

THE MAPID PROJECT

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INSTITUTIONS BEHIND MAPID

The Scalabrini Migration Center is the main proponent of MAPID. It is cooperating with Fondazione ISMU in Milan, Italy, the University of Valencia in Spain, and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas in implementing the project.



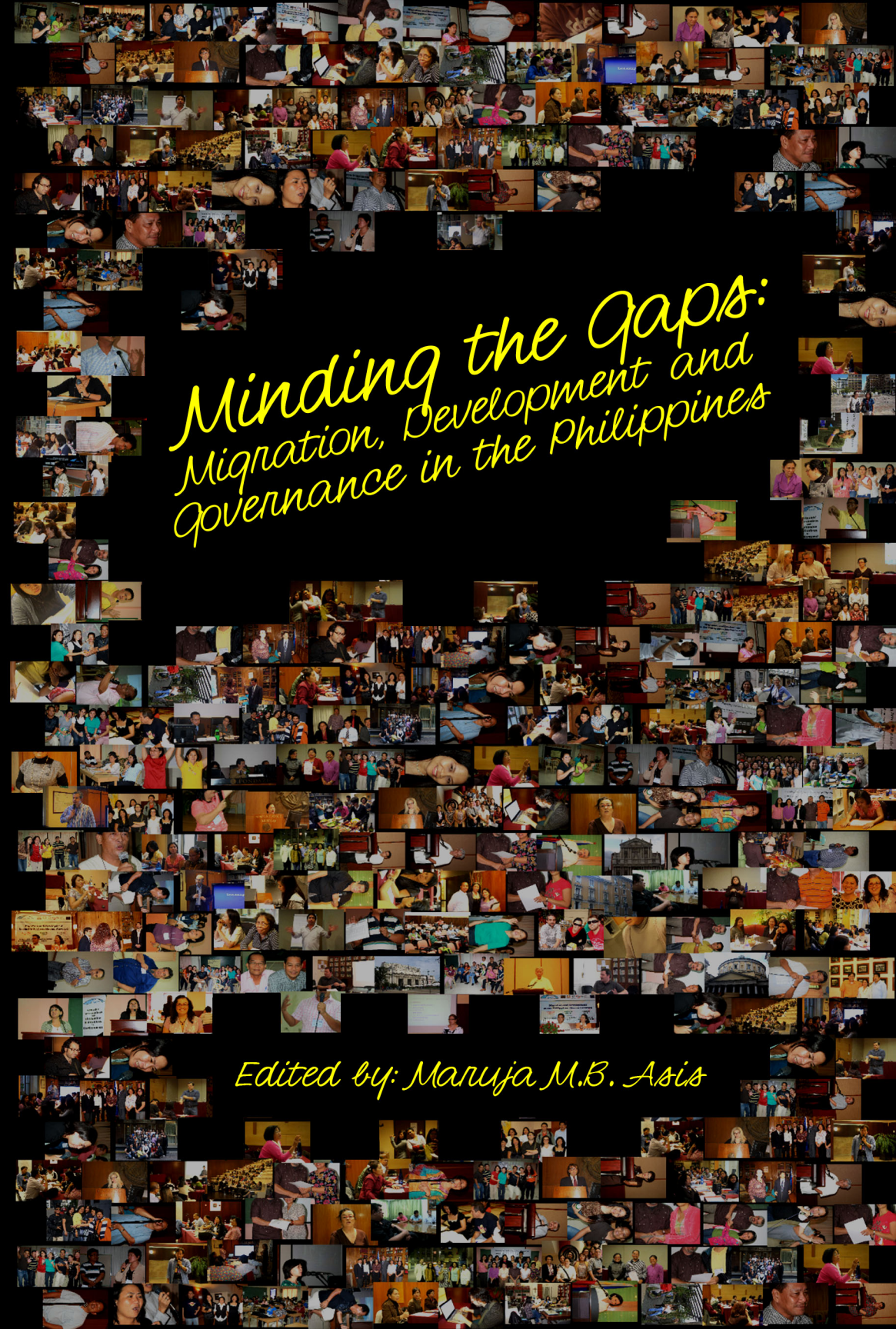
COMMISSION ON FILIPINOS OVERSEAS



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Minding the Gaps



*Minding the Gaps:
Migration, Development and
Governance in the Philippines*

Edited by: Maruja M.B. Asis

**Minding the Gaps:
Migration, Development and Governance in
the Philippines**

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Maruja M.B. Asis

Scalabrini Migration Center
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Minding the Gaps: Migration, Development and Governance in the Philippines

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Migration and Development in the Philippines: Is Governance the Missing Link?

Maruja M.B. Asis

Throughout the country's four decades of experience with international labor migration, it has been implicitly understood that lack of development initiated the Philippines' entry into the world of labor migration - and the phenomenon continues because sustainable development has yet to be realized. As of December 2008, the stock estimate of the overseas Filipino population stood at 8.2 million, comprising of 3.9 million permanent migrants, 3.6 million temporary migrants (i.e., overseas Filipino workers or OFWs), and some 650,000 migrants in an irregular situation (Table 1). The presence of Filipinos in many countries reflects the unceasing search for employment opportunities in the global labor market. It is expected that when the Philippines joins the ranks of the developed countries of the world, the push factors will diminish and migration will become a matter of choice – not necessity – for Filipinos. For the most part, this is how the migration and development nexus is generally appreciated in the Philippines; it is the same understanding that has informed the crafting of international migration policies, particularly those pertaining to the migration of workers.

When the labor migration program was launched in the 1970s, it was intended to be a temporary measure to ease the economic difficulties the country faced at the time. Since then, strong demand factors, persisting economic problems, the increasing role of the migration industry, the growing institutionalization of labor migration, the significance of personal and social networks, and the development of a culture of migration all have contributed to sustaining outmigration (Table 2). The state has taken center stage in how migration has become institutionalized in Philippine society (Table 3) (see Asis, 2008a and 2008b; Asis and Roma, 2010). In the past decade, the state has shifted towards a view of migration as part of globalization. Acknowledging migration as a reality under conditions of globalization, the idea of labor migration as a temporary measure was silently abandoned. Although the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 declares that the

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

A. Distribution by Region

	Permanent	Temporary	Irregular	Total
World/Total	3,907,842	3,626,259	653,659	8,187,710
Africa	1,986	44,303	8,265	54,554
Asia, East & South	247,09	581,330	256,622	1,085,049
Asia, West	4,599	2,144,625	112,700	2,261,924
Europe	294,987	299,468	98,624	693,079
Italy	27,003	77,087	13,000	117,090
Spain	32,435	14,190	4,055	50,680
Americas & Trust Territories	3,101,941	250,595	166,163	3,518,699
Oceania	257,232	44,325	11,235	312,972
Seabased				261,614

B. Top 10 Destination Countries of Overseas Filipinos

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

SOURCE: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

NOTE: * The 2009 stock estimate of overseas Filipinos is available (see CFO, n.d.b.) The 2008 stock estimate is reported here in keeping with the time of the MAPID research.

Philippines does not pursue labor migration as a strategy for national development, recent government pronouncements, such as the target to deploy a million workers every year (see *Medium Term Philippine Development Plan, 2004-2010* and the *Updated Medium Term Philippine Development Plan, 2008-2010*) and the call for more efforts to identify labor markets

TABLE 2
DEPLOYED LAND-BASED AND SEA-BASED OFWs AND CORRESPONDING REMITTANCES,
1975-2009

	Land-based	Sea-based	Total OFWs	Remittances (Million USD)
1975	12,501	23,534	36,035	103
1976	19,221	28,614	47,835	111
1977	36,676	33,699	70,375	213
1978	50,961	37,280	88,241	290.85
1979	92,519	44,818	137,337	364.74
1980	157,394	57,196	214,590	421.3
1981	210,936	55,307	266,243	545.87
1982	250,115	64,169	314,284	810.48
1983	380,263	53,594	434,207	944.45
1984*	300,378	50,604	350,982	658.89
1985	320,494	52,290	372,784	687.20
1986	323,517	54,697	378,214	680.44
1987	382,229	67,042	449,271	791.91
1988	385,117	85,913	471,030	856.81
1989	355,346	103,280	458,626	973.02
1990	334,883	111,212	446,095	1,181.07
1991	489,260	125,759	615,019	1,500.29
1992	549,655	136,806	686,461	2,202.38
1993	550,872	145,758	696,030	2,229.58
1994	564,031	154,376	718,407	2,630.11
1995	488,173	165,401	653,574	4,877.51
1996	484,653	175,469	660,122	4,306.64
1997	559,227	188,469	747,696	5,741.84
1998	638,343	193,300	831,643	7,367.99
1999	640,331	196,689	837,020	6,794.55
2000	643,304	198,324	841,628	6,050.45
2001	662,648	204,951	867,599	6,031.27
2002	682,315	209,593	891,908	6,886.16
2003	651,938	216,031	867,969	7,578.46
2004	704,586	229,002	933,588	8,550.37
2005	733,970	247,707	981,677	10,689.00
2006	788,070	274,497	1,062,567	12,761.31
2007	811,070	266,553	1,077,623	14,449.93
2008	974,399	261,614	1,236,013	16,426.85
2009	1,092,162	330,424	1,422,586	17,348.05

SOURCE: POEA

NOTE: * From 1975 to 1983, figures refer to processed workers.

TABLE 3
MIGRATION POLICIES & INSTITUTIONAL LANDMARK SINCE THE 1970S

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

for Filipino workers in the wake of the global financial crisis in 2008,¹ paint a different picture. Thus, while the Philippines has tried to marry promotion or facilitate labor migration with workers' protection, deployment remains

¹ Administrative Orders (AO) 247 and 248 were issued by President Gloria Arroyo in December 2008 in response to the global economic crisis – while AO 247 ordered the POEA to shift to “full blast market development efforts,” AO 248 called for extending support and assistance to OFWs displaced by the crisis.

central in Philippine labor migration policy and practice. From all indications, it appears that it will be deployment as usual in the near future.

The implementation of the Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development Project, an initiative supported by the European Union under the Aeneas Grant Contract No. MIGR/2007/130-548911), provided the opportunity to take stock of the country's international migration policies and to explore the current and future prospects of the migration-development nexus in the Philippines. The renewed discussion on the migration-development nexus in the global community has been valuable in interrogating how international migration affects the country's development prospects and to examine how development planning considers international migration realities. Of the various stakeholders, the project selected government institutions in the Philippines and migrants' associations as the focal point of the study. The emphasis on government institutions sprang from findings from an earlier SMC initiative – the 2007 conference on transnational dimensions of Philippine development – which hinted at governance challenges in migration and development policymaking. Governance, "the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)" (UNESCAP, n.d.),² is key to closing the gaps between migration and development. While governance is not limited to the state and other government actors, good governance by government institutions is crucial in the management of societies. The choice of migrants' associations, on the other hand, was motivated by the interest to know more about migrants' associations and their potentials as agents of change. Initially, the project viewed migrants' associations in relation to Philippine institutions; later, the project expanded its view of migrants' associations as agents of change in relation to the destination country as well. Highlighting Filipino migration to Europe also provided an opportunity to examine the Filipino experience in a unique migration context, i.e., a context that falls in between temporary labor migration on the one hand and permanent settlement on the other.

The MAPID Project

The MAPID Project attempted to promote the appreciation of the migration-development nexus and to build the partnership between government institutions in the Philippines and migrants' associations in Italy and Spain. To achieve these goals, the MAPID Project designed parallel activities that were implemented transnationally, a conscious effort to enable both stakeholders

² See also UNDP (n.d.) for a discussion on governance and its indicators.

simultaneously and to build bridges of cooperation between them. Spear-headed by the Scalabrini Migration Center, MAPID was implemented in cooperation with Fondazione ISMU (Iniziativa e Studi sulla Multietnicità) in Italy, the University of Valencia in Spain, and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas in the Philippines.

The project was divided into three phases – research, capacity-building and dissemination - which were carried out over a three-year period. The first year of the project, 2008, was dedicated to research. In the Philippines, the research probed into policies on migration and development in national and local development plans, and the views and perceptions on migration and development issues by government officials, i.e., policymakers, local chief executives and key officers or staff in migration or development institutions. The study also sought to document contributions to development beyond remittances. Hence, the study looked into migrant giving and investments, and models of cooperation between local institutions and overseas Filipinos. Documents analysis and key informant interviews were conducted with representatives of government agencies involved in the migration and/or development sectors³ and local government units. In Italy and Spain, the research examined the migration, work, settlement, associational life, and transnational practices of Filipinos in these two receiving countries. In addition, the study conducted a survey of Filipino migrants' associations. The research sites were Rome and Milan in Italy, and Barcelona and Madrid in Spain; these are cities which host the largest concentrations of Filipino migrants in these countries. Two hundred Filipino migrants were interviewed per country and in-depth interviews with leaders and active members of Filipino migrants' associations were conducted to obtain information about the nature, characteristics and potentials of migrants' associations as agents of change. Additional data were gathered from other key informants, i.e., officials of the Philippine embassies and consulates, representatives of NGOs and government institutions, pioneer migrants and other resource persons in Italy and Spain.

The second phase was the implementation of the capacity-building programs in 2009. In the Philippines, 116 government representatives partici-

³ The following "migration agencies" participated in the MAPID study and training programs: Department of Labor and Employment, Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, Department of Foreign Affairs, Commission on Filipinos Overseas and Technical Education and Skills Development Authority. The participating "development agencies" include the following: National Economic Development Authority, Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas, Department of Health, Department of Science and Technology, Department of Education, Commission on Higher Education, Department of Trade, Department of Tourism, and Department of Interior and Local Government.

pated in the two training programs held in Davao City (for the Visayas and Mindanao participants) and Tagaytay City (for the national government agencies and Luzon participants). In Italy and Spain, the training programs were intended for leaders and active members of Filipino migrants' associations. The syllabi, training materials and the presentations of resource persons in the training programs in the three countries were compiled in the CD-ROM, "Capacity Building Programs in the Philippines, Italy and Spain: Reference Materials."

The third and final phase of the project was capped by a series of dissemination activities conducted in 2010. Dissemination activities consisted of publications, conferences and fora, and the production of policy briefs and features stories. Highlights from the MAPID experience and the three country reports were collated in the book, *Brick by Brick: Building Cooperation between the Philippines and Migrants' Associations in Italy and Spain*, edited by Fabio Baggio. Another publication, *Transnational Bridges: Migration, Development and Solidarity in the Philippines*, edited by Maruja Asis, Fabio Baggio, Jose Ma. Palabrica and Golda Myra Roma, was also released in 2010. *Transnational Bridges* developed out of one of the modules in the capacity building programs, MAPID Chronicles, which features examples of migrant giving, migrants' investments and models of cooperation between overseas Filipinos and local institutions. The dissemination fora in the Philippines consisted of a policy summit held in Manila and three regional dissemination fora in Cebu City, Davao City and Naga City, all of which were carried out in August. In Spain, the dissemination fora were held in Barcelona and Madrid in October and November, respectively, while in Italy, the fora in Rome and Milan were completed in December.⁴

To sum up, the active engagement of participants in the research, capacity-building and dissemination activities of the MAPID Project contributed to the shaping of the project. In response to their suggestions, MAPID launched additional workshops and materials that were not part of the original plan. The research dissemination workshop held in 2009, the additional dissemination fora in 2010, the additional publications, and the MAPID website that features migrants' associations in Italy and Spain on and projects in the Philippines, were based on the suggestions and recommendations of participants in the research and training programs. Participants' inputs not only reflect their interest in the emerging reflections on the migration-development nexus in the Philippines but also an indication of ownership of the initiative. The growing awareness of the links between interna-

⁴ All the materials produced from the MAPID Project are available online at www.smc.org.ph/MAPID.

tional migration and development was apparent from the research in 2008, the capacity building programs in 2009, to the dissemination activities in 2010. Overall, it can be concluded that the MAPID Project provided useful inputs to Philippine government institutions and has contributed in enabling Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain as agents of change.

The MAPID Research in the Philippines

This volume features findings from the research conducted in the Philippines in 2008, specifically providing space to the regional reports. The areas covered by MAPID encompass regions of varying migration histories and levels of development. This book is part of the dissemination materials produced by the MAPID Project and is a companion piece to the two other publications mentioned earlier. It complements the chapter on the Philippines in *Brick by Brick* and the examples of good practices in *Transnational Bridges*.⁵ The idea for producing this book was also suggested by the participants in the training programs conducted by the MAPID Project in 2009. Highlights from the research were disseminated in the training programs – this strategy served as a means of sharing research-based information with the participants and validating the research findings. Moreover, the sharing of views and perspectives helped in promoting a better understanding of migrants and government representatives about each other. In particular, the findings of the research conducted in the Philippines raised awareness that there is more to migration than remittances. As discussed further in the different regional reports, remittances are the most recognized “development” impact of international migration. Participants were encouraged by examples of good practices shown by local institutions in their cooperation with overseas Filipinos and the possibilities of replicating these initiatives in their offices or communities. Thus, they recommended that the MAPID Chronicles of good news and good practices should be circulated to a broader audience. Coincidentally, in 2009, the CFO marked the 20th year of the *Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino* (Service to Fellow Filipinos, also known as LINKAPIL) Program, a pioneering initiative

⁵ The Philippine chapter provides an overview of the policy context, migration trends, highlights of the research findings (national and sub-national contexts), outcomes of the capacity-building programs and plans for the dissemination activities. In their original form, the regional reports are very lengthy as they cover (a) development prospects, migration trends, migration and development linkages, views and perceptions, and (b) case studies of migrant giving, migrants' investments and partnerships between overseas Filipinos and local institutions. The chapters presented here emphasize the first part. Several case studies from the regional reports are profiled in *Transnational Bridges*, hence discussion of such cases has been kept to a minimum in the regional chapters in this volume.

to match the donations of overseas Filipinos with the needs of specific communities or sectors in the Philippines. SMC and CFO cooperated in the making of *Transnational Bridges*, which presents profiles of overseas Filipino associations which have been long-term LINKAPIL donors and the projects they support in the Philippines, and examples of migrant giving, migrants' investments and partnerships documented by the MAPID-Philippines research. A total of 31 profiles and cases are included in the book.⁶ Apart from the good news conveyed by MAPIDChronicles, the training participants also expressed appreciation for the regional and local perspectives offered by the MAPID-Philippines research and they recommended that these findings must be disseminated to local governments.

A Note on Methodology and Coverage

Aiming to provide a nationwide scope, SMC partnered with scholars and institutions throughout the country in the conduct of the study in the Philippines. As the lead organization, SMC provided overall coordination and direction of the research, which includes developing instruments, protocols and guidelines for data collection, analysis and report writing. The study's approach was qualitative involving two types of data collection: literature and documents review (i.e., a review of migration policies, development plans, annual reports, data) and the conduct of key informant interviews. Data collection proceeded at two levels – national and regional/local. SMC and CFO were responsible for the national overview while the team of researchers covered the different regions. A total of 424 key informant interviews were completed – 30 in the national offices and 394 in the regions and provinces.⁷ The study focused on regions that had the highest out-migration; within regions, the top out-migration provinces were selected; and one or two high out-migration cities or municipalities were selected for further study. Since the study could not cover all regions, it tried to ensure sufficient representation of areas in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. Data on the volume of migration by region were based on the 2006 membership records of the Overseas Workers

⁶ There were actually many more examples and good practices that were documented by the MAPID research. However, many were not included because we were not able to secure the permission of the persons in charge of the associations or projects to profile them in the book.

⁷ In the discussion of the regional reports, the identities of the key informants are not mentioned; a list of key informants is provided as an annex. In most cases, the list is limited to government interviewees.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF OFWs BY REGION, 2006-2007

Region	Landbased	2006 Seabased	Total	Landbased	2007 Seabased	Total
CAR	22,506	1,487	23,993	8,397	2,997	11,394
NCR	174,005	72,863	246,868	26,442	50,474	76,916
I	58,756	10,038	68,794	21,205	7,535	28,740
II	37,758	2,310	40,068	10,117	1,743	11,860
III	118,648	20,948	139,596	30,924	15,397	46,321
IV-A	114,020	48,885	162,905	32,339	35,307	67,646
V	-	-	-	6,480	4,426	10,906
VI	-	-	-	-	-	-
VII	20,523	21,680	42,203	9,496	16,934	26,430
VIII	8,702	6,382	15,084	2,325	4,995	7,320
X	15,926	5,195	21,121	6,382	5,172	11,554
XI	36,290	7,278	43,568	6,728	4,350	11,078
XII	14,844	2,425	17,269	4,697	2,462	7,159

SOURCES: <http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/2006Stats.pdf>; <http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/stats2007.pdf>

NOTE: - not available

Welfare Administration. As shown in Table 4, international labor migration has indeed spread out to all the regions in the Philippines, although it can be seen that labor migration is more prominent in some regions. Table 5 presents the members of the research team and their areas of responsibility. As Figure 1 shows, MAPID was able to cover 12 out of administrative regions and 30 out of 80 provinces. Data collection was carried between June and November for most regions; in Central Luzon, additional data collection was conducted between June and December 2009.

Where are the Gaps?

Compared to other origin countries, the Philippines has indeed developed a sophisticated and extensive legal, institutional and policy framework of labor deployment and workers' protection covering all phases of the labor migration process (see Asis and Roma 2010). Nonetheless, there is considerable scope for minding vital governance gaps.

At the national level, the following observations were noted:

- To date, international migration policies in the Philippines mostly deal with international labor migration. While it is true that migration for

TABLE 5
THE RESEARCH TEAM AND AREAS COVERED: MAPID-PHILIPPINES

Principal Investigator	Institutional Affiliation	Region(s) & Provinces Covered
Nenita Villarama	Don Mariano Marcos State University - La Union	<i>Ilocos Region</i> (Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union & Pangasinan)
Alicia Follosco	University of the Philippines Baguio	<i>Cordillera Administrative Region & Cagayan Valley</i> (Benguet, Cagayan, Isabela & Nueva Vizcaya)
Ildefonso Bagasao and Jorge Tigno	Economic and Resource Center for Overseas Filipinos (ERCOF) and University of the Philippines respectively ⁸	<i>Central Luzon</i> (Bataan, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac & Zambales)
Jorge Tigno	University of the Philippines	<i>Calabarzon</i> (Cavite, Laguna Batangas & Rizal)
Cristina Lim	Ateneo de Naga	<i>Bicol Region</i> (Albay & Camarines Sur)
Alan Feranil	Office of Population Studies, University of San Carlos	<i>Western, Central & Eastern Visayas</i> (Iloilo, Bohol, Cebu, Negros Oriental & Leyte)
Chona Echavez	Xavier University	<i>Northern & Southern Mindanao & Socsargen</i> (Misamis Oriental, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur and South Cotabato)

employment is very prominent in the Philippine context, other forms of international migration from the Philippines are underway. Furthermore, although the Philippines is not a major country of destination, recent trends suggest that short-term migration to the Philippines is not insignificant. Policies and programs pertaining to international migration other than labor deployment should be considered.

⁸ The research assistance of Golda Myra Roma, Rodrigo Garcia and Jose Edison Tondares of CFO in conducting additional interviews is gratefully acknowledged.

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



- The focus on labor deployment has generated considerable data, but data on return migration to the Philippines are sorely lacking. Data on international migration to the Philippines also need further attention.
- International migration is treated in a limited way in the national development plan. The *Medium Term Philippine Development Plan, 2004-2010* and its updated version, 2008-2010, do include international migration, but it is framed in terms of facilitating deployment to meet the one-million mark and insuring safeguards to protect OFWs and their families. Migration is included in the discussion in the chapters on trade, labor and foreign policy. Given the primary importance of jobs creation in the plan's ten-point agenda, international migration is largely seen as one of the strategies to generate jobs. In general, international migration (in the broad sense, not just labor migration) has yet to be integrated and mainstreamed in national development planning.
- International migration policymaking, particularly labor migration policymaking, is very much focused on jobs generation. International labor migration policies have to be linked more to broader development processes. For example, the goal to deploy more skilled and professional workers should consider how this will impact on the needs of the domestic labor market. Also, negotiations with destination countries can be broadened to include the protection of Filipino workers and development-related benefits for the country. There should also be some mechanisms for facilitating the transfer of skills and knowledge from migrant returnees who have acquired skills and expertise while they were abroad. The downside or social costs of migration also call for meaningful responses on the part of government.
- The disconnect between international migration and development (of which a major indicator is the lack of integration of migration in development plans and the inattention to development in international migration policies) is reflected in the lack of coordination between migration-related agencies and development-related agencies. More coordination between the Department of Labor and Employment, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the National Economic Development Authority is essential towards the integration of migration and development policies. Working towards coherent policies will require migration-related agencies to go beyond departmental boundaries. Engagement with the Department of Education, for example, will be helpful in planning and projecting the country's human resource profile.

Findings from the MAPID research in the Philippines drew attention to the disconnect between the national and regional and local institutions. Awareness about international migration in general and the migration-development nexus in particular was minimal among government stakeholders in the regions and local government units. Although international migration has spread to the far reaches of the country, international migration was generally viewed as a concern of the national government and local government involvement in the issue has been minor. In general, international migration is not considered in region and local development plans. As detailed in the regional reports, at the local level, only a handful local government units have an office or personnel dedicated to migration-related concerns, data on migration profiles were not available, and data on migrant giving, migrants' investments are not kept. Contacts with overseas Filipino communities are highly informal. Where some local government units have assigned a staff to deal with migration-related issues, usually this would be the Public Employment Service Officer, whose "migration" work is organizing job fairs. Interviews with the leagues of local governments (provinces, cities and municipalities) confirmed that migration and development was not on the agenda of local government units. Coordination between national and local governments is critical, and in the forging of these links, the involvement of the Department of Interior and Local Government will be essential.

Thus far, the governance of international migration has been in the hands of national government institutions. We see local governments as emergent actors in the migration governance scenario. As documented by MAPID, some local governments have introduced innovative approaches in responding to the challenges and opportunities posed by international migration for their local communities. Some of these responses include the establishment of migrant centers to provide information and services to migrants and their families, providing counterparts in the development projects supported by overseas Filipinos, maintaining a database of overseas Filipino associations, or conducting community-based data collection to know the profile of residents abroad. Their frontline position makes local government units more accessible to citizens than the more distant national government. The realization of programs such as Balik-Scientist, or reintegration programs, or support programs for the left-behind families or victims of illegal recruitment, eventually boils down to a place, and local government units are the settings wherein the details of implementation and monitoring are actually realized. Some migration programs, such as the anti-illegal campaigns spearheaded by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, are being carried out in cooperation with local government units. Without the involvement of local governments, the realization of well-intentioned migration and development programs and services rests on shaky ground. To secure the involvement of

local governments, MAPID findings indicate the need to generate awareness about migration and development among local government stakeholders and to strengthen local institutions, including non-government actors. This is a relatively new terrain in migration and development governance and it our hope that the MAPID Project has provided some useful pointers in charting this new course.

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The Ilocos Region

Nenita Villarama and Wayne Lalicon

Given its extensive history of population movement, the ramifications of internal and international migrations are very much felt in the Ilocos Region. To account for the pervasiveness of migration from the region, it is necessary to highlight the historical outmigration patterns from the first half of the twentieth century. The transnational linkages from this initial wave of migration helped establish a social networks that supported subsequent emigrations. Factors contributing to continuing international migrations include not only the lucrative job opportunities overseas but also the features of the political economy of the Ilocos Region. Focusing on the regional and local dimensions, this chapter aims to provide a sub-national view of international migration and development in the Ilocos. The chapter is organized into three parts, beginning with an overview of the role played by the Ilocos Region in international migration from the Philippines, followed by a discussion of the methodology and presentation of major findings, and conclusions.

The Political Economy of Emigration from the Ilocos

The political economy of the region is key to understanding the beginnings and persistence of emigration patterns from the Ilocos. The participation of Ilocanos in labor migration to Hawaii and the United States in the early part of the 20th century was not only a response to labor demand but was reflective of the dire economic conditions at the time. The region's economy has its roots in the 1800s, when the Ilocano gentry profited from tobacco and indigo cultivation, which triggered a population boom and economic prosperity. However, both Spanish colonial administrators and entrepreneurs alike lacked the foresight to invest in irrigation infrastructure or to diversify agricultural outputs. When the tobacco monopoly ended in 1870, the once-thriving economy declined. Although other cash crops were introduced, such as sugar, copra, and hemp, none of these was able to generate substantial profits. The downturn in agriculture also affected the urban centers which

were intimately linked to agricultural production (Sharma, 1987:19-21, 26-27).

When the Ilocos Region entered the twentieth century, it was overpopulated, lacked viable industries to absorb the labor pool, and had a shortage of land (Finley, 1987:119-121). Arable land was limited due to the mountainous terrain, which dominates Ilocos Norte. Lacking an extensive irrigation system, the province primarily relies on rainfall, which is unpredictable, to water vegetation. As a result, rice cultivation is limited and is primarily for household consumption. Farmers could only plant secondary cash crops, such as garlic, tobacco, and vegetables, if there was a sufficient water supply for the first harvest season (Finley, 1987:119-121). To supplement agricultural income, many turned to sharecropping while others raised livestock or fished. Emigration to other Philippine provinces and to the United States provided another viable option (Sharma, 1987:122-123).

Unlike the Ilocos Region, sugar as a cash crop prospered in other provinces, including Pangasinan, Bataan, Tarlac, Panay Island, Negros and Pampanga. This was made possible by the vast expanses of arable land and newly reformed tariff regulations, which encouraged the exportation of Philippine sugar to the US mainland. The plentiful work opportunities in these areas attracted many Ilocanos to migrate to these provinces (Sharma, 1987:21-22). The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) initially tried to recruit agricultural workers for Hawaiian plantations from these sugar-producing provinces, but they were not successful in attracting workers who were then fetching good wages. The HSPA had more success in recruiting workers from the Ilocos.

Lured by free transportation to and from Hawaii and attractive wages (Griffiths, 1988:16; Sharma, 1987:19), Ilocano emigration commenced en masse in 1906 due to the high labor demand of Hawaiian sugar plantations. Also attributable to the demand for Ilocanos laborers on these Hawaiian sugar plantations were the immigration laws—the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement (between Japan and the United States) and the 1917 Asiatic Barred Zone Act—which severely restricted East Asian immigration to the United States in the early twentieth century. Ilocanos were seen as suitable replacements for the East Asian laborers who were barred from legal employment (Liu et al., 1991: 490). As a colony of the United States, Philippine emigration was exempted from the limitations placed on other Asian states since Filipinos were US colonial subjects. This status made it possible for Ilocano and Visayan men to come to Hawaii. The bulk of Filipino migration to Hawaii occurred before 1934, totaling approximately 113,000 in 1931 and 125,000 by 1945 (Liu et al., 1991:490; Sharma, 1987:15). Severely curtailing the Philippine emigration agriculture laborers, the implementation of the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act (Philippine Act of Independence) reduced Philippine emigration to a trickle

of 50 persons per year (Espiritu, 2003:4; Ngai, 2004:119). For many migrants, the termination of labor recruitment in Hawaii's sugar plantations led to other agricultural work in the West Coast, especially in California and Washington (Gonzalez 1998:30; Liu et al., 1991:490).

Most of the migrant workers then were predominantly single, underprivileged and often illiterate men (Liu et al., 1991:490; Sharma, 1987:15). Ilocanos were targeted primarily because of the dire economic reality in their home communities; they were often paid the least compared to other workers (Sharma, 1987:27). The low wages for Ilocanos was premised on the fact that they were single. As foreign laborers, they also lacked political rights (Sharma, 1987:19). Sharma dispels the myth of the so-called inherent industrial nature of the Ilocanos:

It is less than coincidental that the cheapest should be deemed the most "efficient." The tragic irony of it all is that the most productive members of Ilocano society left, and continue to leave, the islands to enrich the economy of far distant lands, while the home region remains depressed and yet saddled with continuing burden of reproduction costs for this labor (1987:26)

Sustained outmigration from the region has been associated with other changes. In the Ilocos provinces, emigration contributed to a higher frequency of delayed marriages, higher levels of singlehood, and diminished levels of child-bearing within marriages (Sharma, 1987:24). In one Ilocos Norte community, several unmarried women lived with their extended family members. When migrant farm laborers returned from the Hawaiian plantations for good, many of the elderly pensioners often married younger brides (Griffiths, 1988). The cultivation of rice and tobacco dropped because there was not enough local labor to tend the domestic fields due to emigration (Sharma, 1987:26-27).

Compared with its northern neighbors, Pangasinan has more arable land and it also has more developed infrastructure. It is successful in growing several cash crops, including coconuts, sugarcane, tobacco, maguey, mongo beans and corn. In addition, the province hosts many educational institutions, which attract the migration of young people. Many Ilocanos in search of better opportunities have settled in the province. Interestingly, despite its educational and agricultural assets, Pangasinan is not immune to migration (Cortes, 1990:51-52, 56).

Like the national pattern, international migration from the Ilocos Region up until the 1970s was mainly for permanent migration and mostly towards the United States. Immigration reforms in the United States in the 1960s not only allowed more migration, it also changed the profile of Filipino immi-

grants. Post-1965 immigrants to the United States came from different provinces, involved both males and females, they had different occupations, and they settled in various destinations. Other settlement countries – Canada, Australia and New Zealand – also revised their immigration policies, which made possible permanent migration from the Philippines.

It was labor export, however, which increased the Filipino presence in different parts of the world. Since the Vietnam War, the policy of exporting Filipinos in temporary labor contracts has been institutionalized and has evolved into a significant policy pillar of the Philippine state (Acacio, 2008:112; R. Rodriguez, 2010:xvii, 142). Currently, overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) on temporary contracts are scattered all over the world, with high concentrations in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and East Asia (Gonzalez, 1998:43). As in the past, the Ilocos Region contributes to the population of Filipinos on the move and in touch with the homeland through established and expanding transnational linkages.

International Migration and Development: Views from the Ilocos

This section focuses on international migration and development linkages in the Ilocos Region based on a review of documents and reports and interviews with key informants. Data collection was undertaken between July and October 2008. All four provinces – Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur – were covered by the research. In each province, more data collection was carried out in selected municipalities and cities. In Ilocos Norte, the high outmigration communities chosen were Bacarra, Laoag City, Paoay and San Nicolas; in Ilocos Sur, the communities included Bantay, Candon City and Narvacan; in La Union, Bacnotan, Luna and Naguilian were covered; and Pangasinan, Binalonan, Pozorrubio and San Manuel were chosen.

Interviews were conducted with key government officials at the regional, provincial, and municipal levels. At the regional level, seven key informants were representatives of pertinent government agencies the Department of Labor and Employment. At the provincial level, mayors, planning coordinators and civil servants were interviewed between July and October 2008 (seven in Ilocos Norte; five in Ilocos Sur; six in La Union; and four in Pangasinan) (see Annex 1). The selection of municipalities in each province was based on the extent of emigration as well as referrals from the interviewed governmental officials. Seven case studies of programs or activities by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or private organizations throughout the region are discussed in this chapter. The interviews followed the guidelines and protocols developed by the Scalabrini Migration Center.

Socio-demographic Profile of the Ilocos Region

The Ilocos Region or Region I is located in the northwestern part of Luzon. It is bounded by the Cordillera Administrative Region and Cagayan Valley to the east, Central Luzon to the south and by the South China Sea to the west. It is composed of four provinces – Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union and Pangasinan – nine cities, 116 municipalities and 3,265 barangays (Figure 1). Its regional center is located at the City of San Fernando, La Union. The region’s population is mostly Ilocano (70 percent) and Pangasinense (28 percent).

FIGURE 1
THE PROVINCES OF REGION 1

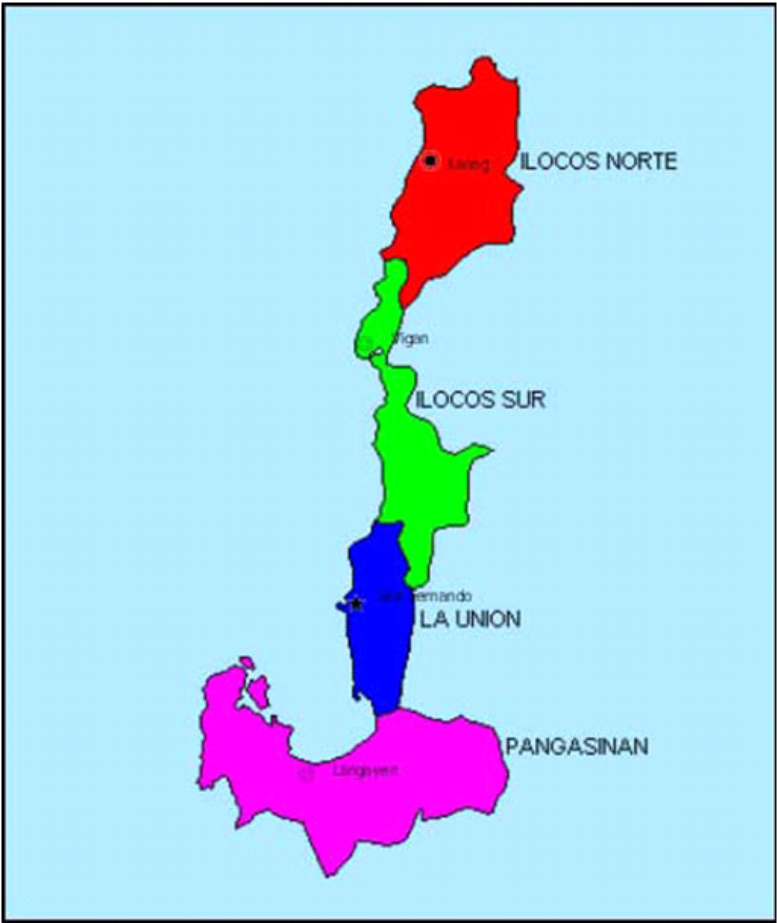


TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE PROVINCES OF THE ILOCOS REGION

Province	Capital	Population (2000)	Area (km ²)	Pop. density (per km ²)
Ilocos Norte	Laoag City	514,241	3,399.3	151.3
Ilocos Sur	Vigan City	594,206	2,579.6	230.3
La Union	City of San Fernando	657,945	1,493.1	440.7
Pangasinan	Lingayen	2,434,086	5,368.2	453.4

Other basic information about the region's four provinces are summarized in Table 1.

Various reports indicate that the region is growing in terms of population, life expectancy, economic output, and literacy and education remaining steady. With the regional economy largely based on agriculture and the service industries, the local governments are keen to maintain the economic gains and to promote overall improvement of the population via projects addressing the growing demands of infrastructure and raising the standard of living of the population.

The region's location puts it in relative proximity to several vibrant East Asian economies, a link that can be better facilitated with further improvement of ports and airports. Region 1 has the potential to market its agribusiness products and commodities to promote tourism attractions to these markets. The region exports both primary and processed products; the most lucrative commodities include corn snacks, mango, milkfish, tobacco, onion, and garlic. Complementing these are common service facilities that are currently underutilized.

As described in Table 1, the Ilocos Region is one of the most populous regions in the country. Men generally outnumbered by men in the younger age brackets while women constitute less than half of the working age population (15-65 years old). The population of the region is generally young with 62.2 percent of the household population belonging under 30 years old in 2000.

According to the region's development plans, the triad of agribusiness, export and tourism development provides short-term, attainable goals for the region. By focusing on the agriculture sector, two of the development challenges identified for the region are immediately met head-on, namely: growth and equity. Agriculture is an integral part of the economy which provides employment opportunities to the majority of the population. Additionally, the infrastructure and mechanisms for exporting agricultural and other commodities are stipulated by new measures to identify strategic commodities, target potential markets, and improve the market-linking infrastructure facili-

ties. Tourism is seen as another industry that can be further developed given the region's well-established tourist attractions. The region is committed to achieving its Millennium Development Goals, which include health and education policies intended to promote sustainability and improve livability.

Key informants tended to view development thrusts in terms of the mandate of their respective agencies. Both the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) seek to promote the well-being of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) and their families. The POEA at the regional level continues its fight against illegal recruitment and offers support to would-be, current and returning OFWs and their families. The OWWA, on the other hand, offers skills training, scholarships and other assistance to OFWs onsite and their families in the Philippines. In view of the global financial crisis during the time of the study, informants anticipated the importance of reintegration programs to assist returning or displaced OFWs.

The Department of Health is focused on implementing measures to achieve the targets of the Millennium Development Goals; the Department of Trade and Industry continues its primary responsibilities of issuing and monitoring local business permits; and the Department of Interior and Local Government's primary concern is to raise living standards. The National Economic Development Authority aims to enhance the region's agricultural output. In cooperation with the Department of Tourism, it formulated a tourism time-zone strategy, i.e., mapping out and developing contiguous areas within a 30-minute radius centered on already established, well-known tourist attractions. By developing tourism facilities and activities within reach of established attractions, tourists will be encouraged to visit these neighboring areas and will stay longer and spend more money. According to the Tourism Subsector Plan of Region I, the tourism time zones include Ilocos Norte's Laoag as the hub for the region's "Historical Crossroads; Ilocos Sur's Vigan is promoted as the region's "Great Cultural Heritage; and La Union is presented as "Splendor of the Sea." The remaining three tourism timezones are based in Pangasinan: Alaminos' Hundred Islands as "Island Paradise;" Manaoag is the focal point for the "Circle of Spirituality;" and San Roque Dam is being dubbed as an "Engineering Marvel."

The DOT in Region 1 is developing programs for overseas Filipinos via the network of consulates and embassies. Ilocos Norte specifically seeks to court second and third generation overseas Filipinos to return and visit their ancestral homeland. Local fiestas and other projects launched by the local government units are conceived as occasions to entice them to visit. Due to lack of infrastructure, the region is not ready to launch medical tourism. Elderly retirees, overseas Filipinos and foreigners alike, may be an alternative target group of medical tourists. Respondents of various government agencies

identified similar obstacles in attaining development prospects for the region and for their specific locales —lack of sufficient funds, the general lack of political support, and widespread disinterest of the population.

Key informants representing the LGUs are primarily concerned with the promotion of local economic development and the general well-being of the population. Pinning their hopes on the agribusiness sector, many municipalities throughout the region seek to improve infrastructure and productivity. Many local government agencies are constrained by budgetary shortfalls; they also have to contend with the setbacks caused by natural disasters. Despite these limitations, they continue to pursue their agendas, many of which are a continuation of their previous policies and targets.

View and Perceptions on the Migration-Development Nexus

The informants attributed continuing emigration to the lack of satisfactory employment opportunities and inadequate salaries. Migration was viewed as a means to improve the economic conditions of their families. Remittances sent by migrants are used for everyday needs, the refurbishment and improvement of property, and development of family businesses. Some of these remittances have been funneled into community projects, such as the construction of infrastructure or the support of scholarship programs.

Despite the economic benefits attributed to migration, many interviewees tempered the financial gains by conceding some of the negative social consequences associated with migration. The migration of health care providers and other skilled, professional workers was seen as a loss of skills and expertise while many of those who remain are reluctant to work in agriculture and fishing. The dependence on remittances highlights the inability of the government to provide local jobs that pay well. Moreover, the tendency of households to avoid agricultural labor underscores the reality that the educational system cannot fully resolve. Reliance on remittances is also feared to result in profligate spending. Moreover, the family structure of the migrant household undergoes severe stress with often times a parent, or even both parents, are absent during much of the childhood and development years of the children of overseas migrants. Parental absence was seen as leading to delinquent behavior. In some communities, the wealth of migrant families can widen the gap in relation to non-migrant families.

Government officials have varying opinions on the extent of emigration from the Ilocos Region—some believe that there is too much of a brain drain, others are content with the present levels, while some believe that more emigration is ideal. There is consensus about the importance of remittances for the sustainability of local households at least in the short-term.

In healthcare, there is an oversupply of nurses with many college graduates choosing this highly paid profession. However, the problem in the region is not an issue of supply of nurses, but rather the retention of quality nurses in hospitals. Many of the newest nursing graduates volunteer in hospitals in search of experience while waiting for an offer from abroad. The departure of health professionals is countered to some extent by occasional medical missions organized by overseas Filipinos. Often, overseas Filipino medical professional groups provide the staff, medicines, supplies and equipment, while the local hospital staff screen the patients and assist with the procedures.

All of the LGU key informants mentioned having some links with overseas Filipinos. Most local officials see overseas Filipinos as a potential source of development assistance, although contacts and engagements with overseas Filipinos are still very informal. Many of the local chief executives link up with their relatives abroad who are members of a hometown association. Initially, donations by overseas Filipinos may be used to support community celebrations, such as the town fiesta. Later, these donations may expand or evolve into more development-oriented projects, such as funding the construction of community facilities (waiting sheds, lamp posts, buildings, or purchase of vehicles), book donations, scholarship grants, or medical missions. Overseas Filipinos behind these projects – Laoageños, Bacarrenos, Paoayeños, San Nicolaeños, Ilocos Surians, Narvacaeños, Naguilianons, Pozorrubians, etc. – reflect the strength of hometown ties. Several informants from Bacarra, Bauang, San Nicolas, Naguilian, and Laoag City mentioned the forging of sister-city or twin-city partnerships with cities that host large numbers of Ilocanos. Due to lack of data and records, key informants could not give specific details of the development projects that were supported by overseas Filipinos. Also not available are data on investments by migrants. According to informants from the Department of Interior and Local Government and the Department of Trade and Industry, data on investments do not specify whether they are from locally-based or overseas Filipinos. To date, there is no organized plan to tap overseas Filipinos or OFWs as investors.

Insights from the Case Studies

For the documentation and profiling of cases of migrant giving, migrant investments and partnerships with local institutions, the MAPID research in the Ilocos Region gathered additional data on seven initiatives. Although the initiatives are varied, they all share a common denominator – overseas Filipinos provide an important resource to these various projects, but the involvement of local partners cannot be ignored. The seven case studies are:

- Bannuar Ti La Union (Heroes of La Union) – an association of OFWs and their family members in La Union, which was organized by Kanlungan Center Foundation, Inc. in 1998. The Bannuar chapter in Naguilian is one of nine throughout the province and is the most successful in terms of its active membership, the programs and services it has set up and the support it has received from the municipal government of Naguilian. This association was among the initiatives featured in Asis et al. (2010:101-103) and not much details will be provided here.

- Taberna Overseas Workers Welfare Association and Their Dependents, Inc. Barangay Taberna, Bauang, La Union – an association of returnees and family members of OFWs. It was organized by OWWA in 2001 as part of its efforts to establish barangay-based projects to provide assistance to OFWs and their families. The association aimed to help OFW families to manage their resources and to assist POEA and OWWA in disseminating information about policies and programs. Members of the association also availed of training programs and seminars organized by OWWA. The association received interest-free loan from the local government of Bauang. The members put up a variety store and branched out into rice-selling. When they lost their store space, the association went into micro-lending instead. At the time of the study in 2008, the members were thinking of refocusing the association's thrust into livelihood projects. They were considering establishing a pharmacy in the barangay or to set up a net-making and net-repair business to meet the needs of a fishing community such as Taberna. They will need to further study their options and to know how much they will need and where to source the capital for these project ideas.

- Soledad GK Village, Tologtog, San Juan, La Union and Indiana Jones GK Village, Acao, Bauang, La Union – The project documented two Gawad Kalinga (GK) Villages which were supported by overseas Filipinos. A project of the Couples for Christ (CFC), GK responds to the need for shelter of poor families in the Philippines. More than just providing housing, the GK aims to build communities. These two GK Villages in La Union involved several cooperators, including the cooperation of beneficiaries, who usually provide labor as their counterpart. In the case of Soledad GK Village, the local cooperators included the CFC Local Chapter of San Juan and main office; Soledad Garduque, who donated the lot; the local government; and local sponsors, such as Holcim Cement. In 2005, the Northern California Filipino Association donated Php1.2 million for the construction of 23 units. They also assisted in the construction of the day-care center, provided gifts in kind (school supplies, clothes, etc.), and conducted a medical mission. Similar processes and actors were involved in the building of Indiana Jones GK

Village – the local CFC chapter, the local government, local partners and the beneficiaries. The name is in honor of the Overseas Filipino Association of Indiana (USA), which donated Php1.2 million for the construction of housing units.

- San Nicolas Express Bin-I Foundation-Ilocos Norte, Inc – a foundation founded by the town mayor, Dr. Alfredo Valdez, Jr., in 2004 and registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission in 2008. The foundation's name expresses its aspirations: EXPRESS is an acronym for **EX**ponents of **P**olitical **R**eform for **E**conomic and **S**ocial **S**tability while BIN-I, an Ilocano term for seeds for planting, stands for B – *ballaigi*, i.e., success achieved through the endeavors of the people behind it and the beneficiaries; I – *imbag* or goodness sowed will yield a good harvest for the community; N – *namnama* or hopes for a brighter future; and I – *iget* or perseverance in implementing the endeavors of the foundation. The overall objective of BIN-I is to promote the development of San Nicolas. Interestingly, one of the specific objectives of the foundation explicitly refers to “strength[ening] the linkages, cooperation and mutual assistance of all San Nicolenos here and abroad.” The support of the community, including those who are based abroad, was repeatedly mentioned by key informants as contributing to the successful implementation of the foundation's projects. Mayor Valdez has staged concerts and sold CDs in San Nicolas, Hawaii and California to raise funds. Aside from their financial contributions, the foundation acknowledges the contributions of overseas Filipinos, such as the donation of dump truck, mini-fire truck and police patrol car from the Gudoy family in Hawaii, waiting sheds which were underwritten by OFWs in Hong Kong, and lampposts which were constructed sourced from various donors. The foundation is well-aware of the contributions of overseas Filipinos. As a key informant noted, “We see ourselves [the foundation] as partners in development, the LGU as the lead and overseas Filipinos as our cooperators. They could link up with us through the San Nicolas Express Bin-I Foundation or establish their own links with their barangays.” The local government has formal links with overseas-based San Nicolenos. It has a roster of San Nicolenos abroad; it has a formal sisterhood arrangement with the City of Maui in Hawaii; it has regular communications with organizations such as Sadiri ti San Nicolas and Annak ti San Nicolas in Hawaii; and overseas Filipinos are represented in the annual fiesta celebrations.

- Northern Breeze-Trinity Beach Resort, Paraoir, Balaoan, La Union – This resort facility is an example of a significant investment by a US-based couple, Mr and Mrs Rolando Querubin. The couple developed the property as a retirement haven-cum- resort. The facility includes a swimming pool, a pavilion that can accommodate some 200 guests, nipa huts for picnics and

overnight stay, and a boardwalk. The couple supervised the construction of the resort. Since the owners are still based in the US, a family member manages and supervises the day-to-day operations of the resort.

Conclusion

Some highlights from the research on the international migration nexus in Region I are as follows:

- Migration is generally seen as a way out of the harsh realities of life in the region –limited employment opportunities and the desire to provide a better future for the family. Not a few alluded to the Ilocanos' sense of adventure.
- Most of the respondents concur that international migration has contributed to the improvement in the general well-being of the families of migrants, their communities and the region. On the other hand, they also point to adverse effects, citing the toll on the personal and family lives of migrants and immeasurable social costs.
- Most line agencies point to OWWA/POEA/DOLE as the lead agency to tackle the reintegration of migrants in close coordination with LGUs. LGUs readily admitted that they do not have clear-cut policies on reintegrating their OFWs. Related to this, key informants do not see return migration as viable at this time because of lack of employment opportunities.
- Engagement with overseas Filipinos is informal. Projects supported by overseas Filipinos are not well-documented and no database of completed and on-going development projects exist. These are largely managed by the recipient LGU, usually through the local chief executive, who tends to have a personalistic approach in relating with overseas Filipinos. Regional agencies and LGUs emphatically expressed their willingness to cooperate with overseas Filipinos as development partners. They also expressed willingness to provide counterpart funding for mutually beneficial development projects.
- There is no organized plan or program to tap overseas Filipinos to invest in the local community.
- Trust-building and transparency were cited as necessary factors in encouraging overseas Filipinos to support local development.

The regional overview strongly indicates the continuing role of the Ilocos as a major source of international migration from the Philippines. Arguably,

the long history of migration has contributed to instilling a sense of familiarity with migration, including an awareness of the emotional costs and financial gains of working abroad. The maintenance of transnational ties by migrants from Ilocandia is likely to persist especially in overseas communities where there are large concentrations of Ilocanos. Transnational links are also made easier with the ever-growing sophistication of information communications technology and the lowering of communications and transport costs. The Ilocos Region clearly demonstrates the development of a culture migration and how the propensity to emigrate increases as networks between migrants and non-migrants are established. For the pioneer generation of sugarcane laborers who went to Hawaii, many of them returned to the Philippines for retirement and were welcomed by their respective communities. Many overseas Filipinos, especially those on temporary work contracts, have yet to return to the Philippines for good. It has yet to be determined how these overseas Filipinos as well as those who do return regularly will be further incorporated in Philippine society at large.

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ANNEX 1

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Regional Offices of National Government Agencies

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Mr. Medardo Panlilio
Chief, Planning & Policy
Formulation Division
NEDA-Region 1</p> <p>2. Ms. Nonnette L. Villanueva
Regional Director
POEA-Region 1</p> <p>3. Ms. Rhoda P.G. Rillon-Lee
Head, HRD Department
OWWA-Region 1</p> <p>4. Mr. Martin Valera
Regional Director
Department of Tourism-Region 1</p> | <p>5. Ms. Corazon P. Guray
Assistant Regional Director
DILG - Region 1
Also present were:
Ms. Corazon Salindong
Chief, Operations Services Division
Ms. Nevita Flores
Chief, Technical Services Division</p> <p>6. Dr. Ronia Aragon
Chief, HRD Division
Department of health - Region 1</p> <p>7. Ms. Rosemary A. Quitos
Chief, Trade and Industry Specialist
Department of Trade & Industry - Region 1</p> |
|---|---|

Province of Ilocos Norte

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Engr. Pedro S. Agcaoili
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator</p> | <p>2. Ms. Mylene Isabel A. Pascual
Community Affairs Officer IV
Laoag City</p> |
|---|--|

Province of La Union

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Engr. Mauro Libatique Jr.
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator</p> <p>2. Dr. Henry F. Beñas
Provincial Health Officer</p> <p>3. Engr. Rainier J. Calica
Municipal Planning &
Development Coordinator
Bauang, La Union</p> | <p>4. Mrs. Helen C. Obispo
Budget Officer
Naguilian, La Union</p> <p>5. Mr. Cesar Nisce
Municipal Planning Coordinator
Luna, La Union
with Mr. Carlos Valdez
Secretary to the Mayor</p> <p>6. Mr. Romeo H. Austria
Municipal Planning and
Development Coordinator
Bacnotan, La Union</p> |
|--|--|

ANNEX 1 (continued)

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Province of Pangasinan

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mrs. Norma L. Untalan
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator
Pangasinan, with
Ms. Benita Pizarro
Assistant Planning and
Development Coordinator
Ms. Ma. Luisa Elduayan
Chief, Tourism Operations | 3. Engr. Elizabeth Aquino
Municipal Planning and
Development Coordinator
Binalonan, Pangasinan |
| 2. Mr. Amerigo S. Garcia
Municipal Planning and
Development Coordinator
Pozorrubio, Pangasinan | 4. Mayor Rolando Perez
Municipality of San Miguel
Pangasinan |
-

Cordillera Administrative Region and Cagayan Valley

Alicia Follosco and Alejandro Christian Soler

This chapter presents the results of the research conducted in two regions, namely, the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) and Cagayan Valley. The presentation of highlights from the study is organized by region: part 1 deals with CAR and part 2 covers the Cagayan Valley. The presentation proceeds at different levels: a regional overview, a focus on selected provinces with significant international migration, and further discussion on one or two selected municipalities within the selected provinces which are known to be source-communities of international migrants.

The Cordillera Administrative Region

CAR is a mountainous, landlocked region in the northern portion of Luzon Island. It was created through Executive Order 220, issued by President Corazon C. Aquino on 15 July 1987. Presently, it is composed of the provinces of Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga and Mountain Province and has two cities – Baguio City, a highly urbanized city located in but independent from Benguet, and Tabuk City, the capital of Kalinga (Figure 1). It has a total land area of 19,294 km² and a population of 1,520,847 (Table 1).

The province of Benguet and the municipality of Itogon, Benguet were chosen as due to their roles as regional in-migration hubs, characterized more specifically by Benguet's rapid urbanization and Itogon's development as a mining town. Published reports, data collected by different government offices and interviews conducted with key informants in the Cordillera form the basis of this study.

Development Realities

1. Demographic Profile

CAR is the Philippines' least populated region, accounting for 1.7 percent of the country's total population. CAR is mostly populated by indigenous

FIGURE 1
MAP OF CAR

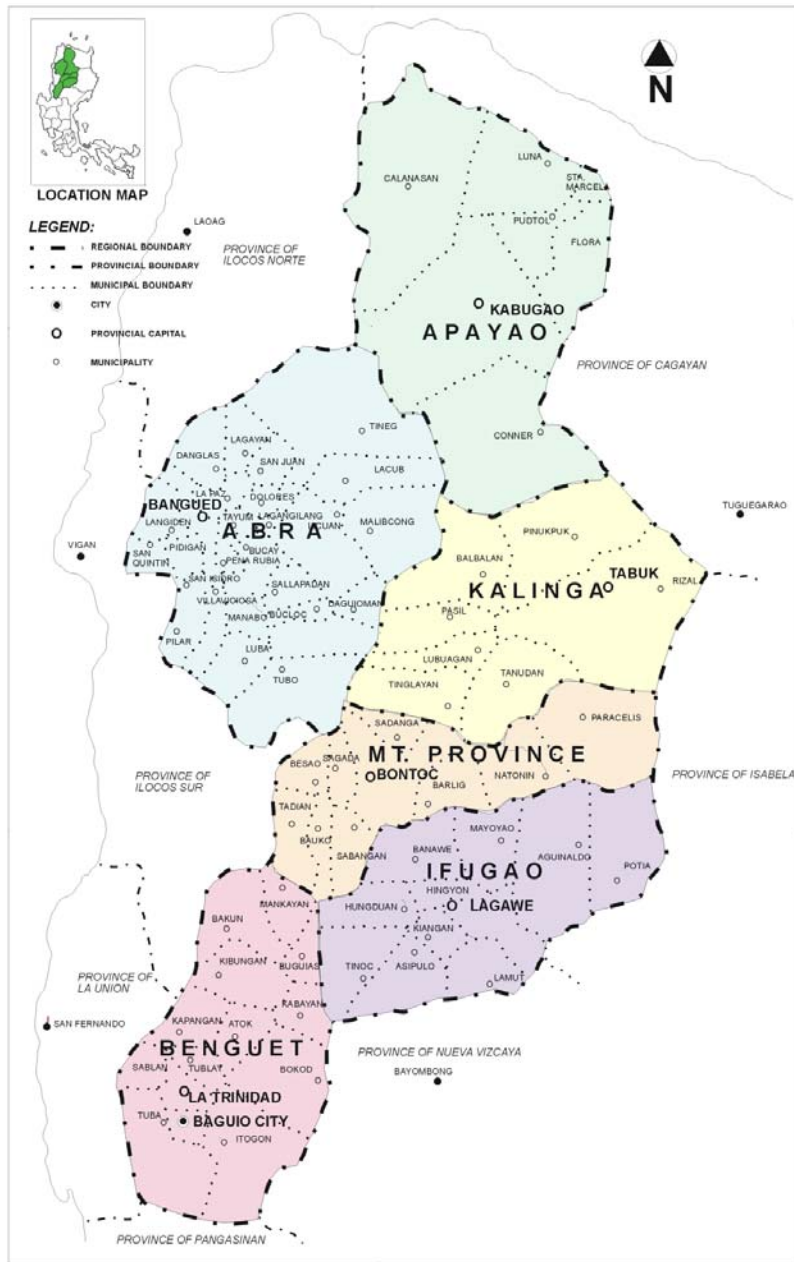


TABLE 1
POPULATION BY PROVINCE, CAR, 2007

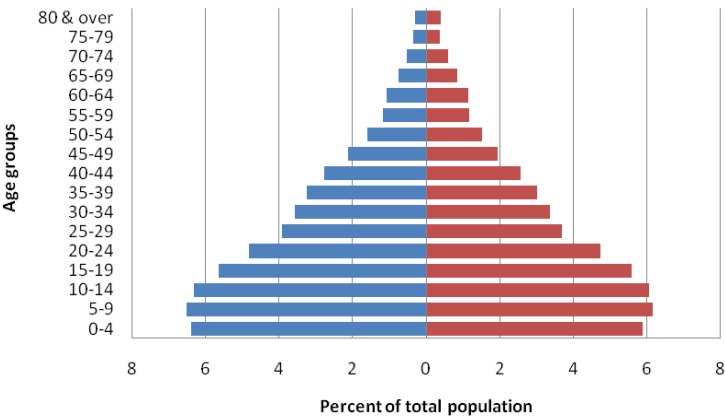
Province/independent city	Population	Percent of total
Abra	230,953	15.19
Apayao	103,633	6.81
Benguet	372,533	24.50
Ifugao	180,815	11.89
Kalinga	182,326	11.99
Mountain Province	148,661	9.77
Baguio City	301,926	19.85
TOTAL POPULATION, CAR	1,520,847	100.00

SOURCE: National Statistics Office (2010)

cultural communities. The National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) identified 12 major ethnolinguistic groups in the region, accounting for 58 percent of the region’s population as of 2000. The region’s population growth rate of 1.5 percent in 2000-2007 is smaller than the national figure of 2.04 percent, although Baguio City registered a higher growth rate than the nationwide average (2.50 percent). Baguio City and Benguet account for 44.34 percent of the region’s entire population. CAR is also the country’s least densely populated region, with about 79 persons per km.²

The region’s age-sex structure (Figure 2) is quite similar to that of the Philippines, with its “bottom-heavy” feature an indication of the population’s

FIGURE 2
AGE-SEX STRUCTURE, CAR, 2000 CENSUS



relative youth. About 37 percent of the region's population is below 14 years old, creating a relatively high child dependency ratio of nearly 64 children per 100 people aged 15-64 (or the number of people in the labor force). CAR's literacy rate (90.3 percent) is a shade below the national average of 92.3 percent.

2. Natural Resources and Infrastructure

The region is well-endowed with resources that are able to support various industries within and outside its borders. CAR hosts 12 major river basins that have an aggregate drainage area of 18,293 km², making it a major contributor to the Luzon Power Grid, which currently produces 633.24 megawatts of electricity. The region's water resources can also irrigate more than 68,000 hectares, or a third of the region's potential irrigable areas, as well as provide for domestic and industrial consumption.

CAR's forests cover 85 percent of its total land area. There is a wealth of timber and other forest products that contribute not only to the local economy, but also to the regional and national economies as well. Many parts of CAR are also rich in minerals. At present, there are three mining companies operating in the region whose output accounts for one-fourth of the country's total mining output.

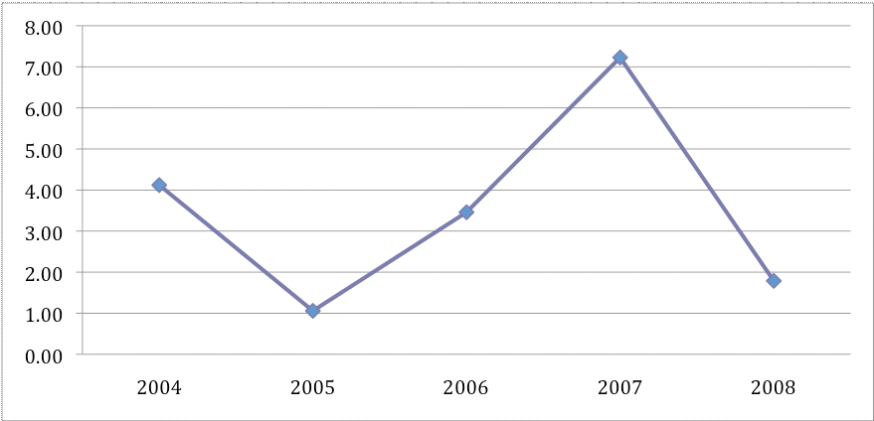
According to the National Economic Development Authority's Updated Regional Physical Framework Plan 2004-2034 (RPFP), about 18 percent of CAR's total land area, or 323,684 hectares, is classified as agricultural. Various programs have helped the region increase the land area suitable for agricultural activity from 186,931 hectares in 1990. Annual agricultural and fisheries output reached Php 3.4 billion in 2002, which is about 1.7 percent of the entire country's output.

Improving the region's highway system is a priority under the RPFP and a three-phase strategy is expected to (1) link all municipal *barangays* to the nearest road in the region's network; (2) have a reliable, safe, adequate and efficient regional arterial road network, and (3) improve road linkages between provincial centers and major urban centers within and outside the region.

3. Socio-economic Indicators and Prospects for Development

CAR's economy, as reflected in the Gross Regional Domestic Product, has exhibited gradual and modest growth based on figures from 2004-08. GRDP growth rates have fluctuated since 2004, though (Figure 3). The region's GRDP rose by four percent in 2004 to Php 27,558,078. Steady increases in 2005 and

FIGURE 3
GROSS REGIONAL DOMESTIC PRODUCT GROWTH RATE, 2004-2008 (1985 PRICES)

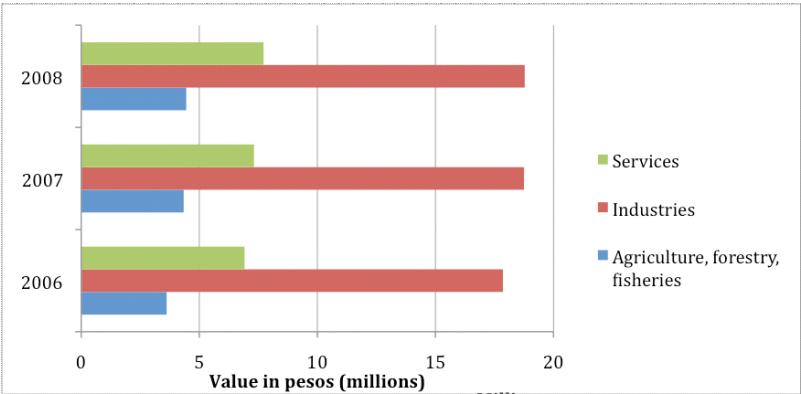


SOURCE: NATIONAL STATISTICAL COORDINATION BOARD

GRDP rose by four percent in 2004 to Php 27,558,078. Steady increases in 2005 and 2006 paved the way for a 7.2 percent rise in the GRDP to Php 30,447,088. Growth slowed from 2007-2008, however, to 1.8 percent to Php 30,956,667.

Despite being a predominantly agricultural region, a large chunk of CAR's gross domestic product in 2006-2008 has come from its industries (Figure 4), which generated Php 18,784,146 in 2008. The services sector,

FIGURE 4
SOURCES OF GROSS REGIONAL DOMESTIC PRODUCT



SOURCE: NATIONAL STATISTICAL COORDINATION BOARD

TABLE 2
SELECTED MACRO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS, CAR

Indicator, base year	Value (in pesos), rank among regions
Gross Regional Domestic Product (2006)	28,395,147 (13th)
Personal Consumption Expenditure (2007)	15.87 billion (17th)
Total income of families (2006)	58 billion (est.) (15th)
Total savings of families (2006)	13 billion (est.) (14th)

SOURCES: National Statistical Coordination Board; National Statistics Office (2010)

a distant second at Php 7,724,297, while agriculture contributed the least to GRDP with Php 4,448,224.

Across regions, though, CAR has traditionally ranked near the bottom of economic indicators such as GRDP, Personal Consumption Expenditure, Total income and Savings of families (Table 2).

The most recent report published by the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB) on poverty states that the number of poor families in the region increased from 72,084 in 2003 to 87,050 in 2006. Poverty incidences ranged from as low as 8.2 percent in Benguet to a staggering 57.5 percent in Apayao (Table 3). This translates to 506,823 poor individuals in 2006, or 34.5 percent of the entire Cordillera population. Unemployment rates have hovered near the five percent-mark from 2009-2010, rising from 4.6 percent in July 2009 to 5.2 percent in October of the same year, before dipping to five percent in January 2010 (NSCB, 2010).

The Regional Physical Framework Plan or RPFP (2004–2034) details the development directions of the region. This plan articulates a vision that was

TABLE 3
POVERTY INCIDENCE BY PROVINCE IN CAR (PERCENTAGE OF ALL FAMILIES)

Province	1997	2000	2003	2006
Abra	55.7	48.8	41.0	50.1
Apayao	27.5	26.1	6.8	57.5
Benguet	18.9	14.1	11.0	8.2
Kalinga	38.7	38.8	46.1	45.8
Ifugao	57.7	55.6	28.1	30.9
Mountain Province	56.6	49.0	46.7	45.0
TOTAL, CAR	42.5	36.6	25.8	28.8

operationalized into development goals and priorities that are further broken down into realizable programs and projects. The plan indicates that:

The vision for CAR's development is hinged on four pillars, namely: (i) truly autonomous region; (ii) enlightened and empowered citizenry; (iii) pursuit of sustainable development; and (iv) equitable sharing of benefits and responsibilities (RPFP, 2004:72).

The Cordillera has twice attempted to establish itself as an autonomous region through separate plebiscites in 1989 and 1998. In spite of this, the region still aspires to instill in its citizenry a sense of responsibility for its socio-economic and political development. For instance, the passage of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 is a cornerstone legislation that fulfills the aspiration of the indigenous communities to chart their growth especially in matters like land ownership and management, the protection of their culture and the assertion of their right to self-governance and empowerment.

Overview of Migration Trends

One of the most significant events in the migratory history of Igorots is the St. Louis World's Fair, held from 30 April to 1 December 1904 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA. This fair was touted as the "greatest and best exposition in the world" at that time (Salvador, 1994) where "a large Philippine exhibit which included an estimated 800 to 1000 Filipinos was created ... in order to display the United States' recently acquired colonial spoils and justify its imperial presence in the Philippines." Salvador claims that the Igorots who went to the fair were among the first batch of Filipino contract workers to the United States because they were paid for participating in the event. They also earned gold coins from weaving baskets and performing rituals and dances.

A century later, the issue of migration is still pressing for the contemporary Igorots in the Cordilleras. There are few papers that focus on international migration in the Cordillera, but three relevant papers were found for this study. The first two included in this discussion do not center specifically on international migrants from CAR, but focus generally on Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) from the entire country. The third study involves respondents from La Trinidad, Benguet.

The study by Calsiyao and Simeon (2006) discusses the factors that determine the destination choice of land-based OFWs from the Philippines. According to them, international Filipino migrants tend to choose countries that register high OFW remittances and avoid those with high unemployment rates. Other determinants such as varying wage and exchange rates, as well as other micro-determinants, be reviewed in future studies. An assessment of

how the presence of friends and relatives in a foreign country may influence destination choice is also proposed.

The high potential for health workers in international migration and prospects of better wages abroad have prompted many young Filipinos to enroll in courses like nursing and care-giving. Abuan and Gayo (2007) report that the number of caregiver graduates in Baguio City has increased. Numerous training institutions that do not impose a quota on the number of caregiver enrollees contribute to this ever-growing supply. Their analysis shows that the high local supply exceeds the national demand. Interviews with officials from local hospitals reveal that the superior training of nurses makes them a priority over caregivers. Also, in the Philippines, since it is not common practice to send the elderly to homes for the aged, this contributes to reducing the demand for caregivers. Most of the 90 caregiver-student respondents in the study are aged below 30. Males perceive courses in caregiving as practical, which implies that this kind of work is no longer perceived as women's work. Students were conscious of the socio-economic situation of the country and they believed that going abroad is the only means to improve their economic conditions.

Another study by Desalin (1997) examined the coping mechanisms that OFWs employ to deal with stresses before and after migration. The researcher interviewed 10 migrant returnees working in La Trinidad, Benguet at the time of the study. Seven of these respondents are women and three are men. Before migration, the respondents experienced financial difficulties and were unable to provide sufficiently for their families. They felt that going abroad would enable them to have the finances needed for a better life, which was defined as being able to send their children to school and building their own homes.

The families of the respondents figured prominently in their lives and were immediately affected by their decision to migrate. Most of the respondents' spouses felt reluctant about their husbands or wives working abroad. However, the advantages of overseas employment won over apprehensions. Some of the respondents also sought their parents' advice over their decision to migrate.

Some respondents managed to join organizations which offered assistance to migrant workers. All respondents viewed such groups as beneficial but time restrictions or employers' objections prevented many of them from pursuing membership. The relationship between migrant and employer was also shown to shape the way an OFW perceives their encounters abroad. Some of the respondents had pleasant experiences with their employers while others dealt with negative situations brought about by communication gaps and sometimes, ill treatment. The presence of other Filipinos in the destination area provided great comfort to migrants, according to the respondents. Some

said they were reassured by the presence of co-workers from the same province, while others stated they occasionally argued with peers from other regions of the Philippines.

The respondents returned to the Philippines mainly for their families. They wanted to maintain and/or strengthen the bonds within their families and offer guidance to their children whom they felt were at a critical age at the time.

Internal Migration Patterns

To appreciate international migration trends, and more concretely the migration and development nexus, it is essential to patterns and determinants of internal migration patterns. Generally, migration in CAR, is economic in nature. The development of an industrial area offers many job openings and can attract migrants from rural provinces. For example, an increase in Kalinga migrant activity occurred during the peak operating years of the Lepanto Mining Corporation (Rosito, 2006). Aquitania and Palafox (2001) studied the movement patterns of Bontoc migrants from the Mountain Province vis-à-vis the growth of Baguio City as a business center over a 50-year period. In the 1930s to 1940s, when Kennon Road was being built, five families from Bontoc arrived to settle in Camp 8 where an abundant water source made small-scale farming possible. These Bontoc migrants were hired as workers to carry out the construction and maintenance of the highway. The completion of Kennon Road made Baguio more accessible to lowlanders who wanted to purchase land in the summer capital. The construction of residential homes and commercial buildings required workers, which was a major pull factor for subsequent migrants from Bontoc. The 1960s and 1970s saw further increase in Bontoc migration as many individuals came to the city to work for the Benguet Exploration Mining Corporation. The company was particularly appealing to Bontoc migrants because it was located in Camp 6, only two kilometers from the Camp 8 settlement.

The pull of family ties and the emergence of educational institutions in the Baguio City area from the 1980s onwards fueled further migration (Aquitania and Palafox, 2001). Caragan et al. (1989) documented the accounts of 60 male and female respondents from Bontoc Village and found that the search for better employment was linked to aspirations that would enable them to better support their families. Women were very much part of these migration flows. Women have been found to be able to contribute to the household income in the place of destination (Demetillo, 1997 and Pimo-on and Wanawan, 1999), with some of them taking on a “triple role” – productive, reproductive and community-managing (Claur and Mariano, 1999; Rueda, 1999).

TABLE 4
TOP 10 AREAS OF ORIGIN OF OFWs PROCESSED IN CAR AND SURROUNDING AREAS

Rank	2006	2007	January-July 2008
1	Baguio City	Baguio City	Baguio City
2	Benguet	Benguet	Benguet
3	Pangasinan	Pangasinan	Pangasinan
4	La Union	La Union	La Union
5	Mountain Province	Mountain Province	Mountain Province
6	Ilocos Sur	Tarlac	Tarlac
7	Ifugao	Ifugao	Ilocos Sur
8	Kalinga	Ilocos Sur	Nueva Vizcaya
9	Tarlac	Kalinga	Ifugao
10	Ilocos Norte	Ilocos Norte	--

International Migration Patterns

There is an absence of literature that clearly describes international migration and its trends and patterns over the years. According to a key informant, much like the national trend, OFWs from the region participated in the construction boom in the Middle East in the 1970s, with a large number of male workers leaving the region. There was also a movement towards finding employment in the United States, and health professionals, mostly nurses, migrated and found work there. In the 1980s, recruitment for the US Navy also intensified and the region sent many college graduates, as well as out-of-school youth. In the Middle East and parts of Asia, the demand for domestic workers heightened, thus boosting the number of female workers and surpassing their male counterparts. The hiring of entertainers in Asia also emerged in the 80s and was yet another pull factor for Filipino women. Up until today, the main destination countries for OFWs from CAR reflects the national trend, with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates topping the list from 2006 to the first half of 2008. Also among the most popular destination countries are Hong Kong and Singapore.

In the region, the largest sources of migrants are still Baguio City and Benguet. However, according to the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, the large number of overseas migrants in Benguet in 2007 partly reflects OFWs and overseas Filipinos who used addresses in Baguio City, La Trinidad and nearby municipalities. OWWA counts some 12,000 registered OFWs from CAR. Data from 2006 to 2008 on the top ten origins of OFWs show that Baguio City and Benguet have ranked the highest for 2006 through part of 2008 (Table 4).

TABLE 5
TOP 10 OCCUPATIONS OF OFWs PROCESSED IN CAR/NEARBY AREAS

Rank	2006	2007	January-July 2008
1	Domestic workers	Nurses	Nurses
2	Engineers	Domestic workers	Domestic workers
3	Nurses	Engineers	Engineers
4	Teachers	Factory workers	Teachers
5	Caregivers	Caregivers	Caregivers
6	Drillers/miners	Teachers	Factory workers
7	Factory workers	Drillers/miners	Drillers/miners
8	Supervisors	Welders	Mechanics (heavy and light)
9	Technicians	Supervisors	Carpenters
10	Accountants	Mechanics (heavy and light)	Supervisors

With regard to the 10 most popular occupations of OFWs, domestic work ranked first in 2006. In 2007 and 2008, it slid to second behind nursing. Engineering, meanwhile, was in the top three in 2006-08. They go to the Middle East, Australia, Libya, Africa and Asian countries like Indonesia and are mostly from the civil, geodetic and mining sectors The region has consistently produced drillers, miners and mechanics as well (Table 5).

Migration-Development Nexus

In generating the needed information to describe the existence (or absence thereof) of a migration-development nexus at the regional, provincial and local levels, various methods were employed: review of current development plans and related documents, review of current executive and legislative agenda in provincial governments, and conduct of key informant interviews with representatives of government agencies, local officials (or their representatives) and development/ planning staff.

1. Regional Level

In CAR, key informants included representatives from the following agencies: National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), the Center for Health Development, and the Department of Tourism (DOT). Additional information was collected through correspondences with the Overseas Work-

ers Welfare Administration (OWWA) and the Regional Extension Unit of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA).

When probed on why people in general chose to migrate, all the key interviewees said it was a path to a better life. Key informants pointed to various reasons: the failure of their local government to provide them with a more decent living, the lack of employment opportunities and low wages, or a combination of economic and political reasons, including political uncertainties in the Philippines.

All the respondents could not supply any data on the volume of Filipinos leaving the country. The NEDA officials acknowledged that it would be good for the region and their agency to create a regional database. They also admitted that the previous and current regional development planning exercises did not emphasize the importance of the concerns of OFWs and overseas Filipinos in general.

One key informant said that the large number of migrants leaving to work abroad can result in the loss of human resources. For example, the turnover of nurses working in local hospitals is fast due to nurses leaving for overseas employment, hence rendering local hospitals mere training grounds. Incentives to nurses such as higher wages, better benefits, free training programs and seminars on career advancement were suggested as avenues to retain nurses in the country.

The dearth of job opportunities in CAR was considered by two key informants as a major push factor. They reiterated that the largest employer in the region is the government. A prospective solution, according to one key informant, was to boost the tourism industry in the Cordilleras, which may create more job opportunities.

Although respondents admitted that there was no concrete plan directed towards migration and development at the moment, they identified areas of cooperation that could catalyze the process. The DOT, for example, has embarked on several projects involving overseas Filipinos. It has implemented "Bring Home a Friend" and "Volunteer 12" to encourage overseas Filipinos to bring their friends or employers from abroad as tourists. Prizes offered include cash rewards, tour packages and travel tax exemptions. In the region, specifically, the *Balikbayan* [Filipino returnee] program established by Mr. Nars Padilla, a retired councilor, is still being implemented. Every December, a lucky balikbayan is picked by a panel of judges, with the winner being accorded red-carpet treatment that includes free hotel accommodations and a tour around the city. Also, the department has a program called "Tracing your Roots," a packaged tour aimed at enticing second or latter generation overseas Filipinos to come back and visit their parents' hometown and get a glimpse of their origins.

The regional DOT office also aims to bolster medical tourism. The development of medical tourism needs information dissemination on its potential and availability in the country. Still, the possibility of developing medical tourism in the region remains strong because there are facilities to combine health care and tourism. Investments in spas or resorts can enhance medical tourism; the region is home to several hot springs. These investments will, in turn, create more job opportunities for local residents. However, there could be potential problems, one of which is the risk of maintaining high service charges because of foreign clients. If this happens, local clients may not be able to afford these services. Also, overseas tourists may be given preferential treatment over local clients.

2. Provincial Level: Focus on Benguet

Because of its location and accessibility, Benguet is often considered the gateway to the Cordillera. It is accessible via land and air transport. The three national roads that connect the province to the lowlands are Marcos Highway from the south through the municipality of Tuba; Kennon Road and Quirino Highway or Naguilian Road. The main road to the north and into the region's heartland is the recently rehabilitated Halsema Highway. According to the draft of the Provincial Medium-Term Development Plan 2003-07, the province is "the most progressive among the provinces in the Cordillera...it boasts of a robust economy fueled by varied productive activities in the in the agricultural and industrial sectors."

The key informants included representatives from the Provincial Health Office and the Provincial Administrative Office (which was also in charge of the Public Employment Service Office or PESO. Additional information came from the Tourism Master Plan.

Just like in the regional level, the migration-development nexus in Benguet is still an emerging reality. Some projects are already in place, though. The PESO, in partnership with a Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA)-accredited organization, deploys young farmers for skills training in Japan. There is also a training program being undertaken by way of the Benguet-Kochi Sisterhood program.

International migration concerns are not mentioned in the health master plan nor dealt with by a specific agency or department. But the Provincial Health Office stated it could promote medical tourism, in particular through health information dissemination. Although the key informant acknowledged that medical tourism can contribute to development by bringing in tourists, there could be disadvantages as well, such as potential drug problems. Still, it is viable to develop medical tourism in the province as long as it

is supported by national agencies like the Department of Health, the DOT and the local government. At present, Benguet has a health facility built by Japan International Cooperation Agency that is at par with international standards and can thereby meet the needs of foreign and local tourists. The Provincial Health Office continues to maintain links with transnational groups like the Igorot Global Organization, which donated equipment, and some of them are still being used by facilities like the Benguet General Hospital.

Another key informant felt that the remittances of OFWs have contributed to the development of the province. Other than remittances sent to families, overseas Filipinos have supported the improvement of health facilities and other infrastructure and have donated books. However, she also noted that some family members of OFWs have become dependent on remittances. As a result, they were no longer inclined to work and earn a living for themselves. To date the PESO's function does not cover international migration or migration and development, and is limited to that of employment facilitation. In view of the limited job prospects in the province, she would not encourage OFWs to return to Benguet, unless they had earned enough to start a business.

The Tourism Master Plan has taken note of the *balikbayan* factor in its outlook. OFWs who are residents of the identified tourist sites will be encouraged to promote the province while overseas. The potential role of information and communication technology was also acknowledged. Access to information and the introduction of online transactions could facilitate the flow of foreigners, overseas Filipinos included, into Benguet (Tourism Master Plan: 164-165).

3. Municipal Level: Focus on Itogon, Benguet

The Municipality of Itogon is located about 19 kilometers east of Baguio City and roughly 27 kilometers from the provincial capital, La Trinidad. Itogon is accessible solely by land transportation from Baguio City. Among the 13 municipalities of the province, it has the largest land area at 49,656.7 hectares, or about 19 percent of the total provincial land area.

The earliest known settlers in Itogon were the Ibaloi. They had long-established indigenous practices on the use of natural resources and institutionalized economic, political and cultural practices before the arrival of Spanish colonial missions. Another group, the Iowak, has occupied the southern part of the town near its borders with Pangasinan and Nueva Vizcaya.

The Ibaloi were later followed by the Kankanaey, who came from the northern part of the province, specifically the town of Mankayan. These peoples have a long history of engaging in mining and had known of the economic opportunities in the mineral rich town of Itogon. Other groups such

as the Kalanguya of Buguias (also a town in Benguet) and Tinoc in Ifugao later followed. By the 1930s, American prospectors established mines and required workers, thus attracting an influx of people of diverse origins who permanently changed the profile of Itogon from a community purely inhabited by ethnic groups to a melting pot of different groups.

The respondents representing Itogon included the Office of the Mayor, the Municipal Planning and Development Office, the Public Employment Service Office; the Municipal Health Office, and the Municipal Police Office.

The respondents, in general, attributed the out-migration from Itogon to the closure of big mining companies in the municipality like the Benguet Corporation and Suyoc-Sangilo Mines. As such, many residents packed their bags to find employment elsewhere. The PESO, in fact, conducted a survey in 2009 on households with OFWs.

Aside from local employment in Baguio City or anywhere in the country like Manila, people from the mining communities who have successfully completed their education have opted to find gainful employment abroad. In general, there is underemployment and unemployment in the municipality as there are limited opportunities.

The Export Processing Zone and Baguio City establishments offer employment opportunities to many residents in barangays Virac, Tuding, Ucab and Antamok, while others in the municipality are engaged in small-scale mining that include gold panning. In other words, many residents in the municipality are in the services sector, if not involved in mining activities. These are some alternatives to working abroad.

The municipality has not engaged in any cooperation with overseas Filipinos. But if there is interest on the issue, projects to be proposed include the upgrading of school facilities like classroom improvements, hospital or health equipment and the provision of books for the elementary as well as secondary levels.

With the difficult situations faced by OFWs, and given that their priority concern is the welfare of their immediate family and relatives, respondents felt that OFWs do not necessarily feel they have a responsibility in promoting development in their area of origin. However, should the OFWs invest in their hometowns and put up commercial establishments, public transportation facilities, resorts, etc., they will contribute not only to the Internal Revenue Allotment of the local government, but also improve social services in the municipality.

The local government has no formal links with OFWs yet. The PESO survey will provide clearer information and the local government can then plan find ways to cooperate with OFWs and overseas Filipinos as it has expressed interest in working with them. The extent of cooperation at the moment, however, is a link-up between the local government through the

PESO, the Department of Labor and Employment and other line agencies for assistance for livelihood projects to returning OFWs.

Cagayan Valley or Region II

Cagayan Valley or Region II is located along the northeastern coast of Luzon, with the Luzon Strait to the north and the Philippine Sea to the east. To its west, it is snugly curled to the contours of five Cordillera provinces, from Apayao in the northwest, to Kalinga and Ifugao in the west and Benguet in the southwest. Nueva Ecija is its southernmost neighbor, while the province of Aurora lies southeast. It is composed of six provinces – Batanes, Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino – with a total land area of 26,837 km². Its population as of 2007 was 3,051,487 (Figure 5).

Development Realities

1. Demographic Profile

Cagayan Valley is largely rural with a relatively small population size (see Table 6). In the periods between the census years (census years of 1995, 2000 and 2007), the regional population grew by 2.25 percent from 1995-2000 and 1.13 percent from 2000-2007 – both below the respective national averages. The region also has one of the lowest population densities at 105 per km² (Lusterio-Berja and Colson, 2008:3).

The region's age-sex structure is similar to that of both the Cordillera and the country (Figure 6). In addition, the region maintains a decreasing total fertility rate. In 2008, women from Cagayan have 3.4 children on average, down from 4.2 in 1993 (Lusterio-Berja and Colson, 2008:3).

TABLE 6
POPULATION BY PROVINCE, REGION II, 2007

Province	Population	Percent of total
Batanes	15,974	0.52
Cagayan	1,072,571	35.15
Isabela	1,401,495	45.93
Nueva Vizcaya	397,837	13.04
Quirino	163,610	5.36
TOTAL	3,051,487	100.0

SOURCE: National Statistics Office, 2010

FIGURE 5
MAP OF REGION II

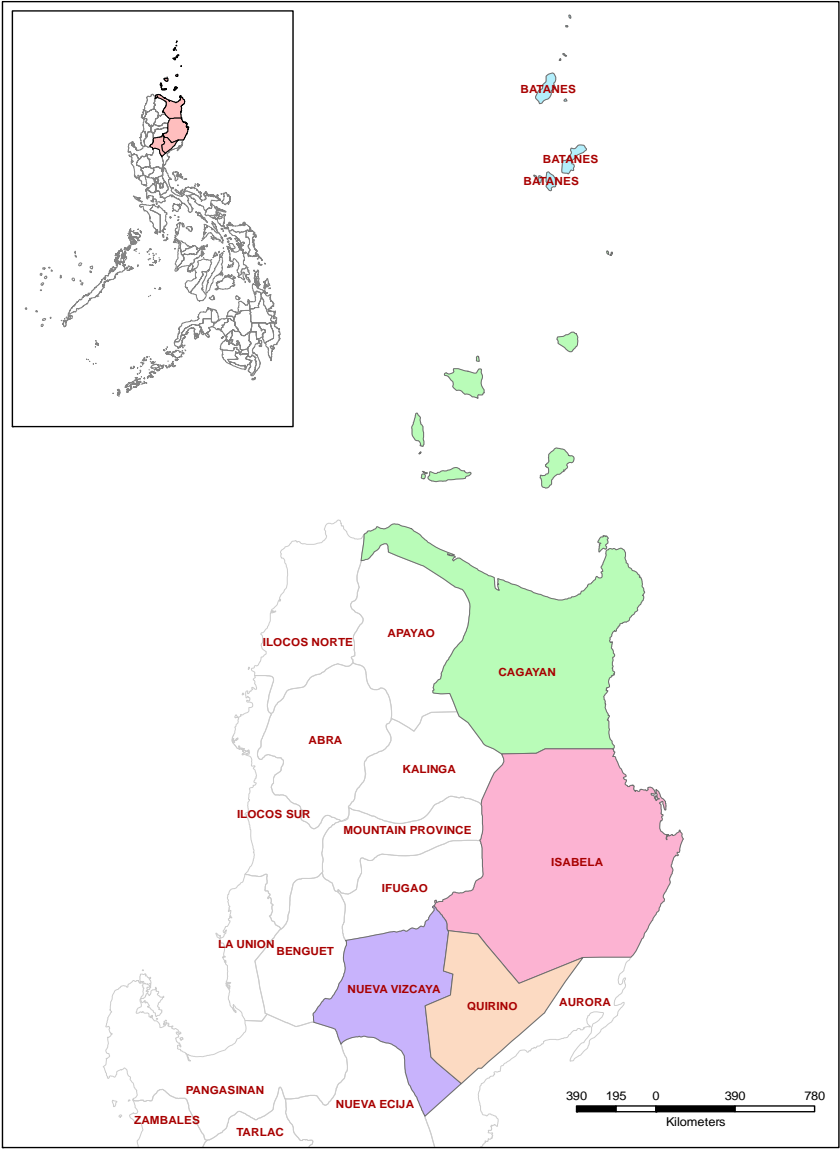
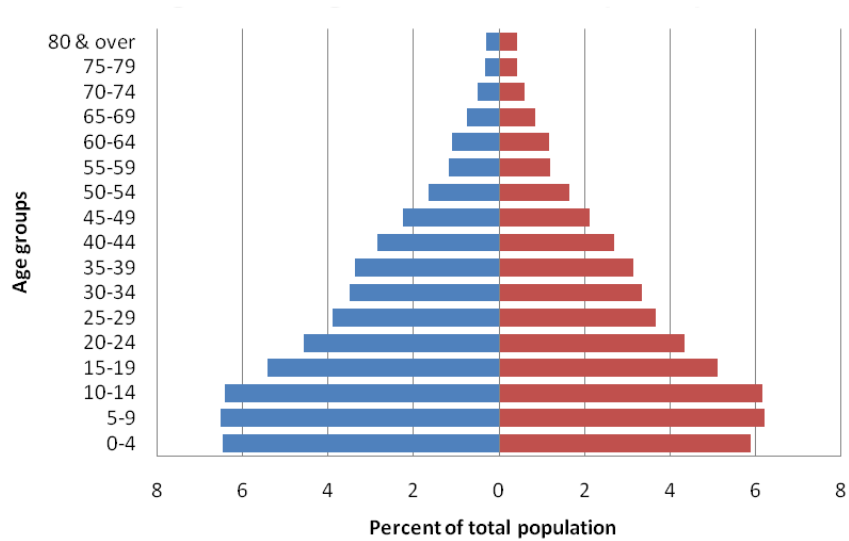


FIGURE 6
AGE-SEX STRUCTURE, REGION II, 2000 CENSUS

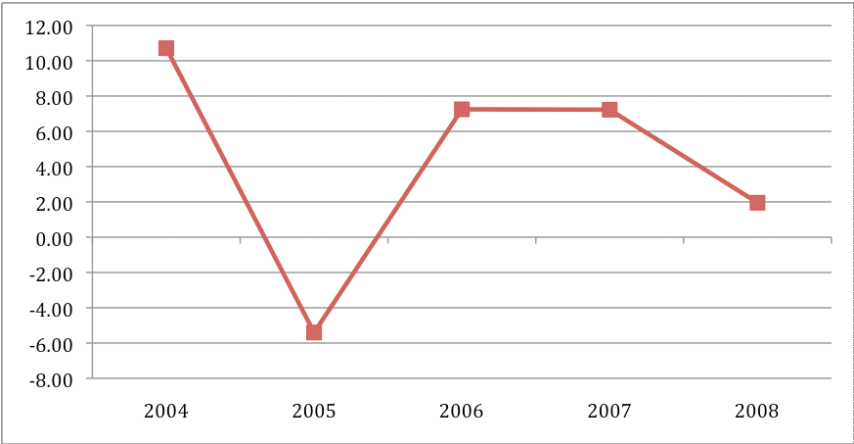


2. Natural Resources and Infrastructure

The Regional Development Framework contained in the Cagayan Valley Regional Development Plan underscored three development phases according to the region’s primary resources. The short-term goal envisions “Cagayan Valley as a region of self-reliant citizens adopting modern agricultural systems for sustained optimum production and higher productivity while working towards agri-industrialization.” The regional leadership accepted Region II’s assigned role as “a major supplier of agricultural products and an acknowledged food basket of the country.”

The medium-term objective, to be realized in the 2010s, lies in turning the region into “a major investment area for agriculture and fishery industries, as well as industrial tree plantations, and a developing maritime hub and industrial area in Northern Luzon.” The region’s comparative advantage in terms of its geographic location, natural endowments and pool of skilled labor force will support this aim, even as activities along entrepreneurial development and rural industrialization will be pursued. By 2025, Cagayan Valley would have achieved its long-term goal of possessing a “competitive” and “world-class” agri-industrial economy complemented by “modern infrastructure, responsive basic services and a well-managed ecosystem.” The

FIGURE 7
GROSS REGIONAL DOMESTIC PRODUCT GROWTH RATES, REGION II, 2004-2008
(1985 PRICES)



region’s role by this time is that of “an open growth area and international trade and industrial partner of the Asian global economy.”

Region II is also endowed with natural resources, the most prominent of which is the Cagayan River, the country’s longest river. This resource provides irrigation and electric power even to regions adjacent to it. A trans-shipment port in Cagayan province renders it strategic for developing industries. It is thus being promoted as an investment area for agriculture, forestry and fishing.

3. Socio-economic Indicators and Prospects for Development

Cagayan Valley’s gross regional domestic product (GRDP) per capita at constant 1985 prices in 2008 was Php8,518, way below the national average of Php15,686 and 12th out of 17 regions. Its GRDP levels have traditionally ranked near the bottom of the regional rankings, although its 7.2 percent GRDP growth rate in 2006 was the highest among the 17 regions. As Figure 7 shows, Region II’s GRDP growth rates have been fluctuating over the years, even entering negative territory in 2005. This is largely because the region’s economy is generally dependent on outputs in agriculture, fishery, and forestry – industries that are affected by climate changes and attendant effects of typhoons and droughts. Its total GRDP (Table 7) was the lowest among all regions in Luzon, and third to the lowest in the Philippines.

TABLE 7
SELECTED MACRO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS, REGION II

Indicator, base year	Value (in pesos), rank among regions
Gross Regional Domestic Product (2006)	25,495,525 (15th)
Personal Consumption Expenditure (2007)	30.68 billion (tied for 12th)
Total income of families (2006)	88 billion (est.) (11th)
Total savings of families (2006)	15 billion (est.) (12th)

SOURCES: National Statistical Coordination Board; National Statistics Office

Table 7 highlights a few of the region's macro-economic measurements. Region II contributed just 2.9 percent of the country's total Personal Consumption Expenditure in 2007, a very slight drop from its three percent share the year before.

Poverty incidence among families in the region decreased from 35 percent in 1994 to 19 percent in 2003. This is favorable considering that the national poverty incidence rate was at 24 percent that year. Within the region, poverty incidence ranged from six percent in Batanes to 24 percent in Isabela and Quirino. Employment figures, meanwhile, suggest that the region performed well as it experienced an unemployment rate of 3.7 percent in 2006, the lowest in the country. That dropped to 2.3 percent in October 2007, and was still the lowest among all regions.

The five provinces and their local government units will play important roles in charting the region's course. Batanes, with its potential for large-scale commercial production of fish and fishery products and pristine beauty and unique cultural heritage, will be the region's "Marine Fisheries and Eco-Tourism Core." The province of Cagayan will be the "Institutional, Industrial and International Trade Center" since it is home to the Cagayan Export Processing Zone and Freeport and has numerous tourist spots. Isabela, meanwhile, is projected to be the "Regional Trade and Industrial Center," with its long history of trade and commerce and the planned establishment of the Regional Agro-Industrial Center in Cauayan City. Nueva Vizcaya, located within the watershed of Caraballo and Cordillera mountain ranges has the distinction of being a major producer of fruits and vegetables and will serve as a "Watershed Haven and Agro-Forestry Hub." Lastly, Quirino is touted to become the region's "Industrial Crops Producer and Agri-Eco-Tourism Destination" as it is expected to become a major source of industrial and mineral products. The cities are envisioned to be centers of growth in commerce and industry in the region and will provide services comparable to those in other urban centers outside the region such as Metro Manila and Cebu City.

Overview of Migration Trends

Studies by Capili (both undated) document out-migration patterns from Batanes and Cagayan. The Batanes study collected data on 300 respondents with migration experiences (leaving or coming back to the province) from 1980 to 1995. The findings indicate rural to urban movement, with jobs in the destination area as the primary reason for leaving their home communities. Sixty-two percent migrated from Batanes to Metro Manila, and 15.7 percent headed overseas. Among those who remained in the island-province but left their hometowns, a majority proceeded to Basco, the provincial capital. On the flipside, almost 70 percent of all out-migrants came from the town of Sabtang, Batanes, a sixth class municipality.

Age, marital status and the family also figured in the migration experience. Majority of the respondents were aged between 21 and 30. The single interviewees said schooling was their primary motivation for migrating, while married individuals indicated they were driven by the hope of finding work. Findings suggest that individuals opted to take their families with them if it was possible, although mobility was more prevalent among individuals from smaller families. Hence, interviewees from smaller families had an easier time moving as this entailed lesser costs. The study underscored that families and/or kinship ties help the migrant in his/her transition in the destination area.

Capili's Cagayan study yielded similar results. Of the 500 respondents, most were aged between 21 and 30. Finding employment and pursuing education were the primary motivations for migrating.

In both studies, the most common problem encountered by out-migrants was homesickness, especially among emigrants who went abroad. At the same time, gaining employment, the ability to send remittances back home, buy land or save money and acquiring an education were perceived as benefits from migration. Majority of the respondents in both cases felt that government assistance was lacking.

Nayga, Medrano, and Ramirez (1997) conducted a survey of 379 migrants randomly chosen from cities and towns in Isabela, Quirino and Nueva Vizcaya (Bayombong and Solano). They found that most migrants arrived at the urban centers from provinces within the region. Results indicate that the popular destination areas were Santiago City in Ilagan, Cauayan in Isabela, and Tuguegarao (which attained cityhood in 1999) in Cagayan. A significant proportion of the migrants was married and maintained small families with two to four members. While the decision to migrate was often deliberated upon individually, there were some cases when the spouse, the entire family, or elders participated in making the choice. The primary objectives for migration were to seek employment and business opportunities, to live in a new

environment, to join loved ones and to get an education. The urban centers, as destination areas, were appealing to migrants because they were perceived to offer better job and business opportunities, be more peaceful; present better lodging options and provide a chance to obtain higher incomes. On the other hand, factors that drove migrants from their place of origin were a lack in employment and education options, deteriorating peace situation and the absence of basic social services. Results show that living in urban centers had significantly improved the migrants' perceived quality of life.

Migration-Development Nexus

We turn now to insights from the interviews conducted with representatives of government agencies at the regional, provincial and city / municipal levels. At the provincial level, the interviews covered officials and key personnel in Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino. At the municipal level, Iguig and Piat in Cagayan, Ilagan in Isabela, and Kayapa in Nueva Vizcaya were the sites of interviews and data collection for cases of migrant giving, migrants' investments, and cooperation between local institutions and overseas Filipinos.

1. Regional Overview

According to NEDA, despite the region's reliance on the agricultural sector, there are high hopes for the Cagayan Export Processing Zone Authority (CEPZ) in Sta. Ana, Cagayan to generate employment, which may offer an alternative to overseas migration. Efforts are also being made to bolster the agricultural sector through the One Town One Product program.

The interview with the DOLE confirmed that the main employment prospects in the region are in the agricultural sector – there are still vast lands that can be used for the the production of rice and corn. The prospects are hindered by limited infrastructure such as farm to market roads, bridges and irrigation and post-harvest facilities like dryers and warehouses. Despite these setbacks and even with barely half the total area used for agriculture, the region ranks second in terms of rice and corn production in the country. Expansion and increase in production are therefore still possible. Only about half the total land area ideal for agriculture is currently irrigated and the other half fed by rain. Investments in irrigation facilities (building new systems and rehabilitating existing ones), the availability of good seed material and sufficient dryers and warehouses are necessary. Farm to market infrastructure also needs to be improved to do away with the middlemen who control the marketing of agricultural produce. Another key informant considered the development of commercial centers in key towns and cities, namely Tuguegarao

in Cagayan, Santiago and Cauayan in Isabela, and Solano in Nueva Vizcaya, which as having the potential to create more jobs.

Key informants were one in saying that the lack of high-paying jobs was prompting locals to seek for the proverbial greener pastures elsewhere. Data from the POEA as of 2006 indicate that there were 40,068 individuals from Cagayan Valley who left the country as OFWs. Isabela deployed the biggest number of OFWs with 18,851 workers, followed by Cagayan at 13,845, and Nueva Vizcaya with 5,708.

A key informant expressed concern over the alarmingly high rates of nurse emigration from the regional health center. She said about 20 percent of the nurses working in the center had left for overseas. Another respondent said that many young graduates look for jobs abroad because of limited employment possibilities in the region.

The departure of highly skilled and professionals was viewed as a critical issue. In the case of the migration of health professionals, a key informant alluded to this migration as some kind of a brain drain. She felt it was difficult to replace skilled and experienced professionals like doctors and nurses, but at the same time, they could not be prevented from leaving because of a lack of incentives to stay. In the province of Cagayan alone, there are five towns with no municipal health officers, so the delivery of basic health services is affected.

Outside of the CEPZ, which officials deemed promising, the region does not offer many employment alternatives. Unlike other regions which offer prime tourist destinations, tourism does not hold prospects for generating jobs in Cagayan Valley. Asked about prospects for medical tourism, a key informant stated that a major upgrade of facilities and more investments are needed if Region 2 is to participate in medical tourism,

All the respondents acknowledged that remittances from abroad have helped families to support the education of family members, improve their houses and even start small businesses. A key informant said Ilocanos and Ibanags were most likely to extend financial assistance to their families in the region. These income flows have contributed to the economy of the region, although they could not cite concrete figures. Some informants, however, also observed that a growing number of remittance-receiving families have become quite dependent on remittances. They cited the examples of some OFWs who had saved very little despite spending around 20 years abroad.

To tap the development potentials of migration requires the formulation of a policy framework. Key informants from the migration agencies proposed that additional legislation be enacted in the following areas: (1) OFWs organizing themselves into foundations, and (2) remittances to be tax-exempt. One informant said there are laws in place such as the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, and what is needed is to strengthen support systems for OFWs and their families. To maximize remittances, another

informant suggested creating a program that would tap into the remittances of the OFWs for local investments, while adding that, at the national and local levels, a job creation program should be further strengthened as more good paying jobs in the country would mean fewer people leaving.

Most of the offices interviewed admitted that there was no mention of international migration in their development plans. The national office of the Department of Tourism, though, has a few programs, some of which involve overseas Filipinos. It embarked on "Wow Philippines," which promoted the Philippines as a tourist destination to traditional and new or emerging markets; it energized domestic tourism by enhancing ecotourism, agri-tourism and developing tour packages; and it introduced the Volunteer 12 Program. The Volunteer 12 Program was successfully launched among Filipino communities in key cities in Asia, Europe and America among Filipino communities. Commitments of support have been offered by the overseas Filipinos, encouraged not only by a package of travel discounts and other incentives, but also by the realization that their contribution will go a long way in the chain of economic benefits. These efforts are expected to create some ripple effects in the region.

According to an informant, the Department of Social Welfare and Development links the families of OFWs with offices that provide livelihood programs as well as advice on ways to invest remittances. OWWA has helped establish a number of groceries in some of the municipalities in the region where migrants' associations are present. Some of these have been successful. The agency helped put up agri-business ventures like mushroom production, citrus growing and meat processing. As to non-government organizations that work with OFWs, one key informant mentioned the *Alyansya ng mga Bagong Bayani at Manggagawa (ABBM)*, a federation of migrants' associations in Region 2. The group advocates the needs of migrant workers and their families and assists returning OFWs and families find livelihood activities. The Catholic Church was also mentioned as a cooperator. Aside from providing spiritual guidance, it organizes livelihood training seminars for the families of OFWs. The Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People (ECMI) has organized the archdioceses of Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino to develop programs for OFW families.

To assist returning migrant workers, OWWA's reintegration program provides skills training to OFWs who do not want to return abroad. OFWs are linked up with institutions for possible financing of livelihood projects. In partnership with the *Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas*, there are also financial literacy seminars to help returning OFWs invest their savings. Efforts to train people and promote some industries in the region (e.g., dairy production in Cagayan and Isabela and fruit and vegetable production in Nueva Vizcaya) have also been underway. The state universities of the three provinces also

host outreach programs that provide support for citrus, peanut and grain production.

2. Provincial Level

In-depth interviews with provincial officials from two provinces – Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya – were conducted. Officials from agencies in various sectors such as labor and employment, health, tourism and planning and development were probed on the various migration-development issues and prospects that exist in their respective provinces.

Key informants in the province of Cagayan also expressed hopes on the CEPZ to become “a viable investment hub for transshipment, agro-industrial business, and an attractive tourist destination in order to boost employment and economic opportunities in North Philippines” (CEZA, 2008). At the same time, the province is a major supplier of rice and corn, as well as other agricultural products, namely legumes, peanuts and root crops. The fishing industry also has potential, given the province’s long shoreline. The Balintang Channel in the north and the Pacific Ocean in the east are extensive fishing grounds.

As part of the North Luzon Quadrangle, they stressed the importance of investments in agricultural infrastructure to speed up the development process. They also pointed out that CEPZ’s development would be dependent on the “locators” who will come to the zone. If there are big companies that will come, more jobs will be generated. At the moment, the biggest company located there is involved in gaming, which is not employing too many workers contrary to the view. Meanwhile, Tuguegarao City could be a good market and transshipment point for agricultural goods and other products that will be produced in the CEPZ.

Isabela is another predominantly agricultural province. Its main produce includes rice, corn, cacao, cassava, mangoes, peanuts, pineapples and tobacco. According to the respondents, the province’s development plans are anchored on improving farm-to-market roads and promoting investment and livelihood opportunities for residents in rural areas. About 95 percent of total cropland is devoted to the production of grain, making it the country’s “rice bowl.” However, it is also plagued by inefficiency, as Isabela is one of the lower-ranked provinces in the Philippines in terms of yield per hectare.

Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya are all troubled by the emigration of health workers. To offset the departure of medical practitioners from Cagayan, which is home to four municipalities (Palayan, Sta. Praxedes, Sta. Teresita and Abbulug) that do not have municipal health workers, the Provincial Health Office (PHO) has requested the provincial government to allow municipal health workers to take on part-time work to augment their

salaries. The PHO is also assisting in speeding up PhilHealth accreditation so that the medical personnel get their incentives. This is one legal way of making them earn more. In addition, the office initiated the setting up of cooperatives inside district hospitals to make medicines more readily available. It also helps augment health workers' income derived from a percentage of the sales of medicines sold in the cooperatives. In addition, *barangay* health workers are afforded legal protection through the "Kaagapay sa Trabaho" program.

In Isabela, the Provincial Health Office said the provincial government needs to provide medical practitioners more support. A key informant suggested that there must be a policy to regulate the number of health professionals who want to leave the country. Their departure leaves young health workers who have limited experience to shoulder the load, thereby affecting the quality of health services locally. To encourage medical professionals to stay, there is a need to review salary scales and adjust them to competitive levels to encourage them to keep their jobs here in the Philippines.

In Nueva Vizcaya, a key informant shared that the development of medical services can contribute to the development of the province. Under the Provincial Health Office's current rationalization plan, different hospitals within the province will specialize in specific areas, on top of their regular medical services. The Veterans Regional Hospital in the capital, Bayombong, for instance, is envisioned to become a trauma center in Region 2. It is also being developed as a center for alternative wellness center, where acupuncture and physical therapy will be among the services to be offered. The hospital is also being equipped to handle patients with mental conditions, and it is increasing its capability to determine and manage heavy metal poisoning in view of increasing mining activities in the area.

International labor migration in general, while easing un- and underemployment pressures in the province, has helped fund the rehabilitation of classrooms, the donation of books and medical missions, according to one respondent. Isabela's development plan takes note of the tourism potential of sites such as the Northern Sierra Madre National Park and the presence of endemic species and varieties of wildlife in the towns of San Mariano, Ilagan, Tumauini, Cabagan and San Pablo. The development of these sites is expected to overseas Filipinos to visit their home province. The western portion of Isabela, with its vast agricultural lands, is being eyed as prospective agri-tourism areas, while the highly urbanized centers of Santiago, Ilagan, Cauayan and Roxas could be designated and promoted as "tourism service centers." Tourist facilities like hotels, restaurants, telecommunications, medical and transport services are primarily located in these areas.

Policy frameworks are also vital in the migration-development nexus. In Nueva Vizcaya, Executive Order (EO) 123 issued on 4 October 1999, amended

in 2002 as EO 179, created the Assistance Council for Vizcayano Overseas Workers (ACVOW). The office extends legal assistance to distressed Novo Vizcayanos abroad, networks with Philippine missions abroad and initiates reintegration programs for returning migrants. According to a key informant, the need for an agency like ACVOW was made more pressing by the fact that an estimated 10-15 percent of the provincial population is made up of overseas workers. Another key informant spoke of her province's incorporation of the Reintegration Program for Migrant Workers, which became part of Isabela's development plan in 2007. The program aims to develop the skills of returning migrants so that they can engage in entrepreneurship. A migrant desk was also established in 2007, which was tasked to look into migrants experiencing financial need, as well as arrange funeral services when the need arose. Another endeavor, the Focal Person for the Welfare of OCWs, was established in the same year to counsel distressed workers coming home.

3. Municipal Level

In general, the interviews with key informants representing city or municipal institutions indicated the absence of migration and development in the various policy frameworks of their cities and/or towns.

Local officials interviewed echoed the sentiments of their counterparts in the provincial level, stressing in particular the need to boost their respective agricultural sectors to offset the ill-effects of out-migration or serve as employment alternatives to migration. Boosting agricultural productivity was the chief thrust of Iguig's development agenda as it embarks on a move to create a 4,600-hectare Strategic Crop Development Zone to hike rice production. In Piat, Cagayan, the need for improved irrigation systems, drying pavements and farm-to-market roads was emphasized, while in Kayapa, Nueva Vizcaya, the importance of linking farmers to markets was highlighted. A key informant in Ilagan, Isabela considered it was crucial for his town to develop its untapped natural resources to reinforce the agro-industrial sector.

Key informants also pointed out other potential development areas in their respective towns. Tourism presented some possibilities, but it needs further investments. Piat, dubbed as the "Antipolo of Northern Luzon," the "Mecca of Devoted Pilgrims" and the "Pilgrimage Center of the Cagayan Valley," is home to the shrine of Our Lady of the Visitation of Piat, a revered destination for Roman Catholics. The development of facilities around this pilgrimage site can attract more visitors. Kayapa, Nueva Vizcaya could be a tourist draw thanks to Mount Pulag, the second highest mountain in the country, and its rice terraces.

Iguig, another town close to Tuguegarao City, is envisioned to develop into a residential, financial and commercial hub to ease the pressure off that

already sprawling urban center. Specifically, Iguig's development prospects are directed towards its ceramic and pottery industry. Ilagan, Isabela is the center of education, government and finance in northern Isabela, and attracts business services while possessing raw materials for industrial development. It also has good health services.

Concluding Notes

In both regions, data on international migration come mostly from national government agencies. Data at the regional and local levels are either not available or are limited. Specific offices or structures focusing on or dedicated to international migration are not yet in place in CAR. Similarly, there are no existing policies or ordinances related to international migration in the region. In Region II, there are some existing structures dedicated to international migration in some local governments. Also, in Region II, there are examples of local laws and policies in place to support overseas workers and their families. Several local chief executives in Region II generally have played an important role in sustaining support from migrants' associations.

In both regions, the remittances of OFWs and the contributions of migrants' associations in response to the needs of particular groups or sectors are acknowledged. The effects and impacts of these contributions, however, cannot be measured properly as the partnerships remain undocumented. In many instances, the overseas donors prefer to be anonymous and shun working with the government. In both regions, officers of regional, provincial and municipal offices, as well as elected officials expressed an interest in developing partnerships with migrants' associations. The desire to learn from other experiences and good practices was expressed by the key informants.

A more systematic study of migrant giving in CAR and Region II is needed. Many projects supported by overseas Filipinos are being implemented, but these are generally outside the purview of the local government. As such, reports on these initiatives are not readily available.

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ANNEX 1

KEY INFORMANTS

CAR

A. Regional

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Mr. Juan B. Ngalob
Regional Director
NEDA | 4. Ms. Jovita A. Ganongan
Tourism Operations Officer
Department of Tourism |
| 2. Mr. Leon Dacanay
Assistant Regional Director
NEDA | 5. Dr. Manuel Nuval-Peña
Director
OWWA |
| 3. Mr. Noland Sabling
Health Promotions Officer III
Center for Health Development | 6. Ms. Delfina M. Camarillo
Regional Director
Regional Extension Unit of the
POEA |

B. Provincial

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Dr. Esteban Piok
Provincial Health Officer II | 2. Ms. Florita Bay-on
Provincial Administrator V
(also in charge of PESO) |
|---|---|

C. Municipal

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mr. Mario Godio
Mayor of Itogon | 4. Dr. Loran Saculles
Municipal Health Office |
| 2. Ms. Imelda Nuguid
Municipal Planning and
Development Office | 5. Ms. Florizel Tobiagon
Municipal Police Office |
| 3. Ms. Susan Dapliyan
Public Employment Service Office | |

REGION 2

A. Regional

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. Ms. Mila Rimando
Regional Director
NEDA | 5. Mr. Mario Antonio
OWWA |
| 2. Ms. Grace Yoro Ursua
Regional Director
DOLE | 6. Ms. Juana Abella
OWWA |
| 3. Ms. Blessida Diwa
Department of Tourism | 7. Mr. Romelson Abang
POEA |
| 4. Dr. Tita Natividad Callueng
Center for Health Development | |
-

ANNEX 1 (continued)

KEY INFORMANTS

B. Provincial

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Dr. Danilo C. Alonzo
Provincial Health Office
Cagayan | 4. Mr. Froctoso Agustin
Provincial Employment and
Labor Office, Isabela |
| 2. Ms. Emily Minaligod
Provincial Health Office
Isabela | 5. Dr. Ariel G. Magdirila
Provincial Health Office
Nueva Vizcaya |
| 3. Ms. Elena Ayuyang
Provincial Tourism Office
Isabela | 6. Ms. Gloria Panganiban
Provincial Affairs Information
Assistance Division
Nueva Vizcaya |

C. Cities/Municipal

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Mr. Ferdinand B. Trinidad
Mayor
Iguig, Cagayan | 4. Mr. John Balasia
Mayor
Kayapa, Nueva Vizcaya |
| 2. Mr. Carmelo Villacete
Vice Mayor
Piat, Cagayan | 5. Mr. Francisco Carmona
PESO
Kayapa, Nueva Vizcaya |
| 3. Ms. Dona Quinatong
Office of the Mayor
Piat, Cagayan | |
-

Central Luzon

*Jorge V. Tigno and Ildefonso Bagasao**

Introduction

For decades up until the 1960s, Central Luzon has been closely associated with violent agrarian unrest (see Muijzenberg, 1973 and Kerkvliet, 2002). Despite this, it was and continues to be the nation's food basket. In 1991, Central Luzon was the site of one of the worst natural disasters the world has ever known – the eruption of Mount Pinatubo. When the country embarked on international labor migration, Central Luzon rose to become a major region of origin of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs).

This paper examines the dynamic and complex nexus between international migration and local development in the provinces of Bataan, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Tarlac, and Zambales and in selected cities or municipalities in these provinces. All Central Luzon or Region III provinces were covered in the study except for Aurora, where international migration is not as substantial as in the other provinces.

Migration and development are linked in many ways. Migrants and their households engage in numerous survival and livelihood strategies using the resources and remittances generated from the migration experience. In many ways, these strategies have the potential to reduce poverty. Remittances from migration enable families of migrants to acquire consumer appliances, provide for the education of family members, build houses, and start livelihood and commercial enterprises. Moreover, these benefits can also have multiplier effects that can benefit the community, including non-migrants. However, apart from anecdotal data, very little empirical evidence is available to shed light on the actual and long-term effects of migration on development at the sub-national or local levels.

* Golda Myra Roma, Rodrigo Garcia and Jose Edison Tondares of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas conducted additional interviews and data collection between June and December 2009.

The paper is informed by primary and secondary data sources. Key informant interviews were conducted with representatives of local government and development institutions as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private individuals (see Annex 1). Key informants were identified through referrals from local government officials in the provinces studied. Data collection proceeded into two stages: between June and December 2008, and additional interviews were carried out between June and December 2009. Secondary data gathering included a review of related literature, local development plans and documents related to migration and/or development. Instruments for the interviews and guidelines for the documentation of case studies were developed by the Scalabrini Migration Center.

Development Realities and Prospects: Regional and Local Overviews

Central Luzon is situated just north of the National Capital Region (NCR) (Figure 1). and has a total land area of approximately 1.8 million hectares – roughly 6 percent of the country's total land area. The region is largely a flat basin surrounded by several mountain ranges. Owing to these factors, Central Luzon has become the site of several special economic zones (SEZs) as well as export processing zones (EPZs) including those located in the former US military facilities at Clark and Subic. The country's 45 special economic zones have over 1,000 locator firms that employ more than a million workers and are able to generate a total of US\$ 32 billion in exports equivalent to 60 percent of the country's total exports (Boyenge, 2007:10).

Another key feature of the region is its well-established irrigation system. Between 1990 and 2008, for instance, the average irrigated agricultural area in Central Luzon was the largest average nationwide (Bureau of Agricultural Statistics, n.d.a). As such, rice farming is extensive and the region is well-known in the Philippines as the country's "rice granary." Between 1994 and 2008, the annual average palay/rice production in Central Luzon (around 2.2 million metric tons) was the highest in all the Philippines (Bureau of Agricultural Statistics, 2009).

In demographic terms, Central Luzon's population of around 9.7 million is the third largest region after the National Capital Region or NCR (11.5 million) and CALABARZON (11.7 million) as of 2007. The region has a high average population growth rate at 2.36 percent, surpassing the national average of 2.04 percent. One of the main reasons for this high population is the influx of people coming from the NCR and neighboring provinces. The presence of SEZs serves as a pull factor that draws people to work and reside in the region. Internal migrants come primarily from the Ilocos region (18.4

FIGURE 1
THE PROVINCES OF REGION III

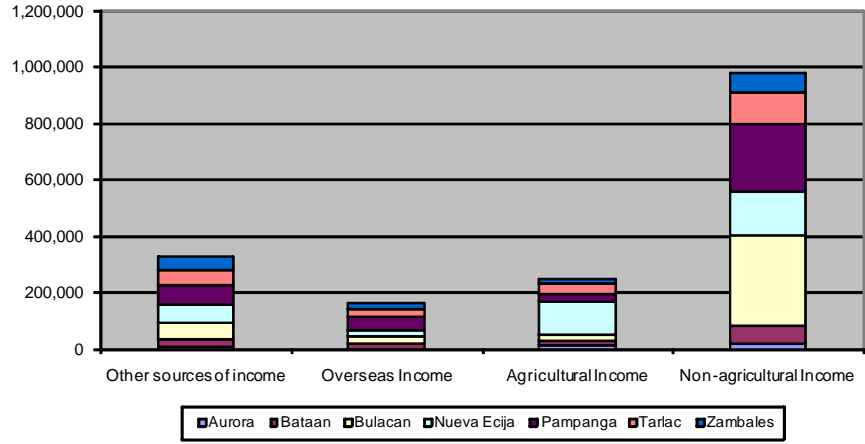


SOURCE: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/60/Ph_central_luzon.png

percent), CALABARZON (14.7 percent), Bicol (12.1 percent), and the Cordillera Administrative Region (10.2 percent). However, Central Luzon is also a source region of local migrants. According to the Commission on Population (2005), Central Luzon is the second-biggest source region of internal migrants to the NCR (12.7 percent) following CALABARZON (17.1 percent).

Although agriculture continues to be a mainstay of the region's economy, it has also become an industrialized and commercialized region. Whereas in the past, the service sector used to be ancillary to agriculture, today it is the other way around (Pernia et al., 1983:33). The non-agricultural sector has become a source of income for the majority of Central Luzon households with the exception of Nueva Ecija. Nearly a million households in the region during

FIGURE 2
NUMBER OF CENTRAL LUZON FAMILIES AND TYPE OF INCOME SOURCE BY PROVINCE
(2000)



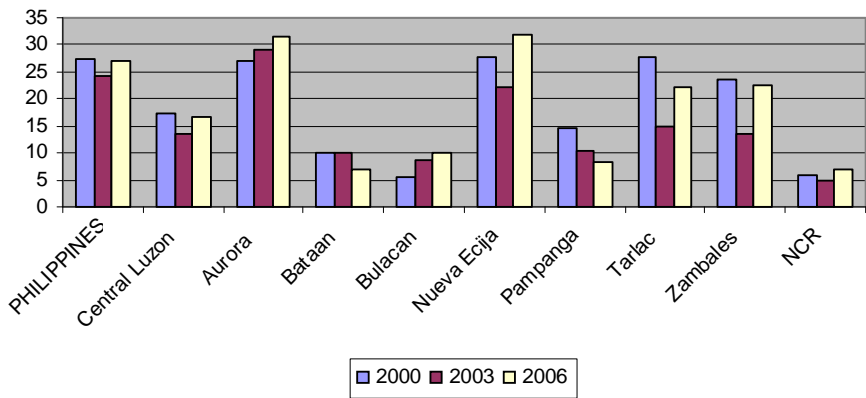
SOURCE: Table 9, FIES, National Statistics Office (2002:160-230)

the 2000 Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES) received income from non-agricultural sources (Figure 2).

In the case of Nueva Ecija, agriculture remains as the source of income for almost a third of households in the province. Nueva Ecija is the largest rice producing province in Central Luzon (and the entire country) producing nearly a million metric tons of rice on average annually between 2000 and 2008. It also has the largest area planted to irrigated rice – about 213,000 hectares on average during the same period (Bureau of Agricultural Statistics, n.d.b).

In terms of human development, Central Luzon is one of the top performers, with four of its seven provinces landing in the top 20 Philippine human development index (HDI). Since 1999, regional development planning in the Philippines has given serious attention recognition to “regional development issues” that create national development challenges. One serious regional development issue affecting Central Luzon is poverty, which remains a key concern of the regional development plan (NEDA, 2004:vi). As shown in Figure 3, the proportion of poor families in the provinces of Central Luzon is low (16.8 percent) compared to the national average (26.9 percent) in 2006 with the lowest proportions in Bataan (6.8 percent), Pampanga (8.3 percent), and Bulacan (10 percent). In fact, five of the seven provinces in the region have proportions that are lower than the national figure (26 percent). As far as the

FIGURE 3
MAGNITUDE OF POOR FAMILIES IN NCR AND CENTRAL LUZON BY PROVINCE
(2000, 2003, 2006)



SOURCE: NSCB (2008)

magnitude of poor families is concerned, the lowest number of poor households are in Bataan (8,679 poor households) followed by Aurora (12,826) (NSCB, 2008).

Regional Overview of International Migration Trends

In the first half of the 20th century, particularly after the Second World War, many Filipinos from Central Luzon went to the US under the RP-US Military Bases Agreement of 1947 as US navy recruits (Farolan, 2009). During the Korean War, the US Navy took in up to 2,000 Filipinos in the ages 18-24 annually. Approximately 35,000 Filipinos were recruited under the Philippine Enlistment Program between 1952 and 1991. Many of these Filipinos were from the Central Luzon provinces of Zambales, Pampanga, and Tarlac (Maligat, 2000). Most of these enlisted Filipinos are likely to have availed of US citizenship. The presence of the US military bases in Clark Air Base (Pampanga) and Subic Naval Station (Zambales) also contributed to marriage migration to the US.

From the 1970s, international labor migration expanded the destinations of international migrants from Central Luzon. In 2007, more than 46,000 OWs deployed by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) originated from Central Luzon (Table 1). According to membership statistics from the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), there were

TABLE 1
OFW DISTRIBUTION BY PROVINCE, REGION III (2007)

	Landbase	2007 Seabased	Total
Total	30,924	15,397	46,321
BATAAN	2,751	1,324	4,075
BULACAN	5,249	7,161	12,410
NUEVA ECIJA	4,013	1,729	5,742
PAMPANGA	12,078	2,524	14,602
TARLAC	4,624	1,055	5,679
ZAMBALES	2,013	1,541	3,554

SOURCE: Table 22, POEA (2007:31)

some 45,000 OWWA members from the region as of 2006 (Table 2). Nearly a third of Central Luzon OFWs are from Pampanga and another quarter is from Bulacan. Another data source, the Survey of Overseas Filipinos (SOF) indicates that in 2008, that there were roughly 300,000 overseas Filipinos (about 14.5 percent of the national total, 2.002 million) from Central Luzon, slightly surpassing the 14 percent from the NCR (Table 2 in NSO, 2008).

Migration for permanent settlement is also significant, although the scale is smaller compared to migration for labor. Between 1988 and 2007, nearly 200,000 Filipinos from Central Luzon emigrated overseas including nearly 40,000 who left the country as spouses or partners of foreigners, according to

TABLE 2
OFW MEMBERSHIP PROGRAM REGION III, 2006

Province	Landbased	Seabased	Total
Bataan	3,056	1,136	4,192
Bulacan	6,141	6,165	12,306
Nueva Ecija	4,468	1,371	5,839
Pampanga	11,889	2,124	14,013
Tarlac	4,867	895	5,762
Zambales	2,188	1,358	3,546
Total	32,609	13,049	45,658

SOURCE: OWWA

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF REGISTERED FILIPINO EMIGRANTS, REGION III: 1988 - 2007

	Aurora	Bataan	Bulacan	Nueva Ecija	Pampanga	Tarlac	Zambales	Total
1988	6	648	1,136	746	4,481	982	4,088	12,087
1989	21	639	1,262	690	4,304	938	3,344	11,198
1990	27	831	1,542	869	4,435	1,093	3,469	12,266
1991	8	689	1,451	858	4,233	1,032	3,288	11,559
1992	23	808	1,460	862	3,697	1,098	4,485	12,433
1993	26	654	1,594	997	3,838	1,128	2,612	10,849
1994	22	751	1,688	944	3,760	1,246	2,099	10,510
1995	16	558	1,532	953	3,320	1,062	2,061	9,502
1996	14	642	1,600	1,023	3,593	1,227	2,146	10,245
1997	13	561	1,404	966	3,310	1,020	1,677	8,951
1998	7	389	1,105	662	2,285	691	1,141	6,280
1999	8	417	1,208	645	2,301	743	1,134	6,456
2000	21	464	1,582	789	2,665	900	1,446	7,867
2001	15	415	1,651	791	2,673	937	1,323	7,805
2002	14	578	1,735	831	3,132	1,016	1,434	8,740
2003	29	553	1,761	862	2,854	969	1,187	8,215
2004	13	586	2,058	1,058	3,243	1,203	1,487	9,648
2005	13	545	2,247	1,173	3,510	1,192	1,472	10,152
2006	21	677	2,947	1,423	3,854	1,294	1,749	11,965
2007	34	713	2,832	1,423	4,315	1,389	1,840	12,546
Total	351	12,118	33,795	18,565	69,803	21,160	43,482	199,274

SOURCE: Data provided by Commission on Filipinos Overseas

data from the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO). On average about 8,500 Filipinos from Central Luzon leave the country every year as permanent migrants. As with the figures on OFWs, the statistics for emigrants from Central Luzon is currently dominated by those from Pampanga and Bulacan although in the early 1990s, there were more emigrants from Zambales (Table 3).

Remittances from overseas Filipinos make a significant economic contribution to their direct beneficiaries – their households. A substantial number of Central Luzon households receive such remittances from overseas. In the 2000 Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES), about 10 percent of all households in Central Luzon received some form of income or assistance from abroad. In four of seven provinces, the percentage of remittance-receiving households surpass that of the regional average – Bataan (16percent), Pampanga (15percent), Tarlac (13percent), and Zambales (15.9percent). In fact, in Olongapo City, some 25 percent of households receive some income

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND INCOME FROM ABROAD IN
SELECTED LGUs IN REGION III (2000)

	Total Households	Households with overseas income	% Households with overseas income
Aurora	35,873	2,541	7.1
Bataan	110,190	17,584	16.0
Bulacan	353,545	20,309	5.7
Nueva Ecija	284,549	17,125	6.0
Pampanga	244,949	37,374	15.3
Tarlac	154,250	20,915	13.6
Zambales	90,300	14,390	15.9
San Jose del Monte	52,904	4,771	9.0
Cabanatuan City	44,725	4,405	9.8
Angeles City	50,926	4,575	9.0
San Fernando	41,574	5,394	13.0
Tarlac City	49,038	4,163	8.5
Olongapo City	40,120	10,185	25.4
Total Region III	1,273,656	130,238	10.2

SOURCE: Table 9, FIES, National Statistics Office (2002:160-230)

from abroad (Table 4). It is also significant to note that, in the cases of Bulacan, Pampanga, and Zambales, the number of households receiving income from overseas is even higher than the number of households receiving income from agriculture (Table 5).

Aside from remittances, overseas Filipinos also contribute to projects and endeavors that have community benefits. Donations coursed through the CFO-run *Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino* (Linkapil) Program show that between 1990 and 2007, Central Luzon received about one-third of a billion pesos worth of donations from overseas Filipinos with an annual average donation of almost Php20 million (Table 6). Health and medical missions accounted for half of these donations while calamity and relief accounted for a third. Education accounted for 10 percent of the regional total while infrastructure is 1 percent. Sadly, livelihood projects account only for one half of one percent of the total.

Local Views and Perspectives

Given the magnitude of international migration from the region, one would assume that there would be considerable examples and experiences with engagement of overseas Filipinos with local development. Documentation of such examples is generally not available. There is hardly any account made of overseas Filipinos and the potential and real contributions of international

TABLE 5
NUMBER OF CENTRAL LUZON FAMILIES RECEIVING ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD AND OTHER INCOME SOURCES (2000)

Main source of income	Aurora	Bataan	Bulacan	Nueva Ecija	Pampanga	Tarlac	Zambales
Total number of families	35,873	110,190	406,449	329,274	337,449	203,288	130,420
Wages and salaries	17,923	53,748	249,147	151,746	202,155	102,724	58,822
Agricultural	5,624	6,647	10,598	37,940	11,830	14,109	5,947
Non-agricultural	12,299	47,101	238,550	113,806	190,325	88,615	52,875
Entrepreneurial activities	11,785	26,817	98,157	114,726	61,742	47,204	27,412
Agricultural	6,655	10,698	12,153	77,414	15,995	24,482	8,502
Non-agricultural	5,130	16,118	86,003	37,312	48,747	22,722	18,910
Other sources of income	6,165	29,626	59,146	62,802	70,552	53,360	44,185
Overseas income	2,541	17,584	25,080	21,530	47,343	25,078	24,575
Agricultural income	12,279	17,345	22,751	115,354	27,825	38,591	14,449
Non-agricultural income	17,429	63,219	324,553	151,118	239,072	111,337	71,785

SOURCE: Table 9, FIES, National Statistics Office (2002:160-230)

TABLE 6
OVERSEAS FILIPINO DONATIONS TO CENTRAL LUZON COURSED THROUGH LINKAPIL, 1990-2007 (IN PHP)

Province	Total Donations	Calamity/Relief	Education/Scholarship	Health/Medical Missions	Livelihood	Infrastructure
Aurora	3,771,201	0	84,905	2,361,400	808,052	516,844
Bataan	4,004,407	0	1,674,400	2,330,007	0	0
Bulacan	43,267,882	3,750,000	5,424,436	33,792,258	0	301,188
Nueva Ecija	41,646,317	9,174,308	304,018	31,370,991	297,000	500,000
Pampanga	161,230,135	101,548,419	25,010,079	32,532,700	713,000	1,425,938
Tarlac	13,716,667	2,883,756	1,641,915	8,290,996	0	900,000
Zambales	65,396,161	5,641,020	462,900	59,281,741	10,500	0
Totals	333,032,769	122,997,503	34,602,653	169,960,092	1,828,552	3,643,970

SOURCE: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

migration to local development in any of the official development plans both at the regional and local levels.

All key informants agreed that overseas Filipinos are potential partners in regional development through their remittance savings, investments/enterprises, donations, and knowledge transfer resources. They considered international migration as instrumental in improving the economic status of families of migrant. Most informants said that remittances have helped the local economy through increased consumer spending for housing improvements and property purchases; the setting up of small-, medium-, and large-scale enterprises; and investing in the education of family members, especially children.

At the same time, key informants acknowledged the push factors that compel Filipinos to leave the country. They were one in saying that international migration is largely propelled by the lack of development in the Philippines, including low salaries and unemployment. They associated international migration as generating problems – the erosion of social and family values, growing materialism, and declining sense of responsibility, especially among the young. Household dependence on remittances was also acknowledged as a serious problem in the region. A rural banker refers to this as a “culture of remittance” (ILO, 2000:9). Some informants saw the need to develop the entrepreneurial skills of overseas Filipinos and their families.

The consideration of overseas migration in the development agenda and planning is still a relatively new concept among LGUs. Interviews with key informants from the region (especially from those from government) limited appreciation of the development potentials of international migration. Although this may reflect a lack of awareness, it may also be indicative of their insufficient appreciation of the potential and real impacts of overseas migration on local development. Also, local governments may have different views about overseas Filipinos as a sector. One view is that overseas Filipinos and locals alike face the same problems, and both groups can be potential development partners (Interview with a key informant, 25 September 2009), a view that is rather discriminatory. Another view is that overseas Filipinos are better off compared to their local counterparts, and as such, they are not considered a priority by LGUs. It is the same reason why overseas Filipinos are not on the agenda of one LGU nor are there plans to develop specific programs and services for them (Interview with a key informant, 24 June 2009).

In addition to views and perceptions towards migrants, there is also the bureaucratic-administrative problem. Many local development plans do not incorporate international migration as a key component of development simply because they do not see their agencies as having the mandate to do so. In most cases, the action taken by the local government is to integrate the overseas migrants' desk with the Public Employment Service Office (PESO) or

include a component from the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) or the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA). Few concrete steps have actually been undertaken at the sub-regional levels other than the conduct of job fairs in selected LGUs.

The case of Bataan Province is instructive. Of the provinces under study, Bataan has the least number of overseas Filipinos. This is not unusual since, according to local informants, residents of Bataan have several local employment options besides going overseas. This includes working in the economic zones found in the province. The Bataan Export Processing Zone (BEPZ) in Mariveles is the largest (in geographical terms) and the oldest export processing zone established in the Philippines. BEPZ continues to attract a lot of internal migrants from different work parts of the country. The development plan of the province does not have any reference to international migration. A key informant was not aware of any investments or projects supported by overseas Filipinos nor are there plans to develop specific programs or services for overseas Filipinos. The one exception is the annual Balik Bataan (Return to Bataan) night to attract the participation of *balikbayans* (Interview with a key informant, 24 June 2009). The province has plans to conduct a survey of OFWs.

Migration-Development Nexus: Local Practices

The official development plan and vision for the region, the 2004 to 2010 Central Luzon Medium Term Regional Development Plan (CLMTRDP), does not look into the real and potential development contributions of overseas Filipinos of various expertise and skills. According to a key informant, any present action by the National Economic Development Authority regional office concerning overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) was focused on the needs of workers displaced by the global financial crisis (Interview, 25 June 2009).

The discussion below discusses some LGU and private sector initiatives being undertaken in the provinces under study.

LGU Initiatives

Municipality of Paniqui - It is not often that an integrated perspective is used by LGUs to tap the contributions of overseas Filipinos. Paniqui provides one example of how a local government can adopt different measures as a way to benefit from the migration-development nexus. Paniqui is a first class municipality in Tarlac with a population of a little over 83,000. Conscious of the important role of its overseas migrants on local development, the LGU conducts a number of activities that are related to OFWs such as job fairs and other services for OFW residents in coordination with OWWA (Interviews

with key informants, 15 December 2009]. The LGU offers a free overseas call service to its residents via VOIP (Interviews with key informants, 15 December 2009) and conducts the usual annual balikbayan night during its town fiesta. The LGU is also reaching out to overseas Filipino communities – a website has been established for this purpose.

Tarlac City - The city government of Tarlac is quite exceptional in its appreciation of the critical role played international migration on local development. A first class city, it has a population of around 314,000. The local government has become keenly aware of the importance of migration and the seriousness of the problems confronting OFWs. In 2007, the city council created a Committee on OFW Welfare and Development.

As of the end of 2009, the Tarlac City Council has passed a total of six resolutions (three in 2007 and three in 2008) regarding OFWs. These are:

- Resolution No. 242 (adopted 3 October 2007) seeking the assistance of Tarlac State University in the city government's formulation of concrete programs that will benefit OFW families in Tarlac City.
- Resolution No. 243 (adopted 3 October 2007) seeking the assistance of OWWA, POEA, and the DFA in the establishment of an OFW Center for the benefit of the families of OFWs in Tarlac City.
- Resolution No. 314 (adopted on 28 November 2007) calling for the conduct of benchmarking in various national government agencies like the OWWA, POEA, DOLE, and DTI regarding programs for overseas Filipino workers.
- Resolution No. 191 (adopted on 30 July 30 2008) proposing a one-year MOA between the city government and the Tarlac State University for the formulation of sound policies to address the concerns of OFW and their families in Tarlac City.
- Resolution No. 193 (adopted on 30 July 30 2008) proposing a MOU between the city government and the POEA for the implementation of the 'Illegal Recruitment Free LGU Program' in Tarlac City.
- Resolution No. 220 (adopted on 20 August 2008) requesting then Senate President Manuel Villar to support the establishment of an OFW Center in Tarlac City.

It is evident from the above resolutions that the city council is aware of the significance of tapping academe in providing for better services to OFWs from the city. The Tarlac City Government has also finished data gathering for its community based management system (CBMS). According to a key informant, realizing the importance of generating local data on migration, Tarlac City is the only LGU in the province so far that has included/inserted a one page-rider questionnaire on migration in the 12-page CBMS interview sheet. They hope to finish the data gathering by the second quarter of 2010 (Interview with a key informant, 14 December 2009).

However, international migration is not yet fully integrated into the city's medium term development plan. There is as yet no specific and institutionalized incentives program to attract overseas Filipinos to return to the city and invest there. Despite this, a key informant considers the OFW sector as a significant concern for the city and that it should be made an integral part of the city government's platform for governance. The establishment of a local OFW Center that will be a one-stop shop to address the needs of OFW and their families is being planned (Interview with a key informant, 14 December 2009).

Balikbayan Nights - A number of local governments in the region have "balikbayan nights" in which they pay tribute to residents from their home town or province who are now based abroad. These balikbayan nights are typically held in December—a time when many overseas Filipinos come home to visit their families in the Philippines. Every year, the Zambales provincial government sponsors a province-wide balikbayan night in honor of all the balikbayans. Similarly, the Nueva Ecija provincial government hosts an annual banquet and balikbayan night. This practice began in the late 1990s with Filipino migrants coming from the US, Middle East, and Europe. In Bataan, the provincial government conducts 'Balik Bataan' every December to attract or encourage balikbayans to visit their home province. The city government of Olongapo also sponsors an annual OFW balikbayan night each December. These events are implicit recognition of the role that overseas Filipinos play in local development. They also serve as platforms for local leaders to brief their visiting town or province-mates about local developments and to solicit their support for certain projects.

Job Fairs - Many LGUs conduct job fairs to advertise local and overseas employment opportunities. These are usually conducted in partnership with the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), OWWA and the Technical Education Skills Development Authority (TESDA). A key informant admitted that most of the activities of LGUs pertaining to migration are largely limited to the job fairs initiated by the PESO. The Provincial government of Bataan,

through its PESO also actively promotes job fairs by sponsoring them on a quarterly basis in partnership with TESDA and DOLE.

The local government of San Jose (Nueva Ecija) conducts job fairs on a regular basis to promote both local and overseas employment. The LGU is also looking at the possibility of offering loans (e.g., pre departure, livelihood loans) to OFWs and their families in partnership with a local bank (Interviews with key informants, 26 June 2009). However, in the case of the job fairs in Iba (Zambales), for every 15-20 applicants, only one is qualified and accepted for work overseas (Interviews with key informants, 2 July 2009).

Developing a Local Database - Several LGUs in the region are just starting to develop a community based management system (CBMS) to collect data that are important for planning and policy implementation. The local government of San Jose City (Nueva Ecija) has undertaken a census to generate socio-economic information about its barangays, including a survey on the number of overseas Filipinos per barangay. Once completed, the database will be able to determine the profiles of overseas Filipinos and their corresponding skills, including overseas based organizations of San Jose City residents (Interview with key informants, 26 June 2009). In Bataan, the provincial government, through its planning office, intends to undertake a similar survey of overseas Filipinos in Bataan in order to enhance its poverty alleviation programs (Interview with a key informant, 24 June 2009). The 2006 CBMS for the province included a questionnaire on overseas Filipinos but it has yet to be completed. The Zambales provincial government will soon undertake its own survey and listing of OFWs and OFW organizations (Interviews with key informants, 2 July 2009). The local government of Gerona (Tarlac) also plans to develop a database to include relevant OFW statistics in their area (Interview with a key informant, 15 December 2009).

Businesses and Investments

According to a key informant, in Region 3 most of the businesses of overseas Filipino workers are in property management or the establishment of buildings or apartments for rent (Interview, 24 June 2009).

Mr. Miguel Bolos is a good example of a returnee who decided to return for good and to have a positive impact on the community. He worked in the Middle East for more than two decades and when he returned to the Philippines, his idea of retiring was to do something. He eventually built and established One Crowne Plaza in Guagua (Pampanga), a commercial complex that opened in November 2007. At the time of interview, he had about 15 tenants. He also owns several of the stalls in the mall. Mr. Bolos thinks that being an entrepreneur is key to business success. He says that the government

should embark on a wide-scale campaign to inform OFWs about opportunities for entrepreneurship or franchising. Economically empowering OFWs will also make them politically empowered, who will then demand for better governance (Interview, 26 June 2009).¹

Overseas Filipinos returning from the US tend to start large-scale enterprises. Ms. Yolanda Espe migrated to the US in 1983. From 1999, she began to buy lots in her hometown, and from 2007, she started developing these lands into commercial areas and small subdivisions. She also went into townhouse construction. She eventually put up KVE Realty and Development (<http://kvedev.com/KVEVillas.html>) in Gerona (Tarlac). According to her, 60 percent of the lots are bought by overseas Filipinos, mostly US residents.

In Zambales, investments in the recreational sector (e.g., beachfronts and resorts) are popular choices. According to a key informant from the provincial government, majority of the seaside resorts in Zambales are owned by foreigners married to Filipinas (Interview, 3 July 2009). Punta de Uian in San Antonio (Zambales) is unique in the sense that it is an investment of a US-based retired Filipino couple in the recreation sector (Interview, 2 July 2009). It was established in 2007 and sits on a 20-hectare beachfront property and named after the only daughter of the owners. The resort is now considered as the most high-end resort in Zambales whose clients include balikbayans, foreigners, and other Filipinos. It was once the location for *Marimar*, a popular television soap opera in the Philippines. The resort is able to generate local employment. All of its 71 employees are from San Antonio and are also relatives of the owners. Because of the resort, roads have been developed and graveled, electricity is made available in the barrios, jobs were generated, and locals were given skills training on running hotels (Interview with a key informant, 2 July 2009).

Somewhat unique in the region is the story of the New Rural Bank of San Leonardo (NRBSL) established in 1995 in Nueva Ecija. Its chair and former president, Andres Panganiban, is a long-time advocate of overseas Filipino migrants. Over the years, the bank has managed to customize its savings and microfinance products for migrant workers, permanent overseas residents, and their families in the Philippines. It appears to be the only private financial institution in the region that envisions a local development perspective that accommodates the dimension of international migration. The bank offers savings accounts, pension and education plans, and loans and microfinance services. The bank has its version of Mexico's "tres por uno" program – the business-labor triple benefit program (BLTBP). These packages are unique in the sense that they also have a reintegration program for enterprising overseas

¹ See also Asis et al. (2010:95-97).

Filipinos such as its “welcome back” capital loans as well as a guarantee loan facility for relatives of overseas Filipinos.

Beyond linking overseas Filipinos and microfinance products and services, Panganiban thinks that the best way forward for the bank is “to shift the direction of remittances towards the development of the local economy” (ILO, 2000:9; Panganiban, 2007). Overseas migrants are now converting their remittances into investments that go beyond daily consumption (ILO, 2000: 9). The bank’s clients include overseas Filipinos interested in buying housing units in subdivisions in Tarlac, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, and Zambales; overseas Filipinos comprise between 35 percent and 59 percent of the clients (Panganiban, 2007). Of the uses of the loans by overseas Filipinos, nearly two-thirds are for agricultural purposes (e.g., livestock raising and production) (Table 7). This can be indicative of the positive impact of international migration on the region’s agricultural sector.

TABLE 7
UTILIZATION OF OVERSEAS FILIPINO LOANS TO NRBSL (JANUARY TO JUNE 2007)

Purposes of OF loans	% to total
Crop production	48
Livestock raising	21
Commercial and trading activities	18
Service-oriented business enterprises	9
Education and house improvement	4

SOURCE: Panganiban (2007:16)

The example of the Talavera Dairy Cooperative, Incorporated (TDCI) also in Nueva Ecija also shows how international migration may have a positive impact on the agriculture sector. The cooperative was in collaboration with the Economic Resource Center for Overseas Filipinos (ERCOF) and DVF Dairy Farm (<http://www.dvfdairyfarm.com/>). The cooperative was established in 1992 by Danilo Fausto, a university-educated entrepreneur who currently its chief executive officer (CEO). The partnership which started in 2006 aims to encourage overseas Filipinos to invest in the agricultural sector specifically in dairy cows dispersed to farmers under a stewardship program. The OFW investors share profits from the milk proceeds with dairy farmers and in the alternate sharing of cows.

Since 2007, the Kooperatibang Likas ng Nueva Ecija (KOOL-NE or real cooperative of Nueva Ecija) (<http://kool-ne.org/>) has been running several social investment programs that targets overseas Filipinos and their house-

hold members at home to invest in the agricultural cooperative. The cooperative accepts short-term deposits with guaranteed interest income. This program offers an 11 percent return on investment, locked for two years, to overseas Filipino investors. It has also started an Adopt-a-Client Investment Program (ACIP) that encourages overseas Filipino migrants to invest in a micro-finance enterprise as well as provide loans to poor but enterprising Filipinos in starting up their own businesses. The program hopes to raise needed capital for farmer-members' agricultural enterprises. As investors, the cooperative hopes that overseas migrant Filipinos can maximize their remittances by placing it in an enterprise that will guarantee them a source of savings and income upon their return to the Philippines. Its aim is to reduce the stigma associated with migrants who go home with not enough savings to support their families' needs.

The KOOL NE cooperative was established in 2002 as a joint venture by 2 NGOs - KALIKASAN-NE and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) to encourage and support sustainable rice production and marketing in the province. It is accredited by the provincial government of Nueva Ecija and is a member of the Provincial Development Council. It currently has partnership engagements with Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), the Land Bank of the Philippines (LBP), the National Livelihood Support Fund (NLSF), the Upland Marketing Foundation Incorporated (UMFI), as well as the Philippine Development Assistance Program (PDAP) for market development, and the Philippine Consortium on Migration and Development (PHILCOMDEV).

Philanthropic Activities by Hometown Associations

Several hometown associations (HTAs) from Central Luzon provinces and cities/municipalities have various philanthropic activities in their respective hometowns. The town of Gerona (Tarlac) maintains communication with former residents who are now residing in the US (particularly in California) and Canada; these ties are informal. Overseas-based residents have donated money for the construction of waiting sheds and have conducted medical missions in the past (Interview with a key informant, 15 December 2009).

Former residents of Paniqui (Tarlac) founded the PaniqueniansUSA, Inc. (<http://www.paniqueniansusa.com/>) which is based in San Francisco. For nearly two decades now, the association has been engaged in a number of projects in the Philippines such as the granting of scholarships to poor but deserving Filipinos and conducting medical, dental, and optical missions to Paniqui in cooperation with the Philippine Medical and Dental Associations in Tarlac. In 2008, the municipal library of the town of Paniqui in Tarlac received a donation of computers from the organization. The PaniqueniansUSA

eCenter for Community Development offers free internet access (as well as WiFi facilities) to the public. This project was made possible through the cooperation of the local government of Paniqui, spearheaded by Mayor Miguel Rivilla.

Novo Ecijanos based in Austria have formed the Association of Novo Ecijanos in Austria (ANEA) (<http://novoecijano.blogspot.com/>) following the visit of the governor to Austria in 2002. Since then, ANEA has undertaken a number of activities to recreate their home community in Austria such as the holding of a fiesta/picnic on Nueva Ecija Day (2 September), staging the Santacruzán, and organizing group visits to European tourist sites..

Another example of a hometown association is the San Leonardo Association of North America (SLANA) (<http://slana.zoomshare.com/2.shtml>) which has about 60 or so members. The blogspot was set up in 2005 to allow the members of the association a chance to link up with one another. Their activities include Christmas caroling to generate funds for social projects in their home province of Nueva Ecija. In 2006, the association supported the digging of a deep water well in Garangay Tagumpay in cooperation with the local officials at the time. It also provided school supplies, medical equipment, and pews for the hometown Church, and conducted a medical mission.

Special mention must be made of the large number of Pampanga HTAs. The name “Aguman Capampangan /Kapampangan” is actually a common name for hometown associations of residents coming from Pampanga. Aguman means fellowship or association in Kapampangan.

One of these associations is the Aguman Kapampangan Dubai and Northern Emirates in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) (www.aguman.com),. It was established in 2001 and has around 50 members who are mostly based in Dubai. One of its aims is to provide training programs “to help the members equip themselves when they will decide to go back to the Philippines for good (reintegration in the local work force).” Most of the activities of Aguman Kapampangan are geared towards supporting the initiatives of the Philippine Embassy, including preventing and mitigating the problems of Kapampangans working in the Emirates.

The Aguman Capampangan Northwest USA (<http://maxpages.com/aguman>) was established in 1996 by Kapampangan’s in Portland, Oregon. It aims not only to promote Philippine and Kapampangan culture in the US but also to assist less-privileged Filipinos by conducting medical missions. There is also the Aguman Kapampangan in the United Kingdom (<http://www.theaguman.co.uk/>) (established in 1993) that has evolved from being a social group (they organize the Mrs. Philippines UK contest) to raising money and other resources to support projects in their home province. Some of the projects the association has supported are the building of a day care

centre for the Aetas in Sitio Target, Sapang Bato; scholarships for Aeta high school students; and the construction of water pumps.

What is common in all these agumans is the close ties they have developed with the Philippine mission / consulate in their respective areas / countries. Each has its own set of initiatives that range from communal activities (e.g., get-together parties and social events) to philanthropic and social programs in the Philippines (e.g., scholarships, medical missions, etc.). These agumans do not appear to have any relationship with one another; their websites do not cross-reference one another.

Conclusions

Despite the dearth of data on the community contributions of overseas Filipinos and official partnerships, the region has had experiences in undertakings that accommodate international migration in local development planning. However, international migration does not figure significantly in the mindset of local development planners and policy-makers. At the very least, many are now saying that they need to generate baseline data on their overseas Filipino constituents to guide them in the crafting of their local programs and initiatives.

Most of the key government informants believe that overseas migrants are a sector in society by themselves and that they can be partners in local development. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the links between local government institutions and overseas Filipinos are still few and highly informal in nature. Such undertakings need to be institutionalized or regularized over the long-term so that innovations and initiatives do not become over-dependent on specific conditions such as the leadership personality of the local chief executive. The following are recommended for future study:

- Probing the relationship between international migration and agriculture - how has international migration affected rice farming in the region? To what extent has international migration encouraged returnees to invest more in agriculture and farming?
- Examining the role that SEZs and EPZs play in mitigating or encouraging out-migration pressures - to what extent have the former US military bases and the SEZs and EPZs managed to reduce out-migration pressures?
- Exploring the development perspectives of migrants and their families and how these can be broadened beyond their respective home towns or provinces - In a sense, broadening the development perspectives of

migrants beyond their respective families and hometowns can lead to a more substantial role of the diaspora community in national development.

- Determining how the economic resources of migrants translate to political development in the region – In the May 2007 local elections, when Ed Panlilio ran for governor of Pampanga, some overseas Filipinos from the province are said to have extended their in the campaign. Such a transnational connection for homeland good governance remains an untapped resource for local development.

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ANNEX 1

LIST OF KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Individual Interviews

Atty. Paul Briones
Legal Officer
Marilao, Bulacan
23 September 2009

Engr. Alfredo N. Contreras
Municipal Administrator
Obando, Bulacan,
25 September 2009

Lourdes I. Pangan
Municipal Social Welfare and
Development Officer
Paombong, Bulacan
4 December 2009

Ponciano Noel Soliman III
Councilor
Tarlac City, Tarlac
14 December 2009

Victor Gerald Castaneda
Municipal Planning and
Development Coordinator
Gerona, Tarlac
15 December 2009

Atty. Luis Gonzalez
Municipal Administrator
Mariveles, Bataan
24 June 2009

Judith P. Angeles
Assistant Regional Director
Department of Trade and
Industry (DTI) Regional Office
Angeles City, Pampanga
24 June 2009

Vic Ubaldo
Chief Economic Development Specialist
NEDA Region III
San Fernando City, Pampanga
25 June 2009

Lottie C. Reginalde
Owner, Lualhati Enterprises
Cabanatuan City, Nueva Ecija
27 June 2009

Mike Bolos
Owner, One Crowne Plaza
Commercial Complex
Guagua, Pampanga
26 June 2009

Evelyn delos Santos
PESO Manager
Olongapo City Government
Olongapo, Zambales
03 July 2009

Eleonor Santos
Owner, Queen Puppet Native Delicacies
Olongapo City, Zambales
03 July 2009

Gio Aquino
Resident Manager
Punta de Uian Resort
San Antonio, Zambales
02 July 2009

ANNEX 1 (continued)
LIST OF KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Group Interviews

Zoilo Briones PESO Engr. Vladimir Santillan Planning Officer Paniqui, Tarlac 15 December 2009	Atty. Alejandro Abesamis Provincial Administrator Gemiliano Ferrer Provincial Planning Officer Nueva Ecija Provincial Government Palayan City, Nueva Ecija 26 June 2009
Diosdado Jose Municipal Planning and Development Officer Balagtas, Bulacan Mary Carmen S. Mina Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officer Balagtas, Bulacan 4 December 2009	Mayor Alvin P. Vergara Estrella de Lara PESO Cabanatuan City 26 June 2009
Norberto Lorca City Administrator Engr. Winifred Frias Planning Officer Zenaida Barangan PESO Manager San Jose City, Nueva Ecija 26 June 2009	Reynaldo Antonio Arlene Soriano-Antonio Owners, Anson Aluminum Cabanatuan City, Nueva Ecija 27 June 2009
	Leticia Viernes Provincial Planning and Development Coordinator Evelyn Mar Head, Population Program Services Zambales Provincial Government Iba, Zambales 02 July 2009

CALABARZON

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Introduction

The provinces of Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Quezon, and Rizal altogether have a unique historic legacy. During the late 1890s, Cavite became the seat of the first Philippine republic and, along with Batangas and Laguna, it was one of the first provinces to rise up against colonial Spain. Rizal province is named after the country's national hero while Quezon, formerly Tayabas, is the home province of the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth (after whom the place is now named). These provinces have left a lasting legacy as the birthplace of national heroes (e.g., Jose Rizal from Laguna; Apolinario Mabini from Batangas; and Emilio Aguinaldo from Cavite, among many others). Today, the region collectively known as CALABARZON (**Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal, Quezon**) or Region IVA has another distinctive feature as a primary source-region of the country's modern-day heroes, as the overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) have come to be regarded.

This heroic legacy continues in the economic sphere as CALABARZON becomes a primary location for both local and foreign investments through its special economic zones.¹ The CALABARZON region lies at the hub of the country's industrialization program. With its well-developed infrastructure, CALABARZON has become a key industrial zone not only for Luzon but the entire Philippines as well. In 2009, nearly half of all operating manufacturing economic zones in the Philippines were located in the region (mainly in the provinces of Batangas, Cavite, and Laguna) (see Kelly, 2000). The economic zones in Cavite and Laguna employ thousands of workers and generates millions of dollars in income. In 2003, the CALABARZON provinces collectively contributed about 13 percent to the country's overall gross domestic

¹ These ecozones, as they are also referred to, constitute the government's backbone to encourage investments in agriculture, industry, commerce and tourism. They are primarily in the form of industrial estates, export processing zones, and free trade zones.

product (GDP) and in which a third is accounted for by the manufacturing industry (NEDA, 2004:15). In 2005, the region's industries contributed slightly more than two-thirds of the country's total export earnings attracting no less than P 44.73 billion of investments (CALABARZON, 2006a:2).

Along with its favorable investment situation, the region has attained significant levels of economic and social prosperity. The region boasts of five first-class provinces and a host of other first- and second-class local government units (LGUs). Four of its five provinces (Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, and Rizal) are consistently at the top of the country's human development index in 2006 (HDN, 2009: 111). This makes CALABARZON an attractive residential habitat area as well. The 2007 census revealed that CALABARZON had a population larger than that of NCR itself (i.e., 11.7 million as against 11.5 million) (Erica, 2008).

The region's economic prosperity makes it an attractive destination for migrants from surrounding regions and provinces including Metro Manila. Since the 1980s, the CALABARZON area has shown positive net in-migration from Metro Manila cities particularly from Bicol, Eastern and Western Visayas, and the Ilocos (Nakanishi, 1999:15). The influx of migrants into the region has strained the capacities and resources economic institutions. CALABARZON has the highest unemployment rate, second only to NCR (Correspondingly, these conditions in the region have also transformed CALABARZON into a major source area for overseas migrants. Since the 21st century, the reported number of OFWs from the region is larger than those coming from Metro Manila itself. In the 2006 and 2007 Surveys on Overseas Filipinos (SOF), for instance, the National Statistics Office (2007) reports that the proportion of OFWs from CALABARZON (16.8 percent and 17.7 percent, respectively) in relation to the national total is slightly higher than those coming from Metro Manila (16 percent and 16.4 percent, respectively).

International Migration and Local Development: From Global to Translocal Village

The world has become smaller and has been reduced to a "global village." Technological advances (especially in the last quarter of the last century) have certainly made the world much smaller both geographically and virtually in the sense that it has brought everyone closer to everyone else and has "flattened" it in the sense that all competitors (both large and small) now have an equal opportunity to compete (Friedman, 2005). The term global village also conveys a sense that things and concepts now overlap with one another. In the world of the global village, however, the local-global dichotomy becomes superfluous and the nature of locality becomes situated and embedded within a global context. Indeed, it is now possible to argue for a translocal

village in which the local and the global appear to have collapsed on each other (see, for instance, the contributions in Smith and Guarnizo, 1998). This is where the paper is coming from – it looks at sub-national institutions as focal points for translocal connections.

International migration has a range of direct and indirect effects on local development. First, the income remittances that overseas migrants send to their families in the Philippines (whether these are spent on consumption or house construction or education or business investments) can be seen as having a direct impact on the local communities where both migrant as well as non-migrant households are situated (e.g., schools, construction contractors, shopping malls, employment of workers, etc.). Second, migrants have a strong tendency to identify more with their hometowns than with the nation as a whole. Hence, they are also more likely to come to the aid of these communities when certain needs arise (e.g., natural or man-made calamities). Third, and corollary to the second one, for migrants that do send such assistance, it is highly probable that they will do so through a local non-governmental organization or local government authority. This is to ensure that whatever amount is sent can be used efficiently and effectively. Fourth, the departure of local residents can impact greatly on the local socio-economic landscape. Out-migration can create a vacuum that local communities may be challenged to fill over the short- as well as long-term period. Likewise, remaining residents may be encouraged by the perceived “success” of residents that have already left. Out-migration (especially if it is perceived to be beneficial and productive) can induce a certain impetus or drive for more local residents to seek better opportunities outside the community. Finally, the problems that are typically associated with emigration (e.g., illegal recruitment and socio-psychological traumas) can be effectively and efficiently addressed at the community level. As such, the study essentially argues that the support of sub-national institutions is essential to ensuring that migrants are able to positively impact on local development concerns.

Objectives of the Study

Broadly, this paper describes and analyzes the nexus between international migration, local development, and sub-national governance institutions in four provinces – Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, and Rizal.² This paper intends to provide a preliminary treatment of what LGUs are doing in the face of such a deeply moving and complex phenomenon as international migration. It also

² Quezon was not considered as a case study given its limited international migration experience relative to the other four provinces.

shows some of the good local practices and initiatives to link migration with local development as well as the problems and challenges associated with it. Clearly, there is a shortage of such local narratives. In particular, this report attempts to provide a better understanding of the relationship between international migration and local development by examining the role played by institutions and in CALABARZON in harnessing the gains from overseas migrants and international migration.

Methodological Notes

In order to generate the relevant data, the research made use of secondary as well as primary sources. The secondary sources include the written reports, official documents, newsletters, and relevant research studies acquired from the different local as well as regional development offices and also includes past studies that have been published to effectively situate the possible contributions of the study to the existing body of literature. Primary sources include key informant interviews as well as focus group discussions (see Annexes 1 and 2) based on guide questions and protocols developed by the Scalabrini Migration Center.

Key informants include local officials such as the provincial planning and development coordinators (PPDCs) of the five provinces under study and the regional coordinators of selected national government agencies such as the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA). In addition, data were also collected from sub-regional informants, such as the city and municipal planning and development coordinators of Morong and Antipolo city. The period of primary data collection was between May and November 2008. Altogether, a total of 11 individual key informant interviews and two focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted during the period involving 20 individuals from the regional and local governments as well as the private sector.

The rest of the paper is divided into four parts. The first part describes the current development realities, prospects, and challenges in the region that frame the impetus for international migration from CALABARZON. The second part broadly assesses the international migration experiences and trends generated by such development realities. The third part describes some notable local government policies and practices that impact upon the region's international migration situation. The fourth and final part concludes and forwards some recommendations.

FIGURE 1
THE PROVINCES OF CALABARZON



SOURCE: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c7/Ph_locator_region_4a.png

Regional Development Realities: CALABARZON as a High Growth Area

CALABARZON is located just southeast of Metro Manila (Figure 1). The CALABARZON provinces have a combined land area of nearly 1.7 million hectares with Quezon taking up slightly over half the region’s geographical size. In comparative terms, the region is about 25 times larger than Metro

TABLE 1
CALABARZON LAND AREA (IN SQ. KMS.)

Geographical Indicator	CALA BARZON	Cavite	Laguna	Batangas	Rizal	Quezon
Land Area (in sq. km.)	16,557.45	1,512.41	1,823.55	3,119.72	1,175.76	8,926.01
Percentage to the Region's Land Area		9.10%	11.00%	18.80%	7.10%	53.90%
No. of Cities	10	3	2	3	1	1
No. of Municipalities	132	20	28	31	13	40
No. of Barangays	4012	830	674	1,078	188	1,242
No. of Districts	17	3	4	4	2	4
No. of 3rd to 5th Class LGUs	86	11	22	20	5	28

SOURCE: National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB)

Manila. Its five provinces are further broken down into 10 cities and 132 municipalities with about 35 percent of these being either first- or second-class LGUs (Table 1). Politically, the region has a total 19 congressional districts.

Evidently, CALABARZON has a social infrastructure that has improved considerably relative to other regions in the country. Statistics from the Department of Health (DOH) indicate that, in 2007, CALABARZON had the highest number of barangay health stations (over 2,150) in the country (NEC, 2008:129-1333). Indeed, in Rizal Province in particular, there are more barangay health stations than there are barangays. However, the ratio between the number of households and the number of barangay health stations in the region altogether is lower than the national ratio except in the provinces of Batangas and Quezon.

Poverty levels are significantly lower in CALABARZON relative to other regions. Statistics released by the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB) in 2006 indicate that the poverty incidence in CALABARZON was 16.7 percent – second only to the lowest, which is NCR (7.1 percent). The four provinces in the case study are consistently in the top ten least poor provinces (Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, and Rizal) (HDN, 2009:117). Within the region, Rizal has the lowest poverty incidence (6.4 percent) followed by Cavite (7.8 percent) while Batangas (25.6 percent) and Laguna (10.6 percent) continue to have a double-digit poverty incidence as derived from NSCB (2006) data. However, the poverty incidence in the provinces is relatively stable and, with the exception of Batangas, it is not quite as high, at around 10 percent ().

According to the Family Income and Expenditure Surveys (FIES) of NSO (2006), the average annual family income at current prices in the region in 2003 and 2006 is higher than the national average and second only to NCR as seen in Table 2 below.

Much of the region is also known to rate highly in terms of human development. According to the 2008/2009 Philippine Human Development

TABLE 2
AVERAGE INCOME, EXPENDITURE, AND SAVINGS OF FAMILIES BY REGION
(AT CURRENT PRICES): 2003 AND 2006

Region	2006 (In thousand pesos)			2003 (In thousand pesos)		
	Income	Expenditure	Savings	Income	Expenditure	Savings
Philippines	173	147	26	148	124	24
National Capital Region	311	258	53	266	218	48
Cordillera Administrative Region	192	151	42	152	126	26
I - Ilocos	142	124	19	124	102	22
II - Cagayan Valley	143	118	25	126	99	27
III - Central Luzon	198	170	27	160	138	22
IVA - CALABARZON	210	186	23	184	158	26
IVB - MIMAROPA	109	93	16	103	84	19
V - Bicol	125	110	15	109	94	15
VI - Western Visayas	130	116	14	111	98	14
VII - Central Visayas	144	124	21	121	102	19
VIII - Eastern Visayas	126	104	22	103	84	19
IX - Zamboanga Peninsula	125	99	27	93	75	18
X - Northern Mindanao	142	117	25	109	91	18
XI - Davao	135	115	19	117	100	18
XII - SOCCSKSARGEN	114	96	18	113	85	28
XIII - Caraga	118	100	18	90	78	12
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao	89	75	14	83	67	16

SOURCE: National Statistics Office, 2003 and 2006 Family Income and Expenditure Survey Final Results.

NOTE: Details may not add up to totals due to rounding.

Report, three of the ten provinces with the highest ranking in the human development index as well as the gender-related development index for 2006 are included in the case areas, namely, Rizal, Cavite, and Laguna (HDN, 2009: 111 and 152). These same three provinces are also in the top ten provinces in terms of real per capita income in 2006 (in constant 1997 peso terms) (HDN, 2009:109). Ironically, these three provinces are also the ones with the highest average unemployment rate from 2003 to 2006 (Laguna, 16.2 percent; Cavite, 15.6 percent; and Rizal, 14.1 percent) (HDN, 2009:119). They also happen to be major source areas of overseas migrants.

Regional Development Thrusts, Targets, and Challenges

The 2004-2010 regional development plan for CALABARZON is quite extensive in terms of its ability to identify the challenges and opportunities facing the region as a whole.³ A key informant from the National Economic Development Authority of Region 4A said that the current development vision for the CALABARZON area (i.e., up to 2010) focuses on attaining the vision to be “the most livable industrial region” (NEDA, 2008:ix). To attain this vision, the plan calls for increased job creation, accelerated economic growth, strengthened trade and industry, robust tourism, enhanced social development with poverty reduction measures, decentralized development through improved infrastructure, sustainable environmental management, and effective governance. Clearly, industrialization through investment mobilization has become the main anchor of development in the region.

Notwithstanding any planning deficiencies, when asked what factors and challenges are likely to hinder the region’s development potentials, local informants cited several issues and concerns. Rapid population growth (mainly through in-migration) is seen to be a major challenge for development planners in the region (Interviews with NEDA, 14 July 2008). CALABARZON has the fastest growing population in the country and this is mainly due to the influx of settlers and local migrants from outside the region. Its large population can put a strain on the limited resources of the local administrative system in terms of its overall ability to provide for basic social and human services. Between 2004 and 2005, for instance, the ratio of the number of rural health units (RHU) in Rizal province in relation to its population has gone up

³ The RDC for Region IV-A first adopted the CALABARZON Medium-Term Regional Development Plan in 2004 “as the road map for growth and development of the region over the six-year planning horizon” (Gawe, 2008a: 1). However, in its meeting of 8 May 2008, the RDC Executive Committee unanimously approved the Updated CALABARZON Regional Development Plan for 2008-2010 (Gawe, 2008a: 1). The Committee is composed of the governors of all the five provinces in the region and the NEDA regional director.

from 63,323 per RHU to 77,783 per RHU. The ratio of government hospitals to the total population has also gone up from 196,000 per government hospital in 2004 to 225,570 per government hospital in 2005 (Rizal, 2005:50 and Rizal, 2007b:n.p.). The region has also managed to meet many of its targeted Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (*see* Gawe, 2008).

The region's development planners are also faced with other challenges and concerns resulting from its fast-paced development. Along with a rapidly increasing population, there is also the problem of intense urbanization. This has caused significant levels of environmental degradation especially in the region's remaining forest and water areas (Interview with NEDA, 14 July 2008). Urbanization has also led to the increase in conversions from agricultural to non-agricultural purposes. For instance, the increasing demand for housing/residential settlements especially around the industry-rich towns of Calamba and Binan in Laguna as well as its high rate of urbanization have resulted in the unprecedented conversion of agricultural lands to residential and industrial estates. Citing unpublished data from the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR), Kelly observed that between 1988 and 1995, no less than 33,000 hectares of agricultural land have been converted for non-agricultural purposes throughout the country. Of this total, nearly two-thirds (*i.e.*, around 20,350 hectares) were in CALABARZON provinces (Kelly, 1998: 39). According to Malaque and Yokohari (2007), the Southern Tagalog region (of which CALABARZON is part) had the highest "number of applications for land use conversion between 1988 and 2000" (191).

A substantial portion of these land conversions were for residential purposes. Some 50 percent to 75 percent of agricultural lands converted in CALABARZON from 1984 to 1999 were for the purpose of establishing residential settlements and subdivisions. Such findings are corroborated in Cavite by Cardenas (2005) who observed that by 1994, no less than 3,850 hectares of agricultural land had been converted to non-agricultural use "exclusively for residential purposes" while the rest were for industrial (16 percent), mix-uses (21 percent), and commercial / recreational / service areas (6 percent) (p.6). The top four cities and towns in Cavite province that experienced conversions of their agricultural land were Dasmariñas, General Trias, Bacoar, and Imus which collectively represent three-fifths of the aggregate land conversions that took place in the province for the entire period (p. 3). Between 1988 and 2003, there were 840 registered housing subdivisions in the province comprising roughly 619,000 lots / housing units over an area of over 6,200 hectares (Cavite, 2005:57).

Surprisingly, none of the key informants mentioned the problem associated with over-dependence on the national government through the internal revenue allotment (IRA) as one factor that could adversely impact on the region's overall development thrusts. Despite the vast administrative and

fiscal powers granted to LGUs under the 1991 Local Government Code, the IRA has become a major revenue source for local governments accounting for 65 percent of their average annual local income. Provinces and municipalities rely on their IRA by as much as 75 percent while half the revenues of cities are derived from it (see Diaz-Manalo, 2007). In the CALABARZON provinces and cities, the proportion of the IRA to total tax revenues in 2008 is at least 60 percent with Quezon at nearly 80 percent while Tayabas is highest at more than 85 percent. During the same year, the provinces and cities of the region also derived a substantial portion of their local tax revenues from real property taxes by as much as 97 percent in Quezon province. The situation implies a heavy reliance on real property taxation as opposed to taxes on businesses and other creative local tax measures. This is an interesting feature of the fiscal situation of LGUs in the country and one that can be affected by the local development-international migration-governance institutions nexus mentioned earlier.

International Migration and Local Development Planning

Officially, regional development planners in the four provinces in the study only peripherally acknowledge the role played by overseas migrants in contributing to (a) increased local government revenues and resources, and (b) overall local development. Anecdotally and informally through interviews and discussions with all the informants, there is an appreciation of the scale of Filipino out-migration (especially labor migration) particularly in terms of their real and potential contributions to the growth and development of the four provinces and their respective cities and towns. Many of them migrate to the US, and establish their own Filipino associations that can be both a real and potential conduit for investments and livelihood projects in the Philippines (Interview with NEDA, 14 July 2008).

To encourage investments from abroad (including overseas Filipinos), the Regional Development Council (RDC) created the Investments Promotion Group (IPG) "which coordinates and handles investment [sic] promotion activities of the region" (NEDA, 2008:16). The IPG is composed of all the five provincial governors and supported by the different regional offices of national government agencies including NEDA and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). Since its formation, the IPG has conducted several visits to Japan, Taiwan, the US and Canada to attract overseas investors and donors (Region IV-A PPDC Meeting, 15 July 2008). In November 2006, the IPG visited several cities in the US to drum "up interest among Filipino-Americans and Americans of Filipino descent to join business ventures and put up capital investment in the ... provinces" (CALABARZON, 2006b: 1). The IPG mission to the US was also aimed at soliciting "donations for new and slightly used

medical equipment for government hospitals, and information, communication and technology equipment for government technology schools" (CALABARZON, 2006b:1). The visits gave the members of the IPG the opportunity to meet with representatives of the Filipino-American Chamber of Commerce as well as the International Trade Club of Houston to discuss possible investment options. Many of these Filipino-Americans have expressed a keen interest to consider investing in the CALABARZON area (De Leon, 2007:15).

International Migration Trends: Local Views and Challenges

Inter-regional migration accounts for the substantial increase of the region's population. In the interview with NEDA (14 July 2008), only about 20-25 percent of the region's resident population is originally from the area. Due to its proximity to Metro Manila, there is a significant population spill-over from NCR to the surrounding areas comprised of the CALABARZON provinces. Many workers employed in Metro Manila actually reside in the nearby CALABARZON provinces now made more accessible by public means of transportation and communications. Several key informants referred to Rizal Province, for instance, as "the bedroom of Metro Manila" since many of its residents work in Manila and only "sleep" in the province. By the 1990s, Metro Manila or the National Capital Region (NCR) was no longer a major destination for internal migrants the way it was during the 1970s and the 1980s. Indeed, the NCR by the late 1990s had become a region of net out-migration (Esguerra and Manning, 2007:264). Southern Tagalog replaced the NCR as the most important region of net in-migration in the country. While Metro Manila had experienced a net migration of nearly -200,000 for the period 1996 to 2000, the Southern Tagalog region experienced a net migration of almost +300,000 for the same period.

Economic processes (e.g., rapid urbanization, intense industrialization, agricultural land conversion and the displacement of agricultural workforce, among others) and their proximity to Metro Manila have contributed to making the CALABARZON provinces key areas of origin of overseas Filipinos, especially overseas Filipino workers (OFWs). In the 2006-2007 Surveys of Overseas Filipinos, the National Statistics Office (NSO) reports that the percentage distribution of OFWs from the CALABARZON region for the period (16.8 percent and 17.7 percent, respectively) is higher than those coming from Metro Manila (16.4 percent and 16 percent, respectively) as seen in Table 3 below. Indeed, the number of recorded OFWs in the region is increasing whereas Metro Manila's proportion has slightly declined over the same period. However, records as of 2006 from the Overseas Workers Welfare

TABLE 3
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OVERSEAS FILIPINOS WORKERS
BY SEX AND REGION: 2006 AND 2007

Region	2007			2006		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Philippines (in thousands)	1,747	890	857	1,515	751	764
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
National Capital Region	16.0	19.3	12.5	16.4	19.8	13.0
Cordillera Administrative Region	2.1	1.4	2.8	2.2	1.3	3.1
I - Ilocos Region	7.7	5.1	10.4	7.6	5.5	9.7
II - Cagayan Valley	5.9	3.1	8.7	5.3	2.6	7.9
III - Central Luzon	14.3	17.6	10.9	14.5	18.5	10.6
IVA - CALABARZON	17.7	21.4	13.8	16.8	19.5	14.1
IVB - MIMAROPA	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.4
V - Bicol Region	3.0	2.8	3.2	2.5	2.2	2.9
VI - Western Visayas	8.5	7.1	10.0	9.5	8.5	10.5
VII - Central Visayas	5.1	6.6	3.6	5.5	7.1	3.8
VIII - Eastern Visayas	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2
IX - Zamboanga Peninsula	2.0	1.4	2.6	2.2	1.6	2.8
X - Northern Mindanao	3.1	2.9	3.3	2.8	2.7	2.9
XI - Davao Region	2.6	2.2	3.0	3.1	2.1	4.0
XII - SOCCSKSARGEN	4.2	2.3	6.2	4.0	1.8	6.1
XIII - Caraga	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.3
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao	3.1	2.0	4.2	3.1	2.5	3.6

SOURCE: National Statistics Office, 2006 and 2007 Survey on Overseas Filipinos

NOTES: Details may not add up to totals due to rounding.

The estimates cover overseas Filipinos whose departure occurred within the last five years and who are working or had worked abroad during the past six months (April to September) of the survey period.

Administration (OWWA) show that the NCR has the highest proportion (23.3 percent) of OWWA members as seen in Table 4, followed by CALABARZON (18.4 percent). On a per province basis, Cavite has the highest number of OWWA members (19,364) followed by Batangas (15,934), Laguna (13,328),

TABLE 4
OFW MEMBERSHIP PROGRAM BY REGION AND PROVINCE (2006)

Region / Province	Male	All Workers Female	Total
National	220,684	122,875	343,559
NCR	58,344	21,816	80,160
REGION IVA	45,343	17,832	63,175
Batangas	10,689	5,254	15,943
Cavite	15,523	3,841	19,364
Laguna	9,107	4,221	13,328
Quezon	2,694	1,841	4,535
Rizal	7,330	2,675	10,005

SOURCE: Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA)

Rizal (10,005), and Quezon (4,535). Within the region, Batangas appears to have the most number of land-based workers (10,415) while Cavite has the most number of sea-based workers (12,430). Batangas is also the province with the most number of female OFWs in the region (5,254). According to POEA, there are 10,022 registered OFWs from the province (POEA, 2007:31). This official figure is the second lowest in the region. It is important to note at this point that official statistics have a tendency to fall on the conservative side since not all OFWs are likely to be OWWA members or be registered with the POEA.

Of the 15,269,655 families surveyed in the 2000 Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES), around 7.2 percent (1,106,505 households) received cash, gifts, and other forms of assistance from abroad. Regionally, the number of NCR households that received such forms of assistance from abroad is about 220,699 or roughly 10 percent of the total 2,188,675 households in Metro Manila. In Batangas, however, the percentage of households that received income assistance is nearly 13 percent (33,409) of 260,576 households for the province. In Laguna and Rizal, the proportion of households is almost 11 percent (22,298 out of 205,195 households and 19,954 out of 178,024 households, respectively). A news report says that the province of Cavite received no less than P 18.16 billion in remittances in 2006 (see Dizon, 2009) or about 3 percent of the total remittances for the entire country for the whole year.

At the sub-provincial level, the municipality of Imus in Cavite has the highest proportion of households (relative to the total household population) that receive assistance from abroad at almost 15.5 percent followed by San Pablo City in Laguna (14 percent) and the municipality of Dasmariñas (also

in Cavite) at 13.5 percent as seen in Table 5 below. In absolute terms, however, Antipolo City in Rizal has the most number of households (108,118) receiving such assistance from overseas followed by the cities of Dasmariñas and Bacoor in Cavite (67,601 and 63,087, respectively). However, estimates made by an independent group would indicate that Rizal province received the highest remittances from overseas (P 19.3 billion in 2006 alone) (see Dizon, 2009).

TABLE 5
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND INCOME FROM ABROAD IN
SELECTED LGUs IN REGION IVA (2000)

	Total households	Households with overseas income	%
Imus	45,973	7,139	15.5
San Pablo City	42,192	5,969	14.1
Dasmariñas	67,601	9,096	13.5
San Pedro	49,186	6,199	12.6
Cainta	57,783	7,151	12.4
Binan	38,455	4,295	11.2
Batangas City	45,108	4,788	10.6
Antipolo City	108,118	10,658	9.9
Bacoor	63,087	5,914	9.4
Calamba	53,418	4,255	8.0
Lipa City	37,648	2,884	7.7
Lucena City	42,345	2,198	5.2

SOURCE: Table 9, p.160-230, FIES, National Statistics Office (2002)

Government-generated data provide some indication on the gender distribution of OFWs from CALABRAZON. Table 4 above would indicate that Batangas and Laguna are significant source provinces of male migrant workers from the region. Data from the 2006 and 2007 rounds of the Survey of Overseas Filipinos suggest a fairly balanced share of male and female overseas workers: in 2006, 49.6 percent and 50.4 percent of 1.515 million OFWs were male and female, respectively; in 2007, 50.9 percent and 49.1 percent of the 1.747 OFWs were male and female, respectively (NSO, 2006, 2007).

The economic contributions of overseas migrants are estimated to be substantial at the regional level—about one percent of the 2.8 percent regional growth rate (Interview with NEDA, 14 July 2008). Several informants confirm

what the literature has been saying, i.e., that the remittances sent by overseas migrants have a multiplier effect in terms of increasing expenditures and investments like education and housing (see, for instance, Pernia, 2006 and Jongwanich, 2007). House construction is a major economic activity for OFWs in the region to an extent greater than other areas of the country. A report by the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) (2007) notes that while “overall construction activity exhibited a downtrend,” there has been “boom in residential construction” in Central Visayas, Central Luzon, CALABARZON, and NCR which “may be attributed to the influx of overseas Filipino remittances” (p.6).⁴ Migrants have also been observed to engage in local business enterprises; at least in Region 4A, OFW households appear to be entrepreneurial households (Interview with NEDA, 14 July 2008). In some cases, their enterprises involve encouraging local industries like making native mats and baskets, not just typical businesses such as investing in jeepneys and tricycles. In terms of technology transfer, for instance, there are migrants who have returned and set up machine shops.

Development and Migration: Local Views and Impressions

Overseas migrants were regarded by all informants as contributors to the development of their respective localities and can have a positive effect on poverty alleviation, a view that is strongly supported by the literature (for instance, see Adams and Page, 2003; Pernia, 2006; and Jongwanich, 2007). As indicated in Table 5. Some 5 percent to 16 percent of households in selected LGUs in CALABARZON receive overseas income (as of 2000 data). According to a key informant, migrants working in Spain had built big and beautiful houses and are now able to send their children to private schools. Migrants also contribute to community projects. In one town, migrants donated Php2 million for the town fiesta. Migrants had also been credited in donating for the improvement of some community facilities. In Barangay Alagao in the municipality of Bauan, Batangas, for instance, international migration (primarily for employment) has changed the locality from being primarily agricultural to having around 500 people who are now working in Spain (Interview with key informant, Batangas, 14 October 2008). Data on donations overseas Filipinos have channeled to CALABARZON provinces show that overseas Filipinos have underwritten various social projects, of which health/medical mission (91 percent) accounted for the largest share (91 percent), with education/scholarship (4.2 percent) and calamity/relief assistance (3.5 percent) as the

⁴ It is not surprising to find a so-called “Italian villages” in Batangas or a Seamen’s Village in Cavite.

other popular projects (Table 6). However, this study notes that there are still concerns that overseas migration can also intensify local inequalities by making the poor non-migrant households even poorer in the source areas (see, for instance, Skeldon, 2003 and Black et al., 2005).

It would seem that there is some tension in the views and perspectives of local officials and informants of and about international migration specific to the phenomenon's impacts and implications at the local levels. On the one hand, all local officials interviewed acknowledge the material contributions of overseas Filipinos both to the country as a whole and to the families they have left behind. On the other hand, these local authorities also underscore the negative (even harmful) emotional and psycho-social effects of migration on families and children left behind. Migrants are able to help their families materially; provide funding and donations for local infrastructure projects and other church-related charities and fiestas; their children get to study in private schools; the migrant earns much more than local workers; and they eat better food. However, the social and personal costs are also worth considering especially when it involves migrant women (Interview with key informant, Batangas, 14 October 2008). There are those household members who rely on their migrant relatives for financial support. But for some key informants, they also notice some positive changes in the values of migrant households. Some of them observe that migrant families see separation from their loved ones due to migration not as a problem as long as "you are able to put food on the table for your family" (Interview with key informant, 14 October 2008). Children are seen by some informants as having also imbibed the migration perspective (Interview with key informant, Rizal, 23 October 2008). Children's values and attitudes also change without proper guidance from their absent parents. There is already a wide range of available sources on the social costs of migration both for the migrants as well as for those left behind (see, for instance, IOM, 2008).

All the key informants point to anecdotal cases to show that migration has a negative effect on migrant families, especially children. Some people engage in frivolous spending due to the income derived from remittances. There are cases where the families are not motivated to engage in productive activities due to their dependence on the remittances sent by the migrants. This can be a potentially problematic issue for the region if it is not addressed early as it can lead to overdependence on overseas remittance income. The children of overseas migrants are not looked after properly because the guidance of the parents is not there and there is a reliance on surrogate caregivers. This problem can be addressed by providing support to the parents who are left behind and also through other community-based initiatives involving the cooperation of barangay officials. Nevertheless, the key regional development planners interviewed in this study say that there is still room for more overseas

TABLE 6
DONATIONS REFERRED THRU LINKAPIL (1990-2007)

Province	Calamity/Relief Assistance	Education/ Scholarship	Health/Medical Mission	Livelihood	Infrastructure	Total	%
Batangas		4,746,107.60	68,582,705.34		896,827.00	74,225,639.94	25.0
Cavite		1,767,992.15	60,500,937.35		1,639,794.88	63,908,724.38	21.5
Laguna	3,078,239.71	3,248,650.00	39,010,681.87		442,943.15	45,780,514.73	15.4
Quezon	6,855,386.32	1,610,230.00	72,457,468.80	83,000.00	81,758.95	81,987,844.07	27.6
Rizal	367,500.00	1,012,325.00	29,176,129.94		721,450.00	31,277,404.94	10.5
Total	10,301,126.03	12,385,304.75	269,727,923.30	83,000.00	4,282,773.98	297,180,128.06	100.0
%	3.5	4.2	90.8	0.2	1.4	100.0	

migrants coming from the region (Interview with NEDA, 14 July 2008). In Rizal province, for instance, one informant said that the people leaving the province to work abroad are not that many; locally available jobs are scarce and this is the reason why they leave in the first place (FGD, Rizal, 9 July 2008). Local authorities and institutions need to build their capacities and resources to enable them to address these concerns and effects at their level and not rely too much on national agencies such as the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) or the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) and the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA).

Institutional Gaps and Challenges

Based on the views and attitudes expressed by local officials towards international migration, they appear to administratively “distance” their local institutions from the problems associated with the phenomenon. Indeed, local officials are of the view that migration must be the concern of the national government and national line agencies. There is a sense among the local key informants that international migration is a “national” matter beyond the jurisdiction of local authorities and that it is the responsibility of national agencies to address the problems of migrants (especially upon their return). This may be an indication of the degree of “detachment” between local and national institutions such as the POEA, OWWA, and DOLE, among others. Moreover, this compartmentalized view of international migration is compounded by the fact that few local government officials appreciate the members of their migrant households as part of their constituency.

Local officials also point to the absence of institutionalized mechanisms for overseas Filipinos to channel their support for local development projects and programs. In the case of Laguna, for instance, a key informant underscored some of the technical and administrative problems encountered by migrant groups abroad wishing to make contributions to local government authorities, “They would like to help but they don’t know how” (Interview with key informant, Laguna, 1 July 2008). The issue of mistrust of government institutions was also mentioned as a deterrent. However, in the case of Laguna province, the problem of distrust is being addressed as local authorities encourage greater transparency in government transactions—this is expected to motivate overseas Filipinos to support local development programs and projects (Interview with key informant, Laguna, 1 July 2008).

Local officials pointed to the lack or absence of data to assist them in having a better and deeper understanding and appreciation of international migration (FGD, Rizal, 9 July 2008). All local government officials interviewed could not provide reliable data on the number and situation of their overseas migrant constituents. The OWWA regional office, however, was able to

provide some statistical data (Interview with OWWA Region 4-A, 22 October 2008). The problem with local development planners is that primary data at the municipal and city levels not updated on a regular basis; are scattered; and /or difficult to obtain. For instance, in Rizal province, the limited data that generated at the municipal level have been seen to have a problem with respect to accuracy and reliability. The data given by the LGUs is not always systematically generated and are mere estimates (FGD, Rizal PPDO, 9 July 2008) making it difficult for policy-makers to craft policy and for planners to make projections. Municipal authorities, especially those located in poorer areas, have a weak capacity to generate data, including those data relevant to understanding the impact of migration on local development (FGD, Rizal, 9 July 2008).

International Migration, Local Development, and the Role of Sub-Regional Institutions: The Global in the Local

Sub-national institutions are in the best position to appreciate the profound intersections between the global and the local (i.e., the translocal). But in spite of the unique position occupied by local officials and development planners in the four provinces and despite their observations that international migration has certainly and substantially changed the social, economic, and geographical landscapes of CALABARZON, the phenomenon does not figure distinctly in their development plans and programs. Hardly is there any mention of the potential and real contributions of migrant Filipinos abroad apart from the passing reference to them either as tourists or as a significant source of remittance incomes.⁵ In nearly all the provinces under study, there are hardly any regular programs that attempt to address the specific needs of overseas migrants and their families; much less to harness international migration for local development purposes. However, for some local authorities, there are a number of activities (albeit irregular and unofficial) being undertaken to tap the potentials of international migration for local development. While the cultural and economic landscapes of the four provinces have indeed changed considerably as a result of international migration, it is still difficult to precisely gauge the extent to which migrants have contributed to local development in the last 10 to 15 years. This section attempts to enumerate some of the other practices and experiences of and in local institutions to tap into the migration-local development intersect.

⁵ The Batangas provincial development framework mentions the importance of migrants and migration in its Provincial Development Plan referring particularly to the cash remittances of OFWs (Batangas, 2004b:10).

International migration at the local level is invariably associated with overseas employment. Given this understanding of migration, the Public Employment Service Office (PESO) is typically mentioned by many local informants to be at the forefront of the overseas employment-local development nexus (Interviews with key informants, Rizal, 23 October 2008 and FGD, Rizal, 9 July 2008). The office coordinates efforts to help locals find overseas jobs by way of employment facilitation although its primary focus is on securing local employment. The PESO is administratively linked to the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) but is actually maintained by the local governments. Job fairs are the most common form of employment facilitation in the provinces under study (Interviews with key informants, Rizal, 23 October 2008). From the perspective of local authorities, these job fairs represent the local governments' concerted response to the challenges of unemployment and the demand for workers to migrate overseas. These job fairs are usually conducted almost every month and are a regular activity of the PESO. Job fairs provide information on local and overseas employment. The companies that take part in these fairs are varied and can include call centers, those in manufacturing, textile industries, and service crews for food chains (Interviews with key informants, Rizal, 23 October 2008).

One place that has been profoundly affected by overseas Filipinos is the third-class municipality of Morong in the province of Rizal. The municipality has moved from fourth to third class status in five years due largely to the income it has been able to generate locally, which in turn derived substantially from immigrants and migrant workers (Interview with key informant, Morong, 11 November 2008). Although it is still 70 percent dependent on the internal revenue allotment (IRA), Sunga has observed that the income of the municipality has increased by around P5 million annually due to the additional revenues generated from newly established commercial establishments in the area. A key informant shared that there have been significant changes in "the lifestyles of the people there and the local commercial establishments... because of migrants" most of whom are immigrants to the US. He says that migration seems to be "in the culture of the Moronguenos" (Interview with key informant, Rizal, 23 October 2008).

In 1996, Morongueños living abroad formed the Morong Balikbayan Association (MBA). The Association has a very active set of members and officers. It even has a website [<http://www.mbassninc.com/>] which explains the history of their organization as well the projects they have undertaken in their hometown. It was started by a group of Morong balikbayans from the US and has since grown into an organization whose members come from Europe, the Americas, Australia, and even the Middle East. The MBA is working closely with the office of the mayor on several hometown projects worth several million pesos which include the construction of a balikbayan

park and hall in the municipality as well as road markers or welcome arches into Morong and even an ambulance donated to the municipal government (Interview with key informant, Morong, 11 November 2008).⁶

In Lipa City, Batangas, the Lipa Archdiocesan Commission on Migrants and Mission (LACMMI) was established to provide pastoral care to migrants and their families (Interview with key informant, Batangas, 14 October 2008). Although programs were started in the 1990s, the formal organization of LACMMI was fully realized only in 2004. According to its Director, Rev. Fr. Jojo Gonda, "migrants are becoming the new missionaries of the new millennium [and] . . . the Filipino migrants are expanding their faith practices to places where they are living, working, and migrating" (see Gonda n.d.). This effort is intended to provide pastoral care to Batangueño migrants and their families through its Archdiocesan Migrant Desk (AMD) which has been continuously addressing the problems and concerns encountered by OFW's and their families.

In late 2007, Robinsons Mall established OFW Pamilya Centers in their two store branches in Imus and Dasmariñas in Cavite province. The mall initially wanted to create a venue for migrants and their families to have a kind of one-stop shop where they can find all the related services they would need such as a travel agent, a money changing service, real estate brokers, passport renewal service, and even an internet café (Interview with key informant, 5 November 2008). The local government of Dasmariñas was acknowledged as providing support the project. The mall and the local government have also agreed to set up a satellite office at their Dasmariñas store branch where OFWs and local residents alike can get government services such as certifications and other permits. The mall management decided to set the centers up because they noticed that a large percentage of their customers are OFWs, especially those who make appliance purchases. Also, a large number of their home buyers (Robinsons Land Corporation) are OFWs. Under this arrangement, tenants who use the space in the OFW Pamilya Centers pay a lower rent compared to regular client stores. The Center also has training rooms available for seminars and trainings (Interviews with key informants, 5 November 2008). Since March 2008, the mall has ventured into a cooperative arrangement with the Provincial Cooperative, Livelihood, and Entrepreneurship Office (PCLEDO) to conduct livelihood seminars for the benefit of OFW families (mostly their wives). These seminars include various cottage industries like soap and candle making, baking and cooking lessons, and other possible sources of livelihood. About 70 percent of the participants in these livelihood seminars are OFWs or relatives of migrants.

⁶ See also Asis et al. (2010:64-66).

In October 2008, the Diocese of Antipolo in Rizal invited the provincial government of Rizal and other national government agencies to a meeting that eventually would eventually lead to the establishment of an inter-agency council for migrants' concerns in the province (Interview with key informants, Rizal, 23 October 2008). This inter-agency council also includes representatives of national government agencies that are operating in the region such as the Philippine National Police (PNP), DTI, POEA and OWWA, among others. As proposed, the essential function of the Council is to engage in activities and programs to protect and promote the welfare of the migrants as well as returning OFWs and their families in the province. According to a key informant, the plan is to establish a Rizal Inter-agency Council on Migrants' Concerns (RIAMCO). The key stakeholders have yet to finalize the exact mechanics for organizing this inter-agency council. At the time of the study, the provincial government has requested the OWWA representative for reliable data on the number of OFWs in the province and what they are doing abroad in order to guide them in their decision-making and planning (Interview with a key informant, 10 November 2008).

Another example of a grassroots reintegration initiative is the enterprise established by a group of OFWs in Cavite. In October 2008, Galliano's Restaurant opened at Robinsons in Imus, Cavite. The restaurant has around 10 tables and the same number of staff. It offers a mix of Western and Asian cuisine (Interview with key informant, 15 November 2008). This establishment was established using the pooled resources of Filipinos working in the oil rigs off the Gulf of Mexico. A total of 200 oil rig workers contributed P8,000 each to provide the initial capital to set up the business. The leader of the group is Engr. Nilfil Peralta, who is also involved in a manning agency. Engr. Peralta plans to set up a training center from the profits of Galliano's restaurant which is named after the city in Louisiana, USA, where the Filipino oil rig workers are based. Engr. Peralta is from the municipality of Bacoor of the same province. The restaurant manager is Ms. Charlotte Lumba whose husband, Lester, is an associate of Engr. Peralta in the manning agency (Interviews with key informants, 5 November 2008 and 15 November 2008).

Conclusions

Migrants and their families are seen by local planners and officials to be valuable contributors to the development of their provinces and hometowns, their adverse social effects notwithstanding. They can also act as bridges between their local communities and the outside world. While this may be the case, there is evident tension in key informants' appreciation of the material contributions of international migrants (to the country as a whole) particularly through their remittances, but on the other hand, and they also have deep-

seated anxieties of the emotional and socio-psychological problems and challenges facing migrant households (especially the children). The existing literature documenting the social and personal costs of migration provides some support to this view even as, materially and economically, migrants are able to contribute significantly to their respective households.

Administratively, however, there appears to be some disconnect between how local officials appreciate national institutions vis-à-vis their own with respect to the phenomenon of international migration. In particular, overseas labor migration (primarily for employment) is seen at the local level to be the responsibility of national government agencies such as the POEA and OWWA. This would partly explain why, in nearly all the provinces investigated, international migration does not figure in the development perspectives, plans, and practices of local institutions despite the fact that international migration from the CALABARZON area has been going on for so many decades. On a more positive note, however, local institutions are now in a better position to appreciate the importance of international migration for development given their translocal position. Local institutions in the provinces under study have already taken steps to initiate programs and projects that tap international migration for local development, although there is a need for them to be more proactive and to further increase the awareness of local officials and planners as regards the significance of international migration to local development concerns.

Given the fact that their contributions are substantial, particularly in terms of the income remittances of migrant households and their capacity to fund residential projects as well as a number of community projects, local institutions are well-positioned to take advantage of the development benefits of international migration as well as reduce the social and emotional costs of migration to the affected families. As seen in the cases cited above, local officials can become the conduit for resources and support from overseas Filipino communities. Local officials can match the support with their own resources. As such, the commitment of sub-national institutions government authorities is essential to ensuring that migrants are able to positively impact on local development concerns.

The reality on the ground, however, is that local development planners in the region have yet to institutionalize efforts and practices that can effectively channel and harness the phenomenon for local development purposes. In order for them to effectively contribute to local development, overseas migrants and their families need the appropriate support of their local authorities who must provide the necessary institutional support to allow for migration to impact positively on the community. Moreover, migrants' groups and local authorities need to operate on the same development framework.

Institutionalization is crucial in the sense that these local initiatives cannot be sustained without local ordinances. The creation of ad hoc bodies like a multi-agency council for migration or a migrants' desk at the local level would require sustained funding support. Such undertakings can render more meaningful service if they are situated with established local institutions like the LGUs. Members of local legislative boards and councils can provide the leverage to institutionalize and sustain these initiatives. Ordinances are necessary to support and sustain these bodies so that their momentum is not lost to the succeeding political administration. Also, LGUs stand to benefit more if they synergize their efforts with the private business sector as well as other local partners, including NGOs, the migrants, and their families to further encourage them to take an active part in the development of their hometowns or communities.

To assist in the formulation of ordinances, local authorities require hard data. The case of the four provinces under study shows that there is insufficient reliable data on the extent of international migration from CALABARZON notably in terms of remittances being generated, the problems of return and reintegration, ; as well as the aspirations and concerns of migrants, among others. In this regard, community-based monitoring system (CBMS) used to collect local data for policy-making purposes can include a section on international migration. Local authorities can partner with private institutions such as local universities and colleges as well as the private sector to generate appropriate and reliable local data. For instance, remittance flows can be monitored in cooperation with local banks. Such data can be further subjected to serious academic investigation by interested migration scholars and researchers as well as NGO and other advocacy groups.

Finally, cooperation between the local and national governments is crucial in ensuring the success of development plans and programs pertinent to migrants and international migration. This is where the regional development council can play a role in terms of coordinating local development plans within the larger regional and national framework. National and global issues concerns that relate to migration such as illegal recruitment and human trafficking can be better addressed when these are coordinated with LGUs and other local institutions.

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ANNEX 1

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Regional Agencies

1. Ms. Julia Fabian
Officer-in-Charge
Regional Welfare Office IV-A
OWWA

2. Mr. Donald Gawe
NEDA Secretariat IV-A
NEDA Region IV-A

3. Mr. Severino Santos
Regional Director
NEDA Region IV-A

Province of Batangas

1. Mr. Arsenio M. Cay, Jr.
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator
2. Ms. Amelia Rosales
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator Officer 3

Province of Cavite

1. Mr. Rene Brosqueza
Head
Provincial Cooperative, Livelihood,
and Entrepreneurial Development
Office
2. Mr. Rem Ilas
Project Management Group
Robinsons Dasmariñas
3. Mr. Lester Lumba
Assistant to Engineer Nilfil Peralta,
Galliano's Resto and Café
Robinsons Imus

Province of Laguna

1. Mr. Valentin Guidote, Jr.
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator

Province of Quezon

1. Engr. Irma P. Garde
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator

Province of Rizal

1. Ms. Cecille A. Cerrado
Research, Evaluation and Statistics
Division Chief
Rizal Provincial Capitol
2. Engr. Cesar M. Cortez
Special Projects Division Chief,
Rizal Provincial Capitol
3. Ms. Cecilia Diaz
Provincial Public Employment
Services Officer (PESO)
Rizal Provincial Capitol
4. Ms. Mercedes Parreno
Provincial Director
Department of Trade and Industry
Provincial Office
5. Ms. Audrie Reyes
PESO, Rizal Provincial Capitol
Pasig City
6. Ms. Leila C. Reyes
Plans and Programs Division Chief
and Assistant PPDC
Rizal Provincial Capitol
7. Mr. Benedict San Felipe
Provincial Planning and
Development Officer
Rizal Provincial Capitol
8. En.P. Gertie Sison
Provincial Planning and
Development Coordinator
Rizal Provincial Capitol
9. Engr. Bayani Sunga
Municipal Planning and
Development Coordinator of Morong
10. Mr. Narciso Villaran
Provincial Board Member
Rizal Provincial Capitol
Pasig City

ANNEX 2
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Region IVA Provincial Planning and Development Coordinators (PPDC) Meeting
10:00-12:00, 15 July 2008, NEDA Regional Office, Quezon City

Participants:

Gertie Sison (Rizal)

Irma P. Garde (Quezon)

Arsenio M. Cay, Jr. (Batangas)

Valentin P. Guidote, Jr. (Laguna)

Eden V. Austria (Cavite)

Rizal Provincial Planning and Development Officers (PPDO)

9:45-11:00, 9 July 2008, Rizal Provincial Capitol, Pasig City

Participants:

Gertie Sison (PPDC)

Cesar M. Cortez (Special Projects Division Chief)

Leila C. Reynes (Plans and Programs Division Chief and Assistant PPDC)

Cecille A. Cerrado (Research, Evaluation, and Statistics Division Chief)

The Bicol Region

Cristina Lim

Introduction

The Bicol Region or Bicolandia (also Region V) is a peninsula that forms the Southeastern extremity of Luzon, together with the island of Catanduanes on its eastern side, the island of Masbate on its Southwestern littoral and several outlying island. It is composed of six provinces, namely: Albay, Camarines Sur, Camarines Norte, Sorsogon in the mainland, and the island province of Catanduanes and Masbate (the province of Masbate also includes the island of Ticao and Burias). It has a total land area of 17.6 thousand square kilometers (km²) which is about one-sixth the size of the entire country.

The Bicol Region is noted for its majestic and mysterious Mayon Volcano, pilinut, abaca, geothermal plants that supply substantial power to the Luzon grid, whaleshark (*butanding*), beautiful lakes and mountain ranges, and a watersports complex that has attracted thousands of domestic and foreign tourists. The region is rich in natural resources but vulnerable to natural disasters and hazards being located in a typhoon path and the Pacific earthquake belt. It is one of the most depressed regions in the country and is historically an out-migration area.

For this study, two provinces (Albay and Camarines Sur) were considered and for each province, a city and one or two municipalities were covered. In Albay, Legazpi City, Daraga and Oas were the study sites while in Camarines Sur, the sites were Naga City and Nabua. Secondary and primary modes of data collection were employed. Secondary data such as socio-economic and demographic information and migration statistics were obtained from the relevant government agencies. A review of the literature was also undertaken. Primary data which were mainly perceptions on development conditions and prospects, international migration, the regional/local policies and practices/experiences about international migration, transnational development projects, and migrants' investments were gathered through key informant interviews, supplemented by materials which were obtained from Internet sources. Data collection was conducted between June and September 2008.

Government-affiliated key informants represented the regional offices of the National Statistics Coordination Board (NSCB), Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), and the Department of Health (DOH). Respondents representing provincial, city or municipal institutions came from the Trade and Industry, Planning and Development Office, Tourism Office, Health Office, Public Employment Service Office, National Housing Authority Social Welfare and Development Office, Planning and Development Office, Investment Board, and elective officials.

Development Realities and Prospects: Regional and Local Overview

Socioeconomic-Demographic Profile

In 2007, Bicol had a population of 5,109,798 persons, an increase of 9.2 percent from the 2000 population (Table 1). Albay's population of 1,190,823 persons represented 23.3 percent of the total while Camarines Sur's population of 1,693,821 accounted for 33.1 percent. Of the covered cities/municipalities, Naga was the most populous with 160,516 persons, followed by Daraga (110,625), Nabua (75,422) and Oas (63,888). The region's population growth rate in 2000-2007 was 1.23 percent, the fourth lowest among the regions in the country and also relatively lower than the country's growth rate of 2.04 percent.

The 2000 distribution of population by age and sex revealed that the proportion of the population below 15 years old was large, indicating a young population (Lim, 2007:2). The age-sex distribution of Bicol's population depicts a population pyramid with a wide base and narrow top, a pattern typical of high fertility societies. For the same reference period, 2000, the number of young dependents (0 to 14 years) was 1,923,462 or 41.1 percent of the total regional population, while the number of old dependents (65 years and over) was 204,611 persons, accounting for 4.4 percent of the regional population. The economically active population (15 to 64 years) reached 2,553,038 or 54.6 percent. Overall, dependency ratio was 83.22, meaning that for every 100 persons aged 15 to 64 years, there were about 83 dependents (75 young dependents and eight old dependents). This implies a greater burden on the working-age population to meet the basic needs of the population and the allocation of more public resources to the delivery of basic services.

In 2008, the economy of the Bicol Region posted a moderate 4.3 percent growth, making it as one of the five regions of the country that recorded growth exceeding the national average of 3.8 percent. The growth in Bicol's economy

TABLE 1
SELECTED SOCIOECONOMIC-DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS, REGION V, 2007

Total Population	
Bicol	5,109,798
Province of Albay	1,190,823
Daraga	110,625
Oas	63,888
Province of Camarines Sur	1,693,821
Naga City	160,516
Nabua	75,422
Population growth rate (2000-2007)	1.23 percent
Population	
0-14 years old (2000)	1,923,462
15-64 years old (2000)	2,553,038
65 years old and over (2000)	204,611
Gross Regional Domestic Product	
growth rate (2007-2008) at constant price	4.3 percent
Poverty incidence of Families (2006)	41.8 percent
Poverty incidence of Population (2006)	51.1 percent
Gini Ratio (2003)	48.9
Unemployment	
Province of Albay (2006)	10.8
Province of Camarines Sur (2006)	8.4
Underemployment (2006)	
Province of Albay	40.7
Province of Camarines Sur	37.3
Human Development Index (2006)	
Province of Albay	0.445
Province of Camarines Sur	0.398
Human Poverty Index (2006)	
Province of Albay (2006)	12.4
Province of Camarines Sur (2006)	14.3

SOURCES: Human Development Network, 2009; NSCB (2007; 2008a & b)

was fueled by a 7.5 percent expansion in the industry sector (mining and quarrying, manufacturing construction and electricity and water (NSCB, 5c).

In 2006, Bicol's poverty incidence among the population was estimated at 51.1 percent, the third highest among the 17 regions including NCR (NSCB, 2007) and way above the national figure of 32.9 percent. In the same year, the poverty incidence increased to 41.8 percent, up by 1.2 percent from the 2003

level of 40.6 percent (NSCB, 2008b). The 2006 poverty incidence of 41.8 percent translated to 422,278 poor families. For the same year, poverty threshold rose to P15,015. This means that a family of five would need at least P6,256.25 a month in order to be considered as not poor.

The distribution of income as measured by the gini concentration ratios showed that, in 2003, Bicol had a gini ratio of 48.9, making it the fourth-ranked region with very unequal distribution of income (Hill et al., 2007:19). The *2005 Philippine Human Development Report* indicated that, from 1997 to 2003, Bicol's income disparity has been increasing, suggesting worsening conditions, particularly for the rural poor.

Unemployment data for Albay in 2006 was at a double digit – 10.8 percent – which was relatively higher than Camarines Sur's 8.4 percent. The number of employed people who were still looking for additional work was also higher at 40.7 percent in Albay than Camarines Sur's 37.3 percent.

The Human Development Index (HDI) provides a comparison of the provinces in terms of component indices based on health, education and income. Based on Hal et al.'s report (2006:18), Bicol's HDI slightly improved from 0.488 in 1990 to 0.536 in 2003. By province, Camarines Sur's HDI of 0.601 was relatively higher than Albay's 0.586. In 2006, however, the HDI for both provinces declined to 0.398 for Camarines Sur and 0.445 for Albay.

The Human Poverty Index (HPI) measures deprivation along the same dimensions as the HDI. Greater progress in reducing relative deprivation is indicated by a lower HPI. In 2006, Camarines Sur's HPI of 14.3 was relatively higher than Albay's 12.4, suggesting that Albay fared better in reducing relative deprivation than Camarines Sur (Table 1). In particular, the population not using improved water source was relatively higher in Camarines Sur at 19.3 percent than in Albay at 9.7 percent. Functional literacy rate was also higher in Albay by 15.7 percent than in Camarines Sur.

Development Potentials and Prospects

In the midterm assessment of Bicol's regional development plan, the following has been identified as challenges facing the region: the reduction of poverty incidence of the population to 26-27 percent, recovery from the devastation caused by the strong typhoons in 2006 through fast-tracking of the rehabilitation program / project, institutionalization of disaster management initiatives and building of institutions' capacity at the local levels to avert further losses, acceleration and sustenance of economic growth over a long-term period, scaling up of public and private investments in agribusiness, tourism, trade, transport and communication, real estate and construction, curbing of population growth, prioritization of tourism development and promotion program, improvement in the productivity level in agriculture, industry and

service sectors, curbing of population growth rates, and maintenance of inflation rate at single-digit levels (NEDA, 2010).

Interviewed key informants from both the government and non-government sectors concretely pointed to the rising cost of production inputs, especially power rates (not to mention intermittent power failure) leading to high overhead cost, high vulnerability to natural calamities, rising clamor for higher wages despite low productivity, higher demand for financial requirements, corruption, lack of political will, lack of political clout, and *ningas cogon* (the tendency to start things without finishing them), and low financing as some of the challenges that must be overcome to achieve development in the region.

The same plan indicated that poverty could be reduced through the delivery of basic social services, promotion of economic growth and provision of infrastructure support facilities. Agriculture, fishery, mining and quarrying, trade and tourism have been identified as sources of economic growth. Such growth shall be accelerated through aggressive promotion of tourism, intensive investments promotion, productivity improvements in all sectors, and knowledge transfer through science and technology. Briefly, the plan also indicated the need to encourage investments from overseas Bicolano workers and *balikbayans*, particularly to increase investments in agriculture, trade and industry, tourism environmental, social and infrastructure projects. To move the region forward, good governance and disaster management initiatives were identified as areas that need to be institutionalized; also, peace and order must be maintained. These strategies are anchored on the principles of sustainable and gender-sensitive development.

Informants expressed optimism in the region's ability to attain development. They saw growth potential in the areas of information and communications technology (ICT), tourism and agribusiness. They were also optimistic about achieving good governance, timely delivery of basic services, and geo-hazard mapping in the fight against poverty.

In Camarines Sur, informants viewed the promotion of prime tourism industries as vital to spurring economic growth. The establishment of the CamSur Water Sports Complex and Lago del Ray (a human-made lake), and the development of Gota Beach Resort in Caramoan have already attracted the attention of both domestic and foreign tourists. In 2009, the province was acclaimed as the number one tourist destination in the country and was awarded Best Economic Enterprise for having the highest revenue with a collection efficiency of 137 percent. The development of other sites such as dolphin watching in Pasacao, bird watching in Barcelonita, and the development of Consocep Resort and Deer Farm of Mount Isarog will add to the touristic attractions of the province.

The province's capital, Naga City, also aspires to become one of the leading economies in Luzon or the Makati City of Bicol. It plans to establish a mix of services, such as banking, real estate, malls, health and wellness, hospitals and other basic services, and as a model of governance. According to key informants, Naga City is likely to reach its goal in view of many encouraging developments, such as the growing number and mix of business establishments and having a highly competitive workforce, among others.

In the province of Albay, employment facilitation, active promotion of investment, micro-enterprise and product development, medico-and eco-tourism, and infrastructure development are being pursued. As the home of Mayon Volcano, Legazpi City, attracts many tourists. It hosts regional offices and boasts of facilities such as a convention center and a world-class waterfront commercial complex and recreational hub. The development of the Guicadale growth area (Guinobatan, Camalig, Daraga and Legazpi) and plans to construct an international airport in Daraga are expected to usher in more visitors and investors to Albay. The support of local government institutions, strong leadership of local officials, skilled workers, abundant indigenous resources, and the presence educational institutions which produce globally competitive graduates were cited as factors that inspired optimism in the province's development prospects.

Regional Overview of International Migration Trends

Internal Migration

The provinces of Albay, Camarines Sur, Catanduanes and Sorsogon were already starting to lose population between 1948 and 1960 (Table 2). Camarines Sur experienced the heaviest loss (164,363) during the decade 1960-1970. Only Masbate gained, although it was modest (7,740).

Data on the origins of and destinations of Bicolano migrants indicate that the region had been losing its human resources (Table 3). The Southern Luzon Provinces, including Greater Manila, had been major recipients of migrants from Bicol, followed by Central Luzon. Bicol also lost some of its population to Mindanao and the Visayas.

A survey conducted in Bicol in mid-1974 by Zosa (as reported by Cariño (1975:256) revealed that a larger number and proportion of out-migrants to Metro Manila (74.8 percent) belonged to the age group 10-29 years old, and that 66 percent of all out-migrants had high school and higher levels of education. The study further observed that out-migrants to Metro Manila tended to be younger and had higher skills and qualifications than other out-migrants. This led Cariño to conclude that Bicol had been experiencing a "brain drain." Majority of the respondents (57 percent) cited "work-related reasons" as their primary reason for moving out of Bicol.

TABLE 2
NET MIGRATION ESTIMATES FOR BICOL PROVINCES, BOTH SEXES. 1960-1970.

Province	Lifetime net migrants 1960	Net migrants 1948-60	Net migrants 1960-70
Albay	-96,154	-29,800	-37,035
Camarines Norte	20,807	25,600	-6,886
Camarines Sur	25,160	-14,600	-164,363
Catanduanes	-23,671	-10,800	-45,162
Masbate	12,642	4,400	7,740
Sorsogon	-27,185	-29,200	-57,556

SOURCE: Cariño, 1975

Current International Migration Profile

Data on current international migration profile were obtained from the results of the annual Survey of Overseas Filipino (SOF) carried out as a rider to the Labor Force Survey by the National Statistics Office (NSO).

TABLE 3
LIFETIME NET MIGRANTS OF THE BICOL REGION, ALL AGES, 1970

Region	Regional sources/destinations of Bicol net migrants	In- migrants	Out- migrants	Net migrants of Region 5
1	Ilocos	1,204	3,767	2,563
2	Cagayan	-2,153	1,026	3,179
3	Central Luzon	-18,788	9,528	28,316
4	Southern Tagalog Greater Manila	-38,160	20,658	58,818
5	Rest of Southern Tagalog Provinces	-208,157	39,073	247,230
6	Western Visayas	4,415	9,129	4,714
7	Central Visayas	28,795	34,117	5,322
8	Eastern Visayas	9,123	14,873	5,750
9	Western Mindanao	-2,408	248	2,656
10	Northern Mindanao	-4,750	1,545	6,295
11	Southern Mindanao	-8,488	1,273	9,761

SOURCE: Cariño, 1975

SOF defines OFWs as overseas contract workers (OCWs) who were currently and temporarily out of the country during the reference period (April 1 to September 30 of each year) to fulfill a work contract, or those who were currently in the country or on vacation but still have an existing contract, as well as other Filipino workers abroad with valid work permits. Filipinos currently staying and working full-time in other countries even without working visas (tourists, visitors, students, medical and other types of non-immigrant visa holders) were also included. OFWs who left for abroad earlier than April 1 of the reference period were also included provided that they were working during the reference period. Filipinos in other countries with immigrant visas were not included.

National data showed that the number of OFWs had been increasing, from 795,000 in 1995 to 978,000 in 2000, and to slightly more than a million in 2004. This represented an average annual growth rate of 3.7 percent. The bulk of the OFWs came from Southern Tagalog (CALABARZON and MIMAROPA), followed by the National Capital Region at 15-18 percent and Central Luzon at 13-14 percent (Table 4). Bicol's contribution was quite small, accounting for only 3-4 percent of the total. Annual data for the period 1995-2002 show a fluctuating trend for Bicol (see Annex 1).

Though Bicol's contribution was quite small relative to Southern Tagalog and Central Luzon, its share has been increasing from 2003 (Table 5). The data further show that there were more men going out of the country to work abroad than women.

In 2001 and 2002, most of the OFWs from Bicol region belonged to the age group 25-29 years old (Annex 2). They comprised about 11 percent and 8 percent of the total, respectively.

Net migration estimates showed that the region will continue to be an out-migration area with more women going out of the region than men until 2020 (Annex 3).

Perceptions of Migration

For the key informants, the out-migration of Bicolanos has become a common phenomenon. Among the municipalities of Camarines Sur, Nabua has been noted as an out-migration area with most of its migrants settling in the US either as a navy or marine. It has become a normal practice among Nabuaenos to encourage at least one member of the family to go abroad for greener pastures and to help their family to move out of poverty.

In the absence of a data base, the key informants admitted having difficulty of determining which areas are major sources of international migrants. Regarding the destinations of migrant workers, the available data

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF OVERSEAS WORKERS (APRIL TO SEPTEMBER) (IN THOUSANDS)
AND PERCENT SHARE BY REGION

		1995		2000		2004	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1	Ilocos Region	105	13.2	99	10.1	86	8.1
2	Cagayan Valley	48	6.0	54	5.5	57	5.4
3	Central Luzon	104	13.1	126	12.9	149	14.0
4	Southern Tagalog	157	19.7	198	20.2	202	19.0
5	Bicol Region	35	4.4	28	2.9	32	3.0
6	Western Visayas	62	7.8	90	9/2	92	8.7
7	Central Visayas	26	3.3	52	5.3	49	4.6
8	Eastern Visayas	15	1.9	19	1.9	24	2.3
9	Western Mindanao/ Zamboanga Peninsula	23	2.9	30	3.1	22	2.1
10	Northern Mindanao	19	2.4	15	1.5	28	2.6
11	Southern Mindanao/ Davao	26	3.3	31	3.2	34	3.2
12	Central Mindanao/ Soccsksargen	16	2.0	21	2.1	30	2.8
13	National Capital Region	118	14.8	172	17.6	194	18.3
14	Cordillera Administrative Region	25	3.1	25	2.6	24	2.3
15	ARMM	12	1.5	10	1.0	31	2.9
16	Caraga Philippines	795	100	8 978	0.8 100	10 1,063	0.9 100

SOURCE: NSO, *Survey of Overseas Filipinos*, various years

TABLE 5
NUMBER OF BICOLANOS WHO ARE WORKING OR HAD WORKED ABROAD DURING THE
PAST SIX MONTHS (APRIL TO SEPTEMBER, 2002-2004) (IN THOUSANDS)

Year	Both Sexes	Women	Men
2002	33	17	16
2003	32	14	18
2004	35	17	19

SOURCE: Survey on Overseas Filipinos, National Statistics Office.

NOTE: Details may not add up to totals due to rounding.

TABLE 6
OVERSEAS EMPLOYMENT PLACEMENT BY GENDER, NAGA CITY, JUNE, 2008

Year	Male	Female	Total
2007	26	10	36
2006	8	106	114
2005	27	431	458
2004	0	101	101
2003	9	46	55
2002	0	31	31
2001	0	40	40
2000	0	84	84
1999	18	52	70
1998	0	21	21
1997	52	112	164
1996	25	73	98
1995	17	54	71
1994	6	35	41
1993	9	33	42

SOURCE: Metropeso, Naga City

gathered from Naga City showed a greater number of females (Table 6). Women migrants who are in low-skilled occupations (dishwashers, janitresses, domestic workers, etc) and mainly go to the Gulf countries, Hong Kong and Taiwan while those who are more skilled (caregiver, staff nurse, teacher, secretary, mid-wife) go to Singapore, Jordan and Hong Kong. Male migrants in low-skilled occupations (electrician, welder, heavy equipment operator) tend to go to the Gulf countries (Annex 4).

Permanent settlers or immigrant destinations are usually Canada, USA, Australia, Germany and Italy and they are mostly professionals – teachers, nurses, physical therapists, doctors, bankers, accountants and Librarians.

Reasons for Migration

The main reason for leaving Bicol is often economic – for better pay or higher income. One informant said that wages abroad are higher and commensurate to the effort expended – for example, a butcher earns Php 80-120,000 for a 4-day work per week, which is way above what the local counterparts are getting. Among the health workers, the average hospital monthly salary for doctors ranges from Php 15,000 to Php 25,000, for nurses, it is Php 7,000 to

Php15,000 compared with an average monthly salary between Php 100,000 and Php 200,000 in London.

Poverty has been identified as the main cause for out-migration. Due to the lack of employment opportunities, people are unable to earn a living and support their families. Hence, people leave to augment their family income, to earn enough to start a business, to construct a house or to purchase some real estate properties. For some migrants, the situation abroad (like in the US) is better and more stable – medical care is good, patients are well attended, life is comfortable and one can buy anything one wants and needs. Other reasons for migration cited by key informants are lack of nationalism and the government's continued effort of promoting overseas work instead of finding long-term solutions to the problem of poverty and unemployment.

Migration-Development Nexus: Policies and Practices by Local Governments

Except for the reference to Bicolano migrants as a potential source of investments in the development plan of the National Economic and Development Authority, international labor migration does not figure in the development plans of local governments. Also, local development plans have not considered the potential contributions of migration to local development. Existing programs/divisions/desks at the local governments are generalist in nature catering to all interested clients. Examples of these programs are the seven-year program on obtaining additional financing for small business corporations and rural micro-enterprises, the Order Negosyo or Franchising Program, and the One Town One Product Program of the Department of Trade and Industry under the management of the Business Development Division, and job placement under the Public Employment Service Office. Returning migrants can avail of the opportunities offered by these programs. In some LGUs like the Municipality of Oas, an informal "Balikbayan Night" is held every year to welcome migrants who have returned for a short visit and to informally establish a link for employment assistance abroad.

Views and Perceptions of Migration And Development

All key informants were in agreement that international labor migration can improve the economic conditions of migrants and their families. In Nabua, migration has become part of the family's livelihood strategies. Some informants believed that international migration promotes local development through the transfer of money, knowledge and skills by overseas Filipinos. Donations from overseas Filipinos also upgrade local medical facilities/equipment and increase access to medical services.

While they strongly agreed that international migration has economic benefits, a few expressed misgivings about it because of the consequent social cost on the family and the migrant, the tendency to depend on remittances, and the departure of the highly skilled professional (nurses, engineers, doctors, etc). Cases of infidelity of either of the spouse, substance abuse, pre-marital sex leading to teenage pregnancy among girls, or abuse and exploitation of migrants had been cited as some of the social costs of migration.

The key informants expressed disappointment at the tendency of some families to be overly dependent on remittances and the tendency of migrant families to spend money for less productive purposes. Some informants feared the possibility of brain drain with the departure of the highly skilled. In the health sector, the brain drain is indicated by the very low number of resident doctors (1-2) in hospitals where there should be, at most, 10 doctors.

Despite the negative impacts of international migration, however, the informants said that it would not be advisable for migrant workers to return home at this time because the opportunities are not quite promising – prices of basic commodities are spiraling upward, employment opportunities are limited, the export business is problematic, local business competition is quite stiff and the impending recession. One informant commented that the Philippine could not afford to encourage the migrants to return now, otherwise, the economy will collapse.

Beyond Remittances

As mentioned earlier, the links between overseas Filipinos and local institutions are oftentimes missing or informal. Visits to local government agencies showed no record of migrants' investments or development projects supported by overseas Filipinos. Information gathered from the interviews with local government officials, members of the Chamber of Commerce, NGOs and academe, allowed us to compile a list of migrants' investments, including successful and less successful investments, and transnational development projects in the two provinces (see Annex 5). These are briefly discussed below.

Migrants' Investments - The list shows that while many have engaged in small-scale businesses (sari-sari stores or grocery, pili nut making, meat processing, pawnshops, private financing), a few have dared to invest in large-scale businesses as well - high tech meat processing plant, hospital, schools, call center, soft-ware shops, review center, gasoline stations, storey-high dormitories and high-end hotel and resorts - and have generated employment for many. One KI observed that the number of overseas Filipinos entering business is slim and that many Filipinos still allocate their earnings for household expenses and education, or the acquisition first of assets like

land and houses. He added that, Filipinos, in general, have a very low propensity to save.

Like any other business, not all of those business investments were successful. Some of these successful investments include the Macagang Business Center of Nabua, Camarines Sur, the Tanchuling General Hospital and its nursing school (also a beach resort) and small scale pili-nut and handicraft industries. Among the noteworthy projects was the Macagang Business Center, a first class tourist accommodation facility. The business does not only provide employment to local residents but it also contributes to local taxes and promotes tourism in Bicol. In the earlier years, the owner provided emergency safety kits to the Fire department, emergency electricity, typewriter, and paint for the building of the Philippine National Police, a dual tennis court sponsored by the Nabua High School Alumni of Class 1956, and more than 100 computers for the Elementary and High Schools in Nabua.

The TLC Beatrice Foods Meat Processing Plant at the Naga City Abattoir, the first high value choice-cut meat processing plant in Bicol with its state-of-the-art US facilities, provided another good example of migrant investment. Despite its closure, Naga City gained from the accumulated assets.

Transnational Development Projects - Migrants had cooperated with some LGUs and NGOs in the implementation of various projects. Overseas-based groups that have partnered with local institutions include: Quota International, the Bicol National Association of America (BNAA), the Amus Na Oasnon (ANKO), and the Albay Services Group (ASG).

Quota International, an all-women civic organization that caters to the needs of children with hearing and speech-impaired children, among others, has a tie-up with overseas Filipinos through its overseas chapters. It collaborated with Bicol University for its Stitch for Living project, where ten sewing machines were distributed to target women for livelihood in Legazpi City. The overseas Filipinos donated the machines and seed money and facilitated the linkage and marketing of the products (e.g., bed sheets) produced by the mothers. Proceeds from the sale of these products would be used to pay for the machines so that these could be replicated and that the other half will be given to the mothers as a form of livelihood support. Other donations will be used for treatment of hearing and speech impaired children.

The BNAA's development projects were carried out in partnership with the LGUs of Legazpi and Naga. Projects extended to these LGUs included: provision of scholarships, water to the barangays, medical services during medical missions, second hand hospital equipment and facilities such as hospital beds, ambulance, and computers, and job placement for placement of Filipino workers abroad. The BNAA also provided accommodations to

LGU officials and local businessmen when they went abroad for investment promotions.

The Amus na Kita Oasnon, Inc. (ANKO), a foundation of Oasnons who based mostly in the US, collaborates with the local church, local government and other community stakeholders in supporting effective local governance in the municipality of Oas. Governance was strengthened through the holding of a regular “Ulat sa Bayan” (or state of the town’s address) and the release of a publication, “Bandillo.” It also contributes to the improvement of infrastructure such as the renovation of the market and the municipal hall, opening of farm to market roads, and the transfer of dump site to upland areas. At present, ANKO is engaged in the following projects: “Foundation 1000: Oas Library Museum” or “Oas Quadricentennial Library Museum” (OQLM), Oas Micro-fund Project (OMFP) and Participatory Governance in the Internet Age (PGIA). ANKO’s participation in advocating for good governance in Oas is being sustained through internet or webpage or web blogs where comments from Oasnon or internet users are posted.

A tax shelter group based in California, USA, the Albay Services Group (ASG) partnered with the Soroptimist International for Albay Magayon (SIAM) and the Bicol Small Business Institute, Inc. and cooperated with the LGU to construct a livelihood training center for the families in Anislag resettlement. The initiative also includes the “The Best for Women Program,” which facilitates the conduct of an education campaign on violence against women and anti-trafficking, setting up of a livelihood training for fashion accessories and making of virgin coconut oil, and putting up of a support mechanism for women and girls with cancer.¹ In the past, the ASG Albayanos provided relief assistance to victims of typhoon victims and scholarships for tertiary and graduate studies.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The absence of migration concerns in the development agenda of the LGUs indicates the low level of awareness and understanding of the migration-development nexus of government institutions at the sub-national level. As such, migrants’ investments and migrant giving have not been acknowledged, despite the fact that some LGUs and NGOs had collaborated with overseas Filipinos in these endeavors.

Local officials believed that overseas Filipinos can be partners in fostering local development. The examples discussed above show migrants’ engagement in activities that require expertise in areas such as business, information

¹ See Asis et al. (2010:67-69)

technology, engineering and resource management. Furthermore, they show that Filipino migrants continue to have an interest in local affairs and provide support to their home communities, especially in times of crisis. They maintain strong ties with their roots and their philanthropy indicate a desire to share their blessings and resources to benefit their hometown. Migrant giving reflects the persistence of the “bayanihan spirit” (extending help to others in times of need) among overseas Filipinos. The case studies affirmed Opiniano’s findings (2005:233) on migrants or migrants’ associations as donors. The LGUs’ practice of counter-parting reveals their openness and willingness to collaborate with overseas Filipino associations to advance local development.

The various transnational development projects and successful individual investments documented by the case studies point to the contributions of international migration to local development. The TLC Beatrice Foods Naga Plant which provided a model of developmental entrepreneurial partnership between an overseas Filipino (a Bicolana) and the local government could have boosted the city’s agricultural production and the potential to provide sustained employment to the residents. The establishment of the Macagang Business Center generated local employment and promotes tourism in Bicol. Both the Beatrice Foods Naga Plant and the Macagang Business Center attest that migrants contribute to the expansion of trade, tourism and telecommunication. Although pragmatic, the LGUs’ partnership with the BNAA and the ASG contributed to the LGUs’ improvement of health services, housing and education. The Municipality of Oas’ experience with ANKO shows that, through knowledge and experience sharing using information technology, improvement in local governance could be effected.

The strong link between migration and development indicates the need for local governments (provincial and municipal/ city) in the region to recognize and maximize the enormous benefits and opportunities that migration offers. The following are some recommendations for maximizing the opportunities that migration holds.

Policy Reforms

- Integration of international migration in the development agenda of LGU and the participation of migrants’ associations in the development process
- Creation of a migration desk/office in the LGUs
- Registration of overseas Filipinos and the formation of transnational associations; a concerted program addressing overseas Filipino

communities must be devised by the DOLE, DOST, DTI and CHED, and linkages with them must be established

- Intensification of investment promotion program
- Crafting of a social protection program to reduce the cost of migration
- Provision of a business financing package, including investment incentives, entrepreneurial or livelihood training, financial literacy, and access to financial institutions to reduce dependence on and maximize the productive use of remittances
- Provision of a preferential tax rates or tax holiday to returning migrants or to migrant families for upscaling of investments and retirement plans
- Reduction of the transfer cost of remittances

Research Agenda

- Collection of quality statistics on international migration, including characteristics of migrants (origin, level of education, type of occupation and others) and remittances classified by sex; developing appropriate methods and instruments for monitoring migration flows and migrants' profile
- Psychology of overseas Filipino workers and migrant families
- Documentation of overseas Filipinos' migrant giving and investments
- Documentation and dissemination of programs for migrants by LGUs
- Documentation, monitoring, evaluation and dissemination of information of all implemented projects in LGUs

Advocacy/Training

- Intensification of information dissemination on the rights and protection of OFWs; set up programs to upgrade the skills of potential migrant workers
- Country-specific approach in the pre-departure orientation seminar (coverage of the system of governance, culture and labor laws of destination countries)

- Establishment of an international network of overseas Filipinos
- Project development, documentation, computer literacy, and communication skills training for LGUs
- Hospitality and quality service performance of tourism staff
- Building credible and strong local leaders
- Family counseling program

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ANNEX 1
NUMBER OF OVERSEAS FILIPINO WORKERS BY SEX AND REGION, APRIL TO SEPTEMBER
1995-2001 AND OCTOBER 2002 (IN THOUSANDS)

Region	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002a/
Philippines	795	900	1,013	904	1,043	978	1,029	1,056
National Capital Region	118	146	193	161	199	172	200	216
Cordillera Administrative Region	25	22	19	22	27	25	23	18
Region I – Ilocos	105	106	127	92	100	99	104	90
Region II - Cagayan Valley	48	48	51	50	44	54	58	62
Region III - Central Luzon	104	144	122	132	151	126	135	142
Region IV - Southern Tagalog	157	152	191	157	180	198	183	203
Region V – Bicol	35	31	27	30	40	28	32	33
Region VI - Western Visayas	62	85	95	89	94	90	90	96
Region VII - Central Visayas	26	44	43	39	56	52	46	38
Region VIII - Eastern Visayas	15	17	18	19	22	19	13	24
Region IX - Western Mindanao	23	17	30	24	36	30	28	28
Region X - Northern Mindanao	19	9	13	14	13	15	20	26
Region XI - Southern Mindanao	26	37	26	26	31	31	43	27
Region XII - Central Mindanao	16	9	24	18	19	21	25	28
Region XIII – Caraga	-	8	13	14	16	8	10	11
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao	15	26	19	16	16	10	18	15

SOURCE: Survey on Overseas Filipinos, National Statistics Office, Region V.

NOTE: Data provided by NSCB in their accomplished questionnaire

ANNEX 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OFWs BY SEX AND AGE GROUP, APRIL TO SEPTEMBER 2001-2002 (IN THOUSANDS)

Year/Age Group	Total	Women		Men	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
2002	33	17	52.41	16	47.59
15 - 19	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 24	1	1	78.28	*	21.73
25 - 29	11	5	44.98	6	55.02
30 - 34	3	3	87.22	*	12.78
35 - 39	6	5	86.96	1	13.04
40 - 44	3	1	27.74	2	72.26
45 and over	8	2	29.63	6	70.37
Age not reported	-	-	-	-	-
2001	32	13	39.02	20	60.98
15 - 19	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 24	4	2	52.98	2	47.02
25 - 29	8	3	31.42	6	68.58
30 - 34	5	4	73.43	1	26.57
35 - 39	5	2	29.38	4	70.62
40 - 44	5	2	31.79	4	68.21
45 and over	4	1	19.73	3	80.27
Age not reported	-	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: Survey on Overseas Filipinos, National Statistics Office, Region V

NOTES: * Less than 500.

Details may not add up to totals due to rounding.

Data provided by NSCB in their accomplished questionnaire.

ANNEX 3
PROJECTED NET MIGRATION RATES BY SEX AND PROVINCE, 1995-2000 TO 2015–2020

Sex/Province	Projected Net Migration Rate				
	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020
Female	-0.036505	-0.038654	-0.036505	-0.034476	-0.034476
Albay	-0.028781	-0.024712	-0.021219	-0.018219	-0.018219
Camarines Norte	-0.002651	-0.001874	-0.001325	-0.000936	-0.000936
Camarines Sur	-0.030553	-0.031726	-0.032945	-0.034210	-0.034210
Catanduanes	-0.024166	-0.021071	-0.018373	-0.016020	-0.016020
Masbate	-0.095452	-0.097815	-0.095452	-0.090948	-0.090948
Sorsogon	-0.073920	-0.080249	-0.073920	-0.066346	-0.066346
Male	-0.033896	-0.038984	-0.033896	-0.029473	-0.029473
Albay	-0.024338	-0.020838	-0.017841	-0.015276	-0.015276
Camarines Norte	0.006101	0.006406	0.007407	0.008104	0.008104
Camarines Sur	-0.027961	-0.031637	-0.035796	-0.040503	-0.040503
Catanduanes	-0.016218	-0.014074	-0.012213	-0.010598	-0.010598
Masbate	-0.090946	-0.102106	-0.090946	-0.078851	-0.078851
Sorsogon	-0.077745	-0.091581	-0.077745	-0.062835	-0.062835

SOURCE: 1995 Census-Based National, Regional and Provincial Population Projections
 PREPARED BY: Technical Advisory Group and NSO Population Projections Unit
 REVIEWED AND ENDORSED BY: Technical Committee on Population and Housing Statistics

ANNEX 4

OVERSEAS BICOLANO WORKERS' OCCUPATION AND DESTINATION BY GENDER, 1999-2007

Year	Male	Female	Occupation	Destination
2007	26	10	Technician, AC Assistant Electrician Driver/Trailer Factory worker Stocker Welder/helper Scaffolder Nurse Structural Filter Auto Denter Welder, GTWA/SMAW Pipe Filter Domestic Helper	KSA Taiwan Hongkong
2006	8	106	Domestic Helper Janitress Dishwasher Caretaker Cost Engineer Field supervisor HEDP Qty. Supervisor	Abu Dhabi Dubai Kuwait Singapore UAE Hongkong Malaysia Jordan Qatar Lebanon KSA
2005	27	431	Domestic helper Nurse Civil Engineer Caretaker Mechanic helper Skilled worker Respiratory Therapist Asst Midwife School Secretary Housekeeper Gas Attendant Waitress	Dubai Cyprus Malaysia Lebanon Bahrain Hongkong Kuwait Jordan Singapore Taiwan Jeddah, KSA
2004	0	101	Domestic helper	Hongkong Dubai Kuwait Lebanon Singapore Brunei Taiwan

ANNEX 4 (continued)
OVERSEAS BICOLANO WORKERS' OCCUPATION AND DESTINATION BY GENDER, 1999-2007

Year	Male	Female	Occupation	Destination
2003	9	46	Domestic helper Staff nurse Sewer	Cyprus Hongkong Dubai Abu Dhabi Singapore Brunei
2002	0	31	Domestic helper Staff nurse	Singapore Hongkong Saudi Arabia
2001	0	40	Domestic helper Cleaner Baby sitter	Hongkong Singapore Lebanon Japan
2000	0	84	Domestic helper Dancer Singer	Hongkong Singapore Lebanon Japan
1999	18	52	Domestic helper Welder Mason Heavy equipment operator	Hongkong Singapore Lebanon Japan Saudi Arabia

SOURCE: Metropeso, Naga City

ANNEX 5
MIGRANTS' INVESTMENTS, TRANSNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND
PROVINCES OF ALBAY AND CAMARINES SUR, 2008

Business established	Transnational Development Projects	Partnerships between local institutions and OFs
Sari-sari stores/Groceries	Medical Missions for the Cleft	Quota International - Bicol University
Dormitories	Cleft palate repair	
Angelina Hotel	Cataract operation	
Tanchuling General Hospital and Tanchuling School for Nurses	Provision of free eye-glasses to senior citizens, elementary & HS students	Bicol National Association of America - Province of Albay and Camarines Sur
Beach Resort (Misibis, etc.)	Surgical mission - patients of BMC, BRTTC	
Handicrafts	Scholarship	
Pili and meat processing	Provision of hospital equipment and facilities	Amus Na Oasnon - Municipality of Oas
Bakeries	Provision of computers	
Private financing	Job placement abroad	Alba Services Group - Soroptimist International for Albay Magayon and the Bicol Business Institute
Pawnshops, computer shops	Auditorium	
Jeepney	Tour and trade mission to Australia	
Apartment	Selling mission to the USA	
Gasoline station	Target: local producers	TLC Beatrice Foods Meat Processing - City of Naga
The Lewis College	Advocacy program for hearing and speech-impaired children;	
Ambulatory hospital	Stitch for life project	
Nursing Board Review Center		
Beatrice Foods Naga Plant		Nabua High School Alumni of Class 1956 - Elementary and High Schools in Nabua
Global 9, a Call Center		
Business center		

The Visayas

*Alan Feranil**

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the study which examined the link between international migration and local development in the Visayas. The first part introduces the study sites and the data collection process; the second part discusses the development realities and prospects at both the regional and local levels; the third part provides an overview of international migration trends and views and perceptions on migration; the fourth part discusses the migration and development nexus, policies, and practices of local; and the final part concludes with a discussion on the significant gaps that need to be addressed and some recommendations for research, policy and advocacy.

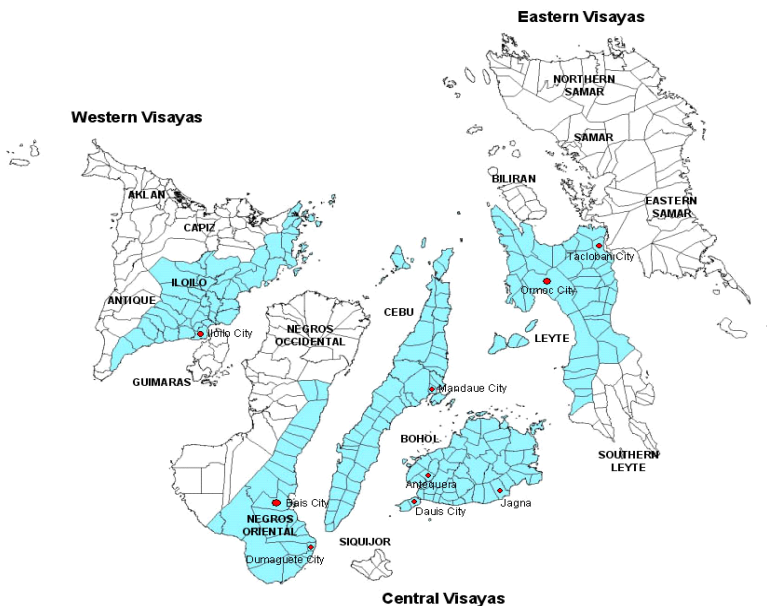
Introduction

The Visayas is composed of three major administrative regions, namely, Western Visayas, Central Visayas and Eastern Visayas. For the study, selected provinces which were contributing to the volume of overseas workers being deployed by the country, were selected. These included the provinces of Iloilo, Bohol, Cebu, Negros Oriental and Leyte. The key informants later identified the additional cities and municipalities from each of the study provinces as possible sites for case studies of migrant giving, migrants' investments and local institutions-overseas Filipinos partnerships. For Iloilo Province, the study zeroed in on Iloilo City while in Leyte Province, the cities of Ormoc and Tacloban were included. In Bohol, the municipalities of Antequera, Dauis and Jagna were sites of various initiatives. Mandaue City and the cities of Bais and

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FIGURE 1

RESEARCH SITES: SELECTED PROVINCES, CITIES AND MUNICIPALITIES IN THE VISAYAS



Dumaguete were the sites for case studies in the provinces of Cebu and Negros Oriental, respectively (Figure 1).

Data Collection

The study involved key interviews with designated officials or focal persons representing different government and non-government agencies at both the regional and local levels. These key informant interviews were conducted from July to November 2008 (The list of key informants, affiliation and date of interview are shown in Annex 1). Protocols and instruments provided by the Scalabrini Migration Center were used in data collection and the conduct of interviews.

The key informants from regional agencies included the offices of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB), Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), Philippine Overseas Employment Agency

(POEA), Overseas Workers' Welfare Administration (OWWA), Department of Tourism (DOT) and Department of Health (DOH).

At the provincial level, the study sought to interview provincial government officials and key personnel (i.e., governor, vice-governor or board member, provincial development and planning officers, and Public Employment Service Office or PESO). Also included were officers from the provincial health office, tourism office and trade and industry office. Heads of chamber of commerce of industry in the provinces were also interviewed for the study.

Key informants at the city or municipality in the study included the mayor, or vice mayor or a councilor, development and planning officers, PESO, and officers from the trade and industry office and the head of the chamber of commerce or industry.

Not all the provinces in the three regions in the Visayas were covered for this study. Hence, the findings from the provinces are not representative of the region where they belong. Similarly, not all the key cities or municipalities of the selected provinces were covered by the study. The study was not able to cover all the agencies that may have migration and development initiatives. The short time duration and the unavailability of key informants, particularly the heads of agencies, was a major setback. Statistics featured in this report were those supplied by local offices, or were available in regional offices and those accessed through the Internet.

There were problems and challenges encountered in the conduct of the key informant interviews and data gathering. Setting appointments with key informants proved to be taxing. Most of the informants were not cooperative; they were always in a hurry or were busy attending to their duties. Many could not understand why they were interviewed; they felt that the concerns of the study were more relevant for the Commission on Filipinos Overseas or the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration. There was also the difficulty of getting needed information from the key informants and their agency. In some cases, the key informants were not knowledgeable of the topics or found the topics boring or the interviews too long.

The original strategy of calling up and scheduling a meeting for an interview was not effective. In most of the cases, the research team ended up going back at a later date despite the scheduled interview. One of the strategies was leaving the key guide questions with the informant and scheduling a later interview. In many cases, the informant selected the items they wanted to answer which did not make room for further probing. The research team had no alternative but to comply with the wishes of the informant. In some cases, informants provided written responses and were not available for interviews such that probing for further insights was not possible.

Gathering of statistics or information was also a problem not only because of the scarcity of data and outdated information but also because of the attitude

of some informants. The request for data was passed on from one person to another. Many of the government officials observed protocol. Clearance from the head of agency was needed before the next in command may be interviewed. Hence, in cases where the head of agency was not cooperative, there was no way one could bypass him/her since all the papers have to be approved by the official. This protocol delayed operations and retrieval of information since data cannot be released without the proper signing official.

The devastation brought by Typhoon Frank, which hit the province of Iloilo in June 2008, proved to be a setback in the conduct of the study in the said province. We resumed data collection after the province had shown signs of recovering from the calamity.

Development Realities and Prospects

Regional Perspective

The development prospects in the Visayas regions had been quite variable. During the period 2006-2007, both Western Visayas and Central Visayas had higher growth rates in the gross regional domestic product (Table 1) compared with the national performance (7.1 percent). However, for the period 2007-2008, the figures for Central Visayas were lower than the national (3.8 percent) while Western Visayas continued to have higher growth rates in gross regional domestic product. Eastern Visayas registered low growth rates in the gross regional domestic product in 2006-2007 and minimal progress during the 2007-2008, but was higher than Central Visayas and some regions in the country (National Statistical Coordination Board, 2009:1).

Overall statistics show economic improvements in some regions in the Visayas. At the macro level, gross domestic product growth rate in Western Visayas increased from 4.9 percent (2004-2005) to 7.7 percent (2006-2007). Employment rate is rather high at 97 percent in 2007 and labor force participation rate is placed at 63.5 percent (NSCB Region VI, 2008a).

In Central Visayas, the economy has improved and is on track in realizing its target gross domestic product growth of 6.0 percent during the period. The service sector outgrew its targets because of growth in the information and communications technology (ICT) industry and the tourism industry; in contrast, agriculture and industry sector grew at a slower pace (NEDA VII, 2008:1). During the 2004-2007 period, Central Visayas witnessed substantial investments in ICT and tourism sectors ranging from contact centers and business prospect outsourcing operations, tourism facilities and businesses providing personal services (NEDA VII, 2008:1).

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF SELECTED REGIONS, PROVINCES AND CITIES IN THE VISAYAS

Region/Province/ Municipality	Population 2007 ^a	Population 2000 ^{b,c}	Population		Gross Domestic Product Growth Rate 2007-2008 ^d	Human Development Index 2000 ^e	Poverty Incidence 2006 ^f	Magnitude of Poor Families 2006 ^g
			0-14 2000 ^c	15-64 2000 ^c				
Western Visayas	6,843,643	6,211,038	36.52	58.47	4.4	-	31.1	425,571
Iloilo Province	1,691,876	1,559,182	35.46	58.63	-	0.642	24.1	100,759
Iloilo City	418,710	366,391	31.02	64.05	-	-	9.70	37,753
Central Visayas	6,398,628	5,706,953	36.85	58.41	3.4	-	30.6	391,484
Bohol Province	1,230,110	1,139,130	35.78	57.97	-	0.574	38.8	92,354
Davao	36,525	26,415	36.09	56.50	-	-	13.62	4,654
Jagna	16,849	31,877	39.42	59.62	-	-	19.61	5,792
Antequera	14,357	13,758	28.73	61.73	-	-	21.97	3,112
Cebu Province	2,439,005	2,160,569	38.21	57.12	-	0.597	23.5	184,207
Mandaue City	318,575	259,728	33.85	63.72	-	-	5.38	16,117
Negros Oriental	1,231,904	1,130,088	38.65	56.82	-	0.530	43.7	110,724
Dumaguete City	116,392	102,265	30.47	64.65	-	-	8.13	8,651
Bais City	74,702	68,000	38.80	56.89	-	-	37.56	26,881
Eastern Visayas	3,912,936	3,610,355	41.00	54.00	3.6	-	30.3	331,426
Leyte	1,722,036	1,592,336	39.84	55.48	-	0.563	40.5	147,900
Tadoban City	217,199	178,639	37.04	59.46	-	-	16.56	31,346
Ormoc City	177,524	154,292	39.13	56.77	-	-	31.29	50,502

NOTES: ^a National Statistics Office, 2007a:1
^b National Statistics Office, 2007a:1
^c National Statistics Office 2003a:1; 2003b:9, 11,18, 21; 2003c:9; 2003d:9; 2003e:9,24,50; 2003f: 8,23,26; 2003g:8; 2003h:5
^d National Statistical Coordination Board, 2009:1
^e National Statistical Coordination Board, 200:21
^f Virola, 2008:16-17; National Statistical Coordination Board, 2007a:72
^g Virola, 2008:16-17; National Statistical Coordination Board, 2007a:72

Despite its rich agricultural, marine and geothermal resources, emerging information and communications technology and tourism sectors, and vast land area, Eastern Visayas is one of the poorly developed regions in the country. An assessment of the region during the period 2004-2006 revealed that the gross regional domestic product annual targets were not met, exports dropped and imports continued to rise. The poor performance of the region's agricultural and marine sectors had been partly attributed to the mudslides and havocs caused by typhoons Milenyo and Seniang during the period. The region's contribution to the national economy was 2.2 percent, which made it the 13th lowest ranking region in the country (NEDA VIII, 2008:3, 9). Although Region 8 has overseas workers who remit their earnings to their families, the contribution of overseas workers to the economy has not been accounted for. Moreover, the role of overseas employment on the economy or in easing job employment in the region has not been recognized in their development plans. This is despite the fact that unemployment has risen during the 2005 to 2006 period (NEDA VIII, 2008:10).

The poverty incidence in these regions tells a different picture. Although Western Visayas showed higher economic growth rate especially during the 2006-2007 period, the poverty incidence and magnitude of poor families in the region were higher compared to the other Visayas regions and it continued to have the biggest share in the total number of poor families in the country (Virola, 2008:17). The Visayas had higher poverty incidence compared to the country in general (26.9 percent), and compared to some regions in Luzon (Virola, 2008:16). The growth of the economy during the 2004-2006 period in Central Visayas did not translate to the generation of jobs nor did it result to a better life for many people in the region. All of the provinces in Central Visayas, except Siquijor, showed an increase in poverty incidence in 2006 compared to 2003 (NEDA VII, 2008:2).

Available statistics from the latest censuses reveal that Central Visayas had a higher population growth rate followed by Western Visayas with Eastern Visayas not far behind (Table 2). However, these figures were below the annual growth rates compared with the country as a whole (with 2.04 percent) and other regions (NSO, 2007a:1). As of the 2007 Census, Western Visayas has a population of 6,843,643, Central Visayas with 6,398,628 and Eastern Visayas with 3,912,936 altogether comprising about 19 percent of the total population of the country (NSO, 2007a:1).

The Visayas has a relatively young population with more than half of the population in the working ages of 15-65 based on available estimates from the 2000 census (NSO, 2003a; 2008a; 2008b). It is most likely that similar proportions will result from the 2007 census considering the positive growth rate in the regions.

Regional Development Plans

1. Western Visayas

Western Visayas seeks to be globally competitive in the first quarter of the century. This objective is anchored on the development of a modernized agriculture sector, progressive agriculture-based industries, dynamic tourism industry and economically viable small and medium enterprises. These thrusts will be complemented with an investment friendly climate and development of human resources. The region aims for the equitable distribution of basic services and infrastructure, particularly in rural and underserved populations, and improve the welfare and empower its constituency (NEDA VI, 2004). To achieve these goals, the regional development plan targets increased job generation through economic growth; enhanced social development measures with direct poverty reduction measures; improved planning and sustainable management of the environment; improved infrastructure and logistic support; and good governance (NEDA VI, 2004).

The region has huge potentials being the major producer of rice, fish and sugar; the source of export winner industries and products (loom-woven fabrics, bamboo furniture, furnishings, home décor); endowed with rich natural resources and skilled and trainable human resources; and having a rich cultural heritage and natural attractions (NEDA VI, 2004). However, these development thrusts are faced with challenges that include costly inputs for agriculture industries and fisheries; poor and inadequate infrastructures, inadequate tourism promotion and institutional support; low investment level. Moreover, the region has to contend with low family income, increasing population, increasing demand for housing, lack of infrastructure support, poor health and nutrition of poor families particularly women and children, poor quality education in public schools, inadequate social services for the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, and existence of cases of human rights violation and violence against women and children (NEDA VI, 2004).

The key informants' perceptions of the development thrusts of the region were based on their agency's thrusts. For the health office informant, for example, the development thrusts will focus on the prevention of diseases and health promotion (healthy lifestyle and exercise. For the tourism informant, the thrusts will be on tourism, agriculture, transportation support business and wellness. Strategic themes focusing on increased job creation, enhanced social development with poverty reduction measures, improved physical planning and sustainable management of the environment and improved infrastructure and logistic support and good governance were the development objectives mentioned by the economic planning sector. For the labor and employment sector, the thrust will focus on employment promotion for

workers in the informal economy, development of safety standards, providing livelihood and micro-enterprise assistance, and generating jobs for a growing population.

Several factors were mentioned as contributing to development prospects: the newly established international airport in Cabaatuan which is of international standard, tourism, peace and order situation, agricultural produce like rice fishing and muscovado.

These prospects can be turned into reality with strong partnerships involving local government units (LGUs), academe, NGOs, the participation of the middle class, and planning and sharing of resources according to several informants. Others mentioned strict implementation of laws, discipline of the citizens, stable power supply (and low cost electricity), good infrastructure, trainable human resources, and the use of indigenous and renewable resources.

Some factors were also identified as hindrances for development in the region. These included the high cost and unstable supply of electricity; bad roads, bridges and seaports; flood and typhoons; and graft and corruption for one informant. Another informant pointed to the aging bureaucracy, unclear planning approaches, lack of discipline among the citizenry as hindrances. A few mentioned the tenuous peace and order situation in the country (with the Mindanao conflict) and the change of priorities that accompany a change in administration.

2. Central Visayas

Central Visayas has set its priorities on job generation and facilitation, tourism development, and enhancement of the delivery of basic social services for the remaining 2008-2010 period. By 2010 the region aims to improve its gross domestic product, investment rate, employment rate and lower the incidence of poverty in the region. The region will continue to encourage increased investment spending and exports to achieve growth targets set for the remaining period. Industry and services are envisioned to drive the regional economy, particularly manufacturing, construction and mining. The service sector is expected to expand due to better tourism prospects in and the growth of business process outsourcing industry in the region, particularly in Cebu (NEDA VII, 2008:12). On the whole, development prospects for the region remain optimistic as tourism and ICT industries are expected to grow (Regional Development Council VII, 2008:1).

Nonetheless, several challenges face the different sectors. The region faces challenges in the economic sector due to limited job opportunities, the need to improve the tourism industry's capacity to respond to international and domestic demands, and low productivity in the agricultural sector (NEDA VII,

2008:14-23). Inadequate access to elementary and secondary education, low school retention, poor learning environment, limited access to quality health services, inadequate reproductive health services and lack of affordable decent housing are the challenges that confront the social development sector (NEDA VII, 2008:23-31). The region's infrastructure needs to be improved taking into account the unintegrated transport network, inadequate rural telecommunications system, critical power capacity in the Visayas Grid expected in 2009-2011, inadequate rural electrification, inadequate coverage of safe water supply and poor irrigation facilities (NEDA VII, 2008:31-36). Public governance is confronted with the inefficient delivery of public services, bloated and ineffective bureaucracy, graft and corruption in the government sector, over dependence of LGUs on internal revenue allotment, low crime solution of law enforcement agencies, and low disposition rate in the prosecution of criminal cases (NEDA VII, 2008:36-40).

The key informants' perceptions of the development thrusts of Central Visayas were framed by the scope of their respective offices. For instance, DILG VII's focus is on capacitating LGUs in order to be efficient in the delivery of services to its constituents. Similarly, DOH VII was into Fourmula One for Health and for a medical wellness tourism area. The thrust of POEA VII was to facilitate the deployment of Filipinos keen on working abroad.

In all of these development thrusts, the key informants were confident that they were performing somewhat better compared to other regions. The DOT informant claimed that Cebu has become a tourist hub second to Manila and is a 'jump-off point to the other provinces' and has dispersed the benefits of tourism to other provinces.

Similarly, the regional prospects for development were in line with the mandate of each office. For example, DOLE VII focused on the extension of livelihood projects; DOT VII's was aimed at increasing the number of hotel establishments as the number of tourist arrivals increase; and DTI VII hoped to have more investments in the region.

All the key informants acknowledged that it was necessary to have the collaboration of both the government and private sector. According to an informant from the POEA, the government should have programs that would steer OFWs money to proper investments. For the DILG informant, LGUs should improve their network and alliance building and improve and enhance local revenue generation measures.

According to some informants, government-related factors such as the LGUs' dependence on Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA); the lack of budget for tourism promotion; the lack of attention to development by officials; and too much politicking derail the region's development prospects. Nevertheless, the regional informants suggested ways to address these challenges. For example, the LGU is weak on revenue generation, it will have to collaborate

with other offices in pursuing projects. To illustrate, the lack of budget for tourism promotion has been addressed by creating a team in-charge of marketing to ensure that this area is never neglected.

3. Eastern Visayas

Its rich agricultural, marine and geothermic resources provide Eastern Visayas with the raw materials for development. The growing ICT and tourism sectors are also emerging potentials with the 6.8-hectare ICT Park in Palo and the growing interest in tourism (NEDA VIII, 2008:12-13). The development of the ICT and tourism sectors is evidence of a 'spillover from Cebu's industrial and eco-tourism activities' (Eastern Visayas Information Sharing Network, 2008).

For the period 2008-2010, Eastern Visayas aims to expand and sustain agricultural productivity and competitiveness by relying heavily on agriculture, fishery and forestry, industry and service sectors, focusing on exports and providing good governance and efficient infrastructure. The region's top ten priority projects for 2008-2010 are: agribusiness improvement, tourism development, airport improvement, roads, roll on and roll of ports, power transmission and distribution to *barangays* with no electricity, irrigation and water supply, social development, biodiversity conservation and costal marine resource management, and disaster risk management (NEDA VIII, 2008:5-6).

The thrusts identified by the informant interviews were basically reflective of their respective agencies' thrusts. For the informants from the DOH, the thrusts involved the pursuit of the Fourmula One for Health goals including governance, health financing, health regulations, and health financing and public health in the region. For the DOT, the goal is to strengthen the tourism industry through infrastructure development. For some informants, jobs generation, and support of small and medium enterprises were. Similarly, the prospects cited by the informants were in line with their agencies' respective mandates.

Only one informant gave a response on what factors would be needed to turn these potentials to realities, citing the provision of continuous learning and financial support to existing programs. Similarly, only one informant provided a response to the hindrances to development. These include the lack of money, materials and human resources.

On the prospect of medical tourism, the informant from the Tourism Department mentioned that their department is in charge of the promotional component since it requires some marketing while the health department is in charge of the technical component. According to the informant, the department office in Manila is very active in medical tourism. The program is already in place in the biggest hospitals in Manila. Medical tourism was mentioned

TABLE 2
OVERSEAS MIGRATION STATISTICS OF SELECTED REGIONS, PROVINCES
AND CITIES IN THE VISAYAS

Region/Province/ Municipality	Registered Filipino Emigrants 1988-2007 ^a	Overseas Contract Workers (in thousands) 1998-2004, 2007-2008 ^b
Western Visayas	37,799	67,055
Iloilo Province	16,624	31,646
Iloilo City	9,630	
Central Visayas	66,564	42,203
Bohol Province	7,076	9,474
Dauis	190	
Jagna	235	
Antequera	99	
Cebu Province	51,676	28,129
Mandaue City	4,719	
Negros Oriental	6,567	3,970
Dumaguete City	2,997	
Bais City	260	
Eastern Visayas	24,805	16,084
Leyte	9,495	8,581
Tacloban City	2,542	
Ormoc City	1,593	

NOTES: ^a POEA, nd.

^b National Statistics Office, 1999; 2001; 2003h; 2005; 2006b; 2007b; 2008

as a source of employment by the informants from the Health and Tourism Departments. Although the program could generate dollars, it may also lead to problems such as spas turning out to be something else, or

Provincial Perspective

The five provinces included in the study have indices below the country's human development index (of 0.656) in 2000. The human development index which measures real income growth and social indicators of people's ability to lead a long and healthy life, acquire knowledge and skills, and have access to resources needed to afford a decent standard of living, ranks Iloilo province as the 13th in the country followed by Cebu ranking 30th and Bohol ranking 40th. Leyte ranked 49th and Negros Oriental ranking 64th in comparison with the other 77 provinces in the (NSCB, 2008:20-21). Estimates of the available 2000 poverty incidence among the provinces in the study showed a similar pattern shown as the HDI, with Iloilo province having the lowest incidence among the provinces in the Visayas followed by Cebu and Bohol (Table 2).

Negros Oriental had the highest poverty incidence followed by Leyte among the five provinces (NSCB, 2008).

Among the five provinces, Cebu province with (2,439,005) was the most populous as of the 2007 census, followed by Iloilo (1,691,876), Leyte (1,722,036) Negros Oriental (1,231,904) and Bohol (with 1,230,110). Available statistics from the 2000 census reveal that the age structure of these provinces resembled that of their regions, with more than half of the population in the working age groups of 15-64 (NSO, 2003b:9; 2003c:9; 2003d:9; 2003e:9 and 2003f:9). A similar pattern is also found among the cities and municipalities included in the study where majority of the population still belong to the younger ages (Table 2).

The five provinces have their distinct potentials. Iloilo is the leading rice producer and has one of the richest fishing grounds in the country. It also serves as the gateway to Southern Philippines (NSCB VI, 2008b). Cebu is one of the more progressive provinces in the country – it ranks first in generating financial resources, number of banks and deposits and one of the top three provinces with BIR revenue collections and tourist visitors (NSCB, 2008:25-29). Next to Cebu, Bohol is a top tourist destinations of overseas and domestic tourists. As of 2006, Bohol ranks as the 17th favorite destination of tourists in the country (NSCB, 2008:250). Negros Oriental is rich in agriculture, fishery and forestry, mining and quarrying, manufacturing, and electricity. Leyte is the more developed province in Eastern Visayas. More recent statistics indicate that Leyte has the largest revenue collections in 2007 and internal revenue allotment in 2008 (NSCB VIII, 2008).

Most of the provinces included in the survey are classified as first class income provinces with an income of at least Php450 million (NSCB, 2009b:1). Similarly most of the cities in the study were classified as first class income cities, except for Bais City and Dumaguete City, which are third class income cities (NSCB, 2009c; 2009d; 2009e). The municipalities of Bohol like Jagna, (3rd class) Antequera and Dauis (both 4th class) belong to the lower income cluster. These statistics show these areas of origin have relatively high income, areas with large populations in the working ages, and areas with better HDI and poverty indices compared to other areas in the country.

Provincial Development Plans

The five provinces have their distinct development thrusts and programs. These are supported by key strategies and activities.

Iloilo

Iloilo aims to improve governance by continuing food self sufficiency with increased production of basic food commodities and vegetables, jobs creation

in the areas of ICT, business prospect outsourcing, tourism, agri-business and service sectors. The province also aspires to improve accessibility to basic social services (public health, nutrition and delivery of hospital services, formal and informal education, peace order and disaster management, social welfare services and sports and recreation). These goals are to be met with the provision of livelihood and employment opportunities (by prioritizing high impact projects like power plants, convention centers and ICT parks, development of small scale and medium enterprises, development of tourism destinations and packages, strengthening local investment policies); focused intervention on agriculture and aquaculture (through prioritization of selective interventions on competitive commodities, provision of institutional and infrastructure support, partnership with stakeholders and best agriculture and aquaculture practices). The province puts premium on the delivery of basic social services (in compliance with the Millennium Development Goals or MDG targets, provision of services, maintenance of peace and order, support to technical and vocational and tertiary education, provision of livelihood and employment opportunities and others). It intends to enhance revenues through local revenue generation and public economic enterprise (by strengthening existing public enterprise, establishment of more revenue generating projects like the ICT Plaza and Iloilo Convention and Government Center, increase collection of taxes and others). Moreover, the province seeks to enhance organizational strength (through the adoption of ICT tools and techniques, and upgrading of personnel); provision of infrastructure support (local roads, buildings and government structures, support to water and post-harvest facilities); partnerships with NGOs private sectors and other LGUs, and mainstreaming environmental protection, gender and development and population development across all the programs of the province (Iloilo Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008:4-19).

Iloilo's prospects lie in the opening of the new Iloilo Airport paving the way for more business opportunities, an emerging ICT industry, foreign grant institutions ready to support development initiatives, business optimism in the trade and services sector, vast human resource potentials, peace and order conducive to business and investment opportunities, and LGU alliances (Iloilo Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008: 1). The lack of infrastructure support (power, water and transport), the mismatch between the competencies of skilled labor and industry needs, declining agriculture and aquaculture productivity, need for more investments, high cost of power, transport and other utilities, increasing cost of real estate and diversified economy are the major challenges in the province's pursuit of development (Iloilo Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008:2)

The development thrusts of the province mentioned by the informants were in line with the mandates of their offices. These include environmental tourism, agriculture and fisheries, maintain peace and order, provision of

livelihood and employment opportunities, putting more premium to the delivery of basic social services, enhancing revenues through local revenue generation and public economic enterprise, organizational strengthening, infrastructure support, and working partnerships with the private sector, NGOs, national government agencies, and other LGUs.

The informants cited agriculture and tourism as the province's major development prospects. According to one informant, agriculture holds promise since there are more than 200 hectares in agriculture, 60 percent of the labor force are in agriculture and most of the trading industries are also in agriculture. Another informant noted that these prospects may be realized if the province has the needed human resources, and the necessary infrastructure to meet the demands of the industry. As to tourism, one informant mentioned the need for better coordination among the municipal tourism councils.

Several hindrances were identified by the key informants in realizing these potentials. These include the lack of support for tourism, lack of infrastructure (especially with the devastation caused by Typhoon Frank), massive flooding of the province, too much politicking, divided citizenry, meager resources and lack of financial support from the national government.

Bohol

Bohol's development plan is in line with the national government and the President Arroyo's 10-point agenda focusing on poverty reduction, and sustainable development. The province seeks to address its needs by enhancing in social development, economic development, environmental and natural resource management and development administration. To improve the social welfare of its constituents, the province seeks to reduce poverty, population growth rate, school dropout rate and illiteracy; improve infrastructure (school buildings, new classrooms, sanitary toilets, improve water supply of households); and reduction of malnutrition and housing problems. Investments in the economic development sector will also be pursued to increase agricultural production; create more jobs through micro enterprise; enhance technology support for livelihood development; involve LGUs and communities in developing and promoting eco-tourism sites; and support micro finance addressing low-income groups. Management of the province's environment and natural resources will be enhanced with the inventory of lands; rehabilitation of denuded forests; implementation of reforestation programs; reduction of soil erosion and sedimentation in watershed areas; promotion of organic and diversified farming; protection and rehabilitation of watersheds; implementation of a water supply sewerage and sanitation plan; and integrated ecological solid waste management. In addition, enhancement and promotion of recycling; implementation of laws and pro-

posed measures against water and air pollution; and the provision of safety nets for groups who will be marginalized by conservation activities will also be pursued (Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2004:i-ix).

Under the Medium Term Plan, Bohol is set to support peace and order initiatives; reduce crime; increase revenue collections; establish a finance information management system; maintain a geographic information system (for land use and poverty mapping and others) organize and train local poverty reduction action teams; establish a community-based reporting and monitoring system linking all levels of governance; upgrade obsolete facilities and others. Furthermore, investments in air and sea transport facilities; drainage; roads; water and water treatment plants; irrigation facilities; information technology infrastructures; and expansion of telephone and energy coverage will be pursued by the provincial government to improve infrastructure development in the province (Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2004: i-ix). Bohol also seeks to establish itself as an eco-cultural tourist destination with a strong agro-industrial support. These will be achieved through effective government and private sector collaboration and partnership, and an efficient local government (Bohol Province, 2008).

Governance in Bohol has been exemplary. The LGU has won several awards, including the Crown Maintenance Award for Nutrition, the Presidential Cultural Excellence Award, Kalakbay Awards and the destination of the year and Gawad Pangulo sa Paligiran (Bohol Province, 2008).

According to the provincial plan, there are challenges that must be hurdled. These challenges include illiteracy, malnutrition among schoolers, chronic absenteeism of school children especially during planting and harvesting seasons and also during market days, drug use among high school students, shortage of teachers, shortage of school infrastructure, low academic performance of elementary and high school students, and lack of livelihood. The province is also faced with the high cost of health care, poor delivery of health services, and high prevalence of diseases (Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008:13, 110). Similarly, the province is faced with challenges in bioprospecting and biosafety (Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008:78), inefficient use of water resources, few water conservation programs (Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008: 81), erosion due to mining activities, unregulated mining activities (Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008:84), exploitation of coastal and marine habitat and resources, improper waste management systems, poor monitoring of industrial compliance with water quality standards, inadequate financial resources to monitor air quality, and infrastructure problems like roads (Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008:87-94).

Local chief executives and other key informants stated that the development thrusts of the province are focused on agriculture, tourism, livelihood, infrastructure and peace and order. A key informant noted the need to harmonize the development thrusts of all levels of government, impartiality in the budget allocations, and monitoring and assessment of project implementation (which may require hiring consultants or external reviewers).

Cebu

Cebu Province has a development and physical framework plan (Provincial Development and Physical Framework Plan 2008-2013) which to continue and expand the programs to ensure rational distribution of the population, ensure sustainable use of land resources and protection of critical environmental values and provide adequate and efficient infrastructure and support facilities.

The incumbent Cebu government's 12-point agenda indicate the current and immediate thrusts of the province. The agenda focuses on the improvement of infrastructure, water, power, health, education, agriculture and food production, women, business, tourism, environment, peace and order and computerization. These will involve the building of roads, bridges and school buildings, improving water supply systems, and bringing electrification to the far-flung areas. Health will be promoted by transforming district hospitals into viable economic enterprises and increasing the health insurance enrollment of indigent populations. Similarly, the construction of 2-classroom and 4-classroom building, upgrading of basic facilities, and improving the skills of teachers is intended to improve education in the province. Increase in food production is to be encouraged with a major policy shift from traditional to high-yielding and highly marketable crops. It is also the objective of the province to empower women by increasing their earning capacity through provision of livelihood and skills training, and helping victims of abuse by providing shelter and counseling and support services at the Women Center, which is also intended to provide support to the elderly, children, and out-of-school youth and groups in crisis situation (Cebu Provincial Planning and Development Office and Provincial Land Use Committee, 2004).

Cebu also seeks to showcase world-class quality Cebuano products and put Cebu in the map of international trade in the Asia-Pacific region. Community-based tourism is being promoted by the government to create employment and to increase economic activity in the rural areas, and preserve rich cultural heritage of Cebuanos (Cebu Provincial Planning and Development Office and Provincial Land Use Committee, 2004).

Based on the 12-point agenda, Cebu's natural and human resources will also be protected. The province seeks to revitalize fishing grounds and

preserve and protect the province's long and beautiful coastline, encourage LGUs to have integrated solid waste management systems, combat illegal drugs and substance abuse (at the *barangay* level), and secure public safety. Computerization of public transactions of all offices is also envisioned to improve general service delivery (Cebu Provincial Planning and Development Office and Provincial Land Use Committee, 2004)

Informants from the public sector commented on the development thrusts of the province. Several key informants were in line with the province's focus on jobs creation and the goal to make municipalities economically independent and sustainable. One key informant elaborated on the need to support trade and business initiatives, such as investment generation, trade facilitation, creation of business enterprises, creation of livelihood projects, support to business, consumer protection and advocacy, trade and business registration and licensing and creating an environment conducive to trade and industry. However, partisan politics was identified by one key informant as a major obstacle in achieving the province's development plans.

Negros Oriental

To reduce unemployment and enhance the quality of life in the province, the provincial government of Negros Oriental passed an ordinance to create a substantial number of job opportunities for the people of the province. The same ordinance spells out the tax incentives offered to prospective investors who wish to locate anywhere in the province (Negros Oriental Provincial and Planning Office, 2003:99). The province's investment priority areas include but are not limited to agribusiness development; gifts, toys and house wares; ceramics; industrial estates and ecozones; tourism; furniture; and support activities. The ordinance states that it is the policy of Negros Oriental to encourage Filipinos and foreign investments or joint ventures to develop agricultural, industrial and service industries which will bring about greater economic stability, provide more opportunities for employment, and improve the quality of life of the people of Negros Oriental (Office ng Panlalawigan ng Negros Oriental, 1996:1)

The Executive and Legislative Agenda of the Province of Negros Oriental for the years 2008-2010 emphasized the following: social services, governance, development administration, economic development, and environmental management. For social services, the general goal is to improve the quality of life of the target beneficiaries through prompt delivery of the different social services/programs. Under this sector are health, education, social welfare and development, and peace and security. In terms of governance, the goals are: 1) to improve transparency, accountability and participatory decision-making; 2) to institutionalize participatory local governance; and 3)

to rationalize use of resources for the implementation of various programs, projects and services. The improvement of the over-all administrative machinery of the province for effective and efficient management of provincial operations, on the other hand, is the ultimate goal of development administration. With regard to economic development, the primary goal is to increase the agri-business and industry profitability. For environmental management, the goals include: 1) to sustain Integrated Coastal Management Programs and Services; 2) to rehabilitate the denuded watersheds and protect the existing forest cover; 3) to institutionalize the Solid and Liquid Waste Management Program; 4) to implement the Wildlife Conservation and Protection Law; 5) to regulate mining operations in the province both small and large scale; 6) to ensure the security of human life and property; and 7) to improve the quality of air (Negros Oriental Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2008).

When probed about the thrusts and development prospects, the key informants referred to the specific mandates of offices. There were three areas though that were repeatedly mentioned as viable areas for development – agriculture, education, and tourism. According to one key informant, support infrastructures, such as good roads, would contribute to maximizing the potentials of agriculture. With regard to education, the province also has a number of universities, which could be promoted and used to attract more investors and visitors. Lastly, the diving areas and other coastal resources, makes the province an attractive tourist destination.

The political will of the local officials and funding or allocation are required to turn the prospects for development into actual development, according to the informants. This requires committed leadership. To ensure commitment, it was proposed that ordinances be passed to support the implementation of programs under the three main areas mentioned earlier.

Leyte

In the case of Leyte, the provincial physical framework plan for 2000-2009 elaborates the province's development policies goals and objectives into its spatial and physical dimensions. The plan takes the form of an integrated settlement, land use and management and infrastructure plan. It takes into account the interplay of the population's needs and requirements and the preservation, conservation and utilization of resources (Province of Leyte, 2000).

As cited by many of the key informants, the development thrusts of the province focuses on developing the tourism industry, harnessing the ICT prospects in Palo, and developing the infrastructure (roads and school buildings) of the province. For one, agriculture production is to be enhanced and delivery of basic social services to the grassroots. For the informant from the health sector, the development thrusts will focus on developing hospitals

for tertiary level status, strengthening the delivery of services through the improvement of *Sentro Sigla* units and bringing back the district system through the inter local health zone concept. For the informant from the industry sector, the thrusts will focus on development and promotion of business investments, enforcement of regulatory function and consumer protection.

There were different prospects cited by the informants. These included agriculture, education and business. ICT was seen by one informant as an emerging and promising industry. A sense of pessimism, lack of hope and politics are some of the hindrances that may hinder the development prospects according to one informant. Political will and support from the local government are important for these development prospects to flourish.

In summary, the prospects of the regions and provinces focus on their respective distinctive features. Common among these prospects are tourism, (a major industry in the Visayas); business process outsourcing (with the establishment of ICT parks in the Visayas regions); agricultural and aquaculture production; and trade and industry (NEDA VI, 2004; NEDAVIII, 2008; Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2004; Cebu Provincial Planning and Development Office and Provincial Land Use Committee, 2004; Negros Oriental Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2003; 2008). For most of the informants, the enabling factors that would turn these prospects into realities will involve political will and financial and human resources. There are several hindrances cited for these prospects to prosper. These include partisan politics, poor governance, lack of resources (financial and human), and the lack of supporting infrastructures.

The different reports from the Visayas reveal that international migration is a phenomenon that has not been given its due importance. International migration is not part of the development plans of almost all of the regions, provinces and other localities included in the study. In the case of case of Western Visayas international migrants are given some importance because of their contribution to tourism and regional plans to include livelihood programs for the OFWs and their families (NEDA VI, 2004). Although most of the informants from the government sector in particular mentioned employment opportunities as part of their development thrusts, they did not however account for international migration, particularly the role of OFWs. For some, the phenomenon of international migration eases the unemployment situation in their areas.

Overview of International Migration Trends

Eastern, Central and Western Visayas have a long history of being sources of outmigrants. Early accounts of the Spanish galleon trade between the Philippines and Mexico have identified Ilongos, Cebuanos, and Warays as some of

the slaves used by the Spaniards to oar their ships to Mexico (e.g. Luengo, 1991:101; Stern, 1989:37; Luengo, 1996:7,8), some of whom found their way to Mexico and Louisiana (Espina, 1988 in Luengco, 1996:3). Similarly, before the American occupation, Visayans along with some Ilocanos, were recruited for plantation work in Hawaii and were the second largest group of Hawaiian employees (Alcantara, 1973:8; Mojares, 1983:79; Alcantara, 1981:1; Institute of Manpower Studies, 1984:6; Stern, 1989:45; CIIR, 1987:34).

Locally, studies of migration streams in the country revealed that migration from the Visayas was one of the major streams to the National Capital from the pre-60s to the 70s (Gonzales and Pernia, 1984:303) and majority of the migrants in Mindanao were from the Visayas (Gonzales and Pernia, 1984:305; Pascual, 1966:335; Wernstedt and Simkins, 1965:96). The region also contributes substantially to the volume of overseas workers and has been one of the major sources of sea-based workers (ILMS, 1984:90).

Recent statistics indicate that the contribution of the Visayas to the total volume of emigrants and overseas contract workers is substantial. Unpublished data from the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency reveal that Iloilo and Cebu are the 2nd and 3rd major sources of sea based temporary contract workers and 7th and 8th major source of temporary contract workers in the country. Similarly, data from the Commission on Filipino overseas reveal that Cebu and Iloilo rank as the 4th and 8th major source of immigrants and permanent residents during the 1998-2005 period. The magnitude of poor families was associated with the volume of overseas contract workers and emigrants for the provinces in the Visayas, particularly in Iloilo Cebu and Leyte (IMDI, nd).

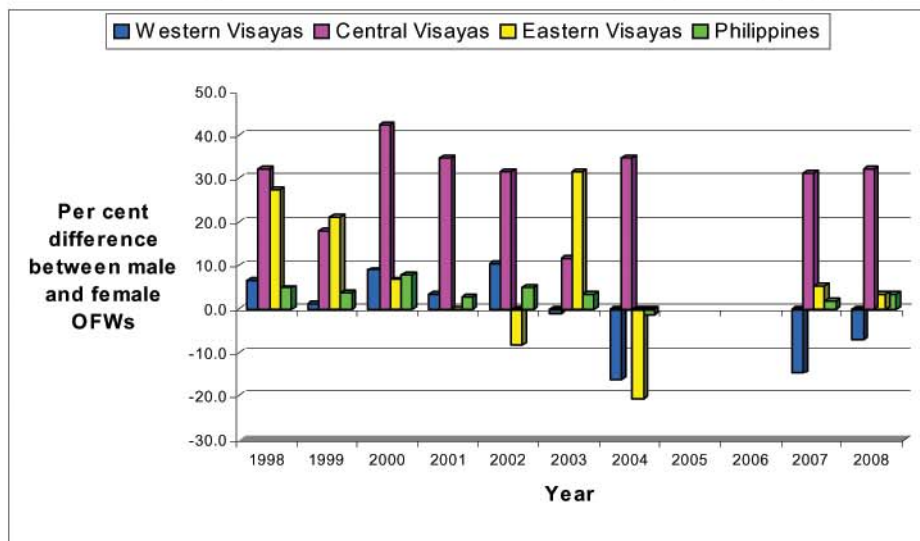
Among the Visayan regions, unpublished 2006 data from POEA showed that Western Visayas (67,056) has a major share of temporary contract workers followed by Central (42,203) and Eastern Visayas (16,084). Among the provinces and cities included in the study, Iloilo Province had the largest volume of overseas contract workers followed by Cebu (Table 2). There has been a predominant male stream among overseas Filipino workers although the past years have shown the dominance of female migrants, particularly in Western Visayas (see Figure 2).

Overseas Filipinos have been major contributors to their community's development. Available statistics showed that the proportion of OFW household expenses with gross domestic product regional contribution, and per cent of tax collection from migrant households total expenditure were substantial (IMDI, nd).

Overseas Filipino Workers

The profile of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) and patterns of migration are best drawn from the available 2006 Survey of Overseas Filipinos (NSO, 2006a).

FIGURE 2
SHARE OF MALE OVERSEAS WORKERS IN THE VISAYAN REGIONS, 1999-2004, 2006-2007



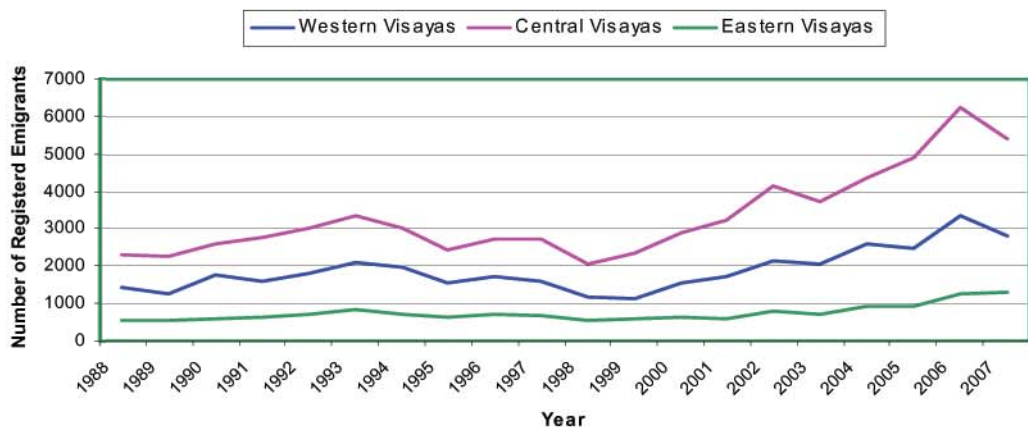
SOURCES: NSO, 1999; 2001; 2003h; 2005; 2006b; 2007b; 2008.

Results from this national survey reveal that less than a fifth of OFWs were from the Visayas and many of who were from Western Visayas. Although males dominated the migration stream, females outnumber their male counterparts in Western Visayas (NSO 2006:1). This trend was also indicated in the data from 1998-2009 (NSO, 1999, 2001, 2003h, 2005, 2006b, 2007b, 2008). The overseas Filipinos from the Visayas were, on average, young with more than half below 35 years old (NSO, 2006:2). Majority of the OFWs were working in Asia and this was also true for Visayan OFWs (NSO, 2006:4). There were more female OFWs who were working in Asia, mainly as laborers and unskilled workers. Visayan male OFWs, many of whom were also Asia bound, were working in trade and related work, and as plant and machine operators and assemblers (NSO, 2006:6). Visayan OFWs remit a substantial amount to their families. The proportion of Visayan male OFWs remitting money amounting to more than Php40,000 was higher among males than females (NSO, 2006:7); most of these remittances were sent in cash (NSO, 2006:9) and through banks (NSO, 2006:10).

Filipino Emigrants

Data from the Commission on Filipino Overseas showed that Visayans comprised a substantial number of emigrants during the 1998-2008 period.

FIGURE 3
INCREASING TREND IN OVERALL VISAYAN EMIGRATION, 1988-2007



SOURCE: Commission on Filipino Overseas, nd.

However, the figures are less compared to the other regions in the country. There has been an increase in the volume of emigrants from the Visayas during the said period with Central Visayas having larger volumes of emigrants compared to the two other Visayan regions (Figure 3). In Western Visayas, Iloilo Province had the most number of emigrants, in Central Visayas, the major source province was Cebu, and in Eastern Visayas, it was Leyte Province (Commission on Filipino Overseas, n.d). Among the provinces included in the study, Cebu had the most number of emigrants followed by Iloilo. Among the cities though, Iloilo City had the most number of emigrants compared to the other cities and municipalities (Table 2).

Views and Perceptions about Migration

There were both positive and negative views held by the key informants with respect to migration. Some key informants indicated that international migration is beneficial to the country because dollar remittances contribute to development and helps the economy by improving the country's dollar reserves and investments in real estate and businesses. However, some argued that international migration reflects the Filipinos' colonial mentality, where anything outside the Philippines is deemed as better. For one, interna-

tional migration has become an even more attractive option not only because of the worsening economic situation, but more so because it is being glamorized. According to a key informant, the government, in fact, has been the primary endorser of foreign employment to cover up for its inability to provide job opportunities at home. According to another informant, the Filipinos' level of contentment has also changed, making them long for a more comfortable life, and it has become a part of the Filipinos' hopes and dreams to work overseas. Others said that there are social costs incurred with international migration resulting in the family separation, marital dissolution, and domestic problems like juvenile delinquency, teenage pregnancy, drug addiction and others. One informant cautioned that there is no comprehensive study that has shown the adverse effects of international migration on Filipinos. Some informants noted that advancements in ICT have reduced the distance between migrants and their families.

While others also claimed that international migration eases the burden of employment, some thought that at the micro level, dependence on remittances may have led some families to lose interest in pursuing available job opportunities, or laziness, and a "culture of dependency." While some informants seemed more positive about international migration – international migration as showcasing the talents and skills of Filipino and potential brain gain – others were more skeptical and argued that international migration has resulted in the loss of skilled professionals (particularly the lack of doctors and nurses in rural areas). There is some concern that the migration of skilled professionals has resulted in "brain drain" and those left behind are less skilled and untrained.

The disparity between migrant and non-migrant households was not considered to be critical by the key informants. However, for a few, the disparity between households may cause other members of the community to aspire to work overseas.

Many of the key informants did not have information on the sending communities and where most Filipino migrants are. Many of them also expressed that unless Filipinos were in risky occupation, return migration was not viable - it should not be encouraged at the moment because jobs are not available, there is still a need to strengthen the value of the peso, and there is a need to provide infrastructure projects and increase employment opportunities.

Migration-Development Nexus: Policies and Practices by Local Governments

There is a mixed view on the policies national and local leaders should pursue to reduce, maintain or increase international migration. Some argued that

there should be no policies to reduce migration since there are no employment opportunities available for the growing labor force. Some mentioned the need to protect international migrants and provide livelihood opportunities for them and their families. A few argued that there should be policies to discourage overseas employment because of the abuses against Filipinos in host countries and the proliferation of illegal recruitment practices. While others emphasized that policies should emanate from the national level, others advanced that it is also important to involve LGUs.

Although most of the informants were in agreement in recognizing the benefits of international migration, most of the informants also stated that there are available job opportunities in their areas. These areas include agriculture production, small and medium enterprises, tourism and business process outsourcing. The latter in particular has been growing in the Visayas regions.

OWWA, DOLE and POEA provide assistance to overseas Filipinos, especially OFWs. Apart from these agencies, there was no agency involved in providing assistance to overseas Filipinos. However, LGUs were willing to help when the need arises. A case was cited in Mandaue City when the LGU assisted a resident who was victim of illegal recruitment or overstayed in the host country.

Results from the interviews revealed that links with overseas Filipinos have been on an informal and formal basis. Informal links include the sporadic visits of medical missions, or donation from alumni. Formal linkages include those donations made by Filipino associations with institutions like the Link to Philippine Development (LINKAPIL) of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas.

Some LGUs had plans to link formally with overseas Filipino communities. Mandaue City intends to formalize its links with the migrants and migrants' associations during its festivities in May 2009 through their Balik Mandaue Program, an initiative to attract Mandauehanons living overseas or in the country. Other individuals (like the case of Maxlinda Ayco, a former OFW from Bohol) and NGOs (like the Bohol Initiatives for Migration and Community Development) have also initiated projects and intend to link with overseas Filipino workers in community development.

There were a few NGOs working in the Visayas on international migration related issues. The Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral care for Migrants and itinerant People based in Cebu City (ECMI-Cebu) is focused on promoting in the church and society the special care for migrants and their families, the dignity of the human person and respect for the rights of migrants, the special care of migrants and their families as evangelizers. Its programs include formation (setting up of migrant desks, family group formation, volunteer and support groups), pastoral and social programs (e.g., reintegration, values and spiritual formation, family counseling, paralegal and entre-

preneurship programs) and institutional promotion and programs development. The Apostleship of the Sea based in Iloilo City, Cebu City and Maasin, in Southern Leyte provides assistance and support to seafarers and their families through seminars on family awareness in maritime schools, prevention of drugs and alcohol in the maritime sector, counseling of seafarers and their families, seminars on income generating projects, and other services. Similarly, the Stella Maris Apostleship of the Sea in Tagbilaran City inculcates frugality and savings, stress the importance of health among the wives of seafarers and among seafarers, financial literacy legal education, parenting and marital counseling, health awareness (HIV/AIDS), and moral support (visitation of the sick and those that have problems. The SVD Parish Pastoral Care for Families of Migrant Workers, in Palo, Leyte educate students, particularly the children of OFWs and their caregivers, through their pastoral care and formation program.

Other NGOS like the Bohol Initiatives for Migration and Community Development channel the remittances of OFWs to worthwhile investments and engage migrants to invest in local developmental activities like ubi processing and production. The Bohol Hongkong Association aims to unite all Boholanos working in Hong Kong to raise funds that will support local scholarships and projects like medical missions. The organization also aims to raise awareness of government officials regarding OFW concerns.

Some NGOS are focused on women's issues. The Gender Watch Against Violence and Exploitation (GWave) based in Negros Oriental promotes access to justice for disadvantaged women in cases of abuse, including trafficking. It offers free legal assistance to those who had been trafficked; conducts training and advocacy activities on the anti-trafficking law; and does research on migration and trafficking. GABRIELA Cebu works on various issues that adversely affect women: landlessness, militarization, the foreign debt crisis and the IMF-WB impositions, GATT-WTO, anti-people development projects, the denial of women's health rights, violence against women and children, prostitution, trafficking in women and migration, and many more. The Center for Overseas Workers based in Cebu provides assistance to spouses of foreigners, which is an emerging phenomenon in the regions.

Other NGOS tend to be more health oriented like the Leyte Family Development Organization that provides pre-departure orientation seminars; advocacy, information and education, and training on sexually transmitted diseases, promotion of maternal and child health, and HIV and AIDS prevention.

Importance of Overseas Filipinos

OFWs and their families were viewed by informants as an important sector of Philippine society and as a partner for national and local development. This

perception is in recognition of the contribution of remittances to the national economy and increasing purchasing power at the local level.

There are only a few structures and mechanisms that were dedicated to international migration. These structures were found in Bohol and Leyte provinces and in cities like Iloilo, Tacloban, and Ormoc and the municipality of Jagna in Bohol.

There is an Overseas Workers Welfare Assistance Desk in Bohol that directly coordinates with Boholano OFWs who are in distress in foreign lands. This office coordinates with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Philippine foreign service posts. The Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office has a social services sector which coordinates with groups of migrants in the US and Canada for medical missions like the Confederation of Boholanos in the US and Canada (CONBUSAC). Doctors and nurses regularly conduct medical missions in the province. It has also a poverty reduction program which attracts migrant investors and seek funding from migrants in terms of water programs, trainings of LGUs how to manage their water systems. Some trainors are migrant workers who offer their services.

A Provincial Council was established in Leyte province with an ordinance 'Resolution No. 08 438 of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan' which was approved last 19 August 2008. The ordinance seeks to establish a provincial council for the protection of the rights and promotion of the welfare of Leyteño OFWs and their families. Chaired by the governor, this council maintains and updates a list of OFWs and available jobs overseas; provides technical legal assistance to overseas workers and their families; offers entrepreneurship programs for OFWs and their families; livelihood and financial management; and establish linkages with OWWA and other government organizations and NGOs to promote the welfare of OFWs and their families.

Iloilo City passed Ordinance No. 2005-11 in April 2005 that created the Overseas Filipino Economic Council of Iloilo City. This council is composed of different government agencies. The objective of this council is to protect the interests and promote the welfare of OFWs and families; identify OFWs in every *barangay*; provide skills and training and entrepreneurship; reintegrate returning OFWs for economic empowerment and entrepreneurship; identify viable business opportunities for OFWs and link OFWs and their families to business schools for advice on investment opportunities

Tacloban City has a draft of a memorandum of agreement between the city and the POEA to help protect the residents of Tacloban City against illegal recruitment.

The Balik Mandaue Program of the Mandaue City government is under a special committee that links with the Mandauehanons Incorporated (based in the US) to attract Mandauehanons to invest in the city. It is hoped that policies will be drawn at the first convention of the Mandauehanons Inc on

2 May 2009, to promote heritage and culture; uplift the lives of the city's poor; and generate investments and economic development projects

Jagna, a fourth class municipality in Bohol crafted a municipal resolution No.68-09-2004 where a committee was created to protect OFWs. Another resolution No. 75-10-2008 was crafted authorizing the municipality of Jagna to enter into a memorandum of agreement with Bohol Initiatives on Migration and Community Development (BoholDev) to assist the *ubi* industry of Jagna. The local government provides help in organizing *ubi* growers and buying *ubi* from the farmers.

Only one case stands out where the local government has been an active partner in a migrant-supported project. The Ormoc City E-learning and Research center is locally supported by the Ormoc City government with the provision of space, staff and logistics as counterpart to operate the facility that provide public school students free access to internet services. Through the passing of a city ordinance, the maintenance of the E-learning and research center is assured.¹

These few examples show the lack of appreciation of the role of international migration and overseas Filipinos in local development. For the most part, international migration was mainly considered to be a national concern. Only a few LGUs like the province of Leyte and the city of Iloilo and a forthcoming one from the city of Tacloban have formulated ordinances to protect the welfare of OFWs and their beneficiaries. In Bohol, several resolutions have been filed to involve the LGUs; the involvement of the municipality of Jana in migration-related initiatives is instructive.

To maximize the benefits of migration, and minimize the costs of migration, some informants suggested programs on values reorientation of OFW families, and to combat battle corruption in government so that the benefits can trickle down to those in need.

Through the cooperation of OWWA regional offices in Central and Eastern Visayas, recipients of the Groceria project were mapped out. Most of these projects in Regions VII and VIII had been inactive or had unpaid dues at the time of the study.

The *tres por uno* model of Mexico was not known by almost all of the informants. While most of them were interested in the idea of replicating the model in the country, some expressed the need to first pilot test the model while a few expressed skepticism that this model may not be applicable in the country. For some the adoption of the *tres por uno* model may require legislative support for its operationalization.

¹ For details, see Asis, et al. (2010:104-106)

For most of the informants, encouraging overseas Filipinos to invest in the country is important. To regain their trust, most of the informants urged the removal of red tape, graft and corruption in government. Some suggested the showcasing of good examples that worked. Some respondents mentioned that partnering with the private sector (rather than the public sector) might be a better strategy to entice overseas Filipinos to invest in the country.

Conclusions

The results of the study reveal the need to support several initiatives. There is a need for local, sub-national and national agencies involved in overseas migration to get their act together rather than work in isolation, independent of each other as what was gleaned from the study.

The lack of a common or unified database which these agencies can use as basis for their policies and programs was a common problem encountered during the study. The lack of a database on international migration at the local and sub-national levels can be addressed by including international migration information in the data collection activities of the government like the regular surveys, census, and data gathering activities. The regular Survey of Overseas Filipinos may provide some information, but information at the local level is not easily available.

There is poor appreciation of the development potential of international migration and migrants' contributions. By empowering local governments with structures and mechanisms to handle international migration, the development potentials of migration can be harnessed. With the prevailing mixed perceptions of the effect of migration on communities and families, the conduct of a comprehensive study to examine the benefits and disadvantages of international migration at the macro and micro levels is also recommended.

Advocacy and educational campaigns addressing both local executives and overseas workers are important in pushing forward the international migration-development agenda. This is implied from the findings of the Visayan experience. On the part of the local executives, they should be aware of the potential benefits of international migration apart from the dollar remittances. The interviews revealed a poor understanding of the migration–development nexus, which implies awareness raising about the issue. The mention of Mexico's *tres por uno* model during the interviews fanned interest about the partnership between government and overseas communities. Highlighting the potential contribution of international migration on local development can be one of the flash points of the advocacy campaign.

Overseas workers also need to be aware of their contributions to Philippines society and the other avenues they could pursue to improve their family and contribute to their community as well. The Bohol Bee Farm, a multi million

peso hotel restaurant and food business by a return migrant and a successful family- owned tailoring business where skills learned overseas are applied are examples of how return migrants have contributed to the local economy. Apart from OFWs, permanent migrants can also be important players in local development. A good example is the Ormoc E-learning Research Center funded by a Filipino-American, which provides public school students free access to Internet connections to enhance their learning.

It is important to emphasize in the advocacy and education campaigns that the contribution of international migrants are not limited to dollar remittances or to investments in real estate or business but are also open to other initiatives that focus on the development of human resources and uplifting the life of disadvantaged population with the provision of access to information and investment capital. There are several examples drawn from the Visayan study that demonstrate how overseas Filipinos contribute to the development of human resources or contribute to the upliftment of disadvantaged populations. One example is that of overseas-based supporting infrastructure development facilities, donating books, and donating medical equipment to their university. The two other examples are the financing of broom-makers and the installation of a safe water supply system in an urban poor community in Mandaue City. These were funded by Filipinos in Europe, with funding support provided by a local NGO. These projects have provided poor families with livelihood and access to safe potable drinking water. The study has underscored that there is more to international migration than sending workers abroad and generating remittances, More conscious efforts to formulate a migration and development framework hold the key to unlock the many other ways of harnessing the development potentials of international migration.

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ANNEX 1
LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Region/ Locality	Agency	Informant	Position	Date of interview
Western Visayas	POEA	Atty. Rhea Glenda Calantas	Director	Aug. 6, 2008
	DOLE	Mr. Crispin Dannug	Assistant Regional Director	Aug. 8, 2008
	NEDA	Ms. Estela Paredes	Chief Knowledge Management Division	Aug. 20, 2008
	DOH	Dr. Sofia Chua	Research Coordinator, Health Promotions and Advocacy Center	Aug. 29, 2008
Iloilo Province	Provincial Government	Mr. Mario Nillos	Planning Officer, Representing the Governor	Aug. 13, 2008
	Sangguniang Panlalawigan	Atty. Arthur Defensor, Jr.	Board Member, Province	Aug. 20, 2008
	Tourism Office	Mr. Gilber Marin	Provincial Tourism Officer	Aug. 29, 2008
Iloilo City	City Government	Mr. Ronnie Penalosa	City Planning Officer	Aug. 6, 2008
	Sangguniang Panglungsod	Hon. Julianne Baronda	City Councilor	Aug. 26, 2008
	Iloilo Business Club, Inc	Ms. Ma. Lea Victoria Lara	Executive Director	Sept. 22, 2008
Central Visayas	DILG	Ms. Leah Abines	Regional Planning Officer	July 17, 2008
	DILG	Ms. Lilibeth Famacion	Assistant Regional Director	July 21, 2008
	DOH	Dr. Lourdes Tulasan	Officer in Charge, Health Human Resources Development Unit	July 22, 2008
	DOLE	Mr. Exequiel Sarcauga	Assistant Regional Director	July 21, 2008

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LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Region/ Locality	Agency	Informant	Position	Date of interview
	DOT	Ms. Angeli Lapingcao	Tourism Operations Officer	Aug. 7, 2008
	DTI	Victoria Diaz	Chief Regional Finance and Administrative Division	July 18, 2008
	NEDA	Ms. Ma. Teresa Alambra	Officer in Charge, Operations Division	July 21, 2008
	POEA	Ms. Evelia Durato	Regional Director	July 15, 2008 & Aug. 19, 2008
	OWWA	Mr. Reynaldo Jacalan	Welfare Officer	Nov. 5, 2008
	CFO	Ms. Maria Kimberly Dizon	Senior Immigrant Officer	Nov. 18, 2008
	NSO	Mr. Noel Rafols	Information Officer	Nov. 21, 2008
	ECMI	Ms. Gerry Gonzales	Regional Coordinator	Oct. 7, 2008
	AOS-Stella Maris Seafarer Centers	Mr. Arnel Sanchez	Head	Oct. 14, 2008
Cebu Province	DTI	Ms. Zaide Bation	Officer in Charge	Nov. 26, 2008
	Birhen sa Regla Migrants	Ms. Cleofe Cefe	Member	Nov. 12, 2008
	Provincial Government	Mr. Eduardo Habin	Cebu Provincial Administrator	Dec. 2, 2008
	Cebu Provincial Health Office	Dr. Christina Gianggo	Provincial Health Officer	Nov. 27, 2008
Mandaue City	City Government	Atty. Briccio Boholst	City Administrator	Nov. 22, 2008
	City Government	Architect Delia Rodrigo	City Planning Coordinator	Nov. 20, 2008

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LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Region/ Locality	Agency	Informant	Position	Date of interview
Bohol	Office of the Mayor	Mrs. Louella Cabanero	Chief of Staff	Nov. 21, 2008
	Tourism Office	Mr. Manolito Jose Langub	Tourism Officer	Nov. 20, 2008
	PESO	Mr. Crisaldo Abatol	PESO Officer	Nov. 21, 2008
	Balik Mandaue Program	Mr. Emilio Pascual	Executive Director	Nov. 20, 2008
	Provincial Government	Hon. Julius Caesar Herrera	Vice Governor	Oct. 15, 2008
	Office of the Governor	Mr. Boy Pernia	Chief of Staff	Sept. 30, 2008
	Bohol Employment and Placement Office	Mr. Romulo Tagaan	Head	Oct. 17, 2008
	OWWA	Mr. John Paul Nistal	Education and Training Officer, Focal Person for OWWA-DOLE	Oct. 22, 2008
	Provincial Planning and Development Office	Mr. Hermilio Acaya	Assistant Planning and Development Officer	Nov. 5, 2008
	Tagbilaran City Government	Atty. Dan Lim	Mayor	Nov. 6, 2008
Municipality of Dauis	Office of the Mayor	Atty. Nuevas Montes	Consultant for Strategic Projects	Dec. 15, 2008
	Office of the Mayor	Hon. Luciano Bongalos	Mayor	Dec. 17, 2008
	Office of the Mayor	Hon. Exupero Lloren	Mayor	Dec. 6, 2008
	Municipal Office	Engr. Erasmo Diez	Municipal Planning and Development Coordinator	Dec. 16, 2008

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LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Region/ Locality	Agency	Informant	Position	Date of interview
Negros Oriental	Provincial Government	Hon. Jose Balbado	Vice Governor	July 3, 2008
	Tourism Office	Mr. Dindo Generoso	Tourism Officer	July 25, 2008
	Provincial Health Office	Dr. Felix Sy	Provincial Health Officer	July 22, 2008
	DTI (Provincial)	Mr. Javier Fortunato, Jr	Director	July 25, 2008
	Provincial Planning and Development Office	Ms. Joy Gongab	Coordinator	July 28, 2008
	PESO	Ms. Marez Ramirez	Provincial PESO Officer	July 29, 2008
	Negros Oriental Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Mr. Francisco Martinez	Vice President and Executive Director	Aug. 1, 2008
Dumaguete City	City Government	Mr. Antonio Remollo	Councilor	July 29, 2008
	Office of the Mayor	Engr. Dominador Dumalag, Jr.	Administrator	July 31, 2008
	City Planning and Develop- ment Office	Engr. Josephine Antonio	Planning and Development Coordinator	July 31, 2008
	PESO	Ms. Ma Socorro Mira	Manager	Aug. 1, 2008
Bais City	City Government	Hon. Luciano Benlota, Sr.	Vice Mayor	Aug. 22, 2008
	City Council	Mr. Winston Chan	Councilor, Chair Committee on Labor	Aug. 26, 2008
	PESO	Mr. Amos Caldiquia	Officer	Aug. 27, 2008

ANNEX 1 (continued)

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Region/ Locality	Agency	Informant	Position	Date of interview
Eastern Visayas	City Planning and Develop- ment Office	Engr. Ma. Angeles Socorro Banogon	Planning and Development Coordinator	Aug. 26, 2008
	NEDA	Atty. Buena- ventura Go-Soco	Regional Director	Aug. 1, 2008
	DOLE	Atty. Forter Puguon	Regional Director	Aug. 13, 2008
	POEA	Ms. Rosario Gervoso	Regional Coordinator	Aug. 15, 2008
	OWWA	Ms. Evangeline Filamor	Regional Coordinator	Aug. 19, 2008
	DTI	Ms. Cynthia Nierras	Regional Director	Aug. 14, 2008
	DOT	Ms. Karina Rosa-Tiopes	Regional Director	Aug. 8, 2008
	DOH	Dr. Teogenes Baluma	Regional Director	Aug. 14, 2008
	DOH	Dr. Adelaida Asperin	Regional Director	Nov. 10, 2008
	DOH	Ms. Minda Cayubit	Planning Officer	Aug. 11, 2008
Leyte	NSCB	Ms. Evangeline Paran	Regional Head	Aug. 8, 2008
	Provincial Government	Hon. Carlos Jerico Petilla	Governor	Aug. 6, 2008
	Provincial Government	Hon. Mimyet Bagulaya	Vice Governor	Oct. 7, 2008
	Provincial Government	Hon. Carlo Loreto	Board Member	Aug. 6, 2008 & Nov. 11, 2008
	Leyte Provincial Hospital	Dr. Edgardo Daya	Assistant Chief Administrator	Sept. 7, 2008
	DTI	Mr. Dio Molina	Chief Consumer Welfare Division	Sept. 12, 2008

ANNEX 1 (continued)
LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Region/ Locality	Agency	Informant	Position	Date of interview
	SVD Parish Pastoral Care for Families of Migrant Workers	Sis. Grace Namucatcat	Coordinator	Aug. 18, 2008
Tacloban City	City Government	Hon. Arvin Antoni	Vice Mayor	Sept. 25, 2008
	Planning Office	Mr. Rolando Hidalgo	City Planning Officer	Sept. 30, 2008
	Tourism Office	Mr. Jake Ligan	Tourism Officer	Sept. 26, 2008
Ormoc City	City Government	Hon. Eric Codilla	Mayor	Sept. 16, 2008
	PESO	Mr. Danilo Canete	PESO Officer	Sept. 16, 2008

Mindanao

Chona Echavez and Golda Myra Roma

This chapter summarizes findings from the research conducted in Mindanao, which is part of the broader Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development (MAPID Project) that aims to enhance the capacity of migrants' associations abroad and local government institutions in supporting development projects in the Philippines. The first part discusses the background, coverage and methodology of the research. The second section reports the various development plans and perspectives from government offices in Mindanao at the regional, provincial and municipal levels. An overview of international migration data and trends in Mindanao is summarized in the third section. Finally, perceptions, policies and practices of local governments from a migration and development approach are discussed and reviewed, with a concluding section at the end of the chapter. While the section provides a general overview of research findings from selected regions, some specific cases and examples are included in the report.

Background, Coverage and Methodology

This section discusses the coverage and method of data collection of the study. Limitations as well as difficulties and problems encountered throughout the study are also enumerated.

Mindanao¹ is the second largest of the Philippine major island groupings, comprising of six administrative regions: Zamboanga Peninsula (Region IX), Northern Mindanao (Region X), Davao Region (Region XI), SOCCSKSARGEN (Region XII), Caraga (Region XIII), and Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). These regions are subdivided into 25 provinces, including outlying islands such as the Sulu archipelago to the southwest (which

¹ Information on Mindanao, as summarized in this subsection, is based on the Columbia Encyclopedia (2008).

includes Basilan, Jolo and Tawi-Tawi), Camiguin, Dinagat, Siargao, Samal and the Saranggani Islands. Davao and Zamboanga are considered Mindanao's principal cities. As of 2007, the estimated population is about 21.58 million. About one-fifth of the total population is Muslim.

The region's terrain is generally mountainous and heavily forested, with several deep bays. It also has a large western peninsula, the Zamboanga peninsula, which consists of three provinces: Zamboanga del Norte, Zamboanga del Sur and Zamboanga Sibugay. Mindanao lies below the typhoon belt, and its climate is more favorable than that of Luzon to the north. Bananas, pineapples, coconuts, mangoes, and other fruits are grown, as well as rice, corn, and coffee. Fish, especially tuna, and other marine products are harvested.

There has been considerable industrial growth in Mindanao since the 1960s. The extensive development of the water resources of the Lake Lanao-Agus River basin, including the harnessing of Maria Cristina Falls, has resulted in the establishment of heavy industrial plants, especially in the Iligan area. Mineral resources include gold, nickel and zinc.

The MAPID study in Mindanao specifically focused on three regions and four provinces (and under each province, specific municipalities), which are considered major origin provinces of overseas Filipinos, based on membership records from the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA, 2006). The MAPID sites include the following regions and provinces: Northern Mindanao or Region X (Misamis Oriental); Davao Region or Region XI (Davao del Norte and Davao del Sur); and SOCCSARGEN or Region XII (South Cotabato).

Data Collection

Data collection was based on: (a) primary data through key informant interviews, including the documentation of examples of development initiatives by overseas Filipinos and their cooperation with local institutions, and (b) secondary data such as the review of development plans and annual reports. Primary data for this study were based on interviews with representatives of national and regional government agencies, as well as local government units. These interviews were conducted to explore key informants' awareness and understanding of migration and development policies at specific sub-national, regional and provincial levels. Information from these interviews were supplemented with a review of documents such as annual reports, development plans and newsletters as well as other relevant data (e.g., socio-economic profile and migration statistics) in each region or province. The study also documented businesses, investments and development projects involving overseas Filipinos, and examples of cooperative endeavors be-

tween them and local institutions. Due to time constraints and other practical limitations, the study only focused on selected regions and provinces. This selective coverage should be considered in the interpretation of the findings.

Key informants from regional agencies represented the offices of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB), Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA), Overseas Workers' Welfare Administration (OWWA), Department of Tourism (DOT) and Department of Health (DOH).

Provincial offices tapped for the study included officers from provincial and municipal government units (mostly development and planning officers). Most of the informants at the provincial and municipal levels, however, generally have very limited information about migrant giving. Many of these informants admitted that most of the information came from stories told by the locals as well as actual accounts of some of their relatives working abroad. Most of the informants were knowledgeable of the development plans in their respective localities but they were mostly unaware of the integration of migration in these plans. Nevertheless, many of them, particularly those from local government units have shown interest in the potential of migrant giving as well as the significance of OFWs in the development of their hometown of origin. Generally, the main difficulty encountered during the research in Mindanao was the lack of international migration data available, particularly the profiles of overseas Filipinos, a problem highlighted in the discussion of the study's findings in the latter part of this section.

Data collection was conducted from the third week of July until August, except for some interviews that were scheduled in September due to the availability of informants. Field visits allowed the researchers to gather interviews and electronic and printed copies of important documents and statistical data directly from provincial and municipal offices. These trips also ensured the follow through of remaining interviews of key informants connected with regional offices.

An Overview of Development Realities and Prospects

Northern Mindanao or Region X: Focus on Misamis Oriental

Northern Mindanao or Region X consists of five provinces, nine cities, 84 municipalities, 2,022 barangays and 12 congressional districts. Under this region, the study focused on Misamis Oriental and the Municipality of Magsaysay (Table 1).

TABLE 1
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA ON NORTHERN MINDANAO (REGION X)

Indicator	Data	Reference	Source
Population	3,952,437	Aug. 2007	NSO
Land Area	20,186 sq km	2007	NSO
Average Family Income	P142,000 (a)	2006	NSO
Average Family Expenditure	P117,000 (a)	2006	NSO
Poverty Threshold (aa, mb)	P14,336 (apc)	2007	NSCB
Poverty Incidence (aa, Population)	43.1%	2006	NSCB
Simple Literacy Rate	91.80%	2003	NSO
Functional Literacy Rate	83.70%	2003	NSO
GRDP cp, 1985, in thousands)	67,597,096	2007	NSCB
Consumer Price Index	165.6	Sept. 2008	NSO
Inflation Rate	13.8%	Sept. 2008	NSO
Purchasing Power of Peso	0.60	Sept. 2008	NSO
Unemployment Rate	4.40%	July 2008	NSO

SOURCE: National Statistical Coordination Board (n.d.)

NOTES: cp: constant prices, a: annual, apc: annual per capita, ap: among population

According to the 2000 census, the region has a total population of 3.506 million, an increase of about 10 percent compared to 1990. The region has an annual average growth rate of 2.23 percent. The economic performance of Northern Mindanao showed a robust growth of 6.8 percent in 2006, up from the previous year's economic growth of 4.6 percent. The region is considered to be the largest economy in Mindanao and it ranked third highest in growth among other regions in the whole country. Growth has been attributed to the increase of investments and the opening of different large-scale economic projects and the generally positive performance of all sectors. The best performing sector has consistently been the services sector, which reflects the shift of the region's economy towards the services industry (NEDA X, 2004).

However, despite its strong economic performance, the region falls short of the poverty reduction target. Poverty incidence decreased only by 0.3 percent in the period of 2000-2003. The average family income in the region dropped 3.1 percent in the same time period (NEDA X, 2004).

The Medium-Term Regional Development Plan (MTRDP) indicates that the region's main development thrust is to maintain growth. Table 2 enumerates the development prospects of Northern Mindanao. By the end of the planning period in 2010, it aims to reduce poverty incidence to 25 to 27 percent from a high of 37.7 percent in 2003.

TABLE 2
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL POTENTIALS AND PROSPECTS (NORTHERN MINDANAO)

Jobs and Economic Growth

- Expand Agriculture and Fishery Production and Productivity.
- Expand Investment Opportunities
- Improve Product, Quality and Productivity.
- To improve access of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprise (MSMEs) to Financing
- Accelerate Job Creation

Social Development and Direct Anti-Poverty Measures

- Basic Education
- Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET)
- Higher Education

Health, Nutrition and Family Planning

- Health Service Delivery
- Health Financing
- Health Regulations
- Health Governance

Housing

Early Childhood Care and Development

Physical Planning Towards a Sustainable Management of the Environment

- Disaster Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Planning

Improved Infrastructure and Logistics Support

- Transportation
- Communications
- Water Resources and Development
- Power and Electrification
- Social Infrastructures

Good Governance and Peace and Order

- Restructured and Streamlined Government
 - Professional Civil Service
 - Improved Government Discipline, Efficiency and Equity in Managing Resources
 - Stronger Capacity of Government to Address Graft and Corruption
 - Stronger Capacity of Government to Pursue Meaningful Electoral and Political Reforms
 - Improved Public Safety and Security
 - Improved Disposition of Justice
 - Improved Disaster Preparedness and Response
 - Stronger Gender and Development Mainstreaming
-

SOURCE: Northern Mindanao Medium Term Regional Development Plan (NEDA X, 2004)

The province's potentials for development rest on various sectors: agricultural development, economic development, environmental protection and management, human resource development, infrastructure development, and social development (Table 3).

The development potential of the region is viewed as highly diverse because of its large economy and robust growth, which imply various possibilities. Most of the informants said the region is prepared for any kind of development. They enumerated immediate prospects, such as boosts and improvements in information and communications technology, manufacturing, food-based processing industries and other job generating industries.

The informants agreed that establishments of multi-national companies and other investors could be a potential source of revenue and job generation for the Northern Mindanao region. The National Economic Development Authority's (NEDA) regional director pointed out possible investments from Hanjin, a multi-national company, which can address unemployment. He also added that this development can become a catalyst that will pull in other transnational corporations when they are convinced the region is investment-friendly and suitable for business. The official said government should act on this possibility and convince investors by improving taxation, infrastructure, power, skills and labor requirements (Informant, NEDA X Regional Office).

The information and communications technology (ICT) prospect of the region requires manpower and quality skills (Informant, Department of Trade and Industry, Regional Level). On the other hand, manufacturing and other agri-based industries require investment, substantial manpower and other infrastructure support. The NEDA regional director said that the infrastructure needed includes transportation related infrastructure and also power supply infrastructure.

The DOT informant sees the potential of medical tourism, adventure tourism and culinary tourism in the region. She said that the region, as a big economy in Mindanao, shows potential and competitiveness in terms of these kinds of tourism development. She added that proper investment both from the government and from the private sector is required to increase the potential for tourism in the region.

In 2003, Misamis Oriental was ranked 13th in the first set of the Human Development Index (HDI-1) but was ranked fifth in terms of per capita income (minus the HDI-1 rank) (HDN, 2005). Misamis Oriental's life expectancy at birth (LEB) was 69.7 years old, slightly lower compared to the country's LEB of 69.8 years. The province's life expectancy index was 0.745, which hews closely to the country's index of 0.747. In terms of secondary education, the province had a significantly higher performance compared to the overall performance of the country. For example, the percentage of high school graduates aged 18 years old is 58.1 percent, a full 6 points higher than the 52.1

TABLE 3
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL POTENTIALS AND PROSPECTS (MISAMIS ORIENTAL)

Agricultural Development

- Improve agricultural productivity through organic farming, hybrid and certified seeds, and livestock through the establishment of animal breeding center and credit access.
- Increase trade benefits through auction markets and market assistance centers.
- Enhance regulatory functions in disease breakout prevention through establishment of diagnostic laboratory and quarantine station, and through accreditation standards for meat establishments.

Economic Development

- Modernize operation and improve services of the Misamis Oriental Telephone System, Inc. (MISORTEL), as well as enhance its corporate position.
- Improvement of real property tax assessment and collection through upgrade of systems, procedures and other revenue generation strategies.
- Advance the Cooperative Movement through capability development of cooperatives vital sectors.
- Expand the province's eco-tourism appeal and promote standards for tourism-related operations and establishment of more tourist-friendly facilities.

Environmental Protection and Management

- Creation of the Misamis Oriental Environment and Natural Resources Office with upgraded facilities such as database center, to enhance the province's capacity to perform its regulatory functions, facilitate an integrated approach to conservation and rehabilitation, i.e. in water resource conservation, watershed and solid waste management.

Human Resource Development

- Develop/enhance the managerial, administrative and technical competencies of offices and employees through a HRD plan which includes the installation of an effective and computerized personnel performance tracking system and internal control mechanism for transparency and accountability.

Infrastructure Development

- Improve the physical integration of the province through expanded and efficient road networks.
 - Rehabilitate MISORTEL's outside plant facilities (OSP), including purchase of toll, line expansion and extension facilities; and facilities for the provision of data service/internet.
 - Recoup MISORTEL's viability in voice service and move towards provision of data service/internet.
-

TABLE 3 (continued)
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL POTENTIALS AND PROSPECTS (MISAMIS ORIENTAL)

-
- Explore additional/alternative sources of energy, i.e., the Odiongan Mini-hydro Project, conduct full-blown study for Mt. Balatucan as source of hydro and geothermal power.
 - Given the anticipated demand for water due to increasing population, industry and agriculture, development of rainwater as supplemental source, will be pursued while developing springwater sources for distribution to community households (Level I & II).

Social Development

- Improve the hospital procurement and distribution system.
 - Upgrade the operations, infrastructure, equipment and other facilities and personnel capability of the Gingoog City and District hospitals.
 - Attain universal coverage for health insurance.
 - Integrate implementation of national health and nutrition programs and appropriately gear toward monitoring impact.
 - Health services provided directly but outside of the hospital system shall be upgraded in terms of provision of equipment and facilities and personnel capability-development.
 - Support strategic facilitation for municipal LGUs to participate in community-based capability-development/retooling for service-providers of non-clinical reproductive health and family planning services.
 - Implementation of the P22M Early Childhood Development Program (ECCD) is being prioritized with the province providing P6M, toward building the foundation of children who shall be future builders and leaders of this province.
 - Operationalize the provincial Gender and Development (GAD) Center, facilitate the enactment of GAD Code in Misamis Oriental, and other continuing activities are important in taking gender-related issues to a higher level as a civilized society.
 - The Provincial Library will continue to provide access to all library materials and promote resource sharing and networking among public libraries.
 - Peace and Order and Disaster Preparedness will be pursued with the organization pertinent of councils, the formulation of dynamic and effective response/warning systems, public information drives, including provision of emergency relief, among others.
-

SOURCES: 1. <http://elgu.ncc.gov.ph/ecomunity/misamisoriental/index.php>
2. Misamis Oriental Socio-Economic Development Plan (Misamis Oriental PPDO, n.d.)

percent of the country's performance. Misamis Oriental was slightly lower in terms of per capita income (2,045 PPP US\$) in 2003 compared with 2,609 (PPP US\$) in 2005 (Table 4).

TABLE 4
MISAMIS ORIENTAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX 2003

	Philippines	Misamis Oriental
Life expectancy at birth (years) 2003	69.8	69.7
% Highschool graduate 2003 (18 and above)	52.1	58.1
Primary and highschool enrollment rate (%) 2002	90.6	94.3
Per capita (NCR inc. 1997 pesos) 2003	27,442	27,427
Per capita inc. (PPP US\$) 2003	2,609	2,045
Life expectancy index	0.747	0.745
Education index 1	-	0.702
Education index 11	0.863	0.903
inc. index 11	0.544	0.504
HDI (1) 2003	-	0.650
HDI (11) 2003	0.721	0.717
Per capita inc rank minus HDI Rank1	-	5

SOURCE: Philippine Human Development Report (HDN, 2005:122-123)

Poverty incidence in the province in 2003 slightly improved at 10.5 percent compared to 13.3 percent in 2000. There is a lower probability of an individual at birth not surviving to age 40 in Misamis Oriental, with a score of 13.0 percent, which is lower than the national average of 16.2 percent. There is also a lower percentage of the population in the province that is not using improved water sources (7.6) compared to the national average (20.9) in 2003. The percentage of underweight children under five years of age – 6.3 percent – is higher than the national figure at 4.6 percent. Misamis Oriental ranked no. 18 under the income poverty rank (Table 5).

TABLE 5
HUMAN POVERTY INDEX (THE PHILIPPINES AND MISAMIS ORIENTAL)

	Philippines	Misamis Oriental
HPI Rank (2003)	-	14
HPI (2003)	14.9	10.5
HPI (2000)	14.7	13.3
Probability at Birth of not surviving to age 40 (% of cohort) 1995	16.2	13.0
Popn not using improved water sources (%) 2003	20.92	7.6
Underweight children under age five (%) 2002	4.6	6.3
Income poverty rank minus HPI Rank1	-	18

As for the Municipality of Magsaysay, agricultural development, tourism and mining are the three main prospects for development as identified in their Municipal Comprehensive Land Use Plan (MCLUP) (Magsaysay Municipal Planning and Development Office, 2000). Magsaysay's is suitable for the production of coconut, corn, rice, vegetables and other highly valued crops. The coastline area of the municipality is also a potential base for aquamarine development. Magsaysay is currently a supplier of bangus fry and prawn fingerlings for fishponds in other municipalities.

Tourism is also a prospect for development in Magsaysay. The MCLUP stated that the municipality has rich natural resources, such as beaches, coral reefs and springs that are viable for tourist attractions.

Mineral resources are seen as the third development prospect. The Bureau of Mines said the municipality has abundant deposits of limestone, bentonite and white clay among other geologic deposits. These can be found in barangays Damayuhan, Villa Felipa, Cabubuhan and Poblacion. Limestone and bentonite deposits may be processed into cement while white clay may be manufactured into first-class ceramics.

Davao Region or Region XI: Focus on Davao del Norte and Davao del Sur

Region XI is composed of four provinces, namely Compostela Valley, Davao Del Norte, Davao Oriental and Davao Del Sur. It has eleven congressional districts, four cities, 43 municipalities and 1,162 barangays, with Davao City as the regional center.

According to *Davao Region's Economic Performance in 2007 and Development Prospects for 2008*, the regional economy performed better in 2007 than in 2006. The employment rate increased from 92.9 percent to 93.4 percent. Minimum wage also increased in 2007, while remittances from overseas Filipinos were constantly sent to the region. Peace and order was relatively stable except for observed atrocities and conflict in the rural areas of Davao del Sur and Davao del Norte. However, the region has recently intensified its law enforcement and policing to contain threats of terrorism and insurgency.

The report forecasts that the region is more likely to sustain its momentum for growth. Increasing investment commitments have been viewed as proof of strong investors' confidence in the region brought about by aggressive campaigns of trade agencies both locally and internationally.

Davao's natural resources are seen as a primary factor that could boost the local economy. The government sees mining exploration and other extractive industries as possible growth areas. Davao also has the advantage of a relatively good climate conducive for agricultural production and expansion. Through the implementation of an industry cluster strategy, Southern Mindanao could be a productive agri-business center.

Tourism has significantly increased based on visitor arrivals. The Department of Tourism (2006) estimates that about 80 percent of the tourists in Davao came for business purposes, conferences and seminars. A significant number of tourists also visited the region during holidays. The Island Garden City of Samal, known for its white beaches, is said to account for about 5 percent of total visitors arrivals. DOT data showed that tourists were overwhelmingly domestic travelers, eight percent were foreigners, and two percent were overseas Filipinos. Most of the foreign visitors were Korean nationals who stay in the region to learn English or study in universities, especially those based in Davao City. Some of them have also engaged with and established businesses within the region. With the influx of visitors, the region is considered one of the most visited tourist destinations due to rich eco-tourism potentials, existing attractions and the availability of facilities such as convention centers and hotels.

The employment rate of the region reportedly increased in 2007, higher than the previous years. Jobs are mostly concentrated in the services sector, as well as in retail and wholesale businesses, communications and transport, and storage. Other jobs are in the agriculture, fishery and forestry sectors. The industry sector only accounts for 11 percent of employment in the region, mostly in manufacturing activities.

Public investments funded by the government and Official Development Assistance (ODA) encouraged the implementation of key development programs in the region. Road improvement and rehabilitation accounted for the largest share in project investments. Nationally-funded infrastructures totaled to approximately 2.3 billion pesos in project investments.

Both Davao del Norte and Davao del Sur, the topmost migrant-sending provinces in the region, follow the vision of the Philippine Plan for Gender Responsive Development (PPGRD). Both provinces drafted their respective "Gender Responsive Provincial Comprehensive Development Plan for 2000 to 2010" as part of their development plans.

The Regional Development Plan (RDP) states that "Davao Region envisions itself as the country's most livable region." Such vision hopes to emerge "a community that is home to all peoples, creeds, and persuasions; plentiful in economic opportunities; responsive in its delivery of basic services; and ever mindful of its legacy to those who will inherit its future." Guided by such vision, the region is determined to "rise to the constant challenge of a lead role in national development"

As an overall strategy to the regional development, the RDP "commits to the 10-Point Legacy as spelled out in the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan, 2004-2010 (MTPDP)." The region seeks to achieve the following results: a) increased job creation through economic growth; b) enhanced social development with direct poverty reduction measures; c) improved physical

planning and sustainable management of the environment; d) improved infrastructure and logistics support; and e) good governance.

SOCCSKSARGEN or Region XII: Focus on South Cotabato

SOCCSKSARGEN or Region XII is located in the south-central part of Mindanao. The four provinces of South Cotabato, Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat and Sarangani comprise the region. It is endowed with extensive coastlines, large tracts of highly arable plains, valleys and mountain ranges. Known for its river system, the region is the catch basin of Mindanao, with rich sources of food, potable water and energy production. Cotabato is home to Rio Grande de Mindanao, the longest river in Mindanao and the second longest in the Philippines (NEDA, 2004).

The Physical Framework Plan of Region XII (2004-2030) identified at least four major areas of development prospects or sources of growth: mining exploration and development, eco-tourism development, cultural activities and crop production. The region is known to have metallic deposits like gold and copper, which are of world-class quality, as well as clay, sand and gravel quarry, and other non-metallic resources. In terms of eco-tourism development, Lake Sebu, Sarangani Bay, Maitum Cave, beaches and waterfalls are some of its prime attractions. Some are already developed while others are in the process of being transformed into an eco-tourism spot. Another tourism draw are the cultural festivities of the different provinces, cities and municipalities of the region—Sharif Kabunsuan of Cotabato City, Halad of Midsayap, Timpupo of Kidapawan City, Tinalak of Koronadal City, Tuna of General Santos City and Talakudong of Tacurong City are some examples. Improving the quality of produce and the efficiency of crop production could boost the region's development prospects. Region is one of the country's top producers of corn, rice, tuna, and high-value crops such as asparagus, banana, oil palm and coffee.

Turning to South Cotabato's profile, the total population of the province as of 2000 is 690,728, higher by 20.11 percent compared to the 1995 census of 621,155. The province exhibited a high population growth rate in the period of 1990-1995 with an average of 2.68 percent. However, it was lower compared to the rate of 2.38 in the 1995-2000 period. The decline in population growth may be attributed to the reorganization of the political jurisdiction in some municipalities (Table 6).

South Cotabato has a total land area of 3,705.89 square kilometers or a population density of 186 persons per square kilometer. It can still be considered a sparsely populated province, as only about 25 percent of the population is considered to be in the urban area while the 75 percent is located in rural areas.

TABLE 6
SOCCSKSARGEN (REGION XII) STATISTICAL DATA

Land Area (sq.km)	19,165.86
GRDP Growth Rate (2002-2003)	3.8 %
Poverty Incidence	
(2000)	45%
(2003)	32 %
PopulationGrowth Rate (1995-2000)	2.68 %
Literacy Rate	87 %
Employment Rate	91.3 %
Life Expectancy	
Male	64.9 yrs
Female	70.8 yrs
Infant Mortality Rate	5.3 per 1,000 livebirths
Maternal Mortality Rate	0.7 per 1,000 livebirths
Participation Rate:	
Elementary (SY 2002-2003)	78.56%
Secondary (SY 2002-2003)	43.29%
Cohort Survival Rate :	
Elementary (SY 2002-2003)	53.29%
Secondary (SY 2002-2003) %	61.86%
Road Density (2002)	0.8 km/sq. km.
Irrigation Development	35.61%
Access to Potable Water Supply	519,902 HH (82.35%)
Level I	72.74%
Level II	8.97%
Level III	12.89%
Access to Electricity (2002)	70.97% of total barangays

SOURCE: Region XII Regional Physical Framework Plan (2004-2030)

Younger people dominate the total population of South Cotabato. The 2000 census shows that 67 percent of the population consists of people under 29 years old while only 30 percent account for the 30 to 64 age bracket and about three percent are above 64. The population is slightly male-dominated, with a 105:100 male-female ratio (South Cotabato PPDO, 2007).

The Philippine Human Development Report (HDN, 2005) ranks South Cotabato as 17th in the HDI-1 ranking of 2003. Life expectancy at birth (LEB) was at 68.2 years in 2003, which is 1.6 years lower than the country's LEB of 69.8 in the same year. Life expectancy index in the province was 0.721 slightly lower than the country's 0.747 (Table 7).

In terms of secondary education, the percentage of high school graduates of the population aged 18 years old is 52.1 percent, similar to the country's

TABLE 7
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX 2003 FOR THE PHILIPPINES AND SOUTH COTABATO

	Philippines	South Cotabato
HDI-1 Rank 2003	-	17
Life Expectancy at Birth (years) 2003	69.8	68.2
% Highschool grad 2003 (18 and above)	52.1	52.1
Primary and High School enrollment rate (%) 2002	90.6	90.7
Per capita (NCR income 1997 pesos) 2003	27,442	28,716
Per capita Income (PPP US\$) 2003	2,609	2,223
Life expectancy index	0.747	0.721
Education index 1	-	0.650
Education index 11	0.863	0.852
Income index 1	-	0.537
Income index 11	0.544	0.815
HDI (1) 2003	-	0.636
HDI (11) 2003	0.721	0.697
Per capita income rank minus HDI Rank1	-	-2

SOURCE: Philippine Human Development Report (HDN, 2005:122-123)

overall performance. South Cotabato is also lower in terms of per capita income with 2,223 (PPP US\$) in 2003 compared with 2,609 (PPP US\$) in 2000. Although South Cotabato has a high-income index at 0.815 compared to the country's income index of 0.544, its per capita income rank (minus the HDI-1 rank) is at negative two.

The Human Poverty Index of South Cotabato significantly improved from 20.1 percent in 2000 to as low as 13.7 in 2003, posting a 6.4 percent improvement while the national average only posted a 0.2 percent improvement at 14.7 in 2000 and 14.9 in 2003 (Table 8).

Data as of 1995 show that the probability of an individual not surviving until the age of 40 is 14.5 percent in the province, lower than the national average of 16.2 percent. In 2003, only 11.7 of the population were not using improved water sources compared to the national average of 20.92 percent. However, high incidence of malnutrition was evident, based on 2002 data showing that the province had 6.5 percent underweight children under the age of five, 1.7 percent higher compared to the country's average of 4.6 percent. Despite the performance in poverty reduction, the province was still marked negative three in the income poverty rank (minus the HPI rank).

The agro-industrialization of South Cotabato is the main development thrust stated in the provincial plan. While pushing for agricultural growth, the development plan is also mindful of respecting cultural and environmen-

TABLE 8
HUMAN POVERTY INDEX, PHILIPPINES AND SOUTH COTABATO

	Philippines	South Cotabato
HDI-Rank 2003	-	17
HPI Rank (2003)	-	25
HPI (2003)	14.9	13.7
HPI (2000)	14.7	20.1
Probability at birth of not surviving until age 40 (% of cohort) 1995	16.2	14.5
Population not using improved water sources (%) 2003	20.92	11.7
Underweight children under age five (%) 2002	4.6	6.5
Income poverty rank minus HPI Rank ¹	-	-3

SOURCE: Philippine Human Development Report (HDN, 2005:140)

tal integrity. According to the 2007 South Cotabato Provincial Development Plan, industrialization will be dispersed in less urbanized centers to equitably distribute livelihood opportunities and make them accessible to those in need. Tourism, mineral resource development and other sectors will also be developed. The province will continue to maintain its role as one the key grain producers in the country and as a major contributor to food security and self-sufficiency in agriculture. South Cotabato aims to modernize agriculture and support infrastructure in this sector to boost growth. Infrastructure plans include improving irrigation in key agricultural areas, the farm-to-market road and post-harvest facilities for the entire province.

The government of South Cotabato also wants to improve basic services through the modernization of facilities. “This would entail modernizing or computerizing both the local revenue generation and the fiscal management and information systems. Capability building programs should be in place and sustained to make government personnel more efficient, responsible and straightforward in dealing with varied sectors and the general public” (South Cotabato PPDO, 2007).

Overview of International Migration Data and Trends

Northern Mindanao (Region X)

Only four provinces in Region X have documented migration statistics based on secondary data from the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA, 2006): Misamis Oriental, Misamis Occidental, Bukidnon and

Camiguin. Lanao del Norte, which has been considered a province under this region, is still under Region 12.

The total number of overseas Filipino workers from these five provinces is 28,224, according to the OWWA's 2006 records on membership. Of the total, 21,547 are land-based while 6,677 are sea-based workers. Most of the OFWs come from Misamis Oriental, which reported a total of 12,006 OFWs, of which 9,619 are land-based and 2,387 are sea-based. The second largest source is Lanao del Norte, with a total of 7,103 OFWs. Camiguin had the lowest number of OFWs, with only 397 land-based and 196 sea-based overseas workers.

Not much information is available on the composition of migrants in the region. The only data available are based on OWWA membership program records; no information are available for non-OWWA members. OWWA-member in the region comprise of 2,053 male and 3,824 female land-based OFWs, totaling to 5,877 OFWs. There are a total of 3,704 male, sea-based OFWs.

Informants from the region said the reason people choose to work abroad is due to the lack of job opportunities in the country. They agreed with the notion that income from working locally is too low compared earnings abroad. One of the informants said people would always want to improve their economic status, even if it means living away from home and risking their safety just to earn dollars for the family. Most of the informants could not determine whether the number of people leaving the country to work abroad is too many, too few, or just about right.

Davao Region (Region XI)

A key informant noted the alarming volume of Filipinos leaving to work abroad. It is estimated that around 3,000 Filipinos leave for work abroad every day. The Mid-Year Report of OWWA-XI (2008) shows that a total of 38,981 individuals in the region have applied for work abroad. In Davao City alone, there were 16,829 processed OFWs while Davao del Sur and Davao del Norte had 10,531 and 6,656 OFWs processed, respectively.

Key informants mentioned that the exact number of OFWs originating from Davao City and Davao del Sur is unclear, as the data for both were combined. Some concerns were raised on the actual number because there were applicants who declared Davao City as their hometown of origin though they came from other nearby provinces. In some instances, residents of Davao Region process their application in Manila, which they declared as their place of origin.

Informants based in Davao del Sur at the provincial level considered the existence of a training center (such as the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority or TESDA) as a factor contributing to the increase of the number of migrant workers in their locality.

In Bansalan, Davao del Sur, the growing number of OFWs can be attributed to several factors, such as the desire of people to work abroad, the high concentration of Japanese descendants, and the increasing prominence of households with migrant workers. Regular municipal-wide job fairs have been attracting people to land jobs abroad. Moreover, job applications overseas have become easier and more convenient after legitimate agencies were granted Special Recruitment Authority (SRA).

Some Filipinos of Japanese descent were more motivated to work in Japan because of the perceived privilege of being able to obtain a working visa easily. More are trying to establish their Japanese lineage to acquire a working visa to Japan, especially after seeing the positive effects of overseas work on households. Being an overseas Filipino worker in Bansalan has become a status symbol, thus reinforcing desires or pressures to work abroad. Families with OFWs also petition other immediate relatives so that they can also migrate and work abroad.

In Davao del Norte, a key informant noted that industries cannot adequately keep up with the number of graduates every year. Brain drain has been observed in the medical field due to the significant number of nurses leaving the country and of doctors taking up nursing courses. Another key informant from Tagum City said that there is an oversupply of nurses than can be absorbed by limited vacancies in health centers. As a result, nursing graduates end up working at call centers because there are reportedly few hospitals that can accommodate them.

In Davao del Norte, there is an increased competition among new nurses to secure positions as hospital trainees due to the rising number of healthcare professionals, according to a health officer there. The enormous number of nurses in the region has forced private hospitals to impose training fees. In regional and provincial hospitals, the fast turnover of health care trainees has made public hospitals mere training grounds for nurses planning to work abroad. In effect, the quality of health care services has been stagnating as nurses work abroad after they have received sufficient training in the country. On the other hand, the informant said public hospitals also are unable to retain trained nurses as they cannot compete with salaries offered by hospitals abroad.

SOCCKSARGEN (Region XII)

Region XII is composed of the provinces of North Cotabato, South Cotabato, Sarangani and Sultan Kudarat. Based on OWWA membership data as of 2006, the total number of OFWs from Region XII stood at 21,256. OWWA data show that the province of South Cotabato has the highest number of OFWs with a total of 10,099 while the province with the lowest number of OFWs according

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF OFWs IN REGION 12
BASED ON MEMBERSHIP RECORD OF OWWA BY PROVINCE

Province	Land-Based	Sea-Based	Total
North Cotabato	5,967	667	6,634
South Cotabato	8,193	1,906	10,099
Sarangani	913	78	991
Sultan Kudarat	3,256	276	3532

SOURCE: OWWA (2006)

to the membership record of OWWA is Sarangani with only 991 OFWs (Table 9). South Cotabato used to be a part of Region XI, hence data on overseas Filipinos from the province were included in Region XI. Key informants admitted they did not know or have any data regarding the volume of international migration in the region, including South Cotabato.

Feminization of Migration

Data on migration in Davao Region shows that the number of female migrant workers continues to surpass the number of male migrant workers. Women outnumbered the men, especially among migrant workers coming from rural areas. Some informants attribute this to the high mobility of women compared to men. In rural areas where agricultural production is the primary source of income, men are more likely to stay, giving the women more flexibility to move out of the community. An informant also said that this is due to the high demand for domestic workers, especially in the Middle East. Some female OFWs work in factories in some parts of Asia such as Taiwan and Korea.

However, in 2008, POEA data counted more male migrants than female OFWs. The demand for male workers in the Middle East went due to the construction of “mega cities” in Saudi Arabia and other countries in the region. The policy on household or domestic service workers (HSW), which increased the age, salary and training requirements for these types of jobs, also contributed to the decline of female OFWs by 47 percent (Uy, 2008).

Destinations and Occupations of Migrants

Current primary destinations of OFWs are neighboring Asian countries and regions such as Hong Kong SAR, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan. Korea has been more open to bringing in Filipino skilled workers in recent years. However, Middle Eastern countries such as Dubai, Saudi Arabia, Jordan,

Oman and Qatar, continue to be the most preferred destination for Filipino skilled workers. Many Filipinos are also targeting Australia and New Zealand due to increasing job opportunities in the dairy and meat industries.

Places with many Japanese descendants such as the Municipality of Bansalan consistently showed a high preference for employment in Japan. An informant said the Local Civil Registry of the Municipality has been pre-occupied with processing papers and documents to establish the Japanese lineage of many residents hoping to be able to work in Japan. The informant added that due to work opportunities there, some applicants submit fake documents for a chance to secure a job.

Several sources suggested that there has also been an increasing demand for teachers in China, Thailand and the United States. Canada, Europe and the United States remain primary destinations for caregivers and nurses.

Migration-Development Nexus

Perceptions on Migration and Development

Informants agreed that international labor migration benefitted the country. Most of them said remittances sent home by overseas Filipinos fueled the economy of the region. Investments of overseas Filipinos have also helped boost regional growth. Remittances have especially improved the well-being of OFW families. A parent or a family member working abroad meant: 1) securing the educational needs of the children, 2) acquiring assets such as land and other properties, and 3) finding other entrepreneurial investments or sources of livelihood.

Money sent to their families is spent locally and mostly on consumer goods, creating a demand for products and helping improve the economic activity of the locality (Interview with a key informant). A representative of the Provincial Chamber of Commerce of South Cotabato said there have been more businesses and investments due to the increase in market demands, partly due to the remittances that flow into the province. Individually, the businesses seem only to be small investments, but cumulatively, they contribute significantly (Interview with a key informant).

Key informants remarked that overseas Filipinos have contributed to the boom of the real estate industry. Many of the new houses built in recent years belong to the families of overseas workers. In Davao City, for instance, Insular Village is known as a residential community for many high-ranking seafarers, while middle or low-ranking ship crew members are located in a nearby subdivision. Another informant cited Elenita Heights of Catalunan Pequeno as a popular residential area for Filipina entertainers who have worked in Japan. It is a common perception that large houses in the community are

owned by entertainers or women married to Japanese nationals. In Surallah, many OFWs are said to have bought lands for their future retirement. In Polomolok, agricultural lands have increased in value due to the interest of OFWs in purchasing farmlands.

Most of the informants emphasized that households with OFWs have improved lifestyles and living conditions. OFW families have acquired service vehicles, established businesses like grocery stores and invested in farm production. Informants also recognized that remittances have enabled OFW families to send their children to good schools, which is also a form of contribution to development (Interview with a key informant).

On the other hand, informants also observed that international migration can have adverse impacts, particularly the loss of the region's skilled workers and social consequences. Brain drain is considered by most of the informants as one of the major consequences of international labor migration. The phenomenon is evidence of both the increasing desire of people to work abroad but also the country's limited capacity to provide jobs and better living conditions for its people. Moreover, informants believed that the unregulated outmigration of professional, skilled and technical workers would result in the lack of human resources to drive the country's economic progress. An informant from the municipal level expressed hope that international labor migration will only be temporary and will not become the primary source of poverty alleviation for households. The most ideal and sustainable way of maintaining economic stability for households is to secure local employment for Filipinos.

According to informants, the social costs of international labor migration are considerable. The maltreatment experienced by OFWs is a major social risk. Another adverse effect is the impact on the family. Marital problems, such as the involvement of one of the spouses in extra-marital relationships often lead to marital dissolution. The separation of married couples may lead to the erosion of family ties and the neglect of the children left behind.

Numerous cases of people deceived by illegal recruiters is another adverse impact of international labor migration. Victims of illegal recruitment suffer from economic and social setbacks. Some are not able to recover their expenses or to repay their loans, leaving them even poorer (Interview with a key informant.).

Although there were references to brain drain, most of the informants did not consider the departure of skilled professionals as a highly critical issue in the region. They said the region had enough supply of human resources and talents. Even in the health sector, a key informant said that except for doctors, there is a sufficient pool of medical professionals. Most of the informants also did not consider the disparity between the families of OFWs and that of the locals as something to be alarmed about.

The social costs of migration were viewed with much apprehension. The absence of an OFW parent, especially the mother, has been perceived as resulting in child delinquency. The separation of couples was also feared to lead to marital infidelity and problems such as incest.

Some informants believed that there are alternatives to overseas employment in the region, such as entrepreneurship and farming. Investments Filipinos make just to secure a job abroad could have been used instead as capital to start a small, local enterprise. Though local jobs do not pay as much as those abroad, these are still good alternative options. As said by a DTI representative:

If only people [were] enterprising, I believe that we can offer alternatives to overseas employment in the region. It is very important to help people shift from being salary minded to [being] profit minded. There are many kinds of small business opportunities here and these can really be an alternative or maybe a better option than working abroad.

However, others were of the view that even if there were alternative job opportunities in the region, the salaries would still be too low compared to what workers can earn abroad. According to a DOH representative:

There is no alternative to overseas employment available right here. If there were such...people will not go and work overseas. Our doctors, if they are paid just maybe 30 percent of what they earn as nurses abroad, they will stay and work here.

Municipal level informants also shared the view that both the salary grade and job opportunities abroad are impossible to match.

On the other hand, the establishment of multinational companies and the steady growth of other industries (e.g., ICTs) in the region are seen as potential sources of alternative job opportunities in the near future. Economic growth in the region could help improve job placement, which would address unemployment and underemployment.

Migrants as Development Partners

Though partnerships between local government units and migrants' associations are uncommon, there have been some notable instances of informal collaboration, mostly in the form of humanitarian assistance.

In Davao Region, some inspiring examples of the linkages between migrant groups and local institutions are two organizations, namely the Association of Bansaleños Worldwide (ABW) and the Bansalan-American Incorporated (BANAMI). These organizations involve the active collaboration between Bansaleños based abroad and their families who reside in

Bansalan, Davao del Sur. Community involvement started with family efforts which later evolved into more formal organizations which engaged with the local government for development and humanitarian initiatives (www.bansalan.com).²

In Davao del Norte, a key informant in Panabo City said Gawad Kalinga (GK), a local organization which receives financial support from overseas Filipinos, among others, has been building houses for the poor in Barangay Nanio. The group is targeting three more GK housing sites in the city. There is also ongoing cooperation between the local government and an organization based in Germany that has been planning to establish a rehabilitation center for children. The same group also initiated the construction of a five-room school building in Barrio Kauswagan in cooperation with Barangay Tibungol.

Dubai has become a popular destination for both professional and skilled workers from Tagum. The increasing number of Taguminian OFWs encouraged the formation of a group that provides assistance to their *kababayans* or townmates who are newly hired workers, such as setting up overnight accommodations for newly arrived OFWs. Upon learning of these initiatives, an informal communication line was established between the Taguminians and the Tagum City government through the Internet. The Human Resources Office designated a staff member to maintain constant communication with the group, relaying news and other updates occurring in Tagum.

Regional level informants expressed interest in forming partnerships with overseas Filipino associations abroad to pursue development initiatives, though they clarified that their involvement will only be within the framework of their agency's mandate. Many of them said their role could be to facilitate the building of potential partnerships. They also expressed openness to inter-agency collaboration.

The Department of Trade Regional Office in Davao City has included in their strategic plans the potential of tapping investments by overseas Filipinos in the region. Economic ambassadors are sent to business trips abroad to meet with Filipino communities and to encourage them to engage in local investments. The representative from DTI – Region XI has expressed interest in the potentials of overseas Filipino contributions to local investments. He mentioned plans to establish an overseas Filipino desk within their agency to facilitate and speed up the processing of business permits, as well as to assist returning overseas Filipinos especially regarding entrepreneurial endeavors or financial management. A one-stop business center will be organized

² See also Asis et al. (2010:72-73).

occasionally to provide hassle-free processing of business documents of potential investors.

A NEDA-XI informant said DTI is the lead agency that conducts periodic investment campaigns for overseas Filipinos while NEDA-XI has been preparing to create a suitable business environment for returning migrant workers. The agency is willing to assist in facilitating and providing information on the costs and potentials of conducting business in the region.

At the provincial and municipal levels, all informants said they could facilitate potential partnerships between migrants' associations and local government units. There was a positive response to the idea of development collaboration. They were open to creating a transparent partnership with migrants' associations and other potential partners to build trust and confidence.

To assist aspiring migrant workers, for instance, the local government of Carmen in Davao del Norte organized job fairs to facilitate quick employment and partnered with the Department of Foreign Affairs to establish a mobile passport service. The Office of the Mayor of Carmen also provided free passport services to help generate employment.

Generally, the local government units were receptive to the possible partnership with overseas Filipinos in implementing and promoting development initiatives. However, such endeavors require advocacy as well as evidence that they do work. Moreover, local government units need to come up with more innovative ways of collaborating with migrants' associations or return migrants. Only the Governor of Misamis Oriental has heard of Mexico's *tres por uno* scheme and has suggested creating a local version which he proposed to call *kurambus* (the term for 'counterparting').

Regional, provincial and municipal offices generally could not readily provide data about migrants' contributions. Informants only realized during the interviews about the importance of migrants and their potential role in the development of the local economy.

Possibilities for Migrant Investments

Almost all informants perceived investments by overseas Filipinos as one of the main contributors to development. The key informant from the NSCB regional office said OFW investments are significant as a whole, even though sometimes the impact of their contributions are not always visible. A DTI regional office informant specifically mentioned migrant investments as one of the potent vehicles for development. The DTI is now pushing for programs to encourage OFWs to invest in franchising or owning business establishments while they continue to work abroad or upon their return home. Real estate is seen as one form of investment that significantly contributes to the

economy of the region. Many overseas Filipinos invest in real estate as part of their retirement plans.

However, key informants observed that most OFWs prioritize efforts geared towards building family-owned enterprises, house construction or developing agricultural production and farm lots. Although not many, some investments made by overseas Filipinos have community-wide impacts. Many migrant workers in Bansalan, for example, have invested in convenience stores, groceries or other food businesses, which provide services and generate some local employment. A local married to a foreign national, for examples, invested in a piggery that was able to provide at least 20 jobs for locals. Some OFW families have helped establish a private school in Bansalan; another family established a day care center.

In 2006, with an estimated Php 500,000 worth of investment, the Metillas in Banicahan established a functional day care center. Though it was personally funded, it was intended for public use. Through the collaboration with the donor, the LGU and DSWD, the establishment of the day care center [became] successful. The LGU contributed sand and gravel, while the donor shouldered the cost of the building construction. The DSWD, on the hand, [was in charge of the day care workers] hired, and eventually the cost of operation was subsidized by the government.

Possibilities for Trade

Only the DTI regional informant mentioned that their agency is assisting overseas Filipinos in finding appropriate investments, especially in franchising and trade. They currently run a program wherein overseas Filipinos can either buy a franchise of a Philippine product in their destination country. DTI assists interested overseas Filipinos in all aspects of the business. They assist the overseas Filipino in document processing and legal documentation, and provide training to the investor, such as basic business orientation. The program has helped bring different Filipino products to other countries where there are many overseas Filipinos are present.

The DOT also has a program that encourages overseas Filipinos to promote Philippine tourist attractions. The informant from the DOT regional office said that, most of the time, overseas Filipinos are the most effective promoters of tourism since they know their country and they have knowledge of the dynamics of the people in their home country and that of the country of destination. Overseas Filipinos have or can become ambassadors for development as well as a potential market for trade. Many of them have reinforced opportunities for development collaboration and transnational trading.

The DTI Regional Office said regular foreign trade missions have become a strategy to find ways of encouraging overseas Filipinos to become partners

not only in development projects but in trade as well, since they can promote local products and resources and tourist attractions in the Philippines. Some ABW members, for example, engage in the buying and selling of handicrafts made from recycled materials. The organization was even able to successfully ship some products to Japan.

Migrant Giving

Migrant giving presents an opportunity for local development, but this potential has yet to be fully recognized and integrated in development plans. The study in Mindanao has discovered some migrant initiatives that aim to accomplish broader humanitarian goals. For example, an individual fundraising effort initiated a scholarship grant for 71 school children in Bansalan.

The advent of media technology has reinforced opportunities for migrant giving, since communication and the exchange of information has become faster and reaches far beyond the immediate locale. The cases of ABW in Davao del Sur and the Taguminians Association of Dubai have shown that online communities are a potent and useful venue for migrant giving. Virtual community organizing has become a significant factor for members of migrants' associations to communicate with each other, as well as for local communities to get in touch with migrant groups abroad.

Aside from financial and material forms of migrant giving, the transfer of knowledge is also a potential migrant contribution to local development. Tagum leaders had taken an interest in the possibilities of transferring knowledge and technology they have learned while working abroad. For instance, Bennet Santander, a former OFW from Ipil, Zamboanga del Norte, was once asked by the Regional Director of the Department of Labor and Employment to give a seminar in rubber production after gaining expertise from his experience in the field. The seminar, held in Tagum, was an opportunity for him to share his expertise in rubber production so that locals will be able to learn the methods and technologies necessary for producing rubber trees. Mr. Santander now heads the Economic Planning Unit of Zamboanga Sibugay under BIMP-EAGA.³

Summary of Findings

Generally, there is a positive outlook for development, growth and prosperity in Mindanao. The perceived advantage and strength of the region is its agro-

³ Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA).

industrial potential. For provincial and municipal representatives, there is more interest in developing large-scale commercial production by attracting and encouraging multinational corporations to invest in their respective localities.

Informants perceived several different obstacles that would hinder the realization of development potentials in Mindanao. These are: 1) the precarious peace and order situation of the region, 2) the management of information government and the media, 3) the lack of capacity of local government units (LGU) to attract investments or to make their municipalities investment-friendly, 4) the volatility of the environment, 5) the lack of infrastructure, and 6) the low level of educational attainment in the region.

Poverty continues to drive people to work abroad. All informants at all levels believe the primary reasons people work abroad are the lack of job opportunities and low income levels in the region, especially in the provinces. While they have different perceptions on the scale of international labor migration, they said the benefits of this trend are evident and very much felt in the locality. Remittances have helped reinforce economic activities, which in turn have contributed to improving the local economy. The increase in the number of businesses and investments has also led to the rise of market demands. OFWs are also able to send their children to good schools, improving the educational attainment of many people in the region. On the positive side, the general view is that remittances make a significant contribution to the country's economy.

However, in both regional and local levels, there was no clear and explicit mention of international migration as part of Mindanao's development potential. None of the regions, provinces and municipalities covered in this study had integrated migration issues in their development plans. It seemed it was only when the subject was discussed during the interviews that the informants realized the significance of migration for their development plans.

During the course of the research, migration data were found lacking at the regional, provincial and municipal levels. Since both domestic and international migration did not factor in the development plans and prospects, there has been no thorough documentation of migrant giving or migrants' investments at different levels and their potential contributions to growth. The scarcity of data was also apparent in interviews with informants from regional, provincial and municipal government agencies and units. At the regional level, no one could provide details regarding the history or role of migration in the region. Most of the informants admitted there was no clear data that estimates the number of overseas Filipinos and threshold level of sending workers abroad. Some of them remarked that overseas Filipinos and their families need more representation in local and national governing institutions due to their number as well as their specific concerns and needs.

Different perspectives regarding the costs of migration surfaced in the interviews. Most informants acknowledged the brain drain problem, but they said there are already measures being taken to prevent this from escalating into a critical issue in the region. They said that the solution is to strengthen education and skills improvement of the workforce. For them, the challenge is not to keep highly skilled professionals from leaving but to continuously train more workers who can stand as replacement or second liners. Many informants also suggested strengthening the entrepreneurial skills of OFW families and a program that will provide more capital and business opportunities for them. One of them believed there must be effort to encourage OFW families to invest the money they receive into businesses, rather than just spending them on consumer goods.

Informants saw only minimal possibilities for providing alternatives to overseas employment, since it is clear that the lack of opportunities in the country is one of the main reasons Filipinos choose to work abroad. Jobs related to agriculture could be an alternative, but informants said the salaries in this sector cannot compete with those offered abroad. They also said entrepreneurship could be a promising alternative.

Informants expressed some concern about the culture of dependency emerging among OFW families. The social costs of international labor migration, particularly the separation of family members, were oftentimes mentioned. However, most of the informants said these are not yet critical issues at this point. They were optimistic these concerns can be addressed, especially with communications technology.

Three main programs and policies that will maximize the benefits and minimizing the costs of international migration were suggested. First, a mechanism that would provide assistance and protection to overseas Filipinos in their host countries must be established. Second, the improvement of information technology and its accessibility and availability would help maintain communication between OFWs and their families. This could also help inform Filipinos overseas of recent trends in investment opportunities as well as economic, social and political conditions in the Philippines. Third, more investments must be brought into the country to provide employment opportunities for the local workforce, which would help address unemployment and underemployment.

Despite the migration-related issues mentioned, the informants generally have a positive outlook on international migration in the region. They believe overseas Filipinos have contributed to local development and that they should be recognized as one distinct sector. While they acknowledged the costs of migration, such as the dependency of OFW families on remittances, they consider international labor migration as a vital contributor to economic development.

For example, many overseas Filipinos have investments in the region, particularly in their respective localities. Some examples of primary investments are houses, farmlands and other fixed assets, though many of these are mostly considered unproductive. Others have invested in buildings that they open for lease or for rent. Informants said one common indicator of the presence of OFWs would be the beautiful houses and farmlands that can be spotted in the area. Some government institutions are taking interest in the possibilities of overseas Filipinos engaging in businesses and other investments. For instance, the DTI regional and provincial offices said they have been tapping OFWs as a market for local products. There has been a program established that aims to bring locally made products to other countries where there are large populations of overseas Filipinos.

To a certain extent, the study has become an eye opener for the informants, who realized during the course of the interview the potential role of international migration in regional and local development. However, the positive contributions of international migration are mainly seen through remittances, overlooking other forms of migrant giving, such as social capital and the possible transmission of migrants' expertise and skills to their home communities.

Conclusion

Research findings from Mindanao reveal critical issues and problems about the migration-development nexus in the region. This chapter uncovered the following points: 1) the lack of data on international migration needs to be addressed to enable better regional and provincial planning, 2) the contributions of international migration seem limited only to remittances and overlooks other forms of migrant giving, 3) migrant workers are certainly potential partners for development, and 4) the development paradigm of local governments must include addressing the needs of overseas Filipinos, a necessary shift that is now being recognized by key development planners.

Data on international migration from government institutions, especially among the key planners of the regions and provinces are clearly lacking. In a way, this partly explains the lack of direction of key regional and local development planners in designing policies and programs for overseas Filipinos and transnational migration issues. The study found that most key planners at the regional level agencies have no knowledge of the real scenario of international migration based on documented facts and empirical data, and their understanding is only limited to anecdotal information. The concerns and issues of overseas Filipinos, as well as their contributions to their respective localities were not included in the Medium Term Regional Development Plan (MTRDP). The informants admitted that regional level line

agencies through the Regional Development Council (RDC) had not raised these issues during their planning activities and meetings. These findings emphasize the need for more data on international migration. Migration trends in the region need to be documented and monitored consistently and regularly. Available international migration data could have provided the necessary information that would help develop policies and programs that could forge partnerships between overseas Filipino groups abroad and local government institutions. Moreover, the data could have helped design more policies that would address the needs and improve the conditions of OFWs and their families.

Nevertheless, there have been some efforts by local government institutions to address this problem or at least to recognize the importance of improving data collection. For example, the Provincial Government of South Cotabato has begun gathering information about overseas Filipinos who come from the province. The provincial office plans to publish a database about their overseas Filipino members, which could help encourage, facilitate and organize their participation with provincial development activities. The Governor of Misamis Oriental suggests that will available and reliable data on overseas Filipinos, a program similar to Mexico's *tres por uno* scheme can be introduced (as mentioned in earlier).

Realizing the importance of international migration as a potential key player in local development has prompted some informants to raise the issue in their next RDC meetings. They saw the development potential of OFW contributions, which can be tapped through the creation of programs that would engage overseas Filipinos to participate in development activities. Moreover, aside from the role of migration in the development agenda, informants also recognized the need to address the concerns of overseas Filipinos through the development of policies and programs. The interviews showed the interest and willingness of government officials and key planners to engage in possible partnerships with migrants abroad. These are indications of the possibilities of integrating international migration in development plans, as well as the acknowledged need to provide more policies and programs that would help address the concerns and issues of OFWs and their families.

Findings of the study show that remittances are commonly perceived as the main contribution of overseas Filipinos to Philippine society. However, as seen in the cases found in the region, it is evident that the contributions of Filipinos abroad go beyond remittances. There have also been contributions to development projects and many instances of migrant philanthropy, which often go unrecognized. The cases of migrant giving in the region show that these initiatives work and can have a significant impact on the community.

Such findings show that overseas Filipinos, whether they are contract workers or permanently based abroad, are certainly potential partners for development. Maximizing this potential can be challenging - there is a need to first encourage overseas Filipinos to engage in transnational development initiatives. However, there have been some examples of successful partnerships between migrants' associations and local government institutions, such as instances of diaspora philanthropy among OFWs from South Cotabato, Bansalan, Magsaysay, Digos and Davao cities, and provincial government agencies such as the Integrated Provincial Health Office.

Finally, while the study reveals that the development plans and prospects of government units in the region do not include the international migration dimension, key informants in the study have begun to recognize the need to include overseas Filipinos in their agenda. Through the interviews and the general exposure to the study, there has been some shift in the development paradigm of regional and provincial planners, who are now considering developing programs that will enable and strengthen partnerships between local government institutions and overseas Filipinos. While international labor migration is an ongoing and unavoidable phenomenon, better policies that would provide support and welfare services for migrant workers, both documented and undocumented, should be implemented. It is one of the many ways the country can give back to Filipinos abroad who play a significant role in the country's development.

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