Rex & Gurharpal, 2003b). Upon their liberation, however, the departure of the colonial power (particularly from the metropolitan center) left a political vacuum that had to be filled up.

... power often passed to one of the ethnic segments who now controlled the state. Alternatively, while one group controlled political power, economic power might be in the control of one of the others... (Rex & Gurharpal, 2003b, p. 111).

Monocultural societies are increasingly becoming unlikely in the context of the intensifying effects of migration and globalization. Multiculturalism and pluralism are now the norm. Multiculturalism questions the primordial assumption of monoculturalism. However, embracing multiculturalism raises a primordial question: why must communal cultures exist separately? Rex and Gurharpal respond to this question by enumerating three reasons why cultural distinctions must be respected.

The first is that they are allowed to exist in the belief that they may have value in themselves... The second is that their culture provides individuals with a moral and emotional home which is essential for their personal psychological stability... The third reason for preserving these groups is that they make possible collective action to protect their members in political life (Rex & Gurharpal, 2003a, p. 7).

For states, migration conveys a certain (negative) appeal on the prospect of multiculturalism. The restrictions raised against the *en masse* entry of economic migrants into the highly developed societies of the world are embedded in the notion of defending against multiculturalism. The entry and presence of a large number of immigrants can be seen to pose a danger to the unity and homogeneity of societies in receiving areas (Rex & Gurharpal, 2003a). Immigration has both economic and non-economic effects. Variances need to be taken into account because:

... the effects of immigration are not evenly distributed in the population. In other words, while a country as a whole might gain from migration, the distribution of income among natives is affected by the presence of immigrants. In addition, immigration has an impact on the native population through non-economic channels, for example by affecting cultural diversity and perceived and factual levels of security (Facchini & Mayda, 2008, p. 28).

The following sections describe how selected communities have responded to the challenges of migration multiculturalism.

Migration Multiculturalism in Australia: In the Shadow of the "White Only" Policy

At the beginning of the 20th century, Australia applied its own "White Australia" policy that limited the entry and immigration into the island-continent

primarily from Europe and restricted entry from non-White areas, specifically those coming from Asia (Winkelmann 2001). John Curtin who was prime minister of Australia during World War II declared: "We shall hold this country, and keep it as a citadel for the British-speaking race, and as a place where civilisation will persist." Being a former British colony, this was not a surprising statement by an Australian PM. Historically, the targets of this racially defined entry policy were the Chinese and Japanese. While Europeans and whites were allowed to acquire Australian citizenship after only five years of residence, the required residence for non-whites was 15 years. By the 1960s, the White Australia Policy had been effectively repealed at a time when emerging forms of dissent challenged long-standing notions of power and identity. Under Malcolm Fraser in the late 1970s, Australia initiated steps that would lead many Australians to think that multiculturalism was becoming more and more institutionalized in the policy discourse. One was the re-creation of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs whose "ethnic affairs" component had been reassigned elsewhere a few years before. Advisory councils were also introduced such as the Australian Population and Immigration Council and the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (AEAC) in 1976 and the Australian Refugee Advisory Council in 1979. And in 1981, all three councils were merged into the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (ACPEA). One of the AEAC's first reports recommended the adoption of three elements in the foundation of a multicultural society for Australia - social cohesion, cultural identity, and equality of opportunity and access - a fourth element (equal responsibility for, commitment to and participation in society) was added in 1982. In addition to these advisory councils, the Fraser government also created specialist agencies such as the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) and the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) in 1979.

The openness to migration multiculturalism in Australia was not without its pitfalls. One of the major obstacles to political multiculturalism in Australia is the populist and anti-intellectual discourse that asserts that cultural tolerance and encouraging multiculturalism (especially from non-Whites) is bad and that it needs to be stopped. Hansonianism is one that has taken root in Australia, becoming most evident in the 1990s.

Immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address, but for far too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40 % of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. ... if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united. The world is full of failed and tragic examples, ranging from Ireland to Bosnia to Africa and, closer to home, Papua New Guinea. America and Great Britain are currently paying the price (Hanson, 1996, n.p.).

Pauline Hanson was also of the view that Australia stands to "save billions of dollars" if it were to abolish "the policy of multiculturalism" and pave "the way to a strong, united country."

Immigration must be halted in the short-term so that our dole queues are not added to by, in many cases, unskilled migrants not fluent in the English language. This would be one positive step to rescue many young and older Australians from a predicament which has become a national disgrace and crisis. I must stress at this stage that I do not consider those people from ethnic backgrounds currently living in Australia anything but first-class citizens, provided of course that they give this country their full, undivided loyalty (Hanson, 1996, n.p.).

By the 1990s, despite its relative success, political multiculturalism in Australia was still criticized for continuing to place greater emphasis on Whites from Europe and making it less likely for Asians to fit in. Ang critiques the celebratory rhetoric of multiculturalism in Australia and looks "at the way in which this discourse suppresses the ambivalent positioning of 'Asians' in Australian space" (Ang, 1996, p. 36). In the wake of 9/11 and the war against global terrorism, migration multiculturalism has been seen in Australia as a threat not only to the "white-dominated" sense of homogeneity but also to the security of the state. Such a threat has been manifested in anti-Islamic sentiments that have been raised in the public and official discourses recently.

If you want to be an Australian, if you want to raise your children in Australia, we fully expect those children to be taught and to accept Australian values and beliefs. We want them to understand our history and our culture, the extent to which we believe in mateship and giving another person a fair go, and basically if people don't want to support and accept and adopt and teach Australian values then, they should clear off (ABC News Online, 2005).

Australia is considered a traditional country of immigration. In demographic terms, much of Australia remains largely under-populated, leaving ample prospects for population growth particularly through immigration. A report by the Australian Department of Immigration in 1945 noted that Australia's population needs to have a "growth rate of two percent per annum, one percent from natural increase and one percent from immigration" (Winkelmann, 2001, p. 2). Australia's population grew between 1979 and 1996 by an average of 1.3 % annually mainly due to immigration. Its population in 1979 was 14.5 million. By 1996 it had reached 18.3 million (Winkelmann, 2001, p. 3). In 1995, nearly a quarter of the total foreign-born population in Australia came from Asia and the Middle East (West Asia) (Winkelmann 2001, p. 24). By 2001, more than one in five Australians were foreign-born. Indeed, the foreign-born proportion is highest in Australia (22 %) compared to two other traditional immigration areas – the United States (11 %) and Canada (18 %).

As a result of its non-discriminatory immigration policy, Australia has become a destination area for migrants coming not only from the Asia Pacific region but also from the West Asian (Middle East) countries and even from North Africa. By 2002, however, Australia responded to its growing immigration concerns with its "Pacific solution" which meant that asylum seekers had to be intercepted prior to landing in Australia and processed on two Pacific islands first to determine their eligibility to enter and stay in Australia (Mercer, 2002). This was triggered by the entry of a Norwegian freighter called *Tampa* carrying around 400 refugees mainly from Afghanistan – about a month before 9/11. The vessel was intercepted and refused permission to land anywhere in Australia. It ended up in camps on islands in Papua New Guinea and Nauru. The "Pacific" policy was eventually abandoned in 2007. However, this option was explored once again during the 2010 elections.

The Pacific Solution speaks of an attempt to conflate economic migration with political migration in the same way that economic migration is conflated with terrorism. The state incorrectly conflates all migrants as economic migrants and this has caused it to respond to migration in a way that leads to violations of basic human and labor rights. Similarly, conflating economic migration with terrorism also leads to related violations of human rights as "suspects" are treated as criminals. As pointed out in the Australian case, repressive measures do not help in addressing the problems associated with migration and can in fact lead to the emergence of new issues.

At present, the government seems to be sending confusing signals. In 2007, the term "multicultural affairs" was removed from the Immigration and Citizenship Department. In 2008, the Rudd government created the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC) to provide concrete and practical approaches to ensure social cohesion and overcoming racism and xenophobia by promoting tolerance and respect for cultural differences. If anything, this signifies that multiculturalism continues to be a point of debate in Australia in terms of what it means to be *Australian*. Politicians have used (manipulated) the jargon of multiculturalism in their rhetoric at various times to advance various (even

competing) agendas. In the 2010 elections, for instance, the two leading parties – Labor and Liberals – adopted the line that Australia needs to put a stop to the boatloads of asylum seekers from as far as Africa and West Asia passing through Indonesia; setting aside the agenda of multiculturalism in the policy discourse that has been evident since the 1980s.

Australia continues to grapple with the problematique of how it will reconstitute itself given the increasing influx of non-Europeans / non-Whites and the reality of its declining fertility rate. While it continues to exhibit a degree of ambivalence towards immigrants, it has nevertheless placed a strong emphasis on the principle of border security and the fear of an "invasion" from outside. A survey done in 2007 indicated that although a substantial number of Australian (78%) say that immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures and that a majority (59%) say that immigrants are good for the Australian economy, nearly half (43%) say that immigrants increase the crime rate and a plurality (29%) say that immigrants take away jobs from Australians. A significant proportion of Australians (40 %) say that the number of migrants allowed into Australia should be reduced (MacAllister & Clark, 2008, pp. 33 and 34). Additionally, anti-Muslim sentiments are becoming evident which can lead to the polarization of society and does not bode well in the creation of a more tolerant and respectful society. These mixed attitudes do not sit well with multiculturalism in general and may well delay any attempt to open Australian society and make it more culturally tolerant. Multiculturalism remains an enduring reality as well as a necessity for Australia.

Japan and Deceptive Homogeneity

For a long time, Japan has been in the grips of two powerful myths: "it is an ethnically homogeneous society and an immigrant-free country" (Tarumoto, 2003, p. 89). Both myths are now in the process of being questioned and eventually shattered. Japan is far from being ethnically pure and homogeneous and a great part of its cultural heterogeneity is due to significant levels of immigration. Japan is portrayed as a uniquely culturally homogeneous society

(Sugimoto, 2010). Like Australia, Japan is also affected by migration multiculturalism. The portrayal of Japan's homogeneity is constantly being challenged by the presence of different migrant settlers most notably the "oldcomers" or zainichi (i.e., those of Korean or Chinese descent born and living in Japan) and "newcomers" (mostly migrant workers coming from Southeast Asia) including nikkeijin (i.e., foreigners of Japanese descent who come mostly from South America). Aside from these groups, there are also other foreigners in Japan, mainly Americans and Europeans, who are officially allowed to work in Japan as professionals and business people although they represent a much smaller proportion relative to the zainichi, nikkeijin, and other newcomers. Since 1990, Japanese immigration policy has been revised to accommodate nikkeijin or foreigners of Japanese descent who come mainly from Brazil. Nikkeijin are allowed to work and settle in Japan, unlike migrants from Southeast Asia.

Throughout Japan's 2000-year history, there have been several waves of large-scale immigration. The first wave began in the eighth century with the arrival of many intellectuals and skilled artisans, mostly from Korea, in a period of great cultural growth. The second wave occurred in the 1640s, under the Tokugawa Shogunate, when several noble families of the Chinese Ming dynasty sought asylum in Japan, escaping from political oppression in China (Shiba, 1987, pp. 498-507). The third wave occurred during the 1930s and 1940s, when many Koreans and Chinese were imported as forced labor during the time of the Japanese occupation of Korea and parts of China. Most of these returned by the end of the Second World War, but more than 100,000, mostly Koreans, remained. They have become the zainichi. Although it is comparatively lower compared to other traditional settlement areas like the United States or Canada, Japan's current foreign resident population is still significant relative to its own historic experience. The number of foreign residents in Japan hit a record high in 2006 at 2,084,919 accounting for 1.63 percent of the country's total population (The Yomiuri Shimbun, 2007). Current figures indicate that Chinese and Korean zainichi make up almost 56% of the total foreign resident population in Japan today followed by nikkeijin Brazilians at 15% and a smaller (but slowly increasing) proportion of migrants from Southeast Asia such as the Philippines and Thailand.

The multicultural character of Japanese society has also been unraveled with the acknowledgement of different minority groups in Japan.

... [T]he myth of homogeneity has long been challenged by the presence of ethnic and national minorities, including ethnic Koreans and Chinese. Ironically, the idea has denied basic human rights to the "Oldcomers" who were Japanese subjects before 1947 and are now permanent non-national residents in Japan, where they were born and educated (Tarumoto, 2003, p. 91).

This unraveling is due mainly to a number of factors that have also posed a serious challenge for the state and society. Japan has become an ageing society. About a fifth of its population are aged 65 and above (Prideaux, 2007). Moreover, its birth rate has been constantly declining and is now below replacement levels. Japan can overcome its aging population problem through increasing productivity by (a) allowing more and more of the elderly to continue to be productively employed; (b) providing more opportunities for Japanese women to be employed; and (c) allowing for the entry of foreigners to compensate for the gaps in the labor market (Prideaux, 2007; Webb, 2006). Homogeneity (or its conception as applied) in Japan is also increasingly being challenged broadly by the forces of globalization and also particularly by the increasing presence of foreigners. However, the process of diversification in Japan is taking place not only gradually but in varying degrees within certain localities. For Tsuneyoshi, Japan is already multicultural. However, its multicultural-ness is characterized by "patches of visibly diverse districts [which is termed as "diversity points] ... scattered amidst a vast sea of seeming homogeneity" (Tsuneyoshi, 2004, p. 57).

The situation of Asian migrants in Japan (and its creeping multiculturalism) is/are compounded by the ambivalence or silence of state policy in regard to officially accepting migrant workers, particularly from Southeast Asia (Sugimoto, 2010; Tsuda, 2008) despite the conclusion of bilateral agreements towards the deployment of technical-skilled migrants from Thailand, Indonesia,

and the Philippines and away from the stigma of entertainment workers. In addition, certain gaps between the formal rules and informal practice can be noted as is the situation of foreign workers in factories. Conditionally, while there is now an expressed official policy to restrict the entry of foreign workers, there are ways by which this has been circumvented such as the trainee system which is actually a euphemism for the informal hiring of workers in factories and manufacturing companies.

The prevailing reality is that Japan needs to accept foreigners because of its declining birth rate and its growing human capital needs. As a result, numerous foreigners become visa over-stayers and undocumented. What is even more interesting is that "many immigrants are beginning to settle long-term in Japan and their numbers will dramatically increase if current economic growth and population levels are to be sustained" (Tsuda, 2008, p. 118). Such a situation will certainly test the myth of Japanese homogeneity.

The entry of *nikkeijin* from South America into Japan has had the effect of creating "a linguistic and cultural minority within Japanese society" (Brody, 2002, p. 101). While this is not altogether historically unique in Japan, what is interesting here to note is that this *nikkeijin* immigrant minority group is entitled to membership in the ethnic community that also intensifies and complicates Japan's crisis of multiculturalism (Brody, 2002; Tsuda, 2009). Serious differences in cultural and linguistic backgrounds make the integration of *nikkeijin* difficult, if not impossible.

... the Japanese government places *nikkeijin* in an impossible position vis-à-vis integration. On the one hand, the official Japanese claim is that foreigners can never be "Japanese" and that *nikkeijin* are permitted entry **because** of their "ethnic membership." But, on the other hand, once in Japan, even *nikkeijin* are to become "as Japanese as possible" (e.g., language, social rules, etc.) or to remain separate from the broader Japanese society (Emphasis not mine. Brody, 2002, p. 107).

The continued inability to integrate *nikkeijin* (learning Japanese being the most significant problem), combined with Japan's declining fertility, and compounded by (a) the reluctance to fully accept Korean and Chinese *zainichi* oldcomers and (b) the entry of low-skilled migrants from Southeast Asia, can be a most unsettling situation as far as political multiculturalism is concerned. Koreans in Japan are discriminated against.

The Korean minority in Japan is, thus, like the new *nikkei* Brazilian minority, kept from integrating into Japanese society by both discriminatory policies and negative Japanese attitudes toward "foreigners." In other words, Koreans are excluded and discriminated against on the basis of their "non-Japanese blood" while *nikkei-jin* are excluded and discriminated against **despite** their "Japanese blood" (Emphasis not mine. Brody, 2002, p. 96).

The assimilationist paradigm of "Japanization" for nikkeijin runs counter to the norm and practice of political multiculturalism in Japan which is to respect differences and diversity and encourage the practice of distinct cultures and religions. At the same time, majority of Brazilian nikkeijin continue to assert their Brazilian counteridentities as an act of ethnic resistance (Tsuda, 2003). "[M]inorities that are not racially Japanese and culturally assimilated will continue to suffer from discrimination, which obstructs their socioeconomic mobility" (Tsuda, 2009, p. 222). At the same time, the lack of social mobility among migrants can exacerbate their capacity to fit into the rest of Japanese society. One positive development, though, is that research now shows that the children of nikkeijin are able to assimilate into Japanese society more rapidly than adults and that they cannot be distinguished from other Japanese in terms of "speech, dress, or mannerisms" (Tsuda, 2009, p. 223). How far and to what extent this emerging situation can truly transform Japan into a genuinely open and multicultural society still remains to be seen.

Affirmative Action in Malaysia

Malaysia provides an interesting case study of how multiculturalism as a public policy is able to operate within extremely adverse circumstances not found in many societies in the West. Malaysia is undeniably a multicultural society. However, its multiculturality is proscribed by the state. Political power rests in the hands of the Malays; economic power (trade and commercial enterprises) has come largely under the control of the Chinese; and the agrarian sector has landed on the laps of the Indian population. Such has been the ethnic division that has evolved throughout much of labor in peninsular Malaysia. Yet the discourse of multiculturalism that has come to dominate Western societies such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, appears to be less prominent in Malaysia (Fenton, 2003). Communalism has become a term used to describe the extent of ethnic cleavages that have persisted in Malaysia and other similarly situated societies. "This is usually a pejorative term, meaning that politics is 'reduced to' the politics of group identities and the search for advantage, simply for a religious or ethnic community" (Fenton, 2003, p. 136). Communalism affirms ethnic loyalties that are seen as socially divisive and politically destructive.

The role of migration in the creation of Malaysia is also undeniable. Colonial policy under the British encouraged it which led to a situation where there were more Chinese and Indian immigrants combined than the indigenous Malays. "Transnational migration during the colonial era and in recent decades, has been a major factor in the making of modern pluralism in" Malaysia (Embong, 2001, p. 60).

The Chinese were admitted in large numbers to facilitate tin mining while Indians were recruited in large numbers, often as indentured labor, to work on the rubber plantations. Both rubber and tin figured prominently in the British economic exploitation of Malaysia and their commodities were in turn obtained through migrant labor (Ganesa, 2005, p. 138).

The ethnicised system of governance is one in which the Malay population is over-represented has created a general perception (not confined to non-Malays) "that the public service has deteriorated in the quality and performance of its personnel, not least because of ethnically influenced decisions on recruitment and promotions, which favoured less capable Malays over their non-Malay counterparts" (Teik, 2005, p. 29). Post-colonial policies have actually muted multiculturalism's adverse effects.

Bumiputera (literally, "sons of the soil") politics has come to dominate the Malaysia political landscape. Bumiputera is a Malay term that designate Malay and Malay-related ethnicity. There is a kind of primus inter pares relationship between the Malays in relation to the Indian and Chinese populations. There is an institutional primacy given to "Malay culture and recognition of the special position and privileges of the Malay population" including the primacy given to Islam (Fenton, 2003, p. 137). The typical characterization of Malaysian society today is that it is comprised of three ethnic groups – Malays, Chinese, and Indians. However, it is important to note that there is also a significant number of non-Muslims in Sarawak who are also considered Malays in Malaysia. There are also the distinctions between Orang Asli (members of aboriginal communities) in Sabah and Sarawak as well as the different Chinese dialect groups and, of course, the distinctions between Punjabis, Tamils, and Pakistanis (Teik, 2005).

Over 47 years since independence in 1957, the basic response of the elites has been to manage ethnic problems by openly practising ethnic politics, and adopting avowedly ethnic policies—and not by relying, say, on "colour-blind" politics or measures (Teik, 2005, p. 1).

Patronage plays an important role in maintaining political solidarity in the midst of cultural diversity in Malaysia. Under Mahathir, the political leadership has managed to balance different group interests in a manner that does not invite social implosion. Under Mahathir's rule, the leadership is able: ... to balance group interests in a multi-ethnic society by linking their needs to economic growth, political stability, and the capitalist transformation of Malaysian society. Mahathir's moral claim to state power has rested on his ability to promote Malay unity, protection, and dominance... While playing the role of protector of the Malays he has tried to persuade the Chinese and Indians that his government responsibly checks Malay chauvinism. The institutional basis for striking this balance – redressing Malay grievances while respecting non-Malay identities and property rights – is realized in the patronage system that distributes to all the communities (Verma, 2002, pp. 153-154).

Malaysian-style multiculturalism intersects with politics and economics. What the British had left in Malaysia was a situation where society had become divided across three distinct cultures – the Indians, the Malays, and the Chinese. What is peculiar here is that the multiculturalism question is being addressed by a political authority dominated by Malays in partnership with the Indians and Chinese. Political institutions in Malaysia largely mirror this ethnically plural situation. Indeed, political parties are openly ethnic in orientation (Teik, 2005). The dominant political party is the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). The Chinese have the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Indians have the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). All three political formations are part of a bigger political alliance called Barisan Nasional (BN) or National Front. Not surprisingly, UMNO is the dominant partner in this alliance. Notwithstanding the gains made by its New Economic Policy (NEP) combined with its affirmative action program, many Malays remain poor.

Economic deprivation and large and visible inequalities persist in Malaysia even if the acute association of economic disadvantage and ethnic group has been muted (Fenton, 2003, p. 139).

Poverty became embedded in the ethnic division of labor where "interethnic comparisons invariably led to interethnic inequalities" leading to the troubling "conclusion than that to be Malay was to be relatively poorer than a non-Malay" (Teik, 2005, p. 10).

These economic conditions would show that the underlying issues in Malaysian society and politics continue to be raised. The *Bumiputera* argument continues to be contested and that this resonates throughout the rest of Malaysian society and that "the framing of political loyalties as merely a matter of communal identities, indexed by culture, is losing ground" (Fenton, 2003, pp. 144-145). Since independence, Malaysia has been able to manage its multicultural society by employing the threat of communalism but combined with a tendency to directly engage in ethnic-based politics that eventually mitigates tensions and clashes between cultures. The kind of political multiculturalism that prevails in Malaysia is different from those found in the West in the sense that it does not fully convey respect for all cultures as this is seen to run against the policy dictum of the primacy of the *Bumiputera* group.

Concluding Remarks

Migration is a growing and increasingly complex phenomenon. As people move they also settle. As they settle, they interact with people from other cultures. This is what gives rise to migration multiculturalism and the need to foster engagements between cultures that create a more tolerant and respectful society. Multiculturalism resonates differently in different societies.

In first-world countries, multiculturalism may retain a critical edge in some contexts, but it has also become, along with "diversity", an establishment concept. In societies which have long been ethnically diverse, and which became more ethnically diverse in their colonial periods, diversity is understood but not "embraced" in quite the same way (Fenton, 2003, p. 145).

In much of Europe, Canada, the US, and Australia, there has (at least since the 1960s) been a rejection of the notion of assimilationism (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2004). In the Asia-Pacific region, however, multicultural challenges continue to be evident and states as well as societies have responded to these challenges in peculiar ways as the case studies have shown. Where there is now a greater sense of tolerance and openness towards accommodating ethnic minorities politically, economically, culturally, and socially in a growing number of societies throughout the world, there are also places where resistance against pluralism continues to be the norm. In some cases, there is also a "ritualistic debate" that takes place that ultimately (and ironically) robs the immigrants themselves of a say in their agency and capacity to assimilate.

The way the voice of the 'ethnic other' is made passive not only by those who want to eradicate it, but also by those who are happy to welcome it under some conditions they feel entitled to set is one of the main features of these ritualistic 'immigration debates' [in which] ... the 'migrants' and the 'ethnics' are welcomed, abused, defended, made accountable, analyzed and measured. Ultimately, the debates work to silence them and construct them into passive objects to be governed by those who have given themselves the national governmental right to 'worry' about the nation (Ghassan, 2000, p. 17).

Nevertheless, the notion of social cohesion (and the problems associated with it) remains on the agenda table in many societies. The case studies show the many compelling views of multiculturalism and how states and societies have responded to these views either by way of contesting, rejecting, or affirming them.

Jorge Villamor Tigno is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of the Philippines, Diliman. He has been teaching in UP since 1989 where he also got his master's degree (Political Science) and doctorate (Public Administration). His research interests include migration politics, civil society engagements, and party politics. He is also involved in a number of migrant advocacy groups in the Philippines.

References

- ABC News Online. (2005, August 24). Minister tells Muslims: Accept Aussie values or 'clear off'. Retrieved 1 November 2010 from http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200508/s1445181.htm
- Ang, I. (1996). The curse of the smile: Ambivalence and the 'Asian' woman in Australian multiculturalism. Feminist Review, (52), 36-49.
- Bauman, Z. (2009). The demons of an open society. In W. Schinkel (Ed.). Globalization and the state; sociological perspectives on the state of the state (pp. 121-143). New York: Pallgrave Macmillan.
- Calhoun, C. (2009). Cosmopolitanism and nationalism. In W. Schinkel (Ed.). Globalization and the state; sociological perspectives on the state of the state (pp. 209-242). New York: Pallgrave Macmillan.
- Castles, S. (2000). Ethnicity and globalization; from migrant worker to transnational citizen. London: Thousand Oakes; New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Castles, S. & Miller, M. (2003). The age of migration. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Castles, S., Kalantzis, M., Cope, B. & Morrissey, M. (1992). Mistaken identity: Multiculturalism and the demise of nationalism in Australia. Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Embong, A. R. (2001). The culture and practice of pluralism in postcolonial Malaysia. In R. Hefner (Ed.). The politics of multiculturalism; pluralism and citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia (pp. 59-85). Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Facchini, G. & Mayda, A. M. (2008, May). From individual attitudes towards migrants to migration policy outcomes: Theory and evidence. Discussion Paper No. 3512, Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn. Retrieved June 2009 from http://ftp.iza.org/dp3512.pdf
- Fearon, J. (2002). Ethnic structure and cultural diversity around the world: A cross-national data set on ethnic groups. Paper presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (29 August -1 September), Boston. Retrieved June 2009 from http://www.stanford.edu/ group/ethnic/workingpapers/egroups.pdf

- Fenton, S. (2003). Malaysia and capitalist modernisation: Plural and multicultural models. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* (IJMS), 5 (2), 135-147.
- Ganesa, N. (2005). Liberal and structural ethnic political accommodation in Malaysia. In W. Kymlicka and B. He (Eds.). Multiculturalism in Asia (pp. 136-151). Oxford: Oxford University Press, .
- Ghassan, H. (2000). White nation; fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society. New York: Routledge; Kent: Comerford and Miller and Annandale: Pluto Press Australia.
- Gutmann, A. (1994). Introduction. In A. Gutmann (Ed.). Multiculturalism. (pp.3-24). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hanson, P. (1996). Speech in Federal parliament Retrieved 1 November 2010 from http://www.australian-news.com.au/maiden speech.htm
- Hefner, R. (2001). Introduction; multiculturalism and citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. In R. Hefner (Ed.). The politics of multiculturalism; pluralism and citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia (pp. 1 – 58). Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Hollifield, J. (2008). The politics of international migration; How can we 'bring the state backin'? In C. Brettell & J. Hollifield (Eds.). Migration theory; talking across disciplines (pp. 183-238). New York and London: Routledge.
- Joppke, C. (1996). Multiculturalism and immigration: A comparison of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain. Theory and Society, 25, 449-500.
- Koenig, M. & de Guchteneire, P. (2007). Political governance of cultural diversity.
 In M. Koenig & P. de Guchteneire (Eds.). Democracy and human rights in multicultural societies (pp. 3-20). UNESCO, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing.
- Kymlicka, W. (n.d.). Ethnicity and democratic governance. Retrieved 6 December 2010 from http://www.queensu.ca/edg/prs/Kymlicka_PRS.pdf
- Kymlicka, W. (2002). Politics in the vernacular; nationalism, multiculturalism, and citizenship. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2010, March). The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. *International Social* Science Journal, 61(199) 97-112.

- MacAllister, I. & Clark, J. (2008). Trends in Australian political opinion: Results from the Australian election study. 1987-2007. Retrieved 30 August 2010 from http://assda.anu.edu.au/aestrends.pdf
- Mercer, P. (2002, February 5). Q and A: Australia's 'Pacific solution'. BBC News. Retrieved June 2009 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/1802364.stm
- Parekh, B. (2000). Rethinking multiculturalism: cultural diversity and political theory. London: Macmillan Press.
- Prideaux, E. (2007, January 1). Labor dynamics; major workforce disruptions looming over Japan; baby boomers, women and foreigners will all have to play key roles to ward off disaster. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved January 2007from http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20070101a3.html
- Rex, J. & and Singh, G. (2003a). Multiculturalism and political integration in modern nation-states – Thematic introduction. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, 5 (1), 3-19.
- Rex, J. & Singh, G. (2003b). Pluralism and multiculturalism in colonial and post-colonial society – Thematic introduction. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, 5 (2), 106-118.
- Rosado, C. (1996, October 28). Towards a definition of multiculturalism. Retrieved December 6, 2010 from http://rosado.net/pdf/Def_of_Multicultura lism.pdf
- Schuck, P. (2008). Law and the study of migration. In C. Brettell & J. Hollifield (Eds.). Migration theory; talking across disciplines (pp. 239-258). New York and London: Routledge.
- Sugimoto, Y. (2010). An introduction to Japanese society (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarumoto, H. (2003). Multiculturalism in Japan: Citizenship policy for immigrants. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, 5 (1), 88-103.
- Teik, K. B. (2005, December). Ethnic structure, inequality and governance in the public sector; Malaysian experiences. *Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Programme*, Paper Number 20, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). Retrieved June 2009 from http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/ 19309421DF6D65 D3C125 70FA00392E12/\$file/Khoo.pdf

- Tsuda, T. (2003). Strangers in the ethnic homeland. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tsuda, T. (2008). Crossing ethnic boundaries: Japanese Brazilian return migrants and the ethnic challenge of Japan's newest immigrant minority. In N. Graburn, J. Ertl, & K. Tierney (Eds.). Multiculturalism in the new Japan: Crossing the boundaries within (pp. 117-138). New York: Berghahn Books,
- Tsuda, T. (2009). Japanese-Brazilian ethnic return migration and the making of Japan's newest immigrant minority. In M. Weiner (Ed.). *Japan's minorities:* the illusion of homogeneity (pp. 206-227). New York: Routledge.
- Tsuneyoshi, R. (2004, February). The 'new' foreigners and the social reconstruction of difference: The cultural diversification of Japanese education. Comparative Education, 40 (1), 55-81 Retrieved May 2007from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0305006042000184881
- Tsutsui, K. (2004). Global civil society and ethnic social movements in the contemporary world. Sociological Forum, 19, 63–88.
- Verma, V. (2002). Malaysia; state and civil society in transition. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Vertovec, S. & Wessendorf, S. (2004, December). Migration and cultural, religious and linguistic diversity in Europe: An overview of issues and trends. International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) Working Paper. Retrieved June 2009 from http://www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers/documents/migration_diversity.pdf
- Webb, M. (2006, December 31). An analyst's-eye view; daunting challenges face fast-graying nation. The Japan Times. Retrieved January 2007 from http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/fl20061231x3.html
- Weiner, M. (1995). The global migration crisis: Challenge to states and to human rights. New York: HarperCollins.
- Winkelmann, R. (200, January). Immigration policies and their impact: The case of New Zealand and Australia. Working Paper Number 9, the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS), University of California, San Diego (UCSD). Reterieved June 2009 from http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/ publications/wrkg29.PDF

Wright, M. (2009). Multiculturalism and the imagined community: Cognitive self-categorization across countries and over time. Paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Vancouver (19-21 March). Retrieved 6 December 201 from http://www.allacademic.com/meta/ p317724 index.html Book Review: Revisiting Development as Freedom vis-à-vis the Right to Mobility Yolanda G. Ealdama

Filipino Seafarers: How Are They Faring? (A Situationer) Thelma B. Magcuro

A Social Protection and Integration Strategy for Children of OFWs: A Case Study on the Psycho-Social Support Program of BUNGA Foundation, Inc. Mark Anthony D. Abenir

Reunification of Filipino Families in Italy: What the Youth Have to Say Cristina M. Liamzon

Realizing the Development Potential of Filipino Diaspora Philanthropy Augustus T. Añonuevo Estrella Mai Dizon-Añonuevo

An Assessment of the Materials and Methods Used in Disseminating Information on Human Trafficking in Two Barangays of Quezon City Leticia S. Tojos

The Politics of Migration Multiculturalism in Australia, Japan, and Malaysia Jorge V. Tigno